Collection of Paper

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OTSEM
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES: EPISTOMOLOGIES AND METHODS

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Eschatology tailoring the Identity

This paper is in every way a work in progress and a part of the initial phase of my Ph.D. project. The first section describes the purpose and outline of my Ph.D. project involving brief reflections on previous scholarship, brief material presentation and theoretical perspectives. The second section contains a case study in which I apply one of my theorical tools, Construal Level Theory on the composition of The Rule of Community.

In the Ph.D. project, I aim to investigate how authority is established, maintained, and contextualized in three selected Qumran compositions:1QS, 1QH, and 4QInstruction.

I work from the presupposition that cognitive mechanisms and in particular memory is a key to unlock the mysteries of development and renewal of biblical authority in Qumran literature.

The Qumran library contains a wide variety of literary genres, diverse narratives, which illustrate the human needs to narrate stories. I use the term narratives in its broadest sense, every literary text implies a narrative of some sort. Scholars agree that the Qumran texts are dependent on, and reflect, biblical texts and traditions. They are retellings and reinterpretations of established stories - told within a familiar but continuously renewed framework. In other words, the narrators seem to have felt obliged to reinterpret earlier texts in order to maintain authority and adjust the significance of previous traditions to their own circumstances and religious status.

Theological or Functional Canon

There have been many fruitful discussions concerning the topics of authority, canonicity, and the questions about which texts were considered influential and canonical in Qumran literature. My vantage point in this discussion builds on Philip S. Alexander useful distinction between *Theological Canon* and *Functional Canon* (Alexander 2017, 51):

> It is important to distinguish between a theological canon and a functional canon. The theological canon comprises those texts which as Scripture are supposed to serve as ultimate authorities in belief and practice—in Rabbinism, the Tanakh. The functional canon comprises those texts which actually serve as authoritative in belief and practice (Alexander, 2017).

The notion of functional canon allows us to look for the authority of those texts which seems to have been more influcial with regard to faith and practice. Authority becomes a less formal and rulebound idea and a more dynamic process orientated phenomenon.

In order to uncover the nature of authority I will apply social anthropological and cognitive approaches in addition to classical exegetical methods.

Basically, the authority of sacred texts is sustained in memory through transmission. What we remember has authority, compared to all that is forgotten. Our identity evolves through what we remember, whether we recognize or distance ourselves from the remembered content.

The selected Qumran Material

I briefly introduce the material chosen for the purpose of this project (1QS, 1QH, 4QInstruction). The three compositions are chosen because: 1) they are texts of central importance in the Qumran library judging from the number of extant copies; 2) they exhibit narrative structures and elements of various kinds; 3) they include elements of ritual practice; 4) they contain explicitly named "orators", serving as figures of authority. All three compositions have intertextual connections to biblical literature by means of retellings and reinterpretations.

1. The Rule of the Community or 1QS, was one of the first scrolls to be discovered in 1947. This text is considered a key sectarian document and is seen as definitive for classifying other compositions as sectarian or non-sectarian (Mink 2008). 1QS contains instructions and rules by which the community of God should be organized and structured. This composition addresses the figure of authority as the maskil.
2. Hodayot or Thanksgiving Scroll (1QH), is also one of the first discovered Dead Sea compositions. This text contains a patchwork of hymns and is predominantly considered as a sectarian text (Holm-Nielsen 2008, 293-297). The figure of authority in this composition is the first person speaker or the psalmist, who is the receiver of divine knowledge.
3. 4QInstruction or Sapiential Work A (4Q415-418, 4Q423, 1Q26), is considered the longest wisdom text from the Dead Sea Scrolls, is generally categorized as non-sectarian or, perhaps, "pre-sectarian" (Elgvin 1998, Høgenhaven 2008) . In this text the figure of authority is addressed as the understanding one who receives the divine secrets.

The distinction between *sectarian* and *non-sectarian* Qumran texts has been regarded by a majority of Qumran scholars as being of primary importance. However, scholars have not reached any

consensus concerning the exact criteria for such a distinction. Generally, the classification of texts as sectarian is based on the occurrence of specific linguistic expressions, and, more vaguely, on the occurrence of a specific sectarian world-view including a developed eschatology. I seek to offer a novel perspective, which goes beyond these two categories.

My suggestion is that 1QH, 1QS and 4QInstruction represent a comparable eschatological worldview. I propose that an overall reading of these compositions gives the impression that the eschatological worldview could be the driving force behind their shared message. Despite the three substantially different approaches, it seems relevant to discuss the idea that these compositions are directed towards the same purpose and therefore mediate the same ideology. While using different terminologies and approaches, all three compositions divide the cosmos in two parts. The cosmos is painted in black and white, in right and wrong. In this context, the purpose of these compositions is providing the correct knowledge of good versus evil, so the addressee is ensured the right place in the righteous community and eventually an eternal salvation while evading eternal damnation.

Theoretical perspectives

As mentioned before, the theoretical perspectives of this project include cognitive and social anthropological approaches. I aim to utilize the theory of Modes of Religiosity (Whitehouse 2002), Narrative Analytical Theory (Polkinghorne 1988), and Cognitive Literary Science (Burke & Troscianko 2017). These different approaches generally rest on models describing functions of human cognition. The advantage of the theory of Modes is its approach on how memory and emotions affect one another at a fundamental level. Additionally, the Cognitive Literary Science is an umbrella term that covers different analytical tools which are helpful in investigating cognitive and memory mechanisms closer. Finally, the Narrative Analytical Theory could be valuable in understanding how we need to narrate and retell stories to remember - and to pass on what we think is worthwhile remembering. These particular theories are selected with the hope of understanding why and how we establish and maintain authority through cognitive mechanisms.

Modes of Religiosity

The *Modes of Religiosity* theory explains underlying cognitive processes, by which religious devotion is experienced, organized, transmitted, and politicized (Whitehouse 2002, 293). Religious content and rituals take form, when two things occur: First, beliefs and rituals must take a form that people can *remember*. Second, people must be *motivated to pass on* these beliefs and rituals (Ibid., 295).

Consequently, *memory* and *motivation* become the foundation for transmission of any religious ideology, which is imprinted in human memory by the interaction between *frequency* (i.e., repetition) and *emotionality* (e.g., fear) (Atkinson & Whitehouse 2011, 51-52)..

In order to understand how *frequency* and *emotionality* facilitate the imprinting of religious information in memory, I will now provide a brief overview of essential memory functions.

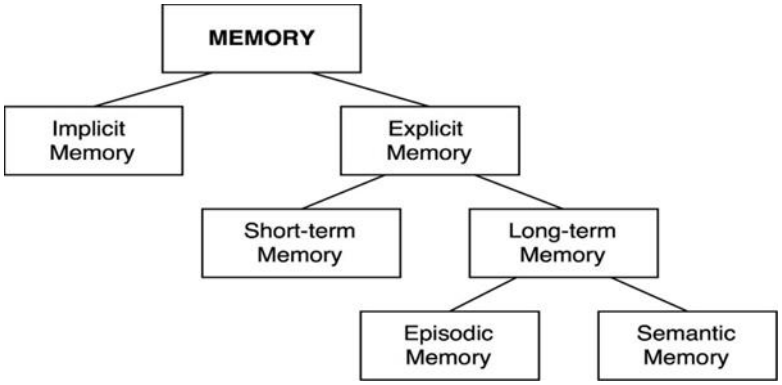


Figure 1. Memory functions

Memory can be divided into implicit and explicit types. Implicit memory deals with things we know without being aware of knowing, for example the procedural competences required in riding a bicycle. Explicit memory deals with things we know at a conscious level and can further be sub-divided into two types: Short-term and Long-term. Short-term memory enables us to hold on to concepts for a matter of seconds, for example, a new phone number remembered just long enough to write it down. Long-term memory is sub-divided into semantic and episodic types. Semantic memory consists of ”general knowledge” about the world, for example what is the capital city of France. We can rarely recall how or when we acquired this sort of knowledge. In contrast, episodic memory contains specific events in our life experience, it could be the death of a family member or our first kiss. Accordingly, features of episodic memory may also be referred to as autobiographical or narrative memory. These types of memory are activated differently in so-called *doctrinal* and *imagistic* modes of religiosity.

Doctrinal and Imagistic Modes of Religiosity

The Doctrinal mode favors high-frequency and low-arousal, less stimulating, religious content and rituals. This allows a large body of religious teachings to be stored in semantic memory. Frequent repetition has the effect of firmly fixing the teaching in people’s minds. The crucial thing is that standardized versions of the religious teachings are shared and accepted through regular public or private rehearsal. Most traditions of this sort have celebrated leaders, messiahs, prophets, divine

kings, and high priests. Such leaders are emphasized as "special" partly due to their skills as orators. The proclamations of the leaders provide the central tenets of a belief system, and their deeds become the basis for widely recounted religious narratives.

The Imagistic Mode concerns the sort of practices that are low frequency, rarely enacted, and highly arousing. Such rarely performed, and highly arousing rituals trigger vivid and enduring episodic memories among the people involved. It appears to be a combination of episodic distinctiveness, emotionality, and consequentiality that together result in lasting autobiographical memories, which forms the identity. Both *Doctrinal* and *Imagistic* modes can occur separately as organizing principles of religious experiences, beliefs, and practices. But often the two modes occur together, in a single tradition, while interacting with each other (Whitehouse 2004).

Construal Level Theory

In the following we will briefly familiarize ourselves with some of the basic assumptions in Construal Level Theory.

Humans can only experience the here and now directly (Liberman 2010). In spite of that, at this very moment you are a traveler who travels in time and space. Your mind travels in many directions; you might think: " Will I ever get through reading this paper?" Or "When is it time for coffee?" Maybe you recall a memory or maybe you are pondering about the future? Our minds constantly travel even though, it is impossible to experience the past, and the future, other places, other people, and alternatives to the present reality.

However, our minds can plan, remember, predict, hope, cause emotional responses, and guide our choices and actions. We can build civilizations, create ideologies, and start religions because our minds are able to travel in space and time and across social affinities and systematically calculate hypothetical situations.

At the same time no matter what, when, where, or who we are, our minds are continuously influenced by the context we are at. The puzzling thing is how we transcend the here and now and connect to the things we no longer are able to experience directly? How do we plan for the distant future, understand other people's point of view, and consider hypothetical alternatives to reality?

Construal level theory (CLT) is a theory in social psychology that describes the relation between psychological distance and the ability of abstract thinking with regard to objects and events.

CLT proposes that we form abstract mental construals dependent on how distant events or objects are. The general idea is that the more distant an object is from the individual, the more abstractly it will be perceived, whereas the closer the object is to the individual, the more concretely it will be perceived. As previously mentioned, we are only capable of experiencing the here and now. However, our cognitive ability to move in time and space, social affinities, and hypothetical thinking, enables us to predict the future, remember the past, imagine other people's reactions, and speculate. Predictions, memories, and speculations all serve to transcend the immediate situation and represent psychologically distant objects. The two key notions in CLT are *construal level* and *psychological distance*.

1. *Construal level* is a measure of abstraction, how concretely or abstractly we perceive an event or object. Construal level is divided into high-level and low-level construals. Lower-level construals are concrete, contextualized representations that include subordinate and random features of events or objects. Higher-level construals are abstract, schematic, and decontextualized representations that extract the gist from the available information. They emphasize superordinate, essential features of events and omit random features that may vary without significantly changing the meaning of the events.

   For example, "going on date": On low-level construal, this action includes details of where you are going to meet, who your date is and what you might wear. A high-level construal of the same action, would omit these details and represent it as "searching for love" and even "finding happiness". The lower-level covers the *How*, the feasibility of an action or the details of an object. The higher-level construal covers the *Why*, and gives direction to the lower-levels. In case of the aforementioned action, "finding love and happiness" are the higher construals and the why. The lower levels are the how, "wearing the right dress or being at the right time".
2. *Psychological distance*, is applied on four dimensions—temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical distance. The temporal dimension covers the time aspect such as planning the future or remembering the past. Spatial dimension concerns the place where an event or an object is perceived. The social dimension covers how a subject experiences itself or someone else in a given situation. The fourth dimension, hypothetical distance, involves how we can predict and envisage a supposed object or event.

Case study (1QS & CLT)

My case study focuses on the composition 1QS/The Rule of Community as it is documented in the cave one manuscript. I do not intend to open the otherwise relevant question of the redaction history. First, I will simulate an interview with the Maskil of 1QS as a way of letting the text speak for itself. Second, I will draw an outline on how Construal Level Theory can function as an analytical tool in interaction with 1QS.

The advantage of the interview form is that it can take us around a rather large composition and give us a more coherent picture of the text.

First – an interview with the Maskil

I would like you to imagine and play along, that we are able to interview the Maskil of The Rule of Community. As you will notice, our Maskil has a certain preference for the study edition by Martinez and Tigchalar (Martínez & Tigchelaar 1999).

1. *How will you describe or profile the Yahad Community?*

   To outline it shortly, the Yahad group identifies itself with "Community of Truth, of proper Meekness, of Compassionate Love and upright purpose towards each other, in a Holy Council, associates of an everlasting society." II, 23-25

   The Yahad Community is aware that every member has his rightful rank and position in God's community and no one should try to move away from his place.

2. *You describe the Yahad Community with broad qualities such as truth, proper meekness, compassionate love and a society, which is holy and lasts forever. Most religious communities, would in some degree, subscribe to these terms. Can you take us deeper and explain the specific origins and ideology of the community?*

   Sure! ☺ The Yahad community believes in the realization of divine promises through enactment of the right lifestyle. We believe that we are the true Israel, making atonement for the sins of the people and we will become the children of light.

   Going back to the beginning: "There were in the Community council 12 men and 3 priests, perfect in everything that was revealed from all the law to implement truth, justice, judgment, compassionate love and unassuming behavior of one to another, to preserve faithfulness in the land with firm purpose and repentant spirit in order to atone for sin by doing justice… When these things exist in Israel, the Community council shall be founded on truth, to be an everlasting plantation, a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron… This is the tested rampart, the precious cornerstone… …and it will be a house of perfection and truth in Israel."

   VIII, 1-9

This is our story and at the same time our goal, what we all strive for and believe that we can achieve.

3. *How do you see yourself in this, what is your function as a Maskil?*

Well, to be quite clear, as for myself, I "belong to evil humankind, to the assembly of unfaithful flesh; my failings… with the depravities of my heart, I belong to the assembly of worms and of those who walk in darkness." XI, 9-10

But the duty of the Maskil is: " to seek God with [all (one's) heart and] with a[ll (one's) soul;] in order to do what is good and just in God's presence, as he commanded by the hand of Moses and by the hand of all his servants the Prophets; in order to love everything, which he selects and to hate everything that he rejects…" I, 2-6

The Maskil must keep these regulations, so he can "welcome all those who freely volunteer to carry out God's decrees into the covenant of kindness; in order to be united in the counsel of God and walk in perfection in his sight… …in order to love all the sons of light, each one according to his lot in God's plan, and to detest all the sons of darkness..." I, 7-11

For the members of the community the Maskil "should reproach (with) truthful knowledge and (with) just judgment those who choose the path, each one according to his spirit... He should lead them with knowledge and in this way teach them the mysteries of wonder and of truth..., so that they walk perfectly, one with another, in all that has been revealed to them." IX, 17-19

Summing up: My duties as a Maskil is to wholeheartedly and with complete devotion carry out God's commandments and see to it that the every Yahad member acts in accordance with his proper place.

4. *How can one become a member of the Yahad Community?*

Whoever wishes to become a member must: "Enter the covenant of God in the presence of all who freely volunteer. He shall swear with a binding oath to revert to the Law of Moses, according to all that he commanded, with whole heart and whole soul …" V, 7-9

And furthermore: "anyone from Israel who freely volunteers to enroll in the council of the Community, the man appointed at the head of the Many shall test him with regard to his insight and his deeds. If he suits the discipline, he shall let him enter into the covenant… …and he shall teach him all the precepts of the Community." VI, 13-15

The applicant undergoes an admission process of two years and during this period, he is examined regarding his deeds, knowledge, and purity.

5. *Why should anyone really want to join the Yahad community?*

If you are not a part of the Yahad and in process of learning the hidden matters, then you will face judgment and everlasting annihilation.

"All the men of injustice who walk along the path of wickedness… are not included in God's covenant since they have neither sought nor examined his decrees in order to know the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault and because they treated revealed matters with disrespect; this is why wrath will rise up for judgment in order to effect revenge by the curses of the covenant, in order to administer fierce punishments for everlasting annihilation without there being any remnant."

V, 11-13

6. *Why do you believe that humans will face judgment and annihilation?*

This is not merely, what I believe, it has been decreed by God from the beginning of creation: "From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be… From the spring of light, stem the generations of truth and from the source of darkness the generations of deceit."

III, 15;19

And, the visitation … will be an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, permanent terror and shame without end with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions. And, all the ages of their generations (they shall spend) in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until their destruction, without there being a remnant or a survivor for them. In these (lies) the history of all men…

IV, 11-15

Whether you choose to join in or not, the course of time was set and the circle will be completed. You will either belong to the children of light or to the doomed children of darkness.

7. *Is then avoiding eternal damnation the ultimate reason for joining the Yahad?*

NO! The ultimate reason is to do what is Right: "In order to carry out all that God has commanded." I,16-17

"My eyes have observed what always is, wisdom that has been hidden from mankind, knowledge and prudent understanding (hidden) from the sons of man, fount of justice and well of strength and spring of glory (hidden) from the assembly of flesh. To those whom God has selected he has given them as everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones." XI, 5-8

By doing right and following God's commandments, man will become what he is destined for.

CLT & 1QS

In the second and final section, we will briefly visit three studies where CLT has been successfully used. In these studies, CLT has pinpointed how psychological distance inevitably effects the way we reflect on, approach, and construct various phenomena. The first study concerns values and morals (Eyal & Liberman 2012), the second study is in the genre of Science Fiction (Carney 2017) and the third study is in the field of linguistics and religious discourses (Grabwoska 2013).

To my knowledge, CLT has not yet been applied to ancient texts or scriptures. With the aforementioned three studies in CLT, we can approach 1QS on different levels:

Morals & Values

In the first study, Eyal and Liberman begin from the observation that any definition and construction of morality, and ideology is an abstract concept. Values and morals are defined as high-level construals, the *why*. Often morals and values are the perspectives from which we tend to plan or predict. We see values and morals as distant objects, but at the same time they are very much present. They shape the outer line of our choices and actions (Eyal and Liberman 2012).

However, the high-level construal, *the why*, is not enough. We need to know how to approach and realize the high-construal. Here the low-level construal covers the *how*, making the process of realization of values and morals feasible.

Let us look at 1QS through CLT-lenses, having the simulated interview with the Maskil in mind. In question no 1 and 7 the Maskil describes the Yahad community's qualities in broad and general terms. The Maskil aka 1QS uses high-level construals and sketches an outline of the community. Here the general terms, truth, meekness, love, and divine commandments function as abstract, schematic, and decontextualized representations. They omit the details and extract the gist to be able to present a clear profile of the community.

Going back to the interview, question no 4 briefly touches upon one of the main rituals of membership. With CLT terms, it describes the low-level construals, the *how*, and the feasibility of the high-level construals. The rituals in 1QS involve the low-level construal, because they are concrete, contextualized representations that include subordinate and random features of how to become a member or maintain the membership and excel. The descriptions of rituals make it possible to realize the normative high-levels, which consist of the broad ideological principals of 1QS.

Science Fiction

Going on to the second study, CLT has been utilized to analyze the genre of Science Fiction (Carney 2017). Science Fiction is a genre of cognitive estrangement, which alienates readers from their habitual environment. The cognitive estrangement happens through psychological distance, which occurs on several dimensions.

If we go back to the interview, in questions no 5, 6, and 7 the Maskil summarizes and defends the main reason for becoming a member of the community, here his answers reveal how a Qumranite's worldview is highly colored by an eschatological expectation.

I see an overlap between the way the science fiction universe is depicted and its effects on the addressee - and the way an eschatological world-view is described and effects its addressee.

Boldly speaking, the eschatological worldview in 1QS could function as an example of Science Fiction. In both Science fiction and 1QS eschatology, the temporal dimensions involve the intangible time and future. Yet, while the spatial dimension in Science Fiction involves the outer space, the spatial dimension in 1QS involves the true understanding of the real creation and cosmos. In Science Fiction, the social dimension often involves alien creatures, whereas in 1QS supernatural creatures such as Angel of Darkness, Prince of Light, or The Two Spirits fulfill the same part. Regarding hypothetical distance, the distinction between the real world and the otherworldly can be applied to both Science Fiction and 1QS.

The four psychological distances: Temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical dimensions create altogether an eschatological worldview in 1QS that can be identified as high-level construal. The distances generate a reliable frame of reference and makes it possible to speak in eschatological terms. If 1QS portrayed an eschatological worldview that was going to happen in a near future, then it would not have the same effect and reliability.

Linguistics and Religious Discourses

The last study, where CLT has shown good results concerns a survey on the concept of "faith in God" and the linguistic discourse of Polish Christians (Grabwoska 2013). A large amount of data shows that people in their vocabulary switch between high-level construal and low-level construals when they articulate their image of faith in God. Like values and morals, the concept of faith in God, is an abstract and high-level construal. However, no matter if informants are believers or not, they will switch from articulating faith in God in general terms, such as Church, Dogmas, or Organization, into

their personal perception and relationship to these general terms. This has been observed linguistically. Every time a person articulates a high-level construal, the sentences become impersonal, general, and abstract. On the other side, every time the informant articulates a low-level construal, they use pronouns to describe their relation to the general terms.

Going back to the interview one final time, the Maskil aka. 1QS, switches from impersonal, abstract definitions, high-level construals, to low-level construal language describing his own role and perception of the Yahad ideology. The questions 1, 2, 5, 6, and 7 concern the overall ideology and the overarching goal of the Yahad Community, but if we look closely to question no 3, the Maskil articulates his own function by describing himself. We have pronouns and the maskil functions as a subject, whereas in the answer to the other questions the subject is impersonal.

Conclusion

This initial study has hopefully shown that there is some unexplored ground to cover and CLT perspectives can come in handy. The mutual interaction between the psychological distances and the high and the low-level construals can help us identify different cognitive mechanisms employed in 1QS. CLT appears as a promising analytical tool in demonstrating the relationship and the coherence between eschatological ideas and identity formation and daily practice in a Qumran text.

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Enhancing the Depiction of a Prophet: The Repercussions of Textual Criticism to the Study of the Elisha Cycle[1]

It will be argued in this paper that MT reflects a textual form that has at least in eight different instances (2 Kgs 2:14, 3:14, 4:4, 41, 5:18, 8:11, 13:14–21, 21)[2] gone through a slight but noteworthy revision interested in a theologically more orthodox depiction of prophet Elisha. This revision is lacking from the OG edition, which should be taken as reflecting a more original textual tradition in the given passages. This is especially noteworthy since not very often are the readings of LXX – or any other Version, for that matter – taken into account when assessing the redactional or especially composition historical questions concerning the Elijah-Elisha traditions, or the books of Kings as a whole.[3] Indeed, as will be argued, the more original readings of OG may have some further repercussions to the understanding of the Elisha cycle as a whole, as they seem to indicate that, unlike in the Masoretic version, the original Elisha narrative was closer to a tragedy than a story of insuperable prophetic prowess.

2 Kgs 2:14: Elisha has problems dividing the waters of Jordan after the ascension of Elijah

After the story of Elijah's ascension culminates with him being taken up to the heavens in a storm (2:11–12), his pupil Elisha picks up the mantle of Elijah and heads back to Jordan (2:13–14)[4]. There he parts the waters by striking them with his master's mantle, calls to Yahweh, and crosses the river.

MT	A B	Rel. (=Rahlfs)	*L*-700[5]
וַיִּקַּח	καὶ ἔλαβεν	καὶ ἔλαβεν	καὶ ἔλαβεν ὁ Ελισαιε
אֶת־אַדֶּרֶת	τὴν μηλωτὴν	τὴν μηλωτὴν	τὴν μηλωτὴν
אֵלִיָּהוּ אֲשֶׁר־נָפְלָה	Ηλιου ἢ ἔπεσεν	Ηλιου ἢ ἔπεσεν	Ηλιου τὴν πεσοῦσαν
מֵעָלָיו	ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ	ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ	ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ
וַיַּךְ אֶת־הַמַּיִם	καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ	καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ	καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὰ ὕδατα[7]
		καὶ οὐ διέστη	καὶ οὐ διῃρέθη[8]
וַיֹּאמַר	καὶ εἶπεν	καὶ εἶπεν	καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαιε
אַיֵּה	ποῦ	ποῦ	ποῦ (δή *L*-19´) ἐστιν
יְהוָה	(A: κύριος)[6]		
אֱלֹהֵי אֵלִיָּהוּ	ὁ θεὸς Ηλιου	ὁ θεὸς Ηλιου	ὁ θεὸς Ηλιου
אַף־הוּא	αφφω	αφφω	αφφω (> 82; sub * 127)
	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ + οὗτος 93-127 (sub *)/οὕτως 19´-700
וַיַּךְ אֶת־הַמַּיִם	ἐπάταξεν τὰ ὕδατα	ἐπάταξεν τὰ ὕδατα	ἐπάταξεν τὰ ὕδατα (93-127 *)

[1] I want to thank my co-participants of the University of Helsinki Text-Critical Study Group (Ossi Arpe, Paavo Huotari, Ville Mäkipelto, and Miika Tucker) for their valuable input when writing this paper.
[2] To this list one may further add the 3 smaller cases (2 Kgs 2:23, 4:7, 8:10) also discussed in the footnotes (cf. ~33, ~39, ~60) of the paper.
[3] Recently, for instance, Bodner, *Elisha's Profile*, as well as Bergen, *Elisha and the End*, appear to make minimal use of Septuagint altogether. In this context, one has to commend Gilmour, *Juxtaposition*, for clearly taking Septuagint and its textual peculiarities seriously – however, apparently none of the textual cases to be discussed in this paper have been noted by Gilmour.
[4] It is likely that the highly repetitious verse 13 is a later addition to the story via *Wiederaufnahme*, as the verse repeats almost verbatim the text of 2:14. Accordingly, Peshitta lacks whole of 14aα and begins the verse straight from Elisha's summon. This shows well that the story in question has indeed attracted later revisers.
[5] The Lucianic text is full of recensional Lucianic readings, such as explications of subjects (Ελισαιε *tris*), verb of being (ἐστιν), stylistic enhancement (τὴν πεσοῦσαν, δή), and harmonizations (τὰ ὕδατα, διῃρέθη).
[6] The plus is found also in MSS 247 *CII* 119 121 $s^{-64'\ 130}$ and Syrohexapla, but not in B. The reading is likely Hexaplaric, showing that OG (and likely even *kaige*) did not yet have this word in its *Vorlage*. The addition could well be a (proto-)Masoretic Yahwistic explication.
[7] In plural also in MSS 106 158.
[8] Also in MSS 119 460. Likely a harmonization towards verse 2:8.

וַיַּ֖כֻּ֣ו הֲנָ֑ה וָהֲנָ֑ה	καὶ διερράγησαν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα	καὶ διερράγησαν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα	καὶ διῃρέθη (93-127 *) καὶ ἐπάταξεν Ελισαιε τὰ ὕδατα ἐκ δευτέρου καὶ διῃρέθη τὰ ὕδατα
וַיַּֽעֲבֹ֥ר אֱלִישָֽׁע׃	καὶ διέβη Ελισαιε	καὶ διέβη Ελισαιε	καὶ διῆλθε διὰ ξηρᾶς[9]
And he took the mantle of Elijah, which had fell from him, and smote the waters, and said: "Where is Yahweh, the God of Elijah – even he?" And he smote the waters, and they divided hither and thither, and Elisha crossed them.	And he took the mantle of Elijah, which had fallen from him, and hit the water(s). <u>But it did not part.</u> And he said: "Where is the god of Elijah *affô*?" And (+ this/thus *L*) smote the water(s), and they divided = hither and thither. (Rahlfs) = and Elisha hit the waters for a second time and the waters divided. (*L*) And he went through the dry land.		

There are some text-critical problems in the verse, some extant already in MT: the peculiar אַף־הוּא is an old *crux interpretum*, since it is not completely certain whether it should be taken as a part of the exclamation of Elijah ("Where is Yahweh, God of Elijah, *even He*?), or as beginning the next clause ("*Even he* [=Elisha or Elijah] smote the water…") – or even as part of Elisha's exclamation, *even he* referring to Elijah ("Where is the God of Elijah; even he [Elijah] smote the waters!"). The longer *L* text seems to understand the text exactly in this light with its doublet: "And he said: 'Where is the God of Elijah, *affô*, also he hit the waters, and they parted!' And Elisha hit the waters for the second time, and the waters parted." The *L* text has likely come to be as a conflation of OG and some kind of harmonization towards the possible understanding of MT.[10] The expression could even be a gloss.[11] In any case, MT has now in its text only one long "ritual" (hitting, exclamation, hitting again, and the waters parting).

The Greek witnesses, apart from the likely Hexaplaric plus οὗτος/-ως of L^{-82},[12] simply transcribe the expression as αφφω, which, however, likely had as its *Vorlage* not אַף־הוּא, but אֲפוֹא, "then," as is shown by 2 Kgs 10:10, where the same Greek transcription αφφω is found.[13] This underlying Hebrew reading would make better sense in the context, since the construct אֲפוֹא+אַיֵּה is three times elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible used to pose a question in Hebrew ("*Where then* is the God of Elijah?").[14] The text has therefore likely become somehow corrupt in MT.[15]

This text-critical solution to the old problem brings us to the second, literary, problem of MT: especially if אַף־הוּא – or rather, אֲפוֹא – is not to be read as beginning the following clause, why does Elisha seem to hit the water (וַיַּכֶּה אֶת־הַמַּיִם) *twice*, both before and after the exclamation? Nothing in the text seems to warrant this second action. This strange duplication has been argued to be due to literary critical reasons: Elisha's exclamation has been added to the text via *Wiederaufnahme*

[9] This reading is attested also by MSS 64^{mg}-381 460 and La^{M}: *Et transiit per siccum in eremo.*
[10] See also Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 268–70, who classifies *L* in this verse under "Sonstige erklärliche Änderungen."
[11] Thus Stade, *Kings*, 183; Fricke, *2 Könige*, 26.
[12] While Trebolle, "Readings of the Old Latin," 130–1, seems to argue οὗτος to be the OG reading, this does not seem likely, since, first of all, the reading is found under an asterisk in 93-127, indicating its late origin. While οὕτως 19΄-700 is likely a corruption of οὗτος, this reading could even be derived from Aquila (α΄ που κς ο θς ηλια καιπερ αυτος). This plus may also be a simple Lucianic recensional explication, see above.
[13] It is not completely clear, however, whether the case of 2 Kgs 10:10 is due to the original translation or the *kaige* revision either, since there αφφω is lacking in *L* and OL manuscript La^{115}. However, in 10:10 the textual situation of both of these witnesses is somewhat problematic; see for discussion of this passage Tekoniemi, "Identifying *kaige*," 4–5.
[14] Similarly Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 281–2. Cf. Judg 9:38; Job 17:15; Isa 19:12. In Hos 13:10 אֲפוֹא is also once combined with אֵיֵּה.
[15] Similarly Stipp, *Elischa*, 50. Bergen, *Elisha and the End*, 64, accepts the problematics of the passage, but still retains MT.

(resumptive repetition).[16] While these reconstructions and emendations of MT are possible, there is one more possible way of resolving the problem, with the help of the text of LXX.

Not much interest has been given to the reading of LXX, where it is in fact noted that, after the first hit, the waters οὐ διέστη, "did *not* part."[17] Interestingly enough, only the Greek manuscripts A B lack this mention, due to Hebraizing Hexaplaric and/or *kaige* influence.[18] This OG reading is usually passed over in silence, or it is explained as an exegetical or even as somehow "midrashic" interpretation of the text.[19] This is of course one of the completely viable options: a later reviser (likely already in Hebrew) saw the strange repetition of וַיַּכֶּה אֶת־הַמַּיִם and concluded that on the first hit the waters simply must not have parted.

However, one must ask whether this is the likeliest option, since this plus actually adds another, and quite crucial, literary critical and narratological problem to the text: was Elisha thus not mighty enough to part the waters by himself, as his master Elijah had been (2:8)? Did he therefore not inherit the powers of Elijah "in double" (פִּי־שְׁנַיִם), as he had asked him for (2:9–10)? In LXX this seems to indeed be the case: only after calling to "the God of Elijah," do the waters part – Elisha, even with the mantle of his master,[20] is not able to perform the miracle on his own. He is apparently not even *as* mighty as his master, let alone double as powerful.[21] It is quite unlikely that any "midrashic" interpreter would have made such a blasphemous change to the text. In MT, however, the situation is of course completely different: Elisha seems to become powerful enough to make the miracle by himself, even making the prophetical bet of Elijah come true, as argued by many.[22]

Indeed, the "bet" of Elijah makes much more sense in the LXX version, since there is a slight conflict between the master and his overconfident pupil. Elijah knew that he would win his own bet – why else would he have made such a cryptic promise in the first place, were he able (or rather, willing) to fulfill Elisha's wish? In MT this conflict is nowhere to be found – Elijah's bet becomes the last mystical deed of the greatest prophet Israel had ever seen, but, at the same time, the narrative loses much of its aforementioned psychological tension. It is thus safe to assume that Elisha did not originally inherit his master's powers in double and did not see Elijah taken to the heavens – as is in fact told by 2:12, "and he saw him no more" (וְלֹא רָאָהוּ עוֹד). As argued by Ehrlich,

[16] Hentschel, *Könige*, 10: "Ursprünglich schlug Elischa mit dem Mantel nur einmal auf das Wasser und spaltete es sogleich. Ein Bearbeiter fügte die Frage nach dem Gott des Elija ein, um den Anschein zu vermeiden, als ob der Mantel magisch gewirkt hatte."

[17] The reading is also attested by numerous Vulgate manuscripts and the Ethiopic and Coptic translations, showing that the reading is indeed a very ancient and reliable one. On the other hand, this wide attestation of OG reading makes it likely that the reading of MT is of very late origin, possibly one of *the* latest (proto-)Masoretic changes to the text.

[18] It is also possible that the two (or either of them) manuscripts have simply lost the reading independently of each other via homoioteleuton (καὶ 3°∩4°) and/or the influence of either Hebraizing revision. See on *kaige* revision Aitken, "The Origins of KAI ΓΕ," 21–40.

[19] Stade, *Kings*, 183: "S^L gives a midrashic transformation of the verse." Trebolle, *Centena*, 160–3, who notes that this is the OG reading, nevertheless does not discuss the reading further. Even Stipp, *Elischa*, 49–61, passes this reading completely in silence.

[20] The ineffectiveness of the mantle, unlike in MT, also shows that there were no inherent magical abilities in the mantle, and that the only reason for its ineffectiveness was Elisha's incompetency. This could also be interpreted in two ways when it comes to Elijah's prophetical prowess: on one hand it goes to show that Elijah himself was in no need of magical objects, but, on the other, it could also be seen as indication of Elijah not being mighty enough to "leave a mark" to his own mantle. This second interpretation may have also been a contributing factor in the workings of the (proto-)MT scribe.

[21] This interpretation is still possible even on basis of MT's text, as shown by Brueggeman, *1–2 Kings*, 297: "…unlike Elijah in v. 8, his first striking is not effective and he must do it twice. Thus his power may be less than that of Elijah."

[22] See e.g. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 22; Long, *2 Kings*, 31–2.

the exclamation of Elisha (especially when read with the emphasizing אֵפוֹא of LXX) is indeed to be read as a sign of deep anxiety, arising from the realization that his wish had not been filled.[23]

It makes much more sense that the text would have been changed from the LXX version, which paints the image of Elisha in a much darker tone, to that of MT, where the revered prophet is made more powerful. MT would have omitted this theologically quite problematic idea from the text (likely reading *ולא חצו), leaving however the now strange repetition of וַיַּכֶּה אֶת־הַמַּיִם to the text. In fact, also the strange MT reading אַף־הוּא may be explainable on this line of argument: on the one hand the change omits the emphasis (אֵפוֹא) of the question of Elisha, and on the other hand it could be understood as an attempt to alleviate the problems borne from the double mention of Elisha hitting the water, since the use of the particle אַף could even here be understood as simply denoting a reference to the first hitting ("*indeed*, he had hit the water"), thus making the interpretation possible that, in fact, there was only one hit to begin with.[24] However one wants to solve this mystery, the problematic grammar of the second verb וַיַּכֶּה still stays, betraying the editorial intrusions of MT.

2 Kgs 3:14 – Did Elisha revere an evil Omride king?

The second theologically motivated difference is to be found in 2 Kgs 3:14, where Elisha is told to "hold in high reverence" the king of Judah. In MT and majority of Greek witnesses (=*kaige*) this king is Jehoshaphat, who did indeed "what was right in the eyes of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 22:43). However, in the OG version, preserved only in *L*, the king of Judah is Ahazyah, whose mother was Athaliah, daughter of Omri/Ahab, who "did evil in the eyes of Lord" (2 Kgs 8:27).[25] Elisha revering an evil king with Omride parentage is quite an awkward reading in this context, especially since just before in 3:13 Elisha has rejected his help from Joram, king of Israel, who was a son of Ahab. It is likely that a proto-MT reviser, considerate of the problematic theological repercussions of this reading, changed the Judahite king to Jehoshaphat, a pious reformer of Yahwistic faith. The opposite, namely a change from MT form, creating grave theological problems in OG, is highly unlikely.[26]

This change of name is linked to another textual difference between MT and OG. The location of Jehoshaphat's regnal narrative, found in MT in 1 Kgs 22:41–51, is located in OG in 16:28a-h. This transposition has also chronological repercussions, as in OG Jehoshaphat accedes the throne already during Omri's 12th year, not in Ahab's 2nd year, as in MT.

Table: The textual order of OG, MT, and *kaige* editions

OG (*L*)	**MT**	***Kaige*-text (B)**
Omri (16:23–28)	Omri (16:23–28)	Omri (16:23–28)

[23] See Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 281–2: "Danach ist der Sinn hier der: Elia hat mich verlassen, aber wo bleibt auch JHVH, der Gott Elias? hat auch er mich verlassen?"
[24] Translated by both Hentschel, *2 Könige*, 10, and Rehm, *2 Könige*, 28, as "when": "als er auf das Wasser schlug"; similarly Jones, *Kings*, 387: "and when he also had smitten."
[25] Also the OL witness La^{M} gives in verse 3:9 the name as Ahazyah. See Shenkel, *Chronology*, 87–108, for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon.
[26] Similarly Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 96–7. It is also good to note that in 2 Kgs 4:13 and 8:4 – not to mention 13:14–20 – Elisha seems to be on quite good terms with the (anonymous) king(s) of Israel (both of whom must now be Omrides), showing that there are similar cases also elsewhere in the text, and that originally the picture of Elisha was much more nuanced. Indeed, it has been proposed by numerous scholars that the "king of Israel" in the Elisha stories was originally anonymous everywhere, and only secondarily identified during the transmission process; see Klostermann, *Könige*, 398; Stade, *Kings*, 186–87; Gray, *Kings*, 432–4; Miller, "Elisha Cycle," 442; Shenkel, *Chronology*, 100; Würthwein, *Könige*, 282; McKenzie, *Trouble*, 97.

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Jehoshaphat (16:28a–h)		**Jehoshaphat (16:28a–h)**
Ahab (16:29–22:40)	Ahab (16:29–22:40)	Ahab (16:29–22:40)
	Jehoshaphat (22:41–51)	**Jehoshaphat (22:41–46, 51 *kaige revision*)**
Ahazyah (22:52ff.)	Ahazyah (22:52ff.)	Ahazyah (22:52ff.)

Thus the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram do not in fact converge in the OG chronology, unlike now in MT. Thus, if MT is indeed later with its identification of the Judahite king as Jehoshaphat, a simple change of the name would not have here sufficed, since also a change to the more original OG chronology was in order. The reviser was thus forced to also change the chronology and the textual order of the books in order to make this theological correction.[27]

2 Kgs 4:4–6 – Can inexhaustible oil be exhausted?[28]

In verse 4:4 *L* attests a short plus, "and it (= the oil) will not stop," in Elisha's prophesy to a certain wife of the sons of prophets. This plus is also supported by some manuscripts, mostly from the *mixti* group, reading "and it *you* will not stop." Interestingly enough, this information appears to be in contradiction with the mention in verse 6, where the oil does indeed stop (וַיַּעֲמֹד הַשָּׁמֶן).

MT	Rahlfs	*L*
וּבָאת וְסָגַרְתְּ	καὶ εἰσελεύσῃ καὶ ἀποκλείσεις	καὶ εἰσελεύσῃ καὶ ἀποκλείσεις
הַדֶּלֶת בַּעֲדֵךְ	τὴν θύραν κατὰ σοῦ	τὴν θύραν επι σεαυτην
וּבְעַד־בָּנַיִךְ	καὶ κατὰ τῶν υἱῶν σου	και επι τα τεκνα σου[29]
וְיָצַקְתְּ עַל כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הָאֵלֶּה	καὶ ἀποχεεῖς εἰς τὰ σκεύη ταῦτα	και εκχεεις εἰς τὰ αγγεια ταῦτα
		και αυτο ουκ αποστησεται
וְהַמָּלֵא תַּסִּיעִי׃	καὶ τὸ πληρωθὲν ἀρεῖς	καὶ τὸ πληρωθὲν ἀρεῖς
εἰς] + παντα A 247 488 | ἀρεῖς] + και αυτο ουκ αποστησεις 56 55 71 158 244^{mg} 245 342 707		
MT/Rahlfs: And you shall go in and shut the door behind yourself and your sons, and you shall pour in (MT: all) these vessels, and that which is full you shall set aside.		*L*: And you shall go in and shut the door on yourself and your children, and you shall pour out in these containers, and it will not stop, and that which is filled you shall set aside.

This textual difference has not solicited too much discussion in the scholarship, and in the few cases it has been noted, the *L* plus has been condemned as a late (Lucianic) gloss-like addition.[30] While this is not impossible, it is hard to see why *L* would have introduced into the text a contradictory statement against verse 6, since *L* usually strives to delete such logical contradictions. Also, the witness of the Greek *mixti* manuscripts makes it likely that this plus is not due to solely Lucianic revision, but is, at the very least, a potentially Hexaplaric reading.[31] The majority text likely corresponds to the shorter MT due to *kaige*.

[27] Apart from the chronology, MT has likely made a slight compensatory revision also in 22:50, where an originally anonymous "king of Israel" (OG) has been identified as Ahazyah (MT). See for further discussion Mäkipelto & Tekoniemi & Tucker, "Large-Scale Transposition," 6–9.

[28] I want to thank Julio Trebolle for bringing this plus into my attention.

[29] The Lucianic reviser appears to have worked on this verse independently, as επι σεαυτην και επι τα τεκνα σου appears to be Lucianic stylizing, similar to the change from σκεύη to ἀγγεῖα. Thus one could argue that the plus might also go back to similar recensional reworking.

[30] Stade, *Kings*, 190: "S^{L} has the foolish addition και αυτο ουκ αποστησεται, thus interrupting the instructions given by the prophet." The "foolishness" of this plus is not, however, as evident as Stade makes it seem, since the text flows naturally enough with the plus between the two commands – in fact, the problems are even larger if the plus is given at the end of the verse, as done by the mixed manuscripts. Montgomery and Burney also mark the difference, but give no analysis of it.

[31] The second person sg. is likely due to secondary harmonization towards the other similar singulars in the verse.

In this case, however, the plus has a very good chance of being the OG, and the oldest text attainable, going back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* (*והוא לא יעמד).[32] It is important to note that the minus of MT actually omits from the text a possibility for an interpretation of a slight theological incongruity: the prophetic words of Elisha do not seem to completely align with the outcome, the cessation of oil in verse 6. Of course, the text of *L* does not *need* to be interpreted as including an ideological contradiction, since the phrase "and it will not stop" quite clearly indicates that the oil will simply keep running only while the wife keeps filling the vessels. In this way the story clearly parallels the Elijah narrative in 1 Kgs 17:14, 16, where the oil is similarly told to not stop before the drought is over.[33] From the "proto-rabbinic"[34] viewpoint of (proto-)MT, however, already a faint *possibility* of such an interpretation would have likely been seen as problematic, and thus in need of omission.[35] One may also take into account the further MT plus כָּל on line 4, found in Greek only in the Hexaplaric witnesses, and is likely a secondary addition.[36] This plus of "all" may further emphasize the completeness of the action prophesized by Elisha, which is in line with the minus of the *L* plus, and also shows that MT could indeed have been interested in revising this verse.

2 Kgs 4:41 – Throwing the flour: who is doing what?

A very minor textual difference can be found in 2 Kgs 4:41, where Elisha speaks to his disciples after they have noticed that their soup is inedible. In MT Elisha tells them to bring flour, and proceeds to throw the flour in the cauldron: "And he said: 'and bring flour.' And he threw to the cauldron" (וַיֹּאמֶר וּקְחוּ־קֶמַח וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ אֶל־הַסִּיר).[37]

In LXX, Targum Jonathan, and Peshitta, however, the throwing of flour forms part of the order of Elisha: καὶ εἶπεν: λάβετε (*קחו) ἄλευρον καὶ ἐμβάλετε (*וישלכו) εἰς τὸν λέβητα, "And he said: 'Take flour and throw into the cauldron.'"[38] The one performing the miracle is thus not Elisha, but his disciples, to whom Elisha gives his prophetical orders. The difference is in one *wav* only – either tradition could therefore be due to simply accidental change.[39] However, especially in the light of

[32] See also Klostermann, *Könige*, 401, who retroverts והוא לא יסור, though it is hard to say what he means by his following statement: "'תַּסִּיעִי' 'reisse heraus' würde die Vorstellung erwecken, dass die grösste Hast nötig gewesen sei, um den Ölstrom nicht zum Anhalten zu veranlassen."

[33] In the same vein one may take into account the case at the end of verse 4:7, where the majority text of LXX (but this time not L^{-82}-700!) has a plus of ἐλαίῳ, "the rest *of oil*," against the simple MT "the rest." This may be a simple contextual explication, possibly originally even done by the translator. However, if the LXX version of the story in verses 4–6 is indeed the older one, this plus – or rather, its omission in MT – would seem to point to the same direction, i.e. MT trying to omit small-scale logical incongruities from the text, since the LXX text of 4:7 now implies that the oil, or at least not all of it, was *not* sold. The wording of MT, on the other hand, is somewhat vague and unclear, since it is not clear, to what "the rest" in fact refers to – the oil, or rather, the money the wife will get from selling the oil.

[34] See for the use of this term White Crawford, "Scribal Traditions," 169.

[35] This very same tendency to omit even the slightest possibilities for a possibly problematic *interpretation* can be also seen in the cases 2:14, 5:18–19, and 8:11.

[36] Similarly Stade, *Kings*, 190 ("scribal expansion").

[37] As such, the only apparently ungrammatical feature of MT is the unnecessary *wav* in וּקְחוּ. The singular וַיַּשְׁלֵךְ is somewhat unexpected, but understandable in the context. Similarly for instance Sweeney, *Kings*, 291, who adopts the LXX reading and according to whom MT "makes little sense."

[38] The manuscripts L^{-82} 158 460 add, likely secondarily (Lucianic stylizing), after this a further explication καὶ ἐνέβαλον, "and they threw." The *Vorlage* of LXX, unlike MT, also gives a role to Gehazi in this narrative, as LXX has after the second וַיֹּאמֶר the words Ελισαιε πρὸς Γιεζι τὸ παιδάριον (*אלישע אל גיחזי הנער). It is likely that this addition of Gehazi (according to La^{M} Gehazi is the pupil sent to the field) to the story is secondary, albeit already in the Hebrew *Vorlage*; see Stade, *Kings*, 197.

[39] As argued by Stade, *Kings*, 197. A somewhat similar case is that of 2 Kgs 2:23, where Elisha is mocked (וַיִּתְקַלְּסוּ) by young Bethelite boys. In *L* (~OG), however, there is a double reading καὶ ἐλίθαζον αὐτόν καὶ κατέπαιζον αὐτοῦ, "they

the other evidence presented in this paper, one may alternatively ask whether the lack of the *wav* in MT could in fact go back to a *deliberate* omission of the plural, since this convenient minus of MT now allows Elisha to personally perform one more miracle instead of simply giving prophetical instructions to his disciples.[40]

2 Kgs 5:18 – Does Elisha allow Yahweh to be worshipped in a non-Yahwistic temple?

After becoming healed of leprosy according to the word of Elisha, the Aramean general Naaman makes a vow to never sacrifice to other gods than Yahweh ever again (5:17). However, in the next verse he asks Yahweh/Elisha for a permission to worship in the temple of Rimmon when his king wishes Naaman to go with him. In 5:19 Elisha seemingly grants this wish.

MT	Rahlfs	*L*
לְדָבָר הַזֶּה	καὶ	καὶ περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου
יִסְלַח יְהוָה לְעַבְדֶּךָ	ἱλάσεται κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου	ἱλάσεται μοι κύριος τῷ δούλῳ σου
בְּבוֹא אֲדֹנִי	ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι τὸν κύριόν μου	ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαι τὸν κύριόν μου
בֵּית־רִמּוֹן	εἰς οἶκον Ρεμμαν	εἰς οἶκον Ρεμμαν
לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת שָׁמָּה	προσκυνῆσαι αὐτὸν	προσκυνῆσαι ἐκεῖ,
וְהוּא נִשָּׁעָן	καὶ ἐπαναπαύσεται	ὅτι αὐτός ἐπαναπαύσεται
עַל־יָדִי	ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός μου	ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός μου.
וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֵיתִי	καὶ προσκυνήσω (+ τῷ κυρίῳ 372)	καὶ ἐν τῷ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν
בֵּית רִמּוֹן	ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμαν	εἰς οἶκον Ρεμμαν
בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָתִי	ἐν τῷ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν	προσκυνήσω
		ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐγώ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου
בֵּית רִמּוֹן	ἐν οἴκῳ Ρεμμαν	
יִסְלַח־נָא יְהוָה	καὶ ἱλάσεται δὴ κύριος	καὶ ἱλάσεται μοι κύριος
לְעַבְדְּךָ בַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה׃	τῷ δούλῳ σου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ	τῷ δούλῳ σου περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου

MT/Rahlfs: But (MT: concerning this) may Yahweh forgive for your servant, that when my lord goes to the house of Rimmon to bow down there, and he leans to my hand, and I shall bow down in the house of Rimmon, "as I bow (MT)/he bows (LXX) down" in the house of Rimmon. May Yahweh forgive your servant this thing?	*L*: And concerning this word may Lord forgive me, to your servant, that when my lord goes into the house of Rimmon to bow down there, for he leans on my hand. And as he bows down in the house of Rimmon, I shall bow down at the same time to Lord my God. May Yahweh forgive your servant concerning this thing?

It has been clear for over a century that the text of MT has become somehow corrupt with its strange repetition וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֵיתִי בֵּית רִמּוֹן בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָתִי בֵּית רִמּוֹן, and the ungrammatical verbal form בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוָיָתִי.[41] The majority of Greek witnesses have been harmonized with MT's text form. However, instead of the third mention of בֵּית רִמּוֹן, a curious text is found in *L*, ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐγώ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ μου, "together with him I (will worship) Lord, my God," together with a swapping transposition of

stoned him and mocked him," the first part likely going back to a slightly different *Vorlage* (ויסקלו*). The difference may have come about through a copying mistake (metathesis), but as the meaning of the phrase changes from quite a drastic action of "stoning" to a much more lenient "mocking," one may ask whether this difference could not also go back to a *deliberate* change. Accordingly, Cogan & Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 38, ask: "Is this addition a true doublet or rather an embellishment which sought to explain the prophet's violent outburst against the children?" However, in the light of the evidence in this paper, one could also reverse their argument – rather than *L* being "an embellishment," MT could have omitted the idea that the prophet was being *stoned*, a very grave punishment for idolatry in Deut 13:10, 17:5. Furthermore, this would also make sense in the (apparent) anti-Bethelite ideology of Kings: the Bethelite kids stoned a prophet they may have perceived as *false*; see Pakkala, "Jeroboam's Sin," 86–92.

[40] One may also wonder whether the apparently ungrammatical *wav* in וּקְחוּ is somehow linked to this lack of plural *wav* in MT. The argument of Stade, *Kings*, 197, for the secondary nature of LXX is not very convincing: "The rendering of the Versions is due to the fact that this act was supposed to have been performed, not by the prophet himself, but by a 'son of the prophets' as minister of Elisha." However, nowhere is it explicated in the text that the action "was supposed to have been performed" by either Elisha or his disciples.

[41] Some commentators emend the problematic MT with the help of LXX; cf. Stade, *Kings*, 201; Kittel, *Könige*, 208.

the two mentions of worshipping.[42] The few scholars who have noticed the peculiar form of *L* have deemed it universally secondary, and Stade, for instance, comments on the reading of *L*: "S^{L} improves on Naaman's monotheism... This is a correction of M, which entirely obliterates the point of Naaman's statement."[43] This kind of contextual harmonizing plus would indeed be something that *L* could easily make, and at least the nice Greek expression ἅμα αὐτῷ, "together with him," may indeed come from the recensor.[44]

However, rather than "entirely obliterating" the logic of the narrative, the plus of *L* in fact has a slightly different theological flavor from the rest of the traditions. In MT/LXX the main point of the story concerns the action of also Naaman – albeit reluctantly – worshipping a foreign (or rather, his native) god because of practical reasons, despite his newly-made vow. In *L*, as noted by the commentators, the monotheistic resolve of Naaman is "augmented," since instead of prostrating to Rimmon he does so to Yahweh, his new god.[45] This "augmentation" would bring with it one theologically quite problematic concept, however, since the text of *L* implies that Yahweh could be worshipped outside of Jerusalem inside another god's temple, certainly a grave violation of the laws found in Deut 12. In fact, a very similar MT omission can be found in 2 Kgs 10:23, where OG still preserves a text in which Jehu first orders all the priests of Yahweh to leave from the temple of Baal before beginning the slaughter of the Baalists inside.[46] This plus of OG has been omitted in MT.

In MT/LXX there is no such theological problem to be found, since only Rimmon, in his own temple, is told to be worshipped in the verse, by the two Arameans. While it could be argued that *L*, on its own, wanted here to avoid the idea that Elisha gives Naaman the permission to worship (or rather, pretend to worship), on special occasions, also Rimmon,[47] it seems more likely that proto-MT scribes would have seen it as much more problematic that Yahweh could have been

[42] The *L* text reads thus "and as he worships in the temple of Rimmon, together with him I will worship Yahweh my God." See on the "swapping" method of transposition Mäkipelto & Tekoniemi & Tucker, "Large-Scale Transposition," 13.

[43] Stade, *Kings*, 201. See also Stipp, *Elischa*, 304.

[44] Elsewhere in Samuel-Kings ἅμα is only found in 1 Kgs 18:27 and 2 Kgs 18:27, and in a somewhat differing meaning. However, the word being found in the non-*kaige* section indicates that already the OG translator could have used this expression. This plus could also be due to Lucianic reviser being confronted by two textual traditions, OG and *kaige*. Since now in *kaige* the text is transposed and ἐν τῷ προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸν is in fact repeated twice, it is possible that the Lucianic reviser saw it necessary to explicate that the action of worshipping happened indeed "at the same time with him," ἅμα αὐτῷ. According to Brooke-McLean also the Ethiopian version has here a plus *ego cum eo*, but this could similarly be a translational variant. Interestingly enough, a marginal reading in Syrohexapla reads here *et non adorabo*, which is partly in line with *L*.

[45] It needs to be also noted that a somewhat similar change takes place in the Jehu narrative 2 Kgs 10:24, where in MT/LXX, and even *L*, Jehu is told to have actually sacrificed to Baal before the slaughter of Baal's prophets. However, in La^{115}, likely the sole witness to the OG and the earliest form of the narrative altogether, the slaughter begins at the very moment Jehu steps into the temple, without him making any sacrifices. See on this narrative change Trebolle, "From the "Old Latin"," 17–36.

[46] OG is in 2 Kgs 10:23 found outside of both B and *L*, in the OL manuscript La^{115} and the Greek manuscripts 247 *CI a* 121 *f* 64´-488 55 71 244 245 342 372 554. See for an analysis of this passage Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted*, 234–7. Pakkala even argues that in 10:24 *L* may have in fact wanted to omit the same theologically problematic idea, namely that Yahweh would have been worshipped in the same temple with Baal. If this is indeed the case, it would be quite unexpected for *L* to now do in 2 Kgs 5:18 the exact opposite.

[47] As argued by Barthélemy, *CTAT*, 386: "Le *G ancien (attesté ici par l'antiochienne) a d'ailleurs éprouvé en face de ce texte des préoccupations plus doctrinales que littéraires. ll n'a pas admis qu'Elisée ait autorisé Naaman à'ße prosterner au temple de Rimmon". Aussi présente-t-il Naaman comme demandant le pardon du Seigneur parce que, "lorsqu'il (= mon maître) se prosternera au temple de Rimmon, je me prosternerai en même temps que lui, moi, devant le Seigneur mon D¡eu." Even if Barthélemy were right, this would only show that the same theologizing tendency was followed by even later traditions such as *L*. Indeed, Josephus is known for his similar tendency of enhancing the picture of Elisha as well; see Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Elisha," 1–28.

syncretistically worshipped (maybe even on an altar solely dedicated to him) in a foreign god's temple – and especially that the revered prophet Elisha would so easily permit such an action.[48] Nevertheless, in the earlier stages of the Israelite religion and cult the views of *L* (=OG) would have been completely acceptable.[49] The now strange and clearly mangled textual form of MT would also become much more understandable in this light, since the omission and correction of the theologically problematic passage of *L* (possibly *עמד אני ליהוה אלהי in Hebrew) would have resulted in a grammatically strange text, as is often the case (as seen in 2:14 above, and 8:11, 13:21 below).

2 Kgs 8:11 – "And he set until shame" – What exactly was set?

It has been long noted that the text of MT in this verse is somewhat odd, since the verb in the expression וַיָּשֶׂם עַד־בֹּשׁ, "and he put(?) until (he was) ashamed," does not seem to refer to anything meaningful in the text.[50] It is also hard to say, who the subject of the sentence is. The Greek tradition, on the other hand, has two different pluses accommodating this odd reading, one in *L* 158 460 ("and he put before him *the gifts*"), and another in 64´ 55 71 342 372 554^{mg} ("and he set *the gifts* until they were rotten").[51]

MT	Rahlfs	*L*
וַיַּעֲמֵד אֶת־פָּנָיו	καὶ παρέστη τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ	καὶ ἔστη Αζαηλ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ[52]
וַיָּשֶׂם	καὶ ἔθηκεν	καὶ παρέθηκεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τὰ δῶρα
עַד־בֹּשׁ	ἕως αἰσχύνης	ἕως ᾐσχύνετο[53]

[48] Aejmelaeus, "Miksi Hannan tarinaa piti muuttaa?" (in Finnish; forthcoming), argues on the basis of the revision of the Hannah stories in 1 Sam 1 that the (proto-)Masoretic revision, which is evidently late and missing from OG version, was made due to the emerging sacredness/authoritativeness of Samuel-Kings. This would have at the same time meant that these books could be used for *halakha* interpretations. Of course, if there were theologically problematic views to be found in the text (such as Hannah, a woman, praying "in front of Yahweh"), a literal interpretation would become problematic – which would have triggered late revisions to the text. It is very much possible that this base tenet is here at the work as well, especially since the deeds of revered prophets like Elisha would likely prove very influential when it comes to interpretations of *halakhic* law. This verse, for instance, could have been used to answer the always quite relevant question "can Yahweh be revered in the temple of a foreign god (or anywhere else than Jerusalem, for that matter)?" The *L* text (~OG) version could, of course, be used for an affirmative interpretation.

[49] As argued by Pakkala, *Intolerant Monolatry*, 169, it is likely that such "intolerant" and monotheistic ideas are generally redactionally very late additions to the books of Kings. This case would thus go to show that this tendency was – as would be expected – being even more carefully reinforced by the proto-Masoretic, or even proto-*rabbinic*, scribes. However, in the earlier editions, such as the *Vorlage* of OG, some of the earlier theological conceptions still remained in more subtle passages like this one.

[50] The וַיַּעֲמֵד אֶת־פָּנָיו, understood as "and he fixed his gaze" or so, while somewhat awkward (such use of עמד with hiph. vocalization is unique and unusual), may still be accepted as Hebrew.

[51] This reading appears to be supported also by La^{M}: *et posita erant munera usque dum putrida fierent*. It seems likely that, judging by its translation technique, this second Greek plus (or rather, a faulty double reading/translation) comes from a Hexaplaric source, since the equivalent σαπρί(ζω) ~ באש is found in Aquila Symmachos and Theodotion; see Reider & Turner, *Index to Aquila*, 212–13. It is in any case significant to note that the plus τὰ δῶρα in this verse is not a Lucianic invention – and that this reading may have been found in (proto-)MT Hebrew even as late as the *Vorlage* of Aquila! Interestingly enough, Peshitta reads in this verse only the last sentence: ܘܒܟ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ("And the prophet of God wept").

[52] While the explication of the subject may be (though in this case not necessarily) due to recensional Lucianic tendencies, the κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (*לפניו) likely goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, as also the *kaige* text has a dative τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ. If the *Vorlage* were the text of MT, one would expect here accusative τὸ πρόσωπον, utilized by both *kaige* (2 Sam 19:5; 2 Kgs 20:2) and OG translator (1 Kgs 8:14, 20:4). Indeed, the MT אֶת־פָּנָיו is now quite hard to interpret, as it has to be taken as somehow an object of the verb וַיַּעֲמֵד. It is possible that this is a compensatory revision made with the omission of the OG plus (see below), so that the only one acting in the verse would be Elisha alone.

[53] The finite verbal form is likely the OG translation; cf. 2 Kgs 2:17 for the similar understanding of the Hebrew עַד־בֹּשׁ. Majority text likely attests a literal *kaige* translation.

וַיֵּבְךְּ אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים:	καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ	καὶ ἔκλαυσεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ
αὐτοῦ] + και εκειτο τα δωρα εως ου εσαπρισαν 64´ 55 71 342 372 554^{mg}		
MT/Rahlfs: And he stood his face, and put until (he was) ashamed. And the man of God wept.		*L*: And Hazael stood in front of him, and placed before him gifts until he was ashamed. And the man of God wept.

Many different attempts to explain the somewhat strange text of MT have been proposed. Already the subject of 11a is hard to deduce – some take this as Hazael,[54] others as Elisha.[55] It is quite often agreed that וַיָּשֶׂם should in fact be read as וַיָּשֹׂם, thus not deriving from the verbal root שׂים, but שׁמם, "to be appalled/confused."[56] Another interpretation is to take וַיָּשֶׂם as denoting that the facial "standing" was somehow sustained for a long period of time.[57] Despite the many attempts no scholarly consensus on the matter has been reached. The textual evidence has been only rarely taken into account.

However, it has been noted by Schenker that there is in fact a considerable literary critical difference between the understanding of MT and *L*. While in MT it is clear that Elisha stays as incorruptible as in 2 Kgs 5:16, where he strictly denies the gifts of Naaman ("As Yahweh lives, before whom I stand, I will take nothing"), in *L* this seems not to be the case, since Hazael keeps laying his gifts before Elisha "until he was ashamed."[58] Indeed, in the narrative version of MT Hazael now takes with him gifts apparently for nothing, since they are nowhere mentioned after verse 5:9. Of course, it is nowhere in *L* explicitly stated that Elisha actually *takes* the gifts, but since the earlier, vehement refusal of Elisha from 5:16 is now lacking here in 8:11, there nevertheless remains a possibility for the interpretation that Elisha indeed took the gifts. Since Gehazi is punished with leprosy for taking a gift from Naaman (5:27), one does wonder whether a similar fate should here face Elisha, as well. It is therefore likely that MT here deliberately omitted even the slightest possibility of such interpretation.[59] The narrative form of *L* (=OG, *לפניו מנחה) is here thus likely more original.[60]

2 Kgs 13:14–21 – The death and burial narratives of Elisha

There are two distinct phenomena to be assessed in the death narrative of Elisha: first, the transposition of the whole narrative in OL witness La^{115} after 2 Kgs 10:30, to the regnal narrative of Jehu; and second the actual textual form of Elisha's burial narrative in 13:20–21.

[54] Since the "man of God" is mentioned in 11b, the verbs before this would seemingly have someone else than Elisha as their subject; thus for instance Burney, *Kings*, 293; Stade, *Kings*, 216.
[55] Thus Montgomery, *Kings*, 394; Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 95; Bähr, *Kings*, 78–9. Gray, *Kings*, 478, attributes the first verb to Hazael and the second one to Elisha, but this seems quite unlikely.
[56] This is indeed the understanding of Vulgate, *et conturbatus est*. Originally suggested by Klostermann, *Könige*, 416, and followed by Benzinger, *Könige*, 145; Kittel, *Könige*, 221; Shanda, *Könige*, 68, and many others.
[57] Cogan & Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 89–90;
[58] Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 128–31. Thus, even if originally unmentioned, it is easy to see who the subjects in the verse are in this narrative form.
[59] One may also here take into account the *ketiv-qere* difference one verse earlier in 8:10, where MT reads לֹא against the *qere* לוֹ, which is still found in Septuagint (αὐτῷ) and even some Medieval Masoretic manuscripts (K 1, 160, 224, 246, 249, 250, 251, 253, 270, 271, 375, 659). The direction is here the same as in other cases in this paper: with a very slight change (one consonant!) a theological problem becomes mitigated – that is, a contradiction between the words of Elisha ("surely you shall live") and the actual outcome, the death of the king. Thus Montgomery, *Kings*, 393; and Gray, *Kings*, 476: "...an obvious scribal effort to make the first part of Elisha's statement agree with the prediction of the king's death."
[60] Thusly even Stade, *Kings*, 216: "The correct interpretation is preserved in S^{L}." An accidental omission of לְפָנָיו מִנְחָה does not seem here very likely.

Transposition as an editorial tool of the proto-MT reviser

The transposition of Elisha's death narrative in La[115] between verses 10:30 and 31 is a little know feature of this largely overlooked manuscript.[61] It is likely that the story was found in this location in the Latin translator's (OG) exemplar, and is in fact earlier than that of MT.[62] The reason for this transposition from the time of Jehu was likely theological in this case as well. While in MT/LXX the prophecy of Elisha is now completely and utterly fulfilled in the victories of Jehoash (2 Kgs 13:25), in La[115]'s order the picture is very different – nothing is said of Jehu winning the Arameans even three times. In fact, in 10:32–33 we are told that Hazael smote Israel on all fronts. It is exceedingly unlikely that a later reviser would transpose the narrative to such a strange place as found in La[115], which almost implies that the prophecy of Elisha was in fact false.[63]

OG (La[115])	MT/*kaige*
10:30	10:30
13:14–21	
10:31	10:31
10:32–13:13	10:32–13:13
	13:14–21

Moreover, it makes more sense for the story to be recounted in the near vicinity of all other Elisha stories (in chapters 2–8),[64] both narratologically and chronologically, since in MT order we are to understand that Elisha was active during the Omride dynasty, but after this apparently remained completely idle through the reigns of Jehu and Jehoash, that is, for at least 45 years.[65] The MT order also presupposes that both Hazael and Elisha lived quite lengthy lives, since Hazael accedes the Aramean throne already during the reign of Joram of Israel, and Elisha begins as the pupil of Elijah already during the reign of Ahab.[66] It is also possible in the OG chronology that the word of Yahweh in 1 Kgs 19:17 ("who escapes from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay") would not come true: as Athaliah, daughter of Omri/Ahab[67], and Jehu reign simultaneously for 7 years, it is in OG chronology possible that Elisha dies during this time period, leaving thus an Omride Baalist on the

[61] See Fischer, "Palimpsestus Vindobonensis," for an edition of the manuscript. For comprehensive studies of the manuscripts text, see Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, (1 Sam); Tekoniemi, "Is there a (proto-)Lucianic stratum," (1 Kgs); idem, "Identifying *kaige*," (2 Kgs). Both Tekoniemi and Kauhanen have stressed the reliability of the manuscript's textual form.

[62] Also the text found in these verses seems to have been preserved in a more original state in La[115]; see Richelle, *Testament d'Elisee*, 11–87.

[63] In 10:30 we are also told that "Yahweh spoke to Jehu," which would make Jehu's failure to win Aram even more exceptional (although in 10:32 it is also told that "Lord started to cut off Israel"). However, as told by Elisha himself in 13:19, Israel would not have definitively won against Aram in any case, since only three victories were promised. In the end these thus would come to naught, as shown by 10:32; similarly Richelle, "Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14-21," 77: "Elisha's sadness in our pericope echoes his sadness during his discussion with Hazael. He wept when he saw what Hazael would do to his people, he is sad when he understands that the Israelite king will not be able to completely defeat the Aramaeans. This makes better sense if this king is Jehu and if it occurs just before Hazael's victories." The situation is completely different in MT, where after the Israelite victories in 13:25 and 14:28 practically nothing is said of Aram.

[64] Compare with the situation of the swapping of 1 Kgs 20 and 21 in OG. This transposition brings the Elijah narratives of 17–19 and 21 closer to one another.

[65] It should also be noted that in 2 Kgs 9:1–3 Elisha sends a pupil to do the anointing for him. As he is in OG only a chapter later told to be on his deathbed, one may ask: could Elisha have already been unable to go and anoint Jehu by himself?

[66] In MT Elisha would have thus worked as a prophet for at least 59 years (during the reigns of Ahazyah, Joram, Jehu, and Jehoahaz), not to mention the uncertain amount of years he worked as a pupil of Elijah (and during the reign of Jehoash). It is not impossible that such longevity would have been promoted by the (proto-)MT revisers, as well.

[67] In Greek witnesses it is not completely certain, whose daughter Athaliah is; see Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 131–3.

throne of Judah. In MT both the Omrides and Baalists (and Jehu) have been dead for decades when Elisha himself dies. This way also the possible theological problem concerning Yahweh's word could be avoided in MT.

This transposition likely brought about also a slight but very telling change in 2 Kgs 13:5. In MT it is told that Yahweh gave to Israel a "savior" (מוֹשִׁיעַ), while LXX (even the B-text) reads σωτηρίαν, "salvation/victory" (*יְשׁוּעָה/תְּשׁוּעָה).[68] It is likely that MT wanted with this slight change to make a reference to Elisha (or Jehoash) as the "savior" of Israel.[69] Indeed, Richelle has convincingly shown that there are in fact multiple such interconnected *compensatory revisions* and variants in chapter 13 that all point to changes in the order and text of MT.[70]

When talking about transpositions, it is furthermore important to note that a certain type of transposition seems to have indeed been a recurrent tool in the toolbox of the proto-MT redaction, namely the transposition via chronological change. Not only is the death narrative of Elisha likely transposed to the reign of Joash, but also Elisha's succession narrative and the whole of chapter 2 seems to have been transposed – likely with the transposition of the Jehoshaphat narrative (see above) – by *swapping* it with the original accession narrative of Joram of Israel, found in OG in verses 1:18a–d.[71] As recounted above, this transposition has been motivated by theological reasons, and was achieved via chronological changes in the time of Omride dynasty. Moreover, in both of these cases the reviser seems to have similarly slightly *misplaced* the Elisha narratives, since both stories (2 Kgs 2 and 13:14–21) are now found outside the regnal frames of either Judahite or Israelite kings, thus breaking the elementary narrative rules of Kings.[72] Whether this was made by accident or deliberately is hard to say, but, nevertheless, it is certainly a peculiar coincidence that both extraordinary phenomena are linked to the beginning and the end of the same prophet's narrative. The same late proto-MT reviser who was interested in the Elisha narratives was likely the culprit to both of these old *cruces* of the scholarship of Kings.

Elisha's burial narrative: who threw whom into Elisha's grave?

Once again the MT text of the short burial narrative of 13:20–21 has been long debated because of its many challenges. Already the ending phrase of verse 20, בָּא שָׁנָה, "year having gone," has confused scholars for well over a century.[73] It is not completely clear how this phrase should be understood and translated in the context, or what its narrative function is.[74] Possibly it should be

[68] An accidental change between the two is remotely possible, but not exceedingly likely. Indeed, interestingly enough, the so-called Samaritan Chronicle II (*Sepher ha-Yamim*) agrees here with LXX by reading יְשׁוּעָה, likely showing characteristics of a text that lacked some of the very latest revisional (proto-)MT readings, as seems to sporadically be the case in its text. See for an edition of this Samaritan text Macdonald, *Samaritan Chronicle*.
[69] Thusly Trebolle, "Histoire du Texte," 340. The argument of Richelle, "Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14-21," 79 ("…it is doubtful that the motivation for the transposition lies in this aspect. In fact, the pericope does not present Elisha as a "savior" at all."), is not very convincing. While this is the case in OG tradition, in MT this saving tendency of Elisha and/or Jehoash becomes clearly evident with verses 13:23 (transposed here from 13:7+, as shown by *L*), 25. However, the text of MT has become somewhat ambiguous because of this change, since the identity of this "savior" is not completely certain. As Jehoahaz, Jehoash, and Jeroboam II are all depicted as victorious kings, they could all warrant this title together with Elisha.
[70] Richelle, "Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14-21," 62–81; idem, *Testament d'Élisée*, 11–103.
[71] Similarly Stade, *Kings*, 181; Shenkel, *Chronology*, 89–91; Trebolle, "Textual Criticism," 95.
[72] In Kings all narratives are usually given between the regnal beginning and ending formulae. Any text left outside these frames is therefore systematically suspect of being somehow secondary.
[73] See Stade, *Kings*, 245; Kittel, *Könige*, 259; and Klostermann, *2 Könige*, 439.
[74] See Tekoniemi, "Identifying *kaige*," 9–10, for a discussion of this phrase.

understood as highlighting the miraculous powers of Elisha even after his death: even "after one year" his bones were capable of miracles.[75] In any case, the fact that La[115] is missing this mention makes the phrase exceedingly suspicious. The real textual problems, however, begin with the next verse, 13:21:

MT	Rahlfs	*L*	La[115]
וַיְהִי	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο	Et factum est
הֵמּוֹ קֹבְרִים	αὐτῶν θαπτόντων	αὐτῶν θαπτόντων	cum sepellirent pirate
אִישׁ	τὸν ἄνδρα	ἄνθρωπον ἕνα,	hominem unum
		καὶ ἤγγισε	accesserunt
		τὸ πειρατήριον	
			ad monumentum
		αὐτοῖς	
וְהִנֵּה	καὶ ἰδοὺ		
רָאוּ אֶת־הַגְּדוּד	εἶδον τὸν μονόζωνον		
וַיַּשְׁלִיכוּ	καὶ ἔρριψαν	καὶ ἔρριψαν	et proiecerunt
אֶת־הָאִישׁ	τὸν ἄνδρα	τὸν ἄνδρα	hominem
בְּקֶבֶר אֱלִישָׁע	ἐν τῷ τάφῳ Ελισαιε	ἐν τῷ τάφῳ Ελισαιε	in monumentum helissei
		καὶ ἔφυγον.	et fugerunt
וַיֵּלֶךְ	καὶ ἐπορεύθη	καὶ ἦλθε	
וַיִּגַּע הָאִישׁ	καὶ ἥψατο	καὶ ἥψατο ὁ ἀνήρ ὁ θαπτόμενος	et adplicitus est homo
בְּעַצְמוֹת	τῶν ὀστέων	τῶν ὀστων	ossibus
אֱלִישָׁע	Ελισαιε	Ελισαιε	helissei
וַיְחִי	καὶ ἔζησεν	καὶ ἔζησε	et uixit homo
וַיָּקָם	καὶ ἀνέστη	καὶ ἔστη	et surrexit
עַל־רַגְלָיו: פ	ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ	ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ	super pedes suos

MT/Rahlfs: And it happened as they were burying the man; and behold: they saw the band. And they threw the man into the grave of Elisha. And he went. And the man touched the bones of Elisha, and he revived and rose on his feet.	*L*: And it happened as they were burying a certain man, that pirates approached them. And they threw the man into the grave of Elisha and they fled. And he went. And the man touched the bones of Elisha, and he revived, and rose on his feet.	La[115]: And it happened, when the pirates were burying a certain man that they approached the grave, and threw the man in the grave of Elisha. And they fled. And the man came into contact with the bones of Elisha, and he revived and rose on his feet.

The subject of MT, הֵם, is now quite ambiguous – who are "they" in this context? Grammatically "they" should be the Moabite bandits from the previous verse, but this interpretation becomes impossible with the mention וְהִנֵּה רָאוּ אֶת־הַגְּדוּד, "and behold, they saw the bandits." The subjects are thus probably implied to be Israelites. The second strange reading of MT, וַיֵּלֶךְ, "and he went," seems to have the corpse of the dead man as subject, which is of course quite impossible.[76]

The Greek majority text has been clearly subjected to Hebraizing *kaige* revision, as seen in the translation equivalent of גְּדוּד as μονόζωνος, and also in its otherwise close adherence to MT.[77] Indeed, *L*, together with La[115], does not know of the surprising MT reading וְהִנֵּה רָאוּ אֶת־הַגְּדוּד, likely telling of its *kaige* origins in the majority text. With the (*kaige*) reading "he went" (καὶ ἦλθε) *L* seems to have a double reading καὶ ἔφυγον, "they fled," confirmed by La[115] as the OG text. *L* seems

Chronologically speaking, if translated as "year having gone," this would mean that the miracle happened at least in the second year of Joash and the first year of Amazyah. While it is possible that a proto-MT reviser saw this synchronization as somehow important, it is now hard to see why.

[75] As argued by Montgomery, *Kings*, 436; and Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 145.

[76] It is possible this is simply a copying mistake where the plural *vav* has been dropped. Thus Montgomery, *Kings*, 436.

[77] The equivalent μονόζωνος = גְּדוּד is a well-known *kaige* feature; see McLay, "Kaige and Septuagint Research," 131.

to give thus an amalgam of textual traditions in this verse, as its subjects seem to be even harder to assess than those of MT.[78]

La[115], however, seems to have a very different narrative understanding in this verse. It was not implicitly Israelites who buried their fellow man in the tomb of Elisha, but the Moabite pirates (*Et factum est cum sepellirent pirate hominem unum*), who approached the tomb (*accesserunt ad monumentum*), threw in one of their men, and fled (*et proiecerunt hominem in monumentum helissei et fugerunt*). It is quite unlikely that such textual form would have been borne from later "harmonization," for instance, since the text is now quite awkward theologically – an impure foreign "pirate" gets resurrected by touching the sacred bones of a revered prophet.[79] The Latin, likely attesting here the OG, has hardly evolved from the textual forms of MT/LXX/*L*, while the opposite is quite easy to demonstrate. Thus, once again, the strange syntax and narrative logic reveal that the text has been later changed in MT, and that OG edition preserves here the older version of the narrative, yet unconcerned with the minute theological details of the story.

The OG readings as integral parts of the larger Elisha narrative in 2 Kings

The story of Elisha includes (at least) one more peculiar feature. In 2 Kgs 4:29 Elisha gives his staff to his pupil Gehazi – quite clearly in the hopes of getting the job done with this action – who is however unable to perform a miracle with it (4:31). This strange failure of Elisha's pupil has confused scholars for quite a while, and no apparent reason for the phenomenon has been found.[80] However, when this narrative is read not in the context of MT, but the more original OG edition, the story makes quite a lot of sense in the larger Elisha narrative. As outlined in 2 Kgs 2:14, Elisha is clearly not capable or powerful enough as a "man of God" to perform miracles via proxy, and has to come to resurrect the Shunemite woman's son in person – and this woman(!) seems to be aware of this.[81] The failure of Gehazi, while naturally a failure of his own as a pupil of a prophet, is more-so a failure of his overconfident master, Elisha, who is once more reminded of the fact that he has not inherited in full the powers of his master.[82]

It should also be noticed that, like with Elijah and Elisha, also with Elisha the pupil does not surpass his master – quite the contrary, Gehazi is not only considered unworthy of the firstborn's double share, but he ultimately becomes a leper (5:27). In the LXX tradition of the Elisha cycle, there is thus a clear declining trend to be seen in the prophetical line begun with Elijah, the greatest prophet of all time. His pupil, while powerful, does not truly succeed him, and, finally, the only named pupil

[78] The subject of the action in 21a would seem to be the bandits, if not for the strange *L* plus αὐτοῖς (likely coming from the Hebrew הֵם), which makes it hard to say who the subjects of the next verb ἔρριψαν are.
[79] Similarly Trebolle, "Dos Textos," 12–16; Richelle, *Testament*, 84–6.
[80] Already the early rabbis were seemingly perplexed by the failure of Gehazi; see Klein, "Gehazi and the Miracle Staff," 103–10.
[81] As noted by Brueggeman, *Kings*, 324: "The staff by itself could do nothing. Perhaps the woman knows this, for she refuses to leave the presence of the prophet"; and Long, *2 Kings*, 57: "Her rhetorical questions in v. 28 rebuke Elisha, and, remarkably, imply to the reader that the man of God lacks more than merely God's private revelation." The comment of Sweeney, *Kings*, 291, is also quite telling of Elisha's might: "The staff is an instrument or symbol of the prophet's power, much like the rods of Aaron and Moses (see Exod 7:8-13, 14-25; 17:1-7, 8-15; Num 20:1-13, etc.)."
[82] Furthermore, the whole narrative is possible solely because "the Lord had hidden" the Shunnemite son's death from Elisha (4:27). Elisha cycle being a story of *recurrent failures* may once more be seen in the fact that Elisha's prophesy in 2 Kgs 3:18–19 ("Lord will give Moab in your hands") seems to come to naught in 3:27, where the Israelites flee apparently because of the king of Moab, Mesha, sacrifices his oldest son to his god(s) – which of course implies that this act and/or god would be more powerful than Elisha and his prophesy; see Cogan & Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 51–2. On the many attempts at trying to interpret Elisha's mysterious failure, see e.g. Chisholm, "Israel's Retreat," 70–7.

of Elisha is not even worthy of being a prophet. The Elijah-Elisha cycle becomes thus in a way a tragedy (or a tragi-comedic farce), paralleling the fate of the kingdom of Israel – a quite rapid decline from the days of power during the Omride dynasty (Elijah) to those of Jehuidite dynasty (Elisha), when the once mighty kingdom is slowly but surely rendered to an insignificant local power, a political leper waiting for its final end.

Conclusions

In this study eight different textual cases (2 Kgs 2:14, 3:14, 4:4, 4:41, 5:18, 8:11, 13:14–21, 21) have been analyzed. In all these cases the textual tradition of MT has been secondarily edited in order to enhance the depiction of Elisha by correcting small narratological incongruities and by making his depiction more blameless. The OG edition was not yet subjected to this proto-MT revision. The study thus further confirms the assertion of Adrian Schenker that, as one of its distinct characteristics, the proto-MT edition was clearly interested in polishing the depiction of the prophets Elijah and Elisha.[83]

The changes in all cases can be classified as theologically/ideologically motivated corrections. In 2:14 a proto-MT editor wanted to omit a mention of Elisha's failure at a miracle and the fact that Elisha in fact did not inherit the powers of his master, Elijah; in 3:14 the problem of Elisha revering an evil Omride king Ahazyah was solved by changing the king to the pious Jehoshaphat through a change to the chronology; in 4:4 the OG promise of Elisha that the oil of the widow would not exhaust was omitted in MT since this is indeed what is told to happen in 4:6; in 4:41 MT may have changed the original plural agent of the text to a singular, making thus Elisha personally perform one more miracle; in 5:18 the original plea of Naaman to worship Yahweh in the temple of Rimmon was changed to a plea to worship Rimmon in the temple of Rimmon; and in 13:14–21 the Elisha's death narrative was 1) transposed from the Jehu narrative to that of Joash to make the prophesy of Elisha better come true, and 2) the original burial narrative's awkward idea in 13:21 that a Moabite bandit would have been resurrected by the bones of Elisha was "solved" by changing the subjects of the text so that it is no more completely clear who is thrown into his tomb.

The results of this study have also larger repercussions, not only to the study of Elijah-Elisha cycle(s) as a whole, but to the method of *redactional criticism*, as well. It is quite clear that without the textual material studied in this article, for instance, we would have likely never suspected these certain verses and textual units to contain a very late, and equally subtle, proto-MT revision.[84] In fact, since in six out of eight cases the changes have happened, at least to some degree, via *omissions*, without documented evidence we would be utterly unable to reconstruct the original text – even if in cases such as 2 Kgs 8:11 we could be fairly certain that *something* must have dropped off the text.

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[83] Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte*, 175–6. MT seems to be also elsewhere interested in changing the depictions of some characters – most notably the Israelite king Ahab is made to be more evil than in the LXX edition; see Hugo, *Deux Visages*, 326–7.

[84] Especially such a minor change as a plural to a singular in verse 4:41 would be, even when a possible theologically motivated redaction could be shown, a characteristic easily deemed as simply accidental. Thus the comment of Stipp, "Semi-Empirical Example," 317, made on the basis of the much clearer situation of Jeremiah, is especially noteworthy: "The *Sondergut* [of MT edition, TT] challenges overly optimistic attitudes as to the power of our tools for uncovering the history of biblical books. If we did not have an alternative text type permitting us to reconstruct the common ancestor, we would be utterly incapable of doing so." Any and all of the changes noted in this paper would have hardly – and indeed have not – been proposed on basis of purely literary or redaction critical method.

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- Lorenzen (PhD), Aarhus University, Name-As-Conceptual-Metaphor

Focal points of discussion:

1. Is it tenable to interpret the concept of "name" as an objectified representation of a self in the Old Testament?

2. The idea that language determines our conceptual systems (Sapir-Whorf hypothesis) has seen criticisms in the exegetical field (e.g, James Barr). I would like to discuss if it is tenable to take up theories in the tradition of Sapir-Whorf, such as the one proposed by Lakoff and Johnson, in exegetical studies?

3. Proper names have often been interpreted as being the essence of the human being, which i.a., means you can have magical power over a person if you know the "true name". I would like to discuss this theme of magic and names as regarding to the Old Testament.

4. What does the analysis of the self in the Old Testament benefit exegetical studies today? And what relevance does it have outside exegetical studies?

"Name" as Conceptual Metaphor: A Container for the Symbolic Self in the Old Testament

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My 3-year-old daughter's current favorite song is "Life is a highway" by the American country band Rascal Flatts. Although the song has become quite repetitive (as any song would after constant repetition), the song's title and text exemplify what is meant by a conceptual metaphor. According to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, our concepts and conceptual systems that structure what we perceive are "largely metaphorical".[1] "Life is a highway", similar to the conceptual metaphor of "Life is a journey", form a conceptual system of groups of metaphors that uses the source domain of a road travelled in order to describe the target domain of a life lived. Examples of such metaphors are "Look how *far* I have come", "I took some *wrong turns* in my life", and "It has been a *long and winding road* to get to where I am today". In recent Old Testament exegesis, the metaphor theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson has been used on the concept of sin[2] and the concept of "word" in Jeremiah[3]. The approach to analyze specific concepts in the Old Testament will be continued in this paper, in which the conceptual metaphor theory will be utilized on the lexeme "name" (שם). The paper consists of two parts; the first part clarifies "name" as an ontological container metaphor by considering four select verses from the Old Testament. The second and shorter part explores the contents of this "name"-object and how it pertains to the question of the self in the Old Testament, which in recent years has been a prevalent subject of research.[4]

A basic definition of metaphor is that "[t]he essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."[5] This fundamental function of metaphor is widened by Lakoff and Johnson who argue that metaphor is not simply an ornament of language or a poetical use of words but cognitive structures that shape how human beings conceive and act within the world.[6] In other words, our thought processes and consequently our actions are structured

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[1] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors,* 3.
[2] See Lam, *Patterns.* Lam's survey of sin as a conceptual metaphor has served as an inspiration for this paper.
[3] See Holt, *And the Word Became Words.*
[4] For two recent anthologies on the human being and the self, see Wagner, *Individualität* and van Oorschot, *Anthropologien(n)*. The quest for a parallel to the modern understanding of an "inner self" (Taylor, *Sources*) has seen considerable attention in Old Testament exegesis, see e.g., Dietrich, *Individualität* and Frevel, *Selbstbeobachtung*. The growing interest for individuality in the Old Testament has been largely influenced by Robert Di Vito's conclusion that personal identity in the Old Testament was lacking "inner depths" (Di Vito, *Identity*), not to mention concepts such as *corporate personality* (Robinson, *Corporate*) and *dyadism* (Neyrey, *Dyadism*) that diminishes individuality.
[5] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 5.
[6] Cognitive linguistics, such as the conceptual metaphor theory, and the "synthetic thinking" found in the Old Testament have recently been compared, see Müller, *Syntetische*.

metaphorically.[7] These metaphorical structures are not necessarily consciously applied as in the song "Life is a highway" but are deeply embedded in our culture and therefore often utilized unconsciously. One such largely unconscious structural metaphor that is prominent in the modern Western mindset is "Time is money", which entails utterances such as "You are *wasting* my time" or "The flat tire *cost* me an hour".[8] By carefully analyzing spoken or written utterances, these unconscious metaphorical structures are revealed. It is the analysis of language that provides the advantage of the conceptual metaphor theory for an Old Testament scholar since the theory's hypothesis is that language, or ancient texts, can provide an access point to understand the cognitive structures of the language-using human being. Having briefly introduced conceptual metaphors, a presentation of the concept of "name" and a clarification of the terminology of the self will follow.

The lexeme "name" is found 864 times[9] in the Old Testament and occurs in both a dianoetic and dynamic sense.[10] The dianoetic sense, which is exemplified in the sentence "X's name is/was Y" where X is an entity and Y refers to an arbitrary proper name, occurs frequently in etymologies and for introducing a character in a narrative. In this way, the dianoetic sense of "name" is not used as a substitute for specific onomastics, but as a transitive term used to refer to a proper name. Although the study of specific onomastics can be enlightening in order to understand a cultural environment, it is not the aim of this analysis. The function of proper names and how they relate to a person's existence as a recognizable and identifiable symbol can also be relevant for an analysis of the self, but the central focus of this paper will be on the dynamic use of "name" that carries connotations of fame, reputation, and honor.

In a recent article on "name", Klaus Neumann writes that "[n]ame ist der wichtigste "identity marker" und Vertreter einer Person" and thereby underscores the significance of "name" for the understanding of the person.[11] The concept of personhood is multifaceted and has many

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[7] See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 6. For some critiques of this metaphorical approach to our conceptual system see Lam, *Patterns,* 12-13. The theory of Lakoff and Johnson is related to the so-called "Sapir-Whorf hypothesis" that in its strong version states that language determines our cognitive systems (Whorf, *Language*, 154). In *Metaphors We Live By,* Sapir and Whorf are mentioned as inspirations (Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, xi). In relation to Old Testament-studies, the hypothesis has been criticized by James Barr (*Semantics*, 294-295), but the resurgence of a more moderate version of the theory has been noticed in different academic fields, e.g., in cultural psychology (Heine, *Cultural,* 404), cognitive psychology (Eysenck, *Cognitive,* 351) and the philosophy of language (Taylor, *Language,* 327-331). This moderate form of the hypothesis is worth taking up again.

[8] See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 7-8.

[9] See Reiterer, *Name,* 133.

[10] The two categories of "name" is borrowed from Rüterswörden (*Name,* 700). A third category relating to "name" is onomastics that concern specific proper names.

[11] Neumann, *Name*, 325.

interpretations; this paper, therefore, uses the definition proposed by the philosopher Marya Schechtman, who contrasts individuals with persons by stating "that individuals constitute themselves as persons by coming to think of themselves as persisting subjects who have had experiences in the past and will continue to have experience in the future, taking certain experiences as theirs."[12] Schechtman's definition thus presents a person as having a temporal existence that is ordered in a reflective manner in order to create a coherent "who" to answer the question of "Who am I?" [13] In this way, the definition presents personhood as something that contains an objective side and a subjective side. A most helpful distinction between the objective and subjective poles of personhood is Paul Ricoeur's concepts of idem-identity and ipse-identity. Idem-identity refers to the objective side of personhood to which the subjective ipse-identity can attest.[14] In other words ipse-identity is the constituting and capable agent that attests to its own being as objective idem-identity. Ipse-identity is as such not available for introspective analysis but can only be grasped hermeneutically in its actions that are mediated by symbols and language. Furthermore, actions are always action-with-others, which highlights the intersubjective constitution of the person.[15] It is this intersubjective and reflective self that is constituted in objective language that I define as a symbolic self.[16]

In Old Testament exegesis, the lexeme "name" has been used in different discourses on the self. An example of this is Johannes Pedersen's equation of "name" with both נפש and כבוד, which are, according to Pedersen, three anthropological concepts that are interchangeable and equally

[12] Schechtman, *Constitution*, 94.

[13] Terminology pertains to the most central issue for the understanding of the self in the Old Testament. "Identity", "Self", and "Person" are modern categories used to describe the human being, which Frevel has tried to elucidate in relation to the Old Testament (Frevel, *Person,* 69-73). Frevel distinguishes between "person" and "self" by stating that "[d]urch den stärkeren Akzent auf das introspective moment, ist der Begriff des Selbst nicht identisch mit dem der Person, auch wenn es davon nich zu trennen ist." The distinction between the categories of "self" and "person" depends on the discourse of the "self" that is chosen. Is the "self" an authentic "inner" being that is approached through introspection, is it a locus of experience (Harris, *Concepts,* 601), or is it a "dialogical" concept and therefore "outside" one's body and located in the intersubjective sphere of language and actions (Hermans, *Dialogical,* xxi)? This paper opts for the last option and holds the concept of "self" to be a reflective concept that is achieved hermeneutically through the intersubjective sphere of language and action. The difference between "person" and "self" are thus minimal and not a difference between an inner and an outer sphere of the human being, but a distinction between an objective and a subjective side of the self. The ontology of the subjective side of the "self" can be likened to a form of *dynamis,* or an energy, that only can grasp itself in objectified action and language that are intersubjective (this is in concordance with Ricoeur's notion of selfhood, see *Question of the Subject,* 265). A relevant parallel can be drawn between the ontology of the "self" as *dynamis* and the "self" as represented by נפש, see e.g., van Oorschot's conclusion that נפש "ist der Mensch aussagbar als *nucleus*, als vitaler Kern, als elementare Potenzialität." (*Translation,* 131).

[14] See Ricoeur, *Oneself,* 2.

[15] See Ricoeur, *Time,* 55.

[16] A similar approach to the self has been presented by Kerby who describes the action of narrating oneself into being as the relation between the speaking subject, the subject of speech, and the spoken subject which makes up the "semiotic subject" that is created in language. (Kerby, *Narrative,* 105-106).

descriptive of the human being.[17] The equating of these anthropological concepts are untenable,[18] but Pedersen does indicate that "name" is a form of container that can encapsulate abstract terms such as honor, which is relevant for our present purposes. Friedrich Reiterer has also approached the idea of "name" as a container metaphor, by stating that "שֵׁם incorporates those elements that are associated with the particular person or Yahweh."[19] Unlike Pedersen, Reiterer distances himself from interpreting "name" as the essence of the bearer, which is a view held by other recent scholars.[20] Although "name" has a salient status for the human being in the Old Testament it is to be approached differently than that of an essence. The approach proposed in this paper is to interpret "name" as an expression of one's self as it exists in the symbolic space of language, which is the quintessential space for a reflective being.[21]

To understand the role that "name" plays for the human being, a comparison with other anthropological concepts can be helpful. Concepts such as "heart" (לב) and "flesh" (בשר) are anchored in the tangible reality of the embodied human being, whereas "name" lacks a fixing in a specific body part.[22] Flesh can be touched, felt, and described as a universal condition of the embodied human being, whereas "name" frequently describes a reflective evaluation of a specific existence.[23] A more abstract concept such as "breath" (רוח) that relates to the idea of dependency on something outside of one's body[24] are connected to the function of breathing, which is still more tangible than "name" that primarily exists as language.[25] "Name" pertains to other abstract concepts such as fame and reputation, which clearly belongs in the intersubjective sphere where the symbolic world of language

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[17] See Pedersen, *Israel,* 75 and 190.

[18] Anthropological concepts do not overlap completely in semantics but can be seen as complementary (for a clarification of the complementary view in relation to *parallelismus membrorum* see Janowski, *Arguing,* 18). That the same lexeme can be understood as representing the same semantic value in all occurrences are also untenable (on "illegitimate totality transfers" see Barr, *Semantics,* 222)

[19] Reiterer, *Name*, 134.

[20] E.g., van der Woude, *Name,* and Richter, *Name Theology,* 20-21. The term "essence" is problematic due to related metaphysical connotations such as soul or as a static quality of the entity in question. In order not be confused by the broad semantic spectrum of "essence", this designation is avoided in order to open up the avenue for talking about the self as an expression of the human being as articulated reflectively in language. That proper names have been connected to the essence of the bearer has also been prominent in research, see e.g., Gunkel, *Märchen,* 83.

[21] Reflectivity is predominantly achieved through language where the person can objectify and speak about oneself. For a theory of the self created reflectively in language and narrative, see Kerby, *Narrative*, 4-5.

[22] It is the embodied reality of the human being that has received most attention when it concerns studies on anthropological concepts, see e.g., Schröer and Staubli, *Körpersymbolik.* Although לב does not always refer to the specific organ (Dietrich, *Individualität*) the concept is still something physical that expresses a more abstract concept. This is a typical feature of abstract thought in concrete terms found in the Old Testament (Janowski, *Arguing,* 22-23)

[23] In the sapiental tradition, "name" is connected to highly esteemed social behavior. A parallel can be drawn to Charles Taylor's statement that "to possess a liver and a heart is something I can define quite independently of the space of questions in which I exist for myself, but not what it is to have a self or be a person." (Taylor, *Agency,* 4)

[24] See Wolff, *Anthropology,* 39.

[25] "Name" can have a physical manifestation in the form of a stele (e.g., Isa. 56:5). Even as a physical manifestation "name" is related to language in the form of inscriptions on the stele or narratives about the monument.

is essential for ascribing such qualities to the self. Due to the intersubjective anchoring of "name", the concept is an important part of the constellative human being in the Old Testament that highlights the interrelatedness between individual and society.[26] "Name" does not obliterate the unique individual into a *corporate personality*[27] but highlights the individual as a permanently dependent being that is spun in the intersubjective symbolic world of society. "Name" therefore relates to the person and how this person is entangled with others. With these few preliminary remarks in mind, we will turn to four concrete examples where "name" is described and approached as something tangible, or as an ontological metaphor, that presents itself in the intersubjective world.[28]

Ontological metaphors are "ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances."[29] Lakoff and Johnson explain that this phenomenon of describing abstract concepts as physical entities is grounded in the human being's everyday experience with objects and our experience of embodiment. The ontological qualities of the abstract concept "name" come to the surface when the target domain of "name" is described by the source domain of a tangible object that can be formed or placed somewhere. The first example that is taken from the well-known narrative of a proud people and their urge to build a city and a tower will provide a foundation for the understanding of "name" as an ontological metaphor.

And then they said: Come, let us build for us a city and a tower with its top in the heavens and let us form for us a name lest we will scatter over the face of the earth.[30] (Gen. 11:4)

This verse is the turning point in the small narrative of the Tower of Babel. The themes of building up and tearing down pivots on this verse that is preceded by the people resettling from the east to Shinar and followed by Yahweh's intervention that results in humiliation and the scattering of the people. In Gen. 11:4 it is uncomplicated to envision a physical city and a tower being built by the bricks introduced in verse 11:3. More abstract is the following clause where the concept of "name" is introduced. The use of "name" in this context plays on the connotation of fame and the subsequent

[26] See Janowski, *Arguing,* 42.
[27] Robinson, *Corporate.* "Name" can be understood as an "Individualität durch Differenz" (Dietrich, *Individualität*, 79) where a powerful individual is clearly expressed.
[28] In relation to "name" and the hypostatization of God, an interpretation of the Deuteronomistic name-theology, Gerlemann writes that there is a "Neigung zur Verdinglichung und Verlebendigung des Abstraktums" in the Old Testament (Gerleman, *Wort,* 442). This concurs with the conceptual metaphors developed by Lakoff and Johnson.
[29] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors,* 25.
[30] All translations in this paper are mine.

remembrance that the achieved fame secures.[31] It is the use of the dynamic verb "to form" (עשה) that reveals "name" as an ontological metaphor since the connotations of the verb are making, manufacturing, forming, or creating.[32] All of the possible translations of עשה pertain to "name" as a passive object that can be manipulated. Similar to the clay in a potter's hand, "name" is described as matter that can be molded by the manipulation of the people. The Septuagint uses the word ποιέω that resemble the connotations of עשה but also reveals the idea of "name" as a *poiesis*, or a product of poetical creation, which we will revisit in the discussion on the symbolic self. The people building the tower in Gen. 11 are actively creating a "name"-object for themselves in which they can be identified and recognized as a collective identity. The dynamic verb "to form" also provides a sense of duration which equips "name" with a temporal aspect that indicates a period of shaping. In other words, it takes time to create and shape a "name" just as it takes time to create a vessel of clay. This temporal aspect is significant for the identity of the bearer or owner of the "name"-object because the "name"-object secures an existence where past actions can be attributed to oneself and at the same time provides a container that can comprise future actions.[33] In the case of Gen. 11, the tower-building people want their time-consuming masonic actions to be remembered and assigned specifically to them. No matter if the "name"-object pertains to a person or a collective, the created "name"-object provides temporal depth and creates a hope for the perpetuation of one's existence.

Gen. 11:4 also presents "name" as having the capacity to comprise elements and as such resembles a container object. The verse ends with a negative result clause begun by "lest" (פן) that describes how the manufacturing of a city, a tower, and a "name" prevents scattering or dispersal. In this way, "name" is understood as having some resembling features to that of a city and a tower. Both a city and a tower have walls that very tangibly retain things, such as people, bricks, or mortar.[34] Similarly, a "name" retains things but it is things of a more abstract character such as deeds. The "name"-object thus creates order out of chaos because discordant deeds can achieve concordance in a "name"-object.[35]

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[31] The irony of the story is that the people actually are remembered and connected to the proper name of Babel, but with a narrative of humiliation in contrast to that of fame.

[32] See Vollmer, *Machen,* 361-362. Other examples of "to form" as related to "name" are 2. Sam. 7:23; 8:13; Neh. 9:10.

[33] The "name" secures that certain actions can be attributed to the right person. For this idea as applied to temples in the Ancient Near East see Hundley, *To Be or Not to Be,* 534. "Name" also takes on a judicial role since any action, also bad ones (Neh. 6), are attributed to one's "name".

[34] See Berlejung, *Stadt,* 377. A concrete example of "name" as placeholder is seen in Prov. 8:10 where Yahweh's "name" is likened to a fortress.

[35] That named objects create order out of chaos is seen in the Priestly creation account but also in the larger cultural environment of the Ancient Near East, e.g., the introductory verses of the Enuma Elish, where the chaotic world is "not yet named". These examples pertain more to specific proper names than the concept of a "name"-object.

In summary, we have been introduced to the concept of "name" as a malleable object that has the ability to contain various elements and is created to endure within temporality. The next example is taken from Psalm 148:13 and further elaborates the idea of "name" as an object; in this case as something to be moved and placed.

Let them praise the name of Yahweh for his name alone is exalted, his splendor is above the earth and the heavens. (Ps. 148:13)

Ps. 148 is the center of the Final Hallel (Pss 146-150) that draws attention to Yahweh as creator and sustainer of the cosmos.[36] Verse 13 is the conclusion of the exhortation to praise Yahweh from the earth (7-13) that is correlated with the praise of Yahweh from the heavens in verse 1-6.[37] In verse 13, Yahweh's "name" is described with the niphal participle of the verb "to be high" (שגב).[38] The verb is thus used to describe Yahweh's "name"-object and splendor as being placed in an exalted sphere above the earth and the heavens (beyond this world) through praise.[39] The concept of placing something high can lead to an abstract understanding of something being inaccessible, e.g., in Psalm 139:6 where the understanding of Yahweh's presence is simply to wonderful to be accessed. The metaphorical conceptual system reveals itself in the use of the verb "to be high" since the concept of placing something high makes us "see" the inaccessibility. It can be likened to placing a cookie jar out of reach from your 3-year-old daughter; she knows where the object is but cannot reach it. Furthermore, this means that although the object is inaccessible, it is still an object that can be talked about and moved around.[40] In the chosen example it is not the accessibility of the "name"-object that is of central importance, but the elevation of the "name"-object that entails splendor, fame, and rulership. Elevation is related to the direction of up which is connected to what Lakoff and Johnson identifies as an orientational metaphor. These metaphors are based on our embodied reality in a physical environment, where we have a directional sense of up/down, back/forth, and so on.[41] In many cultures the direction of up is related to positive concepts of being healthy and happy in contrast

[36] See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms,* 639.
[37] See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms,* 635.
[38] Another example of an exalted "name" is found in Isa 12:4.
[39] See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms,* 638.
[40] Yahweh's name also moves in Isa. 30:27. Yahweh's "name" is of course placed in the temple in the deuteronomistic Name Theology. Although the specifics about what the "name" entails in the deuteronomistic theology have been heavily debated (Richter, *Name Theology*), the metaphorical concept of something being placed is intact in its literary representation.
[41] See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 14

to the direction of down that is negative. Examples of this are seen in the statements of "I am on a high" and "I am feeling low".[42] In this way, by placing Yahweh's "name"-object up high, Yahweh is simply seen as better. That "better is up" relates to a similar conceptual metaphor of "more is better", which leads us to the subsequent examples in the presentation of "name" as an ontological container metaphor.[43]

The above two examples revealed "name" as an object that has the ability to be shaped, keep things together, and as a thing to be placed and moved. We are now moving to examples where "name" is described as an object that is plastic, or in other words, as an object that can expand and diminish in size and weight. The concept of "more is better" will clearly be exemplified.

The following example is taken from 2. Samuel 7:9 where Yahweh speaks through Nathan to David about Yahweh's deeds achieved through David.

I have been with you wherever you went and I have cut down all of your enemies in front of you and I made for you a great name, like a name of the greats who are on the earth. (2. Sam. 7:9)

The verb עשׂה is in this verse used in a similar sense to that found in Gen. 11:4 and used to describe the process of creating the "name"-object that is given to David. The difference between the verses are the active role in contrast to the passive role of the creation of the "name"-object. In 2. Sam. 7:9 the "name"-object is formed and created by Yahweh and offered to David, which the preposition with the 2nd person masculine singular suffix indicates (לך). David's "name" is thus not created by himself but given as a result of Yahweh's actions against the enemies. In this way, David has only been a co-author as to his deeds, which is also exemplified by the triad of Nathan's mouth recounting Yahweh's deeds as they have come to fruition in David's body. The triad reveals how the "name"-object of David belongs to the intersubjective sphere but still demarcates something that belongs to him. It is clear that the "name" pertains to a fame that is achieved through deeds and that this fame is of a similar quality as that of the "greats who are on the earth", but what concerns us here is the use of the adjective "great" (גדול) that indicates size.[44] Similar to the verb "to be high" that in a visible and

[42] See Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 17-19.
[43] See Lakoff and Johnson, 22. Lakoff and Johnson discusses "more/bigger is better" in relation to ascetic traditions where an excess of materiality is seen as a negative. They conclude that it is the quality of the quantity that determines that "more is better", because ascetics would have more spiritual growth (*Metaphors,* 24).
[44] Other examples of גדול or the verb גדל as related to "name" are Gen. 12:2; 1. Sam. 12:22; 2. Sam. 7:26. NAHUM SARNA

tangible way is used to describe something inaccessible, the size of an object makes it significant and noticeable. We are thus again presented with the ontological container metaphor, where David's "name" is a big and visible object that expands with the deeds that are achieved through David.[45] The concept of "more is better" and "bigger is better" are clearly seen in relation to "name" in this verse, since more magnificent and laudable deeds make the "name"-object bigger. A "name"-object is plastic and can expand in size due to admirable deeds, but a "name"-object can also diminish in form or lose its qualities which is what is described in Proverbs 10:7 where the "name"-object rots or disintegrates.[46] "More is better" therefore pertains to value and estimation, which also can be connected to David's great "name"-object that is described as precious (יקר) in 1. Sam. 18:30 following his outstanding deeds. The value of the "name"-object leads to the last example that presents "name" as an ontological container metaphor in its denseness.

In Nehemiah 9:5 a large penitential prayer is initiated by an introduction to praise Yahweh's "name", which is a "name" of heaviness.

Then said the Levites, Jeshua, Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabneiah, Sherebiah, Hodiah, Shebaniah, and Pethahiah: "Stand up and bless Yahweh your God from everlasting to everlasting. Blessed be your glorious name that is exalted over all blessing and praise." (Neh. 9:5)

This lofty introduction to the penitential prayer in Nehemiah 9:6-37 portrays Yahweh's "name" as exalted (רום) and glorious (כבוד).[47] The noun used for describing Yahweh's "name" is semantically related to the verb "to be heavy" that in this instance indicates significance, honor, and value,[48] or stated in Neumann's terms, as "das 'soziale Gewicht'".[49] It is these more abstract semantic connotations that is intended by the use of the noun, but it is not counterintuitive for the understanding of "name" as a conceptual metaphor. The ontological container of the "name"-object is in this verse described both as being heavy and being placed somewhere. The movability of "name" has already been indicated in the example from Ps. 148:13 so what concerns us here is the notion of heaviness. Heaviness concerns the denseness of an object which draws a parallel to the world of physics where

[45] See Pedersen, *Israel,* 192. Pedersen rightly states that one's "name" grows with one's deeds.
[46] The temporal aspect of "name" is also indicated here since it takes time for a "name" to dissolve.
[47] The introductory verse "represents a 'stock' doxological expression associated with communal worship in the Persian period (if not earlier)" that declares Yahweh's majesty (Boda, *Praying,* 92). Another example of כבוד in relation to "name" is seen in Deut. 28:58. For the verb כבד that indicates glorification or the process of making something heavy see Ps. 86:12.
[48] See Pedersen, *Israel*, 183. Pedersens also defines כבוד as "heaviness" and as the contents of the "soul".
[49] Neumann, *Ehre,* 138.

mass determines the gravitational pull of an object. A heavy "name" has a social gravitational pull that draws attention and honor to the bearer of the "name"-object. This is clearly seen in Isa. 59:19 where Yahweh's heavy "name"-object draws the attention of the entire world, which the merism of "from the east to the west" indicates. In contrast to a dense "name"-object, Job 30:8 talks about foolish people without "name" that live on the outskirts of the city. In other words, the low denseness of their "name"-object has no social gravitational pull. The concept of "more is better" can therefore be understood in terms of denseness; the more laudable the episodes that comprises one's story, the denser and more valuable the object. "To be heavy" also relates to the "name"-object as something visible since כבוד is related to jewelry and the physical concretization of one's social status,[50] which furthermore underscores the relation between value and "name". The ontological conception of the "name"-object is also indicated with the action of beautifying the object, or glorifying the "name" (e.g., Ps. 86:12), since a boundary that can be decorated with priced objects is indicated.

With the brief presentation of "name" as an ontological container metaphor, it is time to relate this "name"-object to the understanding of the symbolic self that was shortly introduced in the beginning of this paper. Both proper names and "name" in the dynamic sense are expressions of the self as it exists as an objectified symbol. Proper names have an ostensive function that designates a physical human being within the symbolic space of language. One can use this proper name to claim ownership of things or places[51] and reserve a table at the local restaurant. In this way, a person is able to be present without physical presence. In the dynamic sense, "name", as we have seen, is described as a container object that comprises more than just one's proper name; it contains descriptions and narratives that answer to the question of "Who am I?" through the use of language, which will be the focus of the last part of this paper.

The "name"-object as an expression of the symbolic self is almost the opposite of finding a unique and authentic self in one's "inner depths", which according to Charles Taylor is a trademark of the modern self.[52] The symbolic self has to do with the human being as a self-interpreting animal that evaluates one's own actions in the medium of language and is therefore neither a locatable entity

[50] See Neumann, *Ehre,* 183.
[51] To claim ownership by the use of one's proper name is clearly seen in modern Western culture as well as that of the Ancient Near East. The use of stamp seals is but one example of this, see Avigad, *Stamp Seals*.
[52] Taylor *Sources,* 111. Christian Frevel has among others pursued the quest for "inner depths" in the Old Testament and identified an inner sphere that is reflective about the outside world (Frevel, *Selbstbeobachtung,* 42). "Inner depths" is a relevant aspect of the self in the Old Testament, but unlike the modern Western praise of "inwardness", the privatized inner parts are commonly associated with something negative (Dietrich, *Individualität*).

inside of one's body or mind, nor is it the private sphere of the human being.[53] The symbolic self is an expression of the self as it is grasped and interpreted in its intersubjective capabilities and therefore a self that is simultaneously revealed to oneself and others. The reflective side of the symbolic self occurs when the person attests to one's acts,[54] or in this context, when one attests to one's "name" as being a representation of who one is. An example of this is Yahweh's attestation to himself by stating that he acts a certain way for the sake of his "name".[55] The dialectic between Yahweh's capable ipse-identity that attests to his objectified idem-identity in the form of his "name"-object is thus revealed. In this sense, Yahweh is protecting more than his reputation, he is also protecting his own image of himself as holy and powerful. The attestation to Yahweh's "name" is as such not simply acting according to the proper name Yahweh but acting according to Yahweh's qualities that he recognizes himself in.

The Freudian concept of "condensation" can be helpful to understand how "name" extends beyond the single proper name and expresses larger descriptions or narratives about the symbolic self. Condensation is the accumulation of discordant elements into a whole object. In Freudian dream-analysis, condensation is exemplified by the vision of a single body that incorporates characteristics of several people and thereby becomes a "composite person".[56] As the examples above indicated, the "name"-object is a container of different elements that all pertain to the bearer, or owner, of the "name"-object and thus resembles the process of condensation where several different elements are placed in one object. Similar to Freud's interpretation of dreams, it is the dissecting of the condensed object that reveal the specifics of what it consists. Since the "name"-object contains different elements when it belongs to different identities (individual and collective), the subject of analysis is therefore the specifics of the contents, because it is the contents that define a unique person in contrast to others.

If we revisit the introductory verse to the penitential prayer in Nehemiah 9, we can see how the "name"-object incorporates the subsequent description of Yahweh's character traits as just (Neh. 9:8) and merciful (Neh. 9:19) and how these character traits are based on a specific and unique narrative. In this way, the "name"-object contains Yahweh's narrative identity as recounted by the

[53] See Ricoeur, *The Human Being,* 99.
[54] See Ricoeur, *Oneself*, 21-22. The notion of attestation is central to Ricoeur's anthropology because it is the act of the person to assure that it is "oneself acting and suffering". It is not a guarantee about one's self, but a trust or "believing-in" one's self as a capable being.
[55] Isa. 48:9-11. In this verse, Yahweh defers his anger because the anger is not a fitting representation of who he is, or in other words, it is not in accordance with his "name".
[56] See Freud, *Interpretation,* 180-181.

penitent people.[57] A narrative identity consists among other things of discordant episodes that are structured into a concordant story that relates these episodes in a causal relation.[58] It is thus the ordering of events into narrative form and the specific contents of the "name"-object that makes it increase in size and weight. A narrative identity can be compared to a work of art that presents the self in the poetical work of a story and is therefore a product of the creative imagination. In this way, narrative identity overlaps with the concept of *poiesis* that was introduced in the beginning of this paper in relation to the "name"-object in Gen 11:4. Similar to the tower-building people who desires recognition by others, the *poiesis* of the "name"-object, that is one's symbolic self, needs to be recognized by others in order for one to reach a full assurance about one's identity.[59] In some sense the narrative identity needs to "read", or appropriated, by others. This is the predicament of the human being in the Old Testament who always exists as being-in-relation.[60] If we return to the penitential prayer in Neh. 9 it is noticeable that the struggle for recognition is a central theme because Yahweh needs recognition by the penitents, while the penitents wants to be recognized as Yahweh's people. A very brief look at the first verses of the penitential prayer in Neh. 9 shows the articulation of Yahweh's identity in narrative form by tying together the election of Abram (9:7), the salvation from Egypt (9:9-14), and the giving of the commandments and laws (9:13-14) in order to make Yahweh's qualities as a merciful and just deity recognizable for the people. As we continue through the narrative that is recounted by the penitents, we notice the dialectic between the merciful god who saves and the just god who punishes. These two seemingly discordant elements of Yahweh's character are kept together in a concordant narrative that reveals a dynamic identity of Yahweh where merciful and punishing qualities are encapsulated. This discordant concordance of Yahweh's narrative identity is condensed in Yahweh's glorious "name"-object that is to be praised, honored, and lifted high. The aim of the penitential prayer is for Yahweh to act in the future as he has acted retrospectively according to the narrative identity condensed in his "name"-object.

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[57] Frevel argues that the biographical approach to the self is not tenable in the Old Testament due to the sparse examples of autobiographical narratives. A second problem is that the few examples from the Old Testament, e.g., the autobiographies of David and Jeremiah, are "literarisch stark stilisiert" (Frevel, *Selbstbeobachtung,* 18). The first problem of sparse examples of autobiographical narratives are not as pressing an issue since one's narrative identity does not necessarily need to be recounted by oneself. An example is the analysand who visits the psychologist in order to create a coherent story out of discordant episodes. In this example, a narrative identity is at best co-authored but it is an identity to which one attests. The other problem of stylized autobiographies is true but that narrative is used to bring forth emotion, thoughts, and a unique identity is an underlying feature of these literary creations.

[58] Ricoeur names this process "emplotment" which is related to his concept of *mimesis*$_2$ where discordant elements receive a concordant order through a poetical creation. (Ricoeur, *Time,* 77)

[59] See Ricoeur, *Course,* 250.

[60] See Dietrich, *Sozialanthropologie*.

The "name"-object of Yahweh is luminous, but it is a luminosity achieved through narratives and description. In this way, the identity of Yahweh materializes as an incandescent object as it is narrated into being and can therefore be likened to the concept of *ekphrasis*, where a careful description makes the listener or reader "see" the object described.[61] With the use of language, the self as it is materialized in the "name"-object can be maintained as long as it is remembered, or recounted, in the intersubjective sphere. The "name"-object is therefore an expression of a relationally constituted self that exists between people. A final observation from the penitential prayer in Neh. 9 is how the luminous "name"-object of Yahweh becomes the thing that the penitents use as a beacon for their own identity. The narrative identity condensed in Yahweh's "name" is simultaneously the penitents own narrative. Yahweh and Israel are thus intermingled in each other's stories.

I will now conclude this paper and sum up some of the findings that have been achieved and open up some avenues for further research. "Name" is a salient anthropological concept that presents the human being in its existence in a world of symbols. "Name" is perceived and described as a tangible object that can be manipulated, moved, change in size and weight, and become luminous, which reveals it as an ontological container metaphor. The "name"-object contains salient narratives and descriptions that answers the question of identity about a unique person over time and therefore relates to the concept of a symbolic self. It is the specific contents that determines the quality and value of the "name"-object. In this way, "name" encapsulates concepts of a temporal self, a social self[62], and a reflective self[63] that all are constituted in the symbolic world of language.

The first avenue that is worth exploring further is how the concept of "name" relates to the epistemology of the self. It is among other things through the contents of the "name"-object that someone gains knowledge about a specific person. Knowing someone by "name" indicates more than the knowledge about the specific proper name and pertains to an intimate knowledge about what constitutes the unique person. As we have seen, the concept of "name" overlaps with notions of narrative identity, which is related to a narratological approach to knowing objects.[64] By analyzing the narratives contained in the "name"-object it is possible to gain knowledge about a person's narrative identity and how it is entangled in others' stories and what salient themes are recurrent in

[61] See Anderson, *Glossary*, 40.
[62] This is Bernd Janowski's definition of "name". He likens "heart" to the bodily concept of the person and "name" to the social concept of the person (Janowski, *Herz,* 45).
[63] The reflective self is not clearly visible in Neh. 9, since Yahweh does not speak about his own deeds. Examples of Yahweh's attestation to the Exodus can be seen in Josh. 24; Judges 2; Amos 2; Micah 6.
[64] For an overview of a narrative knowledge see Polkinghorne, *Narrative*.

the description of a self. Furthermore, by analyzing how people relate to their "name"-object would give an idea of what matters for a person, which is a key theme in the philosophical question of permanence in time.[65]

A second avenue of research is of ontological concern. To have a "name" is pivotal for having an existence, and more precisely, to have an existence as being-in-relation. The "name" is of ultimate concern for a person in the Old Testament since the destruction of a "name" equals non-existence.[66] The ontological importance of the "name"-object can be elucidated by the comparison between a city and a "name" already found in Gen. 11:4. When the protective walls that contain a city are breached by a military power it can become fatal for the population. Similarly, when the boundaries of the "name"-object is ruptured, the narrative and descriptive contents will be exhausted and thereby lose its signifying ability for the person. In other words, the descriptions and narratives lose their referent and the referent is lost in oblivion. The destruction or disappearance of the "name" is therefore an ultimate death because the symbolic self that exists in relationship will dissolve if it is not recognized by others. Being called by name, or receiving a proper name, is also an inscription into a story, which makes the unique individual exist as a character in a narrative. In this way, the narrative identity encapsulated in the "name"-object belongs to larger narratives. These narratives are constitutive of the human existence and is as such ontological in nature. The ontology that is indicated by the concept of "name" pertains to a narrative and relational ontology which demands further research.

All in all, the "name"-object is a central anthropological concept that relates to the symbolic self that predominantly is structured through narrative. The epistemological and ontological avenue will be travelled in my PhD-project with the phenomenological-hermeneutical tradition as travel partner. The concept of "name" seems to have much more to reveal for the understanding of the self in the Old Testament.

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[65] See Schechtman, *Constitution*, 2. Schechtman distinguishes between the reidentification question and the characterization question. Where the former question concerns a logical connection, the latter question concerns the permanence of things that matter to a person and can be said to be truly theirs.

[66] The "blotting out" (מחה) of a "name" (Deut. 9:14) pertains to the dianoetic sense of "name", since it possibly indicates the specific proper name being erased or wiped out. This resembles a similar practice in Ancient Egypt where proper names could be erased in order to obliterate the memory of a person (von Dassow, *Book of the Dead,* 161). The "destruction" (אבד or שמד) of a "name" (Deut. 12:3; 1. Sam. 24:21) parallels the "blotting out" of a proper name but also relate to the image of a "name"-object being shattered.

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ARENA, PHD, UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, “PROPHETIC CONFLICTS”

Preface

Within the following paper, I present an analysis of Jer 28, which is generally understood as expression of the prophetic conflict between the “true” prophet Jeremiah and the “false” prophet Hananiah. Nevertheless, my investigation of this episode (and of other occurrences of “false prophecy” in Jeremiah) has persuaded me that the general dichotomy between true and false prophets does not represent a sound interpretation, as it appears secondary and artificial.

As for the discussion, I would like to highlight the following points:

- The stereotypical nature of the accusations of falsehood in Jeremiah;
- The theme of false prophecy in prophetic literature (esp. Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Micah);
- The impossibility of establishing objective criteria to distinguish between true and false prophecy in the Hebrew Bible;
- The anti-prophetic nature of the books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Micah (generally, the blaming of the prophets in these prophetic books does not hint to an inner division of the prophetic class, but rather presents accusations against *all* the prophets).

Prophetic Conflicts as Ideological Conflicts
Jeremiah 28 as a Case Study

1. Prophet against Prophet

This short paper engages with a vexed question in Biblical Studies, namely the presence and the characteristics of the so-called "false" prophets in the biblical tradition, more specifically in the book of Jeremiah. When it comes to divination and diviners, the Bible takes quite an issue in evaluating which means of foreseeing are legitimate and which instead should not be trusted. Per the Mosaic and Priestly laws, the only technique of divination that appears to be always legitimate is that represented by the root נבא, therefore "prophecy";[1] generally, all the other forms of divination are considered forbidden sorcery (cf. Lev 19:26–31; 20:6; Deut 18:9–14).[2] Nonetheless, per the tradition, not even prophets (as in the Hebrew נבאים) are always legitimate (cf. Deut 13:1–5; 18:18–22; 1 Kgs 22), which leads to the issue of how the people are supposed to know if a prophet and his message are sincere or not. Scholars have understood these elements as highlighting a peculiar dichotomy in the prophetic class, that would group "true" prophets in opposition to other "false" prophets, two factions always at loggerheads. The

[1] Per an old classification, biblical prophets were divided in two traditions: pre-classical prophets, who are known through the stories that the Bible records about them (cf. Samuel, Elijah, Elisha) and the classical ones, whose ministries and oracles are collected in the prophetic books (hence, the "writing" prophets). However, this classification is based upon the assumption that biblical prophecy may represent a socio-historical phenomenon, which is doubtful. What used to be identified with pre-classical prophecy simply represents how ancient Near Eastern prophecy was attested for centuries, even in Israel and Judah; see Kratz, *The Prophets of Israel*, 18. Nonetheless, for the sake of brevity, we can consider that Mosaic law repudiates all the pre-classical forms of divination as illegitimate techniques and considers legitimate only the tradition of Moses and the prophetic books.

[2] The Hebrew Bible offers several *media* to interpret the will of the gods, to which correspond several professional figures, such as men of god, seers, soothsayers, sorcerers, dream-interpreters, fortune-tellers, necromancers, and diviners the biblical tradition is not clear in tracing boundaries, although we may assume that each of these professional techniques of divination had its own specificity. The Bible is often more peremptory, grouping all of them together as dangerous sorcery that should be avoided, mostly because they represent foreign practices. However, some overlapping should be assumed (cf. 1 Sam 9:9). For further details, see Kuemmerlin-McKlean, "Magic (OT)", in ABD 4, 468-69; Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy*, 30-31.

assumption is that in ancient Israel there were virtuous prophets that were working for the sake of the people, and there were corrupt ones, who instead were mostly interested in achieving personal gain. Moreover, the biblical tradition would have preserved some criteria to objectively set part one group from the other.[3]

The book of Jeremiah is quite concerned by the class of the so-called "false" prophets, given the frequent accusations of falsehood against these religious officials and Jeremiah's constant struggle with his colleagues (cf. Jer 6:13–15; 8:10b–12; 14:13–16; 19:14–20:6; 23:13–14, 25–32; 27:9–10, 12–15; 28; 29:8–9, 21–23, 24–32). Nevertheless, a closer look into these texts will show that a dichotomy between "true" and "false" prophets cannot be upheld in the book, and that prophetic conflicts (the "true" prophet Jeremiah vs. the "false" prophets) should not be read as account of a socio-religious phenomenon of ancient Israel but are rather a later interpretation based upon literary creations developed by the redactors to support ideological stances. The analysis of the most famous prophetic conflict in the book (the one between Jeremiah and Hananiah, in Jer 28) will prove the validity of the above assumptions, which apply (*mutatis mutandis*) to all the texts that involve "false" prophets in Jeremiah. In the following, it will be argued that no objective criteria to distinguish between "true" and "false" prophets can be found in Jer 28, and that the reading of the episode as a conflict revolving around the legitimacy of prophetic gifts is not justified but reads artificial and secondary.

[3] The alleged dichotomy between "true" and "false" prophets in the Bible received considerable attention from the guild of Biblical Studies throughout the years. Scholars have rarely questioned the assumption that, within the Hebrew Bible, some prophets were intrinsically good, while others were irremediably bad. For prominent scholarship works in the study of "false" prophecy and prophetic conflicts, one should consider Gerard von Rad, "Die Falsche Propheten", ZAW 51, (1933), 109-20; Johannes Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962); Eva Osswald, *Falsche Prophetie im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1962); Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Prophetie in der Krisis. Studien zu Texten aus dem Buch Jeremia* (Biblische Studien 43; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag Des Erziehungsvereins, 1964); Overholt, *The Threat of Falsehood* (SBT Second Series 16; London: SCM Press, 1970); James L. Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion* (BZAW, 124; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971); Frank Lothar Hossfeld & Ivo Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet*. *Analyse der alttestamentlichen Texte zum Thema: wahre und falsche Propheten* (BBB 9; Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1973); Simon J. De Vries, *Prophet Against Prophet. The Role of the Micaiah Narrative (I Kings 22) in the Development of Early Prophetic Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978); Hans W. Wolff, *Confrontations with Prophets* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982).

2. Jeremiah vs. Hananiah (Jeremiah 28)

As to the placement of Jer 28, there is agreement in considering a uniform literary collection in Jer 27–29,[4] revolving around the political tensions between Judah and Babylon, Jeremiah's dispute against other prophets as to a possible military invasion and the duration of the Babylonian captivity. Within these three chapters, Jeremiah appears to be preaching submission to Babylon as part of YHWH's plan, while other prophets, in and outside the land, support a policy of resistance against the Babylonian overlords. As for the dating of these materials, the redactional framework presented by the chapters (cf. Jer 27:1, 12; Jer 28:1; 29:1–3) places all these episodes in between 597 and 587, after the first plundering of Jerusalem and the subsequent deportation of King Jeconiah. Although some commentators accept the dating to the fourth year of Zedekiah (cf. Jer 28:1), thus 594,[5] there are features within Jer 27–29 that contradict this assumption and suggest a later date of composition. That these chapters may provide a reliable historical context is suspicious.

If we had to trust the context of Jer 27, we must consider that the vassal king Zedekiah, freshly installed on the throne of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar II, had little to no reason to side with other kingdoms and plot a rebellion against his only guarantee of power (cf. Jer 27:3–8). Moreover, a successful rebellion against Babylon may have even meant the return of King Jeconiah as the legitimate ruler, an outcome that the "historical" Zedekiah may have hardly desired.[6] From the textual point of view, then, the colophons of Jer 27 and 28 are clearly in disarray and could hardly be retained as "accurate" when dating the events.[7] Likewise, the

[4] See Cunlifffe-Jones, *Jeremiah*, 180; Overholt, *Falsehood*, 24; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 528; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 529; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 114; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 346; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 35; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21-36*, 308. Others instead favour a shorter section, comprising only Jer 27–28; see Bright, *Jeremiah*, 201; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 28 and Brueggemann, *26-52*, 13. Only Allen works with a longer section, namely Jer 26–29, although suggesting that ch.26 was added later as the preface to the collection; see Allen, *Jeremiah*, 295.

[5] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 201; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 528; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 120; Clements, *Jeremiah*, 160; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 356; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 48; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 306. Others consider every year in between 597 and 587 to provide a suitable context; see Overholt, *Falsehood*, 29; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 685. Nicholson, although considering the whole section as the product of Deuteronomistic authors, still deem the content of these chapters as historically reliable; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 28.

[6] These are McKane's and Carroll's punctual objections to the historical accuracy of the cycle; see McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 716 and Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 530.

[7] As to this, Jer 27:1 signals that the events take place under King Jehoiakim, while evidently addressing King Zedekiah throughout. Similarly, Jer 28:1 presents two conflicting dates for the encounter between Jeremiah and Hananiah. Far from being historically accurate, these two colophons clearly mark the redactors' attempt to place the events of Jer 27 close to those of Jer 28, and both before the fall of Jerusalem in 587, an element already implied by the text.

depiction of Nebuchadnezzar as the servant of YHWH (cf. the expression נבוכדנאצר מלך־בבל עבדי, "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, my servant", in Jer 27:5–7; 28:14) appears to be modelled after the portrait of Cyrus within the book of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Isa 40–55; and especially Isa 44:24–45:1), and this element evidently points to a post-exilic composition.[8] Likewise, the interest that Jer 27–28 display for the temple furnishings (cf. Jer 27:16–22; 28:2–4) is definitely a concern of the community returned from Babylon,[9] deeply engaged with the rebuilding of the temple (cf. Ezra 5:14–16; 6:5).

2.1 Translation and Critical Notes

1 And it came to pass in the same year,[10] in the fourth year and in the fifth month of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah,[11] that Hananiah, son of Azur, the prophet from Gibeon, in the temple of YHWH, spoke to me, in front of the priests and all the people, saying, 2 "Thus speaks YHWH of hosts, god of Israel, saying: 'I have destroyed the yoke of the king of Babylon. 3 Within the days of two years, I will bring back to this very place all the vessels of the temple of YHWH, which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took from this place and brought to Babylon. 4 And I will return in this place Jeconiah, son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and all the exiles of Judah, who went to Babylon, because I will destroy the yoke of the king of Babylon', says YHWH". 5 The prophet Jeremiah spoke to the prophet Hananiah in front of the priests and all the people that stood in the temple of YHWH. 6 And Jeremiah the prophet said, "Amen! May YHWH do so, that he will fulfill your words that you have prophesied, to bring back the vessels to the house of YHWH and every captive from Babylon to this place. 7 But now, come and listen to the word that I speak to your ears and to the ears of all the people. 8 The prophets who have been before me and before you from ancient times have prophesied against great lands and powerful kingdoms of war, evil and plague. 9 As for the prophet who prophesies of peace, when the word of this prophet will come true, he will be known as a prophet sent by YHWH". 10 Then the prophet Hananiah took the yoke-bar off the neck of the prophet Jeremiah and destroyed it.[12] 11 Then Hananiah spoke in front of all the people, saying, "Just

[8] This is a remark held by McKane and similarly by Carroll, who also considers that in the cycle Jer 27–29, some elements of Babylonian theology have already influenced the Yahwistic representation of the deity (cf. YHWH the creator in Jer 27:5); see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 530-32; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 701.

[9] As pointed out by Acroyd, "The Temple Vessels: A Continuity Theme", 177; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 534; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 243, 247.

[10] The mention that the events of Jer 28 happened in the same year of those of Jer 27 is not in G and is probably a secondary redactional link; see Bright, *Jeremiah*, 200; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 35; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 710; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 538; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 124; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 43; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 356.

[11] MT presents an improbable double dating for this episode, which either took place in the fifth month of the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah (597) or in the fifth month of the fourth year of his ruling (594), both cannot be right. The shorter text of G probably preserved an earlier version, Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει Σεδεκια βασιλέως Ιουδα ἐν μηνὶ τῷ πέμπτῳ, "and it happened in the fourth year of Zedekiah, king of Judah, in the fifth month". The reading of G is generally preferred in this instance; see Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 537; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 124; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 538; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 356; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 312.

[12] MT presents a masculine suffix (cf. 3, וישברהו, "and destroyed it") but the referent is the feminine מוטה, "bar". Carroll considers dittography (cf. the *waw* at the beginning of Jer 28:11) or confusion between מוטה (fem.) and

like this, within the days of two years, I will destroy the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, off the neck of all the nations". Then, the prophet Jeremiah went on his way.

12 Then the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah, after the prophet Hananiah destroyed the yoke-bar off the neck of Jeremiah, saying, "Go and speak to Hananiah saying, 'Thus speaks YHWH, you have broken wooden bars,[13] but you have turned them into yokes of iron'. 14 Thus speaks YHWH of hosts, god of Israel, 'I put a yoke of iron upon the necks of all these nations to serve Nebuchadnezzar, and they will serve him. I have even given him the beast of the lands.'" 15 And Jeremiah the prophet said to Hananiah the prophet, "You shall listen, Hananiah, YWHW has not sent you and you have caused this people to trust in falsehood. 16 Therefore, thus speaks YHWH, 'Now I will get rid of you from the face of the earth'. You will die this year, because you have fostered rebellion against YHWH." 17 And the prophet Hananiah died in that same year, in the seventh month.

This chapter has often been considered a biographical account of the "historical" Jeremiah,[14] and several scholars have taken the dispute with Hananiah as establishing criteria for the distinction between "true" and "false" prophets.[15] Regardless, both these assumptions appear to be mistaken, and in the following it will be argued that the interest that this chapter takes in the theme of prophecy is only instrumental to display a post-exilic, pro-Babylonian ideology.

As for the outline of the text, the confrontation between Jeremiah and Hananiah covers the entirety of Jer 28, and some scholars read it as a uniform literary unit.[16] Regardless, v.11b marks a *caesura* (cf. the sentence וילך ירמיה הנביא לדרכו, "and the prophet Jeremiah went on his way") and divides the chapter in at least two sections (cf. vv.1–11 and 12–17).[17] Besides, scholars commonly consider the presence of several discrete units in the chapter, proposing

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על (masc.); see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 539. Holladay instead considers that the final *waw* may represent a copyist's mistake for the final *nun* of the pl. feminine form. Although the right correction is difficult to ascertain, there is little doubt that MT carries some sort of error.

[13] MT reads the pl. form (מטות) in v.13, but presents the sing. מוטה, "bar", in Jer 28:10, 12. G instead always presents sing. forms for this term throughout this chapter. Holladay emends the pl. suffix into a sing., for consistency; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 125. Similarly, Friebel has argued for an erroneous pointing in this occurrence, and that a sing. form is intended; Friebel, *Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's Sign-Acts*, 142. Thus, the pl. form may represent an error, but the text makes good sense as it is.

[14] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 202; Overholt, *Falsehood*, 37; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 36; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 538; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 127; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 349.

[15] As to this, see Osswald, *Falsche Prophetie*, 23ff; Hossfeld & Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet*, 90ff; Overholt, *Falsehood*, 24ff; Wolff, *Confrontations with Prophets*, 67ff. That the main topic of this chapter is the differentiation between "true" and "false" prophets is also considered by Nicholson, *Jeremiah*, 38; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 538; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 355-56; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 248.

[16] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 203; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 537.

[17] Allen works with this exact division; see Allen, *Jeremiah*, 315. Conversely, Nicholson, although retaining the division in two major sections, opt for vv.1–9, 10–17; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 35.

different outlines.[18] There is little doubt that this chapter overall shows evident traces of later editorial activity and literary growth.

2.2 Redaction History

The core oracle of Jer 28 is found in vv.2–4, 10–11,[19] which deal with the traditional motif of the yoke worn by the prophet (cf. Jer 27:2–3).[20] This original layer comprises the bulk of the disputation between the prophets, in which Hananiah exposes Jeremiah's yoke as a deceitful symbol of submission and turns it into a sign of the forthcoming demise of Babylon. Soon, Hananiah assures his audience, the Babylonian empire will be destroyed, and the temple furnishings, the legitimate king Jeconiah and the exiles will come back to the land (cf. vv.3–4). The original episode ends with Hananiah, who moves from words to deeds and breaks Jeremiah's yoke, leaving the prophet speechless and shortly on his way out of the temple (cf. vv.10–11).

The reflection about the nature of doom and *shalom* prophecy (cf. Jer 28:5–9) represents a secondary layer that has been added as a theological commentary to Hananiah's words. This *excursus* is clearly unconnected to the main theme of the core oracle, namely the duration of Babylon's sovereignty over Judah, and echoes a similar reflection as to the legitimacy of prophecy found in Deut 18:20–22.[21] Jeremiah states that the only way a prophecy of *shalom* could be considered true is through its fulfillment. It seems clear that, within this passage, a later redactor has developed an argument against Hananiah, reusing Deuteronomic materials,

[18] As to this, Cunliffe-Jones works with the division vv.1–4, 5–9, 10–12, 13–15, 16–17; see Cunliffe-Jones, *Jeremiah*, 184. Overholt considers instead three units (vv.1–4, 5–11, 12–16) and a concluding announcement in v.17; see Overholt, *Falsehood*, 38. Holladay splits the chapter in four sections, assuming that the two prophets alternate in a dialogue; he follows the pattern, Hananiah (vv.1–4), Jeremiah (vv. 5–9), Hananiah (vv.10–11) and Jeremiah (vv.12–16), plus the conclusion in v.17; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 126. Finally, Scalise considers five literary units, according to the scheme, vv.1–4, 5–9, 10–11, 12–14, 15–17; see Scalise *et alii*, *Jermiah 26-52*, 46.

[19] Thiel, Nicholson and McKane agree that Jer 28:5–9 are secondary, which places the original account of what happened between Hananiah and Jeremiah in 28:2–4, 10–14; see Thiel, *Redaktion 26-45*, 10; Nicholson, *God and His People*, 96ff; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 725. Similarly, although not being concerned with redaction criticism, also Scalise remarks an incongruity in the chapter, considering that the breaking of the yoke (cf. Jer 28:10–11) should have happened before Jeremiah replied to Hananiah's prophecy (cf. Jer 28:5–9); see Scalise, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 54.

[20] The yoke worn by the prophet is a symbolic element already in Jer 27; see Bright, *Jeremiah*, 202; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 538; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 543; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 127. Because of the focus on the yoke, Nicholson goes as far as stating that the episodes reported in Jer 27–28, at least in the intentions of the redactors, likely happened in the same day; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 36.

[21] Because of this resemblance, a Deuteronomistic redaction for Jer 28:5–9 has been suggested; see Nicholson, *God and His People*, 96; Thiel, *Redaktion 26-45*, 10. The similarities with Deuteronomy (besides Deut 18:20–22, cf. also the imagery of the iron yoke in Deut 28:48) are retained also by Bright, *Jeremiah*, 203; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 544 and Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 129.

considering in retrospective the events of 587. By the time Hananiah released his prediction (cf. Jer 28:3–4), it was impossible to ascertain whether he was right or wrong, and only the test of time would provide the answer. The insertion of this theological explanation should be read as a *memento* of what happened after the first deportation in 597.

Similarly, the breaking of the wooden yoke in v.10 has triggered the insertion of yet another secondary insertion (cf. Jer 28:12–14), which introduces the theological interpretation of the Babylonian dominion as issued by YHWH. The content of Jer 28:14 relies upon the theological imagery of YHWH's endorsement of Nebuchadnezzar to stress the need of bowing before his authority.[22] Moreover, since Jeremiah had no words for Hananiah after he broke the yoke, the direct intervention of YHWH in the story (cf. Jer 28:12) clearly marks a new development. It should be considered that these verses signal the first direct intervention of YHWH within this chapter, which points to the fact that vv.12–14 have been added precisely to redeem the silence of Jeremiah in the original core (cf. vv.2–4, 10–11), so that when Jeremiah replies to Hananiah, he does so to voice YHWH's message against him.[23]

As to this, the transition between vv.11b and 12 troubles the continuity of events within Jer 28. Apparently, the argument between Jeremiah and Hananiah was not resolved within one single confrontation, but Jeremiah had to come back to resume the combat after receiving the word of YHWH (cf. the sequence וילך ירמיה הנביא לדרכו, "the prophet Jeremiah went on his way", in v.11b; ויהי דבר־יהוה אל־ירמיה, "the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah", v.12a; and הלוך ואמרת אל־חנניה, "[YHWH said to Jeremiah] go and speak to Hananiah" in v.13). Many commentators are not discouraged by the perplexing delay of Jeremiah's reply, arguing that a prophet should only speak when the word of YHWH comes to him and/or that the messages of the deity come when his prophets are secluded or in forced solitude.[24] Nonetheless, the origin

[22] Nebuchadnezzar already appears as servant of YHWH in Jer 27:6. Scalise acknowledges the strong resemblances between Jer 27:5–11 and Jer 28:12–14, but rather takes the two pericopes as independent parallels; see Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 57. It should be considered that the sentence MT וגם את־חית השדה נתתי לו, "I have even given him the beast of the lands" in Jer 28:14b (cf. Jer 27:6b) is absent in G, and represents a later addition in MT; see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 54; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 125; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 43. This implies that, at some point, the editors had clear the connection between these two passages and even tried to emphasize it further. On the other hand, Allen suggests that the entirety of v.14 represents a supplementation to Jer 28:12–13, which is a possibility; see Allen, *Jeremiah*, 318.

[23] Carroll (followed by Scalise) rightly considers the involvement of YHWH in the dispute as a later development; see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 545; Scalise, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 57.

[24] See Laetsch, *Jeremiah*, 228; Bright, *Jeremiah*, 198; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 540; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 129; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 358; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 25-52*, 55. Nicholson (followed by Allen) even considers that Jeremiah in the interval may have acquired an iron yoke to follow up with a new symbolic action; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 40; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 316. In an attempt to mitigate the oddness of this delay, Allen even considers that Jeremiah had to wait a while for a pertinent word of YHWH already in another occasion. He compares Jer 28 to the episode of Jeremiah at the potter's workshop (cf. Jer 18:2–5), but his speculations as to

of Jer 28:12–14 as a later addition provides a more plausible explanation for the delayed reply of Jeremiah.

Finally, the latest addition to Jer 28 is represented by vv.15–17.[25] Only at a superficial level these verses may display a legitimate corollary to the dispute between the prophets Jeremiah and Hananiah (cf. especially vv.5–9).[26] To a closer analysis however, the pericope Jer 28:15–17 evidently contradicts most of Jer 28, especially the reflections upon doom and *shalom* prophecy. In Jer 28:15–17, Jeremiah brusquely denies Hananiah the benefit of the doubt previously granted to his words (cf. Jer 28:6, 9), dismisses Hananiah's prediction as blatant falsehood, boastfully proclaims YHWH's rejection of him and even predicts his imminent death.[27] The problem with the interpretation of Jer 28:15–17 as the conclusion of an articulated prophetic conflict (cf. Jer 28:2–4, 5–9, 12–14) belongs once again to the view that, in the Bible, prophetic gifts can be objectively authentic or not. This preconception has influenced many scholars' interpretation of Jer 28, and especially that of vv.5–9. Contrary to what is considered by many, this passage does not reject *shalom* prophecy as "false" or untrustworthy form of divination,[28] but sets up a contrast between salvation and doom oracles. Since the latter has a

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the time needed to cook the clay (10 days) do not seem particularly fitting to solve the continuity of Jer 28; see Allen, *Jeremiah*, 214, 317.

[25] For the lateness of these verses, see Nicholson, *God and His People*, 96ff; Thiel, *Redaktion 26-45*, 10; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 725. Similarly, also Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 538.

[26] There is a tendency among commentators to take the content of Jer 28:15–17 as the climax of the confrontation between Jeremiah and Hananiah as to the reliability of their respective prophecies. Eventually, Jeremiah exposes Hananiah's falsehood and foretells his death as the rightful punishment (cf. Deut 18:20); see Overholt, *Falsehood*, 45; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 36; J. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 541; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 129; Clements, *Jeremiah*, 167; Jones, *Jeremiah*, 356; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 58; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 248.

[27] As to this, McKane rightly considers Jer 28:15–17 as the "biggest impediment to the coherence of chapter 28", in McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 719. Of the same opinion, Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 544.

[28] Some commentators consider that Hananiah cannot be retained as a "true" prophet because *shalom* prophecy is alien to the prophetic tradition of Israel; see *Bright*, *Jeremiah*, 202; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 38; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 540; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 128; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, 248; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 316. More interesting and articulated is Brueggemann's reconstruction, who instead considers that, differently from the other "false" prophets in the book of Jeremiah, Hananiah is not an opportunist that wants to gain the favour of the people. Per Brueggemann, Hananiah is the representative of a traditional theology, which never doubted that YHWH would have always preserved the kingdom and his people. He was eventually proved wrong, but there was no malice in his words; see Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 25. Brueggemann's statement is to the point as to the presence of a conflict of ideologies (rather than "theologies") at the core of the confrontation between the prophets. However, Brueggemann's placing of Hananiah within the religious establishment of Jerusalem is an unfortunate blunder. If, as Hananiah hopes, the exiles will soon return with the legitimate king Jeconiah, Babylon's vassal Zedekiah, who seats on the throne (cf. Jer 28:1) and thus represents the current establishment, will be forced to abdicate (as noted by Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 543 and McKane, *Jeremiah vol.2*, 716). Thus, Hananiah's prediction is clearly *against* the establishment, whose claims result much more supported by Jeremiah's message to accept Babylon's dominance. Others have proposed similar views, taking Hananiah as expression of the central cult and Jeremiah as a peripheral prophet outside the prophetic guild; cf. Henry Mottu, "Jeremiah vs. Hananiah: Ideology and Truth in Old Testament Prophecy", 235-51. Regardless, too little is said of Hananiah to support such arguments; moreover, it should be considered that in the cycle Jer 27–29, Jeremiah is

more established tradition, it does not need any formal defense for its validation (cf. v.8). On the contrary, those who prophesy about peace are part of a less-established field, and only time would tell if their prediction would ever be fulfilled and their status of prophets of YHWH legitimated (cf. v.9).[29] Thus, Jeremiah showed to be more sympathetic towards Hananiah than it may seems from the reading of the spiteful judgement conversed in the late vv.15–17 (cf. the phrase אמן כן יעשה יהוה, "Amen! May YHWH do so", in v.6).[30]

In conclusion, three different strands of tradition should be distinguished in the redaction history of Jer 28. The first one (cf. Jer 28:2–4, 10–11, 12–14) is not concerned with prophecy but revolves around the theological significance of the Babylonian invasion and the following captivity in Mesopotamia. It is not surprising that upon such a relevant topic the tradition has developed contrasting positions and reflections. In Jer 28:2–4, 10–11, Hananiah represents an anti-Babylonian stance, which claims that YHWH will destroy the overlords to re-establish the *status quo* and the continuity with the first temple. Jeremiah, in a later addition, instead speaks on the behalf of a pro-Babylonian party, who considers the exile as a necessary evil, integral part of YHWH's plan for his people (cf. Jer 28:12–14). To this first strand, two other elements, more rooted in the prophetic tradition, have been added. In Jer 28:5–9, we have a reflection as to the differences between *shalom* and doom prophecy, clearly connected to the Deuteronomic tradition and not really engaging with the unreliability of prophecy but inviting a retrospective reflection as to the events of 587. Conversely, in Jer 28:15–17, a stereotypical motif against the prophets who spread falsehood appears (cf. Jer 6:13–15; 8:10b–12; 14:13–16; 19:14–20:6; 23:13–14, 25–32; 27:9–10, 12–15; 28; 29:8–9, 21–23, 24–32), now used against Hananiah, even though his words cannot even be considered false, because, although not within two years, his prediction did come true.[31]

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not at all the unpopular prophet who courageously professes the message of YHWH risking his own life, as seen elsewhere in the book (cf. Jer 11:21–23). Quite the opposite! In fact, he speaks directly to the king and to the ambassadors, endorsing the cause of the Babylonian dominator in front of the people and the priests in the temple.

[29] This is the interpretation of Jer 28:5–9 given by Carroll (followed by Scalise), which appears the most plausible. Carroll is right in considering that the problem of "false" prophecy is not a concern of this pericope, and similarly, also the equation *shalom* prophecy = false prophecy must be dismissed. The unit simply states that these two different categories of prophecy need different criteria of validation; see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 547-48; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 55.

[30] The words of Jeremiah in v.6 often are taken as a sincere auspice, although some scepticism on the behalf of Jeremiah has to be assumed; see Bright, *Jeremiah*, 203; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, 539; Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 544; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 54; Allen, *Jeremiah*, 317. Conversely, Nicholson takes Jeremiah's words as a sardonic statement, and Holladay states that Jeremiah probably had little to no hope to see Hananiah's prediction fulfilled; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 37; Holladay, *Jeremiah 2*, 128.

[31] As to this, Carroll notices that Hananiah's prediction was not even wrong. He was right at least about the demise of Babylon and the return of the exiles. Likewise, also the temple furnishings did come back to Israel (cf.

3. A *Non-Strictly* Prophetic Conflict

As the evidence of redaction criticism suggests, a conflict as to the nature of prophecy was not the main concern of the core oracle Jer 28:2–4, 10–11. Moreover, even the reading of Jer 28 overall as part of the classic conflict between "true" and "false" prophets hardly provides a problem-free interpretation. Apparently, the only reason this text provides to consider Hananiah one of the so-called "false" prophets relies upon his opposition to the prophet of the book. Jeremiah received the endorsement of YHWH, so that he unquestionably represents a "true" prophet, and the book never offers any valid argument to escape this circular reasoning. Jeremiah is a "true" prophet because he speaks the truth; the text does not provide other insights to this topic. However, it is interesting to notice that were it not for this, Hananiah and Jeremiah would be almost indistinguishable in this text; they both bear the title of נביא, "prophet"; they both come from the province and not from the capital city; they are both Yahwistic prophets; and finally, they both prophesy in the temple of Jerusalem.[32]

It has been suggested that the most significant difference between the two should be found within their prophetic messages, because Hananiah speaks of peace (as many other traditional "false" prophets, cf. Jer 6:13–15; 14:13–16; 23:16–17), while Jeremiah is generally described as a doom prophet. Regardless, although often being accepted as an obvious conclusion, there is no ground to assume that Hananiah was a *shalom* prophet, as Jeremiah's words may imply (cf. Jer 28:7–9). Hananiah never speaks of peace in this text (the term שלום appears only once, and is pronounced by Jeremiah, cf. Jer 28:9); on the contrary, he foresees doom and destruction for Babylon (cf. Jer 28:3, 11). Jeremiah states that the prophets of the olden days spoke of war and disaster against powerful nations (cf. Jer 28:8b), which is exactly what Hananiah does (cf. the sentence שברתי את־על מלך בבל, "I will destroy the yoke of Babylon", in v.2b).[33] If anything, Hananiah precisely represents the prophetic tradition from which many scholars have categorically excluded him. Such problems of interpretation of the figure of Hananiah in Jer 28 are due to the ambiguous attitude with which this book generally addresses "prophecy" and "prophets". It seems evident that labels such as "true" or "false" prophecy are inadequate to

Ezra 1:7). Hananiah's prediction of two years before the fall of Babylon may have been too optimistic about timing, but correct nonetheless; see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 537.

[32] As considered by Carrol, *Jeremiah*, 541; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 23; Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 53.

[33] As stated by Carroll, who compares the words of Hananiah against Babylon to those spoken by Isaiah against Assyria (cf. Isa 10:12–19); see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 544; followed by Scalise *et alii*, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 55. Similarly, also Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 25.

treat the blaming of the prophets in this book, as the veracity or the falsehood of prophecy and prophets are nothing more than points of view. The words of Hananiah present a perfect case to show that such accusations (cf. Jer 6:13–15; 14:13–16; 23:25–32; 27:9–10, 14–15, 16–17; 29:8–9) have little to nothing to do with establishing if the prophets' messages were irrefutably true or false, and consequently with distinguishing them between good and evil ones.

In order to recognize a "true" prophet, the criterion that appears more often in the Hebrew Bible is that of fulfilment of the word (cf. Deut 18:21–22; 1 Kgs 22:18; Jer 23:16; Ezek 12:24–28; 13:3), which is, on the other hand, generally troublesome to employ.[34] The text of Jer 28 is quite explicit in considering that only in due time it would be possible to ascertain if Hananiah's words were endorsed by YHWH (Jer 28:9); hence, Jeremiah's accusation of falsehood (cf. Jer 28:15) is unfounded. Hananiah cannot be called a liar until his words are proven wrong, and what truly is interesting in this regard is that Hananiah's prediction is so well detailed that it could easily be falsified by the criterion of fulfilment. If, within two years, the temple furnishings, the legitimate king and the captives from Babylon were to return to Jerusalem, then his words would represent a crystalline example of "true" prophecy. Regardless, long before this period has passed, Jeremiah accuses Hananiah of falsehood and rebellion against YHWH (cf. Jer 28:15–16). The chapter does not specify when Jeremiah resumes the argument against Hananiah (cf. Jer 28:11b–12), but since they first clashed in the fifth month of 594 (cf. Jer 28:1), and Hananiah died in the seventh month (cf. Jer 28:17), it could not have been more than two months. It seems evident that the proof of Hananiah's falsehood is nowhere to be found in this text. The logical conclusion that we should draw is that the conflict between Hananiah and Jeremiah is certainly not strictly prophetic, meaning that "prophecy" is merely instrumental in the polemic displayed by the text, which instead presents an ideological conflict displayed on two separate levels.

Within the cycle Jer 27–29, more than anywhere else, the book of Jeremiah presents and compares contrasting views as to the role of YHWH in the Babylonian military invasion, the duration of the captivity and finally the return of the exiles and the temple furnishings. Thus, the original core of this oracle (cf. Jer 28:2–4, 10–11) is obviously connected to the general

[34] Crenshaw has considered that prophecies in the Hebrew Bible are usually too general and conditional to be tested by the criterion of fulfilment. Similarly, only a minority of the sayings attributed to the prophets are strictly "predictive", so that the employment of such a criterion should not even be considered within the definition of a prophet in the Hebrew Bible; see Crenshaw, *Prophetic Conflict*, 49-52. Yet another detailed analysis as to the difficulties regarding the giving and understanding of predictions of the future is found in Carroll, *When Prophecy Failed*, 29-37.

motif of submission to Babylon, which represents the first level of ideological conflict in the text. Hananiah supports an anti-Babylonian position, although it is impossible to outline his holdings with more precision. Similarly, Jeremiah's message is easily interpreted as pro-Babylonian, but once again, the implications of this ideology are not at all clear in the text; he does wear a yoke as a sign of submission, but he does not speak at all. It is true that Jeremiah is an outspoken supporter of submission to Babylon in Jer 27 (cf. Jer 27:6–8, 11), and that he clearly envisages a long permanence in Babylon for the captives in Jer 29 (cf. Jer 29:4–7). Nonetheless, it is better to read Jer 28 independently, because (a one in a million case!) it presents Jeremiah unusually miserable and speechless in front of his adversary, an extremely different portrait from the general depiction of the prophet of the book, which may point to an independent tradition rarely seen in the final redaction of the book.[35] However, Hananiah and Jeremiah sustain conflicting ideologies as to the significance of the Babylonian exile within the history of the chosen people.

Then, the branding of Hananiah with the stigma of falsehood clearly represents the second level of ideology inserted in the chapter (cf. Jer 28:15–17). Hananiah, despite not having said anything that could be objectively proven "false", is treated as all the other prophets in the book who dared to antagonize Jeremiah. This development is clearly part of the later redaction of the book of Jeremiah, in which the prophet emerges as the highest form of authority for the community (cf. Jeremiah speaks to the ambassadors of foreign kings and directly to King Zedekiah, in Jer 27; he addresses Hananiah in the temple, in front of all the people and priests, in Jer 28). Remarkably, at first, Jeremiah cannot reply to the words of Hananiah and leaves the temple; in addition, he even shows some sincere sympathy for his colleague, and wishes his prediction could come true. At some point, however, Jeremiah's benevolence towards Hananiah must have created some bewilderment, and the redactors did not hesitate to sketch him as a blatant liar devoted to fomenting sedition against YHWH, to highlight Jeremiah as the devote mouthpiece of YHWH and the spiritual leader of the community.

The blaming of Hananiah for his "falsehood" has only later been inserted within the theme of submission to Babylon. Thus, the clash between a "true" and a "false" prophet may emerge only as a secondary interpretation of this episode, strongly influenced by the ideological agenda of later redactors (cf. the Greek version, which labels Hananiah as ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης, "the false prophet", even before he had any chance to speak!). However, this should not affect our ability

[35] This is a remark held by Carroll, which seems to the point; see Carroll, *Jeremiah*, 540.

to separate different diachronic stages of redaction in this text and to consider the accusation of falsehood exclusively as part of the final stage of a long process of literary and ideological elaboration.

4. Final Considerations

As the analysis above has shown, there are problems with the label (and the concept!) of "false prophets", especially when intended as a specific group. In fact, Jer 28 (just as any other texts dealing with the so-called "false" prophets; besides Jeremiah, cf. Ezekiel 13:1–16; Mic 3:5–8) never bothers to expand upon the falsehood of the protagonist. No criteria are given to define objectively what Hananiah did wrong in his prophesying. As the other "false" prophets in the Jeremianic tradition, Hananiah is false by definition, and there is no escaping such circular reasoning. Essentials notions such as how prophets are appointed or how they could distinguish between divine words and figments of their imagination are never explained.

Yet another problem with this denomination, however, is that Hananiah simply promised that Babylon would be destroyed in two years, but since Jeremiah dismissed his words way before that date, his message could hardly be considered utter falsehood. There are several analogous examples in the prophetic tradition (cf. especially Jer 6:13–15; 14:13–16; 23:13–32; Ezek 13), but quite interesting is the case of Mic 3:5–8. There, scholars have often considered traces of a conflict between Micah of Moreshet and the "false" prophets,[36] notwithstanding that these prophets are never said to be speaking or prophesying falsehood. The root שקר never appears in Mic 3:5–8; besides, since they are accused of promising peace *or* war at their will,

[36] The attack against the prophets in Mic 3:5–8 has often (if not exclusively) been interpreted in terms of the conflict between "true" and "false" prophets; van der Woude considers Mic 3 as a direct reaction from the prophet of the book to sayings of the "false" prophets recorded in Mic 2:12–13 and 4:1–5; see van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute with the Pseudo-Prophets", VT 19, (1969), 249. Moreover, nearly every commentary ascribes the episode in Mic 3:5–8 to the dichotomy between "true" and "false" prophets; see McKeating, *Micah*, 168; Allen, *Micah*, 313; Wolff, *Micah*, 104; Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, 34; Hillers, *Micah*, 46; Renaud, *Michée*, 66; Limburg, *Hosea-Micah*, 176; Alfaro, *Justice and Loyalty*, 35; Achtemeier, *Minor Prophets I*, 320; Andersen & Freedman, *Micah*, 376; Waltke, *Micah*, 168-73. A solitary voice against this interpretation is that of Carroll, who favours a reading of Mic 3:5–8 as an attack against *all* the prophets from a non-prophetic voice; see Carroll, "Night without Vision: Micah and the Prophets", 74-84.

they are not lying, but rather accommodating the message to the pocket of their clients. The accusation is one of professional misconduct.

Evidently, the accusations of falsehood against the prophetic class (and Jeremiah offers a good assessment of this) are much more stereotypical and cliché that it may seem. Hence, the nature of "true" and "false" prophecy and prophets ought to be drastically revised, and inevitably also the notion of prophetic conflicts as expressions of a social phenomenon. This conflict has generally been intended as a ("true") prophet vs. other ("false") prophets, but this dichotomy is not feasible in most of the passages generally considered as part of prophetic conflicts, because they are simply anti-prophetic at their core (cf. Jer 5:30–31; 6:13–15; 8:10b–12; 14:13–16; 23:9–32; Ezek 13:1–16; Mic 3:5–8). The only circumstances in which a prophet is explicitly attacking other prophets appear in Jer 28. Nevertheless, this episode is part of a late strand in the book of Jeremiah, in which the prophet of the book is depicted as the highest authority for the community. Many problems stand in the way of this chapter to be read as a historical account, and when it comes to prophetic conflicts, redaction criticism easily isolates redactional interventions that show how the accusation of "prophesying falsehood" has been inserted later to reinforce an ideological polemic regarding the exile in Babylon.

The work of the editors in Jer 28 shows how prophetic conflicts are literary creations meant to serve a specific ideology, and the brand of falsehood towards the enemy is merely instrumental, just as in any ideological conflict. The aim of the redactors is quite clear. Emphasizing the authority of Jeremiah, they build upon his privileged relationship with YHWH to present their stances as to the Babylonian invasion and the exile, both seen as necessary evils, against other views that are easily dismissed because they are supported by liars. Per the redactors, it is not important to explain why Hananiah said falsehood; it is already assumed he did, because in the book, Jeremiah is the only one who speaks the truth. It may seem that in this sense a dichotomy between "true" and "false" prophets could be upheld, but it should be considered that it is a product of the ideology of the redactors and that the book of Jeremiah does not describe the conflict in these terms; it would be misleading to use them as currently they are semantically connoted in Biblical Studies. The status of "prophecy" (true or false) is not much relevant in these texts, which overall are meant to present Jeremiah's authority over everyone else and are not interested in showing a generic "true" prophet overcoming other generic "false" prophets.

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YAHWEH THE CREATOR

THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF CREATION MOTIF IN ISAIAH 40:12-31 IN THE LIGHT OF ENŪMA ELIŠ

This short research paper is a part (a summary of one of the exegetical passages) of the larger doctoral dissertation entitled "Yahweh the Creator: The Significance and Function of the Creation-Theme in Isaiah 40-48."

1. INTRODUCTION AND PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Isaiah 40-48 constantly accentuates the exclusivity of Yahweh by underscoring Him as the unique creator and king who is immeasurable/incomparable than the entire creation and the nations and rulers upon the earth. These distinctive attributes of Yahweh are finely illuminated in Isaiah 40:12-31 with the help of rhetorical questions and declarative statements. In order to understand the purpose and profound significance of this passage one has to attempt to read it in the light of the time and context during which this text possibly originated. Hence, this short research paper aims at exploring the nuances of Isaiah 40:12-31 with the research question – **why there is a systematic and strategic emphasis on the creatorship and kingship of Yahweh?** In order to deal with this question some preliminary observations are being made in the following paragraphs with regard to the larger textual block (i.e. Isaiah 40-48) and its presumed milieu.

The researcher subscribes to the accustomed scholarly consensus that major portions of Isaiah chapters 40-48 reflect the Babylonian context based on the following internal-textual and the available external-religious and political reasons: Firstly, observing from the textual evidences, it is essential to note that important themes and prophecies with regard to the foreign gods/cultic images,[1] Cyrus,[2] and

[1] Isaiah 40:18-20; 41:6; 44:9-20. Cf. KNUT HOLTER, *Second Isaiah's Idol-Fabrication Passages* (BBET 28; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 71-78; RICHARD J. CLIFFORD, "The Function of Idol Passages in Second Isaiah," *CBQ* 42 (1980), 450-464.

Babylon[3] appear only in Isaiah 40-48 and thus it is one of the clear indications that the major part of Isaiah 40-48 was originated (or written) between the rise of Persian rule (ca. 550 BCE) and their occupation of Babylon in 539 BCE or immediately thereafter.[4] Further, the placement of the Cyrus oracles in the middle of these chapters (44:24-45:7) also confirms this viewpoint.[5] Another important possibility for placing Isaiah 40-48 in the context of Babylonian exile is the occurrence of the words 'Jacob/Israel' and 'Zion/Jerusalem.'[6]

Secondly, from the religious and political point of view, it was the time when Cyrus was advancing his conquest in the ANE region, during which, Isaiah 40-48 was presumed to be composed.[7] The Cyrus Cylinder attests the historical background, where Nabonidus, the last Babylonian ruler (556-539 BCE)[8] was accused of attempting to restore the moon-good *Sin*[9] by means of untraditional and

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[2] Indication of Cyrus as Yahweh's messiah and his entry into Babylon in 539 BCE which was recognized and well appreciated by the Babylonian priests is an evidence for the setting of Isaiah 40-48 in Babylon. There are parallels between Isaiah 44:28-45:8 and Cyrus Cylinder. Added to that the famous Cyrus edict, which is evident from the Cyrus Cylinder affirms the provision given to the exiled nations to return back to their homelands and rebuild their temples, at the same time maintaining loyalty to Cyrus and Persian rule. Cf. *ANET,* 315-16.

[3] Isaiah 43:14; 44:24-25; 46:1f; 47:12-15; 48:14-20, which also includes the prophetic utterance of the fall of Babylon in Isaiah 47.

[4] According to BERGES, some passages give the impression that they were referring to situations in the reigns of the two successors, Cambyses II (530-520 BCE; Isa 43:3; 45:14) and Darius I (522-486). Cf. ULRICH BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2008), 45.

[5] REINHARD ACHENBACH, "Das Kyros-Orakel in Jesaja 44, 24-45,7 im Lichte altorientalischer Parallelen," *ZAR* 11 (2005): 155-194.

[6] According to the simple structure of Isaiah 40-55, it is a general consensus that Isaiah 40-55 has two main parts, i.e. the Jacob/Israel section (40-48) and the Zion/Jerusalem section (49-55). The 'Jacob/Israel' section aimed at the Judean exiles in Babylon, encouraging them to return to their homeland, while the 'Zion/Jerusalem' theme focused on the reassurance given to the people returned or on their journey to Jerusalem encouraging them to rebuild the temple and the city. Thus the absence of Israel/Jacob confirms the shift in geographical location of the text. JOSEPH BLENKINSOPP, *Isaiah 40-55* (AB 19A; New York: Doubleday, 2002), 61; KLAUS KIESOW, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeshichtliche Analysen,* Orbis et Biblicus Orientalis 24 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 165.

[7] Cyrus gained victory over nations such Ecbatana, Sardis, the Greek-speaking cities of the Ionian seaboard, Susa, and Babylon and Egypt were expected to be his next target (Isa 40:15-17, 23; 41:1-5, 2543:3, 14; 45:1-3; 48:14-16). Cf. JOSEPH BLENKINSOPP, "The Cosmological and Protological Language of Deutero-Isaiah," *CBQ* 73 (2011), 507.

[8] PAUL-ALIAN BEAULIEU, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556-539 B.C.* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 10; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 43-65

[9] "Nabonidus and His God," trans. ADOLF LEO OPPENHEIM (*ANET,* 562-563); "The Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus," trans. PAUL ALIAN BEAULIEU (*COS* 2.123A:310-313); "Nabonidus' Rebuilding of E-Lugal-Galga-Sisa, the Ziggurat of Ur," trans. PAUL ALIAN BEAULIEU (*COS* 2.123A:313-314);

inappropriate rituals, which led to ignore the significance of *Marduk* who was the supreme god of the Babylon pantheon.[10] Furthermore, the celebration of *Akītu,*[11] the New Year festival, which ensured peace and fertility both to the nation and to the citizens, was completely ignored and eliminated by Nabonidus.[12] The priests and devotees of the Babylonian supreme god *Marduk* were annoyed and expecting a change in power in order to re-establish *Marduk* as the god of Babylon. Thus the Persian conquest of Babylon under the leadership of Cyrus dethroned Nabonidus and abolished his cultic practices against *Marduk*. Moreover, according to the desire of the Babylonian priests and supporters, *Marduk* was reinstated as the supreme deity and the cultic practices were resumed, and above all the celebration of *Akītu* festival was recommenced.[13]

2. ENŪMA ELIŠ – THE BABYLONIAN EPIC OF CREATION

The Israelites, who were exiled in Babylon, were plausibly aware of the religious and political conflicts of Babylon.[14] Especially, one can assume that they witnessed the cultural, religious and political significance given to the Babylonian supreme god *Marduk* through the celebration of the *Akītu* festival and the recitation of *Enūma Eliš* which canonized *Marduk* as the supreme god in the Mesopotamian

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"Nabonidus and the Clergy of Babylon," trans. ADOLF L. OPPENHEIM (*ANET,* 312-315); cf. TINA DYKESTEEN NILSEN, "Creation in Collision? Isaiah 40-48 and Zoroastrianism, Babylonian Religion and Genesis 1," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* Vol 13 (2013), 8.

[10] TAMMI J. SCHNEIDER, *An Introduction to Ancient Mesopotamian Religion* (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Eerdmans, 2011), 104-108; HELMER RINGGREN, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (London: SPCK, 1973), 83-88; cf. CARROLL STUHLMUELLER, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib, 43; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 75-82.

[11] JEREMY BLACK, "The New Year Ceremonies in Ancient Babylon," *Religion* 11 (1981) 39-59; KAREL VAN DER TOORN, "The Babylonian New Year Festival," in *Congress Volume: Leuven, 1989* (ed. JOHN ADNEY EMERTON; VTSup 43; Leiden: Brill, 1991) 333-334; JACOB KLEIN, "Akitu," *ABD* 1: 38-40; BEATE PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, *Īna Šulmi Īrub: Die Kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akitu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Baghdader Forschungen 16; Mainz: Yabern, 1994) 110-136; BENJAMIN D. SOMMER, "The Babylonian Akitu Festival: Rectifying the King or Renewing the Cosmos?" *JANES* 27 (2000) 81-95.

[12] According to practice, during the 11 days celebration of the *akitu* (New Year) festival, on the 9th day, the Babylonian gods, *Marduk* and his son *Nebo* visited each other, i.e. the idols were carried to the temple of the other. However, this practice was stopped during the rule of Nabonidus and above all the New Year festival was completely avoided. Cf. NILSEN, "Creation in Collision?" 8.

[13] BLENKINSOPP, "Cosmological and Protological," 507. Cyrus cleverly utilized these cultural and religious reasons to gain power in Babylon.

[14] BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 44-45.

pantheon. *Enūma Eliš*[15] which is also called the Babylonian epic of creation goes back to the later part of the second millennium BCE.[16] It reports the story of how the entire cosmos came into being as a result of a great struggle among the gods and goddesses; and it also narrates the creation of humankind. The name *Enūma eliš* is derived from the first two words of the poem meaning – 'when on high' or 'when in the heights.' The epic is read as part of the ritual during the *Akītu* festival which marks the Babylonian New Year in order to renew the cosmic and social order in front of the statue of the Babylonian supreme god *Marduk*. From a larger perspective, the story of *Enūma eliš* has two basic parts; the first presents a cosmogony (the beginning of the universe) and a theogony (the birth of gods); the second part narrates the battle between the god *Marduk* and *Tiamat* and how *Marduk* attained his position as king of gods, warrior and the ultimate creator. The epic concludes with the construction of Babylon, the city of *Marduk*, and the temple called *Esaĝila*, the dwelling place of *Marduk*. Finally *Marduk* is elevated to the position of supreme god

[15] WILFRED G. LAMBERT, *Babylonian Creation Myths* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 16; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 45–133; THOMAS R. KÄMMERER and KAI A. METZLER, *Das babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos Enūma eliš* (AOAT 375; Münster: 2012); GÖSTA GABRIEL, *enūma eliš – Weg zu einer globalen Weldordnung. Pragmatic, Struktur und Semantik des babylonischen "Lieds auf Marduk"* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014); BENJAMIN R. FOSTER, "Epic of Creation: Enûma Elish," in *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (eds. WILLIAM W. HALLO and K. LAWSON YOUNGER JR.; Vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 390-402; idem, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (2nd ed: Vol. I; Maryland: CDL Press, 1995), 351-401; EPHRAIM A. SPEISER, "Akkadian Myths and Epics: The Creation Epic," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd ed.; ed. JAMES B. PRITCHARD; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 60-72; THORKILD JACOBSEN, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 165-191.

[16] However, it has to be noted that the oldest exemplar of the text was discovered in the library of the Assyrian king Aššurbanipal (ca. 668-627 BCE) during the archaeological excavations in Nineveh conducted in various locations during 1848-1876 CE. It was recovered by AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD and published by GEORGE SMITH in 1876. SPEISER, "Akkadian Myths," 60; ALEXANDER HEIDEL, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1951), 1; MORRIS JASTROW, "The Hebrew and Babylonian Accounts of Creation," *JQR* 13.4 (1901): 620-54; cf. E. ODIN YINGLING, "Give Me Back My Idol: Investigating the Dating of Enuma Elish," *Studia Antiqua* 9/11 (2011): 33-38. The epic *Enūma eliš* is a prominent cosmological text written on seven tablets in the Akkadian language using a simple cuneiform script. It was constantly copied and commented until the end of the cuneiform tradition. Since it was regarded as a classic piece of work during the first half of the second millennium BCE several copies existed both in Assyria and Babylon. HEIDEL, *Babylonian Genesis*, 16-17; FOSTER, *Before the Muses,* 350-352.

in the Mesopotamian pantheon.[17] A brief outline has been presented below and the citations henceforth are from the English and German translations.[18]

1.	The first creation episode – origin of gods	I: 1-20
2.	The first conflict among the gods and the plot to kill the younger gods	I: 21-70
3.	Demise of Apsû and the birth of Marduk, the supreme deity	I: 71-106
4.	The second conflict among the gods and its consequence	I: 105-108; 134-162
5.	The battle between Marduk and Tiamat and the final destiny of Tiamat	III: 138 – IV: 18; 29-30; 35-54; 93-134
6.	The second creation episode – Marduk as the creator of the universe	IV: 123-131; 134-139; 141-142; 144-146; V: 50-59; 64-69; 73-75
7.	The coronation of Marduk as king	V: 77-102; 109
8.	The conceptualization of Building of Babylon	V: 129; 151-152
9.	The creation of humankind	VI: 30-38
10.	The construction of the city of Babylon and the temple of Esaĝila	VI: 39-63
11.	The assembly of gods and the third coronation	VI: 73; 86-92; 99-100
12.	Listing the fifty names to Marduk	VI: 101-120; VII: 144

The content of *Enūma Eliš* is significant for the exegetical study of Isaiah 40:12-31 because the researcher perceives that the different themes which have been discussed in both the texts may have some commonalities, however, it cannot be at the outset determined that there were some intertextual exchanges between these texts. On the one hand it has to be noted that *Enūma eliš* was read only in the temple during the festival in Babylon; and the common people including Babylonians, Israelites and even the prophet possibly had no access to the complete Akkadian text. On the other, one cannot completely reject the fact that gist of the story of *Enūma eliš* was familiar or orally present in the public domain. In addition, a plain reading of both the texts disclose some embedded common strategies used to uphold

[17] Due to the elevation of Marduk emphasized many scholars prefer to name this so-called creation epic as the epic narrating the 'Exaltation of Marduk,' FOSTER, "Epic of Creation," 391.

[18] KÄMMERER and METZLER, *Weltschöpfungsepos*, 9-13.

the protagonists: *Enūma eliš* canonizes *Marduk's* divine kingship and depicts him as the king and ultimate creator, on the other hand Isaiah 40:12-31 rhetorically present Yahweh as the incomparable creator and king who gives hope and strength to His exiled people in Babylon. Therefore, the following brief study of Isaiah 40:12-31 would enable to compare and contrast the similarities and the dissimilarities in both the texts (Isaiah 40:12-31 and *Enūma eliš*) to draw reasonable conclusions.

3. SPECIAL FEATURES OF ISAIAH 40:12-31

A remarkable feature of Isaiah 40:12-31 is the usage of rhetorical questions, which are introduced by the interrogative pronoun מִי – 'who' (vv.12, 13, 14, 18 (מַה – what), 25 and 26), interrogative particle הֲ expressed as הֲלוֹא – 'do you not know' (v.21a, b, c, 28).[19] The rhetorical questions[20] here formulate some of the important themes such as who Yahweh is (or what sort of incomparable God and creator is He), how He views the nations, the rulers and the human-made idols.[21] Along with the above stated textual signals this passage also uses some of the literary tools such as repetition of similar words and phrases at the beginning and end of each strophe, parallelism and the use of particles as pointers of thought progression. Therefore, one can observe that in Isaiah 40:12-31 the rhetorical questions are used in each strophe followed by some affirmative or declarative statements which ultimately lead to develop further topics again through rhetorical questions.[22]

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[19] WESTERMANN observes that except v.27, all other verses are rhetorical in nature. CLAUS WESTERMANN, *Sprache und Struktur der Prophetie Deuterojesajas* (CTM 11; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1981), 45; NAIDOFF argues that the questions in verses 18, 25 and 27 are 'argumentative' which reflects genuine dispute. BRUCE D. NAIDOFF, "The Rhetoric of Encouragement in Isaiah 40:12-31," *ZAW* 93 (1981) 67; BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 124-125.

[20] Rhetorical questions are literary devices which are used to persuade or subtly influence the audience; however, occasionally some kind of reply can be observed in the poetic texts. WATSON defines rhetorical question as "…a question which requires no answer since either the speaker or the listener (or even both of them) already knows the answer;" rhetorical questions are often used emphasize a point to make the audience think or rethink what they know. WILFRED E. G. WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (JSOTSup, 26: Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 338-42.

[21] GARY V. SMITH, *Isaiah 40-66* (NAC 15B: America: B & H Publishing Group, 2009), 106-107; KNUT HOLTER, *Second Isaiah's Idol-Fabrication Passages* (BBET 28; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1995), 61.

[22] HOLTER, *Idol-Fabrication,* 63.

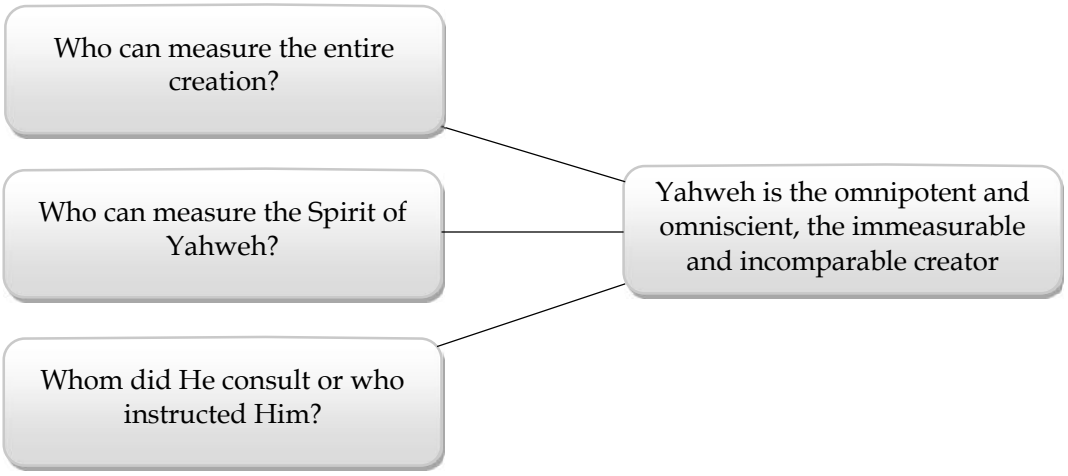
Rhetorical questions	**vv.12-14**	**v.18**	**v.21**	**vv.25-26**	**v.27-28**
[Self-evident answer-unexpressed]	-	-	-	-	-
Replies	vv.15-17	vv.19-20	vv.22-24	vv.26	vv.28-31

4. A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF ISAIAH 40:12-31

The rhetorical questions posed in Isaiah 40:12-31 emphatically affirm Yahweh as the creator and king. With this outlook a brief analysis of the above mentioned verses are done in the following paragraphs. Before analyzing the text, the rhetorical questions with the implicit answers along with the thought progression has been presented below in order to have a broader view of the passage:

Strophe I

Verses 12-14: The immeasurability of Yahweh's creation and His wisdom

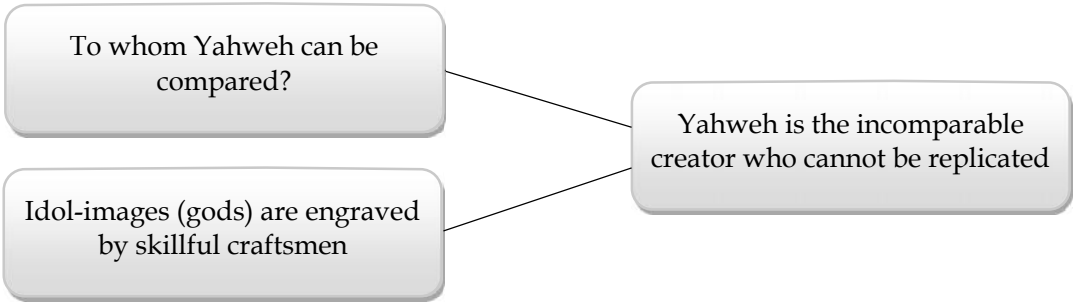


Verses 15-17: Nations are nothing before Yahweh



Strophe II

Verses 18-20: Yahweh placed in contrast to idol-images and idol-fabricators



Strophe III

Verses 21-22: Creator and His creative acts from the foundations of the earth

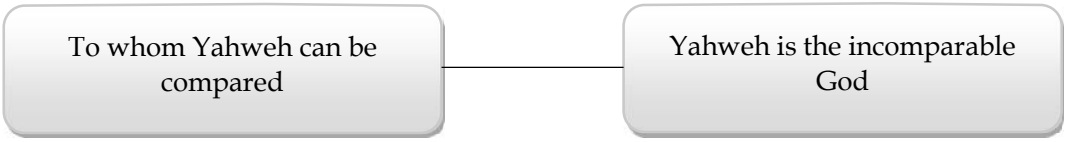


Verses 23-24: Yahweh's control over the rulers of the nations



Strophe IV

Verse 25: Yahweh – the incomparable God



Verse 26: Yahweh – Creator of the celestial bodies



Strophe V

Verse 27-31: Creator's hope and strength to His people



Verse 12: Can anyone measure Yahweh's entire creation?

The classification of the elements of nature (water, heaven, dust of the earth and mountains and hills) in v. 12 denote the totality of creation.[23] Using these elements of nature and the terminologies of measurement [מָדַד (to measure, to measure out or to verify the measurement), תָּכַן (to mark, to gauge), כּוּל (to measure), שָׁקַל (to weigh), שֹׁעַל (hollow hand), זֶרֶת (a span), שָׁלִישׁ (a measure), פֶּלֶס, (scale), and מֹאזְנַיִם (balance)] the prophet places the rhetorical question here: 'who can either with the natural measurement or with the measuring devices in all its proportions measure the physical quantity of the elements of the nature?' The implicit answer is either "no one" or "only Yahweh."[24] Therefore, the prophet here strongly affirms through his rhetorical questions that Yahweh – the God of Israel is the incomparable creator and He cannot be equated with anyone.[25]

Verses 13-14: Can anyone measure the Spirit of Yahweh or serve as His advisor?

The rhetorical questions continue even in v.13 and v.14 with the shift from Yahweh's supremacy/omnipotence over the entire creation to His infinite wisdom.

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[23] Representation of the same elements can be observed in the book of Psalms: 96:11; 135:6; 136:5-6; 146:6; 148:4-5). BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 131.

[24] NORTH opines that the answer to the question in v.12 is "Yahweh" and the answer to vv.13-14 would be "no one." CHRISTOPHER R. NORTH, *Second Isaiah – Introduction Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL-LV* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 83-84; WESTERMANN prefers 'no one' all cases. CLAUS WESTERMANN, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary* (OTL, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 44: The rhetorical question can be answered either by saying 'no one' or 'only Yahweh can do this. KOOLE, *Isaiah III*, 88; KARL ELLIGER, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja,* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 63 (Stuttgart; Kohlhammer, 1933), 47; JÜRGEN WERLITZ, *Redaktion und Komposition: Zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40-55* (BBB 12; Berlin: Philo, 1999), 214; BREVARD S. CHILDS, *Isaiah* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 308; SHALOM M. PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66. Translation and Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 138-139.

[25] MATTHIAS ALBANI opines that the affirmation of the incomparability of Yahweh mentioned here (12-17) should also be observed in the light of Yahweh in implicit contrast with the Babylonian imperial deity *Marduk* who, in creating the world, needed the advice of the wise god *Ea*. MATTHIAS ALBANI, *Der eine Gott und die himmlischen Heerscharen. Zur Begründung des Monotheismus bei Deuterojesaja im Horizant der Astralisierung des Gottesverständnisses im Alten Orient* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 130-132. The same view is expressed by other scholars too; CHRISTIAN STREIBERT, *Schöpfung bei Deuterojesaja und in der Priesterschrift: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung zu Inhalt und Funktion schöpfungstheologischer Aussagen in exilisch-nachexilischer Zeit* (BEAT 8; Frankfurt: Peterlang, 1993); cf. KOOLE, *Isaiah III*, 90; ELLIGER, *Deuterojesaja,* 47. The reference of v.12 to creation is denied by MCKENZIE and STUHLMUELLER. JOHN L. MCKENZIE, *Second Isaiah* (Anchor Bible: New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), 23; CARROLL STUHLMUELLER, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib, 43; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 146.

Just as no one is able to measure Yahweh's creation, similarly no one can ponder (measure or estimate) the Spirit of God or act as His counselor/advisor.[26] If one cannot measure the physical world, how he/she can measure God (i.e. measure the mind of Yahweh)?[27] Further, if no one can measure the mind of Yahweh, similarly it is also not possible for someone to instruct and counsel[28] the unique creator and the ruler of the entire universe.[29]

Verses 15-17: Nations are micro-particles before the creator and king 'Yahweh'

Vv.15-17 disclose supplementary disputations in relation to the nations with the introductory particle הֵן (behold) which describes the status of the nations before Yahweh.[30] Using the comparative particle כְּ the nations are reckoned as less than nothing and emptiness (in comparison to Yahweh; cf. 15.a, b, c and in v.17a)[31] and they are counted as the dust on the scales.[32] If the waters, heavens, mountains, hills, etc. are tiny-particles in the sight of Yahweh, surely the so-called great nations in the ANE are no greater than a tiny drop from a bucket.[33] The entire creation and the nations are negligible in quantity and quality in the sight of Yahweh,[34] which again underscore the kingship of Yahweh over the nations.

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[26] Indeed, only Yahweh Himself has the measure of all hearts/spirits (Prov 16:2). PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 141; CHILDS, *Isaiah,* 309.

[27] OSWALT does not view the spirit as the Holy Spirit but the mind of God. JOHN N. OSWALT, *The Book of Isaiah Chapter 40-66* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 91; BRUEGGEMANN observes this as the attack on Babylonian gods, claiming that "the gods of Babylon had too long impressed and intimidated the exiles." This appropriately reads into the verse material about other gods from vv.18-20, implies these gods are Babylonian gods, and inserts the idea that Israelites were intimidated. WALTER BRUEGGEMANN, *Isaiah 40-66* (Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: WJK, 1998), 23.

[28] The term עֵצָה (counsel/plan) is strongly mentioned in First Isaiah in the context of God's plan against the nations and the unfaithful in Israel (Isa 5:11; 11:2; 14:26; 19:17; 25:1; 28:29). But in DI it is used to emphasize Yahweh's plan with regard to the rebuilding of Jerusalem and Judah (Isa 44:26; 46:10, 11) and also His plan against the enemies of Israel. BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 133-134; cf. *BDB,* 420.

[29] WOLFGANG WERNER, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Vorstellung vom Plan Jahwehs* (BZAW 173; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1988), 107.

[30] KLAUS SEYBOLD, "Akrostichie bei Deuterojesaja?" in *Die Sprache der Propheten: Studien zur Literaturgeschichte der Prophetie* (Zürich: Pano Verlag, 1999), 200.

[31] RICHARD CLIFFORD, *Fair Spoken and Persuading: An Interpretation of Second Isaiah* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 80-81; CHILDS, *Isaiah,* 309.

[32] DAVID W. THOMAS, "A Drop of a Bucket – Some Observations on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah 40, 15" *BZAW* (1969) 221.

[33] SMITH, *Isaiah 40-66,* 111; KOOLE, *Isaiah III*, 95-96.

[34] The powerful nations in the ANE context were considered always as threat to the existence of Israel and therefore here the author possibly emphasizes in the context of exile that Yahweh, the

Verses 18-20: Created humankind cannot craft the creator God – Yahweh

This section begins with the interrogative particle וְאֶל־מִי 'to whom will you liken (compare).' This rhetorical question emphasizes that Yahweh cannot be compared (דָּמָה) with any carved image (דְּמוּת).[35] The prophet rejects or dismisses not only the comparableness of Yahweh in general, but he also conveys a strong objection especially against the visualization of Yahweh in any form of cultic images.[36] This is followed by a satirical presentation idol-fabrication in verses 19-20. Yahweh, whose creative actions and wisdom *(as the unique creator)* are immeasurable, who is incomparable cannot be engraved or crafted into a form of idol-image in the way how the other gods were crafted.[37]

Verses 21-24: Yahweh – the creator and king from the foundations of the earth

Verses 21-24 begin with the rhetorical questions (הֲלוֹא – introduced by the interrogative particle – הֲ and negative particle – לוֹא). One aspect is the repetition of the key word אֶרֶץ in v.21 with diverse meanings: foundations of the *earth*; above the circle of the *earth*; rulers of the *earth*; and taken root in the *earth*.[38] All these expressions depict Yahweh as the incomparable creator who exists from the foundations of the earth. Moreover, the succeeding verses emphasize Yahweh's sovereignty not only as creator but also as supreme king over the earthly princes. Yahweh is enthroned above the circle of the earth;[39] the inhabitants appear like a grasshopper;[40] and Yahweh stretches out the heaven like a curtain and brings the

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unique creator controls not only the history of Israel, but the history of the other nations too. KOOLE, *Isaiah III*, 96; BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 137.

[35] CASPER J. LABUSCHAGNE, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 142-153.

[36] ELLIGER, *Deuterojesaja,* 71; cf. BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 142; KOOLE, *Isaiah III*, 100-101.

[37] ELLIGER, *Deuterojesaja,* 42-43, 74; cf. BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 142; KOOLE, *Isaiah III*, 100-101.

[38] The repeated negative particle with the interrogative particle הֲלוֹא (v.21a, b, c) unites v.21 intact in a poetic style. KOOLE, *Isaiah III,* 106-112; BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 145; PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 148-151.

[39] God is referred here as a monarch who sits on the horizon of the sky, which forms a circle around the earth. The Mesopotamians also thought that the heavens were circular and referred to them as *kippat šamê/burūmê*, 'the circle of heaven/sky. ADOLF L. OPPENHEIM et. al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago (CAD),* Vol. 8: K (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1971) 397-399; WAYNE HOROWITZ, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 8; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 264-265; cf. PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 149; BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 149.

[40] According to the tradition of Psalms Yahweh's enthronement is in heavens (Ps. 2:4; 123:1).

princes to nothing.[41] After affirming Yahweh as creator, the prophet describes Him in v.23 as the one who has power to control the earthly kings who are also like grasshoppers (tiny-particles in the sight of Yahweh).

Verses 25-26: Yahweh – the incomparable creator of the celestial bodies

The initial expression of the fourth strophe וְאֶל־מִי תְדַמְּיוּנִי – 'to whom then will you compare/liken me?' (v.25a) again emphasizes that Yahweh cannot be replicated through an image or idol.[42] Further, the celestial bodies are described as things that were created by Yahweh and they fulfill the duties assigned to them by the creator.[43] It has to be noted that these verses (v.25 and v.26) never state directly that Yahweh is the creator of all the celestial bodies, however the implicit meaning and the strong implication is that, these wonders which one witnesses are the creative works of the Holy one, i.e. Yahweh.

Verses 27-31: Yahweh – the everlasting creator renews (recreates) His people

The final strophe (vv.27-31) of the entire pericope (vv.12-31) leads the disputation to its peak, where the subject matter is no more with regard to the immeasurability and incomparability of Yahweh rather it deals with Israel's particular complaint[44] against Yahweh in her disastrous-exilic situation.[45] Unlike the previous strophes the addressee 'Jacob/Israel' is mentioned here for the first time to

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[41] PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 148.

[42] The usage of this expression 'Holy one' is stressed throughout DI as the 'Holy one' of Israel too. BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 151; PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 151; KOOLE, *Isaiah III,* 112-113.

[43] JOHN GOLDINGAY and DAVID PAYNE, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55, Vol. 1* (ICC; New York: T & T Clark, 2006), 124; JOHN GOLDINGAY, *Message of Isaiah 40-55 – A Literary Theological Commentary* (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 58.

[44] MELUGIN compares the complaint in v.27 with the lament psalms. These lament begin with protest and conclude with the assurance of salvation. This can be observed in vv.28-31. ROY F. MELUGIN, "Deutero-Isaiah and Form Criticism," *VT* 21 (1971), 35 & 92; NAIDOFF, "Rhetoric of Encouragement," 73; GOLDINGAY, *Message of Isaiah 40-55,* 64.

[45] Israelites plight in Babylon is reflected here. They felt as if they were abandoned by Yahweh and there is no hope of salvation. PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 148; GOLDINGAY and PAYNE opine that the name Jacob/Israel empirically denotes the Judean refugees in Babylon. GOLDINGAY and PAYNE, *Isaiah 40-55,* 125. WATTS links these words to a group of people who feel that their life in Babylon in insignificant and they are no more important in the sight of God. WATTS, *Isaiah 34-66,* 94; WESTERMANN observes that the complaint presented here (v.27) is the crux of the entire argument in this pericope. WESTERMANN, *Isaiah 40-66,* 169; SMITH feels that, since there is no reference to exilic life in the passage, the historical setting of Isaiah 40:12-31 refer to the brief period when God allowed Assyrian army to attack and defeat all Judah except Jerusalem. SMITH, *Isaiah 40-66,* 116.

whom the entire pericope was addressed.[46] This reveals Yahweh's intimate relationship with His people – Israel. The everlasting God who is the creator of the ends of the earth does not faint, rather He renews (recreates) His people. This functional strophe of the entire pericope encourages the exiles and gives them the message of hope with regard to returning back to Jerusalem from the Babylonian exile who had lost their strength and hope.[47] Even in the context of giving hope to the people of Israel, the author emphasizes once again 'Yahweh as the creator of the ends of the earth.'

3. OBSERVATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF ENŪMA ELIŠ

Isaiah chapter 40 verses 12-31 were skillfully knitted by the prophet with the help of various literary devices which unite and keep the different strophes intact. The constructive development of the content in the successive strophes were well placed with the rhetorical questions by using the interrogative particles מִי (vv.12, 13, 14, 18, 25) and הֲ (vv. 21, 28). A sort of consistency can be observed in the presentation, where the prophet constructively develops his argument and declaration gradually not only through the rhetorical nuances, but also with the usage of chiastic patterns, lexeme, inclusio, assonance, acrostic style etc. One of the peculiarities of this entire unit is the 'thought progression' in the rhetorical questions which cover a few themes. These different themes were well focused cautiously to make sure that each disputation claims for faith in Yahweh on the basis of identifying Him as the 'incomparable creator and king' and for me this is the epitome of the Isaiah 40-48 which has been consistently emphasized even in the rest of the book.[48] The following is a skeletal structure of these attributes of Yahweh (creator and king) which are implicitly or explicitly underlined in each strophe:

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[46] CHILDS, *Isaiah,* 310. During the prophetic utterances, the prophets quote individuals or a group of peoples' grievances and then condemn, refute or console/comfort them, depending on the context. In this particular section, the prophet addresses the people's disappointment and insecurity and offers them solace. PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 153.

[47] KOOLE, *Isaiah III,* 128, ØYSTEIN LUND, *Way Metaphors and Way Topics in Isaiah 40-55* (Tübingen: Mehr Siebeck, 2007), 119; WESTERMANN, "Sprache und Struktur," 53; ELLIGER, *Deuterojesaja,* 102.

[48] Isa. 41:21; 43:10, 11, 15; 44:6, 8; 45: 6, 7, 12, 18, 21; 46:9; 47: 8, 10.

The function of this passage (Isaiah 40:12-31) is to give hope and to strengthen the exiled Israelites (vv.29-31), however, in order to reach to this point the author through the rhetorical questions describes and reminds who Yahweh is – "He is an incomparable God, Creator and King." The last strophe (vv.27-31) is the functional unit and the culminating point because this is clearly indicated by the addressee of this section 'Jacob/Israel.' Yahweh, who through the rhetorical questions was presented as the incomparable creator of the universe and the king of the nations, is addressing here personally to His beloved people (Jacob/Israel). This specifies the intimate relationship between Yahweh and His people; especially, with the people who were exiled in Babylon and who had lost hope in their incomparable creator and ultimate king (i.e. Yahweh).

3.1. Motifs of the Two Narratives: Isaiah 40:12-31 and Enūma eliš

Isaiah 40 vv.12-31 were not intended to chronologically record how the world came into existence, but it describes how greater the creator (Yahweh) is – whose creation cannot be measured, whose mind cannot be read, who does not need counsel/advice, the nations and rulers are nothing before Him – all these statements specify the role of Yahweh as the everlasting creator and the eternal king. However, the obvious questions are – why there is a systematic and strategic emphasis on the creatorship and kingship of Yahweh and why only these attributes and not the other attributes of Yahweh were highlighted? These questions lead to the possible thesis that in the Babylonian context where the prophet stated these attributes of Yahweh have distinctive significance when we juxtapose Isaiah 40:12-31 and the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma Eliš*. Some scholars perceive that this passage (Isaiah 40:12-31) has some influence from the Babylonian creation epic *Enūma Eliš*.[49] However, I hesitate to subscribe to those views and say that there was textual dependency or polemical exchanges. Simultaneously, I would not certainly reject the strategic and systematic progression that has been skillfully maintained in both the texts to elevate

[49] MATTHIAS ALBANI, *Der eine Gott und die himmlischen Heerscharen. Zur Begründung des Monotheismus bei Deuterojesaja im Horizant der Astralisierung des Gottesverständnisses im Alten Orient* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000), 130-132; BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 132-134; PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 138-139.

either *Marduk* as the warrior, king of gods and creator of the universe in *Enūma Eliš* or Yahweh as the incomparable creator and eternal king in Isaiah 40:12-31. A careful reading of *Enūma Eliš* would reveal the systematic presentation of the elevation of *Marduk* to the preeminent status in the divine hierarchy which is consistently emphasized. *Marduk's* elevation as supreme god/king and creator will be specifically mentioned below from selected verses:

3.1.1. *Marduk's* supremacy over gods and his kingship

Marduk offered to battle against *Tiamat* (II: 127-162) with the condition, that he will do so if he is given power to confer destinies (II: 155-162). *Marduk* was crowned as king (IV: 1-28). In addition, *Enūma Eliš* promotes a divine hierarchy in which *Marduk* was elevated among the other deities and became the king of gods (V: 109, 116). The gods authorized his kingship and agreed to follow all his decrees (V: 113-139). *Marduk's* authority over gods attained its peak specifically when he defeated goddess *Tiamat*. At the same time, when he placed the images of the defeated enemies in the temple in Babylon (V: 67-76), the gods rejoiced, brought gifts and praised him in unison "this is the king" (V: 77-88). In another instance, other gods stated, 'before, he (*Marduk*) was our son and now he is our king (V: 117-156).' Further, *Marduk's* kingship was confirmed by pronouncement of his names through which he was exalted above everything (VI: 92-116, VII). *Marduk's* divine kingship was portrayed as legitimate and preferable to an alternative power structure represented by *Qingu* and *Tiamat*.[50]

3.1.2. *Marduk* – the creator of the universe and humankind

Enūma eliš describes *Marduk* as the ultimate creator – the architect of the heavens and the earth and the one who had created humanity. After his victory over *Tiamat*, *Marduk* separated *Tiamat's* body into two parts and fashioned heaven (IV: 134-139). *Marduk* made abodes for the gods namely, *Ea*, *Enlil* and *Anu* (IV: 141-146) and he organized the cosmos by positioning the stars, planets, calendar, weather,

[50] DEBRA S. BALLENTINE, *The Conflict Myth and the Biblical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2015), 30-34.

and waters (V: 1-66).[51] *Marduk* wanted to create humankind so that gods can rest. Thus, *Ea* asked for one of their brothers to be fashioned as people and then *Ea* formed humankind form the blood of *Qingu* (VI: 11-36).[52] The creation of humankind was planned by *Marduk* and was executed by his father *Ea* (VI: 38). Thus *Marduk* was as acclaimed as the creator of the universe and humankind.

3.2. Similarities and Dissimilarities between Isaiah 40:12-31 and Enūma Eliš

A close reading of *Enūma eliš* and Isaiah 40:12-31 exposes the similarities and the dissimilarities that these texts contain. In order to examine the textual parallels and differences it is noteworthy to site the extracts from a few verses from both the texts: **(1)** For, *Enūma Eliš*, it was *Marduk* who created the heavenly hosts (V: 1ff), whereas Isaiah 40:21-22, 26 (cf.45:12, 18) underscores that Yahweh is the creator of the heavenly hosts; **(2)** In *Enûma Elîš* there is a strong belief that the gods had personal advisors in order to deal with various things. *Mummu* was referred as *tamlāku* (counselor) and god *Ea* counseled *Marduk* (I: 47ff; VI: 11ff), but Yahweh does not require advice or assistance from humankind and moreover nobody can teach/counsel Him or instruct Him, how to act and what to do (40: 13-14).[53] **(3)** *Enûma Elîš* elevates *Marduk* to the level of divine kingship (IV: 28; V: 85ff), however Isaiah 40: 15-17 and 23-24 (cf. 41:21; 43:15; 44:6) which consider the nations and the earthly rulers as nothing and stubble implicitly affirm the divine kingship of Yahweh who is the king of Israel among the greater nations in the ANE context; **(4)** *Enûma Elîš* depicts *Marduk* as the greatest of all gods and none can be compared to him. At the same time, *Marduk* who is considered as the victor over other gods, and over all the social and cosmic chaos, was applauded as the savior god, who can only save the cosmos and the people. (VI: 95ff) Whereas, Isaiah emphasizes repeatedly that Yahweh alone is God and He cannot be crafted or replicated through the idols-images (40:18-20, 21-23; cf. 43:11; 44:6, 8; 45:6, 21; 46:9); **(5)** One of the

[51] FOSTER, "Epic of Creation," 399.

[52] FOSTER, "Epic of Creation," 400. In the Mesopotamian context it is believed that male and female gods serve as advisors. ERICA REINER et. al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago (CAD),* Vol. 18: M1 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1977), 164.

[53] cf. ALBANI, *Der eine Gott,* 131-133; BERGES, *Jesaja 40-48,* 134, 136; PAUL, *Isaiah 40-66,* 140-141; WOLFGANG WERNER, *Studien zur alttestamentlichen Vorstellung vom Plans Jahwes* (BZAW 173; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1988), 114.

important concepts that has been repeated constantly is the acclamation of *Marduk* as the unique god in *Enûma Elîš*. He is praised by the other deities and given fifty names in the assembly of gods and above all, he was exalted as the one who has not equal among the gods (VII: 14f; VI: 96). The same tone can be noticed in Isaiah 40, where the author frequently emphasizes on the theme – 'incomparability of Yahweh (40: 18-20; 25-26; cf. 47:8, 10).'

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the observations made from the brief analysis of Isaiah 40:12-31 and the selected sections from *Enûma Elîš,* I would like to conclude that Isaiah 40 vv.12-31 emphatically describe through the rhetorical questions and the declarative statements that Yahweh is the incomparable creator and the everlasting/eternal king. Similarly, the concepts such as king and creator can also be observed in the Babylonian creation epic *Enûma Elîš.* Although the elements of kingship and creatorship have been handled in both the texts, one cannot directly assume the possibility of total intertextual dependence. According to my opinion, although these texts have used the common themes (creator and king) and they have been completely treated in different perspectives with ultimately different intentions and functions. *Enûma Eliš's* emphasis of *Marduk's* supremacy among the gods and his divine kingship and his creative power – all these concepts were designed in such a way to elevate the position of *Marduk* in the Mesopotamian pantheon, which ultimately has its own religious, political and cultural reasons in its milieu. Similarly, Isaiah's emphasis on Yahweh as the unique creator and the supreme king has its own purpose and function. This is more evident from the functional unit of the text (40:27-31) which picturizes the exilic condition – a life without any hope and future and a complete distrust in their God – Yahweh. Therefore, the prophet inculcates hope in the context of hopelessness by emphasizing Yahweh as the incomparable creator and the eternal king who can save them from any situation and moreover, they were asked to wait for this creator and king so that they will be renewed. Renewal can also be considered here as Yahweh's activity of creation, i.e. recreating or rejuvenating His people – Israel. In addition, there is a great difference between

the narrations of the creation themes in Isaiah 40:12-31 and Genesis 1. The description of creation in the primeval history is more or less a chronological presentation of the origin of the universe and all that in it. It also carries a sort of polemical presentation according to the traditional biblical scholarship in the light of *Enûma Eliš*.[54] Nevertheless, Isaiah (40:12-31) was not intended to give a chronological description about creation, rather, these verses elevate the position of Yahweh as creator and king through the rhetorical questions without being polemic in their rendering. In addition, one can specifically note the concepts of creatorship and kingship were strongly underscored both in Isaiah 40:12-31 and Enûma Eliš, which is not so obvious in rest of the OT. Therefore, the depiction of Yahweh as creator and king in Isaiah 40:12-31 is more remarkable and this strategic usage of creation in particular terminates the age-old understanding and emphasis of creation as an ancillary concept and only has a functionary role to the concept of salvation history.

--- ARAVIND JEYAKUMAR MONIRAJ



[54] ALEXANDER HEIDEL, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1951), 1; David Tsumura, "The Earth and the Waters in Genesis 1 and 2: A Linguistic Investigation" *JSOT*, 83 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 42-43.

Focal points of discussion

1. Are there aspects of siege warfare that should be further highlighted?
2. Does the examination of masculinities seem relevant? If it does, what pitfalls could this theoretical framework have for the study?
3. How does the model of conceptual blending work with these texts?

"You have not gone up into the breaches": Siege Warfare and Masculinity in the Metaphorical Condemnation of Prophets in Ezekiel 13 and 22

The Book of Ezekiel continues to be a focus of numerous studies that are concerned with various issues of gender. This is hardly surprising, as the book and especially the metaphors present in chapters 16 and 23 contain some of the most graphic depictions of gendered violence in the Hebrew Bible.[1] While certain texts of the book definitely stand out, scholars have also suggested that the gendered metaphors and language of Ezekiel are not limited to isolated sections but could for example be a way of expressing disruption in cosmic order[2] or priestly concerns of profanation[3] that are present in different parts of the book. Some studies have read the gendered language of Ezekiel in a wider ancient Near Eastern context and utilized comparatively texts such as city laments.[4] Others have adapted more contemporary terms and phenomena such as "revenge-pornography" or "slut-shaming" as interpretative tools[5] to elucidate the often problematic and troubling texts. The diversity and the number of recent studies show that the issues of gender are difficult to separate from the interpretation of the texts of Ezekiel.

Some of the recent assessments of the book and gender note that Ezekiel contains interesting constructions of masculinities. It has been suggested that the book constructs a scribal ideal where masculine qualities and power are linked with the ability to write.[6] Other studies focus primarily on the character of the titular prophet whose actions seem to run counter to the ideals of masculine performance and strength.[7] However, it should be noted that Ezekiel is by no means the only male character in the book. In chapters 13 and 22, Ezekiel faces and condemns his counterparts, the prophets of Israel. As the chapter 13 seems to divide the prophets into male and female groups, it is appropriate ask if the gender and masculinity play any role in the condemnation of male prophets of Israel.

In this paper, I focus on a feature that significantly is present in the Masoretic text of both Ezekiel 13:5 and 22:30. Both verses convey the accusation that the prophets of Israel have not come for the defense of the city. More specifically, they have not gone up or stood in the breach. In scholarship, there is a general agreement that these metaphorical verses suggest the failure of the prophets.[8]

[1] See for instance Yee 2003, 111-112; Moughtin-Mumby 2008, 159.
[2] Kamionkowski 2003, 7-9.
[3] Goldstein 2009, 57-60.
[4] Petter, 2011, 85-89; Peterson 2012, 205-26.
[5] Morse 2018, 129-130.
[6] Boer 2013, 215, 223.
[7] Graybill 2016, 97-100.
[8] See for instance Zimmerli 1979, 292-293; Greenberg 1983, 236; Block 1997, 401.

However, it has not been studied if the condemnation has any effect on their perceived masculinity. Is there a link between the language of warfare and the issue of gendered performances? If such connection exists, why could the concern with masculinity be an effective part of the characterization and condemnation of this prophetic group?

Besieged prophets in Ezekiel 13 and 22.

First, it is necessary to focus on the texts in question. The prophets of Israel are condemned twice in the book of Ezekiel, first in the chapter 13, which as a whole can be viewed as a condemnation of prophetic activity and secondly and more briefly in Ezekiel 22.[9] In a highly metaphorical passage of Ezekiel 13, the legitimacy of the prophets is thoroughly questioned. They are dehumanized with a simile that compares them to jackals in ruins and they are destroyed by the wrath of Yahweh that is manifested in weather phenomena such as rain and storm. It is notable that the section can be viewed as the first half of a larger whole where the prophesying women are afterwards condemned (verses 17-23). Therefore, it may be assumed that the first half of the text is concerned with the male prophets.[10]

The prophets of Ezekiel 13:1-16 are primarily defined by their faulty message that does not come from Yahweh but from their own hearts. During the time of impending judgement and disaster, they promised peace and were able to generate a sense of false security among the people. Additionally, the text seems to suggest that they were a well-established group in Jerusalem. The people willingly listened to them.[11] This position of authority is later reaffirmed in chapter 22 where prophets are condemned alongside officials and priests who represent the elites of the land.[12]

While the whole chapter of Ezekiel 13 is important for the construction of the negative image of prophets, the text of primary importance for this study is verse 13:5.

> 13:5 לֹֽא־עֲלִיתֶ֣ם בַּפְּרָצוֹת֮ וַתִּגְדְּרוּ֒ גָּדֵ֤ר עַל־בֵּית֙ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל לַעֲמֹ֥ד בַּמִּלְחָמָ֖ה בְּי֣וֹם יְהוָֽה

> 13:5 You have not gone up into the breaches, or built a wall for the house of Israel, to stand in battle in the day of the Lord.

It is necessary to note that the verse contains some differences between the MT and LXX. For instance, Septuagint addresses the prophets in third person, which is similar to the preceding verse 13:4. Even more notably the Greek text lacks the reference to breach and instead states that the

[9] Duguid 1994, 92-98.
[10] See for instance Stökl 2013, 61.
[11] Duguid 1994, 93-95.
[12] Zimmerli 1979, 466.

prophets do not stand on "solid foundation"[13] However, the imagery of the Masoretic text is relatively clear. Ezekiel 13:5 accuses prophets of three things. They have not gone into the breach, they have not built a wall, and they have not stood in the battle in the day of the Lord. It is now necessary to assess this statement.

First, the accusation seems to refer to the situation of siege warfare, a form of combat that often ensued when one side had considered battlefield too risky and opted for defensive warfare inside a closed city.[14] In the case of Ezekiel 13:5, the enemies are positioned outside city walls and are trying to break through them.[15] While the verse is not lengthy, it nonetheless alludes to a situation of significant importance. As noted by Elizabeth Block-Smith, a wealth of prophetic texts in the Hebrew bible contain references to sieges. There is a certain historical reality behind these texts. From the late 8th century onwards, Assyrian and Babylonian armies conducted assaults against the cities of Israel and Judah. Integral to this type of warfare was the utilization of battle rams and siege towers which proved to be an effective combination. In this historical context, the wars of Israel and Judah were primarily wars of defense.[16]

It has been suggested that the experience of siege warfare could have been one of the significant aspects that informed later biblical texts and possibly apocalyptic traditions.[17] Siege was not a quick method of warfare but could last for a significant period of time.[18] It could be a blockade that aimed to eventually deplete the resources and disrupt the ordinary life of the city. This meant that aside from the threat of starvation, the siege affected sanitation and the status of hygiene, which could be difficult to maintain even in a peaceful situation.[19] As the duration of siege extended, morale on both sides could erode, and living conditions of the city would eventually arrive to a point where constant defense was difficult to maintain.[20] Invaders could apply psychological pressure against the physically and mentally fatigued inhabitants of the besieged city and make the surrender an appealing

[13]Cooke 1936, 139; Olley 2009, 306. Zimmerli (1979, 286) argues that the Greek text could be a result of the translation of corrupted Hebrew text.
[14] Eph'al 2009, 1-2.
[15]See for instance Brownlee 1986, 188. A Slightly different interpretation is given by Greenberg (1983, 236) and Daniel Block (1997, 401) who understand the verse as a metaphor that evokes an idea of vineyard that is threatened by marauders. However, the fact that prophets are required to go up to the breaches seems to point to city walls that are accessed with a counter-ramp during the time of breach. See Eph'al 2009, 95-96.
[16] Block-Smith 2018, 19-21, 28.
[17] Hobbs, 1989, 177-181.
[18] For instance, the siege of Babylon by Ashurbanipal lasted for 22 months. However, in comparison the Biblical account of the three-year siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser V may not be historically accurate. See Eph'al 2009, 111.
[19] Borowski 2003, 80.
[20] Hobbs, 1989, 177-181.

option. However, as the resources were a critical issue for the attacking troops, the resolve of invaders could be weakened, and the besieged city would prevail.[21]

It is evident that sieges were complex situations with multiple possible outcomes that could be achieved in various ways. However, a siege could definitely end with a successful breakthrough of invaders. Theoretically this outcome could be achieved in three ways. The attacking troops could reach the city with ladders, dig tunnels, or use a battering ram to break the walls.[22] As the text of Ezekiel 13:5 refers to a breach, it is necessary to focus on the latter method of breakthrough.

The attempt of breach can be seen as a process of three important phases. First, the invaders would need to construct a ramp that would carry the battering ram and soldiers to the walls of the city. Then the ram was transported by the soldiers to the wall. Finally, the battering ram could breach the wall and allow the attackers to reach the besieged city. This was not a process that could be achieved in secrecy during a short period of time. The defenders of the city could effectively disrupt the construction of the ramp with arrows and prevent the transportation of the battering ram. In other words, the breach could be prevented relatively early if the defenders were skilled enough.[23]

The text of Ezekiel 13:5 supposes that the invaders had been relatively successful in their mission since the breach had happened. and the only way to prevent the defeat was to go into the breach and fight off the invaders. While this action was very risky and meant chaotic combat of close quarters, the breach could be repaired. The wall (גָּדֵר) mentioned in the text could realistically refer to a barricade that was constructed after the initial attack was countered. In that situation it would be essential to utilize the most capable troops. Even their leaders could be present to increase the motivation.[24]

A single verse cannot possibly convey all the intricacies of a complex historical phenomenon such as siege warfare. Indeed, the text of Ezekiel 13:5 does not fully represent the reality of besieged city and does not mention the horrors that were caused by starvation and disease. However, text seems to be accurate in the sense that it recognizes the point of breach as a pivotal moment in combat. Ezekiel 13:5 understands that breach is the moment where the adequacy and the courage of defenders are emphasized.[25]

[21] Eph'al 2009, 67, 106-113.
[22] Eph'al 2009, 68. Eph'al notes that ladders were the most preferred method of breakthrough as they required few troops, were quick and could surprise the enemy. The battering ram was often the least preferred method.
[23] Eph'al 2009, 84.
[24] Eph'al 2009, 95-96.
[25] Eph'al 2009, 96.

Furthermore, the siege and the invasion in Ezekiel 13 is entirely commanded by Yahweh. As stated in the verse, the siege and breach happen during the day of the Lord, which signifies their nature as important aspects of divine judgement. Even though the attackers may be Babylonians, the situation is in hands of Yahweh who is able to create the outcome. If the inhabitants of Jerusalem would demonstrate certain obedience, they would be victorious. However, since they are not able to do the will of God, they are condemned to a defeat.[26] This significant feature of the text may be related to the historical reality of siege warfare where Yahweh could not be conceptualized as a deity who would lead his people into victories and conquests against the enemies and neighboring peoples.[27]

The theme of breach is present second time in the Masoretic text of Ezekiel 22:30.[28]

> וָאֲבַקֵּשׁ מֵהֶם אִישׁ גֹּדֵר־גָּדֵר וְעֹמֵד בַּפֶּרֶץ לְפָנַי בְּעַד הָאָרֶץ לְבִלְתִּי שַׁחֲתָהּ וְלֹא מָצָאתִי 22:30
>
> 22:30 And I looked for a man among them, who would build a wall, and stand in the breach before me for the land, that I might not destroy it, but I found none.

This verse conveys a situation of breakthrough during the siege, which is similar to the text of Ezekiel 13:5. The verse, however, does not explicitly mention any specific groups such as prophets. Nevertheless, the preceding context implies that prophets are one group from which Yahweh seeks a man to stand in the breach. The section of Ezekiel 22:23-31 can be understood as a passage that is concerned with the evil and corruption that pervades all authorities and institutions as the Masoretic text condemns priests, prophets, officials, and a rather vague group called "people of the land"[29]

In comparison to the content of Ezekiel 13, Ezekiel 22 contains some similar themes. For instance, the prophets are accused of daubing with plaster, which is similar to the accusation of Ezekiel 13:10-11. However, the context is significantly different as the prophets are mentioned here as a one group among other authorities.[30] In other words, Ezekiel 22 sees prophecy as one of the important institutions that have failed in their duties.

[26] Eichrodt 1986, 164
[27] Block-Smith 2018, 24-25, 28.
[28] The Septuagint interestingly does not contain imagery of siege warfare and breaches. Zimmerli 1979, 466.
[29] In the scope of this paper it is not possible to discuss the issue of verse 25. The Masoretic text of the verse compares prophets to lions. However, the Septuagint is not concerned with prophets but princes. For the arguments concerning this verse, see for instance Bowen 2010, 136. It is also worth noting that the oracle such as 22:23-31 is not unique to the Ezekiel. In fact, a notably similar section can be found in the beginning of the third chapter of the Book of Zephaniah. See Zimmerli 1979, 466-467.
[30] Zimmerli 1979, 469.

Interestingly in verse 22:30 Yahweh states that he has actively been looking for a man who could stand in breach. This may give this text certain gendered aspect. Nonetheless, the text of Ezekiel 22 later claims that all these people share similar consequences due to their actions or inactions. The wrath of Yahweh destroys both prophets and other influential groups of the land who have failed to stand in the breach. While the text does not necessarily give more information about the siege warfare and prophets, it shows that siege could be utilized as a metaphor with different groups.

Masculinity and warfare

Texts of Ezekiel 13:5 and 22:30 show that the prophets and other groups of authority can be condemned with the imagery of siege warfare. While the imagery of siege and the eventual breach may be effective in illustrating the failures of these groups in the most critical moment, it may also contain implications that rise from the presence of gendered ideas. As previously noted, the text of Ezekiel 13 as a whole creates a gendered division of prophesying groups. Likewise, Ezekiel 22 could be interpreted as a text in which God seeks specifically a man who could stand in a breach. These texts seem to contain some gendered dimensions that cannot be dismissed from the analysis.

As these texts are concerned with male groups, the issue of masculinity becomes their most central gendered aspect. However, masculinity can be a difficult subject to define. As stated by R. W. Connell, masculinity "is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experiences, personality and culture."[31] This means that masculinity has aspects that are both relational and performative.

When masculinity is understood as relational it means that it is not a quality that is shared equally by all men. A biological male can be considered to be lacking masculine traits or he can have them aplenty.[32] Instead, different men occupy different spaces on a spectrum of various relational masculinities. That which is considered the highest or most ideal state masculinity can be understood as hegemonic masculinity.[33] While this masculinity often is highly ideal, it nonetheless provides a set of expectations that many men willingly want to fulfill. Motivated by the benefits of hegemonic masculinity, males may represent complicit masculinities that effectively uphold the ideal status of hegemonic masculinity. However, some men lack traits that are important to the hegemonic ideal. These men would represent subordinate masculinities who can become victims of oppression.[34]

[31] Connell 2005, 71.
[32] For overview of the subject, see for instance Asikainen 2018, 3-17.
[33] Lipka 2016, 177.
[34] Connell 2005, 77-80.

The hegemonic masculinity is not something that is essential or cannot change over time. Instead, masculinities are always related to certain historical context. There is always a question whether it is possible to know enough about the gendered aspects of ancient world or biblical texts. However, they most definitely are products of patriarchal culture, where masculinity was emphasized. Willingness to represent the ideals of hegemonic masculinity is often encouraged in such context.[35]

But what is the central quality of the ideal masculinity in the context of Hebrew bible, if there is any? According to Hilary Lipka, it seems to be related to strength. While male strength could manifest in various settings such as domestic households, it would clearly be present in warfare, where both the physical strength and inner resolve of an individual man would be evaluated. A successful warrior could retain his masculinity and status within the community.[36] The performative aspects of masculinity are emphasized in the biblical contexts.

What could the failure in masculine performance mean? The deviance from the hegemonic masculinity can be viewed as effeminate. For instance, Jeremiah 51:30 states that the might of Yahweh is able to cause such fear that the warriors of Babylon become women. Elsewhere in the same book the panic of soldiers is compared to the travails of childbirth. These texts show that the loss of self-control due to mortal fear was considered highly negative and against hegemonic ideals. A failure to perform adequately in the battle could mean total undermining of masculinity.[37]

These texts show that language that utilizes gender and masculinity has tremendous potential as an ideological tool that can be used encourage certain behavior.[38] Masculinity was clearly at stake in the settings of combat and warfare. In battle, a man would not only risk his life but also his masculinity. While a successful performance could bring honor, a failure to represent the qualities of ideal masculinity brought shame that could be described as an overwhelming situation in biblical texts. It would mean the possible association with subordinate masculinities, which were often scorned by those who would pursue the hegemonic ideals.[39]

Introducing the Blend of Prophesying and City Defence

Now, it is possible to note some issues that are integral to the assessment of these metaphors. First, these texts are concerned with prophets. This is explicit in Ezekiel 13 and while Ezekiel 22 targets various groups, prophets are one of them. Second, the metaphor clearly involves ideas of siege warfare, and it refers to a point of breach where the battle is to be decided. Third, there is an issue of

[35] Nissinen 2016, 222.
[36] Lipka 2016, 177-178.
[37] Lipka 2016, 181-182.
[38] Chapman 2004, 8-10.
[39] Lipka 2016, 176-177.

gender. It seems clear that warfare and masculinity are linked. Warfare provided a setting where masculine performance could clearly be either a success or a failure. Furthermore, the texts of Ezekiel in question give some importance to gender.

It is now necessary to assess how this metaphor would work. How do the elements of prophesying, warfare and gender form this metaphorical expression? For this purpose, I will apply the theory of conceptual blending. Introduced by Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, the theory of conceptual blending explains how the cognitive processes can create various emergent structures and meanings. These conceptual blends can be visible as metaphors that are present in images or texts. Blending can be illustrated as a conceptual integration network that can be a so called single-scope network where two mental spaces or input spaces share a generic space and form a blended space.[40] The blend is a result of selective projecting, which means that it does not contain every element of the input spaces.[41]

There are several good reasons for such networks to exist. Fauconnier and Turner note that the blending gives insight to abstract concepts that need to be understood and additionally invokes emotions in the process. This means that complex concepts such as prophecy can achieve human scale through the conceptual integration.[42] These features make the use of metaphors an effective strategy in persuasion.[43] In other words, if a text aims to discredit some group, the presence of metaphorical expressions is not surprising.

In Ezekiel 13:5, one input space of the metaphor contains prophesying. This can be viewed as action where certain agents (prophets) transmit divine messages (action) to audiences (object). Ezekiel 13 as a whole does not seem to be very specific about the intricacies of false prophecy. The actions of prophets in verses 1-16 are occasionally equated with lies, divinations, and seeing vanities but it is difficult to ascertain any definite or clearly stated process of acquiring divine knowledge. The only thing that the text clearly states is that the prophesying of the groups does not originate from Yahweh but from their own hearts.[44]

The text of Ezekiel clearly links prophesying to the survival of Jerusalem. If the prophets had been adequate, they would have been able to express Yahweh's demands to the people. This could have led to an entirely different future.[45] However, the effects of such communication are dependent on

[40] Fauconnier & Turner 2002, 126. For applications of theory in Old testament context, see for instance Hecke 2005, Descamp 2009 and Gray 2014.
[41] Descamp 2007, 26-27.
[42] Fauconnier & Turner 2002, 322-324
[43] Steuter & Wills 2008, 204.
[44] Duguid 1994, 94.
[45] Eichrodt 1986, 185.

the interaction of the prophetic groups with their audiences who have a certain role in the receiving of prophecy.[46] If prophecy has consequences, they are not directly caused by the actions of prophets.

The other input space of the blending is concerned with city defense. This conceptual space contains agents, actions, objects and consequences. However, these are fairly different when compared to prophecy. Defenders of the city have a clear and tangible goal during the breach. They need to fight off the invaders, go to the breach and repair it with a makeshift wall. If this does succeed, the immediate danger is averted, but in the case of failure the changes of survival have dramatically diminished. In other words, the survival of the city is directly related to the actions of the defenders. While this is not an accurate description of the complexities of the siege, it is a suitably compact presentation of combat where individual character and gendered performance matters.

When the conceptual blending is represented with a single-scope conceptual integration network (see figure 1), it is possible to see how these spaces. First, they share a general space of agent, action, object and consequences. However, as noted before, these domains are very different. By blending prophesying and siege warfare, the metaphor raises the stakes of prophesying to heightened levels. For instance, if the metaphor conceptualizes the relatively abstract attitudes of the audience with the very concrete wall that can be repaired[47], the metaphor implies that prophets have a direct way of affecting the people.

If prophesying is understood on the terms of warfare, it becomes a concrete struggle for the survival. Furthermore, due to the representation of siege warfare as a breach, prophets have direct responsibility over the destruction or safety of Jerusalem. While adequately performed prophecy could be important for the security of Yahweh's people, the metaphor allows the text to emphasize the consequences of its corruption in the most dramatic fashion. The catastrophe is blamed entirely on the prophets. If they had better characteristics, the destruction could have been averted.

But what could those characteristics be. Going to the breach can be understood as an act that requires strength and courage. As noted before, these qualities are related to hegemonic masculinity. Fighting invaders and risking one's life corresponds to both physical and mental constitution. As the prophets fail this performance, the metaphor would then imply the undermining of their masculinity. This allows the metaphor to highlight the shame of the prophetic group. In other words, the martial imagery helps to further emphasize the idea of compromised prophecy in Jerusalem. Not only is the legitimacy and skill of the prophets questioned, but also their gendered qualities are undermined.

[46] Nissinen 2005, 21.
[47] See Brownlee 186, 188.

The failure of masculinity is not explicitly stated in the texts of Ezekiel 13:5 and 22:30. However, metaphors often utilize implication. For instance, if a group is metaphorically compared to vermin, it is not necessary to explicitly claim for their extermination.[48] Of course, much of this is dependent on what knowledge the authors and audience of metaphor have about warfare and masculinity. However, as the Book of Ezekiel is elsewhere highly concerned with the gendered imagery, it seems possible that author would understand the potential of utilizing the ideals of hegemonic masculinity.

Conclusions

In this paper I have examined the metaphor that conceptualizes the prophets of Israel as defenders of the city during the siege. The metaphor creates an image that makes the prophets contemptible and demonstrates their centrality to the fall of Jerusalem. The text, which utilizes conceptual blending can convey a direct connection with inadequate prophecy and the destruction of the city. Metaphor seems to express an idea that prophets could directly have saved Jerusalem if they had adequately transmitted the words of Yahweh.

Warfare was a situation where masculine performance could be evaluated. Biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts show that cowardice becomes linked with the compromised masculinity, shame, and feminine traits. If the text conceptualizes prophesying with warfare, it is possible that the prophets of Israel carry heightened and highly gendered shame that is easily achieved with the metaphorical expression.

In Ezekiel 13:5 prophets are the only group that is affected by the metaphor. However, in Ezekiel 22:30 they are part of a larger issue. Not a single group or person in Israel is adequate enough to stop the eventual catastrophe. If that text is concerned with specifically male authorities, a metaphor of siege warfare could effectively undermine the masculinity of every figure of authority.

However, more issues remain to be explored. As metaphors often form networks, it is necessary to analyze the metaphor of siege in the context of other metaphors of Ezekiel 13. Moreover, in Ezekiel 13 the prophets of Israel form only a one half of a larger condemnation that also contains the peculiar description of prophesying “Daughters of your people”. Do these halves have either complementing or contrasting gendered imagery. For instance, if warfare is related to the masculinity, could references to trapping be imagery that is used to target especially female prophets in Ezekiel 13:17-23. Furthermore, it is necessary to assess how the compromised masculinity of the prophets contrasts with the masculinity of Ezekiel.

[48] Chilton 2005, 39-41.

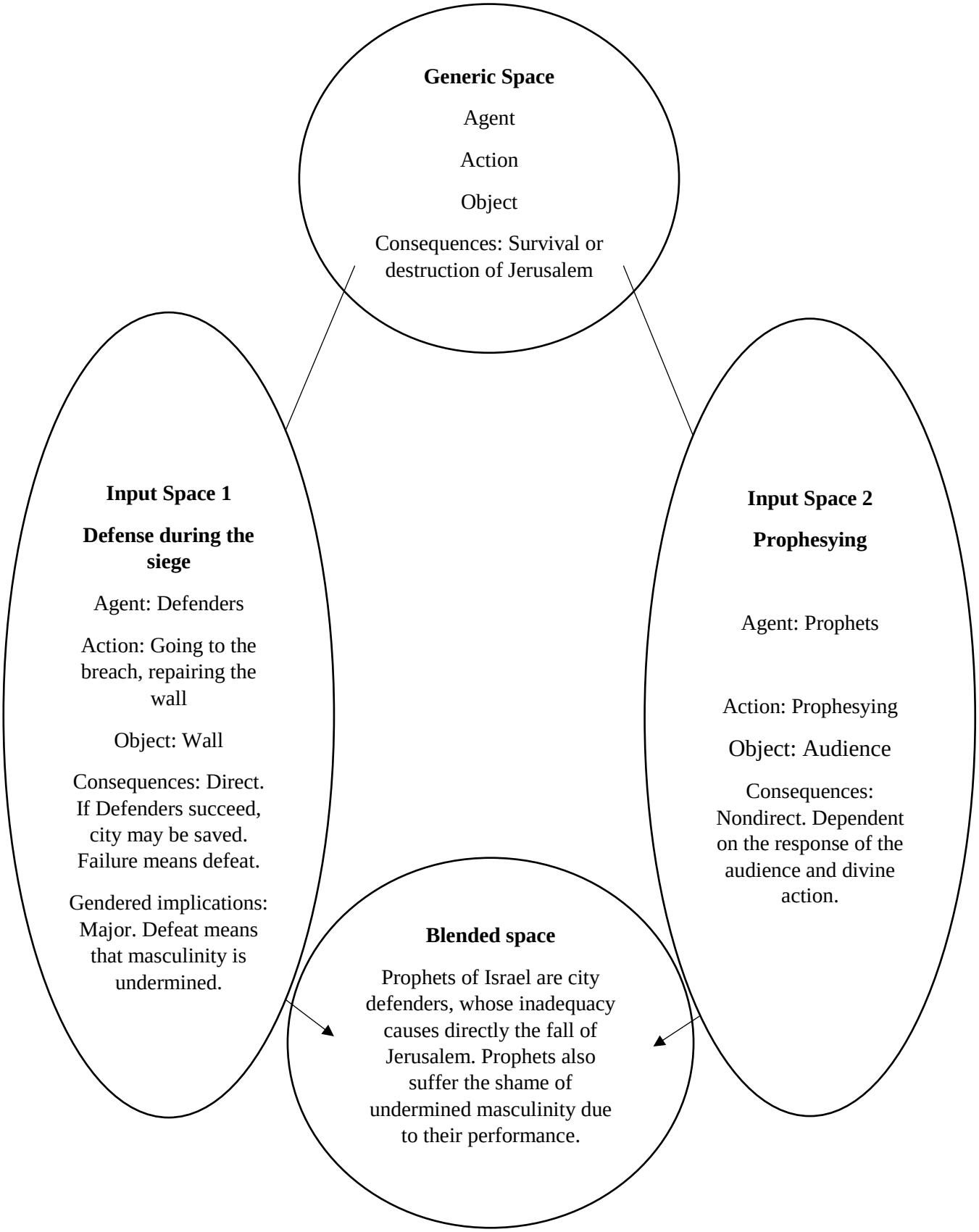


Figure 1. Single-scope network of city defense and prophesying

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"Speaking with My Heart:"
Constructing The Qohelet Persona in Ecclesiastes 1:12-2:21

❖ Preface: points of discussion

1. Narrative in-text readings and analyses of Ecclesiastes are rare and uncommon especially concerning Qohelet's persona. How insightful is this paper to your understanding of the book in general? Is it in-depth enough? What can be improved about the content or the structure of the paper?

2. I would like to know how important my own translation and textual notes are to the paper that I am presenting and whether it has taken up too much of my length. Since I am conducting the analysis from a narrative perspective, it seems to me that my comprehension of the text should be thorough enough to deal with the textual details. However, this may be subjective, and I am still searching for the perfect balance for producing an informative paper.

3. Keywords: Qohelet, first-person narrative, persona

I. Introduction

There is a tendency in Ecclesiastes research that scholars like to focus on Qohelet's historical identity, namely, the author. Although it has been proven unlikely that Qohelet is Solomon himself, speculations have put their attentions toward his royal identity, especially when the epilogist mentions him transcribing words of wisdom as a sage. However, seldom is Qohelet's speech revisited as a path to understanding and reconstructing his character through narrative perspective. Observed by Stuart Weeks, it is apparent that the book has "a character who creates his own character: whether Qohelet is the author or, in some sense, a persona of the author, he is presented as the principal speaker."[1] In the task of revealing who he really is—as a character—according to his own words, this paper seeks to explore the construction of the Qohelet persona as the main figure who addresses life-worthy questions, particularly in Eccl 1:16-2:21 where he first speaks from a first-person stance. Instead of the traditional route

[1] Weeks, *Ecclesiastes and Scepticism*, 21.

of deciphering historical evidences to understand Qohelet as *a person*, how can reconstructing Qohelet as *a persona* from the text contribute to the puzzle of his identity? Thus, this paper will draw from the narrative reading of the passage, arguing that the individuality of the Qohelet persona is molded through the high frequency of the first-person pronoun אֲנִי [2] with the actions or emotions that follows. Moreover, the character is shaped through some personification of objects such as "my heart (לִבִּי)," [3] "my wisdom (חָכְמָתִי)," [4] "my eyes (עֵינַי)," [5] or "my hands (יָדַי)." [6] Although these personified objects do not have their own characters, Qohelet uses them to create space for dialogue in his speech.

II. Translation and Notes

- **Eccl 1:12-18 Translation**

Verse	MT	Translation
1:12	אֲנִי קֹהֶלֶת הָיִיתִי מֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם:	I, Qohelet,[a] was a king over Israel in Jerusalem,[b]
13	וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־לִבִּי לִדְרוֹשׁ וְלָתוּר בַּחָכְמָה עַל כָּל־אֲשֶׁר נַעֲשָׂה תַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם הוּא	עִנְיַן רָע נָתַן אֱלֹהִים לִבְנֵי הָאָדָם לַעֲנוֹת בּוֹ:	and I gave my heart to care and to investigate, with wisdom,[a] over all that is done under the heavens.[b] It is a task[c] of evil God has given[c] to human beings to be concerned about it.
14	רָאִיתִי אֶת־כָּל־הַמַּעֲשִׂים שֶׁנַּעֲשׂוּ תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ וְהִנֵּה הַכֹּל הֶבֶל וּרְעוּת רוּחַ:	I have seen all the works that were carried out under the sun, and look, everything is a puff of wind[a] and a pursuit of emptiness.[b]
15	מְעֻוָּת לֹא־יוּכַל לְהִתָּנוֹת:	What is bent cannot be straightened; what is missing cannot be counted.
16	דִּבַּרְתִּי אֲנִי עִם־לִבִּי לֵאמֹר אֲנִי הִנֵּה	I spoke with my heart,[a] saying, "I,[b] look, had made myself great and gained

[2] A total of 14 times in this passage. Cf. Eccl 1:12, 16 (x2); 2:1, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 (x3), 18 (x2), 20.
[3] A total of 11 times in this passage. Cf. Eccl 1:13. 16, 17; 2:1, 3 (x2), 10 (x2), 15 (x2), 20.
[4] Cf. 2:9.
[5] Cf. 2:10.
[6] Cf. 2:11.

	הִגְדַּלְתִּי וְהוֹסַפְתִּי חָכְמָה עַל כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־ הָיָה לְפָנַי עַל־יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם וְלִבִּי רָאָה הַרְבֵּה חָכְמָה וָדָעַת:	wisdom[c,d] over all who were before me over Jerusalem.[e]" And my heart has greatly saw[f] wisdom and knowledge."[g]
17	וָאֶתְּנָה לִבִּי לָדַעַת חָכְמָה וְדַעַת הוֹלֵלוֹת וְשִׂכְלוּת יָדַעְתִּי שֶׁגַּם־זֶה הוּא רַעְיוֹן רוּחַ:	So I put my heart[a] to understanding wisdom and to understanding delusion and foolishness. I observed that even this itself is a striving of emptiness.
18	כִּי בְּרֹב חָכְמָה רָב־כָּעַס וְיוֹסִיף דַּעַת יוֹסִיף מַכְאוֹב:	For in much wisdom is much annoyance,[a] and one who enhances knowledge will increase agony.

- **Textual Notes and Comments**

1:12a. "I, Qohelet" → The first-person pronoun אֲנִי occurs 29 times in Ecclesiastes. Tremper Longman has noted that the usage of the word in Ecclesiastes suggests that the book is late.[7] The word or appellative קֹהֶלֶת occurs 7 times in the book, but the meaning is debatable as whether it is rooted from *qal/qwl/qôl* ("calling"), a rare Assyrian root *ku'ulu* ("assemble"), or simply as a translation error from Aramaic.[8] There is a certain consensus to understand it as the "leader of the assembly, speaker in the assembly," although Botterseck and Ringgren advises to follow the LXX *ekklēsiástēs*, "member of the *ekklēsía*."[9] Apparently, the meaning of the term קֹהֶלֶת is still open to discussion.

12b. "king over Israel in Jerusalem" → The combination of "over Israel" (as opposed to "over Judah") and "in Jerusalem" entails only two possible kings: David and Solomon. In the bible Saul, David, and Solomon are directly referred to "king over Israel," but Jerusalem rules out Saul.[10] If considering "the son of David" in 1:1 that suggests a Davidic lineage but not David himself, that leaves only Solomon on this list. It is therefore suggestive that Qohelet is posing as the Solomonic guise.

[7] Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 76.
[8] Botterweck and Ringgren, *Pasah – Qum*, in the Theological dictionary of the Old Testament, 547.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 119.

13a. "with wisdom" → The usage of בַּחָכְמָה is used 4 times in MT, with 3 times appearing in Ecclesiastes. I could also be translated as "by/through wisdom" with the instrumental preposition בְּ, which is also evidence in 2:3, 9. The implication here is that wisdom is used as a mean to achieve what follows, and the subject—Qohelet—has already obtained wisdom in his possession.

13b. "under the heavens" → MT text-critical note suggests that many Hebrew Mss and ancient sources (Syr, Volg, Targ) read הַשָּׁמֶשׁ ("the sun") instead of הַשָּׁמָיִם ("the heavens") as a variation. Seow suggests that this is in attempt to harmonize with v. 14, but "under the heavens" is preferable in that it implies everywhere in the world.[11] For me, both "under the heavens" and "under the sun" points to this world where creations and beings exist.

13c. "It is a task…God has given" → הוּא signifies the investigation of everything in this world that Qohelet has embarked upon. However, Qohelet attributes this motivation to God, who "has given" this objective to him that he cannot reject. In other words, he did not have a choice. The noun עִנְיָן is found exclusively in Ecclesiastes, with other forms of the word appearing in 2:23, 26; 3:10; 4:8; 5:2, 13; and 8:16. Seow suggests that in Ecclesiastes the term עִנְיָן "is associated with restlessness, obsession, worry, and human inability to find enjoyment. Here it has to do with efforts to grasp by wisdom all that is happening in the world."[12] If this is the case, then עִנְיָן works perfectly along with Qohelet's exclamation that God has given this task to him, but this is perhaps a rhetorical way of neutralizing the individuality of his own motivation to make it seem like he had embarked on a task *for* all humankind.

14a. "puff of wind" → The meaning of הֶבֶל is diverse throughout OT. The word has appeared 73 times in the MT, while 38 times in Ecclesiastes. Apparently, this is a major theme that resonates throughout the book. In later Aramaic dialect of West Semitic, the word would mean "warm breath or breeze, vapor" in Babylonian, "breath, vanity" in the Targumim, Syrian

[11] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 120-21.
[12] Ibid., 121.

word *heblā* "dust, vanity," Mandean *habla* or *hbila* "breath, vapor," and Nabetean *hblw* a divine name.[13] Notably, the word suggests an ungraspable state of matter that appears and vanishes shortly after, rendering it unable to be confined. Botterweck and Ringgren has also observed that it "has a broad emotion-laden stratum with strong evocative possibilities, and it is especially suited therefore to be a keyword or catchword."[14] According to Seow, הֶבֶל outside of Ecclesiastes in the Bible "is used very often as a metaphor for something that is ephemeral or insubstantial," for instance, הֶבֶל נִדָּף ("fleeting vapor") in Prov 21:6.[15] Hence, drawing from the commonly known "chasing after the wind" (v. 14), I favor emphasizing on the short period of existence which is vivid by translating הֶבֶל as "a puff of wind"—something that *was* but no longer *is*.

14b. "pursuit of emptiness" → This translation could only be understood in relation to what I had preferred in 14a: "puff of wind." Emptiness as opposed to nothingness, signifies a lack of substance that was once there but is missing ever since, whereas nothingness suggests never existing. Seow observes that throughout biblical wisdom, רוּחַ ("wind") "is frequently a metaphor for things that have no abiding value or are insubstantial."[16] "Wind" has such a connotation in several sources, including in Isaiah, in Akkadian, and in the *Gilgamesh Epic*. In order to present the notion of insubstantiality, I prefer translating רוּחַ as "emptiness" here, and thus, correlation between "puff of 'wind'" and "emptiness" can be seen when v. 14 is read all together.

15. The four terms מְעֻוָּת ("what is crooked"), לְתִקֵּן ("be straightened"), חֲסְרוֹן ("what is missing"), and לְהִמָּנוֹת ("be counted") each have one occurrence here in the MT. The verse itself is a poetic parallel in the use of a proverbial saying, which is echoed in 7:13. However, the verb stem parallel between לְתִקֵּן and לְהִמָּנוֹת are misplaced; the former being

[13] Botterweck and Ringgren, *Gillûlîm - Hāras*, 313.
[14] Ibid., 315.
[15] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 101.
[16] Ibid., 122.

Qal and the latter Niphal. Mp has suggested that the Qal form לְתִקֵּן is defective and lacking a letter, and suggests in the text-critical note that it should be read as לְהִתָּקֵן, which becomes the root's passive Niphal form. This would solve the problem with the poetic parallel.

16a. "I spoke with my heart" → This design of speech is also found in 2:1 and 3:17, 18. This design is unique in Ecclesiastes because in no other places in biblical text does לֵאמֹר follow after this idiom. Moreover, together with 2:1, the heart is personified and spoken to as the second person. Seow has observed that "the heart is very active in Qohelet [Ecclesiastes], often functioning as an independent entity."[17] "My heart" in Ecclesiastes, therefore, is often personified in order for Qohelet to generate a dialogue with himself.

16b. "I" → אֲנִי makes its second appearance in v. 16. Although Longman suggests that this first-person pronoun is reluctant here,[18] I prefer to think that Qohelet is using אֲנִי frequently as a stress mark to focus on himself.

16c. "made myself great" → The syntax here is ambiguous. There are mainly two types of translation: "I had made myself great and increased wisdom"[19] or "I have surpassed in wisdom."[20] The former sets apart Qohelet's achieving greatness of himself and pursuing wisdom as two separate actions, whereas the latter assumes that the Hiphils of גָּדַל and יָסַף are synonyms. In Hebrew, both are possible and scholarship does not distinguish the two. However, for me "making great of oneself" includes not only wisdom but every aspects of life, which is quite fitting to what Qohelet says about himself. Therefore, I prefer setting the two ideas apart.

16d. "wisdom" → What kind of חָכְמָה is Qohelet speaking of? Although Qohelet does not show here, throughout Ecclesiastes Qohelet presents very different views and attitudes towards "wisdom," making it difficult to judge whether it is a plain statement here or he is

[17] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 123.
[18] Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 83.
[19] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 117; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 11.
[20] Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 77.

being skeptical. Botterweck and Ringgren suggests that Qohelet's view of חָכְמָה is generally skeptical after all the explorations he had made throughout the text.[21] This attitude will be explored in another chapter, but it is no doubt that חָכְמָה is a major theme aside from הֶבֶל in Qohelet's discourse.

16e. "over all who were before me over Jerusalem" → Similar to v. 12, Qohelet once again reaffirms his persona as a king. The comparison between his kingly figure and any other kings in the past should not be taken literally. Rather, as suggested by Seow, Ecclesiastes "is adopting the language and style of royal propagandistic literature."[22] The issue at stake is wisdom and not kingship.

16f. "my heart has greatly saw" → Although "my heart" is a personified figure in Qohelet's speech, it still signifies himself. Thus, וְלִבִּי רָאָה literally translates as "I have greatly seen." It is crucial to notice that any action performed by "my heart" entails the empirical nature of Qohelet's investigation.

16g. "wisdom and knowledge" → חָכְמָה and דַּעַת are synonyms in Hebrew. Scholars have observed that Qohelet frequently uses synonyms together to emphasize his points. This shows up once again as we proceed to v. 17 to see the synonymous combination of הוֹלֵלוֹת וְשִׂכְלוּת ("delusion and foolishness").[23]

17a. "So I put my heart" → וָאֶתְּנָה is one of the rare occurrences of *waw*-consecutives in the book. It is used to show the continuation of action from v. 16.

18a. "annoyance" → Other translations have it as "vexation." Strangely, LXX reads it as γνώσεως, which is the equivalent of דֵּעַת ("knowledge"). MT is undoubtedly preferred, supported by Aq and Theod (*thymou*), Symm (*orgē*), Vulg (*indignatio*), Syr (*rwgz̈*), and Targ (*rgz*).[24]

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[21] Botterweck and Ringgren, *Gillûlîm - Hāras*, 385.
[22] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 124.
[23] Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 84; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 125.
[24] Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 125.

- **Eccl 2:1-21 Translation**

Verse	MT	Translation
2:1	אָמַרְתִּי אֲנִי בְּלִבִּי לְכָה־נָּא אֲנַסְּכָה בְשִׂמְחָה וּרְאֵה בְטוֹב וְהִנֵּה גַם־הֵוּא הָבֶל:	I said with my heart, "Go now, I should test you[a] with joy, so observe[a] pleasure!" But look, that was also a puff of wind.
2	לִשְׂחוֹק אָמַרְתִּי מְהוֹלָל וּלְשִׂמְחָה מַה־זֹּה עֹשֶׂה:	Regarding laughter/(fun), I say it is befooling[a]; regarding joy, what can this do?
3	תַּרְתִּי בִלִבִּי לִמְשׁוֹךְ בַּיַּיִן אֶת־בְּשָׂרִי וְלִבִּי נֹהֵג בֶּחָכְמָה וְלֶאֱחֹז בְּסִכְלוּת עַד אֲשֶׁר־אֶרְאֶה אֵי־זֶה טוֹב לִבְנֵי הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשׂוּ תַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם מִסְפַּר יְמֵי חַיֵּיהֶם:	I investigated with my heart[a], leading[25] my body with wine[b]—though my heart still guided by wisdom[c]—and grasping on to foolishness until I should see what is good for humankind who labor under the heavens throughout their (short) lives.
4	הִגְדַּלְתִּי מַעֲשָׂי בָּנִיתִי לִי בָּתִּים נָטַעְתִּי לִי כְּרָמִים:	I made great my achievements[a]: I built for myself houses, I planted for myself vineyards;
5	עָשִׂיתִי לִי גַּנּוֹת וּפַרְדֵּסִים וְנָטַעְתִּי בָהֶם עֵץ כָּל־פֶּרִי:	I made for myself gardens and orchards, and I planted in them trees of all fruit.
6	עָשִׂיתִי לִי בְּרֵכוֹת מָיִם לְהַשְׁקוֹת מֵהֶם יַעַר צוֹמֵחַ עֵצִים:	I made for myself pools of water, from which[26] to water a forest sprouting trees.
7	קָנִיתִי עֲבָדִים וּשְׁפָחוֹת וּבְנֵי־בַיִת הָיָה לִי גַּם מִקְנֶה בָקָר וָצֹאן הַרְבֵּה הָיָה לִי מִכֹּל שֶׁהָיוּ לְפָנַי בִּירוּשָׁלָם:	I acquired/bought for myself slaves, maidservants, and house-born slaves.[27] I also have for myself livestock of cattle[28] and sheep greater/more than all who were before me in Jerusalem.
8	כָּנַסְתִּי לִי גַּם־כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב וּסְגֻלַּת מְלָכִים וְהַמְּדִינוֹת עָשִׂיתִי לִי שָׁרִים וְשָׁרוֹת	I also gathered for myself silver, gold, and treasures/properties of kings and of the provinces. I appointed[29] for myself

[25] Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 127.
[26] Ibid., 129.
[27] "Slaves were distinguished as 'house-born' or 'acquired' (Gen. 17:12)" (Gordis, *Koheleth*, 217). Cf. Gen. 15:3 and 17:12 (Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 17).
[28] Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 130.
[29] Ibid.

	וְתַעֲנוּגֹ֥ת בְּנֵי הָאָדָ֖ם שִׁדָּ֥ה וְשִׁדּ֖וֹת׃	male and female singers, and luxuries/delights of humankind (in) chests[30]/mistresses[31].[a]
9	וְגָדַ֙לְתִּי֙ וְהוֹסַ֣פְתִּי מִכֹּ֔ל שֶׁ֥הָיָ֖ה לְפָנַ֑י בִּֽירוּשָׁלִָ֗ם אַ֚ף חָכְמָתִ֣י עָמְדָ֔ה לִֽי׃	So I became great and exceeded (from) all who were before me in Jerusalem; moreover[a], my wisdom stood by me[b].
10	וְכֹ֣ל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁאֲל֣וּ עֵינַ֔י לֹ֥א אָצַ֖לְתִּי מֵהֶ֑ם לֹֽא־מָנַ֙עְתִּי֙ אֶת־לִבִּ֔י מִכָּל־שִׂמְחָ֖ה כִּי־לִבִּ֣י שָׂמֵ֔חַ מִכָּל־עֲמָלִ֑י וְזֶ֥ה־הָיָ֛ה חֶלְקִ֖י מִכָּל־עֲמָלִֽי׃	So all that my eyes[a] demanded I did not restrain from them. Nor did I hold back my heart[a] from any pleasure, for my heart was glad from all my effort, and this was my share/portion from all my effort[b].
11	וּפָנִ֣יתִי אֲנִ֗י בְּכָל־מַעֲשַׂי֙ שֶׁעָשׂ֣וּ יָדַ֔י וּבֶעָמָ֖ל שֶׁעָמַ֣לְתִּי לַעֲשׂ֑וֹת וְהִנֵּ֥ה הַכֹּ֛ל הֶ֥בֶל וּרְעוּת֖ רֽוּחַ וְאֵ֥ין יִתְר֖וֹן תַּ֥חַת הַשָּֽׁמֶשׁ׃	Then I turned to observe[32] all my works that my hands had done. So in the effort that I had strived to accomplish,[33] look! All is a puff of wind and a pursuit of emptiness! And there is no benefit under the sun.
12	וּפָנִ֣יתִי אֲנִ֗י לִרְאוֹת֙ חָכְמָ֣ה וְהוֹלֵל֔וֹת וְסִכְלֻ֑ות כִּי֩ מֶ֨ה הָאָדָ֜ם שֶׁיָּב֗וֹא אַחֲרֵי֙ הַמֶּ֔לֶךְ אֵ֥ת אֲשֶׁר־כְּבָ֖ר עָשׂ֥וּהוּ׃	Then I turned to observe wisdom and [delusion and foolishness][a], since what (will) the man that will come after the king (do)[b] with what he (the king) has already achieved?[34]
13	וְרָאִ֣יתִי אֲנִ֔י שֶׁיֵּ֥שׁ יִתְר֖וֹן לַחָכְמָ֑ה מִן־הַסִּכְלֻ֕ות כְּיִתְר֥וֹן הָאֹ֖ור מִן־הַחֹֽשֶׁךְ׃	So I saw that there is benefit to wisdom over foolishness as benefit of light over darkness.
14	הֶֽחָכָ֗ם עֵינָ֥יו בְּרֹאשׁ֑וֹ וְהַכְּסִ֖יל בַּחֹ֣שֶׁךְ הֹולֵ֔ךְ וְיָדַ֙עְתִּי֙ גַּם־אֲנִ֔י שֶׁמִּקְרֶ֥ה אֶחָ֖ד יִקְרֶ֥ה אֶת־כֻּלָּֽם׃	The wise has his eyes[a] in his head, and the fool walks in darkness. Yet I also realize[b] that one/the same fate will happen to all of them.

[30] Nonsexual, pointing to the treasures locked in treasure boxes. Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 131-32; Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 180.

[31] Sexual desires. Cf. Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, *General Introduction and Megilloth*, 71-72; Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 92-93; Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 180.

[32] The idiom פנה+בְּ- adds the meaning "in order to observe" after "to turn to," making "to turn to observe" (cf. Job 6:28). Cf. Gordis, *Koheleth*, 219; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 133.

[33] Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 133.

[34] Cf. Gordis, *Koheleth*, 220-21; Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 182-83; Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 95-97.

15	וְאָמַ֣רְתִּי אֲנִ֗י בְּלִבִּי֙ כְּמִקְרֶ֣ה הַכְּסִ֔יל גַּם־ אֲנִ֖י יִקְרֵ֑נִי וְלָמָ֣ה חָכַ֔מְתִּי אֲנִ֣י אָ֣ז יוֹתֵ֔ר וְדִבַּ֥רְתִּי בְלִבִּ֖י שֶׁגַּם־זֶ֥ה הָֽבֶל׃	And I said with my heart, “like the fate of the fool that will also happen to me, (so) why/for what then[a] have I acted excessively wise?” So I spoke to myself with my heart that this is also a puff of wind.
16	כִּ֣י אֵ֤ין זִכְרוֹן֙ לֶֽחָכָ֔ם עִם־הַכְּסִ֖יל לְעוֹלָ֑ם בְּשֶׁכְּבָ֙ר הַיָּמִ֣ים הַבָּאִ֔ים הַכֹּ֖ל נִשְׁכָּ֑ח וְאֵ֖יךְ יָמ֥וּת הֶֽחָכָ֖ם עִם־הַכְּסִֽיל׃	For there is no forever remembrance for the wise as well as the fool, since the days to come will all already have been forgotten[a].[35] O how[36] can the wise die just like the fool!
17	וְשָׂנֵ֣אתִי אֶת־הַחַיִּ֗ים כִּ֤י רַע֙ עָלַ֣י הַמַּעֲשֶׂ֔ה שֶׁנַּעֲשָׂ֖ה תַּ֣חַת הַשָּׁ֑מֶשׁ כִּי־הַכֹּ֥ל הֶ֖בֶל וּרְעוּת רֽוּחַ׃	Therefore I hated life[a] because annoying/grievous/evil to me are the work that is done under the sun, for everything is a puff of wind and a pursuit of emptiness.
18	וְשָׂנֵ֣אתִי אֲנִ֔י אֶת־כָּל־עֲמָלִ֖י שֶׁאֲנִ֣י עָמֵ֑ל תַּ֣חַת הַשָּׁ֔מֶשׁ שֶׁאַנִּיחֶ֖נּוּ לָאָדָ֥ם שֶׁיִּהְיֶ֖ה אַחֲרָֽי׃	Therefore I hated all the effort[a] that I had made/labored under the sun, which I will leave behind for the man who will come after me.
19	וּמִ֤י יוֹדֵ֙עַ֙ הֶֽחָכָ֔ם יִהְיֶ֖ה אִ֣ו סָכָ֑ל וְיִשְׁלַ֗ט בְּכָל־עֲמָלִ֤י שֶׁעָמַ֙לְתִּי֙ וְשֶׁחָכַ֣מְתִּי תַּ֔חַת הַשָּׁ֖מֶשׁ גַּם־זֶ֥ה הָֽבֶל׃	And who knows if he will be wise or a fool? Yet, he will have dominance in all the efforts that I had made/labored and had acted wisely under the sun. Such is a puff of wind as well.
20	וְסַבּ֣וֹתִי אֲנִ֔י לְיַאֵ֖שׁ אֶת־לִבִּ֑י עַ֚ל כָּל־ הֶֽעָמָ֔ל שֶׁעָמַ֖לְתִּי תַּ֥חַת הַשָּֽׁמֶשׁ׃	Thus, I turned my heart to despair over all the efforts that I had made/labored[a] under the sun.
21	כִּֽי־יֵ֤שׁ אָדָם֙ שֶׁעֲמָלוֹ֙ בְּחָכְמָ֣ה וּבְדַ֔עַת וּבְכִשְׁר֖וֹן וּלְאָדָ֣ם שֶׁלֹּא־עָמַ֣ל בּ֔וֹ יִתְּנֶ֥נּוּ חֶלְקּ֖וֹ גַּם־זֶ֥ה הֶ֖בֶל וְרָעָ֥ה רַבָּֽה׃	For there is a person[α] who had strived in wisdom, in knowledge, and in skill/success, but to a man[β] who has not strived in it, he[α] gives it (the achievements)[37] as his[β] share. This is

[35] Cf, Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 184; Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 99; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 135-36.

[36] וְאֵיךְ is read as an exclamatory expression. Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 136; Gordis, *Koheleth*, 223; Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 86.

[37] Cf. Gordis, *Koheleth*, 224; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 137-38.

		also a puff of wind and a great evil.[38]

- **Textual Notes and Comments**

2:1a. "I should test you…so observe…" → The verb אנַסְּכָה occurs only once in the MT, widely understood as stemming from the root נסה, while the 2ms suffix -ָּה is attested in the Qumran.[39] I agree with Michael V. Fox that the cohortative אנַסְּכָה is in parallel with the imperative וּרְאֵה, which are both addressing and commanding his heart as the second person "you" to partake this quest of enjoyment.[40] Notice how Qohelet speaks to his heart the same way in 1:16.

2a. "befooling" → מְהוֹלֲלֹ occurs only once in the MT, which is the Poal form of the root הלל. As its noun form הוֹלֵלוֹת ("foolishness") in 1:17 is widely accepted, I find it suitable to be translated as "befooling" or "bewildering."

3a. "I investigated with my heart" → The root תור originally means "go about" or "follow" according to the context in Num 15:39. Accordingly, Fox observes that the construct of תור + infinitive shows "the beginning or the next stage in Qohelet's investigation."[41] Fox's view is suitable here, but for the consistency of translation with Eccl 1:13, the meaning "investigated" is preferred. Thus, "my heart" becomes the instrument used for investigating what follows.

3b. "leading my body with wine" → The verb לִמְשׁוֹךְ is unique here in the MT, meaning perhaps "to draw" or "to lead." The translation is debated while the MT text-critical note suggests reading the term as לִשְׁמוֹךְ in comparison to סָמַךְ in Song 2:5 with a שׁ emendation, meaning "to support" or "to sustain," but most witnesses remain with לִמְשׁוֹךְ. Used in this text, Qohelet suggests giving over his control of his body to the pleasure of wine, so Seow translates the term as "to induce."[42] In order to show the passivity of the body, the

[38] *α* points toward the wise man—Qohelet—himself while *β* entails the successor.
[39] Gordis, *Koheleth*, 214; Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 76; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 125-26.
[40] Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 176.
[41] Ibid., 177.
[42] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 127.

full surrender to wine, it is suitable to translate the term as "to lead."

3c. "my heart still guided by wisdom" → The Qal participle נֹהֵג has its root נָהַג usually meaning "drive," "lead," or "guide." It is used commonly with livestock as its object (Gen 31:18; 2 Kings 4:24). In this passage, "my heart" becomes the object being guided while "wisdom" is the subject from which guidance comes. There seems to be a parallel in meaning between לִמְשׁוֹךְ (the body driven by wine) and נֹהֵג (the heart driven by wisdom), though the verb form is different.

4a. "I made great my achievements" → The beginning here serves as an introduction to Qohelet's following achievements (vv. 4-8). The listing of Qohelet's achievements corresponds similarly to royal inscriptions in the ancient Near East, especially using verbs in the perfect.[43] This type of "resumé style" is common in the West Semitic royal inscriptions,[44] which is why Ecclesiastes is often compared to ancient royal inscriptions and analyzed accordingly.

8a. "luxuries…(in) chests" or "delights…(in) mistresses" → The translation of the expression שִׁדָּה וְשִׁדּוֹת has always been troubling for scholars since the phrase has only one appearance in the MT. Traditionally, the phrase is glossed as "concubines" or "women" since Ibn Ezra. Gordis suggests that it is a derivation from שַׁד meaning "breast," hence synecdochically pointing towards "women."[45] Ugaritic *št* (possibly from *šdt*) meaning "lady" is also a possible source of connotation. However, as noted in the translation footnotes, Seow suggest that the phrase "may be related to Postbiblical Hebrew *šiddâ* [שידא] 'chest, box.'"[46] In this sense, the translation loses the sexual connotation and simply means acquiring the luxuries of chests. Both translations are possible, therefore I prefer keeping both by altering the meaning of the noun וְתַעֲנוּגֹת between "luxuries" (with "chests") or "humanly delights" (with

[43] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 128.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Gordis, *Koheleth*, 219.
[46] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 131. Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 1558.

"mistresses").

9a. "moreover" → אַף although usually translated as "also" or " in addition," it also implies the element of surprise or being unexpected such as "even."[47] It suggests an emphasis in what follows; here, which stresses how wisdom remained with Qohelet while he expands his personal achievements. It also creates a contrast between his worldly achievements and his sustaining wisdom.

9b. "my wisdom stood by me" → Here חָכְמָתִי is the only time in the MT that is suffixed with the first-person singular. Qohelet emphasizes on wisdom belonging to himself, just as he stresses all the achievements he had gained in vv. 4-9. In addition, עָמְדָה לִי comes from the idiomatic עמד לְ- meaning "attend to" or "serve" someone (1 Kings 1:2; Ezek 44:11) in addition to "remain with." The literal translation "stand by me" in this verse fits nicely with the English idiom "stood by someone" entailing a role of support. Thus, Qohelet is perhaps suggesting that not only did he maintain his wisdom in his pursuit of achievements, but wisdom played an important role in all of his decision-makings.

10a "my eyes… my heart…" → "My eyes" and "my heart" are paralleled and are both personified as the object acting out Qohelet's desires. Unlike in Num 15:39 where Israelites must follow certain orders to prevent the desires of their eyes and heart, Qohelet goes against traditional values and portrays himself as a man who does not restrain his desires.[48] However, the personification of the eyes and the heart keeps him distant from the true enactment of those unrestrained values.

12a. "to observe wisdom and [delusion and foolishness]" → Following the realization that all achievements are in vain (v. 11), Qohelet returns to observe the fundamental difference between wisdom and foolishness. It is widely recognized that "delusion" and "foolishness" are synonyms often placed together as hendiadys (cf. Eccl 7:25).[49] Thus, Qohelet is not exploring

[47] Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 65.
[48] Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 81.
[49] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 133; Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 83; Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 182.

three concepts but rather two: wisdom vs. foolishness.

12b. "what (will) the man… (do)" → The MT here is corrupted, so the text-critical notes suggests glossing מֶה as מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה, meaning "what will the man do?" When read together with vv. 18-19, it becomes clear that Qohelet is concerned with his inability to gain control over his possessions once he is succeeded by whoever follows after.

14a. "his eyes" → The noun עֵינָיו could be read in comparison to עֵינַי "my eyes" in v. 10. Whenever Qohelet speaks of the wise, he includes himself. Hence, in this verse he is justifying his exploration of wisdom through the eyes—the organ capable of focusing—in contrast to the fool who does not know how to use their eyes to focus on the important things in life. Therefore, Seow observes that "it is not that he is quoting a tradition with which he disagrees (so Gordis), or that he is taking exception to the traditional saying (so Hertzberg)."[50]

14b. "yet I also realize" → The adversative גַּם here includes both the meaning "also" and "yet," signifying a break from the previous idea. Here, it marks Qohelet's epiphany to realize that the same fate will occur to all people, whether wise or foolish. More importantly, גַּם also stresses the shift of Qohelet's tone from the relatively optimistic one to the pessimistic in the following sections. It would therefore be most suitable to translate יָדַעְתִּי as "I realized."

15a. "then" → The particle אָז should mean "then" or "at that time," but the term is not present in many witnesses. MT text-critical note suggests rendering it as אין meaning "whence?" Most scholars, however, suggest that the MT could be kept without rendering.[51] If kept, the term could strengthen Qohelet's grudge against his past being so wise.

16a. "the days to come will all already have been forgotten" → The combination of בְּשֶׁכְּבָר הַיָּמִים הַבָּאִים is unusual. While בְּשֶׁכְּבָר ("already") refers to the past or present completion, הַיָּמִים הַבָּאִים usually refers to the future. What does it mean if the future is already meant to be forgotten? By this expression, Qohelet skillfully points out that the

[50] Parentheses are in Seow's quote (Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 135).
[51] Gordis, *Koheleth*, 219; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 135.

remaining day of the future has been rendered meaningless if nothing will be remembered. In addition, it presents a contrast between the future in this verse and the past אָז "at that time" in v. 15 (cf. 15a.).

17a-18a. "Therefore I hated life… Therefore I hated all the effort…" → Several Mss texts have inserted אֲנִי at the beginning of v. 17, creating a repetition of the expression וְשָׂנֵאתִי אֲנִי at the beginning of the two verses. From a narrative perspective, this could suggest an emphasis on Qohelet's hate towards life in general: the hate and detest generated from his epiphany that there is no difference in the fate of the wise and the foolish (vv. 12-16).

19. Verse 19 serves as a supplementation for v. 18, restating Qohelet's unwillingness to bluntly hand over his achievements to someone according to fate—someone who he cannot determine wise or foolish and who does not know the value of his effort over these possessions.

20a. "that I had made/labored" → Many Mss and Targ add וְשֶׁחָכַמְתִּי ("and which I had acted wisely") after שֶׁעָמַלְתִּי, but Seow suggests the shorter MT text is to be preferred.[52]

III. Outline

The high frequency of the first-person emphasis אֲנִי being used in Qohelet's speech in this section signifies the individuality of Qohelet's first-person speech. It is one of the identifiers that enable one to set 1:12-18 apart from the books opening (vv. 1-11). The individuality of Qohelet supports the idea that his discourse is constructed by his autobiography, which continues throughout the book until 12:7. However, even with such a strong indication of individuality, Qohelet still rather speaks using the Solomonic guise at the beginning (1:12). Two advantages emerge from adopting this guise: (1) Solomon as a ruler over Israel enables Qohelet to speak as one with experience far beyond any common human being can achieve, especially those people whose ancestors were under his governance; (2) Solomon as the Wise allows Qohelet to speak of the human condition from a position of empirical authority.

[52] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 137.

Undeniably, wisdom is a major propeller of Qohelet's motivation to explore life; wisdom itself is also explore and renewed throughout his search of meaning. Given the theme about wisdom, it is only reasonable to use Solomon as the authentic identity to talk about it, for wise is definitely the signature trait of Solomon. Once the Solomonic voice is established, Qohelet is finally able to summarize his life in a short passage. Therefore, the outline of 1:12-18 should be recognized as follows:

A. 1:12-14. Introducing the purpose of Qohelet's existence
    1. 1:12. Qohelet's self-introduction
    2. 1:13-14. Qohelet's pursuit of the meaning of life and its outcome
B. 1:15. Proverbial interlude
C. 1:16-18. The main mission of Qohelet's life
    1. 1:16-17. Qohelet's pursuit of wisdom and its outcome
    2. 1:18. Evaluation of wisdom

Besides wisdom, the main theme being spoken here is the action of pursuing. Qohelet has spent all his life pursuing meaning and wisdom. Unfortunately, what rises from this endless pursuit is still the notion of emptiness—"a puff of wind." Starting from 2:1, we enter the details about how Qohelet exercises the tasks given supposedly by God (1:13). There are two investigations being carried out: (1) the investigation of human desire and effort, and (2) the investigation of the difference between the wise and the foolish. Clearly Qohelet sees himself as the wise; nonetheless, the fate of human life—death—cancels out any differences he sees between the two, leading to his final torment and lament. The outline for 2:1-21 is seen as follows:

A. 2:1-11. Investigating joy, desire, and prosperity
    1. 2:1-3. Presumption
    2. 2:4-8. Taking action
    3. 2:9-11. Result and evaluation
B. 2:12-16. Comparing the wise and the foolish
    1. 2:12-14a. Process of evaluation
    2. 2:14b. Result and epiphany

3. 2:15-16. Outcry against fate

C. 2:17-18. Final conclusion: Grievance toward life

1. 2:17. Grievance toward a life of pursuit (section A)
2. 2:18. Grievance toward the eventual loss of possessions (section B)

D. 2:19-21. Lamenting a life of hard work

IV. Discovering Qohelet: "I," therefore I Am

The emergence of Qohelet's own voice begins from Eccl 1:12. With the emergence of the first-person pronoun אֲנִי, the passage suddenly becomes very intimate with the Qohelet figure, thus, setting apart 1:12 from the previous section. Most scholarly focus draw attention to the phrase הָיִיתִי מֶלֶךְ (1:12), as it has been used to show the books similar pattern with ancient fictional Akkadian autobiography or an imitation of the "self-presentation formula of kings in the royal inscriptions of the ancient Near East."[53] However, in terms of a narrative perspective, אֲנִי is the term that makes a very strong case for Qohelet's presence. It can be pardoned that the expression אֲנִי קֹהֶלֶת הָיִיתִי מֶלֶךְ ("I, Qohelet, was king…") is an imitation of ancient autobiography, but the remaining thirteen times when the word appears paints a different story.

In Biblical Hebrew, אֲנִי usually follows a verb participle as its subject[54] or is used prior to the verb in order to emphasize the subject.[55] Twelve out of the thirteen times[56] אֲנִי is used in Eccl 1:13-2:21, the pronoun is placed after a verb which already has the first-person suffix in all cases. Clearly, this is a unique design in Qohelet's speech. While some suggest that this is a feature of later Hebrew,[57] A. Schoors observes no apparent parallels in the Hebrew texts of the written period of Ecclesiastes.[58] Unless, of course, the speaker would like to stress

[53] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 119; Longman III, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 76.
[54] Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 59.
[55] Koosed, *(Per)Mutations of Qohelet*, 26.
[56] Excluding the second time אֲנִי appears in Eccl 2:18 which follows the relative particle שֶׁ.
[57] For instance, BDB suggests that the pronoun in later Hebrew is sometimes pleonastic. Cf. Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 59.
[58] Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words*, 160.

the importance of "I?" Indeed, אֲנִי is often used in biblical texts along with the verb first-person indicator to put emphasis on the "I." Such an expression is rarely found in other books in the MT. Therefore, the presentation of the Qohelet persona through the first-person narrative is self-evident after Qohelet announces his name in 1:12.

In addition, the verbs attached with אֲנִי also contributes to the shaping of Qohelet's persona. For this observation, I will set aside the ones with the "I spoke with my heart" connotation (דבר and אמר) as this will be discussed in the next section.[59] In sequential order, אֲנִי is attached to the following verbs respectively: "I turned to observe (וּפָנִיתִי)" (2:11, 12), "I saw (וְרָאִיתִי)" (2:13), "I know/I realize (וְיָדַעְתִּי)" (2:14), "I acted wisely (חָכַמְתִּי)" (2:15), "I hated (וְשָׂנֵאתִי)" (2:18a), and "I turned" (2:20) again. Notice that these verbs are not only verbs that entail performance by a living being, some of which like "I turned,"[60] "I realize," "I acted wisely," and "I hated" suggest actions that only the human being can do through a decision-making process. Rather than simple action, these verbs also convey a human degree of intellect as well as emotions, especially the verb "I hated." All of these lend to the acknowledgement of Qohelet being a very vivid character, one that is individual, unique, and different than other flat characters in the Bible. Furthermore, while in other books the round characters—such as Abraham or Jacob—are portrayed through a third-person narrator's voice, Qohelet constructs his own presence through his first-person speech. Autobiography expert Philippe Lejeune has stressed that "the first-person personal pronouns mark the identity of the subject of the enunciation and of the subject of the utterance."[61] Hence, by using אֲנִי along with humanly actions and emotions, Qohelet emphasizes the "I" in this passage, announcing his unique existence within the text which renders the possibility to discuss him as a self-pronounced character.

[59] Therefore, excluding Eccl 1:16; 2:1, 15a.
[60] "I turned to" as in "I changed my mind."
[61] Lejeune, *On Autobiography*, 9.

V. The "Heart" and the Art of Personification

Qohelet's persona is not only constructed by a mere usage of אֲנִי. The "I" element can only support the fact that Ecclesiastes is "by and large a series of confessions."[62] William P. Brown also suggests that the book "consists of a person who, like Job, shares his personal discoveries and bares his soul, but without dialogic partner."[63] On this note, I can only agree partially, since it is evidence that there are numerous dialogues happening within the book. Some view his speech as "monologues," but Qohelet indeed creates dialogues to present his ideas. Brown is right in saying that there lacks a dialogic partner; but in truth, Qohelet uses the personification of objects to create space for dialogue, and one of those objects is the frequent לִבִּי ("my heart") that serves as his imaginary dialogic partner.

In the eleven times that לִבִּי is present in Eccl 1:12-2:21, there are four times it is preceded by "I spoke with," either with the verb דבר or אמר (1:16a; 2:1, 15[x2]). Some commentators gloss this expression to mean "I spoke to myself," but the idiom is unique only to Ecclesiastes. The "heart" in Qohelet's speech is exceptionally active,[64] not only in terms of dialogue but also action. In the remaining seven times that לִבִּי appears in the text, the heart is engaged with the following actions: "to care and to investigate (לִדְרוֹשׁ וְלָתוּר)" (1:13), "has saw (רָאָה)" (1:16), "to understand (לָדַעַת)" (1:17), "search with (תַּרְתִּי)" (2:3), "guided by (נֹהֵג)" (2:3), "was glad from (שָׂמֵחַ)" (2:10), and "to despair (לְיַאֵשׁ)" (2:20). Similar to אֲנִי in my diagnosis in the previous section, Qohelet's heart is engaged in humanly activities and emotions. The only difference is that the state of the heart in most of these actions are passive. The human heart (לֵב) can mean many things in the MT,[65] but Eric Christianson provides the best categorization of meanings according to this passage:[66] (1) "instrument of searching

[62] Brown, *Character in Crisis*, 120.
[63] Ibid., 121.
[64] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 123.
[65] Cf. Botterweck and Ringgren, *K^e* - **lyṣ*, in the Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, 411-437.
[66] Christianson, *A Time to Tell*, 194.

and/or testing"[67] and (2) "seat of vexation, striving."[68] It does not matter whether the heart is personified to the state in which it can become a second-person dialogic partner; the significance lies in the fact that Qohelet is willing to personify his heart as an instrument of dialogue—a puppet so to speak. According to Fox's observations, the high frequency of the heart in 1:12-2:26 suggests Qohelet "reflecting on the process of perception and discovery, and the heart has a central role in this process."[69] According to the text, Qohelet's heart plays the important role/instrument of carrying wisdom and keeping his sanity while he indulges in worldly desires (Cf. 1:16; 2:3). It is as if the heart is the guidance to all the effort he has made throughout his life, so therefore when fate befalls him and tends to wipe away his achievements, his heart despairs along his anguish (Cf. 2:20). All in all, we see that intimate dialogic relationship between אֲנִי ("I") and לִבִּי ("my heart"), both of which belonging to Qohelet, as if Qohelet speaking to his alter ego in the mirror and bringing forth that sense of self-awareness. This dialogic energy of Qohelet's persona channeled through the personification of objects is not only limited to לִבִּי. Similar personifications include "my wisdom (חָכְמָתִי)" (2:9), "my eyes (עֵינַי)" (2:10), and "my hands (יָדַי)" (2:11).

VI. The Neutralization of "I"

Finally, previously in Section IV I have analyzed how אֲנִי is combined with humanly actions and emotions to create Qohelet's vivid persona-lity. However, only focusing on the "I" is not easy to construct a figure of authoritative voice. But in this passage, the risk of creating a character too vivid to maintain his kingly authority and a character who is too bland to be taken intimately is rather perfectly balanced in the construction of Qohelet's persona. In addition to the widely known personation of the Solomonic voice, the other is the tactic to hold God account of his pursuit of the meaning of life (1:13). After reading Eccl 1:16-2:21, we come

[67] Cf. Eccl 1:13, 16, 17; 2:3, 10.
[68] Cf. Eccl 2:20.
[69] Fox, *A Time to Tear down*, 78.

to realize how despair Qohelet has become in his investigation of life and wisdom. A very strong notion of personal decision underlies 2:4-10, ending in 2:17-18 the conclusion where Qoheleth repeatedly expresses his hatred towards life. Qohelet's negative emotions here parallel "a task of evil God has given to human beings" (הִוא עִנְיַן רָע נָתַן אֱלֹהִים לִבְנֵי הָאָדָם) in 1:13. Although during the process Qohelet can be seen mastering the efforts according to his own desires, since he has already stated in advance that this "bad business" is given by the God, the reader will put lesser blame on him for the negativity. In this sequence, the "task" (עִנְיַן) itself entails a predestined thought, and God is to be blame for the fruitlessness of the human life. By this design, Qohelet escapes losing his credibility as the king and the wise—both an identity of significant authority. Thus, in the following teachings, the "I" from the Qohelet persona can maintain its credibility as the experience-sharer.

VII. Conclusion

Although the term קֹהֶלֶת ("Qohelet") has caused problems for translation, this paper seeks to provide an alternative way to understand the character through a narrative reading. Identifying the unique idiomatic אֲנִי + verb expression in Eccl 1:12-2:21 allows readers to locate Qohelet within the text, no longer necessary to rely on conceptual knowledge of the character. For a long time, these conceptual knowledge—the Solomonic figure, the lifestyle of a royal sage, the textual parallel of ancient autobiographies—have dominated our understanding of Ecclesiastes as a wisdom book as well as Qohelet as the speaker. Instead, Qohelet becomes very vivid once it is acknowledged that אֲנִי *is* him and that לִבִּי ("my heart") could signify his partial self or the instrument carrying his pure intellect and wisdom. Eccl 1:12-2:21 is unique for its self-explanatory introduction to who Qohelet is and what he is concerned about. Therefore, the passage serves as a pivotal entry to the remaining book that follows.

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Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text

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The focal points of discussion

- The methodology - The identification of Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text: is it credible?
- The presentation of text examples: consistency and clarity?

Introduction

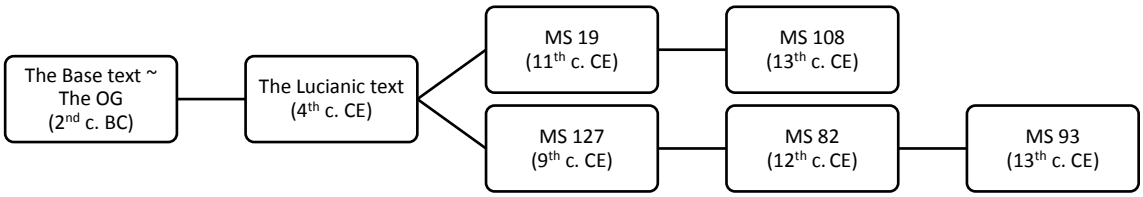
In this paper, I will provide four case examples (2 Sam 1:15; 2:24; 5:5; 6:11) of how the Lucianic reviser has used a Hexaplaric material in his revision. The examples represent different means how to identify Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text. At the same time, they introduce several practises how the Lucianic reviser adapted the Hexaplaric material into his text. In order to understand the relationship between these two revisions (or recension), I will provide a brief overview to the Lucianic and Hexaplaric text of the Septuagint (the LXX).

The information about the Greek witnesses and different readings presented in this paper is gathered from the preliminary apparatus for the forthcoming edition of 2 Samuel. I am fortunate to have access to this material in the University of Helsinki, in where the project of *The Septuagint of 2 Samuel* (led by Tuukka Kauhanen) aims to create a critical edition for the Göttingen Academy of Sciences.

The Lucianic revision

The Lucianic revision is called either the Lucianic text or the Antiochian text. The revision bears the name of Lucian of Antioch (c. 250 – c. 312). Although the relationship between historical Lucian and the Lucianic revision is uncertain, the revision is associated to the Antiochian churches at that time. Whereas the Lucianic text emphasises the revisional activity of the Lucianic reviser in the beginning of the 4th century, the Antiochian text underlines the character of this text-type to preserve the Old Greek readings (OG: The original text of the Septuagint). In this paper, I use following terms: 1) *the Lucianic text* refers to the text attested in five MSS, which preserve the Lucianic text. 2) *The Lucianic revision* describes an overall character of the Lucianic text and the work of the Lucianic reviser.

The Lucianic text is attested in the following MSS in the books of Samuel-Kings (also 1-4 Kingdoms) of the LXX: 19 82 93 108 127.[1] They construct the text group *L*, which is divided into two sub-groups: 19´ (19 108) and $L^{-19´}$ (82, 93 and 127).



[1] Cambridge edition *The Old Testament in Greek* (Brooke-McLean) uses a following signs for the Lucianic MSS: b´ (19) *b* (108) o (82) e_2 (93) c_2 (127).

Data from several studies suggest that the Lucianic text contains two textual layers.[2] The earlier layer is the proto-Lucianic text, which I call *the base text of the Lucianic reviser* in order to avoid any misunderstandings between the proto-Lucianic text and the proto-Lucianic recension. The base text was the *Vorlage* text of the Lucianic reviser before his own revision. It has been suggested that the base text represents early recension of the LXX, which shows corrections toward a Hebrew text preserved in the Qumran manuscripts (4QSam$^{a\text{-}c}$).[3] Critics of this proto-Lucianic recension theory have argued that the base text already represents almost completely the OG text.[4]

The latter layer is the revisional layer produced by the the Lucianic reviser in the beginning of the 4th century. This revisional layer can yet be divided to 1) corrections and improvements, and 2) the Hexaplaric additions. This revisional layer needs to be removed that one may investigate the base text. This requires an identification of several textual characteristics practiced by the Lucianic reviser. For example, he added, omitted, rewrote or transposed text in order to clarify a text. This appears in a level of morphology and syntax. The Lucianic text is also influenced by Atticism for many times Koine forms are exchanged with literary Attic Greek.[5]

The identification of a Lucianic reading

External criteria	**Internal criteria**
1) A reading is attested in *L* and possibly in MSS 55 56 246 158 245 318 460 509 554, which regularly depend on the Lucianic text.	1) A reading produces logically and/or stylistically a better text
2) A reading in *L* agrees with the Hexaplaric witnesses (A *O*) against the majority of the Greek witnesses.	2) A reading is a harmonization with a previous or later text
	3) A reading represents Attic Greek
	4) A reading is Hexaplaric addition

After the breakthrough study on the Minor Prophets by Dominique Barthélemy, it is accepted that the LXX has been corrected toward the proto-Masoretic text around 1st c. BC.[6] Most likely the Jewish group responsible of the *kaige* revision thought that the text in LXX is diverged from the contemporary Hebrew text. For some reason, the *kaige* revision is particularly observable in the Historical Books of the LXX. A typical *kaige* rendering quantitatively corresponds with

[2] See more. Metzger 1963, 31–35; Fernándes Marcos 2000, 232–36; Jobes & Silva 2000, 54–55; Dines 2004, 105
[3] Cross 1964, 281–99.
[4] Tov 1999, 480–85; Aejmelaeus 2007, 126. Aejmelaeus, however, criticizes Tov´s view that the proto-Lucianic text is "*either the Old Greek or any single Old Greek translation*". Aejmelaeus: "*there was only one Old Greek translation*".
[5] Metzger 1963, 24–27; Dines 2004, 104; T. Kauhanen 2012, 28–29.
[6] Barthélemy 1963.

the Masoretic text (MT). It provides a basic meaning of a Hebrew word or forms theologically a meaningful rendering.[7]

In the Historical Books, the Greek text consists different sections which shows a stronger influence of *kaige*.[8] In 2 Samuel, the beginning of the *kaige*-section is v. 2 Sam 10:6.[9] In this section, the majority of the Greek witnesses, including the Codex Vaticanus (B) preserved a *kaige*-type text. The Lucianic text, however, has escaped *kaige* because it has diverge from the mainstream transmission of the Greek text in very early stage.[10] This suggest that the Lucianic text is important and often only witness of the OG particularly in the *kaige*-section. However, some *kaige* readings have later entered to the Lucianic text trough the Hexaplaric material.

α 1 Kgdms (non-*kaige*)
ββ 2 Kgdms 1:1–10:6 (non-*kaige*)
βγ 2 Kgdms 10:6–3 Kgdms 2:11 (*kaige*)
γγ 3 Kgdms 2:12–21:43 (non-*kaige*)
γδ 3 Kgdms 22:1–4 Kingdoms (*kaige*)

The division of the *kaige*-sections in the Historical books does not signify that this Jewish revisional activity did not concern any other books of the LXX or the non-kaige-sections of the Historical books. Obviously *kaige* has influenced many other books as well. The emphasis of *kaige* in the Historical books and their particular sections gives hint that something has happened in the transmission of Greek the text. It is more than probable that all *kaige*-type texts have not preserved to us in the existing MSS. It has been demonstrated that *kaige* readings are sporadically preserved also in 1 Samuel, which wholly locates in the non-*kaige* section.[11] The identification of a *kaige* reading in the non-*kaige* section is slightly more difficult but plausible. In the *non-kaige* section a kaige-reading is preserved in B with some minuscule, but not in the Lucianic text or the majority of the Greek witnesses.[12]

Although the Lucianic text is the best candidate of the OG in the kaige-section, the Lucianic revision is not captured only in some sections. The Lucianic reviser has touch all the sections of the Historical books. Thus, the OG text have been challenged by both, the *kaige* revision (the majority of the Greek witnesses) and the Lucianic revision. Therefore, the pure OG is occasionally not preserved in any Greek witnesses in the kaige-section.

[7] Kauhanen 2017, 146–47.
[8] Henry St. John Thackeray present division of sections. He thought that the OG translation is not preserved in some sections of the Historical Books. 1907, 262–278. After Barthélemy´s discovery we know that these sections are not new translations as Thackeray assumed but later *kaige* revision.
[9] Here I follow Wirth´s argumentation that "*lexical and syntactical obersvations in 2 Samuel 10 prove … that the line between non-kaige- and kaige goes between 2 Sam 10:5 and 10:6*". Wirth 2017, 194–97.
[10] Aejmelaeus 2007, 125.
[11] Aejmelaeus 2017, 169.
[12] Kauhanen 2017, 146–47.

The identification of a *kaige*-reading

External criteria	**Internal criteria**
1) In the *kaige*-section, a *kaige* reading is found in the maj. of Greek witnesses, including B, but not in *L*	1) A reading corresponds to a Hebrew text preserved in the MT
2) In the non-kage-section, a kaige-reading is found in B and some minuscule but not in *L*.	2) A same rendering appears more in the *kaige*-sections than outside of them.
3) A reading is preserved in the translations of Aquila or Theodotion	3) A reading provides a basic meaning of a Hebrew word
	4) A reading provides a theologically more significant rendering

In the Historical Books, thus the identification of the OG text (2 c. BC) requires a removal and a knowledge of the *kaige* (1st c. CE) and the Lucianic (4th c. CE) characteristics. Because the Books of Samuel are literal Greek translations this may open a keyhole to the Hebrew text of 2nd century BC.

Origen´s Hexapla

The LXX was the sacred writing of the early church. Textual differences between the Greek and the Hebrew Bible were always present in an apologetic dialogue between Christians and Jews. In order to support Christian exegetes, Origen (c. 185-253/4), the early Christian theologian from Alexandria, compiled all textual material known to him, current Greek and Hebrew texts, into a synopsis of a six-column. This edition was called the Hexapla (six-fold), which was probably prepared in 235-245 AD in the city of Caesarea.[13] Despite of an apologetic nature of a debate, a purpose of the Hexapla was not to defend Christians´ Greek Septuagint against Jews´ Hebrew Bible. Origen attempt to provide a "tool", a Greek text according to a Hebrew text.[14] Origen thought that in a dialogue with Jews, Christians should not refer to texts, which are not found in writings of Jews.[15] A synopsis of six-column reflects Origen´s interest in these quantitative differences between the texts. Six columns on the Hexapla were in a following order:

I. the Hebrew consonantal text
II. the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew text
III. the translation of Aquila
IV. the translation of Symmachus
V. the text of Origen with aristarchian signs
VI. the translation of Theodotion

[13] Fernández Marcos 2000, 209; Jobes & Silva 2000, 48; Dines 2005, 98.
[14] Origen, Comm. *In Matth.* XV, 14.
[15] Origen, *Ep. Ad Afr.* 5. This was not a replacement of the Christians´ Greek Bible but a resource for dialogue with the Jews. See. Dines 2005, 97.

A content and a character of the Origen´s fifth column is debated in a research. The fifth column might have include 1) a contemporary and unrevised Greek translation of the early church or 2) Origen´s own revision of the Greek text in accordance with the Hebrew text. Regarding latter option, a location of the translation of Theodition as next and last column indicates that Origen might have drawn readings from Theodotion into his fifth column if Greek and Hebrew texts diverged. In fifth column, however, Origen used aristarchian symbols *asterisk* and *obelus* to inform his readers about differences between Jewish and Christian texts.[16] The plusses in the Hebrew text were marked with asterisk and the plusses in the Greek text with obelus.[17] Origen probably taught that surely an original Greek text must agree with a Hebrew text. Perhaps, a choice of a variant reading in his text (fifth column) is a result of this principle.

Contrary to Origen´s intention, this led to a corruption of the original LXX so to speak. The Hebrew text used by Origen was close to the Hebrew text preserved in the MT. In Origen´s time, the MT generally attested later Hebrew text than the LXX. The Hexapla is rightly considered as one of the most significant execetical work in the Patristic Period. It has caused, however, major difficulties in the textual criticism of the LXX. The Hexapla´s fifth column started to circulate as the individual text apart from the Hexapla and often without any aristarchian symbols.[18] This mixed text influenced other textual traditions and recensions.

Unfortunately no copies of the Hexapla have been preserved. Only few fragments of Hexapla exists. Some Hexaplaric material, nevertheless, is preserved in quotations of ancient writers and marginal notes of few MSS. These are highly important when searching Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text.

An identification of Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text

The Lucianic text shows no traits of Hebrew influence. It seems as if the Lucianic reviser did not make any use of the Hebrew texts in his revision. However, the Lucianic text often attest additions in accordance of Hebrew text. The previous research has established that the Lucianic reviser used a Hexaplaric material in order to fill the gaps in the LXX in comparison with the Hebrew text.[19] In a comprehensive study of the Hexaplaric influence in the Greek witnesses of

[16] Aristrachian symbols refers to an Alexandrian scholar Aristarchus who produce similar comparison of the Greek texts of Homer.
[17] Aristarchian symbols, however, are not sufficient to describe all changes, such as rewritings and transpositions, between Greek and Hebrew texts. Probably many Hexaplaric readings were never marked with these symbols. Fernández Marcos 2000, 210.
[18] Jobes & Silva 2000, 53.
[19] Fernández Marcos 2000, 230; Dines 2004, 104.

1 Samuel, Brock found that the Lucianic text have a great amount of Hexaplaric material.[20] To a certain degree this is also expected in 2 Samuel.

Occasionally this practise produced doublets or conflate readings in the Lucianic text. The Lucianic reviser kept the LXX reading but added the same rendering in Hebrew attested in the Hexaplaric text. For example, in vv. 7:21 the Hebrew text reads "because of your [God] word […] you have done" but the majority of the Greek witnesses (≠ Ra) read "because of your servant you have done". This is probably a misreading of the words דבר (word) and עבד servant).

The Lucianic text has combined these two variant readings "*because of your word and your servant you have done".* The Lucianic reviser, perhaps, did not notice that both readings are variants for each other. Thus, he did not intentionally combine two readings but added a reading, which he thought to be absent in his base text. The Lucianic text, therefore, often presents a fuller but also a longer text.

It is uncertain that did the Lucianic reviser have an access to the Hexapla itself but surely to a Hexaplaric material in one form or another.[21] This material probably comprehended the text of fifth column and at least the translation of the Symmachus. Symmachus was prepared on a basis of the proto-MT text at the turn of the third century CE. Unlike literal translations of Aquila and Theodotion, it shows more stylistic Greek perhaps suitable for needs of the Lucianic reviser. Symmachus is rarely mentioned in the Jewish sources but often used by Christian writers.

I use a following external criteria to identify a Hexaplaric influence in the Lucianic text: 1) In 2 Samuel the Hexaplaric text, probably Origen´s fifth column, is preserved to some extent in the Codex Alexandrinus (A) and the MSS 247 and 376 (247 376 = *O*). Therefore, if the Lucianic reading (*L*) agrees with the Greek witnesses A and/or *O* against the majority of the Greek witnesses, the Hexaplaric influence in the Lucianic text is more probable. For instance, the reading λόγον (word) in v. 7:21 is attested in the MSS A *O CII*$^{-52c}$ 242 *s*$^{-64´}$ 130 = Ra.

Because of Origen´s preference to Hebrew text close to the MT, also the agreement between the MT and *L* = A *O* in a number or an order of words increases a probability of the Hexaplaric influence in the Lucianic text. If there are several other Greek witnesses which also agree with MSS *L* A *O*, it is uncertain that a particular reading represents the Hexaplaric

[20] Brock 1996. 170–173.

[21] See. Law*: "In the middle of the fourth century, another scholar (…) called Eusebius (c. 300–363) was appointed bishop of Emesa. He was a native of Edessa (modern Şanlıurfa, Turkey) but spent most of his time in Antioch, (…) he became a student of Eusebius of Caesarea during his tenure in the coastal city. He would doubtless have been familiar with the Hexapla kept in the library. (…) The Hexapla's survival in Antioch—in the form of words, phrases, and whole verses taken from the Hexapla and inserted into the Antiochian Septuagint text—may owe itself at least partly to Eusebius of Emesa."* 2013, 153

influence in the Lucianic text. Thus, the particular reading might be already present in the base text, and therefore is not a work of the Lucianic reviser. The only exceptions are the typical companions of the Lucianic text. There are several Greek MSS (55 56 246 158 245s 318 460 509 554) which are often depended on the Lucianic text. 2) In 2 Samuel, the Greek MSS 243 and 554 have preserved several readings from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. They are additional notes in a marginal of manuscripts. If the reading in *L* agrees with "the Three" against the majority of the Greek witnesses, the Hexaplaric influence is also probable. The agreement with A *O* and the MT increase the probability of the Hexaplaric influence in the Lucianic text. Unfortunately the amount of textual evidence regarding "the Three" is limited.

It is expected that the Lucianic text contains Hexaplaric additions but any Hexaplaric evidence is not preserved in any Greek witnesses. Therefore, only external evidence of the Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text might occasionally be only 3) an agreement between *L* and the MT against the majority of the Greek witnesses. If this agreement shows some Hexaplaric characteristics, the Hexaplaric influence in the Lucianic text is plausible. The Lucianic MS 127 contains several asterisk markings which indicate that there is a plus in the text. It must be noticed that all asterisk markings in the MS 127 are dated to the ninth century CE. Thus, they are not always an indisputable evidence of the Hexaplaric readings in the Lucianic text.[22]

The identification of a Hexaplaric reading in the Lucianic text.

External criteria

1) A reading is attested in MSS A and *O*
2) A reading agrees with the "Three"
3) A reading agrees with the MT

Internal criteria

1) A reading produces a doublet.
2) A reading has quantitative word-for-word correspondence with the MT or a potential Hebrew text (a word order and/or a number of elements)

[22] See Torijano: *"The Hexaplaric reworking of the Antiochene textual traditions affects ms 127 considerably more than the main Lucianic wittnesses. Ms 127 was supplemented with Hexaplaric material that was not present in the 4th century Antiochene text."* 2017, 78.

First example: 2 Sam 1:15

	Maj.	***L***	**Few Greek variant**	**MT**
	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Δαυιδ	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Δαυιδ	*προσελθὼν ἀπάντησον*] *προσαγαγε* 554[mg];	וַיִּקְרָא דָוִד לְאַחַד
	ἓν τῶν παιδαρίων αὐτοῦ	ἓν τῶν παιδαρίων αὐτοῦ		מֵהַנְּעָרִים
	καὶ εἶπεν	καὶ εἶπεν		וַיֹּאמֶר
1	Προσελθὼν ἀπάντησον	**προσαγάγετε**	*προσελθον* V[c] 376 98-379 242′ 370 554[(txt)]	גַּשׁ פְּגַע־בּוֹ
	αὐτῷ·	αὐτῷ		
2		**καὶ ἅψασθε αὐτοῦ**	*αὐτόν*] > A; + *επι την γην* 242 799 71	
3	καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτόν,	καὶ ἐπάτα**ξαν** αὐτὸν		וַיַּכֵּהוּ
4	καὶ ἀπέθανεν.	καὶ **ἔβαλον αὐτὸν** **ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν**	*ἀπέθανεν*] *εβαλον αυτον επι την γην* 554[mg]	וַיָּמֹת׃

The Book of 2 Samuel begins with a narrative of "David hears of Saul´s death". A young man, an Amalekite, has come to inform David about Saul´s death. The young man explained that he has killed Saul at his own request. David considered this a crime because King Saul was still the Lord´s anointed. As a result of this David called one of his servant to kill the young man.

The majority of the Greek witnesses and the MT simply reads: "*And David called one of his servants and said: "come and face him!" and he stroked him and he died".* The Lucianic text provides an alternative and a longer reading, which offers a different account of how this young man was treated: *"And David called one of his servants and said: "bring him and grasp on him". And they stroked him and threw him on the ground".*

The first notice (1): Instead of the majority reading Προσελθὼν ἀπάντησον αὐτῷ "*come and face him*!", the Lucianic text has an imperative προσαγάγετε αὐτῷ "*bring him*!". In a majority text, David´s request is addressed only to one of his servants, but, in the Lucianic text, a plural imperative of προσάγω refers to several servants. The plural is also reflected in the third notice. The plural form of the verb πατάσσω in the Lucianic text is against the singular in the majority. This change from singular to plural prevents any misunderstanding of the majority text that it was David who stroke the young man instead of his servant. The plural form also corresponds to the previous text because the called servant was one of many servants. The compound verb προσαγάγετε in the Lucianic text might be a combination of two verbs in the majority. This leads to the second notice, which has to be studied together with this one.

The Lucianic text has a unique plus καὶ ἅψασθε αὐτοῦ "*and grasp on him*" against the rest of the Greek witnesses and the MT. Manuscript 243 preserves a Hexaplaric reading from Theodotion: αψαι. It is a singular imperative of the same verb ἅπτω, which in a middle form

can be interpreted “grasp something”. This Theodotion reading is a variant reading for a previous verb ἀπάντησον. It is not much but indicates that the plus καὶ ἅψασθε αὐτοῦ might be a Hexaplaric addition in the Lucianic text and might produce a doublet. The change of number from singular αψαι to plural ἅψασθε is probably a Lucianic harmonization in accordance with the other changes in number mentioned earlier. This case demonstrates well the mixed text type of the Lucianic text. Lucianic reviser has taken a Hexaplaric notice and harmonized it further to the context.

The fourth notice shows a larger difference between the Lucianic text and the majority: In the majority and the MT, a young man simply dies as a result of a striking. Instead of a reading καὶ ἀπέθανεν “*and he died*”, the Lucianic text reads καὶ ἔβαλον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν *“and they threw him on the ground”.* It is slightly uncertain that does the young man even dies in the Lucianic text. The verb πατάσσω is translated by striking or smiting but it is often understood as lethal. Therefore, the verb πατάσσω is often accompanied by the verb ἀποθνήσκω as happens also in the corresponding Hebrew expression וַיַּכֵּהוּ וַיָּמֹת.

The reading επι την γην is also preserved in the Catena manuscript 242 and manuscripts 799 and 71. They, however, lack the text “ἔβαλον αὐτὸν” but instead read “*he dies on the ground*”. These three manuscripts are not typical companions of the Lucianic manuscripts. Individual manuscripts, however, occasionally also follow the Lucianic text. In this reading, no Hexaplaric evidence is preserved. The following v. 1:16 might give a hint what has happened here to the Lucianic text.

After the death of the young man David says: *"Your blood be on your head; for your own mouth has testified against you, saying, 'I have killed the LORD's anointed.”* I suggest that the Lucianic reviser considered this order logically problematic. Why is David still talking to the young man, who is already death? It is a slightly more understandable order that “a young man, who has been lethally injured, was grasped and thrown to the ground on “David´s feet” as a result of David´s order “*bring him*”. The emphasis on David´s feet is my own. This event is followed by David´s speech in v. 1:16. It is a kind of accusation speech for a guilty man. The unique omission of the verb ἀπέθανεν in the Lucianic text – if interpreted as intentional – would be a strong indication of a logical clarification.

Second example: 2 Sam 2:24

Maj.	***L***	***α'*** **(M)**	***σ'*** **(M 243 554)**	***ϑ'*** **(243 554)**	**Few Greek variant**	**MT**
καὶ κατεδίωξεν Ιωαβ καὶ Αβεσσα ὀπίσω Αβεννηρ· καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἔδυνεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦλθον ἕως τοῦ βουνοῦ Αμμαν, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ προσώπου Γαι ὁδὸν ἔρημον Γαβαων.	καὶ κατεδίωξεν Ιωαβ καὶ Αβεσσα ὀπίσω Αβεννηρ· καὶ ἥλιος ἔδυνεν, καὶ αὐτοὶ **εἰσ**ἦλθον ἕως τοῦ βουνοῦ **Εμμαθ** **τοῦ κατὰ** **πρόσωπον** **Γιεζ** **τῆς ὁδοῦ** **τοῦ** **σπηλαιου** **τοῦ** **βουνοῦ**	 υδραγωγου φάραγγος της αβ τοῦ σπηλαιου του βουνου(M)	 νάπης(243) του κατα προσωπον(554) φάραγγος (M 243 554) γιεζ της ὁδὸυ αὐτοῦ(554) σπηλαιου (243 554)	 υδραγωγου (243) του κατα προσωπον(554) φάραγγος (243 554) του(554) βουνου(243 554)	om ὁ $L^{-19'}$ | *εἰσῆλθον* A B V *O L CI* 509 *f* 244 318 342 460 707] *-θοσαν* 121 68′; *ηλθον* rel | *ὅ ἐστιν*] *εως την O*; *του* V *L* 554^{mg}; > 68′ | *ἐπὶ προσώπου*] *κατα προσωπον* V *L* 554^{mg} | *ὁδόν*] *της* (*τις* V*) *οδον* V^{c} *L* | *ἔρημον Γαβαων*] *του σπηλαιου του βουνου* (> *τ. β.* 82) V *L* | *Γαβαων*] + *του σπηλαιου του βουνου* 158	וַיִּרְדְּפוּ יוֹאָב וַאֲבִישַׁי אַחֲרֵי אַבְנֵר וְהַשֶּׁמֶשׁ בָּאָה וְהֵמָּה בָּאוּ עַד־ גִּבְעַת אַמָּה אֲשֶׁר׀ עַל־פְּנֵי־ גִּיַּח דֶּרֶךְ מִדְבַּר גִּבְעוֹן׃

V. 2:24 is a part of the passage that describes a war between the houses of David and Saul. Joab and Abishai, David´s men, pursued after Abner, the son of Ner and the commander of Saul's army. Abner has just killed Asahel, David´s warrior.

The Greek witnesses and the MT agree almost completely. The Greek witnesses, however, provide different locations for where this pursuit of Abner came to an end. The majority of the Greek witnesses reads "*Amman, which is before Gai, on the way to the wilderness of Gabaon*". The Lucianic text preserved a unique and somewhat obscure reading, which already raises doubts: "(until the hill of) *Emmath, which is facing Gies on the cavern´s way of the hill*". This reading has similarities with the Jewish translations: Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. In this instance, the codices M and the manuscripts 243 and 554 preserve several individual readings from all of the three Jewish translations. The Lucianic text is not identical with any of "the Three" but similarities are evident. This suggests that the Lucianic reviser has been aware of the Hexaplaric readings.

It is difficult to determine from which column the Lucianic reviser has drawn material. The major part of the clause γιεζ της ὁδὸυ αὐτοῦ σπηλαιου in the Lucianic text is close only to the Symmachus. But the last part of the clause του βουνου is identical only to Aquila and Theodotion. The simplest explanation is that the Lucianic reviser has used the translation of Symmachus, which he has often favoured, probably for its stylistic nature in contrast to the translations of Aquila and Theodotion. The translation of Symmachus probably include also the latter part of the clause but any evidence of it has not been preserved. In the present case, all minor variants in the Lucianic text are identically found at least in one of the Hexaplaric witnesses. This suggests that Lucianic reviser has probably not reworked his addition, which explains the unstylistic nature of it. Though, he might have dropped the reading φάραγγος "cleft" preserved in "the three".

Third example: 2 Sam 5:5

	Maj.	**The Lucianic text**	**A**	***O***	**MT**
1		και			
	ἑπτὰ ἔτη	ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν	ἐν Χεβρων	ἐν Χεβρων καὶ	בְּחֶבְרוֹן
	καὶ ἓξ μῆνας	Χεβρων	ἐβασίλευσεν	ἐπὶ τὸν Ιουδαν	מָלַךְ
	ἐβασίλευσεν	ἐπὶ Ιουδαν	ἐπὶ τὸν Ιουδαν	ἐβασίλευσεν	עַל־יְהוּדָה
	ἐν Χεβρων	ἔτη ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ ἔτη	ἑπτὰ (ζ 376) ἔτη	שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים
	ἐπὶ τὸν Ιουδαν	καὶ μῆνας ἓξ	καὶ ἓξ μῆνας	καὶ μῆνας ἓξ	וְשִׁשָּׁה חֳדָשִׁים
2	καὶ	και	και	και	
		εν ιερουσαλημ	εν ιλημ	επι τον ιηλ	וּבִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם
	τριάκοντα τρία	εβασιλευσεν	εβασιλευσεν	εβασιλευσε	מָלַךְ
	ἔτη	τριακοντα	τριακοντα	τριακοντα (λ 376)	שְׁלֹשִׁים
	ἐβασίλευσεν	και δυο ετη και	και	και	וְשָׁלֹשׁ
	ἐπὶ πάντα Ισραηλ	μηνας εξ	τρια ετη	τρια (γ 376) ετη	שָׁנָה
	καὶ Ιουδαν	ἐπὶ πάντα Ισραηλ			עַל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
	ἐν Ιερουσαλημ	καὶ Ιουδαν	καὶ Ιουδαν		וִיהוּדָה:

The vv. 5:1–5 is the description of how David becomes king of Israel. The elders of all the tribes of Israel anoint him at Hebron. The vv. 4–5 provide an account of the duration of David´s reign at both Hebron and Jerusalem. At Hebron, he reigned over Judah for seven years and six months, and at Jerusalem he reigned over all of Israel and Judah for thirty-three years. The content of the text is similar in the Greek witnesses and the MT. The v. 5, however, has a different sequence in the Greek text and the MT.

The vv. 4–5 are absent in the Old Latin witness La[115]. The Qumran manuscript 4QSam[a] is badly damaged in this passage but the reconstruction without the vv. 4–5 is probable. This minus is also interesting from a literary criticism point of view. The vv. 4–5 break the continuity of the narrative. The text runs fluently from v. 3 "David becomes king" directly to v. 6 "David attacks Jerusalem". The content of vv. 4–5 is also not found in the parallel passage of 1 Chr 11:1–9. The parallel narrative in 1 Chronicles also continues fluently in the vv. 1 Chr 11:3–4, in which David attacks Jerusalem just after he has been anointed king. It must be noticed, that the text in vv. 2 Sam 5:4–5 is a typical regnal formula, which is a very common in the Book of Kings as well. (Cf. 1 Ki 22:42; 2 Ki 8:17, 26). Based on these external and internal observations it might be that the original Hebrew text of Samuel did not contain the text in vv. 2 Sam 5:4–5. The minus, therefore, might also go back to the OG. In this case, the addition must be early because it is preserved in all Greek witnesses.

The sequence of the text in 2 Sam 5:5 varies among the Greek witnesses. The majority of the Greek witnesses begins with the duration of David´s reign "*seven years and six months*" and then follows with a location "*Hebron*" and an object of a reign "*Judah*". In the MSS A *O L*, the order of elements varies. A similar transposition is also in the second part of the verse. The majority of the Greek witness begin with the reign´s duration "*thirty-three years*" and then follows with an object "*all Israel and Judah*" and a location "*Jerusalem*" of a reign. On the contrary, the MSS A *O L* begin with a location, which is followed by a duration and an object of a reign agreeing again with the MT. Regarding the object, the *L* reads "*all Israel and Judah*" agreeing with the MT, whereas MS A has only "*Judah*".

Thus, if the text in the vv. 2 Sam 5:4–5 is a later addition, the text in v. 5 has gone through yet more revisional activity. The majority of Greek witness probably preserves the earliest form of the addition (1: duration – location – object; and 2: duration – object – location). This order is also typical in Kings, in where regnal formulas begin with the mention of a reign´s duration. The transposition of elements in the MSS A *O L* is probably a final form of the addition, a probable Hexaplaric revision toward a Hebrew text preserved in the MT. The order of element in MS group *L* (1: location – object – duration; 2: location - duration – object) might represents a slight improvement of the addition, which begins with a location instead of a duration.

The textual agreement and the similar word order between the MSS A *O L* and the MT are indications that the Lucianic reviser has used the Hexaplaric material. Furthermore, the Lucianic reviser has also produced a harmonizing rewriting of his own. David reigned at Jerusalem thirty-two years and six months in the Lucianic text against thirty-three years in rest of the Greek witnesses and the MT. Including a time of the reign in Hebron "seven years and

six month, the total duration of David´s reign, therefore, is exactly forty years in the Lucianic text instead of thirty-nine years and six months. The difference of six months and a round number are logical corrections by the Lucianic reviser in accordance with the previous verse, which reads: "and he reigned forty years".

Fourth example: 2 Sam 6:11

LXX Maj.	**The Lucianic text**	**MT**	**Some Greek variants**	**1 Chr 13:13–14**
10 καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο Δαυιδ τοῦ ἐκκλῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ, καὶ ἀπέκλινεν αὐτὴν Δαυιδ εἰς οἶκον Αβεδδαρα τοῦ Γεθθαίου.	10 καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο Δαυιδ τοῦ ἐκκλῖναι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ, καὶ **εξ**εκλινεν αὐτὴν Δαυιδ εἰς οἶκον αβεδδαδα**ν** τοῦ Γεθθαίου **μηνας τρεις**	וְלֹא־ אָבָה דָוִד לְהָסִיר אֵלָיו אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה עַל־עִיר דָּוִד וַיַּטֵּהוּ דָּוִד בֵּית עֹבֵד־אֱדֹם :הַגִּתִּי	10. *Γεθθαίου*] +*μηνας τρεις L CI* 68´-74 *f* 71 342 554 *ἀπέκλινεν*] *επ. a*$^{-527}$; *εξεκλ. L*$^{-93}$ *CI* 554^{c} 11. *καί* 1^{o}– *τρεῖς*] > *CI* 68´-74 *f* 71 342 554; sub ※ 127 *ἐκάθισεν*] + *εκει* A *O* 527 44-125 *ἡ κιβωτός*] *γλωσσοκομον* A *O* om *ἡ* 530* *τοῦ κυρίου*] *του θ̄ῡ* 509 245 707; > *O* 460; om *τοῦ* 1^{o} A *CII* 121 106-120-134-370 *s*$^{-64´}$ 158 244 372 *εν οικω* M V *L* 64´ 29 158 318 372	13 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστρεψεν Δαυιδ τὴν κιβωτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς πόλιν Δαυιδ καὶ ἐξέκλινεν αὐτὴν εἰς οἶκον Αβεδδαρα τοῦ Γεθθαίου.
11 καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου εἰς οἶκον Αβεδδαρα τοῦ Γεθθαίου μῆνας τρεῖς· καὶ εὐλόγησεν κύριος ὅλον τὸν οἶκον Αβεδδαρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ.	11 καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου εν οικ**ω** αβεδδαδα**ν** τοῦ Γεθθαίου μῆνας τρεῖς· καὶ εὐλόγησεν κύριος τὸν οἶκον αβεδδαδαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ.	וַיֵּשֶׁב אֲרוֹן יְהוָה בֵּית עֹבֵד אֱדֹם הַגִּתִּי שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים וַיְבָרֶךְ יְהוָה אֶת־עֹבֵד אֱדֹם :וְאֶת־כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ	*ἡ κιβωτός*] *γλωσσοκομον* A *O* om *ἡ* 530* *τοῦ κυρίου*] *του θ̄ῡ* 509 245 707; > *O* 460; om *τοῦ* 1^{o} A *CII* 121 106-120-134-370 *s*$^{-64´}$ 158 244 372 *εν οικω* M V *L* 64´ 29 158 318 372	14 καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν οἴκῳ Αβεδδαρα τρεῖς μῆνας· καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς Αβεδδαραμ καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ.

The vv. 6:10–11 are the part of the passage, which describes the ark´s staying in the house of Obed-Edom after Ussah has died for touching the Ark of God. The Lord blessed Obed-Edom´s family during the three months when the ark remained in the house. The text in the LXX and

the MT mostly agree. In v. 10 the LXX has the plus διαθήκης "the covenant". Second, in v. 11 the LXX and the MT have a difference in the sequence "Obed-Edom" and "whole house". Third, the LXX has the plus καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ "and all that belonged to him"

Some Greek witnesses *CI* 68΄-74 *f* 71 342 554 have a long haplography in the beginning of v. 12 obviously due to homoioteleuton of "Αβεδδαρα τοῦ Γεθθαίου". In these MSS, the reading "μῆνας τρεῖς· is now accompanied already with the end of v. 10: "*and David turned it aside into the house of Abeddara the Gethite three months*".

The Lucianic text, however, reads μῆνας τρεῖς· twice, in v. 10 agreeing with the minority of the Greek witnesses and in v. 12 agreeing with the majority of the Greek witnesses. Some might argue that this is revisional addition of the Lucianic reviser. Similar additions, which harmonize a text according to its immediate context, are surely common in the Lucianic text (cf. πέπτωκεν in the vv. 2 Sam 3:38–39, ο αδελφος αυτου in the vv. 2 Sam 4:4–5 and αναβασει του βουνου του in the vv. 2 Sam 6:2–3 in the Lucianic text). This additional μῆνας τρεῖς is likely revisional but not a harmonization.

The MS 127 has an asterisk in the reading "καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου εἰς οἶκον Αβεδδαρα τοῦ Γεθθαίου μῆνας τρεῖς". This indicates that the text is added and not found in some Greek witnesses. Because other Lucianic MSS provide same reading than the MS 127, this addition might go back to the Lucianic text of the fourth century. Thus, the base text of the Lucianic reviser has probably not contained this text agreeing with the minority of the Greek witnesses. When he has completed the text with a Hexaplaric material, the additional reading μῆνας τρεῖς has slipped to the text. Without the double reading of μῆνας τρεῖς this Hexaplaric addition in the Lucianic text is hardly observable.

There are two options to explain what has happened to the text. Either 1) homoioteleuton error goes back to the OG translator what is preserved in some Greek witnesses and the base text of the Lucianic reviser or 2) homoioteleuton has happened in an early stage of the LXX´s textual history. The previous option suggests that the Greek text has been revised toward the Hebrew text, which is preserved in the majority of the Greek witnesses.

Epilogue

The different layers of the Lucianic text is often discussed in very distinct terms: the base text of the Lucianic reviser, the Hexaplaric additions and the Lucianic revision. The Hexaplaric material explain well why we found Hebraistic forms in the Lucianic text such as in v. 2:24. However, as the examples in this presentation have demonstrated, the Lucianic reviser has every now and then stylistically reworked his Hexaplaric material as seen in the vv. 1:15: 5:5. What does this tell about the consistency of the Lucianic reviser? Furthermore, in v. 6:11 he has done slight mistake when drawing Hexaplaric material.

Nevertheless, these additions indicate that the Lucianic reviser, if aware, was surely interest of the additional material. Even though he considered the fuller text a better text, it was still an object of revision for reasons of stylistic principles. The fact remains that these stylistic improvements might mean notable additions or omissions of the Lucianic reviser of his own. Thus, the reviser's need for a fuller text might concern more the content and its wholeness, and coherence than the text itself.

The Antiochian and the Alexandrian schools has often seen as competitive schools. Origen is known for a usage of the allegorical method in a biblical interpretation. Yet the Antiochians stress the literal interpretation but accept the allegorical approach if biblical authors have used symbolical language.[23] In this context, the usage of Origen´s Hexaplaric text in the Lucianic revision seems unexpected. In some extent, the so called confrontation between both schools, perhaps, is an oversimplified claim.

[23] Law 2013, 152–54.

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THE DIALOGUE OF SORROW, BLAME, AND PROTEST IN LAMENTATIONS 1

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PREFACE

This paper reflects research undertaken throughout the first year of my doctoral research, which seeks to examine the extent to which the theme and language of covenant influences the book of Lamentations. The majority of this first year has focused on the role and position of covenant in the Hebrew Bible, with the final few months switching attention to an initial analysis of the context, language and theology of the book of Lamentations. The argument put forth here has emerged principally from this second line of enquiry. In anticipation of the response to this paper from senior scholars and fellow doctoral candidates at OTSEM, I welcome any feedback and critique regarding the strengths and weaknesses of my argument, but I would particularly envisage three areas as the focal points of our discussion: First, the methodology for detecting poetic voices within Lamentations; second, the strength of the case put forth for identifying three voices in Lamentations 1; third, the feasibility of those voices offering a dialogue between differing theological positions, particularly with respect to the place of covenant in that dialogue. This last aspect is not discussed at length in this paper, and thus explores the potential for this paper's contribution to my wider research.

INTRODUCTION

The book of Lamentations is, in every respect, complex. From its intricate structure, to its evocative and allusive language, its richness runs deep and is best appreciated at close quarters with an attentive eye. Indeed, it is *a complex*: a composition of diverse literary features, genres, and perspectives, brought together to produce a literary work of multiple layers, both emotional and theological. Among the many literary devices employed regularly by the poet(s),[1] it has often been recognised that different voices or personae can be detected, which speak about the catastrophic destruction of Jerusalem from different emotional and theological perspectives.[2] These voices do not necessarily always agree, and may even provoke each other to think differently, with the effect that any attempt to reduce the poems to a single "message" is confounded by the dialogue between them.[3] While the presence of voices is widely agreed, the

[1] For a full discussion of these literary features, including acrostics, enjambment, euphony, a *qinah* meter, and others, see: F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations* IBCTP (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 12-23.

[2] The scholarly discussion on this point will be discussed below, but suffice it to say here that while he is not the first to make the observation, William Lanahan's work on this aspect has proved to be the most influential, and represents a breakthrough from merely observing the literary feature to appreciating more fully its importance for understanding the poems as a whole: W. F. Lanahan, 'The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations' in *JBL* 93.1 (1974), 41-49.

[3] Several excellent studies have reflected on this aspect of the book of Lamentations as a whole. Important studies which have a bearing on my argument include: M. J. Bier, *'Perhaps There Is Hope': Reading Lamentations as a Polyphony of Pain, Penitence, and Protest* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015); N. C. Lee, *The Singers of*

number of those voices, and the division-points between them is disputed. There is broad agreement, however, that only two voices are present in the first poem: the first a narrator, possibly the poet himself, and the second the personified figure of Zion.

While this finding is consistent with the grammatical shifts between third- and first-person perspective utilised throughout both poems, a number of anomalies remain unaccounted for, most notably including the use of different names for the city, and for God, different explanations of how or why the disaster occurred, and different theological perspectives, all within the third-person speech. Typically, these are either disregarded as serious issues, or made to fit within the single voice of a narrator representing more than one viewpoint. However, if William Lanahan is correct to argue that a key function of multiple speaking voices within Hebrew poetry is "the displacement of the poet's imagination beyond the limitations of his single viewpoint so that he may gain a manifold insight into the human experience"[4] – that is, such a technique enables the poet to separate out his own complex of conflicting emotions in order to give each one space to be expressed – and in the light of other poetic passages which have been recognised to shift between alternate third-person referents without direct speech markers (e.g., Jer 10:21; Mic 6-7),[5] then we should take seriously the possibility that the third-person speech in Lamentations 1 represents more than one poetic voice. In fact, the contention of this paper is that three voices may be detected in the poetry of Lamentations 1: two observers, each speaking in the third person, and the first-person discourse of personified Daughter Zion herself. These three voices, which for the most part speak indirectly across each other, enable a dialogue to emerge between the sorrow experienced by Zion, shared by the observer who loves her; the guilt attributed to Zion, felt by the observer who blames her; and the protest from Zion that whichever perspective is emphasised, God must answer her cry.

In terms of scope, this paper focuses attention on Lamentations 1, which contains all of the anomalies which may indicate a third, undirected voice, as well as the clearest sense of shifting between these voices. In doing so, this paper proposes a means of detecting poetic voices in unmarked discourse which can then be applied to the remaining four poems. In terms of relationship to my doctoral project, the focus of my research is on the extent to which the book of Lamentations is influenced by the theme and language of covenant. A vital aspect of my investigation is, therefore, how far the theological character of the poems is expressed via the dialogue between the different voices through which the poet(s) addresses the reader. It is hoped that the analysis presented in this paper can establish a valuable line of enquiry for the project as a whole.

VOICES IN LAMENTATIONS

The presence of multiple voices in the poetry of Lamentations has long been attested by scholars. Max Löhr, for example, writing in 1906, noted the presence of Zion as a separate voice to the poet in Lamentations 1 and 2 (1:9, 11, 12-16, 18-22; 2:20-22), although this was the only 'external' voice he recognised throughout the five poems.[6] Whereas, Hermann

Lamentations: Cities Under Siege, From Ur to Jerusalem to Sarajevo (Leiden: Brill, 2002); T. Linafelt, *Surviving Lamentations: Catastrophe, Lament, and Protest in the Afterlife of a Biblical Book* (Chicago, IL; University of Chicago Press, 2000).

[4] Lanahan (1974), 41.

[5] E.g., S. A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible* SVT Vol. XLVI (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 34-35; D. G. Hagstrom, *The Coherence of the Book of Micah: A Literary Analysis* SBLDS 89 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1988), 106-13.

[6] M. Löhr, *Die Klagelieder des Jeremias: Übersetzt und Erklärt* (Göttingen: Vendenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906), 1, 9, 15, 23, 28.

Wiesmann (1954) identified as many as six voices: a narrator (1:1-6, 7-9b, 10-11b, 15c, 17; 2:1-10, 13-17), Zion (1:9c, 11c-15b, 16, 18-22; 2:11-12, 20-22), the people (2:18-19), Jeremiah (chapters 3 and 4), and two choirs (both in chapter 5), attributing every verse to a voice not necessarily to be understood directly as the poet himself.[7] Other scholars offered their own delineation,[8] but it was not until the publication of William Lanahan's article, 'The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations' (1974) that the prevalence and purpose of these voices drew closer scholarly analysis.[9] The importance of Lanahan's thesis was not so much in his literary analysis; rather, it was in his recognition of the poet's decision to withdraw his own voice altogether in favour of a myriad of others, each expressing one of the poet's own emotional or theological responses to the calamitous situation he found himself in. Thus, Lanahan asserts: "the variety of voices sketches the topography of a unique spiritual consciousness, which can realize itself only by projecting its grief in its constituent phases by adopting different personae."[10]

As Kim Lan Nguyen has observed, Lanahan's article "probably influences all of the subsequent scholarly efforts in this area."[11] Certainly, it has contributed to a widespread acceptance of the significant role of different voices in the formation of the poetry of Lamentations, as well as a growing interest in its dialogic potential.[12] Nevertheless, there are gaps in his argument, which have resulted in the detail of his analysis proving less influential than the broad scope of its vision. The most immediately striking lacuna is in his lack of methodological discussion. Most of his article is given over to identifying and describing five personae active across the five poems (a reporter and personified Jerusalem in Lam 1-2, a defeated soldier in Lam 3, a bourgeois in Lam 4, and a choral voice in Lam 5), but he never explains how he has identified each of these voices.[13] It is probable that his analysis of Lamentations 1 is guided by the use of first- and third-person discourse (Zion and reporter respectively), which can be an effective means of signalling a change of speaker,[14] and would produce precisely the delineation he proposes (with the reporter speaking in 1:1-9b, 10-11b, 15c, 17; and Jerusalem speaking in 1:9c, 11c-15b, 16, 18-22). However, this cannot have been his only marker for Lamentations 2, a poem he argues projects the same two voices but includes instances of first-person speech that he attributes to the narrator (Lam 2:13-17).[15] Nor can it be true for chapters 3 or 4, each of which Lanahan attributes to one voice, despite both switching between first- and third- person speeches, including both singular and plural first-person speech

[7] H. Wiesmann, *Die Klagelieder, übersetzt und erklärt* (Frankfurt: Philosophisch-theologische Hochschule Sankt George, 1954), 132, 167, 209, 241-2, 271.
[8] E.g., O. Eissfeldt (trans. P. R. Ackroyd), *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 500-03; D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary, 2nd Edition* AB 7a (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992 [1972]), 79, 103, 120-24, 145, 162.
[9] Lanahan (1974).
[10] Ibid., 42.
[11] K. L. Nguyen, *Chorus in the Dark: The Voices of the Book of Lamentations* HBM 54 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013), 8.
[12] Commentaries which cite Lanahan's work in their own discussion of this aspect include: A. Berlin, Lamentations: A Commentary OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 6-7; R. Parry, *Lamentations* THOTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 11-12; I. W. Provan, *Lamentations* NCBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), 6-7; H. A. Thomas, Poetry and Theology in the Book of Lamentations: The Aesthetics of an Open Text HBM 47 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013), 90-93; cf. D. Bergant, *Lamentations* AOTC (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2003), 15-16; T. Longman III, Jeremiah, Lamentations UBCS (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2008), 329.
[13] Lanahan (1974), 42-49.
[14] Meier (1992), 34.
[15] Lanahan (1974), 43-45.

in Lamentations 3.[16] His lack of explanation on this point implies an intuitive approach, delineating the personae based on his subjective sense of the movement of the text.

It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that following Lanahan's analysis, a number of alternative delineations have been proposed in recent scholarship. These have ranged from as few as two voices detected by Nancy Lee, up to three by Iain Provan, four by Diane Bergant and Katheen O'Connor, and five by Adele Berlin and Gina Hens-Piazza, with Robin Parry speculating that as many as nine could be found depending on the criteria applied.[17] Here again, the method is often not described, but on the occasions that it is, each voice is determined on the basis of the grammatical person utilized, as well as the general 'tone' of the discourse.[18] There is little consistency in how 'tone' is measured, however, resulting in the above discrepancies.

The greatest differences of interpretation on this point have tended to surface in chapters 3-5, but an apt example may also be found in Lam 1:15c. The shift from first- to third-person in this verse occurs within an extended speech by Zion (1:11c-16), and has been understood by some scholars as signalling a shift back to the narrator, who now interrupts Zion just as she had interrupted him in 1:9c and 1:11c (and as he will again interrupt her in 1:17), in order to reinforce his earlier assertion of God's active role in her suffering (cf. 1:5).[19] Whereas others have disregarded the third-person indicator in favour of a sense that the statement conforms to the same mood as the rest of the strophe, evidenced not least by the imagery of crushing and tramping in 15b and 15c respectively.[20] As with Lanahan's configuration, then, these proposals are thus prone to subjective reasoning and artificial construction; a point acknowledged by Berlin, who viewed "the variety of interpretations that are possible as a sign that such identification is as much the product of the interpreter as a feature of the text."[21]

In striking contrast to the range of proposals for voices throughout the book of Lamentations as a whole, there is almost unanimous agreement that only two voices are present in Lamentations 1-2, the first most commonly described as a narrator, and the second, Daughter Zion. Notable exceptions include Wiesmann, who identifies a third voice in Lamentations 2 (that of the people in 2:18-19), and Claus Westermann, who objects that explaining the differences of perspective in terms of distinct voices "yields no intelligible sense," arguing instead that the poet is both a citizen of Zion and her representative, and as such inhabits both identities without the need of a distinct second voice.[22] While Westermann is right in one sense – clearly the poet does indeed sit behind both perspectives – he fails to appreciate the extent to which these perspectives confront and respond to one another, and thus the potential for projected voices to enter into dialogue together, thereby encouraging a more nuanced reception by the reader. True, in as far as there is a dialogue, it is somewhat manufactured by the poet before the reader, since the voices tend to speak across one another instead of to one another; but not exclusively. Lam 1:10c, for example, interrupts third-person speech with a second-

[16] Ibid., 45-48. In Lam 3, which begins and ends in first person singular speech, interruptions are made by third person speech (3:22-23, 25-39) and first person plural speech (3:40-47); in Lam 4, the predominant third-person speech is interrupted by a period of first person plural speech (4:17-20), and closes with a shift to a second-person address directed to both Edom and Zion (4:21-22).

[17] Lee (2002), 11; Provan (1991), 7; Bergant (2003), 15-16; K. M. O'Connor, *Lamentations and the Tears of the World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 17, 30, 44-45, 58, 70; Berlin (2002), 6-7; G. Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations: Wisdom Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017), xlvii; Parry (2010), 12.

[18] Cf. C. W. Miller, 'Reading Voices: Personification, Dialogism, and the Reader of Lamentations 1' in *Biblical Interpretation* 9.4 (2001), pp. 393-408, 393.

[19] E.g., Hillers (1992), 79; Lanahan (1974), 41; Miller (2001), 393.

[20] E.g., Berlin (2002), 48; O'Connor (2002), 26; Provan (1991), 33; Thomas (2013), 119.

[21] Berlin (2002), 6.

[22] Wiesmann (1954), 167; C. Westermann (trans. C. Muenchow), *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994 [1990], 139-40.

person address, "Those whom you commanded not to enter your assembly."[23] The intended recipient of this appeal is unclear and disputed, but clearly indicates the intention to converse about, and not merely project, an idea. Similarly, Lamentations 2:13-19 presents an extended second-person discourse, culminating in a direct invitation to "Pour out your heart like water, before the face of the Lord" (2:19b). Indeed, the direct appeals to Yahweh (1:9c, 11c, 20-22; 2:20-22), and to the passers-by (1:12), establish them as additional personae who, though they do not speak directly (the passers-by are quoted indirectly in 2:15, 16), are as much a part of the dialogue as the narrator or Zion.

It is this capacity for dialogue that has dominated discussions about the voices in the book of Lamentations in general, and Lamentations 1, in particular. In recent years, a number of insightful studies have shed light on the democratizing power of such a literary approach, which serves to elevate the pained voice of the vulnerable, in the form of Daughter Zion – a widow who has lost her children, a queen who has lost her crown, a woman in a man's world, rejected and enslaved, mocked and despised – so that her voice is not lost among the crowd of men who speak for (or against) her, explaining her plight and daring to hope for a brighter future.[24]

A PROBLEMATIC CONSENSUS

While this appreciation for the dialogue between narrator and Zion has proved a fertile ground for scholarly excavation of Lamentations 1, yielding much to aid our understanding and provoke our thinking, there remains an important question-mark over the depth of analysis that has concluded only two voices speak. As with the book *in toto*, in the absence of direct discourse markers (e.g., וַיֹּאמֶר, וַתֹּאמֶר), the first indicator has (rightly) been taken to be shifts in grammatical person.[25] Lamentations 1 utilises first-, second-, and third-person discourse, but for the most part second-person statements are clearly contained within a unit of first- or third-person discourse, making it clear that it should not be considered a separate voice. What remains, then, is a juxtaposition of first- and third-person speech, which can then be attributed to two distinct voices: the narrator dominating the first half of the poem (1:1-11), with two brief interjections from Zion (1:9c, 11c), who then prevails through the second half (1:12-22), save for one, or possibly two, interjections from the narrator (1:15c, 17).

As noted above, however, 1:15c disrupts the neatness of this attribution, as a third-person statement embedded in an extended first-person discourse, which could be interpreted as stemming from either voice, and so subjective measure of 'tone' is then applied to decide which voice it belongs to, resulting in disagreement among scholars regarding the precise lines of division. This disagreement over what is, after all, only one colon, appears not to be considered consequential, however, if the lack of scholarly critique of either position is any indication. The trouble is, that it certainly is consequential in 1:15. Heard from Zion's mouth, she conveys her deepening resignation that Yahweh is set against her: having first conceded his remote influence over world events (1:15b), she now despairs under his direct oppression (15c); whereas in the mouth of a narrator, this bleak statement seeks to press Zion further than she wishes to go: "not only did he determine your destruction, he did so personally, and it gave

[23] All translations from the book of Lamentations are my own.
[24] Two studies particularly worth mentioning in this respect are Linafelt (2000), and C. R. Mandolfo, *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets: A Dialogic Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007).
[25] E.g., Miller (2001), 393; Thomas (2013), 122.

him cause for delight as your crushed body produced wine for his festivities." The effect of the dialogue is radically affected even by one's choice over this single colon.

Elsewhere, other instances of supposed tonal consistency can also be called into question. A common characterisation of the narrator's first speech (1:1-9b) is that it is "objective" (Mandolfo), "dispassionate" (Bergant), or "unemotional" (O'Connor).[26] Lanahan defines the speaker as a reporter, detached from the experience, who approaches the city from outside and simply describes what he sees and contextualises it, in contrast to the stark desperation expressed by Zion.[27] However, Miriam Bier has rightly questioned this assessment, finding instead "a sympathetic witness," whose opening cry (אֵיכָה "How!") "connotes worlds of pain."[28] Indeed, it is widely recognised that much of this opening speech conforms to the pattern and language of a dirge; in which case, far from being detached, the speaker is emotionally engaged, crying out in grief. That said, such engagement appears at odds with certain statements within this passage, which veer from dirge-like sympathy (1:1-2, 4, 6) to straight-forward description (1:3, 7, 9b) and even to judgement (1:5, 8-9a). At the very least, this example highlights the subjective and therefore potentially unreliable nature of such a measure for determining the character of a voice. But it should also be noted that such tonal variance seems to go unnoticed because of the assumption of a single speaker, determined by the consistent presence of third-person discourse.

However, the consistency of grammatical person may not be an altogether reliable means of identifying a single voice. In a benchmark study of speech-patterns in Hebrew poetry, Samuel Meier has noted "abundant evidence for the non-necessity of explicitly marking direct discourse" in Hebrew poetry (e.g., Ps 46:10-12; 82; Isa 40:6),[29] a feature he finds to be deliberate, and which can make identification of the speaker, and the delineation of their speech difficult to discern. [30] Indeed, responding to Meier's findings, Naana Zahavi-Eli has argued, in her doctoral dissertation, that such obfuscation adheres to a poetic convention, in which voices alternate without clear signals to the reader in order to create ambiguity and draw the reader to more naturally empathise with multiple viewpoints.[31] Whereas Knut Heim has speculated, "It may have been designed to reflect the historical situation of a community going through turmoil and crisis."[32]

A key example with regard to grammatical person is Micah 6-7, which many scholars have noted is a passage which shifts between a variety of distinct voices (variously numbered between three and six) without direct markers to clarify when, or even *that* this has happened.[33] In a careful analysis of this aspect of Micah, David Hagstrom has collated different scholarly delineations of these voices, and outlined how the text signals changes in speaking voice.[34] While some of these shifts can be affirmed in response to changes of grammatical person,

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[26] Mandolfo (2007), 80; Bergant (2003), 15; O'Connor (2002), 17.
[27] Lanahan (1974), 42-44.
[28] Bier (2015), 43; see also S. P. Re'emi, 'Lamentations' in R. Martin-Achard & S. P. Re'emi, *God's People in Crisis: Amos and Lamentations* ITC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984), 83; cf. Parry (2010), 43.
[29] Meier (1992), 32.
[30] Ibid., 33-34.
[31] N. Zahavi-Ely, *Voice and Persona: The Convention of Changing Speakers in Biblical Hebrew Poetry and its Use in the Book of Jeremiah* (Doctoral Dissertation, Union-Presbyterian School of Christian Education, 2010), 17-19.
[32] K. N. Heim, 'The Personification of Jerusalem and the Drama of His Bereavement in Lamentations' in R. S. Hess & G. J. Wenham (Eds), *Zion: City of Our God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 129-169, 146.
[33] E.g., J. L. Mays, *Micah: A Commentary* OTL (London: SCM Press, 1976), 9-10; B. Renaud, *La Formation du Livre de Michée: Tradition et Actualisationa* (Paris: J. Galbalda, 1977), 301-3, 335, 380-81; Hagstrom (1988), 109.
[34] Ibid., 106-13.

others are identified despite the grammatical person remaining unchanged, signalled not so much by changing tone as changing priorities or outlooks (e.g. a heightened concern for social justice at Mic 6:9ff.), as well as a consideration of changing addressees.[35] On this basis, scholars have detected that a new speaker which maintains first-person speech is introduced in Mic 6:6; new speakers which maintain second-person speech are introduced in Mic 6:1b (or 6:2 – this point is disputed, but the grammatical effect is the same) and 7:14; and new speakers which maintain third-person speech are introduced in Mic 6:9 and, Renaud argues, in Mic 7:4.[36] Meier also notes Jeremiah 10:21, which follows a third-person referent described (within first-person speech) in 10:20 with a description of that referent from a new unmarked voice, continuing in the third-person.[37] Taken with above-noted potential for one speaker to use multiple grammatical persons (e.g., Lam 1:10; 2:13-17), it must be conceded that while it is a natural starting point, grammatical person is an insufficient final measure for determining distinct voices in poetic text, just as tone can provide only a subjective means to confirm them.

Before we consider a more thorough means of determination, however, it is important to note that, in addition to the uncertainties left by analyses of grammatical person and tone, there are further anomalies within the text of Lamentations 1 that are not resolved by the standard two-voice delineation:

I. *Inconsistent names*. Different names are used for the city: some passages name her Zion (1:4, 6, 17), others Jerusalem (1:7, 8, 17). Robin Parry has explained this in terms of context, noting the cultic backdrop to statements naming the city Zion,[38] although this appears not to be the case in 1:17, which includes both attributions. Related to this, different names are used of the nation, with Lam 1:3 and 15 speaking of Judah, but Lam 1:17 speaking of Jacob. Scholarly attention has tended to be drawn more to the use of Judah than Jacob, noting the effective relocation of focus in 1:3 from the remnant to the exiles (a movement which itself might be taken as a disjunctive shift in tone or focus, especially when, as Parry notes, 1:4 disallows attention to linger there and pulls the reader back to the city).[39] However, some have sought to explain the different terminology by highlighting the function of Jacob as a title for the whole people of God after the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom of Israel;[40] thus, the scope of the present disaster extends beyond Jerusalem, to Judah, and even to God's entire people. Such an explanation is compelling but remains problematic, given that the only reference to Jacob (1:17) is set between two references to the city (named as both Zion and Jerusalem), which would seem to invite the reader's gaze to remain on the city, not to look beyond.[41]

Finally, different names are ascribed to God, who is sometimes called Yahweh (1:5, 9, 11, 12, 17, 18, 20), and sometimes Adonai (1:14, 15).[42] Contrary to Hillers' view that, "The variation between *ʾᵃdōnāy* and *yhwh* seems to be haphazard … for in a given passage one seems

[35] Ibid., 111.
[36] Ibid., 108-10; Renaud (1977), 380-81.
[37] Meier (1992), 35.
[38] Parry (2010), 46.
[39] Berlin (2002), 51; E. R. Dalglish, *Jeremiah, Lamentations* LBBC (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1995), 149; O'Connor (2002), 21; Parry (2010), 45-47; Westermann 126; but note Salters, who argues (persuasively in my view) that the exile is not envisaged here; rather, the poet is describing the voluntary migration of Judahites away from the terrible situation left in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem: R. B. Salters, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Lamentations* ICC (London: T & T Clark, 2010), 42-43.
[40] Bergant (2003), 50; P. R. House, 'Lamentations' in D. Garrett & P. R. House, *Song of Songs and Lamentations* WBC 23b (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2004), 361; Parry (2010), 60; J. Renkema, *Lamentations* HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 178.
[41] Cf. Salters (2010), 88-89.
[42] A trend that is further complicated in chapter 3, where two more names are introduced alongside the other two: El'yon (Lam 3:35, 38) and El (3:41).

about appropriate as the other,"[43] Renkema has argued that the two terms convey different aspects of God's sovereignty: יהוה is used "in prayers and expressions of trust" as well as "the context of his oppression" or when "he executes judgement." Whereas אֲדֹנָי combines with "somewhat 'harsher' terminology" to describe his active participation in causing Zion's suffering.[44]

II. *The characterisation of Zion*. This is specifically an issue in the third-person speech. At times, Zion is viewed positively (e.g.: "She who was great over the nations, a princess over the provinces," Lam 1:1), whereas at others it is sharply negative (e.g.: "And so unclean she became; all her glorifiers despise her," Lam 1:8). It is this second attitude towards Zion that has often caught scholars' attention, and has contributed to their characterisation of a detached, dispassionate narrator. Whereas Mary Conway has noted "the multivalent nature of metaphor" (in this case, of Zion as a woman), which is deployed by the poet to express both judgemental and compassionate reactions to Zion's plight, and to dialogue with her own sense of suffering, in order to yield a richer understanding of the whole situation.[45] Given Lanahan's assertion that poetic voices function to express different perspectives – a conclusion echoed by Zahavi-Ely when she noted that "the effect achieved by the multiplicity of personae is a multiplicity of viewpoints"[46] – a legitimate question is raised as to whether one persona vocalising both reactions is the most fitting interpretation of the third-person speech in Lamentations 1.

III. *References to the antagonists*. At times there is only one (1:5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16), at others, several (1:2, 3, 5, 7, 17, 21); sometimes they are referred to as אוֹיֵב ("enemy": 1:2, 5, 9, 16, 21), sometimes צָר ("adversary": 1:5, 7, 10, 17), sometimes רוֹדֵף ("pursuer": 1:3, 6). As to the variant numbers, this tends to be overlooked and no satisfying reason has been offered. The most straightforward explanation may be that just as the poet shifts between viewing the plight of individuals, the city, and the nation, so the antagonists are viewed as both (plural) individuals and a (singular) nation. However, at times there seems to be a theological implication, with the singular "adversary/pursuer" able to create an ambiguity as to whether it is an opposing nation or Yahweh that is in view. As to variant terminology, attempts have been made historically to identify a difference between "enemy" and "adversary,"[47] but these have proved unpersuasive within the academy and the counter-explanation given by Gottlieb, Renkema, and others, that these are interchangeable terms which enrich the poetry, is far more convincing.[48]

IV. *Reasons for Zion's predicament*. At times it is portrayed simply as a political situation, in which Zion has been betrayed by her allies (1:2c, 19a); the declaration "I have rebelled greatly" (1:20b) could also refer to such a political situation, in which she has been punished for breaking covenant with Babylon, but this is unclear and could just as easily refer to Zion's rebellion against Yahweh. Mostly it is portrayed as the consequence of a religious situation, but different explanations for it are given, including Zion's sin (1:5b, 8a, 9a, 14a, 22b), her resistance of Yahweh's word (1:18a, and possibly rebellion, 1:20b [see above]), Yahweh's

[43] Hillers (1992), 74.
[44] Renkema (1998), 167; cf. House (2004), 359; Thomas (2013), 119.
[45] M. L. Conway, 'Daughter Zion: Metaphor and Dialogue in the Book of Lamentations' in M. J. Boda, C. J. Dempsey & L. Snow Flesher, *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2012), 105-13; cf. Hens-Piazza (2017), 7.
[46] Zahavi-Eli (2010), 37; cf. Lanahan (1974), 42.
[47] See, for example, Brunet's argument that צָרִים are the Babylonian invaders, whereas אוֹיְבִים are pro-Babylonian Judeans: G. Brunet, *Les Lamentations contre Jérémie*, Bibliotèque de l'Ecole des hautes études. Sciences Religieuses 75 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1968), 9.
[48] H. Gottlieb, *A Study of the Text of Lamentations* Acta Jutlandica XLVIII Vol.12 (Århus: Århus Universitet, 1978), 12f; Renkema (1998),119; cf. Provan (1991), 41; Salters (2010), 48-49.

anger (1:12c), and possibly her idolatry, depending on how 1:10b is understood.[49] At times, Yahweh is viewed as directly causing Zion's plight (1:5b, 12c-14b, 15a-c, 21b-c, 22b), at others he influences the events from afar (1:14c, 17b), and when viewed as a political situation, Zion's companions are responsible (1:2c).

V. *Multiple genres*. To call this aspect an anomaly is somewhat disingenuous, since it is hardly anomalous for poetry to draw from multiple source materials, including generic themes, to form its own unique expression. Nevertheless, George Wright (admittedly speaking about modern poetry) has attested to the importance of distinct poetic voices remaining consistent to their own character,[50] so the presence of multiple genres, which do not correspond to the pattern of the standard two-voice delineation, warrants its inclusion in this list. This key aspect of form criticism is one of the most common literary aspects of the book of Lamentations to enjoy scholarly attention. Hedwig Jahnow, followed by Hermann Gunkel, notably argued that Lamentations 1 (along with chs. 2 and 4) corresponds to a funeral dirge (Leichenlied);[51] a claim countered by Westermann, who argued instead that the book as a whole was better understood as a collection of communal laments, albeit containing some elements from dirge motifs in order to convey the theological death of the city.[52] Whereas Kraus and Dobbs-Allsopp, among others, have drawn closer comparisons with Mesopotamian city-laments.[53] It has sometimes been argued that a broad division can be made within Lamentations 1, with hallmarks of dirge dominating vv.1-11 and lament characterising vv.12-22, which broadly follows the lines of a two-voice dialogue.[54] However, such a claim is undermined by apparently close connections with city/communal laments traceable within the first half of the poem;[55] something Westermann views as a deliberate juxtaposition of dirge and lament motifs.[56]

VI. *Different theological perspectives*. In the wake of Norman Gottwald's seminal monograph (1954), numerous attempts have been made to identify the theological heart of the book of Lamentations.[57] For Gottwald, it resided in "the tension between Deuteronomic faith and historical adversity,"[58] seeking to explain how, after the success of Josiah's reform, God could administer such punishment to his covenant people. Bertil Albrektson's response (1963)

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[49] This can be read as either a description of the invasion and destruction of the Temple, or as a criticism of idolatrous behaviour, in which foreign gods were set up as companions to Yahweh. The historical setting supports the first; the allusion to Deut 23:2-3 in Lam 1:10c supports the second.

[50] G. T. Wright, *The Poet in the Poem: The Personae of Eliot, Yeats, and Pound* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 1-59.

[51] H. Jahnow, *Das Hebräische Leichenlied: Im Rahmen der Völkerdichtung* BZAW 36 (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1923), esp. pp. 165-97; H. Gunkel & J. Begrich (trans; J. D. Nogalski), *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998 [1933]), 82, 94-96.

[52] Westermann (1994), 1-23.

[53] H-J. Kraus, *Klagelieder* BKAT 20 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960), 9; Dobbs-Allsopp (1993), 31-96.

[54] Eissfelt (1965), 501-2; Linafelt (2000), 35-43.

[55] Note for example, the following correlations with the *Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur* (LU): i) Lam 1:3 combines references to exile and rest, as does LU: "I am the one who has gone out of my city" … "I am the one who can find no rest" (*ANET* 306-07); ii) Lam 1:5 identifies the people of Jerusalem as her children, a common motif in city/communal laments: e.g., *ANET* 28, 369-70; iii) Lam 1:5 also bears a resemblance to a standard lament divine-warrior motif, in which the god is held directly responsible for the destruction (cf. *ANET* 203, 257-60). For a full discussion of correlations between Lamentations 1 and city-laments, see F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* BEO 44 (Rome: Editrice Pontifico Istituto Biblico, 1993). On these examples in particular, see ibid., pp. 58, 81-83; cf. Eissfelt (1965), 501-2; Westermann (1994), 14.

[56] Ibid., 11.

[57] N. K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* SBT 14 (London, UK: SCM Press, 1954),

[58] Ibid., 48.

advanced Gottwald's interpretation on two fronts.[59] First, he offered an important correction to Gottwald's reading of history, noting Judah's failure to maintain the standards of the Josianic reform, such that Lamentations could explain the events of 587 BCE as the consequences of covenant infidelity warned about in Deuteronomy 28, a passage alluded to on a number of occasions (e.g., 1:3 cf. Dt 28:64-65; 1:5, 18 cf. Dt 28:13, 44 & 28:41; 1:9 cf. Dt 28:43).[60] Moreover, he identified the hallmarks of Zionistic theological traditions (cf. 1:1, 4, 6), which co-existed alongside Deuteronomic theology, in order to pose and resolve the theological conundrum.[61] Provan has countered that this overestimates the resolution offered in any of the poems, which present Deuteronomic and Zionistic perspectives more equivocally.[62] Nevertheless, Albrektson's insights have paved the way in recent years for a broader recognition that there is in fact no single theological centre to the book of Lamentations; rather, it is a composite of different perspectives. An important theme to have emerged in this vein, has been the highlighting of the theological importance of lament, both to prioritise the expression of suffering over the need to explain it (e.g. Linafelt; O'Connor),[63] and to emphasise the right to protest against perceived injustices or excessive punishment, even from God (e.g., Westermann; Dobbs-Allsopp).[64] Alongside this should be mentioned the work of Xuan Huong Thi Pham, who has shown how much of the poetry in Lamentations 1-2 corresponds to mourning ceremonies, enabling the poet (or a persona) to draw alongside Zion as a comforter.[65] Here again, these different perspectives do not neatly correspond to a two-voice division, as they are to be found in both the first- and third-person speech.

VOICE DETECTION IN LAMENTATIONS 1

Each of the above anomalies cut across the standard two-voice delineation of the text of Lamentations 1, but that does not necessarily mean that they are inconsistent with such a division. Scholars of Biblical Hebrew poetry are familiar with its capacity to communicate on multiple levels via a combination of literary effects – something that many analyses of the acrostic structure in Lamentations have surely demonstrated.[66] However, it is interesting that in the cases of the contrasting characterizations of Zion and the multiple theological perspectives, as the above summary has indicated, these anomalies have spurred scholars to speculate that a dialogic effect is intended by the inconsistencies.[67] Moreover, studies of the use of voices and persona in Biblical Hebrew poetry have identified many of these aspects as key indicators of a distinct speaker. Drawing from the insights of Knut Heim, Meier, Nguyen, and Zahavi-Ely, who have each examined this issue to varying degrees of depth, as well as my own analysis, at least eight criteria can be recommended for consideration:[68]

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[59] B. Albrekston, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations: With a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text* Studia Theologica Lundensia 21 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963), 214-39.
[60] Ibid., 231-37.
[61] Ibid., 219-30, 238-39.
[62] Provan (1991), 22.
[63] Linafelt (2000), 55; O'Connor (2002), 83.
[64] Westermann (1994), 81; Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 24-5.
[65] X. H. T. Pham, *Mourning in the Ancient Near East* JSOTSS 302 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), esp. pp. 13-95.
[66] E.g., B. Johnson, 'Form and Message in Lamentations' in *ZAW* 97.1 (1985), pp. 58-73; M. P. Hedley, 'Hope Makes a Difference' in *Clarion Journal of Spirituality and Justice* (Oct 2014), 1-9.
[67] E.g., Provan (1991), 7, 20-21; Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 25; Lee (2002), 41-42; Parry (2010), 12.
[68] Heim (1999), esp. 144-68; Meier (1992), esp. 32-37; Nguyen (2013), esp. 8-11, 189-224; Zahavi-Ely (2010), esp. 15-161.

I. *Direct discourse markers*. None are present in Lamentations 1. As discussed above, Zahavi-Ely and Heim have argued that this is a deliberate ploy of the poet, either to draw the reader in to empathise with multiple perspectives at once, or else to reflect the confusion of many competing voices from "a community going through turmoil and crisis."

II. *Grammatical indicators*. These are likely to include indications of gender, number (of either speaker or addressee), and grammatical person. As noted above, an assessment of grammatical person divides the text into third-person speech (1:1-9b, 10-11b, 15c, 17) and first-person speech (1:9c, 11c-15b, 16, 18-22). Furthermore, feminine singular participles are used at points within the first-person speech, which confirms a female speaker (זוֹלֵלָה in 1:11c; שֹׁמֵמָה in 1:13c; and בוֹכִיָּה in 16a). No such aid is present in the third-person speech, however, which may indicate a deliberate obfuscation on the part of the poet.[69] Regarding number, as noted above, sometimes the antagonist(s) are viewed in the singular and sometimes the plural, but the speakers themselves, both the first- and third-person, speak as singular entities addressing singular entities. This has led Nguyen to refute Lee's attribution of all the third-person speech to a company of female temple singers.[70]

III. *Shifts in tone*. As discussed above, contrary to the frequent characterization of the third-person speaker as objective and dispassionate, there appear to be significant shifts in tone within the third-person speech, which at times expresses despair and sympathy for Zion (1:1-2, 4, 6, 9b, 11a-b, 17a), at others shows judgement, and even disdain (1:5, 7-9, 10b-c [possibly], 15c, 17c).

IV. *Shifts in perspective*. This might be theological, emotional, political, social, historical, or spiritual. Three of the above anomalies relate to this criterion. First, there are the differing characterizations of Zion. These correspond to the tonal variations, with positive statements made about Zion in passages which express sympathy for her plight ("she who was great … a princess," 1:1; "all her magnificence", 1:6), and negative statements made in passages expressing judgement ("she became unclean; all her glorifiers despise her," 1:8; "Her filthiness was in her skirts," 1:9). Second, there are the differing theological perspectives. In Lamentations 1, two viewpoints dominate - a Deuteronomic perspective which seeks to explain Jerusalem's plight, especially in relation to the curse list in Deuteronomy 28, and the proclamation of Deuteronomy 32 (1:3 cf. Dt 28:64-65; 1:5, 18 cf. Dt 28:13, 44, 41; 1:7 cf. Dt 32:7; 1:9 cf. Dt 28:43; 1:14 cf. Dt 28:48; 1:15 cf. Dt 32:14; 1:20 cf. Dt 32:25), and a theological response which prioritises and empowers lament and mourning as a means to comfort Zion, or appeal to God (1:1, 4, 6). Perhaps unsurprisingly, exalted memories of the city, drawn from Zion theology, underpin this second viewpoint. Third, and related to theology, are the different explanations for Jerusalem's plight, which can be viewed as a political situation, influenced from afar by Yahweh (1:2c, 17b), or as a religious situation, in which Yahweh has directly countered Jerusalem's sin (1:5b, 8a, 12c-14b, 15, 18a, 21b-22b).

V. *Shifts in vocabulary and/or metaphor*. Here again, the varying characterization of Zion must be noted, along with the use of different names for God, the city, and the nation, and different attributions for the antagonists. As discussed above, the different attributions for the antagonists is probably explained by the general richness of the poet's vocabulary, although it is notable that צַר is an important term in Deuteronomy 32 (cf. Dt 32:27, 41, 43), a passage which describes Yahweh countering his adversaries, just as he counters Jerusalem in Lamentations 1. Whereas the different names for city and nation appear to follow a pattern in the third-person speech, with Zion and Jacob appearing in sympathetic passages of speech, which offer positive characterizations (1:4, 6, 17b); and Jerusalem and Judah appearing in

[69] Cf. Heim (1999), 146; Zahavi-Ely (2010), 18-19.
[70] Nguyen (2013), 11.

judgement passages of speech, which offer negative characterizations (1:3, 5, 7, 8, 17c). The effect of this correlation is to contrast an idealised People of God (Zion, Jacob) against the actualized people of Jerusalem and Judah. The different names for God also represent a shift in vocabulary, and while יהוה features in both sympathy and judgement cola, it is notable that אֲדֹנָי only appears in cola which evoke Deuteronomic imagery (1:14 cf. Dt 28:48; 1:15b cf. Dt 7:5, 12:3; 1:15c cf. Dt 32:14).

VI. *Shifts in addressee*. This is used three times in quick succession, twice within the first-person speech (1:9c, 11c) and once within the third-person speech (1:10c). In both first-person instances, it certainly connotes a change of speaker, and the new addressee is Yahweh. In 1:10c it is often affirmed that Yahweh is the addressee here too.[71] This seems reasonable, but it should be noted that if a third voice were present, who represents a Deuteronomic perspective, then this voice might also be a candidate for the addressee in 1:10c, which alludes to Deuteronomy 23:2-3. In either case, it provokes the question of whether a change of speaker could be signalled, but is certainly not clear.

VII. *Responses to previous statements*. Identifying a response to a previous statement, as opposed to an elaboration of it, especially in unmarked speech, is not straightforward and is inevitably a subjective exercise. Therefore, statements which create a disjunctive effect are of particular interest here. Shifts between the city (idealized Zion) and the nation (actualized Judah) in 1:2-4 may qualify, but a clearer example is the dialogic effect of 1:6-7, in which sympathy for the grief of Zion's young women (1:6) is countered by the judgement that it is by Yahweh's design (1:7). Another example may be in 1:17, which begins by mourning alongside *Zion*, who is depicted as desperate, subject to her adversaries (1:17ab), but ends with a scornful jibe that *Jerusalem* is despised (1:17c).

VIII. *Shifts between genre*. As noted above, Wright has highlighted the effect of genre in speech to define the character of a persona's voice, and so the presence of dirge and lament generic themes in Lamentations 1 could possibly be a literary device of the poet to distinguish between voices.[72] If so, then it is notable that aspects of generic dirge and mourning literature are found in the sympathetic third-person speech, whereas features of city/communal lament literature dominate both the first-person speech and the 'judgment' third-person speech.

REVIEWING THE EVIDENCE

Any one of these criteria has the potential to confirm a distinct poetic voice, but in the absence of direct discourse markers, highlighted earlier as both a known and, potentially, deliberate feature of Hebrew poetry, a combination of these indicators acting together may be necessary to detect most effectively how many speakers are present. Based on the evidence collated here, we are in a position to draw some conclusions. First, there is no evidence for more than one first-person speaker. The grammatical indicators of person and gender, and the prevalence of generic lament themes, reinforced by a consistent tone confirm this. Every occasion of first-person speech in Lamentations 1 is thus confirmed as the voice of personified Zion. Even so, she does display shifts in perspective, between protesting her harsh treatment (1:12-15b), crying out in sorrow (1:16), and appealing to Yahweh from a place of repentance (1:18-22). Had there been more indicators of distinct voices, one might have cause to speculate a second speaker, but as it is this shift is better viewed as an emotional and spiritual (albeit unresolved)

[71] E.g., Hens-Piazza (2017), 11; Parry (2010), 54; Pham (1999), 80; cf. Renkema (1998), 144; Provan (1991), 47; contra Albrektson (1963), 65-66.
[72] This appears to be the basis on which Lee has delineated the voices in Lam 1: Lee (2002), 77.

journey of sorts. Second, it seems clear that Zion is speaking to others she anticipates can hear her. Five times she directs her plea, three times to Yahweh (1:9, 11c, 20-22), and once each to the passers-by (1:12), and to "all peoples" (1:18), but in each instance, she goes unanswered. Allusions to Deuteronomy in her speech (1:14 cf. Dt 28:48; 1:18 cf. Dt 28:13, 44, 41; 1:20 cf. Dt 32:25) may also indicate that she responds to the Deuteronomic perspective in the third-person speech, but identifying this anonymous speaker is impossible from her discourse, since she never addresses them directly.

Finally, in the absence of direct markers or grammatical indicators, the prevalence of conflicting vocabulary, tone, and perspective throughout the third-person speech suggests the possibility that two voices are present. As we noted above, the presence of multiple unmarked speakers in third-person speech has precedent in Hebrew poetry (Mic 6-7), and may be an intentional device of the poet to obscure the speakers. This would seem to be supported by evidence of dialogue within the third-person speech (1:2-4; 1:6-7; 1:17ab-c; possibly 1:10c). Furthermore, when the above evidence is mapped onto Lamentations 1, it seems all the clearer that two voices emerge: the first, a sympathetic mourner who recalls the city at her height, and continues to speak in terms of the idealized Zion and Jacob, perhaps holding out for God to fulfil his commitment to an everlasting covenant; the second, a more objective lamenter, who sees Jerusalem and Judah as they have become and seeks to explain the cause, with recourse to Deuteronomic covenant theology. Inevitably, there remain cola that cannot be attributed with absolute confidence to one voice or the other, and so in the end the obscuring hand of the poet prevails and subjective decisions must be made. I have included my own subjective delineation in the Appendix to this paper.

These two voices dialogue with one another, speaking out their sorrow and their blame, inviting both Zion and the reader to engage with both perspectives – the line between them blurred by the hand of the poet – and therefore to hold them together. Remarkably, Zion responds to both. Convicted by the second speaker, she accepts the blame and turns to Yahweh in repentance; buoyed by the first speaker, she cries out in protest at the excessive treatment she has endured. Both speakers, it seems, have contributed to Zion finding her voice, and yet all three voices agree that she has no comforter, and so the cumulative effect of all three voices is to direct Zion's plea to "all peoples" (1:18) towards the reader(s), who must, in the end, decide their own response.

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL DELINEATION OF VOICES IN LAMENTATIONS 1

Speaker 1

How she sits alone,
The city so full of people;
She has become like a widow,
She who was great over the nations –
A princess over the provinces –
Has become a slave.

Bitterly, she weeps in the night,
And her tears are on her cheeks.
There is no-one to console her
From all her lovers.
All her companions have dealt treacherously with her;
They have become her enemies.

The roads of Zion are in mourning
For no-one is coming to the festival.
All her gates are abandoned;
Her priests are groaning,
Her virgins are grieving,
And she herself is bitter.

It has gone from daughter Zion –
All her magnificence –
Her princes have become like stags
That find no pasture.
They have gone without strength
Before the pursuer.

Speaker 2

Judah has departed from affliction
And from harsh labour.
She lives among the nations,
Finds no resting place,
All her pursuers have overtaken her
In the midst of her distresses.

Her adversaries have become the head,
Her enemies prosper.
Because Yahweh has grieved her
For the abundance of her transgressions.
Her children have gone into captivity
Before the adversary.

Speaker 3 (Zion)

Jerusalem remembers,
In the days of her affliction and wandering,
All her treasures
From the days of old.
When her people fell into the hand of the adversary
There was no helper for her.
The adversaries saw her;
They laughed at her destruction.

Jerusalem sinned greatly,
And so unclean she became.
All her glorifiers despise her
Because they have seen her nakedness.
Indeed, she groans
And turns away.

Her filthiness was in her skirts;
She did not remember her future.
She fell terribly;
There was no comforter for her.

See, Yahweh, my affliction,
For the enemy has triumphed.

His hand, the adversary has stretched out
Over all the treasures,
For she has seen the nations
Enter her sanctuary;
Those whom you commanded
Not to enter your assembly.

All her people groan,
Seeking bread.
They have given their treasures for food
To restore the soul.

See, Yahweh, and look,
For I have become worthless.

Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by?
Look and see
If there is pain like my pain,
Which has been severely dealt to me.
Which Yahweh has inflicted
In the day of his burning anger.

From on high he sent fire
Into my bones, and he had dominion over it.
He stretched a net for my feet,
He turned me away.
He has made me desolate,
Sick from menstruation, all day long.

He bound the yoke of my transgressions,
By his hand they slotted together,
They were lifted onto my neck;
He caused my strength to fail.
The Lord has given me
Into the hands of those whom
I cannot withstand.

He has rejected all my strong men,
The Lord, in my midst.
He has called against me an appointed time,
To crush my young men.

The Lord has trampled as in a winepress
Virgin daughter Judah.

For these things I weep:
My eyes, my eyes run down with tears,
For a comforter is far from me,
One who restores my soul.
My sons are desolate,
Because the enemy has prevailed.

Zion stretched out her hands;
There is no comforter for her.
Yahweh has commanded for Jacob
That his neighbours will be his adversaries.

Jerusalem has become
A filthy thing among them.

Yahweh is indeed righteous,
For I have resisted his word.
Listen, please, all peoples,
And see my sorrow.
My virgins and my young men
Have gone into captivity.

I have called to my lovers;
They have betrayed me.
My priests and elders
Have perished in the city.
Indeed, they sought food for themselves
To restore their life.

Look, Yahweh, for I am distressed;
My insides burn.
My heart is overthrown within me,
For I have rebelled greatly.
Outside the sword bereaves,
Inside it is like death.

They heard that I am groaning;
There is no comforter for me.
All my enemies heard of my calamity –
they rejoice;
Because you have caused it.
You have brought the day you announced;
Let them become like me.

Let all their evil come before you,
And deal harshly with them
As you have dealt harshly with me,
Because of all of my transgressions.
For many are my groans,
And my heart is faint.

Political system of the Early Iron Age Philistia: preface

Dear respondent and readers,

Here are some focal points for discussion:

Part of the paper uses archaeological data to discuss the political system of the Early Iron Age. What kind of data could or should be used to discuss the political system?

Because the data is often scarce, the discussion is often somewhat ambiguous. For that reason I tried to sometimes talk about possibilities instead of certainties. How can one approach to this ambiguous data, which depends a lot on interpretation and even speculation?

Political system of the Early Iron Age Philistia

In the 12th century BC, the region of Southern Levant went through a transformation of the political system, which was connected to the changes in the Eastern Mediterranean area at the time. The exact nature of the changes depended on the specific part of the region. One of these regions was the area around the settlements of Gath, Ekron, Ashdod and Ashkelon, later collectively known as Philistia.[1]

The paper looks into this period to answer two important questions about the political transformation in Philistia: how did the political system of the Philistia in the Late Bronze Age compare to the one in the Iron Age and what were the mechanisms behind this transformation. Problems using archaeology and few sources to analyse the political system are discussed before the political systems themselves. There are some questions, where I will give different interpretations, as it may be difficult to exclusively support one single hypothesis due to the lack of sources.

Texts and archaeology in the analysis of the political system

The period of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age can both be analysed based on the written and archaeological sources. However, the written sources are considerably more abundant in the Late Bronze Age, making the period easier to analyse. But there are also issues with the Late Bronze Age texts.

Firstly, it is a period of more than three centuries, during which the political system already must have changed to a degree due to many military campaigns waged in the region. But the sources do not cover this period evenly. The best sources are the Amarna letters from the 14th century, which consists of correspondence between the Egyptian Pharaoh and other rulers of the Ancient Near East. Even these letters represent only a part of the correspondence, because letters originating from Egypt are quite rare.[2] When we analyse political system of the Amarna Age Levant a lot can be

[1] The term *Philistia* is used in the paper throughout and in a geographic sense. Though it is an anachronistic term, it can be used to describe the area around the cities of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, Ekron and Gaza without needing to name these cities every time.
[2] There are only six letters sent from the pharaoh to his Southern Levantine vassals (and one more possible letter (Na'aman 2000: 125)).

deduced from these letters, but there are plenty of unsolved problems (what kind of tribute was demanded by the Egyptians from the Canaanite city-states for example).[3] In addition it is questionable if all the city-states of the 14th century are represented in these letters.[4]

However, the 13th and 12th century is represented by less texts. These are from Egypt and consist of inscriptions on the walls of the temples and stelae.[5] Many of them are meant to praise the pharaoh, are ideologically laden and do not necessarily describe events accurately. They are also influenced by the Egyptian stereotypes and rules of artistic composition.[6] The texts are less common, because these usually mark a certain campaign or campaigns at a certain stage of the pharaoh's rule (or after it). The campaigns mentioned in the records could have also feasibly involved cities the pharaoh could not have conquered (like the mentioning of Hatti on the Merneptah stele).[7] As is common, the sources are not preserved in full, which creates a lot of ambiguity. As the best sources are from the 14th century, analysis of the political system is usually focused on this century while the exact system of the 13th and 12th century is less clear.

The archaeological record from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is also available and can help to evaluate the written sources up to a point, but archaeological data and its interpretation has its own problems, like dating the changes.[8] Sometimes a

[3] Na'aman 2000: 130. The term *Canaanite* in this paper refers to local people and polities, who were the natives of the Southern Levant in the Late Bronze Age.
[4] Definition for a *city-state* is always ambiguous. In this work city-state is a small polity, which is centered around one city (and in written sources is usually known by the name of that city) with some territorial control around its area and usually with some level of administration.
[5] For example the Merneptah stele and the battle reliefs from pharaoh's temple in Karnak (about them in Hasel 2003).
[6] See for example the discussion about that in Cline, O'Connor 2003: 127-129 and O'Connor 2000: 86-95.
[7] Text and description in Lichtheim 2006: 82-86.
[8] The dating of the destruction and the whole 12th century chronology has been challenged by Israel Finkelstein's low chronology, which dates the Philistines' arrival around 50 years later than the traditional date (ca 1175) connected to the Sea Peoples assault (Finkelstein 2000: 163-165). However, this alternative chronology presupposes that the Philistine pottery must have definitely made it to the neighbouring settlements and was not maintained only for inner-group consumption, which is doubtable. The Philistines may have made this pottery only for internal consumption (Mazar 1997: 157-158). He also maintains that there are no layers where mid-12th century Egyptian and first stage of Philistine pottery (monochrome) coexist, which could indicate that the Philistines were there already before Egypt left at the latter half of the 12th century, but sites that he sites, have no monochrome pottery at all (Finkelstein 2000: 161-165). Thus the monochrome pottery does not follow the mid-12th century Egyptian findings. Thus, there is no positive proof for the low chronology either. When we add

certain destruction layer is connected to the campaign of a certain pharaoh. But, as archaeological data cannot be too exact, the destruction layer may be mistakenly attributed to the wrong force. Scarabs with the names of pharaohs and other such sources like this give us only the earliest possible date of production.[9] In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age setting it is also nearly impossible to identify, who destroyed the settlement (unless there are reliable written sources) and even identifying the cause of the destruction (natural or caused by humans) is complicated.

Using archaeological data to describe the political system of the period in question is even more complicated. While, the reconstruction of the Late Bronze Age political structure is mostly based on written sources, there is almost no written sources to check the archaeological theories about the Early Iron Age. Added to that is the previously mentioned problem of potential changes during the Late Bronze Age. There is no reason to assume that Eastern Mediterranean political system remained stable before the 12th century. [10] Most of the challenges to that point of view come from archaeology.

The archaeological methods for discovering power structures require a lot of interpretation or written sources to check. The size of a city is certainly reflective of its importance, but while small-states of Ashkelon and Gath had larger territory, so did Gaza. But according to Egyptian sources Gaza was an Egyptian stronghold.[11] The location of the city in a favourable position (in relation to trade routes) may also hint to its greater importance, however it is difficult to confirm. Monumental buildings, like palaces and temples indicate a richer city with better position. The existence of a palace also indicates monarchic rule, but clearly identifiable palaces are not always found in the region.

In the Southern Levant there are also buildings, which may be connected to the imperial authority of Egypt, like certain temples, fortresses, garrisons and governors' palaces. These buildings are identified as having Egyptian influence based on

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to that the connection between the names *Peleset* and the *Philistines*, then there is no reason to think that the Peleset would not have arrived with the Sea Peoples assault of ca 1175.

[9] Ward 2003: 220.

[10] See below for the potential changes.

[11] Jasmin 2006: 162, 172.

archaeological similarities.[12] However, the architecture may have been copied from Egypt by local rulers using specialists, who travelled around the region. The argument that these buildings are Egyptian is again based on the fact that according to written sources the territory was controlled by Egypt.

Analysis of Philistia must rely in part on the general tendencies of the Southern Levant, because the sources mentioning Philistia is only a small fraction of sources about the Levant. However, in the Late Bronze Age it might be justified, because of the similar political and cultural background of the Southern Levant.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION DURING THE LATE BRONZE AGE

The current view on the Late Bronze Age political structure originates mostly from the Amarna letters, with differing theories proposed for the end of the Late Bronze Age. There were two important elements in the political structure: the Egyptian empire and the local rulers.

In the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant was under the Egyptian domination. The Egyptian pharaoh controlled local rulers, who retained some autonomy. Egyptian presence in the region lasted until the 12th century, when it seems that the control of the empire gradually disappeared.[13]

Egyptian domination of the cities had political, military and economic elements. Politically it had some control over the communication between the local vassals and Egypt's main adversary – the Hittite empire in the north. Also, it had a role in solving conflicts between the city-states, although the numerous unanswered request for help sent to the Egyptians by the local rulers may indicate that the empire was not too keen to get involved.[14] The Egyptians were the only power local city-states could ask for arbitration.[15]

[12] Aja 2009: 66, Hasel 1998: 93-100.
[13] Weinstein 1992: 146-147.
[14] Cohen 2000: 89-93, James 2000: 119-120, Murnane 2000: 104.
[15] Murnane 2000: 104.

Militarily the Egyptians had garrisons and armies in the region for the dual purpose of staging campaigns against the Hittites (or earlier the Mitannians) and for maintaining their control over the local city-states. However, Egypt was sometimes (e.g. during the rule of Merneptah) forced to put down uprisings in the Southern Levant.[16] In addition to the garrison buildings the so-called governor's residences, are Egyptian inspired and may have been seats of some local representatives of Egypt.[17]

Egyptians received tribute from the local forces. The "gifts" to the Egyptian rulers involved metals, luxury items and people.[18] At the same time the Egyptian forces and people in the Southern Levant had to be supplied for, and this was probably a task for the local rulers.[19] Egyptians might have had some control over the international trade in the region with their strongholds on trade routes.

According to one hypothesis Egyptians may have considerably reduced the autonomy of the local rulers during the latter half of the Late Bronze Age, possibly even ending the city-states.[20] However, this theory is somewhat speculative. On the one hand, there is a lack of sources to confirm either continuation of city-states or their destruction. As mentioned, there were campaigns to the Southern Levant region by the XIX dynasty pharaohs. Indeed, in Karnak and in the Merneptah stele the pharaoh is claimed to have conquered Ashkelon, while there are signs of destruction in the Southern Levant from the end of the 13th century and beginning of the 12th century[21] In Ashkelon, the Egyptian takeover was characterized by the construction of an Egyptian garrison building.[22] At least one city-state in Philistia (along with ones outside Philistia like Lachish) may have been destroyed.[23] But Merneptah lists few

[16] As against Ashkelon (Hasel 1998: 178-191, Hasel 2003: 28), however the battle scenes in the *Cour de Cachette* in Karnak may not be Merneptah's (Dijkstra 2017: 62-63).
[17] Hasel 1998: 93-96.
[18] Na'aman 2000: 130.
[19] Cohen 2000: 88.
[20] Bunimovitz 1998: 104-106.
[21] Hasel 2003: 27-29, Kreimerman 2017: 186-190. Some of these cities were burned down, but the Egyptians did not indicate in their records that they used conflagration as a means of destroying a city (Hasel 1998: 253). That does not mean it could not have been used as an *ad hoc* means of conquering a rebel settlement. Ashkelon was not abandoned as seen by the next settlement stratum.
[22] The takeover seems to have been followed by demolition (Aja 2009: 62-69). There are no signs of violent destruction in the grid 38 (Aja 2009: 64) although early 20th century excavations in another area supposedly uncovered a destruction layer (Yasur-Landau 2010: 226).
[23] Kreimerman 2017: 187-188. But in Ashkelon this destruction may have thus been organized demolition rather than violent action (Aja 2009: 64).

cities while there were more city-states and the destruction of a few cities does not automatically mean the end of the city-state system.

The other component of the political system was the rule of the local kings. They had quite a considerable autonomy, which depended on the distance of the city-states from the core areas of Egypt. Some states in the northernmost areas, like Amurru could even switch sides and join the Hittites, which shows that the Egyptian border areas were always in danger.[24] The autonomy of the city-states in the 14th century is expressed by the fact that they waged wars with each other (thus having military capabilities and power for independent decisions).[25] The Philistia city-states might have been less independent, as they were near two notable Egyptian bases (Gaza and Jaffa) and closer to Egypt.[26] But even that did not stop Ashkelon from rising against Egypt so that the city-state had to be campaigned against. Despite autonomy, the ultimate judgement depended on the supreme power in the region, which was Egypt. Only in the north an alternative in the shape of the Mitanni or the Hittite empire was possible.[27] The city-states of Philistia were far too removed from this alternative.

Egyptian demands for tribute contributed to the control of the local kings over the economic resources. It is likely that local rulers, similarly to many kings of the Eastern Mediterranean, exercised a degree of influence over the produce and goods from its own land and also over a part of the international trade.[28] According to the Amarna letters the palaces of the polities are responsible for shipping goods and resources and must have been able to do that when necessary. A more independent trade must have taken place as well, but palaces could have taxed this and controlled the more expensive goods.[29]

The exact number of city-states in the Southern Levant and in Philistia is unknown. In the Amarna period there are about twenty five city-states in the Southern Levant, two of them are in Philistia: Ashkelon and Gath. However, the city of Ashdod with its

[24] James 2000: 114, 122, 123.
[25] Murnane 2000: 104.
[26] Jasmin 2006: 172.
[27] James 2000: 121-122.
[28] Although it is difficult to say exactly how much of trade these Eastern Mediterranean palaces controlled (Routledge, McGeough 2009: 20-21).
[29] Sherratt 1998: 294-295, 306, Routledge, McGeough 2009: 27.

important location may have been a small independent state, as has been proposed.[30] Philistia is a small area and other city-states are not mentioned, so they were probably the only city-states there. In the Amarna letters there is nothing that would show that Ashkelon and Gath were not typical city-states of the period.

The political system of the Late Bronze Age was a result of the Egyptian conquest of the area and reflective of the general Eastern Mediterranean small-states. The main power was Egypt, who shared its control with the local kings. The Egyptian king was the ultimate authority in the conflicts between the city-states, the foreign policy and could exert tribute from local rulers. Egypt also had a considerable army in the region. But local kings had a lot of autonomy (at least in the 14th century): they had independent relations with other local polities, some military capabilities and they probably controlled part of the international trade. This description of the political system does seem to apply to the Philistia area too, which was safely within the Egyptian domain. However problems with sources make it more complicated to figure out the status of local cities at the very end of the 13th and at the beginning of the 12th century.

Political organization during the Early Iron Age

Several changes took place in the 12th century in the Southern Levant, which had considerable effect on the local political system. The three most important ones were the appearance of the Peleset, the disappearance of the Egyptian power and the downfall of the local city-state system.

The appearance of a new group of people is attested in the descriptions of battles on the walls Ramses III's funerary temple in Medinet Habu and in Papyrus Harris. These show an attack on Egypt by five groups of peoples around 1175 BC, during the eighth regnal year of Ramses III. In modern historiography these groups have come to be known as the *Sea Peoples*.[31] The groups had supposedly destroyed several polities in the Eastern Mediterranean and then proceeded to attack Egypt by sea in the Nile Delta

[30] Na'aman 1997: 619, Jasmin 2006: 172, 174.
[31] Cline, O'Connor 2003: 107-111.

and by land somewhere in Djahi.[32] According to Egyptian sources they were defeated by Ramses III.[33]

Some of these five groups of people (like Sherden) were already familiar to the Egyptians, but some, like the Peleset, were new. The Peleset have been connected to the Philistines of the Old Testament, due to the similarity of the demonyms.[34] However, there are not many other parallels between the Philistines and the Peleset in the written sources and the gap between the Egyptian sources and the earliest written parts of the Old Testament is considerable.

However, the archaeological record supports that connection. Although the Egyptian sources do not specify, where Djahi is, it is probably located in Canaan and the Old Testament claims that the Philistines controlled five cities: Ekron, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod and Gaza.[35] There were indeed changes in the archaeological material of Ekron, Gath, Ashkelon and Ashdod in the 12th century. In these cities a new type of locally produced, but of Aegean type, pottery appeared in considerable amount. Along with new pottery, other items (hearths, loomweights) and changes in diet (increased pork consumption) are observable, which also relate to the Aegean and Cypriot region. This almost certainly reflects migration from the other Eastern Mediterranean areas (probably Aegean region and Cyprus).[36] Alongside the immigrants, the locals continued to live in the cities and they started to intermingle with the newcomers. This lead to a mixed culture, which became increasingly more similar to the Canaanite culture over centuries.[37]

Until the recent times the Peleset were seen commonly as the destroyers of the Canaanite cities, but there is not much evidence of site-wide destruction of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gath. Gaza on the other hand has not been thoroughly researched, because of the political circumstances and the density of the modern

[32] Cline, O'Connor 2003: 109-110. Some of the places the *Sea Peoples* attacked before were indeed destroyed around this time, but others, like Carchemisch were not (Drews 1995: 14-15).
[33] However, see below for some problems with this narrative.
[34] Bryce 2009: 633, Cline, O'Connor 2003: 116. In this paper the term *Peleset* is used to refer to the people, who arrived in the area during the first half of the 12th century and the term *Philistine* for their successors. The distinction is made, because the latter were already mixing with the Canaanites.
[35] Bryce 2009: 553, Hasel 2009: 12-13.
[36] Yasur-Landau 2010: 4, 227-239, 267-268, 295-300.
[37] Yasur-Landau 2010: 295; Uziel 2007: 165-168.

settlement.[38] The destruction in the four excavated sites is usually either limited or in the case of Ashkelon, probably connected to the Egyptians. Instead it seems that there may have been cases of newcomers settling an abandoned village or their arrival resulting in the increase of the towns.[39] Further research in the sites can give us the better idea of whether the settlements were largely destroyed or left untouched.

The original arrival of the Philistines may not have led to the political system of the pentapolis like described in the Old Testament right away. Furthermore, there is no way of definitively answer whether Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gath were independent or did one city rule the others. Gaza is another problematic case, which will be further discussed below. If Philistines established four independent settlements soon after arriving, then this would have not been a major break compared to the earlier system. The only change, may have been that there was less territory per city compared to the Late Bronze Age.[40] At the same time there are no signs of conflict in the early Philistine stratums, making some sort of cooperation likely. Although Ekron grew after the arrival of the Philistines and Gath over time became considerably larger than other local cities, there are no clear signs of one regional center.[41] This does not exclude the possibility of one ruler being more important but makes it less likely.[42]

The complexity of the political system must have become reduced, when compared to the earlier Late Bronze Age setting. The long-distance diplomacy disappeared hand in hand with the disappearance of the written culture. From the Southern Levant only some barely decipherable attempts at possible writing have been found, along with a

[38] Bryce 2009: 250-251; Cline, O'Connor 2003: 107.
[39] In Ashdod stratum XIV there seems to be a limited destruction (Yasur-Landau 2010: 220-222), which is said in Kreimermann (2013: 187) to be before the end of the 13th century. In Ashkelon, the last Egyptian-Canaanite layer is followed by abandonment and then resettlement (Aja 2009: 64-67). In Ekron, the situation may be more complicated, as Yasur-Landau (2010: 223-224) mentions extensive destruction at the end of stratum IX, followed by a large settlement of stratum VII. It is probably a mistake, as the author mentions stratum VIII as the last Canaanite stratum. Kreimermann (2013: 187, 189) shows two destructions at the end of stratum VIII (larger one) and at the end of VII (smaller one) in the 12th century. Ekron was followed by a larger settlement (Yasur-Landau 2010: 227). In Gath, there may have been two limited destructions (Kreimermann 2017: 187, 189).
[40] Finkelstein suggests that instead of four territorial units of the Late Bronze Age, there may have been five in the Early Iron Age (2000: 166-169).
[41] Dothan 2000: 147, Maeir 2017: 66.
[42] In the case of Cyprus, one ruler who represents others, is theorized but using the same model in Philistia does not seem to work as well (Knapp 2013: 439). According to the Cypriot model, one ruler would have represented others in international communication but when diplomacy effectively collapsed in the Early Iron Age, it left only communications (and hostilities) with nearby polities.

couple of seals. Even these writings originate from the late 12th century or later periods. Thus there was either no need or opportunity to use writing.[43] However, there are two important aspects. Firstly, there is a lack of local sources already in the post-Amarna period and it cannot be said with certainty that the decline of written culture had not begun by then.[44] Secondly, a lot of the writing may have been on the perishable materials (like papyrus), which are unlikely to have been preserved for so long. In addition, there are similarities between the Late Bronze Age Proto-Canaanite and the Iron Age Canaanite writing systems, although the most likely place for the continuation of older writing traditions would probably have been Phoenicia. Several seemingly different scripts used in the Early Iron Age Philistine cities make it unlikely, that this was the region where Proto-Canaanite writing was preserved.[45]

Other signs of more complex administration are also largely lacking. In the earliest stratums there are practically no monumental buildings and even temples are difficult to find (only one early monumental temple is found in Ekron).[46] Although Ekron shows signs of rudimentary city-planning (walls), it seems to be the only one of the Peleset settlements with that level of organization.[47] There is a reduction in the number of secondary settlements around the main Philistine cities, and in general the number of other settlements in the area was greatly reduced compared to the Late Bronze Age.[48]

It seems that the effects of the Peleset's arrival coincided with the decline of the Egyptian empire. However, when looking at the size of the Egyptian territory in the Levant, empire was already in a long-time decline. The Egyptian empire at its peak in the 15th century controlled territories as far as Ugarit in Syria. But during the 15th to 14th century it lost Ugarit, Amurru and Qadesh to the Hittite empire.[49] There may also have been other reasons why this decline happened (or continued) in the 12th century. During this time climatic conditions worsened and problems within Egypt were

[43] Davis, Maeir, Hitchcock 2015: 142-146, Yasur-Landau 2010: 307-312. Only the Aphek tablet has been dated to the late 12th century.
[44] There are few examples of local Proto-Canaanite script for example (Sparks 2013: 75-76).
[45] Davis, Maeir, Hitchcock 2015: 148-157, Woodard 2008: 4.
[46] Mazar 2000: 215-216.
[47] Dothan 2000: 147.
[48] Finkelstein 2000: 167-169.
[49] Bryce 2005: 145, 164; Murnane 2000: 110-111.

numerous. These internal problems included dynastic troubles at the end of the XIX dynasty, the weak pharaohs after the death of Ramses III, rising grain prices and workers' strike in Deir el Medina.[50] In the 11th century the New Kingdom of Egypt came to an end. All these problems added together would have created plenty of reasons for Egypt to abandon the Southern Levant.

Tracing the exact process of the Egyptian pullout is more complicated. It is usually dated by the last attestations of the items connected to specific Egyptian pharaohs (like statutes and scarabs). However, several of them have been found in questionable context and only a few can be definitely connected to a specific stratum.[51] It is difficult to distinguish items which have found their way into the strata due to Egyptian control from those that were simply traded.[52] Too accurate chronology of the Egyptian pullout would be based on a dubious data. What can be said, is that at the beginning of the 12th century Egypt was in control of the Southern Levant, including Philistia and by the end of the century this control had disappeared. Also, control was seemingly, lost in Philistia (with perhaps the exception of Gaza) before than in Jordan and Beth Shean valleys.[53]

Egyptian pullout coincided with a number of city-destructions. Megiddo, for example, was destroyed ca 1130. Egypt may have maintained some control over the city by that time, but this is again based only on finding a statue base of Ramses VI.[54] There are for example statues of the Middle Kingdom pharaohs of Egypt in Ugarit, when Egypt was not in charge of this state. It may have been a reflection of diplomatic or trade connections.[55] That means that Egypt may have already pulled out before the time of the destruction, but this cannot be claimed with certainty.

Archaeologically, the fading of the Egyptian control is difficult to describe, but it is even more difficult based on the texts. We have only two relevant sources. The first is

[50] Langgut, Finkelstein, Litt 2013: 165, 169, Weinstein 1992: 147, Van Dijk 2003: 294-297.
[51] Finkelstein 2000: 161-162.
[52] In Beth Shean, Egyptian-influenced culture may have lasted longer than Egypt's actual control of the area (Bloch-Smith, Nakhai 1999: 87).
[53] Bloch-Smith, Nakhai 1999: 115; Dijkstra 2017: 72-73.
[54] Ussishkin 1998: 214; Weinstein 1992: 147.
[55] A sphinx with the name of Amenemhat II and a statue of an Egyptian princess (Aubet 2013: 252, Yon 2006: 16).

the Onomasticon of Amenemope, which lists some *Sea Peoples* including the Philistines together with cities of Ashkelon, Ashdod and Gaza. The cities are assumed to be linked to the Peleset. But the text contains many blank spots and there is no reason to connect the Peleset to these cities based on the onomasticon alone. Indeed, the term *Philistines* are separated from the cities by two other groups of Sea Peoples, a lost entry and two other names. In addition the document is no earlier than the late 12th century.[56] It does not necessarily indicate that the Philistines were not subjects of Egypt either. The tale of Wenamun does indicate that Egypt had lost its influence in the Southern Levant, but this is probably a fictional narrative and again from a later period.[57] There is thus archaeological evidence from the Egyptian pullout.

As for the city-state system there are several options: city-states may have already been dissolved by the Egyptians, lasted on or may have been destroyed after the Egyptians left. The continuation of the city-state model of the late Bronze Age is unlikely in the Southern Levant in general. The proof that the city-states still existed in the Early Iron Age is hard to come across. The previously mentioned destructions of the city-states indicates the opposite. In Lachish the destruction resulted in long-term abandonment and in Megiddo destruction was also overwhelming.[58] This destruction may have been caused by the Egyptians, other rival polities, groups of locals or the Philistines. The destruction of some city-states at least is a sign of a considerable political change. Other city-states could have reverted from more politically complex polities to simpler ones and the influence outside one settlement may have been curtailed. This might equally have been the case in Philistia, with its relatively non-complex early Philistine layers.

Any remaining city-states could have been affected in different ways by the Egyptian forces leaving. On the one hand, it would have provided more freedom to any of the policies to build their own networks, control their own resources and wage wars with other polities without any Egyptian interference. On the other hand, the strong Egyptian presence may have guaranteed stability to keep local and foreign enemies at

[56] Gilboa 2005: 47.
[57] Gilboa 2005: 47; Ritner 2009: 87.
[58] Kreimermann 2017: 182, Ussishkin 1998: 214, 215.

bay. The lack of the fortifications around the settlements made city-states even more vulnerable.[59]

The foundations were laid to the new structures which emerged in the Later Iron Age, like the territorial states of Israel and Judah. However, there are no signs that these were already being created in the 12th century. It must be noted that the five independent cities of the Philistines as represented in the Old Testament did not constitute such break from the Late Bronze Age traditions as for example the territorial states. In the more northern areas like near Lake Kinneret and in Phoenicia city-state model in Levant was also preserved.[60] Many Early Iron Age settlements were relatively poor (with exception like the sites in the Beth Shean and Jordan valley), but still in all likelihood relatively independent.[61]

Comparison of the political structure of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age

The settlements of the Iron Age were more independent than the ones of the previous age, as there were no powers able to subjugate the whole region. During the 12th century and after the Egyptian power disappeared a power vacuum was created. The next imperial overlords came to the region in the later stages of the Iron Age, with the conquests of the Egyptians and the Assyrians.[62] The communication between settlements was more free and the region may have been more open to migrations but also to raids.

Another difference seems to be that in the Iron Age there seems to be no more complex city-states in the Southern Levant. The settlements that remained probably controlled only the immediate surroundings, including in Philistia. In the late 12th century the area covered by the Philistine material artefacts expanded, which probably reflects the spread of the Philistine people to the north (Tell Qasile) and south (Tell el-

[59] Bunimovitz 1998: 104.
[60] Little is known about Phoenicia, but as there are overlaps between the Late Bronze Age sites and later Phoenician cities, then it is safe to say, the model was preserved. Next to Lake Kinneret a site of Tell Kinneret shows signs of being a city-state for example in the Early Iron Age (Pakkala, Münger, Zangerberg 2004: 17).
[61] Overview of the Iron I: Bloch-Smith, Nakhai 1999.
[62] Bryce 2009: 554.

Far'ah south).[63] There are even signs of a system for sending grain to larger centers (like the main Philistine cities).[64] That may reflect a persistence or revival of a city-state, which controlled smaller settlements further away in the late 12th century.

In later periods (in the Old Testament) the Philistines seem be settled in the city-states while nearby Judah and Israel were more in line with the typical territorial kingdom models (Aramean kingdoms, Moab, Edom etc.). This means that it was the region of Philistia, which kept the old Late Bronze Age small-state system. However, the settlement hierarchy of the 12th century was limited, with two-tiered settlements the maximum in the 12th century.[65]

One more ambiguous aspect is related to the loss of complexity within settlements. The exception seems to have been Ekron with its expanding settlement and some monumental architecture.[66] As mentioned, there were no signs of written culture or stamp seals in the earliest Philistine cities, but as these were also missing from the 13th century settlements, it may hint that no major change took place in that regard.

Changes involved the settlements and their centrality. Ashkelon, a center for a city-state in the Late Bronze Age, was briefly abandoned. The settlement of Ekron in the late Bronze Age may have belonged to Gath based on the lesser size but proximity of the former to the latter.[67] During the Early Iron Age two former city-states Gath and Ashkelon and two lesser settlements: Ekron and Ashdod (along possibly with the former Egyptian center Gaza) became the centers in the region. Perhaps the term city-state is not justified in the Early Iron Age, with smaller areas per settlement and no signs of administration (with the exception of Ekron) but they were more important and larger settlements.

The disappearance of imperial power coincided with the loss of many trade and communication networks, which were partially controlled by Egypt. Some networks

[63] Mazar 2000: 228, Yasur-Landau 2010: 284.
[64] Gadot 2006: 31.
[65] Yasur-Landau 2010: 286. Because the Late Bronze Age had more settlements (Finkelstein 2000: 167, 168 maps), the complexity and settlement hierarchy (there were less large settlements in the Iron Age as well) seems to have been reduced.
[66] Dothan 2000: 147.
[67] Yasur-Landau 2010: 226. For Gath's rule over Ekron see maps from Finkelstein 2000: 167, 168.

still remained or were transformed involving trade with new partners and with new types of goods. In the case of Philistia the imported Mycenaean pottery stopped for example indicating loss of contacts with the Aegean.[68] But some of the material culture (like incised bovine scapulae) in the 12th and 11th centuries Philistia can only be explained by continued trade with Cyprus.[69]

Finally there is a question of power dynamics between the new arrivals and the local Canaanite people, both of who resided in the cities of Philistia. Although it is difficult to say, who exactly ruled the places, there are some indicators that the power position of the western migrants was considerable. In the temples, or supposed temples, which are one of the few identifiable public buildings, there are plenty of direct parallels with Cyprus and the Aegean.[70] So at least in the cultic sphere the influence of the migrants was considerable.

There are indications from later periods, that western migrants gained considerable political influence. In the later Iron Age the name of a king and possibly a goddess have non-Levantine names. The Old Testament also tells of the foreign origin of the Philistines. Some attempts at writing have letters, which are similar to Cypriot scripts. It seems that the Philistines (by that time almost definitely largely canaanized) may have still identified with the culture of the western areas.[71] However, these aspects reflect a later stage of their settlement, and their influence may have been purely cultural, while the migrants were ruled by the local Canaanite rulers. Thus there are some arguments that the Philistines had a high status in these cities, but that does not exclude Canaanites from being part of elite or even the rulers.

There were many observable changes in Philistia during the 12th century: the loss of imperial control (Egypt), increased independence, changing settlement patterns, reduction in the settlement and political complexity, and the loss of trade contacts. Power dynamics must have also changed as a result of the arrival of the Peleset. However, the city-state (or small-state) as a political model seems to have been

[68] Barako 2000: 516.
[69] Maeir, Hitchcock, Horwitz 2013: 25; Yasur-Landau 2010: 301.
[70] Like the incised bovine scapulae and the iconography of deities (Maeir, Hitchcock, Horwitz 2013: 19-22; Mazar 2000: 228-229).
[71] Davis, Maeir, Hitchcock 2015: 143, 152, 153, Maeir, Hitchcock, Horwitz 2013: 11, 26, 27; Machinist 2000: 54.

preserved in Philistia, while over time the surrounding areas were united into territorial states.

Reasons for the transformation

Some potential causes behind these transformations can be indicated, although the lack of sources makes it difficult to present them with greater confidence.

First reason for the transformation was the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean. The late 13th and 12th century saw the collapse of many polities and the movement of groups of people associated with the change towards colder and drier climate.[72] However, the climate change itself is not enough to explain the changes in the Southern Levant. Even if for example Ashkelon would have been abandoned due to difficult living conditions then it does not clarify why Philistines chose to live there. However, climate change could have made local people move from one place to another in search of better living conditions and changed the way society lived (from pastoralist to sedentary and vice versa).[73]

Egyptian actions were also a factor in explaining the transformation. For whatever reason Egypt left (internal problems, attacks on the Egyptian forces, climate change) the power vacuum left by the Egyptians meant that cities may have become more independent but also vulnerable to other entities. However, Egypt itself had attacked some polities before leaving the region. This could explain the destruction of Lachish and Ashkelon, which were attacked while the territory was still under Egyptian command.

Loss of many long-distance contacts may have contributed to the change in the political system. The trade became more local and the polities had to find new connections and articles of trade. The contacts with some areas where lost, but a little while later Philistia retained or re-established some contacts with Cyprus.[74] Some polities, which were largely dependent on the foreign trade would have become

[72] Langgut, Finkelstein, Litt 2013: 160, 169.
[73] Langgut, Finkelstein, Litt 2013: 168.
[74] Barako 2000: 515, 516; Yasur-Landau 2010: 300-301.

poorer, especially the cities that depended on the trade. The loss of economic capacity may have in turn made cities less protected by denying these resources to build an army and defences which could made them more willing to join forces with the foreign migrants. The disruption of luxury goods trade may have also had an effect on the local rulers as their prestige suffered as a result. Especially when new trade routes were in the hands of new elites, who could have taken over the position of the old ones.[75] However the influence of trade disruptions to the local power structures must have been minor when compared to other factors.

The last factor is the arrival of the Philistines. The groups that arrived were numerous enough to change the local power structures. They took over or settled in certain cities and resided there with the locals (with the power dynamics between the groups left ambiguous). Because the newcomers were not from the Levantine Late Bronze Age setting they settled whichever places they saw as useful and were not affected by the historical importance of the places. They also took over some former city-states, but this probably reflects the favourable and secure position of the settlements (the factors that led to places being settled originally).

The maintenance of the small-state model in the region may be explained in addition by the background and the military capabilities of the Peleset. The areas from where the migration originated are difficult to ascertain, but most of the suspected regions had small settlements as their political centers. In the Aegean a lot of settlements were on the islands with limited polity sizes, while the Late Bronze Age polities on the Peloponnesos had been reduced in size and power.[76] In the case of Cyprus the situation is more complicated, because in the Late Bronze Age the island seems to have been represented by a single king. However, there were several strong settlements indicating multiple centers of power.[77] So the background of migrants was related to small settlements and in a relatively unorganized migration the maintenance of a territorial state system would have been unlikely anyway. In antiquity most colonies, did not become large territorial states, especially when there was

[75] About the potential changes in trade, see Sherratt 1998.
[76] Yasur-Landau 2010: 81.
[77] Goren et al 2003: 247; Knapp 2013: 438.

competition from other local polities. The migration typically resulted in the small polities.

Another contributor to the preservation of the small-state was the Philistine military strength. As the (sea-borne) migration must have been limited by the boat capacities, the Peleset had no considerable army. Although the Philistines were claimed to have lost this conflict, their army was big enough to attack Egypt when possibly joined with other groups. Then again, the Egyptian presence in Philistia seems to have disappeared earlier than in other areas.[78] Somehow, either by using military power or by subjugating themselves to the Egyptians, the Peleset could establish themselves in Philistia. The military capabilities also kept them from being permanently taken over by other polities until the arrival of the Assyrians and Babylonians.[79] At the same time they were incapable of considerable expansion. They did expand to the north and south, but the expansion was limited by other locals. It seems that their military capabilities allowed them to protect themselves, but not to substantially expand their polities.

There were thus four factors which could have transformed the political system. Some factors may have played a part before (perhaps changes in climatic conditions as the cause of migration) than others or could have been more relevant but all of them probably played a significant part.

Conclusion

The 12th century in Philistia was a period when the political situation and system in the region changed considerably. Although there are numerous problems with the sources, we can make some comparisons of the political systems to see how they changed from the Bronze Age to early Iron Age and try to explain this change.

In the Late Bronze Age the region had dual control. The imperial power of Egypt controlled a large part of the Southern Levant with its military bases and armies in the

[78] Weinstein 1992: 145, 148.
[79] But they had still retained their city-centered polities until these destructions by Assyrians and Babylonians (Bryce 2009: 554).

region. It also controlled the communication with other imperial powers and it took part of the local resources as a tribute or supply for its armies. At the same time the local small-state or city-state kings had considerable autonomy. In the Amarna period they had their own armies and probably controlled some part of the foreign trade. In the later part of the Bronze Age the city-state autonomy may have been curtailed by Egypt, but the severity of that curtailment is ambiguous. It may be that Egypt destroyed some of the city-state centers, but this does not automatically mean the end of that type of polities.

This all had changed by the Early Iron Age. The former centers had been partially replaced by new ones and city-states may have been destroyed along with the loss of complexity (administration, settlement hierarchy) in the states themselves. Although 12th century is too early to for territorial states, the Early Iron Age introduced them to the region. A new group of people – the Peleset – appeared into the Southern Levant and the Egyptian imperial power disappeared. Accompanying this was the reduction of trade and communication networks.

We can carefully try to explain these changes through four factors. The climate change may have caused migrations and made the agricultural base of the city-states and the states themselves weaker. The loss of trade contacts may have also caused cities and their rulers to become weaker. The pullout of the Egyptian forces meant that the system that kept up the political order of the Levant disappeared and there was no mighty army to protect local city-states while in the process. Furthermore, Egypt itself attacked some centers. Lastly, the appearance of the Philistines caused political changes as they were able to establish themselves and forge out new polities, in cooperation with the locals. Because of their limited military power and small polity backgrounds they may have kept the city-state system which was so common in the Late Bronze Age. There were other causes, some more and some less speculative, but these four factors must have played a part in the transformation of the political system.

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Syntax to the stand as Job's witness

Discussion topics

1. In the light of my theory on activation in Biblical Hebrew poetry – can a bicola be a universal frame to how a reader familiar with Biblical Hebrew poetry approaches thought structures in a poetic text?
2. Regarding a diachronic approach to poetry – should statistics regarding occurrences of stylistic features be considered in the light of different redaction layers? How do they compare, in terms of validity, to word-repetition or *hapax-dis-tris legomena*?

Introduction

Redaction history of the poetic texts of the Hebrew Bible is a topic not easily tackled. Historical content of the texts is of little reliability and the use of archaic language can easily lead the researcher astray. This rings especially true for the book of Job, where, in addition to the previously mentioned aspects, there is enough word-order variation to make a separate textbook only devoted to that topic and the use of well-known and reliable poetic markers (such as the positioning of ו at the beginning of second bicola or deictic particles/presentatives[1] as indicators of the beginning of new chapters/strophes) seem to have frequently lost their balance. However, if we broaden our scope from analyzing vocabulary and semantics to include underlying syntactic patterns of the text and the motivations for changes in word-order we have a stronger case for distinguishing different redaction layers. In this paper I will introduce my approach to focus structures in biblical Hebrew poetic texts and give a brief overview of how these can be helpful as additional datapoints for considering segments of texts to belong to one redaction layer or another.

Focus structures

The concept of focusing has, alongside another closely related term – topicalization, been around for a while. There have been numerous authors that have dealt with this topic[2] but my current

[1] Defined as such by many, for example Lipinski, *Semitic Languages of a Comparative Grammar*, 472–73.
[2] Heimerdinger (1999), Shimasaki (2002), Gross (1999), Talstra (1999), van der Merwe (1999) to name a few.

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approach has been influenced mostly by Adina Moshavi's approach to focusing[3]. The two ways in which her treatment of this term stands out are:

1) She uses Knut Lambrecht's well-known theory of focusing in information structure[4] but focuses only on the notion of argument (or constituent) focus[5], which in Biblical Hebrew, is marked by placing the focused constituent at the head of the clause, ahead of the verb which would, in the case of neutral or unmarked word-order, be the 1st constituent of a clause.

For example (Lv 22:13)

וְשָׁבָה **אֶל־בֵּית אָבִיהָ**

She returns to her father's house[6]

is an example of an unmarked word-order, the verb of the clause (שוב – to return) is in the clause-initial position followed by an adjunct.

whereas Gn 24:38

אֶל־בֵּית־אָבִי תֵּלֵךְ

To my father's house *you must go*

has the adjunct "to my father's house" preposed in front of the verb, marking it as the focus of the clause. The entire focused clause consists of the focused element and at least a predicate (תֵּלֵךְ), just like in the above example. The entire thought-structure with the preceding clause (which the focus-structure reflects on) can be found below (Gn 24:37-38):

לֹא־תִקַּח אִשָּׁה לִבְנִי מִבְּנוֹת הַכְּנַעֲנִי אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי יֹשֵׁב בְּאַרְצוֹ: אִם־לֹא **אֶל־בֵּית־אָבִי** תֵּלֵךְ

[3] Moshavi, *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*, where Moshavi defines focusing as "signalling a relation between the clause and the context of the addressee's attention state" and topicalizing as „signalling a relation between the clause and the linguistic context that accompanies it" (p. 90).

[4] Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*.

[5] According to Lambrecht, focusing can be classified into 3 categories: predicate focus, argument focus and sentence focus. These categories have different connotations on a clause-structure level and the only focus that can be used to explain a preposed constituent in the clause is argument focus (p. 223)

[6] Translations are from NAB, with focused clauses I've occasionally made changes in the word-order to highlight my point.

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You shall not take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites in whose land I live, instead, ***<u>to my father's house</u>*** *<u>you must go</u>*

The initial introduction to the theme/idea can be found from Gen 24:37 where God tells Abraham not to stay in Canaan to take a wife from there. The focus-structure that then reflects on this statement is in the following section (Gen 24:38), where the focus „to your father's house" has been preposed before the verb, marking the entire clause as a focused clause[7].

Focused constituents can be both single words (as we'll see with some future examples) or phrases (as with the most recent examples). Focus structures of this kind can only be observed in clauses where a verbal predicate (a finite verb) is present as the author of the text needs to have had the possibility of using an unmarked word order that they've decided against. This means that verbless (or nominal) clauses with focus structures are beyond the scope of the current overview. Participles and infinitives have been analyzed according to the syntactic functions they hold in particular clauses[8].

Activation

Another important notion that plays a substantial role in defining focusing is *activation* as the dimension it gives helps us understand the psycholinguistic motivations behind preposed focus-structures. Moshavi has applied Kintsch's „Construction Integration" model"[9] to specify what exactly happens when a reader rencounters focusing and understands it for what it is. From this perspective focusing is „updating currently activated themes/ideas".

For example in Gn 20:9

[7] All following examples of focus structures (as with the current one) will have the focused constituent in bold and the entire focus-structure (clause with a focused constituent) underlined.
[8] Unlike, for example Collins, *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry*; and, O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* who both group infinitives and predicates differently from Moshavi.
[9] Kintsch, *Comprehension*.

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לוֹ מֶה־עָשִׂיתָ לָּנוּ (...) **מַעֲשִׂים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יֵעָשׂוּ** עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי

What have you done to us?! ***Things, that shouldn't be done****, you have done to us*

the activated idea is that Abraham has done something to Abimelech. The first clause in the example behaves as an activator moving this concept into the short-term memory of the reader. The second clause then updates the existing activated idea by specifying what kind of deeds have been done (*things, that shouldn't be done*).

The essence of Kintsch's model is that texts are understood through mental models that readers build. Connections are formed between ideas expressed in the text and relevant prior knowledge. This means that as a reader progresses through the text, corresponding themes (ideas) from long-term memory are activated and stored in short-term (working) memory. Each sentence that the reader processes will cause an activation of themes/ideas from long-term memory to short-term memory. Each following sentence also becomes an activator but first-hand new information in it is constantly being compared to the information activated immediately prior to the sentence. The activated proposition from the previous sentence is therefore updated when new information from the following sentence is activated as short-term memory and this adjusts the information that the reader had in their short-term working memory from the previous sentence. The only way this is possible is if the information that is constantly being updated (the initial activated information) is accessible for this updating and the new information evokes similar themes/ideas to be activated.[10]

The reason *why* the concept of activation is vital to the investigation of focusing is that it allows the researcher to analyse the text from a pragmatic perspective: it helps the researcher see further from simply a grammatical marked/unmarked constituent order and delve into the ways in which the previously activated proposition is being updated or, to put it simply, *why is there a focus in the first place*.

[10] Kintsch, *Comprehension*, 98.

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By combining these two theories Moshavi identifies "the speaker's/writer's motivation in choosing the more unusual preposed constituent order over the corresponding unmarked constituent order."[11] It also helps to view and experience the text as a first-time reader.

The way Moshavi has chosen to set specific boundaries to what focusing means (and doesn't mean) makes it easier to also locate focus structures in the text. By confining her research to preposed focus structures makes the clauses under investigation stand out in a narrative text. Therefore, on a morphosyntactic level, focusing is unmistakable. This makes the identification process relatively straightforward and decreases the chance of subjectivity. Having analyzed the focus structures, it became evident to Moshavi that there are 4 main types that the focus structures fall under[12]:
-identificational focusing (Proposition X is new information regarding an activated idea/theme)
-descriptive focusing (proposition X is a repetition of information we already have on an activated idea/theme)
-substitutional focusing (proposition X opposes all or some of the information we have about an activated idea/theme)
-additive focusing (proposition X indicates a nuance about an activated idea/theme).

All of these focus-structures occur in biblical prose texts to subjects, complements and adjuncts of clauses.
For example in Gn 41:16 the focused constituent is the subject God, typologically this is substitutional focusing.

וַאֲנִי שָׁמַעְתִּי עָלֶיךָ לֵאמֹר תִּשְׁמַע חֲלוֹם לִפְתֹּר אֹתוֹ: וַיַּעַן יוֹסֵף אֶת־פַּרְעֹה לֵאמֹר בִּלְעָדָי **אֱלֹהִים** יַעֲנֶה אֶת־שְׁלוֹם פַּרְעֹה

*"I heard it said of you "If he hears a dream he can interpret it."" And Joseph replied to the pharaoh: "(It is) not me**, God** will respond for the well-being of the pharaoh"*

[11] Moshavi, *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*, 86.
[12] Moshavi, *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*, 127.

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The activated idea or proposition is that Joseph has the ability to interpret dreams. With the focused clause, Joseph speaks against this and explains that it is not him but God who can do this, substituting the existing proposition of Joseph as the dream interpreter with the notion that it's God who does the actual interpreting.

In Gn 23:9 the adjunct „for its full price" is the focus, typologically this is additive focusing.

יִתֵּן־לִי אֶת־מְעָרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ (...) **בְּכֶסֶף מָלֵא** יִתְּנֶנָּה לִי בְּתוֹכְכֶם לַאֲחֻזַּת־קָבֶר

And he will give me the cave of Machpelah that is his; (...) **For its full price** he will give it to me in your presence as a burial place.

The activated proposition is that Abraham wishes to purchase the cave of Machpelah. The nuance that is added to this idea is that Abraham wishes to make this purchase at a rightful price. Therefore, the passage becomes an evident appraisal of Abraham as a righteous man.

The seemingly redundant but practically defining factor about the concept of focusing is that it's unnecessary. There is no need to add it to the text, yet the author has deliberately decided to do so for stylistic merit. It is a known fact that well-placed stylistic additions make the text more engaging for the reader, this especially applies to changes performed on the surface structure of a parallel line[13]. This leads me to the next part of my paper – the group of texts where an abundance of stylistic features is the second defining feature next to its other discernible aspect – parallelism. The activation process and constituent focusing is relatively clear cut in narrative texts, how can we recognize it in poetry?

Focusing in poetry

Coming back to the frame of Kintsch's activation theory, the way the reader processes new information from a poetic text works essentially the same as with a prose text: 1. New information

[13] Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, 135.

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activates themes from long-term memory to short-term working memory, 2. These themes/ideas get updated when the activated idea/theme occurs with new aspects to it but still shares the same theme/idea, only instead of longer narrative units where new information updates the initial proposition stated at the beginning of the narrative readers process this information by *bicola*. Bicola are the most prominent thought-structures of biblical hebrew as they contain its most distinguishable feature – parallelism[14]. However, there are ideas and themes that carry on throughout whole strophes or even chapters or entire poems. This means that focusing can occur, in terms of how information gets distributed, on a bicolon level or over a wider scope in the poem.

In a broad sense the way new information (which then acts as an activator) is distributed in a bicolon can be divided into 3 cateogries:

1) New information in the first colon, second colon repeating the same information or adding some nuances (semantically parallel bicolon with or without antithetic word-pairs) – this type supports the appearance of focusing in the second colon of a bicolon

2) New information in the first colon, new information in the second colon (extrapolative aka synthetic bicolon) – this type may support focusing over a wider scope in the text, possibly only for the first colon.

3) New information being spread out over both of the cola (enjambment, subordinated clauses etc) - this type supports focusing over a wider scope in the text.

As I indicated before, focusing falls into two categories - focusing on a bicolon level and focusing on a wider level. The first of these investigates focusing within the information structure limits of a single bicolon with the 1st colon as the activator, the second category looks beyond the information in the bicolon for possible reasons to consider the theme/idea in the 1st colon of the bicolon as activated. The distance between activation of a theme/idea and its update can't, however, be very long[15]. How long a theme/idea stays in short-term working memory is debatable but it's clear that with additional stylistic features in the mix, it's unlikely an idea/theme stays in

[14] This is regarded as one of the few statements researchers of biblical Hebrew poety can all agree upon, that parallelism is statistically more frequent in texts regarded as poetry, e.g. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 50.
[15] Kintsch, *Comprehension*, 411.

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the short-term working memory if the bicolon following it activates a completely different theme/idea.

My current research is connected to the first category for two reasons. First of all, focusing on a larger strophic level beyond a bicolon has implications on already a semantic level – what defines an idea or theme? If an entire poem is about the glory of God, is that the information that is being updated? Or the different strophes discussing his strength, the help he offers to the weak or the one where he crushes his opponents? Neither of these approaches is technically incorrect if we rely only on the semantic structuring of the text. Therefore I believe a structured approach based on the bicolon and an analysis on the syntactic functions of its constituents through the activation process is more fruitful for determining the focused elements in bibical hebrew poetry. Secondly, as the purpose of my research is to help determine whether syntactic datapoints match up with other stylistic devices (notably clusters of meaning), it's only natural to refrain from making automatic larger connections between the different parts of the text so any actual patterns illuminated by syntactic features would become more visible. These aspects are also what sets my approach apart from previous investigations of focusing in biblical hebrew poetry[16].

Next I will present some general statements that apply to the bicola under discussion that become evident when considering the process of activation.
1) Bicola where focusing (at the beginning of the 2nd colon) occurs must be semantically parallel – it means that the activator (the proposition that activates a theme/idea from long-term to short-term working memory) must be present in the 1st colon of the bicolon. Bicolon-focusing does not occur in extrapolative aka synthetic bicola, in bicola where enjambment is present or a bicola where one of the cola is subordinate to the other.

For example:
Jb 6:23b is considered as a focused structure

[16] Especially Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*; and, Floor, "Poetic Fronting in a Wisdom Poetry Text."

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וּמַלְטוּנִי מִיַּד־צָר

וּמִיַּד עָרִיצִים תִּפְדּוּנִי

6:23a *Deliver me from the hand of (the)enemy*
6:23b ***From the hand of (the) oppressor*** *redeem me*

The activator is situated in the 1st colon (deliverence, rescue) and the second colon repeats this by focusing the costituent (*from the hands of the oppressor*) thereby creating a nice thought-structure where the activated idea is repeated at the beginning of the following clause/colon.

Jb 26:14b is, for comparison, not a focused clause.

הֵן־אֵלֶּה קְצוֹת דַּרְכּ(ו)

וּמַה־שֵּׁמֶץ דָּבָר נִשְׁמַע־בּוֹ

26:14a *These (are) the outlines of his ways*
26:14b *(but what) whisper of a word we hear from him?!*

This is an example of a synthetic or extrapolative bicolon where the two lines are not semantically parallel. The outcome is stll a beautifully hopeless understanding about how little human beings understand of God but preposing motivated by activation is not present.

2) Regarding clause type: focusing occurs in bicola, where both cola are verbal clauses (V+V bicola) or cola where the 1st colon is verbless and the 2nd colon is verbal (VL+V). Bicolon focusing does not occur in an entirely verbless bicola (VL-VL) nor in a bicolon where the 2nd colon is verbless (V+VL). This restriction is due to the fact that constituent focusing can only be observed if the otherwise unmarked word-order has clearly been changed to marked word-order.

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Also, as syntactic functions can only be observed on a clause level, distinction needs to be made between cola that consist of a single clause and cola that contain several clauses. To do this I will use the term „colon/bicolon“ to refer to single-clause cola“ and „multi-clause colon“ to mark cola that have more than one clause.

An example of a V+V bicolon (Jb 18:8)

כִּי־שֻׁלַּח בִּרֶשֶׁת בְּרַגְלָיו

וְעַל־שְׂבָכָה יִתְהַלָּךְ

18:8a *He is caught in a net by his leg(s)*
18:8b ***Into a weaved net** he wanders*

Here the activated proposition is that „the wicked are caught (in a net)“, the focus structure specifies this by the type of net that catches the wicked one („a weaved net“).

An example of a VL+V bicolon (Jb 10:4)

הַעֵינֵי בָשָׂר לָךְ

אִם־כִּרְאוֹת אֱנוֹשׁ תִּרְאֶה

10:4a *Eyes of flesh have you?*
10:4b ***As mortals see** you see?*

Here the activator is the 1st colon where Job activates the notion of „seeing“ and accuses God of not being able to see as he does. This induces a focus structure at the beginning of the 2nd colon where Job specifies what he meant by „eyes of flesh“ in the 1st colon, thereby making it clear what he accuses the divine of.

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An example of a multi-clause colon (Jb 6:22)

הֲכִי־אָמַרְתִּי הָבוּ לִי

וּ**מִכֹּחֲכֶם** שֹׁחֲדוּ בַעֲדִי

6:22a *Have I said „Give me!*
6:22b ***From your possessions*** *bribe for me"*

Here the 1st colon has two clauses but only the second one activates the proposition that Job asks (or, in this case, hasn't asked) his friends for help. Focus at the beginning of the 2nd colon specifies what kind of help Job has in mind („from your possessions").

At the current stage of my research I've focused on those occurrences of focusing where the feature can be relatively safely isolated from other poetic features. I believe that it exists also in combination with other notable syntactic/stylistic phenomena but isolating them from the other features requires more specific data points which I hope to obtain from further research.
Specifically, as visible from previous examples, I've decided against considering deictic particles and presentatives (כִּי,כֵּן, הִנֵּה־נָא, כִּי עַתָּה, זְכָר־נָא, אַף etc) as elements that adjust the information structure of the clause/colon that they front. Instead, as they regularly occur as unmarked preposed constituents or nonpreposed preverbal constituents[17] I'm not considering them as constituents in the nearby clauses at all. This means that in the book of Job I'm not considering them as meaningful datapoints for determining (or obfuscating) occurences of focusing. The reason why I've decided against it in the current stage of my research is that there is an abundance of evidence in the book of Job that shows that these elements are often (within the limits of that book) not performing the function they're most closely associated with – which is emphasizing an aspect of the text or alerting the hearer[18]. Instead they seem to be have been frequently used to make

[17] Moshavi, *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*, 68–78.
[18] Lipinski, *Semitic Languages of a Comparative Grammar*, 472.

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additions to the text more „seamless“. There are, however, instances where they're functioning as *anacrusis*[19] and I'm definitely not ruling out that there are occurencies where the emphasizing function does occur, I plan to establish these instances during further research.

Focusing in the book of Job

Preliminary textual analysis in the book of Job has revealed the existence of plenty of focus structures (about 7-8% of all bicola, around 50-60% of previously specified bicola). Focused constituents can, just like in prose texts, be subjects, complements or adjuncts (both single words and phrases). The amount of V+V bicola is noticeably larger than VL+V bicola (70% of focused cola are V+V).

Also, the amount of adjuncts/complements compared to subjects in the focused position is considerably larger. This, however was to be expected as the same applies to prose texts (acc to Moshavi, around 16% of the focused clauses in Gen were subjects[20].

For example, Jb 17:9b – subject focus

וְיֹאחֵ֣ז צַדִּ֣יק דַּרְכּ֑וֹ

וְטָהֲר־יָדַ֥יִם יֹסִ֖יף אֹֽמֶץ

17:9a *Holds the righteous his way*
17:9b ***the one with clean hands*** *increases in strength*

Here the activated idea/theme is the steady path the righteous is supposed to be following with ease. The focus "the one with clean hands" repeats what is meant by "the righteous" in the 1st colon.

Jb 6:8b – complement focus

[19] By this I mean that they help total the number of letters to (closely) match the other line of the bicolon (or help perfect the colometry of the bicolon).
[20] Moshavi, *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*, 122.

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מִי־יִתֵּן תָּבוֹא שֶׁאֱלָתִי

וּ**תִקְוָתִי** יִתֵּן אֱלוֹהַּ

6:8a *May be fulfilled my request*

6:8b ***Hope to me*** *would give God*

Here the activated proposition is a request that Job wishes God would fill (1st colon), the 2nd colon clarifies that this is not only a plea that he wants to die, Job is placing his hope on that God kills him. These are truly the lines of someone who doesn't even care about redemption or an easing of his pain, Job's only hope is to die.

Types of focusing

So far I've identified the following types of focusing:

1) Descriptive focus, where the activated proposition is updated with a synonym that, in a lot of cases, expresses another angle of the same thing but without adding anything to the previously updated idea/theme.

For example Jb 6:23b:

וּמַלְּטוּנִי מִיַּד־צָר

וּמִיַּד עָרִיצִים תִּפְדּוּנִי

6:23a *Deliver me from the hand of (the)enemy*

6:23b ***From the hand of (the) oppressor*** *redeem me*

In 6:23a, the idea of a rescue from the hands of the enemy is activated, and the same idea is repeated in 6:23b in the focused clause. The only change is a synonym to the word "enemy" ("oppressor"). This is by far the most popular type of focusing in poetry.

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This type of focusing roughly represents the typology X (focused clause) = A (Activated proposition).

2) Specifying focus, where the activated proposition gets narrowed to further enhance the idea/theme of it.

הִנֵּה יִסַּרְתָּ רַבִּים

וְיָדַיִם רָפּוֹת תְּחַזֵּק

4:3a *You have instructed many*
4:3b ***Feeble hands*** *you've made firm*

In 4:3a Eliphaz praises Job for the good work he has done („you have instructed many"), even further, in the 2nd colon he specifies that the help he has given, has been to the needy, the weak of hand, the vulnerable ones. The focus "feeble hands" specifically serves the purpose of intensifying the message of the first colon. Job has gone the extra mile.

This type of focus corresponds to Kugel's classical definition of the thought structure of parallelism "A, what's more, B"[21] or roughly, X (focused clause) = A (activated proposition)[2].

3) Additive focusing, where the activated information is updated with a nuance (6:22b)

הֲכִי־אָמַרְתִּי הָבוּ לִי

וּמִכֹּחֲכֶם שְׁחַדוּ בְעַדִי

6:22a *Have I said „Give me!*
6:22b ***From your possessions*** *bribe for me"*

[21] Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, 64.

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In this example of the adjunct „from your possessions“ updates the previously activated proposition of Job demaning something from his friends which is posited as a rhetorical question that continues through the 2nd colon. With this expressive bicolon Job shows that all he wants from his friends is compassion and sympathy, nothing more. Nothing material, nothing that would decrease what they already have. He only wants, what shouldn't be so hard to give – understanding from peers.

This type of focusing can be typologically defined as X (focused clause) = A (activated proposition) + B (additional information).

Focus structures in the different redaction layers

My approach to the redaction layers in the book of Job is based on the redaction critical model of the Otto Kaiser[22] and his students (specifically Witte[23], van Oorschot[24], Syring[25], Nõmmik[26] and other researchers who wrote their dissertations under his supervision). Why this model is a perfect testing ground for my approach to focusing in biblical Hebrew poetry is that the current redaction borders it has established are mostly based on careful observations of recurring motifs, themes, textual criticism and word-repetitions, in other words there is enough room for additional syntactic observations. According to this model there are at least 4 different redaction waves in which the book of Job expanded (a simplified scheme)[27]:

The connecting phase – the separately written prose text and poem were connected into a single text. The original poem was probably quite a typical near-eastern wisdom-poem where the tension of the dialogue was built around individual experience (in this case Job's suffering) and general order of the world (God's righteousness as expressed by friends).

The Majesty redaction – additions revolving around the motifs of God's pronounced majesty and the everyman's fear towards his omnipotence (Jb 9:3-9:14, 12:7-25,26, 28, 39:3-18 etc)

[22] Mathys and Kaiser, *Das Buch Hiob*.
[23] Witte, *Vom Leiden Zur Lehre*.
[24] Van Oorschot, "Die Entstehung Des Hiobbuches."
[25] Syring, *Hiob Und Sein Anwalt*.
[26] Nõmmik, *Die Freundesreden Des Ursprünglichen Hiobdialogs*.
[27] Schematic approach from Nõmmik, *Iiobi Raamat*, 27–29, this is further explained in the books by Witte, van Oorschot, Syring, Nõmmik (2010).

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The Justice redaction – group of texts emphasizing Job's piety and righteousness (esp Jb 29-31, but also an abundance of shorter and longer additions e.g. 5:9-17, 24:5-8.13-25, 27:7-10.13-23 etc)

Additional poems – these are fully structured poems that occur in the book of Job, some of these are clearly unified by a theme (e.g. the eternal suffering of man in Jb 7, 14) or some have a clear object (the poems about Leviathan and Behemot in Jb 40:15-41:26).

The Lowliness redaction – group of texts revolving around man's incomparability and incompatibility with God, at the same time stressing the necessity for humility (4:12-21, 15:11-16, 25 in the speeches of friends and also Job's replies in 40:3-5, 42:1-6).

These layers are intertwined with older textual layers, additional comments and smaller additions.

Results of analysis

From the 3 larger redaction waves focusing can be more widely observed in The Majesty redaction (usually the focused constituent is clearly a complement), there are a couple of instances also in the Justice redaction although these might be coincidental due to the often hymnic syntax of the segments (a large amount of bicola consisting of a verbless clause (mostly a participle-headed NP) with a short verbless clause in the 2nd colon) and in the second speech of YHWH (poems about Behemot and Leviathan 40:15-41:26). That a surprisingly small amount of focusing can be found from the Lowliness redaction is partially explained by the relatively strict form of these segments (e.g. 4:14-25, 15:14-16, 25:2-6) but it's entirely possible that the author(s) of these segments have simply not used it out of stylistic consideration.

Concluding remarks

At the current stage of my research, it's unclear how much focusing can (or should) be relied upon for establishing redaction layers. For this, further and more detailed research is necessary regarding the genres where it's more prevalent and the role it plays against other stylistic phenomena. It is clear, though, that focusing in the book of Job does occur and that there are textual segments where it is clearly more preferred than in others. That, I belive, is a good

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starting point for analyzing the possibilities that an information-structure motivated change in word-order can offer to existing theories on redaction criticism.

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Conceptions of Death in early Hellenistic Philosophy

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present an overview of different views of death in early Hellenistic philosophy. As is well known, most texts of the extensive early Hellenistic writings are now lost. What remains are some letters and some fragments here and there. A great deal of what we know stems from later commentators, who have presented the ideas of earlier philosophers, sometimes even quoting them verbatim. Some of these representations stem from adversaries to the respective philosophies and might be tendentious in nature and must therefore be judged accordingly.[1]

I will focus now on the three main schools of Hellenistic philosophy: Stoicism, Epicureanism and Scepticism. Of minor schools the Cyrenaics and especially the Cynics are also of interest and will receive some treatment. Of course the writings of Plato and Aristotle forms to a large extent the context and agenda of all subsequent philosophy, and some of these connections, as well as divergencies, will be highlighted. However, the Hellenistic philosophers did not just write footnotes on the works of the two masters, but were original thinkers in their own right, creating new ideas as well as ways of approaching philosophy. The influence from pre-Socratic thinkers will also be treated only briefly.

The text of Qohelet will not be dealt with extensively at this stage, but hinted at in due course, mainly in the footnotes. The listed references and possible connections to Hellenistic philosophy are not exhaustive and are tentative in nature. The main argument concerning Qohelet 9:1-10 is presented in the body text in the end. Though being slightly peripheral in the present work, the specific connections to the text of Qohelet would probably form the most fruitful points of discussion.

A basic outline of common themes and motifs in Hellenistic philosophy

To grasp the meaning and significance of different conceptions of death in Hellenistic philosophy, it is necessary to form an overall understanding of the different philosophical systems at work. The philosophical discussions between the schools were vivid, and great varieties can occur as well between different schools as between different individual thinkers. However, it is possible to note certain characteristics, both thematic and methodological, common to all the

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1 Fortunately there is a long scholarly tradition in evaluating the different writings. For an overview about the sources and the weighing of the evidence, see J. Mansfeld, *Sources,* in The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy, eds. K.Algra, J.Barnes, J.Mansfeld, M.Schofield, Cambridge University Press 1999.

main traditions in Hellenistic philosophy, and what follows is a rudimentary sketch thereof.

A central feature uniting all Hellenistic philosophy is the practical orientation. The ultimate aim of philosophy is to provide answers on the right way of living. More than answering questions on what to do, right and wrong conduct, the central question could be framed as 'what kind of person should I be'?[2] Answers to this question was sought in nature. Hence the major preoccupation with epistemological issues concerning the external reality and our capabilities of knowing it.[3] The various systems and traditions represent different strategies of the transition from *is* to *ought*. The art of living rested on a knowledge how nature is formed, and this knowledge needed to have a secure philosophical foundation.

In his Nicomachean Ethics Aristotle had considered happiness the highest good for man. In the Hellenistic philosophies the eudaimonistic emphasis is even intensified. The quest for happiness is the underlying question and the ultimate goal of all philosophy.[4] According to Epicurus "…there is no use in philosophy, unless it casts out the suffering of the soul".[5]

Two differences in comparison with Aristotle can be noted. For Aristotle ethics was subordinated to politics. The questions about the well-being and right conduct of man was seen through the background of his role as a citizen in the *polis*. In the Hellenistic philosophies, particularly Epicureanism, we can note a radical shift to an individualistic thinking. The Hellenistic philosophers are not alien to social philosophy or questions concerning interpersonal relations, but the emphasis is clearly on the quest for a good life through the perspective of the individual.[6]

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2 See R.W. Sharples *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics. An Introduction to Hellenistic Philosophy,* Routledge 1996, 82.

3 At the same time, however, interest in the natural sciences declined and was not integral to philosophy in the same vein as before, maybe with exception for the Peripatetics. With *nature* we can understand both human nature or nature in a more universal or cosmological sense. Some of the problems in interpreting the texts stem from a blurring of these two aspects of nature, either in the primary texts or in the texts of the commentators, see for example I.G.Kidd *Stoic Intermediates and the End for Man*, in *Problems in Stoicism*, ed. A.A. Long, The Athlone Press 1971. Either way, normativity was implied in the concept of nature.

4 According to L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *"Nicht im Menschen gründet das Glück" (Koh 2:24). Kohelet im Spannungsfeld jüdischer Weisheit und Hellenistischer Philosophie*, HBS 2, Freiburg:Herder, 1996, 246, eudaimonia is also the central theme in the book of Qohelet. Schwienhorst-Schönberger argues forcefully, that Qohelet picked up the theme from Hellenistic philosophy.

5 Porphyry quoting Epicurus = LS 25C. The references are to A.A. Long & D.N.Sedley *The Hellenistic Philosophers, vol 1. Translations of the Principal Sources, with Philosophical Commentary* (=LS), Cambridge University Press 1987, which has become the standard reference work for the Hellenistic fragments. The therapeutic aspect of Hellenistic philosophy is most forcefully presented in M.Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire. Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics*, Princeton University Press 1994.

6 The lack of social concerns in the book of Qohelet may not be striking, it could simply be coincidental, but the strong individualistic tone singles it out among biblical books. There is one more thing, however, to be said about the social thinking of Qohelet. The Hellenistic philosophers considered much of the conventions of society with suspicion and held that many customs originated in a false or inadequate understanding of the true nature of things and in clinging on to adiaphora – such as wealth, power and reputation –

Secondly, Aristotle had considered virtuous action according to reason as central for eudaimonia. Besides that, Aristotle considered some amount of external goods as a prerequisite for happiness, for example health, friends and at least a certain amount of wealth. The Hellenistic philosophers took one radical step further. Finding the idea that happiness was dependent on external circumstances unsatisfactory, they declared that (almost) all external goods were indifferent, *adiaphora*. Eudaimonia was dependent solely on man's own mental disposition and was to be reached through own strength. The extremity of this position can be seen in the statement, that the wise man is happy even while being tortured.[7] It is easy to see that the notion of adiaphora and the individualism of Hellenistic philosophy goes hand in hand.

An intriguing question is of course if and how Qohelet's *hebel* corresponds to the concept of adiaphora. Qohelet is prone to degrade much that traditionally had been valued: property, wealth, reputation, descendants, a long life. I think it is noteable, that what Qohelet targets are mainly the same things that were customarily singled out as adiaphora in Hellenistic philosophy. One noteable exception is health and, as we shall see, life itself. The understanding of health as adiaphora, was later modified by several Hellenistic philosophers.

As happiness was not dependent on external conditions, it became an inner experience. All Hellenistic schools understood this, in their own way, as a kind of undisturbed peace of mind.[8] Man was in this sense completely independent. Therefore there was, for example, no distinction between a slave and a free man in this respect, both had the same means at their disposal in achieving happiness. This universality was yet another common feature of Hellenistic philosophy, freed from the confines of an ethics restricted to the *polis*.[9]

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which were meaningless. Though social critics in a way, and sometimes causing public resentment with extravagant behavior, they did not concentrate on challenging social convention. This can be seen most clearly in the case of the Sceptics, but also in the case of the Epicureans, who formed their own communities and left the follies of the surrounding society at such. Far from being a major issue for him, Qohelet could also be seen at most as a silent critic of social convention and order, not prone to actively challenge it. If critical of the king, keep silent, 8:2-4, 10:20! If someone is oppressed, well, that's unfortunate, but that's the way things are, 3:16-18, 5:7. Qohelet's admonitions are to the individual. We are certainly far from a socially critical prophetic tradtion.
As Nussbaum 1994, 10-12, has pointed out, personal and social change are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the former is often a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for the latter. The Hellenistic teachings, concentrated on the individual, paved way, for example, for the idea of the dignity of humanity in each and every person, regardless of class, gender, race and nation, which Nussbaum sees in origin as a Stoic idea. As Qohelet does not reach the same degree of radicalness in his understanding of individuality as in Hellenistic philosophy, his social thinking is also, in effect, more reactionary.

7 Diogenes Laertius 10.22 = LS 24D

8 Some similarities between Hellenistic philosophy and Buddhist thinking have been noted, though not yet fully explored. From the edicts of Ashoka we can conclude that he propagated Buddhism throughout the Hellenistic world. As recipients of missionaries are, among others, mentioned the rulers Magas of Cyrene (288-258) and Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247), see Dee L. Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt,* Oxford University Press 2014, 33. Of the Skeptic Pyrrho it is reported, that he travelled to India with his teacher Anaxarchus and associated with the Indian "Naked Philosophers" and with the Magi, Diogenes Laertius 9.61-2=LS 1A. Incidentally we may note strong similarities between Epicureanism and the Indian school Charvaka.

Death, in itself, is as a theme not at the core in all Hellenistic philosophies. For the Sceptics, we can find very little considerations about death. However, in both Epicureanism and Stoicism we can find detailed conceptions of death. More importantly, a distinguishing feature in the Hellenistic philosophies is the consciousness of death, the individual's life is a life towards death.[10] At the same time the question of fear of death is treated with utmost importance. The fullest treatment of death can be found in Epicureanism.

Epicureanism

Compared to the division of philosophy in physics, logic and ethics, which is sometimes given for Hellenistic philosophy, but originates in Stoicism, Epicureanism can be divided in physics, epistemology and ethics.[11] It is clear that for Epicurus (341-270), the founder of the Epicurean school in Athens in 306, the emphasis is on the last of these. Physics interests Epicurus insofar as it provides certain presuppositions for his ethical teaching and what logic regards we may note a marked disinterest or even adversity on his part. This is due to Epicurus' radically empirical epistemology.

According to Epicurus, all our knowledge is based on sensation. Furthermore he claims that all sensations (aisthetai) are true. The sensations themselves are irrational (alogos) and have no memory. Therefore their presentations can not be 'refuted' by one another, they involve no reasoning of any kind.[12] Therefore also the sensations of the madman are true. "…when he [Orestes] seemed to see the Furies, his sensation, being moved by the images, was true, in that the images objectively existed; but his mind, in thinking that the Furies were solid bodies, held a false opinion."[13] We need, according to Epicurus, supporting evidence (epimartyresis) in connection with absence of contrary evidence (ouk antimartyresis) to understand with the help of general concepts (prolepsis) and our feelings (pathe) the 'true' evidence of our senses and formulate propositions whose structure accurately reflects the world as our senses describe it.[14]

Central to Epicurus' teaching is the roots of his thinking in the atomistic tradition. Here Epicurus builds on the theories of Democritus, the father of atomism.[15] Epicurus follows Democritus' teaching that everything consists of atoms and void. All bodies are compounds consisting of physically indivisible (atoma) and

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9 As Qohelet can be counted as wisdom literature, it is not surprising that the content is universalist in nature. Still one can note the absence of references to the uniqueness of Israel and its history (if one does not count the reference to Solomon as such) and the name of God. The temple is mentioned in passing, 4:17.

10 Here we may note similarities with modern existentialism.

11 For a short sketch on the origin, variations and purpose of the tripartite division of philosophy, see Mansfeld 1999, xiii-xvii.

12 Diogenes Laertius 10.31-2 = LS 16B. J.M.Rist *Epicurus. An Introduction.* Cambridge University Press 1972, 20.

13 Sextus Empiricus *Against the Professors* 8.63 = LS 16F.

14 Rist 1972, 14-31. Observation is a major element in Qohelet's epistemology, with the repeated use of אָיתִי

15 Epicurus, considering himself a completely independent thinker, would not readily acknowledge his indebtness to Democritus, whom he referred to in a hostile way. It is slightly amusing, that the proclaimer of inner peace, ataraxia, himself showed so much aggression in attacking most of his philosophical forerunners. The Epicurean community also had features of an intolerant sect with strong leanings towards complacency.

unchangeable components.[16] Epicurus parted with Democritus, who thought that everything happens strictly out of necessity. This was unthinkable to Epicurus, and probably this led him to introduce his idea of the atomic swerve. According to Epicurus, the atoms moved downwards through void. But if there had been a time at which all the atoms were falling perpendicularly downwards at uniform speed, worlds could never have formed since the atoms would never have met. As there exists a world this can not be the case, and so Epicurus allows for a minute swerve, causing the atoms to collide and forming objects. The atomic swerve guarantees the free will.[17] What Epicurus and Democritus have in common, though, is a rejection of any kind of teleology for the atomic movements.[18]

When we move from Epicurus' epistemological foundations to his ethics, we can note that he considered pleasure and pain as indicating what is appropriate and inappropriate to our human natures. He held both that we direct our lives in accordance with these criteria and that we are right in so directing them.[19] Epicurus concludes that the *telos* of man is pleasure, hedone. In modern ordinary usage 'hedonism' is often used to signify an indulgence in sensual experience, perhaps with excessive overtones, but this is actually very far from Epicurus' position. Epicurus himself is thought to have led a relatively ascetic life and rather tried to promulgate a life of moderation. "The flesh's cry is not to be hungry or thirsty or cold. For one who is in these states and expects to remain so could rival even Zeus in happiness" is a famous saying attributed to Epicurus.[20]

Central to Epicurus' thinking is the understanding of pleasure as the absence of pain. Epicurus makes a distinction between katastematic, 'stationary' pleasure and kinesthetic pleasures, involving change. The distinction is not altogether clear[21], but it seems clear that the katastematic pleasures for Epicurus are the more fundamental. "Freedom from disturbance and absence of pain are static pleasures; but joy and delight are regarded as kinetic activities."[22] Kinesthetic pleasures, like, for example, good food, only add variation, but do not add anything to the katastematic pleasure, as pleasure is not something that accumulates. Epicurus thinks of both katastematic and kinetic pleasures as bodily and mental pleasure.[23]

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16 Rist 1972, 41-44.
17 See further Rist 1972, 48-49 and 90-99.
18 Generally for Epicurus, physics is subordinated to ethics. As he formulated a clear *telos*, ataraxia, untroubledness, the supreme pleasure of the mind, in the human sphere, it is slightly surprising that he wasn't able to 'discover' a telos on the atomic level. In ascribing nature an accidental order, Epicurus follows a tradition starting with the Ionian natural philosophers, who denied any teleology or divine providence in nature. See also Lucretius' denial of teleology in nature, LS 13 E. Qohelet subtly allows divine providence, but connects it with a sceptic-minded epistemology – man cannot fathom it, e.g. 3:11, 8:17.
19 Rist 1972, 100.
20 *Vatican sayings 33* = LS 21G. Cf. for example Qoh 4:6. The excesses in the experiment of king Solomon also turned out to be hebel.
21 See Rist, 1972, 104-111, for a detailed discussion.
22 DL 10.136-37 = LS 21R.
23 DL 10.136-37 = LS 21R. C.Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, Baker Academic Press 2009, 218-222, wants to play down the Epicurean influence on Qohelet. One of his arguments is that Epicurus valued spiritual over bodily satisfactions, because these are more likely to bring the soul to rest. It is true that compared to Epicurus, Qohelet's pleasures appear a bit 'simple'. The Cyrenaics, on the other hand, who also taught that pleasure is the highest good, emphasized momentary and physically enjoyable sensations more than the

Epicurus distinguishes three classes of desires: natural and necessary, natural and unnecessary or unnatural and unnecessary. Natural and necessary are desires not to be hungry, thirsty or cold. Sexual pleasure would fall into the class of natural but unnecessary desires and honour, beauty, riches and marriage both unnatural and unnecessary.[24] To be able to be satisfied with little is the freedom of self-sufficiency.[25]

An overview of Epicureanism would be incomplete without the mention of the significance friendship has in Epicurus' thinking, not least to counter the false impression that what we have is a completely egoistic philosophy, although there seems to be a tension between the utilitarian and altruistic tendencies of friendship in Epicurus' writings. Friendship can lead to pleasure perhaps better than anything else, but it has to be a genuine friendship. Therefore the wise man will feel the same compassion for his friends' sorrows and joys as for himself. Confidence that we can count on the goodwill of our friends in the future is an essential part of a happy life.[26]

A major tenet in Epicureanism is to get rid of the fear of gods. In this Epicurus follows Democritus, though the latter arrived at his conclusions through his deterministic outlook. The Epicurean gods enjoy a divine happiness and tranquility. They have no concern for our world, which is a result of chance and not divine action, as that would contradict their perfect happiness. As immortal and blessed beings they enjoy complete untroubledness and likewise cause no distress for anyone, neither are they affected by anger or favour. Conventional religion is harmful, as it instills a fear of the gods, instead of understanding them as examples of perfect tranquility.[27]

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mere absence of pain. "He [Epicurus] has a further disagreement with the Cyrenaics: they take bodily pains to be worse than mental ones…but he takes the mental ones to be worse, since the flesh is storm-tossed only in the present, but the soul in past, present and future." DL 10.136-37 = LS 21R. See Qoh 1:18, 2:23 for mental pains, the first one connected to the anticipation of death, also 11:10.

24 Pap. Herc. 1251, col. 15. Rist 1972, 117-119. Sharples, 1996, 86-87, posits sexuality in the first category, but his arguments are not convincing.

25 *Vatican sayings 77*, Rist 119.

26 Rist 1972, 127-33. The theme of friendship is also taken up by Qohelet 4:9-12. For the theme of friendship see also Ben Sira 6:5-17, 9:10-16, 13:15-23, 19:13-17, 22:19-26, 27:16-21, 37:1-6 and S.M.Olyan *Friendship in the Hebrew Bible*, The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library, Yale University Press 2017, for the possible Greek influence thereof. Qoh 7:26 has caused much headache for the commentators through the centuries and much sophistry has been used to explain away the apparent misogyny in the verse. It is evident that the verse should be read in connection with 7:28, 'one among thousand I have found'. Epicurus admonished to choose friends with utmost care, not the more the better. Sexuality was not considered as something bad as such in the Hellenistic philosophies, but sexual desire was seen as constituting a grave danger to the composure of man, usually causing more disturbance not outweighed through the momentary pleasure. Abstaining from sexual relations was not a prerequisite, but it was thought that the wise man was able to keep the sexual *pathos* in check. Generally Qohelet seems to look positively on sexuality 9:9, maybe also 11:6, without a hint about problematizing the matter (though 2:8 is ambiguous), and 7:26 remains a crux. In general Hellenistic philosophy was considerably more gender-inclusive than earlier Greek thinking, where the philosophical theme of friendship was treated exclusively from a male perspective. Of course a reference to the wives of king Solomon and especially 1 Kings 11 as a background cannot be excluded, adding to the complexity of possible interpretations of 7:26-28. See also Gen 3 and Prov 2:16-19f, 5:2ff, 6:24f, 7:5ff, 9:13-18, 23:27-28, 31:3.

A central motive in Epicurus' philosophy was to free men from the fear of the gods. Another central motive was to free men from the fear of death, likewise causing unnecessary anxiety and hence obstructing the goal of ataraxia.[28] This he purported to have achieved with the remarkable idea that death is nothing to us. A passage from the Letter to Menoeceus can be quoted at length:

Make yourself familiar with the belief that death is nothing to us, since everything good and bad lies in sensation, and death is to be deprived of sensation. Hence the right recognition that death is nothing to us makes the mortality of life enjoyable, not by adding infinite duration to it but removing the desire for immortality.[29] For there is nothing to be feared in living, for one who has truly comprehended that there is nothing to be feared in not living. So one who says he fears death, not because it will hurt when it is here, but because it hurts when it is coming, talks nonsense, since whatever does not hurt when it is present hurts for no reason when it is expected.

So that most fearful of all bad things, death, is nothing to us, since when we are, death is not present, and when death is present, then we are not. So it is nothing to the living and nothing to the dead, since with regard to the former, death is not, and as to the latter, they themselves no longer are. (Ep. Men. 124-5 = LS 24A)

A few words can be said on the very process of dying. Epicurus' thinking can be conceived of as a materialistic atomism. Also the soul is material and consists of atoms like all other matter. However, the soul consists of finer atoms than our body, which are dependent on each other.[30] Epicurus thinks that no atomic compound can hold together eternally, and in death the atoms of body and soul are eventually disjoined, the "thinner" soul pressed upwards.[31] "Death is nothing to us, since a decomposed thing is insensate [anaisthetei], and whatever is insensate is nothing to us " writes Epicurus in his Basic Doctrines, Kyriai Doxai . In this sentence we can detect several central positions in Epicurus' philosophy. Besides the idea of atomic compounds that are disjoined in death and the already familiar idea that death is nothing to us, it shows also the radical materialism and the foundation of Epicurus' epistemology in sense experience.[32]

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27 Sharples 1996, 56. Qohelet's repeated exhortation to fear God has often been assumed as an addition of an orthodox redactor (see e.g. Ex 20:20, Deut 14:23 Prov 1:7, 2:5, 9:10, 14:2,27, 15:33, 23:17 Ps 19:9, 111:10, 112:1, 128:1,4, Job 4:6, 28:28). However, it could also be a pointed remark against this particular Epicurean idea. Qohelet's God may be remote, but here we have reached the limit, completely unacceptable for a traditional Jewish piety, of the open embrace and cultivation of Greek ideas. However, it may be that Qohelet is overextending his position, wanting to both eat his cake and have it.

28 The fourfold remedy of Epicurus is usually attributed to later scholars, but seen as reflecting the orthodox views of the master himself. 'God is not to be feared, death should cause no apprehension, and the good is easily obtained, the terrible easily endured.' Philodemus, *Against the Sophists* = LS 25J.

29 Cf Qoh 6:3-6. In KD 19, Epicurus says that 'infinite time contains the same amount of pleasure as finite time, if you measure its limits by calculation'. D.Furley *Nothing to us?*, in *The Norms of Nature. Studies in Hellenistic Ethics*, eds. M.Schofield & G.Striker, Cambridge University Press 1986, 81, calls this 'just dogma, without argument'. However, as katastematic pleasures don't accumulate, the idea makes sense.

30 See Sharples 1996, 59-66, for the intricacies of the different kinds of soul atoms.

31 See Qoh 3:21.

The Roman poet Lucretius (c.99-c.55) is a later exponent of Epicureanism. His renderings of Epicurean doctrine are nonetheless considered faithful and reliable.[33] Lucretius also had access to many works of Epicurus, which he occasionally cites at length. For Lucretius, as for many other Epicureans, Epicurus had the status of "Saviour", even god. Epicurus had declared the right order of things and freed mankind from false beliefs and superstitions. Lucretius also treats the subject of death at length, with a particular emphasis on the fear of death.

Lucretius takes up Epicurus' notions about death and offers more arguments for accepting his views. The first argument of Lucretius rests on a symmetry between past and future. Before he and his readers were born, the Carthaginians waged war on Rome. But, Lucretius states, "…we felt no pain. Just so, when we shall not exist, when body and soul, / of which we are fashioned into one, shall be sundered, / nothing at all will be able to affect us / who then will not exist, nor stir our sense"

Why this reference to the past? Wasn't the correct understanding of death already safeguarded with the reference to the future and its interplay with the present? Maybe Lucretius wanted to bolster up his argument even further and added the perspective on the past for the sake of completeness. However, the main reason for his argument is to be sought in his atomistic teaching – at this point above all in connection with his presentation of soul and body – which he had expounded earlier in the third book of De Rerum. Lucretius considers the possibility, that the soul has sensation after the separation from the body. However, that is nothing to *us*, since *we* are a union of soul and body. Secondly Lucretius considers the possibility, that the atoms constituting our present soul and body may reassemble at some point in the future after our death – all possible combinations may occur in infinite time and space. Now, if the atoms may reassemble like this in the future, we can analogously conclude that they might have done so also in the past. Whether we can identify these former (or future) persons as *us* is doubtful. Anyway, as the chain of memory and the continuity is broken, the pain felt by them does not conern us in any way, likewise of course of those similar atomic compounds to come. A nonexistent person feels no more pain than one who has never been born.[34]

Lucretius finds the fear of death a serious ailment. Among its symptoms he notes the greedy accumulation of wealth, which makes its possessor feel further from

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32 The allegory in Qoh 12 could be read as a poetic account of the decomposition of the human being, with the irresistible diminishing of the physical powers and hence also sensory abilities. In 12:6 the disintegration of the human being is likened to the disintegration of (allegorical) physical objects.

33 D.Sedley, *Lucretius and the Transformation of Greek Wisdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998.

34 I am following here, in the main, Furley 1986, 76-77. Stoic (Heraclitic) influence has often been assumed in the cosmological poem Qoh 1:4-11, but especially verses 9-11 could fit well in an Epicurean context as well. However, whether we can find some kind of 'atomism' in Qohelet is unclear. Qoh 3:21 is ambiguous, do we have here a genuine question or a statement, and if the latter, which way does Qohelet want to have it? In combination with v. 20 we can conclude, however, that Qohelet seems to presuppose a separation of the soul from the body.

death and the “blind lust for honours and power”, in which people pursue an immortality of reputation.[35]

Stoicism

The Stoics share the conception with the Epicureans, that all our knowledge is ultimately based on sense experience. The Stoic epistemology is characterized by a certain optimism. Certain impressions are such that they cannot mislead us, apprehensive impressions (kataleptikai phantasiai). The fool will assent to non-apprehensive impressions, while the sage will assent only to apprehensive impressions, suspending judgement otherwise.[36] The founder of the Stoic school, Zeno of Citium (c.334-c.262), illustrated sensation by the outstretched hand, assent by the curled fingers, apprehension by the closed fist and knowledge by grasping of one hand by the other.[37]

The Stoics divided philosophy in three parts: physics, logic and ethics.[38] Diogenes Laertius 7.40, likened philosophy with a garden, logic with the protecting wall, physics with the earth and ethics with the edible fruit, also here the practical aspect takes primacy over epistemological and ontological matters.

Zeno was a pupil to the Cynic Crates, and Cynic ideas and practice heavily influenced the early Stoa. The aim of the Cynics was to live ‘according to virtue’.[39] However, the Cynics had less to say about *what* virtue is, and the early Stoics tried to fill this gap. The Cynics considered physics almost superfluous, but the Stoics showed a marked interest in nature, as their pre-Socratic forerunners. The wise man was the one, who was to live in accord with nature.[40]

The Cynics emphasized the independence of the wise man, a common thread in the subsequent Hellenistic philosophy. According to the Cynics the wise man is *apathes*, ‘totally detached’ and ‘unemotional’. *The* Stoics took over and interpreted further this central concept. The Stoics did not, however, promulgate total impassivity and alongside apatheia developed the concept of eupatheia. Although pathe signified irrational movements of the soul, there are also rational states of emotion characteristic of the wise man.[41]

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35 III.59-67. One wonders, whether Lucretius, besides the works of his beloved Epicurus, had access to the Greek translation of the book of Qohelet!
36 Sharples 1996, 20-22.
37 Cicero, Academica 2.145 = LS 41A.
38 Schwienhorst-Schönberger 1996, 312-20, claims a similar tripartite division in the thinking of Qohelet, especially in the cosmological poem in 1:4-11. However, the tripartite division was not a fixed one in Hellenistic philosophy, but a rather elusive one, and it is very uncertain that Qohelet would have applied it, at least consciously. Whatever influences one wants to postulate for Qohelet’s epistemology, it is clear that his thinking carries a sharpening of epistemological concerns and methodology compared to earlier wisdom literature. Again, it is probably best not to try to squeeze him to the confines of one single school or system of thought. It is difficult, however, to overlook the Hellenistic discourse on epistemological issues, and the burden of proof is on the one who wants to deny it.
39 Diogenes Laertius 6.104.
40 Rist 1969, 57-63.
41 Rist 1969, 62-72

The Stoics held that virtue is sufficient in itself for happiness, and furthermore that virtue alone is good, wickedness alone evil.[42] “It is in their doctrine that nothing is in between virtue and vice, though the Peripatetics say that progress is in between these. For as, they say, a stick must be either straight or crooked[43], so a man must be either just or unjust, and likewise with the other virtues.”[44]

The Stoic universe is providentially ordered in every detail. The rationality of the wise man corresponds to the logos of the cosmos. Logos and God are more or less identical, and in a way God is the universe, permeating it as an active force.

To understand some Stoic conceptions of death we must first consider the Stoic understanding of *pneuma*[45] and its manifestations in the individual. Pneuma is the basic physical component of the Stoic universe. It is a kind of fire or breath, acting as a cohesive force both in man and universe. Pneuma has a property of tension. When man acts properly, he has a proper ‘tension’ in his soul, when he sins, his tension is wrong.[46]

The Stoics held that at death the soul separated from the body, but not as an immaterial element from a material, but as the total slackening of the pneuma of perception. Cleanthes thought that all souls survived until the great conflagration (ekpyrosis) that marked the end of each cosmic world-cycle, while his successor Chrysippus held that only the souls of the virtuous survive. Rist assumes that Chrysippus thought that the erratic vibrations of the souls of ordinary men could not hold the soul together long after bodily death. The world in general, and the soul of the world moves through and ordered and rational cycle of events, and it is conceivable that an individual rational soul would be in harmony with that movement.[47]

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42 See Sharples 1996, 100, for several references.
43 Cf. Qoh 1:15, 7:14,29, the straight and crooked stick being a common example in Greek antiquity. Cf. also Mic 3:9 and Job 33:27.
44 Diogenes Laertius, LS 61 I. It might not be farfetched to see Qoh 7:16-17, 20 as a comment on the rigoristic Stoic teaching on virtue. Slightly otherwise J.Gammie, *Stoicism and Anti-Stoicism in Qohelet*, HAR 1985, 176, who in Qohelet detects a similar dichotomy between the wise and the fool 2:26, 3:17, 4:5, 7:9, 8:12-13, 9:17-18, 10:12-15, 12:14, which Gammie considers glosses and 2:14-17, 4:13, 6:8, 7:4,15, 8:14, 9:1-2, 10:1-2, “Qohelet proper”, corresponding to the Stoic dichotomy between the virtuous and the wicked. However, this dichotomy could be attributed to a standard tradition in biblical wisdom literature, while 7:16-17,20 in this respect is very peculiar. Gammie, commenting on these verses, is right in pointing out that the Stoics held the ideal of the wise man to be almost unattainable, but the *exhortation* not to be too just is certainly not compatible with Stoic thinking. Moreover, it can not even be descriptive of the Stoic position, as the Stoics made a sharp difference between the virtuous and the wicked, allowing for no middle ground between them. Qohelet seems to do exactly just that.
45 It has been suggested, that the use of hebel in Qohelet corresponds to the Stoic pneuma. However, both pneuma and hebel have a wide semantical meaning, and therefore a direct identification of the two seems a bit constrained, not least considering some of Qohelet’s clearly anti-Stoic sentiments. However, this does not exclude the possibility, that Qohelet might allude to the Stoic pneuma, perhaps in an ironical way. It seems evident, that Qohelet uses *hebel* in a plurivalent and probably consciously ambiguous way. *Pneuma* might be one *aspect* of Qohelet’s hebel.
46 Rist 1969, 86-88.
47 Rist 1969, 93-95. In the emphasis of Qohelet, that the righteous and the wicked *without distinction* are headed to the same end, it is possible to detect a marked anti-Stoic position. In Qoh 2:16, 9:5 and 1:11 Gammie 1985, 182, sees an anti-Stoic polemic, contrasted with a Stoic optimism that the praise and fame of those who strove for good would not perish. However, the ideas expressed resemble Epicurean teaching on the

Chrysippus held that the personality (hegemonikon) goes on functioning after death. However, there is no awareness or material for moral action, as no more information is fed in by the senses, and the disposition of the soul will remain unchanged.[48]

Scepticism

Unlike the Epicureans and the Stoics, those philosophers that came to be labeled 'sceptics'[49] did not form an established school to unite them. Tradition has Pyrrho of Elis (c.360-c.270) as the first representative of Greek Scepticism. Sceptical[50] ideas were not novel in Greek philosophy, but with the Sceptics we reach an intensification of epistemological problems what it is possible for man to know.

The incentive also for Pyrrho's epistemological considerations is the quest for happiness. Like Epicurus, Pyrrho considered ataraxia the highest good, and philosophy was to serve this end. Like the Stoics and the Epicureans, the Sceptics thought that knowledge should have its basis in the empirical reality. However, the Sceptics denied the possibility of attaining accessibility to truth (or certainty), of the possibility of distinguishing between the phenomenon and the real object. A prerequisite for obtaining ataraxia was to confess this epistemological disability through what the Sceptics called suspension of judgement, an unopinionated and uncommitted position concerning the real nature of the appearences.[51] "That honey is sweet I do not affirm, but I agree that it appears so."[52]

An interesting feature in Pyrrhonian Scepticism is that the practical conclusions drawn appears to involve a paradox. The outcome of the epistemological considerations and philosophical labour pursued seems to be an exhortation to suspend judgement and hence philosophy. The endless pursuit of knowledge causes only mental distress and should so be avoided. The Sceptical "philosophy" can be seen as an antithesis of philosophy.[53] In practice the Sceptics adhered largely to social convention and common opinion.

With Arcesilaeus skeptical thinking entered also the Academy. The Scepticism of the Academy was not organically linked to the Pyrrhonian Scepticism.[54] The Academical Scepticism also produced dialectical refinements. Arguing skillfully on

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transience of fame and honour. The offered explanations do not exclude each other.

48 Rist 1969, 94-95.

49 See C.Stough, *Greek Scepticism*, University of California Press 1969, 2-4.

50 From skeptesthai, to inquire.

51 See Aristocles = LS 1F. Cf Qoh 3:11, 8:17, perhaps also 12:12. Sceptical attitudes with the most practical applications could also be detected in 11:4-6.

52 Timon, in Diogenes Laertius 9.104-5 = LS 1H.

53 See Stough 1969, 30-31. Comparisons with Qohelet suggests themselves. In the end, even the search for wisdom, like everything else, is *hebel*, 1:17. Like Pyrrho, also Epicurus warned against the undertaking of too heavy studies, cf. Qoh 12:12.

54 See Stough 1969, 6. In some of the Academic Scepticism the practical orientation of philosophy diminished and the connection between epistemology and ethics was weakened and epistemological considerations turned partly into independent treatises. Much of the Academic Sceptic philosophy was a reaction towards an allegedly overoptimistic Stoic philosophy.

both sides of the question the Academic Sceptics tried to show that contradictory positions were equally defensible.[55]

In the Sceptic traditions we cannot find a systematic treatment of the theme of death. This is not that surprising, as the early Scepticism lacked many traits of a systematic philosophy. Something can maybe be deduced from some stories about Pyrrho. According to Cicero, Pyrrho, in his wish to make virtue on its own all-embracing, did not differentiate between the best of health and the gravest illness.[56] This attitude points to an understanding of a huge class of adiaphora, most probably including life itself. While avoiding death in most cases certainly seems the most conventional thing to do, we really cannot know if life offers any advantage over death. In an ambiguous report of Pyrrho it is told that "He followed these principles [suspension of judgement] in his actual way of life, avoiding nothing and taking no precautions, facing everything as it came, wagons, precipices, dogs, and entrusting nothing whatsoever to his sensations. But he was looked after, as Antigonus of Carystus reports, by his disciples who accompanied him. Aenesidemus, however, says that although he practiced philosophy on the principles of suspension of judgment, he did not act carelessly in the details of daily life. He lived to be nearly ninety."[57]

Suicide

Suicide was not a major topic in all early Hellenistic philosophies, compared, for example, to the almost obsessive treatment it receives in the later Stoic philosopher Seneca. However, we can find revealing stances concerning the question of suicide in the Hellenistic schools and with many philosophers, and it is convenient to treat it as a separate subject.

In the antiquity suicide seems to have been an acceptable and relatively common phenomenon.[58] As can be expected, the issue was not an unproblematic one, and justification for suicide was sought by various circumstances. Attitudes towards suicide correspond largely to the concepts of shame and honour, as in most suicides reported in Greek tragedy and in many of the reports on suicide by the historians.[59]

Plato discusses suicide in two passages. In Laws 9 Plato treats suicide from a legal standpoint. Even though Plato condemns suicide out of, for example, cowardice, he is not categorically harsh about the matter. In Phaedo (61B-62D) he considers suicide unlawful, because to do so is to arrogate to oneself what belongs to the gods. But, Socrates says, it is not unreasonable to hold that a

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55 Stough 1969, 7. It has been argued, that Qohelet makes use of a similar kind of argumentation. See Schwienhorst-Schönberger 1996, who supposes the diatribe as a literary genre for the book, with argument and counter-argument as a typical feature, the arguments not necessarily being of equal value, however, as was the dialectical intention in the Academic practice.
56 On ends 2.43 = LS 2G.
57 Diogenes Laertius 9.61-2 = LS 1A.
58 See R.Hirzel, Der Selbstmord, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 11, 1908.
59 See E.P.Garrison, *Attitudes toward Suicide in Ancient Greece*, Transactions of the American Philological Association 121 1991, 12-14 for references and examples.

man, who is one of god's possessions, should not kill himself 'until god sends some compulsion on him'.[60]

Aristotle discusses suicide at length in the Nichomachean Ethics.[61] Aristotle seems to be in unison with Plato, in that both distinguished between acceptable and unacceptable suicide, not differing much in the reasoning. In book 5, discussing aspects of justice, Aristotle concludes that suicide is an unjust act. As ethics for Aristotle is subordinated to politics, the one committing suicide therefore does not act unjustly towards himself, but towards the state.

Again, the treatment of the theme in Plato and Aristotle forms a background for the discussion about suicide. However, in many respects the treatment of suicide in Hellenistic philosophy expanded or altered the Platonic or Aristotelian framework on the matter. One logical development corresponding to the more individual tenet of Hellenistic philosophy, was that the emphasis of men's roles as citizens of the *polis*, with accompanying duties and rights, was diminished. Moreover, as the Cynics' seem to have made shamelessness almost a virtue, and honour something rather more suspicious than desirable, it can be expected that in the circle of the Cynics and also in the subsequent philosophical traditions more traditional outlooks on suicide were altered.

For the Cynics, the notion of adiaphora was important. Illuminating for the centrality of the concept is, that many of the early Cynics considered even death as adiaphora. "Either Reason or the Rope" was an alleged outcry of Diogenes[62], and other similar sayings by famous Cynics can be found as well. Suicide takes precedence over an irrrational, not longer virtuous life. Although the Cynics advocated suicide in some circumstances and also practiced it, it does not seem to have become 'epidemic'. Life and death were indifferent. The wise man was of course free to commit suicide, but this freedom was not more important than his other freedoms.[63]

The conception of death as adiaphora seems to be echoed also in Epicurus' treatment of the subject. In the already quoted letter to Menoeceus Epicurus says "The many sometimes shun death as the greatest of evils, but at other times choose it as a release from life's <evils. But the wise man neither deprecates living> nor fears not living. For he neither finds living irksome nor thinks not living an evil. But just as he chooses the pleasantest food, not simply the greater quantity, so too he enjoys the pleasantest time, not the longest."[64] If we connect this understanding of death with Epicurus' telos, the pursuit of pleasure, with for him first and foremost meant absence of pain, the question logically follows,

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60 See Rist 1969, 234-37.
61 Garrison, 18 sees this as an indication that suicide was a current issue under discussion at the time.
62 Diogenes Laertius 6.24.
63 Rist, 237-238.
64 LS 24A. The text is slightly uncertain. According to Diogenes Laertius 10.22 = LS 24D, Epicurus wrote to Idomeneus on his deathbed: 'I wrote this to you on the blessed day of my life which was also the last. Strangury and dysentery had set in, with all the extreme intensity of which they are capable. But the joy in my soul at the memory of our past discussions was enough to counterbalance all this. I ask you, as befits your lifelong companionship with me and with philosophy: take care of the children of Metrodorus.'

couldn’t death be considered as the supreme state of absence of pain and following this, why not in that case advocate an active stance towards suicide?[65]

However, Epicurus does not seem to actively admonish suicide. He thinks that men commit suicide for the wrong reasons, which actually mostly are caused by the fear of death.[66] In the letter to Menoeceus we can read further: “Much worse, however, is he who says ‘It’s a fine thing never to be born. Or, once born, to pass through the gates of Hades with the utmost speed’. If he believes what he says, why does he not take his departure from life? He has every opportunity to do so, supposing that his resolve were serious. If he is joking, his words are idle and will be greeted with incredulity.”[67]

Echoing Epicurus we may note a passage from Lucretius, commenting on the fear of death, what he diagnoses as a kind of illness:

And often, on account of the fear of death, such a hatred of life and of seeing the light seizes human beings that, in their state of agony, they commit suicide, forgetting that it is this fear that is the source of their anguish.[68] (III.79.82)

We don’t need to read this, however, as a general condemnation of suicide. In the example above, suicide is clearly made for the wrong reasons, which have their ultimate cause in the fear of death, from which man should be healed. The wise man would never commit suicide because of fear of death, but perhaps for better reasons.

The Cynics’ ideas about suicide also formed the basis for the Stoics’ reflections on the subject. The Stoic discussion revolved around the question when suicide could be considered reasonable (eulogon). As in Stoic theory in general, the act itself is unimportant, what matters is the intention behind it. The intention must be rational in order to be justified.[69] Diogenes Laertius 7.130 recounts the Stoic doctrine by saying that a man may commit suicide rationally for the following reasons: on behalf of his country, or his friends, if he is afflicted by intolerable pain or an incurable disease.

We may note also, that Zeno himself committed suicide. For Zeno, it was reported that on his way to the Assembly he fell and broke a toe, upon which he strangled himself to death. What could be the rationale behind such a, as it seems, dramatic reaction? A hint may be given in the outcry of Zeno when falling to the ground, quoting the words of Niobe: ‘I am coming; why do you call me’? Rist suggests that Zeno considered breaking his toe as a divine sign, that the

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65 An extreme case of this can actually be found in the early third century BCE in Alexandria. The Cyrenaic philosopher Hegesias taught that pleasure was the highest good of man, but his pessimistic outlook on life led him to consider happiness as something unattainable. According to Cicero, Tusculan Questions 1.34, Hegesias, nicknamed *Death-persuader* (Peisithanatos), wrote a book called Death by Starvation (apokarteron), which was published in Alexandria. In his book Hegesias argued, that death is to be preferred over life. Apparently the descriptions of human misery led many to take their own lives. Hegesias, who himself is reported to have reached a ripe age, was consequently forbidden to teach by the Alexandrinian authorities.
66 See Seneca *Letters on Morals* 24.22, quoting Epicurus.
67 LS 24A. Cf Qoh 4:2-3, 6:3-5.
68 Cf Qoh 11:7
69 Rist 1969, 239.

time had come, maybe even comparing himself with the Socrates of the Phaedo.[70]

Among other notable suiciders we can also find Cleanthes (c.330-c.230), Zeno's successor. Having fasted recovering from an ulcer, he continued starving, already half-way on the road to death, not wanting to, "trouble to retrace his steps".[71]

When it comes to the Sceptics, we have little material to rely on. However, we may assume, that their outlook on suicide was no less 'liberal' than for the Stoics or the Epicureans.

For Seneca, suicide was the ultimate guarantee of freedom. However, this does not necessarily reflect earlier Stoic ideas about suicide.[72] As the possibility of suicide for the Cynics marked the wise man's freedom, it was simply one manifestation of this freedom. Something of this attitude seems to be reflected also in both Stoicism and Epicureanism, given the scant evidence maybe also in Scepticism. It seems also that the Stoics held a more positive view of suicide than the Epicureans. If the wise man could no longer live according to his principles, suicide could be preferable. In the words of Cicero: "When a man's circumstances contain a preponderance of things in accordance with nature, it is appropriate for him to remain alive; when he possesses or sees in prospect a majority of the contrary things, it is appropriate for him to depart from life.… Even for the foolish, who are also miserable, it is appropriate for them to remain alive if they possess a predominance of those things which we pronounce to be in accordance with nature." (De Finibus III 60-61)

In general we may conclude, however, that if the traditional Greek outlook on suicide was rather permissive, this was even more so in Hellenistic philosophy. More than that, we also find novel ideas and arguments, speaking favourably of suicide, not just something to be tolerated. And it is not the Homeric hero, sacrificing himself on the battlefield, but the wise man drawing rational conclusions.

Qoh 9:1-10 contain many notable ideas about life and death. Earlier, Qohelet seems to have denounced life in a radical way, even mentioning non-being as something superior 4:2-3, 6:3-5. In 9:4, however, we can find a marked preference for life over death, expressed more forcefully than in 7:18; better a living dog than a dead lion.[73] Why this emphatic outcry for life, followed by a

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70 Rist 1969, 242-43.

71 Diogenes Laertius 168-176. If we assume that Hellenistic philosophy was known in some form in aristocratic circles in Jerusalem in the third century BCE, it is most likely, that these are the kind of stories, anecdotal in nature, that have caught the imagination of the listeners.

72 See Rist 1969, 238-42.

73 Why a lion and a dog? The most obvious explanation is the image of the lion as one of the noblest of animals, compared to that of the dog, often despised. Even so, being a dog and alive is to be preferable. This meaning of 9:4 does not exclude a possible allusion to the Cynics, known in the antiquity for their 'dog-like' behaviour, whence the derivation of the designation as Cynics (>kynikos). Diogenes the Cynic was also called by the sobriquet "the dog". In Ugaritic the words for lion lb'u and dog klb are close, but this should only be a coincidence. However, Mark S. Smith, The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Volume I, Introduction with text, translation and commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2, VTSup Brill 1994, 254, sees a possible echo in Qoh 9:4 of Athtar's decent in the underworld. No dog is here involved, though.

negative denigration of the state of the dead in 9:5-6,10? The dead don’t know anything and have nothing more to await. In Sheol there is no activity or meaning, no knowledge or wisdom. What these verses express is also of interest. Their cumulative vehemence is best thought of as a reply. *Someone* claimed meaning or a rational basis for (a premature) death. If we assume some anti-Stoic sentiments in the book, it is possible that Qohelet here specifically targets a Cynic-Stoic tradition.

One central aspect in the Hellenistic philosophies was a marked individualism. The pursuit and attainment of happiness was dependent solely on the individual himself. What mattered was the right frame of mind, (almost) everything external was deemed as adiaphora. One extreme, albeit not uncommon, interpretation of this was to see life itself as adiaphora. Hence death and even suicide could be seen in an undramatic vein, the act of suicide could be seen as something rational and could be judged in the same way as any other act. This was unthinkable for Qohelet. Here we have again reached the limit of the influence of Hellenistic ideas, which could not be incorporated even in a hellenized Jewish culture, in this case the extreme individualism of Hellenistic philosophy. For Qohelet man is over against his Creator, and life itself is part of His creation and a gift from Him. Qohelet may be influenced by a Hellenistic individualism, and his God be a god of universalistic bent, lacking completely particular predicates and appellations, but He is neither an immanent Stoic god, nor an Epicurean quasi-god, leading a perfect Epicurean life. Neither is God something external, of which suspension of judgement is the most preferable (agnosticism). He is a Jewish God, worthy of respect (“fear”) and worship. As life is a gift from God, the attainment of happiness is not solely in man’s control, something that he reaches through his own strength, but by affirming the gift of God.[74] Committing suicide, or simply considering life indifferent, would be a violation of this gift.[75] At the same time, the Creation gains in ontological significance. Through the Creation man enters into dialogue with God. *Carpe diem* then becomes an expression for the fear of God.

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74 See also Schwienhorst-Schönberger, 1996, 324-332. See also Qoh 1:25.

75 Qoh 9:4 may seem odd and disparate in comparison with 4:2-3, 6:3-5, but the verses are not necessarily contradictory. In the face of the absurdity and hardships of life, the lot of the unborn may seem preferable. However, once cast out in life, it is ”the lot of man” 5:17, 6:10, 9:9. If we should understand Qohelet as a gloomy pessimist or a merry fellow, affirming the joys of life, is another matter. In the reception history of Qohelet we may find both extremes, as well as most of the possible variations in-between.

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The Old Testament Background of the Two Witnesses in Revelation 11:3–13

I Introduction

The description of "the two witnesses" in Revelation 11 has drawn to itself considerable scholarly attention during many decades, especially because scholars have been interested to chart the traditions behind this account. The importance of the text is above all tied with its peculiar eschatology, and many commentators suspect that older Jewish material very probably lurk in the background of the story. The parallels with pseudepigraphic writings have been in special focus in research, beginning with Wilhelm Bousset's work some 120 years ago[1] and continued very vividly at least to the 1970s.[2] Modern scholars are usually of the opinion that the description of the witnesses points to Elijah and Moses, whereas a virtually unanimous patristic tradition mentions Elijah and Enoch, in accordance with the pseudepigraphic texts where these two past-time heroes appear together. There are, however, a few dissenting voices in the early patristic writings, which deserve mention. It appears rather evident that one of the witnesses must allude to Elijah; but the identity of the other one is not quite so clear. In this paper, I hope to give some new insights to this topic.

In my short contribution, I thus present the most common solutions to certain problems in the text, above all concerning the identity of the witnesses, and highlight a few further issues which I think need reconsideration. David Aune has in his monumental three-volume commentary on the Book of Revelation (1998) very exhaustively examined this text, its grammatical problems, manuscript variants and patristic commentaries, as well as discussed its parallels and possible tradition-historical background.[3] In my survey into the research history of this chapter, I have not encountered any more recent research that would bring significant new perspectives to the subject; and therefore, I will mostly comment on Aune's commentary and the patristic discussion (that he also refers to), adding references

[1] Wilhelm Bousset, *Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judenthums des neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1895) = *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (London: Hutchinson 1896).

[2] E.g. Richard Bauckham, "The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?" *JBL* 95 (1976) 447–458; Matthew Black, "The 'Two Witnesses' of Rev. 11:3f. in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic Tradition," in: E. Bammel, C. K. Barrett & W. D. Davies (eds.), *Donum Gentilicium: New Testament Studies in Honour of David Daube*, Oxford: Clarendon 1978, 227–237.

[3] David E. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, Word Biblical Commentary 52B, Nashville: Thomas Nelson 1998, 575–632.

to a few other works such as the perceptive commentaries of Richard Bauckham.[4] If someone knows new research relevant to the subject, I would be most grateful! This said, I shall now turn to the text and its specific problems. I first examine the indications about the identity of one witness as Elijah, which the text itself instantly offers, and then discuss the identity of the other witness. In chapter III, I highlight some further aspects of the OT background and discuss how the growth of the tradition should be viewed.[5] Finally, I sum up my thoughts.

II Textual clues about the identity of the witness(es) as "Elijah regressus"

Verse 11:3

The two witnesses are introduced quite abruptly in 11:3, and many scholars posit that verses 1–2 (concerning the commandment to measure the temple, and thus probably dependent on Ezekiel 40–42) do not really belong together with the account about the witnesses beginning at verse 3. According to Aune's opinion, which I deem quite reasonable, both verses 1–2 and 3–13 include traditional Jewish material, tied together by the mention of the 1260 days / 42 months.[6] The time span is also equal to 3,5 years, and according to the tradition recounted in Luke 4:25 and James 5:17, this was the time which the drought caused by Elijah lasted, even though the period mentioned in 1 Kings 18:1 was three years (or slightly less, as God's word came to Elijah "in the third year"). It is thus probable that John[7] knows the same tradition which Luke and James mention, and that this time span should be taken as a hint at Elijah.

As Aune points out, the articular phrase τοῖς δυσὶν μάρτυσίν μου seems to suggest that the reader is supposed to know who the two witnesses are.[8] Indeed, the whole phrasing in Rev 11:3–13 suggests to an attentive reader that traditional material is alluded to.[9] Nevertheless, the author may simultaneously be introducing some new elements when paraphrasing an allegedly well-known background story. Even though the account in Revelation is cast in prose, it is not, in content, altogether different from the poetic allusions to the supposedly well-known but unnamed figures of past times in Wisdom 10, or to the

[4] E.g. *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies in the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark 1993).
[5] My initial intention when proposing this paper was to examine also the question whether the parallels in for example the pseudepigrapha are relevant for understanding Revelation 11:3–13. I however soon realized that a careful examination of pseudepigraphic and patristic material related to the question, and above all the treatment of the issue about the relative chronology and Jewish and/or Christian character of the pseudepigraphic texts, would have led this paper too far afield. At a later date, I hope to be able to address the issue about the growth of the traditions which are reflected in Rev 11:3–13. (For such a methodology, see James Kugel's extensive essay about the development of Levi traditions in Second Temple Jewish literature, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993) 1–64.)
[6] Aune, *Revelation*, 598, 602–603, 610–611.
[7] I use this conventional designation for the author of Revelation.
[8] Aune, *Revelation*, 579, 599, 610.
[9] Notice also the articular reference to τὸ θηρίον "the beast" in verse 7; cf. Aune, *Revelation*, 616.

named figures in Sirach's *Laus Patrum* (ch. 44–50). In both these texts, traditional material is surely alluded to, but arranged in a new fashion according to the authors' stylistic preferences. This same notion probably applies to Rev 11:3–13 (and, indeed, perhaps to the whole Book of Revelation).

That the witnesses are wearing sackcloth suggests their connection to mourning and/or penitence (e.g. Joel 1:13; Jonah 3:5–6). Sackcloth may, as perhaps in the case of Isaiah 20:2, probably also be a prophet's garment, when he by his own example exhorts people to mourning and repentance. It has however nothing to do with Elijah's mantle, which was of skin, so the garment itself shows no direct connection to Elijah.

Verse 11:5

It is stated of the witnesses that "fire comes from their mouth and consumes their foes" (πῦρ ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτῶν καὶ κατεσθίει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν). This is a detail which can very well be connected to Elijah. In the very beginning of Sirach's *Laus* of Elijah, it is said (48:1):

> καὶ ἀνέστη Ηλιας προφήτης ὡς πῦρ καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ὡς λαμπὰς ἐκαίετο
>
> Then Elijah rose, a prophet like fire, and his word burned like a torch.

It is, in itself, rather common that prophets are somehow connected with the theme of fire, as a metaphor of the words of doom that they utter. In Jer 5:14 the Lord announces an oracle to Jeremiah:

> ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δέδωκα τοὺς λόγους μου είς τὸ στόμα σου πῦρ καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον ξύλα καὶ καταφάγεται αὐτούς
> I am putting my words into your mouth as fire, and this people shall be firewood, which it will consume."[10]

It is nevertheless conceivable that Elijah, due to his ability to call down fire from heaven (1 Kings 18:38), was associated with fire more than any other prophet and therefore, that John's intention was that his readers should associate verse 5 with Elijah. The parallel in Jer 5:14 is interesting, though, as some patristic interpreters associated the witnesses of Revelation 11 with Elijah and Jeremiah.[11] I deem as conceivable that this idea emerged precisely from a diligent *gezera shava* reading of these LXX and NT texts by these church fathers, even though there might have been other contributing factors as well.

Verses 11:6, 10

That the witnesses "have authority to shut the sky, so that no rain may fall" (οὗτοι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κλεῖσαι τὸν ούρανόν, ἵνα μὴ ὑετὸς βρέχῃ) has been regarded as the clearest hint at Elijah in the passage.

[10] Cf. Aune, *Revelation*, 612.

[11] Victorinus of Petovium: "Many think that either Elisha or Moses was with Elijah. However, both of these died. However, the death of Jeremiah was never discovered. Our ancients have handed over the opinion that [the other witness] was in every respect Jeremiah." (*Commentary on the Apocalypse* 11.3; the translation is from William C. Weinrich [ed.], *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament XII, Revelation*, InterVarsity Press 2005, 158. Victorinus then goes on to quote and explain Jer. 1:5 [!] as proof text. Compare Aune, *Revelation*, 600–601.)

Similarly, that the "two prophets had been a torment to the inhabitants of the earth" (οἱ δύο προφῆται ἐβασάνισαν τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) can be connected with this same notion about Elijah as "the troubler of Israel" (1 Kings 18:17). The rejoicing people in 11:10 are adversaries of the two witnesses, as were Ahab and Jezebel for Elijah (cf. 1 Kings 21:20).

Verse 11:12

The two witnesses go to heaven in a cloud (ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ), whereas Elijah is taken to heaven in a whirlwind (ἀνελήμφθη Ηλιου ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, 2 Kings 2:11). The phrases are, though, succinctly similar so that readers, both ancient and modern, have seen a connection to Elijah's ascension in Revelation11:2.

III Textual clues about the identity of the witness(es) as "Moses or Elisha redivivi/regressi"

Verse 11:4: Lampstands and olive trees

The phrase in 11:4 "These are the two olive trees and the two lampstands that stand before the Lord of the earth" (οὗτοί εἰσιν αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι καὶ αἱ δύο λυχνίαι αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἑστῶτες) defines the two witnesses more closely and may even be an editorial gloss explaining an opinion on who they are.[12] As the topic of my paper, the OT background of the witnesses, is concerned, this phrase is of special importance because of the clear reference to Zechariah 4, especially verse 14. But should this reference be taken to mean that the two witnesses are Zerubbabel and Joshua *redivivi*? Some commentators have suggested this option and thus seen some remote reminiscence to the notion of a priestly and royal Messiah character in the two witnesses of Revelation 11.[13] In my opinion, however, this cannot be the intended meaning in so late a text as Revelation. I believe it is much more probable that the prophecy in Zechariah 4 had, by the time when the Book of Revelation was written, already been reinterpreted in some ways for several centuries after the hope for a Davidic restoration had ceased, and the prophecy had thus been detached from its original reference. And I think that Rev 11:4 offers a rather clear clue of one of the ways in which the two characters in Zechariah 4 possibly had been (re-)interpreted.[14]

The quotation above from Sir 48:1 shows that Elijah was associated with fire and light. The word used for Elijah's words there is λαμπάς "torch," but the same word sometimes also denotes a light, lantern, or lamp; so the semantic range is partly overlapping with the word used in Rev 11:4, λυχνία "lampstand"; and in the LXX of Zech 4:2, also the word λύχνος "lamp" is used (for the lamps that are on the

[12] Thus Aune, *Revelation*, 593.
[13] See the summary of scholarship in Bauckham, *Climax of Prophecy*, 273 n. 54.
[14] It is, however, also possible (as always) that the interpretation which I here propose is a novelty created by John. Because of the traditional and perhaps explicatory character of Rev 11:4, I however deem this option as improbable.

lampstands). Therefore, it is conceivable that an ancient interpreter might have thought about Elijah in this instance. But what about the other symbol in Zechariah and Revelation, the ἐλαία "olive tree"?

In Zechariah 4, both Zerubbabel and Joshua are designated with same appellatives, so that no distinction is actually made between them. Both are "olive trees" (4:3, 11) and "sons of oil" (4:14 in the Hebrew text – "sons of richness" in the Greek text), and it is commonly stated that this symbolism is due to the custom that both high priests and kings were anointed with oil (and the symbolism is essentially explained in Zech 4:14 MT). It is rather interesting that neither in Revelation 11, a distinction is actually made between the two witnesses: the description of them and their mission and fate are identical.[15] Therefore, it may be inaccurate to even say that they are somehow Elijah and Moses *regressi* and thus two separate persons; rather, according to the text, the two characters are identical and incorporate traits of both Elijah and Moses.

Elijah could have plausibly been associated with olive oil – not that he himself would have been anointed, but that he was commissioned to anoint both Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha (1 Kings 19:15–16), and in addition, that he provided the poor widow of Zarephath with oil (1 Kings 17:16). The symbolism of an *olive tree* suits actually much better a person who provides *others* with oil than a person who is anointed, and I deem it probable than an ancient exegete (reinterpreting Zechariah's prophecy) reasoned precisely this way. Moses, however, was never associated with any oil. On the other hand, Elijah's successor Elisha could be related with oil in a similar vein as Elijah. He was probably anointed by Elijah (even though this is not explicitly stated in the 1–2 Kings story), and he (or rather, his disciple by his commission) anointed Jehu (2 Kings 9); and, as the perhaps most significant detail, also Elisha provided a poor widow with oil, and more so than his master Elijah (2 Kings 4:1–7). An additional interesting possibility, if the proposed interpretation originated in Greek (or, indeed, is a novelty created by John), is that the phrase αἱ δύο ἐλαῖαι may have been connected with Elijah's and Elisha's names (Ἠλίας and Ἐλισαῖος; Elijah's name usually drops the s-element in an inflected state). True, the correspondence is not exact, but may have been sufficient for a Greek-speaker uninterested of the exact form and etymology of the names.[16]

That the two olive trees and lampstands "stand before the Lord of the earth" (αἱ ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου τῆς γῆς ἑστῶτες) is an allusion to aforementioned Zech 4:14, οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος παρεστήκασιν τῷ κυρίῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς. As J. M. Ford points out in his commentary on Revelation, the phrase is often used in the Deuteronomistic account of Elijah and Elisha in the sense of "serve."[17] Especially Elijah's words to Ahab upon his introduction on the scene in 1 Kings 17:1 have probably been quite paradigmatic: "As the

[15] This point is made emphatically by Bauckham (*Climax of Prophecy*, 275–276).
[16] A somewhat comparable case is how the fruit of Paradise was in the Latin Middle Ages perceived as an apple, due to the homonymous words *malum* "bad" and *malum* "apple."
[17] J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (AB 38, New York: Doubleday 1975) 171.

Lord lives, The God of Israel before whom I stand, there will be no dew or rain except at my bidding." He uses a similar phrase about himself "standing before the Lord" again at 18:15, whereas Elisha uses the same formulation about himself in 2 Kings 3:14 and 5:16.

Verse 11:6: Water, blood and plagues

The second half of Rev 11:6 has been one of the strongest arguments for seeing the other witness as Moses: "They have authority over the waters to turn them into blood, and to strike the earth with every kind of plague, as often as they desire." These characterizations have been perceived as pointing towards the ten plagues of Exodus, specifically to the first one of turning the water of the Nile into blood (Exod 7:19–24).

However, the Greek text can also be understood as follows, ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων στρέφειν αὐτὰ εἰς αἷμα, "They have authority over the waters – to turn them into blood – ." Thus, the phrase can be taken to mean that the two witnesses have authority over the waters; specifically, to turn them into blood, but perhaps also otherwise. This notion applies well to Moses, as he several times in the Exodus narrative showed his (or God's) superiority over the waters, dividing the waters of the Sea of Reeds (Exod 14:21), making the bitter water of Marah drinkable (Exod 15:23–25) and letting out water from the rock at Meribah (Num 20:5–13). But incidentally,[18] also Elijah and Elisha displayed a somewhat similar power over the waters: both prophets were able to divide the waters of the Jordan (2 Kings 2:8, 14). In addition, Elisha, like Moses, healed the bitter waters (of Jericho, 2 Kings 19–22), filled the wadi with water (2 Kings 3:16–20) and made this water appear red as blood (2 Kings 3:22–23). Later, he still made the ax head float on the surface of the Jordan (2 Kings 6:6) and cured Naaman by commanding him to bathe in the Jordan (2 Kings 5). Thus, it can almost be said that of these three characters, Elisha was apparently the one who had greatest "authority over the waters."

The other notion, that the witnesses πατάξαι τὴν γῆν ἐν πάσῃ πληγῇ ὁσάκις ἐὰν θελήσωσιν "[have authority] to strike the earth with every kind of plague as often as they desire," can also be connected to Elijah and Elisha. The link is not as explicit as with Moses and the plagues leading to the Exodus, where the exact word πληγή is used. In the 1–2 Kings stories both Elijah and Elisha nevertheless have the ability to punish the wicked with some kind of plagues: in Elijah's case, with the drought; in Elisha's case, with smaller but several incidents, as when he cursed the young boys so that the bears tore them (2 Kings 2:24), or struck dishonest Gehazi with leprosy (2 Kings 5:27). In addition, the very same phrase as in Rev 11:6 is used in Elisha's final command to King Joash of Israel to "strike the earth" (with the arrows): πάταξον εἰς τὴν γῆν (2 Kings 13:18).

[18] I am aware of that the parallels are probably not at all incidental from a tradition-historical point of view. However, the question of the relationship between the Moses, Elijah and Elisha cycles in a tradition-historical and Deuteronomistic perspective is difficult and goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusion

The short survey above indicates that the two witnesses bear traits of both Moses, Elijah, and Elisha. It may be that the description of them is intentionally vague, to allow multiple interpretations. The patristic exegesis shows that Elijah, Elisha, Moses, and Jeremiah were sometimes associated with the witnesses. These were the identifications known by Victorinus of Petovium (ca 250–303). The main opinion of the church fathers, at least from the fourth century onwards, was nevertheless that the witnesses were Enoch and Elijah, and this opinion is usually expressed as if it were common knowledge and needed no elaboration.[19] In my understanding, this was an alternative (perhaps slightly later?) interpretation, which emerged partly because of the general popularity of the Enoch literature, and probably partly because of the simple textual "fact" that Enoch and Elijah were the two OT persons who escaped death. In my view, however, Moses, Elijah, and Elisha were the OT personages whom John wanted to refer to in his text. This was also the opinion of the "many" according to Victorinus.

Next, I shall thus illustrate a possible scenario for the emergence of the traditions that are reflected in Revelation 11. This final subchapter of my paper becomes, of necessity, rather sketchy. I have collected more pieces of proof texts to substantiate my case, but time and space do not allow me to explicate the thesis in more detail now. (Some of this material I have paraphrased in the footnotes.) I hope to be able to rework this paper into a more coherent article later, or incorporate my findings into a book where I discuss the wider NT reception of Elijah and Elisha traditions.[20]

IV Possible development of the tradition from the OT to Revelation

I want to first summarize my general line of argumentation: My basic claim concerning the interpretative strategies employed by ancient exegetes, for which I have argued e.g. in my dissertation, is that the *gezera shava* is one of the earliest exegetical techniques. The term denotes an interpretation based on the occurrence of identical words in two (or more) texts in Scripture. Moreover, I argue that the *gezera shava* has often been employed in such a way that the exact forms in the consonantal text in the Hebrew Bible are central for determining the "interdependence" of texts in the eyes of an ancient exegete; often quite regardless of the context. They viewed the consonantal text as sacred, and it appears that one principal component in its sanctity was that it was not easily exhausted by only one reading,

[19] Thus, e.g. Pseudo-Hippolytus, *On the End of the World, the Antichrist and the Second Coming* 21. The eschatological return of Enoch and Elijah, though without a reference to Revelation 11, is found also e.g. in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (2:11–13), Tertullian (*Treatise on the Soul* 50), Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer*. 5.5.1), and Hippolytus of Rome (*Treatise on Christ and Antichrist* 43, 46–47; *Commentary on Daniel* 35, 50); for a more comprehensive list, see Aune, *Revelation*, 599–600.

[20] My three-year postdoc project is entitled "Exegetical Background for the Emergence of the Expectation of a Prophetic Messiah Character in Early Judaism and Its Impact on Nascent Christianity and Islam," and during the first year of the project, I have focused much on Elijah and Elisha traditions in the New Testament.

but allowed multiple interpretations based on diligent study of the text. Therefore, the Masoretic vocalization represents only one reading, which perhaps gained the widest support and became "fixed." Scholars who wish to understand the mindset of ancient interpreters should thus detach themselves from the Masoretic vowels and study the consonantal text in its own right. As a consequence, many interpretations that for modern eyes seem rather nonsensical were established over centuries, because homonymous words were often read in an alternative way.[21] I am aware of that not all scholars buy this argument, as it runs quite contrary to modern Western logic; but I think that for example James Kugel has convincingly enough demonstrated that this indeed was how ancient exegetes reasoned. He has been able to demonstrate the exegetical origins of several curious traditions.[22]

I believe that the primary background for the evident "blurring" of Elijah, Elisha, and Moses in Rev 11:3–13 is the probably widely studied and interpreted prophecy in Deuteronomy 18:15–22, about the prophet who is to be "like Moses." It is customary to interpret this prophecy with links to the Deuteronomistic traditions about Elijah; but as I discussed above, there are also several very clear links between Moses and Elisha. It was probably also believed that the place where Moses died and was buried, Elijah was taken up, and Elisha was buried, was the same spot, linking these three characters together.[23] Deut 18:15 goes, in the Hebrew text, as follows,

נביא מקרבך מאחיך כמני יקים לך יהוה אלהיך אליו תשמעון

The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your own people, like myself; him shall you heed.

Hence, in a certain sense, Elijah and Elisha incorporated traits of this "New Moses" figure, and thus the interpretation of this prophecy ties these three ancient figures together.[24]

The next phase in this chain of interpretation and exegesis was probably the curious connection between Second Isaiah's "Servant" and Elijah; an idea which is visible in Ben Sira's eulogy of Elijah (48:10) and which I have earlier examined in detail.[25] I concluded that the primary impetus for the emergence of this tradition was an innovative *gezera shava* reading of Isa 42:19, a verse that includes the rare word *mal'akî*, which, as I argued, had already earlier become strongly associated with Elijah under the influence of Malachi 3:1, 23. Isa 42:19, a reproach of the blind-and-deaf, stiff-necked Israel, was thus read in a completely new fashion. I proposed several alternative readings, which all may indeed

[21] See Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press 2014), esp. 28–38.
[22] See, for, example, James L. Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and his Children*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2006.
[23] Avigdor Shinan & Yair Zakovitch, *From Gods to God: How the Bible Debunked, Suppressed, or Changed Ancient Myths & Legends*, Philadelphia: JPS 2012 (2004), 185.
[24] A thought which however needs further elaboration is also that because one of the Greek variants for Elijah's name is Ηλιου, a Greek-speaking interpreter who was sufficiently familiar with the Hebrew text and alphabet might even had read the word אליו in Deut 18:15 as a reference to Elijah.
[25] Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 103–114.

have played a role in later reception; but for the ideas reflected in Revelation 11, the following interpretation sounds as the most plausible:

מי עור כי אם עבדי וחרש כמלאכי אשלח מי עור כמשלם ועור כעבד יהוה

Who rose/woke up if not my Servant and plowed/remained silent like my Messenger whom I shall send? Who rose/woke up like **those who are like them**, or rose/woke up as the Servant of the Lord?

The eponymous "Servant of the Lord" in the Deuteronomistic language was of course Moses, as was recognized as early as in Malachi 3:22 (3:24/4:6 LXX). However, also Elijah calls himself "your [the Lord's] servant" in 1 Kings 18:36 and is called "servant of the Lord" in 2 Kings 9:36, 10:10.

The "other character, the "my-Messenger-to-be-sent" was presumably Elijah; but perhaps some ancient exegetes reasoned that he was rather Elisha, due to the statement in 1 Kings 19:19 that Elisha was "plowing" (חרש) upon his introduction on the scene. (This same Hebrew word is not explicitly used in relation to Elijah, even though he "remains silent" e.g. in 1 Kings 19:13.) The other clear thematic links between Moses and Elisha may have reinforced this reasoning. Finally, the notoriously difficult word משלם may have been interpreted in the light of the probably parallel usage in Job 41:25 משלו: "as their equal" or the like.[26] Thus, some person/s who were expected to be like Moses, Elijah, and Elisha were also expected to somehow "rise" or "wake up." Perhaps they were thought to first "rise" in the meaning of "emerge" and then "rise again" in the sense of wake up or be resurrected?[27] I suspect that this interpretation has been one central ingredient in the reasoning, which led to the creation of the rather complex tradition that is reflected in Revelation 11:3–13.[28] There are probably still more contributing texts and factors leading to its emergence, but for now, I leave aside the further examination of the story.

[26] Perhaps partly because of this instance of *gezera shava*, but probably also because of inference from content (*hekkesh*), it indeed appears that the description of Leviathan in Job 40:15–41:26 was interpreted by some ancient exegetes as referring to Elijah and/or Elisha! (These ancient exegetes may have included e.g. the sources used by Ben Sira, who exalts Elijah and especially Elisha into a "semi-divine" status using partly similar language as is found in the description of Leviathan in Job 40–41.) The beast's ability to restrain the flow of the Jordan is mentioned in 40:23, the fire coming out of his mouth is described in 41:11–13 (cf. Rev 11:5), and his "sovereignty over the waters" is generally emphasized (esp. 41:26 LXX). Details in the Septuagint translation could give still further clues supporting this connection. However, because the relationship between the MT and LXX of Job is highly complicated and all more so towards the end of the book, this issue would require a full treatment in another article. I suspect that the Old Greek of Job generally reflects in many parts deliberate midrashic interpretations, rather than misreading of the admittedly very difficult Hebrew text.

[27] As regards the development of the tradition, it may be worth noting that in *LAB* 48 (about Phinehas-Elijah), the sequence of events is slightly simpler than in Rev 11:3–13, whereas in the *Apocalypse of Elijah*, it is more complex than in Revelation. Is it possible that some ancient interpreters thought that the number of the "risings" (3) in Isa 42:19 was a significant detail? In some Isaiah manuscripts, the "risings" are only two in number, as the parallelism actually requires the repetition of the word חרש in 42:19bβ.

[28] Influence of early exegesis of Isa 42:19 can be found in surprising occasions. For example *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer* chapter 33, entitled Elisha and the Shunamite woman, develops into a discussion on general resurrection but involves also the exhortation to learn *from* the example of noble men, e.g. *Shallum* ben Tikva (משלם) who provided the thirsty with water at the gate of the city. This tradition, in my judgment, must go back to another effort to make some sense of the obscure phrase מי עור כמשלם. Still another rabbinic tradition relates that this very same Shallum was the man thrown into Elisha's grave (2 Kings 13:21). This claim, again, may be another interpretation of the same difficult phrase and a hint at the existence of a tradition (which is probably evidenced by Ben Sira 48:13b, even though many scholars like to emend the text in light of the Greek version) that the one resuscitated was

V Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented some initial thoughts regarding the identity and the Old Testament background of the two witnesses in Revelation 11:3–13. I argued that John's intention was probably to present them in terms of Moses, Elijah, and Elisha, and I also suggested, as did David Aune, that John possibly was dependent on traditional Jewish material in this story. Because the witnesses are "two prophets" (Rev 11:10) whose characteristics, mission and fate are identical, I deem as probable that the primary reference is to Elijah and Elisha, who were understood to be the "prophet like Moses" of Deut 18:15 and who also otherwise are often mentioned together, both in 1–2 Kings and in reception history.

As I stated above, this paper is only a preliminary effort to untangle certain long-standing tangles in the complex web of intertextual reading strategies employed by the ancient exegetes. Extensive brushing is certainly still needed, but my hope is that one day, the tangles will fall out at least slightly straighter as regards the two witnesses, their prehistory and reception history. It has become clear for me that much is still to be found in this text.

indeed Elisha, not the other corpse. (Both the MT and the LXX, when read literally, are in fact rather ambivalent on this matter; see Shinan & Zakovitch, *From Gods to God*, 185–186).

In Search of Virtue: Ancestral Inheritance in the Testament of Qahat

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Introduction

What did virtue—human behaviour perceived as morally exemplary and thus desirable—mean for Jews who lived in Yehud/Judaea in the late second temple era? What constituted their 'moral vocabularies'? This paper analyses one exemplary moral disposition as it is delineated by the author of the Testament of Qahat (4Q542).[1] This fragmentary manuscript, written in Palestinian Aramaic of the Hellenistic-Roman period,[2] is known to us through the Aramaic corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls. There is nothing to suggest an origin in the *yaḥad* movement for 4Q542,[3] which implies that the text bears broader relevance for our understanding of second temple Judaism and its ethical traditions. In what follows, I shall examine how the author of 4Q542, who writes in Aramaic and thus represents the Semitic variety of Hellenistic Judaism,[4] constructs moral models and paths for living by recognising virtues of biblical figures of the past. Virtues, in this context, are regarded as morally valuable qualities[5] that human beings are persuaded and motivated to pursue, thus pertaining to exemplarity, aspiration, and practice as well as implying a harmonious state between one's character and deeds. Virtue ethics, therefore, concerns ways of living.[6]

Through this case study, I seek to address the relevance of ancient Jewish sources for the study of virtue in the eastern Mediterranean milieu and to consider the place of ethical reflection in the Jewish tradition and

[1] For the *editio princeps*, see É. Puech, '542. 4QTestament de Qahat ar', in idem, *Qumrân grotte 4, XXII: Textes araméens, Première partie* (DJD, 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), pp. 257–288, Plate XV. Before Puech's official publication, J.T. Milik had published a few lines of 4Q542 in '4QVisions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène', *RB* 79 (1972), pp. 77–99 (97). See also Puech, 'Le Testament de Qahat en araméen de la grotte 4 (*4QTQah*)', *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991), pp. 23–54; A. Caquot, 'Grandeur et Pureté du Sacerdoce: Remarques sur le Testament de Qahat (4Q542)', in Ziony Zevit et al. (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 39–44.

[2] On the language of 4Q542, which contains many Hebraisms, see E.M. Cook, 'Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Qumran Cave 4', *JJS* 44 (1993), pp. 205–219; Puech, '4QTestament de Qahat', pp. 267–268.

[3] According to a carbon-14 test, the Qumran MS comes from the third or even the fourth century BCE, but a palaeographical analysis suggests a date in the second quarter of the second century BCE. See G. Bonani et al., 'Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls', *Atiqot 'Atiqot* 20 (1991), pp. 27–32; Puech, '4QTestament de Qahat', pp. 262–264. Yet, the original composition was probably written after the Aramaic Levi, which 4Q542 seems to know; M.E. Stone, 'Qahat', in L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 2:731–732 (732). Specifically, the composition might precede the mid-second century BCE due to its possible influence on Jub. 45:15–16, maintaining that the patriarchs' books were given to Levi for transmission (cf. ALD 13:4; see also Lev. 10:11; Deut. 17:18–19); Milik, '4QVisions de 'Amram', p. 97.

[4] The idea that all Judaism in the late second temple era represents Hellenistic Judaism, even if it existed in Semitic and Greek varieties, goes back to the work of M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; 2 vols.; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1974).

[5] On virtues as good qualities of character, see, e.g., C. Swanton, *Virtue Ethics: A Pluralistic View* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 19.

[6] On the interest in one's way of living and how 'to be a certain kind of person', see D.C. Russell, 'Introduction: Virtue Ethics in Modern Moral Philosophy', in D.C. Russell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virtue Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 1–6 (2).

literature.[7] As the selected source indicates, my paper signals a shift away from canonically oriented enterprises, which have dominated the analysis of ethical issues in biblical studies in recent decades.[8] I shall argue that even though scholars have correctly acknowledged the function of testamentary texts and farewell discourses as ethical directives, as well as the formative aspect of wisdom in second temple Judaism,[9] a priestly perspective needs to be examined in the reflection on Jewish ethics, in order to fully grasp its breadth and multiple literary contexts.

Creating Qahat the Exemplary Teacher

Why the Testament of Qahat? Although several studies have observed the practice of presenting biblical figures as exemplars,[10] I argue that the instruction attributed to Qahat, in spite of the scarce evidence, offers a prime source for reflecting on what virtue discourse might have meant for some Jews living in late second temple Yehud/Judaea. The association between Qahat and virtue may be somewhat surprising, however, since the Hebrew Bible simply mentions Qahat (Kohath), the second of Levi's three sons and a brother of Gershon and Merari, in the context of the Levitical family's lineage, reaching from Levi the patriarch to Aaron the first high priest.[11] By and large, Qahat also remains a marginal character in the

[7] According to G.J. Brooke, scholars of second temple Judaism have barely made use of the category of ethics; see his survey in idem, 'Some Issues behind the Ethics in the Qumran Scrolls and their Implications for New Testament Ethics', in J.W. van Henten (ed.), *Early Christian Ethics in Interaction with Jewish and Greco-Roman Contexts* (STAR, 17; Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 83–106 (84–85). While this is true regarding the Semitic materials, scholars working on Greek Jewish texts may not agree with Brooke's claim. Moreover, a number of recent studies touch upon ethical reflection in various forms of early Judaism. Consider, e.g., M.K.M. Tso, *Ethics in the Qumran Community: An Interdisciplinary Investigation* (WUNT, 292; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010); C.A. Newsom, 'Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism', *JBL* 131/1 (2012), pp. 5–25; A.W. Stewart, *Poetic Ethics in Proverbs: Wisdom Literature and the Shaping of the Moral Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); D.A. Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); F. Mirguet, *An Early History of Compassion: Emotion and Imagination in Hellenistic Judaism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); H. Najman, 'Ethical Reading: The Transformation of the Text and the Self', *JTS* 68/2 (2017), pp. 507–529.

[8] On Hebrew Bible/Old Testament ethics, see esp. E. Otto, *Theologische Ethik des Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994); D.A. Knight and C. Myers (eds.), *Semeia 66: Ethics and Politics in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 1995); J.W. Rogerson, M. Davies and M.D. Carroll R. (eds.), *The Bible in Ethics: The Second Sheffield Colloquium* (JSOTSup, 207; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); J. Barton, *Understanding Old Testament Ethics: Approaches and Explorations* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2003); J.W. Rogerson, *Theory and Practice in Old Testament Ethics* (JSOTSup, 405; London: T&T Clark, 2004); S. Min Chun, *Ethics and Biblical Narrative: A Literary and Discourse-Analytical Approach to the Story of Josiah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); J. Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[9] These studies have typically focused on explicitly didactic materials or philosophical writings. Recently, see esp. K. Martin Hogan, M.J. Goff and E. Wasserman (eds.), *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (SBLEJL, 41; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2017); J.M. Zurawski and G. Boccaccini (eds.), *Second Temple Jewish 'Paideia' in Context* (BZNW, 228; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017); Najman, 'Ethical Reading', pp. 507–529; E. Uusimäki, 'The Rise of the Sage in Greek and Jewish Antiquity', *JSJ* 49/1 (2018), pp. 1–29.

[10] On the early reception of biblical figures, see, e.g., J.J. Collins and G.W.E. Nickelsburg (eds.), *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms* (SBLSCS, 12; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980); E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), esp. pp. 110–188; M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergren (eds.), *Biblical Figures outside the Bible* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998); H. Najman, *Past Renewals: Interpretative Authority, Renewed Revelation and the Quest for Perfection in Jewish Antiquity* (JSJSup, 53; Leiden: Brill, 2010); D.V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi (eds.), *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[11] Exod. 6:16–20; cf. Gen. 46:11; Num. 3:17–20; 1 Chron. 5:27–28; 6:1 (cf. Ezra 7:1–5 on the lineage after Aaron). Qahat's descendants, the Kohathites (Num. 4:34–37; 26:57; 1 Chron. 23:6, 12; also Num. 3:27; 1 Chron. 15:5; 23:12),

written materials from the late second temple period. In the Aramaic Levi Document, however, Levi predicts that his son would attain the high-priesthood (ALD 11:6–7).[12] Biblical genealogies are confirmed in this text as well as in Jubilees.[13] The Visions of Amram (4Q543–549) further begins with a reference to 'the vision of Amram, son of Qahat, son of Levi' (4Q543 1:1; 4Q545 1 i 1), which creates an image of Qahat as a major intermediary character between two generations.[14]

The figure of Qahat plays a more prominent role in 4Q542. Apart from two small pieces,[15] one major fragment with remains of two successive columns is preserved. The first column is complete but the second one damaged so that its right side remains.[16] In terms of style and content, the text has been described as an instruction on proper behaviour and people's eschatological fates.[17] Qahat is not mentioned in the remaining material, but the identity of the first-person speaker is evident due to the references to Amram his son (1 ii 9) and Levi his father (1 ii 11). While the Hebrew Bible presumes that the priestly lineage starts with Aaron, the Aramaic Levi Document and the Testament of Qahat refer to Levi as a priest (ALD 5:8) who passed this role on to Qahat (1 i 8, 1 ii 11).[18]

Qahat's testament may have formed a trilogy of testaments together with the Aramaic Levi Document and the Visions of Amram. In such a case, the text would have filled a lacuna in existing literature by stressing Qahat's role as a head of the Levite family.[19] While an attribution to biblical figures often seeks to authorise texts, it has been suggested that 4Q542 may witness to the opposite: the attribution perhaps elevated Qahat by explicating his position in the line from Abraham to Moses and Aaron.[20] This remains possible, although Qahat, as Levi's son and Amram's father, evidently holds a key position, even if his life and character are not detailed in the Hebrew Bible. In any event, the author of 4Q542 was free to create a new narrative that is at home in his Hellenistic milieu, for the sparse biblical account contains nothing with

helped at the tent service and were assigned to sing (Num. 3:31; 4:4–15; 7:9; 10:21; Ps 88:1; 1 Chron. 6:16–33; 9:32–33; 2 Chron. 20:19; 34:12). Their post-conquest settlements are mentioned in Josh. 21:4–5, 10–26; 1 Chron. 6:39–55.

[12] On the naming of Qahat in ALD, see M.E. Stone, 'The Axis of History at Qumran', in E.G. Chazon and M. Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 133–149 (134). The idea that Qahat was named so as to reflect his future role as a leader also occurs in the later Testament of Levi (11:4–6). For the text, see M.E. Stone and J.C. Greenfield, 'Aramaic Levi Document', in G.J. Brooke et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4, XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD, 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), pp. 1–71; J.C. Greenfield, M.E. Stone and E. Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP, 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004). See also H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup, 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[13] See ALD 11:5, 12:2; Jub. 44:14. See also T. Levi 11–12.

[14] H. Tervanotko, 'A Trilogy of Testaments? The Status of the Testament of Qahat versus Texts Attributed to Levi and Amram', in E.J.C. Tigchelaar (ed.), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and the Scriptures* (BETL, 270; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), pp. 41–59 (55).

[15] Frag. 2 alludes to darkness and light, while frag. 3 mentions precious stones and fornication.

[16] On the physical appearance of the manuscript, see Puech, '4QTestament de Qahat', p. 257.

[17] J. Frey, 'On the Origins of the Genre of the "Literary Testament": Farewell Discourses in the Qumran Library and their Relevance for the History of the Genre', in *Aramaica Qumranica*, pp. 345–375 (361).

[18] Cf. Jub. 31:11–17 on Isaac as the one who creates the priesthood through his blessing of Levi.

[19] See Milik, '4QVisions de 'Amram', pp. 96–97; Puech, 'Le Testament de Qahat', pp. 50–54; idem, '4QTestament de Qahat', pp. 259–260; Tervanotko, 'Trilogy', p. 44. The idea of a trilogy is supported by three factors: the author of the Visions of Amram was aware of the continuity between the two trilogies (cf. Aaron as the seventh man in 4Q545 4:18–19), no other text contains a substantial reference to Qahat's life, and the texts on Qahat stress his position in the priestly lineage; so, Tervanotko, 'Trilogy', pp. 55–58.

[20] E.J.C. Tigchelaar, 'Forms of Pseudepigraphy in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in Jörg Frey et al. (eds.), *Pseudepigraphie und Verfasserfiktion in frühchristlichen Briefen / Pseudepigraphy and Author Fiction in Early Christian Letters* (WUNT, 246; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), pp. 85–101 (100).

which to struggle. Qahat was a spotless figure available from the ancestral writings and thus suitable for portraying a model-teacher.

Apart from bringing Qahat to the spotlight, the present analysis requires further methodological remarks. Why consider Jewish sources as partaking in virtue discourses?

Jewish Sources in(to) the Context of Ancient Mediterranean Virtue

Up until now, virtue has remained a rather marginal topic in the study of Semitic sources from Jewish antiquity, which may have been at least partially due to the absence of a specific term designating virtue in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages. The situation is gradually changing, however, as is shown by recent studies that address virtue in the context of the Hebrew Bible.[21] John Barton, in particular, argues that although virtue was not a dominant mode of ethical reflection in ancient Israel, aspects of Israelite thought can be identified as belonging to the sphere of virtue ethics, including an idea of moral training, ethics derived from narrative, rules and values, discussion about the ends of life, and various forms of discipline.[22] This argument regarding the (relative) relevance of virtue in the Semitic context needs testing beyond the Hebrew Bible and, as I hope to show, the Dead Sea Scrolls can help us in such an enterprise.

It is justified to ask whether the term 'virtue' should be used in the study of Semitic texts, for it is not a native category for them and the possible distortion of Jewish thought should naturally be minimised. I think, however, that it is part of the scholarly challenge to recognize and map virtue discourse(s) in literary sources that do not employ a single term denoting virtue.[23] In such an enterprise, the starting point should be clearly articulated and justified in order not to privilege Greek notions that have controlled academic discussions on ancient Mediterranean virtue.[24] Taking up this challenge, I define the analysis of Semitic virtue as part of the observational study of moral beliefs and practices among human cultures.[25] In descriptive or comparative ethics, the debate does not concern the use of conceptual frameworks in general, but their illuminative power, for '[h]ardened conceptual tools may break as much as they dig out, and inappropriate tools may damage the terrain'.[26] Hence, while analysing a given culture, modes of

[21] See W.P. Brown, *Wisdom's Wonder: Character, Creation, and Crisis in the Bible's Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2014); Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel*, pp. 157–184.
[22] Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel*, pp. 157–184.
[23] See, e.g., R.A.H. King, 'Rudimentary Remarks on Comparing Ancient Chinese and Greco-Roman Ethics', in R. King and D. Schilling (eds.), *How Should One Live*? *Comparing Ethics in Ancient China and Greco-Roman Antiquity* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 3–16 (9–13). On the study of other categories that are unlikely to have been distinguished in antiquity, see J.W. Schofer, *Confronting Vulnerability: The Body and the Divine in Rabbinic Ethics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); F. Mirguet, 'What is an "Emotion" in the Hebrew Bible? An Experience that Exceeds Most Contemporary Concepts', *BibInt* 24 (2016), pp. 442–465.
[24] See, e.g., A.C. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (London: Duckworth, 1981); J.A. Herdt, *Putting on Virtue: The Legacy of the Splendid Vices* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); J. Annas, *Intelligent Virtue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); D.C. Russell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Virtue Ethics*. On the rejection of 'ethical universalism' in the study of morality, see R.W. Lovin and F.E. Reynolds, 'In the Beginning', in R.W. Lovin and F.E. Reynolds (eds.), *Cosmogony and Ethical Order: New Studies in Comparative Ethics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 1–35 (8–9).
[25] The aim is to picture 'the moral conditions, values, virtues, and norms' under which live; N. Hämäläinen, *Descriptive Ethics: What does Moral Philosophy Know about Morality?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), p. 1.
[26] J. Childress, 'Methodological Issues in Comparative Religious Ethics', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 7/1 (1979), pp. 1–10 (4). The dilemma is that a scholar cannot use his or her conceptual categories without distorting the other's categories, but such is necessary in comparative work; see G.E.R. Lloyd, 'Comparative Ethics: Some Methodological Considerations', in *How Should One Live*?, pp. 18–24 (18).

expressing ethical concerns should remain 'close to the way that the participants actually understood them' and be situated in relation to the author's overall worldview.[27] That is, the circumstances that conditioned the beliefs and practices under scrutiny must be considered.[28]

Accordingly, my task in this article is to determine *how* virtue is discussed in 4Q542.[29] To clarify, I do not assume that a common reasoning appears behind all notions of a good life, but seek to map some of their variety in the light of one document.[30] Since ancient societies were neither static nor homogeneous, I do not make claims regarding Jewish virtue discourse as a whole, but only regarding the representation of one Hellenistic Jewish author and, to some extent, the *yaḥad* movement where 4Q542 was later read. In my reading, virtue is understood inclusively as being concerned with a desirable moral disposition that manifests itself in exemplary activity and thus involves an aspect of development.[31] I insist that the elements of 4Q542's virtue discourse must be discovered from the text itself, and I hope to show that they form a constellation consisting of inheritance, past exemplars, and desirable characteristics. Moreover, while scholars debate whether the primary framework of descriptive ethics is philosophy or history of religions,[32] I wish to clarify that my approach is closer to the latter: I try to be sensitive to 4Q542's background and not just to look at ideas,[33] to the extent that it is possible regarding a text whose exact date and origin are unclear. This is warranted because my reading ultimately seeks to understand action and practise, i.e. the lived tradition mirrored by the ethical discourse.[34]

Ancestral Virtue in the Testament of Qahat

In testamentary literature, a biblical figure typically offers admonitions to his offspring at his death-bed.[35] While many have posed critical comments on the use of the term 'testament', which remains difficult to define, Henryk Drawnel specifically questions its employment regarding the Qumran texts on Levi, Qahat, and Amram.[36] As for 4Q542, Drawnel is unhappy with the designation because there are several literary

[27] Lovin and Reynolds, 'Beginning', pp. 4, 11.
[28] See the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*: https://www.britannica.com/topic/comparative-ethics.
[29] On the descriptive task, cf. J.P. Reeder, 'Religious Ethics as a Field and Discipline', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 6/1 (1978), pp. 32–53 (39): '... try to elucidate the types of moral statements and families of vocabulary ingredient in patterns of religious thought.'
[30] On the empirical approach which denies the idea of 'a common structure of practical reason' shared by all and stresses that variety 'marks their understandings of good life', see Lovin and Reynolds, 'Beginning', p. 28.
[31] The chosen definition of virtue is not culturally specific. For a cross-cultural study on virtues, see C. Peterson and M.E.P. Seligman, *Character Strengths and Virtues: A Handbook and Classification* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[32] See Childress, 'Methodological Issues', pp. 2–3.
[33] See J. Porter, 'Mere History: The Place of Historical Studies in Theological Ethics', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 25/3 (1997), pp. 103–126 (105), who stresses that the interpretation of historical texts must consider the context of the other writings of the same author and that of the social and intellectual forces that shaped those texts.
[34] These grounds have been used to reject the idea that philosophy should be regarded as 'the primary rubric for descriptive religious ethics'. See Childress, 'Methodological Issues', p. 3.
[35] See, e.g., A. Bingham Kolenkow, 'Testaments', in R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg (eds.), *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), pp. 259–267 (259). Apart from a mediatory figure, the texts are typically grounded in the Pentateuch, adapted for new situations, and moral-ethical or revelatory in terms of content; N. Roddy, 'Ultimate Reflections, Infinite Refractions: Form and Function in the Elusive Genre of Testamentary Literature', *Studia Hebraica* 3 (2003), pp. 298–310.
[36] H. Drawnel, 'The Literary Form and Didactic Content of the *Admonitions (Testament) of Qahat*', in F. García Martínez et al. (eds.), *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges Qumraniens en Hommage à Émile Puech* (STDJ, 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 55–73 (70–73); idem, 'The Initial Narrative of the *Visions of Amram* and its Literary Characteristics', *RevQ* 96

forms in the text and no narrative framework for it. Instead, he reads the text as priestly lore and as the admonitions of Qahat.[37] Leaving aside the debate of whether 4Q542 should be identified as a testament or not, I agree that the remaining text, at the very least, contains 'testamentary tropes'.[38] Like later testaments and farewell discourses, 4Q542 passes on mental capital through an ancestral figure to the offspring. In so doing, the author makes use of the first-person voice, which is a typical feature in the Aramaic scrolls from Qumran.[39]

The audience involves Qahat's offspring in general (1 i 4) and Amram in particular (1 ii 9–19). At the outset, Qahat blesses his 'sons' so that God would make himself known to them (1 i 1–4; cf. Num. 6:24–26). His offspring is warned against giving up their heritage and against mingling with other people (1 i 4–7, 9). Instead, Amram and his descendants should hold fast to the cross-generational teaching inherited from the patriarchs (1 i 7–ii 1).[40] They are also exhorted to take care of the worthy books received from Levi and Qahat (1 ii 9–13). Qahat stresses the role of both himself and his offspring in the transmission process: he is the one who commanded (פקד) and instructed (אלף) his offspring, while they kept (נטר) the teaching and carried (הילך) it on (1 i 11–13, 1 ii 1).[41] Let us have a closer look at lines 1 i 7–10:

> 7 So hold firm to the command of Jacob 8 your ancestor, grasp tightly the judgements of Abraham and the good deeds of Levi and myself, and be holy and pure 9 from all intermingling, holding firm to the truth, walking in honesty/integrity and not with a divided heart, 10 but with a pure heart and with a true and good spirit.

Addressing the significance of emulation, the author urges the audience to keep Jacob's word, Abraham's judgements, and Levi's and Qahat's righteous deeds (1 i 7–8, cf. 1 ii 11 on Levi).[42] The pictured lineage reaches back to exemplary ancestors and is envisioned to continue in the future, the use of the plural form stressing the communal dimension of ethical life. After reminiscing about the patriarchs and forefathers, desirable behaviour is delineated as involving holiness, purity, truth, and honesty/integrity; the latter presupposes having a pure, undivided heart and a true, good spirit. In the next lines 1 i 10–13, this immaterial inheritance is further described through a list of virtues that echoes and slightly expands the preceding ethical instruction:

> And you will give me among you a good name, and joy 11 to Levi, joy to Jacob, celebration to Isaac, and praise to Abraham, because you have kept and 12 passed on the inheritance that your ancestors left you: truth, justice/righteousness, honesty/integrity, 13 perfection, purity, holiness, and

(2010), pp. 517–554 (517–524); idem, 'The Literary Characteristics of the *Visions of Levi*', *JAJ* 1 (2010), pp. 303–319 (303–307, 316–319).

[37] Drawnel, 'Literary Form', p. 63

[38] Cf. A.Y. Reed, 'Textuality between Death and Memory: The Prehistory and Formation of the Parabiblical Testament', *JQR* 104/3 (2014), pp. 381–412 (390), who observes 'an intensification of testamentary tropes' that 'accompanies the very dawn of parabiblical literary production in early Hellenistic age'.

[39] Tigchelaar, 'Forms of Pseudepigraphy', p. 99.

[40] The language of inheritance is typical of wisdom and related texts from the late second temple era. See, e.g., M.S. Pajunen and M. Marttila, 'Wisdom, Israel and Other Nations: Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible, Deuterocanonical Literature, and the Dead Sea Scrolls', *JAJ* 4/1 (2013), pp. 2–26; E. Uusimäki, '"Happy is the person to whom she has been given": The Continuum of Wisdom and Torah in *4QSapiential Admonitions B* (4Q185) and *4QBeatitudes* (4Q525)', *RevQ* 26/103 (2014), pp. 345–359.

[41] Drawnel, 'Literary Form', p. 66.

[42] This might contain the first reference that attaches cultic ordinances to Abraham and Jacob. So, Puech, '4QTestament de Qahat', p. 275. See also Jub. 16:20–31; 21:5–20 on regulations addressed to Abraham.

priesthood, according to everything that I have commanded you and according to everything 1 ii 1 I have taught you in truth, from this time forth and to all [generations/centuries].

The observance of Qahat's teaching means dedication to the inheritance (ירותה) left by ancestors, including truth, justice, honesty, perfection, purity, holiness, and priesthood. The concepts of holiness, purity, truth, and honesty appear in both the preceding instruction and this list. Again, the focus is on the ongoing relevance of this inheritance that is to reach future generations.

The technique of listing seems to serve as a special marker of 4Q542's virtue discourse.[43] Admittedly, the catalogue form and the consecutive lack of syntax does not reveal whether there is a narrative behind the sequence or not.[44] Meanwhile, lists manifest how languages and communities group and classify things and experiences. They indicate that, for the culture in question, some common characteristics are shared by their items.[45] As such, their creation presumes collecting, categorizing, and presenting data and results in the making of order and spelling out connections that may otherwise remain 'implicit or invisible'.[46] That is, an author has an intention or an idea on the basis of which he or she selects items, orders them, and contextualizes them within a specific medium.[47] In 4Q542, too, the list form signals that the author *meant* to gather and group these items of immaterial inheritance. The argument that he specifically regarded them as delineating an ideal moral disposition is supported by the literary context: the list is integrated into an instruction on desirable behaviour.

The recognition of truth, justice, honesty, perfection, and moral purity as morally valuable qualities seems fairly universal, whereas ritual purity, holiness, and priesthood might not be as easily identified as virtues. Yet, the fact that something does not fall into our intuitive classification does not mean that the categorization would not function.[48] Rather, considering all the listed items reveals distinctive aspects of 4Q542's virtue discourse, for it shows how various biblical traditions are combined to create something new. In particular, the integration of ritual through purity, holiness, and priesthood into an explicitly ethical reflection seems like a novelty in comparison with, say, biblical wisdom materials or lists of virtues.[49]

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[43] For virtue and vice lists in biblical literature, see M.R. Cosby, *The Rhetorical Composition and Function of Hebrews 11 in Light of Example Lists in Antiquity* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), pp. 108–109; J.T. Fitzgerald, 'Virtue/Vice Lists', *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 6:857–859; D. Swanson, '4QcrypA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn: The Path of the Virtuous Life', in D.K. Falk et al. (eds.), *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (STDJ, 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 49–61; Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel*, pp. 231–239.

[44] L. Doležalová, 'Introduction: The Potential and Limitations of Studying Lists', in L. Doležalová (ed.), *The Charm of a List: From the Sumerians to Computerised Data Processing* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 1–8 (5).

[45] Mirguet, *An Early History of Compassion*, p. 68.

[46] S. Cohen, 'False Prophets (4Q339), Netinim (4Q340), and Hellenism at Qumran', *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 1 (2000), pp. 55–66 (62). On the purpose of creating order, see also R.E. Belknap, *The List: The Uses and Pleasures of Cataloguing* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), p. xii.

[47] Doležalová, 'Introduction', p. 5.

[48] Consider how Aristotle's πάθη contain terms that are easily identifiable as emotions to us (e.g., anger, pity, and fear) as well as 'less expectable terms' (e.g., Θάρρος, confidence or courage). Grief, in contrast, is not perceived as an emotion. See D. Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 15–16, 244–258; Mirguet, *An Early History of Compassion*, p. 68.

[49] Cf. Prov. 1:3–4 listing insight, righteousness, justice, equity, shrewdness, knowledge, and foresight; and Mic. 6:8 mentioning justice, love of goodness, and modesty. See also lists of sins in Jer. 7:9; Hos. 4:2; Prov. 6:16–19. Notably, Jer. 7:9 combines acts breaking the Decalogue with a ritual one (offering to Baal). Purity also appears in the lengthy list of virtues found in 1QS 4:3–6.

When contextualizing the evidence of 4Q542, it is helpful to survey other Semitic texts in general and the Aramaic materials from Qumran in particular, although we should not automatically assume that 4Q542 comes from the same hands as the other Aramaic materials found at Qumran. Beginning with 'truth' (קושט), mentioned in both the earlier instruction and the list of virtues, the term may designate a basic underlying principle of some sort, for Levi teaches his sons to regard truth as the essence of all their acts in the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD 13:2–3, par. 4Q213 1 i). Other Aramaic scrolls connect truth with wisdom (1Q20 19:25; 4Q548 1 i 12) and law (11QtgJob 7A:8). It also pertains to exemplarity and emulation: Noah is presented as the manifestation of 'truth' (1Q20 6:1–6) and Abraham is expected to show it in the Pharaoh's court (1Q20 19:25).[50] Hence, truth resonates with wisdom and related attributes, including law, and seems to operate like wisdom and torah. As a fundamental principle, which may connote divine revelation, it serves as a primary category covering other related concepts,[51] and its possession appears as a prerequisite to other good qualities. In fact, the placement in the beginning of the list makes the concept a lens through which the rest of the qualities are assessed.

The next two virtues probably concern interpersonal activity, although the meaning of צדקה —'justice', 'righteousness', or 'charity' is somewhat difficult to interpret due to the lack of comparative Aramaic material from Qumran.[52] 4Q542 itself refers to the good deeds of Levi and Qahat (1 i 8), but various connotations remain possible. In the light of Dan. 4:27 and other evidence from the second temple period, צדקה probably designates the social virtue of 'almsgiving'.[53] As for 'honesty/integrity' (ישירו), lines 1 i 10–13 specify that it involves walking with a pure heart (cf. Ps. 24:4) instead of a divided one,[54] and one's spirit should be good and honest. A person's capacity to exercise moral agency and control over one's actions and thoughts is revealed by the term לב.[55] The term רוח, however, may point to the influence of spirits on human life and decision-making. It has multiple meanings such as an animating quality, an internal inclination, or a God-sent external disposition. As for divine spirits that cause action, biblical books typically depict such as external to the autonomous self, while in the scrolls of the *yaḥad* spirits are internalised, serve as motivating forces within a person, and overpower his or her autonomy.[56] The author's take on the

[50] Another way to search for the meaning of 'truth' is to ask what it is not: Noah, e.g., is said to avoid paths of deceit and violence which take one to darkness (1Q20 6:3–5). The imagery of ways (esp. 1Q20 6:3) suggest that Noah exercised moral agency. Similar idiom appears in other Aramaic texts linked with Enoch, Levi, Tobit, and Qahat; D. Machiela, '"Wisdom Motifs" in the Compositional Strategy of the Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) and Other Aramaic Texts from Qumran', in B.Y. Goldstein et al. (eds.), *Hā-'îsh Mōshe: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein* (STDJ, 122; Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 223–247 (227, 235–236).

[51] Cf. Proverbs where 'wisdom' covers other virtues (e.g., fear of God, knowledge, love, humility, piety, justice, generosity, and honesty) that motivate one to pursue wisdom which is not a static state; M.V. Fox, 'Ethics and Wisdom in the Book of Proverbs', *HS* 48 (2007), pp. 75–88 (77–82, 86).

[52] As for other Aramaic texts from Qumran, צדקה was probably mentioned together with truth in 4Q213 1 i 7 (par. ALD 13:3) and 4Q548 1 ii–2:7, but both cases remain fragmentarily.

[53] See also Sir. 3:30; Tob. 4:5–11; 12:6–10; C.A. Newsom, *Daniel: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2014), p. 145. In many texts of the *yaḥad* (e.g., 1QpHab; 4QpPs[a]), the category of the righteous is juxtaposed with the wicked ones, stressing how a good person's behaviour cannot be detached from his or her relation to God.

[54] The idea of having a divided heart seems to contrast with honesty/integrity. It suggests that one should avoid unfaithfulness and fraudulence, for the Hebrew Bible often speaks of dividing one's heart between YHWH and Baal or other foreign gods (e.g., 1 Sam. 7:3; 1 Kgs 18:21; Isa. 29:13; Hos. 10:2).

[55] The bodily organ denotes the 'locus of the person's moral will'; Newsom, 'Models', p. 10.

[56] See C.A. Newsom, 'Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the *Hodayot*', in Jeremy Penner et al. (eds.), *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (STDJ, 98; Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 339–354 (343–346, 350, 353–354).

spirits' psychological force remains unclear, but since other Aramaic scrolls are aware of demons that assail humans,[57] the stress on having a good spirit might imply their resistance.

'Perfection' (תמימו) appears only here among the Aramaic scrolls, but the motif seems to have been crucial for 4Q542's later interpretative community: תמים became a prominent trope in the thought of the *yaḥad*.[58] Early Jewish and Christian texts written in Greek may offer further interpretative aid. While perfection is a common theme in Philo's texts,[59] one may also think of works such as Matthew's gospel and Didache in which the pursuit of perfection means doing more than others and going beyond 'the minimum level of morality laid down in the Torah'.[60] The idea of pursuing something beyond the expected level seems plausible, regardless of whether it is realistic or not; there is no idea of a 'middle path' in 4Q542. As such, the inclusion of perfection in the list stresses the import of correct *attitude* as part of a good moral disposition. In terms of structure, the term might close the first part of the list or serve as a link between the first and the second sets of virtue, generally contributing to the aspirational nature of the discourse.

Purity, holiness, and priesthood seem crucial for the author of 4Q542 as holiness and purity are even mentioned twice. They may sound more 'religious' than 'ethical', but such a distinction is not valid in the context of Jewish antiquity.[61] First of all, 'purity' (דכו) addresses a particular state of being—the absence of impurity—as part of one's moral disposition.[62] Is it ritual or moral purity or both that is at stake here? Since the distinction between moral and ritual purity is not clear-cut,[63] there is no reason to exclude either form of purity that both contribute to the maintenance of the right order in ancient Israelite thought. Since the status of purity was necessary for activating holiness (Exod. 22:30) and enabling God's holiness to stay among Israel (Num. 19:20),[64] its appearance in the list just before holiness also draws attention to human-divine interaction. As a physical condition, purity may highlight an embodied aspect of Jewish ethics, or an intersection between character formation and lived religion, and serve to preserve social boundaries along with the adherence to purity regulations.[65] This kind of concern for purity is intrinsic to the priestly-minded author of 4Q542, but most if not all second temple Jews cared for it. However, purity was fostered by some, such as 4Q542's audience in the *yaḥad* movement.[66]

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[57] See, e.g., 1Q20 20:16–29 on the evil spirit that harms Pharaoh and prevents him from having sexual intercourse with Sarai; H. Lichtenberger, 'Demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament', in R.A. Clements and D.R. Schwartz (eds.), *Text, Thought and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (STDJ, 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 267–280 (274–275).

[58] The movement maintained that perfection was to be realised in the present as well as carrying eschatological relevance; Brooke, 'Issues', p. 103.

[59] M.L. Satlow, 'Philo on Human Perfection', *JTS* 59/2 (2008), pp. 500–519.

[60] Matt. 5:48; 19:21; Did. 1:4b; 6:2a. See H. van de Sandt, 'Essentials of Ethics in Matthew and the *Didache*: A Comparison at a Conceptual and Practical Level', in *Early Christian Ethics in Interaction with Jewish and Greco-Roman Contexts*, pp. 243–261 (251–255).

[61] Cf. 1QS 4:3 and Tso, *Ethics in the Qumran Community*, p. 37. In general, it is contested whether a distinction between moral philosophy and religious ethics can be made; J.P. Reeder, 'What is a Religious Ethics?' *Journal of Religious Ethics* 25/3 (1997), pp. 157–181.

[62] So, H.K. Harrington, 'Holiness and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls', *DSD* 8/2 (2001), pp. 124–135 (129).

[63] These categories are depicted as 'porous' by Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel*, pp. 199–200. While a distinction between ritual and moral impurity is clearer in the Hebrew Bible, it is debated whether the Qumran scrolls posit two sources of impurity or whether they conflate them. See, e.g., J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. pp. 22–23, 26–27, 75, 88; C. Toews, 'Moral Purification in 1QS', *BBR* 13/1 (2003), pp. 71–96.

[64] H.K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (Companion to the Qumran Scrolls, 5; London: T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 8–10.

[65] Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, p. 34.

[66] Brooke, 'Issues', p. 100.

'Holiness' (קודש), for one, designates divine energy and force coming from God. In biblical tradition, God is the only inherently holy being while people can take part in his holiness 'by extension'.[67] As the ultimate divine force, holiness reacts to impurity and imperfection, while as ethical goodness it stands for God's fundamental nature. Violating commandments, for example, involves violating the exhortation to be holy as the Lord is holy.[68] By including holiness in the list of desirable qualities, the author of 4Q542 implies that a good moral disposition does not primarily emerge from the reasoning of an autonomous person. Apart from human relations, virtue ethics covers active engagement with the divine sphere. If holiness is regarded as emanating from God and as something in which humans partake through a relation to the divine, the idea of holiness as a virtue seems to imply a person's participation in the very nature of God. While the first audience of 4Q542 may have consisted of actual priests, the later audience in the *yaḥad* movement also regarded itself as a 'most holy dwelling for Aaron' (1QS 8:8–9).

Finally, the reference to 'priesthood' (כהנו) brings the list to its culmination and emphasizes the relevance of a priestly lineage in the pursuit of a good life. Does this mean that virtue is not accessible to every human being? The inclusion of priesthood seems to bring about a sense of hierarchy and exclusivity, resisting an egalitarian idea of virtue as something that anyone can pursue under any conditions. Even so, in early Judaism priesthood did not only concern a key group, like in the Hebrew Bible, but it came to apply to all Israel. At least in the *yaḥad* movement priesthood was democratised: it was something in which a person could partake regardless of one's descent. As George Brooke argues, members of non-priestly descent could 'become priestly through their participation in the "sanctuary of men"'.[69] Hence, 4Q542 may originate from priestly circles, but priestly roles could also be filled by the communities where it was read.

To conclude, the list begins with truth, a kind of metacategory from which the other virtues flow and on which they are based. The reference to truth is followed firstly by two virtues with an interpersonal dimension (justice, honesty), then by perfection highlighting an aspirational attitude, and finally by three items (purity, holiness, priesthood) pointing to religious, practised, and communal dimensions of a good moral disposition. The total number of virtues is probably relevant, for seven symbolises perfection, beginning with the creation account, which implies that the implementation of all these virtues creates and sustains an ideal moral order.

More specifically, the listed seven items could stand for past exemplars including two sets of three patriarchs and Aaron. Such a reading of 4Q542 associates Abraham with truth, Isaac with justice, Jacob with honesty, Levi with perfection, Qahat with purity, and Amram with holiness, after which the list culminates with Aaron the symbol of priesthood and, according to 4Q545 4:18–19, the seventh man. In other words, the list of seven ancestors seems to channel their remembrance through an exhortation to pursue the set of seven virtues.

Yet, the story told by the author both *is* and *is not* about ancestral success. A closer examination reveals that the deeds of each character manifested the reversal of the specific virtue attached to him, which makes the virtues unexpected. Abraham stands for truth, but he asked Sarah to lie (Gen. 12:11–13), whilst Isaac denotes justice despite his willingness to sacrifice Isaac (Gen. 22:1–19). Jacob's association with

[67] Harrington, 'Holiness and Law', p. 129.
[68] Lev. 19:2, cf. 11:44; 20:26; Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, p. 9.
[69] This implies 'a cultic priority' in the self-understanding of the movement's members; Brooke, 'Issues', 100. On their 'priestly orientation', see also M. Tso, 'The Giving of the Torah at Sinai and the Ethics of the Qumran Community', in G.J. Brooke et al. (eds.), *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity* (TBN, 12; Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 117–127 (125).

honesty is ironic, given how he cheated his father's blessing (Gen. 27:1–29) and secretly escaped from Laban (Gen. 31:1–21). Levi's act of killing Sikem's males and robbing the city surely does not reflect perfection (Gen. 34:25–29, cf. 49:5–7), while Amram's marriage to his aunt Jochebed (Exod. 6:20; Num. 26:59)—a deed that breaks the law (Lev. 18:12–13)—questions his holiness. Admittedly, the Pentateuch does not spell out the link between Qahat and purity, but 4Q542's concern for purity and intermingling with foreigners (1 i 5–6, 8–10, 13) may suggest that there were traditions connecting Qahat with a personal experience of such. Finally, Aaron represents priesthood in spite of his shameful act of making the golden calf (Exod. 32:1–6).

To some extent, the evidence of 4Q542 reminds one of Hindy Najman's reflections on 'whitewashing' in early Jewish literature. Najman's case study on the reception of Gen. 35:22, which tells that Reuben laid with his father's concubine, shows how later authors could deal with embarrassing and awkward biblical stories. Instead of deleting them, narratives could be embellished in order to recover the reputation of the biblical figure.[70] The author of 4Q542 does not retell stories that call the patriarchs' virtue into question in detail, yet he, too, reworks and whitewashes them through a subtle interpretative act. Instead of ignoring imperfection, the author explicates the ancestors' most undesirable deeds and worst vices through reversal, thus claiming that when the story is read carefully, the vice of the figure turns out to be a lesson regarding a particular virtue. Such an interpretative approach, which first seems to remind one of the vices of the Israelite past, eventually casts the ancestors' lives as cases that define virtues to be pursued. Biblical characters are 'redeemed' and the audience learns to see them in a more favourable light.[71]

On the Virtue Discourse of 4Q542

Virtue is not a native category for the author of 4Q542, but he is concerned with an ideal moral disposition. Accordingly, a whole body of texts attesting to ancient Mediterranean virtue discourses would be missed if Semitic texts were rejected due to their different conceptual representation.[72] The fear of importing a foreign category also becomes unwarranted when the Semitic evidence is allowed to speak in its own voice. In 4Q542, what we have identified is an idea of inheritance that results from cumulative traditions.[73] For its author, virtues were not qualities of an autonomous, secular, and rational individual, but parts of an organic whole rooted in ancestral narrative, religious practice, and communal concerns. The language of inheritance reveals that the question is about more than an autonomous individual: the good

[70] H. Najman, 'Re-Writing as Whitewashing: The Case of Re-Written Bible', in T. Yoreh et al. (eds.), *Vixens Disturbing Vineyards: Embarrassment and Embracement of Scriptures: Festschrift in Honor of Harry Fox – leBeit Yoreh* (Judaism and Jewish Life; Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2010), 140–153.
[71] On the favourable recreation of biblical figures, see, e.g., R. Reyes, 'The Genesis Apocryphone: A More Divine Abraham', *Prandium: The Journal of Historical Studies* 2/1 (2013), pp. 37–44.
[72] Cf. C.A. Barton and D. Boyarin, *Imagine No Religion: How Modern Abstractions Hide Ancient Realities* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 3, 7, on the aim of the humanities to comprehend 'another people in another time or place'. See also Mirguet, *An Early History of Compassion*, p. 88, who argues that different conceptual representations of human experience are not a reason to regard one culture as more emotional than another.
[73] Cf. the idea of moralities as 'historically transmitted languages of persuasion', resulting from and being shaped by 'cumulative experiences and traditions'. See F. Bird, 'Paradigms and Parameters for the Comparative Study of Religious and Ideological Ethics', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 9/2 (1981), pp. 157–185 (157, 159).

characteristics are considered to move on within a particular lineage.[74] This emphasises the communal dimension of virtue discourse while imposing further criteria for participating in the transmission of virtue.

The author reimagines and recreates the biblical past in his own setting. By explicating the patriarchs' role in the transmission of virtue, he roots his instruction in the biblical narrative, contributing to its legitimacy and especially that of the priestly lineage. His concern for virtue emerges from a particular intellectual context in the Hellenistic East and was possibly strengthened by cross-cultural ideas of the Hellenistic *Zeitgeist*, as is suggested by the use of the list form[75] and perhaps also by the use of the Aramaic language, which had long been the *lingua franca* of the Levant; the language choice implies, at least in theory, a broader access than Hebrew.[76]

Even so, it would be misleading to state that the author of 4Q542 'invents' virtue per se.[77] Rather, something in the author's setting prompted him to spell out the relevance of inherited virtues as it emerges from his own Judaean tradition, as if he wanted to say that this is our form of ethical teaching that has a both a long history and a future, so long as mingling is avoided. Remarkably, there is a flavour of bookishness attached to the instruction on virtue in 4Q542, along with the exhortation to take care of the valuable books of the ancestors (1 ii 12–13), which highlights the authority and writenness of the ethical tradition. Overall, the outcome underlines the contribution of 'local' and 'minority' voices to the learned culture of the Hellenistic East.

The evidence of 4Q542 also urges us to consider the place of ethical reflection in second temple Judaism and its literature. While literary contexts for ethical statements have typically been identified in various didactic and wisdom materials of the Semitic tradition or in the philosophically flavoured writings composed in Greek, 4Q542 shifts our attention elsewhere: the author's interpretative act expounds that concerns related to character formation arise from the narrative body of biblical texts. There are gaps to be filled in the biblical account, and those gaps enable one to complement the previous tradition with further ethical insights.

Moreover, 4Q542 prompts us to add a priestly perspective to the discussion on virtue. The categories of ritual and ethical cannot be separated from each other but seem interlocked: ritual is an integral part of a good life and related practice and pedagogy. In the world from which 4Q542 hails, the concerns for purity and holiness, even priesthood, are not detached from, or irrelevant to, a good moral disposition, but enable its development and maintenance by nurturing a desirable order.[78] In fact, the wisdom teacher portrayed in

[74] As set out by Reed, 'Textuality', p. 395, this idiom invokes the didactic tradition's 'transgenerational past and horizon'. Good conduct is contextualized over against selected exempla and the question of priestly succession.
[75] Listing is a typical feature of Hellenistic textual scholarship; see Cohen, 'False Prophets', pp. 62–66. On the other hand, lists are also a common feature of various priestly and ritual texts, which is notable given that 4Q542 is concerned with priesthood.
[76] For Jews, the use of Aramaic came to signify an identification with the wider context; B. Spolsky, 'Jewish Multilingualism in the First Century: An Essay in Historical Sociolinguistics', in J.A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp. 35–50 (48).
[77] Cf. Mirguet, *An Early History of Compassion*, p. 27, who argues that human phenomena never belong to any single tradition alone. Despite the lack of the category of 'emotion' in biblical Hebrew, one should not speak about the Hellenistic Jewish 'invention' of emotions. Rather, Jewish communities constructed their 'emotional imaginary' by drawing on 'various existing repertoires'.
[78] Priestly thinking does not exclude ethics, but the ideas of goodness and right order intertwine in it. 'Being moral would mean being in alignment with the universe', as explained by M. Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 44–45. Thus, Barton argues that impurity signals the violation of the right order; idem, *Ethics in Ancient Israel*, p. 204.

the text does not appear to be a scribe-sage in the first place, but he is placed in a chain of cultic personnel. The idea of a priest as a moral exemplar later had an afterlife in the Christian tradition, but 4Q542 shows that it is already native to second temple Jews.

Finally, apart from casting light on the virtue discourse of priestly circles, the evidence of 4Q542 resonates scholarly observations on ethics in the *yaḥad* movement. Marcus Tso has argued that instead of inquiring how its members would answer the question 'How should *I* live *my* life?', it may be better to formulate the question as 'How should I (or *we*) respond to the presence of the (human or divine) *Other*?'.[79] While communal and metaphysical concerns permeate 4Q542 already as it is, further connotations to purity and holiness as ethical categories may have been read into the text during its afterlife in the *yaḥad*. That audience may also have stressed the cosmological framework and aspects of 4Q542's ethics (cf. 1 ii 1–8) in the light of their dualistic thought that encourages people to be of light, but still struggle against the spirits of darkness (esp. 1QS 3–4).[80]

Conclusions

Scholars have looked for the ancient roots of virtue ethics and conceptions of the good life in Greek philosophical discourse. Even a recent volume of essays, which considers diverse Islamic, Buddhist, and Confucian perspectives, fully ignores Judaism both ancient and modern.[81] Although the concept of virtue is not an emic one for authors writing in Hebrew or Aramaic, the omission of Semitic sources does not appear as justified, given the sort of discourse identified in the Testament of Qahat. This text, for one, attests to Jewish virtue discourse and provides us with one representative of its Semitic type.[82] 4Q542 offers an aspirational portrait of what a good moral disposition, perhaps even perfection (cf. the use of the term תמים), denoted in the mind of a Hellenistic Jewish author who was priestly-oriented and wrote in Aramaic—and, to some extent, in the minds of the *yaḥad* members who later made use of 4Q542.

Reading of 4Q542 from the viewpoint of virtue requires conceptual translation because the text does not represent the kind of theoretical reflection to which we may be accustomed. As such 4Q542 may, however, shake our preconceptions of what virtue is and where it can be found, revealing distinctive aspects of virtue discourse in late second temple Yehud/Judaea.[83] Ultimately, the approach of 4Q542, rich with biblical tropes, reminds one of how scholars of cognitive science have stressed the role of imagination in human moral understanding: moral reasoning is 'an imaginative activity' built on images, metaphors, and

[79] Tso, *Ethics in the Qumran Community*, p. 56.
[80] See J.I. Kampen, 'Ethics', in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 1:272–276, who highlights purity as an ethical category in the *yaḥad*, as well as arguing how its ethics is supported by deterministic and dualistic beliefs.
[81] N.E. Snow, *Cultivating Virtue: Perspectives from Philosophy, Theology, and Psychology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). On the scholarly ignorance regarding the ethics-related evidence from Levant, see Barton, *Ethics in Ancient Israel*, p. 2; C.A. Newsom, 'Toward a Genealogy of the Introspective Self in Second Temple Judaism', in M.S. Pajunen and J. Penner (eds.), *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in Late Second Temple Period* (BZAW, 486; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), pp. 63–79 (63, 78).
[82] Moreover, on the diversity of ethics within a single tradition or culture, see Lovin and Reynolds, 'Beginning', p. 29; Reeder, 'Religious Ethics', p. 41. J.N. Lightstone warns against constructing single rabbinic ethics'; see idem, 'Problems and New Perspectives in the Study of Early Rabbinic Ethics', *Journal of Religious Ethics* 9/2 (1981), pp. 199–209.
[83] Cf. F. Cho, 'Ritual', in *The Blackwell Companion to Religious Ethics*, pp. 86–93 (87), on how the lack of linguistic equivalents to ethics/morality in various religious traditions enables us 'to enhance our moral investigations by forcing us to accept rough terminological equivalents from other cultures, with the result that new connotations and meanings of morality come into view'. See also Schofer, *Confronting Vulnerability*, p. 7, on rabbinic ethics as including conceptual translation, due to the rabbis' way of expressing ideas through tropes and narratives.

narratives instead of universal moral laws.[84] The poorly preserved reference to passing down the valuable books transmitted by ancestors (1 ii 12–13) brings along a sense of bookishness, but the overall focus is on the practice and training in which one's dedication to ancestral writings is expected to result.

In brief, 4Q542 offers a priestly perspective embedded in an expansion of biblical narrative. Apart from general ethical instruction, it offers a list of virtues—or items of immaterial inheritance—that are to be activated and performed by the audience. Virtue is emphatically presented as something communal, as the inheritance of Qahat's offspring, and not as a property of an individual.[85] Individual responses to virtue are expected from the audience, but they do not happen in a vacuum. Rather, these responses are placed in a communal framework with two explicit dimensions: a horizontal level in that the community consists of 'sons' who are thus peers to each other, and a vertical one insofar as an individual is placed in a lineage from ancestors to future generations.

Practice and lived religion are stressed through references to purity, holiness, and priesthood. While scholars often think of scribe-sages as the paramount exemplars and wisdom teachers of the Jewish tradition, 4Q542 highlights the role of priests as such. The concern for purity signals the importance of nurturing the right order, while the inclusion of holiness in the list suggests that virtuous life means dependence on and participation in a cosmic force, God's very essence. Legal concerns and related acts are visible in the concern for purity, but the account's dominant features pertain to narrative and character formation, showing that legal issues are but one aspect of Jewish ethics and that virtue entails doing more than the law prescribes; it motivates one to activate his or her potential and then persuades one to make progress in the pursuit and performance of morally valuable and thus desirable qualities.[86]

[84] See M. Johnson, *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), esp. pp. ix–x, 1–2.

[85] The importance of tradition is acknowledged by some modern ethicists. MacIntyre explains that one's search for good takes place 'within a context defined by those traditions of which the individual's life is a part'; see idem, *After Virtue*, p. 222.

[86] Cf. Brooke, 'Issues', p. 98, who observes that legal interpretation (i.e., not ethics) has been a dominant framework for discussing questions of behaviour in Qumran studies. See also J.J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd edn; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), pp. 273–275, who stresses the importance of ethical concerns in the construction of Jewish identity in the writings from the diaspora.

This is a sketch of my postdoc-project, and a work in progress. I will be happy to receive input on how it can be developed further.

Take off His Filthy Clothes: Semantic and Symbolic Meanings of (Im)purity in Prophetic Poetry

How is impurity embodied in prophetic literature of the Persian period? This project considers ideas of embodied (im)purity in Haggai and Zechariah in the context of the Book of the Twelve and in Persian material.

Related questions are: How is "guilt" manifested and addressed in Haggai and Zechariah? How are conceptualisations of human (im)purity interrelated with the (ritual and) moral status? The passages of particular interest are Haggai 2:10–14, which mentions the impurity (טָמֵא) of the people (2:14) and Zechariah 3:1–4, which mentions a filthy (הַצֹּאִים) robe, symbolising the iniquity of the people (3:4).

The main thesis of this project is that notions of impurity are embodied in different ways, and that there is an essential difference between the feminine and the masculine body and their embodiment of guilt. As we see in Haggai and Zechariah, the people have unclean hands and Zechariah wears filthy garments. Similarly, Malachi refers to a garment "covered with violence" (Mal 2:16) and the prayer in Isaiah, "We have all become like one who is unclean, and all our righteous deeds are like a filthy cloth" (Isa 64:5). These examples associate impurity with clothes, not bodies, which is very different from the descriptions of the daughters of Zion or of Zion/Samaria. Their impurity is exposed in their nakedness (e.g. Ezek 23:26–30/Ezek 22:23–23:49; Hos 2, Isa 3). The general tendency in the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible, to feminise the sinner, is comparable to the feminisation of the enemy in Nahum.

This study is at the centre of biblical hermeneutics, and it is also relevant to other fields of research, such as theology, and history of religions. The project interacts with various theory and methodology, mainly reception history, hermeneutics, cognitive theories /conceptual metaphor theory.

1. Background and Status of Knowledge

1.1 Human (Im)purity: More than Metaphors

Both literature and archaeology indicate the importance of purity in the Second Temple period, and scholars of Hebrew Bible, Qumran and New Testament have long been engaged with the interpretation of the purity system, its ideas and functions.[1]

In the Hebrew Bible, the state achieved by sinning is sometimes described as being filthy. Clearly, you do not have to be dirty, to be impure. And as Jacob Neusner states "purity and impurity are not hygienic categories."[2] Yet, the two are associated in the prophetic imagination:

> "Wash yourself clean" (Isa 1:16) and
> "…. once the Lord has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst" (Isa 4:4).

According to Mary Douglas, dirt, or uncleanness is a matter out of place. Defilement occurs only in view of a systematic ordering of ideas. [3] Details of such a purity system can found in Leviticus.[4] But as Jonathan Klawans argues, this system can be difficult to interpet.[5] Where Neusner avoids the term 'ritual purity' in order to prevent the idea that there is something un-ritual, such as 'real' or 'moral,' Klawans makes a clear distinction between two kinds of defilement: moral and ritual impurity.[6] Where ritual impurity results from contact with objects that are impure (Lev 11–15; Num 19), moral impurity, results from committing

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1. See e.g. Hanna K. Harrington, "Ritual Purity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. A.D. Roitman, L. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref, STDJ (Brill, 2011). See also Susan Haber and Adele Reinhartz, *'They Shall Purify Themselves': Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*, Atlanta: SBL, 2008.

2. Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism. The Haskell Lectures, 1972–1973* (Leiden, Brill, 1973), 1.

3. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, Routledge classics (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 44, 51.

4. According to Jacob Milgrom, bodily impurities focus on four phenomena: death, blood, semen, scale disease, see *Leviticus 1–16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* New York: Anchor, Doubleday, 1991, 1002. See also "The Impurity System" in ibid., 641.

5. See the preface of Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

6. Latest in Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 53.

abominations that defiles the sinner.[7] The contribution of Klawans has been influential in the recent debate, and most scholars seem to accept his distinction.[8]

Klawans distinction between ritual and moral purity, is partly triggered and developed in opposition to those arguing that moral purity is to be regarded as metaphorical or figurative, and thus secondary.[9] (E.g. Grabbe sees a metaphor of ritual purity in the description of the high priest Joshua in Zech 3: "The priest suffers metaphorical impurity because of the exile.")[10] This does not mean that Klawans does not categorise some passages, as "figurative in nature." Prophetic texts which criticise the cult, and use metaphors related to purity (e.g. Hos 5:3, 6:10; Ezek 36:17), fall outside Klawans' analytic system.[11] Hence, passages such as Isaiah 1:16 and 4:4, where ritual and moral purity are associated, are not evaluated as contributors to the understanding of the purity system. Now, it is rather conventional to describe the prophetic oracles against the people as being metaphorical. Thus there is a large part of the literature that is not examined in order to understand '(im)purity.' This is unfortunate.

1.2 Persian Prophecy: Haggai and Zechariah as Prophets of the Restoration Period

The Minor Prophets that constitute the Book of the Twelve, at least narratively, range from pre- to post exilic times. This time span is indicated in the superscriptions of the individual books. Haggai and Zechariah are, at least by their redactors, situated in the Persian period, where the temple is rebuilt and the religious identity is shaped anew.[12]

The history of the Book of the Twelve intersects with the history of the Persian Period. The historical setting of the last three books of the collection Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi dates within the Persian period, and their prophetic message are related to cult and identity issues of the Persian period– in analogy with Ezra and Nehemiah. Both Haggai and Zechariah

7. Ibid., 55.

8. E.g. Elizabeth W. Goldstein, *Impurity and Gender in the Hebrew Bible* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 3–5; Mira Balberg, *Purity, Body, and Self in Early Rabbinic Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 129. In line with Klawans argument, Wassen underlines that impurity, as regulated in the Torah, is not a sin, and not something one would avoid, Cecilia Wassen, "The Jewishness of Jesus and Ritual Purity," *in Jewish Studies in the Nordic countries today* 27 (2016).

9. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 32–34, 41.

10. On sacrifical system in Persian period, see Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, Library of Second Temple studies (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 219.

11. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 36.

12. The dates in Haggai and Zechariah are probably erroneous, see Diana Vikander Edelman, *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple: Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem*, 1st ed. ed. (London: Equinox, 2005), 80.

are concerned with Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the temple. Ezra 5:1 even mentions Haggai and Zechariah in relation to the temple building. The Persian period is enigmatic. We know less of the Persian period than we like to think.[13] The temple at Elephantine proves that the accounts of the Hebrew Bible need to be supplemented. However, the documents from Elephantine do not appear to yield insight about "doctrinal, philosophical, experiential, emotional dimension."[14] Thus, the literature of the Hebrew Bible, although it clearly reflects memory and ideology more than history, conveys knowledge about the Persian period.

Bedford reads Haggai and Zech in light of ideology of temple Rebuilding in Achaemenid Judah. He argues that the two draw especially on monarchical traditions and oracles against nations, and are influences by historical experience of divine abandonment and loss of statehood.[15] Mark Boda sees influences from Jeremiah, and penitential themes, at least in Zechariah 7.[16] Recently, John Collins has argued that neither Haggai nor Zechariah (at least its core visions, 1:7–6:15) refer to the Pentateuch, rather Haggai refers to a priestly judgment.[17] Collins thus refutes e.g. Meyers note that Haggai 2 anticipates some form of the Pentateuch.[18]

The language/rhetoric of so-called Persian prophecy does resemble previous prophets, such as Ezekiel 40–48. Hence, the purity concern is best interpreted (intertextually) in light of the exilic prophets, although I would argue that the Pentateuch, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, which postdate the Book of the Twelve, may also serve as intertexts.[19]

There is no reason to suspect that the the purity system, as a symbolic system, is unable of change. E.g. How was it conveyed in the Persian period, in order to serve identity and restoration issues?

In the Book of the Twelve, impurity is associated with moral status, body, clothing and nakedness, in symbolic, poetic and literal expressions. The prophetic literature makes use of gendered metaphors. Some metaphors serve to curse the enemy (e.g. Nahum), others degrade the people of Jerusalem. The metaphoric language that is used in the Book of the Twelve, is closely associated with ideas about purity, which is especially found in the

13. Harrison, T. *Writing Ancient Persia,* London: Bristol Classic Press, 2011.

14. A recent study on the Judean religion of the Persian period, see Gard Granerød, *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian period: Studies in the Religion and Society of the Judaean Community at Elephantine* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2016), 23, 325.

15. Key motifs: Yahweh's return to Zion/Jerusalem, Yahweh's kingship. See Bedford, Peter R. *Temple Restoration early Achaemenid Judah*, SJSJ (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 261.

16. Mark Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?". Pages 49–69 in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era, Papers read at the first Meeting of the European Association for Biblical Studies, Utrecht, 6–9 August, 2000*, Edited by Albertz and Becking. Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2003.

17. John J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism. Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (California: University of California Press, 2017), 45.

18. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 1st ed. (Garden City: The Anchor Bible, 1987).

19. See e.g the uncleanness of the nation (Ezek 39:24); concerning holy clothes (Ezek 42:14); Linen vestments (Ezek 44:17–19).

development of an earlier Jerusalem-complex, in Ezekiel 23.[20] This connection with priestly legislation is partly subtle, partly associative (e.g. Hag 2), but it remains interesting from an intersectional perspective. How does gender affect bodily language about moral impurity? (e.g. Nah 3, Hos 2:10).

The biblical material generally shows developments. There is good reason to assume that the power of metaphoric language affects the interpretation of a symbolic system in practice. Thus ritual and metaphor have bidirectional effect (e.g. the meaning of bread and wine in the different versions of the Eucharist). More recent theories of metaphors (cognitive science) suggest that blended metaphors may be projected back onto the source (e.g blend: If a sinner (target space) is associated with someone impure (ritually or morally!) (source space), the blended meaning is that the sinner is in fact impure. These projections are especially relevant when notions of impurity intersect with gender. Elizabeth W. Goldstein shows how prophetic rhetoric both create and substantiate a negative relationship between the menstruating body and the God of Israel. The term *ndh*, a menstruating woman, even becomes synonymous with being impure (cf. Ezra 9:11; Zech 13:1).[21] A similar argument can be raised concerning the feminisation of the enemy in the oracles against the nations, where the abominate is feminine (e.g. Nahum 3:5–6).

1.3 The Contribution of this Study

> ”Human beings, needless to say, can contract and convey impurity in this system only insofar as they are themselves material objects, namely, only insofar as they are bodies” (Balberg, 2014)[22]

The main contribution of this study is to expand knowledge about (ideas of) embodied purity in Hebrew prophecy.

According to Leviticus and Ezek 44:23, the priests shall teach the difference between the pure and impure. Haggai thus anticipates the same judgment, pertaining to the role of the priests. But what does it mean that the people are impure? It is difficult to make use of Klawans' distinction between ritual and moral impurity in order to describe the state of the people. Haggai 2 can hardly be categorised as being merely figurative language.[23] In

20. Cynthia R. Chapman, *The Gendered Language of Warfare in the Israelite-Assyrian Encounter*, Harvard Semitic Monographs (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004).

21. Goldstein, E., *Impurity and Gender*, 2.

22. Balberg, *Purity, Body, and Self in Early Rabbinic Literature*, 2104.

23. Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 35.

Zechariah 3, the high priest Joshua wears a filthy robe. Clearly the robe symbolises the iniquity of the people (Zech 3:4). This would according to Klawans be a case of moral purity, and its resolutions is found in that the heavenly actor interferes, takes off the filthy clothes, and puts on pure robes, and a clean turban (Zech 3:4–5). According to my interpretation, both Haggai and Zechariah have an ethical impetus, they both describe a moral status, in terms of impurity. However, I do not find the distinction helpful in order to analyse the meaning of these texts. The main reason is probably related to genre and the poetic character of the prophetic literature. My questions evolve from reading the prophetic poetry, which is often deemed less significant as articulations of religious practices in contrast to prescriptive texts. I see this differently, as poetry and narrative are genres well equipped to express the ambiguity of the concept (im)purity. Moreover, poetry can bring otherwise unarticulated ideas to the surface.

The literature from this Persian period is largely preoccupied with repentance: What went wrong, and how one can retrieve God's good will (e.g. the redactional additions in Zech 1 and 7).[24] There is of course no way to analyse how these ideas (found in the text) would have impacted a real human body. Though the reception of these ideas, how purity issues were embodied, and thus interpreted by communities and individuals, are found in Qumran and the New Testament. >>*ADD SETN*>>

My research question is encouraged by contemporary issues: questions of purity and impurity, and their relation to gender. I knowingly project a contemporary issue onto biblical prophetic texts. These texts are potentially ancient sources for contemporary ideas. Hence to interpret ancient textual discourse is by no means irrelevant in order to shed light on contemporary issues. Nevertheless, since all research questions are indeed contemporary questions (as they are in fact mine) one can hardly avoid this kind of anachronistic projection.

My goal remains exegetical, but I expect that the result of this endeavour will trigger discussions and challenge our own conscious and unconscious ideas, those involved in ritual practice and identity issues.

2. Approaches, hypotheses and choice of method

This study is a study of texts. The goal of the project is to consider the ideas of embodied (im)purity in Haggai and Zechariah in the context of the Book of the Twelve and in the Persian material. My main question is: How is impurity embodied in prophetic literature of

24. Boda, Zechariah, 2003.

the Persian period? Related questions are: How is "guilt" manifested and addressed in Haggai and Zechariah? How are conceptualisations of human (im)purity interrelated with (ritual and) moral status? In the following, I will present my basic approach to the material, then my hypothesis, and finally; how I plan to proceed with my analysis by means of conceptual metaphor theory and theories on ritual.

2.1. Approach

Persian Period

Persian prophecy (Hebrew Bible) is not so uniform as one may think, but intertexts may shed light on these particular passages, both as contrasting and analogical counterparts.[25] Relevant context is the larger corpus of so-called Persian prophecy, including Malachi and Isaiah. Prophetic literature appear to interpret the exile as punishment or/and defilement, resulting in Yahweh's abandonment of his people. It is epistemologically impossible to retrieve factual knowledge about the restoration period based on an analysis of these texts as we know them. We study literature that reflects ideas of the Persian period through the lense of post-Persian redactors.[26] (Nevertheless, the texts is part of a text corpus, that did affect the ideas about being impure– in Qumran, in NT, and up till today.)

Considerations on Materiality and Data

This study will rely on historical critical methods, informed by theories on redactional and intertextual processes, as well material philology (material methodology).

Relevant theories for my methodology are reception history, as articulated recently by Brennan Breed.[27] I acknowledge that all texts are "nomadic." There is no, and has never been an original text, only various versions. Haggai and Zechariah are available through Masoretic transmission, but they are also partially preserved on ancient manuscripts. 4QXII^{e} preserves fragments of Haggai and Zechariah. According to the editors of DJD, the manuscript appears to be a copy of the Minor Prophets, from the middle of the second century.[28] The very

25. Jon L. Bergquist, "Prophecy in Persian Yehud," 56.

26. On the dating of the prophetic literature, see Wilson "The Persian Period and the Shaping of Prophetic Literature" in Jon L. Berquist, Alice Hunt, and Douglas A. Knight, *Focusing Biblical Studies: The Crucial Nature of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: Essays in Honor of Douglas A. Knight* (New York: T & T Clark, 2012), 107–20.

27. Brennan W. Breed, *Nomadic Text: A Theory of Biblical Reception History*, Indiana studies in biblical literature (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).

28. Ulrich, E., Cross, F. M., Fuller R. E., Sanderson J. E., Skehan P. W, Tov, E. (1997). *Qumran Cave 4 X The Prophets*, DJD XV, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 221.

fragmentary state of the manuscript does not allow literary analysis.[29] The manuscript from Murabba Wadi (Mur 88), from the first century, is in a much better state and preserves larger parts of Haggai and the introductory parts of Zechariah.[30]

The Book of the Twelve shows artifactual variation: There is a variation in sequence. This indicates that the independent prophetic books, though copied on one scroll, were not necessarily considered to be a book by the scribe who copied them.[31]

The Book of the Twelve has received much scholarly attention, especially relating to the formation of "the book" and the intertextual relations within it.[32] A study of Haggai and Zechariah, which is part of the Book of the Twelve, needs to relate to questions of its formation.[33]

2.2 Hypothesis

In short, my hypothesis is that the ideas of impurity, reflected in the prophetic material, are rooted in gendered bias. The impure male is concretised by his filthy clothes or by having impure parts of the body, that are naturally exposed on a clothed body, such as the mouth or the hand. This differs from the feminine body, where impurity is embodied in the woman's nakedness. Thus the prophetic language (figurative or not), can be interpreted as conveying an essential difference between the male and the female bodies.

2.3. Choice of Method

In order to answer my questions, I will analyse prophetic texts that describe moral status or states of impurity, Haggai 2:10–14 (which mentions the impurity (טָמֵא) of the people (2:14) and Zechariah 3:1–5 (which mentions a filthy (הַצֹּאִים) robe, symbolising the iniquity of the people (3:4). The concern for (im)purity is expressed differently in the two prophetic texts, but both indicate that the people are being impure. Ritual impurity, as well as moral impurity, are both abstract realities. They can be materialised or concretised as dirt or dirty clothes.

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29. See also Von Weissenberg, H. (2012). «'Aligned' or 'Non– Aligned'?» in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve. Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes*, *Historical Insights*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 381–396.

30. P. Benoit ; J. T. Milik ; R. de Vaux, *Les Grottes De Murrabbaat,* DJD II,161, Oxford: Clarendon, 181–205.

31. Willgren, David. *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms, 2017.*

32. See e.g. Rainer Albertz, J. D. Nogalski and Wöhrle *eds. Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve. Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes*, *Historical Insights*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

33. See Martin Hallaschka "From Cores to Corpus." Pages 171–189 in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve. Methodological Foundations, Redactional Processes*, *Historical Insights*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012. David Willgren, *The Formation of the 'Book' of Psalms: Reconsidering the Transmission and Canonization of Psalmody in light of Material Culture and the Poetics of Anthologies*, 47. Edited by Rainer Albertz, Wöhrle and Nogalski (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012).

Impurity can also be concretised through metaphorical language. It is the aim of this project to get a better idea on how.

Mapping Conceptual Metaphors in the prophetic discourse, poetic and prose

In order to analyse the metaphorical language of these texts, I will make use of conceptual blending theories, as outlined in Hugo Lundhaug (Lundhaug, Images of Rebirth, 2010) and Turner and Fauconnier, "Conceptual Integration Models," 1998.[34]

My primary focus is embodiment of guilt, and its association with impurity, which constitute different (and partly overlapping) ICMs (Idealised Cognitive Models), e.g impurity, sin, woman, body etc. (E.g. The meaning of 'impurity' is conveyed by its conceptual structures, meaning conceptual metaphors support the meaning of impurity).[35]

In the prophetic literature there are metaphorical blends of the concept of impurity with the concept of people. In terms of blending theory, the framing (source) input taken from the Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) of impurity provides organising structure to the focus (target) input of the people. I will analyse prophetic blends where impurity, nakedness, body (male and female), or cloths act, either it plays the part as source or target. Relevant questions in these mappings are: What metaphorical entailments are highlighted in the blends and what are the biological and cultural knowledge of these domains (or entailments)?

Gender-perspective

The space domain 'woman', shows to be productive in creating meaning, rhetorical and poetical, and acts as a source in various networks, such as city, wisdom and folly, evil etc. In the book of the Twelve (and Lam 1:8), cities and their inhabitants (Zion or Nineveh) are portrayed as a woman. Neither Haggai, Zechariah nor Malachi have an explicit gendered agenda. Nevertheless, gender is on the radar in all prophetic texts, e.g. in Zechariah evil is personified as a woman in the Efa-jar and Malachi makes us of a marriage metaphor.

The ICM woman consists of a cluster of cognitive models: the city (and it inhabitants) is a prostitute (Hosea, Nahum), a witch (mistress of witchcraft), a bride, a wife (Hosea), a sister (Ezek 23), a mother and a daughter (Isaiah). Elements and structure from each of these inputs are thus at different times blended with elements from the focus input "the impure."[36]) My aim is to analyse the prophetic blends, which associates guilt and impurity with a human

34. Lundhaug, Hugo. *Images of Rebirth. Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the Gospel of Philip and the Exegesis on the Soul.* Leiden: Brill, 2010, 21–42.

35. Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth, 40.*

36. Lundhaug, *Images of Rebirth, 75.*

body. The blended metaphor, the "guilty" is wearing a filthy robe, nurtures ritual resolution: exchanging the garment, wearing a clean turban. What is the significance of a fresh robe and a clean turban? How does it relate to metaphoric blends where a female body and guilt is part of the blend?

Ritual Theory

Some aspects of ritual theory may become relevant in this analysis. In my work I will rely on theories on religion and ritual offered by Catherine Bell (on ritual symbols),[37] and Douglas' theory on purity.[38] Se also Jonathan Z. Smith (e.g. Garments of shame and nudity).[39]

Ritual possess bounded categories, such as clean and unclean, and then formally transgress them, by ritual of purification.[40] Ritual and the role symbols play part in them, shed mutual light upon the meaning of symbols and the ritual. E.g. The ritual of purification sheds light upon the meaning of 'impurity.' In this way, ritual symbols in projected into the metaphoric blend (e.g. bread and wine).[41] Metaphor theory thus interconnects with ritual theory, since the symbols serve a metaphoric role.

37. Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, 61–89.

38. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, 2005.

39. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory. Studies on the History of Religion, Brill: 1978; Relating religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

40. Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions.* Oxford: Oxford Unity Press, 1997, 65.

41. Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions.* Oxford: Oxford Unity Press, 1997, 65. See also Lundhaug.>>>

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Faculties: Oriental Institute (Oxford) / Hebrew and Jewish Studies (UCL)
Short Title: History of Biblical Hebrew Lexicography

Proposal for a research project: The History of Biblical Hebrew Lexicography

Preface (Discussion Points):

This is a proposal for research I would like to do but have only begun briefly as part of my doctoral research. I would therefore be grateful to hear any observations that make you question its importance or feasibility, or suggestions to broaden its scope or make it appeal to a broader audience.

I would also be grateful to hear an assessment of the categories I have chosen to examine (*hapax legomena*, byforms, homonyms, prepositions, and non-literal usage), or suggestions for other categories or individual words worth investigation.

Introduction

Biblical Hebrew dictionaries in use today represent centuries of accumulated tradition, but too often students and scholars alike have little to no awareness of the historically-determined methodologies involved in their creation. They are treated as authoritative reference works, but little attention is paid to the source and nature of their authority. I propose therefore to write an analytical history of the formation of our modern dictionaries, evaluating the methodologies used, means of transmission, and their impact on individual dictionary entries.

This study will highlight the interconnected scholarly traditions from which our current dictionaries arise: from Qimḥi in southern France to Levita and Buxtorf in central Europe and later Gesenius in Germany and Brown, Driver, and Briggs in England and America. In addition to identifying the strong connections between successive dictionaries of biblical Hebrew, and between the people and communities who created them, this study will enhance our understanding of the influence of the Jewish grammatical tradition on lexicography and identify major shifts in tradition and methodology reflecting the scholarship of their time. In the second part of the study, I will identify types of entries in need of revision and specific lexical categories that present particularly complicated challenges to lexicographers.

Previous Research

The proposed research would build on case studies I conducted as part of my doctoral research. My thesis was a semantic study of biblical Hebrew roots used to refer to silence. I investigated the uses of words formed from seven Hebrew roots in biblical texts, Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and inscriptions, and I considered the interpretation of the biblical passages in the Greek, Latin, Aramaic, and Syriac versions. I also evaluated cognate evidence from the related languages Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaic, Syriac, and Ugaritic. As part of my research into how these words have been understood, I also critically examined dictionary entries and in the process discovered some interesting and unexpected shifts in the lexicographical tradition.

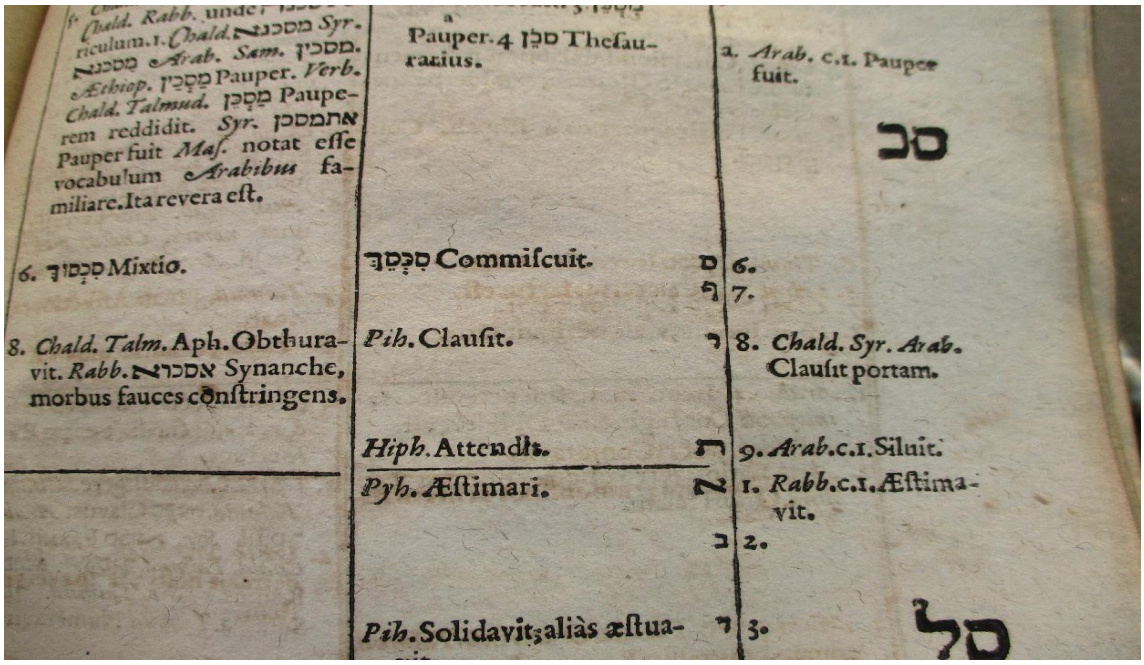
One discovery, for example, was that cognate meanings have at times been integrated into biblical Hebrew dictionaries without sufficient precautions. This conclusion was suggested by my work on the root סכת, which appears only once in biblical texts but has two different lexicographical traditions. The currently accepted meaning, 'be silent', began to appear only with the introduction of Arabic cognate information into dictionaries in the mid-17th century. This meaning eventually supplanted the previously accepted meaning, 'listen', which had been predominant in early Jewish and early Christian interpretation until the 17th century. In another example from the 20th century, a new meaning was introduced for the root דמם ('mourn' instead of 'be silent') after the decipherment of the cognate language Akkadian.

In addition, I observed divergences between lexica in the classification of certain roots, particularly byforms and homonyms, the treatment of which varies greatly between lexica. In some cases it is evident that a definition with very little support has been passed down from lexicon to lexicon (e.g., אלם as 'silence' in poorly understood psalm superscriptions), and in others that a likely definition has been removed from later lexica (e.g., דמם as 'be astonished' which is not found in modern dictionaries). I would therefore like to gather more evidence to evaluate the pervasiveness of these observed tendencies, which I believe will result not only in a greater awareness of the historical trajectory of the dictionaries, but also in a challenge for greater care in use of cognates, as well as for documentation of sources and degrees of certainty in dictionary definitions.

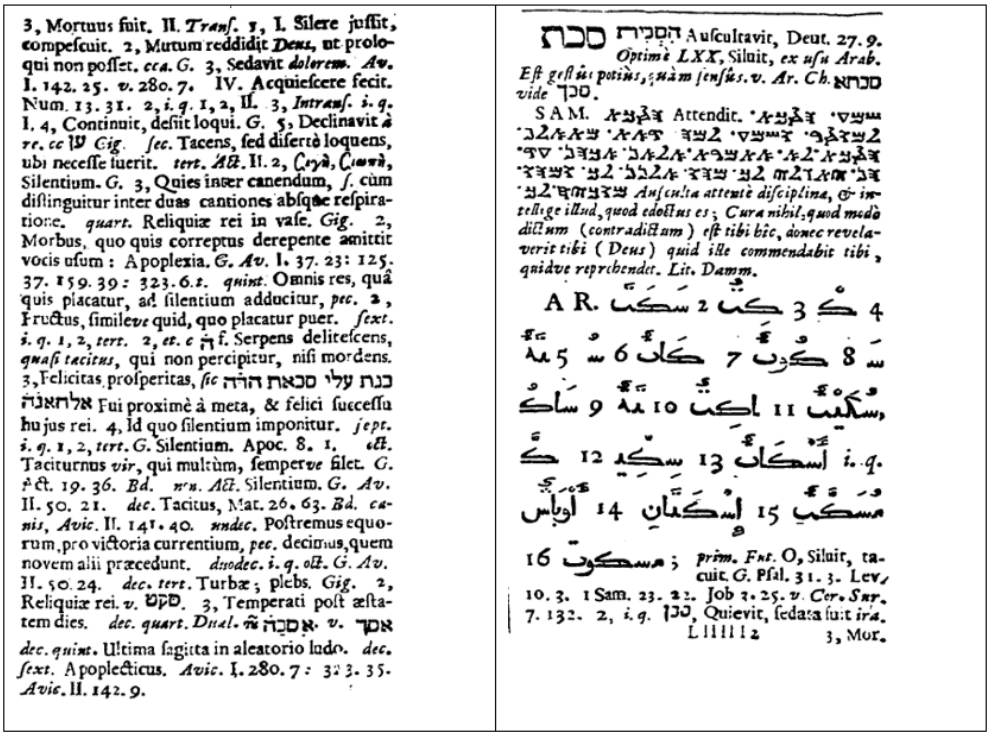
Proposed Research

In the proposed study I would first research the methodological development of our modern biblical Hebrew lexica by tracing their development and transmission from the early medieval grammarians to today. Of particular interest in this process are the early Arabic-speaking Hebrew grammarians in what is today Spain and France (Saʿadia, Qimḥi, and others), who introduced elements from Arabic philology into the study of Hebrew. Another key point in the development of Hebrew lexicography occurred with the interactions between European Jews and Christian Hebraists of the 15th and 16th centuries (Reuchlin, Buxtorf, Levita), resulting in the dissemination of the Jewish lexicographical tradition to new English- and German-speaking audiences. In the 17th century, with increased worldwide exploration by Europeans, knowledge of Arabic grew and cognates were introduced into multilingual biblical Hebrew lexica, such as the 1661 *Heptaglotton* by Hottinger, followed by another in 1669 by Castell.

Hottinger's 1661 *Etymologicum orientale; sive Lexicon harmonicum [heptaglōtton]*



1669 Castell_Edmund-Lexicon_heptaglotton



3, Mortuus fuit. II. *Transf.* 1, I. Silere juſſit, compeſcuit. 2, Mutum reddidit Deus, ut proloqui non poſſet. *ecc. G.* 3, Sedavit *dolorem. Av.* I. 142. 25. *v.* 280. 7. IV. Acquieſcere fecit. Num. 13. 31. 2, *i. q.* I, 2, II. 3, *Intranſ. i. q.* I. 4, Continuit, deſiit loqui. *G.* 5, Declinavit *à re. cc* עזב *Gig. ſec.* Tacens, ſed diſerte loquens, ubi neceſſe fuerit. *tert. Alt.* II. 2, Ḥeyâ, Ḥuwâ, Silentium. *G.* 3, Quies inter canendum, *ſ.* cùm diſtinguitur inter duas cantiones abſque reſpiratione. *quart.* Reliquiæ rei in vaſe. *Gig.* 2, Morbus, quo quis correptus derepente amittit vocis uſum: Apoplexia. *G. Av.* I. 37. 23: 125. 37. 159. 39: 323. 6. *t. quint.* Omnis res, quâ quis placatur, ad ſilentium adducitur, *pec.* 2, Fructus, ſimileve quid, quo placatur puer. *ſext. i. q.* 1, 2, *tert.* 2, *et. c* יה f. Serpens delitescens, *quaſi tacitus*, qui non percipitur, niſi mordens. 3, Felicitas proſperitas, *ſic* כנת עלי סכאת הדה אלרחאנה Fui proximè à meta, & felici ſucceſſu hujus rei. 4, Id quo ſilentium imponitur. *ſept. i. q.* 1, 2, *tert. G.* Silentium. Apoc. 8. 1. *Alt.* Taciturnus *vir*, qui multùm, ſemperve filet. *G.* Act. 19. 36. *Bd. n'n. Alt.* Silentium. *G. Av.* II. 50. 21. *dec.* Tacitus, Mat. 26. 63. *Bd. canis, Avic.* II. 141. 40. *undec.* Poſtremus equorum, pro victoria currentium, *pec.* decimus, quem novem alii præcedunt. *duodec. i. q. alt. G. Av.* II. 50. 24. *dec. tert.* Turbæ; plebs. *Gig.* 2, Reliquiæ rei. *v.* שקט. 3, Temperati poſt æſtatem dies. *dec. quart. Duel.* אסכה *v.* אסך *dec. quint.* Ultima ſagitta in aleatorio ludo. *dec. ſext.* Apoplecticus. *Avic.* I. 280. 7: 323. 35. *Avic.* II. 142. 9.

סכת הסכירת Auſcultavit, Deut. 27. 9. *Optimè LXX*, Siluit, *ex uſu Arab. Eſt geſtûs potiùs, quàm ſenſûs. v. Ar. Ch.* סכרא *vide* סכך.

SAM. אגעאת Attendit. אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע אגעאת עשע *Auſculta attentè diſciplina, & intelligè illud, quod edoctus es; Cura nihil, quod medò dictum (contradictum) eſt tibi hîc, donec revelaverit tibi (Deus) quid ille commendabit tibi, quidve reprehendet. Lit. Damm.*

A R. سكت 2 كـ 3 ـكـ 4 ـسـ 5 كوت 6 كان 7 سـ 8 ـسكيت 9 ساكـ 10 اكت 11 سكيت, 12 كـ 13 اسكان i. q. 14 اوباس 15 مسكين 16 مسكوت; *prim. Fnt.* O, Siluit, tacuit. *G.* Pſal. 31. 3. Lev. 10. 3. 1 Sam. 23. 22. Job 2. 25. *v. Cer. Sxr.* 7. 132. 2, *i. q.* נוח, Quievit, ſedata fuit *ira.*

In the 19th century the work of the German Gesenius was of particular prominence, and his influence continues into the modern era in both German and English dictionaries of biblical Hebrew. Another major development was the discovery and decipherment of the cognate languages Akkadian and Ugaritic. Although they were discovered in Mesopotamia and the Levant, the work of decipherment was accomplished and disseminated by European scholars, who also incorporated this newly discovered cognate information into biblical Hebrew dictionaries.

An additional influence on biblical Hebrew dictionaries that is still perceptible today is the early 20th-century academic climate prioritising historical etymologies. While dictionaries of other ancient languages have since moved away from this focus on etymologies, many biblical Hebrew dictionaries still in use have not. This, in turn, has influenced the way modern biblical scholars approach lexical semantic studies.[1] A chronological survey of the development of modern dictionaries and an analysis of the societal, academic and other

[1] See, for example, James Barr's very sharp critiques in *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961) and *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

influences on individual lexicographers would therefore be beneficial to the field and to the individual scholars using these resources.

The second element of the proposed research would be a closer examination of the development of entries for particular words, for which I would build on the case studies I conducted as part of my doctoral research. The study would focus on categories of words that are particularly difficult to define: *hapax legomena*, byforms, homonyms, prepositions, and those with non-literal uses not shared by European target languages.

Biblical *hapax legomena*, words used only once in the biblical corpus, present particular difficulties, as interpreters must rely heavily on textual context, interpretive tradition, and cognate information, which has been introduced into the study of Hebrew at several different points in time and from different languages. The pilot studies mentioned above, in which the inclusion of Arabic and then Akkadian cognate information eventually shifted the lexicographical tradition of certain words, highlighted a very interesting but often unrecognised shift in the grounds for authority in lexical semantics, one likely reflected in the traditions of other *hapax legomena* as well.[2]

I would also consider the lexicographical tradition of byforms, words that in some forms look similar and subsequently undergo confusion of meaning. These are usually weak roots sharing two consonants (such as דמם and דמה, which have clearly differentiated meanings that seem to merge in later texts), but dictionaries often disagree on the extent to which the two words and their meanings are related. Byform relationships are also claimed for phonetically similar strong roots (such as שׁקט, סכת, and שׁתק, for which a byform relationship is frequently claimed but rarely substantiated). A historical survey of how these roots have been treated would reveal the extent to which analysis has changed over time and whether it has been influenced by contemporary linguistic theories, cognate information, or other factors.

Another problematic category is that of homonyms, in which a word has multiple meanings that stem from different original roots. Closely related is the phenomenon of polysemy, with multiple meanings developing out of a single root. Words from the root חרשׁ, for example,

[2] I would use as my starting point the work by Frederick E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984).

refer not only to artisanry and building, but also magic, ploughing, deafness, and silence. The extent to which any of these meanings result from language-internal semantic developments or from merging of different original roots is unclear. Decisions about how to number roots in dictionary entries, and which meanings are assigned to each one, are therefore subjective and tend either to follow traditional arrangements or to reflect innovations of individuals or scholarly trends, patterns of which could be revealed in a systematic survey of the lexicographical treatment of homonyms.

Another potentially illuminating topic of investigation is the treatment of prepositions in different lexica. These require a nuanced understanding of how a language works, and their interpretation is almost unavoidably influenced by the structure of the target language. Furthermore, their interpretation has sometimes been subject to influence from cognate scholarship.

An additional topic worth consideration is the treatment of non-literal meanings in dictionary entries. I discovered in my previous research that some meanings not intuitive to a speaker of modern languages had unfortunately not been included in certain lexica (such as the gloss ‘be idle’ for verbs otherwise meaning ‘be silent’, such as חרשׁ and חשׁה). It would therefore be worth identifying changes in dictionary entries over time to see if other interpretive nuances have been dropped or added. This is especially important when the target languages, most of which are Indo-European rather than Semitic, do not share the same cultural and linguistic framework.

Outcome

The outcome of the proposed research would be a monograph surveying the history and methodological development of European biblical Hebrew lexicography and identifying lexicographical inconsistencies in need of further attention. The contribution of such a monograph would be to increase awareness of the intercultural human and social processes by which the standard lexica have been shaped and passed down, and to identify the challenges particular to biblical Hebrew lexicography. Although some article-length works

discuss these challenges,[3] and an unpublished dissertation surveys its history,[4] I have not found other monographs evaluating the development of lexicographical methodology with the goal of analysing both how these developments have determined the shape of our modern dictionaries and why, at least in some cases, this is a problem. There is a valuable monograph documenting the misuse of Arabic in biblical Hebrew lexicography,[5] but there is still a need for broader exposure and analysis of other influences on the development of lexicography, both social and linguistic. The scope of the influence of cognate languages (Akkadian, Ugaritic, Arabic, Aramaic), for example, and how this has changed over time, has not been fully documented or recognised. Further attention should also be devoted to understanding changes in scholarly method, from the earlier reliance on inherited tradition and versional evidence to later reliance on historical etymologies and then the turn towards prioritising syntactic information. Finally, the influence of discoveries of new texts (such as those of the Cairo Genizah and caves of Qumran) on the development of modern dictionaries has not been fully examined. The proposed research would build on existing historical accounts[6] to analyse the effects of changing methodologies over time and would make practical suggestions for how certain types of entries might need to be revised.

I would seek to work cross-linguistically in different chronological periods in order to gauge to what extent biblical dictionaries reflect the state of scholarship at the time they were produced. I would also consider the metalinguistic awareness of those producing scholarship on biblical Hebrew (whether working from Arabic, Yiddish, German, or another language as mother tongue), as well as the significance of European Jewish migration and Jewish-Christian interactions for the transmission traditions. I would consider the influence of the study of the versions (early translations into Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin) and the influence of cognate language scholarship on the development of lexica, as well as the

[3] D.J.A. Clines, 'The Challenge of Hebrew Lexicography Today', in *Congress Volume Ljublana 2007,* ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 133 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 87-98; Stanislav Segert, 'Hebrew Bible and Semitic Comparative Lexicography', in *Congress Volume Rome 1968*, VTSup 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 204-11.
[4] W. Creighton Marlowe, 'The Development of Old Testament Hebrew Lexicography' (ThD diss., Mid-America Baptist Theological Seminary, 1985). See also Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers, Accompanied by Unpublished Texts* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), which is limited to the earliest lexicographers.
[5] John Kaltner, *The Use of Arabic in Biblical Hebrew Lexicography* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1996).
[6] Aaron Maman, *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages: From Saʿadiah Gaon to Ibn Barūn (10th-12th c.)*, trans. David Lyons (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 2004); Stefan Schorch and Ernst-Joachim Waschke, eds. *Biblische Exegese und hebräische Lexikographie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013); Barr, *Comparative Philology*.

methodological choices made out of conformity with, or deviance from, tradition or contemporary scholarship.

I would then aim to evaluate the substantial differences in modern lexicographical tools for Greek and Hebrew, which are due not only to the available corpus and nature of scholarship, but also to major revisions to the standard Greek lexicon Liddell-Scott-Jones, which removed much of the etymological information still usually included in biblical Hebrew lexica. This study would interact with a resurgent scholarly interest in the lexicography of the early Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, with significant overlap, as well as difference, from biblical Hebrew lexicography.[7]

The volume resulting from this project would be useful for students of biblical Hebrew in highlighting the methodological presuppositions of our various dictionaries and the reasons for their development. It would also be useful for scholars in helping them to trace the origins of traditions on word meanings, to evaluate the reliability of glosses in them, and to understand the intercultural and historically determined nature of the bilingual dictionaries of biblical Hebrew. It would advance Jewish studies by highlighting the major contributions from early Jewish grammarians, rabbinical writings, and the Jewish education of the early Christian Hebraists who later disseminated this knowledge to other audiences. It would additionally advance Jewish and biblical studies by encouraging greater collaboration between scholars in the challenge to update and improve our current lexicographical resources.

[7] Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald, eds. *Biblical Lexicology: Hebrew and Greek. Semantics, Exegesis, Translation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); Richard A. Taylor and Craig E. Morrison, eds. *Reflections on Lexicography: Explorations in Ancient Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek Sources*. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 4 (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2014); James K. Aitken, *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2014).

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Hezekiah - The Making of a Hero in Judean Memory

Preface

I would prefer that there will be discussions on the theoretical approach of the project: social memory studies. A critique that can be raised projects that apply memory studies is that they can end up being too vague or ambiguous. In the project description I state that I limit myself to memory in historical studies and in relation to literature (the Bible), but I was being vague on this part on purpose Since I'm at the begin of my project I would very much appreciate any suggestions or advice on how to sharpen my theoretical lens to optimize the purpose of this research.

Introduction

Constructing memories of heroes from the past is an important part of the formation of social memory within a community. The purpose of these recollections of a hero, are not necessarily to reflect historical accuracy, but rather to preserve images of a hero as an ideal-type for the virtues and character traits that the community revere and want to be identified or defined by. In Norway, we yearly commemorate king Olav Haraldsson on the day he died at the battle of Stiklestad (in 1030 CE.). On this day, ceremonies and speeches are held to pay homage to a memory of him as a role model (a saint) for his zealous attempt to christen and unify the country. Little, if any attention, are given to the brutal methods he used to accomplish his goal, or to those who became the victims of his conviction. In the Hebrew Bible we can see a similar case in the portrayal of king Hezekiah. In the book of Kings and Chronicles, Hezekiah is described as a reformer king who saved Jerusalem from the mighty army of the Assyrian empire in 701 BCE. Both narratives are dominated by a memory of a pious king who prayed and put his trust on the Lord to save city from certain destruction, while the catastrophic effects his rebellion had on Judah, is forgotten or barely alluded to.

I find it remarkable that a figure like Hezekiah, who despite the consequences of his political gamble came so close to become another Zedekiah or Bar Kokhba, actually turned out to be remembered as the greatest of the Judean kings in the book of Chronicles. Compared to the descriptions of his reign in the book of Kings, the memories of Hezekiah in Chronicles seem more exalted. Here he is depicted as the greatest renovator of the temple and the cult, a builder and organizer who also sought to reunite the tribes of the North to the cult of Jerusalem and attempted to restore the glorious kingdom of King David and Salomon, and as the individual who put his trust completely in the Lord, in his and Jerusalem's darkest hour.

I find his case to be curious one, and worthy of closer examination, as such a study can emphasis how a society chooses its heroes, what criteria lies behind the choice, and how different the remembered portrait might be, from what seems to be the "real" or "historic" person, as a community have a need to reinterprets the realities of the events from his reign, to shed better light on their present context and condition.

Main objectives and summary of the project.

The predominant view among biblical scholars is that the Chronicler is composed at least a century later than Kings[1], and thus used it as a main source for its retelling of Judah's past. Based on this, the usual approach is to study the two books as a diachronic development of

[1] E.g. I. Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana, 2005, p. 1-2.

Judean historiography and theology/ideology, where Kings mainly is dated in the exilic/early post-exilic period, while the Chronicler is dated later in to the post-exilic period.
I want to examine this development from a different perspective, from the lens of social memory studies, in order to see who and what is remembered (and forgotten) of the shared past of a society. I will follow the work of Ben Zvi on memory studies in Chronicles[2], in order to focus on how certain individuals are preferred and emphasized as giving more weight to the collective past, figures that are remembered as an ideal hero for the community as a whole.
I will choose to focus on the memories of Hezekiah, as the space allotted to him in these books (2 Kgs 18-20 and 2 Chr 29-32) indicate that the biblical authors had a considerable interest for him and his reign. He has also generated considerable interest among history oriented scholars.[3] But in doing so, I would also have to compare the development of Hezekiah's image, to a change in that of King Josiah's. And furthermore I would have to see how the image of both these kings, relate back to the great founder of the bygone and golden past: King David. This in order to see whether the concept of a hero is consistent or is changing in light of new needs and circumstances of the community. This aspect is important, since the texts in Kings and Chronicles are not just about Hezekiah, but is part of a larger structure within these books, where different agendas are advanced. This approach will also set me apart from the latest work of Becking who only compared the memory of Hezekiah in Kings and Chronicles[4] without relating it to the ideologies or rhetorical structures, i.e. the macro levels of the compositions they are a part of.

Project background

This project is mainly in connection with two major fields of research within the studies of the Hebrew bible. The first is the general approach of comparing the narratives of the book of Kings with the book Chronicles in order to reconstruct the history of Judah and Israel during the monarchic period. The second is the in-depth case study of the accounts of Hezekiah, which is also mostly dominated by interest related to historical reconstruction, by means such as literal studies and archaeology.

A. Historical and Ideological studies of Kings and Chronicles

Due to conceptions about Chronicles late composition, its similarity to Kings, and predispositions among scholars of what constitutes "correct" historiography, there has been a general trend to devaluate Chronicles' significance. Some have regarded it as a mere commentary or *midrash* to Kings, and thus not as a credible source for the pre-exilic history in

[2] He claims that it is was scribal elite called "Literati" that composed Chronicles in order to shape the memory of their community and imbue them with their ideology. See e.g. E. Ben Zvi, "The book of Chronicles Another Look", *Studies in Religion* 31/3-4 (2002), pp. 261-281., and E. Ben Zvi, "Chronicles and social memory", *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology* 71:1 (2017), pp. 69-90. For a collection of his articles on the subject, see: E. Ben Zvi, *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles*, Equinox, London, 2006.

[3] There are several works comparing the accounts of Hezekiah with a focus on historicity or the historical circumstances of his reign. E.g. L. L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Like a Bird in a Cage' The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp. Series 363, Sheffield Academic, Sheffield, 2003 and R. A. Young, *Hezekiah in History and Tradition*, Brill, Leiden 2012.

[4] B. Becking, "Between *Realpolitiker* and Hero of Faith: Memories of Hezekiah in Biblical Traditions and Beyond", in D. V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi (eds.), *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods, Social Memory and Imagination*, Oxford University, Oxford 2013, pp. 183-198, p. 187-194.

Israel.[5] More recently scholars have sought to reverse such a view. Instead they regard the Chronicler's "work as imprinted with an unique 'philosophy' of history", by emphasizing how the author use and selected his sources, make his alterations and omissions to them etc.[6]
In later years there has been an increased interest of the theology or ideology[7] in Chronicles and how there is a shift from Kings, and/or other post- or exilic biblical texts. This includes conceptions such as: That there is change in the concept of divine retribution from Kings to Chronicles,[8] more focus on the temple and the priesthood, and of the centrality and sanctity of Jerusalem,[9] as well as matters of identity, or the so-called use of the expression "All Israel".[10]
A scholar who has managed to engage himself in both the subjects of history and ideology in Chronicles, is Ben Zvi who through his theoretical approach of memory studies manages to show how Chronicler is both an historian and an ideologist.[11] Since this study also will focus on the lens of memory studies, matters of historical verisimilitude behind the descriptions of the events Hezekiah's reign, and for the historical reconstructions of Kings and Chronicles in general, will be of secondary and minor importance.[12]

B. 2 Kgs chap. 18-20

The Account of Hezekiah in Kings can be divided into four main parts: A) Introduction 18:1-12; B) The Assyrian invasion and the salvation of Jerusalem 18:13-19:36; C) The rapport on the kings illness and God's salvation of the King 20:1-11; and D) The rapport on the visit of the Babylonian envoy to Jerusalem and conclusive remarks 20:12-21.[13]
The introductory summary in 18:3-7 portrays him as one of the greatest kings since David. Especially the verdict of Hezekiah in 18:5b[14] has posed a problem for interpreters as it

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[5] For example: J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (1878), trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies, Edinburgh 1885, repr. Scholars Press, Atlanta. 1994, p. 227

[6] I. Kalimi. "Was the Chronicler a Historian?" in M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S . L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp eries 238, Sheffield Academic, Sheffield, 1997, pp. 73-89, p. 83-85.

[7]Reflected in titles like: M. P. Graham, S. L. McKenzie & G. N. Knoppers (ed.), *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in honor of Ralph W. Klein*, T & T Clark, London, 2003, S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, 1989, and J. E. Dyck, *The Theocratic Ideology of the Chronicler*, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1998.

[8] For example: J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*, pp. 203-10, R. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary 15/2, Word, Waco, Texas 1987, pp. 76-81 and S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, Old Testament Library, SCM Press, London 1993, pp. 44-45.

[9] Japhet, *The Ideology*, p. 156-193, and J. Tino, *King and Temple in Chronicles: A Textual Approach to their Relations*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 234, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2010.

[10] E.g. Ibid 209-218, and L. C. Jonker, *Defining All-Israel in Chronicles: Multi-levelled Identity Negotiation in Late Persian-Period Yehud*, Forscungen zum Alten Testament 106, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2016.

[11] See e.g. E. Ben Zvi, "Another Look", pp. 261-281.

[12] They might serve a purpose to establish so-called core facts that determines the limits for the malleability of the narrative and thus memories that are connected to Hezekiah. These will probably be very limited in scope. See e.g. E. Ben Zvi, "Malleability and its Limits: Sennacherib's Campaign against Judah as a Case-Study", in L. L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Like a Bird in a Cage' The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp. Series 363, Sheffield Academic, Sheffield, 2003. pp. 73-105. In order to advance such core facts I would of course have to confer with Sennacherib's text of the event, archaeological surveys of Lachish and Jerusalem, and whatever consensus have been reached from the demographic studies of Judah and Jerusalem during Hezekiah's reign.

[13] This structure is for example used by Cogan and Tadmor: See: M. Cogan & H. Tadmor, *II Kings - A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, Doubleday, New York 1988, 215-63.

[14] "There was none like him among all the kings in Judah after him, nor among those before him" (JPS 1999)

resembles, and seems to contradict the verdict on Josiah in 23:25[15], thus possibly challenging the assumption that Josiah was the greatest king after David according to the Deuteronomistic Historian. This have caused some scholars to argue for the existence of different redaction layers of the book of Kings, and for the possibility that the first layer of Kings was composed in Hezekiah's time.[16] Others have argued against this on more literary arguments, such as pointing to the different placement of these two verdicts in the two different accounts as an indication that Josiah was regarded as greater than Hezekiah.[17]
Another central matter in research has been the issue of interpreting the different rapports on how the Assyrian invasion ended in the narrative of 18:13-19:36. One common solution has been to divide the narrative into different sources , as proposed by the so-called *Stade-Childs theory*.[18] It is possible that this theory, and the proper definition of the division of the different sources might serve a purpose for this project, especially in light of the arguments that the three different sources suggested might stem from different time periods.[19]

2 Chr chap 29-32.
The account on Hezekiah's reign in Chronicles is the largest rapport of any king after David/Salomon and differs by approximately seventy percent in content from the account in Kings.[20] It can roughly be divided into these parts: A) Introduction and cleaning of the temple and its priesthood (29:1-36); B) Rapport on Passover celebration in Jerusalem (30:1-27); C)

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[15] "There was no king like him before who turned back to the LORD with all his heart and soul and might, in full accord with the Teaching of Moses; nor did any like him arise after him." (JPS 1999)
[16] Weippert has even argued that this points to a first redaction layer written during the reign Hezekiah's reign. H. Weippert, "Die 'deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher", *Biblica* 53 (1972), pp. 301-339. In somewhat similar fashion, Halpern has also suggested that there was production of biblical texts under Hezekiah. He claims that Hezekiah employed literary works as part of his propaganda tool, and commissioned the prophetic books of Amos, Hosea., Isaiah and Micah in order to mount support for his iconoclasm and centralization policies. B. Halpern, "Jerusalem and the Lineages in the Seventh Century BCE: Kinship and Rise of Individual Morality", in B. Halpern and D. W. Hobson (eds.), *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel*, Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series 124, JSOT Press, Sheffield 1991, pp. 11-107, p. 79-80.
[17] For example Young has suggested that the Deuteronomist has a tendency to repeat certain judgment formulas on the kings to indicate their level of faithfulness. Since Hezekiah is the first king to remove the high places, this would warrant a grander appraisal than his predecessors. Thus he also claims that there is a strategic placement of this very positive evaluation of Hezekiah after the notion of the removal of the high places (18:4) at the beginning of the report. On the other hand Hezekiah is later, in the end of his report in 2 Kgs 20:16-19, blemished by a negative value judgment. This indicates for Young that Hezekiah's overall judgment by the Deuteronomist is negative, and that the only king that receives a complete positive judgment is Josiah, since his report ends with this statement of unequaled praise. R. A. Young, *Hezekiah in History and Tradition*, Brill, Leiden 2012, p. 278.
[18] See e.g. Cogan & Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 240-244 for a summary of the theory. For Childs reorganization of Stade's original theory see: B. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*, SCM Press, London 1967, p. 69-103.
[19] An interesting suggestion in this regard is the claim that the B2 account might originate from the Babylonian exiles and was a theological revision of the earlier text with the purpose to fit into their new experience in exile, see e.g. N. Naaman, "Updating the Message: Hezekiah's Second Prophetic Story (2 Kings 19.9b-35) and the Community of Babylonian Deportees", in L. L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Like a Bird in a Cage' The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp. Series 363, Sheffield Academic, Sheffield, 2003. Lately Baruchi-Unna has expanded on this and claimed that it had a polemical purpose similar to that expressed Jer 26:16-19, in order to explain why Jerusalem was delivered in 701, but not in 586 BCE. See A. Baruchi-Unnu, "The Story of Hezekiah's Prayer (2 Kings 19) and Jeremiah's Polemic concerning the Inviolability of Jerusalem", *Journal of the Study of the Old Testament* 39:3 (2015), pp. 281-297.
[20] A. G. Vaughn, *Theology, History, and Archaeology in the Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, 1999, p. 3.

nationwide popular cult reform and Hezekiah's organization and supervision of the offices and provisions of the temple (31:1-33); and D) Hezekiah's achievements, victories and illness.[21] Research on the Chronicler's account on Hezekiah have concerned themselves on issues that depart from the description in Kings. This includes topics such as: The rapport of a Passover celebration[22], the historical explanation behind the invitation of the northern tribes to attend this Passover in Jerusalem,[23] and how the description of Hezekiah's reign in Chronicles is modeled after the descriptions of the reign of Salomon.[24]

Hezekiah as a cult reformer.

One of the major discussion topic in regard to Hezekiah's reign, is the description of his cultic reforms. Archaeological data uncovered from sites like Tel Arad, Tel Beer-Sheba and Tel Lachish has been interpreted as significant evidence in favor of the descriptions of the reform in the biblical texts.[25] Others are critical to whether these archaeological data can be applied to the period of Hezekiah or not, or whether the sign for destructions or abandonment of the cultic implements on these sites is due to a reform, or can have other, and possibly more suitable explanations.[26] The interest of this project will not be to debate on the historical verisimilitude behind these rapports, but rather to indicate how important, and to what extent a memory of a king as cult reformer is to the depictions in Kings and Chronicles.

Hezekiah's role during the Assyrian invasion of Judah in 701 BCE.

The historical events and circumstances behind Sennacherib's campaign to Judah in 701 BCE. has generated considerable interest among scholars in the last centuries, due to the discovery of Assyrian inscriptions and iconography of this campaign, and the archaeological data unearthed from sites like Lachish that could confirm the destructions of the invasion.[27]

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[21] See e.g. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, p. 226-61 for this type of structure.

[22] Concerned with topics such as why it happened in the second month and not the first? And why Kings does not mention any Passover during Hezekiah's reign at all, and what this can tell about the historical verisimilitude of the rapport in Chr. ? See e.g. S. Talmon, "Divergences in Calendar-Reckoning in Ephraim and Judah", *Vetus Testamentum* 8 (1958), pp. 48-72, and F. L. Moriarty, "The Chronicler's Account of Hezekiah's Reform", *Catholic Bible Quarterly* 27 (1965), pp. 399-406.

[23] After Broshi's assumption that there was a wave of Northern immigrants that came and settled in Jerusalem after the fall of Samaria in 722 BCE, there has been some who has suggested that there is something "historical" about this notion in Chronicles. See M. Broshi, "The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh", *Israel Exploration Journal* 24 (1974), pp. 21-26. However Na'aman has put some convincing counter-arguments against the of a northern immigration during Hezekiah's reign, mainly on several arguments on how Assyria would not allow the population of their provinces simply move away and break down local infrastructure. See: N. Na'aman, "When and How did Jerusalem Become a Great City?", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 347 (2007), pp. 21-56.

[24] See e.g.: H. G .M. Williamson, Israel in the Book of Chronicles, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 119-25, R. Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary 15/2, Word, Waco, Texas 1987, p. 228, and M. Throntveit, "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Salomon in the Books of Chronicles", in M.P. Graham et al., eds., *The Chronicler as Theologian*, Journal for the Study of Old Testament Supplement Series 371, T. T. Clark, London, 2003, pp. 105-21.

[25] Usually the focus is on the short notice in 2 Kgs 18:4 (and 22). Chronicles 31,1 seems to be less of interest because it adds a description of the geographical scope of the reforms.

[26] For an overview of the current arguments and alternative conclusions see e.g. N. Na'aman, "The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reforms in the Light of Historical and Archaeological Research", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 107 (1995), pp. 179-195 and D. Edelman, "Hezekiah's Alleged Cultic Centralization", *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 32/4 (2008), pp. 395-434.

[27] One of the latest publications: D. Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish, (1973-1983)*: Vol. I-V, Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv Univeristy, Tel Aviv, 2004.

Especially the discovery of the Assyrian text of the campaign made it possible to compare the biblical account with an external source that was almost contemporary to the event itself.[28] Issues of literary and source analysis, the problem of chronology and dating in the book of Kings, theories of two invasions, the rhetoric of the Rabshekeh's mission and speech, and the place of Taharqah (Tirhaqa) and the Egyptians in the account in Kings, have dominated the field in the latest decades.[29]

Theoretical background

My theoretical lens in this project will be memory studies, starting from how it is presented through the works of scholars like A. Assmann[30], A. Erll[31] and J. Fentress & J. Wickham[32]. What constitutes "Memory studies" can be ambiguous as it represents a multidisciplinary phenomena where different approaches and perspectives are used.[33] For this assignment there seems to be two preferred perspectives that I want to focus on. The first will be on how memory relates to studies of history as a method to reconstruct the past.[34] And the second is how memory is expressed in text (literature), and then especially, how intertextual dynamics in different texts of the Hebrew Bible seems to form or reform memory, through diachronic and/or synchronic developments.[35]

Within the field of Biblical studies, there are two theories of how the book of Kings and Chronicles relate to each other: The first is the diachronic view, which is a predominate view among scholars that Chronicles used Kings as a source. In this case, the book of Chronicles represents a deliberant alternation of social memory in a literate text.
The second is a synchronic view, which has been proposed by scholars like Auld[36] and Person Jr.[37], where the two books are considered to be two contemporary works from the post-exilic,

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[28] For an English translation see e.g.: A. K. Grayson & J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704- 681 BC), Part 1*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period vol 3/1, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2012.

[29] For an overview and explanation of all these debates see: L. L. Grabbe, "Introduction", in L. L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Like a Bird in a Cage' The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp. Series 363, Sheffield Academic, Sheffield, 2003. pp. 2-43.

[30] E.g. A. Assmann, "Canon and Achieve" in A. Erll, A. Nünning & S. B. Young (eds.), *Cultural memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* , Media and Cultural Memory 8, de Gruyter Berlin/New York, 2008, pp. 97-109 and A. Assmann, "The religious roots of cultural memory", *Norsk Teologisk Tidskrift* (2008:4), pp. 270-292.

[31] A. Erll, *Memory in Culture*, translated by S. B. Young, Palgrave Macmillian, Houndmills 2011.

[32] J. Fentress & C. Wickham, *Social Memory*, New Perspectives on the Past, Blackwell, Oxford 1992.

[33] See A. Erll, *Memory in Culture*, p. 38-94 for an overview of disciplines.

[34] In the words of Erll: "The focus of memory studies rests, precisely, not on the 'past as it really was', but on the 'past as a human construct'. A. Erll, *Memory in Culture*, p. 5. Thus studies on the relationship of memory and the forming of history and historiography of ancient societies seems especially suitable to each other, as the type of study proposed in this project focus less on accuracy (retelling what really happened or not), but rather on how events from the past are interpreted and selected to be remembered (while others are forgotten) as part of formation of groups identity.

[35] Ibid. p. 70-76.

[36] Auld argued that Samuel/Kings and Chronicles had used the same source in their compositions, this source had been the basis for two different independent works, which Auld dubbed "the Book of Two Houses". This thesis was fully developed in A. G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings*, T&T Clark, Edinburgh, 1994.

[37] R. F. Persons Jr., *The Deuteronomic History and the Book of Chronicles: Scribal Works in an Oral World*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature vol. 6, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta, 2010.

Persian period. If so, this could mean that Kings and Chronicles represent competing memories between elitist groups within a society. Both these theories will give different implications of memory and must therefore be explored in depth.

Methods

Since the study of biblical texts is the entry to the subject, I will use different array of text and literary methods in the tradition for analyzing a text. These will or might include:

Text criticism: Since the Greek text of the Septuagint (LXX) is different from the Masoretic text (MT) and also stem from a different time period, there might be some different ideologies present as well. Text criticism might help to reveal if there is different emphasizes on Hezekiah in LXX compared to the MT from the middle ages. There might therefore be a question of manuscripts as well, who's memory are we looking at?

Literary criticism: This tool will be employed in the analyzes of the two texts (2 Kgs 18-20 & 2 Chr 29-32), in order to finding the major themes, structural developments, particular use of genre (like speeches) in order to advance rhetorical points etc.

Redaction/Source/Form criticism: I expect that these methods will not be used widely, but rather that certain theories such as the before mentioned Childs - Stade hypothesis, might serve as helping tool in the analysis of the account in Kings.

New literary criticism: This method attempts to situate a text in a generated context, which means to understand a text viewed against the time period they were written in.

Ideological criticism: This method will stress the different views that are presented in these two texts. This will rise questions like. Did the two text arise out of conflict (see synchronic view over), or out of necessity because of different historical contexts (diachronic view).

Research questions and anticipated answers (hypotheses)

My hypotheses is that the depiction of king Hezekiah as the greatest king since David in the book of Chronicles, and not King Josiah as in Kings, represents a renewed need within the Judean society to identify with a different hero figure from the past, which seemed more relevant to the contemporary context or ideals of the community of the writers.
The main question is thus: What can we learn about the characteristics that is remembered of hero figure like Hezekiah in the book of Kings and Chronicles, and to what degree does these memories represent ideals that the producers of these texts, the literary circle or elite, wanted to impose on its community? The underlying questions will be: What was the criteria to become such a important hero in the ancient biblical tradition, and can we see if these criteria changed over time in the social or shared memory? And does these two portrayals of a hero point to a diachronic or synchronic perspective and development within the community?

Chapters:
One chapter will be discussing the main themes of Kings and Chronicles, and describe the thrust, the rhetoric and writing strategies, and the core ideologies of them. For example like the issue of whether we can talk about "immediate and individual retribution" in Chronicles, as opposed to Kings. In this research there is an underlying goal of discussing a possible

intended purpose of these books. In regards to the hero image, it will be important to discuss how the narrative of Josiah and Hezekiah is linked, and how both of them again are linked back to David, and how the Kings and Chronicles might deal with this differently.
A Second chapter will deal explicitly with the: "Heroization of Hezekiah in Kings?"[38]
Here again the measure to David and Josiah will be an important aspect, in order to look how the book is structured at a macro level, and how the story of Hezekiah fits into this frame.
A third chapter will have a tentative headline: "Hezekiah a different kind of hero in Chronicles?" This will of course deal exclusively with Hezekiah in Chronicles, and how this account relates to the reports of Josiah and David/Salomon.
A final chapter will be synthetic chapter, where I seek to combine the two accounts. See it through the two approaches/theoretical discussions (under theory): If we were to view it as a diachronic development, what would we conclude? And what if we were to view them as competing pictures or as synchronic development what would we conclude in regard to the question of Hezekiah as a hero figure. And in the conclusion: "Views of Hezekiah in Kings and Chronicles and beyond". Are there other biblical books or additional dimensions[39] that might be different or in harmony with the portrayal in Kings and Chronicles. This might be a topic that it is possible to extend on from this project.

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Dear all,

This paper contains many ideas that will be included in the first article in my article-based dissertation. My attempt is to test certain theories of anthropomorphism, conceptualization of divinity and transmission of religious ideas in the field of Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR) against the imagery of Rider of the Clouds in the Hebrew Bible and Ugaritic narrative poetry. My larger aim in my dissertation is to figure out how CSR will help us to better understand religious thinking of the people of the Ancient Levant, and the epithet 'Rider of the Clouds' is a test case for this wider goal. I will be pleased to hear all your comments on my paper but especially I would like to hear your thoughts on the following questions:

- Do you find my reasoning for the need for and usefulness of CSR on this subject and more generally to support more tradition methodology in ANE studies on a more general convincing enough? And if not, what should I do to make it more convincing?
- How should I structure this work in order to turn it into an article?
- What other information would have you needed or found necessary to clearly follow my reasoning?
- Which points of my argumentation should I emphasize more and what parts of the text should I prune?
- Also good suggestions for publication platforms for this kind of approach would be welcome.

Looking forward to a fruitful discussion!

Best wishes,
Lauri

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Cognitive Perspectives on Rider of the Clouds Imagery in Ugaritic Mythology and in the Hebrew Bible

Introduction

This study deals with the image of the Rider of the Clouds in Ugaritic texts and in the Hebrew Bible as an example of myth transmission in the Ancient Levant. I will approach the process of myth transmission from a new angle focusing on the processes in the human cognition that will help us better understand why certain religious ideas were transmitted into the Hebrew Bible better than some others. This will offer an entirely new tool to look at the parallels in different text corpuses of the Ancient Levant. Rider of the Clouds (*rkb ʿrpt*) is one of the most prominent epithets of the storm-god Baal in Ugaritic Narrative Poetry, and the same theme of God riding on the clouds is also attested in certain verses in the Hebrew Bible.[1] Ugaritic mythological texts have been widely used as comparative material for Hebrew Bible, and the question of the connection with Baal's title Rider of the Clouds and its possible parallels in the Hebrew Bible have been widely discussed in previous research.[2] Most of the previous research on this topic is based on traditional comparative textual analysis, which is indeed of utmost importance when attempting to understand this theme's syntactical, colometrical and narrative context. However, this cannot really provide a proper answer for why the theme of Rider of the Clouds has been an important part of these deities' description. Instead of offering another traditional comparative analysis to the image of Rider of the Clouds, I will argue that this anthropomorphic conceptualization a storm-god has been an intuitive and thus also cognitively adhesive way to conceptualize divinity for the *homo religiosus* of the Ancient Levant.

[1] Ps 104:3; Isa 19:1; Deut 33: 26; Ps 18: 9-12/ 2. Sam 22: 9-12; Ps. 68: 34; and probably also in Ps 68:5.

[2] E. g. Loretz 1990; 2003; Smith 2001; 2002; Day 2000.

Therefore, this motif has been transmitted both intraculturally from one generation to another, and interculturally from one culture to another. In order to illuminate this cultural transmission, I will have a closer look at Psalm 68:5, in which the God of Israel is depicted as רכב בערבות, and that has been suggested to be the closest parallel to the storm-god Baal's epithet *rkb ʿrpt – Rider of the Clouds*. Moreover, I will also argue that it was cognitively both important and necessary to maintain the Rider of the Clouds imagery in the official cult of YHWH, even though it was not entirely unproblematic: The official cult of YHWH was supposed to be aniconic, at least according to certain texts (Deut. 5: 8–10), and also tends to de-emphasize YHWH's anthropomorphic qualities, in contrast to the cults of other deities of the Land of Canaan. However, cognitive approaches are a rather new theoretical framework to Ancient Near Eastern material. Thus, I will also briefly introduce some of the most prominent theories relevant to my examination of the subject of the Rider of the Clouds. But first, I will introduce the questions about the imagery of the Rider of the Clouds that have been under debate in previous research.

Ugaritic texts and the Hebrew Bible – Historical starting points for comparison

The Kingdom of Ugarit was a semi-independent, wealthy city-state located at the Ras Shamra peninsula on the North-West coast of modern-day Syria that flourished during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1400–1200 BCE). According to the large textual and material findings from Ras Shamra and its surroundings, Ugarit had a large network of trading contacts all around the Eastern Mediterranean.[3] It also seems that the cuneiform-alphabet writing typical to the Ugaritic language was known even in the areas of the Southern Levant.[4] However, Ugarit faced a large-scale destruction around the years 1190–1185 BCE in the wake of the large wave of disastrous events of the end of Late Bronze Age. The city was never rebuilt, and the typical Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic script was, as far as we know, discontinued in any scribal practice ever since.

When Ugarit was rediscovered in the year 1929, it was soon noticed that the Ugaritic language was rather closely related to the Biblical Hebrew, and the corpus also seemed to hold a

[3] It seems pretty clear that the city-state had been a vassal state for New Kingdom of Egypt at earlier stages of the Late Bronze Age, but it seemed to have been a vassal state to Hittite Empire since the year 1340 BCE until its destruction. (Singer 1999, 625–627).

[4] Some fragments of the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic texts have been found in Halan Sultan Tekke in Cyprus, Tell Sukas, Qadesh, Sarpat, Kamid el-Loz in the Beka Valley, Mount Tabor, Taanach, and in Beth Shemes (Loretz 1990, 274–275).

noticeable amount of text passages with somewhat parallel features with the Hebrew Bible.[5] Probably the highest value of the Ugaritic texts for Biblical studies has been the fact that Ugaritic mythology tells stories about such deities as El, Baal, Asherah, Astarte and Anat that have been mentioned among the Canaanite deities also in the Hebrew Bible. Most importantly, there seem to be certain similarities in the descriptions of YHWH in the Hebrew Bible and some deities in the Ugaritic mythology. In particular, YHWH shares some imagery in common with El and Baal. These similarities garnered a huge amount of scholarly interest both in the field of Biblical Studies and also Ancient Near Eastern Studies shortly after their discovery, and the nature of the relationship between the Hebrew Bible and the Ugaritic texts has been under debate for many decades already.

It has been asked, whether the texts of the Hebrew Bible, have been "influenced" by other West-Semitic religions, the best-preserved textual evidence of which is definitely the Ugaritic texts. Especially the relationship between YHWH and the North-West Semitic storm-god, Baal, has received vivid discussion. It has both been argued that the cult around YHWH was originally centered on a storm-god that later developed more into a monolatrous and then a monotheistic Religion, and conversely that YHWH, who had originally been something else other than a storm-god, had absorbed the North-West Semitic storm-god features into itself.[6]

However, it is basically impossible to show any actual lines of influence between the two text corpora. Religious ideas were probably transmitted between different people and different cultures all the time. This is why rather than trying to show any certain lines of influence, it is much more fruitful an approach to have a look at religious phenomena in their different contexts, attempting to understand their meaning to the *homo religiosus* that used them. I also explore *why* these phenomena and not some others have been transmitted along, rather than trying to provide conclusions about *how* that has happened. The image of the Rider of the Clouds in the Ugaritic texts and the Hebrew Bible provides an ideal test case to understand this process of transmission of religious ideas.

[5] Because of this, research on the Ugaritic language has also helped to understand some texts passages in the Hebrew Bible that had not been fully understood before.

[6] E. g. Reihard Müller thinks that YHWH has originally been a storm-god (Müller 2017), whereas Mark S. Smith (2001; 2002) and John Day (2000) have argued that he has absorbed the so-called Baalistic imagery into itself. More about this conversation, see Witte & Oorschot ed. 2017.

Rider of the Clouds in previous research

In the Hebrew Bible, there are a number of verses in which the God of Israel is depicted riding on clouds or in the sky.[7] When Ugaritic texts were discovered from the Ras Shamra peninsula it was soon noticed that, in the Ugaritic narrative poetry, the epithet *rkb ʿrpt – Rider of the Clouds* is regularly connected to storm-god Baal (*bʿl*), who is presented as one of the key characters of these texts. Already many years before that, the term רכב בערבות in Psalm 68:5 had gained some scholarly attention. In 1879, John William Colenso suggested that the term should be read as רכב בעבות – *Rider of the Clouds,* and not as a *Rider on the Steppe* as it had been previously understood.[8] This interpretation seemed to cohere with the theme of God riding on the clouds elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[9] In the year 1923 Sigmund Mowinckel came to the same conclusion.[10] In 1925 Franz Wutz again suggested that the term should be read רכב בערפות - Rider of the Clouds.[11] His interpretation was based on comparative study with the Akkadian language, in which the words *urpatu* and *erpetu* mean clouds. According to this interpretation, there must have been consonant variation between different Semitic languages in the letters *b* and *p* in some word. Since the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, this interpretation has become the most popular among scholars, and the meaning of the term רכב בערבות in Ps 68:5 has been regularly understood as *Rider of the Clouds*, which would make it the closest parallel to Baal's epithet *rkb ʿrpt* at Ugarit, but full consensus has not been reached.[12]

It has been under debate whether the original form of the phrase רכב בערבות in Ps. 68:5 has been preserved in the Masoretic text or if it has gone through some changes in the redaction process. Even those who consider that changes have happened do not agree whether the possible alterations have been deliberate or resulted from human error or natural sound variation in Semitic languages. Even if there were deliberate alterations in the texts, one should ask whether they have been made to make the verse more intelligible or for some theological reasons.

[7] Ps. 18:11; 2. Sam. 22:11; Ps. 104; Deut. 33:26 and Is. 19:1.
[8] Colenso 1879, 114–115.
[9] See above.
[10] Mowinckel 1923, 94; 1953, 27 n1. However, Mowinckel later changed his view according to the new Ugaritic evidence. Cf. Mowinckel 1923, 94; 1953, 27 n.1 vs. Mowinckel 1962, 299.
[11] Wutz 1925, 171.
[12] See e. g. Bauer 1933, 88–89; Ginsberg 1943, 112–113; Albright 1951, 12, 18, 36; 1968, 223; Briggs 1951, 95–97; Weiser 1986, 477, 484; Dahood 1968, 130, 136; Anderson 1972, 484; Tate 1990, 162, 176; Smith 2002, 81–82; Eaton 2003, 243–249; Arnold & Strawn 2003, 428–432. Against this view e. g. Day 1985, 30–31; Loretz 2003, 521–525.

I will briefly deal with the relationship between the Ugaritic Baal's epithet and the one in Psalm 68:5 via comparative textual analysis first, and then reflect on some perspectives from cognitive theories for the data. I will begin by taking a closer look into the epithet *rkb ʿrpt* in its narrative context in the Ugaritic narrative poetry.

Baal as the Rider of the Clouds in Ugaritic texts

The epithet *rkb ʿrpt* – Rider of the Clouds-- is clearly connected to the god Baal (*bʿl*) and to no other deity in the Ugaritic texts. The epithet appears altogether seventeen times in the extent corpus. However, it is found only in the mythology (narrative poetry) and not in other Ugaritic texts. The appearance of the epithet seems to be rather established in the colometric system of the Ugaritic narrative poetry. The epithet usually follows one of three of Baal's other names (*bʿl, zbl bʿl* or *aliyn bʿl*), which are first presented either in the first colon of a bicolon or in the second colon of a tricolon.

All the appearances of the epithet *rkb ʿrpt* in their narrative contexts seem to demonstrate Baal is considered as the provider of fertility in the Ugaritic pantheon. The usage of the epithet *rkb ʿrpt* is especially prominent in the *Baal Cycle* which is the larger narrative (or a trilogy of narratives) in the Ugaritic mythology. In the Baal Cycle, Baal is depicted as a divine warrior fighting victoriously against the chaotic forces of sea (KTU 1.1–KTU 1.2) and death (KTU 1.5–KTU 1.6), however with help of some other deities of the Ugaritic pantheon. An example of this is found in KTU 1.2 IV 7–10. In this scene, the craftsman-god Kothar-wa-Hasis encourages Ba'al to fight against Yam, the sea, and to take the kingship among the gods of Ugarit.

KTU 1.2 IV 7–10[13]

7	*wʿn. ktr. whss.*	7	And Kothar-wa-Hasis speaks up:
7–8	*lrgmt/ lk. lzbl. bʿl.*	7–8	"Indeed, I say to you Prince Baal,
	tnt. ***lrkb. ʿrpt.***		Repeat **to the Rider of the Clouds**:
8–9	*ht. ibk/ bʿlm.*	8–9	Now your enemies, o Baal,
	ht. ibk. tmḥṣ		now smite your enemies,
	ht. tṣmt ṣrtk.		now silence your foes!
10	*tqh. mlk. ʿlmk.*	10	Take your eternal kingship,
	drkt. dt. drdrk.		the power from generation to generation!"

[13] This text sample (KTU 1.2 IV 7–10) is from the story where *Baal* fights against Yam, who is the god of sea. This story is the first section of three individual stories that together construct the so-called Ugaritic Baal Cycle. In the third story of the Baal Cycle, Baal is fighting against Mot, who is a personification of death. Many scholars have interpreted the

In some passages, it is also more obvious that Baal, as the Rider of the Clouds, should save his people from drought and famine by providing regular irrigation and cattle fertility. This is depicted especially in the passages where he is described by his weather-god characteristics such as thunder, lightning, rain and dew. In some of these passages (as in KTU 1.19 I 38–46 below) it seems that Baal is not actually present in the scene, but his name and the epithet Rider of the Clouds is referred to as synonyms of weather elements. Elements of irrigation connected to Baal were essential to the welfare of Ugaritic society, which lived from agriculture and trade.

KTU 1.19 I 38–46

38–39 *apnk. dnil. mt/ rpi*[14]	38–39 Now Daniel, the man of Rapiuma,
39–40 *yṣly. ʿrpt. b/ḥm. un.*	39–40 rails at the clouds in the hopeless heat:
40–42 *yr. ʿrpt/ tmṭr. bqẓ.*	40–42 "Let the early rain of clouds rain in Summer,
ṭl. yṭll. lǵnbm.	let the dew irrigate the grapes.“
42–44 *šbʿ. šnt/ yṣrk. bʿl.*	42–44 Seven year away is Baal,
ṯmn. ***rkb/ ʿrpt****.*	eight **Rider of the Clouds**.
44–46 *bl. ṭl. bl. rbb/*	44–46 No dew, no rain,
bl. šrʿ. thmtm.	no song of the deep,
bl/ ṭbn. ql. bʿl.	no goodness of Baal’s voice.

The second example (KTU 1.19 I 36–48) is a short passage in the Aqhat story. Daniel, the protagonist of the story, shouts and rails at the clouds trying to get the Rider of the Clouds’ attention as Baal, the provider of regular irrigation and fertility, might be able to make a miracle of rain during the dry summer season, but the god remains absent. The situation in the scene seems to be exceptionally severe, as also early rain (*yr*), and dew (*ṭl*), that appear in the parallel position with Baal’s voice that probably represents thunder, are absent as well.

There are two of these passages[15] like this in the Ugaritic mythology in which Baal, the Rider of the Clouds is not present in the scene in person. In these passages, his name and the epithet seem to be rather used as symbol for the weather elements connected to him. Moreover, these passages raise a question of whether this kind of imagery represents the way in which the Ugaritic

Baal Cycle so that it represents the seasonal pattern of the year (E. g. de Moor 1972). Transliterations that I have used in this presentation are from Ugaritic Narrative Poetry (Parker 1997 ed). The translations of Ugaritic are my own.

[14] The epithet *mt. rpi* is repeatedly connected to Daniel in the Aqhatu Story. The etymology of the word is unclear.

[15] KTU 1.3 II 38–41; KTU 1:19 I 40–46.

people considered their god Baal and felt his presence. However, what is also noticeable is that Baal is never described in riding on the clouds as part of a narrative in the Ugaritic texts, even though it would suit well his role as a divine warrior saving his people from chaotic forces. Rider of the Clouds is only used as an established epithet to Baal. Also, the colometric context around it follows the same pattern rather strictly. This raises another question: whether Ugaritic writers did not use this kind of more descriptive textual imagery at all, or if there was the textual imagery but the evidence for it has not been found.[16] Accordingly, it can be asked whether the use of the epithet *rkb ʿrpt* has been so fixed that it required no narrative expansion.

Rider of the Clouds Imagery in the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Textual Analysis

The image of YHWH, the God of Israel, riding on the clouds is clearly visible in several passages of the Hebrew Bible (Ps. 104:3; Is. 19:1; Deut. 33:26; Ps. 18: 9-12 / 2. Sam. 22:9-12). The genre of all of these verses is poetry. However, when compared to the Ugaritic Baal's epithet, the imagery of riding on the clouds in the Hebrew Bible seems to be described in a much more expansive way in most of these verses. Whereas the Ugaritic Baal's epithet seemed to be very established, YHWH's description as a Rider of the Clouds seems to be less formulaic in the Biblical verses. They all somehow depict God riding on the sky, and clouds are mentioned in all of them but, for instance, a variety of different words for clouds are used in these verses (עב/עבים in Ps. 104:3 and Is. 19:1; שחקים in Deut. 33:26; ערפל in Ps. 18:10–11/2. Sam. 22:10–11). In Psalm 18:10–11, God comes down from the heavens with a dark cloud (ערפל) under his feet but is actually riding mounted on a cherub (ויט שמים וירד וערפל תחת רגליו: וירכב על־כרוב ויעף וירא על־כנפי־רוח:). Thus, even though all of these scenes are thematically and phenomenologically related both to riding in the heavens and to clouds, and in that way relate to Ugaritic Baal's epithet, the diction is different, with the exception of רכב בערבות *rkb bʿrbwt* in Psalm 68:5. Still, the important question about how the term רכב בערבות *rkb bʿrbwt* in this Psalm should be understood needs to be briefly dealt with first.

Psalm 68:5

שירו לאלהים	Sing to God
זמרו שמו	Sing praises to his name
סלו **לרכב בערבות**	Lift up a song to the Rider of the Clouds,

[16] There are some iconographic descriptions for the motif of the Rider of the Clouds, or at least some chariot-riding motifs that can probably be interpreted in this way, but I have left them out of this current paper. I will definitely have a closer look at that iconographic material as I get further with the topic.

ביה שמו	his name is Yah
ועלזו לפניו	Be exultant before him

Chart 1 – Psalm 68:5 according to Masoretic Text and the Septuagint	
Masoretic Text (BHS)	Septuagint (LXX) (Ps. 67:5)
שירו לאלהים זמרו שמו סלו **לרכב בערבות** ביה שמו ועלזו לפניו	ᾄσατε τῷ θεῷ ψάλατε τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὁδοποιήσατε **τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότι ἐπὶ δυσμῶν** κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ

According to the Masoretic Text, it seems clear that the phrase should be understood as Rider on the Steppe, as the word ערבות usually means steppe or desert in Biblical Hebrew. The Qumran version of Psalm 68 does not offer another reading for the word, but in the Septuagint, it has been translated with the word δυσμῶν, which usually means 'going down', especially 'sunset', and accordingly also 'west'. This gives a very good reason to believe that there has been a scribal error in the Masoretic vocalization process. The Hebrew root ערב that the vocalizer has interpreted as the word ערבה 'steppe' or 'desert', can also be interpreted as the word ערב that means 'evening' or 'to be evening', which would explain the Septuagint translation. In the old Latin translations one can also see the same variation in the translation traditions: In the *Versio Gallicana* that is based on the hexaplaric edition of the Septuagint, the term has been translated by Hieronymus as *'… ei qui ascendit super occasum'* – 'He who ascends over the sunset'. And, in the other early Latin translation *Versio iuxta Hebraicum*, that Hieronymus translated later based on the Hebrew *Vorlage*, he has translated the verse as *'ascendenti per deserta'* – '[he who] ascends on the desert'. It is also noticeable that in the *Peshitta*, which is based on the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the translation for the word is *m`rb`*, which also means 'sunset' or 'west'. It seems clear that there were two alternative translation traditions for this term and when the Vulgate *Versio iuxta Hebraicum* gained the authoritative position in the Catholic tradition in the year 1546, the one meaning 'steppe' or 'desert' was considered as the correct one even though the other tradition with the meaning of 'sunset' and 'west' was probably the older one. The 'steppe' tradition seems also logical with the narrative context of the Psalm 68 and its reference to the Sinai Tradition that is visible in the verse Psalm 68:8: "the earth quaked, the heavens poured down rain at the presence of God, the God of Sinai".

According to the early translations, it seems that the meaning of the word ערבות was not entirely clear for the early Biblical translators. There is sometimes consonant variation between letter *b* and *p* in different Semitic languages. For example, in some Akkadian dialects the verb *erēpu* 'to become dark, dusky´ is written with *p*, and is close to the Hebrew word ערב 'evening', that is written with *b*.[17] And as we know that in Akkadian words *erpetu*, *erpu* and *urpatu* have the meaning ´cloud´, as well as in Ugaritic, one can possibly make the same conclusion that this kind of consonant variation may be possible in Hebrew as well.[18] J. A. Loader has also investigated the connection between the roots *'rp* and *'rb* in his article The Concept of Darkness in the Hebrew Root *ʿrb/ʿrp.* He comes to the conclusion, that there are some very similar characteristics between these two roots as the meaning for both of them can be ´to become dark, dusky´.[19]

According to the text historical analysis I have presented above, it also seems entirely possible that there could have been the same kind of consonant variation between the two Semitic languages in Ugaritic *rkb ʿrpt* and the Hebrew רכב בערבות. However, it is difficult to say whether the consonant variation has been affected by a natural variation or by a deliberate distortion of an already-familiar epithet usually related to another, rival deity.[20] The epithet רכב בערבות in the Psalm 68:5 seems to be close to the storm-god Baal's epithet *rkb ʿrpt* thanks to similarities in its colometric position in the Psalm. The epithet רכב בערבות follows the name of God, אלהים, in the following line in the same way the epithet *rkb 'rpt* follows the names of Baal in the Ugaritic Mythology. However, this is a rather common feature in the Semitic poetry. Also, there seems to have been an obvious need to emphasize the name of God, *Yah* in the Psalm 68:5 ביה שמו – *'His name is Yah'* to make sure that it is actually him to whom the verse refers and not some other deity.[21]

Now, having looked into both the Ugaritic Baal's epithet *rkb 'rpt* and the suggested cloud-riding scenes in the Hebrew Bible in their own contexts, I will next attempt to reflect some theories from the field of CSR to these materials. I will first continue by briefly introducing the CSR theories to which I am referring and then make conclusions about why it was necessary to use the imagery of Rider of the Clouds in both of these text corpuses.

[17] CAD e, 279; CAD u, 236–238.
[18] See also Wutz 1925 in the footnote above.
[19] Loader 1971, 99–107.
[20] Day (2000, 93) considers the deliberate distortion of the storm-god epithet, that we know from the Ugaritic Narrative Poetry, as a more probable option than the natural consonant variation.
[21] The words ביה שמו has been suggested to be a gloss within the colometric structure of the psalm 68, that is otherwise also an *Elohistic* and not *Yahwistic* Psalm. More about this, see Arnold & Strawn 2003.

Conceptualization of Divinity via Anthropomorphic Representations

Cognitive Science of Religion (CSR) is a methodologically-pluralistic branch of Religious Studies that approaches religious phenomena by explaining them as products of human cognition. As Cognitive Science is research that investigates human cognitive processes via *representations*, CSR, as part of Religious Studies, investigates *religious representations*.[22] In his work, Ilkka Pyysiäinen has divided religious representations into two categories: first, *mental representations*, which are ideas, mental images and beliefs that are born in individual human minds, and that are invisible to other individuals, and second, *public representations*, which are cultural products such as conceptualizations of the divine in texts, paintings, figurines and epithets of deities, that are visible (or audible) to the public. Traditions, cultures and religious concepts are therefore abstractions based on the observed overlap in mental and public representations. [23] The entire human culture can thus be considered as one extended cognition of individual human minds. However, what is important is that *public representations* must be considered both as expressions of *mental representations* and objects that trigger them.[24] Therefore, we cannot always tell when a cultural object has created a mental representation or vice versa. For instance, if we find a clay figurine without any parallels from an Early Iron Age context, we still cannot tell whether it is a product of its makers' own *mental representation* or if they have used a model that can be either a real person or another figurine that can be considered as a *public representation* of a person, a deity or something else. In other words, we can never reach the mental representations: neither those of ancient nor those of living people. We can only understand the processes of human cognition that have produced the public representations of religious beliefs. What is noticeable here is that the majority of religious representations in the Ancient Near East and especially in the North-Eastern Levant were presented in anthropomorphic terms.[25] This is a largely investigated subject in the previous research on Ancient Near Eastern religions.[26] However, CSR has offered some new perspectives to understand and explain the phenomenon of anthropomorphism in conceptualization of divinity.

[22] Varela & Thompson & Rosch 1991, 4–9; Gardner 1987, 6.
[23] Pyysiäinen 2009, 43.
[24] Pyysiäinen 2009, 43.
[25] Even though anthropomorphism seems to be an essential factor in conceptualization of divinity in the Ancient Near-East, non-anthropomorphic theology was by any means an unknown phenomenon in there. For example, there are attestations of this already in Sumerian lamentations. See more about this for example in Fink 2015, 231–244.
[26] See for example Jacobsen 1976.

One of the first theories in the field of CSR was introduced by Steward Guthrie in his book *Faces in the Clouds*. By Guthrie's definition, anthropomorphism means attribution of human characteristics to things or events that are not human. It must also be distinguished from animism, that can be defined either by psychological or by religious terms. In psychological terms, animism means attributing life to the lifeless, and in religious terms it means a belief in spirit beings. According to Guthrie, anthropomorphism and animism often occur together in religious beliefs.[27] From cognitive perspectives, anthropomorphism seems to be an intrinsic, innate, intuitive and unconscious process in the human cognition, that can be understood in two ways: First, anthropomorphism can be considered as an essential part of human perception, neurological processes and intuitive interpretations of the perceived surroundings. This is based on the mental mechanism in human cognition by which human individuals tend to recognize human-like figures even when they do not actually exist, such as in car headlights, clouds and rock formations. This cognitive process is called *pareidolia*, and according to some later research, it seems to be stronger on some individuals than the others.[28] On the other hand, anthropomorphism can be considered as a fundamental characteristic of all human individuals to understand, reason and structure their living environment. In other words, by anthropomorphizing natural elements, humans try to make sense of the environment that is otherwise chronically uncertain to them.[29] Guthrie emphasized that anthropomorphism in religion should be considered both via perception and via reasoning.[30] Thus, when a phenomenon is considered as an individually-operating agent with intentions and even a name, people can try to communicate with it, no matter how fearsome it seems. The more detail with which these agents are presented, the more familiar they become; similarly, the more anthropomorphically they are conceptualized, the easier the communication with them becomes.

[27] Guthrie 1994, 39.
[28] Waytz, Cacioppo & Epley 2010. See also Willard & Norenzayan 2013, 379–391.
[29] Guthrie 1980; 1994.
[30] Guthrie 1994. Before his larger volume, *Faces in the Clouds*, Guthrie had already introduced his ideas in his essay, *A Cognitive Theory of Religion* (1980). Some other scholars like Justin L. Barrett (2004; 2011) have emphasized that, rather than perceiving actual anthropomorphic figures, people simply tend to expect intentionally operating agents, not necessarily anthropomorphic figures, behind natural phenomena. Previously, some other scholars like Aiyana Willard (According to her presentation in AAR 2017) rather emphasize, that people do not necessarily anthropomorphize their religious beliefs, but they rather mentalize things. In other words, they tend to assume an operating *mind* behind some otherwise unidentified events.

Thus, anthropomorphized conceptualizations of supernatural beings also become *ontological metaphors* of otherwise unexplained phenomena.[31]

If we now look at the image of the Rider of the Clouds, we can expect to see the process of anthropomorphizing as its background. The theme of a god riding on his chariots on the clouds is found in several different cultures around the world: for example, Zeus in Greek mythology, Ninurta in Mesopotamia (even though he is not usually considered as a storm-god), Indra in India, and Thor in Scandinavia are presented in this way. One can find some remarkable similarities between these mythic images but hardly any actual connections between all of these cultures can be assumed. This kind of storm-god imagery seems to be based on a cognitively intuitive way of anthropomorphizing the weather phenomena as deities with warrior roles and with a connection with the sky.

A thunderstorm can be a terrifying phenomenon that can cause considerable destruction. But when a thunderstorm is explained so that it is an effect of the deeds of an autonomously-operating agent that has its own will and emotions, there might be a way to communicate with it. If the agent is then anthropomorphized, deified and given a name, it becomes possible to communicate with it via prayers, rituals, sacrifices and so on. Thus, throughout a certain process of conceptualization, a fearsome phenomenon can be turned into a powerful ally. Thus, as the storm-god is "on your side", its fearsome appearance can be used for your own religious and political purposes. In the next section, I will look at the Rider of the Clouds imagery in the Ugaritic mythology and in the Hebrew Bible anew and use CSR to illuminate their cognitive backgrounds.

Anthropomorphic representations of divinity and cloud-riding imagery in Ugaritic texts and in the Hebrew Bible

The image of a storm-god riding on the clouds may be reflecting an intuitive way of interpreting meteorological storm phenomena. The sound of thunder can be considered either as the sound of divine chariot wheels or roaring of the storm-god, and lightning could have been interpreted a spears or bolts shot by the divine chariot rider. Sometimes this kind of anthropomorphism is rather clearly visible in the colometric structure of the Ugaritic narrative poetry as well. For example, in

[31] Lakoff & Johnson 1980; 1992. It is another question though, whether people actually believe in the conceptualized super-human beings or are those conceptualizations simply used as ontological metaphors of things that could not be spoken of in other ways.

the passage below (KTU 1.3 IV 25–27), lightning in the first colon is connected to the horns of the Rider of the Clouds in the second colon via synonym parallelism.

KTU 1.3 IV 25–27

25–26 *yšt/* [*bšmm.*] *bʿl. mdlh.*	25–26 Let Baal set his lightning [in the sky]
26–27 *ybʿr/* [***rkb ʿr***]***pt*** [*q*]*rnh.*	26–27 Let [Rider of the Cl]ouds light up his [h]orns

However, the highly established position of the imagery of the Baal, the Rider of the Clouds in the Ugaritic mythology, seems to reflect a rather established stage of anthropomorphizing natural elements. In such an established stage, it is not sure either what the Rider of the Clouds actually looks like, as the image is not described very clearly, even though the wider imagery around this epithet clearly shows the image of the storm-god Baal, who is supposed to save his people from disasters in form of drought, famine and death, or untamed forces of the sea. However, compared to some verses in the Hebrew Bible, the image of the Rider of the Clouds is much more visibly described. In some of the Biblical verses, the theophany of YHWH, the God of Israel is depicted riding *on* a swift cloud (Is. 19:1 הנה יהוה רכב על־עב קל), or as taken clouds to his chariots (Ps. 104:3 השם־ עבים רכובו). In these biblical verses, the conceptualization of God as the Rider of the Clouds seems to be more fleshed out than in the Ugaritic texts. Still, in Ilkka Pyysiäinen's terms, we cannot reach the actual mental representations of the divinity behind the public representations of the slightly different kind of imagery of Rider of the Clouds in Ugaritic texts and in the Hebrew Bible, even though we can, in Guthries terms, understand the intuitive processes of anthropomorphism in human cognition.[32]

Considering the image of the Rider of the Clouds as an intuitive way of human cognition to conceptualize weather phenomena by anthropomorphizing them, seems to answer to the question, why this kind of imagery was necessary to both Ugaritic Baal's and early Hebrew YHWH's description. Still, attempting to understand the connection between these conceptualizations of Rider of the Clouds, one must remember that it is almost always impossible to track any kind of direct influences between different cultural spheres. Thus, it makes much more sense to attempt understand the cognitive mechanisms that affect the evolutionary processes of cultural transmission of this image.

[32] Pyysiäinen 2009; Guthrie 1994.

Rider of the Clouds in Tradition Transmission

It is usual that the different members of the community know the contents of the tradition to varying degrees, but tradition can be still considered as collective memory. This is why the tradition transmission process can be understood by the cognitive processes of human memory.[33] This is important to understand, because tradition in its oral phase cannot be considered so that it is merely copied from one individual's memory to another like a text could be copied from a clay tablet or a piece of parchment to another. Human cognition is an active processor of information. It understands and reconstructs all the information by the standards of all its capacity via various cognitive processes.

In the Ancient Near East, only a small minority of people were able to communicate via literacy. Thus, it is clear that conceptualizations of deities, religious traditions, and narratives were transmitted also orally from one generation to another for centuries alongside the literary culture. This is also probably the reason why so many narratives were told in poetical forms. The colometric system widely used in the poetry was mnemotechnically important. Still, some religious beliefs were more adhesive to human cognition and were transmitted more easily than the others.

There have been a number of theories about transmission of traditions in the field of CSR but one of the most prominent ones is Dan Sperber's theory of *epidemiology of representations.*[34] It is based on the idea that mental representations are spread similarly to viral infections via communication. According to this theory, religious ideas are transmitted so that the shared cultural environment triggers the human cognition to process the new information. The more active cognitive processes the *mental representation* triggers, the easier it stays in the memory. This process is always a unique one for every human individual, but some ideas seem to have specifically more of this *cognitive attraction*. According to Sperber, religious beliefs can be divided into two categories: *Intuitive beliefs* are representations that are based on the immediate perception and that are to be separated from cultural communication. Intuitive beliefs trigger the points of attraction in the human cognition intuitively, and they do not require conscious awareness or further learning. This kind of intuitive beliefs seem to be universal. The other kind of beliefs in Sperber's theory are *reflective beliefs* that are born through social interaction within the culture. These reflective beliefs usually function so that they support the social structures or everyday

[33] Sjöblom 2008, 51.
[34] Sperber 1990; 1996.

situations within the community. According to Sperber, religious representations also survive in the cultural evolutionary process because they are easily malleable to new contexts.[35]

Now, if we reflect on the image of Rider of the Clouds using Sperber's idea of epidemiology of representations, we can see that it does not only fit well in the category of *intuitive beliefs* but somewhat also to the category of *reflective beliefs*. As I have presented above, the anthropomorphic image of a storm-god riding on the clouds seems to be a broadly cross-culturally occurring concept. Still, what is remarkable in the Ugaritic Baal imagery is that the cloud-riding theme there is turned into an epithet which is already a rather abstract conceptualization. Rider of the Clouds is frozen into one of the Baal's most prominent epithets in the Ugaritic mythology.[36] Its established position in both the colometry and the narrative context of the Ugaritic narrative poetry lets it also fit well in the category of *reflective beliefs*. In Ugaritic mythology, Baal is presented as a divine Rider of the Clouds that fights against the forces of Chaos and provides the regular irrigation that saves people from drought, famine and death. Therefore, Baal as the Rider of the Clouds has had a certain important role and the *Sitz in Leben* in the Ugaritic culture, a strong divine figure to whom people can turn with prayers and offerings when things get worse.

Having a look at the close similarity of the Ugaritic Baal's epithet *rkb ʿrpt* and the epithet רכב בערבות in Psalm 68:5, one can consider them as examples of the same motif that has two slightly different versions in two different cultural contexts. The highly established position of the epithet *rkb ʿrpt* in Baal's description in the Ugaritic Narrative Poetry, along with its high degree cognitive attraction. This has probably helped it to survive in the cultural evolutionary process also as oral tradition after the city of Ugarit was destroyed alongside with the other North West Semitic city-states with their concepts of the storm-god and the entire network of civilizations at the end of the Late Bronze Age. According to the principles of cultural evolution, it is natural that cultural ideas like religious representations change during the evolutionary process. In this way, the minor consonant variation seems to be only natural when we find the otherwise very similar epithet of the Rider of the Clouds in the Hebrew Bible. Religious representations must be intuitive enough to be transmitted from a cultural context to another, but in order to fully operate in their new cultural contexts, religious representations require a certain process of recontextualization and reconceptualization.

[35] Sperber 1996.
[36] More about Baal's epithets in Ugaritic text, see Wyatt 1992.

YHWH, the God of Israel is described with storm-god imagery in a number of texts in the Hebrew Bible. It has been recently under a debate whether he did originally bear the role of a storm-god or if he has adopted those characteristics from one or more other deities in the Land of Canaan. Looking at Psalm 68:5, it seems clear that its writer has had to make sure that has to be known by the name *Yah* (ביה שמו) and not by some other name.[37] Both this and the rival position between YHWH and Baal attested in a number of texts in the Hebrew Bible might indicate that YHWH was not the only deity that was known by the epithet Rider of the Clouds in the Land of Canaan during the Iron Age. Nevertheless, the main point here is that the cognitive attractiveness of the storm-god imagery and more specifically Rider of the Clouds imagery is the source of both the Ugaritic formulations and those in the Hebrew Bible.

Conclusions: The Function of the Rider of the Clouds imagery in the Hebrew Bible

Traditional comparative approaches have not been entirely able to explain why certain conceptualizations of divinity appear both in the Hebrew Bible and in Ugaritic texts. CSR offers useful tools to better understand the cognitive attractiveness of certain religious ideas. Even though looking at parallels between different West Semitic texts through the lens of CSR does not give us more information about historical cultural influences between different cultures in the Ancient Levant. Still, with cognitive approaches, we can better understand the structures in human cognition that underpin mechanisms of cultural transmission. Understanding such universal features as anthropomorphism as public representations of religious beliefs that are based on people's mental representations, we are a little closer to understanding religious thinking of the peoples of the Ancient Levant. Some religious representations, such as the image of Rider of the Clouds, seem to contain considerably more cognitive attractiveness than others, at least specifically within certain ecological and cultural contexts. Thus, looking at them seems to be a fruitful way to investigate parallelism between god motifs in different cultures.

The Ugaritic Baal's epithet the Rider of the Clouds seems to have reached a highly established position in Ugaritic mythology. It fits well in the context of the Northern Levant where

[37] For example, Reinhard Müller (2017) and Juha Pakkala (2017) consider YHWH originally as a storm-god whereas Mark S. Smith (2001; 2002) and John Day (2000) would rather see that his storm-god imagery has been borrowed from the Canaanite storm-god. I would argue, that as YHWH has not been very prominent deity in the land of Canaan during the Early Iron Age, and the epigraphic evidence from Kuntillet Ajrud and Khirbet el-Qom seem to rather refer to his origins in the Southern rather than in the Northern Levant, his storm-god imagery in the Hebrew Bible seems to be more likely adopted from the local storm-god, probably called Baal or Adad. About the recent discussion about The Origins of YHWH and Yahwism, see Witte & Oorschot et al 2017.

the storm-god was considered as the provider of regular irrigation. However, it seems that the cloud-riding imagery in the Hebrew Bible has not reached as established position. The image of the Rider of the Clouds has obviously been intuitive enough to be transmitted and incorporated into the Hebrew Bible. It can be considered almost as another honorary title to YHWH. Still, the process of recontextualization and reconceptualization has had its cost: The cloud-riding imagery seems to be just a small part of the bigger image in YHWH's description. Because of its incoherent position in the Hebrew Bible it seems unlikely that Rider of the Clouds was originally part of YHWH's description. As YHWH was considered not only as a storm-god, it was not necessary to build as consistent storm-god imagery around him as it was in the Northern Levant, especially in Ugarit, around Baal. Still, it seems that it has been necessary to maintain storm-god imagery in YHWH's description because of its intuitive cognitive attractiveness to early Israelite people.

The expression רכב בערבות in Psalm 68:5 is a good example of a process of recontextualization of the image of the Rider of the Clouds. As it closely resembles Ugaritic Baal's epithet *rkb ʿrpt*, it seems entirely possible that there is some kind of closer connection between these two epithets. Because of the lack of more evidence, it is impossible to say how the expression came to the Hebrew Bible. According to the theories about cognitive attraction, I would say that *rkb ʿrpt* – Rider of the Clouds was widely known as an epithet of the North-West Semitic storm-gods. Its cognitive attraction seems to be based on an intuitive way of anthropomorphizing meteorological features, that is wrapped in a cognitively attractive and easily memorable package. This is why it seem likely that the epithet was known also in the Southern Levant where the ancient Israelite culture and the earliest Psalms of the Hebrew Bible were taking shape. The addition of ביה שמו – His name is Yah, in Psalm 68:5, shows that it was necessary to emphasize that the Rider of the Clouds of the Land of Israel was YHWH and not any other deity of the Land of Canaan. However, the epithet seemed to have been problematic to the Biblical scribes of the later periods as well, but for other reasons. Without a strong connection to other storm-god imagery in the Psalm 68, the original meaning of the epithet seems to have faded away. It seems not have been entirely clear to the later scribes how this epithet should have been translated into Greek and later into Latin. And this is why the epithet certainly required undergoing the necessary process of recontextualization and reconceptualization. In the early Latin translations, the interpretation of the Rider upon the Steppe, which had a stronger connotation to the biblical Sinai tradition became prominent, and the earlier interpretations were finally forgotten.

Another key question still remains: Why it was necessary to incorporate and maintain significantly the image of the Rider of the Clouds in the Hebrew Bible whereas many other Baal imagery was left away? This image seems to fit smoothly in Ugaritic mythology, where Baal clearly is the storm-god, the heavenly warrior who provided the regular irrigation, but in the Hebrew Bible YHWH's character is not that related only to the meteorological phenomena. Was the imagery, that worked well in the other well-known deity´s description, simply annexed to YHWH's description because of its pure cognitive attractiveness, that was hoped to be working in the new early Hebrew context as well? Or was the Rider of the Clouds simply that suitable image also for the God of Israel who led his people out of Egypt?

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The Jacob Tradition in the Book of Jubilees

Preface

Due the fairly fresh start of the PhD project itself, this paper deals with the most of what I have read and studied about Jacob in the Book of Jubilees. I apologize for the incoherence of the paper. The reason for stopping in chapter 32 is due the length of the paper. Questions and focal points in discussion:

1) Recent literary-critical / redaction-critical notes challenging the unity of Jubilees and its effect on studying the text itself (chapter 1).
2) The argumentation about Jub. 30–32 and why Jacob could not be a priest.
3) Should the analysis of Jacob Tradition follow the book of Jubilees or be arranged thematically/systematically?
4) The preliminary discussion about Deuteronomy's influence to Jacob Tradition in Jubilees. Is it reasonable? What have I unnoticed, overinterpreted?

1 First questions first: Which Jubilees?

During this millenia there has been a strengthening of scholarly interest on the Book of Jubilees. One good reason for this is the new mass of knowledge we have gathered from the Dead Sea Scrolls. For example, a mass of texts that can be labeled under "Rewritten/Retold Scripture" has been found from the Scrolls[1]. Due the work of James C. VanderKam on the Book of Jubilees, the general assumption is that the Ethiopic version of the text is fairly reliable, even though it has been translated from the original Hebrew first into Greek (and perhaps Syriac) and then into Latin and Ge'ez.[2]

In the last century, the general assumption was that the Book of Jubilees was a work of a single author, although some disturbing voices were heard here and there.[3] The situation has changed after that[4]. Although VanderKam still more or less defends his original view about Jubilees being a work of a single author, for example Michael Segal and James L. Kugel disagree[5]. This of course affects

1 Crawford 2008 analyzes these texts in a spectrum. According to her the textual harmonizations are on the other side of the spectrum whereas "pure" Rewritten Scripture, such as Jubilees or Genesis Apocryphon can be found on the other side.

Scholars often say that the amount of "copies" of Jubilees found in DSS is 14 or 15. See for example VanderKam 2001, 16; Kugel 2012, 1. Monger (2014) has recently put this assumption into question.

2 See again VanderKam 2001, 14. Monger (2014) has put also this assumption into question.

3 For example the first thorough analysis of the ways of biblical interpretation in Jubilees, that of John C. Endres (1987) relies on this assumption. VanderKam (2001, 17–21) did not find the problems that were aroused during the 20th century convincing. On the state of scholarship prior 2007, see Segal 2007, 11–21.

4 *Revue de Qumran* 26.4 (2014) concentrates on this issue.

5 VanderKam 2008, 412–416 and 2014, 510–516 handle Segal's arguments; 2014, 505–510 is a rebuttal of Kugel's arguments. Segal's dissertation (English version 2007) tries to identify a thin redactional layer where the *Weltanschauung* or worldview of the writer of Jubilees is to be searched. Otherwise the author uses different sources (e.g. Book of Watchers) or traditions that he as adapted into his work. Kugel (2012) on the other hand sees that the original Jubilees is mostly found on the narrative parts of the text where also few later interpolations are to be seen. Most of the halakhic material that talks about "Heavenly Tablets", on the other hand, are the works of what he calls "Interpolator", who interpolates the original narrative. Whereas the original author of Jubilees was trying to

how we see and interpret the work. If we think it as a single work, in accordance with VanderKam, then we can agree with him that the really important points that the author will emphasize with his work are to be identified in the paragraphs where the author insists that this-and-this is written on the Heavenly Tablets[6]. On the other hand, if we agree with Kugel about the composition of Jubilees, then these "central tenets" actually belong to a later "Interpolator", and thus the central points made by the original author are to be searched in other sections[7]. On the other hand, if we go along with Segal's study, then we find the central tenets especially in the halakhic and chronological sections, which according to Segal derive from the same editor[8].

That being said, the situation is a bit more complicated now than before. As with the historical-critical studies of the Hebrew Bible, the student of Jubilees needs to take some stand on the issue. Does one start from the text *as it is now*, or does one try first to dig into the *redactions* and then analyze the ideology of this/these redactor(s)?

This paper assumes that Jubilees was a work of a single author and that the Ethiopic version more or less resembles the Hebrew original. However, I am aware of the problems of these assumptions.

The method used in this paper is similar to that of Endres (1987) or Kugel (2012), that is, I compare the retelling of Jubilees to Genesis and try to understand the exegesis of the author (or redactor) of Jubilees.[9]

2 Overview and Commentary on the Use of Jacob Traditions in Jubilees 1–32

Whereas in Genesis, Abraham is the main figure or shares the first place with Jacob, the situation is another in the rewriting of Jubilees. It is certainly so, that Jacob takes the prominent place in Jubilees[10]. The first time Jacob is mentioned is in the Creation narrative (Jub. 2:19–23)[11]:

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give hope to the 2nd Temple Jews by emphasizing the covenant which God had made with his people, even before the Sinai with its stipulations, the Interpolator found it disturbing that the original author emphasized the patriarchs in a way that could imply that the laws about different feasts and right behavior were given to Israel *only* due the fact that they had behaved such and such. The Interpolator, instead, solved this by taking the "Heavenly Tablets" motif and adapted it into a new use. The patriarchs behaved as they behaved, but actually all the feasts that they invented were already stipulated in the Heavenly Tablets. They just did not know it. See especially Kugel 2012, 227–296. Kugel 2014 summarizes the arguments of his earlier works on the subject and has an Appenix as an answer to VanderKam's rebuttal.

6 VanderKam 2001, 89: "These tablets are mentioned frequently in the book and are an expression of a central tenet of the author's thought."

7 See note 5 above.

8 Segal 2007, 319. This would actually go quite well along the thoughts of VanderKam. VanderKam (2014, 516) concludes his analysis of Segal's arguments: "[I]t could still be the case that there was a compiler of the sort Segal envisions. If the person we think of as the author of Jubilees supplied the legal and chronological materials and took over rewritten stories form elsewhere, we would have to say he imposed his stamp on those stories as well."

9 At this stage of research this comparison has mainly been done by comparing the Masoretic version of Genesis (along with LXX) and the translation of VanderKam (1989, vol 2), since I am on the beginning phase of learning Ge'ez. Some remarks has been done with the aid of the Ethiopic original. This method of course bears some problems that will be tangled with on later stages of research.

10 As noticed already by Endres. According to Endres (1987, 18) around 45 % of the book deals with Jacob Traditions.

11 Jacob is mentioned also in Jub. 1:7 along with Abraham and Isaac. The verse is a patchwork of different deuteronomistic verses, such as Deut. 31:20–21 and 31:27. Thus Kugel 2012, 22–23. See also Deut. 6:11–12 (especially when Jub. 1:15 refers to Deut. 6:4).

> "He said to us: 'I will now separate a people for myself from among my nations. They, too, will keep sabbath. I will sanctify the people for myself and will bless them as I sanctified the sabbath day. I will sanctify them for myself; in this way I will bless them. They will become my people and I will become their God. I have chosen the descendants of Jacob among all of those whom I have seen. I have recorded them as my first-born son and have sanctified them for myself throughout the ages of eternity. I will tell them about the sabbath days so that they may keep sabbath from all work on them'. In this way he made a sign on it by which they, too, would keep sabbath with us on the seventh day to eat, drink, and bless the creator of all as he had blessed them and sanctified them for himself as a noteworthy people out of all the nations; and to keep sabbath together with us. -- There were 22 leaders of humanity from Adam until him; and 22 kinds of works were made until the seventh day. The latter is blessed and holy and the former, too, is blessed and holy. The one with the other served (the purposes of) holiness and blessing."[12]

This already reveals the importance of Jacob. At the same, the author gives a hint of what Jacob really is about: the people of Israel. That is, Jacob functions in Jubilees both as an exemplary person[13] and as a personification of the people of Israel. The idea of Israel as "first-born" comes from Ex. 4:22 and here this idea is used and explained: Israel is God's first-born because he has thought about the seed of Jacob before everyone else. The other verse alluded is Deut 7:6.[14] That this is related to *patriarch Jacob* is clear from Jub. 2:23 where the author makes a connection between sabbath and Jacob as holy and thus *separated* from other days and people. Also the choice of the name is relevant here. Whereas Ex. 4:22 uses the name *Israel,* Jubilees will use Jacob to enhance the relationship with *patriarch Jacob* and *people Israel.* Abraham's blessing of Jacob in Jub. 19:29 "May the Lord God become your father and you his first-born son and people for all time" emphasizes the same aspect.[15]

This gives the reader the right angle from the beginning. Jacob is not only a forefather, but models Israel itself. That is: what is said about Jacob is said about Israel. Also the other characters in the book function in that sense: what is said about the sons of Jacob are said about the tribes of Israel. And what is said about the brother Esau is said about the Edomites – or about the Jews that the author opposes or dislikes[16].

This is one of the reasons for the rewriting. As Jacob was a forefather of Israel, it was necessary to deal with the problems that the Jacob Cycle gives. As VanderKam rightly has noted:

> "The largest effort at enhancing a character concerns Jacob who had the greatest room for improvement. The author transforms him from a scheming, deceptive person with problems in his family to an almost sickeningly pious individual who takes exceptional pains to honour and care for his parents."[17]

12 All translations are taken from VanderKam 1989, vol 2.
13 See for example El Mansy 2018, 143–144.
14 Kugel 2012, 33–34.
15 See also Jub. 23:23 where both Israel and Jacob are used.
16 It is beyond this paper to elaborate more on this issue. Valve 2010 shows that in the book of Malachi "Jacob and Esau does not merely denote Israel and Edom -- both brothers are to be found within the post-exilic Israelite audience to whom the author delivered his message." (p. 45) I think that the dichotomy between Jacob and Esau play a similar role in Jubilees.
17 VanderKam 2001, 112.

The next time Jacob comes up in Jubilees is in Jub. 6:19 where it is told that the Festival of Shavuot/Shevuot is kept by Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

After this, we land to the stories about Jacob we know from Genesis. Jub. 19:13–15 tells about the birth of Jacob and Esau, *in this order,* to enhance Jacob from the beginning[18]. Nothing is said about the struggle in Rebecca's womb. Then the author makes a stark contrast between Jacob and Esau: Jacob is upright, perfect, learned whereas Esau is rustic, hairy and harsh. Aliyah El Mansy has noticed that this introduction already contrast their character, body, education and lifestyle. Jacob is the role model whereas Esau is the one that one should avoid at any costs.[19]

Jub 19:16–30 tells further that the grandfather Abraham realizes early that it is Jacob who is to get the blessing, not Esau due Esau's behavior. The problematic question "Why did Rebecca favor Jacob?" is now answered: because she was right in it and should favor him even more, whereas Isaac was wrong in his favoritism. As Endres noticed before, the reason for Isaac's preference of Esau over Jacob is omitted[20]. By emphasizing the negative behavior of Esau here and throughout the Book of Jubilees, the author shows that the rejection of Esau is not unjust favoritism from God's part. It is predestined (Jub 2:20!) but not favoritism *per se*. That God shows no partiality is a common theme in Jubilees[21].

Abraham blesses Jacob and bestows his own blessing and the blessings given to Adam, Enoch, Noa and Shem (the priestly line[22]). In Abraham's words to Rebecca about Jacob (19:17–18), allusion is again to Deut. 7:6, but also to Ex. 19:5[23].

After this, Abraham summons his family together in chapter 20 and gives his advice to Ishmael and Isaac and to their sons (Jub. 20:1–10). This means that also Jacob and Esau hear his commands. This is important, because later on Esau will take Canaanite wives (against Jub. 20:4) and thus breaks the commandments given by his grandfather. He also tries to convince Jacob to take wives from the sisters of his wives (Jub. 25:8–10).

Jacob is given a prominent role also by diminishing the role of Isaac even more than it is diminished in Genesis. The role of Isaac in Jubilees is only to be a mediator of the blessing from Abraham to Jacob and to act as a priest after Abraham[24]. Although he first favors Esau *without reason*, he repents later on when also he is able to see Esau's wickedness and listens to his wise wife Rebecca, who has taken care of Jacob.

After Abraham gives Isaac the priesthood (chapter 21), the family is gathered to celebrate the Festival of Shavuot. There Jacob functions as a giver of gifts from Rebecca and Isaac to Abraham. After that, he blesses Jacob a second time and gives some instrunctions to him (Jub. 22:10–30).

18 Endres 1987, 23. Gen. 25:25–27 mentions Esau first.
19 El Mansy 2018, 133–136. She fails to notice that the mention of "tents" could hint towards the motif of learning, as Endres (1987, 24) and Kugel (2012, 115) have pointed out.
20 Endres 1987, 25.
21 See Jub. 5:16, 19; 21:4.
22 Thus Kugel 2012, 116, especially if one accepts the identification that Melchizedek = Shem.
23 Kugel 2012, 115.
24 Kugel 2012, 129.

According to David Lambert, these "testaments" of Abraham have not been created out of thin air, but are the result of exegesis of Gen. 18:19[25].

Recently Pauline P. Buisch has written about the absence and influence of Genesis 48 in Jubilees. According to her, the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in Gen. 48 functions as a model *both* for Abraham's blessing of Jacob (Jub. 22) and Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah (Jub. 31). She finds 10 similarities between the three blessings (Jub 19 and 22–23; 31; Gen. 48)[26]. According to her:

> "The parallels between Abraham's blessing of Jacob in *Jubilees* and Jacob's blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh in Genesis center around the patriarch's recognition of his true heir. In both cases, the patriarch adopts his grandson(s) and recognizes the younger brother to be superior to his older despite the father's preference."[27]

Abraham has thus understood, that Jacob is the one that will bring his name and family further, and Isaac's role is further degraded, as if he is bypassed or ignored almost altogheter. Both the fact that Jacob functions as the mediator for gifts from his parents to Abraham and that he is the one that witnesses Abraham's dead in Jub. 23:1–4 underline this fact.[28] Esau is nowhere to be seen, except in the general remark that everybody mourned for Abraham for 40 days (Jub. 23:7).

It is interesting to note that Gen. 12–25, which deal with Abraham, has not been changed or rewritten as much as the Jacob Cycle in Jubilees. Actually, the parts that are new in the Abraham Cycle are mostly such that deal with Jacob (especially chapters 19, 22 and 23) or priesthood (chapter 21). That being said, *the biggest rewritings or new scenes in the Abraham narrative in the book of Jubilees are related in some or other way to Jacob*. This is possible, as many have noted before, due the fact that according to Genesis Abraham and Jacob have few decades to enjoy each other's company[29]. The omissions in the Abraham narrative, on the other hand, are mostly done due narrative reasons or to whitewash Abraham's doubtful behavior[30].

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25 Lambert 2004. The reason why Jacob had his own blessing can be traced from the Hebrew ואת–ביתו אחריו. "his house after him". What is Abraham's house? According to Abraham's blessing, "Abraham's house" is Jacob and his descendants (Jub. 22:24).

26 Buisch 2017, 257–260.

27 Buisch 2017, 260–261. She argues that although Gen. 48 does not explicitly tell that Ephraim and Manasseh would replace Reuben, it is implicitly understood, e.g. in 2 Chron. 5:1. I will deal with Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah later.

28 Endres 1987, 43.

29 Gen 21:5 tells that Abraham was 100 years old when he got Isaac. According to Gen 25:7 he died as 175 years old. Isaac married Rebecca when he was 40 years old (Abraham was 140 years old by then) and Rebecca gave birth to Esau and Jacob around that time (Gen. 25:20–21). This makes it possible that Abraham could do plenty of grandfatherly things with his favorite grandson Jacob, and this then gave possiblity to enhance Jacob's status and diminish Isaac's role in the narrative.

30 One good example of whitewashing is Jub. 13:8–15 (parallell to Gen. 12:9–13:4) where for example 1) Sarai is taken by force and nothing is said about Abraham's command to Sarai to tell that she is his sister, 2) The gifts that pharaoh gives in Gen 12:16 are now just said plainly to be something that Abraham posessed and not something that pharaoh gives to Abraham. The other narrative that is similar with king Abimelech (Gen. 20:2–18) is omitted along with his dealings with Abimelech regarding the wells (Gen. 21:22–34). According to Berkovitz (2018, 51–52) these omissions are due redundancy because the same motifs are retold in other places, and not because the author thought them to be embarassing details. I do not think that these two reasons contradict one another. On one hand they are omitted because the same motifs are found and used elsewhere, but at the same time they were chosen to be omitted because dealing especially with Abimelech, which is a Philistine, was worse than dealing with an Egyptian which was not meant to be uprooted from earth, at least not as strongly as Philistines. The retelling of Isaac's dealings with Abimelech in Jub. 24 strengthens this argument. It is retold, but in that manner that the deal with a Philistine was something curseworthy. And better for author that Isaac deals with him than that the righteous

Jacob is the main sidekick already in the Abraham Cycle, as seen above. But from chapter 24 onwards he is the main character. In these chapters, the author does a big facelift to Jacob. There is nothing wrong in him.

The porridge incident (Jub. 24:3–7 // Gen. 25:27–34) is changed slightly so that Jacob does not seem to be bargaining with Esau's life. In Jubilees Esau says *to himself*: "I will die. What good will this right of the first-born do?" and then says that he is going to give his birth-right to Jacob. This triggers the Jacob's demand on swearing (can one really trust just Esau's word, especially when the reader shall know later that he breaks also oaths, Jub. 37–38?), whereas in Genesis Jacob's demand is a react to Esau's words about his difficult situation. With these slight changes, Jacob is portrayed as upright whereas Esau really does repudiate his birth-right.

Chapter 25 is an elaboration of Gen. 26:34–35. Rebecca summons Jacob and orders him to marry from her father's house (Jub. 25:1–3). Jacob tells that he has never thought something else and he is aiming to marry *one* of Laban's daughters (Jub. 25:4–10). That this scene is placed here, has, I think, few reasons: a) The remark of Esau's sons is placed before Isaac's blessing of the first-born son in Genesis, so it is easy to elaborate from this remark. b) It solves the problem why Jacob went to Mesopotamia, namely, Rebecca and Jacob had thought about this trip already before Esau began to think of murdering his brother. That means that Rebecca's remark on Gen. 27:46 // Jub. 27:8 does not come by surprise. The trip was planned and the new situation gave the possibility for Jacob to leave his parents – as a parent-honoring son by his father's own request. As VanderKam has noted[31], Rebecca's blessing of Jacob (Jub. 25:11–23) also affects the reader so that Isaac's favoritism in Gen. 27 // Jub 26 is now seen absurd. Rebecca has already bestowed the blessing of Abraham to Jacob and recognized the pure son and holy seed. Perhaps the fact that Jacob, already before Rebecca had instructed him concerning the Canaanite wife-candidates, had himself come to the conclusion to follow Abraham's orders (Jub. 22:20 to Jacob, 20:4–5 to everyone) affirmed this to her.

Thus Rebecca and Jacob's means to get Isaac's blessing in Jub. 26 (parallel to Gen. 27) is triggered not by Rebecca's unrighteous favoritism or Jacob's deceitfulness, but by their will to follow God's providence and make sure that Isaac in his *unrighteous favoritism* does not bestow his blessing to the wrong brother. Reasons for Jacob's reluctance to follow Rebecca's orders are cleverly changed. It is not, because he is afraid of getting caught (Gen. 27:12) but because his father has not ordered him to do such and he honors his father much (Jub. 26:7–8)[32]. In the end, he obeys his mother (Jub. 26:10)[33], who herself is following Abraham's orders. This means that all what Jacob does is something he does in accordance with the fourth/fifth commandment to honor one's parents. In order to show how upright Jacob is, the author also changes the speech lines slightly so that Jacob actually does not lie once in the conversation between him and Isaac. He just says "I am your son" twice (compare Gen. 27:18–19, 24). To put matter to rest, the whole matter, according to Jubilees, was not abuse of an old blind father who did not know what he was doing[34], but God's work,

Abraham should have done it.

31 VanderKam 2001, 62–63.

32 Similarily Endres 1987, 88; Kugel 2012, 137.

33 This is said more plainly than in Gen. 27:13–14 where Rebecca orders Jacob to obey, but it is not stressed as clearly that what Jacob later does is obeying. Jub. 26:10 adds *wa-samʿa qāla Rəbəqqā ʾəmmu* to emphasize this aspect.

34 Except that he did not know that the whole attempt to bless Esau was absurd and against the divine plan.

because "there was a turn of affairs from heaven to distract his mind." (Jub. 26:18). Thus, in the end, Jacob did not break the commandment not to lie[35].

The blessing (Jub. 26:23–24) is otherwise same as in Genesis (27:28–29) except that Isaac transfers all blessings he and Abraham has gotten to Jacob. Thus Jacob has been blessed twice by Abraham, once by Rebecca and now also by Isaac. Esau, on the other hand gets another style of "blessing" with which the pen of the author has tampered. Instead of just getting rid of the yoke of his brother (Gen. 27:40) Esau will now commit an offence worthy of death, if he does so. This becomes fullfilled in Jub. 37–38.

Because of Esau's murderous thoughts, that Rebecca gets to know through a dream, Jacob is now told to leave his father. Jacob's honour of his father comes forth also here (Jub. 27:6), and this solves at the same time the reason why Rebecca needs to speak with Isaac in Gen. 27:46[36]. Isaac's mind had changed and he recognizes that Jacob is the "true man" which will go and return in peace. Here are already some allusions to the Bethel episode in Gen. 28:11–22, which are also seen in Rebecca's blessing in Jub. 25:15–22[37].

Jubilees continues with Jacob's trip to Bethel. Here, the author has omitted the thing that the original narrative had in mind. According to Genesis, Jacob came to a *certain place* (Gen. 28:10: בַּמקום), but here it is said plainly that he arrived to Luz. מקום with an article has a connotation of a holy place and later on also alludes to Jerusalem[38]. Otherwise the story follows Genesis except that it tells about a tree under which Jacob sets his resting place[39]. Three other remarks are noteworthy: 1) The most important object, מצבה, is now just a "pillar of marker" and not a cultic object[40]. 2) Jacob does not say that God *resides* here, but that the place is House of God. This is, I think, a clever way to diminish the holiness of Bethel. 3) The arrival on the place is on a significant day (1/1) which underlines the scene's importance[41].

35 Kugel 2012, 137.

36 Kugel 2012, 138.

37 Compare "may their number be larger than the sands of sea" (Jub. 25:16) to "Your offspring shall be like the dust (עפר) of the earth" (Gen. 28:14, NRSV); "Increase and spread out in the land" (Jub. 25:20) to "and you shall spread (ופרצת) abroad to the west..." (Gen. 28:14, NRSV); "on the great day of peace, may they have peace." (Jub. 25:20) and "he will go safely and return safely" (Jub. 27:14) and Jubilees' addition to Gods promise to bring Jacob "safely to this land" (Jub. 27:24) to Jacob's wish to return safely (בשלם) to his fathers house in Gen. 28:21 and his safely (שלם) return to the land of Canaan in Gen. 33:18 (which is interpreted both "safely" and "Salem" in Jub. 30:1); "He will not be abandoned" (Jub. 27:17) to "I will not leave (אעזבך) you" (Gen. 28:15, NRSV).

38 See for example *TDOT* VIII, 537–540. Koenen (2003, 204–206) thinks that the Masoretes vocalized בַּמקום as to allude to Jerusalem, but I think there is no reason to think so. Actually many scholars think that מקום functions as *Leitwort* in the story (e.g. Rendtorff 1982, 512; Köhlmoos 2006, 235). Either the author of Jubilees did not notice the cleverness of "a certain place" in the beginning of the story in Genesis, or he wanted to diminish the holiness of the place. I would lean towards the later interpretation. The author uses the word *makān* later though.

39 According to Endres (1987, 98 who refers to Charles) the tree functions as "Asherah". But could it be a reference to the tree in Gen. 33:8?

40 In my Master's Thesis on Gen. 28:10–22 I argued that מצבה functions in the original story as the most central object which clearly had cultic connotations. It was the place where God resided ("House of God", Gen. 28:22) and which made the whole place holy. I argued (mostly along the lines of Mettinger 1995) that massebot functioned as essential aniconic cultobjects in the early phase of Yahwism, but later on became connected with iconic worship and were prohibited along with other iconic objects. It is worth noting that according to Ex. 23:24; 34:13, Deut 7:5; 12:3, מצבות were connected to Canaanite cult. Thus for later interpretators, it was not possible to think that the patriarch Jacob should have erected a forbidden cult object. So the clever interpretator interpreted it so that Jacob is actually just marking the spot so that he can fulfill his vow later, as Kugel (2012, 139) has pointed out.

41 VanderKam 2001, 64; Kugel 2012, 139.

The dramas of Jacob are mostly omitted. His first meeting with Rachel (Gen. 29:1–14), or his love for her (Gen. 29:18), are omitted. Instead, he comes to Laban, remains with him and serves him for exchange of Rachel (Jub. 28:1). When the years have passed, Jacob does not say that he will have Rachel, but "my wife for whom I have served you" like in Gen. 29:21. Laban's answer "I will give you your wife" reminds of Jacob's answer to Isaac in Jub. 26:19. In Jubilees, Jacob noticed right away what is happening, and not in the morning. The reason for Laban's act is due the custom, which according to Jubilees is written on the Heavenly Tablets[42].

Why did Jubilees change the story? According to Kugel, this perplexing detail has triggered many different solutions[43]. If one thinks about the whole situation of Jubilees, that is, Jacob had thought of marrying *one* of Laban's daughters, and that he is upright and just, he must somehow directly react to what Laban did in order to not show that he actually accepted the treason[44].

After this, Jubilees continues with the genealogical matters (Jub. 28:11–24) as in Genesis (29:31–30:24). Here, the author omits the etymologies of the names of Jacob's sons. The reasons for these omits are not random. The etymologies in Genesis tell about the fights and bad relations and jealousy that Rachel and Leah have towards one another. By omitting the etymologies and the dubious scene about love-berries (Gen. 30:14–16)[45] the author cut down the problems in the family. But he could not omit the drama totally. *At least the reason for their jealousy is not Jacob's favoritism as much as it is in Genesis.*[46]

The most important sons in Jubilees – Levi, Judah and Joseph – are given significant birthdays: Levi is born 1/1, Judah 15/3 and Joseph 1/4[47]. Some scholars have been puzzled why Levi, who seems to be the most important of Jacob's sons, is not given 15/3 which at least in Jubilees seems to be the most important day of the siginificant days[48]. I think Buisch has found the solution for this question.[49] By choosing these birthdays, the author associates the sons to different institutions.

According to Buisch, Levi's birthday is associated in Jubilees with sacrifice (Noah's sacrifice in Jub. 7:2–6; Isaac's sacrifice in Jub. 24:23) and Bethel (Jacob arrives on Bethel in Jub. 27:19). Moreover, in the Bible it is the day on which the tabernacle was erected (Ex. 40:2, 17) and the temple was concecrated by Hezekiah (2 Chr. 29:17). I would like to add Ezek. 45:18–19 about the purification

42 According to Kugel (2012, 140) this later remark is from Interpolator.

43 See Kugel 1998, 378–382.

44 Kugel 1998, 379; 2012, 139.

45 Kugel (2012, 140) thinks that especially the mandrake story must have been outrageous to the author.

46 In Genesis, after Reuben's birth Leah wishes that Jacob will start loving him. Simeon's name is related to the fact that God has heard that she is "hated" (שנואה). Levi's original etymology is connected to Leah's hope that Jacob would finally "join into her". These omissions are fully in line with Jacob's answer to Rebecca in Jubilees when she wants children. There the fact that Jacob gets angry to Rebecca is omitted as is his remark on being in place of God.

One can add few arguments more: 1) It is told in *passive* that Leah was hated and Rebecca loved (Jub. 28:12), which, I admit, comes from Gen. 29:31. 2) Emphasis on Jacob's love for Rebecca is diminished by omitting Gen. 29:18. 3) Leah's role is enhanced after Rachel dies (Jub. 36:23–24; 37:14). 4) Reason why Jacob wanted Rachel in the first place, was not for his lust for Rachel, but only because Leah had weak eyes, as Kugel (2012, 139–140) has pointed out. 5) And would it not be a bit perplexing that the names of the tribes would become what they became because of two jealous wives, who battled for Jacob's love?

47 This has been noticed by VanderKam 2001, 64 and Kugel 2012, 140.

48 See e.g. VanderKam 2001, 64: "It is somewhat surprising that the dates for Levi and Judah are not reversed, given the importance of Levi (see specially chs. 30–32) and of the Festival of Weeks in *Jubilees*."

49 Buisch 2017, 267–269.

of the temple to the list that Buisch gives. Thus, in the Hebrew Bible this date is associated with the tabernacle and the temple. Judah's birthday is on the other hand associated with the festival of Shavuot/Shevuot, which in the Jubilees is the festival about renewing the covenant. Buisch thinks that this association is made "beacuse of the promises to David that are interpreted as a covenant (2 Chron. 7.18; 21.7; Ps. 89.3)."[50] I think this association is not as stark as with Levi, but it makes sense because there is an allusion to this covenant in Isaac's blessing of Judah in Jub. 31:18–20[51]. Joseph's birthday is a significant day but there is not strong association to anything. Joseph is not associated with an office whatsoever[52].

Jubilees continues with the story Jacob's departure from Laban in 28:25–29:12. The author omits most of the details and just paraphrases the story. The base text in Genesis is itself perplexing enough, but this way the author can also omit Jacob's tricks to get as much cattle as he wanted. Only the results remain. After this Jacob summons his wives, tells about the dream he had (without details about the dream[53]) and that he is going to return home. Omitting the "magic tricks" of Jacob goes along with the omissions or changes the author has made to the story about Joseph and his brothers in Egypt where there is no reference to divination[54].

Jacob's drama with Esau (Gen. 32:1–22; 33:1–15) is reduced into a sentence (Jub. 29:13). When one thinks the importance of these two brothers as the example and anti-example *par excellence* in Jubilees, and the non-biblical stories of their struggle later (Jub. 37–38) it would first seem odd not to elaborate on these scenes. But the reason for omission is simple: The scenes in Genesis seem to show Jacob as weak in comparison with Esau. He is afraid and cautious of meeting with him. These scenes are absolutely showing how powerful Esau on the other hand is, and how the weaker and humble Jacob cunningly gets rid of Esau after they have become reconciled[55]. It is not the way the author of Jubilees wants to portray these two characters at all.

Another noteworthy omission is the Jabbok Wrestle. The author just tells plainly that Jacob crossed the Jabbok *on an insignificant day.* Kugel thinks that the reason is to say that the reconciliation with Esau is without importance, the reason for omitting the wrestling scene itself is theological and that the author found the scene disturbing[56]. One reason to add to this can be that the incident has, I

50 Buisch 2017, 268.

51 See especially "Be a prince – you and *one* of your sons – for Jacob's sons" (Jub. 31:18) and "At the time when you sit on the honorable throne that *is rightly yours.*" (Jub. 31:20).

52 Buisch 2017, 268. I think that the reasons for why the author chose these birthdays to Levi, Judah and Joseph go along these lines: 1) Levi and Judah are the most important sons of Jacob in the 2nd Temple times and so they are given the best dates. 2) The cultic associations of 1/1 leads the author to choose that date for Levi over 15/3 which otherwise is the most important date in Jubilees. 3) Judah as the second in the hierarchy gets 15/3. 4) Joseph is left with a significant date because of his role in Genesis and thus also in the later chapters of Jubilees.

53 Kugel (2012, 140–141) thinks that the reason is the name "God of Bethel" in Gen. 31:12–13, which would associate God to Bethel. This is possible but one should not exclude the possibility of just narrative reasons. One reason could also be, that by omitting the dream Jacob is now fullfilling the vow without God demanding it, as if Jacob would have forgotten it.

54 Jub. 43:2 has omitted "Does he not indeed use it for divination?" (Gen. 44:5, NRSV). Compare also Jub. 43:9 and Gen. 44:15. Joseph's fond of the cup is explained by the addition "Do you not know that a man takes pleasure in his cup as I do in this cup?" (Jub. 43:10). Divination is of course prohibited in Lev. 19:26; Deut 18:10–11. See also Kugel 2012, 187. Also, the mentions of embalming Jacob's (or Joseph's) body according to the Egyptian custom (Gen. 50:2–3, 26) are omitted.

55 See for example the comments of Sarna 1989, 224–231. Jacob is here bowing to Esau and calling him with the title "lord" (Gen. 33:8, 13–14) and himself as "servant" (Gen. 33:5)

56 Kugel 2012, 141–142.

admit later, been connected to the motif of Jacob fulfilling his vow[57]. According to Jubilees, Jacob did not need any reminders.

In Jub. 29:14–20 it is told that Jacob settles on the other side of Jordan river and tends his sheep there. From there he sends gifts to his parents in Hebron. Now, the author has a possibility to answer to few questions: 1) How come Esau became so powerful during the time Jacob was away? 2) What happens to Isaac between the time Jacob is away and it is told that he dies (Gen. 35:28–29)? 3) Why does not Jacob as a parent-honoring son visit his parents after he has been away so long? Well, Esau had dishonored his parents, taken way his father's flocks and driven them to Mt. Seir and "left his father Isaac alone." (Jub. 29:18) Isaac had gone as far from Esau as possible (Jub. 29:17)[58]. But Jacob, who at this point does not visit his parents, takes care of them from afar. This incident is reminded in the parents discussion about their two sons in Jub. 35.

Chapter 30 has been researched much[59]. In Jub. 30:1–4, 24–26 the scene is modified so that there is no mention of circumcision of the Shechemites. Also, Jacob is angry *with the sons* (compare Gen. 34:7). In Gen. 34:13, it is the sons who deceive Shechem. But in Jubilees, it seems that Jacob is scheming with them. This is somewhat perplexing, because otherwise Jacob never schemes in Jubilees. Perhaps the situation justifies the means. Nevertheless, the author has now possibility to say that one should avoid marrying outsiders (Jub. 30:5–23)[60]. Jubilees is careful to omit that Jacob's sons took also women and children with them from Shechem (Gen. 34:29). This goes along with the commandments in Deut 20:10–18, where it was allowed to take captives (wives and children) from distant cities, but not from the cities of Hivites or Canaanites. These were mant to be חרם (see also Deut. 7:1–4).

As a result of righteous work, which reminds the reader of Phinehas in Num. 25 and the levites in Ex. 32, Levi is given the priesthood (Jub. 30:18–20). Why not also Simeon? Apart from the idea of priestly covenant with Levites in the Hebrew Bible (Ex. 32:25–29; Num. 25:11–13; Mal. 2:1–8[61]), I think the reasons are following: 1) The Israelite who a) *defiled the tabernacle* b) *by fornicating* c)

57 About the later tradition, see Kugel 2006, 117.

58 Endres 1987, 118. He mentions (p. 116) that the reason why Esau's marriage to Ishmael's daughter has been transformed here instead of mentioning it right after Jacob's departure from his parents (Gen. 28:6–9) is in order to make also this move irritate his parents. In Genesis Esau marries Ishmael's daughter because he is trying to please his parents. The marriage itself is not against Abraham's orders (Jub. 20:4).

59 Endres 1987, 120–154; VanderKam 2001, 67–69; Kartveit 2009, 149–160; Kugel 2012, 142–148; See also Kugel 2006, 36–80 where he deals with the motifs Gen. 34 has aroused from a broader perspective.

60 According to Kugel (2012, 144–148, 259–262, 287) Jub. 30:8–23 is a work of Interpolator. His arguments in favor of the existence of this Interpolator are more complex than just this, but one critical remark is worth pointing: According to him there is a contradiction between this part and 30:5–7 which forbids *only giving daughters to foreigners* and the opposite case of marrying one in 30:11. This is based on Lev. 18:21 about giving one's "seed" to Molech, which was interpreted as giving one's daughter to a foreigner. But what if the author thought also Deut. 7:3? Giving daughters or taking daughters for sons *includes* marrying (logically at least one's father, in that case, had taken a daughter for his son). Moreover, Jub. 30:20 might refer to Deut 7:9 where God is faithful for those who *keep the commandments and love him* for 1000 generations. This same chapter is, I think, important for the author also elsewhere. Of course if one thinks that Jub. 30:20 is the work of Interpolator (as Kugel thinks), then this allusion is also the work of Interpolator. But I don't see reason why the original author could not have elaborated on "defilement" himself. So Kugel's arguments for Interpolator must rest on other cases, such as "the special language".

61 According to Valve (2014, 71–78) the chapter 2 of Malachi actually connected the Phinehas tradition of Num. 25 with Gen. 34.

with a foreigner was from the tribe of Simeon[62]. 2) Simeon himself married a Canaanite (Gen. 46:10; Jub 34:20; Phoenician in Jub. 44:13), thus breaking the prohibition, although he according to Jubilees married a Mesopotamian later on (Jub. 34:21). So it must be Levi, that gets the reward.

Jub. 31:1–3 (parallel to Gen. 35:1–7) continues with Jacob going to fulfill the vow he made in Bethel[63]. The initiative comes from Jacob, not from God[64].The fact that Rachel stole Laban's idols is now mentioned, although that was omitted in the actual scene. Now, Jacob does not only hide the foreign gods into ground, but he now destroys them *according to the stipulations in Deuteronomy* (see especially Deut 7:5 and 12:3)[65]. Also, the commandments to fulfill one's vows or promises to God are stipulated in Deut 23:22–24.

The problem Jacob now has is that he is not a priest, so he cannot fulfill his vow of giving tithes and sacrificing. So the author (with the help of deduction from Gen. 35:8 about Rebecca's maid dying in Bethel) writes a scene where he is inviting his parents for a sacrifice, but Isaac is unable to come due his old age. Then Jacob goes to them and brings Levi and Judah with him. They are blessed by Rebecca and afterwards by the grandfather Isaac, who with the spirit of prophecy prophecies and blesses Levi to priesthood and Judah to kingship. After this, Rebecca goes to Bethel with Jacob and Deborah, where Jacob recalls Isaac's prayer. Levi dreams that he had been appointed to priesthood, and Jacob gives Levi as a tithe to God. Then he offers offerings, gives tithes and it is said that Levi functioned as a priest (Jub. 31:3–32:9).

Now, Christoph Berner has lately argued against Kugel and VanderKam, who think that Jacob according *to the original author* was not a priest, but needed Isaac or Levi to come and function as a priest. According to Berner there is a plenty of ambiguities in the story: 1) There is four different answers unconnected to one another why Levi becomes a priest (reward for dealing with the Shechemites, 30:18–20; Isaac's blessing in 31:13–17; a dream in 32:1; tithe by Jacob in 32:3); 2) despite this, Jacob is seeming to give the offerings in Jub. 32:4–7, 27[66]; 3) He gives his writings to Levi only much later in Jub. 45:16. Berner sees that Jub. 30:18–20 is a later addition which interrupts the theme in 30:18–20, 21–23[67]. The situation is a bit more complex in chapters 31 and 32. According to him, Jacob functions as the officiating priest in 32:4–7, 27, but 32:1, 3 are only loosely connected there[68], and verse 2 does not mention to whom Jacob is giving his tithes, which then is in line with the original vow in Jub. 27:27 of giving the tithes to God himself. Also, the

62 Crawford 2008, 76n25 noted that the Israelite was from the tribe of Simeon. That being said, I think that Num. 25 is of big interest here, especially because it has to do with mingling with foreigners that leads into idolatry, which is presicely what Deut 7:3–4 is warning about!

63 Gen. 35 has been connected to "Jacob fulfills his vow" -motif also in other writings. See Kugel 2006, 118.

64 Kugel 2006, 116–118; 2012, 149.

65 Why does the author mention the foreign gods that Rachel stole? There is no mention of them whatsoever in Jubilees before, because the whole scene of Laban searching for his gods is omitted. Could it be, that the reason is that this gives the possibility to enhance how one should treat such objects? It gives possibility for Jacob to keep even this commandment, as he has returned to the holy land. A detail perhaps worth noting is that מצבות are also mentioned in these commandments.

66 "*he* brought to the altar...", "This was *his* gift because of the vow which *he* had made" and so on. Who is this "he"?

67 These verses are according to (Kugel 2012, 287) from Interpolator.

68 He notes the vague "at that time" in Jub. 28:3. But my counter-quesiton is: How else could he include the theme here?

tithes given to Levi are according to him an afterthought in 32:8–9. Thus, according to him Levi does not appear in the original version of chapter 32, which is 32:2, 4–7.[69]

Now, *the crux* is Jub. 31:24–30. Does Jacob invite the family patriarch simply to join in the festival, or to function as a priest because he himself cannot do it? According to Berner this is uncertain, but nevertheless Isaac wishes that *Jacob fulfills his oath* in 31:27–29. Thus there can be indirect acceptance of Jacob's priesthood, even if one interprets the reason for invitation along with Kugel and others. Isaac's blessing, on the other hand, is a promise and needs not to be interpreted along the line of ordination of the new (high) priest. But Berner thinks that the blessings of Levi and Judah were not in the original narrative, because the boys are not mentioned in 31:30, where Rebecca, Deborah and Jacob are returning to Bethel. Thus, according to him, the original version was 31:1–4, 5*, 6, 8*, 22, 24–30 – all about Jacob's vow.[70]

The problem that inherently is connected to this is the question whether Jubilees is older than the Aramaic Levi Document, or vice versa, and which of these document borrows from which. Berner thinks that ALD 5:2–6 has borrowed from Jub. 32:2–9 because it is more sophisticated, and ALD 5:1, 6 presupposes Jub. 31:9–21. But he thinks that the editorial hand has later borrowed Levi's dream (Jub. 32:1) and reward for his actions in Shechem (Jub. 30:18–20) from ALD 4 and 1–3.[71] I will not go deeper into this matter, but following comments are worth noting.

1)[72] The roles of Levi and Judah as the favorite sons do not come forth only in chapter 31. a) As noted above, the birthdays of Levi and Judah are clearly intentional, because they allude to their offices. b) Apart from their significant birthdays, they are the ones staying with their grandfather Isaac in Jub. 34:3, which reveals their importance as significant sons. c) Judah and Levi lead sections of Jacob's defence in Jub. 38:5–6, and Judah is the only one of the sons speaking in that scene (Jub. 38:1). d) Their mother Leah's role and Jacob's love to him are enhanced throughout the Book of Jubilees[73]. e) Stories about Judah are less omitted whereas f) Joseph's role in comparison to his brothers is degraded highly by omitting many scenes. I have it hard to believe, that the author of *Jubilees* could not have Levi here officiating as a priest, especially because that reading is also possible. For this author, Levi and Judah were important characters, Levi unarguably the most important, Judah coming up the second. Joseph, on the other hand, had his share due the role he plays in Genesis, but the omission of his dreams which symbolize his hegemony over his brothers *and Jacob,* or the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh (which on the other hand functioned as inspiration for both grandfatherly blessings in Jub. 19; 22–23 and 31) tells clearly that he is important, but only as a good example of law-obeying Jew, especially in the area of sexual purity, which is important theme for the author. If Isaac's blessing is a later addition, then also many other sections in the book must have been tampered with. It is simplier to assume that both Levi and Judah had been part of the story from the beginning, *at least in Jubilees.*[74]

69 Berner 2016, 21–25.
70 Berner 2016, 25–28.
71 Berner 2016, 28–29.
72 Here I have used the results of Buisch 2017.
73 See note 46 above.
74 That is, it is always possible, that the whole scene has originally been a part of other writing or tradition that the author of Jubilees has used in his work. But given the prominent role Judah and Levi has in Jubilees, they must have been part of the original Jubilees.

2) The motif of *chain of priests* is important in Jubilees, as Kugel has pointed out[75]. In Jubilees it is clear that Abraham functions as a priest, and the succession to Isaac is clear in Jub. 21. This idea of them as priests come of course from Genesis, where it is told that Abraham and Isaac build altar(s) and offer and/or call God's name. But the important detail is that there is *not once* a situation where Jacob is offering anything. The only exception to the rule is Gen. 31:54. But as Kugel has pointed out, this offering is in accordance with the use of זבח in Deut. 12 (an important chapter for the author, by the way). In Genesis there is no mention of an altar there, or calling God's name. Even Jubilees' own interpretation of the matter is that Jacob simply prepared a banquet. So this is a totally different matter in comparison with how Abraham or Isaac are behaving both in Genesis and in Jubilees. Similarily, the only mention of an altar that Jacob builds in Genesis apart from chapter 35 is in 33:20, which is omitted in Jubilees.

3) Berner thinks that the tradition of patriarch Levi as the prototypical priest *par excellence* developed fairly late under the Hellenistic period[76]. Recently, Lotta Valve has argued that the whole Book of Malachi should be read with Mal. 1:2 and the dichotomy between Jacob and Esau in mind[77]. She has also identified at least a similar exegetical tradition behind Mal. 2:4–17, which has treated at least a tradition similar to the Shechem incident in Gen. 34, and Jub. 30, which deals with the same chapter in Genesis and includes Levi[78]. Patriarch Judah and the tradition behind Gen. 38 (taking a Canaanite wife) is in the mind of the author when he alludes to Judah in Mal. 2:11[79]. Moreover, the question of tithing was a problem during the post-exilic times, as the Book of Nehemiah (10:35, 37–40; 12:44; 13:5–12) testifies. According to Valve, Mal. 3:6–12 should be understood to have used Jacob and his tithe (implicitly understood in Gen. 35) as an ideal model[80]. If this is true, then there is no reason not to believe, that Levi the patriarch should have had a priestly role already in the original Jubilees. Jacob functions as an ideal figure, who is giving his tithes to God, via the correct person, that is a *Levite par excellence.* Levi plays an important role both in Jubilees and in Malachi so that Jacob can function as a model for giving the correct tithes, also in order that the Levites gets their fair share.

4) The mentions of "him" (Jacob) sacrificing in 32:27 can also be understood in terms of "giving the sacrifice to Levi who did the rite of sacrificing", as I think many ancient interpretators understood for example the remarks of Solomon "offering" in 1 Kings 8:63, 9:25. Jacob was thus the one who gave the sacrifices, but Levi did the priestly job as stipulated in the Pentateuch.[81]

75 Kugel 1993, 17–21; 2006, 131–136.

76 Berner 2016, 30–31. According to him LXX represents the earlier textual tradition of Mal. 2:4 (Levite instead of Levi), and thus the mention of *patriarch Levi* is later change in the textual history.

77 Valve 2010. See her concluding remarks: "Many scholars have paid attention to single references to patriachal traditions in the book of Malachi but have not read the whole book in the light of its opening verse 1:2." (p. 45)

78 Valve 2014, 63–89. Kugel (1993, 30–33) has pointed out, that these verses have triggered the tradition of the heavenly dream, but that is another matter.

79 Valve 2010, 39.

80 Valve 2010, 42–44. As she notices, the choice of using קבע in Mal. 3:8 could be a pun made of יעקוב. He gives his tithes, but you, his sons, do not! She thinks also that the traditions behind Gen. 41–50 could be used by the author of Malachi here.

81 About "Levi, the human Tithe" -motif, I think following: That Benjamin is in the womb when Jacob starts tithing is possible because of Gen. 35:15–20, where it is stated that Benjamin is born on the way to Eprath from Bethel. This is precisely after the Bethel incident. If Jacob is only 8 days in Bethel and then follows the mother till "Kabratan", and Rachel gives birth to Benjamin "on that night" there, it means that the pregnancy is quite far already. That is, the motif of "tithing" with Benjamin accompanying the other brothers from the womb, is possible exegesis. But if

3 Why Jacob could not be a priest?

Apart from these remarks, I think the answer to this question lies in the Book of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy has been in author's mind from the beginning of the book[82], and forms a central background also to these chapters. Jacob is fulfilling what is God commands *Israel* (often in 2nd person singular) to do in Deuteronomy. He has destroyed the foreign gods by *burning, breaking into pieces* and *ruining* them (Deut 7:5; 12:3). He is on his way to *fulfill* his vow (Deut. 23:22–24)[83]. In Bethel he gives *tithes* to Levi, that is a levite (Deut. 14:22–29)[84]. He at least *is thinking* that Bethel *is the place God has chosen* (Deut 12:5–7)[85]*,* even though it is later told to him that it is not. And lastly: According to Deut 12:17–19, one should give his votive gifts in the place God has chosen and eat there together with the family *and the Levites*, and with joy. But to do so, one needs a priest that is a Levite, as the Book of Deuteronomy tells (Deut 10:8–9; 18:1–2, 5; 33:8–11).[86]

The second problem is that Jacob resembles *the whole Israel*. So, if he functioned as a priest, does it not mean, that all the people of Israel can be priests too? The situation is different with Isaac and Esau, because they are not "the holy seed" as Jacob, who is chosen to be God's people already in the beginning. All his sons are in the covenant relationship with God, whereas Esau and Ishmael are outside of the covenant.

The question is of course, whether the author of Jubilees could already link Deuteronomy's Israel with patriarch Jacob. I think one possible argument for such a link is Ps. 78:5–9, especially verse 5:

ויקם עדות ביעקוב	He established a decree in Jacob,
ותורה שׂם בישׂראל	and appointed a law in Israel,
אשר צוה את–אבותינו להודיעם לבניהם	which he commanded our ancestors to teach to their children (NRSV)

According to this verse, God established עדות in Jacob, and תורה in Israel. Especially, if one thinks the psalm strictly chronologically, this is mentioned *before* exodus in a psalm that is a retelling of

something here is a later addition, I think this is. About the motif, see Kugel 2006, 127–131.

82 See e.g. note 11 and Halpern-Amaru 1994, 149n95; Kugel 2012, 19–26.

83 It is worth noting, firstly, that the author is not following the otherwise known tradition that Jacob is *reminded* of his vow. There is no remark of him *delaying* the fulfillment.

84 As many have noted, the tithing scene seems to consist of two different tithes that neither follow Num. 18:21, 24 or Deut. 14:22–29. VanderKam (2001, 71) thinks that the second tithe is Levi himself. According to Kugel (2012, 152–153, 288n86) Jub. 32:9b–15, which he attributes to Interpolator, follows Deuteronomy more closely whereas 32:8–9a follows neither. My point here is that Deut. 14:22–29 is what Jacob is doing. He thinks that it is the place God has chosen, as is clear from Jacob's thought to build a temple there later in Jub. 32:16.

85 Another detail worth noting: Jacob has arrived to *his land, to the other side of Jordan safely* (Jub. 29:14, 30:1). So Jacob does now as it is told in Deut 12:10–12: to give one's burnt offerings, *sacrifices, tithes, donations* and *votive gifts.*

86 Could the incident with Shechemites also be interpreted along these lines? Deut. 7 begins: "When the Lord *your* (2nd sg) *brings you into the land* you are about to enter and occupy -- *the Canaanites -- the Hivites* -- when the Lord your God gives them over to you (2nd sg) and you defeat them, then you must *utterly destroy them* (החרם תחרים אתם). *Make* (2nd sg) *no covenant* with them and show them no mercy. Do (2nd sg) not *intermarry* with them, giving your *daughters* to *their sons* or taking their daughters for your sons" (Deut. 7:1–4, NRSV). What follows is what is to be done with the *idols,* as noted above.

that history.[87] It is well beyond this paper to elaborate more on this[88], but I think this verse can have some importance also to the question of what "Testimony" (עדות/תעודה) means in Jubilees[89].

Therefore, it is reasonable to think that Levi *and not Jacob* functioned as a priest in Jubilees, even though Jacob is the main character of the book.

4 Conclusions

This paper has dealt with the use and interpretation of the Jacob Traditions in the (Ethiopic) Book of Jubilees 1–32. The author shows Jacob as the perfect patriarch. He gets the biggest share of the book, as Isaac's role is diminished and the most retellings already in the Abraham narrative deal with Jacob. The dichotomy between Jacob and Esau, visible already in the Hebrew Bible, is strengthened. By showing the negative traits of character in Esau, the author enhances the uprightness of the perfect son and holy seed Jacob.

The stories that show negative or at least dubious traits in Jacob in Genesis have been either omitted or retold in such a way that Jacob is not doing anything wrong. This is done by creative exegesis. Also the big retellings or new scenes in Jubilees are based on some details in the Genesis narrative[90]. He is the perfect son who honors his parents, does not lie, fulfills his vows, destroys the pagan idols, does not intermarry with pagans but dedicates the Shechemites to חרם, that is, destruction, and gives the tithes and offerings via the right person. This is accodance with the stipulations given in Deuteronomy to Israel (often in 2nd person singularis). The author of Jubilees, as I have tentatively argued, uses the Book of Deuteronomy in his portrait of Jacob, adding particularistic aspects not found in Genesis but found in later biblical literature, to the story of Jacob.

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87 Interesting enough, this psalm also highlights Judah and degrades Joseph/Ephraim. See Ps. 78:67–70.

88 I will dig deeper into this on another occasion.

89 About this problem and different solutions offered by scholars see e.g. Segal 2007, 285–316; VanderKam 2001, 25–26, 91–93; Kugel 2012, 3–4. The "Torah and the Testimony/תעודה" most probably stems from Isa 8:16, 20, but I would not exclude the option of Ps. 78:5 having its fair share of influence to Jubilees.

90 One detail not discussed here is how the wars of Jacob are based on Gen. 48:22 (see Livneh 2013), or the Last Testaments of the patriarchs in Jubilees are often based on what has happened in the patriarch's life (see Lambert 2004).

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THE ROYAL TRAVESTY (QOH 1:12-2:26) AND SOME OF ITS READER-ORIENTING FUNCTIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK OF QOHELET

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Preface

This paper summarizes fundamental considerations from my current work - it is therefore "work in progress". Within the overall framework of my dissertation, which deals with the *motif of joy* and its communicative mediation in the book of Qohelet, the current section focuses on the initiation of the book's internal communicative processes. Another of the initial considerations of my work is the question of whether a communicational context can be made visible on the level of the given text, which elucidates the reader-side reception of the sometimes-unconnected themes and reflections within the words of Qohelet. This question is based on the frequently made observation that the book Qohelet addresses its readers with an extremely *vivid*, *individual* and *timeless* voice, while the messages of this voice are difficult to unite with a basic intention or purpose. If and how a *call to joy* can become noticeable alongside Qohelet's ambiguous and sometimes pessimistic world view is to be clarified in the context of my dissertation. This paper first poses the simple question of the initial contact between the book, its central voice and its readers.

In view of the multifaceted forum of the OTSEM network, I would like to connect the presentation of my work with the following questions:

> **1. Is the approach presented a comprehensible perspective that is appropriate to the content of the book?**
>
> **2. To what extent would its consistent implementation – in your view – lead to a new perception of the book?**
>
> **3. Are there any aspects or approaches regarding the communicative connection between book and reader that I do not (yet) have in mind, but that could possibly lead further?**

I am also pleased to receive lively feedback on the traceability of the structuring approach and other aspects.

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1. Introduction

> *Qohelet constantly interposes his consciousness between the reality observed and the reader. It seems important to him that the reader not only know what the truth is, but also be aware that he, Qohelet, saw this, felt this, realized this. He is reflexively observing the psychological process of discovery as well as reporting the discoveries themselves.*[1]

The content of Qohelet's words has often challenged readers and exegetes. This has a reason: Namely, it seems difficult for the reader to find lines of argumentation or a central theme within the different reflections of Qohelet. Thus, many questions have evolved regarding the structure, composition and literary integrity of the book. Research history had shown that there are different ways to solve this problem. An increasingly less considered approach can be found in classical redaction criticism, whose supporters searched for a "hidden structure" that has been lost in course of the text's history.[2] In contrast, recent research has led to an increasing number of approaches not assuming a hidden structure but rather considering "ambiguity" as a substantial part of the text.[3] This ambiguity could possibly lead a way to the text's pragmatic intention and the message "which the author is seeking to convey to his readers"[4]. Specifically, this entails that contradictions are a part of the text meant to irritate the reader and thereto a new opening against the text. This phenomenon could be a part of the author's strategy, which leads to a number of new questions and a new perspective on text. This approach is promising because it examines the text in its tangible form and investigates an important layer: the interaction between text and reader.[5]

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[1] MICHAEL V. FOX, *Qohelet and His Contradictions* (BiLiSe 18), Sheffield 1989, 93.

[2] For a detailed summary cf. DIETHELM MICHEL, *Qohelet* (EdF 258), Darmstadt 1988, 9–45; LUDGER SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet: Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung* in *Studien zum Alten Testament und seiner Hermeneutik*, ed. Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger (SBAB 40), Stuttgart 2005, 123–156; LUDGER SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Neuere Veröffentlichungen zum Buch Kohelet (1998-2003)*, in: *ThLZ* 128/ (2003), 1123–38; METTE BUNDVAD, *Time in the Book of Ecclesiastes*, Oxford 2015, 9–20. et al.

[3] Cf. the reception-oriented interpretations of NORBERT LOHFINK, *Das Koheletbuch: Strukturen und Struktur* in *Das Buch Kohelet: Studien zur Struktur, Geschichte, Rezeption und Theologie*, ed. Ludger Schwienhorst-Schönberger (BZAW 254), Berlin, New York 1997, 44; NORBERT LOHFINK, *Kohelet* (NEB.AT), Würzburg 1980; THOMAS KRÜGER, *Kohelet: (Prediger)* (Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament), Neukirchen-Vluyn 2000..

[4] BUNDVAD, *Time in the Book of Ecclesiastes*, 14.

[5] This pragmatic interpretation is closely related to the idea of identifying a didactic orientation within the words of Qohelet (which is mainly based on the understanding of the epilogue in Qoh 12:9-11.12-14) – cf. MICHAEL V. FOX, *Frame-Narrative and Composition in the Book of Qohelet*, in: *HUCA* 48/ (1977), 83–106; LUDGER SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet: Ein Schulbuch?* in *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit: Herrschaft - Widerstand - Identität ; Festschrift für Heinz-Josef Fabry*, ed. Ulrich Dahmen, trans. Heinz-Josef Fabry (BBB 159), Göttingen 2010.

My paper aims to adopt such a *pragmatic* approach. [6] This should be achieved through the analysis of the so called "royal travesty" at the beginning of the book (Qoh 1:12-2:26). This text seems to be one of the very few reasonably distinguishable texts in Ecclesiastes and also to have a great value for the basic design of the book. The fact that Qoh 1:12-2:26 (as well as 1:1-11 and 3:1-15) is a fundamental section for the understanding of the book has already been well recognized.[7] In this context, the attention was mainly focused on the structural cohesion and the thematic (or philosophical) design of this section. These basic considerations should be assumed at this point and combined with a new perspective that focuses more on communicative aspects of texts. This seems appropriate because Qoh 1:12-2:26 makes important basic decisions about the communicative context of the book. These can be found, for example, where the first chapters introducing the communication subject of the text, which is the 'I-voice' of Qohelet. In the course of Qoh 1:13-2:26, he is introduced as a communicative counterpart to the reader. This can be seen where 1:12 makes use of the development of a communicative setting between Qohelet and his readers that has already been roughly defined in the book's frame (1:1-3). It turns out that this setting is underlined by a multi-layered characterization of Qohelet which must be developed in cooperation with the reader. However, the king's travesty also seems to take on establishing functions in other respects. This can be seen, for example, in the introduction of fundamental questions, topics or keywords to which reference will be made again in the further course of the book. The treatment of these questions, but also their unanswered aspects, are to be examined as part of the establishing functions of this text.

In order to get closer to its adjusting functions, this paper is intended to collect initial thoughts on essential aspects of Qoh 1:12-2:26. It should be demonstrated that the *royal travesty* can be examined as a self-contained unit with a specific text-pragmatic function, which has orientating functions with regard to the entire book.

For this reason: three questions in particular are to be examined: Firstly, to what extent does the royal travesty contribute to the constitution of a communication partner and its characterization within the text? (3.) And secondly, which basic questions and topics are developed within royal travesty and how are they connected? (4.) The treatment of these two questions will be framed by a basis study of the structure of Qoh 1:12-2:26 (2.).

[6] *Pragmatic* in this case means – according to SIEGFRIED SCHMIDT'S definition – the use of textual language to initiate communication between the text and its readers – cf. SIEGFRIED J. SCHMIDT, *Texttheorie: Probleme einer Linguistik der sprachlichen Kommunikation*, 2nd ed., München 1976, 9 f.

[7] Michel, for example, has shown this by highlighting chapters 1-3 as the basic treatise of the Koheletbuch (cf. MICHEL, *Qohelet*, 1-83). Also see ALEXANDER A. FISCHER, *Skepsis oder Furcht Gottes?: Studien zur Komposition und Theologie des Buches Kohelet* (BZAW 247), Berlin 1997, 183–225.

2. Remarks on form and structure of Qoh 1:12-2:26

Qohelet 1:12 introduces an entire new section of the book. It was sometimes mentioned that this verse could also have been the introduction to an original set of the book.[8] Thought this suggestion would certainly challenge the position and understanding of Qoh 1:1-11, it leads to some substantial characteristics regarding place and content of V12 and, of course, the following text. First of all, it can be observed that Qoh 1:12 interrupts a clause which was originally introduced by Qoh 1:1 – the "common" headline of the book. It seems that V12 sets a new beginning with a slightly modified focus:

דִּבְרֵי קֹהֶלֶת בֶּן־דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלָם:	Qoh 1:1
Words of Qohelet, son of David, king in Jerusalem:	

Reflections about the consistent cosmos and human exploration of the world. ↓ VV2-11

אֲנִי קֹהֶלֶת הָיִיתִי מֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּירוּשָׁלָם:	Qoh 1:12
I, Qohelet, was king over Israel in Jerusalem.	

Fig. 1: Relation between Qoh 1:1 and 1:12

By comparing the two verses, it is quite interesting that in all the similarities there are still some noteworthy differences. These are, for example, some changes regarding the genealogical function (בֶּן־דָּוִד – only in V1) and the addition of עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל in V12. Both are characterizing Qohelet's functional scope and his historical background – in a different way – based on the idea of a Davidic King who rules over Jerusalem.[9] Thought this does not entail a consequent change of the functional attribution, it is with no doubt a shift of emphasis that addresses the same idea: Qohelet in the garment of Salomon.

In fact, this is accompanied by a modification of personal reference: whereas in V1 Qohelet was introduced by an impersonal voice, it becomes clear that in V12 Qohelet introduces himself by using the verb היה. Hence, the introduction of Qohelet becomes here a self-declaration that consistently affects the following text section.[10]

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[8] Cf. Aarre Lauha, *Kohelet* (BK 19), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, 44 f. This approach was often criticized by the more recent literature.

[9] בֶּן־דָּוִד and עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל (מֶלֶךְ) could be understand analogical as they are both references to Salomon as king who was directly related to the sonship of David and the rule over Israel in Jerusalem – cf. Antoon Schoors, *Ecclesiastes* (HCOT), Leuven 2013, 105.

[10] Regarding the הָיִיתִי, it seems unclear whether the 1. Sg. Perf. indicates a *completed condition in the past* ("I have been king"/ "I was King" – cf. Schwienhorst-Schönberger et al.), *duration* ("I have become king" cf. Delitzsch) or an *information with no time-related reference* ("I am king" – cf. Fox). The interpretation of this phrase has tremendous effects on the overall understanding of Qoh 1:12-2:26 and depends (in reverse)

Therefore, Qoh 1:12 has the function of *joining* the words of Qohelet (דִּבְרֵי קֹהֶלֶת - 1:1) with a speaking "I" – the I of Qohelet, equipped with the attributes of a salomonic king. Thus, Qoh 1:12 marks here the beginning of a new segment in the book which is well connected with a detailed of I-bounded reflection in 1:13 ff. Additionally, the detailed characterization of Qohelet as King over Jerusalem overlaps these reflections with the guise of Salomon.[11]

Correspondingly, it must be asked how long this fiction endures. Indeed, it has been mentioned that an ending of the travesty in Qoh 2:26 can be doubted with good reasons. Galling and Michel, for example, claimed that the fiction ends in 2:11, [12] where the retrospect of the king ends and the reflections of the wise (as found in 1:2-11) find their resumption.[13] There are also some voices arguing for an end in *2:26* (Hertzberg, Schwienhorst-Schönberger et al.[14]), in *3:22* (Backhaus[15]) or after *4:16* (Fox/ Reinert[16]). All those suggestions utilize different criteria to find a delimitation of Qohelet's royal voice. This is, generally, the use of content-related references indicating an end of royal issues. Such a reference is often found in 2:11 where the small parable of the king's deeds ends. It seems obvious that Qoh 2:3-11 shows a detailed list of royal deeds and, that 2:12 constitutes a break here – but there is no reason for a *change of the reflecting I* which further depends on the voice's introduction in Qoh 1:12. The latter assumption already implies another criteria: the delimitation by grammatical marks – especially by the *acting* or *speaking* person.

Regarding this, it has been well-recognized that there is only one significant change of voice after 1:12 concerning the verses where Qohelets words shift back to a frame of a 3rd-person-voice (esp. 7:27; 12:8) as already introduced in 1:1f.[17] From the grammatical point of view, the royal I-voice of Qohelet persists until the end of book with exception of the 3rd and 2nd-person-insertions as mentioned above.

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on further interpretation of form and integration of this passage. The specific textual effects of this dependence are part of my explanations about the "I" of Qohelet in section 3 (p. 10-14).

[11] The word "fiction" implies different functions of Qohelet's characterization which are to be described in its wide context - cf. as well Section 3. of this paper.

[12] Cf. KURT GALLING, *Der Prediger* in *Die Fünf Megilloth*, 2nd ed., ed. Kurt e. a. Galling (HAT I 18), Tübingen 1969, 87; MICHEL, *Qohelet*, 132.

[13] This is closely related to Annette Schellenberg who divides two different voices: the voice of the (pessimistic) king in Qoh 1:12-2:11 and the voice of the wise men in Qoh 1:2-11; 2:12-12,8.

[14] Cf. HANS W. HERTZBERG, *Der Prediger (Qohelet)*, 2nd ed. (KAT 17), Leipzig 1963, 95; LUDGER SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet* (HThKAT), Freiburg im Breisgau 2004, 181.

[15] Cf. FRANZ J. BACKHAUS, *"Es gibt nichts besseres für den Menschen": Studien zur Komposition und zur Weisheitskritik im Buch Kohelet*, Bodenheim 1998, 186 ff.

[16] MICHAEL V. FOX, *Ecclesiastes* (JPS.BC), Philadelphia 2004, 11–32 ("Reflections and Meditations"); ANDREAS REINERT, *Die Salomofiktion* (WMANT 126), Neukirchen-Vluyn 2010, 77.

[17] Additional, because of its impersonal character, the passage 3:1-9 seems to stick out from the rest of the text. The close relationship to the literary character of 1:3-11 suggests that both are somehow dependent on the introduction of Qohelet's words in 1:1f and 3:1-9 is further on a part of the "third voice" of Qohelet.

Nevertheless, it seems impossible or unnecessary to find another explicit characterization of Qohelet's voice in Qoh 3:1-12:8 than the royal one as found in 1:1 and 1:12. Therefore, it might be reasonably to assume that the royal fiction and reconnection of the voice resonates until the end of Qohelet's I-bounded words in 12:8.[18] However, from the grammatical point of view, it seems quite evident to set a break behind 2:26, thereupon the words of Qohelet change back into an impersonal reflection of another thematic circle (time).[19]

Besides that, also the internal structure of Qoh 1:12-2:26 is more or less indistinct. A first glance at the commentaries reveals that there are a number of different ways to structure the text and the reflections it contains.[20] First of all, these structural attempts rely on the preliminary decision, which *type of text* has to be organized. Is Qoh 1:12-2:26 just a collection of different independent reflections and proverbs (מָשָׁלִים) randomly selected and compiled for the book's first chapters? Or is there any compositional intention on which the unit – framed by the poems of cosmos and time – releases a well-considered development of an idea?

It was often mentioned, that the royal travesty firstly consists of a small narrative, the narrative of the King Qohelet.[21] This should be assumed here since this passage actually shows a narrative character.[22] It has been shown that Qohelet's words are embedded in a temporal stretch based on the difference between *now* and *then* which affects the outer framework of the book.[23]

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[18] Cf. MELANIE KÖHLMOOS, *Kohelet: Der Prediger Salomo* (ATD 16,5), Göttingen [u.a.] 2015, 46; ERIC S. CHRISTIANSON, *A Time to Tell: Narrative Strategies in Ecclesiastes* (JSOT.S 280), Sheffield 1998, 33 ff. et al. Conversely DIETHELM MICHEL, *Untersuchungen zur Eigenart des Buches Qohelet* (BZAW 183), Berlin 1989, 9; GALLING, "Der Prediger," 87.

[19] There is, additionally, the fact that "the limits to 1:12-2:26 is further supported by the presence of an inclusion. At the beginning and end of the literary unit there is the mention of God [...]" (Y. V. KOH, *Royal Autobiography in the Book of Qoheleth* (BZAW 369), Berlin 2006, 26 f.).

[20] A more or less *common* structural scheme was given by KRÜGER, *Kohelet*, 123–52), who defined the units Qoh 1:12-2:11 (*Die Unverfügbarkeit des Glücks im Leben*), 2:12-21 (*Die Unverfügbarkeit des Glücks angesichts des Todes*) and 2:22-26 (*Ergebnis: Die Entwertung des unverfügbaren Glücks*). Another example was given by MICHAEL V. FOX FOX, *Ecclesiastes*, 7–19), who roughly divided 1:12-18 (*Koheleth introduces himself and his undertaking*) and 2:1-26 (*An experiment with pleasure*).

[21] Also see the high similarity with other ancient genres like the "royal testament" in which the king narrates his own career for the purpose of glorification – cf. LEO G. PERDUE, *Wisdom & Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature*, Nashville 1994, esp. 198-202; TREMPER LONGMAN, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (NIC.OT), Grand Rapids 1998, 75 f.; MICHAEL V. FOX, *A time to tear down and a time to build up: A rereading of Ecclesiastes*, Eugene 2010, 170 f. For a concise summary of the discussion see JENNIFER L. KOOSED, *(Per)mutations of Qohelet: Reading the body in the book* (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament studies 429), New York 2006, copyright 2006, 16 f.

[22] Cf. LONGMAN, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, 75 f.

[23] For an clear overview of reading Qohelet as narrative cf. CRAIG G. BARTHOLOMEW, *Ecclesiastes* (BC.OT), Grand Rapids 2009, 61–82 and also again CHRISTIANSON, *A Time to Tell*, 19–51.

In the royal travesty, this narrative presentation mainly depends on the usage of the perfect הָיִיתִי in Qoh 1:12 as well as on fact that all predicates relating Qohelets (reflecting) activities are used as *perfect*.[24] As initiated in 1:12, this narrative style continues until 2:20 which introduces the justifying part of the text.[25] This formal narrative character is responsible for arranging the backward-looking "I"-statements in a time-related dependence from the actual speaking I of Qohelet as it was introduced by itself in 1:12.[26] A good example for this stylistic remark can be found in Qoh 2:3-11 where Qohelet looks back on his great deeds as king:

> 2:3 I tried cheering myself with wine and embracing folly- my mind still guiding me with wisdom. I wanted to see what was good for people to do under the heavens during the few days of their lives.
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 2:4 I undertook great projects [...] | הִגְדַּלְתִּי מַעֲשָׂי |
> | 2:5 I made [...] | עָשִׂיתִי |
> | 2:6 I made [...] | עָשִׂיתִי |
> | 2:7 I bought [...] | קָנִיתִי |
> | 2:8 I amassed [...] | כָּנַסְתִּי |
> | 2:9 I became greater [...] | וְגָדַלְתִּי |
> | 2:10 I denied [...] | וּפָנִיתִי אֲנִי |
>
> 2:11 Yet when I surveyed all that my hands had done and what I had toiled to achieve, everything was meaningless, a chasing after the wind; nothing was gained under the sun.[27]

Fig. 2: Narrative structure of Qoh 2:3-11

Apparently, this passage presents *a narrative in a narrative*: by connecting different single deeds or actions to a series of past events, these verses form a review of Qohelet's royal story – a review that is *framed*, *introduced* and *concluded* by an also narrating I of Qohelet.

The narrative guise of Qoh 1:12-2:26 overlaps a fabric of different self-related *undertakings* each connected with the narrating I of Qohelet. Thus, it is now possible to use this fabric to structure the disparate statements and sayings of the travesty by arrange them according to their respective undertaking.

[24] Cf. e.g. וְנָתַתִּי (1:13), דִּבַּרְתִּי (1:16), and אָמַרְתִּי (2,1). – Regarding the use of perfect especially in 1:12 cf. THOMAS M. BOLIN, *Ecclesiastes and the riddle of authorship*, New York 2017, 45.

[25] Qoh 2:21-26 certainly does not illustrate a typical narrative structure as found in 1:12-2:20, but especially the כִּי-pattern in 2:21-23.25f entails a strong dependence from the previous narrative statements – at latest 3:1 interrupts this narrative pattern.

[26] This is means the narrated time in which the words of Qohelet were inserted in by the frame-narrator who can be found in 1:1.2; 7:27; 12:8. Cf. those researchers who read Ecclesiastes as narrative: FOX, "Frame-Narrative," 83–106; CHRISTIANSON, *A Time to Tell*.

[27] All English translations are given by the New International Version (NIB)

Following the I-statements, there are different functions regarding the investigative I-narrative of Qohelet and its formal setup:

Verses	Expression		Function
1:13.17	וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־לִבִּי	I applied my mind	Introducing an undertaking
2:1	אָמַרְתִּי אֲנִי בְּלִבִּי לְכָה־נָּא	I said to myself: "come now!"	
2:3	תַּרְתִּי בְלִבִּי	I tried	
1:14; 2:13	רָאִיתִי	I saw	Introducing an observation or conclusion
1:16	דִּבַּרְתִּי אֲנִי עִם־לִבִּי	I said to my heart	
2:15	וְאָמַרְתִּי אֲנִי בְּלִבִּי	I said to my heart	
2:11f	וּפָנִיתִי אֲנִי	I turned towards	
2:20	וְסַבּוֹתִי אֲנִי	I turned my heart	Introducing a change of perspective/ focus or an emotional response
2:17f	וְשָׂנֵאתִי	So, I hated	

Fig. 3: Functions of I-statements in Qoh 1:12-2:26

According to this representative overview, every expression of the "I" commits to one functional part of the royal investigations of Qohelet and it seems clearly appropriate to take them into account for the purpose of structure and, especially, to locate the super-ordinated verses introducing smaller units.

Nevertheless, it is quite necessary to consider the *functional counterparts* of those introductions and conclusions which can be found in *thematic design* (development of questions, focuses and keywords)[28] as well as in other recurrent elements. Since Qoh 1:12-2:26 complies with the genre of reflection,[29] those elements can be equated with the *conclusions* of the respective reflections. Here, Qohelet's reflections contain a specific fabric of concluding phrases, sometimes combined with a הבל-statement, adding a *judgement of volatility* to the previous observation.[30] In 1:13-2:2, those statements were directly placed after the introducing verse, building a justifying transition between the *undertaking* (1:13.16; 2:1a) and an *elaborating proverb* (1:15.18; 2:1b). This succession changes into an own narrative presentation after 2:3 which is also concluded with a הבל-statement in 2:11.

[28] See section 4 (p. 14-21).

[29] It seems obvious to classify most parts of Qoh 1:13-2:26 as „reflection" depending on the use of לֵב and further criteria – cf. ROLAND E. MURPHY, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1981, 134.

[30] On the importance of הבל in the book of Qohelet and its difficult understanding see MICHAEL V. FOX, *The meaning of "hebel" for Qohelet*, in: *JBL* 105/3 (1986), 409–27; FOX, *Qohelet and His Contradictions*, 29–51; CHOON L. SEOW, *Ecclesiastes: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AncBq 18 C), New York 1997, 101 f.

According to a change of focus in 2:12 (אֲנִי וּפָנִיתִי), the following unit is also concluded with Qohelet's justification of vanity (V15) – aside of the elaborating explanation of 2:12-15 which one may find in V16. Therefore, Qoh 2:12-16 could probably be defined as separate unit.

Conversely, V17 opens a new point of view introduced by an emotional statement "So, I hated the life" (וְשָׂנֵאתִי אֶת־הַחַיִּים). It seems obvious that V17 is an anaphoric expression which refers on previous reflections by adding an emotional response to the findings of the wise king.[31] V18 emphasizes this turn using the same expression וְשָׂנֵאתִי אֲנִי with another object (כָּל־עֲמָלִי). Both verses are combined by V19 which concludes this unit with a rhetoric question and – once more – with a הבל-statement (גַּם־זֶה הָבֶל) that arranges this text in an order with its context.

This textual structural scheme changes somewhat during the following verses. There are a lot of different suggestions made for the delimitation of Qoh 2:12-2:26 – sometimes uniting 2:18-2:21[32] –, but it seems obvious that 2:17-19 and 2:20ff should be considered separately as 2:20 illustrates a turning point in perspective.[33] It can be argued that the sequence of כִּי-sentences (V21-23) and the preceding change of focus (וְסַבּוֹתִי אֲנִי) are intended to develop a new substantiating unit here. It is doubtful, whether V24-26 serves as an independent threat, since the אֵין־טוֹב in V24 interrupts the continuing substantiations only for the addition of another statement, but not to introduce a completely new observation. However, the הבל in V23 asserts the meanwhile well-known scheme of concluding a reflection using a justifying statement. Therefore, it can be assumed that V24-26 forms a separate section and formal conclusion to Qoh 1:12-2:26 that needs to be specifically addressed.

In view of the above arguments, I would suggest the following expandable structure of Qoh 1:12-2:26 for the purpose of thematic examination:

1:12 **Title and self-introduction of Qohelet the King**

1:13-15 **Reflections on human toil (נַעֲשָׂה תַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם)**
Introduction (V13) – observation & conclusion (V14) – proverb (V15)

1:16-18 **Reflections about the value of wisdom (חָכְמָה)**
Introduction (V16) – observation & conclusion (V17) – proverb (V18)

2:1f **Reflections about joy and pleasure (חָכְמָה)**
Introduction (V1a) – conclusion (V1b) – proverb (V2)

[31] This is supported by the use of הַכֹּל (V17c) which refers back to 2:12-16 and thus applies the judgement to the previous observations and findings (also see the use of וְהִנֵּה הַכֹּל הָבֶל at the end of 2:3-11).

[32] Cf. Alexander A. Fischer, *Beobachtungen zur Komposition von Kohelet 1,3-3,15*, in: *ZAW* 103/1 (1991), 72–86 et al. A good overview of the discussion is given by Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 100–03.

[33] According to the use of introductory statements (see fig. 3), וְסַבּוֹתִי אֲנִי indicates here a change of perspective and thereby the beginning of a new subunit.

2:3-11 **A new undertaking to find out what is good for humankind**
Introduction (V3) – A list of great deeds (VV4-10) – conclusion (V11)

2:12-16 **Reflections about the value of wisdom in light of mortality**
Introduction (V12) – observations (VV13-14)
– self-application & conclusion (V15) – explanation (V16)

2:17-23 **Reactions and substantiating conclusions**
Emotional Reactions (V17f) – self-application & conclusion (V19)
- emotional turn (V20) – reasoning & conclusion (V21)
– rhetoric question (V22) – reasoning & conclusion (V23)

2:24-26 **Ultimate finding**
Tôb-Spruch[34] (V24) – proverb (V25) – reasoning & conclusion (V26)

3. The constitution of Qohelet's I-voice

Even a first glance at the structure and literary character of the royal travesty shows a distinctive presence of the first person in Qohelet's words. A phenomenon that could be described as a typical feature of Ecclesiastes and thus received some attention in past research.[35] While many parts of the book are characterized by this tendency towards the first person, Qoh 1:12-2:26 takes over essential tasks in the foundation and design of this voiceal allocation. These consist mainly in the fact that Qohelet takes the floor for the first time in 1:12. As already been shown, this self-introduction is synonymous with the beginning of direct speech and - therein - with the self-reference of Qohelet's words. Inside the royal travesty, the introduction of the "I" exercises two important functions regarding the *communicative setting* of the book.

This is, first of all, the introduction of a communicative counterpart that becomes the central focal point of readers' attention. This becomes particularly clear at the beginning of the text when Qohelet introduces himself by taking up the voice. This self-introduction has also a structuring function from both a communicative and a formal point of view. From a *formal point of view*, it marks a repeated use in the context of section introductions: wherever a new train of thought begins, or a change of perspective takes place, this is expressed by a verbum of the first person.[36]

[34] Regarding the use of the so called *Tôb-Spruch* in Qoh 2:24 see GRAHAM S. OGDEN, *The "better"-proverb (Tôb-Spruch), rhetorical criticism, and Qohelet*, in: *JBL* 96/4 (1977), 489–505 and GRAHAM S. OGDEN, *Qoheleth's use of the "nothing is better"-form*, in: *JBL* 98/3 (1979), 339–50.

[35] An early but still relevant study can be found at OSWALD LORETZ, *Zur Darbietungsform der "Ich-Erzählung" im Buche Qohelet*, in: *CBQ* 25/ (1963), 46–59. Also cf. MICHEL, *Qohelet*, 78–81.

[36] This is usually done by using verbs that initiate a cognitive process or perceptions – like רָאִיתִי (1:14; 3:10.16; 4:15 et al.) or יָדַעְתִּי (1:17; 3:12.14). However, this is also shown (even more frequently) by those verbs that indicate an "internal focus": אָמַרְתִּי (2:1; 3:17f) or וּפָנִיתִי (2:11f).

This reflection mode, which can easily be found in the royal travesty, plays a paradigmatic role in the further course of the book.[37] Besides this, it can be observed that the introduction of a literary I takes a decisive contribution to the development of a tangible identity behind Qohelet's words. A fact that ensures above all a great closeness to life, but also a tangible perception of the world.[38] On the other hand, the introduction of the first person adds another level of communication to the narrative framework of the book. This enables an immediate contact between Qohelet's message and its readers – an effect that becomes particularly clear when Qohelet's I-voice (later in the book) addresses a counterpart in a way that is common in wisdom literature. [39]

Within this outer framework, Qohelet's voice gets its very own characterization in the course of the royal travesty. The self-declaration as King over Israel in Jerusalem, which one may find in 1:12, seems to be 'well embedded' in the narrative of the King Qohelet as it was introduced by 1:1. If we assume that 1:1-3 partially established a *frame-narrative*, which assigns different sayings to the narrated voice of Qohelet, it seems obvious that the הָיִיתִי (1:12) initiates a new level of narrative closeness here. The fact that Qohelet puts himself on a royal garment has caused many researchers to apply genre questions and understanding the whole book as some kind of autobiography.[40] This seems conceivable, because the following text (at least until 2:20) has clear features of a completed self-related narrative. On the other hand, this impression becomes more and more blurred as the book progresses after 2:21 or 2:26. At no point does the reader seem to find a narrative as linear as in Qoh 1:12-2:20(26). The autobiographical effect of Qohelet's speech and its "binding function"[41], however, seems to be only maintained in reference to the characterization that has been created here.

[37] On a formal level this can be seen above all in the use of sentence introductions, which also create an essential reference to reflection in the further course of the book. These occur mainly in 3:10-15 and 3:16-22 again in a condensed form.

[38] Cf. LORETZ, "Zur Darbietungsform der "Ich-Erzählung" im Buche Qohelet," 56.

[39] Cf. The impersonal use of the second-person in Proverbia (Prv 22:17-29 et al.) as well as the use of the phrase "my son" (בְּנִי) which establishes a teaching dialogue-form in the younger parts of Proverbia (cf. Prv 1:8.10.15; 3:21; 7:1 et al.). Also cf. the broad use of dialogical forms in Job (Job 32-37; 38-42:6 et al.).

[40] The identification of Ecclesiastes as *autobiography* is commonly linked to different suggestions – like the close relationship to ancient royal testaments as it was suggested by Galling (KURT GALLING, *Kohelet-Studien*, in: *ZAW* 50/1 (1932), von Rad (GERHARD V. RAD, *Weisheit in Israel*, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, 292 f), and recently by KOH, *Royal Autobiography in the Book of Qoheleth*.

[41] Cf. Christianson: „Thanks to the ‚I', Qoheleth's thousand and one selves speak with a wonderfully coherent voice" (CHRISTIANSON, *A Time to Tell*, 37.

In view of this characterization, however, it is questionable whether the royal characterization (אֲנִי קֹהֶלֶת הָיִיתִי מֶלֶךְ) refers to a historic person whose words were narrated here by a frame-narrator.[42] Most scholars argue that *Qohelet* is more likely the fictional construct of an author that was put under the guise of a (fictional) king's identity. This seems possible because there is no historical information about a king named Qohelet. Nevertheless, the characterization of Qohelet as it is presented by Qoh 1:1.12 refers in various aspects to the traditional picture of King Salomon.[43] Although Salomon's name appears nowhere in Qoh 1:12-2:26 or in other parts of the book,[44] there are quite a lot of other references to salomonic tradition – especially regarding the presentation of Qohelet's deeds[45] and wisdom[46]. The readers of Qohelet are hereby referred to a greater traditional discourse that is located behind the text's design and its historic formation.[47] However, the close relationship between a well-known real biography and (fictional) self-characterization as is can be found here does in fact blurring the lines between real authorship and (fictional) first-person-narration.[48] Nonetheless, this indistinctness must not be confused with an identity of author and I-voice which seems to be always refracted by the difference between the books narrational frame (1:1-3; 7:27; 12:9 ff.) and the *narrated* words of Qohelet.[49]

However, the ambiguous character of this very specific characterization must also be questioned with regard to its specific intentions. Why did the author(s) choose such a robe to connect the *telling I* of the book frame with a fictitious reality? At this point, there could be several reasons for this, which play a role in terms of textual pragmatism. This concerns, first of all, the tradition of the book, whose place within the canon could have been guaranteed by the conscious assignment to a typical wisdom author.[50]

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[42] Cf. BARTHOLOMEW, *Ecclesiastes*, 122.

[43] Cf. Krüger: *„'König über Israel in Israel in Jerusalem' waren nach dem AT nur David und Salomon. Nach 1,1 müsste ‚Kohelet' demnach Salomo gewesen sein. Schon die Differenz der Namen lässt freilich jeden unbefangenen Leser diese Identifikation als fiktive Travestie durchschauen"* (KRÜGER, *Kohelet*, 133).

[44] As for example in Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1.

[45] Especially Qoh 2:3-11 represents an allusion to Salomon's building activity (cf. 2 Chr 3-5).

[46] The great number of reflections about possibilities and limits of wisdom are strongly connected with Salomon's dream in 1 Kg 3:5-15.

[47] The tradition of Salomon represents an own discourse within the late second-temple-period. Different scriptures and OT texts took up this discourse each with an own interpretation of the salomonic guise. To follow Köhlmoos here, the reference text of that tradition can be found in 1 Kg 3, 1-15 – cf. KÖHLMOOS, *Kohelet*, 42 ff.

[48] Regarding the limits and possibilities of *I-narration* see again LORETZ, "Zur Darbietungsform der "Ich-Erzählung" im Buche Qohelet.".

[49] Cf. LORETZ: *"Es geht ferner nicht an, vom Buch her unbedacht auf Qohelet selbst zu schließen, da ein Werk mit seinem Autor nie identisch ist"* (ibid., 54).

[50] In this context, however, the considerations presented below regarding the tradition-critical reference of Qohelet's words should be particularly considered. It can be assumed that this tradition-specific function can rather be found in the epilogue of the book 12:9-14.

Thus, the use of the salomonic fiction possibly ensures the authority and plausibility of the book's reflections.[51] On the other hand, Qohelet's words gain credibility by being bound to a "known" tradition. It can be assumed that the first recipients of the book were not unfamiliar with the Solomonic tradition, whereby they could possibly associate the content of his words with a well-known *wisdom discourse*.[52] Thus, the protagonist behind the book's *telling I* gets a certain relevance.

Within the text, however, the salomonic fiction seems to take on another function. There, the person Qohelet seems to be something like a *narrative figure* whose royal guise in some way supports his reflections. This finds its starting point in the interaction between the ideal-typical characterization of Qohelet and the understanding of his name, which - as has been mentioned more than once - could be understood as a functional term.[53] Lohfink, for example, has recognized that the Qoheletbuch presents itself as a form of the ideal wisdom speech (Diatribe).[54] It does this by operating with a *tension between past and present* and a differentiation between frame-narrator and Qohelet's voice.[55] Within this ideal speech, Qohelet's specific description as *salomon-like* king seems to take on the function of idealization.[56] Qohelet thus assumes the function of a narrative character with a "typically wise" imprint.

In the area of Qoh 1:12-2:26 this ideal-typical impression seems to take over a few functions, of which only a few should be mentioned here. First, on an implicit level, the fictional character conveys the impression that the king Qohelet is – within his project – able to use all the possibilities of a human being in an exceedingly wise and powerful way. Regarding this, Gordis argues that "Koheleth, in his assumed role of Salomon, wishes to assure the reader that he has experienced the ultimate in both wisdom and pleasure and there is no need for anyone else to repeat the experiment"[57].

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[51] Cf. KÖHLMOOS, *Kohelet*, 74.

[52] The environment of such a discourse has recently been highlighted in an article by Markus Saur – cf. MARKUS SAUR, *Sapientia discursiva: Die alttestamentliche Weisheitsliteratur als theologischer Diskurs*, in: *ZAW* 123/ (2011), 236–49.

[53] This mainly addresses the functional semantics of the lexeme קֹהֶלֶת. Also cf. MICHEL, *Qohelet*, 4–8; NORBERT LOHFINK, *Qoheleth: A Continental Commentary*, Augsburg 2003, 9 ff. et al.

[54] Cf. LOHFINK, "Das Koheletbuch," 59 ff. This proposal can also be found in LUDWIG LEVY, *Das Buch Qoheleth: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sadduzäismus*, Leipzig 1912, 59 f. A discussion about the genre Diatribe in Ecclesiastes can also be found in THOMAS KRÜGER, *Theologische Gegenwartsdeutung im Kohelet-Buch*, München 1990, 54 ff.; SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, "Kohelet," in Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Buch Kohelet*, 21 ff. as well as in more detail at FRANZ J. BACKHAUS, *Kohelet und die "Diatribe": hermeneutische und methodologische Überlegungen zu einem noch ausstehenden Stilvergleich*, in: *BZ* 42/2 (1998), 248–56.

[55] Cf. LOHFINK, "Das Koheletbuch," 57.

[56] Nevertheless, Lohfink notes that the "biographical data" of the Solomonfiction are less reliable than those of the epilogue – cf. ibid., 55 f.

[57] ROBERT GORDIS, *Kohelet, the man and his world: a study of Ecclesiastes*, 3rd ed. (TSJTSA XIX), New York 1968, 211. Also see his reference to a similar interpretation in Midrash Koh. Rabba (ibid.).

If this can be assumed, Qohelet's characterization as a "salomon-like" king could serves as a *theoretical de-limitation* of his possibilities. This enables the readers to recognize that he started his project with the greatest possible wisdom and greatness.[58]

Conversely, this conceptual empowerment also undergoes a reinterpretation in the course of the royal travesty. At the latest from 2:20, his royal abilities are massively questioned. The retelling of the transformation of the traditional image of a fictitious king into a figure that massively questions even the possibilities of his own wisdom becomes the hallmark of this text. The consequences of the insight that even with the *seemingly unlimited abilities* of a Solomonic king neither the profit of human activity can be found, nor even the reason for the ever-emerging joy can be laid, substantiates Qohelet's anthropology. The parable narrated within the royal travesty, which leads to this insight, is taken up in later parts of the book again. This is also a form of criticism - of both the optimism of traditional wisdom[59] and the idealized image of Solomon in Qohelet's time.[60] However, the exact form of this criticism should be the subject of a separate study. Nevertheless, the textpragmatic meaning of the ambivalent narrative figure Qohelet can be seen in the interplay between his fictitious role and the train of thought unfolded in it. In the context of Qoh 1:12-2:26, the latter is vividly unfolded as a cognitive movement in the guise of a narrative.

4. The development of thematic progression

Qoh 1:12-2:26 combines different thematical focuses that are sequentially and cautious developed by the I-voice of Qohelet. A closer look reveals that this thematic approach is accompanied by an inner movement that combines individual reflections. This seems to contribute substantially to the fact that the different topics can build up and unfold before the eyes of the reader. A glance at the subjective framework of royal travesty already shows that this inner movement seems to be equivalent to the re-narration of Qohelet's own cognitive movement. Within the narrative of a fictitious king, different questions, undertakings and reflections are evolved. The frame of this narrative takes its course in 1:12 and seems to blur slowly after 2:26.[61]

[58] See 1:16: "'Look, I have increased in wisdom more than anyone who has ruled over Jerusalem before me; I have experienced much of wisdom and knowledge'".

[59] This is particularly evident in sections 2:12-17 and 18-23 where Qohelet recognizes the limitations of wisdom. - cf. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet*, 197.

[60] Cf. KÖHLMOOS, *Kohelet*, 42 f.

[61] Nevertheless, traces of this thought can also be found later in the book. This becomes visible, for example, where Kohelet looks back on his own undertakings as in Qoh 8:16 or takes up basic themes addressed there again with similar reasoning.

At the heart of the thought process, demonstrated here, are the questions about the *gain of human toil* (1:13-15), the *value of wisdom* (1:16-18) and the *meaning of joy* (2:1f). These three questions form the basic framework of Qohelet's search for the meaning of human labor under the sun. As mentioned above, Qoh 1:12-2:26 in particular takes on an important role by linking them to a tangible *Lebenswelt*. This seems to be realized by an unchangingly inner connection to the perspective of a single human being[62] and – at the same time - a visible *questing movement* of that being, which is Qohelet. What questions does he pursue and how are they connected? How does the presentation of his reflections provide a framework in which orientating functions become visible to the reader? This should be examined in the following by briefly re-drawing his thematic presentation in Qoh 1:12-2:26.

First of all, the starting point of Qohelet's quest certainly becomes visible in 1:13a where Qohelet is looking back on his past project as king over Israel:

וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־לִבִּי לִדְרוֹשׁ וְלָתוּר בַּחָכְמָה עַל כָּל־אֲשֶׁר נַעֲשָׂה תַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם

I applied my mind to study and to explore by wisdom
all that is done under the heavens

Here, Qohelet presents his own project and clearly shows what his object of investigation is (הַשָּׁמָיִם כָּל־אֲשֶׁר נַעֲשָׂה תַּחַת) and, additionally, how he wants to achieve it (לִדְרוֹשׁ וְלָתוּר בַּחָכְמָה). This introduces the reader to the basic conditions of the following investigations. At the same time, Kohelet characterizes his fictitious and past self as king by addressing classical "wisdom attributes" in terms of both *wisdom* and *the search for the basic conditions of human doing*. The aim of his search also alludes to questions that already played a role in the course of the first chapter (cf. 1:3) and will continue to play a role in the further course of the book (cf. 2:22; 3:9; 6:12 et al.).

At this point this question is given a broader space, which is outlined in Qohelet's words in retrospect. The importance of this leading questions is also made clear by the fact that Kohelet dedicates his entire heart to this search - a fact that is constantly reminded of in the further course of the royal travesty.[63]

[62] The orientation towards this central character depends on several basic conditions. This includes the design of a narrated world of perception, his (self-)characterization, and the exploration of what he presents to readers as part of his message. The design of "Qohelet's world", which readers can participate in, is shaped not only by the cosmic reflection in Qoh 1:4-11, but also by the repeatedly inserted designations of reflection space. These can be found for example in 1:13 (תַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם), 1:14 (תַּחַת הַשָּׁמֶשׁ) or in those passages, where Qohelet faces god as perceptional counterpart (cf. 1:13 or 2:24-26).

[63] See 1:16f; 2:1.3.20.22.

The placement of his undertaking in the heart addresses both *emotional* and *rational aspects* of the OT's concept of the heart. [64] The investigation of the human possibilities of action itself describes a remaining basic topic of Qohelet's anthropology, which was already developed in the prologue (1:3-11). In 1:8, for example, he set out the limits of human possibilities by denying them the ability to see through the cosmic processes and their own existence to the very last detail. Thus, its own existence is more than wearisome in light of world's immutability.[65] For this reason, one repeatedly encounters negative allusions in the terminological context of human activities (הַשָּׁמֶשׁ) in the course of Qohelet's speech. These negative connotations can be found, for example, in the use of the phrases *toil/labor* (עָמָל)[66], *a burden given by god* (עִנְיָן)[67] or *miserable business* (עִנְיַן רָע)[68]. Such a negative view can already be found in the second part of verse 13: there Qohelet describes - in the form of a preliminary judgment - a finding that seems relevant to him in view of human activity under the sun.[69]

The project formulated in 1:13 initiates a further investigation within the scope of 1:14f. Although already mentioned in the context of 1:3-11, this project is connected here for the first time with the first-person voice of Qohelet (וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־לִבִּי). This effects that the previously developed questions are now also clearly connected to the voice of Qohelet for the reader. Moreover, it also turns the thematical issue itself from an impersonal treatise into a reflection with subjective meaning.

[64] The "heart" (לֵב) is used here (1:13.16f; 2:1.3.10.15.20.22.23) to connect different mental activities but especially the rational and emotional mind – cf. Hans W. Wolff and Bernd Janowski, eds., *Anthropologie Des Alten Testaments*, 1st ed. (Gütersloh 2010), 76–96. In Qoh 1:12-2:26 and elsewhere in the book of Qohelet, the heart is primarily used to express mental adjustment and reorientation – cf. Qoh 1:17; 2:1.3.10.15.20; 3.17.18 et al. Also see REINERT, *Die Salomofiktion*, 80.83.

[65] See 1:8 "All things are wearisome (כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים יְגֵעִים), more than one can say. The eye never has enough of seeing, nor the ear its fill of hearing". This idea is getting further developed by Qoh 3:10-15 where Qohelet describes the relationship between divine determination and human activity.

[66] See 1:3; 2.10f.18-22.24; 3:9.13 et al. (37x in Qoh). This lexeme does not have necessarily a negative meaning but emphasizes the duration and effort of human activity.

[67] See 1:13; 2:23.26; 3:10

[68] See 4:8; 5:13 (contextual linked).

[69] The curious addition that "God has laid a heavy burden on mankind" contrasts human and divine activity in a typical way for Qohelet. It seems, however, difficult to decide whether this small addition describes the *starting point* or the *conclusion* of Qohelet's quest. Concerning the narrational structure of Qoh 1:12-2:26, it is conceivable that this judgement serves as an element of *proleptic tension* that anticipates Qohelet's later conclusions about the conditions of human activity (cf. 2:11.17-23.24-26; 5:14) in sight of the reader. This assumption seems to be sustained by the following verses where Qohelet tells about his first findings about what is done (מַעֲשֶׂה) under the sun: it is a "chasing after wind" and elusive (מַעֲשֶׂה) – a conclusion that is derived from his own observations.

However, the investigation of human activities will be further deepened in the further course of 1:12-2:26. Although 1:13-15 already seems to provide ultimate findings,[70] the question is taken up again in 2:3-11. In between, two further thematic complexes receive reflectional space. After finding that human activity is transient under the sun, Qohelet first tells of another undertaking: the discovery of wisdom (1:16-18). In doing so, he takes up a term that he had already introduced in the context of his previous project and combines it with an own reflection. This reflection is clearly self-reflective, since he does not problematize wisdom impersonally, but in the context of his own past existence as a king. In view of his own greatness, he asked himself the question of the nature of wisdom - strictly speaking: he questions the basic conditions of his own greatness. But even this plan ultimately leads him to realize that this, too, is volatile.[71] Thereafter, this finding is illustrated again - as in 1:15 - by a proverb. Neither the search for the meaning of human effort nor for the essence of wisdom (and its value) seems to be successful at this point. However, the Qohelet's cognitive movement does not come to a standstill there – he takes another try in 2:1:

אמַרְתִּי אֲנִי בְּלִבִּי לְכָה־נָּא אֲנַסְּכָה בְשִׂמְחָה וּרְאֵה בְטוֹב וְהִנֵּה גַם־הוּא הָבֶל׃

I said to myself, 'Come now, I will test you with pleasure to find out what is good.'
But that also proved to be meaningless.

Recognizing that both the search for the meaning of human effort and the essence of wisdom is pointless, Qohelet dares to look at joy as a possible solution. Joy takes on the character of an alternative, which is not seen as an area of investigation (understanding the nature of joy), but as an alternative for acting and behavior. This is also made clear by the fact that this undertaking is addressed with an expression of self-motivation (cf. cohortative אֲנַסְּכָה in 2:1) and a reference to specific behavior. But even this trial remains without success - both the expression of joy (laughter) and the joy itself remain meaningless for Kohelet.

This short attempt, which is also framed with a proverb (2:2), is followed by a longer section, which reveals a "experimental character". In 2:3-11 this following investigation takes the form of a small narrative in which Ecclesiastes completely wraps himself in the garment of a king. The initiation of this project (2:3) is certainly of an experimental nature: enjoying wine and orienting the heart towards wisdom and folly, he wants to find the good in all man's efforts. At this point the central theme of 1:13 appears again - but in conjunction with wisdom and an embodiment of pleasure.

[70] The character of a final finding seems to be conveyed by the absolute hewel statement in 1:14 and the connection with a proverb in 1:15 that entails the invariability of the existing.

[71] See 1:17: יִדַּעְתִּי שֶׁגַּם־זֶה הוּא רַעְיוֹן רוּחַ׃.

To follow up his question, he stresses the behavior of a great king to demonstrate greatest imaginable deeds (מַעֲשַׂי הִגְדַּלְתִּי) in context of a single human life. Although this passage is characterized by retrospect and thus narrative elements (which possibly reminds us of Salomon's deeds in 1 Kg 5-11), it appears to be possible that it has its own pragmatic purpose: Qohelet or rather the author behind his words wants to build up some kind of a "sandbox-environment" in which Qohelet is able to follow up his quest under greatest possible conditions.[72]

Obviously Qohelet finds no answer to his original question despite all efforts and great deeds - except the observation that he found joy in his efforts (2:10). This is certainly a positive finding but not equal to "what was good for people to do" (2:3).[73] For this reason, his joy also experiences a clear devaluation in the following, as Kohelet summarizes in 2:11 that "all that my hands had done" is *hewel* and a chasing after wind. Especially the end of this experiment is characterized by a curious opposition between the *joy* he found in his greats deeds (V10) and the *gain of his toil* that is still missing (V11). This juxtaposition is accompanied by a terminological interplay between חֵלֶק ("portion") and יִתְרוֹן ("gain"): although his actions have led him to joy as a part of his efforts, it still seems impossible to find something like profit in it.[74] In his narrated quest, Qohelet therefore concludes that there is no *profit* from all what is done under the sun but only a small portion, which is joy.[75] At the same time, this introduces a complex of issues that will become increasingly important later on.[76] In face of his narrated experiment, the reader becomes aware that this undertaking cannot be successful and that toils are limited to itself, even though they are the greatest deeds of a king. Thus, Qohelet and his readers are possibly reaching a “dead end” or at least a turning point of argumentation here.[77]

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[72] See Gordis' suggestion mentioned above (cf. ann. 57).

[73] Cf. KRÜGER, *Kohelet*., 140.

[74] For the meaning of חֵלֶק and יִתְרוֹן in context of the book of Qohelet cf. A. SCHOORS, *The preacher sought to find pleasing words: A study of the language of Qoheleth* (OLA 143), Leuven 1992, 198 ff. 423 ff.

[75] In addition, it remains the question what is meant by *gain* or *profit* here. According to 2:17-23, it seems likely that יִתְרוֹן describes something that remains at the end of one's life - Cf. Schoors "Thus the question is not limited to profit in this world, it is about the yield or profit of a whole life of toil in this world" (ibid., 424). There quite a few references for this interpretation – for example the fact that the *limits of earthly life* (e.g. מִסְפַּר יְמֵי חַיֵּיהֶם (2:3), הַיָּמִים הַבָּאִים (2:16), and וְשָׂנֵאתִי אֶת־הַחַיִּים (2:17)) were sporadically placed within the further discourse about the value of humankind's toil.

[76] See especially those passages where חֵלֶק is closely linked with joy as a tangible act of human activity that is given by god (Qoh 3:22; 5:17f; 9:9).

[77] This assumption coincides with structural observations: as frequently proposed, this verse could also have been the end of the royal travesty. This was mainly suggested by FRIEDRICH ELLERMEIER, *Qohelet I: 1. Untersuchungen zum Buche Qohelet*, Herzberg am Harz 1967, 82 f.; GALLING, “Der Prediger,” 87; MICHEL, *Qohelet*, 132. However, there are a lot of voices in favour of a continuation of the royal travesty after 2:11. This seems likely because the perspective of king continues in 2:12 (אַחֲרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ). For an detailed discussion cf. FISCHER, “Beobachtungen zur Komposition von Kohelet 1,3-3,15.”

Nevertheless, at this point, the reader once again comes across a change in perspective. Qoh 2:12 introduces this change (cf. וּפָנִיתִי) with a renewed look on the advantages of wisdom, which gives the impression of a final attempt that revives the earlier reflections of 1:16-2:1. In terms of content, this passage is once again characterized by the search for the nature of wisdom and thus picks up the question of 1:16-18. At the same time, this new section seems to raise the question whether there is any profit for a wise man at all. According to traditional wisdom, [78] Qohelet recognizes that there are for certain benefits for the wise compared the fool (2:13f). Nevertheless, this profit is useless considering the fate (מִקְרֶה) that meets both the fool and the wise.[79] Hence, Qohelet came to a similar conclusion as in 1:16-18: the investigation of the qualities of wisdom is just leading to the recognition of wisdom's transience. With regard to his own future, his wisdom has no relevance for the *remembrance* (cf. זִכְרוֹן in 1:11) of his deeds. It is noticeable that Qohelet now seems to fill the term *hewel* with personal relevance. The reader will find the personal consequences of this "relevance" at this juncture in the rhetorical question of Qohelet: "What then do I gain by being wise?" (2:15). This little rhetoric question certainly marks a culmination point of his narrated quest that results in a sequence of emotional reactions (V17-20). The only thing that remains in light of his powerlessness is hatred (שָׂנֵאתִי) towards his toils and life.

This *emotional turn* also changes the character of his narration which leaves the level of reflection and switches to a description of the emotional consequences of those reflections. The self-reflexive manner of this description goes along with a change of focus. This also affects the readers and possibly takes them into a new closeness to Qohelets desperation. In any case, this emotional trip creates a certain credibility for Qohelet's tiring search for answers and finally his despair.

After 2:20, the character of Qohelet's words slightly changes from a retrospective narration to a more present focus. This is possibly supported by Qohelet's own change of focus (וְסַבּוֹתִי אֲנִי).[80] Especially in 2:21, Qohelet examines his previous findings in the light of individual and current cases. This way of adding a current example – as it happens here for the first time – has an important place in reflections of Qohelet.[81]

[78] See Prov 10:23.31; 14:8; 16:16; 17:24 et al. Also cf. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet*, 225.

[79] According to Crenshaw, the word מִקְרֶה has an "ominous" meaning within the book of Qohelet and "refers to events that occur without warning and especially to the event that closes the curtain on a person's life." – cf. JAMES L. CRENSHAW, *Ecclesiastes: A Commentary*, 1st ed. (OTL), Philadelphia 1987, 85.

[80] According to Schoors, it seems possible that וְסַבּוֹתִי here does not really introduce a new section, since the desperation of his heart "is rather the result of what precedes than the introduction of what follows" (SCHOORS, *Ecclesiastes*, 196 It is more likely that this phrase introduces a new focus of inwardness.

[81] The adverb יֵשׁ often introduces real events with specific contextual relevance, which is sometimes in connection with evaluative conclusions – see 4:8; 5:12; 6:1; 7:15; 8:14 et al.

Similarly, Qoh 2:22 poses the question of 1:3 anew – applying it to a generally context: *is there anything that remains in humankinds labour in light of their sorrowful days?*[82] This rhetoric question, which formally stands in a row with V21 and V23,[83] emphasizes again the key issue of Qohelet's reflections. This is followed by the conclusion that there is only anger and sorrow during all days of human's lifetime which is also *hewel*.

It is common ground that 2:24-26 forms an important but also confusing conclusion to Qohelet's previous reflections in 1:12-2:23.[84] At the beginning of this passage, the אֵין־טוֹב is certainly forming a field of absolute *validity* that affects the following statements.[85] Additionally, it is uncertain how the relative particle שֶׁ in V24b should be understand. According to the LLX, it seems possible to understand an *ontological meaning* ("Nothing is good in a person: to eat…") here,[86] whereas other translations and interpretation also allow a *comparative meaning* ("nothing is better than…").[87] However, it can be cautious assumed here that this has a comparative meaning which emphasizes the preference of the following (also cf. 3:12). Therefore, V24 clearly introduces an important finding that possibly concludes the thematic quest of Qohelet's royal travesty and gives an answer to V22. This is also supported by the occurrence of טוֹב which reminds the reader to the aim of Qohelet's quest in 2:3 (אֵי־זֶה טוֹב לִבְנֵי הָאָדָם) that now may be answered: nothing is better for a person "than to eat and drink and find satisfaction in his toil". At this point, the *recommendation of pleasure* introduces another key topic within the book of Qohelet.[88]

Here, the pleasure/joy appears for the second time within the royal travesty. Qohelet did already found joy in his toil at the end of his experiment: in 2:10, the qualified the joy as his *portion* of all his toil. Conversely, it can now be observed that in 2:24 joy does not primarily mean an outcome of his own effort, but rather a gift of god's hand (מִיַּד הָאֱלֹהִים הִיא) that seems to be almost independent from any human endeavor.[89] On the other hand, this seems to be connectable in light of the other joy passages: to eat and drink and to see the good in his toils could be both a gift by god and an attitude of human living.[90]

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[82] Also see 3:9 and 1:13 where Qohelet strives a quest with general significance.

[83] The small sequence of כִּי-sentences seems to be an arguing continuation of V20..

[84] Cf. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet*, 238 f.

[85] Cf. above, ann. 34. Here, the "inverted" use of the *Tov-Spruch* turns the connected statement into an absolute contrast to aforementioned findings. Therefore, it does not need a clear comparative couple like in Qoh 4:6.9.13 and, for instance, in Prov 8:19; 12:9; 15:16 or Ps 118:8f.

[86] Cf. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ φάγεται (Qoh 2:24^{LXT}) which follows the MT.

[87] Cf. SCHOORS, *Ecclesiastes*, 206 f.

[88] Also see 3:12.22; 5:17; 8:15; 9:7; 11:9.

[89] Cf. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Kohelet*, 239.

[90] See 3:12 and 22 where human pleasures are strongly connected with gods gifts *and* the advisable outcome of their own toil. Additionally, both aspects seem to be connected by the word חֶלְקָ that could be understand as a *portion* given by god (cf. 3:4 and 22).

However, the relationship between human activity and passivity, which meets here in the terms of joy and the search for profit under the sun, seems to form a lasting problem in the understanding of Qohelet's words.

In the context of 2:24-26, Qohelet presents his conclusions from a theological perspective. The range of solutions shown here seems to lie outside the human sphere of action. In this way, Qohelet's efforts in the search for good in human action (2:3-11 and partially 1:13-2:2) also obtain an indirect interpretation. This marks a further turning point of his narrated quest: in contrast to his own actions to find the good in human activity, here he has no other choice than to observe (וְהֶרְאָה) and to describe circumstances not depending on his own actions. His quest led him to the understanding that the good in human doing is first, limited by the boundaries of their life, and second, a thing that they could possible captured but not enabled by their selves. The ambiguous understanding of V26 supplements this impression by stating that those circumstances were given by divine justice and outside the scope of human codetermination. The meaning of the opposition טוֹב לְפָנָיו נָתַן and לַחוֹטֶא נָתַן has often been disputed but it can be assumed here that it does not entail a moral sense.[91] Moreover, this finding ultimately separates between human achievements and their gain – which can be knowledge, wisdom or pleasure. Additionally, this conclusion reminds the reader to Qohelet's previous observations according to the obscure and impenetrable fact that the gain of human work is exposed to fate and injustice.[92] In the end, the success of his quest is in god's hands and exposed to uncertainty, which is also hewel and a chasing after wind.

With the conclusion of V24-26, the inner thematic movement of the royal travesty comes to a formal end. In 3:1 a completely different unity follows. In addition to the thematic continuations already described, the reflective units from Qoh 1:12-2:26 are also taken up again later in retrospective view. The best example of this is 8:16 f., where Qohelet looks back on his search introduced here and combines it with an own conclusion. This shows that not only individual questions but also the narrative complex of this fundamental text remain important in the further course of the book.

[91] According to Braun, Qohelet uses the phrase טוֹב לְפָנָיו for the first time in OT wisdom literature. Considering possible Hellenistic contexts, it seems likeable that god's judgement can be understood here as an act without any reference to previous ethical behaviour – cf. RAINER BRAUN, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie* (BZAW 130), Berlin 1973, 52 f. Also see the use of טוֹב לְפָנָיו in 7,26.

[92] See 2:12-16.18f.21.

5. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to obtain access to orienting features of the royal travesty by looking into its form, structure and content. The fact that this is an initial and by no means completed project is shown, for example, by the still superficial access to the depth and ambiguity of his Qohelet's. Moreover, the problem-relatedness of his reflections could only be investigated very roughly in the context of this paper. At the end of this elementary look, however, some findings can be gathered for further work on the communication structure of the book of Qohelet.

This is first of all the fact that Qoh 1:12-2:26 is a passage that has the character of a largely structured unit within the overall framework of the book. In its present form, this unity seems to be assured by a discernable self-narrative character, which - if the book Qohelet is to be understood as a narrative - can be perceived as an elementary component of the book's internal narrative structure. The clear presence of Qohelet's first-person voice also contributes to this formal density. Especially the I-voice, which is introduced here, becomes a formal and communicative point of orientation *in*, *behind*, and *besides* the book's sometimes unallocated reflections. Here, the telling I of Qohelet takes on the function of a *leading perspective* that draws the reader's attention to the various aspects and steps of his reflections. Besides this, especially the identification of "self" behind this voice is of great significance. By placing the garment of a fictional king over the "telling I" in 1:12 (and also afterwards), a visible but elusive protagonist emerges behind the words of Qohelet. The fictitious identification of Qohelet with a Solomonic king leads to a role play that seems to resonate in the background of the book's further reflections. In many respects, this "use" of a royal disguise seems to stimulate the readers to an interpretive co-operation.

Regarding the thematic orientation, it can be observed that Qoh 1:12-2:26 takes up previous questions and unfolds them in a larger setting. Within this setting, Qohelet reflects both the capability of wisdom and the possibilities of human activity. This leads to a discourse on the efficiency of one's own acting *under the sun*. Doing this, the special achievement of royal travesty seems to be found in the fact that these great questions are not developed within a wisdom that is impersonal and universally valid, but rather within the frame of a tangible and individual reflection. The first-person voice of Qohelet anchors the search for *the "good" in human activity under the sun* in a specific and – at the same time - ideal-typical experience of the world, which reaches its limits in course of this self-reflexive quest.

However, a further investigation of this orientation requires to include the surrounding texts at the beginning of the book. In this context, it seems in particular promising to investigate the specific functions of the poems framing the royal travesty and to examine their establishing functions focusing a 'perceptual space' of Qohelet's

words. Furthermore, a look at the person Qohelet and the ideas associated with him throughout the whole book (but especially in the framing texts) could also provide important insights for a new pragmatically oriented approach to the book's communicative structure.

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The Iconography of Narratives and a Case Study of the Lion in 1 Kings 13:11–32

The aim of this paper is to test an analysis technique that applies iconographic exegesis for the Hebrew Bible narratives. I would be grateful to have feedback on following issues: 1) How well is this research situated in the research history of iconographic exegesis? Does it have its place there and does it continue plausibly from the predecessors in the field? 2) How is the literary analysis (3.1.) conducted? Am I able to treat the text as a whole literary constellation, thus avoiding the fragmentary use of it (see ch. 1)? 3) How does the transition between 3.1. and 3.3. work? Is the iconic structure of the narrative (3.2.) a functional "bridge" between two sources, texts and images?

Disposition of the Paper
1. Research History
2. Template of the Analysis
   2.1. Pre-analysis
   2.2. Analysis
3. A Case Study of 1 Kings 13:11-32
   3.1. Literary Constellation
   3.2. The Iconic Structure and the Lion Motifs in the Narrative
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   3.4. Conclusions: the Lion Imagery in 1 Kings 13:11-32
4. Evaluation of the Analysis Technique
Images
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1. Research History

In the field of iconographic exegesis it is a standard these days to pay proper attention to the artistic context of the ancient visual material. Prior to 1970's the pictorial material discovered from ancient Near East was often used to illustrate the Bible with its characters and key events.[1] Hugo Gressmann and James Pritchard were among first, who started to pay attention to images in a text-

[1] LeMon 2009, 143-145.

orientated sphere of Biblical studies and Western science.[2] Without discrediting their achievements, these works do not take the artistic context of images properly into account.[3] In his groundbreaking research *The Symbolism of the Biblical World* (1972) Othmar Keel criticizes Pritchard's *ANEP* for only delivering the first part of its title, the ancient Near East in Pictures, but it fails to relate them to the Old Testament.[4] Keel himself was the first biblical scholar who saw more value in images, and did not treat them as mere illustrations of the Bible.[5] In his article "Iconography and the Bible" in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992) Keel criticizes the fragmentary use of images:

> Fragmentation […] followed by many biblical scholars, is still typically the way in which Egyptian and Assyrian pictures are presented in illustrating biblical civilization. Very seldom is an entire relief or a complete wall painting reproduced. Usually particular kinds of agricultural activity, specific cult utensils, or single musical instruments are selected for illustration. This is legitimate for those interested in material culture in a narrow sense […]. Under such fragmentization the social aspect of the pictures is not revealed […]. For example, when the great relief of the conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib serves to illustrate "battering rams," "women's clothes," and "wagon types" that is indeed useful; but the picture's possibilities for information do not stop there. This method of presenting only fragments […] pays no respect to the original message of these works, the purpose of which was not the illustration of perceptual material culture, but of concepts like divine rule, world order, kingship and the gods, etc.[6]

Keel wrote his *ABD* entry in the beginning of 1990's and it demonstrates how his own understanding of the relationship between texts and images had developed over time; in his early work Keel is guilty for treating images in a fragmentary fashion.[7] Along with Keel's methodological development, the field of iconographic exegesis has also developed steadily since 1970's. Keel and a network of his students and colleagues, the so-called "Fribourg School"[8] laid the foundation for iconographic exegesis.

Over the last two decades the pioneering work of the Fribourg School has been revised and advanced by a second generation of scholars. The "second wave"[9] of iconographic exegesis includes scholars such as Brent A. Strawn, Joel M. LeMon, Izaak J. de Hulster and Ryan Bonfiglio. To quote the last mentioned, "one of the hallmarks of this "second wave" […] is its increased

[2] See Hugo Gressmann: *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1909) and James B. Pritchard: *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (1954).
[3] Bofiglio 2016, 72.
[4] Keel 1997 [1972], 11. See also Bonfiglio 2016, 72.
[5] LeMon 2009, 146.
[6] Keel 1992a, 360-361.
[7] E.g. in his commentary of the Song of Songs Keel uses restricted views of images and some of his captions are verses from the Song of Songs. (Keel 1994. See also de Hulster 2007, 67-72.)
[8] See e.g. Bonfiglio 2016, 3; de Hulster 2007, 21-164.
[9] Bonfiglio 2016, 3.

attention to and revision of interpretative methods, especially when it comes to relating texts and images."[10]

Brent A. Strawn's monograph *What is Stronger than a Lion?* (2005) is highly significant for this current research. Strawn has done extensive work in categorizing lion's appearance in the ancient Near Eastern art, literature and in the Hebrew Bible. In his research he is able to provide convincing interpretations of ancient images by taking their own artistic contexts into account and thus avoiding fragmentary use of images. However, while Strawn succeeds in analyzing the images thoroughly, he overlooks the *literary* context of the motifs he studies.[11]

Joel M. LeMon makes a case against the literary fragmentation in the introduction of his monograph *Yahweh's Winged Form in the Psalms* (2010) and calls iconographers to explore even larger literary constellations.[12] LeMon himself does indeed succeed in avoiding literary fragmentation. In his interpretative procedure he evaluates a level of congruency between ancient Near Eastern art and the imagery in the selected Psalms. LeMon borrows William P. Brown's terminology as he attempts to "interpret the image of the wings of Yahweh within the 'iconic structure' of each individual psalm".[13] His analysis follows a twofold structure: literary analysis and evaluation of congruencies between the literary constellations and the iconographic depictions in the ancient Near Eastern art. He begins his literary analysis with an overview on structural outline, rhetorical movement and form and setting. In the second part of the literary analysis his observes the image of the psalmist, enemy/enemies and Yahweh. In the end of the literary analysis he summarizes the iconic structure of each psalm. This operates as a bridge to evaluating congruencies between verbal and visual material.

The aim of this research is to answer the call of bringing "ever-larger constellations of literary imagery into conversation with congruent constellations of iconographic motifs".[14] This research will follow in the footsteps of LeMon but takes a slightly different path. While LeMon applies his 'iconic structure' to psalms, in this research the analyzed texts are prose.[15] The differences in the literary genre demand careful consideration when adapting LeMon's concept. An iconographic exegesis on the Hebrew Bible narratives provides a chance to bring forth the methodological tools of narrative criticism as well. It opens a door to analyze several other literary devices in addition to characterization. These include for example structure and storyline, narration, narrator and focalization, and also time, especially on the perspective of repetitions.

[10] Bonfiglio 2016, 3.
[11] LeMon 2010, 15.
[12] LeMon 2010, 16.
[13] LeMon 2010, 16. Brown 2002.
[14] LeMon 2010, 16.
[15] Although this difference seems not anymore accepted in Biblical Studies, the distinction can be argued to less obvious but still useful to hint at the particularities of the present paper.

2. Template of the Analysis

What then, would be a proper way to do iconographic exegesis on the Hebrew Bible narratives? How, in practice, should the iconic structure be applied and adapted to this textual genre? In this chapter I attempt to describe the procedure that I will later follow in the case study of 1 Kings 13:11-32. The main points are summarized in Table 1.

Template of Analysis
1) Pre-analysis
a) Choice of a theme (lion).
b) Selection of related Hebrew Bible narratives that are comparable with each other (Judg. 14, 1 Kings 13:11-32, Dan. 6).
c) Survey on the iconography of the selected theme (lion imagery in ANE art).
2) Analysis
a) Literary constellation
b) Literary motifs / Iconic structure
c) Iconographic congruencies
d) Conclusions: the *X* (lion) imagery in *Y* (Judg. 14 / 1 Kings 13:11-32 / Dan. 6)

Table 1.

2.1. Pre-analysis

(1a) This analysis technique takes a theme as a starting point. In this research I have selected lion for the target of analysis, because it is extensively represented in the Hebrew Bible, and also in the ancient Near Eastern iconography.

(1b) After selecting a theme, I survey the representations of a lion in the Hebrew Bible in order to select suitable texts for the research. Since the focus is on narratives, I have left out other literary genres where lions also appear. The selected narratives in the dissertation are Judg. 14 (Samson's encounter with a lion), 1 Kings 13:11-32 (the man of God is killed by a lion) and Dan. 6 (Daniel in the lions' den). Another option would have been to analyze only one narrative, but there is a reason why I chose to take three narratives under observation. One of the aims of this research

is to evaluate the methodological issues of analysis. Therefore, analyzing three narratives provides a more broad perception of the succeeding and short comings of this analysis technique. The selected narratives are approximately the same length and similarly structured, which makes them comparable with each other. As already mentioned above, 1 Kings 13:11-32 will be analyzed as a test case in this paper.

(1c) Before the actual analysis phase, the iconography of the selected theme is surveyed to increase the reliability of the research. In this research I make an overall survey to lion imagery and lion motifs in the ancient Near Eastern art. If this step was excluded, there would be a danger to search congruencies between text and images with the basis of only seeming similarities. I lean on Brent A. Strawn's categorization of lion motifs in the ancient Near Eastern art.[16] He has done an extensive amount of work in that field and therefore there is no need to reinvent the wheel. However, I discuss his categorization critically and suggest supplementations and alterations if I find it necessary. In the scope of this paper, I will leave this step aside and only discuss images that I consider congruent with the imagery of 1 Kings 13:11-32.

2.2. Analysis

(2a) The analysis begins with observing the whole literary constellation. Even though the main focus in this research is on the image of a lion, it is crucial to see its surroundings as well. When we see a painting, we do not make an interpretation of it on the basis of only one element. In order to understand the image, we would have to see the whole constellation in the painting. It is impossible to make a valid interpretation without observing the connections between the characters, the composition, the use of colors and so forth. Said differently, one has to pay attention to the whole constellation in order to interpret the role of a single component. The Hebrew Bible narratives deserve to be treated in the same way. In order to make an interpretation of lion's role in a certain narrative, one has to observe the whole literary constellation first. How the selected narratives are structured and how are their storylines composed? Which individual components are there (e.g. characters, milieus, events etc.)? What kind of interaction is there between the different components? Which literary features are used in the text? How do all of these affect the portrayal of the selected theme, the lion? On this stage of analysis, I employ the terms and narratological categories of those scholars, who have done research on narrative criticism and on contemporary literature studies.[17]

[16] Strawn 2005.
[17] See chapter 3.1. of this paper.

(2b) Only after observing the whole literary constellation, it is possible to describe which motifs of the selected theme appear in the narrative. If we isolate the image of the lion from its constellation, the narrative, we have a limited number of motifs to describe. But if the analysis begins from observing the whole literary constellation, it helps to recognize the motifs more comprehensively. The aim of recognizing and describing the motifs is to map the iconic structure of the narrative, in order to make plausible connections with representations in the iconographic material. In other words, this phase of the analysis forms a bridge between the literary and visual images.

(2c) Once the relevant literary motifs have been listed, the analysis turns to iconographic comparison. How are these motifs represented in the visual material of the ancient Near East? What seems to be their function and meaning(s)? Have the motifs evolved in time and were they used differently in different contexts?

(2d) In the final phase of the analysis the comparative materials, texts and images, are discussed side by side. The attempt of this exegetical work is to make an interpretation of the lion imagery in the selected Hebrew Bible narratives. In the following chapter, I will adapt the template of the analysis to 1 Kings 13:11-32, in order to examine its functionality.

3. A Case Study on 1 Kings 13:11-32

3.1. Literary constellation

Introduction

1 Kings 13:11-32 is part of a larger deuteronomistic narrative that is placed in the history of king Jeroboam. Criticism against the cult of Bethel, connection to Josiah's reform and the repetition of the "word of Yahweh" are the themes that reveal the deuteronomistic agenda behind the storyline.[18] The narrative divides into two parts[19]: first a man of God comes from Judah to proclaim judgment to the altar of Bethel and to the reign of king Jeroboam. In the second part an old prophet witnesses the brutal consequences that face the man of God for disobeying the word of Yahweh.[20]

Structure and Storyline

[18] Cogan 2001, 373–375. Jones 1984, 267.
[19] e.g. Cogan 2001, 373. DeVries argues for the unity of the narrative and disclaims the theory of two originally separate stories. (DeVries 1986, 168–169.)
[20] Cogan 2001, 373–374.

The structure of the narrative is chiastic.[21] It begins and ends in Bethel, the second and the fourth part of the narrative take place on the road and the third part in the middle is positioned in the house of the old prophet. Structuring the narrative in this fashion underlines the importance of the proclamation of the word of Yahweh in verses 21-22.

11-13 Bethel

14-18 On the road

19-23 Old prophet's house (Bethel)

24-28 On the road

29-32 Bethel

Narration, narrator and focalization

> "Biblical narrative is famous for its economy of style, its essential terseness. It tends to avoid description in any form but even more so figurative language (metaphor, simile, personification, and the like). And with regard to characterization, the biblical narrator consistently, if not slavishly, refuses the reader access to the inner lives of the characters, so that their thoughts and feelings, and therefore what motivates their actions, are largely unavailable. These aspects of biblical prose narrative are part of what I take to be its nascent realism, where an objective third-person narrator is wont to present the world with neither commentary nor adornment and where literary characters, like those people we encounter in the physical world, are largely opaque to us."[22]

The description of the Hebrew Bible prose by Tod Linafelt is largely convergent with the narration in 1 Kings 13:11-32. The narrative is very ambiguous, due to the fact that the third person narrator reveals as little as possible. The narrator is omniscient. He knows what has happened before at the altar of Bethel (v. 11) and he implies, through the old prophet though, what is about to happen in the future (v. 30-32). The narrator remains objective, except in verse 18, where he intrudes in the story by pointing out that the old prophet lies.

The narrator does not reveal a lot about the inner lives of the characters, nor does he even describe the characters much. The 'sons' of the old prophet and the 'people' that pass by the corpse of the man of God are merely mentioned. The function of these characters is to deliver information to the old prophet, who is the main focalizer of the narrative. The narrative is filtered through the eyes of the old prophet. He interprets the events and the narrator does not verify his views, so the

[21] On chiastic structure / ring composition see Douglas 2007.
[22] Linafelt 2015, 88.

reader must consider whether the conception of the old prophet holds true or not. He records the events as he would stand next to the characters.

Characters

The characters in the narrative are mostly characterized by their action and speech, rather than having the narrator describe them.[23] In fact, the narrator only defines the main characters as the 'man of God' and 'the old prophet'. The first is from the South, Judah and the second from the North, Bethel. This implies a theological or ideological contrast between the two. In addition, there is an intriguing interplay between these two characters. The first one is disobedient and the second is deceitful. They are both prophets, as is stated in verse 18. The man of God has proclaimed judgment to the altar of Bethel before (vv. 1-10) by the word of Yahweh. He attempts to act according to the command of Yahweh and return back to Judah, but the old prophet makes him deviate from the road, which turns out to be a fatal mistake. The old prophet is able to convince the man of God for having received a commandment from Yahweh to bring the man back to his house. However, the narrator notifies that the old prophet was lying. Ironically, he receives the actual word of Yahweh in the table as they are eating, and proclaims the judgement to the man of God for disobeying Yahweh's orders. As was noted before, the focalization point is in the old prophet throughout the storyline. His role in the narrative is to be a witness to the events. The man of God on the other hand, is the object of action. His role is to demonstrate what follows for those who disobey Yahweh's commands.

There are also two important animal characters in this narrative: a lion and a donkey(s). The donkey is a domesticated animal that serves human beings, whereas the lion is an uncontrollable wild beast. Donkeys are portrayed as quite passive animals in this narrative. They do what they are expected to do, that is, transport people from place to place. There are no explicit mentions of donkeys disobeying their owner or rider. The lion acts aggressively in verse 24, as one would expect a lion to do. Later the old prophet makes an interpretation of this scene by saying: "Yahweh has given him to the lion and it has mauled him and killed him according to the word of Yahweh that he spoke to him" (v. 26). The narrator does not confirm or confute this view. It is the only explanation that is given for the aggressive confrontation. It indicates that the lion does not act on his own, but is under control of Yahweh or at least does some kind of co-operation with the deity. After the death of the man of God, the two animals seem to act against their nature: the lion does not attack the donkey and the donkey does not run away from the lion. Once again, there seems to

[23] Already Bar-Efrat notes that characterization through action is the most typical way of transmitting information about characters in the Hebrew Bible. See Bar-Efrat 1989, 77.

be an ironic twist in the narrative: the human characters are disobedient and deceitful, but the animal characters are not.

As was noted above, there are also two groups of minor characters in this narrative: the sons of the old prophet and the people on the road. It is obvious that the only function of these two groups is to pass on information to the old prophet, who otherwise is the focalizer in the narrative. In addition to this, they do serve another function as well. They are the observers of the events. The people on the road are part of the constellation, where the dead body of the man of God is left on the side of the road, and the lion and the donkey are flanking it. The people *see* this while they pass by. The following sub-chapter will underscore the importance of this scene even more.

Before continuing to another literary devices, it is worthwhile to ponder, whether there is still one character left to discuss. Yahweh is strongly present in the narrative, even though he is not portrayed as the other characters. In several occasions the phrase 'the word of Yahweh' has such an important role that it could almost be considered as a character of its own (vv. 17, 18, 20, 26, 32). An 'agent' would perhaps describe Yahweh better, since he seems to act on the background, or at least the other characters believe that he does. As a character Yahweh is hard to reach; he is present, but not visible. However, Yahweh, or 'the word of Yahweh', motivates the actions of the other characters.

Repetition[24]

In 1 Kings 13:11-32 there are several elements that are repeated. The prohibition to eat bread and drink water in Bethel repeats several times in verses 15-23, and also the phrase 'the word of Yahweh', as was noted above. The lion scene is also an event that is reported more than once in the narrative. After the lion has killed the man of God, his mangled body remains on the road. His donkey takes a stand beside the body and so does the lion. It is made very clear and explicit that the action of the animals, the lion and the donkey, has a great importance in the storyline. The setting is mentioned three times:

(24) "[And] he went away and a lion confronted him on the road and killed him. And his corpse was abandoned on the road and the donkey stood beside it and the lion stood beside the corpse."

[24] The term repetition could be replaced with the concept of *frequency*, which was first applied to literary studies by Genette in his *Narrative Discourse* (1980). Frequency always contains the element of repetition. There are several levels of frequency, which all provide information about the importance of a certain event in a storyline: (1) an event happens once and is told once in the narrative. (2) An event happens once, but is told twice or more often. (3) An event happens several times and is told several times. (4) An event happens several times, but is told only once. According to Alter and Sternbeck, the second option is often present in Biblical narratives and carries indeed an intention. See Alter 1981, 95; Sternbeck 1985, 432. Also Rimmon-Kenan 1997 [1983], 56; Jonker 1996, 216.

(25) "And behold people passed by and saw the body abandoned on the road and the lion standing beside the corpse. And they came and told it in the town, where the old prophet lived."

(28) "And he went away and confronted his body abandoned on the road and the donkey and the lion standing beside the corpse. The lion had not eaten the body nor crushed the donkey."

In the first passage, the event itself takes place. It is repeated when the passing people see the outcome of it. The purpose of the second repetition is to point out that also the old prophet sees it. Even though the witnesses change, the event itself stays the same: in every repetition there is explicit mention of the forsaken, ripped body and a standing lion next to it. Interestingly the donkey is missing from the scene in the verse 25. This could be a simple error, but it can also indicate that the donkey is not as crucial player in the scene as the lion and the dead man are, since these two are mentioned in all repetitions.

In my view, the function of these repetitions is to underline the stagnated position of these three components of the constellation and inform the reader that *seeing* it plays also part in it. As I already argued in the chapter above, the people who pass by, as well as the old prophet, witness the scene but also participate in it.

3.2. The Iconic Structure and the Lion Motifs in the Narrative

The central message of the narrative seems to be the obedience to Yahweh, as the chiastic structure and the repetition of the phrase 'the word of Yahweh' indicate. The lion scene also underline this point. The violent death is the outcome of disobeying Yahweh. The purpose of the characters is to demonstrate the fulfillment of the word of Yahweh. The man of God serves as an example of the power of the deity and his word, and the other characters testify this as witnesses. Therefore seeing plays such an important role in the narrative. The lion scene in verses 24-26 consists of 5 different characters or agents: the man of God, the donkey, the lion, the witnesses (the people and the old prophet) and Yahweh, who is certainly present in the scene, even though he is not portrayed. The phrase "Yahweh has given him to the lion" in verse 26 indicates that Yahweh has a divine control over the beast. Also the way how the lion behaves after killing the man of God implies that something drives it to act against its nature and holds it back from eating its prey and attacking the donkey.

Summa summarum, on the basis of the literary analysis of 1 Kings 13:11-32 there is 1) a lion that confronts a man and kills him, 2) a lion standing next to a human corpse, with a donkey on the other side, 3) a lion who does not eat the body or hurt the donkey, and 4) a god who gives someone

to a lion, i. e. *controls* a lion. In the following chapter I will discuss iconographic material that seems to be congruent with the literary imagery.

3.3. Iconographic congruencies

Attacking lions

A lion killing a man was a common motif in the ancient Near Eastern art. A clear attacker/attacked-position is on display in an ivory piece from eight-century Nimrud. In this piece a lioness has firm hold on her victim, who is lying underneath the beast. The lioness has sunk her teeth into the neck of the victim. (**Fig. 1**) Lion attacking other animals was also common in the ancient Near Eastern art. In Mesopotamia this motif appears already in early Sumerian era (Uruk Period V-III, 3300–2900 BCE) [25] and in Egypt from the era of Old Kingdom forward (3100–2200 BCE). [26] The use of the motif covers several different media and time periods. The victims of lions are other wild animals, but also domesticated livestock. (**Fig. 2**) In general, attacking lions symbolize enemies, chaos, threat to order and civilization.[27]

However, negative forces were not all that was targeted towards lions. In the ancient Near East lions were respected and feared, due to the fact that they were, and are, dangerous and powerful predators. For this reason lions were often associated to gods, goddesses and kings. For example, a Late Bronze Age seal from Tell el-Farʿah (S) depicts an attacking lion, ready to devour his human victim. (**Fig. 3**) According to Strawn, here "the lion's awesome, threating power is positively appropriated by the king".[28] Keel & Uehlinger also discuss this object and state, that king's "irresistible power is … depicted as … a lion that overpowers a human … or as a lion that tears a man apart."[29]

Lions and donkeys?

Donkeys appeared somewhat frequently in the ancient Near Eastern art as well. **Fig. 4** depicts a highborn nomad riding a relatively small donkey. This piece is a bronze figure, originated in Syria, possibly in early MB IIA.[30] A two sided engraved plate from late MB IIB (**Fig. 5**) shows a donkey as a beast of burden. On one side of this plate there is a striding donkey with a baggage on his/her back. Behind him/her there is a standing man. On the other side of the plate there are two male

[25] Keel 1992, 26–27.
[26] Strawn 2005, 135.
[27] Strawn 2005, 134.
[28] Strawn 2005, 85.
[29] Keel & Uehlinger 1998, 82.
[30] Schroer 2008, 74.

characters, who stand around a stylized tree of life. It is clear that a depiction such as this relates to trade and wellbeing,[31] but it also simply shows that donkeys were held as draught animals. Even though the above mentioned pieces are dated to the Bronze Age, the depictions of donkeys in the Hebrew Bible demonstrate a continuity: several passages give examples of donkeys being used for riding (e.g. Ex. 4:20; Num. 22:22ff; Judg. 10:4; 1 Sam. 25:20), as a beast of burden (Gen. 42:26; 1 Sam. 25:18; Neh. 13:15; Is. 30:6) and in the field work (Deut. 22:10; Is. 30:24).[32] The iconographic examples, together with Biblical material, indicate that a donkey was held as a servant and a helper of men.

Unfortunately there are not too many depictions of lions and donkeys together. One rare example is a seal from 15th Dynasty Egypt (MBII).(**Fig. 6**) Even in this piece the lion and the donkey are not portrayed side by side: the striding lion is the motif on one side and the donkey with a burden on the other side. According to Regine Schultz, the lion in this piece represents royal features, since lions were often associated with pharaohs in Egyptian iconography. The donkey on the other side depicts elements of trade and well-being.[33] Other than representing both animals in the same piece, this rare object does not seem to share a lot in common with the depiction in 1 Kings 13:11-32.

Guardian lions

The most surprising element in the narrative in 1 Kings 13:11-32 is the action of the beast after it has killed the man of God. This is what the repetitions are about: the lion stays standing next to the corpse, with the donkey on the other side. The narrator also makes it explicit that this was a place, where people passed by and saw the setting. This was indeed meant to be seen! In the iconography of ancient Israel/Palestine there are no direct counterparts for this constellation, where a dead human body is flanked by a standing male lion and a donkey.

However, the so-called 'guardian lion' motif might be comparable here. 'Guardian lion' statues were common in the architecture of the ancient Near East, including the Israel/Palestine region. They were usually placed on the entrances of cities, palaces and temples. From the Late Bronze Age there are the famous orthostats of Hazor. (**Figs. 7-10**) The first of these was thrown into a pit and possibly buried ceremoniously. This indicates that a gate lion was more than a decorative statue; it had a cultic significance and was considered to strengthen the gate with its godly, demonical or

[31] Ibid.
[32] Woschitz 1991, 597.
[33] Schultz 2004, 60.

punitive powers.[34] In addition to their popularity in the monumental art, guardian lions also appeared in the miniature art as well, as a small lion amulet from Tell el-Far'ah illustrates (**Fig. 11**).[35]

Keel & Uehlinger state that the "increase in importance [of] the northern Syrian guard-lion symbolism" is one of the "hallmarks of Iron Age IIB."[36] Orientation of the guardian lions has an impact on their interpretation. Guardian lion statues on the entrances of cities and public buildings were usually facing outwards. However, slightly different type of guardian lions were found in Tel Eitun (**Fig. 12**). These are roughly carved images in a grave. Unlike the guardian lions on the city, palace or temple entrances, these lions face *into* the grave. The guardian lions that are faced outwards, usually serve an apotropaic function. Their task is to threaten the enemy, keep the bad away from a building or a person and invite good. The purpose of the Tell Eitun lions is to protect the living outside the grave and keep the spirits of the dead inside.[37]

According to Strawn "The practice of placing leonine figures in key architectural contexts is quite early and can be traced with relative consistency thereafter."[38] One relatively early occurrence (though not the earliest!) in Mesopotamia is from the end of third millennium of two massive lions flanking the entrance of Enki's temple in Eridu (**Fig. 13**).[39] Similarly there are two clay figures from Tell Harmal, the temple of Nisaba and Hani (**Fig. 14**). These male lions are sitting and roaring, just as the stone statue from Eridu. An inscription of these statues clarifies their function: "[This is] he who rushes against the rebellion and purges the enemy country, who bids the evil go and good to come".[40] The lions of Eridu and Tell Harmal belonged to temple context, but because lions were associated with several deities and monarchs, they were also used as a decorative element of palaces, city gates and in doorways generally.[41]

A crucial point in the lion scene of 1 Kings 13 seems to be that the lion stays standing by the corpse, as this is reported several times. Therefore, I will now bring up a few examples of ancient Near Eastern art that might relate to this depiction. First is from a palace in Alaja Hüyük (ca. 1450–1200 BCE) (**Fig. 15**). Noteworthy in this orthostat is an unlucky bull-calf underneath the lion's pawn. The lion is standing, faced forward. The lower part of the statue is not very well preserved, but it still clearly shows the calf's submission to the lion.[42] Another example is a detail in a portico

[34] Strawn 2005,86. See also Ussishkin 1970, 127.
[35] Strawn 2005,.
[36] Keel&Uehlinger 1998, 278. See also Strawn 2005, 100.
[37] Keel&Uehlinger 1998, 188. Strawn 2005 100; 217. Schroer 1987, 78.
[38] Strawn 2005, 218.
[39] Strawn 2005, 218.
[40] Keel 1997 [1972], 126; See also Parrot 1969, 77.
[41] Strawn 2005, 217; Brown 1976, 1.
[42] Strawn 2005, 223.

of ninth century Kappara palace, Tell Halaf (**Fig. 16a-b**). The detail is an orthostat of a standing and roaring male lion. A male figure (divine or divinized) is standing on the lion and underneath the lion there is a deer, whose guts are hanging out.[43] Finally, there is also a statue from the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 BCE) (**Fig. 17**). Unfortunately the statue is unfinished and its origin and dating is debated. Nevertheless, its content is quite interesting. Under a vigorous, standing lion male lion lays a human figure.[44] Depicting a guardian lion in these kinds of manners underlines the apotropaic function of them. They are meant to be warnings for those, who enter with bad intentions: intruders will become lion's prey![45]

Deity or Monarch Controls Lions

After killing the man of God in 1 Kings 13:11-32, the lion refrains from eating its prey and it does not attack again. Even though it is not stated explicitly, it is doubtful that the lion acts under the command of Yahweh. In the iconographic record of the ancient Near East, a deity or a monarch controlling a lion is one attestation of so called Master/Lord of the Animals. The theme of control is usually conveyed by depicting the anthropomorphic figure higher the beast, with his/her hand on the back of the animal. In some cases the anthropomorphic figure is holding the lion on its tail, or even dangles it in the air. There can be one or more lions or other animals, and the anthropomorphic figure can be flanked by the animals.

Fig 18 depicts a four-winged male deity (genius), who is holding a male and a female lion on their hind legs. Both lions have attacked a bull. The central position of the deity clearly indicates that he is in control of the attacking beast, although it is difficult to determine, whether the deity is sending the lions towards the bulls or restricts their attack. This specific image is a detail in a 9th century relief from Nimrud, but the motif is at least 2000 years older.[46]

A Late Bronze age cylinder seal from Tell el-ʿAjjul also depicts a deity controlling a lion (**Fig. 19**), although the overall meaning of the constellation is uncertain. According to Keel & Uehlinger, the deity "holds, by tail, the lion that, together with a winged daemon is threatening a human who is lying on the ground."[47] Strawn suggests that alternatively the lion could be the deity's familiar, as well as the horned animal on his left hand. Both of the animals are sent by the deity towards the winged demon, who is threatening the human character.[48] Be that as it may, the

[43] Strawn 2005, 221.
[44] Strawn 2005, 223–224.
[45] Strawn 2005, 221; 224.
[46] Frankfort 1954, 104. Strawn 2005, 4.215. Cf. Strawn 2005 e.g. fig. 4.88 and 4.222.
[47] Keel & Uehlinger 1998, 78.
[48] Strawn 2005, 84.

constellation indicates divine control over the lion. The deity either *restrains* a lion from attacking the human being or he[49] *commands* it to attack the demon.

The element of control is also present in such images, where a king is fighting his enemies in a battle, with an attacking lion by his side. For example in a sandstone relief from Medinet Habu (**Fig. 20**) the king and the lion are infallibly unanimous about their enemy. The king has grabbed his enemy by hair and prepares to strike him dead, while the lion has sunk his teeth on the enemy's elbow. The enemy of the king is also the enemy of the lion.

A lion was (and still is) considered as one of the most dangerous land predators.[50] Therefore depicting a deity or a monarch in control of such animal emphasizes his/her insurmountable power. Also, when a lion is portrayed as the familiar or an attribute animal of the deity, the lion "lends" its power and aggressiveness to the anthropomorphic character.[51]

3.4. The Lion Imagery in 1 Kings 13:11-32

In my view, the lion in 1 Kings 13:11-32 does not represent enemy or chaos forces as in **figures 1-2**. The lion is not portrayed negatively, but represented as an obedient minion of Yahweh and therefore the role of the lion is to highlight the power of Yahweh. When portrayed as god's familiar, the lion lends it aggressive power to the deity in a same way as in the iconographic material.

The lack of images indicates that making a pair of a lion and a donkey is a unique feature in the narrative. The function of the donkey (and the viewers) could be to demonstrate, how the lion only attacks the one who has violated against the word of Yahweh. Numerous images and texts in the ancient Near East depict lions attacking domesticated and wild animals. Therefore, a non-attacking, or selectively attacking lion is certainly an artistic device that pinpoints the message of the narrative.

I argue that the main emphasis in the lion constellation in 1 Kings 13:11-32 is on the guarding, as the repetitions in the narrative indicate. The image of the dead man flanked by a standing lion and a donkey is highly congruent with the iconographic examples of the guardian lions. The lion in the narrative is placed on a visible site, on the road, where people pass by and see it. Just the same were the guardian lion statues placed on the city gates or on the entrances of palaces and temples. The victim is shown next to the lion in order to warn others; this is the outcome of ignoring the word of Yahweh. After hearing about the peculiar triangle on the road, the

[49] In *SBW* (p. 83, fig. 96) Keel interpreted the divine figure to be female, but later in *GGG* (p. 78, fig. 90a) he and Uehlinger describe the figure as male.
[50] Strawn 2009, 158.
[51] Strawn 2005 84-85. Keel & Uehlinger 1998, 82.

old prophet realizes that the unfortunate victim is the man of God who disobeyed Yahweh. In the end the narrative is connected back to the larger narrative of 1 Kings 13. After seeing the constellation of the lion, donkey and the corpse on the road, the old prophet realizes that since Yahweh's word came true in the faith of the man of God, the proclamation against the altar of Bethel was also genuine prophecy and will be reality one day.

In the visual representations, the divine control over lions is depicted with a physical contact between the (usually) anthropomorphic deity and the beast. Gods, goddesses and monarchs stand on lions, they have laid their hands on the backs of the lions, and they hold lions on the hindlegs, tails and throats. – Some images even portray how the goddess Ištar has a lion on a leash! (**Fig. 21**) Due to the aniconic tradition of Yahweh, these portrayals are not used in the Hebrew Bible. The depictions of Yahweh's action are very subtle, and respect the ban of image. Yahweh does participate, yet he does not act in a same way as the other characters. Even so, the element of divine control is certainly visible in the narrative, but in a more abstract level than in the iconographic material. The action of the lion implies this, same as the statement of the old prophet: "Yahweh has *given him* to the lion and it has mauled him and killed him according to the word of Yahweh that he spoke to him" (v. 26). *In contra* to one possible interpretation of **Fig. 19**, Yahweh does not refrain the lion from attacking the donkey or the people on the road to protect them. It is also worth to ponder, whether the lion in the narrative is acting on the command of Yahweh, or whether it represents the deity itself as in **fig. 3**. In any case, the lion lends it power and aggression to Yahweh in the same manner as in the iconographic constellations.

4. Evaluation of the Analysis Technique

The aim of this paper was to demonstrate one possible procedure of applying iconographic exegesis to the Hebrew Bible narratives. The leading aspiration was to avoid the fragmentary use of both images and texts. Observing the narrative as a whole literary constellation, expanded the understanding of the image of a lion in it. Isolating the lion from its literary context would have led to a more narrow interpretation of it. LeMon's iconic structure turned out to be a helpful tool for bridging the literary and visual images. His concept has been applauded for evaluating the level of congruence between textual and visual representations in a convincing way.[52] Indeed, the mapping of motifs helped to narrow down the comparative material that largely based on the categorization of Brent A. Strawn.

[52] See e.g. Bonfiglio 2016, 5–6; 74.

A few pitfalls have to be born in mind when working with ancient narratives and images. First, the analytical tools that we use are modern and they derive from the sphere of Western science and European, (Christian) culture. The way of representing thoughts and concepts varies between that cultural context and the ancient Near Eastern one. For example, Yahweh turned out to be a difficult component in the narrative when traditional narratological categorization of characters was used. When a tool does not serve the purpose, it has to be modified. The ancient concepts should not be forced into modern categories.[53] Second, evaluating the level of congruence between texts and images is an interpretative task. Showing a true, historical dependence between images and texts is impossible, or at least extremely difficult undertaking. Therefore we have to rely on cautious, but well-argued academic interpretations. Also, in the field of iconographic exegesis there is no clear consensus on how to diagnose the image-text relationship, even though LeMon's approach provides one credible option.

Ryan P. Bonfiglio points out that often times scholars focus on finding similarities between texts and images, and leave the differences out of the discussion.[54] I hope that in this paper I have been able to ponder both similarities and differences, since they both reveal information about the subjects of research. In the end, the analysis revealed that the narrative adapts and modifies iconographic motifs and thereby creates a unique blend. Several different motifs of one theme can occur within one constellation, either textual or visual, and that reveals the multistability of the image of a lion.[55]

[53] Historical narratology aims for this in the field of literary studies. See e.g. Monika Fludernik's manifestational essay "The Diachronization of Narratology" (2003).
[54] Bonfiglio 2016, 114.
[55] See discussion of LeMon 2010, 192–193 and Bonfiglio 2016, 115.

Images

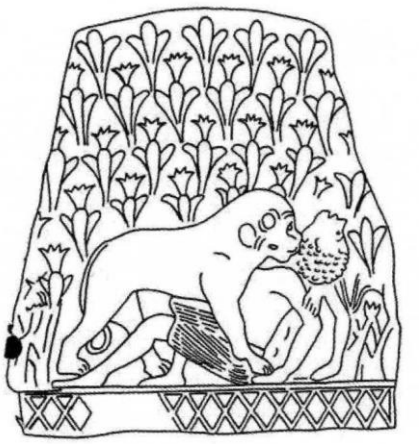


Fig. 1. Ivory; Nimrud; 8th c. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.56.

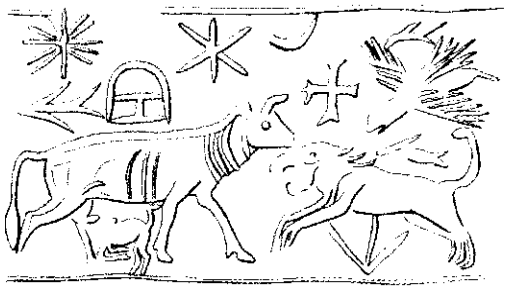


Fig. 2. Cylinder seal; 9th or 8th c. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.42.



Fig. 3. Seal, el-Farʿah (S), LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.12.

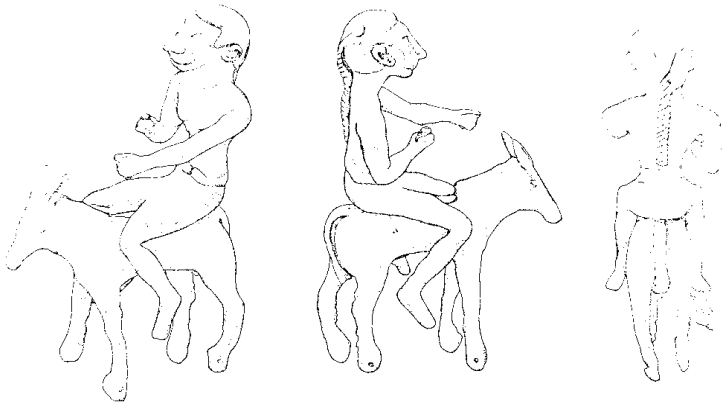


Fig. 4. Bronzestatue; Syria, unprovenanced; MB IIA (ca. 1900).
Schroer 2008, p. 74.



Fig. 5. Two-sided engraved plate; Tell eḍ-Ḍab'a, Egypt, unprovenanced; late MB IIB.
Schroer 2008, p. 74.



Fig. 6. Scarab/amulet; East Delta, Egypt, unprovenanced; 15th Dyn. / MB II.
Schultz 2004, p. 55–56.

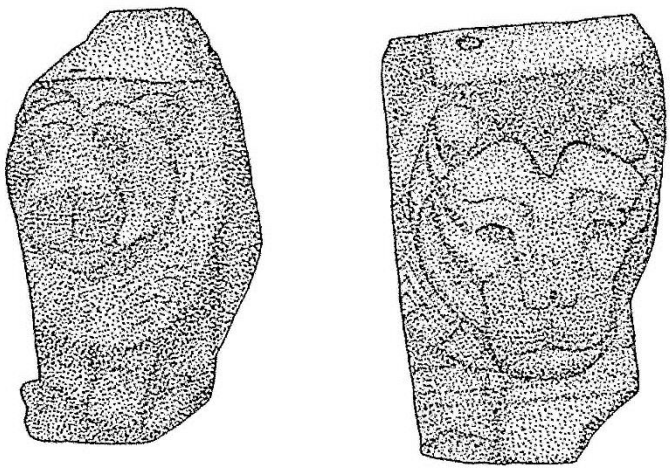


Fig. 7. Basalt orthostat, Hazor (Area H, Stratum IB), LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.17.

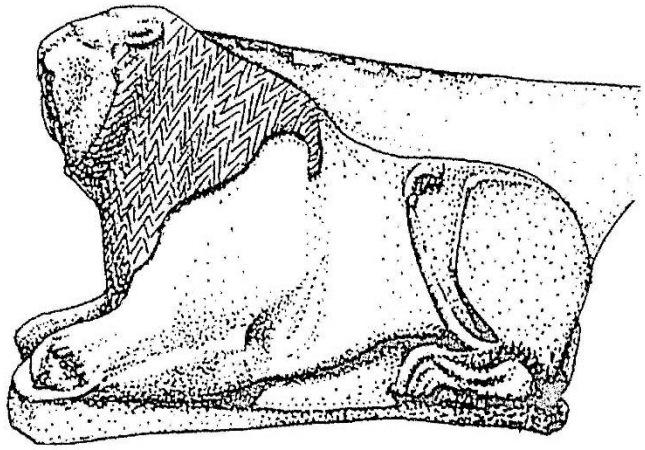


Fig. 8. Basalt orthostat, Hazor, LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.18.

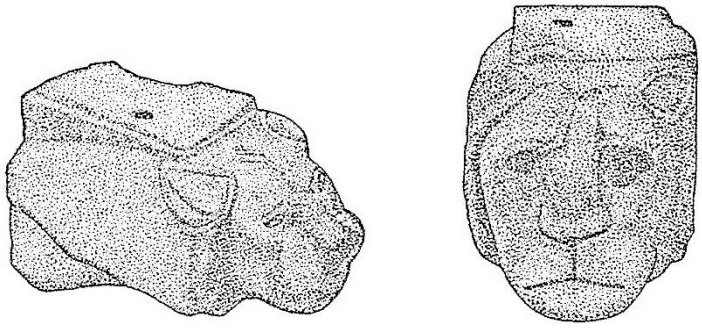


Fig. 9. Basalt orthostat, Hazor (Area A), LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.19.

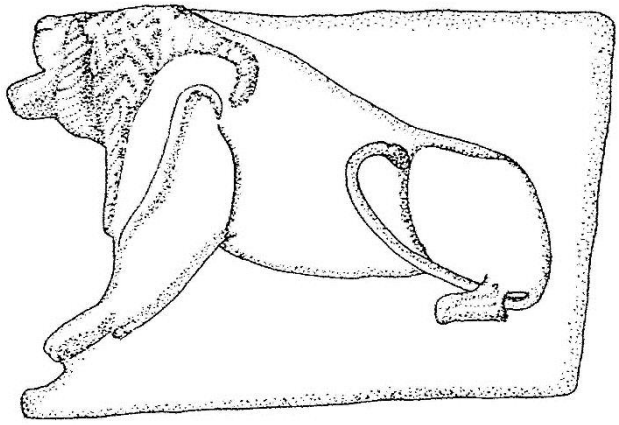


Fig. 10. Orthostat, Hazor (Area C), LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.20.

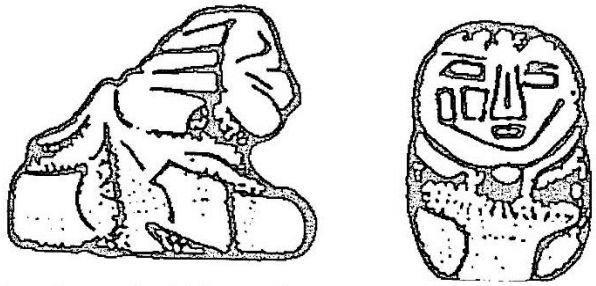


Fig. 11. Cornelian amulet, Tell el- Far'ah (S), LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.24.

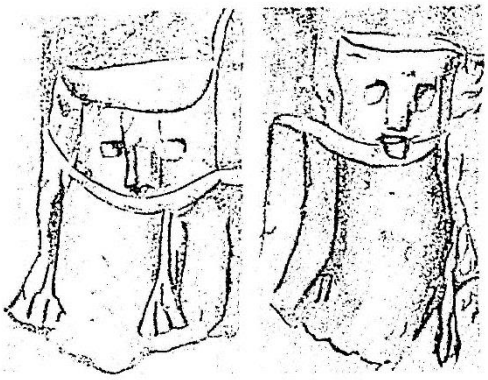


Fig. 12. Tomb carving, Tel Eitun, IA II (9th c.). Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.87.

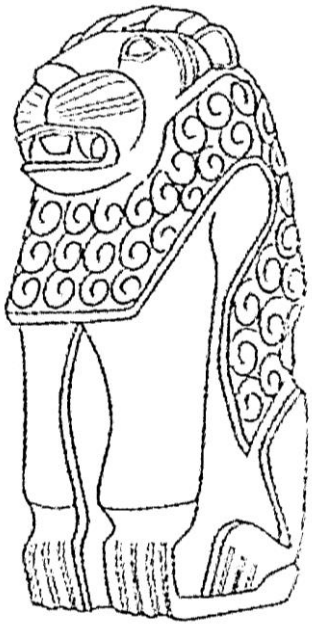


Fig. 13. Stone statue, Eridu (Temple of Enki), end of 3rd millenium. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.291.

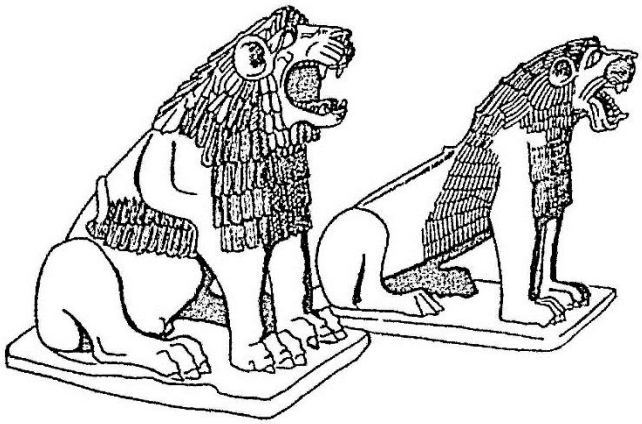


Fig. 14. Clay figures, Tell Harmal (Temple of Nisaba and Hani), early 2nd millenium. After Keel *Symbolism of the Biblical World*, fig. 165.

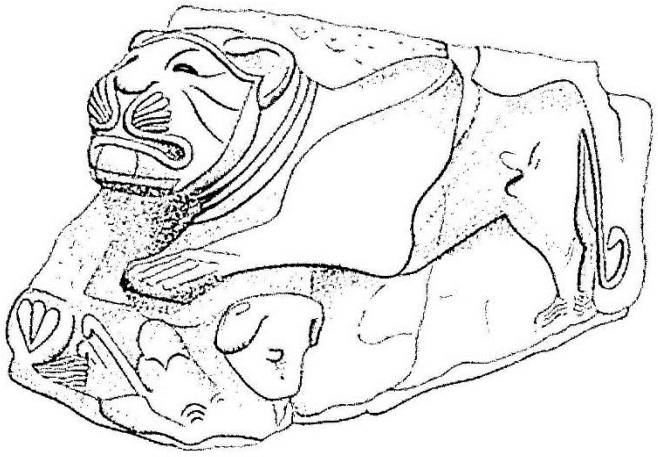


Fig. 15. Orthostat; Alaja Hüyük; ca. 1450-1200. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.310.

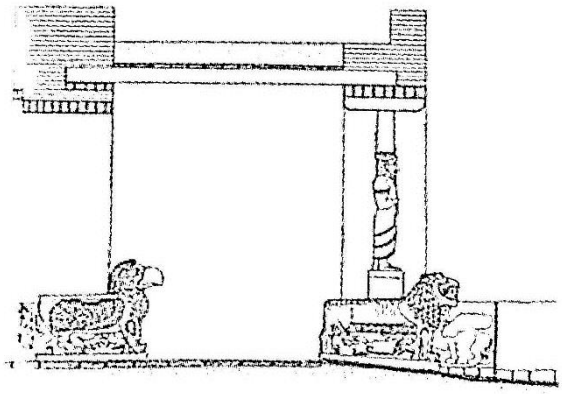


Fig. 16a. Reconstruction of portico; Tell Halaf (Palace of Kapara), 9th c. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.303.

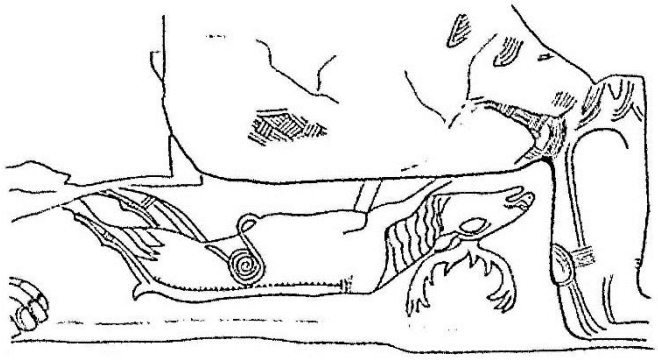


Fig. 16b. Detail of Fig. 16a. Strawn: WSL, fig. 4.304.

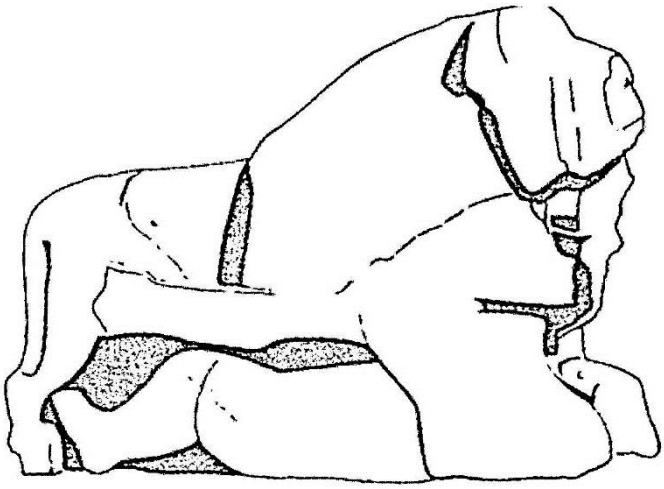


Fig. 17. Basalt statue (unfinished); Babylon (Palace of Nebuchadnezzar II), 6th c., origin and date

debated. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.311.

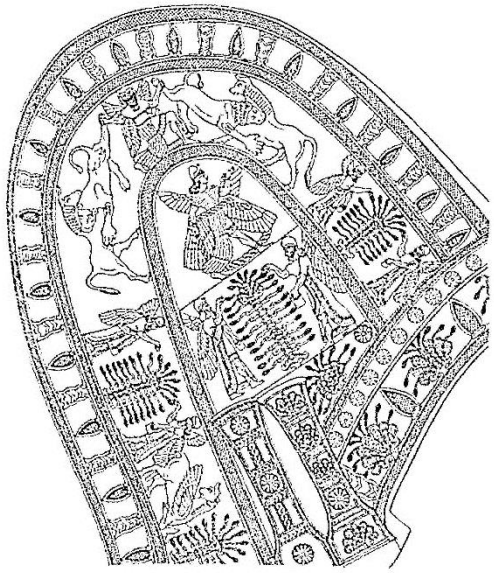


Fig. 18. Detail of relief, Nimrud, 9th c. (ca. 883-859.) Frankfort: *Art and Architecture*, fig. 224.



Fig. 19. Cylinder seal, Tell el-ʿAjjul, LBA. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 3.10.



Fig. 20. Sandstone relief, Medinet Habu (Eastern high gate of North wall), Ramesses III (1184-1153). Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.103.

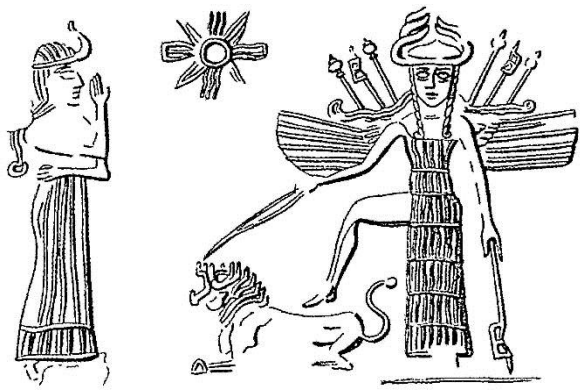


Fig. 21. Cylinder seal, Akkadian Period. Strawn: *WSL*, fig. 4.242.

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