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Whence Cometh Thou, Abraham?

How the (reckless) construction of meaning
hinders responsible interpretation: a case study

'He's a real nowhere man >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>
<<<<<<< sitting in his nowhere land <<<<<<<<<<<<<<
>>>>>>>>>>>>>>> making all his nowhere plans for nobody >>>
<<<< Doesn't have a point of view <<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<
>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>> knows not where he's going to >>>>>>>>>>
<<<<<<<<<<<<< Isn't he a bit like you and me? <<<<
>>>>>>>>> Nowhere Man, please listen >>>>>>>>
<<<< you don't know what you're missing <<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<
>>>>>>>>>>>>>>> Nowhere Man, the world is at your command.'[1]

(I)

Abraham is a well-examined figure with an equally well-examined tradition, nonetheless most scholars accept Genesis 11-25 as a complex and sometimes confounding narrative. In his history of Israel and Judah, Alberto Soggin appropriately titles the patriarchal section: '6.1 Problems. Abraham'.[2] One approach to the subject, which has fallen increasingly out of favour, assumes the authority of Genesis as a history and history as a reflection of Genesis. Thus, Abraham the man can be located in the temporal milieu recorded by his narrative. Or, if traces of the figure elude us it is possible to demonstrate the antiquity of his tradition. As Roland de Vaux emphasises, 'si la foi historique d'Israel n'est pas fondée dans l'histoire, cette foi est erronée, et la notre aussi.'[3] While sentiments like de Vaux's remain central to

1. P. McCartney, J. Lennon, "Nowhere Man," *EMI Studios*, (1965).

2. J. A. Soggin, *An Introduction to the History of Israel and Judah* (SCM: London, 1999), 98.

3. 'If the historical faith of Israel is not founded in history, such faith is erroneous, and ours is also.' R. de Vaux, "Les Patriarches Hébreux et L'Histoire," *RB*, 72 (1965), 7.

some scholarship, less often are they given authority (despite their lingering influence).

Historically minded, but unconvinced by the factuality of Genesis, are those who treat the patriarchal narrative as a source that demonstrates the circumstances of its creation and relationship with other biblical texts. Julius Wellhausen suggested that the patriarchal stories reflect the situation of the Israelite monarchy, which biblical writers projected into a mythic past.[4] Following this method (albeit on different terms) John Van Seters and Thomas L. Thompson propose that if the narratives recall ancient traditions, 'the selection and arrangement of stories expressed a clear message by the biblical editors at the time of compilation, rather than preserving a reliable historical account of earlier times.'[5] Scholars who dismiss the primary significance of history or historicity might entertain the possibility of historical elements within the texts, but still consider them tenuous and therefore unreliable. The text alone provides information, and we must begin with that before venturing to assign it historical features or give its features a historical basis. Many continental scholars, such as Reinhard Kratz, advocate this method.

Elsewhere scholars reject the indispensability of historical writing as a genre that must relate truth. Ernst Knauf observes that the 'difference between what historians and authors of fiction write lies in their subject matter rather than in the truthfulness of their writings...fiction, especially when it is infused with mythological themes, conveys more truth than histories, in the sense that it deals with universals that are relevant across the ages.'[6] This is especially pertinent to the Abraham tradition which, according to Knauf's assessment, is released from our modern concept of history while remaining a valid representation of 'history'. Finally, we observe a development in Pentateuchal studies which moves away from reading the Abrahamic/patriarchal narratives as primarily intended to preface the Moses/Exodus and Joshua/Conquest stories.[7] Konrad Schmid makes a particularly compelling argument for why we should reconsider that literary relationship.[8]

In the process of examining the function of Abraham in biblical tradition, I be-

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4. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (A. & C. Black: 1885), ; J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (G. Reimer: Berlin, 1899).

5. T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives* (Trinity Press International: Harrisburg, 2002), ;J. van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (Yale University Press: New Haven; London, 1975), ;I. Finkelstein, *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* (SBL: Altanta, 2007), 46.

6. E. A. Knauf, P. Guillaume, *A History of Biblical Israel: The Fate of the Tribes and Kingdoms from Merenptah to Bar Kochba* (Equinox: Sheffield/Bristol, 2016), 5.

7. T. Römer, "Abraham and 'the Law of the Prophets'," The Reception and Remembrance of Abraham (2011), 87. Furthermore, scholarship with this focus often assumes that the Moses/Exodus account presents a unified body of tradition when in fact this is not the case, as we will explore below.

8. K. Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story: Israel's Dual Origins in the Hebrew Bible* (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, 2010).

came increasingly captivated by the role of methodological interpretations in determining, and even shaping, that function, often in spite of what appears in the biblical texts. Post-modern reviews of methodology often cite its rigidity, which is sometimes detrimental and guilty of forcing meaning on narratives. While I do not pretend to know which methodological approach is fairest of them all (if any) I question how biblical scholarship constructs meaning and whether these explanations do justice to the tradition or text they represent. If they do not, then we ask why this is so and what should be done. Is it possible to maintain the integrity of a text while exposing it to the analytical process and, if so, what does this method (for lack of a better term) look like?

As a case study this essay focuses on Genesis 11:28-12:4, the context of which engenders the relationship between Abraham, Ur Kasdim, and Haran. For various reasons this literary concentration has raised questions of unity, redactional objectives, and geographic congruity. On the subject of Abraham's origin, the textual tradition—work that includes but extends beyond our present biblical format—is less than coherent, or not explicitly coherent in the way modern logic values. Ancient witnesses to the origin story demonstrate 'that the text of the Hebrew Bible was far from fixed in the final centuries before the turn of the millennium, but existed in a pluriformity scarcely imagined earlier',[9] hindering our ability to identify a primary form of the tradition. Versions that do not correspond to the story in Genesis suggest that not every patriarchal allusion was informed by that account, and that some result from variant traditions or objectives. Without supporting the reconstruction of hypothetical lost versions, I am mindful that when reading a text, we are not privy to all of its determining factors.

Nonetheless, scholarship has for some time been concerned with ''solving'' the dilemma of Abraham's origin, or at least mitigating its problematic features. In doing so, the textual tradition has virtually been silenced—what we could not make sense of, we chose not to hear. The watershed moment occurred with the popularisation of biblical archaeology and ancient Near Eastern studies; with the contributions of these fields we could look outside the biblical text—if it would not produce answers, we would find those answers elsewhere and make them compatible with the text or the text with them. The consequence of this process for the patriarchal origin story is that we have constructed its meaning with almost total disregard for the textual tradition. Confidence in this interpretation is such that one would be forgiven for thinking that it is based on conclusive textual evidence. Unfortunately this is not the case. In what follows, we examine the early transmission of the origin tradition and the catalyst for more recent interpretive decisions. Length restrictions necessitate an abbreviated treatment, but I have noted where portions of material have been omitted and when possible transferred them to footnotes.

(II)

9. M. M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (Brill: Leiden; Boston, 2011), 1.

We begin by examining the most prominent geographic associations made by the Abraham tradition, the pertinent question being whether or not the tradition provides contradictory statements concerning the patriarch's homeland. Many scholars argue that it does, suggesting that ancient sources presented inconsistent depictions and editors perpetuated these elements. In making this claim we are accusing the responsible parties of a significant gaffe, but on what grounds? In the course of Genesis 11-25, Abraham is linked to Ur Kasdim, Haran, Aram, Mamre, and Hebron, and in some way each of these has been proposed as his homeland. Neither Isaac nor Jacob are similar in this respect,[10] which reinforces the question: does tradition effect this convoluted picture of Abraham's homeland or is it a consequence of interpretation?

(II.i)

Abraham in Judah

According to Ska, Southern Canaan is the most popular 'spacial setting' for the Abraham narrative—six of the patriarch's 14 chapters are located in Hebron-Mamre.[11] Similarly, Römer finds evidence of the patriarch's aboriginal status in certain texts and argues that this feature only changed during the exilic period when, by necessity, Abraham gained a foreign origin.[12] The biblical depiction of Abraham in southern Judah is therefore an effort by Genesis to preserve the tradition's earliest association with that region. Two points are worth considering: (1) whether Abraham's legend did in fact originally circulate in southern Judah, however evidence of this is impossible to recover; (2) whether Genesis intentionally makes this correlation. The latter's validity does not corroborate the former, nor does the impossibility of the latter detract from the potential of the former. While Abraham is regularly found in Hebron-Mamre, he is never declared native to that area. In fact, the text repeatedly emphasises his foreign nature in various ways. Moreover, indigenousness challenges significant aspects of biblical theology which relate Israel taking possession of a land given to them by God. So determined is this position that Numbers-Joshua often portray the conquest of indigenous populations as fulfilling God's will (e.g. Deut 7:1-26). This objective is unquestionably at odds with a presentation of

10. J. C. Gertz et al., *T & T Clark Handbook of the Old Testament* (T&T Clark: London, 2012), 339. Jacob tradition's regular identification with northern Palestine up into modern-day Turkey and Transjordan, so too Isaac with Judah's southwest territory. Despite this, I am not entirely convinced by Isaac's originality to the southwest territory given his appearance in Amos 7:9, 16, which suggests a northern association.

11. J.-L. Ska, *The Exegesis of the Pentateuch: Exegetical Studies and Basic Questions* (Mohr Siebeck: Tübingen, 2009), 24.

12. Römer classifies Ezek 33:24 as one of the references which supports Abraham as native to Palestine. T. Römer, "Abraham Traditions in the Hebrew Bible outside the Book of Genesis," The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation (2012), 163, 178.

Israel's forefather as one of those native peoples.

The idea of Abraham the Canaanite is problematic in light of exodus/conquest legends, so too when held against the terms of his own narrative. Despite his association with other locales in Southern Judah,[13] Abraham's connection to Hebron and Mamre only begins in Gen 13:18 and proceeds the divine instruction to survey the (just-)promised land—a command Abraham ignores (or obedience is not specified), instead relocating his tent to the terebinths of Mamre. It is a curious turn which impresses no reason for decamping from his position between Bethel and Ai (13:3). Moreover, Abraham and Lot have parted ways because the land could not sustain both parties and yet having secured it Abraham removes himself to the south. The chief function of this verse seems to support other narrative attestations of these locations (Gen 14:13; 18:1; 23:2, 17, 19; 25:9). However, the specific use of 'the terebinths of Mamre' suggests primary corroboration is with either Gen 14:13 or 18:1. Since there is little consensus regarding the relationship between Genesis 14 and its context the authority of 14:13 is uncertain. This is compounded by the verse's identification of Mamre not as a place but as a person, an Amorite, and while it is regularly excused as anomalistic (in a chapter already deemed unique), I doubt it is arbitrary. Rather than interpret Gen 14:13 as another example of the Bible remembering Abraham's indigenous tradition, I believe the passage intends to emphasise something quite antithetical.

The contrast between native and foreign is suggested by the ethnica 'Hebrew' and 'Amorite.' As a term that designates a specific geographic area Amorite is only used until the early 8th c. BCE, at which time it became a wider epithet for Syria-Palestine and Transjordan.[14] Consequently, local populations were often generalised as 'Amorites' despite ethnic or tribal distinctions. Van Seters demonstrates that the Bible's similarly broad application of this term does not intend 'to convey any strict historical or ethnological' meaning, but is for primarily 'ideological and rhetorical' purposes.[15] As such, classifying Mamre as an Amorite emphasises his native position, creating a neat polarity with Abram the Hebrew, an epithet the Bible systematically uses to relate foreignness.[16] Once again, Gen 14:13 effectively distin-

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13. In Gen 12:9 Abraham resides in the Negev region prior to sojourning in Egypt, and the same area is traversed during his return to Canaan (Gen 13:3). Later he resettles somewhere between Kadesh and Shur (Gen 20:1), and Isaac is born in Gerar (Genesis 21). This detail is tactically sensible given the theory that an independent Isaac tradition first circulated in or around Gerar (Genesis 26). Abraham revisits the Negev following events in Moriah, and settles in Beer-sheba (Gen 22:19), another location corresponding to Isaac. Despite this frequency, his presence in that area is credited to the secondary merger of Abraham and Isaac traditions, part of the larger patriarchal consolidation. Abraham's correlation to Beer-sheba and Gerar has the same effect as we assume prompts his activity in Shechem, Bethel and Ai: to preempt and justify the 'later' record of Isaac and Jacob, respectively, in those places.

14. J. van Seters, "The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament," *Vetus Testamentum*, 22 (1972), 66. In the Persian period 'Amorite' was used as a designation for the Arab peoples of North Arabia.

15. J. van Seters, "The Terms 'Amorite' and 'Hittite' in the Old Testament," 76.

16. The word seems to be an *ethnicon*, most typically used where Israelites are being referred to by foreigners or are referring to themselves in the presence of foreigners. It also frequently

guishes Abram's status from that of his companions. It is worth noting that this comparison would only be logical from the 8th c. onwards, which provides a *terminus a quo* for our passage.

[*Section omitted*][17]

[*Section omitted*][18]

While these examples are often recognised as preserving the memory of Abraham in southern Judah, none of our cases facilitate a patriarchal figure who is native to that land, neither do they allude to legends of this nature. In fact, they do rather the opposite. As demonstrated above, objectives are quite mindfully focused on perpetuating Abraham's exogenous nature. It is important that I emphasise the distinction between my argument and the possibility that early forefather stories did in fact circulate in southern Judah. I do not dismiss the latter anymore than I can prove or disprove it. My sole focus is on extant texts that record Abraham's tradition and what these alone convey. Therefore, I conclude that according to this material evidence, there was no prerogative to identify Abraham as indigenous to Canaan.

(II.ii)

Abraham in Mesopotamia

If the Bible does not intend to demonstrate Abraham as native to southern Judah, we must explore another option. Again, my concern lies with extant texts and not the reconstruction of hypothetical Abraham legends. By this measure it seems that the textual tradition directs us towards the idea of a patriarchal homeland in Mesopotamia. But despite this assertion, which part of Mesopotamia remains debatable. There are two options: Haran or Ur Kasdim.[19] To understand this

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occurs in circumstances where Israelites are enslaved. However, there are exceptions to both cases. For example, Exod 2:11 and Deut 15:12 associated the term with those considered brothers or kinsmen. Na'aman shows that עברי/ם occurs mainly in two biblically historical periods: the Israelite sojourn in Egypt and the Philistine-Israelite conflict - moreover, the context is usually unfavorable, thus intent on differentiating ethnic groups. N. Na'aman, "Habiru and Hebrews: The Transfer of a Social Term to the Literary Sphere," *JNES*, 45 (1986), 278-279.

17. I have here omitted material concerning the relevance of Josh 24:2-3 and its phrase 'beyond the river' in association with Abraham to the identification of Abraham as 'Hebrew' in Gen 14:13.

18. I have here omitted material concerning the representation and relationship of these names, especially where it concerns Abraham's purchase of land for a burial plot and the order of Gen 13:18; 14:13; and 18:1. The disunity of Gen 13:18 with its context suggests a late addition, included to position Abraham for Genesis 14 and 18. Its need to clarify that the terebinths 'are in Hebron' is not paralleled in Gen 14:13 and 18:1. This gives the impression that Gen 13:18 is merging traditions: one that understood the primacy of Mamre, and another that draws on the correlation of Mamre with Hebron.

19. A third option might be Aram, but we cannot examine this possibility within our present

part of Abraham's tradition we must focus on the following elements: (1) the relationship between these names/places; and (2) the position of Ur, both physical and abstract. We observe no sense of conflict where these places are named (Gen 11:28-12:4; 15:7; Neh 9:7), and the textual tradition makes no attempt to clarify any of the problems identified by modern scholarship. Issues addressed in those biblical texts are unconcerned with the relationship between Ur Kasdim and Haran, or that both are named in the context of Abraham's homeland. What does appear to be of consequence is the theological objective related to the geographic location of Abraham at the time of his first encounter with God. For this objective it is crucial that Abraham be called from a place that is not Canaan. He must, in his obedience, follow the divine will that leads him from a country 'beyond the river' (Josh 24:2-3) into the land that God will show him (Gen 12:1). This is the theological imperative whereby one transitions from a foreign state of godlessness to familiar state of blessedness. The Bible consistently emphasises this division, be it physical or something more abstract.

The habit of reading opposition into the origin narrative is a consequence of developments in biblical scholarship which, since the nineteenth century, have mostly ignored the textual tradition. As we will see below, the archaeological identification of Abraham's Ur Kasdim with the ancient city of Ur in southern Mesopotamia marks this change. I do not wish to debate the geographic location of Ur Kasdim, it could be on the moon for all the good it would do our understanding of the tradition. That said, were it possible to read Gen 11:28-12:4 without a modern perspective or influence, I wonder how problematic the details therein would appear. Lacking the benefit of ANE studies or archaeology, Ur Kasdim is determined by its contextual/literary proximity to Haran and other patriarchal references to northern Mesopotamia.[20] Without knowledge of a city called Ur in ancient Sumer there is no reason to link the patriarch to a place so territorially removed from Genesis' central geographic focus. Moreover, the generality of this interpretation might be of little concern when observing the story not through specifics, but through the ideological juxtaposition of ''the Promised Land/YHWH'' with ''everything not the Promised Land/every god that is not YHWH''. The location of Ur Kasdim would not matter if it was only meant to denote a foreign place from which God orchestrated Abraham's departure. If the text was read in this manner, at some point someone wanted more than was written in the pages, demanding specifics and definitive answers that would substantiate the Bible's mental map with tangible evidence in the debris of ancient civilisations.

(III) The Textual Tradition

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context.

20. I, along with several maps, define Mesopotamia as the expanse from the very southern coast all the way into Syria and parts of southern Turkey that fall between the Tigris and Euphrates.

(III.i)

The Masoretic Text (MT)

The MT offers a concise statement regarding Ur Kasdim with no elaboration or qualification, this occurs in Gen 11:28-31, as well as Gen 15:7 and Neh 9:7. The biblical text never implies the necessity of further explanation concerning Ur Kasdim and Haran, despite the regularity with which the Bible clarifies geographic references.[21] Failure to do so here implies that either an older tradition was copied without question (or rather with ignorance) or that referring to the place was unexceptional to an extent that rendered explanation pointless. In both cases we must account for the several occasions which link Abraham, so too Isaac and Jacob, to northern Mesopotamia, a territory familiar to biblical writers. Given this congruency, or rather this lack of evidence to the contrary, what reason is there for scholarship to problematise this aspect of the tradition?

I believe it was the archaeological discovery of Ur in ancient Sumer and its identification with Abraham's story that is responsible. While I address this matter below, here I contend that if concerns over the congruity of Haran and Ur existed prior to those findings, they had no impact. Before the nineteenth century, the matter of biblical geography centred on the textual tradition and theological concerns. Now it is virtually impossible to read Gen 11:28-12:4 without a thought to the geographically-oriented difficulties, or at the very least to the physical geography. One must consider the logistical problems whereby Abraham's journey is much greater and the route to Canaan quite indirect when lower Mesopotamia is the starting point. Why did the travel party not assume a more westward orientation rather than detour so far north?[22] Since the advent of ANE studies, a nomadic lifestyle is sometimes used to explain this indirect route, but nothing in Genesis conclusively supports a Bedouin-like existence, in fact Abraham is regularly characterised in terms that suggest his role as a merchant.[23] By this token, one could argue that as merchants the Abraham-Terah party strategised their route according to the number of commercial hubs encountered, making Haran a good destination. Nonetheless, this rationale is equally speculative and impossible to substantiate given the unknowns. However, it does force us to consider the relationship of mythological geography and physical geography within biblical texts. In Genesis, Abraham's various journeys are geographically plausible and by encouraging the implausibility of the route in Gen 11:31 we make it the exception to an otherwise consistent aspect of the literature. We complicate this further by suggesting a lack of unity within the narrative, and cite expansions and/or divisions to rationalise this apparent complexity. It begs the question: if the logistics of Genesis 11-12 did not bother ancient writers and re-

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21. We find such elements in passages like Gen 13:18 (the terebinths of Mamre, which are in Hebron); Gen 14:3 (Bela, which is Zoar), 6 (El Paran, which is by the wilderness), and 7 (En Misphat, which is Kadesh).

22. V. P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1990), 364; C. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36: A Commentary* (SPCK: London, 1986), 136-139.

23. C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," *JNES*, 17.1 (1958), 28-31.

dactors, why are we so vexed?

The relevant aspects of Genesis 11-12 are generally attributed to the same source (P), which is difficult to reconcile with current readings of the relationship between Ur Kasdim and Haran. The departure from Ur is not based on a divine mandate, but the order to leave Haran in Gen 12:4b depends on God's command, according to vv 1-3 (non-P). If Gen 12:1-3, or just v. 1, antedate the story in Genesis 11, it is strange that P did not mirror the divine command from chapter 12 in order to create a unified narrative. However, this assumes that the party responsible for Genesis 11 knew the story in Gen 12:1-3. Even crediting two or more sources with the material, which was then woven together,[24] does not alleviate tensions created by the failure of Genesis 11 to account for the detour to Haran (or the initial journey), a point exacerbated by the statement that departure from Ur was directed at 'the land of Canaan' (v. 31). This suggests a story of human initiative to leave the land of Kasdim and travel to Canaan, which has been merged with Abraham's divine call from his native home to the land he will be shown (Gen 12:1-3). However, according to Gen 11:27-31, Abraham left his homeland when he left Ur, but if 12:4b follows 12:1 then in leaving Haran he is leaving his native home. Both 12:4b and 11:27-31 are attributed to P, but not 12:1-3. If P, or a redactor, has joined two different stories then the results are far from seamless. But again, disharmony results from removing Ur from the proximity of Haran, a polarity that invites the problem of two homelands.

Additionally, there is the matter of Nahor, Abraham's brother. In Gen 11:31, Terah includes Abram, Lot and Sarai in his travel party, while Nahor remains. However, in Gen 24:10 the native land to which Abraham's servant travels is called Aram-naharaim, 'the city of Nahor', and Gen 24:15; 29:5; 31:53 reiterate this connection. If Nahor stayed in Ur Kasdim (Genesis 11) and this is identified with southern Babylonia, but Genesis 24 links him to a northern Mesopotamian city, how are we to reconcile the indiscretion? We cannot. Gen 22:20-24 is the perfect opportunity to alleviate the problem by mentioning Nahor's relocation, and yet it only lists Nahor's offspring.[25] When Ur is identified with a city in ancient Sumer, the repeated association of Nahor with northern Mesopotamia stands in opposition to his function in Genesis 11.

Contradictions do not appear to be inherent to the text, neither does the association of Ur with southern Mesopotamia. This interpretation is responsible for complications. The location of Ur Kasdim in Gen 11:28-31 is not fully demonstrated by the text, or rather we have no way of accessing its original intention with any-

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24. Abraham Ibn Ezra solved this dilemma by arguing that the statement in Gen 12:1 was given before the travel party's departure in Gen 11:31; therefore, while Terah may have led the group it was God who instructed Abraham to comply and leave his native land. A. Ibn Ezra, *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch: Genesis (Bereshit)* (Menorah: New York, 1988), 148.

25. Among them is the father of Aram, Chesed, and Bethuel, the first name being synonymous with territory in modern day Syria to which Bethuel can also be linked through Gen 24:15. Chesed, however, is typically interpreted as the eponymous ancestor of Kasdim or the Chaldeans. Whatever the validity of this parallel, it remains that as Nahor's son Chesed was probably born in the region of Aram Naharaim.

thing other than speculation. If we hope to find clarity in other representations of this story, our hope is in vain.

(III.ii)

The Septuagint (LXX)

The LXX presentation of Gen 11:31 deviates from the MT by translating 'Ur' as χὼρας ('lands, territories, regions') rather than a proper noun. This is true for every occasion of Ur Kasdim in the Greek text, but not so elsewhere when אור makes a parallel appearance in the MT and with the same vocalisation.[26] Hamilton argues that this does not signify ignorance 'of a site called Ur. Rather the correctness of the LXX is borne out by a number of places in the Hebrew text where '*wr* is parallel with '*eres*, ''earth''', including Gen 11:28, 31.[27] I think he misses the opportunity with this focus. The argument need not concern which translation of Ur is correct or why that might be the case. The crucial aspect is that the LXX presents a diverging tradition when it relates Ur as χὼρας, which gives some sense of geographic locality but is decidedly unspecific.[28]

How we understand discrepancies between the LXX and MT is a complex matter. In the case of Genesis, the Greek is notably consistent with the Hebrew, which leads John W. Wevers to argue that Greek translators were probably aware of the text's authority and sought to faithfully preserve what they understood to be God's message.[29] Ronald Hendel views LXX Genesis as a literal translation of the Hebrew which was prompted by loyalty to the Hebrew *vorlage*. He insists that inconsistencies existing with the Greek result from translators working with a different Hebrew *vorlage*.[30] Anneli Aejmelaeus challenges the attribution of inconsistencies to harmonisation or exegetical work because it is impossible to demonstrate that such features were absent from the *vorlage*.[31] Hendel and Aejmelaeus correctly posit that we cannot verify, and therefore cannot dismiss, that divergences in the LXX origin-

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26. This form appears most often in Isaiah (31:9; 44:16; 47:14; 50:11) where the LXX the Hebrew is translated with: σπέρμα (31:9), πυρός (44:16; 47:14), φωτιζω (50:11).

27. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*, 365.

28. The literary correspondence of Babylonia and Chaldea occur most frequently in Jeremiah (46x), followed by Daniel (12x) and Ezekiel (8x), none of which can be dated before the seventh century BCE, so too Gen 11:28, 31 and 15:7. Notably, the single reference to Abraham in Jeremiah 33:26 does not exist in LXX Jeremiah, which is considerably shorter than the MT version. Chapter 33 ends after v. 13.

29. M. W. Scarlata, "Genesis," T & T Clark Companion to the Septuagint (2015), 14; J. W. Wevers, *Notes of the Greek Text of Genesis* (Scholars Press: Atlanta, 1993).

30. M. W. Scarlata, *LXX Companion*, 14; R. S. Hendel, "On the Text-Critical Value of Septuagint Genesis: A Reply to Rösel," *BIOSCS*, 32 (1999), 31-34.

31. M. W. Scarlata, *LXX Companion*, 14; A. Aejmelaeus, "What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?," *ZAW*, 99 (1987), 58-89.

ated with an earlier text; we can only confirm variations from the MT.

It follows that the deviation of Ur/χὼρας from the MT might reflect a different Hebrew *vorlage*. According to Mark Scarlata, lacking a suitable Greek equivalent or neologism 'the translator often rendered a Hebrew term with the corresponding Greek letters.'[32] Any confusion on the translator's part was not exhibited in the text itself because the Greek remained true to the Hebrew, albeit in a creative way. If the translator of Gen 11:31, et al., was uncertain of how to render אור, why did he not opt for this method? Much later we observe Josephus's use of Οὐρῆ in his treatment of this passage, possibly a transliteration of the Hebrew. Perhaps χὼρας was the best option according to the Hebrew version used for this translation. Alternatively, Westermann observes that the 'most probable explanation is that the Gk was interpreting a name which no longer meant anything to it.'[33] Thus, the LXX purposefully obscured an indeterminable and possibly complex feature by diminishing its specificity.

(III.iii)

The Book of Jubilees

That Jubilees is commonly known as 'rewritten Bible' does not diminish its relevance to how we understand Genesis. Length restrictions prevent me from engaging in a thorough discussion of this premise, so it is necessary for me to make some rather broad statements without the benefit of a full explanation. [*Section omitted*][34] I contend that Jubilees knew Genesis in a final form (not as a closed canon). However, this does not eliminate the possibility that Jubilees also knew versions of the Abraham tradition not included in that form. Jubilees' ability to de/reconstruct a tradition, whether according to his own principles or the influence of alternative versions of tradition, undermines the supposition that final form texts were immune either to contradiction or modification. Typically dated to the second

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32. M. W. Scarlata, *LXX Companion*, 17.

33. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 139.

34. First, if 'rewritten Bible' is a variant rendition of a narrative in its final (or near-final) form we must consider the circumstances that prompted this alternative, so too its transmission and reception, which tell us about the state of textual traditions in that period. Second, if 'rewritten Bible' transmits literary or oral features of that tradition which are not included in a final form we must consider the role of these features in relation to other treatments of the material in question. While these constitute separate aspects of the narrative, they may exist together. Moreover, these two influences can be complimented by Jubilees' own variation on the available material. When broken down in this manner we see that texts considered 'rewritten Bible' are in fact very complex entities. No doubt this is why arguments concerning the motivation behind Jubilees have been posited from numerous directions. Van Ruiten, for example, believes that Jubilees is owed more to the author's need to address 'inconsistencies, gaps, blanks, and theological problems' in the Genesis account, thus promoting the objective of 'rewritten Bible' according to my first point. J. van Ruiten, *Abraham in the Book of Jubilees: The Rewriting of Genesis 11:26-25:10 in the Book of Jubilees 11:14-23:8* (Brill: Leiden, Boston, 2012), 344.

century BCE,[35] Jubilees enjoyed a level of authority evidenced by its representation at Qumran and in later literature,[36] and remains part of the canon in some orthodox churches. This fact challenges our ability to define Jubilees' position in relation to other canonical texts. Additionally, limited material evidence prevents us knowing whether it manifests alternative traditions or forwards its own agenda, or some combination of these. Nonetheless, its treatment of material from Genesis 11 is distinct. Therein, Terah and company departed from 'Ur Kasdim...to go towards the land of Lebanon and to the land of Canaan, but they sojourned in Haran' (Jub 12:15).[37] Traversing Lebanon en route to Canaan is logistically impossible from a starting point in the south, and suggests that if one is going towards (אל) Lebanon via Haran they are coming from the northeast.

We must entertain the possibility of harmonisation, however this literary device can be understood in more than one way. Typically, 'harmonisation' defines a situation in which a later text alleviates problems in an earlier text (such as I suggested in the case of LXX Genesis, above), rendering it more harmonious for the audience. In Jubilees the author understands the potential confusion of Gen 11:31 and expands his treatment of the verse accordingly. Equally, the deviation in Jub 12:15 could be a type of harmonisation whereby the author sought to balance his version with others. By this measure it seems that positioning Ur in northern Mesopotamia aligned Jubilees with the popular interpretation of this tradition. In either scenario, the point remains that Jubilees' author chose to advance this particular geographic description. Moreover, Jubilees' attention to Gen 11:31 raises two points: the need to mitigate confusion is evidence that confusion regarding Ur existed; moreover, its geography suggests that while there was no fixed understanding of Ur's location, there was also no (popular) understanding of it being in the south. Working from the known version of Genesis, Jubilees interprets Ur Kasdim based

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35. J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield Academic Press: Sheffield, 2001).

36. J. L. Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (Brill: Leiden, 2012), 336. Kugel convincingly demonstrates the priority of Jubilees over Genesis Apocryphon and dependence of that manuscript on Jubilees. He notes that 4Q225 would not have borrowed so liberally from a text of dubious authority. Qumran provides only very fragmented portions of Genesis from the 3rd c. BCE; however Genesis Apocryphon (which strictly speak is not apocryphal writing but something closer to midrash) presents a version of Genesis which is quite complete through biblical chapters 12-15:4 (1Q20 21-22:34). While our earliest manuscript dates from the early 1st c. CE, its thematic and linguistic similarities with Jubilees suggests an original date sometime in the 2nd c. BCE (similar to Jubilees) or earlier. E. Würthwein, *The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2014), 68. The earliest copy of LXX Genesis comes to us from the 3rd c. BCE and provides a 'medial' equivalent to the Masoretic Text (which falls between either a 'free' methodological interpretation or 'literal formal parallelism'). But it must be kept in mind that we do not know if LXX Genesis used a Hebrew text that was identical with the MT or whether it was 'pre-Masoretic' and therefore representing a stage of tradition that differed from what we have received. Würthwein, *Text of the OT*, 101-102.

37. ויצא תרח מאור כשדים הוא ובניו לבוא אל ארץ הלבנון ואל ארץ כנען ויגור בחרן. However, note that this is the Hebrew translation of the Ethiopic, itself translated from Greek.

on that representation but defines it in a manner that implies northern Mesopotamia. Given the book's mindfulness towards clarification, a desire to connect Ur with the south would certainly be apparent. Instead, Jubilees takes measures to specify a route that would be implausible from that starting point.

[*Section omitted*][38]

(III.iv)

Midrash and Talmud

Genesis Rabbah, the oldest exegetical midrash, had its final redaction in Palestine during the fifth century CE, but elements of the text pre-date this by a century or more.[39] Following Jubilees, Genesis Rabbah illuminates salient but difficult points thereby eliminating opportunities for their misinterpretation. It also provides a commentary justifying decisions relating to said clarifications. Given its careful treatment of Gen 11:26-12:3, the failure to cite either Ur or Chaldea is notable. While the midrash describes Abraham's literal trial by fire at the hands of Nimrod[40], the setting is non-specific and the primary concern is to exhibit the extension of divine protection to Abraham in light of his anti-idolatry campaign (GenRab XXXVIII.13-14). The absence of Ur and Chaldea are exacerbated by references to Haran, Aram Naharaim, and Aram Nahor (XXXIX.7-8) in relation to in Gen 12:1.

Let us consider these literary decisions in light of the midrash's dual objective: to clarify potential difficulties within the biblical text while promoting certain agendas. Neither place is mentioned because the rabbis had no reason to do so since the biblical context was free of incongruities that required elucidation. If the rabbinic agenda was unconcerned with/unaware of questions or confusion surrounding the patriarchal homeland, to address it made no sense. Thus, place

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38. I have here omitted the section concerning how Philo and Josephus treated this element of the tradition.

39. H. L. Strack, G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Fortress: Minneapolis, 1996), 279-280.

40. The reference to Nimrod is strange given his role in the biblical text. As the legendary founder of both Babylonian and Assyrian cities (Gen 10:10-11), listing him as a contemporary of Abraham crosses a temporal divide of roughly six generations. Moreover, the Bible does not conclusive associate Nimrod with Babylon. Mic 5:5 calls Assyria 'the land of Nimrod', while 1 Chr 1:10 simply refers to him as the son of Cush and 'the first mighty one on earth.' The land of Shinar, cited as Nimrod's kingdom in Gen 10:10, is certainly a variant of Babylonia, but as discussed the region of Babylonia was no always or even primarily limited to southern Mesopotamia. Finally, Genesis Rabbah states that Abraham was brought before Nimrod, but it gives neither the location of this encounter nor any indication that the city where it occurred is the same city in which Abraham lived or departed for Canaan. In sum, reference to Nimrod cannot be read as evidence that rabbinic authors associated Abraham's homeland with Ur or even a southern location.

names that are mentioned do not represent an ideological ploy to advance one story over another; rather these places are simply inherent to Abraham's tradition as it was known. Genesis Rabbah follows the biblical text which repeatedly associates these cities with the patriarch. While it is impossible to know what Genesis Rabbah's authors felt towards 'Ur Kasdim', it did not warrant one of their meticulous explanations. Perhaps including a mythological ruler of Babylonia and Assyria (Nimrod) in relation to Abraham was their way of acknowledging the patriarch's activity in that region without citing a definitive geographic location.[41]

We conclude with the Babylonian Talmud, or Talmud Bavli, tractate Baba Batra 91a, which reads: 'R. Hanan b. Raba further stated in the name of Rab: Abraham our father was imprisoned for ten years. Three in Kutha, and seven in Kardu. But R. Dimi of Nehardea taught [in the reverse order]. R. Hisda said: The small side of Kutha is Ur of the Chaldees.'[42] The association of Abraham with Kutha (a city slightly northeast of Babylon) and Kutha's identification with Ur presents a new approach to the matter. This is the first occasion in (extant) biblical literature where Ur is conclusively recognised as a city Babylonia. However, that Ur is not associated with any place we expect given other sources only contributes to the confusion, perpetuating the abstruse nature of Ur's representation in the textual tradition. Rabbi Hisda[43] tried to eliminate confusion but also uses that confusion as an opportunity to shape the story in a preferred way. Kutha's synonymity with Ur Kasdim, and consequently with Abraham's pre-Canaan years, reflects the Rabbi's own context and perhaps the extent of his geographic knowledge. Unfamiliar with Ur's alternative locations, Rabbi Hisda made what we might call an 'educated guess'. But choosing Kutha could not have been arbitrary given its proximity to major hubs of rabbinic activity — Sura, Pumbeditha, and Nehardea.[44] Thus, Talmud Bavli was as much a product of its circumstances as it was a representation of textual tradition.

(IV) Philological Considerations

To summarise my work concerning philological aspects of this text, I offer the following. While the MT is the most widely used biblical version, its treatment of the legendary Ur Kasdim does not justify an association with the very real Ur of ancient Sumer. The vocalisation of אור does not modify the word in a way that clarifies its

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41. Rashi observes that in Genesis Rabbah the 'fiery pit' alludes to the biblical reference 'Ur Kasdim'. It has chosen to render אור as 'fire' according to the aggadic interpretation of Gen 11:28, 31: 'fire of the Chaldeans'. This accounts for other uses of this word throughout the Bible, such as Ezek 5:2, in which אור relates 'fire' or 'light'. Herczeg, 1995, #38067@111

42. Here, 'imprisoned' could be literal or metaphorical, as in spiritual confinement.

43. A leading teacher at Sura (south of Babylon) during the third century CE.

44. Würthwein, *Text of the OT*, 26. R. Hisda, who makes the association between Kutha and Ur in B. B. 91a, was 'the most important teacher at Sura after the death of Rab Yehuda' in the late 3rd c. CE. Strack, Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, 92.

meaning, and the spelling in Gen 11:28, 31, אוּר with a *shureq* added to the *vav*, is not unique to that context. This same spelling exists in Isa 31:9; 44:16; 47:14; 50:11; Ezek 5:2; and 1 Chr 11:35*,* however the word's meaning is quite different. Apart from the final case these are variously translated from the Hebrew as *light* or *fire*, a sense that corroborates every occasion of the root אור in any form throughout the MT. Only Gen 11:28, 31; 15:7; and Neh 9:7 receive an alternative translation from Hebrew, and the incongruity of this definition suggests that perhaps the Hebrew is misrepresented. It is therefore important to consider where אור is translated as *light* or *fire* and where it is rendered *Ur*. Why is the latter not read as 'light/fire of the Kasdim'? Jubilees and Genesis Rabbah found something in this meaning, so too later exegetes such as Rashi. John Calvin grants 'that the name is derived from fire, even as cities are oftentimes named eyther of their situation, or else of some other cause. It may be that they kept and mainteined there the holy fire, or that the sunne shined there more brightly then in other places.'[45] Unlike our current understanding of the Genesis story, these interpretations are unhindered by the effects of archaeology or ANE studies, and are based entirely on the textual traditions available to them. I fear this cannot be said of most readings from the last 150 years.

[*Section omitted*][46]

(V) <u>What might this mean?</u>

I began my research assuming that the geographic misidentification of Ur resulted from the ideological expansions of Babylonian rabbis and Masoretic scribes. Thinking that the ''original'' intention of the Genesis story had been compromised I was determined to locate meaning, as if this quality could be verified according to some definitive standard. What I realised in this process was that no single version of Ur Kasdim could lead me to an original meaning or purpose or place. In fact, the element of uncertainty is the only certainty in Ur's textual tradition. Nonetheless, very little (if any) modern scholarship would admit this point, let alone propose an alternative reading. Given the nature of the texts examined above, it is imperative to question our reasons for interpreting Ur, and thus the entire origin story, as we do. If the inclination is to associate it with the ancient city in Sumer, what determines and/or justifies this reading. If archaeology, whether directly or indirectly, is the main drive, I think we are on shaky ground. Despite its contributions to biblical studies, archaeology can encourage tenuous links between the text and historical realities.[47]

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45. Calvin 1578, pp 257-58

46. Quite a bit of material has been removed from this section as it constitutes work in progress. The nature of said material includes the representation of אור in other biblical texts, as well as the possibility that in Genesis it intends a theological reference which is no longer comprehensible to us. Additionally, I have explored the nature of the word 'Kasdim' and how we should understand it throughout the biblical texts.

47. The idea of excavating with a 'spade in one hand and Bible in the other' is attributed to early 'biblical archaeologists' who had more training in biblical studies and set out to validate

Discoveries made by J. E. Taylor in the mid-nineteenth century prompted interest in ancient Sumer and its relationship to patriarchal stories. Sir Leonard Woolley excavated the same area from 1922 to 1934, and his findings enhanced the idea of a Ur in Sumer/Genesis/Abraham connection, which he attributed to a period around 2000 BCE or 'Ur III'.[48] Objections, voiced from the start, have arisen in subsequent decades without any considerable threat to the premise of those archaeological findings.[49] However, Taylor and Woolley only produced evidence of a city named Ur in the region of ancient Sumer, and nothing connecting that city to Abraham or any aspect of the Bible. Woolley's own description illustrates the extent of textual manipulation inherent to this process: 'Abraham did not come away from Ur empty handed. He brought with him a pride in his upbringing, in the greatness of his city...He brought with him those stories of the world's creation and of the Flood...the laws of Ur and, handing them down through the generations of his house, laid the foundations of that Mosaic code...'[50] As Westermann points out, this certainly would 'capture the imagination'; however, 'there is no trace of any connection with Ur in the south; there is only a name', but it 'did not occur to anybody that the form of community and life-style of the patriarchs, as known to us from the patriarchal narratives, had no relationship at all to life in a southern Mesopotamian ''capital city'''.[51] Whatever liberties Westermann might take with biblical interpretations, he is correct that we have nothing to support a correlation between the patriarchs and ancient Sumer.

It is poetic that archaeology has also provided options to a southern Ur: Ura, in ancient Hittite territory, and Urfa (Edessa), northwest of Haran are equally plausible and yet regularly dismissed.[52] According to Gordon, Urfa was traditionally con-

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that text with their findings; more recently this phrase has been reinvigorated by some archaeologists, notably Eilat Mazar.

48. M. D. Meinhardt, "Did Woolley Excavate the Wrong Place? Abraham's Ur," *BAR*, 26.1 (2000), 20-25.

49. A. Dillmann, "Ueber die Herkunft der urgeschichtlichen Sagen der Hebräer," *Sitzungdbericht d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, xxi (1882) ; R. Kittel, "Die Herkunft der Hebräer nach dem Alten Testament," *Theol. Studien aus Württemberg*, vii (1886) ; C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," 28-31; C. H. Gordon, "Abraham of Ur," Hebrew and Semitic Studies: Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver (1963), 77-84. ; J. R. Kupper, *Northern Mesopotamia and Syria* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1963) ; Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*.

50. L. Woolley, *Abraham: Recent Discoveries and Hebrew Origins* (Faber and Faber: London, 1936), 187.

51. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 140.

52. Gordon, 1958, p. 30 The plausibility of either locale, or that general area, is furthered by the epithet Chaldea which, despite common perceptions, is not unilaterally defined according to Babylonia. Less-known is the word's correspondence to northern Mesopotamia and its use as an ancient designation for Armenia/Urartu, a region that is biblically linked to the patriarchs through Genesis.

sidered Abraham's Ur Kasdim 'prior to the days of Assyriology'.[53] Inscriptions from ancient Ugarit, Nuzi, and Alalakh (all in northern Mesopotamia) refer to places identical or linguistically close to the name 'Ur'.[54] Compounding this is the linguistic correspondence of Serug, Nahor, and Terah (Gen 11:28-31) to Sarug, Nahur, and Turahi, cities in that region.[55] We possess alternatives, however their balanced consideration is wanting. We also regularly disregard the solution in which tangible evidence means nothing: Abraham's Ur Kasdim, if it existed, is lost to us as it was to most ancient writers. If we insist on associating it with a physical location, we must entertain all the possibilities.

It is equally necessary to recognise that geographic specificity might not be the intention of Genesis[56] and perhaps 'Kasdim' relates nothing more than a vague sense of territory. While extant material and other ''evidence'' cannot decisively answer the question 'whence cometh Abraham', I am not persuaded by the urgency of this deficit when it comes to understanding Abraham or his tradition. Neither does it seem consequential for his primary role in the biblical narrative. Moreover, we are not left entirely in the dark; the textual tradition does give a number of focused references to place. If the Abraham tradition presents a series of expansions upon foundational lore, then beneath his various geographic designations lies one or more concepts of physical locality represented by an assortment of passages establishing him in northern Mesopotamia. To what degree this corresponds to hypothetical, pre-Genesis Abraham lore is considerably less important than the biblical

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53. C. H. Gordon, *Abraham of Ur*, 83.

54. C. H. Gordon, "Abraham and the Merchants of Ura," 28-31.

55. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*, 361; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11* (SPCK: London, 1974), 562; J. Blenkinsopp, *Abraham: The Story of a Life* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2015), 31.

56. I have here removed a section concerning the argument that Gen 11:28-31 reflects exilic circumstances and is informed by that context. I find it confounding that Ur Kasdim, in relation to the patriarch, intends to provid a significant point of identification for an exilic community. It is highly unlikely that Judaean captives, or their legacy, situated near Babylon knew of a place called Ur far to their south. What is the point of inventing this patriarchal association when it would have no significance (geographically) to its audience? Similarly, I challenge the theory that Abraham's journey from Mesopotamia to Canaan demonstrates a pre-Exodus event and was therefore intended to epitomise God's salvific work on Israel's behalf throughout its history. In this regard, Albertz states that 'the election of Israel is traced back to Abraham, before the failed history of the exodus and the occupation of the land, and the call of Abraham is made the prototype of the expected call for the exiles.' R. Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century BCE* (Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta, 2003), 247-248, also 249-257. But the patriarch's story in Gen 11:28-12:4 does not support the type of theology we generally identify with exilic texts, neither does it parallel crucial features of the Exodus narrative. God plays no role in the decision to leave Ur. The journey is not a result of deliverance from unpleasant conditions and there is no promise of a better life (land of milk and honey) in Canaan. It is difficult to see how an exilic community would actually relate to this story. If we lacked the discovery of Ur in Sumer, I question whether the parallel between Abraham's origins and the exile would have enjoyed such longevity, or even been theorised.

narrative's decision to perpetuate this particular geographic relationship—a relationship corroborated elsewhere in the textual tradition.

Abraham's story is a turning point after the primeval history and it functions within similar geographic parameters, at least in theory if not in practice.[57] Genesis 11:8 relates how God scattered humanity from the tower 'over the face of the whole land,' thus throughout the region. [*Section omitted*][58] Abraham's homeland is a consequence of that dispersion and the general location of his first encounter with God is defined by those circumstances. His association with the area in question solidifies Abraham's relationship to the primeval history, but his calling reveals a paradigm-shift. The idea of origin is redirected in Abraham; where he came from is marginally significant, but where he goes and, more importantly, what he becomes, is crucial. Abraham is the ''great nation''; he, not the land, represents the point of origin. This nuance is lost when we force the material world onto the text. Of the many ways in which archaeology can benefit biblical studies, it does nothing to ''prove'' or ''disprove'' a tradition's ideological prerogative.

The objective of Gen 11:28-12:4, and similar passages, is not to convey the literal geography we relentlessly apply, rather it is to illustrate a much broader, abstract sense of movement from one ''place'' to another. The primary objective of Genesis is to establish Israel's origins as a people generally and as YHWH's elected people specifically. The success of this does not rest on historical veracity or empirical evidence, but on its ability to transmit the same concept in various ways. As such, we observe numerous occasions whereby God demonstrates the relationship with his people through relocation from a ''pagan'' land to that which is promised, to God's land. This does not mean that the authors of Genesis 11, in particular, disregarded actual geography, rather that attempts to decipher this element can obscure what the narrative is actually saying.

If we perceive the textual indecisiveness regarding Ur Kasdim as confusion, contradiction, or ignorance, this is only in relation to our desire for certainty and the feeling that we have the tools to reveal something that is absolute within the text. These qualifications, as it were, are amplified and fed by the physical, tangible encounter that archaeology can provide. While I concede (again) that this relationship can benefit our work, the case of Ur Kasdim illustrates its negative effects. Did unearthing Ur in the region of ancient Sumer advance our understanding of the biblical text? I would argue that it did not. Moreover, would that understanding be accentuated were we able to verify the location of that city? I doubt it. Nonetheless, how we read references to Ur Kasdim in the textual tradition is inescapably coloured by that discovery, to the extent that nearly all commentaries assume its geography. The veracity of this element matters very little, what is wholly significant is the proclivity

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57. Kratz suggests that Gen 12:1-3 initially attached itself to Gen 11:1-8: 'from humankind dispersed over the earth under the curse, Yhwh selects one man and puts the blessing on him.' R. G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (T&T Clark: London, 2005), 262.

58. I have here removed a section examining the geography of the primeval history. I suggest that according to (most of) the biblical text this history occurs (literarily) in a swath of land extending over northern Mesopotamia and demonstrates a regular pattern of movement across this area, but never to the south.

to make this assumption without fully considering the applicable texts. The title of this essay states that the reckless construction of meaning hinders responsible interpretations. The process by which scholarship has come to identify Abraham's Ur with that in ancient Sumer amounts to a reckless construction which has most certainly prevented us from making a balanced analysis of this literary feature.

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Haredi and Hardal Usage of Scriptural and Rabbinical References in Modern Jewish Apocalypticism

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Abstract

This paper focuses on two orthodox, Jewish perspectives. *Haredi* or ultra-Orthodoxy stems from traditional Judaism, which was identified as a Jewish perspective in 1795. *Hardal* or nationalist ultra-Orthodoxy is a subcategory to religious Zionism, and seeks ways to combine traditional Judaism with nationalistic messianism, stemming from two influential rabbis of the 20th century, R. Abraham Y. Kook (1865-1935) and R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook (1891-1982).

The 20th century was a turbulent century in Jewish history and provided many historical impulses to which the religious communities have had to respond. The two most profound of them were the *Shoah* and the establishment of the State of Israel. These events were so powerful that they could only be viewed through an eschatological lens. To incorporate these historical impulses into the theological structure, the two perspectives presented in this paper draw upon scriptural and rabbinical traditions. This paper presents patterns and examples of how interpretations and re-interpretations of Jewish tradition in the Haredi and Hardal perspectives serve the formation of their apocalypticism.

Haredi and Hardal Judaism

The Hardal (acronym for *Haredi dati leumi*, or nationalist ultra-Orthodox), is a subcategory to religious Zionism. The perspective is characterized by Nadav Shelef as "religious observance in the Haredi style combined with an uncompromising nationalist position as developed by the leaders of the *Merkaz Harav Yeshiva*," distinguishing itself as a particular category after the Six Day War in 1967.[1]

To the Hardalim represented in this article, the unfolding of history, particularly the dramatic events of the 20th century – with the highest points being the establishment of the State and the military triumph of the Six Day War – reveals that God is currently restoring his people. Exile has ended and redemption has begun. The regulations of life in exile do no longer apply. Instead, this perspective sees it as a religious obligation to engage in the process of redemption by contributing to a handful of specific worldly goals, attributed to redemption: for example, expanding the State of Israel to correspond to the idea of the Promised Land, to ingather the dispersed exiles. This ideotheology has tenets far back in Jewish tradition, but was brought to the fore by the two Kook Rabbis, whose yeshiva, *Merkaz Harav*, became a greenhouse for the perspective.[2]

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[1] Shelef 2010, 183; Cohen & Kampinsky 2006, 120; Arian 2009, 80.

[2] Sacks 1992: 69; Sharot 1982: 226-227.

It does not pose a problem to the Hardalim that not all features of redemption are fulfilled. Rather, it strengthens them in their belief, that redemption is a process – for it is unthinkable, that a state could have come into existence and prospered without divine involvement. Redemption is in the making. But how long will it take before the process of redemption is completed in the *ultimate redemption*? That depends not only on the will of God, but also on the effort the Jewish people make to pave way for the Messiah. According to this view, the Jewish people should do all in their power to contribute to the process of redemption, which will, in time, be completed in the coming of the Messiah and the ultimate redemption.[3]

A tendency to 'messianize' politics has become notable, particularly within the religious Zionist perspective, since the war of 1973.[4] A noteworthy development after the Oslo Accords, Shelef notes, is the growth of the Hardal, both numerously and theologically. There has been a tendency towards a 'Haredization' within the perspective; for example, the role of the rabbi is enhanced while the role of the political leadership is diminished; Haredi attributes, like fashion, are taken on by the Hardalim. Shelef interprets this development as a hint of the 'desired proximity to the Haredim'.[5]

Haredi Judaism is, thus, its own category within Orthodox Judaism. On the surface, the Haredi community might appear homogenous, but it includes a "wide range of nuances".[6] In spite of the fragmentation of the perspective, the Haredim nevertheless "share a psycho-social worldview."[7] The term *Haredi* (Heb. "those who tremble [in fear of God]") once referred to religious Jews in general, but today it is usually refers to

> the most extreme of Orthodox Jews who, although they have changed over time, claim to have made no compromises with contemporary secular culture or essential changes in the way they practice their Judaism from what the tradition and *halakhah* have sanctified throughout the ages.[8]

Marshall Berger observes that the definition of Orthodoxy may have, "in fact, been relegated to Haredi Orthodoxy, albeit they are not part of the religious Zionist world."[9] Characteristic of this perspective is the (hostile) perception of the world as seeking to undermine their attachments to tradition:

> They see themselves as an often lonely force endlessly combating obstacles, convinced that catastrophes of existence come as the inevitable culmination of past choices and experiences, which most contemporary members of secular society have made and had. [...] They consider their lives as a

[3] Ravitzky 1993, 26-32.

[4] Werblowsky 2005, 5977.

[5] Shelef 2010, 182.

[6] Inbari 2007, 106.

[7] Heilman & Skolnik 2007, 349.

[8] Heilman & Skolnik 2007, 349.

[9] Berger 2010, 356.

> service to God and Jewish tradition and the only true merit which is prescribed by the Torah and its accepted rabbinic interpretations.[10]

A shared feature is the antipathy for secularism. But despite the denominators they share, there are ferocious tensions and rivalry between these communities, arising from doctrinal differences, competition for resources, personal competitiveness and differences in approaches to Zionism.[11] Most of the Haredim affiliate with *Satmar Hasidism.*[12] Although the Satmar group is "smaller in number", it has had "an impact on the character of Hasidic life".[13]

Nadav Shelef notes a "decreasing cultural gap" between the two perspectives. The development is most visible in the growing radicalization of the religious Zionist perspective, including the Hardal; the "increased religious fanaticism" was spearheaded by the graduates of the *Merkaz Harav Yeshiva* and resulted in a "growing social, cultural and theological closeness between this segment of religious Zionism and the Haredi world."[14]

This article is interested in whether this decreasing cultural gap and growing theological closeness are also visible features of respective argumentation. Thus seem to indicate a bitter conclusion by *True Torah Jews Against Zionism*:

> What an absurd time we live in, when the religious Zionists have become more Zionist than the Zionists, and borrow the rhetoric of the anti-Zionist Jews for use in their campaign against them.[15]

This article, hence, compares patterns in the theological argumentations of the Hardal perspective (here represented by *R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook* and *R. Yisrael Ariel* of *the Temple Institute*) and the Haredi perspective (here represented by the organization *True Torah Jews Against Zionism* and *Neturei Karta*, hence JAZ and NK). Of particular interest to this article is the usage of scriptural and rabbinical references.

1. Two Ways of Reading History

The discrepancy between the two perspectives is visible in their concept of how to influence the shift from exile to redemption. As noted above, the apocalypticism of the Hardal perspective relies heavily on interpretations of the socio-political developments. It reads *tradition in light of history*. A Jewish state could not have been established if not by the hand of God; it could not have prospered agriculturally if God had not made the land "shoot forth

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[10] Heilman & Skolnik 2007, 349.

[11] Friedland & Hecht 2000, 78.

[12] *Hasidism* is a Jewish pietistic movement originating from Eastern Europe. See Sagiv 2012, 277-290. R. Yoel Teitelbaum (1887-1979) was the *admor* (acronym for master, teacher and rebbe) of Satmar Hasidism. He produced the "theologically best-argued" anti-Zionist tract, *Vayoel Moshe*, in the late 1950's. After his passing, he was succeeded by his nephew, R. Moshe Teitelbaum. Porat 1992, 699.

[13] Heilman & Skolnik 2007, 348-349.

[14] Shelef 2010, 183.

[15] www.truetorahjews.org/extremistsummit, accessed 7.8.2017.

your branches and yield your fruit" (Ezek. 36:8); it could not have survived the war of 1967 without divine intervention – "even the secularists called them a miracle".[16] These and other experiences of the 20th century attest to the conclusion that God has ended the exile and redemption has begun. "Be quiet, pensive and listen", R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook taught, "Then you will see the Almighty, who disguises Himself in the events which unfold in the world."[17]

The Haredi perspective relies less on socio-political developments and tend to *read history in light of tradition*. Tradition holds that the Jewish people will be brought out of the exile and summoned to *Eretz Yisrael* by a messianic figure in the end of days. Since no messianic figure has come forth, the *Shoah* and the establishment of the State of Israel can only be perceived as "part of the same process of destruction".[18] Hence, in relation to the example above concerning the State of Israel's fruitful agriculture, JAZ counter-argues:

> The Satmar Rov [R. Yoel Teitelbaum] writes that the Gemora about Eretz Yisroel producing fruit means either in a miraculous way new fruits growing every day, as we see in Shabbos 30b that they will do this in the time of Moshiach or else it at least means like the way it was in the times of Tanach; see Rashi on Bamidbar 13:23 where he talks about the great size of the fruits brought back by the spies. But if they grow naturally like in the rest of the world the more work you put into it, the more it grows that is not a proof of anything. In general, whenever people bring proof from the successes of the Zionists their successes in agriculture, in diplomacy or in battle they are missing an important point. Such arguments do have a wide appeal, for every Torah Jew believes that Hashem did, does and will do all things. The fallacy of the argument lies in the undeniable fact that there is evil in this world. Hashem allows people free will to choose to do wrong, and even to be successful in doing wrong on a large scale.[19]

Hence, for the Haredim presented here, apocalypticism cannot be logically derived from socio-political development, but *vice versa* – the socio-political developments can only be correctly understood in light of tradition. The absence of a messianic figure is sufficient proof that the exile continues. Hence, a spirit of repentance is held to be an ideal, which is why an attitude of passivity has come to dominate many aspects of life.[20] Since the exile is thought to be a chastisement for transgressions, humbly accepting whatever burden God sees fit to lay upon the people is the only means to constructively influence the shift from exile to redemption:

> This yearning manifested itself over the centuries only in prayer, good deeds and a spirit of penitence. This is the only Divinely sanctioned methodology to end the punishment of exile. Zionism, at root, rejected this sacred view of history.[21]

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[16] Hertzberg 1986, 87.

[17] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 330.

[18] Rabkin 2006, 196.

[19] www.truetorahjews.org/qanda/chutzlaaretz, accessed 7.4.2017.

[20] Ravitzky 1993, 13-22.

[21] www.nkusa.org/AboutUs/FAQs/index.cfm#reaction, accessed 7.4.2017.

Besides *BT Ketubbot 111a*, JAZ also refers to *Isa 11:12* and Mishneh Torah, *Hilchot Melachim uMilchemetem 11:1* for the view that the Messiah will "arise and restore the kingship of the house of David to its former status, build the Temple and gather in the exiles of Israel".[22] NK refers to *BT Ketubbot 111a* for an akin view: that Jews "shall not use human force to bring about the establishment of a Jewish state before the coming of the universally accepted Moshiach". Furthermore, it is "forbidden to rebel against the nations", and the Jewish people should "not attempt to leave the exile which G-d sent [the Jewish people] into, ahead of time".[23]

The messianic figure is expected to display features so extraordinary, that "no false Messiah will be able to do it and fool the world".[24] For example, the Messiah is expected to "bring all the Jews to repent and follow the laws of the Torah"; he will also ingather the exiles and rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, and he will be recognized by the entire world as the Messiah. If he fails or dies in the process, he was not the Messiah.[25]

Hence, there need not be any confusion as to who is the true Messiah; those already living a life in repentance should continue on that path, and those who do not, should do *teshuva*. Hence, the Haredim do not need to continuously evaluate the socio-political developments and "read the signs" – in time, the Messiah will reveal himself, but even then, the Jewish people will continue life as they know it, until all have returned to faith.

> But it is impossible, for most of them, to pass through apocalyptic events such as the Holocaust, or to experience the end of exile and the reestablishment of Israel as a sovereign commonwealth, without the stirring of messianic chords in their souls.[26]

2. Two Ways of Relating to the Shoah

The *Shoah*[27] (Heb. "catastrophe" or "devastation") is a term used to refer to the unconceivable and inexpressible – the loss of millions of lives, systematically persecuted and murdered on an industrial scale, by the hands of elected politicians and assigned authorities, in the eyes of a –predominantly – silent world. Abraham Burg reflects that the *Shoah* was never integrated

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[22] www.truetorahjews.org/qanda/messiah1, accessed 31.3.2017.

[23] www.nkusa.org/aboutus/index.cfm, accessed 7.4.2017.

[24] www.truetorahjews.org/qanda/messiah1, accessed 31.3.2017.

[25] www.truetorahjews.org/qanda/recognizemessiah, accessed 31.3.2017. For a discussion on the three levels of verification, see www.truetorahjews.org/qanda/rambam3, accessed 20.5.2017.

[26] Werblowsky 2005, 5978.

[27] When addressing the genocide of 1/3 of the world Jewry under the reign of Nazism, I prefer the term *Shoah* to *Holocaust*. Although both terms are used in scholarly and public discourse, the former term has the advantage of not connotating the Jewish sacrificial offering, whereas the latter may be perceived as conveying a theological positioning; that the millions of Jews murdered in the genocide was a burnt offering for the atonement of sins. Claude Faure notes that "most Israelis" and "many Jews" prefer the word *Shoah* for these reasons. The term Holocaust is derived from the Old French *holocaust*, which, in turn, has its roots in the Greek *holokauston*, of *holos* (whole) and *kaustos* (burned). Faure 2004, 172.

into history; the destruction was too grim to be conceptualized as a historical event among others. "We have never sought to view our Shoah as an event in the historical continuum of others," he concludes.[28] Both perspectives of this article, however, have presented a theodicy, to solve the existential problem of the Shoah. Dina Porat notes that the Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews "remain constantly preoccupied and troubled by the Holocaust".[29]

A reappearing way of approaching the *Shoah* in the Hardal perspective is to juxtapose the darkness of the *Shoah* with the light of the "incredible revival", as R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook put it.[30] Yakov M. Rabkin perceives that the *Shoah* represents to the Hardalim "the point of departure for redemption"; it was a necessity of redemption, which made sense only in relation to the rebirth of the Jewish people as a nation.[31]

In Shai Held's analysis, R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook construed the *Shoah* not within the ordinary Jewish religious construction of sin and punishment, but in the view of the final aim, i.e., as a necessary stage in the process of redemption.[32] Along the same lines of analysis, Yehuda Mirsky perceives that R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook "came to see a massive divine hand at work" in the horrors of the *Shoah*. A catastrophe of those proportions could only be explained by the "terrible necessities of redemption".[33] He approached the question of the *Shoah* cautiously, not only because it is an "awesome topic", but also because criticizing God constitutes "the greatest sin":

> Everything which happens in the world is a Divine mystery. The understanding of Divine Provicence, in all of its complexity, is not revealed to us. Analytic studies of the Holocaust are a juvenile activity. Only with great sensitivity, and with a mature spiritual perspective, is it possible to approach this awesome topic.[34] […] Criticism of the Almighty is the greatest sin, evolving from a lack of Emunah [faith] in Hashem's management over the world. Similarly, objections to the Holocaust also fall into the category of complaints against the Holy One, Blessed be He.[35]

R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook thus acknowledges that understanding the divine plan is "not easy", but still warns, "Difficulties do not justify sin".[36] Accompanying Held and Mirsky, also Gershon Greenberg proposes that R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook coupled the *Shoah* with the birth of the State of Israel as a "divinely administered drama" (citing Ezek. 16:6, "In your blood I said to you: Live!"). R. Kook perceived the interwar era as the *kets hameguleh*, the manifestation of the

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[28] Burg 2008, 153.

[29] Porat 1992, 712.

[30] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 263.

[31] Rabkin 2006, 196; Mirsky 2014, 225.

[32] Held 2014, 242; 252.

[33] Mirsky 2014, 225. See also Ravitzky 1993, 127.

[34] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 262.

[35] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 261.

[36] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 262.

redemptive terminus to Israel's history (BT Sanhedrin 98b).[37] It was time for Israel's dry bones to be resurrected into life (Ezek. 37:1-14).[38] Following, the *Shoah* does not carry a "message" or a "lesson" *per se* in the Hardal perspective; theologically, it is explained as a painful consequence of the Jewish people being "embedded in the tar of the Galut".[39] R. Kook explained:

> We are speaking of a reckoning which encompasses all of the nation, which arises from the situation of, *They despised the desirable Land (Tehillim 106:24)*. This is an amputation which causes the nation as a whole to separate from the Diaspora and return to its life in the Land of Israel.[40]

In the Haredi perspective, Yakov M. Rabkin notes the sharp distinction between Zionism and traditional Judaism: while Zionism sees the pre-State political and military debility as the cause of the *Shoah*, the "pious Jew tend to locate its root in the seriousness of the sins committed by the Jews".[41] The idea that evil is a response to sin has deep biblical roots; it is often expressed in the historical books.[42] It is a "central theme" of the holiday *Musaf* prayers; the paragraph *umi-pêne hata'ênu* begins with the words: "On account of our sins we have been exiled".[43] David Novak summarizes:

> Truth be told, these pietists [Haredim] have a good deal of Jewish tradition behind their assertions. […] their primary intention is to tell us where God was during the Holocaust: he was there as the avenger of the sins of the Jewish people.[44]

The theological construct of the Haredim understand Zionism, among other expressions of Jewish emancipation in the 19th and 20th centuries as the root cause for the Shoah. Both are expressions the overconfidence and disobedience to God that broke the tradition of piously abiding in exile. In Dina Porat's analysis, explaining Zionism "a modern Satan of sorts" became a method for preserving the integrity of the belief system faced with a catastrophe.[45] R. Moshe Shonfeld, associated with NK, concludes that the *Shoah* "would be inexplicable to us, if it were not for the understanding we derive from our holy Torah that all of this was, indeed, from the Almighty":[46]

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[37] *Ketz Hameguleh*, "the heralded redemption", an expression that appears in *BT Sanhedrin 98b*. See Greenberg 2007, 136.

[38] Greenberg 2004, 99-100.

[39] Samson, Aviner & Fishman 1991, 271.

[40] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 272.

[41] Rabkin 2006, 170.

[42] Cf. 1 Sam. 12:19, 2 Chron. 28:13, Neh. 9:37, Dan. 9:16.

[43] Freundel 2004, 66; Idelsohn 1932, 191.

[44] Novak 2007, 252.

[45] Porat 1992, 713.

[46] Shonfeld 1977, 5-6.

> In our time we have experienced a flood of fire, a flood that has no equal since the creation of the world. What happened to the Jewish people in Europe should terrify us and arouse us from now until the redemption. We should be speaking constantly of the judgement of Hashem – "what is this G-d has done to us?" (Bereishis 42:28)[47]

Yakov M. Rabkin draws the same conclusions: that the meaning of the *Shoah* was to arouse the Jewish people to repent and return to the ways of the fathers, in fear of God:

> The tragedy of the Shoah calls out for the closest scrutiny of one's own behaviour, for individual and collective atonement. It is not an occasion for accusing the executioner and even less an attempt to explain his behaviour by political, ideological or social factors. The executioner – be he the Pharaoh, Amalek or Hitler – cannot be anything but an agent of divine punishment, an undoubtedly cruel means of bringing the Jews to repentance (BT Megila 14a, BT Sanhedrin 47a).[48]

To summarize, to understand the *Shoah*, the Hardalim turn to the prophecy of Ezekiel (16; 37); the dry bones coming to life, and the Jewish people living in the blood of those who perished, seems the only way to bring order into the theological construct. But to the Haredim, the Shoah would be inexplicable without the tradition of a sin-and-punishment dynamic – and Zionism seems the significant deviation from the tradition that brought the *Shoah* upon the Jewish people. R. Moshe Sonnenfeld of NK explains that by explicating the theological framework, in which the *Shoah* transpired, he hopes to warn the Jewish people and prevent heresy to spread:

> Lest you may ask, "why should we uncover this, why should we open old wounds?" this is to warn you to beware that there might be within your heart an iota of desire to serve this Zionist idol, or to get close to it and be within its realm.[49]

3. Two Ways of Reading Maimonides

Both the Hardalim and the Haredim look to Maimonides (1153-1204) to argue for their apocalypticism. Maimonides, however, upheld "a careful balance between the naturalistic and supernaturalistic approaches", Howard Kriesel analyses. [50] Yael Sagiv-Feldman sees a development from the early compositions to the later; Maimonides "moves from historical assurances of the coming redemption to a definite prohibition of any calculation of the End of Days". In Joel L. Kraemer's understanding, Maimonides – like others before him – perceived hardships like wars, catastrophes, apostasy and upheavals as "footsteps of the Messiah"; in his *Epistle to Yemen*, Maimonides proposes an "active Messianism built on natural preparation, not a passive Messianism based on eschatological visions of divine interventions."[51] But in

[47] Cohen 2007, 11.

[48] Rabkin 2006, 169.

[49] Shonfeld 1977, 8-9.

[50] Kreisel 2003, 160.

[51] Kraemer 2006, 34; Sagiv-Feldman 1979, 107-110.

the Epistle, Maimonides explicitly refers to the *Threefold oath*[52] and pleads with the people to abide by it.[53] Hence, Maimonides leaves room for interpretation.

To the Hardalim represented in this article, Maimonides is a "universally recognized Torah authority" [54] and "an invaluable source".[55] A central doctrine the Hardalim derive from Maimonides is that all commandments are *perpetual*:

> Maimonides teaches (Sefer Igeret Ha'Shmad) that the performance of all the commandments are not dependent on the coming of the messiah. They are to be fulfilled at all times. G-d does not change His mind, or nullify any of the commandments included in the Torah, which were given once, for all time.[56]

This doctrine is then applied, among others, on the *mitzvah dalet*, which is not part of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, but was later adjoined by Nachmanides (1194-1270) in his commentary to Maimonides' *Sefer HaMitzvot*. R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook instructs that the *mitzvah* to "come and possess" (Deut. 1:6-8, 21) is a commandment, whether it is enjoyable or "goes against out nature and spirit":

> How is this precept performed? If need be, trough the waging of war to conquer the land – whether this be enjoyable to us, or whether it goes against our nature and spirit. *Baruch Hashem*, we don't choose between mitzvot like certain 'Orthodox' Jews do. If it were possible to conquer the Land without spilling blood, certainly this would be better. This is obvious. However, until the End of Days, when, *Nation shall not lift up sword against nation* [Isa 2:4], sometimes we have no choice but to act with our soldiers and army. We actualize this commandment, to hold the Land of Israel in our hands, and not leave it under the role of any other nation, trough our military actions, even in light of the unpleasant consequences which war involves.[57]

Gadi Taub notes that taking after Nachmanides,[58] R. Kook elevated the settling of and dwelling in *Eretz Yisrael* to *the* mitzvah.[59] R. Tzvi Yehuda perceived Nachmanides as "one of

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[52] An integral element in the concept of exile is the Talmudic tradition of *the Threefold oath. BT Ketubbot 110b-111a* holds a tradition that before going into exile, the Jewish people gave an oath, which regulates life in exile, emphasizing the virtue of humbly abiding in faith and meekly enduring the chastisement. Aviezer Ravitzky explicates the *Threefold oath* thoroughly in the appendix: "The Impact of the Three Oaths in Jewish History" in *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism*. Ravitzky 1993, 211-234.

[53] Halkin & Hartman 1985, 130.

[54] www.templeinstitute.org/aliya_temple_mount.htm, accessed 7.4.2017.

[55] www.templeinstitute.org/rambam.htm, accessed 5.12.2014.

[56] www.templeinstitute.org/statement.htm, accessed 23.2.2017.

[57] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 168-169.

[58] Gadi Taub does not explicate precisely what aspect of R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook's approach he perceives as Nachmanidean. Possibly he shares Aaron W. Hughes' impression (2012: 154), that Nachmanides sought to "uncover the literal, rationalist, and mystical levels of the text", and "connect the truths of the kabbalah with the traditional genre of biblical commentary". While Robert Eisen (2011, 183-184) assesses that there was "no real precedence for using Kabbalistic thinking" the way R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook did, and while Benjamin Ish-Shalom (1993, xi) sees R. Abraham Y. Kook as a "unique phenomenon in the history of Jewish thought", the Kookist

the most outstanding sages and Kabbalists" – in his view, widely accepted among the *Rishonim* and second in importance to Maimonides.[60] On this topic, R. Kook also cites the *Ohr Somayah* (R. Meir Simcha HaKohen of Dvinsk, 1843-1926), who stated,

> Since the fear of the [Three] Oaths has been removed with the permissions of the nations, the mitzvah of settling the Land of Israel arises, a mitzvah equal to all of the other precepts in the Torah, and this mitzvah returns to its place.[61]

R. Kook further specifically argued, with reference to Maimonides, that the ingathering of the exiles is both a revelation and a foundation of redemption. Redemption, thus, will not come trough miracles, but trough natural, socio-political developments.[62] This seems to reflect *Mishneh Torah (Hilchot Melachim 11:3),* in which Maimonides warns, "One should not presume that the Messianic king must work miracles and wonders, bring about new phenomena in the world".[63] Kenneth Seeskin concurs with Joel L. Kraemer, that in Maimonides thinking, life in the messianic age will be business as usual; life will still comprise of birth and death, working to reduce poverty and weakness, striving to increase welfare and strength. Maimonides writes that explicitly, "Let no one think that in the days of the Messiah any of the laws of nature will be set aside, or any innovation be introduced into creation. The world will follow its normal course."[64] R. Yisrael Ariel of the Temple Institute echoes the same conviction:

> Through the years, the more I studied, the more I began to understand that we had only ourselves and our own inaction to hold accountable: G-d does not intend for us to wait for a day of miracles. We are expected to act. We must accomplish that with which we have been charged: to do all in our power to prepare for the rebuilding of the Holy Temple, and the renewal of the divine service.[65]

When stressing the perpetual obligation of fulfilling the commandments rather than stressing the obligation to contribute to the process of redemption, the order of events falls out of focus. *Even if* tradition suggests the Messiah will precede the ingathering of the exiles, the establishment of a Jewish nation and the Third Temple, it does not call for a change in the

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and Nachmanidean interpretations might both be perceived as stretching towards a similar mystical-literal revelation of scripture.

[59] Taub 2010, 45.

[60] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 112.

[61] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 235. The commentator to R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook's teachings, *Torat Eretz Yisrael,* R. David Samson, presents the Ohr Somayah as "known for his constant support of the Zionist movement" and relates that "he was aware of the controversy surrounding the Zionist movement, and spoke out sharply in its behalf". R. Samson relates that the Ohr Somayah adapted Zionism from R. Shmuel Mohilever, founder of the Chabat Zion movement and Chief Rabbi of Bialistok. The *Ohr Somayah* settled at Bialistok a young age. Ibid., 235.

[62] Aviner, Samson & Fishman 1991, 293.

[63] Touger 2001, 612.

[64] Seeskin 2006, 159; Kraemer 2006, 34.

[65] www.templeinstitute.org/about.htm#Rabbi-Ariel, accessed 7.4.2017.

plan of action, if the plan for action is based on adherence to the commandments, rather than on the understanding of redemption. Nevertheless, the Temple Institute interprets Maimonides as *de facto* indicating that Third Temple will, in fact, precede the coming of the Messiah:

> if there really is a question as to "Which comes first, the Messiah or the Temple," there seems to be ample indication that the building of the Holy Temple will precede the Messiah's arrival. Various Biblical verses and statements made by the great sages prove this. This is actually the opinion of Maimonides, who quotes an astounding verse from the prophecy of Malachi *(3:1)* in his classic Letter to Yemen: "For suddenly the master whom you are seeking will come to his sanctuary."[66]

To the Haredi position, an essential concept is that the Threefold oath forbids Jewish sovereignty while the exile endures, and hence, a Jewish state is unthinkable. It is of a particular interest for their argumentation that Maimonides in the *Epistle to Yemen*, seems to suggest the Messiah will come *before* the state is reinstituted:

> They are likewise wrong in their predictions concerning the era of the Messiah, may he speedily come. For while the Gentiles believe that our nation will never constitute an independent state, nor will they even rise above their present condition, and all the astrologers, diviners, and augurs concur in this opinion, God will prove false their views and beliefs, and will order the advent of the Messiah. Again, it is Isaiah who makes reference to this event in the verse: "That frustrate the tokens of the impostors, and makes the diviners mad; that turns wise men backward, and makes their knowledge foolish; that confirms the word of His servant, and performs the counsel of His messengers; that says of Jerusalem, "She shall be inhabited"; and of the cities of Juda, "They shall be built, and I will raise up the waste places thereof" (Is. 44:25-26).[67]

But the Haredim also find other teachings in Maimonides that seem to support their argumentation. With reference to his *Teshuva 7:5*, the Haredim stress that the Messiah will come to bring the Jewish people to repent; that is to say, the people will not be yet repenting at the time of his emergence. Maimonides writes that Israel "will only be redeemed trough repentance […] at the end of their exile, and then immediately they will be redeemed". From this, and from a passage of *Hilchot Melachim* (11:4), they gather that only upon the arrival of the Messiah, redemption can be realized:

> it seems that the Rambam's view is that Moshiach will appear before the Jews have repented, he will get them to repent, and only then will he begin putting the redemption into action – gathering the exiles and building the Temple, etc.[68]

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[66] www.templeinstitute.org/messiah_temple.htm, accessed 7.4.2017. The passage from Maimonides' Epistle to Yemen cited here reads: "Regarding the question of how and where Mashiach will appear; we know he will make his first appearance in *Eretz Yisrael*. As it says, "Suddenly he will come to His temple" (Malachi 3:1). But no one will know how he will arise until it actually happens." Finkel 1996, 40-41.

[67] Twersky 1972, 453. See discussion in www.truetorahjews.org/siman31, accessed 5.8.2017.

[68] www.truetorahjews.org/parsha_pearls/rosh, accessed 7.4.2017.

Summary and Conclusions

Both perspectives use biblical and rabbinical sources as the backbone of their argumentation. The Hardalim, who sought to distance themselves from the Diaspora, by default also distanced themselves from a substantial part of the Jewish tradition, developed *for* and *from* life in exile. For example, the perspective wavers on how to relate to the tradition of the Threefold oath. Hence, the Hardalim adopted the Bible, reinterpreted it as a national-historical text, and based upon these interpretations its mythical infrastructure for the new, Jewish identity.[69]

The Haredi perspective seems to prefer rabbinical sources. In their own words, "the reason we stress the Rabbinic sources more than the Biblical is that there are many religious Zionists who believe in the Bible and yet support Zionism", but "once one studies the Rabbinic sources, it becomes clear that any activity on our part towards gathering the exiles and political sovereignty is forbidden."[70] Hence, the Bible does not explicitly enough argue for the traditional understanding of exile and redemption, according to the Haredim. Baruch Kimmerling analyses that the Bible has received a "marginal place" in rabbinical culture and theology, simply because it had little bearing on Jewish life and its continuity, despite being a moral-religious text.[71]

Above, I have presented examples of how the Hardal and the Haredi perspectives use scriptural and rabbinical references when arguing for their respective apocalypticism. A shared feature of the two perspectives is the *need* to reference these materials to gain or sustain credibility. When a textual interpretation of a text is accompanied by neediness, the questions poses upon the texts easily shift from "what does the text say" to "what would we like it to say" and "how can we make it say that". Gideon Aran & Ron E. Hassner see tradition as "a flexible and heterogeneous reservoir on which traditionalists draw, selectively and creatively, in order to legitimate their claims." This enables a religious or political group to shift from tolerance and reconciliation to violence and segregation. Aran & Hassner see that "both currents coexist in parallel and in dialectical relationship with one another."[72]

When references to scripture or tradition are unconventional, brief or generalized, it could be an indication that the reference has been put to use for a proposed theological construct, rather than being its starting point. Robert Eisen analyses that with the nationalism of R. Tzvi Yehuda Kook, Jewish tradition was bent out of shape:

> Some of the key ideas of the younger Kook also provide excellent examples of how nationalism distorted traditional Jewish teaching […] the younger Kook's use of Kabbalistic metaphysics to justify the use of military force to bring the messianic redemption can also be judged as tendentious […] There was no real precedent for using Kabbalistic thinking in this way. […] Religious Zionists,

[69] Kimmerling 2001, 192.

[70] www.truetorahjews.org/qanda/sources1, accessed 14.3.2017.

[71] Kimmerling 2001, 192.

[72] Aran & Hassner 2013, 357-58.

> however, have been consistent in their unwillingness to admit their modernism, and they maintain that self-deception by justifying their thinking on the basis of ideas and text drawn from the tradition, as if their values have always been those of Judaism.[73]

Furthermore, Eisen concludes that the Haredim are "on firm ground" when they persist in their belief that only God can use violence to re-establish Jewish sovereignty. He also finds their reading of the Threefold oath plausible:

> Ultra-Orthodox anti-Zionists [Haredim] also give a plausible reading of the Talmudic passage involving the three oaths when they interpret it to mean that Jews must not establish a sovereign Jewish state in the land of Israel before the coming of the messiah. Therefore, however eccentric this group of ultra-Orthodox Jews may appear to most Jews, their commitment to nonviolence vis-a-vis Palestinians and Arabs is very much within the parameters of the Jewish tradition.[74]

We are now witnessing a formative process in Judaism. The historical impulses have forced the communities to re-read classical, Jewish texts and reconsider the answers tradition has in store for times of crisis. The Hardal perspective has evolved *with* the historical impulses and re-read Jewish tradition *in response* to them, resulting in innovative theological solutions, selectively retrieving classical, Jewish sources and reformulating Jewish apocalypticism. For the Haredi perspective, the process has led to a reinforcement of the traditional understanding of an enduring exile at the mercy of God, prohibiting the Jewish people to take control over their own fate.[75]

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[73] Eisen 2011, 183-184.

[74] Eisen 2011, 193-194.

[75] www.nkusa.org/AboutUs/FAQs/index.cfm#reaction, accessed 7.4.2017. However, I have challenged the idea that this *de facto* is en expression of passivity; rather, I have perceived it as an alternative way to understand the covenant between God and man on the path towards redemption. Thus, I perceive it as a form of activism, which the categorization of the perspective as an expression of "passive messianism" fails to reflect. For example, as I have displayed above, NK sees prayer, good deeds and a spirit of pentinence as the only "sanctioned methodology to end the punishment of exile". Anderssén-Löf 2016, 243; 250-254.

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Preface

Within the following paper, I will analyse two passages from the book of Jeremiah (6:13-15 and 8:10b-12), which read almost identical, and mainly deal with the false promises of peace uttered by prophets and priests.

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

1) The literary relationship between Jer 6:12 and 8:10a and
2) Their exclusion from the units Jer 6:13-15 and Jer 8:10b-12;
3) The priority of Jer 6:13-15 over Jer 8:10b-12;
4) The accusations of falsehood and the events of 587;
5) The accusations against prophets and priests and the so-called “false prophets”;

From the Prophet to the Priest, Everyone Commits Falsehood

A Comparison between Jeremiah 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12

1. Introduction

The religious class of Jerusalem appears as one of the privileged targets of YHWH's reprimand in the book of Jeremiah. Accusations against the prophets are a common feature,[1] while the priests are never singled out, but always combined with other groups.[2] In Jer 6:13-15 – and in the almost identical passage in 8:10b-12 – the priests and the prophets are charged of a rather peculiar sin. They have misled the people promising שלום, but peace was not forthcoming for Judah (cf. 6:14, ואין שלום, "there is no peace"). Our investigation will try to unveil the meaning of this accusation and to explain its implications and context. The excerpts addressed here present the same content, with minor textual variations, showing "repetition" of the same materials.[3] This is not a surprising feature in the Hebrew Bible, and the book of Jeremiah, more than other prophetic books, embodies this phenomenon.[4] Within our analysis, we will argue that neither Jer 6:13-15 or 8:10b-12 are original in their respective chapters, but read as secondary, independent layers attached to pre-existent materials, meant to accuse the religious leaders of the community. Moreover, as to the literary relationship between the two, we will ascribe priority to Jer 6:13-15, which represents the model for 8:10b-12. Finally, as to the content of these allegations, which revolve around the key terms שקר, "falsehood", and שלום, "peace", we will argue for a thematic connection to the *leitmotif*

[1] Cf. Jer 2:8, 26-30; 5:13; 13:13; 14:13-16; 23:13-14; 25-32; 26:9-16; 27:8-18; 28:1-17; 29:8-9, 15-23; 32:32; 37:19.
[2] The priests are accused with kings, nobles and prophets in Jer 2:8, 26-27; 4:9-10; 8:1-2; 32:32; and among other generic leaders in Jer 1:17-19 and 34:19-20. Priests and prophets are coupled together in Jer 5:31; 6:13; 8:10a; 14:18; 23:11-12, 33-34.
[3] Among other solutions (such as "doublet", "doubling", "duplication"), we adopted the term "repetition" implying that Jer 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12, although being almost identical, present a slightly changed syntaxes and form.
[4] Cf. Jer 10:12-16 and 51:15-19; 15:13-14 and 17:1-4; 16:14-15 and 23:7-8; 23:19-20 and 30:23-24; 30:10-11 and 46:27-28.

of the "foe from the North" cycle, and thus Jer 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12 relate to the fall of Jerusalem. It is our understanding that the false promises of peace represent an accusation *a posteriori*, meant to associate the religious class of the Persian period with those who have promised that no harm would have stricken Jerusalem and its inhabitants during the Babylonian invasion.

1.2 The "Foe from the North" and the Core of the Book of Jeremiah

Since it is important for the developing of our argument, it seems appropriate to address here one of the main themes in Jeremiah. Within the first chapters of the book, references to an unnamed enemy that will strike from the North appear (cf. Jer 1:13-16; 4:5-8, 13-22, 27-31; 5:15-17; 6:1-8, 22-26; 8:14-17), and scholars agree in considering Jer 4:5 – 6:30 a collection of early oracles, generally labelled as the "foe from the North" cycle.[5] Although presenting heterogeneous materials,[6] Jer 4:5 – 6:30 clearly revolve around the common theme of YHWH's imminent destruction of Judah to punish the sins of his people, which have become intolerable. To do so, the deity will issue a foreign army to bring destruction and desolation. None of the oracles in this section can be dated with precision, as the mention of an anonymous enemy that will come from the North reads cryptic. Thus, scholars have generally considered a significant temporal length to constitute a suitable background to read at least part of the materials in Jer 4:5 – 6:30, ranging from the reign of Josiah to the one of his successor Jehoiakim, and even to the fall of Jerusalem.[7] Similarly, the identity of the enemy from the North is ambiguous.

[5] The presence of a thematic section in Jer 4:5 – 6:30 is retained by many, see Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.63; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.50; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.53; Jones, *Jeremiah*, p.30; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.71; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, pp.86 and 218; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, p.63. Carroll also states that the *leitmotif* of the "foe from the North" was considered so prominent that later redactors inserted it as the subject of the prophet's first vision (cf. Jer 1:13-19); see Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.107. Few commentators have proposed a longer unit (namely, Jer 4:5 – 10:25), as sporadic references to a northern enemy are found beyond Jer 6:30; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.133 and Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.333.

[6] The composite nature of chs.4 – 6, which present short oracles revolving around the same *leitmotif*, has been widely recognized; see Allen, *Jeremiah*, p.84; Albertz, *Israel in Exile,* p.314; Biddle, *Redaction History*, pp.29 and 81; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.70; Thiel, *Redaktion 1-25*, p.81; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.lxxxiv; Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.160. Among other scholars who dissent as to this and attribute the entire book to the "historical" Jeremiah, Jones holds a peculiar position. He does not question the editorial work that shaped the book of Jeremiah in its final form, but considers Jer 1 – 6 to represent Baruch's scroll (cf. Jer 36). In his understanding, Jeremiah's secretary would have gathered in chs.1 – 6 the earliest preaching of the prophet, with almost no glosses and only marginal expansion; see Jones, *Jeremiah*, pp.29-30.

[7] Bright (followed by Thompson) argues that part of the materials have been composed during the last years of Josiah (around 605); however, he also states that some of the poems are "so graphic" that may have been composed while the invasion was in progress; see Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.34 and Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*,

Older scholars, who read this section on the backdrop of the early years of Josiah, have consider the "foe from the North" to refer to the Scythians, a nomadic people inhabiting large areas in the central Eurasian steppes, who may have threatened Judah around 627.[8] Those who instead claim for the setting to range from 605 to 587, all understand the "foe" to be referring to the Babylonian empire.[9]

However, within Jer 4:5 – 6:30 there is no explicit reference to Babylon, although this is clearly the interpretation given by the book of Jeremiah in its final form (cf. Jer 25:9 and 46:24). The book of Jeremiah purports to present the words of a prophet of the 6th century, Jeremiah ben Hilkiah (cf. Jer 1:1-3), mostly active during the years of the Babylonian invasions, so that this identification of the "enemy" with Babylon shall not be questioned. Nevertheless, the book of Jeremiah is mainly the result of the efforts of redactors active much later the supposed temporal settings, so that what originally laid behind the label רעה מצפון, "evil from the North" (cf. Jer 4:6; 6:1), and its author, are precluded to us.[10] Nonetheless, several scholars have suggested that the origins of the literary development of the book are to be found precisely in some of the laments about the "foe from the North" (namely Jer 4:7, 11, 13, 19-21; 6:1, 22). These original laments served as the basis for the collection in Jer 4:5 – 6:30, which represents the embryo of the book of Jeremiah.[11] As to Jer 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12, their settings are generally

p.218. Nicholson considers the first siege of Jerusalem in 597 to be the *terminus post quem* for the redaction of large part of the section; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.5. Holladay assumes that the battle of Carchemish (605) has stimulated the materials for the "foe from the North" cycle, and considers the years between 605 and 601, with the rising of the Babylonian empire, to constitute its settings; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.135. Craigie dismisses the possibilities of a late dating (between 597 and 587) and argues that the core of the section belongs to the last years of Josiah; see Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.72. Conversely, Lundbom considers more likely for the core oracles to have been spoken prior to the Babylonian attack in 597; see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.340. Likewise, Overholt, *Falsehood*, p.29. McKane is more sceptical and considers the dating of these passages a guesswork; however, he accepts the invasion of 587 to constitute the background for part of the section; see McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, pp.140 and 147.

[8] See Duhm, *Jeremia*, p.48 and Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, p.39. Thompson rightly objects that this identification relies solely upon the information that Herodotus gives of this Eurasian people (see Herodotus, *Hist*., i.102-06), ignoring that the Greek historian never connects the Scythians to Judah or to Palestine in general; see Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.86.

[9] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.34; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.135; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.340; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.87; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.72; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.72.

[10] For the difficulties of reconstructing the figure of Jeremiah on reliable historical data, cf. Carroll, *From Chaos to Covenant*, pp.8-11.

[11] This is not the place to review the several hypotheses as to the origin of the book of Jeremiah and the many attempts to reconstruct its redaction history; for a short and detailed summary of this topic see Mills, *Jeremiah: an Introduction*, pp.17-44. For Jer 4 – 6 as the oldest materials in the book, cf. Pohlmann, *Die Ferne Gottes*, pp.129-32; Levin, *Verheißung*, pp.153-56; Schmid, *Buchgestalten*, pp.330-335; Kratz, *The prophets of Israel*, pp.57 and 128.

inferred from the general context evoked by the "foe from the North" cycle.[12] Nonetheless, the whole section 4:5 – 6:30 lacks of historical details, and as we will argue in the following, Jer 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12 are unlikely to stem from a period prior to the fall of Jerusalem.

1.3 Jeremiah 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12 as Secondary Additions

Before proceeding with the comparative analysis of the two passages, it is necessary to spend a few words to defend our partition of the excerpts and the extent of the accusations against prophets and priests. Many commentators consider Jer 6:13-15 to be part of a longer literary unit running in 6:9-15.[13] Similarly, Jer 8:10b-12 are often taken into the general indictment against the community, the scribes and the wise men, in 8:4-12.[14] As for the latter, the fact that Jer 8:10b-12 are not represented in the Greek version and that their content appears almost identical elsewhere in the book is widely accepted as proof of their origin as a secondary addition in Jer 8:4-12.[15] That given, scholars have generally taken Jer 6:13-15 as original in ch.6 and consequently understood them as the model for Jer 8:10b-12.[16] However, the structural consistency of Jer 6:9-15 is unconvincing,[17] and therefore we deem a more plausible solution to consider the

[12] This is particularly true as to Jer 6:13-15. However, although being outside of the cycle *per se*, Jer 8:10b-12 appears in a larger collection of miscellaneous oracles (namely, Jer 8:4 – 9:9), which presents, among denunciations of the evil of Judah, also laments regarding the "foe" (cf. Jer 8:14-16 and 9:18-21).

[13] This is the interpretation offered by Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.44; Craigie *et alii*, p.102; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.67; Allen, *Jeremiah*, p.86; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.69; Laetsch, *Jeremiah*, p.82; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, p.65; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.135; Jones, *Jeremiah*, p.135 and Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.255.

[14] This division is accepted by Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.65; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.132; Laetsch, *Jeremiah*, p.106; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.296. Other commentators work with a longer unit, Jer 8:4-13; see Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.85; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.274 and Stulman, *Jeremiah*, p.98. However, 8:13 is better understood as a fragment and should be considered within another unit, Jer 8:13-17; see Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.271. Only Brueggemann works with Jer 8:4-17; see Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.82. The understanding of all these scholars is that 8:10-12 are secondary in 8:4-12(13).

[15] For those who agree with this reconstruction, see footnote 14. Against the majority of commentators, Laetsch (reusing Condamin's argument that an author has the right to repeat himself) takes the repetitions as a sign of Jeremiah's style, which appears excessively trusting of Jeremiah's authorship of the book; see Laestch, *Jeremiah*, pp.106 and 109.

[16] This solution is supported by Duhm, *Jeremia*, p.90; Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.65; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.132; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.274; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.187; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.517 and Allen, *Jeremiah*, p.110. The general explanation is that Jer 6:13-15 better suit their context, but, as Carroll rightly considers, also 8:10b-12 are a perfect fit in ch.8, right after the blaming of the scribes and the wise men, so that this argument is not adequate; see Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.198.

[17] There are difficulties in accepting Jer 6:9-15 as a unit, which many commentators consider a dialogue between YHWH and Jeremiah (but 6:9 opens with two pl. jussives, which are hardly referring to Jeremiah, so that the reconstruction of 6:9-15 as a dialogue appears weak). Moreover, Jer 6:12 clearly closes the unit 6:10-12 (cf. the formula נאם־יהוה, "oracle of YHWH", in 6:12b). Both Carroll and McKane have expressed doubts as to the

allegations against priests and prophets to represent independent layers in their respective contexts.[18]

It remains, finally, to call attention to the extent of the repetition, since we have always referred to it as Jer 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12, while scholars tend to consider Jer 6:12-15 and 8:10-12.[19] This partition appears to us as the result of the fallacious equivalence Jer 6:12a = 8:10a, which has led scholars to extend the borders of these units beyond their limits, parting Jer 6:12 and 8:10a from their original layers (namely, the oracles running respectively in Jer 6:10-12 and 8:8-10a). It is unlikely for Jer 6:12a and 8:10a to represent variants,[20] as they do not show signs of literary dependency. The MT of Jer 6:12a reads ונסבו בתיהם לאחרים שדות ונשים יחדו, "their houses shall be turned to others, the fields and the women as well"; while 8:10a goes לכן אתן את־נשיהם לאחרים שדותיהם ליורשים, "therefore I will give their women to others and their fields to conquerors". First, not only are the properties listed divergent (houses, fields and women in 6:12a, while 8:10a only presents women and fields), but they also recur in different order. Secondly, 8:10a clearly interprets the judgement as issued by YHWH (cf. the first sing. person אתן) while 6:12a expresses it in a neutral tone (cf. the use of the *niphal* ונסבו). Finally, while in 6:12a, the properties would simply go to אחרים, "others", in 8:10a, the text speaks of יורשים, "conquerors". It appears clear that Jer 6:12a and 8:10a are hardly part of the same editorial layer, while they probably use the same source materials. The many similarities

consistency of the unit 6:9-15. Nonetheless, Carroll takes 8:10a as a variant of Jer 6:12a and therefore works with Jer 6:12-15, although he deems "tempting" to consider a unit in 6:9-12; see Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.194. McKane is even more radical, and deletes Jer 6:12b as editorial and works with the unit 6:12a, 13-15; see McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.147. However, McKane's solution seems forced in order to retain the structure of a dialogue in 6:10-15, which is doubtful. Lundbom instead rightly recognizes that Jer 6:9-12 and 6:13-15 are separate oracles, with their own structural integrity; see Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.429.

[18] We argue *contra* Janzen's reconstruction that Jer 6:13-15 were originally situated in ch.6 (a tradition which he names Type A, which constitutes the *Vorlage* of G), but they dropped out by homoioteleuton (cf. the formulas נאם־יהוה in 6:12 and אמר יהוה in 6:15). Due to the similarities between Jer 6:12a and 8:10a, the text of 6:13-15 has been wrongly restored after Jer 8:10a, generating another family of manuscripts (Type B). Finally, a conflation of the types A and B has generated the tradition preserved in the MT; see Janzen, *Studies*, pp.95-6. Against Janzen, we consider that the reading of G does not prove that Jer 6:13-15 are original in ch.6, but simply signals that Jer 8:10b-12 are secondary in ch.8. Moreover, instead of a conflated text, it is easier to hypothesise two different editorial interventions in two separate moments for the final form of Jeremiah MT (the *Vorlage* of G belongs to a textual tradition in which Jer 8:10b-12 were not yet been added).

[19] See Craigie, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.134; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.85; Stulman, *Jeremiah*, p.97; Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.65; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.274; Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.274; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.187.

[20] Although McKane objects that the reading of G is not a "sufficient reason" to deny that 8:10-12 constitute a unit in Jer 8, we consider instead the omission of 8:10b-12 an overwhelming evidence; see McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.187. Even more so if one considers how syntactically connected Jer 8:10a, 13a read in the Greek text.

in content with Deut 5:21[21] may point out that Jer 6:12a and 8:10a are independent verses of judgement, based upon the same Deuteronomic background.[22]

2. Translation and Critical Notes

Jer 6:13-15	Jer 8:10b-12
13 Because from the least to the greatest of them (1), everyone is given to covetousness. And from (2) the prophet to the priest, everyone commits falsehood. **14** They have treated the destruction of my people (3) lightly, saying "peace, peace" but there is no peace. **15** They were not ashamed for they committed abomination. They were not ashamed at all, they do not know how to humiliate (4); therefore, they shall fall among those who fall; at the time when I punish them (5) they shall be cast down, says YHWH.	**10b** Because from the least to the greatest (1), everyone is given to covetousness. From (2) the prophet to the priest, everyone commits falsehood. **11** They have treated the destruction of the daughter of my people (3) lightly, saying "peace, peace" but there is no peace. **12** They were not ashamed for they committed abomination. They were not ashamed at all, they do not know how to be humiliated (4); therefore, they shall fall among those who fall; at the time of their punishment (5) they shall be cast down, says YHWH.

(1) Jer 6:13 presents third m. pl. suffixes מקטנם ועד־גדולם, "from the least to the greatest of them", while the suffixes are missing in Jer 8:10b, מקטן ועד־גדול;

(2) The initial *waw* (ומנביא) in Jer 6:13 does not appear in 8:10b;

[21] Cf. Deut 5:21, "You shall not set your desire on your neighbour's wife, nor shall you set your desire on your neighbour's house or field". Both Jer 6:12 and 8:10a may read as a punishment based on the overturn of the Decalogue.

[22] Such a close resemblance with Deut 5:21 (and its alternative form recurring in Exod 20:17) is highlighted by Bruegemmann and Parke-Taylor. Holladay considers Deut 28:30 as yet another source of inspiration for Jer 6:12, while Lundbom points out similarities in content with both Deut 5:21 and 28:30; see Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.68; Parke-Taylor, *Formation*, p.97; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.216 and Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.426.

(3) The occurrence of עמי, "my people" in 6:14, instead of בת־עמי, "the daughter of my people" in 8:11;

(4) Jer 6:15 presents the root כלם in the *hiphil*, meaning "to humiliate", while the parallel in Jer 8:12, vocalizes the verb as a *niphal*, so "to be humiliated";

(5) Jer 6:15 reads בעת־פקדתים, "at the time when I punish them"; Jer 8:12 reads instead, בעת פקדתם, "at the time of their punishment";

All these differences are generally minor (except for point 4), and can easily be explained. As to (1) the pl. suffixes missing in Jer 8:10b, they represent a textual variation of a stereotypical introduction that is well rooted in the rhetoric of the book of Jeremiah.[23] The missing *waw* (2) in Jer 8:10b does not allow us to draw any conclusions, and similarly (3) the expressions עמי (6:14) and בת־עמי (8:11) are likely to be interchangeable.[24] The change of form (4) from the *hiphil* (Jer 6:15, הכלים) to the *niphal* (Jer 8:12, הכלם) represents a problem. There is little doubt that Jer 6:15 serves as the model for 8:12; nevertheless, the *hiphil* form in Jer 6:15, "to humiliate", hardly makes sense and commentators generally emend it according to the *niphal*, "to be humiliated", of Jer 8:12. This correction is necessary, since the *niphal* of כלם is the standard parallel with the root בוש, hence, assuming that the *hiphil* stem is genuine in 6:15 is unlikely.[25] Apparently, an error occurred in the tradition of Jer 6:15, while Jer 8:12 retained the correct form. Finally, (5) some commentators favour the reading of Jer 8:12 פקדתם, "their

[23] Cf. Jer 16:6 (in masculine pl. without suffixes, and reverse order); 31:34 (=6:13); 42:1, 8 (=8:10b) and 44:12 (=8:10b). A possible explanation for the different reading in Jer 8:10b could be the presence of the pre-existing direct objects in 8:10a (namely, "conquerors"), which would have created ambiguity as to the addressing in Jer 8:10b. This was clearly not the case for the editors that inserted Jer 6:13-15, since 6:12 ends with the oracular formula that closes the unit.

[24] The expression עמי is the most common in the book of Jeremiah, while בת־עמי has few occurrences. The latter is simply more emphatic than עמי, as considered by Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.344 and Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.162. Nonetheless, many emend the reading of Jer 8:11 according to Jer 6:14; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.274; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.132; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.85. This solution does not seem necessary, since the reading of Jer 8:11 might be the result of the influence of the poem running in Jer 8:18 – 9:1, in which the expression בת־עמי recurs three times; see Janzen, *Studies*, p.38. Furthermore, both Syr and V, along with some Hebrew manuscripts, have the equivalent of בת־עמי in both 6:14 and 8:11, meaning that the two read identically.

[25] This solution is applied by Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.197; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.144; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.217; Allen, *Jeremiah*, p.83; Parke-Taylor, *Formation*, p.95; Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.45; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.102. Lundbom, who defends the *hiphil* form in Jer 6:15, still avoids the causative in his translation (he opts for "show humiliation" instead of "cause humiliation"), exposing that the text hardly makes sense as it stands; see Ludbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.431.

punishment", and amend Jer 6:15, פקדתים, "I punish them".[26] A correction might not be necessary, because both these expressions stand grammatically and are attested in Jeremiah. Nonetheless, both the Greek and the Latin versions, along with some Hebrew manuscripts, present פקדתם in 6:15, so that an error in the transmission should be assumed.[27] As we can see, the discrepancies between the excerpts are minor and do not allow the overturning of the reconstruction that 6:13-15 represent the model for Jer 8:10b-12. The shift from the *hiphil* form (6:15) to the *niphal* (8:12) of the root כלם would represent the only element accounting for the priority of Jer 8:10b-12, but the testimony of the Greek text is decisive to exclude this possibility, and the wrong form in ch.6 is likely to denote an error of the copyist.

3. Falsehood, Peace, Shame: The Clergy and the Demise of Jerusalem

The opening of Jer 6:13[28] presents YHWH's judgement, which commentators generally understand directed towards the totality of the community,[29] although the expression מקטנם ועד־גדולם could simply stand for the entirety of the clergy of Jerusalem. The first charge in Jer 6:13, כלו בוצע בצע, "everyone is given to covetousness", signals that greed is a pervasive wickedness in Judah.[30] This might be a broad accusation against the Judean society, but the root בצע hints to bribing and coercion,[31] therefore it is more likely to consider Jer 6:13 as referring exclusively to the religious class.[32] The main

[26] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.45; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.102; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.256 and McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.145.

[27] *Contra* Holladay, who considers the expression פקדתים in 6:15 as *lectio difficilior*; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.211.

[28] Since Jer 6:13-15 are the model for 8:10b-12, we will refer mainly to this excerpt, although our considerations as to their content also apply to the repetition in Jer 8:10b-12.

[29] See Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.50; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.216; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.258; Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.198.

[30] This is the interpretation of Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.50; Holladay, Jeremiah 1, p.216; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.258; Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.198; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.146. G and Syr however agree in understanding the Hebrew בצע as general misconduct and not greediness, so that some ambiguity in the text may persist.

[31] As rightly recognized by Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.216.

[32] Since commentators generally read 6:13-15 as part of larger unit, they consider greed and corruption as referring to the entire community in Judah (see footnote 30). However, due to the independent nature of Jer 6:13-15, this solution appears inadequate. Moreover, if the interpretation of בצע into the domain of palms

accusation against the religious leaders of Jerusalem is exemplified with the expression עשה שקר, "to commit falsehood", which has been differently understood. Some scholars consider it to represent a general accusation, so that priests and prophets, in a climate of widespread social injustice, are committing fraud.[33] However, it is more likely to assume that the term שקר is defined by what follows (cf. 6:14), so that the priests and the prophets are not simply dealing falsely, but rather are uttering one very specific lie.[34] They are speaking of שלום within a context in which peace obviously is not a possible outcome. The negligence of the clergy is highlighted in Jer 6:14, as they have underestimated the grave condition of the people and have treated their wound superficially, cf. ירפאו את־ שבר עמי על־נקלה, "they have treated the destruction of my people lightly". Scholars usually understand the medical imagery as a metaphor for dishonest reassurance, which is sound.[35] Nonetheless, it must also be considered that the root שבר, "destruction",[36] is a key term in the "foe from the North" cycle, which is generally coupled with the expression רעה מצפון, "evil from the North" (cf. Jer 4:6; 6:1) and identifies the threat of the enemy army issued by YHWH. It seems plausible that the שקר of priests and prophets, which resulted in an underestimation of the שבר of the people, refers directly to the *motif* of the invading army from the North.[37]

Some scholars, however, understand Jer 6:14 as a reflection of the complacency of the clergy after the reform of Josiah (cf. 2 Kgs 23:2-8). The priests and the prophets would have ignored the wrongdoing of the community, led by the delusional thought that

greasing and bribing is correct, such practices are appropriate for those in positions of power, like temple officials, and hardly apply to the lower strata of the social structure.

[33] This is the opinion of Holladay, who considers that the subsequent "peace, peace" (cf. 6:14) is a claim of the "false" prophets only and it cannot represent the lies of prophets and priests; see Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.216. Similarly, also Bright, Nicholson, Laetsch and Thompson point out that the expression עשה שקר highlights the frauds and deceit committed by priests and prophets; see Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.50; Nicholson, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.69; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.258; Laetsch, *Jeremiah*, p.85.

[34] As Overholt as pointed out in his study upon the root שקר in Jeremiah, the term covers mainly three domains. First, it recurs to identify idolatry and foreign cultic practices (cf. Jer 3:23; 7:9). Secondly, it denotes the utterances of Jeremiah's opponents (cf. Jer 27:12-15; 28:15). Finally, it embodies the false sense of security that the prophets transmitted to the people, which seems to be the case in Jer 6:13 (cf. also Jer 14:14-15; 23:17); see Overholt, *Falsehood*, pp.1, 29 and 75. The peculiar theological significance of the root שקר in Jeremiah would be lost if it was taken simply as a synonym of רעה, "evil". This interpretation is accepted by Brueggemann, *Theology*, p.67 and *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.69; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.104; Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, p.430; Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.198.

[35] See Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.104; McKane, *Jeremiah vol.1*, p.147; Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p. 198; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.217; Overholt, *Falsehood*, p.75.

[36] The medical connotation of the root רפא, "to treat/heal", allow the rendition "fracture" for שבר in Jer 6:14, although the term generally points to collapse, destruction and ruin.

[37] Carroll and Pohlmann rightly retain this connection between the term שבר and the demise of the reign of Judah; see Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, p.198 and Pohlmann, *Die Ferne Gottes*, p.93.

YHWH would have rescued his people. Unfortunately, the well-being of the nation was always conditional to obedience to the word of god; the spiritual leaders stood within a false sense of reassurance and neglected their duty, therefore judgement will come for the whole community.[38] We believe this explanation to be too generic, because there is ground in Jer 6:13-15 to connect the charge of שקר to the promises of שלום, and both these elements to the framework of the "foe from the North" cycle (cf. שבר in Jer 6:1, 14). That this interpretation is correct and that the connection with the theme of war, invasion and destruction must be retained is strengthened by the content of Jer 6:15.

In Jer 6:15, proclaiming שלום when destruction is forthcoming is considered an abomination, תועבה, a term that pertains to the priestly domain of defiling actions (cf. Lev 18:27; 20:13). Even more interesting is the occurrence of "shame" terminology (the root בוש, "shame", recurs twice, and once the root כלם, "to humiliate"), which in the Hebrew Bible is not in contrast with the concept of honour, but rather stands in opposition to the concepts of diminishment and deprivation, often associated with natural disaster.[39] The idea of shame, in biblical context, denotes a physical deterioration in respect of calamities. Thus, it does not represent an inner psychological process, but a physical condition that must be acted out, generally using gestures and practices that resemble the ritual of mourning.[40] The priests and the prophets are not lacking a proper sense of shame for their misconduct,[41] but they are not expiating their very specific sins showing public humiliation.[42] The peculiarity of these accusations (cf. the occurrence of שקר in 6:13 and שלום in 6:14) along with the undeniable connections with the *motif* of military destruction (cf. שבר in 6:14) and general disaster (cf. כלם and בוש in 6:15) prevent us from the interpretation of Jer 6:13-15 as an oracle of general indictment for the wrongdoings of

[38] This is the understanding of Bright, *Jeremiah*, p.50; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.104; Holladay, *Jeremiah 1*, p.213; Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.258; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.69.

[39] For the unavailability of the shame-honour paradigm in the Hebrew Bible, see Stiebert, *The Construction of Shame*, pp.108-09 and Lynch, "Neglected Physical Dimensions of 'Shame'", pp.499 and 508.

[40] See Lynch, "Neglected Physical Dimensions of 'Shame'", p.509. For an example of this attitude, cf. the use of the root בלם in Jer 14:3 to express the feelings of the servants who בשו והבלמו, "are full of shame and humiliation" and cover their heads because they could not find water during the drought.

[41] Although this being a common interpretation; see Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah*, p.258; Brueggemann, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.69; Craigie *et alii*, *Jeremiah 1-25*, p.104. Nonetheless, Overholt observes that shame in Jer 6:15 does not represent dishonour following a sin, but expresses a sense of confusion and uneasiness. He also considers that the roots בוש and בלם appear as a reaction to military destruction in 2 Kgs 19:26 and Jer 51:51; see Overholt, *Falsehood*, p.76.

[42] The idea of shame as a private experience, which must often be hidden from others, does not suit the occurrence of shame terminology in the Hebrew Bible, in which shame generally carries the idea of a public repentance; see Lynch, "Neglected Physical Dimensions of 'Shame'", p.503.

the community. A better understanding of these verses points to the singling out of the religious leaders of Judah as the main culprits of the destruction brought to the nation by the enemy from the North.

Thus, let us go back to the settings of Jer 6:13-15. It is clear that these verses refer to the "foe from the North", which in the book of Jeremiah is identified with the Babylonian army. Nevertheless, assuming for their composition a time prior to the fall of Jerusalem seems naïve, as only the demise of Judah would have unveiled the promises of peace as falsehood and consequently led to the accusations against those who spread a false sense of security. It has been argued that the main concern of the core of the book of Jeremiah (precisely chs.2 – 6) is to find a theological explanation for the ominous events that struck the community and led to the loss of the kingdom and the Exile.[43] In the book of Jeremiah, the Babylonian invasion has been interpreted as the consequence of the continuous refusal of the people to listen to the word of YHWH. Along with this main aspect, which retains the sins of the rulers of Jerusalem and its inhabitants as the reason for YHWH's punishment, we observe in Jer 6:13-15 a minor strand, which considers only the religious leaders of the city as the culprits (cf. the concern about the people – עמי, my people! – and their severe but disregarded brokenness – שבר, in 6:14). Hence, Jer 6:13-15 do not belong to an oracle of collective judgement against the Judean community. These verses present instead specific features that will constitute a *motif* in the final form of the book of Jeremiah, namely the utterance of falsehood perpetuated by the clergy of Jerusalem against the backdrop of the Babylonian invasion (cf. Jer 5:31; 14:13-16; 27:9-10, 12-15; 28:15; 29:8, 31-32; 37:19).

Before concluding, a final remark needs to be made as to Jer 8:10b-12. Their insertion into Jer 8 is somewhat less remarkable than the correspondent addition of Jer 6:13-15. In ch.6, the blaming of priests and prophets, within the context of the "foe from the North" cycle, reusing one of its key terms, שבר, are clearly meant to put all the blame for the ruin of Judah upon the clergy of Jerusalem. The context of the unit Jer 8:8-10a, to which 8:10b-12 have been later attached, presents instead criticism of the scribes and the wise men, who have subverted YHWH's *tōrāh*. The similarities between Jer 6:12a and

[43] Biddle has convincingly reconstructed the redactional interventions in Jer 2:1 – 4:4 as reinterpretation of Jer 4 – 6, revolving around the dialectic of sin, punishment and forgiveness; see Biddle, *Redaction History*, p.82. Those who experienced the great catastrophe of 587 were looking for a meaning of it, questioning the actions of the people and the royal class prior the fall and inquiring the role of YHWH.

8:10a, along with the general accusation of שקר against the scribes (cf. Jer 8:8), obviously account for the insertion of Jer 8:10b-12, but here they read as stereotypical accusations. The aim is to heighten the charge against a group of self-styled experts of the law of YHWH, and therefore the ideological and theological significance that the same materials have in Jer 6:13-15 is missing.

4. Conclusions

Within our analysis, we believe we have provided sufficient evidence to consider both Jer 6:13-15 and Jer 8:10b-12 as independent layers within their respective chapters. Moreover, we have demonstrated that the insertion of Jer 6:13-15 precedes and serves as the model for the addition of Jer 8:10b-12 in ch.8. Although often been taken as part of the same layer, Jer 6:12 and 8:10a are not part of the allegations against priests and prophets. As for their content, Jer 6:13-15 and 8:10b-12 must be read against the backdrop of the "foe from the North" cycle, of which they represent a minor strand of interpretation. The boastful claims of the religious leaders that peace was a reality in the future of Judah misled the people and represents the main cause for the fall of Jerusalem and the Exile. Such allegations cannot be dated to a time prior the Babylonian invasion, but are likely to belong to a later period, as these verses represent a theological and ideological response to the events of 587.

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The linguistics of episodic narrative in Biblical Hebrew

Suggested points of discussion (but feel free to discuss anything you like):

1. *Do you find the model of the episode helpful? What problems do you see?*
2. *The arrangement of the episodic paragraph in example 9 is not commented upon in every detail. Please let me know what else you think I need to explain in order to make it easier to understand.*
3. *Would you analyse any of the examples differently?*
4. *The concept of foreground/background (alt. mainline/offline material) - how should it be defined, how can it be related to the model of the episode proposed in this paper?*
5. *All tips on recent textlinguistic studies of Biblical Hebrew or other languages are welcome, especially studies on narrative texts.*

Introduction

Narrative texts have certain characteristic features by which they can be distinguished from other text types. Two of the most commonly recognized features are the following:

1) narratives relate temporally successive (past) events in their natural order of occurrence;
2) narratives form episodic units characterized by a high degree of continuity of time, place, and referents, etc.

From a linguistic point of view, temporal succession and the demarcation of episodic units are associated with certain morphosyntactic indicators, such as verbal forms, word order, etc. As for Biblical Hebrew narrative, the connection between temporal succession and *wayyiqtol*-clauses is often noted, as well as the occurrence of certain phenomena at the beginning of new episodic units, such as adverbial clauses with וַיְהִי.

Although these standard observations are correct, they offer a very superficial picture of Biblical Hebrew narrative. More specifically, the problem is that the assumptions about the notional structure of narrative texts as given in statement 1) and 2) are too general to capture the distinctive qualities of the narrative text type.

In this paper, I argue, firstly, that temporal succession is not distinctive for narrative texts unless there is an implication of causal links between the events, and, secondly, that the episodic units can be schematically described in terms of an abstract course of events with certain constituent elements that are connected by the causal links just mentioned. This enables an

analysis that a) is content-based, and b) describes the structure of the narrative from the bottom up; that is, it reconstructs the episode by identifying the sub-episodic units and their interconnections one by one. Such an analysis can form the basis for textlinguistic investigations that are free from preconceptions as to the functions of various linguistic constructions. The present investigation looks specifically at *wayyiqtol*- and *qatal*-clauses.

The proposed model of analysis builds on the so-called "story grammars" that were created in the 1970s and 1980s. To the best of my knowledge, story grammars have been used almost exclusively in psychological research on story comprehension and recall, and is more or less unknown in linguistic studies.[1]

The outline of the paper is as follows: The first section discusses the difference between temporal and causal succession and its importance for the study of narrative texts. The second section explains the relation between causal succession and event continuity. Finally, the third section presents a model for an analysis of the constituent structure of the narrative episode.

Causal succession

In Biblical Hebrew, past aorist meaning can be expressed either by *wayyiqtol* or *qatal*. In the standard account, the main functional difference between the constructions is that *wayyiqtol* is used to represent events in temporal succession, whereas *qatal* is used for non-succession, or at least is not used for succession as frequently as *wayyiqtol*.[2] However, this is clearly not the most adequate way to describe the nature of the interclausal relations expressed by means of these clause types. A most telling counter-example is quoted in example 1, where *qatal*-clauses are used to represent events occurring in temporal succession:

1. Succession with *qatal* (Gen 4:18)

וַיִּוָּלֵד לַחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד
וְעִירָד **יָלַד** אֶת־מְחוּיָאֵל
וּמְחִיָּאֵל **יָלַד** אֶת־מְתוּשָׁאֵל
וּמְתוּשָׁאֵל **יָלַד** אֶת־לָמֶךְ

And to Enoch was born [*wayyiqtol*] Irad;

[1] The only exception I am aware of is Barbara Fox' study of discourse anaphora from 1987 (for other references, see note 12).
[2] See, for example, Lambdin 1972, 162; Bartelmus 1982, 71, Gibson and Davidson 1994, § 58b; Hatav 1997, 57-62, 163-165; Joosten 2012, 166. Instead of temporal succession, terms like "sequentiality" or "consecution" are also used.

and Irad **fathered** [*qatal*] Mehujael,
and Mehujael **fathered** [*qatal*] Methushael,
and Methushael **fathered** [*qatal*] Lamech.

Two things make this passage particularly interesting: On the one hand, it is an obvious case of temporal succession conveyed by means of the "wrong" verb, as it were; on the other hand, it is also quite clear that this is a kind of temporal succession that differs from the one we most often find in connection with *wayyiqtol*. This can be seen by comparing with the *wayyiqtol*-clauses in example 2:

2. Succession with *wayyiqtol* (Gen 16:1-4)

וְשָׂרַי אֵשֶׁת אַבְרָם לֹא יָלְדָה לוֹ וְלָהּ שִׁפְחָה מִצְרִית וּשְׁמָהּ הָגָר׃

(1 וַ**תֹּאמֶר** שָׂרַי אֶל־אַבְרָם הִנֵּה־נָא עֲצָרַנִי יְהוָה מִלֶּדֶת בֹּא־נָא אֶל־שִׁפְחָתִי אוּלַי אִבָּנֶה מִמֶּנָּה

(2 וַ**יִּשְׁמַע** אַבְרָם לְקוֹל שָׂרָי׃

(3 וַ**תִּקַּח** שָׂרַי אֵשֶׁת־אַבְרָם אֶת־הָגָר הַמִּצְרִית שִׁפְחָתָהּ מִקֵּץ עֶשֶׂר שָׁנִים לְשֶׁבֶת אַבְרָם בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן

(4 וַ**תִּתֵּן** אֹתָהּ לְאַבְרָם אִישָׁהּ לוֹ לְאִשָּׁה׃

(5 וַ**יָּבֹא** אֶל־הָגָר

(6 וַ**תַּהַר**

(7 וַ**תֵּרֶא** כִּי הָרָתָה

(8 וַ**תֵּקַל** גְּבִרְתָּהּ בְּעֵינֶיהָ

Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bore him no children. She had an Egyptian slave-girl whose name was Hagar,

1) and Sarai **said** [*wayyiqtol*] to Abram, "You see that the Lord has prevented me from bearing children; go in to my slave-girl; it may be that I shall obtain children by her."

2) And Abram **listened** [*wayyiqtol*] to the voice of Sarai.

3) So, after Abram had lived ten years in the land of Canaan, Sarai, Abram's wife, **took** [*wayyiqtol*] Hagar the Egyptian, her slave-girl, and

4) **gave** [*wayyiqtol*] her to her husband Abram as a wife.

5) He **went in** [*wayyiqtol*] to Hagar,

6) and she **conceived** [*wayyiqtol*];

7) and when she **saw** [*wayyiqtol*] that she had conceived,

8) she **looked** [*wayyiqtol*] with contempt on her mistress. (NRSV)

When comparing the examples 1 and 2, we can immediately see that the two texts represent different text types. Example 1 is a genealogy, a kind of list, whereas example 2 is a narrative.[3] What distinguishes the narrative from the genealogy is the fact that the narrative represents a course of events where every event has a sufficient cause that is easily inferable from the text itself.[4] Using Aristotelian terms, two main types of causes can be identified: on the one hand, final causes, or goals, which consist of imagined events or states; on the other hand, efficient causes, which consist of actual events or states.

A test that can be used to see whether there is a final cause implied in the text is to put the phrase "in order to" between the clauses. To illustrate, in example 2, Sarai has the goal to obtain offspring through Hagar. This goal causes her action of speaking to Abram (clause 1), in order to make him agree (2), in order to enable her to take Hagar (3) in order to give her to him as a wife (4), in order for him to go in to her (5), in order to make her conceive (6). Evidently, there is a final cause behind this chain of events.

There are also different kinds of efficient causes in the text. For example, the fact that Abram went in to Hagar (in the figurative sense) physically caused her to conceive[5]. Further, when Hagar saw that she was pregnant (7), it caused her to look with contempt on her mistress (8). This is a psychological causation.[6]

In addition to physical and psychological causation, where the subject referent is passive, efficient causes can also have an ethical aspect in cases where the subject responds to an event/situation in the way that s/he finds appropriate. For example, Sarai's request to Abram in line number 1 ethically causes him to act the way he does.

If we now return to example 1, we find that there are no causal links between the events, except in a very weak and indirect sense. One could say that the birth of each new generation indirectly caused the birth of the next one by providing the necessary conditions, but there are no sufficient causes manifest in the text. Thus, whereas the narrative text has *causal succession*, the genealogy has only temporal succession.

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[3] Thus Longacre and Bowling (2015, 128-129), who nonetheless classify genealogies as a kind of narrative. One of the few scholars to fully appreciate how the morphosyntax in Biblical Hebrew is affected by the difference between narrative and list-like texts is Christof Hardmeier (2007, 134, 148).

[4] On causal relations in narrative discourse, see, for example, Trabasso et al. 1989, 2-5. My own classification of the causal relations contains partly the same categories (see Trabbasso et al.'s "physical" and "psychological causation", as well as his "motivation", which corresponds to my "final cause").

[5] The efficient cause here coexists with the final cause, since the conception was both the effect and the goal of Abram's action.

[6] In this case there is no final cause.

I believe that this difference is what Longacre aims at when he distinguishes between temporal succession and *contingent* temporal succession (in brief "contingent succession"). The latter category, according to Longacre, "refers to a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings".[7] Unfortunately, by this definition, the genealogy in example 1 could be characterized by contingent succession, since the birth of one generation can be said to be contingent on the previous one. This means that the notion of contingent succession does not serve to distinguish between narrative and enumerative texts. For this reason, I prefer to speak of causal succession as described above.

Examples 1 and 2 illustrate the most significant difference between past aorist *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* in terms of interclausal relations, namely that *wayyiqtol* is used to represent causal succession, whereas *qatal*, with very few exceptions, is not. Based on an investigation of in total 387 aorist *wayyiqtol*-clauses and 60 *qatal*-clauses in narrative texts from Genesis, and to some extent 1 Kings and the book of Esther, I found that about 72 % of the *wayyiqtol*-clauses express causal succession.[8] The corresponding figure for *qatal* is only 4,5 %.[9] By comparison, *qatal*-clauses express temporal succession, with or without causality, in as much as 47 % of the cases.[10] For *wayyiqtol*-clauses, the correlation with temporal succession is of course much higher, around 88 %, but in the great majority of those cases, there is also causal succession. A reasonable conclusion is that causal succession is the relevant distinguishing factor, and temporal succession is merely epiphenomenal.

For some of the more exceptional usages of *wayyiqtol*, consider examples 3a-b:

3. Non-successive *wayyiqtol*

a. Coordinated (Gen 12:4)

וַיֵּלֶךְ אַבְרָם כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֵלָיו יְהוָה

וַיֵּלֶךְ אִתּוֹ לוֹט

Abram **went** [*wayyiqtol*] as the Lord had told him;
and Lot **went** [*wayyiqtol*] with him. (NRSV)

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[7] Longacre 1996, 8-9.
[8] The *wayyiqtol*-forms are taken from Gen 12-20, 1 Kings 17-18, and Esther 1-2. The *qatal*-forms are taken from the same corpus with the addition of Gen 21.
[9] Gen 13:12 (אַבְרָם יָשַׁב); 15:6; 1 Kings 18:6.
[10] Gen 13:12, 14; 14:4, 5; 15:1, 6, 12; 16:14; 18:7; 19:4, 6, 10, 15, 22, 23 (יָצָא), 24; 20:13, 16; 21:1, 25; 1 Kings 17:17 (x2); 18:1, 4, 6, 21; Esth 1:5, 17; 2:1; 2:15.

b. Elaborative (Gen 13:11)

וַיִּסַּ֣ע לוֹט מִקֶּ֑דֶם

וַיִּפָּ֣רְדוּ אִישׁ מֵעַ֖ל אָחִֽיו׃

Lot **set out** [*wayyiqtol*] towards the east;
thus they [Lot and Abram] **separated** [*wayyiqtol*] from each other.

In 3a there is a sequence of two *wayyiqtol*-clauses referring to simultaneous events. Example 3b shows two *wayyiqtol*-clauses forming a compound where the second clause elaborates on the first one. That is, both *wayyiqtol*-clauses refer to the same event, only from different perspectives.

In example 4, we see one of the very rare occurrences of causal succession with *qatal*:

4. Causal succession with *qatal* (1 Kings 18:6)

1) וַיְחַלְּקוּ לָהֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ לַעֲבָר־בָּהּ
2) אַחְאָב **הָלַךְ** בְּדֶרֶךְ אֶחָד לְבַדּוֹ
3) וְעֹבַדְיָהוּ **הָלַךְ** בְּדֶרֶךְ־אֶחָד לְבַדּוֹ

1) So they divided [*wayyiqtol*] the land between them to pass through it;
2) Ahab **went** [*qatal*] in one direction by himself,
3) and Obadiah **went** [*qatal*] in another direction by himself.

In my interpretation, clause 1) in the above example represents the cause of the two *qatal* clauses. That is, Ahab and Obadiah went each in their own direction *because* they had divided the land between them.

Event continuity

It is important not to confuse causal succession with the closely related concept of event (or action) continuity. Continuity in general terms is when the same element continues to be present throughout a series of clauses, whether explicitly or implicitly—it can be the same referents, the same place, the same time, and so on. Accordingly, event continuity can be defined as the continuous presence of a course of events throughout a series of clauses.

Event continuity entails causal succession; that is, a course of events necessarily consists of a series of causally related events. However, not every case of non-succession indicates

discontinuity.[11] This is illustrated by example 5, where the *qatal* clauses convey event continuity without being causally related with the previous clause:

5. *Qatal* for non-progression in event continuity (Gen 43:11-15)

1) וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבִיהֶם […] קְחוּ מִזִּמְרַת הָאָרֶץ בִּכְלֵיכֶם וְהוֹרִידוּ לָאִישׁ מִנְחָה […] וְכֶסֶף מִשְׁנֶה קְחוּ בְיֶדְכֶם […] וְאֶת־אֲחִיכֶם קְחוּ וְקוּמוּ שׁוּבוּ אֶל־הָאִישׁ: […]

2) וַיִּקְחוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים אֶת־הַמִּנְחָה הַזֹּאת

3) וּמִשְׁנֶה־כֶּסֶף **לָקְחוּ** בְיָדָם וְאֶת־בִּנְיָמִן

4) וַיָּקֻמוּ

5) וַיֵּרְדוּ מִצְרַיִם

6) וַיַּעַמְדוּ לִפְנֵי יוֹסֵף:

1) Then their father Israel said [*wayyiqtol*] to them, "[…] Take some of the choice fruits of the land in your bags, and carry them down as a present to the man […] Take double the money with you. […] Take your brother also, and be on your way again to the man […]

2) So the men took [*wayyiqtol*] the present,

3) and they **took** [*qatal*] double the money with them, as well as Benjamin.

4) Then they went [*wayyiqtol*] on their way down to Egypt,

5) and stood [*wayyiqtol*] before Joseph. (NRSV)

In this passage, there is no causal succession between the clauses with the numbers 2 and 3. But that does not mean that clause no 3 (which is a *qatal*-clause) is discontinuous. Rather, clauses 2 and 3 represent one single step in a course of event which continues throughout the whole passage. Structurally, the clauses 2 and 3 form a compound within a series of simple successive clauses. In this case, the compound is a *coordination*, in that it refers to two different events. It can also be an *elaboration*, which means say that two clauses refer to one and the same events. For an illustration of an elaboration (with a *wayyiqtol*-clause), see example 3b above.

The continuous *qatal*-clause in example 5 can be contrasted with the one in example 6:

[11] *Pace* Givón 1977, 198-204; Buth 1994, 222-223.

6. Discontinuous *qatal* (1 Kings 19:21-20:1)

1) וַיָּקָם

2) וַיֵּלֶךְ אַחֲרֵי אֵלִיָּהוּ

3) וַיְשָׁרְתֵהוּ׃ פ

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4) וּבֶן־הֲדַד מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם **קָבַץ** אֶת־כָּל־חֵילוֹ וּשְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁנַיִם מֶלֶךְ אִתּוֹ וְסוּס וָרָכֶב

5) **וַיַּעַל**

6) וַיָּצַר עַל־שֹׁמְרוֹן

7) וַיִּלָּחֶם בָּהּ׃

1) Then he [Elisha] set out [*wayyiqtol*] and

2) followed [*wayyiqtol*] Elijah,

3) and became his servant [*wayyiqtol*].

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4) King Ben-Hadad of Aram **gathered** [*qatal*] all his army together; thirty-two kings were with him, along with horses and chariots.

5) He marched [*wayyiqtol*] against Samaria,

6) laid siege [*wayyiqtol*] to it,

7) and attacked [*wayyiqtol*] it. (NRSV)

This text represents the end and the beginning of two separate courses of events without any causal link in between. Here, the *qatal*-clause (with the number 4) is truly discontinuous, since it marks the beginning of new course of events.

Thus, both in example 5 and 6, there is no causal succession between the *qatal*-clause and the preceding *wayyiqtol*-clause, but only in the second example does this absence of causality coincide with event discontinuity. It is to be noted that *wayyiqtol*, too, is often used to represent the onset of a new course of events, as we can see in the next example:

7. Discontinuous *wayyiqtol* (Gen 17:26-18:2)

1) בְּעֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה נִמּוֹל אַבְרָהָם וְיִשְׁמָעֵאל בְּנוֹ׃

2) וְכָל־אַנְשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ יְלִיד בָּיִת וּמִקְנַת־כֶּסֶף מֵאֵת בֶּן־נֵכָר נִמֹּלוּ אִתּוֹ׃ פ

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3) **וַיֵּרָא** אֵלָיו יְהוָה בְּאֵלֹנֵי מַמְרֵא וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב פֶּתַח־הָאֹהֶל כְּחֹם הַיּוֹם׃

4) וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו

5) וַיַּרְא וְהִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה אֲנָשִׁים נִצָּבִים עָלָיו

1) That very day Abraham and his son Ishmael were circumcised [*qatal*];

2) and all the men of his house, slaves born in the house and those bought with money from a foreigner, were circumcised [*qatal*] with him.

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3) The Lord **appeared** [*wayyiqtol*] to Abraham by the oaks of Mamre, as he sat at the entrance of his tent in the heat of the day.

4) He looked up [*wayyiqtol*] and

5) saw [*wayyiqtol*] three men standing near him. (NRSV)

The discontinuity occurs in clause 3, "The Lord appeared to Abraham … etc.", because that is where we have the onset of the new course of events.

The point I want to make with the examples 5-7 is that continuity and discontinuity may not be a distinguishing feature between aorist *wayyiqtol* and *qatal*, contrary to what is sometimes said (see note 11). Rather, the difference is that these clause types have opposite functions in terms of whether they express progress or non-progress within the context of event continuity.

The episode

We shall now take a closer look at the concept of the episode. The model I am proposing in this study builds on the so-called story grammars that appeared mainly during the 1970-s and 1980s.[12] In their analysis, the defining function of a narrative text is the representation of episodes, whose basic pattern can be described schematically as follows:

[12] For some important contributions, see Rumelhart, 1975; Mandler and Johnson, 1977; Stein and Glenn, 1979; Warren, Nicholas and Trabasso 1979.

8. Schematic outline of a simple episodic cycle

Formation of goal plan > Attempts > Outcome
Initiating event > Perceptions > Emotions, cognitions >
(Spontaneous behavioural reaction > Outcome)

The first step of the episode is an initiating event. The initiating event is perceived, which leads to emotional reactions and cognitions. Then there is a response, consisting either of the formation of a goal plan and subsequent attempts to achieve the goal, or of spontaneous purposeless reaction; in either case, the episode ends with an outcome. There is often a whole series of successive attempt-units in an episode. The subunits of the episode are causally related as described in section 2 above, with efficient causes from the initiating event up until the formation of the goal plan, and final causes and/or efficient causes from the goal plan to the outcome.

A complete narrative text will depict at least one episodic course of event. The surface structure realization of the episode may be called the *episodic paragraph*. Apart from the constituent units in example 8 the episode has a *setting*, that is, a context, which is often represented in separate clauses in the episodic paragraph.

In actual texts, the simple schema in example 8 is complicated by many factors. For instance, only some of the constituent elements of the episodic course of events are normally mentioned explicitly in the paragraph, whereas the others are understood (any single step can be left out, including the outcome). Further, episodes can be embedded and entangled in each other in various ways. The episodes also very often contain multiple agents, sometimes with conflicting intentions, which can lead to plan changes and failed outcomes.

Example 9 (see appendix) contains an analysis of an episodic paragraph from Genesis 19. The analysis applies the episodic schema from example 8 in combination with indications of interclausal relations.

This episode consists of eight successive steps. Between each step there is some kind of causal relation which is indicated by an arrow. The upward arrow indicates final cause, and the downward arrow indicates efficient cause. The two kinds of causes may coincide, as I have already explained above.

Each of the successive steps in the course of events can be represented either by a single main clause or a compound. The clause-units within the compounds are connected with a vertical equal sign if it is an elaboration, or a plus sign if it is a coordination (see the first two boxes).

Also note that in step number 8, which is a compound consisting of 3 subunits, the first and the third subunit in the compound consist of minimal courses of events, which is to say that they are actually embedded episodes.

If we look at the overall outline of the paragraph, we see that the main body of the paragraph consists of a series of attempts on the part of the men of Sodom to reach their goal, which is to harass Lot's guests. It starts with the men of Sodom surrounding Lot's house in step 1 and it ends in step 7 where they come near to break the door. Embedded in this series of attempts there is a failed counter-attempt by Lot in steps 3 and 4, where Lot goes out and speaks to the men of Sodom. Step 8 is the outcome of the whole episode, and from the point of view of the men of Sodom it is a failed outcome (from the point of view of the angels, however, it is an intended outcome). I have divided the outcome into three coordinated parts: the rescue of Lot in 8a, the shutting of the door in 8b, and the blinding of the men of Sodom in 8c. There is no causal succession between these outcomes, but they are all part of the overarching goal of the angels, which is to deny the men of Sodom of their goal.

Particularly interesting with regard to the previous discussion on causal succession and event continuity is the distribution of *wayyiqtol*-clauses and *qatal*-clauses within the paragraph. Significantly, every case of causal succession in passage is achieved by means of a *wayyiqtol*-clause (But *wayyiqtol* also occur without causal succession in compounds as elaborative clause 2b and coordinated clause 5b).

Qatal is used three times to create compounds within this paragraph. In two of the cases there is temporal succession. Thus, in 3b, Lot's shutting the door by necessity must have occurred after he went out through it. We cannot say, however, that his going out caused him to shut the door, neither can we say that he went out in order to shut the door. Hence, there is no causal succession although there is temporal succession. The same is true for 8b, where it is the angels who shut the door: temporal succession, but no causal succession. The third *qatal*-clause 8ca tells about how the angels struck the men of Sodom with blindness. The temporal relation is not quite clear here, but more importantly, there is evidently no direct causal link with the previous clauses in the compound.

The prequel to our episode is found in verses 1-3. There a causal succession between the prequel and clause no 1 in the paragraph in the sense that Lot's invitation of the two angels was the initiating event that caused the men of Sodom to surround Lot's house, but the passage 1-3 nevertheless describes a separate course of event with its own outcome.

Conclusion

The thesis of this paper was that the narrative text type is characterized by causal succession and episodic structure, and that an analysis of these features is an appropriate point of departure for a textlinguistic study of Biblical Hebrew narrative. It was shown that aorist *wayyiqtol*-clauses are used predominantly to express causal succession, and that this function distinguishes the *wayyiqtol*-clause from aorist *qatal*-clauses. By contrast, temporal succession without causality is not more typically associated with *wayyiqtol* than with *qatal*.

In terms of event continuity, which I defined as the continuous representation of a course of events, causal succession and non-succession corresponds to progression and non-progression in the course of events. Within the context of the episodic paragraph, this translates to progression and non-progression in the episodic course of events. Accordingly, a *wayyiqtol*-clause normally takes us closer to the outcome, whereas *qatal* makes us remain at the same step.

Within the purely content-based analysis that I have presented in this study, the *wayyiqtol*- and *qatal*-clauses were the only linguistic structures to be investigated. In the next step of this analysis, other structures can be added.

Appendix: 9. Episodic paragraph (Gen 19:4-11)

Gen 19:1 The two angels came to Sodom in the evening, and Lot was sitting in the gateway of Sodom. And Lot saw them, and he got up to meet them and bowed down with his face to the ground. [2] He said, "Please, my lords, turn aside to your servant's house and spend the night, and wash your feet; then rise early and go on your way." They said, "No; we will spend the night in the square." [3] But he urged them strongly; and they turned aside to him and entered his house; and he made them a feast, and baked unleavened bread, and they ate.

- - - - Temporal succession

[1. Attempt (men of Sodom)]
[4] *Before they lay down, the men of the city, the men of Sodom,* ***surrounded*** *the house; both young and old, all the people to the last man,*

⬆

[2. Compound: elaboration]

[a. Attempt (men of Sodom); Initiating event (Lot)]
[5] *and they* ***called*** *[wayyiqtol] to Lot*

‖

[b. Attempt/goal (men of Sodom); Initiating event (Lot)]
and ***said*** *[wayyiqtol], "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, so that we may know them."*

⬇

[3. Compound: coordination]

[a. Counter-attempt (Lot)]
[6] *Lot* ***went*** *[wayyiqtol] out through the entrance to the men,*

✚

([b. Counter-attempt (Lot) motivated by Lot's overarching goal but not causally related to clauses 3a and 4]
and ***shut*** *[qatal] the door after him,*)

⬇

[4. Counter-attempt/goal (Lot); failed outcome (men of Sodom)]
[7] *and* ***said*** *[wayyiqtol], "Please, my brothers, do not act wickedly.* [8] *Look, I have two daughters who have not known a man; let me bring them out to you, and do to them as you please; only do nothing to these men, for they have come under the shelter of my roof."*

⬇

[5. Compound: coordination]

[a. Counter-attempt (men of Sodom); failed outcome (Lot)]
[9] *But they* ***said*** *[wayyiqtol], "Get away!"*

✚

[b. Renewed attempt/modified goal (men of Sodom)]
And they ***said*** *[wayyiqtol], "This fellow came here to reside as stranger, and he has made himself a judge! Now we will treat you worse than them."*

⬇

[6. Attempt (men of Sodom); initiating event, (angels)]
They ***pressed*** *[wayyiqtol] hard on the man, on Lot,*

⬆

[7. Attempt (men of Sodom); initiating event (angels)]
and ***came near*** *[wayyiqtol] to break the door.*

⬇

[8. Compound: coordination]

[a. Outcome 1, embedded course of events]
[aa. Counter-attempt (angels)]
[10] *But the men [inside]* ***reached out*** *[wayyiqtol] their hands*

⬆

[ab. Outcome (angels); failed outcome (men of Sodom)]
brought *[wayyiqtol] Lot to them into the house,*

✚

[b. Outcome 2 (angels); failed outcome (men of Sodom)]
and ***shut*** *[qatal] the door.*

✚

[c. Outcome 3, embedded course of events]
[ca. Attempt, angels]
[11] *And the men who were at the door of the house they* ***struck*** *[qatal] with blindness, both small and great,*

⬇⬆

[cb. Outcome 3 (angels); failed outcome (men of Sodom)]
and they ***wearied*** *[wayyiqtol] themselves to find the door.*

- - - - Temporal succession

[12] And the men said to Lot, "Who else do you have here—sons-in-law, your sons, your daughters, or whoever belongs to you in the city? Bring them out of the place. [13] For we are about to destroy this place, because the outcry against its people has become great before the Lord, and the Lord has sent us to destroy it."

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Enoch and the Temple of Doom:
The Vision of the Heavenly Temple (1 En 14:8-25) reconsidered

(*paper*)

1. Preface

Some may know the short and cryptic note in Gen 5:24 only saying: "Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him."[1] But what happened then to Enoch? The final version of the *Book of the Watchers* seems to present one of the first reactions to this question, which can presumably be considered as an interpretation of the *Genesis* text. The twelfth chapter of the *Book of the Watchers* namely begins as follows:

> "And before these things, Enoch was taken; and none of the sons of men knew where he had been taken, or where he was or what had happened to him. And his works were with the watchers, and with the holy ones were his days" (1 En 12:1-2).[2]

Except from the introduction formula of the *Book of the Watchers*, which denotes the whole writing and especially the first five chapters as a speech of Enoch, the patriarch is mentioned here for the first time. In contrast, the chapters before Enoch's translation to heaven (1 En 6-11) address the story of the Watchers, in which Enoch does not play any role – yet. After his translation to heaven Enoch is suddenly commissioned by God to pronounce the condemnation and punishment to the Watchers (1 En 12). For the Watchers may not return to heaven anymore because of their sin, they ask Enoch to write a petition and to bring their concern before God (1 En 13:1-6). Thus Enoch becomes a mediator between the heavenly world and the Watchers dwelling now on earth, a role that was originally only assigned to angels.

While Enoch sits by the rivers of Dan – he is thus still or again on earth – and reads the petition of the Watchers, he falls asleep and has a vision (1 En 13:7-10). This vision, which Enoch immediately tells the Watchers after he woke up, contains the so called Vision of the Heavenly Temple: In this dream Enoch is translated to the heavenly throne and commissioned

[1] Translation: NRS 1989.
[2] Translation by Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 233. Unless otherwise indicated the translations given in this paper are mine.

by God for the second time to pronounce the punishment to the Watchers and their offspring (1 En 14-16). Moreover, it can be considered as the beginning of Enoch's cosmic journeys that are described in the following chapters of the *Book of the Watchers* and in which the Watchers only play a very marginal role (1 En 17-19; 21-36). In that way Enoch's dream report can be considered as both the climax of 1 En 12-16 and the answer to Enoch's disappearance. It spells out for the first time what happened to Enoch and where he got after his translation.

The Vision of the Heavenly Temple in the narrower sense (1 En 14:8-25) has always been interpreted as a portrayal of one big heavenly temple complex that is with regard to its structure more or less comparable to the descriptions of the temple as e.g. in Ezek 40-48 or 1 Kgs 6. Accordingly the two described houses are considered as different parts of the same temple building with the latter as holy of holies containing God's throne. But does this interpretation do justice to the textual evidence? Does the text really speak about one heavenly temple complex consisting of several parts or rather of two different houses that need two different interpretations? It is moreover striking that the description of Enoch's heavenly vision differs in several ways from the following accounts of his cosmic journeys. Is the Vision of the Heavenly Temple therefore really an original part of the Enoch tradition or perhaps rather an original independent piece that was ascribed only later to Enoch and thus became only secondary part of Enoch's punishment speech against the Watchers? This could at least entail a new understanding of the literary development of the *Book of the Watchers*.

Therefore, the focus of my paper will be on a reexamination and reassessment of the textual evidence of Enoch's Vision of the Heavenly Temple and of its classical interpretation as heavenly temple complex with the final aim of presenting a new approach to explain this passage of the *Book of the Watchers.* One of the main questions will be the meaning and relation of the two mentioned houses. In this context I will also point at other Early Jewish sources which have been ignored up to now but provide a helpful and illuminating background for the interpretation of Enoch's heavenly Vision. The paper will finally claim that 1 En 14:8-25 provides a vision of two different temples, namely the former, destroyed one (or: the First Temple) and the future, splendid one (or: the [ideal] Second Temple). The description of these two houses could have been originally independent and only secondary integrated into the Enoch-Watcher-story representing now with regard to the Watchers a house of judgment and a house of salvation. Accordingly one should be careful to characterize 1 En 14:8-25 as one of the first descriptions of heavenly temple speculation.

2. The visions of the two houses (1 En 14:8-25): A textual analysis

As the text now stands, Enoch's dream report to the Watchers (1 En 14-16) can be considered as God's reaction to the Watchers' petition. In the chronological order of the narrative the dream takes place when Enoch falls asleep while reading the Watchers' petition (1 En 13:7-8) but it is only reported after the patriarch went to the Watchers to blame them on behalf of God (1 En 13:9-10). Together with chs. 12-13 the dream report can be regarded as both the end of the Watchers story and the beginning of Enoch's cosmic journeys. Only in these chapters the further fate of the Watchers is connected with the story of Enoch – Enoch does not play any role in the Watchers story told in the previous chapters (1 En 6-11) whereas the Watchers become negligible in the following chapters (1 En 17-36). Thus, in the final version of the *Book of the Watchers* 1 En 12-16 function as "transitional chapters."[3]

All in all, the dream report consists of three different parts: 1) The title and the introduction of the dream report, which Enoch tells the Watchers, anticipate God's negative judgment (1 En 14:1-7). God rejects the petition of the Watchers notwithstanding Enoch's intervention. Enoch has to proclaim the eternal judgment on the Watchers again, which includes the prohibition to return to heaven and the destruction of their offspring. Enoch's special role as God's commissioner is based on creation theology. 2) In 1 En 14:8 the dream report takes an unexpected turn: The Watchers, their misdeeds and their judgment are no longer in focus of Enoch's report, but the visions of his translation to heaven and the two houses he visits: the so called Vision of the Heavenly Temple (1 En 14:8-25). 3) Finally, God addresses Enoch directly and asks him to deliver his message to the Watchers (1 En 15:1-16:4). In this message the Watchers are criticized that they acted against their nature and against the divine order by behaving like human beings and by procreating. Besides, they are accused of revealing heavenly secrets to human beings. Therefore, they will be condemned. Enoch's dream report ends with this pronouncement of judgment and herewith also the story of the Watchers – with ch. 17 Enoch's journey through the whole cosmos begins.

Enoch's heavenly vision (1 En 14:8-25) shows a twofold, almost parallel structure but with varying details:[4] Both parts begin each with an opening formula of a vision, then present a detailed description of a house and its inside and end with a reaction of the protagonist:[5]

[3] Collins, "The Apocalyptic Technique," 96-97.

[4] The text of this vision is quite good attested. Besides the Ethiopic manuscripts (Aeth) and the Greek Codex Panopolitanus (GrPan), which both provide the text of 1 En 14:8-25 completely, there is also an Aramaic fragment with parts of 1 En 14:8-16 (= 4Q204 f1vi; all in all, this fragment attests parts of 1 En 13:6-14:16). With regard to this passage the different versions witness a more or less equivalent text so that I basically speak of the text of the Vision of the Heavenly Temple in general and do not differentiate between the particular witnesses. Of course, major differences and difficult passages will be mentioned or even discussed.

[5] Cf. also Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 102.

The first house (14:8-14)[6]		The second house (14:15-25)	
opening formula:		*opening formula:*	
14:8	"And it was shown to me in a vision as follows: Behold…"	14:14b	"And I saw in my vision: Behold…"
	translation to heaven		
description of the house:		*description of the house:*	
14:9	**a wall[7] of hailstones burning in fire**		
	fear reaction		
14:10	a great house	14:15	a house greater than the former one
			an open door[11]
	a wall(s)[8] of hailstones	14:16	**splendor and greatness of the house**
			reaction of being impressed[12]
	floor of snow	14:17	floor of fire
14:11	ceiling like stars and flashes		above (the floor) stars and flashes
	amongst them are Cherubim		ceiling of fire
	heaven of water		
14:12	**wall(s)[9] burning in fire**		
	door(s)[10] burning in fire		
inside the house:		*inside the house:*	
14:13	**hot as fire and cold as snow**	14:18-23	**a lofty throne with the Great Glory**
	no delight of life[13]		**flaming fire and angels**
reaction of the protagonist:		*reaction of the protagonist:*	
14:13-14a	fear reaction	14:24-25	trembling
	prostration		prostration
			God addresses Enoch

[6] In the following overview those points are in bold that occur only in one of the two house descriptions, those points underlined occur in both parts but at different places and can also have varying meanings.
[7] In the sense of a city or town wall (cf. GrPan τείχος and Aeth ጥቅም).
[8] In the sense of a wall of a room or of a building (cf. GrPan τοῖχος and Aeth አረፍት). The versions differ in the number of the word "wall": GrPan reads a plural ("walls") whereas Aeth has a singular ("a wall").
[9] Cf. footnote 8.
[10] The versions differ in the number of the word "door": GrPan reads a plural ("doors") whereas Aeth has a singular ("a door").
[11] GrPan and Tana 9 differ in their order from the remaining Ethiopic witnesses (= above). According to GrPan and Tana 9 the description of the house begins with the open door, followed by the reference to the house: "And behold, another door, open before me, and the house was greater than the former one […]."
[12] Enoch is unable to describe the splendor and greatness of the second house. Cf. also 1 En 14:19 (GrPan).
[13] The translation "no delight of life" follows the older Ethiopic manuscript group (Aeth I). The younger Ethiopic manuscript group (Aeth II) reads "no delight and no life", whereas Tana 9 has "nothing". The reading of GrPan is ambiguous: The in roman-byzantine orthography written word ΤΡΟΦΗ can be interpreted as both τροφὴ "food" and τρυφή "abundance" (For the interchangeability of ο and υ cf. Gignac, *A grammar of Greek Papyrus*, 1:293). Accordingly the translation of this phrase could be "no food for life" or "no abundance of life."

Accordingly, both houses are described with regard to their size, floor, ceiling, door and the material of its components. Finally, the inside of the house is specified, especially the second one at great length, and a reaction of Enoch is mentioned in each case. It is striking that the order of the described elements of both houses is more or less identical and that the houses are correlated only once, namely with regard to their size: The second house is greater than the former one (1 En 14:15). Apart from that there is no other evidence that shows how these two houses are related to each other. Moreover, each description has due to the opening formula and Enoch's reaction an obvious beginning and end (1 En 14:8 and 13-14a resp. 1 En 14:14b and 24-25). Thus both descriptions are textual clearly separated from another and give the impression of two resembling, but different buildings.[14]

Apart from the fact, that a translation to heaven by means of natural forces is mentioned once only in the context of the description of the first house (1 En 14:8), there are other important differences between the two houses and likewise Enoch's behavior varies significantly depending on the respective house. First of all, the materials of the houses are different. The first house is built of hailstones (1 En 14:10); its outer and inner walls and its floor also consist of hailstones resp. snow (1 En 14:9.10). Moreover, everything is surrounded by or burning in fire (1 En 14:9.12) so that the first house gives a paradox, frightening impression.[15] The second house is constructed throughout and only from fire (1 En 14:15.17) and characterized by splendor and greatness (1 En 14:16). Merely the door does not burn in fire like the door of the first house,[16] but is described as to be open (1 En 14:15) – that way it provides insight into the building without the need to enter it.[17] At the same time, the reason why the door has to be open could also be that it is even impossible for Enoch to enter the building as it is described in 1 En 14:21 with regard to all the angels and fleshly beings.[18] If

[14] Cf. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 73. The question naturally arises where the second vision takes place. Do we have two different visions reported one by one? Or rather "a vision within a vision" that is Enoch sees the second house while he is still in the first house? According to the latter case, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 264 footnote 18, writes: "One could interpret the passage to be referring to a house within a house, as in *3 Enoch* 1:1, in which case one would have the paradox of a house larger than the house in which it stands. But the reference here first to the door [Nickelsburg follows the text order of GrPan and Tana 9] suggests that Enoch is looking through that door into a second house to which it is the entry." I am not sure if this is really the case. Due the second opening formula in 1 En 14:14b, the parallel structure in the description of the two houses in general and finally the fact that we are dealing with dream report literature in which a twofold structure, that is a before and after or a hidden/cryptic and a revealed/explained part, is very common (cf. e.g. the dream reports of Daniel in Dan 8 and 9) I would rather suggest that we are dealing here with two distinct parts, too. This is not to say, that the two houses are by no means related to each other. But it is in my opinion rather unlikely as the following analysis will show that they are parts of one and the same building complex.

[15] Cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 262.

[16] Cf. 1 Enoch 14:12.

[17] Cf. Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch,* 140; Charles, *The Book of Enoch,* 34.

[18] Cf. Charles, *The Book of Enoch,* 34; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 148. In line with this is also 1 En 14:25: It is not Enoch himself, but one of the angels (GrPan) resp. God (Aeth) who brings Enoch to the door.

the door would not be open Enoch would not be able to see what is inside. Accordingly, already the first sentence of the description of the second house expresses implicitly some kind of inaccessibility of its inside. Intriguingly, both the outer and the inner wall play no explicit part in the account of the second house. Whereas the inner wall of the house seems to be replaced by flaming fire and angels surrounding the throne (1 En 14:22), something like an outer wall does even not exist in the conception of the second house.

Furthermore, the ceiling respectively the position of the stars and flashes differ. Regarding the first house, the ceiling is *like* the path of stars and flashes and in between are fiery cherubim (1 En 14:11).[19] The preposition of comparison creates the impression that the ceiling does not really consist of these astronomical phenomena but is merely an image or reflection of heaven. In contrast to that the ceiling of the second house *is* flaming fire; the flashes and the path of stars *are* between the floor and the ceiling (1 En 14:17). Thus, the stars and flashes truly exist in the second house and are not part of the ceiling, but rather of the room. Moreover, cherubim are not seen in the ceiling or interior of the second house.[20]

Another difference is to be found with regard to the respective inside of the houses. The inside of the first house is described in one short sentence with two different details (1 En 14:13): On the one hand it is "hot as fire and cold as snow," hence "[v]erse 13 explicates the paradox hitherto implied."[21] On the other hand "no delight of life is inside of it." Although the exact meaning of this sentence is rather uncertain – it could also be translated as "no delight and no life," "no food for life" or "no abundance of life"[22] – this detail in general, that is the absence of something in this house, is remarkable,[23] because an expression like this is stated nowhere else with regard to a temple.[24] Could this already entail a negative connotation of the first house?

In contrast to the first house the inside of the second house is described at length (1 En 14:18-23). Enoch sees a lofty throne with the enthroned Great Glory (1 En 14:18.20), rivers of flaming fire come out from beneath the throne (1 En 14:19) and flaming fire and angels are surrounding (1 En 14:21-23) – it is a full house, so to speak. The inside of the second house is, as already the second house in general, characterized by flaming fire, splendor and glory, using negatives several times to qualify the inaccessibility and indescribability of God and his

[19] Cf. GrPan: αἱ στέγαι **ὡς** διαδρομαὶ ἀστέρων καὶ ἀστραπαί. And Aeth (reading follows EMML 7584): **ጠፈሩ፡ ከመ፡ሩጸተ፡ከዋክብት፡ወመባርቅት፡**

[20] Cf. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 73 footnote 20.

[21] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263.

[22] Cf. footnote 12.

[23] This statement is underlined by the fact that Enoch sees nobody and nothing in the first house besides the building structure. There is no angel or other being nor some kind of "filling." It seems to be completely empty.

[24] For a discussion of this expression see part 4 of this paper.

place (1 En 14:16.19.21.22).[25] Beyond that a negation is only used in Enoch's observation that delight is absent in the first house (1 En 14:13). Thus, the *via negationis* stresses God's transcendence[26] and seems to be typical for solely the second house.

Finally, Enoch's behavior varies depending on the respective houses. With regard to the first house, Enoch plays a very active role: He went in until he drew near a wall (1 En 14:9), he went into tongues of fire and drew near a great house (1 En 14:10) and he went inside this house (1 En 14:13).[27] Hence, he is actually moving from the outside inwards the first house. But aside from that five times he is not subject of a verb of motion throughout the whole heavenly vision any more. Regarding the second house, Enoch becomes quite passive and is only in one sentence explicitly subject of a verb, namely of two verbs of perception: He was looking and saw a lofty throne (1 En 14:18). But there is no report of any movement in the context of the second house.[28] Because of the open door he does not even have to move to gain insight of the interior, or rather he is not even able to go inside, so that he simply has to look. Enoch's passiveness culminates in 1 En 14:25. Here Enoch becomes the object of one angel's (GrPan) resp. God's (Aeth) actions and is raised and brought to the door.

Another noticeable difference is in the way Enoch reacts on the appearance of each house. The description of the first house is both framed by and culminating in Enoch's impression of fear: When Enoch reaches the first parts of the house, they already begin to frighten Enoch (1 En 14:9); after he saw the entire house, he is completely shocked, covered with fear and falls [Aeth: upon his face] (1 En 14:13b-14a). Concerning the final version of the *Book of the Watchers*, this kind of reaction is only described three more times. Twice the Watchers' reaction on God's judgment is characterized with the same words of fear and trembling (1 En 1:5; 13:3)[29] and Enoch reacts another time in a quite similar way, when he sees the prison of the Watchers (1 En 21:2.7-9).[30] Thus, this kind of fear reaction seems at least at the final stage of the *Book of the Watchers* to be associated with the idea of judgment and punishment. In line with Enoch's passiveness with regard to movement, his reaction on the second house is nearly overshadowed by the account of the house's appearance. Twice Enoch's inability comes up in the context of the description of the second house: He fails to depict its splendor and glory (1 En 14:16) and to look when he stands before the throne (1 En

[25] Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 260.
[26] Cf. Ego, "Henochs Reise," 120.
[27] Cf. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580; *idem*, *1 Enoch 1*, 259.
[28] Cf. also Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 103.
[29] In 1 En 14:13b-14a as well as in 1 En 1:5 and 13:3 the words to describe the fear reaction are φόβος + τρόμος + λαμβάνω resp. ፍርሃት + ረዓድ + አኀዘ/ነሥአ.
[30] The words mainly used in 1 En 21 are φοβερὸς (and derivates) and δεινὸς resp. ፍርሃት, ግሩም and ድንጋፄ.

14:19). One could almost say that his reaction of being impressed and overwhelmed has no inherent value but only serves to underscore the impressive character of the house. Enoch's final reaction, his prostration and trembling, is followed by his restoration by an angel/God to receive his commission (1 En 14:24-25). Again, Enoch's attitude is closely linked to the divine as God's facing and addressing of Enoch opens the heavenly response to the Watchers' petition in 1 En 15-16.

Thus, whereas Enoch, his perception and reaction are quite prominent in the first part of the so called Vision of the Heavenly Temple, his character fades in the second part more or less into the background. All in all, the focus shifts from the subjective experience and involvement of the protagonist, which are central to account of the first house, to a more general and objective illustration of God's splendor, glory and inaccessibility, which characterize the description of the second house.

3. Previous interpretations: One heavenly temple complex

Since the first commentaries on the *Book of the Watchers* the two houses described in Enoch's heavenly vision have been interpreted as different parts of one and the same heavenly temple complex whose structure is similar to the earthly temple in Jerusalem; the vision altogether, however, is modeled after Ezek 1.[31] According to most scholars, the heavenly temple complex has a twofold structure with the second house located inside the first one: The first house has been interpreted initially as אולם[32] resp. πρόναος „the forecourt" of the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:3; Ezek 40:48)[33] and subsequent as היכל resp. τέμενος "the main room" or "outer sanctum" of the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:17; Ezek 41:1).[34] Analogously, the second house has often been explained as דביר "the inner sanctum" of the temple (cf. 1 Kgs 6:5) resp. as קדש הקדשים "the holy of

[31] Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch,* 139-140; Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," 245; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 33; Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 22-36; Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 71-76; Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 576-581; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 39-58; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 147-148; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 60; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 9-28; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 259-266; Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 160-168; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 105-121; and Coblentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple," 38-42. Cf. also Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 101-133.

[32] The common dictionary form is אילם, though.

[33] Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," 245; Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 33; and Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 147.

[34] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 23; Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 60; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263; and Coblentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple," 39. Cf. also Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 165; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 115. She does not explicitly use the term היכל resp. τέμενος but interprets the first house based on 1 Kgs 6:2-5; Isa 6:4 passim as "Hauptraum."

holies" (cf. 1 Kgs 6:16; Ezek 41:4).[35] Only Charles and Black interpret the second house as "the palace of God" which is in line with their identification of the first house as forecourt:[36] According to the description of Solomon's temple in 1 Kgs 6 the forecourt is no integral feature of הבית "the house" which is understood as the temple or palace of God as such.

Whereas Nickelsburg noticed in comparison with the threefold structure of Solomon's temple (forecourt, main room and holy of holies), that there is only a twofold structure described in Enoch's account of the heavenly temple (main room and holy of holies) and thus no אולם existing,[37] Maier and Himmelfarb claim a tripartite architecture with regard to 1 En 14, too.[38] They agree with Nickelsburg and others[39] in interpreting the two houses as היכל and דביר, but ascribe the outer wall to an independent function. According to Maier, this wall simply separates the forecourt,[40] though Himmelfarb, using the Greek version of 1 En 14:9 as point of departure, considers this wall as an actual third mentioned structure:

> "In the Ethiopic it is simply a wall. In the Greek text, however, Enoch passes through a *building* of hailstones and fire. The Greek, then, provides a heavenly structure that matches a three-chambered temple quite nicely."[41]

Thus, according to Maier and Himmelfarb the heavenly temple complex Enoch visits in his vision contains also a forecourt and is built analogously to the earthly counterpart.

The problem how the two houses are correlated resp. how one should understand the fact that the second house is greater than the former one is rather occasionally and if at all simply solved. It is sometimes assumed, that the second house is located inside the first one and Enoch, still on his face, is looking through the open door into the second house.[42] Besides, the size of the second house is hardly thematised. Nickelsburg writes rather generally about the heavenly vision: "The author's imagery stresses the otherness of this realm. Here fire and snow can coexist. Things are larger than life. God dwells in a house greater than the

[35] Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Beer, "Das Buch Henoch," 245; Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 23; Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580; Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 49; Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 60; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263; Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 160-168; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 105-121; Coblentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple," 39.
[36] Cf. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 34; and Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 147-148.
[37] Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263.
[38] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 23; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14.
[39] See footnote 34 resp. 35.
[40] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 23. Cf. also Dean-Otting, *Heavenly Journeys*, 49.
[41] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14 (italics in original). She further writes (*ibid.*, 119-120 footnote 29): "The fact that the Greek uses *oikodomē*, building, for the first structure but *oikos*, house, for the other two, could point to the difference between the two inner chambers, where cultic activity takes place, and the vestibule, which serves to separate the sanctuary proper from the area outside and which is not the scene of such activity."
[42] Cf. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 73; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263-264, especially footnote 18; Coblentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple," 40.

great one to which it is annexed."[43] Thus, one could say this fact is just unexplainable. Another rationale is supposed by Ego: This statement could perhaps have its roots in the fact that the holy of holies was located geographically above the main room.[44] But she immediately concedes: "[…] vielleicht sollte man die Analogie zum irdischen Tempel aber auch nicht überstrapazieren."[45] As a consequence, one could say that scholars failed up to now to illuminate this passage of Enoch's heavenly vision.

Another point for discussion is the material the walls and the first house are built of. The combination of fire and snow resp. hailstone in the *Book of the Watchers* is unique in the context of Early Jewish temple descriptions and not easy to explain. The coexistence of these materials is seen as something that is only possible in heaven[46] expressing the purest, brightest and most transcendent impression as possible[47] and often explained by a dependence on either Ezekiel's throne vision (Ez 1)[48] or the earthly temple as it is described by Josephus in *Jewish War* 5.[49] Whereas Nickelsburg sees in 1 En 14 a general borrowing and systematizing of the phenomena lightning, fire and icy pavement of Ezekiel's throne vision,[50] Kvanvig draws especially on the phrase הקרח הנורא in Ezek 1:22 to explain the Enochic polarity of fire and snow.[51] Normally, the word הנורא is explained as a participle Niph'al of ירא "to fear", but read with "Aramaic eyes" one could also interpret it as the Aramaic word for "fire" נורא.[52] Accordingly, Kvanvig concludes:

> "So gelesen, wird das רקיע כעין הקרח הנורא zu 'ein Gewölbe wie brennendes Eis'. […] Wir finden also, dass die Elemente der Polarität Eis – Feuer in Hen, auch in Ezech vorliegen: Die brennenden himmlischen Gestalten; das Gewölbe in Ezech als *qaraḥ* 'Kristall' oder 'Eis' charakterisiert; und weiter als *nora'*, das man aramäisch als 'das Feuer' lesen kann. Die Henochtradenten haben aus diesen Elementen eine neue, spekulative Konzeption gemacht."[53]

[43] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 260.
[44] Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 165; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 116.
[45] Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 165; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 116.
[46] Cf. e.g. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 582; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15; and Coblentz Bautch, "The Heavenly Temple," 40.
[47] Cf. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; and Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch,* 139. Cf. also Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 165; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 115.
[48] Cf. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 72; Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 582; Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 113. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 262, refers to Ez 1 as one possibility to explain the combination of hailstone and fire, too. But according to him it also "might be drawn from the imagery of a hail and lightning storm" as e.g. described in Ex 9:23; Ps 18:13-14 or Ps 148:8.
[49] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 35; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15.
[50] Cf. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 582.
[51] Cf. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 106.113. For the reference to 1 Ezek 1:22 cf. also Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 72.
[52] Cf. Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 113.
[53] Kvanvig, "Henoch und der Menschensohn," 113.

Another approach is taken by Maier, followed by Himmelfarb.[54] According to him, the description of the walls and of the first house is not about the physical quality of fire and snow, but about the visual impression of these materials.[55] In this line Maier explains the paradox coexistence reduced on their visual quality by means of Josephus' account of the Herodian temple in *Jewish War* V.222-224 that reads as follows:

> "The exterior of the building wanted nothing that could astound either mind or eye. For, being covered on all sides with massive plates of gold, the sun was no sooner up than it radiated so fiery a flash that persons straining to look at it were compelled to avert their eyes, as from the solar rays. To approaching strangers it appeared from a distance like a snow-clad mountain; for all that was not overlaid with gold was of purest white. From its summit protruded sharp golden spikes to prevent birds from settling upon and polluting the roof."[56]

Thus, the combination of gold and white stones, shining in the sun, could create from afar the impression of a fiery and snowy place and be reflected in the *Book of the Watchers*.[57] However, it is problematic to explain 1 En 14 with a considerably younger source. This noticing, Himmelfarb therefore tries to support Maier's assumption in the following way:

> "Of course Josephus, who is here describing Herod's temple, wrote perhaps three centuries after the Book of the Watchers. But the cosmological symbolism of Josephus's account has ancient roots, and it may be that this description draws on earlier praise of the temple."[58]

Hence, both descriptions should be understood as snapshots of a common temple tradition. The heavenly temple described in Enoch's vision corresponds to the earthly temple of Jerusalem not only in sheer structure but also in visual appearance – however, this correspondence is not exact but rather loose for the heavenly temple certainly transcends the earthly one.[59] But how must the "absence of delight" in the first house and Enoch's related fear be understood in that respect?

One could generally say that the statement of 1 En 14:13 is understood as a situation of mortal danger or that is to say as *mysterium tremendum* that is followed by the *mysterium fascinosum* of God's Throne (1 En 14:15-23): "To ascend to the heavenly temple is a cause of sheer terror rather than joy. This is no visit to the paradise of delight."[60] Enoch's fall on his knees has to be taken as a prostration before God as in the case of Ezekiel, although Ezekiel's

[54] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34-35; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15.
[55] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34.
[56] Translation by Thackeray, *Josephus*, 269.
[57] Cf. Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34-35.
[58] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 15.
[59] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.
[60] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263. Cf. also Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, 109; Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch,* 139; Maier, "Gefährdungsmotiv," 34; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.

prostration is never connected with trembling and fear.[61] Rather, in contrast to the description of Ezekiel's behavior, "[t]he Book of the Watchers […] emphasizes the intensity of the visionary's reaction to the manifestation of the divine" and "[…] the glory of God's heavenly temple by making it, rather than the vision of God himself, the cause of Enoch's fear."[62] The terrifying and awesome appearance of the first house is the reason and cause of reverent trembling and related to the divine presence in a sort of positive way for it represents God's greatness and glory.

All in all, the walls and the two houses Enoch sees in his vision are so far considered as different parts of God's heavenly temple which corresponds in its structure and appearance to the earthly one in Jerusalem. Scholars understood the term "house" in this context as referring to a part of the temple rather than to a building on its own. The second house, which is read as the holy of holies, is at times thought to be inside the first one that is mostly interpreted as the main room of the temple; Enoch gets insight into it through an open door while he is presumably still on his face. The terrifying appearance of the first house is perceived in a positive way as it is rooted in God's glory. Ezek 1 and Josephus' description of the Herodian temple are quoted as possible points of departure for the image of the coexistence of fire and snow. Remarkably, the fact that the second house is greater than the first one got hardly attention. Up to now it still demands an exhaustive explanation. An attempt to explain this problem in detail and Enoch's heavenly visions in general as well as a review of the previous interpretations will be given in the next part of the paper.

4. New approach: The former (First) and the future (Second) Temple

The previous interpretations of Enoch's heavenly vision are in my opinion rather problematic for several reasons. Accordingly, in this part of my paper I will discuss some of these points outlining their shortcomings and presenting a new approach to understand this passage of the *Book of the Watchers*. Finally, I will claim that the two houses of Enoch's vision have to be read as two different buildings with distinct functions in their textual context rather than one big heavenly temple complex in which they must be correlated in a rather artificial way.

First of all, Himmelfarb's reading of the word οἰκοδομῆς "building" and her following interpretation of the wall as a third structure of the temple that is as the forecourt[63] is to my mind problematic because she overlooks the textual difficulties and the semantics of the Greek version of this passage. As the text now stands, the word οἰκοδομῆς (genitive sg.)

[61] Cf. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.
[62] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 16.
[63] Cf, Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 14 (see also above).

could be either understood as an apposition of τείχους "wall" ("a wall, a building of") or as an attributive Genitive that is "a wall of a building."[64] The latter reading is due to the semantics of the word τεῖχος and the following course of the text rather unlikely[65] – the term τεῖχος generally denotes a wall in the sense of a city or protecting outer wall and rather not a wall of a building,[66] whereas the specific Greek term for a wall of a house or building, that is τοῖχος, is mentioned in the following sentence: οἱ τοῖχοι τοῦ οἴκου "the walls of the house" (1 En 14:10; cf. 1 En 14:12). With the use of ጥቅም (1 En 14:9)[67] and አረፍት (1 En 14:10.12) the Ethiopic version witnesses a similar semantic differentiation and supports the Greek understanding. Thus, in both languages two semantically clear distinguishable terms were used to describe the different kinds of walls in the structure Enoch sees in his vision. In the Greek as well as in the Ethiopic version of 1 En 14:9 the idea of the mentioned wall is hardly that of a building in the sense of a structure with rooms, a roof and walls, but rather that of a defensive, surrounding structure.[68] Already these semantic observations make Himmelfarb's interpretation rather unlikely.

But also the former interpretation of οἰκοδομῆς as an apposition entails difficulties and thus cannot support Himmelfarb's hypothesis. The reading of οἰκοδομῆς as noun is namely text critically both challenging and not entirely certain. According to the evidence of GrPan the word οἰκοδομῆς is followed by the preposition ἐν and the material the wall or building is made of (λίθοις χαλάζης). Normally, this is translated freely as "a wall, a building *of* hailstones." But the use and rendering of the preposition ἐν in this sense is awkward; instead one would rather expect a *genitivus materiae*. Moreover, the Ethiopic version reads this passage slightly different: ጥቅም፡ዘሕንጽት፡በአእባነ፡በረድ፡ "a wall which is built of hailstones." The word "wall" is not followed by another noun as in GrPan, but by a participial construction[69] combined with the preposition በ and the indication of the material of the wall. Exactly this combination[70] occurs two more times in Enoch's heavenly vision: In 14:10, Enoch draws near a great house built of hailstones and in 14:15, he sees a house built of tongues of fire. In both

[64] For the latter, compare the translation of Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 195.
[65] Cf. also Black, *Book of Enoch*, 146-147.
[66] It could also be understood in the sense of a fortress or castle and extremely rarely (and presumably as an exception) as fortified town or as wall of a temple or house. Cf. the dictionary entry in Lidell/Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 1767. Cf. the use of τεῖχος in the *LXX*, where it can also denote the outer wall of Jerusalem (see e.g. 1 Kgs 2:35; 5:14; 9:15; 2 Kgs 14:13).
[67] The word ጥቅም can be translated similarly to τεῖχος as "wall, fortification wall, fortress, and castle." Cf. Leslau, *Concise Dictionary*, 216.
[68] In the *LXX* the combination of τεῖχος and οἰκοδομή is only once attested, namely in 1 Mac 16:23. The text reads τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῶν τειχῶν "the building up of the walls." Thus, the word οἰκοδομή is understood here as the act of building and not as the result of it.
[69] According to Ethiopic grammar it is strictly speaking a verbal adjective in the sense of a past participle passive.
[70] That is the relative particle ዘ, a passive participle of ሐነጸ, the preposition በ and the indication of the material.

cases the Greek counterpart also reads a participle construction followed by the preposition ἐν and the indication of material: ἤγγισα εἰς οἶκον μέγαν οἰκοδομημένον ἐν λίθοις χαλάζης (14:10) resp. ὁ οἶκος μείζων τούτου, καὶ ὅλος οἰκοδομημένος ἐν γλώσσαις πυρός (14:15). The close correspondence of the Greek and Ethiopic versions in these two cases suggests that the Greek *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic version of 14:9 had a similar reading to the Greek version of 14:10 and 14:15, that is instead of the difficult noun οἰκοδομή it presumably read a middle/passive participle of οἰκοδομέω.

This assumption is supported by two further observations. On the one hand, the reading of the participle explains the awkward use of the preposition ἐν that presumably is a rendering of the Aramaic preposition ב to indicate the material.[71] On the other hand, GrPan can be characterized as a text critically rather problematic witness: There are several abbreviations, ligatures and alterations and a general addiction of the scribes to be careless and hasty.[72] The result is a text with occasional omissions or difficult resp. unintelligible readings.[73] In line with this, Nickelsburg evaluates: "The simplest solution is to take 𝔊^{a} οἰκοδομῆς as a corrupt abbreviation for οἰκοδομημένου (= E)."[74] Thus, the reading of οἰκοδομῆς in particular and Himmelfarb's interpretation of it altogether have a rather weak basis. But then, what is to make of Maier's assumption, that the wall separates the forecourt? Since Maier presents no concrete arguments to support his interpretation but bases it on his general perception of Enoch's vision, the next step is to figure out the meaning and function of the two houses.

The interpretation of each of the two houses as a different part of the temple and the reference to 1 Kgs 6 and Ezek 40 as support for this[75] are in my opinion difficult. In both Biblical and Qumranic Hebrew and Aramaic the word בית resp. בי never denotes a part of a building or even of the temple when it is used in the absolute state or with a definite article; at most in the construct state with a specifying attributive genitive בית resp. בי can be used to signify specific buildings or parts/rooms of a building.[76] In Biblical Hebrew, the word בית can be interchangeable with the term היכל when the latter is used in the sense of "palace" or

[71] Cf. 1 Kgs 6:15.16; 15:22; Hab 2:12; Mic 3:10.
[72] Cf. Lods, *Le Livre d'Hénoch*, XLIX.
[73] Cf. Larson, *The Translation of Enoch*, 85-92.160. For examples of difficult readings see the Greek version of e.g. 14:18 or 15:11.
[74] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 258.
[75] Cf. e.g. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 262-263; and Ego, "Denkbilder für Gottes Einzigkeit," 165; *idem*, "Henochs Reise," 116.
[76] Cf. the Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary entries to בית of e.g. Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 95-89.898; Koehler/Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, 1:119-120; 2:1679-1680; Kratz/Steudel/Kottsieper, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch*, 1:269-273: Examples for the use of in the sense of a specific building or part of it see e.g. Jer 36:22; Amos 3:15; Esth 2:3; 7:8.

"temple."[77] However, in the description of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:1-7:51; cf. Ezek 40-43) they are not synonymous; in this text בית is always used to refer to the temple in general (e.g. 1 Kgs 6:1.2.14), but היכל here never denotes "temple" as such but only the "main room" (e.g. 1 Kgs 6:3.5).[78] Thus, בית can paraphrase Solomon's temple as a whole but not היכל in the particular meaning of the main room. With regard to Enoch's heavenly vision this means in the first instance, that the first house could generally paraphrase the word היכל but only in its sense of "palace" or "temple."

Moreover, בית and דביר resp. קדש הקדשים are never used interchangeably – at least one could think at first sight. But it is worthwhile to have a look at the temple description of the *Chronicles*. Remarkably the word דביר which is used eleven times in the temple descriptions of *Kings* appears only four times in the corresponding passages of the *Chronicles*; instead it is often replaced by the phrase בית קדש הקדשים (e.g. 2 Chr 3:8.10), which is a combination of the word בית and the P term for the inner section of the temple, that is קדש הקדשים (e.g. Ex 26:33; Num 4:19) and quite unique in the context of Biblical Hebrew.[79] For a moment there seems to be connection between the word "house" and the inner, holy part of the temple. But it must be remembered that the word בית assumed a rather reduced semantic function in the course of time; therefore Hurvitz states with regard to the *Chronicler*'s phrase בית קדש הקדשים: "The pattern χ-בֵּית is generally very common in the Aramaic dialects and RH, often replacing CBH expressions that do not contain the *nomen regens* בית […]. In many cases, בית may be rendered *place of* … […]."[80] According to Hurvitz, the use of this pattern notably increased in the late Biblical period and Aramaic equivalents were adopted by the Targumists.[81] Even in the *Book of the Watchers* this phenomenon can be observed. The Aramaic version of 1 En 22:4 (= 4Q206 f1xxii:1) reads והא אלן אנון פחתיא לבית עגנה[ן] "these are the pits as the place of their incarceration."[82] Thus, looking back on the *Chronicler*'s designation the word בית itself does not carry the meaning of the inner sanctuary. Concerning Enoch's heavenly vision, this means so far that a connection of the second house with the inner part of the temple is semantically rather unlikely because the word "house" lacks any specifying attributive genitives which could help to understand it as such, in particular since the first house is

[77] Cf. Ottosson, "היכל," *ThWAT* 2:409-410.
[78] Cf. Ottosson, "היכל," *ThWAT* 2:409-410.
[79] Cf. Hurvitz, *Linguistic Study*, 138-141. The term דביר even disappears in Mishnaic Hebrew and the Targumic Aramaic and is instead always replaced by בית קדש הקדשים or in the Targumim sometimes also by בית הכפרת.
[80] Hurvitz, *Concise Lexicon*, 69.
[81] Hurvitz, *Concise Lexicon*, 61. Similar patterns to the one abovementioned are e.g. בית מקדש (2 Chr 36:17), בית הקדש (1 Chr 29:3), בית הכפרת (1 Chr 28:11) and בית מנוחה (1 Chr 28:2). For an overview and discussion see Hurvitz, *Concise Lexicon*, and especially *idem*, "Terms and Epithets," 165-183.
[82] The Greek and Ethiopic versions correspondingly read οἱ τόποι resp. ᎀᎰᎿᎻ.

circumscribed with exactly the same term – contrary the common scholarly view even presupposes that the two houses could be understood in two different ways although in both cases exactly the same word is used and no distinguishing feature with reference to a specific part of the temple is given in the description.

However, 1 En 14:10 and 14:15 read [ב]ר ביא οἶκον μέγαν ቤት፡ዐቢይ፡ resp. מן דן רב [...][83] ὁ οἶκος μείζων τούτου ቤት፡ዘያዐቢ፡እምዝክቱ።, thus, for both the word בי "house" is used in all likelihood with the first one being specified as to be "great" and the second one as to be "greater than the former." But apart from that they are not more specifically detailed. In Ancient Jewish texts the phrase בי רב "great house" (1 En 14:10) resp. the Hebrew equivalent בית גדול is not very widespread. Apart from the rather fragmentary Aramaic evidence in 4Q581 f1_2:2, the Hebrew form, though with the definite article, is attested in Amos 6:11 and 2 Chr 3:5. While the phrase הבית הגדול in Amos 6:11 stands in parallelism to הבית הקטן and can therefore presumably be understood as a meristic expression, the *Chronicler*'s instance is part of the rewritten description of Solomon's temple and hence very interesting for our passage. Usually it is understood in the sense of the temple's main building or nave[84] - the term היכל which was used for this part of the temple in the description of 1 Kgs is not used in the *Chronicler*'s report of the building of the temple proper (2 Chr 3:1-14), but only in the description of the furnishings of the temple (2 Chr 3:15-5:14). This entails the question, if in *Chronicles* the same differentiation between the words בית and היכל is made as in *Kings*. Moreover, 2 Chr 3:5 could be a rewriting of or, as Lynch states, "an unreflective adaption of the more awkward rendering in 1 Kgs 6:17,"[85] where both terms seem to be equated at a first glance.[86] But the verse is text critically rather difficult[87] and not in the focus of the present paper. Instead it is worthwhile to take a closer look on the *Chronicler*'s idea of the temple and how this could explain the phrase of 2 Chr 3:5.

An important passage of the *Chronicler*'s temple theology is 2 Chr 2:4: וְהַבַּיִת אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי בוֹנֶה גָּדוֹל כִּי־גָדוֹל אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִכָּל־הָאֱלֹהִים: "The house that I am about to build will be great, for our God is greater than other gods."[88] The greatness of the house, that is the temple Solomon will build, is related to the greatness or even supremacy of God: The house of God will be great because God is superior to the other gods. This verse thus expresses more than a correlation of

[83] Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 194, completes based on the Greek and Ethiopic version: מן דן רב [וביא אוחרן די].
[84] Cf. the common Bible translations.
[85] Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions*, 129.
[86] The text of 1 Kgs 6:17 reads as follows: וְאַרְבָּעִים בָּאַמָּה הָיָה הַבַּיִת הוּא הַהֵיכָל לִפְנֵי:
[87] See especially the Greek and Latin versions, where the word בית seems to be omitted, and also the rearrangement of the word sequence in the *Peshitta*.
[88] Translation: NRS 1989.

the temple and God; the temple has a share in God's greatness so that a congruency is developed between these two.[89] Aside from 2 Chr 2:4 the term גדול is used several times in *Chronicles* as a distinguishing element of the temple which relates it in a unique way with God.[90] Hence, there is a close link between the idea of בית and גדול.[91] This link could have colored the description of the building of the temple in 2 Chr 3 and in particular the expression of 2 Chr 3:5:[92] The phrase הבית הגדול could perhaps denote the main building or nave of the temple in the narrower sense, but it is in any case even more an expression of the greatness of God's house and of exclusive temple theology of *Chronicles*.

But the congruency in greatness of God and the temple is not an absolute one. Already in the next verse (2 Chr 2:5) reservations concerning the possibility of human beings building a house for God on earth are expressed, since the temple cannot grasp God completely or reduce him to this place.[93] In this line, Lynch states:

> "The temple was a manifestation of the utterly supreme and uncontainable God *yet* it was made by a human. In this sense, Chronicles shares with anti-idol texts an anxiety over *purely* human-made divine representations. In response, Chronicles (a.) downplays Solomon's claim to the status of temple-builder, (b.) emphasizes the temple's "iconic" role, and (c.) draws attention to Yhwh's hand in creating the temple."[94]

According to *Chronicles*, God's supremacy and creative power is the source whereby a human being is only able to build a house for him.[95] Finally, with regard to Enoch's heavenly vision the more intriguing passage is not 2 Chr 3:5 with the parallel expression הבית הגדול, but rather 2 Chr 2:4 with the correlation of the house and God by the way of their greatness: The house (הבית) is great (גדול), but God is characterized as being greater than the other gods, that is than everyone else (גדול מן). The other way around one could also say: The earthly temple may be great, but the divine and heavenly surpass everything since God is greater. A similar idea to 2 Chr 2:4 and use of הבית "the house", גדול "great" and finally the comparative marker מן "(greater) than" is only found one more time in another, with regard to Enoch's heavenly vision very intriguing passage: גָּדוֹל יִהְיֶה כְּבוֹד הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה הָאַחֲרוֹן מִן־הָרִאשׁוֹן אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the LORD of hosts" (Hag

[89] Cf. Lynch, "Divine Supremacy," 3.6-7.
[90] See e.g. 1 Chr 22:5; 29:1; cf. 1 Chr. 16:25; 29:11-12. Cf. Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions*, 129.
[91] Cf. Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions*, 129.
[92] Cf. Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions*, 129.
[93] Cf. Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions*, 110-113; *idem*, "Divine Supremacy," 7-8.
[94] Lynch, "Divine Supremacy," 8.
[95] Cf. Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions*, 113.

2:9a).[96] This verse has to be seen in the context of the destruction of the First temple[97] and the promises concerning the future of the temple and its glory.[98] The prophet criticizes the desolate condition of the former temple and sees the reason in the violation of the covenant; in contrast to the houses of the people the temple is a ruin.[99] Accordingly he calls the people to build the temple[100] and describes the greater glory of the future temple: The coming glory (כבוד) of the temple (הבית) will surpass the former one (גדול מן). According to the final version of *Haggai* the future glory of the temple is a result of the treasures the גיים bring (Hag 2:6-7), but this is presumably a later interpretation.[101] In line with the probable original message of the prophet the כבוד is instead attributed to God's glorious presence which fills the temple.[102] Thus, according to the *Book of Haggai* the former house of God is a ruin, but the future one will be full of glory because of God's presence.

The look at 2 Chr 2:4 and Hag 2:9 revealed a remarkable analogy to Enoch's heavenly vision with regard to the comparison of two entities with the superiority of the latter as a result of God's presence. Like the temple and God in *Chronicles* and the former, ruined and the latter, with God's glory filled temple in *Haggai*, the two houses in the *Book of the Watchers* are correlated with regard to their "greatness" with the second one as the dwelling of God being greater than the first one. In 1 En 14 the same keywords as in the just discussed texts, though the Aramaic equivalents of course, are used to express this relationship of the two houses: In summary, it can be stated that the first house (בי) is great (רב) [1 En 14:10], but the second house (בי) is greater than (רב מן) the former [1 En 14:15] because of the presence of God's glory (δόξα[103]) [1 En 14:16.20-21]. According to this analogy the two houses described in Enoch's heavenly vision must rather be confronted as two distinct buildings than correlated within one temple complex. This means that two houses do not denote different parts of one and the same building but opposite pictures or ideas of the (same) temple – the term בי/בית "house" is thus in both cases not a "chiffre" for a specific part of a building but plain and simple the temple as such.[104] To proof this interpretation of the two houses it is necessary to analyze and reassess the material the houses are built of and the inside in question. As a result

[96] Translation: KJV. This verse could also be translated: "The latter splendor of this house shall be greater than the former, says the LORD of hosts" (NRS 1989). See the different interpretations of the Hebrew in the *LXX* and the *Vulgate*. Cf. Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja*, 61 footnote 319.
[97] Hag 1:8-9; 2:3.
[98] Hag 2:6-9. Cf. Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja*, 55-75.
[99] Cf. Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja*, 29.34-35.132.
[100] Cf. Hag 1:8.
[101] Cf. Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja*, 60.67.73.
[102] Cf. Hag 2:3.9a, and Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja*, 73.121.
[103] The Aramaic is not attested.
[104] Cf. also Nickelsburg, „Enoch, Levi, and Peter," 580 footnote 19.

of the new approach of my paper concerns especially the conventional interpretation of the first house the following discussion will be mainly focused on the first part of Enoch's heavenly vision.

Up to now, the connection of snow/hailstones and fire and the disturbing inside of the first house have been interpreted in a positive way since this terrifying appearance is said to have its roots in God's glory. Both previous approaches[105] focus primarily on the visual appearance of these two elements which has at times a very positive connotation.[106] But both elements can also have a very negative meaning when the emphasis is on their substance or the effect they involve. Accordingly snow and hail represent something threatening, too. In Job 38:22-23, snow and hail have been reserved for the time of trouble, battle and war and seem to function as a tool of God's judgment. The same association can be found in 1 En 34; 76:1-14 (esp. 76:11-12) and Sir 43:17: Snow and hail are a plague that causes harm and destruction on earth like locusts.[107] Likewise, fire is not only an integral part of the theophany but also a demonstration and instrument of God's wrath and judgment. In texts like e.g. Lev 10:2; Num 11:1-3; 16:35; Ps 18:9, devouring fire goes out from God as expression of his anger and to punish or consume the evildoer. God's wrath can even entail a combination of fire, hail and other plagues like in Isa 30:30 or Ezek 38:22. Concerning the description of the first house of Enoch's heavenly vision this could mean, that the materials of the walls and the house have a negative origin, namely in God's wrath and therefore implicate the idea of judgment and destruction.[108]

This interpretation is supported by two further observations: First of all, as already mentioned above in the text analysis, it is remarkable that the first house has not only a terrifying appearance but is also characterized by the absence of delight of life.[109] With regard to other descriptions of the temple the statement of the absence of something is very unusual, since in Near Eastern thought a temple is naturally considered as the source of life, fertility and prosperity.[110] According to Early Jewish sources, the temple or the tent of meeting are, as far as it is explicitly mentioned, normally filled e.g. with כבוד יהוה "the glory of the LORD"

[105] According to these approaches the snow and fire in Enoch's heavenly vision are described by either Ezek 1 or Josephus' account of the Herodian temple (see above).
[106] For the positive use of snow with regard to its white color see e.g. Isa 1:18; Ps 51:7; Dan 7:9. For the fire as an integral part of the theophany see e.g. Ex 24:17; Ezek 1; Zech 2:9.
[107] Cf. also Ex 9:13-35; Ps 18:14-16; 147:17.
[108] In addition to that one could also point to a rather young, but no less interesting Hebrew source in which the whole cosmos and thus the Sheol is described: ושאול חציה אש וחציה ברד ורשעים שבתוכה כשהם יוצאים מן האש לחוץ אותם ברד וכשיוצאים מן הברד דולק אותם האש "And the Sheol is half fire and half hail. When the wicked who are in its midst leave the fire, the hail torments them, and when they leave the hail, the fire burns them" (סדר רבה דבראשית section כח).
[109] For the problematic nature of this expression see above.
[110] Cf. exemplarily Van Leeuwen, "Cosmos, Temple, House," 399-421.

(e.g. Ex 40:34-35; 1 Kgs 8:11; Ezek 43:5), ענן "a cloud" (1 Kgs 8:10; 2 Chr 5:13; Ezek 10:4), שוליו "the hem of his [the LORD's] robe" (Isa 6:1) or even the LORD himself is inside (Ps 11:4; Hab 2:20). As Charles already pointed out,[111] an interesting parallel idea to 1 En 14:13 is instead to be found in Sir 14:16: כי אין בשאול לבקש תענוג (MS A6r:5-6), ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ᾅδου ζητῆσαι τρυφήν "for there is no seeking of delight in Sheol." The passage of this quotation is about appreciation of life and of God's creation "[…] in view of the uncertain prospect of death."[112] According to Ben Sira, the place of *death* is thus connected with the absence of delight. Moreover, a look at *Haggai* and his comparison of the former and the future temple is again worthwhile. In Hag 2:3 the prophet asks the people a rhetorical question: מִי בָכֶם הַנִּשְׁאָר אֲשֶׁר רָאָה אֶת־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה בִּכְבוֹדוֹ הָרִאשׁוֹן וּמָה אַתֶּם רֹאִים אֹתוֹ עַתָּה הֲלוֹא כָמֻהוּ כְּאַיִן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם׃ "Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? How does it look to you now? Is it not in your sight as nothing?"[113] The former glory of the temple is contrasted to the miserable current situation – the temple is now like nothing (כאין) – and at once by means of the keywords הבית הזה "this house," כבוד "glory" and ראשון "former" related to its future, as it is described in Hag 2:7.9: The future temple will be full of glory.[114] Thus, *Haggai* presents a similar idea not only with regard to the temple's greatness, but also concerning the "condition" of the house. According to *Haggai*, the former house is a ruin (Hag 1:4; 2:3), but the future house will be full of glory because of God (Hag 2:7.9). The two houses of Enoch's heavenly vision are characterized in a sort of similar way: The first house has a terrifying appearance, its material witnesses God's wrath and judgment and its inside contains no source of delight; the second house instead is all in all identified with glory, greatness and splendor and the place of God's dwelling.

Secondly, Enoch's reaction to the appearance of the first house not only differs remarkably from his reaction to the second house but is also characterized by an enormous fear and terror. Previously, scholars have interpreted this fear reaction so to say as an expression of the *mysterium tremendum*. But again, a positive reading of Enoch's reaction to the first house is not necessarily the only possibility. In Ancient Jewish sources both fear and terror (cf. 1 En 14:13)[115] and trembling and shaking (cf. 1 En 14:14)[116] are likewise reactions

[111] Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 33. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263.
[112] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 263.
[113] Translation: NRS 1989. In this context one could also point to those passages of *Ezekiel* which describe how God's glory leaves the temple resp. Jerusalem (e.g. Ezek 10:18-22; 11:22-25), but here no kind of absence is explicitly noted.
[114] Cf. Hallaschka, *Haggai und Sacharja*, 55.
[115] GrPan uses φόβος and τρόμος.
[116] GrPan uses σείω and τρέμω.

to God's military actions[117] or to God's wrath and judgment.[118] The latter would furthermore be in line with the general view of fear and trembling in the final version of the *Book of the Watchers*: Enoch as well as the Watchers react in that way in connection with God's judgment and punishment (1 En 1:5; 13:3; 21:2.7-9).[119]

Finally, a look at the idea of the outer wall is still missing. A striking difference between the two houses is, as already mentioned, that the first one is surrounded by a kind of city wall whereas in the description of the second house no wall at all is mentioned. In contrast, the second house is full of and encircled by fire. In line with the preceding observations according to that the two houses should be interpreted in contrast as two separate entities it is rather unlikely that the outer wall of the first houses serves a specific purpose within the temple structure. Instead, it is reasonable to consider this wall simply as the city wall of Jerusalem. But then, what is to make of the "wall less" second house? The idea of an open place without walls but with fire around and the glory of God in its midst, as it is described in the second part of Enoch's heavenly vision, is by no means unique and could be reminiscent of the promise of salvation of Zech 2:8-9, according to that God himself will protect Jerusalem as a wall of fire as he did for example during the exodus by means of the pillars of cloud and fire.[120]

5. Conclusion

All in all, this paper has shown that Enoch's heavenly vision should not be interpreted in the sense of a bipartite or even tripartite temple which resembles the earthly temple in Jerusalem not only in structure but also in appearance. The discussion of the individual elements of in particular the first house has rather demonstrated that the two parts of Enoch's vision should be read as opposing images of one and the same temple: The first house is characterized by the idea of destruction and judgement – the materials of the walls and the house itself and especially its "empty" inside likely represent God's wrathful and destroying acting that causes Enoch to tremble and fear. In comparison to the second house, one could almost say, that Enoch is only able to enter and move inside the first house, because no (more) glory hinders him. The opposing character of the two houses became obvious in the context of the temple theology of *Chronicles* and mainly *Haggai*: In all three sources the keywords הבית "the

[117] E.g. Ex 15:16; Dtn 2:25; 11:25.
[118] E.g. Isa 13:13; 19:16; 24:18; Jer 10:10; 4:24; Ps 18:8. An interesting passage is Isa 33:14(-16): The sinner, who overwhelmed by trembling and shaking, must confess, that only the righteous one survives God's judgment without being devoured by fire.
[119] See the text analysis above.
[120] Cf. e.g. Ex 13:21-22; 40:34-38; Num 9:15-23; 10:11-12.34-36.

house", גדול "great" and the comparative marker מן "(greater) than" (resp. the Aramaic equivalents) are used to compare two entities with regard to their greatness. In particular *Haggai* offered intriguing parallels: The former house of God is like nothing, since it is destroyed and a ruin, but the future temple will be greater in its glory than the former one, because God will fill it with glory. Similarly, the second house of Enoch's vision surpasses the first one with regard to its greatness and is full of glory or even of the Great Glory that is God himself. Thus, in both texts everything positive is only part of the second house. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider the first house of Enoch's vision as the First, though destroyed Temple and the second house as the Second or future and splendid Temple, too.[121]

In summary, it can be stated that the description of the first house in 1 En 14:8-14a reflects the "doom" of the First Temple which seems to have its origin in God's wrath and judgment. As a consequence, this house cannot serve as a temple of God anymore and no glory is to be found there. Instead it is full of terror but likewise "accessible." In contrast, the second house represents the Second Temple – but it remains unclear if this Second Temple has already been realized or is still, as in *Haggai*, a promise of salvation or even a contrast to "some kind of Second Temple" that is unsatisfactory in the opinion of the author of Enoch's heavenly vision. As a result of this interpretation it is also likely that 1 En 14:8-25 could have been a previously independent text that had no connection to the Watchers' myth or perhaps even to Enoch at all. Accordingly one has to assume that in the final version of the *Book of the Watchers* the meaning and function of Enoch's vision of the two houses slightly changed. The juxtaposition of the former and the future temple is no longer in focus, but instead the idea of a house of judgment and a house of salvation – but this is a topic for another paper.

[121] This interpretation can be supported by a presumably slightly younger text: In 1 En 90:28-38, more or less the final part of the Animal Apocalypse, the rise of the messianic kingdom is described. Intriguingly the messianic kingdom is inaugurated by removing the old house and building a new house which is greater and loftier than the former one. Although there are several elements which could be related to the temple, the houses and the text in general is usually interpreted as referring to the city of Jerusalem. Cf. exemplarily Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 376.

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THE LITURGICAL CALENDAR AT QUMRAN

OTSEM 2017

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

As requested, a suggestion of some discussion topics:-

- Inter-relationship between Calendar, Sabbaths and Festivals.
- Liturgical Sabbath worship at Qumran based on *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.*
- Covenantal and Calendrical links with Davidic Monarchy, the Levites, Creation and The Law.
- The role of angels within the covenantal, calendrical and liturgical texts discussed.

Not long after I started to research my Dphil project[1], it became evident that an investigation into the Calendar at Qumran would be beneficial in perhaps providing a more detailed understanding of the liturgical importance of *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* or *The Shirot.* The Calendrical material investigated for the purpose of this paper was 4Q320, 4Q321,4Q325,4Q326, 4Q328, 4Q329 and the calendrical material at the beginning of one copy of MMT.

These fragmentary texts show that there was a shared understanding of a semi-lunar 364 day calendar across this material, instead of, perhaps, the more expected 354 day lunar calendar which is known to, contemporarily, have been practiced in the area.[2] This means that the

[1] Part of this paper is derived from/ adapted from work submitted for my transfer of status at The Univeristy of Oxford.
[2] Martin G. Abegg, Jr. 'The Calendar at Qumran' in Judaism in Late Antiquity Part 5 Vol.1 The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls Theory of Israel in Alan J Avery Peck et al (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, 2001) p.145.

same date falls on exactly the same day each year. The year then appears to have been further divided into four seasons with each season consisting of three months of 30, 30 and 31 days respectively. Further, the counting of the days in the week appears to begin on the first day after the Sabbath. (Sunday in modern parlance.)

It is also probably not coincidental that this particular Calendar begins on a Wednesday-the fourth day in the week- since from a cosmological and theological perspective, this corresponds to the creation of time in Gen 1:14. When God, on the fourth day made the luminaries- the sun, the moon and the stars, creating and establishing, a method of reckoning time, seasons and the dating of festivals.

This means that consecrated days such as Sabbaths and Festivals are always linked in with creation and the ordained word of God, a position which is also clearly evidenced in *Jubilees*,[3] showing that feast days are Divinely given, Holy and Commanded.

RITUAL INNOVATION

It is believed that during the second temple period the 'centralisation of festivals led to the calendar becoming more fixed and sacrifices more tightly prescribed.[4]' However, Nathan McDonald has recently shown how these festivals were still dynamic, growing, altering and changing. A concept he coins 'ritual innovation.' By focusing on the festival of Shavuot McDonald has observed how traditions regarding this one festival altered and changed

[3] For more on the influence of Jubilees within the Qumran Community see: Vanderkam, *From Revelation to Canon* pp.81-104,109-110
[4] Nathan McDonald 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot' in Nathan McDonald *Ritual Innovation in the Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016) p.55.

culturally and textually resulting in a 'new' normative ritual practice steeped in tradition and scripture, yet an authoritative development of previous festal codes.

It is the process of ritual innovation which ultimately enables new festivals to be integrated into a community. For example, the establishment of Purim. It is clear that this process of ritual innovation seems to be occurring at Qumran with the introduction of three previously unknown festivals of New Wheat, New Wine and New Oil in the Temple Scroll.[5] McDonald suggests that the fifty-day counting period from the waving of the sheaf to Shavuot in Lev 23 provides the inspiration for the addition of these three festivals to the Qumranic calendar, each fifty days apart from each other.[6] This also of course ensured that every seven weeks there was a festival, a day of rest, a 'holy convocation.' The importance of the number seven in defining holy ordained time is also evident in *Jubilees* where the Sabbath is declared to be holy and a 'great sign' which the 'angels of the presence, the angels of sanctification'[7] and the Israelites – more specifically Jacob and his descendants[8]- are expected to keep with God 'in heaven and on earth.' It is specifically this covenant between God and His Angels (Jubilees 2:17) and God and Israel (Jubilees 2:21) which makes Liora Ravid believe that the calendar in *Jubilees* should be understood as a 'Sabbath Calendar.' [9]At Qumran, in contrast, the Sabbath whilst still having a prominent position in the week and its own dedicated liturgy (*The Shirot)* appears to be viewed as a Festival and one of a collection of sacred, holy days.[10]

[5] See McDonald 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot' for a comprehensive study of ritual innovation in the Temple Scroll.
[6] McDonald 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot' p. 70.
[7] Jubilees 2:2.
[8] Jubilees 2:20.
[9] Liora Ravid ' The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar- A Re-examination.' *DSD* Vol.10 Issue 3 (2003) p.391
[10] See discussion regarding Sabbath and Lev 23 below.

PRIESTLY COURSES

Great care was also taken to align the Full Moon, New Moon, Sabbaths and Festivals alongside the priestly courses found in 1 Chronicles 24. This correlation suggests that this particular 364 semi lunar calendar contained a twenty-four priest-cycle over a six-year period. It is also equally fascinating that the priestly courses in these calendrical documents follow the same twenty-four divisions of 1Chronicles in precise chronological order. The one difference being that the texts discovered at Qumran begin the first week of their first year with Gamul, whereas 1 Chronicles 24 lists Jehoiarib first. The Qumran texts also seem to have multiple spellings for some of the priestly courses, though it is evident that the same division is meant. The lack of Chronicler material uncovered in the caves near Qumran has been well documented.

George Brooke has raised the question as to whether the lack of 1 and 2 Chronicles as 'sources for the construction of their [the Qumran Community in the First centuries B.C.E and C.E] own self-understanding' is due to the fact of the 'royal character' and 'sympathetic view of Israelite monarchy.'[11] Brooke continues by theorizing that the scripture found in Chronicles may have been more helpful to the Hasmoneans and their ideology and therefore less popular at Qumran.[12] I agree and think the reliance within the Mishmarot on the priestly courses, which were instituted by David, can be viewed as a dependence and link to the First Temple and through it the practices of the divinely appointed king, priesthood and prophets. A link being established between the community, the original temple and the divinely ordained law of God, perhaps above and against the contemporary Herodian Temple and

[11] George J. B
rooke 'Patterns of Priesthood, Priestliness and Priestly Functions in Some Second Temple Period Texts' *Judaïsme Ancien- Ancient Judaism* Vol. 4. (2016) p.18.
[12] Brooke 'Patterns of Priesthood' p.18.

monarchy. Thus suggesting the people who followed this calendar did not have a problem with Israelite monarchy per se, simply with the Herodian monarchy.

It should also be mentioned at this point that the allocation of the priestly courses and their weeks are different from the counting of the days in the week, running instead from the Sabbath to the day before the Sabbath (Friday) a week later. This suggests that liturgical or community duties may have been carried out on the week of Gamul or the week of Harim for example. Though probable, this is of course, an argument from silence. It is equally likely that the focus on the priestly courses is, simply, to align every week with the divinely given temporal calendar. Thus the dating of each Sabbath and Festival is undebatable, being given and defined by God in a recognisable and controlled structure. It is also perhaps another example of some sort of 'ritual innovation,' where an alternative calendar or way of defining the week was incorporated into the liturgy and 364 day calendar supported by the Mishmarot texts.

THE *SHIROT*

So why does this construction of the priestly courses matter? Why is this particular calendar important to the liturgy of the *Shirot*?

Firstly, because the liturgical calendar depicted in The Shirot is, unsurprisingly, based, developed and reliant upon their seasonal, annual calendar. Secondly because, as Nitzan has argued, the cosmological, historical-eschatological and sapiential works at Qumran are derived from an understanding of an omniscient God and from a theodicy of predetermination which is then explored in texts through dualism.[13] She further states that

[13] Bilhah Nitzan 'The Idea of Creation and its Implications in Qumran Literature' in Revenklow & Hoffman (eds.) *Creation in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002) pp.240-264.

'the cosmological principle of the renewal of the luminaries is considered "a law engraved forever", not merely for the daily liturgy, but also for the monthly, seasonal and annual liturgical cycles.'[14]

I agree with Nitzan. However, I feel that the importance of the priestly courses as outlined above suggests that, at least liturgically, the Qumran Community was not only interested in following the cosmologically ordained statutes, they were on a pre-disposed search for truth following the ordained and pre-determined laws of God. Included within these laws is the true and divinely appointed monarchy (the Davidic line) and the true and divinely appointed priesthood, which was instituted by David under God's command, (the drawing of lots) in 1 Chronicles and which contained the Levitical Priesthood. The fact that the Mishmarot ties the liturgical calendar in with these events provides even more evidence for the Qumran Community's dissatisfaction with the priestly and monarchical powers of the Second Temple Period. By attempting to align themselves with David and the Levites they are trying to continue to follow God's commands as they have interpreted them. The importance of the calendar, monarchy and priesthood within the community is, I believe, reminiscent of Jer 33: 14-26, especially verses 19-22[15]:

ויהי דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו לאמור: כה אמר יהוה אם-תפרו את-בריתי היום ואת-בריתי הלילה ולבלתי
היות יומם-ולילה בעתם: גם-בריתי תפר את-דוד עבדי מהיות-לו בן מלך על-כסאו ואת-הלוים הכהנים

[14] Nitzan 'The Idea of Creation and its Implications in Qumran Literature' p.259.
[15] Jeremiah 33:14-26 is a difficult passage itself. It is missing from the Septuagint which has raised questions about its authenticity. However, given its similarity to Zechariah 12:12-13 and Malachi 1:6-2:9 and 3:1-5, a date of around the end of the fifth century B.C.E has been suggested. John B. Job. *Jeremiah's Kings: A Study of the Monarchy in Jeremiah*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) pp.132-133.

משרתי : אשר לא-יספר צבא בשמים ולא ימד חול הים כן ארבה את-זרע דוד אבדי ואת-הלוים משרתי אתי [16]

The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah: Thus says the Lord: 'if any of you could break my covenant with the day and my covenant with the night, so that the day and night would not come at their appointed time, only then could my covenant with my servant David be broken, so that he would not have a son to reign on his throne, and my covenant with my ministers the Levites. Just as the host of heaven cannot be numbered and the sands of the sea cannot be measured, so I will increase the offspring of my servant David, and the Levites who minister to me.

Six manuscripts containing portions of Jeremiah were discovered at Qumran. However, only one fragment (4Q72 frg.55 1-5) of one of the Jeremiah texts contains any of the passage from Jeremiah 33, therefore the conclusions drawn are tentative, but it does suggest a knowledge of the passage which may have informed and contributed to the Community's obsession with following a particular pre-determined calendar. It certainly reflects the theology of the calendar as portrayed by MMT and the Mishmarot Texts.

It could be argued that the Qumran Community is pre-occupied with following the correct calendar so that God's covenant will not be broken either by day or night, i.e by worshipping and celebrating at the wrong time or on the wrong date. It perhaps explains any political or textual bias to the establishment and legitimacy of the Davidic line or Levitical priesthood. Alternatively, the Community may feel (for similar reasons to those in Jeremiah) that the

[16] All Biblical Hebrew Passages from BHS and all translations from NRSV.

current contemporary system was a result of this broken covenant with God, therefore restoring or trying to re-establish this covenant through correct practice and use of the divinely approved calendar would, perhaps, prevent any further oppression or start to heal the broken covenant between humanity and God.

Figure 1, on the handout, shows the calendar of the first three months of the year at Qumran based on the dates given in 4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q325, 4Q326 and MMT.
It clearly shows a fairly confident reconstruction of the Festival dates during this liturgical season, as well as the dates of the first 13 Sabbaths of the year.

The next step is to focus on how Sabbath worship fits into this Liturgical and Calendrical framework. When compared with the Sabbath dates given in the instruction formulae for the Maskil at the beginning of each of the *Shirot or Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (An example of this formulae is included on the handout) it is evident that the dates are synonymous with those given in the Mishmarot Calendar.

I believe that the Community's understanding of the Sabbaths and festivals as consecrated, holy days divinely given provides an explanation as to why only thirteen *Shirot* have been discovered, especially since there is no evidence within the *Shirot* themselves [17] of any more for the other 39 weeks in the year. Namely, that these thirteen texts were used within one liturgical season at Qumran, which started with the New Year Festival on the 1st Day of the First Month and concluded on the 31st of the Third Month.

[17] Falk *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill,1998) p.137; Bilhah Nitzan *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Leiden: E.J Brill,1994) p.284.

Throughout this season, the Qumran Community celebrated the New Year Festival, A Consecration Festival, Passover, The Feast of unleavened Bread, The Waving of the Sheaf, and A Second Passover, culminating in Shavuot and the Annual Ceremony of Covenantal Renewal, a highly liturgical and important time for the Community. This consequently suggests a higher liturgical status and importance of the *Shirot* within the Community than previously understood. An equivalent, for example, would be the modern day Christian act of singing Christmas Carols in December, they have a liturgically defined usage during a specific time period within the Christian Liturgical Calendar. This means that 'Away in the Manger' would not be sung by many Church congregations in July! By contrast however, 'Amazing Grace' is a more neutrally liturgical hymn which could be sung all year round - though probably not during heightened liturgical festivals like Advent and Christmas when the more specialized hymns like 'Away in a Manger' are used. If therefore, my insight is correct and *The Shirot* were viewed in this manner then the uncovering of fragments of only thirteen songs is not as surprising as originally believed.

Judith Newman has correctly identified the position of *The Shirot* within this liturgical season, as I have systematically depicted on your handout.

However, this representation of a season of the Qumranic Liturgical Calendar is not without its own difficulties. Time and word restraints prevent me from exploring these in detail, however, I would be remiss if I did not raise the question as to why *The Shirot* ends two weeks after Shavuot? This seems strange, if the thirteen songs we have copies of from Qumran and Masada were a complete work. It would make much more sense if the last *Shir* was the eleventh song, recited the day before *Shavuot* or even if it were the twelfth and concluded the Community's festivities on the Sabbath after *Shavuot.* The thirteenth song

then, is indeed a conundrum, which indicates the possibility of more Songs, indicating a continuing *Shirot* for each Sabbath after Shavuot as well. Indeed 11QPs [a] 27 suggests that there are 52 songs, one for each Sabbath of the year. However, only songs for the first thirteen weeks of the year have been discovered and if there were more Songs, I believe (as previously noted) it unlikely that they were of the same format of angelic liturgy. Instead I would hypothesise that as each season consisted of ninety-one days and thirteen Sabbaths, this particular format of 'angelic liturgy' was perhaps reserved especially for this liturgical time of year and if there were songs for other Sabbaths or other liturgical periods they were of a different format.

THE CORRECT CALENDRICAL DATES

Figure 1 on your handout also clearly shows that in this semi-lunar calendar there are 61 days between the First Passover and Shavuot showing that the 'counting of the Omer' was not followed as may have been supposed. So What does this mean? Does this imply that the Community was not following the text of Leviticus 23: 15-16 as we would expect? Was it using another text or another tradition to calculate the days between the festivals? I would argue not. In fact, if the text of Leviticus 23 is examined then it is obvious that these calendrical texts appear to be following an alternative literal translation of Leviticus 23:

Leviticus 23:5-7 states that בחדש הראשון בארבעה עשר לחדש... פסח ליהוה 'in the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month… there shall be a Passover offering to the Lord.' The next day there is to be a Festival of unleavened bread which is to last seven days. So far the calendrical observance of the Qumran Community is obvious.

Lev 23:11 then states that וחניף את-העמר לפני יהוה לרצנכם ממחרת השבת יניפנו הכהן 'he shall raise the sheaf before the Lord, that you may find acceptance, on the day after the Sabbath the priest shall raise it.' If we calculate this, following on from the two previous Commandments, the Feast of Unleavened bread would end seven days after the 15th of the first month, (21st). The next Sabbath would therefore be 25th and the day after (26th) would be when the Qumran Community celebrated the Waving of the Sheaf.

Lev 23:15-16 then states:

> וספרתם לכם ממחרת השבת מיום הביאכם את-עמר התנופה שבע שבתות תמימת תהיינה עד ממחרת השבת השביעת תספרו חמשים יום והקרבתם מנחה חדשה ליהוה
>
> And from the day after the Sabbath, from the day on which you bring the sheaf of the elevation offering, you shall count off seven weeks; they shall be complete. You shall count until the day after the seventh Sabbath, fifty days; then you shall present an offering of new grain to the Lord.

If we follow Leviticus and count seven weeks from this date (the day after the Sabbath) it is the 15th Third Month which is the day after the seventh Sabbath (from the 25th of the First Month, the day before the Waving of the Sheaths and fifty days before Shavuot) indicating that the dates were based primarily on Lev 23:15 as the 15th Third Month is a full seven weeks from the 26th First Month.

The Calendrical allocated date of a Second Passover 'on the 5th Seorim' suggests that the community kept a Second Passover on the 14th of the second month which, given the calendar above would have annually occurred on the 5th day of the week. This is in keeping

with the instruction given to Moses in Numbers 9:11 where the Lord commands that if for any reason one of the Israelites cannot celebrate the first Passover because they are ritually unclean or are on a long journey then [18]בחדש השני בארבעה עשר יום בין הערבים יעשו אתו על-מצות 'They will celebrate it on the Fourteenth day of the second month between the two evenings.'[19] This implies that the Qumran Community followed a similar practice. Interestingly, the ordained dates of the appointed times for festivals is also given in Numbers 28 and 29 as well as Lev 23. However, the account in Numbers primarily focuses upon the sacrificial obligations at each of these appointed times. It is therefore, perhaps significant that the Qumran Community acknowledges the observance of a second Passover within the Mishmarot, but does not appear, to be particularly concerned about the sacrificial offerings at each of these festivals. This is even more interesting, since it has been well observed that the *Shiort* themselves pay no attention to the physical sacrifice or animal offerings on the Sabbath. Although, the reason for this absence cannot be successfully determined, hypothesis can be ventured as to why there was a lack of interest in sacrificial rites. Was it because the Community believed that everyone knew what they were doing in that regard? Was it because they didn't partake in animal sacrifice offering words, songs and in the form of an offering of the lips instead? Or, was it because the primary function of these texts was making certain that they were being used on the correct calendrical dates, at the ordained and appointed times given by God? Rather, than explaining liturgically how such a service should be constructed or carried out. The *Shirot* are, in essence, an end product, a text to be used as part of Sabbath worship rather than a manual on how to worship.

[18] BHS
[19] NRSV

It is worth mentioning here that the opening passage of Lev 23 is a calendar which begins by instituting the divinely ordained weekly Sabbath as a 'holy convocation' קדש מקרא. Lev 23 is widely recognised as being part of the 'Holiness code' rather than the 'Priestly code' which is recognised as being Numbers 28-29. Nathan Mcdonald questions this assumption arguing instead that Numbers 28-29 is actually 'a set of instructions dealing with sacrificial offerings throughout the year.'[20] Jeffery Stackert classifies the Priestly Sabbath Code as a 'reminder אות' to God, so that when God sees that the Sabbath is observed, he remembers his promise and grants agricultural blessing.[21] By contrast Stackert believes the holiness code adapts this understanding using ritualization or ritual innovation to explain agricultural blessing (extra harvest on the sixth day to last to after the Sabbath [Exod 16:22-25]) as facilitating the Sabbath observance. Thus, the Sabbath is a reminder for Israel to obey the Lord's commands and keep his covenant.[22]

I believe that, at Qumran at least, it is evident that Lev 23 though understood from a holiness perspective was interpreted in a priestly manner given the integration of the observance of this festival calendar with the Sabbath *Shirot.* Since, the Sabbath dates given in the instruction formulae for the Maskil at the beginning of each of the *Shirot* are synonymous with the calendrical dates given in the Mishmarot Calendar.

In fact, as Martin Abegg has also noted, the significance of observing the correct calendrical dates for festivals, as interpreted by this calendrical tradition, was of such importance that other texts discovered at or near Qumran appear to have been altered to follow this semi-

[20] McDonald 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot.' p.55.
[21] Jeffery Stackert 'How the Priestly Sabbaths Work: Innovation in the Book of Numbers' in Nathan McDonald *Ritual Innovation in the Hebrew Bible and Early Juadaism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016) p.83
[22] Stackert "How the Priestly Sabbaths Work: Innovation in the Book of Numbers' pp.103-104.

lunar calendar. For example, 4Q252 shows the Noah flood narrative being adapted to occur within the calendrical framework we have been discussing, with the day and date in the passage (the 17th day of the second month... a Sunday) being, on the Qumran Calendar a Sunday! Therefore, it is not only the 364 day Calendar they are asserting but their own interpretation of that Calendar. David is also indirectly associated with the 364-day Calendar in 11Q5 XXVii 2-8 which describes how he composed 364 daily Songs of Sacrifice, showing yet another example of the Community's intent to align itself with the Davidic Monarchy. Abegg also notes how, in ascribing these songs to David, the Community is in effect, 'associat(e)[ing] the greatest King of Israel with the "Correct" position in the polemical debate over the proper calendar.[23]It is obvious that there was a polemical, liturgical, perhaps even political discussion regarding the correct and authoritative calendar.[24] The correct observance of Feast dates was paramount to their liturgical tradition, provided a direct link with the First Temple Period and arguably, a basis of their self-identification as a Community.

INVESTITURE OR ORDINATION

Newman believes that the songs are part of an ordination or investiture service.[25] There is also evidence to suggest that this ritual was an annual occurrence with new priests being accepted into the community every Shavuot.[26] However, Mizrahi argues against the priestly

[23] Abegg 'The Calendar at Qumran' p.155.
[24] VanderKam also independently reached this conclusion. See *From Revelation to Canon* pp. 95,104, 113-127 and *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls* pp.25,72,85.
[25] 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' in George Brooke et al. (eds.) Themes in Biblical Narrative, 12: *Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity.* (Boston, NL: BRILL, 2008.) ProQuest ebrary. Web. 19 October 2016 pp.29-72.
[26] Newman 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran' p.61.

provenance and nature of the *Shirot* on linguistic grounds. Specifically focussing on the term דביר קדש and arguing that this is not a term (דביר) or phrase found in Biblical 'P' Priestly literature but rather in the non-priestly description of the Solomonic Temple in Kings.[27] Thus, Mizrahi furthers his argument to stipulate that the author of the *Shirot* is dependent upon biblical sources that 'are non-priestly in nature.' [28] Whilst this is plausible, it is, in my opinion, a belief which needs to be viewed tentatively. Since the absence of priestly literature does not automatically mean a reliance or usage of Biblical non-priestly literature.

Further, perhaps the word דביר was deliberately chosen to focus minds on the Solomonic Temple in Kings rather than the Herodian Temple in Second Temple Jerusalem. The frequency with which the word occurs in the *Shirot* fragments is also noteworthy.[29] It implies a deliberately repeated choice to keep the Solomonic Temple at the forefront of the worhipper's mind. Equally likely however, is the fact that the word דביר was a popular 'local' word of the composer or copier of the text. A source text or texts which are no longer available to us but were deemed authoritative and perhaps followed another 'priestly tradition' may also have been used, though this is, of course, a highly cautious suggestion, given that it is a hypothesis based on an absence of material rather than any specific fact.

Nevertheless, there are certainly thematic priestly traditions between *The Shirot*, *Jubilees, 1 Enoch* and Ezekiel. There are also linguistic and stylistic similarities to Ezekiel as well. In fact, Mizrahi expands on the linguistic links between Ezekiel and *the Shirot* in another article

[27] Noam Mizrahi 'The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature: A Linguistic Reconsideration *HTR* (2001) pp.36 & 41.
[28] Mizrahi 'The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature' p.41
[29] Mizrahi 'The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Biblical Priestly Literature' p.37

– where he argues that the peculiar and stand- alone linguistic phrase כוהני קורב used in *The Shirot* is drawn from Ezekiel 40 -48.[30]

There are certainly thematic links between the *Shirot* and Ezekiel. Newsom acknowledges that Ezekiel has the most 'dominant influence on the conceptions of the Shirot.'[31] In Ezekiel, chapters 40-48 fulfil the promise in Chapter 37:26-28 of a new 'everlasting sanctuary in the midst of the people of Yahweh.'[32] For the Qumran Community the *Shirot* offer the same promise of a new everlasting sanctuary with angelic communion in heaven. In securing a place in the worship of God alongside angels, the community are emphasising the renewed, constant and lasting eternal covenantal relationship with God. Whether escatological, Solomonic or Utopian, the description of the Temple and the priestly duties in Ezekiel 40-48, like the description of the inanimate objects in the *Shirot*, the description of the temple and the *New Jerusalem* offer both respective communities hope. A safe space to worship, pray and praise God. This hope is embodied in a sacred space – real or imagined.

This idea is expanded by the angelology of the *Shirot* which offers an escape to the Qumran Community - a focal point, inspiration and possibly an aspiration to work towards. Just like the Temple description in Ezekiel was for those in Exile in Babylon. It is possible that the Qumran Community is building on their interpretation of scripture to offer a safe environment in the social and political uncertainties of First Century Judea.

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[30] Noam Mizrahi 'Priests of Qoreb: Linguistic Enigma and Social Code in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' esp. section 5.2. A pre-publication paper of a paper published in: Hebrew of the Late Second Temple Period, ed. Eibert Tigchelaar and Pierre van Hecke (STDJ 114; Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp.37–64 www.academia.edu Accessed 31st December 2016.

[31] Newsom provides a detailed and in-depth comparison see Newsom *Songs of a Sabbath Sacrifice* pp.52-58, esp. 52.

[32] Walter Zimmerli *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48* ed. Paul D. Hanson & Leonard Jay Greenspoon. Trans. James D. Martin (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983) p.327

Further, In Ezekiel 43:5 the text states that 'The Glory of the Lord fills the Temple.'[33] This phrase is especially intriguing and possibly a deliberate choice by the author or redactor since it echoes the expressions in Exodus 40:34 and 1 Kings 8:11.[34] This indicates that the Solomonic Temple formed a basis for the developed and hypothesised description of the Temple in Ezekiel. It gave the Israelites in exile hope, as well as establishing a covenantal link and a link to prayer in a 'proper' Temple during an idealised time in Israel's history. A similar argument could be given for the Temple description in the *Shirot* especially given Mizrahi's linguistic observation above.

Joyce comments on how the divine figures of the Cherubim are used to symbolise the freedom and mobility of God in Ezekiel 8-11. Joyce understands the Cherubim to be very closely associated to the Ark of the Covenant –therefore the Cherubim can be viewed as providing a direct and true covenantal path to the Lord and to the new found freedom and mobility of the Israelites in the Egyptian Exodus.[35] A freedom it is easily imagined that the Israelites in the Babylonian exile would want to remember and commemorate. Perhaps, this idea of the Cherubim offering a concept of freedom and mobility is a reason for its use in the seventh and eleventh *Shiort,* alongside the traditional interpretation as Cherubim acting as 'bouncers' to protect God.

Another intriguing parallel is the use of the word נשיא 'prince' in Ezekiel 40-48 to describe a:

[33] Paul M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (London: T & T Clark, 2007) p.227
[34] Joyce *Ezekiel* p.227
[35] Joyce *Ezekiel* p.228

> [A] chief patron of the liturgy, responsible for supplying the materials required for the sacrificial system of worship (45:17,22; 46:12). Indeed, he might be described as a functionary of the worshipping community.[36]

The same word is used throughout the *Shirot* to describe the chief and deputy princes. [37] Perhaps providing a literary link and understanding of the role of these particular divine beings within the heavenly hierarchy. If the word נשיא was understood to promote this revered position then it is perhaps not surprising that we find the term being used to define a role within the heavenly hierarchy even if it is an unusual term to describe angelic beings.[38]

COVENANT

The fact that previously unknown compositions such as the *Shirot* were discovered in the caves near Qumran and Masada 'may in itself be an indication that there was a sense of a "new" relationship with God that had to find its own voice and channels of expression.'[39] It seems quite plausible that for the community at Qumran this 'new' relationship was actually a re-establishing of an old Covenantal relationship, allowing the Community to return to a Liturgical practice which they believed God had commanded in Leviticus, Numbers and possibly 1 Chronicles. A command which seems to have been supported by prophetic texts such as Jer 33:19-26 and which enables the Community to re-establish a link with the divinely ordained monarchy and priesthood of the First Temple Period.

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[36] Joyce *Ezekiel* p.231
[37] Newsom *Songs of a Sabbath Sacrifice* pp.26-27
[38] Newsom states the only other place she has been able to find the term relating to angels is the Sefer-Ha-Razim. Newsom *Songs of a Sabbath Sacrifice* p.27.
[39] Eileen Schuller 'Worship Temple and Prayer in the Dead Sea Srolls' in *Judaism in Late Antiquity Part 5 Vol.1 The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls Theory of Israel* in Alan J Avery Peck et al (eds.) (Leiden: Brill, 2001) p.129.

However, as Schuller explains this is done through connection with the broader community as is evident from the number of non-sectarian manuscripts discovered at Qumran and the nearby area. There was therefore, no attempt to refute all previous teaching and liturgy 'in favour [of] "our own" way of addressing God.[40] Nor, in my opinion, to isolate themselves from the wider community. For example, the fact that 1QpHab 11:4-8 states that the High Priest from the Temple visited the Community on 'The Day of Atonement' signifies, as is often noted, that the Community were following a different calendar otherwise, the High Priest wouldn't have travelled out to Qumran and been there on that date. However, it also shows (though is less frequently noted) some level of integration between the two communities.[41]

As discussed previously, the reliance of texts such as Lev 23 for the ritual development and ritual innovation of texts used in festivals was not an uncommon practice in the second temple period. It could be further argued that the *Shirot* are themselves a ritual development of previous Sabbath liturgy using offerings of the lips and mouth rather than sacrificial burnt-offerings. However, it should be noted here that the holiness code with which Lev 23 is believed to be associated and the priestly code thought to be is antecedent are in fact both believed to have developed out of the covenantal code of Exodus 23:16 which is widely considered to be the earliest Israelite example of a festive calendar.[42] The covenantal links within the festival at Qumran then are perhaps not unexpected. What is perhaps unusual, is the strength of these covenantal links within the texts to the Patriarchs, Davidic monarchy and Levitical priesthood.

[40] Schuller 'Worship Temple and Prayer in the Dead Sea Srolls' p.130.
[41] 1QpHab 11:4-8. This was first noted by Talmon.
[42] McDonald 'Ritual Innovation and Shavu'ot' p.57.

We have already noted the covenantal links within the liturgical calendrical documents such as *The Shirot* with both the Davidic Monarchy and the Levitical Priesthood. The Levities are well known for their sacrificial roles and responsibilities in ritual communal worship. So a link with the priesthood in *The Shirot*- even the angelic priesthood- is perhaps not a surprise given the mystery, poetry, metaphor and allusion used throughout the text. Neither perhaps is the Community's focus on Levi and Levitical texts given the exalted place of priests within the Community, especially if the Consecration Festival was, as Newman supposes, a Consecration of New Priests. George Brooke undertook an investigation into the texts at Qumran which focus on Levi and the Levities and noticed that these texts all 'share a remarkably coherent set of motifs'[43] including the association of Levi and the Levities with the Jacob tradition and in particular Jacob at Bethel. The texts are also fundamentally concerned with the concept of covenant and the interpretation of the Law.

It is further evident from 5Q13 that the Jacob tradition was part of a wider covenantal series of traditions and interpretations which included Creation, the Sons of God, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Levi, The Levites and the Israelites.[44] Fragment 2:6 even makes a specific reference to a covenantal relationship with Jacob 'to Jacob you made known at Bethel'.[45] A relationship which Brooke notes as being present in Leviticus 26:42.[46] Another link between creation and the Jacob narrative occurs in the Temple Scroll where it reads in Col. XXIX 8-10:

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[43] George J. Brooke 'Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament' in George J. Brooke *Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005) e-book Loc 1398 of 4954.
[44] Brooke 'Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.' Loc 1458 of 4654 & 1468 of 4954.
[45] Brooke 'Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testmanet.' Loc 1468 of 4954.
[46] Unfortunately, no text of Lev 26:42 remains in the fragments discovered at Qumran or the Surrounding area. However, multiple copies of Leviticus have remained including a few specific fragments of chapter 26 indicating that the text would have been known to the Community. Brooke also notes influence of Lev 26:42 behind other texts as well including CD I, 4; VI, 2; 11QT^{a} LIX, 4-5, 9, 13; Ps 106.45 (and in the NT Lk. 1.72-3). See Brooke 'Levi and the Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament.' Loc 1468 of 4954.

> the day of creation on which I shall create my sanctuary, establishing it for myself for all time according to the covenant which I have made with Jacob in Bethel.[47]

This passage then clearly links creation with the priesthood, time and covenant within the Jacob narrative. Just as we have argued the Qumran Community are doing with their Liturgical texts and their Mishmarot Calendars, though this link seems to derive from an interpretation of Leviticus 23 alongside Davidic and monarchical discourse.
Within the Temple Scroll the Levites are associated with the Feasts of The New Wine, Oil and Wood. All Feasts which appear to have been celebrated at Qumran but which are not attributed or dated within the Mishmarot Calendars nor, do they appear to be included in the divinely ordained festival songs David supposedly composed. Does this therefore suggest a development of festive traditions and observations based on differing covenantal relationships with God? Thus also supporting the concept of ritual innovation at Qumran.

ANGELS AND COVENANT

So how do angels at Qumran fit into this concept of covenantal theology and this liturgical Calendar? Hindy Najman has written a thoroughly comprehensive article which shows the role angels played in the theophany of Sinai and Sinai traditions within the second temple period and the later rabbinic understanding and interpretation of these texts. [48] I want to argue however, that angelic discourse as a concept was seeing angelic roles in other covenantal theologies being defined and evolved too. *Jubilees* and the Enochic literature have long shown the association between angelic figures and antediluvian patriarchs such as *Enoch*.

[47] Geza Vermes *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English: Revised Edition* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2011) p.201.
[48] Najman, Hindy. 'Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority' *DSD* Vol. 7 no.3 pp.313-333.

Ravid shows how the basic concept of calendar and covenant are inextricably linked, since the week is an oath, a covenant with God which, (as we have seen) was, for certain groups, established at creation.[49] Further, in order to understand the angelic role on a Sabbath we must return to the belief of the Sabbath being a holy, consecrated, divinely ordained convocation. A concept we have already seen as being fundamental to the text of Lev 23. However, this concept was also unsurprisingly vital to the text of *Jubilees* which expands the concept to explain that the Sabbath is actually a covenant between God and the Angels (2:17) and God and Israel (2:21)[50]. However, VanderKam observes that the Sabbath practices are actually only observed in *Jubilees* by the two highest categories of angels – the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification – further, this custom has occurred since the first week of creation. Once again indissolubly linking covenant, Sabbath practices (and by extension the priesthood) angelic involvement and creation.

There is at the very least, definitely a concept of re-thinking and re-interpreting the concept of covenant and quite possibly a development of thought regarding covenantal tradition in general and specific covenants in particular including Jacob and the 'priestly covenant' tradition. Further, the significance of the Torah, Law and Covenantal Theology within the Sinai Tradition and the Qumran Community has been under particular scholarly focus in recent years.[51] This therefore suggests an interpretation of Biblical covenants between God

[49] Liora Ravid ' The Book of Jubilees and its Calendar- A Re-examination.' pp. 378-379.
[50] See above.
[51] For more on Covenantal Theology, the Sinai Tradition and Qumran see following bibliography from chapter 4: Brooke, George. 'Moving Mountains: From Sinai to Jerusalem' in George Brooke et al. (eds.) Themes in Biblical Narrative, 12: *Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*. Boston, NL: BRILL, 2008. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 19 October 2016. pp. 73-90. Najman, Hindy. 'Angels at Sinai: Exegesis, Theology and Interpretive Authority' *DSD* Vol. 7 no.3 pp.313-333.
Newman, Judith. 'Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice' in G

and exalted biblical figures which shaped or helped to shape the liturgical traditions, festivities and calendar of the Qumranic Community. It also implies a triune understanding of Covenantal Theology which embodied spatial, cosmological and temporal elements and provided authority to, and links with the First Temple and Divinely Ordained Monarchy (Davidic references), the Priesthood (Levitical texts which relate the Priesthood not only to the First Temple period but to the Patriarchs and even creation itself) and the Law (Moses and Sinai Tradition.)

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Hab 3 and its relation to Hab 1f

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1. Introduction

According to internal evidence, the book of Habakkuk breaks down into two major sections: A משׂא in Hab 1f and a תפלה in Hab 3. Already this superficial observation indicates that Hab 3 constitutes a unit distinct from the preceding chapters. And, indeed, Hab 3 no longer continues the prophecies pertaining – in one way or another – to the Chaldeans, but describes a prophetic vision, in which Habakkuk sees Yhwh approach for universal judgment. While this general distinction between chapters 1f and chapter 3 has long been recognized it was not until the literary critical method obtained in analysis of the Pentateuch was applied to the prophetic writings that the literary unity of Hab 1–3 was contested. Among the first scholars to distinguish between different literary layers within Hab 1–3 was BERNHARD STADE in a ZAW article from 1891. Alongside the superscription in Hab 1:1 and the woe oracles in Hab 2:9–20 (woe II to V) Stade considered Hab 3 a later addition. One decisive factor for this assessment was the observation that – with the exclusion of vv. 2, 16 that may draw back on Hab 2:1ff – chapter 3 seems to lack any inter-relations with Hab 1–2, be they contentual, formal or otherwise.[1]

In the recent past diachronic approaches such as the studies by HENRIK PFEIFFER or ALEXA FRIEDERIKE WILKE have adopted and adpated observations made by Stade. Both Pfeiffer and Wilke agree with Stade in that Hab 3 needs to be disinguished from chapters 1–2. They further draw on Stade's observation that Hab 3:2, 16 seem to presuppose the preceding context, while the remainder of chapter 3 lacks any distinct overlap with Hab 1–2. From this they conclude that the theophany described in Hab 3:3–15 represents a formerly independent tradition that was secondarily integrated into the book of Habakkuk. In order to connect this theophany with the preceding chapters in Hab 1–2 the traditional material was framed by redactional verses in Hab 3:2, 16ff* that draw back on the context of Hab 1–2*.[2]

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1 Cf. Stade, Miscellen, 154–159.

2 Cf. Pfeiffer, Süden, 164–166, and Wilke, Gebete, 352.362. Similarly, Wöhrle, Abschluss, 317, assumes that Hab 3:3–15* represents a formerly independent tradition, which was integrated into the emerging book of Habakkuk by the author of the „Grundschrift": „Insgesamt wurde also der in Hab 3 belegte Theophaniepsalm im Umfang 3,2.3*.4–8.9*.10–12.13*.14–16a.18–19a bereits im Rahmen der als Grundschicht erkannten Fromme-Frevler-Schicht in das Buch integriert. Dabei wurde auf vorgegebenes Gut zurückgegriffen, das von den für die Fromme-Frevler-Schicht Verantwortlichen über die Eigenformulierungen in 3,2.13–14.16a.18–19a an den Kontext des Habakukbuches angepasst wurde. Dem Psalm kommt so die Funktion einer abschließenden Reaktion des Propheten auf das zuvor angekündigte Einschreiten Jhwhs gegen die Frevler zu."

Wilke further indicates a possible trigger for the addition of the formerly independent theophany.

> The deity that approaches from the south is referred to as the Holy One. With this epithet Hab 3:3a resumes a thought already expressed in Hab 1:12. […] In v. 3b God's approach from the south that is connected with the places of Teman and Mount Paran is juxtaposed with the motif of God's world-spanning divinity. This statement of divine potency resembles Hab 2:14. While Hab 2:14 focuses on the knowledge of the glory of Yhwh, Hab 3:3 emphasizes the foundation of this knowledge, i.e. his universal glory and praiseworthyness. The thematic connections between v. 3 and the context of the book may have inspired a redactor to add the psalm in Hab 3 to the literary context of Hab 1–2.[3]

With regard to Wilke's observations it is striking that of all verses it is the introduction of the theophany in Hab 3:3 that reminds of different statements from the preceding context in Hab 1–2. This, of course, begs the question if the theophany could, indeed, be considered independent from its literary context. For the theophany in Hab 3 depends on the introduction in verse 3. Should verse 3, then, depend on the preceding literary context, so may in all likelihood the remaining theophany.

Under these premises we will review the relation of Hab 3:3–15 with Hab 1–2 and commence with a brief look at Hab 3:2–3 and their possible points of contact with the preceding literary context.

2. Hab 3:2–3 and their possible references to the preceding literary context

In Hab 3:2a the prophet calls out to his deity: „Yhwh I have heard of your renown, and I stand in awe, Yhwh, of your work. In the midst of years revive it; in the midst of years make it known". Hab 3:2b offers a request for mercy that does not readily comply with the urgent character of the preceding plea. This tension was already perceived by BERNHARD DUHM, many have followed him in considering Hab 3:2b an addition.[4] The remainder of the verse is mostly understood as a reference to Hab 1:5 that further evokes the context of Hab 2:1–3.

> In v. 2a the prophet refers to a deed that he had heard of and that he hopes will be fullfilled in the near future. Within the context of Hab 3 the deed anticipates the context of Hab 3:3–15. In the broader context the statement shares distinct commonalities with Hab 1:5. There, Yhwh announces a deed (פעל) that will be done „in your days" (בימיכם). The expression כי־פעל פעל בימיכם in Hab 1:5 corresponds with Hab 3:2, where the prophet asks Yhwh to revive his deed (פעלך) „in the midst of years" (בקרב שנים), i.e. in the now-time of the prophet. Given the delay of salvation expressed in Hab

[3] German original: „Der aus dem Süden kommende Gott wird als ‚Heiliger' bezeichnet. Damit nimmt der Vers den in 1,12 begegnenden Gedanken wieder auf […]. Dem mit präzisen Ortsangaben verbundenen Kommen aus dem Süden wird in V. 3b ein Vers über die weltumspannende Gottheit Gottes angefügt. Diese Aussage der Gottesmacht ähnelt dem Szenario in Hab 2,14. Ist jedoch dort vor allem die Erkenntnis der Ehre Gottes in Aussicht gestellt, wird hier die Grundlage dieser Erkenntnis gepriesen, seine weltumspannende Ehre und Preiswürdigkeit. Diese thematischen Verbindungen von V. 3 und dem Buchkontext mögen den Ausschlag für die Anfügung des Psalms an die Kapitel Hab 1–2 gegeben haben". Wilke, Gebete, 363f.

[4] Cf. Duhm, Habakuk, 74. More recently cf. Perlitt, ATD, 84, or Pfeiffer, Süden, 152.

> 3:2, it may further be suggested that the prophetic plea in Hab 3:2 also presupposes the context of the tablet inscription in Hab 2:1–3.[5]

In response to his own plea from v. 2 the prophet begins to recount a theophany in v. 3a, which describes the deity as coming from the South: „God (אלוה) comes from Teman, the Holy One (קדוֹשׁ) from Mount Paran“. As mentioned above, Wilke noted a correspondence between Hab 3:3a and Hab 1:12 with regard to the designation קדוֹשׁ. Beyond this, it is noteworthy that Hab 3:2f and Hab 1:12 show a great resemblence with regard to the multiple designations for the deity and agree in their respective order: Yhwh, Elohim/Elah, Qdš.

Hab 1:12

[12]הלוא אתה מקדם יהוה אלהי קדשׁי לא נמות יהוה למשׁפט שׂמתו וצור להוכיח יסדתו׃

Hab 3:2–3

[2]יהוה שׁמעתי שׁמעך יראתי יהוה פעלך בקרב שׁנים חייהו בקרב שׁנים תודיע ברגז רחם תזכור׃
[3]אלוה מתימן יבוא וקדוֹשׁ מהר־פארן סלה כסה שׁמים הודו ותהלתו מלאה הארץ׃

Further commonalities with the preceding context in Hab 1–2 may be perceived in Hab 3:3b. This pertains, as Wilke has pointed out, to the thematic overlap between Hab 3:3b and Hab 2:14. Beyond a mere contentual affinity, however, both verses share some distinct terminology. Apart from Hab 2:14 and Hab 3:3 the combination of the verbs כסה and מלא together with the noun ארץ is only attested in Isa 11:9.

Isa 11:9

[9]לא־ירעו ולא־ישׁחיתו בכל־הר קדשׁי כי־מלאה הארץ דעה את־יהוה כמים לים מכסים׃ פ

Hab 2:14

[14]כי תמלא הארץ לדעת את־כבוד יהוה כמים יכסו על־ים׃ ס

Hab 3:3

[3]אלוה מתימן יבוא וקדוֹשׁ מהר־פארן סלה כסה שׁמים הודו ותהלתו מלאה הארץ׃

Given the rare combination of terms combined with the proximity of thought between the above instances, the evidence suggests a direct literary connection rather than a

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[5] German original: „In V. 2a rekurriert der Prophet auf einen auditiven Wortempfang und bittet um baldiges Eintreffen dessen, was ihm zu Ohren gekommen ist. Dabei soll der Wortempfang sicherlich auf die in V. 3–15 geschilderten Ereignisse bezogen werden. Dennoch fällt die Nähe zu 1,5 auf. Dort kündigt Gott ein von ihm in Gang gesetztes Werk (פעל) an, und zwar noch ‚in euren Tagen‘ (בימיכם). Dem entspricht in 3,2 die Bitte des Propheten, Gottes Tat (פעלך) möge ‚in der Mitte der Jahre‘ (בקרב שׁנים), also noch in der Jetztzeit ins Werk gesetzt werden. Wahrscheinlich setzt die Bitte von 3,2a auch 2,1 und […] 2,3 voraus“; Pfeiffer, Süden, 152.

The association with Hab 2:3 only implicit in Hab 3:2 is rendered more explicit in the LXX, cf. Pfeiffer, Süden, 130: “In Anlehnung an 2,3 (vgl. καιρός) versteht G die Aussage eschatologisch und fügt präzisierend ἐν τῷ παρεῖναι τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδειχθήσῃ ein.”

common traditional historical backdrop. This assumption has largely been accepted for Hab 2:14 and Isa 11:9, the inter-relation of which is often explained in favor of Isa 11:9 as the donor text.[6] Just how Hab 3:3 may fit into this equation will be contemplated in the following analysis that attempts to unfold some traces of theological development within Hab 1–2 and explain the relevance of this diachronic progression for understanding Hab 3:2–3 as part of the book of Habakkuk.

3. The inter-relation between Hab 1:5; Hab 1:12 and Hab 2:14 and their relevance for understanding Hab 3:2–3

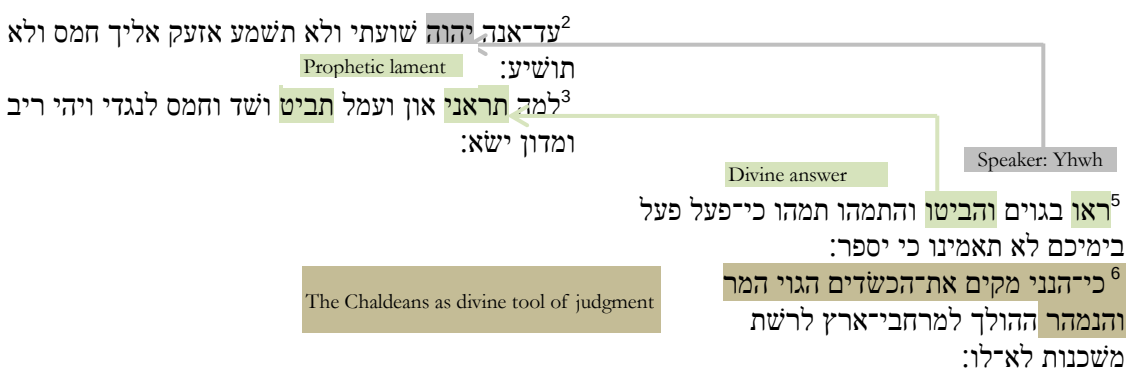
Hab 1:5 marks the beginning of a speech that apparently serves as divine answer to the preceding prophetic lament. In Hab 1:2–4 the prophet cries to Yhwh and accuses him of inaction with regard to the wrongs prevalent before him. Yhwh reacts to this lament with a speech of his own: "Look at the nations, and see! Be astonished! Be astounded! For a work is being done in your days that you would not believe if you were told". In view of the subsequent context in Hab 1:6ff the deed can only refer to the coming of the Chaldeans, who are perceived of as divine tool of judgment. This function can be deduced from the phrase כי־הנני מקים את־הכשׂדים in Hab 1:6 (cf. Am 6:14) as well as from the correspondences between Hab 1:3, 5, 6 (see illustration below). In Hab 1:3 the prophet accuses Yhwh that he makes him see evil (ראה Hif.), while Yhwh himself looks at trouble (נבט Hif.). The combination of ראה and נבט used in v. 3 is repeated in the context of Hab 1:5a, where an unidentified group is addressed: "Look at the nations, and see! Be astonished! Be astounded!" The reason for this astonishment is explained through the כי-clauses in Hab 1:5b and Hab 1:6a. The latter corresponds closely witht the request in Hab 1:5a through the reference to גוי and the world play המר והנמהר/והתמהו תמהו. The people should look among the nations, for Yhwh will raise up a foreign nation. They shall be astonished and astounded, for the nation will be fierce and impetuous.[7] Within the speech in Hab 1:5a, 6a Yhwh thus overcomes the inactivity, of which the prophet accused him in v. 3, and acts on behalf of those surrounded by injustice. His judgment will be executed through the Chaldeans.

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[6] Cf. already Wellhausen, Propheten, 165. With regard to Hab 3:3 it is more often assumed that it evokes the context of Isa 6:3. Cf. e.g. Pfeiffer, Süden, 175, or Perlitt, ATD, 86.

[7] For this function cf. Thompson, Prayer, 46. Differently Sweeney, Structure, 292f.

Hab 1:2–3, 5–6:



According to the "final form" of the text, however, the Chaldeans fail to fulfill their divine orders. Instead, they implement their own mishpat (v. 7), they come for violence (v. 9aα), they mock kings and sovereigns (v. 10) and revere their own might as their god (v. 11).[8] Consequently, the prophet raises his voice a second time and calls on Yhwh to establish justice. This second lament reacts to the delay of salvation caused by the Chaldeans' misbehavior (vv. 7, 9aα, 10–11) and introduces a second numinous answer.

Hab 1:2–4*:	First prophetic lament – Injustice surrounds the prophet
Hab 1:5–11*:	Divine reaction – Yhwh raises up the Chaldeans to implement justice
Hab 1:7, 9aα, 10–11:	The Chaldeans act against their divine assignment
Hab 1:12–17*:	Second prophetic lament: Establishment of justice is delayed

The numinous answer follows in Hab 2, where judgment is proleptically executed through Yhwh's performative woe oracles (Hab 2:6–19*). Following the accusations against the Chaldeans in Hab 1:7, 9aα, 11, 14–17, the woes should naturally be directed against them. That this, however, was not originally intendend is indicated by the social critical character of the woe cries in Hab 2:6b*, 9a, 12 that are primarily directed against whomever the accusation concerns.[9] It is further suggested by the general observation that Yhwh would hardly raise up a people as a tool to implement divine justice, so that it would come for violence and implement its own justice.[10] These general assumptions are supported by lit-

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8 In vv. 7, 9, 11 LXX differs substantially from MT and indirectly attests to the literary critical difficulties described above. In v. 7 LXX God is the one who brings forth his justice (φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρίμα αὐτοῦ ἔσται), in v. 9aα not the Chaldeans have come to bring violence, but the end will come to the wicked (συντέλεια εἰς ἀσεβεῖς ἥξει). V. 11 LXX reads αὕτη ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ μου and thus avoids the accusation of self-deification implied in MT (ואשם זו כחו לאלהו – and he will atone, whose might is his God).

1QpHab pursues a different angle. Even though the pesher does not negate the idea that the Chaldeans/Kittim were raised up by Yhwh, they are perceived of as wrongdoers from the beginning. In this perception the pesher follows in the footsteps of Dan 9–12*: All periods were established by the deity, once the time of evil is complete, salvation will commence (cf. esp. 1QpHab VII).

9 In this regard cf. the general observations by Otto, Stellung, 81, or Wöhrle, Abschluss, 306. That the Chaldeans are not the original addressee of the woes was first outlined in detail by Jeremias, Kultprophetie.

10 For this assumption cf. Pfeiffer, Süden, 150, or Wilke, Gebete, 339–342.

erary critical observations pertaining to the first woe in Hab 2:6b–8a.

Within the woe cry itself the question עד־מתי evokes the context of the first lament in Hab 1:2 (עד־אנה יהוה שׁועתי ולא תשׁמע) and disrupts the accusations implied in the participles msc. sg.

Hab 2,6b*:



[…] הוי המרבה לא־לו עד־מתי ומכביד עליו עבטיט׃

In Hab 2:7a the particle adverb פתע harkens back to the question עד־מתי and provides its answer: How long? Will not immediately rise those, who bite you?

Hab 2:6–7*:

Question

[…] הוי המרבה לא־לו עד־מתי ומכביד עליו עבטיט׃
הלוא פתע יקומו נשׁכיך ויקצו מזעזעיך והיית למשׁסות למו׃ Answer

The ones who bite are further identified as "peoples" in v. 8a (כי אתה שׁלות גוים רבים ישׁלוך כל־יתר עמים) implying that the addressee of the woe ("you") may itself be identifed as a people. That this people may, indeed, be the Chaldeans from Hab 1 is suggested by Hab 2:7a, wehre the term קום refers back to the divine oracle in Hab 1:6a. There, Yhwh was about to raise up (קום Hif.) the Chaldeans. Now the fate of the Chaldeans seems to be reversed: "Will not your own creditors suddenly rise, and those who make you tremble wake up? Then you will be booty for them. Because you have plundered many nations, all that survive of the peoples shall plunder you" (Hab 2:7, 8a).

Hab 1:2, 5–6 – Chaldeans as tool of divine judgment

עד־אנה יהוה שׁועתי ולא תשׁמע אזעק אליך חמס ולא תושׁיע׃
ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי־פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר׃
כי־הנני מקים את־הכשׂדים הגוי המר והנמהר ההולך למרחבי־ארץ לרשׁת משׁכנות לא־לו׃

Hab 2:6–7* – Chaldeans as object of divine judgment

[…] הוי המרבה לא־לו עד־מתי ומכביד עליו עבטיט׃
הלוא פתע יקומו נשׁכיך ויקצו מזעזעיך והיית למשׁסות למו׃

With regard to the above correspondences it seems possible that the first woe in Hab 2:6b–8a initially accused the doers of social injustice implied in the participles and was only later referred unto the Chaldeans.[11] In the context of this anti-Babylonian re-interpretation, Hab 2:6b (עד־מתי), 7 explicitly evoke the context of Hab 1 and consider the delay of salva-

[11] For this general assumption cf. Jeremias, Kultprophetie, 65; Otto, Stellung, 85f; Albertz, Exilszeit, 187; Perlitt, ATD, 72; Pfeiffer, Süden, 146f, or Wöhrle, Abschluss, 306.

tion that was caused by the misbehavior of the Chaldeans (Hab 1:7, 9aα, 10–11) and criticized in the prophet's second lament (Hab 1:12–17*). The negative references to the Chaldeans in Hab 1 and Hab 2:6b–8a* were likely added by the same hand.[12] They delay the establishment of justice on earth and direct judgment not (only) against a certain group within Israel, but against a particular foreign nation. While within this anti-Babylonian reworking judgment is essentially and proleptically executed in Yhwh's performative woe, the image portraying the end of the Chaldeans involves human agents: The nation you looted will loot you. The focus thus rests on Yhwh setting forth judgment to establish justice, the description of judgment remains metaphoric and moves within the realm of this-worldly conflicts. This perception seems to change within the third woe in Hab 2:12–14*.

The woe is addressed against the one who builds a town by bloodshed and founds a city on iniquity. With regard to form and content the woe cry in v. 12 represents a complete unit that does not require further elaboration. Judgment is proleptically executed through

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[12] From a literary critical standpoint this becomes most obvious from the interrelation between Hab 1:6 and Hab 2:6: As seen above, the oracle begins with the raising up of the Babylonians, a fierce and impetuous nation, who march throughout the earth to seize dwellings not their own. In Hab 1:7 the twofold characterization אים ונורא הוא reminds of Hab 1:6a (המר והנמהר) and adds a second description. In this regard it is noteworthy that the description in Hab 1:6 is closely related to its immediate context. The word play המר והנמהר (sound assonance) and the mentioning of גוי draw back on Hab 1,5a and create a direct relation between the two statements. In addition, the depiction of the nation as הגוי הנמהר (קלל → מהר) anticipates the onrush of the nation as portrayed in v. 8, where the swift approach of the horses and horsemen continues the description of the impetuous people that marches throughout the earth (v. 6bα). In the context of vv. 6–8, the second description thus disrupts the narrative flow between v. 6 and v. 8. Beyond a mere description of the awe-inspiring nation, v. 7 introduces the establishment of the nation's own *mishpat*. Over against the metaphoric image of the beasts coming for prey in v. 8 that primarily serves to illustrate the fiercefulness and suddenness of the nation's attack, the establishment of the nation's own *mishpat* implies human hubris and does not readily comply with the idea of the nation as a divine tool of judgment. On the contrary, it seems difficult to imagine that Yhwh would raise up a foreign nation as reaction to the prophet's lament so that the nation could implement its own *mishpat* and act on its own behalf.

With regard to the overall observations, v. 7 might, perhaps, best be understood as a re-interpretation of the oracle that already envisages the nation's judgment. The judgment is – as we have seen above – executed proleptically in the woe oracles in Hab 2. Following the general distinction first established by Jörg Jeremias, Kultprophetie, 65, we have assumed that the woe oracles were originally directed against Israel and only later associated with the foreign nation. Accordingly, we distinguished between an original woe in Hab 2:6b* and anti-Babylonian re-working in Hab 2:6b* (only), 7–8a, which unfolds the general reproach implied within the woe: Woe to him who increases what is not his – He who is addressed is the one who looted nations and will now be looted by them.

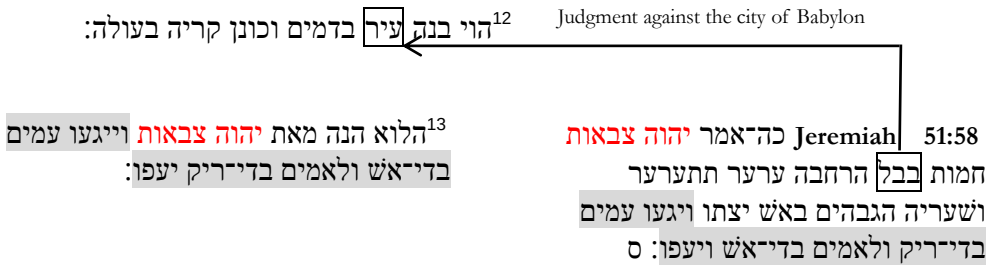
This distinction is not without interest for our analysis of the oracle in Hab 1. There, v. 6 states that the foreign nation will march throughout the earth to seize dwellings not their own. The elliptic phrase לא־לו used in the latter part of this statement concords with the beginning of the first woe oracle in Hab 2:6b. This obvious overlap ensures that the reader already knows against whom the first woe is directed, before the addressee is revealed explicitly in Hab 2:8a. The one who increases what is not his is, of course, the nation who marched to seize dwellings not their own.

It would then follow that the reference to the capture of dwellings "not their own" is part of the same reworking as Hab 2:6(only עד־מתי), 7–8a. The author who identified the addressee of the woe oracle in Hab 2:6b with the foreign nation would have introduced into the oracle in Hab 1 the very reproach that would lead to the nation's demise. That Hab 1:6bβ could, indeed, be secondary is further supported by the context of the oracle itself, in which the description of the swift horses beyond v. 6bβ, 7 refers back to v. 6bα.

the woe cry and directed against whom the accusation concerns.[13] The woe in v. 12 does, in other words, not rely on the continuation in vv. 13–14, which, in addition, lacks any obvious connection with v. 12. Within Hab 1:13–14, vv. 13a, 14 concentrate on Yhwh and his might. The statements frame and contrast the impuissance of the peoples mentioned in Hab 1:13b. "Is not all this from Yhwh, so that peoples labor in vain and nations weary themselves for nothing? For the earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of Yhwh, as the waters cover the sea."

Within the context of the woe cycle, the reference to the peoples in Hab 2:13b reminds of the conclusion to the first woe in Hab 2:8a, where Yhwh anounced that the remainder of the people will swallow you. Over against Hab 2:8a, however, Hab 2:13–14 emphasize that everything is from Yhwh, therefore the peoples labor in vain. Beyond the immediate literary context the mention of the peoples in Hab 2:13b has an almost verbatim parallel in Jer 51:58b.[14] Jer 51:58b occurs in the context of divine judgment against Babylon. Consideration of this Jeremian context is not without interest for understanding Hab 2:12–14, as it helps shed light on an interrelation that is not immediately apparent from the Habakkuk context itself, thus suggesting that Jer 51:58b may be considered the donor text. The interrelation in question is that between Hab 2:12, 13. Within the context in Hab 2 it remains unclear, what the peoples in v. 13 have to do with the blood city in v. 13. Through the parallel statement in Jer 51:58b, however, the city mentioned in Hab 2:12 may be identified with Babylon, which, in turn, is associated with blood and iniquity.[15]

Hab 2:12–13



In Jer 51 the peoples seem to help build Babylon in vain, for her walls and gates will be destroyed by divine judgment. Emphasis is thus put on their help in building Babylon, which in light of imminent divine retribution is considered futile. By adopting Jer 51:58b,

13 For this general understanding of the woe cry cf. Schottroff, Fluchspruch, 116f, or Otto, Stellung, 73f.

14 Cf. already Wellhausen, Propheten, 165.

15 Cf. already Budde, Habakuk, 390: „Vielmehr wird man in V. 12 die alte und echte Grundlage für die Ausweitung durch die entlehnten Verse 13 und 14 zu sehen haben". Cf. also Otto, Stellung, 83 note 61. Rothstein, Habakuk, 76, or Jeremias, Kultprophetie, 62, assume that both verses rely on the same traditional material.

Hab 2:13 indirectly associates the peoples with the building of the city (cf. בנה עיר Hab 2:12) and implicitly includes them in imminent judgment (הוי בנה עיר, Hab 2:12). The latter aspect, however, seems to be of little importance for the author. Rather, focus rests with the juxtaposition of human vanity and divine potency implied in Jer 51:58. In the context of the third woe in Hab 2:12–14*, this antithesis is emphasized by the reference to Yhwh's potency in Hab 2:13a, 14 as well as the correspondence between Hab 2:13b and Hab 2:7–8a: Everything is from Yhwh, peoples will not execute judgment (Hab 2:7–8a), but labor in vain. The envisaged object of judgment seems to remain the same: Just as in Jer 51:58 and Hab 2:7–8a those suffering from Yhwh's judgment may best be identified as the Babylonians/Chaldeans.

Hab 2:6–8a* – Peoples will execute divine judgment against Babylon

[6] […] הוי המרבה לא־לו עד־מתי ומכביד עליו עבטיט:
[7] הלוא פתע יקומו נשכיך ויקצו מזעזעיך והיית למשסות למו:
[8] כי אתה שלות גוים רבים ישלוך כל־יתר עמים […]: פ

Hab 2:12–14 – Peoples will labor in vain/Yhwh will judge Babylon

[12] הוי בנה עיר בדמים וכונן קריה בעולה:
[13] הלוא הנה מאת יהוה צבאות וייגעו עמים בדי־אש ולאמים בדי־ריק יעפו:
[14] כי תמלא הארץ לדעת את־כבוד יהוה כמים יכסו על־ים: ס

The theological reservation described above may also underly the reference to Isa 11:9 in Hab 2:14 already mentioned above. The terminological and contentual overlap between Hab 2:14 and Isa 11:9 is apparent.[16] Beyond Isa 11:9, however, the phrase in Hab 2:14 includes the term *kabod*. That it may, indeed, be this surplus that helps shed light on the intention of Hab 2:14 was already contemplated by JOHANN WILHELM ROTHSTEIN (1894),[17] who associated the divine *kabod* with Isa 6:3.[18] Following Rothstein's lead, I would suggest that the surplus *kabod* is best explained, if we understand Hab 2:14 as reference not only to Isa 11:9, but to Isa 11:10 as well, which over against Isa 11:9 attests to the term

[16] This overlap has long been recognized, cf. already Wellhausen, Propheten, 165; and more recently Jeremias, Kultprophetie, 59.63; Seybold, Habakuk, 72; Perlitt, ATD, 75; Pfeiffer, Süden, 147.

[17] Cf. Rothstein, Habakuk, 76f: „Der V. 14 ist auf Grund von Jes. 11,9b hergestellt; die Abwandlung des ursprünglichen Textes ist höchst charakteristisch und vielleicht ach litterarhistorisch nicht ohne Interesse. Nach Jes 11 wird nach dem Zusammenbruch der assyrischen Weltmacht das messianische Friedensreich seine Mission beginnen und erfüllen, weil alsdann die Erde erfüllt sein wird von der Erkenntnis Jahwes. Unser Verfasser setzt, vielleicht im Hinblick auf Jes 6,3 anstelle der Erkenntnis Jahwes die Erkenntnis der Herrlichkeit […] Jahwes. Die Herrlichkeit Jahwes aber wird zumal auch dann erkennbar, wenn sein Gericht über die Erde dahinbraust und die gottwidrige Weltmacht der Chaldäer in Trümmer schlägt und die Wiederherstellung und Vollendung seines Volkes herbeiführt […] und es wird sich zeigen, daß das Gefühl stolzer Sicherheit, das dem Welbeherrscher infolge der Fülle seiner Machtmittel beseelte, grundlos war und bitterer Enttäuschung Platz machen muß".

[18] Cf. Rothstein, Habakkuk, 77.

kabod.[19] The reference to both verses in Hab 2:14 seems to reflect on the function of kabod within the context of Proto-Isaiah (incl. Isa 6:3), as is already implied in Rothstein's assumptions (see note 16).

Hab 2:14

[14]כי תמלא הארץ לדעת את־כבוד יהוה כמים יכסו על־ים: ס

Isa 11:9–10*

[9]לא־ירעו ולא־ישחיתו בכל־הר קדשי כי־מלאה הארץ דעה את־יהוה כמים לים מכסים: פ
[10] והיה ביום ההוא שרש ישי אשר עמד לנס עמים אליו גוים ידרשו והיתה מנחתו כבוד: פ

Isa 11:10 mentions the root of Jesse (שרש ישי), thus refering back to Isa 11:1 (יצא חטר מגזע ישי ונצר משרשיו יפרה) and framing the passage in between. The essence of this passage is the establishement of peace, its climax is reached in vv. 9–10, when the earth is filled with knowledge of Yhwh and the root of Jesse will have *kabod* as their resting place. Within the broader context of Proto-Isaiah the term *kabod* evokes other passages from Isa 6–11, in which *kabod* is associated both with the deity and the Assyrian king. With regard to the deity the term bears a positive connotation and indicates sovereignity and glory.[20] The Assyrian king's *kabod*, too, is initially perceived of positively in that the Assyrian king serves as a divine tool of judgment (Isa 8:7f). Owing to the king's increasing hubris and self-deification, however, his *kabod* is eventually burnt by Yhwh (Isa 10:13–16). The interrelation of hubris, self-deification and divine judgment reminds of the context of Hab 1f, in which the Chaldeans are accused of similar wrongs as the Assyrian king in Isa 10 (cf. Hab 1:7, 9*, 11–12* and Isa 10:7–8, 13–14) and are subsequently subjected to divine judgment.[21] What Hab 2:14 may then primarily aim to evoke from the context of Proto-Isaiah is the juxtaposition of seeming human *kabod* and actual divine *kabod*, which in Hab 2 explains, why judgment against the foreign nation can only be set forth by Yhwh. For everything is from him, whomever he chooses, will flourish or perish. His *kabod* is the only true *kabod*, knowledge of his *kabod* will fill the earth.[22]

The idea that jugment is solely a matter of the deity, may be perceived in Hab 3:3 as well, which, as we have seen above, shares some distinct terminology and motifs with both Hab 2:14 and Isa 11:9. While both Hab 2:14 and Isa 11:9, however, share the opposition of the mundane elements "water and earth", Hab 3:3 shifts towards the heavenly waters in

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19 Cf. Jeremias, Kultprophetie, 63.
20 Cf. Beuken, Jesaja, 324.
21 For the assumption that Hab 1:11, 16 shares similarities with Isa 10 cf. Rothstein, Habakuk, 58 note 1, or Thompson, Psalm, 46.
22 As in Isa 11:9, latter statement, of course, already anticipates the imminent establishment of peace and justice.

opposition to the earth. Over against Hab 2:14 and Isa 11:9, Hab 3:3 thus includes the heavenly spheres and widens Yhwh's explicit realm of sovereignity. Furthermore, Hab 3:3 goes beyond Hab 2:14 in that it depicts god as executing judgment physically. Reminiscent of god's vengeance on Edom in Isa 63:1, Hab 3:3 visualizes that god comes "from Teman, the Holy One from Mount Paran". With the Isaian passage in question Hab 3 further agrees in the perspective of universal judgment that is directed against all nations.[23] In a divine speech Yhwh announces in Isa 63:3, 6:

> I have trodden the wine press alone, and from the peoples no one was with me; I trod them in my anger and trampled them in my wrath; their juice spattered on my garments, and stained all my robes. […] I trampled down peoples in my anger, I crushed them in my wrath […].

Similarly Hab 3:8, 12 speak of Yhwh's anger and destruction:

> Has your wrath been kindled against the rivers, Yhwh? Or your anger against the rivers, or your rage against the sea, so that you drive your horses, your chariots of victory? […] In fury you will trod the earth, in anger you will trample nations.

4. Conclusions: How does Hab 3 relate to its literary context?

The above observations elucidate that, while the introduction in Hab 3:2–3 relies on content and terminology from Hab 1–2, the theophany in Hab 3 pursues a different theological angle. We may then suggest that Hab 3 may represent a Fortschreibung which unfolds the extant literary context in Hab 1–2 through the lenses of a specific theological focus. In more detail, the coincidence of continuation and discontinuation between Hab 1–2 and Hab 3 may be described as follows:

The theophanic vision in Hab 3 commences with a reference to the deity whose deed the prophet fears. The reference to the divine deed harkens back to the oracle in Hab 1:5ff, in which Yhwh was about to raise up the Chaldeans. Hab 3:2 now re-interprets the deed as the coming of Yhwh in Hab 3:3–15.

Hab 1:5f – The deed: Yhwh raises up the Chaldeans as tool of judgment

5 ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי־פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר׃
6 כי־הנני מקים את־הכשׂדים הגוי המר והנמהר ההולך למרחבי־ארץ לרשׁת משׁכנות לא־לו׃

Hab 3:2f – The deed: Yhwh himself comes for judgment from Teman

2 יהוה שׁמעתי שׁמעך יראתי יהוה פעלך בקרב שׁנים חייהו בקרב שׁנים תודיע ברגז רחם תזכור׃
3 אלוה מתימן יבוא וקדושׁ מהר־פארן סלה כסה שׁמים הודו ותהלתו מלאה הארץ׃

Through the divine names mentioned in Hab 3:2–3 the vision in Hab 3 is further associat-

23 Cf. the implicit inclusion of the peoples in Hab 2:12–13.

ed with the second lament in Hab 1:12–17*, in which the prophet complained about the misconduct of the Chaldeans. The resumption of divine names implies that the same deity addressed in the prophetic lament in Hab 1:12–17* reacts to the prevalence of injustice on earth in the context of Hab 3:3ff. In other words: The reference to Hab 1:12 identifies the vision in Hab 3:3ff as answer to the second lament from Hab 1.

Hab 1:12 – Habakkuk laments the delay of judgment

[12]הלוא אתה מקדם יהוה אלהי קדשי לא נמות יהוה למשפט שמתו וצור להוכיח יסדתו׃

Hab 3:2f – The end of the delay of judgment is anticipated through the vision

[2]יהוה שמעתי שמעך יראתי יהוה פעלך בקרב שנים חייהו בקרב שנים תודיע ברגז רחם תזכור׃
[3]אלוה מתימן יבוא וקדוש מהר־פארן סלה כסה שמים הודו ותהלתו מלאה הארץ׃

In Hab 3:3 both the theocentric conception of judgment and the image of the earth filled with God's praise remind of the third woe in Hab 2:12–14*. Over against the third woe, however, Yhwh's explicit realm of sovereignity is expanded by the heavens and thus the numinous sphere. This universal realm of power is mirrored by the universal conception of judgment in Hab 3, which picks up on the implicit inclusion of "the peoples" in Hab 2:12–13*, where the peoples were implicitly associated with building the blood city and confronted with the vanity of their action. For everything is from Yhwh. This idea prevalent in Hab 2:12–14* is visualized in Hab 3:3, where Yhwh himself comes from the south. He drives his horses, chariots of victory (v. 8), and in his anger tramples the nations (v. 12). The illustration of Yhwh and his horses, who swiftly and fiercefully approach from the south reflects the onslaught of the Chaldean horsemen in Hab 1 that were raised up as Yhwh's tool of judgment: "Swifter than leopards are their horses, and faster than desert wolves. Their horses spring forward; they come from far away; they fly like an eagle hastening to devour" (Hab 1:8). In Hab 3 the tables have turned. The Chaldeans along with all nations are subjected to divine judgment that is essentially and physically executed by the deity.

Hab 1:6aβα, 8 – The Chaldean horsemen as divine tool of judgment

[6]כי־הנני מקים את־הכשדים הגוי המר והנמהר ההולך למרחבי־ארץ לרשת משכנות לא־לו׃
[8]וקלו מנמרים סוסיו וחדו מזאבי ערב ופשו פרשיו ופרשיו מרחוק יבאו יעפו כנשר חש לאכול׃

Hab 3:8, 12 – Yhwh comes on his horses for divine judgment

[8]הבנהרים חרה יהוה אם בנהרים אפך אם־בים עברתך כי תרכב על־סוסיך מרכבתיך ישועה׃
[12]בזעם תצעד־ארץ באף תדוש גוים׃

In sum, Hab 3 expands upon the theocentric conception of judgment in Hab 2:12–14*

and depicts Yhwh as a sovereign deity whose universal realm of power includes heaven, earth and their inhabitants. The emphasis on the universality of Yhwh's domain is juxtaposed by the universality of divine judgment that is now explicitly directed against all nations. From an authorial perspective this hostile opposition of Yhwh and the nations reveals a certain understanding of the relationship between Israel and her deity. For Israel salvation can only be achieved through the utter destruction of all peoples by Yhwh. A similarly universal judgment is prevalent in certain passages from the book of Isaiah (cf. e.g. Isa 13; 34; 63). As ODIL HANNES STECK has pointed out for the context of Isaiah, such deep-felt enmity between Israel and the nations likely reflects historical circumstances, presumably grave political changes, with which the authors saw themselves confronted. With regard to the Isaian passages Steck suggested a date of composition during the period of the Diadochi.[24] Given the conceptual proximity between the passages in Isaiah and Hab 3 as well as the broad literary and theological–historical backdrop, against wich Hab 3 becomes comprehensible, a similarly late date of composition for the theophany in Hab 3 seems not far-fetched. The theophany reflects an Israel that perceives the nations in their entirety as hostile and relies on Yhwh to judge on her behalf.

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[24] Cf. Steck, Anschluss, 81–83.

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Hosea 12 and the foundation legends of the Kingdom of Israel: Discussing Hos 12 with Erhard Blum

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1. Introductory remarks

This paper is some kind of spinoff from my postdoc project which deals with politics and religion in the northern kingdom of Israel. One of my questions for research is the question of genuinely northern traditions. The Jacob cycle and the exodus story are the usual suspects to come from the north and to be foundational myths.

However, the date and origin of the Jacob and exodus stories is debated. Besides the pentateuchal or hexateuchal texts pertaining to these stories possible prophetic passages which may have their *Sitz im Leben* in the northern kingdom need to be taken into consideration.

According to Wöhrle, Hos 12 is "[t]he most comprehensive and most important adaptation of pentateuchal traditions within the Book of the Twelve, if not within all the prophetic writings of the Hebrew Bible".[1] Therefore Hos 12 is sometimes regarded as a key witness not only for an early date of these narratives – being foundational myths of the northern kingdom – but also for an early date or early phase of the formation of the Tetrateuch, Pentateuch or Hexateuch.[2]

The date of Hosea 12 as a whole and of the passages referring to Jacob and the exodus are – little wonder – a matter of debate.

As far as I can see, a consensus on the formation of the book of Hosea is far from being reached. The scholarly positions range from models that regard most of the material to relate back to the prophet Hosea, possibly transmitted by the circle of his disciples,[3] via differentiated redaction critical models, which reckon with various layers ranging from preexilic to late texts,[4] to rather radical hypotheses dating the whole book to postexilic times.[5]

While some scholars assign Hos 12 or at least the passages on Jacob and the exodus to a later date, Blum is among those who ascribe Hos 12 to Hosea himself and regards this chapter as "external evidence"[6] not only for the connection of both traditions before the fall of Samaria but also for a literary version of the Jacob story.[7] Finkelstein adopted this hypothesis

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1 Wöhrle, Jacob, 998.

2 Cf. de Pury, Osée; *idem*, Erwägungen; Blum, Hosea; Carr, Formation, 474-475; Sweeney, Reading.
For the sake of convenience I will use the term "Pentateuch" if not otherwise differentiation between Tetrateuch/Pentateuch/Hexateuch is necessary for the argumentation.

3 Cf., e.g., Wolff, BK XIV/1; Jeremias, ATD 24,1; Sweeney, Berit Olam, 1-144.

4 Cf. Nissinen, Prophet; Kratz, Erkenntnis; Vielhauer, Hosea; Rudnig-Zelt; Wöhrle, Sammlungen; *idem*, Abschluss.

5 Cf. Ben Zvi, FOTL XXIA/1; Bos, Date.

6 Blum, Traum, 43.

7 Cf. Blum, Hosea. A similar hypothesis was recently published by Sweeney, Reading, c.f. also earlier works by de Pury, Osée; *idem*, Erwägungen. Also Carr, Formation, 474-475, uses Hos 12 for an early dating of the Jacob cycle in Genesis. For a discussion of the problem raised by the redating of the pentateuchal strands see Holt, Prophesying, 32. A later date of Hos 12 or at least the passages on Jacob and the Exodus is proposed, e.g., by Nissinen, Prophetie, 152-156; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 68-100; Köhlmoos, Bet-El, 142-150; Rudnig-Zelt,

in his book on the forgotten kingdom.[8] Blum dates Hos 12 to the last years of the Israelite Kingdom and calls this chapter the epitome of Hosea's theology.[9] Hence, apart from a few sentences, Blum assigns chap. 12 to the prophet Hosea himself.

Blum does not analyse the first two verses of Hos 12. As to the remaining Hos 12,3-15 Blum replaces יְהוּדָה in V 3 and inserts יִשְׂרָאֵל instead, which was done by many interpreters though there is no textual evidence for this replacement.[10] With many others, Blum regards V 6 as a secondary insert because of the Jerusalemite epithet צְבָאוֹת.[11]

Based on the LXX and with many others Blum emends עִמָּנוּ of the MT (V 5bβ) to the 3 Sg. m. Thus, Jacob is the object of V 5b.[12] The change to the imperfect in V 5b could thus be understood as preterite or iterative.[13] The imperfect is also used in V 7, here with 2 Sg. m.

According to Blum, the Jacob and exodus traditions are not only genuine foundation legends of the northern kingdom or at least in Hosea's circle,[14] but also Hos 12 represents one of the few preexilic texts outside the Pentateuch that refer to pentateuchal traditions and is the only text that is clearly modelled after these traditions. According to Blum there is little wonder that a prophet of the northern kingdom uses genuine northern traditions, i.e. Jacob and Moses.[15]

This means, according to Blum, that Hos 12 serves as eminent external evidence[16] showing that the connection of ancestral and exodus traditions must have been prior to the downfall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 720 BCE or even of the southern kingdom of Judah in 587 BCE.

Yet, Blum has to concede that northern traditions cannot be understood in an exclusive sense. He cites the Jacob traditions as an example: Even disregarding the issue of

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Hoseastudien, 68-72.261-278; Vielhauer, Werden, 178-180. See also recently Schott, Jakobpassagen; Wöhrle, Jacob.

[8] Cf. Finkelstein, Kingdom, 141-151, esp. 141-143 with reference to Blum.

[9] Blum, Hosea, 291: „in mancher Hinsicht eine Summe hoseanischer Theologie".

[10] Blum, Hosea, 297 (Blum, Hosea, 299 n. 39, proposes the reading "Ephraim"). Cf., e.g., Wellhausen, Propheten, 18; Wolff, BK XIV/1, 267 n. 3b; Willi-Plein, Vorformen, 210; Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 152; Holt, Prophesying, 31 n. 3. The MT is maintained by, e.g., Duhm, Anmerkungen, 37; Rudolph, Hosea; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 72 n. 29; Köhlmoos, Bet-El, 142; Nogalski, Book, 167; Schott, 11 n. 47; Wöhrle, Jacob, 999. Since all textual evidence attests to Judah and the text is well understandable with this reading the conjecture "Israel" should be avoided.

[11] Blum, 300, n. 44. Cf., e.g., Marti, KHC XIII, 95; Wolff, BK XIV/1, 276; Willi-Plein, Vorformen, 211.213; Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 150.154; Wöhrle, Jacob, 998 n. 3.

[12] Blum, Hosea, 296 n. 25 and 300 n. 43. Cf., e.g., Wolff, BK XIV/1, 268 n. 5c; Jeremias, 148 n. 6; Holt, Prophesying, 37-39. The MT is kept and LXX is considered a secondary harmonization by Utzschneider, Hosea, 191; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 71; Gelston, BHQ; Schott, Jakobpassagen, 12 n. 52. Regarding the parallelism of V 5bα (יִמְצָאֶנּוּ) and 5bβ the MT should be changed into 3 Sg.m. Nevertheless, V 5b *in toto* can be understood as a paradigm for the present generation, the descendants of Jacob, cf. Holt, Prophesying, 39.

[13] Cf. Nowack, Prophet, 220; Köhlmoos, Bet-El, 142 n. 243; Blum, Hosea, 300 n. 42.

[14] Cf. Blum, 318: „Jakob- und Exodustradition gehörten beide zu der im Nordreich (bzw. im Umkreis Hoseas) fraglos anerkannten Ursprungsgeschichte Israels."

[15] Cf. Blum, Hosea, 312: „Hos 12* ist unter den ganz wenigen vorexilischen Texten außerhalb des Pentateuchs, die auf pentateuchische Traditionen Bezug nehmen, der einzige, der insgesamt und substantiell von solchen Traditionen bestimmt ist. Der Umstand, dass es sich dabei um einen nordisraelitischen Prophetentext und um dominant ‚nördliche' Traditionen (Jakob, Mose) handelt, kommt gewiss nicht von ungefähr."

[16] Blum, Hosea, 319: "'externe' Quelle von erheblicher Bedeutung".

Jacob's sons – including Judah – according to Blum the connection to Esau, i.e. Edom, is an integral part of the plot.[17] I will return to that question, see below.

In the following I shall present some remarks on the final form of Hosea 12 before I consider if one can find traces of literary growth within this chapter. Finally I shall examine the issue of the relationship or connection of the Jacob and exodus traditions and of the 8th century prophet Hosea.

2. Remarks on the final form of Hosea 12

Regarding the final text, V 1 together with V 15 serve as a framework for the chapter Hos 12.[18]

By using the 1st Sg. of god in the suffix of the first word of the chapter (סְבָבֻנִי) also the following is presented as god's oracle mediated by the prophet Hosea. Lie (כַּחַשׁ) and deceit (מִרְמָה, cf. V. 8) by Ephraim and Israel are introduced as topics in V 1a and Judah's faithlessness[19] in V 1b though god, the Holy One,[20] remains faithful.

In accordance with its function serving as a superscription V 1a uses the 1st Sg. thus designating the text as god's word. God's 1st Sg. is also found in V 10-11 and V 7 could also be understood as god's direct speech to Jacob. The remaining text of Hos 12 however is formulated as prophetic speech. In Hos 12,1b.3.4.6.14.15 god is referred to in 3rd person.

The next verse, V 2 is also concerned with Ephraim. After depicting Ephraim in 2aα as being foolish because it pastures the wind (רעה Part. Qal m. Sg. + רוּחַ) and chases the hot eastern wind (רדף Part. Qal m. Sg. + קָדִים), the accusation in 2aβ is formulated as a general one referring to the multiplication (רבה Imperf. Hif. 3.m.Sg.) of falsehood (כָּזָב) and destruction (שֹׁד). Verse 2b reports Ephraim's changeableness regarding its political ambiguity towards Assyria and Egypt. Ephraim makes a treaty with Assyria while oil is carried to Egypt. In the light of V 2aα the prophet condemns this political changeableness as foolish.

Within the book of Hosea the noun כָּזָב is only found once more in 7,13. Also in this verse it is combined with the noun שֹׁד (which is also used with the meaning devastation in Hos 9,6; 10,14[21]). This verse, Hos 7,13, announces devastation to those who cannot be redeemed by Yahweh because they tell lies about/against him. In the context of 7,13 one can find statements similar to those of 12,2: Using metaphorical language, Hos 7,11a portrays Ephraim as a dove, silly and without sense. The next part of the verse, Hos 7,11b, contains a word on the political changeableness towards Egypt and Assyria: "They called Egypt and

[17] Blum, Hosea, 312 n. 88: „‚Nördliche Traditionen' ist hier freilich nicht exklusiv zu verstehen. Für die Jakobüberlieferung belegt dies (von den Jakobsöhnen inkl. Juda noch ganz abgesehen) allein schon die aus der Substanz nicht herauszulösende Verbindung mit Esau = Edom."

[18] Cf., e.g., Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 151, who understands Hos12,1a.15a as the framework of the chapter.

[19] The rendering of וִיהוּדָה עֹד רָד עִם־אֵל is debated. Since V 3 reports an indicment agianst Judah I would interpret V 1b as parallel to ("Judah is still faltering with god") 1a thus accusing Judah's faithlessness (cf. Holt, Prophesying, 30). A positive understanding of V 1b is favoured, e.g., by Nogalski, Book, 166.

[20] The rendering of קְדוֹשִׁים is problematic. According to Gesenius/Kautzsch[28] § 124h it is formed on the analogy of אֱלֹהִים. Cf. also Rudolph, KAT XIII/1, 221; Spieckermann, Gotteskampf, 109 n. 30.

[21] Cf. KBL[3], s.v. שֹׁד.

went to Assyria". This line of thought is continued in 7,12 with the image of birds being caught by Yahweh.

In Hos 12 the next verse, V 3, serves as another introduction to the following verses and tells of Yahweh's indictment (רִיב) against Judah. As argued above, יְהוּדָה of all textual witnesses should be kept.[22]

Hosea 12,3 combines formulations of 4,1 and 4,9.[23] In Hos 4,1 Yahwe has an indictment against the inhabitants of the land (רִיב לַיהוָה עִם־יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ). The other verse, Hos 4,9 binds the people together with the priests whom Yahweh will punish on him his ways (פקד + עַל + Suff. 3. m. Sg. + דְּרָכָיו) and repay him his deeds (שׁוב Hif. l m.Sg. + Suff. 3 m. Sg. + מַעֲלָלָיו).

Hosea names Judah as the object of Yahweh's indictment (רִיב) and Jacob as the object of Yahweh's punishment (פקד). Having Hos 4,1.9 and 12,1-2 in mind, the latter being directed to Ephraim, Israel, and Judah, and also 12,3a naming Judah, one could expect that the name Jacob is just used as a cipher for the people.[24] The following verses, V 4-7.13 specifically, however, make it clear that יַעֲקֹב names the patriarch himself. Nevertheless, the context of the whole chap. 12 and the intertwining of the patriarch story with Ephraim, Israel, and Judah indicates that the figure of Jacob, ancestor of Israel, is diaphanous for his people. Thus Jacob is presented in a typological role.[25] By using several key words the verses pertaining to Jacob the patriarch relate to the Jacob stories of Genesis in many respects.[26]

Verse 4 refers to Jacob's birth and adulthood. Using the verb עקב and most probably alludes to Gen 25,26 and Gen 27,36. Genesis 25,26 does not use the verb עקב but the noun עָקֵב stating that Jacob grasped (אחז) Esau's heel. This grasping of his brother's heel serves as an etymological aetiology of Jacob's name (יַעֲקֹב) in Gen 25,26. Yet, the aspect of deceit is found in Gen 27,36. Here Esau expresses with the verb עקב that Jacob supplanted him twice since he took his birthright and his blessing of the firstborn. This incident serves as yet another etymological aetiology of Jacob's name in Gen 27,36. Moreover, בַּבֶּטֶן could refer to Gen 25,23.24.[27]

Anyway, Hos 12,4 obviously combines Gen 25,26 and 27,36.[28] Hence, Hos 12:4 aims at portraying Jacob more negatively than Gen 25 for his deceit is already preponed to his time in his mother's womb:[29] Jacob is a trickster by birth.

Jacob's struggle with god in Hos 12,4b uses almost the same formulation as does Gen 32,29.[30] In both cases the verb שׂרה alludes to Jacob's new name Israel (יִשְׂרָאֵל).

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[22] Cf. above p. 1 n. 10.
[23] Cf. Nissinen, Prophetie, 152; Rudnig-Zelt, Hoseastudien, 125.198-199; Vielhauer, Werden, 178.
[24] Cf. Hos 10,11.
[25] Gertner, Hosea, 274, calls Hos 12 "a very early example of a typological midrash".
[26] On this issue cf., e.g., Gertner, Hosea, 273-282; Fishbane, Interpretation, 376-378; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 70-100. In the following I present a selection of the allusions to the Jacob cycle. The question if Hos 12 only knows of Jacob traditions which may not be identical with Genesis or if Hos 12 is literally depending on the stories of Genesis will be answered in the following.
[27] Cf. also Gen 25,22 which uses בְּקִרְבָּהּ when it describes that Jacob and Esau struggle inside Rebekah.
[28] Cf., e.g., Holt, Prophesying, 33.
[29] Cf. Spieckermann, Gotteskampf, 40-41.
[30] "In Hos 12:4b, the phrase שׂרה את אלהים […] is nearly a word-for-word parallel to Gen 32:29 (שרית עם אלהים […])", Wöhrle, Jacob, 1002-1003 n. 17.

The term אוֹן not only sets up a contrast to the moment of birth and does not only mean Jacob's manhood and power of maturity but also his high-handedness when struggling with god.[31] In Hos 12,9 אוֹן bears the meaning of (deceitfully) gained wealth. Maybe these overtones shall already be heard in 12,4 since Jacob leaves Laban as a rich man. In the book of Genesis, Gen 30,43 summarizes that Jacob increased greatly, had large flocks, female and male slaves, camels, and donkeys. In Gen 31,1 Laban's sons accuse Jacob that he gained his wealth (כָּבוֹד) by taking his father's belongings. Later on in Gen 31,16 Laban's daughters Rachel and Leah reply to Jacob that all the wealth (עֹשֶׁר) that God took away from their father now belongs to them and their children. Yet, it has to be noted that the Jacob cycle in Genesis does not mention the term אוֹן.

In Hos 12,5 Jacob's opponent is designated as מַלְאָךְ. This adds a new dimension to Hos 12,4b and Gen 32,22-33. Hos 12,4b clearly states that Jacob struggled with god (אֱלֹהִים) and Gen 32 leaves little doubt that Jacob struggles with god who is thinly veiled in the figure of the man (אִישׁ, cf. Gen 32,25).[32] The term מַלְאָךְ could still be deduced from the designation אִישׁ in Gen 32,25 and would thus be a deliberate exegesis of Gen 32. In the Hebrew Bible the term אִישׁ is used several times interchangeably with מַלְאָךְ, cf., e.g. Gen 18-19 when three אֲנָשִׁים visit Abraham and Sarah and two proceed on their way to Sodom (cf. Gen 18,2.16.22; 19,5.8.10.12.16: אֲנָשִׁים) while Abraham intercedes with god. These two אֲנָשִׁים are called הַמַּלְאָכִים in Gen 19,1.15. In Zech 1-2 (cf. Zech 1,8.10; 2,5) the term אִישׁ is also used for heavenly messengers. That god and his מַלְאָךְ can be portrayed in very close relationship, almost indiscernible from each other, can be seen in texts like Gen 16; 21; Num 22; Judg 6; 13.

The use of מַלְאָךְ in V 5aα thus presents a new accentuation of V 4b and indicates for the readers of Hos 12,4-5 how Gen 32 should be understood: Jacob struggles with god but god is only indirectly present for he is acting via a messenger. Jacob overcomes the מַלְאָךְ, and Hos 12,5aα uses the same verb as does Gen 32,26.29, i.e. יכל.[33] That Jacob is superior to the messenger shows that Jacob's presumptiousness. That he wept and begged for grace (בָּכָה וַיִּתְחַנֶּן־לוֹ, Hos 12,5aβ) shows his abjectness. This part of V 5 also does not have a counterpart in Gen 32. Yet, it is quite possible to explain Hos 12,5aβ as a combination of the story of Jacob's encounter with Esau in Gen 33 with Gen 32.[34] It is also noteworthy that Jacob's encounter with Esau (Gen 33) is prepared by Jacob's struggle with God (Gen 32). According to Gen 33,4 Jacob and his brother wept (וַיִּבְכּוּ) when they met. Jacob shows his children to Esau (Gen 33,5) and asks him to accept his בְּרָכָה (gift connected with a blessing[35]). In both instances Jacob explains that god favoured him (אֱלֹהִים חָנַן). Additionally Jacob seeks to find favour in Esau's eyes (**מצא** + חֵן + בְּ + עַיִן) in three cases (Gen 33,8.10.15):[36] McKenzie concludes that "the real focus in ch. xxxiii is the favor (*ḥēn*) Jacob has received from God and

[31] Cf. Spieckermann, Gotteskampf, 42-43.
[32] Thus with Spieckermann, Gotteskampf; Kratz, Komposition, 273; Köckert, Gegner.
[33] Cf. specifically וַיְכָל Hos 12,5 and וַתּוּכַל Gen 32,29.
[34] Cf. McKenzie, Jacob Tradition, 315-316; Spieckermann, Gotteskampf, 43-44; Nogalski, Book, 167-169.
[35] Cf. KBL[3,] s.v. בְּרָכָה.
[36] The verb **מצא** is also found in Hos 12,5bα (בֵּית־אֵל יִמְצָאֶנּוּ).

hopes to receive from Esau."[37] Yet, neither Hos 12,4 nor 12,5 report that Jacob is blessed by his opponent (thus Gen 32,27.30).

Instead of mentioning this blessing Hosea 12,5b refers to God's theophany at Bethel. The verb מצא has two more occurrences in V 9 where it is related to Ephraim's wealth and guilt. Ephraim is pretending that guilt is not to be found with all his acquisition. In V 5b the subject of בית־אל ימצאנו ושם ידבר עמנו and the object is Jacob.[38] The connection of V 5b with V 7a which provides the answer to 5b (see below) shows that V 5b alludes to Jacob's dream at Bethel in Gen 28,10-22. Thus the passage on Jacob in Hos 12,3-7 recalls the two divine encounters when Jacob leaves his home country on his flight from Esau and when Jacob returns and meets Esau again. These events are told in reverse order. The passage on Jacob in Hos 12,3-7 obviously puts the stress on god's revelation to Jacob at Bethel: God's speech to Jacob in V 7 is at the centre of chap. 12.

Wöhrle recently objected that Hos 12,5 would refer to Gen 28,10-22 because Hos 12,4b.5a already mentioned the divine encounter at the Jabbok: "Thus, a reference in Hos 12:5b to the theophany from Gen 28 would come to late."[39] According to Wöhrle V 5-7 could therefore only refer to the theophany of Gen 35,9-13 which consist of P and post P material.[40] Wöhrle's objection is quite unlikely though he makes a good point that god talks to Jacob in Gen 35,13.14.15 (דבר + אֵת, cf. דבר + עִם in Hos 12,5b). It seems that Hos 12,4-7 rearranges the plot of the Jacob cycle for its own rhetorical purposes, i.e., to stress the importance of the theophany at Bethel and of god's message that Jacob will return with the help of his god and that he has to maintain love and justice and wait for his God continually.

Gertner already pointed out that "the *order* of the quoted details of the older story [sc. the Jacob story of Genesis] is presented here in a characteristically midrashic manner. Instead of the expected chronological order of events we have a homiletic arrangement linked merely by association of ideas and serving the 'preacher's' purposes".[41] This point is corroborated by the fact that Hos 12,13 tells of Jacob's flight to Aram only after the encounters at Bethel and the Jabbok,[42] which in Wöhrle's theory "would come too late".[43] The verb דבר also occurs in Gen 28,15 though in combination with the preposition לְ. What is more striking is the fact that the promise to return (שׁוב Imperf. Qal 2 Sg.m.) in Hos 12,7 only has a counterpart in Gen 28. In Gen 28,15 god's promise to bring Jacob back to the land (שׁוב Perf. cons. Hif. 1 Sg. + Suff. 2 m. Sg.) is combined with דבר (Perf. Pi. 1 Sg.) and שׁמר (Perf. cons. Qal 1 Sg. + Suff. 2 m. Sg., cf. Hos 12,7: שׁמר Imp. Qal m. Sg.): *I am with you and will watch over you wherever you go, and I will bring you back to this land. I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you*. In Gen 28,21 שׁוב (Perf. cons Qal 1 Sg.) is mentioned a second time as a part of the protasis of Jacob's vow: *if I return safely to my father's house*. Since Hos 12,5b uses the imperfect it is quite possible that Hos 12,5-7 not only

[37] McKenzie, Jacob Tradition, 316.
[38] Cf. above p. 1 n. 12.
[39] Wöhrle, Jacob, 1003.
[40] Cf. Wöhrle, Jacob, 1004-1005.
[41] Gertner, Hosea, 275 (emphasis original).
[42] Cf. Gertner, Hosea, 275. Gertner, op. cit., 275 n. 3 also mentions that Hos 12,10 mentions the exodus before Jacob in 12,11.
[43] Wöhrle, Jacob, 1003.

refer to Jacob's stay at Bethel in Gen 28 but also in Gen 35,1-8 – and maybe even Gen 35,9-15.[44]

In the episode on Jacob V 4 and V 7 use the predication אֱלֹהִים. In V 6 אֱלֹהִים is identified with Yahweh. Thus it is made clear who is the god at Bethel. Besides, by using the epithet צְבָאוֹת (here in the formulation: אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת which also occurs in Am 3,13; 6,14) Bethel is linked to Jerusalem.[45] The formulation of V 6b יְהוָה זִכְרוֹ relates Hos 12,6 to the revelation of god's name in Ex 3,14-15: זֶה־שְּׁמִי לְעֹלָם וְזֶה זִכְרִי לְדֹר דֹּר (Ex 3,15b).[46] Since V 6 also interrupts the connection between V 5b and 7a, both of which refer to Gen 28, V 6 can be regarded as an addition.[47]

That Hos 12,7a also refers to Gen 28 shows the context: God promises in Gen 28,15 that he is with Jacob, protects him (שׁמר) and brings him back (שׁוב Hif.) to the land, in Gen 28,21 Jacob binds his vow to his return (שׁוב Qal), cf. above. Thus Hos 12,7 presents god's speech that was referred to in V 5b.

God's speech in V 7 addresses Jacob directly with the personal pronoun אַתָּה, with אֱלֹהִים + Suff. 2 Sg.m. (*bis*), with שׁוב Imperf. Qal 2 Sg.m. and with the imperatives Sg.m. שׁמר and קוה. This direct address underlines the importance of V 7, just in the middle of the chapter. This direct address in the 2nd singular also makes clear that Jacob serves as a paradigm for the present generation who is addressed together with him.[48]

The terms of Hos 12,7b, חֶסֶד and מִשְׁפָּט, have no counterpart in the Jacob cycle and are taken from the context of the book of Hosea, cf., e.g., Hos 6,4-6.[49] The exhortation to trust in god has its closest parallel in Ps 27,14.

The accusations of Ephraim in Hos 12,8-9 leave the issue of Jacob but retain the topic of deceit. Ephraim (V 9) is paralleled with Canaan (V 8). Canaan is portrayed as or synonymous with a merchant, cf. later texts, e.g., Ez 16,29; 17,4; Zef 1,11; Zech 14,21.

The dishonest scales in Hos 12,8 resemble the social critique of the prophets Amos and Micah. In the book of Amos the מֹאזְנֵי מִרְמָה are named in Am 8,5 and Mi 6,11 mentions the מֹאזְנֵי רֶשַׁע. In both cases the books of Amos and Micah are concerned with the manipulation of measurements, and both Am 8,5 and Mi 6,11 are better connected in their sociocritical context than Hos 12,8. The term מִרְמָה is already used in the superscription Hos 12,1. It occurs in the Jacob story of the book of Genesis, too. In Gen 27,35 Isaac tells his son Esau that his brother came deceitfully, בְּמִרְמָה, and took Esau's blessing of the firstborn. Immediately in the next verse (27,36) the name יַעֲקֹב is explained with the verb עקב.

Deceit also is the topic of V 9 that quotes Ephraim in the 1st person who satirically declares that no guilt can be found in his acquired wealth. As already mentioned, V 9 shares the catchwords און and מצא with the Jacob's episode in V 4-5.

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[44] Thus with the observation that דבר is used prominently in Gen 35,13.14.15, cf. Gertner, Hosea, 278-279; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 78; Schott, Jakobpassagen, 22; Wöhrle, Jacob, 1004-1005.

[45] Cf. above p. 1 n. 11.

[46] Cf., e.g., Wolff, BK XIV/1, 276; Schott, Jakobpassagen, 22-23.

[47] Cf. above p. 1 n. 11.

[48] Cf., e.g., Holt, Prophesying, 43-46; Blum, Hosea, 305; Nogalski, Book, 169.

[49] Spieckermann, Gotteskampf, 111 n. 45, describes the word pair חֶסֶד and מִשְׁפָּט in Hos 12,7 as a condensed form of central issues of the book of Hosea and ist closest parallel, Mi 6,8, as another example of a later recapitulation of prophetic theology.

The next verse, V 10 keeps the 1st person but it changes the topic and the subject. Now Yahweh speaks himself and presents himself as God from the land of Egypt (וְאָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם). The formulation of Hos 12,10 conforms to Hos 13,4 and the first commandment, cf. Ex 20,2 and Dtn 5,6, and also the formula in 1 Kgs 12,28. Israel shall live in tents again. The return to the simplicity of the time of the wilderness is to enable new beginnings.

God's speech in 1st person is continued in V 11. That god spoke through his prophets time and again – one may add: in vain – reminds of late deuteronomistic and chronistic texts. One example would be 1 Kgs 17 the résumé of the downfall of the northern kingdom. In 1 Kgs 17,13 the seers (חֹזֶה) are mentioned next to the prophets who admonished Israel and Judah and called them to return.

Gilead of Hos 12,12 occurs in Hos 6,8 as well. Here it appears as a city of evildoers which is stained with blood (גִּלְעָד קִרְיַת פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן עֲקֻבָּה מִדָּם). Gilead is at the same time an important location in Gen 31 in the story of Jacob's flight and treaty with Laban, cf. Gen 31,21.23.25.47.48.

Gilgal is mentioned in Hos 9,15 as the place of wickedness. This refers to the beginnings of the kingdom which was installed at Gilgal, cf. 11,15.[50] Gilgal is the place of Saul's rejection when the prize of the Amalekites shall be sacrifized.

The next two verses, V 13-14 are closely connected by the catchword שׁמר which is used in Qal in V 13 and in Nif. in V 14. The topic of V 13 is Jacob's flight and his serving and herding for his wives. In Gen 29,18.20.25 serves for Rachel for seven years,[51] Gen 30,26; 31,41 summarize that Jacob served for his wives, children, and flock (each reference with עבד + בְּ pretii, cf. Hos 12,13).

That Jacob flees to the land of Aram matches his flight to Rebekah's brother Laban in Gen 27,43 which also uses the catchword ברח. The aim of Jacob's flight is Haran which is not identical with Aram.[52] Yet, Laban's ethnicity is called Aramaean (אֲרַמִּי) in Gen 25,20; 28,5; 31,20.24. Maybe שְׂדֵה אֲרָם alludes to the field (שָׂדֶה) in 29,2 where Jacob meets Rachel for the first time. However, שְׂדֵה אֲרָם could be a rendering of פַּדַּן אֲרָם which is found in P texts, cf. Gen 25,20; 28,2.5-7; 31,18; 33,18; 35,9.26.[53]

Moreover, the catchword שָׂדֶה in Hos 12,13 connects this verse with the preceding verse which states that the altars are like piles of stones on the furrows of the field (שָׂדַי). Thus, the view on Jacob's flight is negative.[54] This coincides with Gen 27,43 since Jacob has to flee (ברח, cf. Hos 12,13) because he supplanted his brother Esau. This is in line with the view of Hos 12 that Jacob and his descendants are tricksters.

Furthermore, the statement that Jacob guarded sheep for his wife (וּבְאִשָּׁה שָׁמָר) does not only refer to the Jacob cycle in Genesis, though שׁמר is only used once in that context

[50] Cf. Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 124; Vielhauer, Werden, 164.
[51] Cf. Gen 29,27, עבד without בְּ pretii.
[52] Cf. Nogalski, Book, 171.
[53] Thus Schott, Jakobpassagen, 19; Wöhrle, Jacob, 1005-1006.
[54] Cf. Schott, Jakobpassagen, 19.

(Gen 30,31),[55] and does not only set up a contrast to the next verse, Hos 12,14, it also sets up a contrast to Hos 12,7 were Jacob is told to guard חֶסֶד וּמִשְׁפָּט.

After Hos 12,10 the topic of Egypt is resumed in V 14 and now it is combined more closely with the theme "prophet" of Hos 12,11. The prophet of 12,14 who brought Israel out of Egypt and guarded them (שׁמר Nif.) is Moses. Thus V 14 shares similar views like Dtn 18,18; 34,10; Num 12,6-8.

Since V 14 uses עלה in the formula הֶעֱלָה יְהוָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִמִּצְרָיִם Pfeiffer and Blum find a reference to 1 Kgs 12,28b: הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלוּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם.[56]

The last verse, Hos 12,15, presents the conclusion: Ephraim's bitter provocation, bloodguilt, and insult will be repaid (שׁוב Imperf. Hif. 3. m. Sg.) by his lord (אֲדֹנָיו). The formula יָשִׁיב לוֹ is also found in Hos 12.3, here connected with the repayment of Jacob's deeds. Thus Jeremias identifies a double framework for Hos 12, consisting of V 1a and 15a on the one hand and of V 3 and 15b on the other hand.[57]

This rough overview of Hos 12 shows on the one hand that verses 3-7.10-11.13-14 are closely connected with the topics "Jacob" and "exodus", i.e. with the respective texts in the books of Genesis and Exodus and maybe even 1 Kgs 12. I return to that point below. On the other hand it is obvious that the topic "Jacob" and with "Jacob" also the topic "exodus" is interwoven with the remaining verses of chap. 12 via the topic "deceit".[58]

3. Hos 12 and the question of literary growth

Nevertheless, many interpreters noted the thematic and stylistic differences which concern the accusations as to Ephraim and Israel (and Judah) and the passages that tell about Jacob and the exodus. Hence, the two different topics were understood as different stages of literary growth by a number of scholars.

Blum wants to demonstrate the literary unity of Hos 12,3-15. Therefore he criticises one trend in German scholarship that follows Jeremias' analysis of Hos 12.[59] Jeremias proposed that V 3-5.7.13-14 form the core of chap. 12 and that they are Hoseanic. Hosea's disciples placed other authentic, Hoseanic sayings that fit the topic around this core. More recent studies have adopted this idea but usually consider the texts to be post Hoseanic.

[55] In Gen 30,31 Jacob already has got his wives and his children.
[56] Cf. Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 35-42.95.171-178; Blum, Hosea, 316, who regard 1 Kgs 12,28b as an old formula of the official cult of the northern kingdom. Also Köckert, YHWH, 368-371, finds an old formula in 1 Kgs 12,28b. Since 1 Kgs 12,26-32 is a polemic dtr text and 1 Kgs 12,28b is most likely depending on the first commandent, it is highly unlikely that 1 Kgs 12,28b contains valid historical information, cf., with different approaches, Würthwein, ATD 11,1, 161-166; Kratz, Komposition, 166-169; Levin, Frömmigkeit, 138-139; Pakkala, Jeroboam. Besides one has to bear in mind that both Bethel and Dan were either uninhabited or only had very small settlements in the 10th century BCE. On Bethel see Finkelstein/Singer-Avitz, Reevaluating, esp. 43, on Dan see Arie, Reconsidering, esp. 38.
[57] Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 150-151.
[58] Nogalski, Book, 165, thus states that "the thematic unity of Hosea 12 derives more from repetition than from a clear rhetorical structure".
[59] Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 149-158, esp. 150.

Pfeiffer thinks of two initially independent units, one on Ephraim and one on Jacob, that are of late origin and were amalgamated.[60] Vielhauer and Köhlmoos reckon with a core within the Jacob passages to which new oracles were added at a later stage (*Fortschreibung*).[61] Rudnig-Zelt modifies this hypothesis and finds an earlier layer in the metaphorical oracle on Ephraim in Hos 12,2aα to which the passages on Jacob were added.[62]

Blum criticises these hypotheses: If Hos 12 were reconstructed like this it would not be plausible why and how there would be an indictment (רִיב, 12,3) with Judah and Jacob since the verses on Jacob bear critique but do not show his guilt that would have to be repaid.[63] Willi-Plein, who considers most verses on Jacob and the exodus as a later addition,[64] already noted that Hos 12,8-9 are essential for the indictment of V 3. It would otherwise lack a motivation.[65]

Here I fully agree with Blum. Without the verses accusing the people (1-2$^{(*)}$.8-9.12) and the verdict in V 15 the verses on Jacob and the exodus (4-7.10-11.13-14) have no peg to hang on the indictment of Hos 12,3.

Yet, it does not mean that Hos 12,3-15 – with a few exceptions – must be an initial unit as Blum proposes.[66] Given the thematic (the people vs. the patriarch) and stylistic differences (oracles vs. narrative style) it is rather likely that Hos 12 consists of at least two strata. Moreover, after V 1-2* yet another superscription is presented (V 3), and the passages on Jacob interrupt the oracles on Ephraim.[67]

It could be added that only the passages on Jacob and the exodus have a clear literary connection to the Pentateuch though the oracles on the people contain terms that also occur in the Jacob stories of Genesis.[68] The noun מִרְמָה (Hos 12,1.8) can be found in Gen 27,35 (preceding the etymology יַעֲקֹב – עָקַב), the verb רעה (Hos 12,2) in Gen 30,31.36. The root עשׁר occurs in Hos 12,9 and Gen 31,16, the noun יְגִיעַ in Hos 12,9 and Gen 31,42. The terms גִּלְעָד (cf. Gen 31,21.23.25.47.48), זבח (cf. Gen 31,54), and גַּל (cf. Gen 31,46.48.51.52) are mentioned in Hos 12,12 and in the story on Jacob's and Laban's treaty (בְּרִית, Gen 31,44, cf. Hos 12,2). The noun שָׂדַי appears in Hos 12,12, the noun שָׂדֶה in Gen 29,2; 31,4; 32,4; 33,19. Last not least the root שׁוב is found in Hos 12.15 and Gen 28,15.21; 31,3.13.

Ephraim and Israel are accused of lie and deceit whereas Jacob is the prototypical trickster. The connection to the exodus was derived from Hos 12,2 that mentions מִצְרַיִם as the destination of Ephraim's oil.

Having this in mind, I would identify the compilation of oracles against Ephraim/Israel (V. 1-2*.8-9.12.15) as the basic material in Hos 12. The topic of these oracles (betrayal) and catchwords such as Egypt and Gilead were the trigger for a later implementation of the words on Jacob and the exodus (vv. 3-5, 7, 10-11, 13-14).[69]

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[60] Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 68-100.
[61] Vielhauer, Werden, 178-180; Köhlmoos, Bet-El, 142-148.
[62] Rudnig-Zelt, Hoseastudien, 68-72.261-278.
[63] Blum, Hosea, 297.
[64] Cf. below.
[65] Willi-Plein, Vorformen, 210.
[66] Blum, Hosea, 292-312.
[67] Cf. Schott, Jakobpassagen, 9; Wöhrle, Jacob, 1001.
[68] Cf. Willi-Plein, Vorformen, 215; Utzschneider, Hosea, 187; Schott, Jakobpassagen, 17.
[69] Cf. Schott, Jakobpassagen, 17; Wöhrle, Jacob, 1001.

Criticising those who find the primary layer of Hos 12 in the passages on Jacob and the exodus, Blum complains that these passages do not constitute a coherent text.[70] I agree with Blum in that point, too. Nonetheless, if the words on Jacob and the exodus could be identified as a secondary addition it could be explained why Hos 12* was interspersed with them:

The addition of Judah in the initial superscription (V 1a-2*[71]) connects Judah to Israel, and the new superscription V 3 was necessary to introduce the topic of Jacob.[72] Since V 3 is modelled after Hos 4,1 (and 4,9) it also provides a superscription for the last chapters of Hosea, thus giving the book a tripartite structure (Hos 1-3; 4-11; 12-14).[73] The first episode on Jacob is embedded in oracles on political (V 1-2) and economic/social fraud (V 8-9). This first episode on Jacob thus follows the topic of deceit (V 1-2) and picks up this topic with the verb עקב. At the end of the first episode the address to Jacob in 2 Sg. as a paradigm for the people prefigures the accusations V 8-9 in two ways.

The exhortation to guard חֶסֶד and מִשְׁפָּט is a contrast to Ephraim's false measurements and wealth gained in iniquity, and the 2 Sg. address in 7 serves to prepare the 1 Sg in V 9 which now appears as a response to this address. As a contrast to Ephraim's statements in the 1st person, Yahweh's 1st person speech in V 10-11 recalls the exodus and the first commandment and announces that Israel has to live in tents (בָּאֳהָלִים) again. Though Hos 12,10, which is modelled after 13,4,[74] refers to the days of the wilderness it should be noted that according to Gen 25,27 Jacob is a quiet man, staying among the tents (וְיַעֲקֹב אִישׁ תָּם יֹשֵׁב אֹהָלִים).[75] Thus Hos 12,10 does not only pick up the topic מִצְרַיִם from V 2 but also seems to provide an – at least – implicit connection between Jacob and the exodus/wilderness. Besides living in tents could be seen as a contrast to Ephraim's wealth. Verse 11 introduces the topic of the prophets which is combined with the topic of the preceding verse, i.e., the exodus in V 14. Jacob and Moses are the protagonists of V 13-14 which are embedded in the oracles on Gilead and Gilgal and cult (V 12) and the judgment in V 15. By referring to Jacob's flight to the area of Aram (שְׂדֵה אֲרָם) V 13 picks up the catchword שָׂדַי of V 12 and the Israelite-Aramaean border area of Gilead plays an important role in Jacob's treaty with Laban to whom Jacob flees and who is Aramaean according to Gen 25,20; 28,5; 31,20.24.

The intention of the verses on Jacob and the exodus is to show that Jacob the trickster is the archetype of his people and to exhort that his people should listen to god's word uttered by the prophets (cf. V 11.14): While god told Jacob to guard חֶסֶד and מִשְׁפָּט and Jacob served and guarded for his women, Israel was guarded by a prophet, i.e., Moses who is not mentioned by name. Whereas Jacob is the archetype of his people Moses is the archetype

[70] Blum, Hosea, 299.

[71] The phrase כָּזָב וְשֹׁד יַרְבֶּה (Hos 12,2aγ) that interrupts the accusations of political stupidity is most likely a secondary addition, cf. Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 150.

[72] Cf. Schott, Jakobpassagen, 18; Wöhrle, Jacob, 1001.

[73] Cf. Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 151; Nissinen, Prophetie, 152; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 71; Rudnig-Zelt, Hoseastudien, 198-199; Schott, 20-21. Within the book of Hosea the noun רִיב is only found in 4,1 and 12,3.

[74] Thus already Marti, KHC XIII, 96, based on the observation that 13,4 is firmly integrated into its Kontext. Hos 13,4 is to be understood as short version of the prologue of the Decalogue and belongs to a postexilic stratum, cf. Nissinen, Prophetie, 156-168; Vielhauer, 180.

[75] Cf. also Gen 25,27; 31,25.33-34; 33,19; 35,21.

of god's prophets.[76] It has often been recognized that Jacob is viewed positively in V 5b-7. God found Jacob at Bethel and spoke to him and proclaimed his return. I think that this is in line with the conclusion of V 14.[77] Jacob's story according to Hos 12 has positive overtones when it reports that god spoke (דבר) to Jacob (V 5b) and promises his return. Verse 11 states that god speaks (דבר) to his prophets. Obviously – this seems to be the clue of V 13-14 – Jacob is not enough. He fled to Aram and guarded sheep for his women but Israel was brought up from Egypt and was guarded by a prophet.[78]

Thus I think that Hos 12 is neither a mainly unified text as Blum and others propose nor that the words on Jacob and the exodus formed the core of Hos 12 as Jeremias and scholars following him propose. I would prefer to return to the hypothesis of a number of older positions that regarded the words on Jacob and exodus (or at least parts of them) to be secondary additions to Hos 12.[79]

Vielhauer supposes a basic layer for Hos 11 (V 1*(without מִמִּצְרַיִם).3aα.4b.5a) without historical reflections ("*Geschichtsrückblick*") which opines the fact that Israel is delivered to Egypt and Assyria as a revocation of his status as Yahweh's adoptive son.[80] Israel is called Ephraim in V 3aα. Most probably a similar basic layer for Hos 13 could be reconstructed, too. The basic layer of chap. 12 (V. 1a.2*.8-9.12.15) would have compiled themes of the already existing book of Hosea probably to continue the passages on Ephraim in chap. 11. The topics treated in chap. 12* would have been criticism at Israel's political changeableness, social/economic, and cultic misconduct. The issue of deceit would have been the trigger for the addition of the words on Jacob and the exodus to Hos 12.

Vielhauer pointed out that the successively added historical reflections Hos 9,10-12,15 (to my mind, chap. 13 could be added, esp. 13,4, the source of the formulation 12,10)

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[76] Cf., e.g., Holt, Prophesying, 48: "The fact that the name [sc. Moses] is not mentioned is, however, striking, especially since Jacob is called by name in v. 13. […] I]t is not the *person* of Moses that is the most important issue but rather the emphasis on the task of the *prophet*" (original emphasis).

[77] Pace Schott, Jakobpassagen, 9-10.21-24, who considers V 5-7 to be a separate, second addition of Jacob passages to Hos 12.

[78] Thus with de Pury, Oseé; *idem*, Erwägungen, 428-429; Schott, Jakobpassagen, 20.
In the context of the indictment of Hos 12,3, the connection שָׂדֶ֫ה (oracle V 12) and שָׂדֶ֫ה (destination of Jacob's flight) and the fact that Jacob has to flee (ברח) because he supplanted Esau (Gen 27,43) I do not think that Jacob's flight to Aram is reported positively in Hos 12,13, thus with Blum, Hosea, 309-311, pace Holt, Prophesying, 47-51; Sweeney, 857-861. For Sweeney's hypothesis the positive understanding of Aram is essential because he wants to interpret Hos 12 as an authentic Hoseanic prophecy that sides with an anti Assyrian party at the Israelite court and advocates a renewed coalition with Aram.
Another flight of Jacob is reported in Gen 31 where Jacob flees from Laban. Gen 31,20 (cf. 31,27) states that Jacob stole Laban's heart, i.e., tricked Laban, by hiding his plans to flee (ברח , 31,20.21.22.27). Thus according to Genesis Jacob's flights are closely connected to fraud. Whatever the judgment of the texts of Genesis may be on this issue, deceit is clearly regarded negatively in Hos 12.

[79] Surprisingly, Blum does not debate this possibility, see also Wöhrle's critique of Blum in Wöhrle, Jacob, 1001. Secondary additions are according to, e.g., Wellhausen, Propheten, 129-130: V 5-7.13-14; Nowack, HK, 71-76: V 1b.4b-7.13-14; Marti, KHC XIII, 92-98: V 1b.3a.5aα.5aβ-7.9b-11.13-14; Duhm, Anmerkungen, 37-39: V 4-7.13-14; Willi-Plein, Vorformen, 211-216: V 6.7.13-14. This return to older models was also recently favoured by Schott, Jakobpassagen, 8-24, who finds a first Jacob addition in V 1b.3-4.13-14 and a second in V 5-7, and Wöhrle, Jacob, 998-1007, who regards V 3-5.7.13-14 as an addition to Hos 12. However, since V 10-11 prepare the topic of the exodus and prophets they should be seen as secondary additions belonging to the Jacob and exodus verses. To delineate V 5-7 as a second addition because of its positive tendency is not necessary because it fits the scope of the other verses on Jacob and the exodus, see above. Thus, one secondary layer on Jacob and the exodus, comprising V 1b.(2aγ.)3-5.7.10-11.13-14, should be enough.

[80] „Die *Grundschicht* […] propagiert die die Auslieferung Israels an Ägypten und Assur als Aufkündigung seines Status als Adoptivsohn JHWHs" (Vielhauer, Werden, 40).

have the tendency to prepone the history of Israel's transgressions earlier and earlier, thus Hos 9,15; 10,9-10 deals with the installation of the Saul's kingdom, 9,10 with the treachery at Baal Peor, first additions to Hos 11 with the exodus and Hos 12 with Jacob.[81]

In Hos 12 it is sufficient to refer to the exodus briefly for the topic is known from the surrounding chapters, ranging from the shuttle diplomacy between Egypt and Assyria to the formula to the explicit references to the exodus.[82] In contrast to the exodus the topic of Jacob is a new one and needs to be developed at greater length. However you put it, the redaction criticism of Hos 12 remains a difficult task.[83] According to the observations made in this paper Hos 12 is a relatively late part of the book of Hosea.[84]

Be it as it may, for my question if Hos 12 contains old foundation legends of the northern kingdom the problem if the words on Ephraim or on Jacob and the exodus came first or if, in the end, Hos 12 should be treated as a literary unit is subordinate. To answer this question the analysis of the words on Ephraim or on Jacob gives the answer.

4. Another look at Blum's hypothesis

And thus I return to Erhard Blum's hypothesis of an 8th century, Hoseanic origin of Hos 12. As I mentioned before, except for the later insertion of Judah in V 3 and of V 6 Blum regards Hos 12,3-15 as an initially unified text. Consequently, if it could be proven anywhere in the text that it is old, i.e. 8th century, of course the remaining text must be of the same age. Indeed, Blum presents such a test case for the historicity of Hos 12: According to Blum the litmus test for each interpretation of Hos 12 is the analysis of the apparently incoherent statements on Gilead in V 12 and Jacob's flight to Aram in V 13.[85] Blum regards the oracle on judgment against Gilead and Gilgal as decisive. According to him the perfect forms of V 12 present the fulfilment of the proclamation of judgment in V 10. Thus the text would show that the judgment proclaimed to Ephraim in V 10 has already been realized for Gilead.[86]

Following this line of thought Blum regards the text as fitting exactly to only one specific historical situation of Hosea's addressees which would be the last century of the

[81] Vielhauer, Werden, 228.

[82] On the literary and theological development of the Egypt-exodus topic in the growing book of Hosea see Kratz, Erkenntnis.

[83] Cf. Marti's much-quoted dictum that Hos 12 is among the most difficult parts of Hosea: "Cap. 12 gehört zu den schwierigsten Abschnitten des Buches Hosea" (Marti, KHC XIII, 91).

[84] The works by Nissinen (Prophetie); Kratz (Erkenntnis); Vielhauer (Werden), Rudnig-Zelt (Hoseastudien) which plausibly trace the lines of theologizing and reflecting on the Hosea material lead the path. Pace Jeremias's model of Hosea's disciples as a cloud of witnesses who arrange independent authentic, Hoseanic oracles that neatly fit together like a jigsaw puzzle. On the criticism of Jeremias's (ATD 24,1, 149-158) approach cf. Schott, Jakobpassagen, 5. On the problem of the model of a circle of prophetic disciples see Marti, Problem.

[85] Blum, Hosea, 306: „Die Nagelprobe für jede Interpretation von Hos 12* bietet freilich die [von Blum im Anschluss an de Pury in V 12-14 ermittelte] dritte Strophe mit den scheinbar zusammenhanglosen Aussagen über Gilead (V. 12) und über Jakobs Flucht nach Aram (V. 13)." Mainly following de Pury, Osée, 175-207, Blum finds the third stanza of Hos 12,3-15 in V 12-14.

[86] Blum, Hosea, 306: „Das Gericht, das in der Anrede an ‚Ephraim' (V. 10) imperfektisch angekündigt wird, ist für Gilead bereits Wirklichkeit geworden!"

northern kingdom after Tiglathpileser had led military campaigns against Syria and Palestine and conquered Gilead.[87]

Thus there would be only one logical conclusion: If V 12 were old the remaining chap. 12 would have to be old as well. Though Blum can explain why Hos 12,12 also mentions Gilead but does not name the Galilee and Megiddo which were made Assyrian provinces, too, because the Jacob stories only refer to Gilead, it is quite remarkable that Blum's interpretation neglects the mentioning of Gilgal. How then does Gilgal fit to Blum's accurately fitting historic situation? The oracle on Gilgal in 12aβ is formulated in the same manner as is the oracle in Gilead in 12aα. Thus Hos 12,12 regards the sacrificing in Gilgal, which also uses the perfect, as bygone. In any case, the altars (מִזְבְּחֹת, 12b) refer to Gilgal which is evident in the wordplay גַּל – גִּלְגָּל.[88] The nominal clause indicates the actual state, i.e. that the altars are destroyed. גִּלְגָּל also occurs in Hos 4,15; 9,15. Yet, גַּל most probably does not only allude to Gilgal but also to Gilead = גִּלְעָד which is also named in Hos 6,8, especially if one thinks of the etymological aetiology of Gen 31,47.[89]

Anyway, within this context it is important that Gilead and Gilgal are mentioned in the same breath: Judgment was already fulfilled. Thus Hos 12,12 accurately fits to one historic situation of the addressees,[90] and that is the time of the downfall of the northern kingdom and the torso of Ephraim respectively, i.e. some time *after* 722/720 BCE, thus exactly the time Blum wants to exclude. If one reads Hos 12,12 in line with Blum, as fulfilment of the announcements mediated by Yahweh's prophets (cf. Hos 12,10-11) the final text of Hos 12 seems to be situated more closely to texts like 1 Kgs 17 than to the actual ending of the northern kingdom of Israel.

Blum states that in some instances Hos 12 is reminiscent of the Jacob cycle and thus one cannot conclude on the relationship to the canonic Jacob cycle.[91] Yet, Blum reckons with a literary version of the Jacob stories in the northern kingdom with a narrative structure rather similar to Genesis.[92] Given the fact that there are more than just a few reminiscences and even almost verbal similarities, Blum understates the references. It is more likely that Hos 12 at least literally draws on the Jacob cycle of Genesis.[93]

Notwithstanding that the text of Genesis is most likely presupposed by Hos 12 one has to ask in the light of the canonical texts that Blum regards as a reference point if one could still speak of an independent Jacob story of the northern kingdom. There must have been a

[87] Blum, Hosea: 307: „Damit setzt der Text passgenau eine geschichtliche Situation der Adressaten voraus, wie sie nach dem Eingreifen Tiglathpilesers III. im letzten Jahrzehnt des Nordreichs Israel, d.h. zwischen 733/32 und 722/720 v.Chr. gegeben war, und nur in dieser Zeit." Blum points to Wolff, BK XIV,1, 270.279; Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 156; Gese, Jakob, 92f; De Pury, Erwägungen, 427, who propose a similar historic setting. According to Blum, Hosea, 310-311, the contrast Aram-Egypt in V 12-13 criticises the former policy of coalition with Aram which was the beginning of Israel's disaster. It is interesting that Sweeney, Reading, 860-861.863-865.870, takes the opposite view that Hos 12 encourages Israel to abandon treaties with Assyria and to resume the coalition with Aram though he proposes a similar historical setting as does Blum.

[88] Cf. Jeremias, ATD 24,1, 156.

[89] Cf. Gen 31,21.23.25.

[90] Cf. above, p. 13 n. 87.

[91] Blum, Hosea, 313: „Auch wenn sich an einigen Stellen Wortlaut-Reminiszenzen nahelegen, besteht jedoch keine Veranlassung, daraus just einen Bezug auf die Gestaltung der Jakoberzählung abzuleiten, die Eingang in die kanonische Überlieferung der Hebräischen Bibel gefunden hat."

[92] Blum, Hosea, 313f.

[93] Thus with, e.g., Weyde, References, esp. 349; Spieckermann, Gotteskampf, 38; Pfeiffer, Heiligtum, 99; Schott, Jakobpassagen, 26; Wöhrle, Jacob, esp. 1007.

connection to Esau/Edom. This point is conceded by Blum and it cannot be denied in the light of Hos 12,4. If Jacob already has a brother Esau in Hos 12 he must have had parents whom one might call Isaac and Rebekah. This points to the south. If Hos 12,5.7 alludes to God's theophany at Bethel und the promise that Jacob will return (שׁוב) and thus at least to Gen 28,15, the story of Jacob is not only combined with Isaac but also with Abraham because the promises to Abraham in Gen 12,1-3; 13,14-17 served as a model for Gen 28,13-15.[94] By connecting the Israelite Jacob to Isaac and Abraham in the book of Genesis Israel is integrated into Judah after the end of the northern kingdom.[95] The references to the exodus presuppose the 1st commandment[96] and a view on Mose that already views him as a prophet, namely the prototypal prophet, which first appears in dtr texts (cf. Dtn 18; 34). Knowlegde of dtr concepts of god constantly sending his prophets also seems to be the background of Hos 12,11.

Thus in contrast to Blum's proposal the oracle on the destruction of Gilead points to a period after the end of the northern kingdom for the construction of Gilead is combined with the destruction of Gilgal. In contrast to Blum's proposal the many references to Gen 25-35 indicate that Hos 12 knows the text of Genesis – even beyond the scope of an independent Jacob story. Thus the combination of Jacob with his brother Esau and of blessings modelled after Abraham's blessings point at a time after end of the northern kingdom. The formulations that god spoke to Jacob (for a number of times, cf. the imperf. of דבר) and that שְׂדֵה אֲרָם could be a rendering of פַּדַן אֲרָם open up for the possibility that the reflexes on Jacob and the exodus portray a rather late, probably postexilic, stage of the pentateuchal narrative.[97]

Surely the Jacob-Laban cycle has its origin the north[98] and also the exodus tradition might come from the north. Nevertheless Hosea 12 cannot be regarded as an external evidence for an early date of a rather blown Jacob or exodus story which would have been foundation legends of the northern kingdom.[99]

[94] Thus with Soggin, Genesis, 362; Kratz, Komposition, 274; Ruppert, 177-183; .
[95] Cf. Kratz, Komposition, 267-269.274-275.319-324.
[96] Cf. Nissinen, Prophetie, 152-168, also for the implications for the date and theological background of Hos 12,10; 13,4.
[97] Thus with, e.g., Schott, Jakobpassagen, 18-26; Wöhrle, Jacob, 1007.
[98] Cf. Finkelstein/Römer, Comments.
[99] Having said this Hos 12 cannot be regarded as evidence for an early pentateuchal literary strand "E", pace Sweeney, Reading.

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Preface

The present paper is part of Chapter 5, which deals with the use of the traditions about the Exodus-wilderness and Jacob in the Book of Hosea. For the focal points in the discussion I suggest the following points:

1) Methodology – is adequate to define this as a tradition historical study? Other methods?

2) The extent of the study – is it in feasible limits?

3) The exhaustive amount of literature – how to choose the references? How to keep the number of references reasonable?

The Concept of Wilderness in the Book of Hosea and Its Relation to the Exodus Tradition

Introduction

In the Book of Hosea (hereafter, Hosea), the traditions of wilderness and Israel's Exodus from Egypt are explicitly reflected in 2:16-17; 9:10; 11:1; 12:10, 14; 13:4-5. The references are brief, and their relationship to the Exodus-wilderness tradition in the Pentateuch is still a contentious issue, since Hosea does not mention such motifs as the enslavement of the Israelites in Egypt, the plagues, the murmuring motif, the golden calf episode and the long wandering in the wilderness. This leaves open the question concerning whether the Exodus tradition in Hosea represents a variant form of the tradition, which may be earlier than the Pentateuchal tradition, or whether Hosea is dependent on the Pentateuchal tradition and only uses it freely – an issue which also closely relates to the question of the provenance of Hosea. The history of the Pentateuchal Exodus tradition is complex, and, as many ambiguities indicate, it has been composed of divergent traditions. These separate traditions consisted of memories derived from distinct groups of people, and in the Pentateuchal tradition, various themes have been introduced to the tradition at different times. One of such themes is the tradition about wilderness, and the questions concerning the origin of the tradition about the long sojourn in the wilderness and events related to it, may in fact represent the view of those to whom the whole of the Pentateuchal tradition is to be attributed. In what follows, my aim is to examine the concept of wilderness as it appears in Hosea in order to examine whether the treatment of wilderness is suggestive of a tradition that could have antedated the formation of the extant Exodus tradition in the

Pentateuch, and whether in the present form of the book, we may still find elements which can be related to earlier stages in the formation of the tradition.[1]

Wilderness in Hosea – Some General Remarks

Hosea mentions the word wilderness, מדבר, in 2:5, 16; 9:10, and 13:5, 15. Even the superficial reading of these sayings suggest that the perspective on wilderness in Hosea as a geographical place does not differ from that of the Hebrew Bible, which describes wilderness as an arid and desolate place (e.g. Jer 2:24; 9:11; 50:40; 51:43; Job 38:26), not suitable for any living thing, except as a temporary refugee of outlaws and fugitives (e.g. Gen 16:6-14; 1 Sam 22:2), and it even sees wilderness as a place with a mythical dimension (Isaiah 13:21).[2] Accordingly, wilderness in Hosea is a land of drought, ארץ ציה (2:5), and of תלאבות (13:5). The word תלאבות is a *hapax legomenon*, the exact meaning of the word is unclear. In the LXX, תלאבות has been understood as denoting "an uninhabitable land", ἐν γῇ ἀοικήτῳ; the preferred translation is "dryness, aridness", but תלאבות also have a connotation of a kind of infectious fever caused by the heat of the sun.[3] Furthermore, in Hosea, wilderness is a place from where the destructive natural phenomena of קדים, an east wind, and רוח יהוה, "the wind of YHWH", come (13:15).[4] All these strong and negative features attached to wilderness make wilderness a strong metaphor, since, typically to biblical texts, the writers take their directly from nature, or from things they encounter in everyday life.[5] As for the metaphorical meaning of the wind coming from the wilderness, Wolff, for example, sees the wind in 13:15 as an instrument of death's power, summoned by YHWH, and denoting the storm of Assyrian troops.[6] However, in Hosea there are also traces of the mythical conception of wilderness. As Ola Wikander has demonstrated, thea deep conceptual connection between death and drought which is shared between the Hebrew Bible and the Ugaritic narrative is also detectable in Hosea 13, in which the Ugaritic traditions concerning drought are fused into the Exodus tradition, and the presentation of YHWH as

[1] This paper is but a part of a longer chapter, which deals with the use of the Exodus and Jacob traditions in Hosea, and because of the length allowed for the paper, the scope of the paper restricted. All the translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.
[2] For a detailed treatment of the מדבר motif in biblical texts, see Shemaryahu Talmon, *Literary Motifs and Patterns in the Hebrew Bible* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013) 55-75.
[3] Koehler and Baumgartner, 1736-1737. See also Ola Wikander, *Drought, Death, and the Sun in Ugarit and Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014) 161-170.
[4] קדים is a drought causing wild, destroying all vegetation and causing death (cf. Gen 41: 23, 27; Exod 10:13, 14:21).
[5] Talmon, *Literary Motifs*, 56.
[6] Hans Walter Wolff,.*Hosea. A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974; transl. G. Stansell) 228. The idea that רוח יהוה might even denote some divine being associated with the divine court is interesting, for this, see Esther J. Hamori, "The Spirit of Falsehood," *CBQ* 72 (2010) 15-30.

the one who sends the destructive hot winds, demonstrates the process of appropriating the Mot imagery to YHWH, like once the characteristics of Baal and El.[7]

In addition to the sayings related to wilderness as a specific place, in 2:16-17, 9:10, and 13:4-5 wilderness is related to the history of Israel: the Exodus from Egypt (2:16-17; 13:4), finding, or election of Israel (9:10) and YHWH's care for Israel (13:5). I will start with the passage in 2:16-17.

Hosea 2:16-17

2:16-17 is a contested passage, which often has been read against a backdrop of some ideal past in the wilderness, where the relationship between the wife Israel and the husband YHWH was unbroken and harmonious.[8] The MT of 2:16-17 reads,

2:16 לכן הנה אנכי מפתיה והלכתיה המדבר ודברתי על־לבה׃
2:17 ונתתי לה את־כרמיה משם ואת־עמק עכור לפתח תקוה
וענתה שמה כימי נעוריה וכיום עלתה מארץ־מצרים׃

2:16 *Therefore, behold, I will seduce her and lead her into the wilderness and speak to her heart/reason with her.*
2:17 *And I will give her back her vineyards from there and make the Valley of Achor as a door of hope. There she will respond there as in the days of her youth, and as on the day she came up out of Egypt.*

The passage 2:16-17 appears as an oracle of a future restoration of the relationship between YHWH and the wife, of how YHWH will lead the promiscuous wife to the wilderness in order "to speak to her heart". The wife's response will be like in her youth, "as on the day she came up out of Egypt". This phrase with the Exodus formula is an explicit reference to the Exodus tradition. Hosea is using

[7] Wikander, *Drought*, 161-170. Overall, in understanding the use of mythological language in Hosea, the idea in the Baal Cycle about Baal as the provider of the rain and the fertility of the land is important. In Hosea there are many references to agricultural products, which relate to the concern of the fertility of the land; and the imagery of death and resurrection in Hosea 5-6 and 13-14 may indeed have been taken over from the imagery of the dying and rising Baal. It is the very concern for the land and its fertility that scholars have often seen as a reason for worship of Baal, as the practice of agriculture replaced the old nomadic lifestyle, which made the people more aware of the cyclic nature of the year and their dependence on it; see e.g. John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (JSOTSupp, London: Continuum, 2010) 91ff.; Day's interpretation has been questioned by Mark S.Smith, who suggests that the concept of Baal as a "dying and rising god" may not be correct, but Baal is rather a "disappearing god", a term which characterizes various storm-gods in general. Smith maintains that ritual information in the Ugaritic texts shows clear correspondences with language and imagery associated with Baal's death in the Baal Cycle, which demonstrates not a ritual background to Baal's death and return to life in the cycle, but a literary borrowing of such language from the cult of deceased kings and ancestors; for this, see Mark S. Smith, "The Death of "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Biblical world: An Update, with Special Reference to Baal in the Baal cycle", *SJOT* 12 (1998) 257-313.

[8] As John W. Flight in his article from early 1920's says: "*When the prophets sought for a standard whereby to gauge the apostasy of the nation, they found it in the pure and simple life and religion of the fathers. In the eyes of the prophets the time before the immigration into Canaan was the age of Israel's love to Yahweh, and the entrance into the cultivated land was the beginning of corruption"* in John W. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament," *JBL* 42 (1923) 158-226.

the so called העלה formula; the other Exodus formula in the Hebrew Bible uses the verb הוציא. The conceptual distinction between the formulas concern their connection with the wilderness: the העלה formula has an immediate connection with the coming to the land, and no prior wandering in the wilderness is indicated, whereas the formula using the verb הוציא expresses a strict liberation from slavery.[9] According to J. Wijngaard, the הוציא formula is later than the העלה formula, which can be found especially in early prophetic texts. The formula belongs to the confessional language, used in cultic proclamations, and therefore, as Wijngaard concludes, it likely originates from the cult at Bethel.[10] An interesting point is that in the post-exilic text in Neh 9:18, the העלה formula reiterated in connection with the critique of the golden calf, which, according to Wijngaards, suggests that the formula was intentionally avoided in later texts because of its connection with the northern cult.[11] Wijngaards's suggestion is attractive, but largely depended on how one dates the texts in question: Roy E. Garton, for example, points to Amos 2:9-11; 3:1; 5:25, and 9:7, in which the העלה formula occurs, but which often have been considered as Deuteronomistic additions.[12] However, what is puzzling in 2:16-17 is the direction: the wife is led from the land into the wilderness, which makes one doubt that the question is not about the wilderness tradition known in the Pentateuch. But, before any attempt to answer to this question can be made, a closer look at the passage is in order.

The entire chapter of Hosea 2 shows several contradictions with respect to content. 2:1-3 brings an abrupt change to the judgmental tone in Hosea 1; and even in its present position, the passage appears to be a separate saying and out of place.[13] The rest of the chapter, 2:4-25, starts with an exhortation addressed to the children to contend (ריב) with their mother; this is followed by a series of threats imposed on the wife in 2:5, 12.[14] 2:16ff. brings a sudden change of tone when theme of restorations

[9] J. Wijngaards "הוציא and העלה A Two-fold Approach to Exodus," *VT* 15 (1965) 91-102.
[10] According to Wijngaards (1965), the הוציא formula predominates the Hebrew Bible, and occurs in the legislative texts, and it is absent from the early prophets Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah. The הוציא formula is related to the liberation from slavery, which can be deduced from the frequent additions to it, such as in Exodus 6:6 ("*I will bring you out from under the yoke of the Egyptians*"). The העלה formula for its part has an immediate connection with the coming to the land, sometimes with addition "to this land"; cf. Exodus 3:8.
[11] Wijngaards (1965) 100.
[12]Roy E. Garton points, however, to Amos 2:9-11; 3:1; 5:25, and 9:7, in which the העלה formula occurs, that they are often considered as Deuteronomistic additions; see Roy E. Garton, "Rattling the Bones of the Twelve: Wilderness Reflections in the Formation of the Book of the Twelve." In Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle (eds.) *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012) 237-252; 248.
[13] Commentators have suggested an alternative place for the chapter, usually at the end of Hosea 1; so e.g. Wolff, *Hosea*, 26. Wolff ascribes the present position of 2:1-3 to an editor, who intentionally placed it in its present position after the words of doom, "*to exhibit immediately the entire range of tension in the prophet's message*." See also Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 36-37, who sees several affinities with 2:1-3 and 1:1-9. As for a comprehensive analysis of Hosea 2 as a whole, see Brad E. Kelle, *Hosea 2. Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective* (Atlanta: SBLAcBib, 20; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005). In my study, the passage in 2:1-3 has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2.
[14] According to a well-established scholarly view, Hosea 2 with its highly metaphorical language is an attack against the religious apostasy in the 8th century Israel, and against the people's participation in fertility rites associated with Baal worship, so e.g. Wolff, *Hosea*, 35; however, in some studies, a socio-historical interpretation has also taken root; e.g.

starts. No reason for the reversal of the threat of an imminent punishment is indicated. Most scholars have read the metaphorical wife in Hosea 2 as representing Israel and the people's apostasy and participating in fertility rites associated with the worship of Baal, since out of the six explicit references to "baal" or "baals", בעל or בעלים, in Hosea, four are located in Hosea 2. However, other meanings of בעל, like referring to Israel's political allies, must also be considered.[15]

In many redactional studies, scholars have ended up in attributing 2:16-17 to exilic or postexilic redaction. The reason for that is the concept of hope embedded in the typological understanding of the Exodus.[16] Gale A. Yee, for example, ascribes 2:16-17 to an exilic editor, who intentionally extended the received tradition about the chastisement of the wife with the hope of return to the land; the redactor's purpose was to vision the future return of Israel from the Babylonian exile as a new exodus, new covenant and new settlement in the land.[17] Emmerson, contrary to Yee, sees 2:16-17 as expressing a significant feature of the historical prophet's theology, in which the role of YHWH as the initiator of the restoration is fundamental, and therefore the repair of the broken relationship does not depend on Israel's repentance but YHWH's love.[18] According to Emmerson, the prophet draws on traditions which regards the deliverance from Egypt as beginning of the relationship between Israel and YHWH, and in which the wilderness period is characterized by faithful devotion.[19] It is noteworthy that both Yee and Emmerson, like many other scholars as well, regardless to how they date the passage, read 2:16-17 merely as a positive statement concerning the wilderness. This may not, however, be the case. What actually happens in the wilderness?

Gale A. Yee, "She is not My Wife and I am not Her Husband": A Materialist Analysis of Hosea 1-2", *Biblical Interpretation* 9 (2001) 345-383. The issues related to cult are discussed in Chapter 3 in my study.

[15] I have treated this issue in Chapter 3. In this chapter, I discuss the ambiguous references to Baal(s) in Hosea; and point to in a process of convergence, in which Baal traits were appropriated for YHWH, and led to the confusion concerning the proper identity of YHWH.

[16] The origin of the concept of hope in Hosea has been an open question. It seems to be that the nature of the hope expressed in Hosea has not yet been thoroughly discussed. For me the reason to assume that hope indeed is part of the prophetic tradition, builds on what Rolf P. Knierim, *The Task of Old Testament Theology. Substance, Method, and Cases* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 253, says that hope in the Old Testament "*depends on future fulfillment, but its rationale is grounded in past experience*", and therefore, "*hope is realistic and not irrational*," and "*the knowledge of the cyclic natural reality could both offer a rationale for hope and motivate for hope*." These all are issues that need to be taken into consideration when exploring the concept of hope in Hosea.

[17] Emmerson, *Hosea*, 23.

[18] Grace I. Emmerson, *Hosea: An Israelite Prophet in Judaean Perspective* (JSOTSup, 28; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984) 22ff. Also Russell dates Hosea 2:16-17 as well as 7:11, 16; 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:1, 5, 11; 12:2, 10, 14, and 13:4 which all mention Egypt as going back to the 8th century BCE; see Stephen C. Russell, *Images of Egypt in Early Biblical Literature Cisjordan-Israelite, Transjordan-Israelite, and Judahite Portrayals* (BZAW, 403; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009) 56.

[19] Emmerson, *Hosea*, 21ff.

The v. 16 begins with לכן, which often is the first word in a judgment oracle and in a transition from the proof of guilt to the threat of punishment.[20] So, one expects an enforcement of a punishment. But, especially after the accusation of forgetting the husband (v. 15) the word לכן, "therefore", is not logical. The wife will be "seduced" by YHWH; this is one the meanings of מפתיה, the *piel* participle of פתח, usually translated as "to persuade, entice, seduce".[21] In 2:16-17, the verb occurs also in the phrase פתח תקוה, "an opening, or doorway, of hope", which points to the meaning of the verb in *qal*, "to be open", thus in *piel*, "to open".[22] The LXX translates the verb as πλανῶ, "deceive", and this meaning of פתח can be found also in 7:11, which, when pointing to Ephraim's vacillating foreign politics, states that ויהי אפרים כיונה פותה אין לב, "Ephraim is like a dove, easily deceived, without sense". A tone of deception is also embedded in "seducing", and thus it is probably the most appropriate translation to transmit the sexual tone in the verse. The expression דבר על לב, "speak to one's heart" is often associated with a language of courting and love[23], but despite the wide acceptance of this reading, it may not cover the full range of meanings conveyed by the phrase. Firstly, in ancient Israel, לב was not so much understood as a location of romantic feelings, but rather as a person's inner self, reason, will, and intention.[24] Thus, 2:16 is not (merely?) dealing with courting but it probably has more to do with reasoning with the wife, in other words, addressing her intellect with the intent to change preexisting thoughts, beliefs, and intentions, "explain the consequences".[25] Secondly, it is striking, that the phrase דבר על לב often occurs in texts which deal with sexual violence; common to all these texts is that the speaker is always a man or the deity conceived as a male, the addressee is often either a woman or the feminized nation, each situation involves a large asymmetry of power with a powerful speaker and a powerless hearer, and in every case, the person who is addressed has been or is about to be the victim of humiliation.[26] This, no doubt, applies to Hosea, too: the speaker

[20] Wolff, *Hosea*, 35ff. According to Yee, *Composition and Tradition*, 81-84, the final redactor uses the three instances of לכן to refashion the tradition at his disposal (2:8-9; 2:11-15; 2:16-17). Undoubtedly, the use of לכן gives the chapter its present literary coherence.

[21] Koehler and Baumgartner, 985.

[22] For the verb פתח, see Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon (http://www.tyndalearchive.com/tabs/Gesenius/)

[23] Wolff, *Hosea*, 42; Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 272; Macintosh, *Commentary on Hosea*, 69. So Wolff, for example, translates "*Therefore I myself will now allure her. I will bring her into the wilderness and woo her heart*", in Wolff, *Hosea*, 31, and Macintosh, *Commentary on Hosea*, 69, has "*Accordingly I shall woo her myself and lead her to the desert and comfort her*".

[24] Koehler and Baumgartner, 513-515; and the references therein. Leeb has in her anthropologically informed study examined the meaning of לב in its ancient social context. Macintosh, *Commentary on Hosea*, 69;. ;

[25] Carolyn Leeb, "Translating the Hebrew Body to English Metaphor." In Dietmar Neufeld (ed.) *The Social Sciences and Biblical Translation* (SBL Symposium Series 41; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007) 109-125.Leeb (2007) 124. In fact, this understanding of the situation depicted in Hosea is not new; Macintosh, *Commentary on Hosea*, 69, refers to ibn Ezra, according to whom, the meaning of the punishment is to bring the wife to the point where she is amenable to reason; Kelle, *Hosea* 2, 270-271, for his part, refers to some Elephantine "Documents of Wifehood", in which the phrase דבר על לב is related to the man's attempts to persuade the woman to a certain kind of relationship.

[26] Leeb (2007) 114. The passages that were studied were Gen 34:3 (Shechem and Dinah); Gen 50:21 (Joseph and his brothers); Judges 19:3 (Levite and his concubine); 2 Sam 19:8 (David and his troops); Hosea 12:16 (YHWH and Israel); Isaiah 40:2 (YHWH's agent and Jerusalem); Ruth 2:13 (Boaz and Ruth); 2 Chron 30:22 (Hezekiah and Levites); 2 Chron

is the metaphorical husband, YHWH; the addressee is the metaphorical wife, Israel, who is about to became a victim of a dishonor of a sexual nature as she is threatened to be stripped off her clothes to be naked as on the day she was born (2:5), and her nakedness will be exposed (2:12). The wife's response is referred to by the verb ענה, which can be translated in various ways: "to reply, answer", and in legal actions, "to testify", so in 5:5 and 7:10; it has also been translated as "to follow willingly", and "to sing".[27] Out of all these possibilities, "respond" seems to fit best, because it leaves the exact nature of the response open. It is possible, however, that the response is sexual, since, as Beth Glazier-McDonald points out, whereas the *piel* of ענה can be taken as referring to rape, the *qal* of the verb ענה may express sexual intercourse by mutual consent, and Glazier-McDonald concludes that in 2:16-17 there is clearly a case of seducing a woman.[28] Overall, the sexual language in Hosea reminds of Ezekiel 16 and 23, in which the treatment of the wife Jerusalem is similarly depicted as a sexual humiliation. But, in contrast to Ezekiel 16 and 23, in which the city of Jerusalem is personified as YHWH's wife, in Hosea there are no explicit indications of the wife's identity. The metaphorical wife has been considered to stand for the people of Israel, the land, the matriarch Rachel, or the city of Samaria.[29] Be this as it may, it is the marriage imagery from which the sexually colored language stems.[30]

As for the interpretation of 2:16-17, its sexual overtone points to the intimate relationship between YHWH and his "wife" Israel in the wilderness. Wilderness functions as the opposite to the cultivated land, but only thinking themselves in the wife's position in the wilderness, a place of drought and death, the audience could have understood that all that was needed for survival was provided by YHWH. The asymmetry in their relationship is described by means of a metaphor of marriage, the

32:6 (Hezekian and his military officers). One may wonder why this would be the case in the narrative of Boaz and Ruth; so concerning this, Leeb says that "*The "idyllic" nature of Ruth's tale is not a story of sexual assault, but rather of being forced by circumstances to barter her attractiveness and sexuality in exchange for the means of survival for herself and her mother-in-law,"* 119.

[27] Koehler and Baumgartner, 853-854; for the different roots attested to the verb, see also Lienhard Delekat, "Zum Hebräischen Wörterbuch," *VT* 14 (1964) 7-66, esp. 37ff. The meaning "to answer, respond" is used by most commentators; with indication of a kind of subordination, so Macintosh, *Hosea*, 71-73, "*she will be wholly attentive*", or in Wolff, *Hosea*, 31, 43, "*she shall willingly follow*", which is follow here. Michael V. Fox, "Jeremiah 2:2 and 'Desert Ideal'," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 441-150, remarks that the verb does not indicate obedience in a general way but always indicates a specific response; Fox translates "*sing*", denoting singing in the sense of joyful festal singing, perhaps associated with the harvest, 449. Beth Glazier-McDonald, "Malachi 2:12. *'ēr wĕ'ōneh* – Another Look," *JBL* 105 (1986) 295-298 suggests that Malachi is opposing the syncretism that have entered the YHWH cult through intermarriage, and that thus the sexual connotation of ענה refers to fertility rites.

[28] Glazier-McDonald (1986) 296.

[29] For a summary of the discussion on the identity of the wife in Hosea 2, see Kelle, *Hosea* 2, 82ff. According to John J. Scmitt, "The Gender of Ancient Israel," *JSOT* 26 (1983) 115-125, 2:17 does not need to refer to all Israel, for according to Ezekiel both the cities of Jerusalem and Samaria were in Egypt in their youth, 120.

[30] The amount of studies on the use of the marriage metaphor in Hosea is exhaustive, and I here confine myself only to some aspects in it.

source of which was in ideologies of exclusivity and inequity that were imbedded in the social and material practices of marriage in ancient Israel.[31] The threat of the wife's dishonor in 2:16-17 stems from the particular feature that asymmetric relationships were related to honor and shame, and that the suzerain's honor was dependent on the inferior: the dishonor of the wife dishonored the husband. In the sphere of religion, YHWH's worshippers were obliged to honor him through appropriate cultic rites, just as a vassal honors the human suzerain with expected demonstrations of servitude and covenant loyalty; in other words, a public demonstration of the loyalty was needed.[32] A patron-client relationship, which makes up a more immediate social metaphor than political interactions between kings, involves client's access to things like protection, honor, and material benefits.[33] But there is more. As Raymond T. Hobbs further notes, the patron gains honor through the widespread knowledge that he can sustain a large body of clients or retainers through his "generosity," and the clients gain honor by being associated with such a figure - the breaking of this bond by one or the other results in shaming the opposite partner.[34] Applied to Hosea, it is clear that the wife Israel behaved in a manner which brought shame to her patron-God YHWH by publicly going after her lovers; that is to say, Israel dishonored YHWH by worshiping Baal and relying on foreign nations instead of YHWH. This is why she is taken into the wilderness - for coming to her senses, and to be deprived of all things that she thought she can obtain from others than YHWH. Wilderness is nothing but drought and death. But, in an asymmetric relationship, it is the loving party who is hierarchically superior, since, as Susanne Ackerman has pointed out, the concept of interpersonal love in biblical texts is peculiarly one-sided: no woman is said to love a man, and no child is described to love his or her parents.[35] This, according to Ackerman, makes it easy for the biblical authors to move between politically-based and interpersonally-based images of YHWH, as in Hosea.[36] In my opinion, this adds to our understanding of the tradition on Hosea: in an asymmetrical relationship with YHWH, Israel was supposed to demonstrate her love by being loyal and obedient, and when doing so, it brought shame on her, and the shame was wilderness, in other words, exile.[37]

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[31] Gale A. Yee, "She is not My Wife and I am not Her Husband": A Materialist Analysis of Hosea 1-2", *Biblical Interpretation* 9 (2001) 345-383.
[32] Saul M. Olyan, "Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations in Ancient Israel and its Environment," *JBL* 115 (1996) 201-218.
[33] Raymond T. Hobbs, "Reflections on Honor, Shame, and Covenant Relations," *JBL* 116 (1997) 501-520
[34] Hobbs (1997).
[35] Susan Ackerman, "The Personal is Political: Covenantal and Affectionate Love (ʾāhēb, ʾahăbâ) in the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 52 (2002) 437-458
[36] Ackerman (2002) 447-448.
[37] As Hobbs (1997) 503, notes, the "shame" of Israel/Judah was in exile, which is also widely acknowledged by the nations who mock the exiles (1 Kgs 9:7; Ps 44:13; 79:4; 137:7-8; Jer 24:9; Ezek 5:15; Mic 2:4), is a result of their Patron par excellence, YHWH, not being able to sustain his clients, and this was what led in turn to the creative theological activity of the exilic and postexilic prophets.

In conclusion, my suggestion is that the saying in 2:16-17 cannot be as such attributed to the prophetic material, but it comes from the exilic redaction. The wilderness here functions as a metaphor for exile, and it has no connection to the wilderness wandering tradition in the Pentateuch; the use of the Exodus formula may simply be a quotation. Yet, it is possible that 2:16-17 contains elements which antedate the compilation of the Pentateuchal tradition, since no reference to wandering in the wilderness is indicated. The purpose of the wilderness wandering tradition, which is unknown in Hosea, was different. According to Laura Feldt, "at some point the purpose of the wilderness tradition was to give hope in the post-exilic situation for those returning in the land from the wilderness of nations. The meaning of the wilderness narratives of Exodus and Numbers reflect that YHWH is the donor of crops and offspring, and also that YHWH is a mobile deity who may be worshipped elsewhere than in the land."[38] For Hosea, the first lesson was obvious, the latter lesson was not known.

Hosea 9:10

9:10 looks back on the delight in the first encounter of YHWH with Israel:

9:10כענבים במדבר מצאתי ישׂראל
כבכורה בתאנה בראשׁיתה ראיתי אבותיכם
המה באו בעל־פעור וינזרו לבשׁת
ויהיו שׁקוצים כאהבם׃

9:10 *Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel, like early figs on a fig tree at its beginning I saw your fathers.*
They came to Baal Peor and consecrated themselves to shame and their detestable objects according to their loving.

In 9:10, the wilderness is used metaphorically. The verb מצא does not mean merely finding, but rather to "find or meet accidentally", so there is a sense of suddenness and surprise.[39] This is expressed by the means of a metaphor "like grapes in the wilderness". As Göran Eidevall points out, this contradiction in terms denotes something which is impossible, beyond human understanding of things.[40] Although "grapes" and "figs" may also stand for desirable acts and attitudes,[41] this is not the

[38] Laura Feldt, "Wilderness and Hebrew Bible Religion - fertility, apostasy and religious transformation in the Pentateuch." In Laura Feldt (ed.) *Wilderness in Mythology and Religion Approaching Religious Spatialities, Cosmologies, and Ideas of Wild Nature* (Berlin: deGruyter, 2012) 55-94.
[39] Koehler and Baumgartner, 619
[40] Göran Eidevall, *Grapes in the Desert. Metaphors, Models, and Themes in Hosea 4-14* (ConBOT 43; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell, 1996) 149-150; see also Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 199-200, who refers to Jeremiah 24.
[41] Eidevall, *Grapes*, 150-151; as parallels to the metaphor in Hosea, Eidevall points to Isaiah 5:1-7 and Micah 7:1. Eidevall also refers to the Hittite Telepinus Myth, in which the attitude of faithfulness toward the divine king is likened to the sweet contents of figs, olives, and grapes.

case here, since nothing in the attitudes of the people is indicates as being the reason for their becoming found. The point made by Ehud Ben Zvi is noteworthy: the word בכורה evokes a sense of "firstborn, בכור, which points to Israel's position in the face of YHWH.[42] In Exodus 4:22 Israel is called בני בכרי ישראל, YHWH's firstborn son; the same idea appears also in Hosea 11:1: "out of Egypt I called my son". In 9:10, the name Israel is used, although elsewhere in Hosea 9 the designation is Ephraim, which in Hosea appears to be the preferred term for the kingdom of Israel, and thus the names can be interchangeable. As I have previously discussed in Chapter 2, some scholars have suggested that the name Ephraim became in use after the fall of Israel in 722 merely because Israel became to denote the people of YHWH, i.e. Judah, and "Ephraim" then denoted the rest in the north.[43] I rather agree with Fleming that the need for an alternative designation to Israel goes back to the time of the division between Israel and Judah in the reign of Rehoboam when both could have claimed the name Israel, and as for alternative names, both kingdoms then took designations – Ephraim and Judah, respectively - which were related to regional identity and unrelated to rulers or their capitals.[44] So, the use of Israel in 9:10 remains obscure, unless the reference is not to Jacob, and in that case, the father would denote the descendants of Jacob, the tribes of Israel. The next question then would be who are "they" in 9:10 – the mention of the Baal Peor, if taken as a reference to the tradition preserved in Num 25:1-5, contradicts the idea that they would have been the tribes.

In 9:10, Baal Peor denotes a geographical location, but it can be understood as referring to a local manifestation of Baal, supported by many similar names in the Hebrew Bible; in this case it would be the Baal of the Mount Peor. 9:10 states that they "consecrated themselves to shame"; underlying the meaning of נזר is an act of self-denial, "to separate oneself", also "consecrate oneself to a deity".[45] The word "shame", בשׁת, functions as a replacement for Baal; the avoidance of using בעל appears also in some theophoric names, in which the element בעל has been deliberately changed to בשׁת; e.g. 1 Chron 8:33-34. Worshiping Baal made them שׁקוצים כאהבם. The expression is difficult to translate; in the MT, כאהבם is vocalized as an infinitive with plural 3rd person suffix; "according to their loving", but some commentators read it as a suffixed noun; so Macintosh, for example, translates "like the object of their desire".[46] שׁקוץ denotes "an object to abhor", which in cultic contexts refers to images

[42] Ben Zvi, *Hosea*, 200.
[43] Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, *Hoseastudien. Redaktionskritische Untersuchungen zur Genese des Hoseabuches* (FRLANT, 213; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006) 53.
[44] Daniel E. Fleming, *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible. History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 298-300.
[45] Koehler and Baumgartner, 684.
[46] Macintosh, *Commentary on Hosea*, 361.

and symbols of pagan deities.[47] The concern in 9:10b is the worship of Baal, which does not seem to an issue elsewhere in Hosea 9. Therefore, we may ask if the reference to Baal Peor can be attributed to a later redaction of the prophetic material. This is possible also because the Baal Peor incidence in Num 25:1-5 can be late; Joseph Blenkinsopp, for example, dates the episode in Numbers 25:1-5 to the Persian period, and relates the present form of the tradition to the prohibition of intermarriage.[48] The ancient tradition connected to Baal Peor could have been different, and in Hosea 9:10b, the reference may be to this unknown tradition or alternatively, v. 10b is attributable to later redaction of the prophetic material.

As for the reference to the finding of the fathers, it may refer to a discovery tradition known already in the 8th century prophetic tradition. According to Deut 32:10, Israel was found in the wilderness, ימצאהו בארץ מדבר ובתהו ילל ישמן, and this may represent the election tradition which is reflected in Hosea. As Stephen C. Russell points out, in pre-exilic Israel and Judah, regional communities, i.e. Cisjordanian and Transjordanian Israelites, and Judahites, varied in their conception and commemoration of the Exodus and Egypt; they all remembered Egypt and defined themselves in relation to it, but not in precisely the same way.[49] Probably in some version of the tradition in the north, a journey eastward to the wilderness and Transjordan before the entry into the land was omitted.[50]

[47] Koehler and Baumgartner, 1640.

[48] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Baal Peor Episode Revisited (Num 25:1-18)," *Biblica* 93 (2012) 86-97, points also to Exod 34:15-16; Deut 7:3-4, and Mal 2:11. Blenkinsopp also refers to an interesting feature regarding the relationship between the Israelites and the Midianites. The Baal Peor expresses the change in attitude towards the Midianites: Israelites and Midianites used to have a close kinship which later came to be repudiated. Moses, together with Miriam and Aaron, belonged to the first wilderness generation during which the Midianite connection would have been accepted but for the Aaronid author of the Baal Peor episode in its final form, however, the Midianite connection had to be repudiated before entry into the land. The earlier version of the episode could have been a "covenant of kinship" between Israelites and Midianites resident in Moab, sealed by marriage between high-status individuals from each of these lineages; in the present form, it displays the attitude to intermarriage of the Aaronid priesthood during the mid- to-late-Achaemenid period.

[49] Russell, *Images*, 2. According to Russell, texts that reflect traditions dating from the 8th century BCE or earlier include the golden calf stories in 1 Kings 12:25-33, Exodus 32, Hosea, Amos, the Balaam Oracles in Num 23:18-24; 24:3-9; and the Song of the Sea in Exod 15:1b-18; and classifying these texts produces a picture of the different memories of Egypt and the exodus.

[50] Russell, *Images*, 50.

Preface

The Focal Points of Discussion

1. The evaluation of the eleven suggested agreements (Ulrich) between 4QSam^{c} and the Lucianic MSS.
    - Opinions about the classification of the agreements.
2. Opinions about text-critical principles practiced in the analysis – additions or corrections?
    - The comparison of recensions or MSS, readings, syntax, semantics, lexical etc.

Discovering Proto-Lucianic Readings in 4QSam^{c} – Wishful Thinking or Not?

Introduction

The textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint are often separated into two different disciplines. The Septuagint (LXX) however is an important witness when constructing the textual history of the Hebrew Bible (HB). The textual history of the LXX or the Greek Old Testament is also complex. The LXX is generally divided into three recensions: Hexaplaric, Kaige and Lucianic.

In a recent research, a primary question regarding the Lucianic recension concerns so-called proto-Lucianic readings. A proto-Lucianic reading is frequently interpreted as preserving the Old Greek reading (OG) that is the original text of the LXX. A determination of a proto-Lucianic reading needs however additional witnesses. Several attempts have been made to identify proto-Lucianic readings by comparing Lucianic MSS and the pre-Lucianic witnesses such as Patristic quotations and Qumran MSS. This paper aims to evaluate suggested agreements between Lucianic MSS and Qumran MSS 4QSam^{c}.

The Lucianic Recension and Its Characteristics

The Lucianic (or Antiochian) recension is dated to around 300 CE. The recension bears the name of Lucian of Antioch (c. 250 – c. 312). Although the relationship between historical Lucian and the textual recension itself is uncertain, the latter is associated to the Antiochian churches at that time. The Lucianic recension is particularly attested in the historical books Samuel-Kings. This consists following MSS: 19 82 93 108 127. They construct the text group *L*, which is divided into two sub-groups: 19 and 108 (19′) and 82, 93 and 127 ($L^{-19'}$).

It is widely accepted that the Lucianic recension includes two textual layers. The later one is a recensional layer produced by the Lucianic reviser in the turn of fourth century. The earlier layer is the proto-Lucianic text, the substratum text under recensional elements. The recensional layer needs to be removed in order to investigate the proto-Lucianic text. This requires an identification of several textual characteristics practiced by the Lucianic reviser. These are both lexical and syntactical but all focus on one principle: The Lucianic reviser aimed to better Greek.

1. A number of explanatory words, synonyms, conjunctions, proper names, personal pronouns or even short sentences are added in order to clarify a text. An unsaid but obvious meaning is complemented explicitly.
2. A text is influenced by Atticism: Koine forms are exchanged with literary Attic Greek.

3. The reviser produced many double or conflate reading. He preserves the LXX reading but added the same Hebrew word.
4. The Lucianic recension is occasionally influenced by the Hexaplaric material, especially Symmachus (the fourth column of the Hexapla). This phenomenon explains some double or kaige readings.[1]

The 2 Samuel is divided into two sections: the non-*kaige* section (chapters 1–9/10) and the *kaige*-section (10/11–24). 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.[2] These so-called *kaige* readings are preserved especially in the *kaige*-section. The Lucianic recension however is often described as untouched by the *kaige*. The *kaige* readings are thus attested in the B-text, whereas the *L*-text preserves the OG readings, especially in the *kaige*-section. The passage of 2 Samuel in 4QSam^{c} locates in the *kaige*-section and therefore the suggested agreements between 4QSam^{c} and *L* are seen as indications and evidences of the theory of Barthélemy.[3]

An Overview of Manuscript 4QSam^{c}

4QSam^{c} is dated around 75-100 BCE. It contains one long passage of 2 Samuel (14:7-15:15) presented in three columns and one fragment of 1 Samuel (25:30-32). It is a product of the same scribe who copied *the Rule of the Community* (1QS) and *the Testimonia* (4Q175). According Eugene Ulrich in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (the DJD) and the article *A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14-15 from the Scribe of the Serek Hay-yaḥad (1QS)"* there are forty variants between 4QSam^{c} and the Masoretic text (MT), of which seven are reconstructed. He argues that 4QSam^{c} preserves a superior reading in twenty-one instances and the MT in fifteen instances. In four instances a decision is difficult.[4]

In all instances where 4QSam^{c} is decided to preserve a superior reading, the LXX agrees with the reading in 4QSam^{c}. The majority of the LXX MSS (=Maj.[5]) agrees with the MT in twenty-one instances, with 4QSam^{c} in six instances, and stand alone in three instances. However, the OG as offered by Ulrich is preserved in the minority of the LXX MSS (=Min.) particularly in *L*. In these instances the suggested OG agrees with the MT in seven instances, with 4QSam^{c} in eleven instances, and stands alone twice. In ten instances the determination of the OG is difficult. When *L* disagrees with Maj., according Ulrich, it

[1] e. g. B. M. Metzger, Chapters in the history of New Testament Textual Criticism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), 24-27; J. M. Dines, The Septuagint (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 104; T. Kauhanen, The Proto-Lucianic Problem in 1 Samuel (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 28-29.
[2] D. Barthélemy, Les Devanciers d´Aquila (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963).
[3] F. M. Cross et al., Qumran Cave 4.XII: 1-2 Samuel (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 253-254.
[4] E. C. Ulrich, "4 QSam^{c}: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14-15 from the Scribe of the Serek Hay-yaḥad (1QS)", *BASOR* 235 (1979): 1, 17-21; DJD XVII, 247-248, 253.
[5] There are about 60 MSS, which contains a text of 2 Samuel in the LXX.

never agrees with the MT against 4QSam^{c}. The eleven instances, when *L* (The OG?) agrees with 4QSam^{c}, are the most important material to be evaluated in this study.[6]

The Hebrew MSS	Superior Readings	Maj.	*L*
4QSam^{c}	21	6	11
The MT	15	21	7
	Unclassified: 4	Unclassified: 3	Independent: 2 Unclassified: 10
Total readings	40	30[7]	30

The Classification of Textual Agreements

In order to evaluate the eleven suggested agreements between 4QSam^{c} and *L* this study adapts the classification of agreements presented in *The Proto-Lucianic Problem in 1 Samuel* by Kauhanen.[8]

1. Apparent agreement: The correspondence between two readings depends only linguistics and contextual factors. For example, the L-reading καλέω in 2 Sam 15:2 corresponds better to its Hebrew equivalent קָרָא than the B-reading βοάω. The Hebrew reading however may still reflect the B-reading.
2. Coincidental agreement: Two readings are identical but their origin is different. For example, as a consequence of the Lucianic reviser or inner-Hebrew or Greek changes a reading may become unintentionally identical with 4QSam^{c}.
3. Indisputable agreement: Two corresponding readings have a common origin.

The texts and lemmas are presented from the BHS and the critical edition of the LXX (Rahlfs). These are followed by variants of 4QSam^{c} and MSS of the LXX. The Old Latin is also offered if available. The suggested agreements are located in short textual units such as individual words, particles and conjunctions.

[6] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 21-23; DJD XVII, 254.
[7] The difference of ten readings between the Hebrew MSS and Maj. / *L* is a consequence of the text in the LXX. It reflects the divergences between 4QSam^{c} and the MT only in thirty readings.
[8] Kauhanen, *The Proto-Lucianic*, 28-29.

The Suggested Agreements between 4QSam^{c} and the Lucianic manuscripts

2. Sam. 14:7 (I, 1)

וְכִבּוּ אֶת־גַּחַלְתִּי אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרָה לְבִלְתִּי שׂוּם־[שִׁים]־לְאִישִׁי שֵׁם וּשְׁאֵרִית עַל־פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה: פ

וְכִבּוּ אֶת־גַּחַלְתִּי אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁאָרָה] ה֗[ש]אֹרתי / [הגחלת אשר] 4QSam^{c}

καὶ σβέσουσιν τὸν ἄνθρακά μου τὸν καταλειφθέντα ὥστε μὴ θέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί μου κατάλειμμα καὶ ὄνομα ἐπὶ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.

σβέσουσιν – καταλειφθέντα] *σβεσθησεται ο σπινθρ ο υπολελειμμενος μοι L* 554^{mg} | *ἄνθρακά*] *σπινθρα* 55 | om *μου* 527

Et extinguatur titio La^{93}

The woman from Takoa speaks to the king that her only son is like a charcoal that she has left. According the DJD *μοι* in *L* represents ה֗[ש]אֹרתי in 4QSam^{c} both in first person. In Maj. the first person appears earlier with "charcoal" (*τὸν ἄνθρακά μου*), likewise in the MT (גַּחַלְתִּי). The MT uses נִשְׁאָרָה with *nifal* and in third person, whereas the DJD reconstruct the verb שאר (to remain) with *hiphil* (which I had remaining). The reconstructed *he* might be *nun* and therefore the reading in 4QSam^{c} may also be *niphal* (which is my remaining one). The first person however is visible in 4QSam^{c} and corresponds to *L* against third person in the MT and Maj.[9]

According Ulrich the reading in 4QSam^{c} is probably superior to the MT and was the basis for the OG and the Peshitta translation.[10] The reading in *L* however may be a result of other reasons. Perhaps the Lucianic reviser moved *μοι* after *υπολελειμμενος* for stylistic reasons. In addition, if the reading in *L* is interpreted as the OG, usually more MSS witnesses are expected. MSS 554 preserves regularly Lucianic readings as the later witness. Because of the previous remarks the suggested agreement is probably apparent.

The reading *σβεσθησεται ο σπινθρ* in *L* corresponds to *Et extinguatur titio* in La^{93}. Their mutual passive form, third singular person plus following nominative construction are against *σβέσουσιν* (active; third person plural) in Maj. and וְכִבּוּ (piel; third person plural) in the MT. This reading is not visible in 4QSam^{c}. The construction of the common origin between 4QSam^{c}, *L* and Old Latin (OL) what is suggested here is therefore uncertain at this point.[11] The common origin between the OL and *L* is probable but later than Qumran MSS. Perhaps agreements between *L* and the OL are late in general, the latter

[9] DJD XVII, 257-258.
[10] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 10-11.
[11] E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1999), 263, 269.

influenced by the former. There is ongoing discussion that can marginal readings in Vulgate MSS attest proto-Lucianic readings or even the OL.[12]

2. Sam. 14:11 (I, 6)

וַיֹּאמֶר חַי־יְהוָה אִם־יִפֹּל מִשַּׂעֲרַת בִּנֵּךְ אָרְצָה׃

מִשַּׂעֲרֶת] ות[משער] 4QSam^{c}

καὶ εἶπεν Ζῇ κύριος, εἰ πεσεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς τριχὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

καὶ εἶπεν] > 158*; + ο βασιλευς V *O L* 318 460 | om ζῇ – εἶπεν 19$^{(\|)}$ | εἰ] ου 108; > 762* | ἀπό] εκ 245; > A 64′ 244* 460 707 | τῆς τριχός] των τριχων L^{-19} 245; + αυτου 530; om τῆς 242 | τοῦ – σου] αυτου *f*; + θριξ 245 | ἐπί] απο 318* | της γης 318

qui ait vivit Dominus quia non cadet de capillis filii tui super terram D

The king answers to the woman from Takoa that not even one hair of her son's head will fall to the ground. The DJD suggests the agreement between 4QSam^{c} and *L* for they have plural form of *hair* against singular in the MT and Maj. The plural form is preserved also in the Vulgata.[13]

A suggestion, which lays on one plural form is problematic. Firstly the reconstruction of ות[משער] in the DJD is not certain. The last visible letter is not certain *waw* that creates plural. The head of the letter appears to be longer than *waw* but shorter than *resh*. If *resh*, the hair is in singular, which agrees with מִשַּׂעֲרֶת in the MT. Secondly the meaning of "hair" does not change, although the form is singular or plural. Thirdly, more MSS witnesses are again expected if plural form is interpreted to be a genuine variant, not just a linguistic variable. The agreement between *L* and 4QSam^{c}, if there is any, is probably apparent.

[12] S. P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagintaa Version of 1 Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9: Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1996), 217; Kauhanen, *The Proto-Lucianic*, 140-142, 164.
[13] DJD XVII, 257-258. Cf. Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 11.

2. Sam. 14:20 (I, 22)

וַאדֹנִי חָכָם כְּחָכְמַת מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים לָדַעַת אֵת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ: ס

לָדַעַת אֵת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ] ת֯[לדע] 4QSam^{c} אשר בארצ

καὶ ὁ κύριός μου σοφὸς καθὼς σοφία ἀγγέλου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ γνῶναι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ.

μου B *O* 509 55] + *ιωαβ* A; + *ο βασιλευς* rel | *σοφός*] *φρονιμος L* 554^{mg}; + *σφοδρα* 707 | *καθὼς σοφία*] *καθα σ. O*; *κατα την φρονησιν L* 554^{mg} | om *τοῦ* 1^{o} CII d^{-370} $s^{-64´}$ 71 554 | om *πάντα L* | om *τά* 376 44 460 | *ἐν τῇ γῇ*] *επι της γης L*; om *τῇ* 158 | *γῇ*] *καρδια σου* 64´

si dominus (me)us rex sapiens secu(ndum) sapientiam angeli d(ei) sciat omnia quae su(nt) in terram. La[117]

The woman from Takoa answers to the king who understood that Joab is behind a speech of the woman. She praise the king who evidently has wisdom like that of an angel of God. According the DJD *L* agrees with 4QSam^{c} because they both omit the reading "all". כָּל is preserved in the MT and *πάντα* in Maj. The layout of the partly reconstructed verb ת֯[לדע] before particle אשר is probably correct. The last visible *tav* might belong to object mark את as well. The space in the line, nevertheless, is insufficient for כל in 4QSam^{c}.[14]

Ulrich proposes that the omission in 4QSam^{c} is a superior form, whereas the MT expands.[15] The suggested agreement however might be a result of the Lucianic reviser. Perhaps the omission in *L* is a stylistic rewriting such as the previous *κατα την φρονησιν* instead of *καθὼς σοφία* and the following *επι της γης* instead of rough reading *τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ*. The *πάντα* is emphasizing but at the same time an unnecessary information. The reading in *L* "and my Lord is wise like the wisdom of an angel of God, to know (om. all) what is in the earth" still delivers the same information without "all".

MSS La[117] preserves the reading *omnia* but there are no certain conclusions because of the problems related to the Old Latin material.[16] The omission of one particular word however cannot be totally ignored by hypothetical stylistic reasons or argument of lonely MSS *L*. The suggested agreement is possible indisputable agreement.

[14] DJD XVII, 257-258.
[15] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 12-13, 19, 22.
[16] Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 264, 267.

2. Sam. 14:21 (I, 23)

הַזֶּה וְלֶךְ הָשֵׁב אֶת־הַנַּעַר אֶת־אַבְשָׁלֹום׃

וְלֶךְ הָשֵׁב] ולך והשב 4QSam^{c}

πορεύου ἐπίστρεψον τὸ παιδάριον τὸν Αβεσσαλωμ.

πορεύου] *και πορευθητι και* A *O*; > B 509 55 | *ἐπίστρεψον*] *και επιστρεφε L* 244 | *τόν*] *τω* 707*; > 52* 530 125 158 244 |

uade et a(dduc) puerum Abessalo(n). La^{117}

2. Sam. 14:27 (II, 9)

וּשְׁמָהּ תָּמָר הֵיא הָיְתָה אִשָּׁה יְפַת מַרְאֶה׃ פ

הֵיא] והיאה 4QSam^{c}

καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῇ Θημαρ· αὕτη ἦν γυνὴ καλὴ σφόδρα

ὄνομα A B V O 509 125 64′ 55 244 318 372 460] pr *το* rel; inc 762 | *αὐτῇ* A B V *O* 509 64′ 55 244 372 460] *αυτης* rel | *αὕτη*] pr *και L* | *ἦν – καλή*] inc 762 | *ἦν* B M V *L*$^{-19'}$ CI *a* 64′ 488 55 158 244 245 318 342 372 460 707] + *η* 29; *η* rel | om *γυνή* 127 | *καλή* A B *O L* 509 64′ 55] + *τω ειδει* rel

et La^{93}

In two instances above the DJD suggests agreements between 4QSam^{c} and *L* because they both preserves an additional conjunction “and” against the MT and Maj.[17] In both instances Ulrich argues that the MT preserves a superior form. The additional conjunction is also preserved in MSS La$^{93, 117}$.[18] Unlike the previous agreement in 14:20, which was based on one adjective, these are even smaller similarities. A conjunctive is an insufficient evidence to argue on behalf of textual agreement. Conjunctives are mainly inner-Greek or Hebrew changes and therefore apparent agreements.

[17] DJD XVII, 258, 262.
[18] Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 264-265, 267, 269.

2. Sam. 14:32 (II, 19)

L	Maj.	*O*	MT & (4QSam^{c})
καὶ νῦν οψομαι δη τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως	καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ εἶδον·	ὅτι οὐκ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως	וְעַתָּה אֶרְאֶה פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ (נא)
And now I will see the face of the king	And now behold, the face of the king I have not seen	For I have not seen the face of the king	And now let me see (indeed) the face of the king

Absalom speaks to the Joab that he want to see the face of the king. The DJD suggests agreement between 4QSam^{c} and *L* because δη is a good equivalent for נא against its omission in Maj. and the MT.[19] Secondly the reading אֶרְאֶה (cohortative) in 4QSam^{c} and the MT is close to οψομαι (future) in *L* in contrast to εἶδον· (aorist) in Maj. Ulrich considers that 4QSam^{c} probably expands, whereas the MT preserves a superior form. *L* follows this expansion in 4QSam^{c} that is the OG.[20]

The text however includes other similarities between *L* and Hebrew text both 4QSam^{c} and the MT against Maj. They reflect a positive voice "I see" against a negative "I see not". In Maj. a negative voice (οὐκ) is a consequence of aorist εἶδον. The past tense produces a meaning "has not yet seen the king", but future "the king will be seen". In other words, despite a positive or a negative voice, in the end both readings produce the identical meaning. This means that the syntax of the text varies between textual traditions, whereas the semantics is basically the same.

The identical syntax between *L* and the Hebrew MSS is perhaps a consequence of Hexaplaric influence. Firstly *L* has also similarities with the MT. Secondly *L* agrees partly with *O*. They both have a verb in a beginning of the clause and omit ἰδοὺ against Maj. The agreement between *L* and 4QSam^{c} is therefore probably based on the common origin, but as a consequence of the Hexaplaric influence. It is known that the Lucianic reviser often used the translation of Symmachus (the fourth column of Hexapla). Therefore, it cannot be called a proto-Lucianic reading. The additional ἰδοὺ in Maj. might be a misreading of the text ארא נא to ראה הנה (εἶδον / ἰδοὺ). This error is consequently transmitted to the OG.

[19] DJD XVII, 262.
[20] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 14, 19, 22.

2. Sam. 15:2 (II, 22-23)

וַיִּקְרָ֣א אַבְשָׁל֗וֹם אֵלָיו֙ וַיֹּ֣אמֶר אֵי־מִזֶּ֣ה עִ֔יר אַתָּ֖ה וַיֹּ֣אמֶר מֵאַחַ֑ד שִׁבְטֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל עַבְדֶּֽךָ׃

וַיִּקְרָ֣א אַבְשָׁל֗וֹם אֵלָיו֙] [-- וקרא לוא אבשלום] 4QSam^{c}; סֹ[ו]א לו אבשל וקרא 4QSam^{a}

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר] [האיש ואמר וענה 4QSam^{c}; ואמר [וענה האיש] 4QSam^{a}

καὶ ἐβόησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Αβεσσαλωμ καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ Ἐκ ποίας πόλεως σὺ εἶ; καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἐκ μιᾶς φυλῶν Ισραηλ ὁ δοῦλός σου.

ἐβόησεν] *εβοα O* 318; *εκαλει L* 554^{mg}; *ελεγεν* 372 | *πρὸς αὐτόν*] et *Αβεσσαλωμ* tr A *O*; om *πρός L* 554^{mg} | *αὐτόν*] *τον* 82* | om *καί* 2^{o} – *αὐτῷ* 125 | *ἔλεγεν* A B *O L a* 509 488 55 244 318 460] *ειπεν* rel | *αὐτῷ*] *προς αυτον* 64; > 381 | *σὺ εἶ*] tr A *L* 64′ 71 342 | *εἶπεν*] *ελεγεν O* 318; *απεκρινατο L*; > 158; + *αυτω* CII$^{-46'}$ 313 | *ὁ ἀνήρ*] > B M V CI *f* 29 158 318 372; + *και ελεγεν L*; om *ὁ* 530 125 | *φυλῶν* A B *O* 509 342] pr *των L* 554^{c}; *φυλης* rel | *Ισραηλ*] pr *του O L* 554^{c}

Resbondebat ille (Ambr)

Absalom has been told to stand by the side of the road leading to the city gate. If anyone had a complaint to tell the king, Absalom first asked that from which town is he from. According the DJD this verse includes two agreements between *L* and 4QSam^{c}. The supplementary reading is also preserved in 4QSam^{a} in both instances. The first agreement is seen between וקרא and לו in 4QSam^{ac} and καὶ ἐκάλει and αὐτὸν in *L* against וַיִּקְרָ֣א and אֵלָיו֙ in the MT and καὶ ἐβόησεν and πρὸς αὐτὸν in Maj. 4QSam^{c} is totally reconstructed according 4QSam^{a}.[21] According Ulrich the reading in 4QSam^{c} is a superior form. He notes however that the reconstruction does not fill up the line in 4QSam^{c}. The evaluation of agreement is therefore unreliable, although done by Ulrich. The agreement between *L* and 4QSam^{a} however must be noticed.[22]

The suggestion that ἐκάλει in *L* agrees with וקרא in 4QSam^{a} against ἐβόησεν in Maj. and וַיִּקְרָ֣א in the MT is based on a minor similarity. The reading in 4QSam^{a} uses the perfect, whereas the MT the imperfect. The imperfect in *L* and the aorist in Maj. however do not reveal anything about their Hebrew *vorlage*. In a passage 2 Sam 15:1-6 B uses an imperfect three times and an aorist eleven times. *L* uses imperfect throughout expect once. The DJD interprets this repetition of imperfects in *L* as a textual agreements with 4QSam^{ac}.[23] However, instead of common origin this may also be a tendency of the Lucianic reviser.

πρὸς (Maj.) is a literal and a regular equivalent for אֶל (the MT). Its omission in *L* seems to be a consequence of καλέω (to call). It is logically a better reading than βοάω (to cry or shout) in a context

[21] DJD XVII, 261, 263-264.
[22] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 18.
[23] DJD XVII, 261.

where Absalom asks the man to step forward. καλέω is most likely produced by the Lucianic reviser. It is preserved only in *L*. It does not need to be accompanied by πρὸς like βοάω. Therefore the agreement between *L* and 4QSam^{ac} is more likely apparent.

The second agreement is between *καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ ἔλεγεν* in *L* and וענה האיש ואמר in 4QSam^{ac} against *εἶπεν* in Maj. and וַיֹּאמֶר in the MT. It must be noticed that only one verb is visible in both Qumran MSS, וענה in 4QSam^{c} and ואמר in 4QSam^{a}.[24] The rest of the text is identically reconstructed in both MSS וענה האיש ואמר that corresponds to *L*. Ulrich suggests that the MT preserves a superior form, whereas 4QSam^{ac} has an expansion. Only the imperfect וַיֹּאמֶר is a minor error in the MT. *L* follows again the expansion in 4QSam^{ac} that is the probable OG.[25]

This looks as the certain proto-Lucianic reading in the first place. In Hebrew וענה is often accompanied by ואמר. However, readings ענה and אמר might be variants to each other without a simultaneous appearance in both Qumran MSS. Their co-existence in *L* can be a small addition in order to clarify the text. In a dialogue like this, characters, a person asking and a person answering often blend. The additional *ἀπεκρίνατο* emphasizes that the man is answering to Absalom´s question. Furthermore, L is again the only witness.

The quotation from Ambrosius agrees with *L* but as a later witness might be influenced by the latter.[26] The reading ὁ ἀνήρ, which is omitted in the MT and B, is also reconstructed in both Qumran MSS. The evaluation of the suggested agreement however is unreliable because of the total reconstruction of the second "speaking" verb in 4QSam^{ac}.

2. Sam 15:6 (III, 2)

וַיַּעַשׂ אַבְשָׁלוֹם כַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־יָבְאוּ לַמִּשְׁפָּט אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ

וַיַּעַשׂ] [ועשה] 4QSam^{ac}

καὶ ἐποίησεν Αβεσσαλωμ κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παντὶ Ισραηλ τοῖς παραγινομένοις εἰς κρίσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα

ἐποίησεν] *εποιει L* 158 | *Αβεσσαλωμ*] *ο βασιλευς* 44 | *παντί*] *-τα* V; *-τος* 488* | *παραγινομένοις*] *-μενης* 55; *-γενομενοις* 19 242 44-120 68´ 158 245 707; *ερχομενοις* CI 29 | om *τόν* 376 |

[24] DJD XVII, 261, 264.
[25] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 18-19, 22.
[26] Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 267-268.

Absalom is told to kiss every the Israelites who came to bown down to him. The DJD suggests the agreement between ועשה in 4QSam^{ac} and ἐποίει in *L* against וַיַּעַשׂ in the MT and ἐποίησεν in Maj. The verb ועשה is reconstructed in both Qumran MSS.[27] Ulrich proposes that the reading in 4QSam^{ac} is a superior form.[28]

The problem again is the total reconstruction of ועשה in 4QSam^{ac}. It can still be וַיַּעַשׂ according the MT because it is not a question of an additional space at this point. Secondly the agreement is based only on the agreement between perfect consecutive (4QSam^{ac}) and imperfect (*L*) against imperfect consecutive (MT) and aorist (maj.). 4QSam^{ac} and *L* share the idea of an incomplete action, whereas the MT and Maj. have a complete action in a past. If the reconstruction in 4QSam^{ac} is factual, this similarity of tenses is still not a sufficient evidence for an indisputable agreement. As mentioned earlier, the Lucianic reviser may have changed the tenses from aorist to imperfect in the passage 15:1-6. Therefore the agreement between *L* and 4QSam^{ac}, if there is any, is probably apparent. But because of the total reconstruction this must be left as an unclassified.

2. Sam. 15:12 (III, 11-12)

וַיִּשְׁלַ֤ח אַבְשָׁלוֹם֙ אֶת־אֲחִיתֹ֣פֶל הַגִּילֹנִ֔י יוֹעֵ֖ץ דָּוִ֑ד מֵֽעִירֹ֛ו מִגִּלֹּ֖ה בְּזִבְחֹ֣ו אֶת־הַזְּבָחִ֗ים וַיְהִ֤י הַקֶּ֙שֶׁר֙ אַמִּ֣ץ וְהָעָ֔ם הוֹלֵ֥ךְ וָרַ֖ב אֶת־אַבְשָׁלֽוֹם׃

וַיִּשְׁלַ֤ח אַבְשָׁלוֹם֙] ^וי[ויק^רׄא וי[וישל]ח 4QSam^{c}

וַיְהִ֤י] יה[וה] 4QSam^{c}

καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Αβεσσαλωμ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸν Αχιτοφελ τὸν Γελμωναῖον τὸν σύμβουλον Δαυιδ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ ἐκ Γωλα ἐν τῷ θυσιάζειν αὐτόν καὶ ἐγένετο σύστρεμμα ἰσχυρόν καὶ ὁ λαὸς πορευόμενος καὶ πολὺς μετὰ Αβεσσαλωμ

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν] *καλεσαι* 318; > A B 509 55 244 460 | *ἐγένετο – ἰσχυρόν*] *ην το διαβουλιον πορευομενον και στερεουμενον* L^{-127} 554^{mg}; *ην διαβουλιον πορευομενον* 127

Cum sacrificaret sacrificia, et erat cogitatio firmissima La^{93}

Absalom called Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's counselor to strengthen the conspiracy. According the DJD this verse includes two agreements between *L* and 4QSam^{c}. The first agreement is seen between καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Αβεσσαλωμ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν in *L* plus many other MSS and ^וי[ויק]^רׄא וי[וישל]ח in 4QSam^{c}. The reading καὶ ἐκάλεσεν is omitted in MSS A B 509 55 244 460, as well as ויקרא in the MT. The reconstruction ^וי[ויק]^רׄא וי[וישל]ח without אבשלום is reliable because the last letter before את seems to be

[27] DJD XVII, 265.
[28] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 19.

het (וישלח) not *mem*. The reading ^וי[קרא]^ appears faintly above the line after *het*.[29]

According Ulrich the reading in 4QSam^{c} is superior form. He suggest that ויקרא was lost through haplography but is restored later in 4QSam^{c}. *L* preserves this OG reading whereas its omission in MSS A B 509 55 244 460 and the MT is an influence of the *kaige*.[30] This is probable conclusion especially in the *kaige*-section. Secondly the reading και ἐκάλεσεν is for now preserved in many other MSS including *L*. Although there is a slight possibility that the reading και ἐκάλεσεν is transmitted to *L* through the Hexaplaric material, this is more likely an indisputable agreement.

The second agreement is suggested between και ην in *L* and ו[והי] in 4QSam^{c} against και ἐγένετο in Maj. and וַיְהִי in the MT. The DJD argues that the reading in 4QSam^{c} must be reconstructed as ו[והי] because of first visible letters in the following word ה[קשר]. There is no space for an additional letter before it. The reading ו[והי] ends therefore with *he* not *yod* as in the MT.[31] Ulrich proposes that the reading in 4QSam^{c} is a superior form, which is also supported in La^{93} (et erat).[32]

The reconstruction of partly visible letters or a question of space however are far from certain. Secondly if והיה is the factual reconstruction in 4QSam^{c}, και ἐγένετο in Maj. is still a functional equivalent for it. For example in the verse 15:5 nearby almost all MSS of the LXX including *L* have reading και ἐγένετο (except om. 125) for והיה. Thirdly *L* is again lacking accompanying MSS of the LXX. Therefore the suggested agreement, if there is any, is probably apparent.

Conclusions

Instance	4QSam^{c}	MT	*L*	Maj.	Classification
2 Sam 14:7 (I,1)	ה[ש]ארתי	נִשְׁאָרָה	ο υπολελειμμενος μοι	τὸν καταλειφθέντα	Apparent
2 Sam 14:11 (I, 6)	ות[משער]	מִשַּׁעֲרַת	των τριχων	τῆς τριχὸς	Apparent
2 Sam 14:20 (I, 22)	om.	כָּל	om.	πάντα	Possible Indisputable
2 Sam 14:21 (I, 23)	ו	om.	και	om.	Apparent
2 Sam 14:27 (II, 9)	ו	om.	και	om.	Apparent

[29] DJD XVII, 265.
[30] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 16-17, 22.
[31] DJD XVII, 265.
[32] Ulrich, *4QSam^{c}* (1979), 16, 18; Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 267, 269.

Instance	4QSam^{c}	MT	*L*	Maj.	Classification
2 Sam 14:32 (II, 19)	נא / אראה	om. / אֶרְאֶה	δη / οψομαι	om. / οὐκ εἶδον	Hexaplaric
2 Sam 15:2 (II, 22)	וקרא	וַיִּקְרָא	εκαλει	ἐβόησεν	Apparent
2 Sam 15:2 (II, 23)	ועונה [האיש] ואמר	וַיֹּאמֶר	καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ ἔλεγεν εἶπεν	εἶπεν	Unclassified
2 Sam 15:6 (III, 2)	[ועשה]	וַיַּעַשׂ	εποιει	ἐποίησεν	Unclassified
2 Sam 15:12 (III, 11)	וֹח[וישל] ^[ויק]רֹא^	וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶבְשָׁלוֹם	καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Αβεσσαλωμ καὶ ἐκάλεσεν	καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Αβεσσαλωμ	Indisputable
2 Sam 15:12 (III, 12)	[וה]יֹה	וַיְהִי	καὶ ην	καὶ ἐγένετο	Apparent

The purpose of the current study was to evaluate the suggested agreements between 4QSam^{c} and *L* presented by Ulrich in the DJD edition. Do they attest proto-Lucianic readings? The results of this investigation show that the suggestions of the DJD are mostly uncertain. From eleven suggested agreements six are apparent (14:7; 14:11; 14:21; 14:27; 15:2a; 15:12b), one is possible indisputable (14:20) and one is indisputable (15:12a). One suggested agreement is a consequence of the Hexaplaric influence (14:32) and two were left unclassified (15:2b; 15:6) because the readings in 4QSam^{c} are reconstructed by retroverting *L*. Occasionally *L* has directed the reconstruction of the DJD over its boundaries.

The reconstruction of 4QSam^{c} in the DJD is heavily influenced by the Lucianic text which may give an over-optimistic view on the number of agreements. The insufficient amount of textual data is small and one should be cautious in establishing text-historical conclusions on minor textual units. Often suggested agreements are consequences of the tendency of the Lucianic reviser to improve the text.

There surely are some proto-Lucianic readings that represents the *Vorlage* of the LXX. In this study there are two possible proto-Lucianic reading out of the eleven suggested agreements. A justification of a proto-Lucianic recension however requires more indisputable agreements.[33] The theory of a proto-Lucianic recension suggested by Cross is still lacking evidences.[34]

[33] These conclusions are mostly similar to what Kauhanen has presented concerning the agreements between *L* and 4QSam^{a} in 1 Samuel (non-*kaige*-section). Kauhanen, *The Proto-Lucianic*, 186-188.

[34] F. M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert", *HTR* 57 (1964): 295-6. See critics of a proto-Lucianic recension: Brock, *Recensions*, 305-306; E. Tov, "Lucian and Proto-Lucian: Toward a New Solution of the Problem", *RB* 79 (1972): 103.

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Preface – Possible focal points for the discussion

1. Does Ezekiel 13 have additional characteristics which affect the interpretation of the enemy image.
2. The paper does not yet examine the contextualization of the enemy image. What possible problems could surface in the contextualization?
3. What kind of metaphor theory could be applied? Should the further analysis focus on the cognitive power of metaphors.

The Characteristics of the Enemy Image in Ezekiel 13

1.1 Introduction

Ezekiel 13 is an Old Testament text that has been in the recent years a subject of numerous studies. Especially the second half of the chapter, which consists of verses 17-23 has been interpreted in numerous ways.[1] The peculiar description of prophesying women, their apparent distinctiveness from the prophets that are condemned in verses 1-16, and numerous passages that are difficult to interpret provide an excellent starting point for different theories and solutions.

Very often the emphasis of the studies has been in uncovering information about the prophetic groups that are condemned in the text. Nonetheless, this might not be the only way to approach the text. Ezekiel 13 is clearly a confrontational text, which aims towards the effective condemnation of the prophetic groups. It would therefore be quite natural to see prophets and prophesying women as enemies. As numerous academic disciplines have utilized the framework of enemy image in their respective fields, it would be prudent to also consider its use in the study of Ezekiel 13. As the concept of enemy image has not yet been applied to this particular text, there is a possibility that it provides a good opportunity of testing still relatively seldom used methodology, which could help to reveal new or less studied aspects of the text.

The goal of this paper is to examine whether Ezekiel 13 has the characteristics of an enemy image. This goal is achieved by the analysis of the text and recognizing the elements that form an effective enemy image. Before that, however, it is necessary to discuss what those elements are. What is an enemy image and what causes it to be effective?

1.2 Enemy Image

Though the study of enemy images spans several different academic fields, there seems to be a relatively large amount of overlap between different definitions of a typical enemy image. It is often described as a stereotypical image or description of

[1] The studies of these verses are mainly interested of the religio-historical background of the "prophesying women". In the most recent interpretations on the subject it is possible to see three alternative solutions, which are necromancy (Stökl 2013, 61-76, Hamori 2015, 169-178), harmful magical activity or witchcraft (Steiner 2015, 26, 49-50) and rituals of healing or childbirth (Bowen 2010, 72; Ackermann 2014, 23-25; Schmitt 2012, 190-193).

some entity, which uses various methods to create a sense of threat.[2] To summarize, enemy image could well be described as a threatening stereotype that is presented with various rhetorical devices, whether they are metaphors, images, or other textual effects.

According to Haslam and Turner, stereotyping is essentially a process of categorization that happens naturally within intergroup relations. In other words, all stereotypes are not necessarily harmful distortions but rather a way of making social reality more understandable in certain situations.[3] It is therefore important to note that not all stereotypical descriptions of groups can be considered as enemy images. An idea of threat must be involved. For instance, Marja Vuorinen notes that enemy images must enhance idea that the enemy is actively threatening and not just a passive "other". Instead, enemy image is a description of some entity whose harmful actions need to be counteracted. In this way, the enemy image makes extreme actions and emotions against some group legitimate.[4]

Vuorinen has noted that enemy images in their various forms are related to the situations of crisis.[5] Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase has further elaborated that the strong anxiety that is occasionally experienced in societies can lead in the necessity to construct new social identities or enforce social cohesion.[6] In these kinds of situations the idea of threatening "others" becomes attractive. Creation of enemy images is closely related to the formation of group identities.

This means that the relationship of enemy images and real groups may be very complicated. Fiebig-von Hase notes that the enemy images might not be clearly connected to the reality, but they mainly exist to reinforce the existence of the in-group.[7] Vuorinen emphasizes similar idea as she states that the enemy image could be seen as an inversion of "Self".[8]

Enemies can also be categorized by their proximity to the in-group that represents the Self. Vuorinen defines three groups: enemies from outside, intimate enemies and enemies within. Enemies from outside are entities such as neighboring

[2] For some helpful definitions of the subject, one can refer to Fiebig-von Hase (1997, 2), Eidevall (2009 1-6), Vuorinen (2012, 2-5).
[3] Oakes, Haslam & Turner 1994, 211-213.
[4] Vuorinen 2012, 2-5.
[5] Vuorinen 2012, 5.
[6] Fiebig-Von Hase 1997, 25-26.
[7] Fiebig-Von Hase 1997, 15-16.
[8] Vuorinen 2012, 1-3.

states, while intimate enemies belong to the same larger community as the Self. Finally, enemies within exist inside the ingroup.[9]

It is interesting that though enemy images are common, the framework has been rarely applied to biblical studies. Bible has numerous texts that are related to situations that involve profound crises and anxiety about the future. In this process, the creation of enemies could be a relatively natural consequence. There, however, are some important studies that apply the framework of enemy images into the Old Testament texts.

Göran Eidevall has developed a recent and clear methodology for analyzing enemy images of the Old Testament. Eidevall's definition of the enemy image follows the general idea that it is a threatening stereotypical image. Due to the subject of his study, Eidevall emphasizes the propagandistic nature of the enemy image, which links the concept to the conflict between nations or other large and clearly differentiated entities. His method can be summarized in three phases. First the text is established, which means that that various problems that it may contain are studied. Afterwards in phase that he calls characterization, the enemy image is analyzed. Finally, in contextualization Eidevall proceeds to give a possible context for an enemy image in question.[10] Even though Eidevall emphasizes the relationship of enemy images and war propaganda, I think that his approach would provide a general outline for the study of various Old Testament texts, including Ezekiel 13.

Eidevall emphasizes the relationship of metaphors and enemy images. There are several reasons to see them as an important part of effective enemy images. Eidevall notes that in the context of enemy images metaphors can have two noteworthy aims. They distort and they dehumanize.[11] Eidevall's description of metaphors can thus be seen in line with for instance the study of Deborah Wills and Erin Steuter and their conclusion that "Metaphors offer a way of selecting, labeling, and understanding "facts," a process that may filter or distort what is perceived."[12]

Since metaphors are an essential part of many enemy images, it is necessary to identify them. Benjamin Foreman has proposed a model that is based on the incongruity of the metaphorical expression.[13] Incongruity of metaphors, which has

[9] Vuorinen 2012, 1-3.
[10] Eidevall 2009, 1-6, 19-22.
[11] Eidevall 2009, 5-6.
[12] Steuter& Wills 2008, 204
[13] Foreman 2011, 6.

been advocated in the work of Eva Kittay means that in some contexts certain expressions cannot be taken as literal statements. [14] For instance, a statement such as "Joe is a Butcher" is metaphorical if Joe is a dentist.

Foreman examines Biblical texts and attempts to find expressions[15]that show incongruity. In the context of animal metaphors, the task could sometimes be relatively straightforward since such statement as "man is a wolf" is difficult to see as anything other than a metaphor.[16] However, some metaphors may be more difficult to recognize. Biblical text may contain descriptions and obscure words that require further examination of the context before their metaphorical nature can be established.

Now it is possible to see some defining characteristics of an enemy image. If enemy image is a threatening description of a group that utilizes various metaphors, the study of Ezekiel 13 must focus on two things. First, there needs to be an emphasis on examining the threat that the group represents. Is the group threatening, what kind of threat it is, and who are being threatened?

Second, the focus must be on examining and identifying the metaphorical elements of the text. How do they enhance the idea of threat or help in the formation of credible enemy?

Using Eidevall's terms, the following analysis of the Ezekiel 13 could be considered as the characterization of the text. In this paper, I will focus on the Masoretic text (MT), but I will point out when the it differs significantly from the reading of the Septuagint (LXX). I will also briefly discuss some structural issues of the text.

2.1 Ezekiel 13

1. The word of Yahweh came to me, saying:
2. Son of man, prophesy against the prophets of Israel who prophesy, and say to those who prophesy from their own hearts: Hear the word of Yahweh
3.Thus says the Lord Yahweh, Woe to the vile prophets who follow their own spirit, and have seen nothing.
4.Your prophets have been like jackals[17] among ruins, Israel.

[14] Kittay 1987, 68-70.
[15] Foreman 2011, 31.
[16] Naturally one could imagine that in the realm of fiction such statement could be understood literally. As stated before, the context matters.
[17] This word is often translated as foxes. However, the description of animals that exist in groups fits better to jackals. (Margalith 1994, 106-108)

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.
6. They have seen vanity and lying divination that say, "Yahweh says" though Yahweh has not sent them, and they hope the fulfillment of the word.
7. Have you not seen vain vision and spoken a lying divination, when you have said," Yahweh says" when I have not spoken?
8. Therefore thus says the Lord Yahweh: Because you have spoken vanity and seen lies, therefore behold, I am against you, says the Lord Yahweh.
9. My hand will be against the prophets who see vanity and who divine lies. They shall not be in the council of my people, nor be written in the register of the house of Israel, nor shall they enter the land of Israel. And you will know that I am the Lord Yahweh.
10. Because they have misled my people saying "peace", when there is no peace, and when one builds a wall, they plaster it with whitewash,
11. say to those who plaster it with whitewash: it shall fall. There will be an overflowing rain, and you, great hailstones, will fall, and a stormy wind break out.
12. And behold, when the wall falls will it not be said to you, "Where is the plaster with which you plastered?"
13. Therefore thus says the Lord Yahweh: I will break out a stormy wind in my fury, and there will be an overflowing rain in my anger, and great hailstones in fury to consume.
14. And I will tear down the wall that you have plastered with whitewash, and strike it down to the ground so that its foundation will be revealed. And it falls and you shall be consumed in the midst of it, and you shall know that I am the Yahweh.
15. Thus will I spend my wrath on the wall and upon those who have plastered it with whitewash, and I will say to you, the wall and those who plastered it are no more.
16. The prophets of Israel who prophesied to Jerusalem and saw visions of peace for her, when there was no peace, declares the Lord Yahweh.
17. And you, son of man, set your face against the daughters of your people, who prophesy out of their own hearts. Prophesy against them

18. and say, thus says the Lord Yahweh: Woe to the women who sew bands[18]upon all wrists, and make veils[19] for the heads of persons of every stature, to hunt souls![20] Will you hunt souls of my people and keep souls alive?
19. You have profaned me among my people for handful of barley and pieces of bread, to kill souls who should not die and keeping alive souls who should not live, by lying to my people, who listen to lies.
20. Therefore thus says the Lord Yahweh: Behold, I am against your bands with which you hunt the souls like birds, and I will cut them from your arms, and I will set free the souls you hunt, the souls like birds.
21. And I will tear your veils and deliver my people out of your hand, and they shall be no more in your hand as prey, and you shall know that I am Yahweh.
22. Because you have saddened the righteous with lies, although I have not caused sadness to him, and you have encouraged the wicked, that he should not turn from his wicked way to stay alive,
23. therefore you shall no more see vanity nor divine divination and I will deliver my people out of your hand. And you shall know that I am Yahweh.

2.2 Brief remarks on the structure of Ezekiel 13

The form and the composition of Ezekiel 13 have been discussed in numerous commentaries. It can be viewed as a self-contained part[21] of larger section (Ezekiel 12:21-14:11) that is concerned with prophecy.[22] It is also possible to argue that the text has two halves that mirror each other in form. These halves are 1-16 and 17-23, and they both share similarities in structure and some of the lexical items.[23] Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the text can be viewed as a unit wherein two groups are being condemned and connected to the idea of false prophecy.[24]

However, it is less clear whether the text was developed over time or it is a compilation of originally separate oracles. For instance, it is quite possible to see verses 22-23 as a later addition to the text.[25] It has also been argued that since the text contains chances between second and third persons, these changes could

[18] Hapax legomenon that is highly difficult to translate. Usually it is translated as bands.
[19] Yet another hapax legomenon. Often translated as veils.
[20] Could very well refer to persons. See Wolff 1970, 10-25.
[21] Zimmerli 1979, 201.
[22] Greenberg 1983, 6.
[23] Greenberg 1983, 242; Hals 1989, 86.
[24] Hals 1989, 86.
[25] Stökl 2013, 64.

indicate originally separate material that was later joined together in an editorial process.[26]

It however seems that a significant effort was put to make the text work as one cohesive unit. Even though the origins of the current unit remain under dispute, it can be said that there is a clear intentionality in the form. It is difficult to deny that themes of prophecy are present in both verses 1-16 and 17-23. Even if the chapter has visibly distinct halves, it is possible to examine how these halves correspond and possibly create a larger picture of false prophecy.

2.3 Characteristics of the enemy image

From the outset, the text makes it clear that prophets are the group that is to be opposed. First, the text argues that the source of their prophecy is not in Yahweh but in their own hearts. Thus, the prophets are first separated from the source of real prophecy and made illegitimate messengers. Nonetheless, the prophets are defined as "prophets of Israel". They are not a foreign group, but people who hold or have held certain status in Israel. The message of these prophets is described in the verses 10 and 16 as one of peace. Therefore, the text states that their prophesying is false and misleading. It could be argued that the threat of these prophets is equated to the misleading of their own people. Verses 7 and 6 enhance the idea, that they also have falsely used the authority of Yahweh in delivering their prophecies[27].

The proper description of prophets begins in the third verse. Slightly diverging from the reading of LXX, the Masoretic text labels them as vile prophets (הַנְּבִיאִים הַנְּבָלִים), which according to Greenberg further emphasizes the "religio-moral" depravity of the prophets.[28] Block on the other hand translates this expression as "foolish prophets", which naturally holds a slightly different connotation. Secondly, the prophets are condemned of following their own spirit, which essentially echoes the statement that they prophesy out of their own hearts. Furthermore, the text exclaims that the prophets have seen nothing, which further enhances the idea their inadequacy. [29]

[26] Zimmerli, however, argues that the changes in persons are evidence of the expansions that the text has gradually gone through. Zimmerli 1979, 202.
[27] Block 1997, 402-403.
[28] Greenberg 1983, 235.
[29] Block 1997. Block however notes that the word can mean multiple negative things such as immorality or arrogance. Cooke (1936, 137) interestingly argues that Ezekiel does not actually deny the prophetic gift of the prophets. It however seems to me that text goes to great lengths in describing how the prophecy of these prophets is completely corrupted.

Third verse goes to great lengths to label prophets as a wholly inadequate group of messengers. However, the prophets do not so far seem to be especially dangerous. Their words definitely lack the divine source that is connected to the "real" prophecy yet the text has not emphasized the possible harm they have caused. In the context of an enemy image, it is therefore interesting to ask if such a group could even represent actual threat.

The first clearly dehumanizing and perhaps more threatening aspect of the text is seen in the fourth verse. Here the prophets are described as "like jackals among ruins". The simile[30] is relatively easy to understand. In the Old Testament, jackals are animals who eat carrions, a trait that links them to negative subjects such as death, aftermath of a battle, or impurity. Furthermore, the simile instantly links them to the ruin and decay.[31] The simile is a good example of how the description of prophets utilizes culturally accepted ideas of certain animals to a significant effect.

The simile nonetheless contains some peculiarities. Jackals could be seen as animals who actually thrive in ruins. It could therefore be argued that prophets gained some benefit from the destruction of the social order, which the references to the ruins and the martial imagery in the fifth verse seem to imply. This, however, seems to contradict the idea in the verse that implies that prophets believed in their words of peace.[32] It is as if prophets are both cunning and ruthless creatures and victims of their own incompetence. What could this mean in the context of this enemy image?

The contradiction is interesting and could mean different things. There is after all a possibility that these descriptions originated separately in different oracles against prophets and were later joined in the current text. Still, in the context of enemy image the logical inconsistency can be intentional.[33] Enemy image can paint its subject as both weak and cunning as long as the description aims to cause anxiety in its audience. In other words, the enemy image can contain illogical and contradictory statements that do not lessen its efficacy.

[30] The difference of a simile and a metaphor is an interesting subject. Usually similes are identified with words such as "like" which visibly imply that the statement should not be understood at a literal level. However sometimes the distinction of simile and metaphor is more unclear, as in the study of Johan de Joode & Hanneke van Loon (2014, 42-44)
[31] Greenberg 1983, 235.
[32] Greenberg 1983, 236.
[33] For instance, anti-Semitic images sometimes paint Jews as both strong persecutors and weak victims. Lowenthal 1987, 75-76.

The fifth verse contains metaphorical and martial concepts such as wall, breaches and defending. Prophets are described as cowards in a military situation that would require courage and various selfless acts. Of note is the reference to the day of the Lord, which would emphasize how prophets are doing wrong things at the most important hour. Here it is possible to see a metaphorical structure where prophets should be the defenders of Israel.[34] This establishes the extreme threat of prophets. Their actions have contributed to the fall of Israel and Jerusalem.

Verses 6-10 put additional emphasis on the divinatory actions and prophesying, which are described as vanity and lies. The nature of these accusations does not however seem very specific in the context of prophecy. They however give prophets an additional aspect of deviancy. For instance, word קֶסֶם is used of various illegitimate forms of divination throughout Hebrew Bible.[35] The ninth verse is noteworthy as it separates the fate of the prophets from the Israel. The otherness of the prophets is profoundly emphasized. They might be prophets of Israel, yet they will not partake in the future that is presented for the people of Yahweh.

The tenth verse also reintroduces the idea of wall, which has a significant role in the metaphorical content of the enemy image. Wall is called in tenth verse as חַיִץ, which is a hapax legomenon that apparently carries a meaning of a wall made from loosely connected stones. [36] Unlike the wall that should have been defended in the fifth verse, this construction seems to have lesser protective value and is not suitable for defensive purposes. For instance, Eichrodt relates it to the false hopes of survival.[37]

Whereas dehumanization in verses 12 was achieved through simile, here it is possible to see more clearly metaphorical language. Prophets are described as plasterers of wall. The incongruity of the statement can be clearly seen, as it would be odd to understand such a statement literally. Plastering as an activity is of course not necessarily evil. However, the word that is used of the plaster in this verse holds several negative connotations.[38] Therefore the activity is often translated as whitewashing.[39]

[34] Block 1997, 402.
[35] Jeffers 1995, 96-98.
[36] Zimmerli 1979, 287.
[37] Eichrodt 1986, 167-168.
[38] Cooke 1936, 141.
[39] Greenberg, 1983, 236. In Lamentations 2:14 the word is used alongside vanity (שָׁוְא) and seems to refer to falsehoods. This particular section is interesting, because it also refers to the visions of prophets.

What does this metaphor imply? It is an interesting combination of two groups. A brief examination reveals the implication that the message of the prophets is only a superficial and false aid to the incoming crisis. Whitewashing hides the weakness of the wall, and becomes equated to upholding of the false hopes.[40] Furthermore, the weak wall and whitewashing becomes compared with the idea of building the wall, which was introduced in the fifth verse.[41] Spatial dimensions of surface and depth seem to be essential to this pairing, possibly making this combination very effective in the cognitive sense.[42]

The rest of the verses are increasingly focused on the destruction of the false prophets and the wall that they plastered. This emphasizes their inferiority to the Yahweh who commands the frightening forces of nature. The language is interesting as it is employed in comparable manner in Isaiah 30:30, where the Yahweh is against Assyria. Here the consuming nature of the wrath of Yahweh is again equated to catastrophic manifestations of nature.[43] Even though this oracle against the false prophecy does not fit into the exact genre of war propaganda, it nonetheless contains similar language. Could it be possibly to argue that prophets and their message of peace are such a danger that they deserve a punishment worthy of a powerful foreign enemy? It has been noted that the idea of destruction where even foundation is laid bare has similarity to the description of devastation in Book of Micah (1:6).[44]

Verses 1-16 create an image that contains various differing ideas. The prophets are a weak adversary who do seem to have a completely desolate fate. Not only the text emphasizes that they do not have a part in the future of Israel, but it also advocates their total annihilation. However, the destruction could be viewed as a natural consequence of dehumanization of prophets in the fourth verse.[45] They are earlier in the text degraded into mere animals that can be destroyed with no consequence.

However, text also seems to argue that the threat of these prophets persists. They are like jackals in ruins who could have gained some benefit from the destruction. If the image is not a combination of originally different oracles, it

[40] Block 1997, 408.
[41] Bowen 2010,
[42] Schmitz-Emans 2015, 245-250.
[43] Eidevall 2009, 60.
[44] Block 1997, 408.
[45] Steuter and Wills (2015, 37-40) argue that dehumanization makes the eradication of enemies a moral act. Opposed group becomes a singular mass that can be exterminated without the reservations against killing that would on normal situation be present.

definitely is a multifaceted combination of different negative traits, metaphors, and anxieties that could be associated with prophecy.

The prophesying women share some features of the prophets who were condemned in verses 1-16. Like prophets, they are described as prophesying out of their own hearts. Remarkable are also the occasional references to lying and seeing vanity, which could be seen comparable to the accusations of the false divinations of in verses 6-9. These parts of the text make the message and the actions of the women illegitimate. They are also described as "daughters of your people" which makes them an intimate enemy to the people of Ezekiel.

The verb that is used of prophesying has generated considerable scholarly discussion. Unlike in the first verse of the chapter, the women are not directly called prophets or prophetesses. Instead, their profession is established by the use of participial form of verb that signifies prophesying. Moreover, the verb is in the hitpael pattern instead of the more common nifal. Whether this holds a major significance in the description of women is up to a debate.[46] However, it is interesting that the text seems to both emphasize that these women are somehow similar to the prophets of verses 1-16 yet they in some respects differ from them.

The rest of the text does indeed label the prophesying women in a different manner than the prophets. It is noteworthy that the text does not emphasize too much the falseness of their message. Instead, the text goes to great lengths to create an image of dangerous women who hunt their victims and are able to decide upon the matters of life and death. Imagery is so striking and distinct from usual descriptions of prophetic activity, that it has become common in scholarship to argue that these women were not actual prophets, but practitioners of magic, healing, or necromancy.

At the core of the ongoing debate is the fact that some parts of the text are extremely difficult to translate and interpret. Verse 18 makes clear that women are engaging in some kind of hunting, but complicates matters by mentioning instruments that are used in the act. The instruments are described with words that are *hapax legomena*, which effectively conceals their exact nature. They could possibly be amulets, clothing, or some magical paraphernalia that used in ritualistic

[46] Answering this question is difficult. It has been argued that use of hitpael could carry a pejorative tone. (Adam 2009, 12-13, 21) However, this argument does not fit well to the book of Ezekiel where actions of the titular prophet are sometimes described in this pattern.

activity.[47] They are connected to arms and heads yet the syntax of the verse makes it unclear if women manufacture the instruments for themselves or their victims.

The description of the prophesying women is puzzling because it seems to combine two very different ideas. The text of 13:17-23 combines actions that are easily connected to false prophecy with ideas that do not seem to clearly refer to any form of divination or communication of divine messages.[48]

Even though the combination of hunting and prophesying is seemingly problematic, it could make a lot of sense in the context of an enemy image. Since the combination of prophesying and aggressive hunting causes an apparent incongruity, it could be possible to see this strange description as a metaphor. As seen before in verses 1-16, a metaphor can be a combination of two distinct groups. In this case, we can see the group of prophesying women, and another group of women, who are distinguished by harmful acts of hunting.

What kind of women hunt souls? This idea is not unique to the Ezekiel 13 but exists elsewhere in the Old Testament. Instead, this trope is connected to the foreign woman of in the sixth chapter of Proverbs. The identity of the foreign woman has been a subject of considerable discussion. According to Nancy Nam Hoon Tan, the foreign woman can be seen as a dangerous adulteress who is able to seduce men to their deaths.[49] Furthermore, similar idea is echoed in the Ecclesiastes 7:26 where women are equated with traps and nets. Hunting can therefore be easily connected to the ideas malevolent or immoral women, who represent lethal danger to their victims

It has also been noted, that ideas of hunting can be related to the concept of witchcraft. In a passage of Maqlû the witches are described as beings who are able to hunt with traps.[50] If the instruments refer to some magical items, the impression of malevolent magical actions would definitely be strengthened. Witches are mostly

[47] Since the words are difficult to translate by using only Hebrew, many solutions have utilized comparative linguistics. The translation of כְּסָתוֹת as some kind of bands is derived from the Akkadian verb kasû, which can mean a potentially harmful binding. Thus, it has been common to interpret כְּסָתוֹת as bindings that may have been used in magical purposes. Similarly, with הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת Akkadian has been used to give a more informative translation. Word has been seen in relation to Akkadian verb sapāhu which is given a meaning of "to scatter" or "to spread out". Since LXX translates this word as a veil, it is common to interpret הַמִּסְפָּחוֹת as some kind of loose head covering or a shawl. Zimmerli 1979, 279.

[48] One solution for this problem would be to consider references to prophetic actions as later additions. However, even such solutions consider the verse 17 that contains an apparent reference to prophesying as a part of the original oracle. For instance, Stökl 2013, 64.

[49] Nam Hoon Tan 2008, 94-95 165. Hamori (2015, 204-208) argues that the description of foreign woman could contain traces of necromancy. However, she also notes that imagery is compatible with ideas of witchcraft. Also, Fox 2000, 232.

[50] Korpel 1996, 105.

characterized as women, so it would probably make sense to combine prophesying group of women with the idea of powerful yet harmful women.[51]

I do not intend to argue that Ezekiel 13 would have a straightforward connection to the texts of Maqlû or Proverbs. These similarities, however, seem to indicate that hunting is a theme that has often been linked to malevolent and powerful women. It is naturally possible that hunting could be a reference to some divinatory action that differs from prophecy. However, it can quite easily be seen as a part of metaphorical construct that distorts the actions of prophesying women into something far more malevolent and dangerous.

It is also worthy of noting that the imagery that is associated with hunting is diminished in the text of LXX. First, instead of hunting the Greek text uses the verb διαστρέφω of the actions of the women. It could be interpreted that the prophesying women do not hunt souls but rather mislead people with their message. This action would be easier to reconcile with accusations of false prophesy. In this paper, it is not possible to speculate on the reason for this difference between MT and LXX. It however seems that the Greek text does not have similar metaphoric content.

The verse 19 makes the image even more interesting. Women are accused of profaning Yahweh with meagre amounts of bread and barley. There is not a clear consensus on the meaning of this statement. It could possibly mean that the bread and barley are meant as payments for women.[52] It has also been argued that they could be some ingredients that the women use in their actions.[53] Nonetheless, the accusation of profanation is remarkably strong and emphasizes the seriousness of their transgressions.

This verse also further emphasizes the threat that these women represent. They can decide upon the lives of the people. Text argues that the women can kill people who should live but they keep alive persons who are supposed to die. Text also connects this power to lying. The text is also concerned with the victims of the women, who are labeled as the people of Yahweh.[54] In other words, it seems that the victims are defined as righteous people, while the actions of the women strengthen the wicked.

[51] This idea has been advocated by Bowen 1999, 430-433 and Schmitt 2012, 192.
[52] Zimmerli 1979, 297.
[53] Cooke 1936, 146; Greenberg 1983, 240.
[54] On the possible significance of this label, see Renz (1999, 214-215)

The verse 20 is difficult to interpret due to numerous problems of the text.[55] In the Masoretic text the victims of the prophesying women seem to be compared to birds. Since spirits of the ancestors are often depicted as birdlike creatures in the ancient Near-Eastern context, it has been argued that this could be a reference to some form of necromancy where spirits are trapped and used in divination.[56] Nonetheless, in the Old testament the bird imagery can also be used of living people. For example, in Psalm 124:7 the people of Israel are able to escape a trap like a bird.[57]

Even though the references to hunting are numerous in MT, the text does not completely diverge from the ideas of lying and false divination. Instead, verse 13:22 accuses women of causing grief to the hearts of righteous with lies and strengthening the hands of wicked so they see no reason to repent. The verse seems to carry the idea of the verse 19 where two separate groups of people are subjected to activity of prophesying women. Righteous people suffer yet wicked are strengthened. In the final verse, divination and false visions are mentioned. This section is interesting, since it seems to connect women closer to the more common ideas of false prophecy. The danger is related to falsehoods that lead people away from Yahweh.

Verses 17-23 form an interesting picture. Women are definitely dangerous, but the exact nature of their threat could be interpreted in multiple ways. They represent a major threat to the people of Yahweh, but it is uncertain whether this threat should be understood literally as killing and hunting people, or misleading them away from God. Interestingly LXX emphasizes the aspect of misleading and MT focuses on more literal harming. The text nonetheless is concerned with the peculiar instruments that are destroyed in the actions that Yahweh takes against the women. Again, the exact nature of threat depends on what reading of text is examined and if the text is seen as metaphorical.

[55] Zimmerli 1979, 288. First, verse contains several masculine suffixes that do not seem to be correct in the context. נְפָשֹׁים should probably be נְפָשׁוֹת and זְרוֹעֹתֵיכֶם makes little sense if the text is referring to the arms of women. Secondly, there is a major difference between MT and LXX, which is the presence of term לְפֹרְחוֹת. This word is usually translated with help of Aramaic to mean "like birds". In this context, this would possibly mean that souls are in some manner compared to birds. Septuagint does not have any allusions to birds. Where MT uses לְפֹרְחוֹת, LXX uses verb διασκορπισμόν. This means that Yahweh flees souls and sends them into dispersion. It is also worth noting that LXX omits the first occurrence of לְפֹרְחוֹת.
[56] Korpel 1996, 105.
[57] Brownlee 1986, 157.

3.1 Conclusions and challenges

This paper set out to answer if the characteristics of an enemy image could be found in the text of Ezekiel 13. In the light of the analysis, it is reasonable to argue that this chapter does contain enough stereotypes, metaphors and threatening imagery to make it an effective enemy image.

But should the text be read as one enemy image or a pair of two enemy images. As Daniel I. Block describes the chapter, "formal parallelism is obvious". He states that prophets and prophesying women are essentially counterparts. This can be seen in the threat that they represent. Prophets in Ezekiel 13:1-16 are potentially able to cause a false sense of peace, which causes the harm to Israel on the national level. The threat of the women is different from their counterparts in Ezekiel 13:1-16 since they are targeting the people of Yahweh on a more personal level. [58] It could be argued that these halves complement each other.

It is also interesting that these groups do not share equal punishment in the text. Prophets of the verses 1-16 face complete and almost overwhelming annihilation. They are dehumanized, cut from the future of Israel, and even destroyed by the anger of Yahweh. On the other hand, the prophesying women only endure the destruction of their instruments and halting of their actions. The anger of God is not emphasized, even though the women are characterized as extremely dangerous group.

Overall, I think the both aspects of the chapter 13 should be emphasized. Text seems to intend that there are two different prophesying groups. These groups are separated by the gender and threat that they represent. In this sense, Ezekiel 13 consists of two enemy images. However, the chapter thematically links these groups together. This text does not seem like a mere collection of slightly related oracles. Instead, it forms a large picture of dangerous prophetic groups. From this point of view, it could be viewed as one enemy image that opposes various manifestations of prophecy.

However, these conclusions must only be considered a starting point of a more ambitious and in-depth study of the Ezekiel 13. Enemy images are not created without a reason. They are created in the times of anxiety and upheaval, which call for the reinforcement of group identities. The contextualization of Ezekiel 13 must be done carefully. This task has multiple difficulties. Not much is certainly known about the situation where this enemy image was created. Was it created in a time

[58] Block 1997, 418.

where different prophetic groups had rivaling views about the future of Israel or exilic community? Or are prophets rather a fear of the past religious practices and views that could surface in the exilic time or afterwards?

Since the text of LXX diverges at points from the MT, especially in the verse 18, it is necessary to ask what caused this. Why the prophesying women are somewhat different enemies in these two readings? To achieve this goal, it is necessary to analyze the relationship of these two texts.

Secondly, the analysis calls for a thorough analysis of cognitive power of words and metaphors. In this analysis, a clear theory of metaphor needs to be applied. It could be possible for instance to use the theory cognitive blending to create accurate models of the metaphors. However, the applying of theories needs to be done very carefully.

These questions deserve a thoroughly done study. Answering them will show that the framework of enemy image can be used to create a relatively complete picture of the function and possible history of the biblical text. The completion of this task will add to the knowledge of Old testament texts and possibly further illuminate the application of still relatively seldom used framework of the enemy image.

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Eccl 3:1-15

Life and Time in Eccl 3:1-15: Living between now and for ever

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Table 1: Analysis of negative/positive activities in Eccl 3:2-8 15

In this chapter I will present a translation with textual critical comments of Eccl 3:1-15. After considering a textual analysis of this passage I will investigate the relationship between life and time presented in the passage before drawing conclusions from this study for an understanding of the theme of life in the book of Ecclesiastes.

1 Translation and textual criticism

1 To everything there is a season,

and a time to[1] every matter under heaven

2 A time to be born and a time to die;

a time to plant and a time to pluck up what is planted.

3 A time to kill and a time to heal;

a time to break and a time to build.

4 A time to weep and a time to laugh;

a time for lamentation and a time for dancing.

5 A time to throw stones and a time to gather stones;

a time to embrace and a time to keep from embracing.

6 A time to seek and a time to give up as lost;

a time to keep and a time to throw away.

7 A time to tear and a time to sew together;

a time to be silent and a time to speak.

8 A time to love and a time to hate;

a time for war and a time for peace.

9 What advantage does the worker have in his labour?

[1] I have translated לכל by the phrase, "to every". This Hebrew phrase could have been translated "for every", I have chosen "to every" to further emphasis the repetition of the preposition ל in the poem, 26 times in vv. 1-8.

10 I have seen the occupation which God has given to the sons of men to be occupied with. 11 Everything[2] he has made[3] beautiful in its time, he has also given (a sense of) eternity in their[4] hearts so that men cannot find out the work which God has worked from the beginning until the end. 12 I know that there is nothing better for them[5] than to rejoice and to do good in their lives. 13 And also all men[6] should eat and drink and see good in all their labour, that is a gift of God. 14 I know that everything which God does will be for eternity, to it nothing can be added, and from it nothing removed; God has done it so that they may stand in fear of him. 15 What has been already is, and what is to be already has been; and God seeks what has been pursued.

2 Textual analysis

In this section I will identify Eccl 3:1-15 as a unit of text within its context in the book before analysing the structure of this unit of text considering vocabulary and grammatical forms. I will

[2] In the Hebrew text the phrase את־הכל, which here is translated "everything", comes first in the verse. This word order is not usual in Biblical Hebrew but is found in Ecclesiastes and is explained by noting the author's use of emphasis and contrast, see Schoors, *Pleasing Words I*, pp. 159-160.

[3] G* and S present a text with ἅ ἐποίησεν. The shorter Greek text ἐποίησεν, is found in the first hand of Codex Sinaiticus and a few miniscule manuscripts. There is no evidence of a longer Hebrew text, which might have been את כל אשר עשׂה יפה בעתו. Although the Greek text is difficult the shorter text is to be preferred. See Goldman, *BHQ* 18 Megilloth, pp. 75*-76*.

[4] The editors of *BHS* suggest that the reading בלבם is by dittography and that we should read בו or בם. No support is offered from this from any manuscripts or versions. However, this suggestion can be explained as *lectio facilior* and the reading in the text is to be preferred (see Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 163). The lexeme בלבם may be analysed as the preposition ב together with the word (ב)לב and the concluding third person, masculine plural suffix. The third person suffix follows from the preceding phrase לבני האדם in v. 10 (see Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 30).

[5] The editors of *BHS* propose emending the word בם to read the word באדם. Seeking manuscript support for this emendation, Seow mentions only two manuscripts (see Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 164). The proposed reading assimilated the phrase אין טוב בם to אים טוב באדם which is found elsewhere in Eccl, e.g. 2:24, and can be explained as *lectio facilior*. As Seow notes (p. 164) the word בם refers back to האדם in v. 11. The reading in the text is to be preferred.

[6] The editors of *BHQ* report G* as omitting the article from the noun האדם. The article is included in the Codex Vaticanus manuscript. Goldman (*BHQ* 18 Megilloth, p. 76*) comments on Rahlfs inclusion of the article that Rahlfs is, "bringing G in harmony with M as he so often does." p. 76*. The inclusion of the article is *lectio difficilior*, especially coming before the relative clause שיאכל, and is to be preferred.

comment the form of the text and its situation in the book, concluding this section with an account of the meaning of these verses.

2.1 The context of Eccl 3:1-15

Eccl 3:1-15 introduces the theme of time in the book. The theme is introduced in v.1 where we read of "a season" (זמן) and "a time" (עת). The noun translated "time" (עת) dominates vv. 2-8, and the idea of "eternity" (עולם) appears in vv. 11 and 14.

Eccl 3:1-15 is a unit, with vv. 1-9 introducing the theme of a time for everything, with vv. 10-15 highlighting the absence of human understanding or control of the times.[7] Eccl 2:24-26 forms the conclusion of the portion of text immediately preceding 3:1-15.[8] The introduction of the theme of time also marks the beginning of a new section.[9]

Although the theme of time is continued into 3:16-22, v. 16 opens with the adverb "Moreover" (ועוד), a marker of a new section[10], and does introduce a new observation on the theme of injustice[11]. The theme of justice/injustice is related to the theme of time in v. 17b, "for there is a time to every matter" (כי־עת לכל־יפץ), but this new theme is of such significance as to be worthy of treatment in its own section. Structural analysis of the book of Ecclesiastes has suggested that the phrase "(this also is *hebel*) and a striving after wind" (גם־זה הבל [ורעות רוח]) as the marker of the close of a section of text (see e.g. 2:26; 4:4, 6, 16; 6:9)[12]. This analysis would read 3:1-4:6 as a unit of text[13]. However, the variety of themes found in the longer section, 3:1-4:6, suggests that smaller units within this larger section can be read as meaningful

[7] Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 20.

[8] See e.g. Wright, *The Riddle of the Sphinx* p. 325, and Loader *Polar Structures* p. 29.

[9] See Bartholomew *Ecclesiastes* p. 159.

[10] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 166.

[11] See e.g. Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 25. Note that in v. 16 the key terms "justice" (משפט), "wickedness" (רשׁע), and "righteousness" (צדק) all appear.

[12] See e.g. Wright, *The Riddle of the Sphinx* p. 325, and Loader *Polar Structures* p. 29.

[13] See e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes* pp. 28-39.

portions of text. The observation that the theme of time appears throughout 3:1-15 gives coherence to these verses as a unit of text[14].

2.2 The structure of Eccl 3:1-15

Eccl 3:1-15 can be read in two sections, vv. 1-9 and vv. 10-15. Each of these sections can be subdivided: vv. 1-9 – v. 1: opening observation; vv. 2-8: illustrative poem; and v. 9: concluding question[15], and vv. 10-15 – vv. 10-11: Reflection on time, work and eternity; vv. 12-13: Reflection on time, and 'there is nothing better'; vv. 14-15 Reflection on time, God and eternity.

Eccl 3:2-8 are poetic.[16]. The editors of both *BHS* and *BHQ*[17] have set out these verses as a poem. The use of the conjunction *waw* (ו) to introduce the second half of each line creates a relationship between the two part of the line, without further specifying what that relationship is. Although attempts have been made to identify a chiastic pattern in vv. 2-8, these have proved unsuccessful as these analyses depend more upon the content of the verses than the literary structure of the verses[18].

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[14] C. L. Seow (*Ecclesiastes* pp. 158-176.) takes the unit as 3:1-22, commenting, "It is clear that 3:1-15 constitutes a coherent passage, but the central issue raised in that passage is continued into the next (3:16-22)" (p. 169). Norbert Lohfink (*Qoheleth,* p. 58.) treats 3:1-15 as a discrete portion of text within the longer section 1:12-3:15, with 3:1-15 bringing closure to the chiastic structure Lohfink observes in 1:12-3:15. Thomas Krüger (*Qoheleth,* pp. 75-101.) reads 3:1-9 as an interlude, then takes 3:10-4:12 as the next unit. The variety in structural analysis of 3:1-15 illustrates the on-going scholarly debates on the structure of Ecclesiastes, but does not prevent a reading of 3:1-15 as a unit of text.

[15] Krüger (*Qoheleth*, p. 75) offers a similar analysis which also sets 3:1-9 in parallel with 1:3-9 as follows,

general assertion	3:1	1:9
illustration through individual phenomena	3:2-8	1:4-8
concluding question	3:9	1:3

[16] e.g. verses 2-8, or 1-9, have been described as, 'a sonnet' by Loader, (*Qohelet 3:2-8* pp. 240-242); or as 'a didactic poem' by von Rad, (*Wisdom in Israel*, p. 138). I will discuss the elements of Hebrew poetry in section 2.3 below.

[17] I note that the editors of *BHQ* have copied the setting of these verses from Codex Leningradensis.

[18] E.g. J. A. Loader (*Polar Structures*, p. 11) considers 3:2-8 to be, "the most intricate chiastic composition in the Old Testament." Previously Loader had published a detailed analysis of these seven verses, arguing that each hemistichoi describes either a desirable or an undesirable occurrence, that each stichos of two hemistichoi contains both a desirable and an undesirable occurrence, and that the stichos can be arranged in a chiastic pattern, creating

Eccl 3:1 functions as an introduction to the poem in vv. 2-8, and that the combined effect of the seven verses, vv. 2-8, is that the opening statement in v. 1 be emphatically confirmed. The rhetorical question in v. 9, which is closely parallel to that in 1:3[19], serves as a challenging conclusion to this section of the text[20].

That the sub-unit begins at 3:10 is confirmed using the "I have seen" (ראיתי) opening formula[21]. 3:10-15 displays an array of repeated vocabulary which binds these verses together: work (עשׂה) vv. 11[3], 14[2]; give (נתן) vv. 10, 11; God (אלהים) vv. 10, 11, 13, 14[2], 15; men (אדם) vv. 10, 11, 13; and eternity (עולם) vv. 11, 14. The repetition of eternity (עולם), men (אדם), and give (נתן) is not significant compared to the use of these terms elsewhere in Ecclesiastes.[22] Work (עשׂה) is used 6 times in 6 verses, 3:9-14, 5 times in 3:10-15 from a total of 43 occurrences in Ecclesiastes.[23] Similarly, God (אלהים) is found 6 times in the 6 verses 3:10-15 out of 40 appearances in the book.[24] The repetition of the terms work (עשׂה) and God (אלהים) in 3:10-15 are the most concentrated uses of these two terms in the book of Ecclesiastes.

An important repetition in 3:10-15 is the phrase "I know that" (ידעתי כי) at the introduction of vv. 12 and 14[25], which suggests that we can read vv. 10-15 in three sub-units, vv. 10-11, vv. 12-13, and vv. 14-15. 3:10-11 contrasts the occupation given to humans by God with the work

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a sonnet form across the seven verses. (See Loader, *Qohelet 3:2-8,* pp.240-242) C. L. Seow (*Ecclesiastes*, p. 171) comments, "Despite the impression of a deliberate structure, no clear pattern is discernible."

[19] See below section 2.4.1 (c).

[20] Murphy (*Ecclesiastes*, p. 34) recognises v. 9 as being applied to the poem, while noting that, "The conclusion [reached in v. 9] leaps ahead of the data [provided by vv. 2-8]", in this way v. 9 serves as a conclusion to vv. 1-8, and a link to vv. 10-15.

[21] E.g. See Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 34, who notes this verb "I have seen" (ראיתי) being used in 3:16; 4:1, 4, 7; 6:11; 7:15; 8:10; 9:11, 13.

[22] "Eternity" (עולם) appears twice in 3:10-15, out of 7 occurrences in Ecclesiastes, men (אדם) is used 3 times in 3:10-15 from 49 uses in the book, and "give" (נתן) appears twice in 3:1-15, out of 25 uses in the book.

[23] Work (עשׂה) is used 8 times in 16 verses in 2:2-17, and 11 times in chapter 8, of which there are 7 uses in 6 verses, 8:9-14.

[24] God (אלהים) is found 9 times in the 19 verses 5:1-19, and 5 times in each of 7:13-29 (17 verses) and 8:2-17 (16 verses).

[25] This feature is noted by Krüger, *Qoheleth,* p. 83.

of God which human cannot comprehend. 3:12-13 records the good that humans can find in their labours, and 3:14-15 focuses upon the eternal perspective from which God works his work. The passage can be structured in two units, vv. 1-9 – a poem, and vv. 10-15 – an explanatory comment on the poem.

The structure of Eccl 3:1-15 is:

3:1-9

3:1	Opening assertion
3:2-8	Illustrative[26] poem
3:9	Concluding question

3:10-15

3:10-11	Reflection on time, work and eternity
3:12-13	Reflection on time, and 'there is nothing better'
3:14-15	Reflection on time, God and eternity

2.3 Form and setting of Eccl 3:1-15

Eccl 3:1-9 is a poem. Poetry in the Hebrew Bible is recognised by the presence of poetic forms, an observable rhythm or meter[27], the use of parallelism[28], a terse or dense form of expression[29]. In contrast 3:10-15 is a prose section[30]. Those poetic features which identified 3:1-9 as poetry are largely absent in 3:10-15. Each of the three sub-units in the passage 3:10-15 opens with a

[26] I am using this description "Illustrative poem" to show that the function of the poem in 3:2-8 is to illustrate the truth outlined in 3:1. See section 2.4 for a more complete description of this function of 3:2-8.

[27] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, (New York: Basic Books, 1985). p. 6, Alter quotes Barbara Hernstein Smith, "As soon as we perceive that a verbal sequence has a sustained rhythm, that it is formally structured according to a continuously operating principle of organization, we know that we are in the presence of poetry".

[28] See e.g. Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985).

[29] See J. P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Poetry: An Introductory Guide*, (Louisville/London: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001). p. 15. For a complete discussion of poetry in the Hebrew Bible see, Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*, (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005).

[30] This in contrast to Loader, *Polar Opposites*, who claims, "Apart from the redactional formula in 1_1 *the book as a whole is a work of poetry*." (p. 18, author's emphasis). This unnecessary claim is sustained by Loader presenting the author as one, "who does not allow himself to be prescribed by convention." (p. 18)

first-person verb, v. 10 "I have seen" (ראיתי), v. 12 "I know" (ידעתי), and v. 14 "I know" (ידעתי). The use of first-person verbs is common in the book of Ecclesiastes giving it the character of a personal memoir (e.g. 1:12-2:26)[31], or as here, personal reflection upon a topic or situation. In the passage 3:1-15, the poem in vv. 1-9 is used to establish the topic or theme which is then reflected upon in vv. 10-15.

Eccl 1:12-2:26 is characterised by the royal introduction[32]. Lohfink reads 3:1-15 as the conclusion to, "the narrative of the 'king' Qoheleth"[33]. However, after 2:26 there is no indication in any part of the book that the royal characterisation is maintained[34]. It is possible to read 1:12-2:26 as a reflection upon life from a royal perspective, with 3:1-15 presenting a new reflection which does not need the support of the royal persona.[35]

2.4 Exposition of Eccl 3:1-15

2.4.1 Eccl 3:1-9

(a) 3:1

The key term in 3:1-9 is the word "time" (עת), which appears 29 times[36], and we note also appears once in 3:11. This word is introduced in v. 1 where it is set in parallel with another chronological term, "seasons" (זמן),

> 1 To everything there is a season (זמן),
>
> and a time (עת) to every matter under heaven[37]

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[31] E.g. see Krüger, *Qoheleth*, pp. 9-11.

[32] E.g. see Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, pp.142-144, where Seow describes the passage 1:12-2:26 as a "'fictional royal autobiography'".

[33] Lohfink, *Qoheleth*, p. 59.

[34] See e.g. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 144.

[35] The author of the book is adopting various perspectives or characters to present his insights to the readers.

[36] Apart from these 29 occurrences of the word עת in 3:1-15 it is used a further 10 times in Ecclesiastes out of a total of 296 uses in the Hebrew Bible, T. Kronholm, *TDOT*, vol xi. pp. 437-438. See Eccl 3:17; 7:17; 8:5, 6, 9; 9: 8, 11, 12^2 10:17.

[37] The LXX reflects the use of these two different terms by translating "season" (זמן) with χρόνος, and "time" (עת) with καιρὸς.

Apart from this one occurrence in Ecclesiastes, the Hebrew noun זמן is a rare word used only in Esther and Nehemiah.[38] In Hebrew there is no distinction between these two terms (זמן and עת), both are used to describe a specified time.[39] Although in Greek thought there was a distinction between the use of the nouns χρόνος and καιρὸς[40] this is not reflected in the use of the Hebrew nouns in Eccl 3:1.[41] Both of the terms, זמן and עת, refer to the notion of an appointed time or a time set for a particular activity.[42] The expansion in 3:1 is that there is not only a specific time for some activities, but for every activity, "every matter under heaven" (לכל־חפץ תחת השׁמים). The following verses 2-8 are designed to confirm this perspective.

(b) 3:2-8

Eccl 3:2-8 is a poem of seven verses, each of two colons[43], with each colon being divided into two poetic hemstitches. The form of each hemistich is regular: the first hemistich in each line is composed of the noun עת + the preposition ל + a verb in the Qal in Infinitive construct, e.g. v. 2aα,

ללדת	עת
Qal Inf. const.+preposition	noun.

The second hemistich follows the same form, except that it is introduced by the conjunction *waw* (ו), e.g. v. 2aβ,

למות	ועת
Qal Inf. const.+preposition	noun+conjunction.

[38] See Est 9:27, 31; 10:14; Neh 2:6; 10:35; 13:31. Note that the Aramaic cognate noun is found in Ezra and Daniel, Anthony Tomasino, *NIDOTTE* VOL. 1. pp. 1114-1115. See also, A. Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: Part II Vocabulary*, (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2004). p. 382.

[39] See entries in BDB, זמן pp. 273-274, and עת pp. 773-774.

[40] See e.g. H. Hübner, χρόνος, ου, ὁ, *EDNT*, vol 3. p. 488.

[41] See e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 29.

[42] For זמן see Tomasino, NIDOTTE vol1, pp. 1114-1115, and for עת see Kronholm, TDOT, vol XI, pp. 446-447. See also Hans W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1974). p. 90, and Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, (London: SCM Press Ltd, 1972). p. 139, see ft. nt. 4.

[43] A colon is, "A single line of poetry", and a hemistich is, "A subdivision of the colon, generally equal to half the length of the colon." Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, p. 12.

There are only a few exceptions to this regular pattern[44] which do not diminish the unity of the piece or the poetic force of these verses.[45]

Each line of the poem sets the two halves of each line in a parallel relationship. In my analysis, will examine each line to determine if there is a consistent relationship between each half-line throughout the poem, and also whether there is any pattern or relationship between the 14 lines of the poem.[46]

Verse 2

2 A time to be born and a time to die;

(עת ללדת ועת למות)

a time to plant and a time to pluck up what is planted.

(עת לטעת ועת לעקור נטוע)

In v. 2a the events of birth and death frame all human life[47]. The two are connected by occurring at a specific instant in time and being beyond the control of the human

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[44] (1) by addition:

v. 2bβ,	an additional Participle	ועת לעקור **נטוע**
vv. 5aα, 5aβ,	an additional noun	עת להשׁליך **אבנים** ועת כנוס **אבנים**
v. 5bβ,	an additional verb+preposition (this verb is a Pi'el Inf. const.)	ועת לרחק **מחבק**

(2) by omission:

vv. 4bα, 4bβ, preposition ל omitted	עת ספוד ועת רקו
v. 5aβ,	ועת כנוס אבנים

(3) by change in verb *binyan*:

v. 5aα,	Hi. Inf. const.	עת ל**השליך** אבנים
vv. 6aα, 6aβ,	Pi'el Inf. const.	עת ל**בקש** ועת ל**אבד**
v. 6bβ,	Hi. Inf. const.	ועת ל**השליך**
v. 7bβ,	Pi'el Inf. const.	ועת ל**דבר**

(4) by replacing verb with noun:

vv. 8bα, 8bβ	עת **מלחמה** ועת **שׁלום**

[45] Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 160, "This poem has the longest set of lines-fifteen in a row-with internal (half-line) parallelism in the OT".

[46] In this analysis, I will test the influential analysis of Loader, *Qohelet 3:2-8,* and *Polar Opposites*, followed by, among others, Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 32-33, and the contrary analysis of Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 171, "from the beginning to the end [of the peom] one can detect no progression or structure of any sort. All that is evident is that there are opposite activities and opposite situations, but there is no pattern."

[47] See Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 163, who refers to birth and death setting limits upon human life.

experiencing them. Birth and death are events of critical importance for all human life. The relationship between birth and death is of two opposites which are mutually exclusive.

Turning to v. 2b there is a diminishment in the importance of birth/death compared with planting/plucking up what is planted.[48] I have translated the phrase לעקור נטוע, "to pluck up what is planted". The sense of "harvest", or "reap"[49] is possible for this rarely used word[50]. The relationship across the line is then between the activities of planting and of harvesting. These two activities are connected, harvesting depends upon planting, but they are not carried out at the same time. While it may appear that these activities are under human control, a farmer chooses when to plant and when to harvest, they are not. A farmer must learn which season of the year is the right time for planting and this determines when the time for reaping will be. The changing seasons are not under human control. There is no need to read v. 2b as a metaphor for life and death[51], or to consider "pluck up" as a violent uprooting which may be a metaphorical reference to destruction[52]. Reading the contrast in the line as between planting and harvesting makes it impossible to describe one activity as good and the other as bad,[53] as both activities are good in their proper time.

Verse 3

3 A time to kill and a time to heal;

(עת להרוג ועת לרפוא)

a time to break and a time to build.

[48] See e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 33.

[49] See e.g. Farby, עקר, *TDOT*, vol XI, p. 321, and Foulkes, *NIDOTTE*, vol 3, p. 509.

[50] In Hebrew Bible the verb עקר, only appears in Gen 49:6; Josh 11:6-9; 2 Sam 8:2 = 1 Chron 18:4; Zeph 2:4; Eccl 3:2.

[51] See e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 33.

[52] See e.g. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 163.

[53] In contrast to e.g. Loader, *Qohelet 3:2-8*, and *Polar Opposites*, who uses the terms desirable and undesirable.

(עת לפרוץ ועת לבנות)

In v. 3a the contrast between "kill" (הרג) and "heal" (רפא) places the ending of life term first, which is in reverse of v. 2a where the ending of life term comes in the second half of the line[54]. The two terms here can be activities of one human at different times. The verb kill (הרג) is most often used in violent contexts[55]. The activity of violent killing is mutually exclusive with that of healing when directed to the same human object. The contrast in this line does very clearly demonstrate the difference between a good or a bad activity.

In v. 3b the verb "to break" (פרוץ) is used metaphorically in the sense of breaking down or tearing apart. This is a negatively viewed activity in contrast to the second half of the line with the verb "to build" (בנות) which has positive connotations.

Verse 4

4 A time to weep and a time to laugh;

(עת לבכות ועת לשׂחוק)

a time for lamentation and a time for dancing.

(עת ספוד ועת רקוד)

Weeping and laughing, v. 4a, are common and shared human experiences[56]. The sudden occurrence of illness or death, and of times for joy and celebration mean that both these experiences are regularly[57] beyond human control.

v. 4b is a parallel to v. 4a, the negative elements of weeping/lamentation (ספוד/בכות) in the first half of each line being set in contrast to the positive laugh/dance (רקוד/שׂחוק).

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[54] See Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 164, who notes this as a chiastic relationship between v. 2a and v. 3a.

[55] See e.g. Fuhs, הרג, *TDOT*, vol III, pp. 451-455, who identifies the killing of enemies in battle, political opponents, personal rivals, as a crime and as a punishment.

[56] See Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 32.

[57] There are times when experiences of weeping or laughter may be planned, e.g. at a funeral service or a family party, however, the main focus in this passage remains upon the uncontrolled element in these human experiencdes.

Verse 5

5 A time to throw stones and a time to gather stones;

(עת להשליך אבנים ועת כנוס אבנים)

a time to embrace and a time to keep from embracing.

(עת לחבוק ועת לרחק מחבק)

The sense of the metaphors in both v. 5a and v. 5b are unclear[58]. The verb "to throw" (השליך) is often used in the Hebrew Bible with the sense of throwing an object.[59] The verb "to gather" is relatively rare in the Hebrew Bible with only 11 occurrences[60]. The object being thrown and gathered in both parts of the line is stones (אבנים). It is possible that in v. 5a the reference is to throwing stones upon a field and gathering stones from a field.[61] In time of war stones could be thrown upon an enemy field and in time of peace stones gathered from one's own field in preparation for sowing. One activity is negative, the other positive, and the times for war and peace are beyond human control.

The "embrace" (חבק) in v. 5b could be an expression of friendship or could be part of a sexual encounter.[62] It is difficult to describe one half of this line as negative or positive, as at the appropriate time either embracing or keeping from embracing may be positive or negative. While the choice to embrace or not may be under a human's control, if the embrace of another is to be consensual and reciprocated there is a lack of complete control over the appropriate time for this action.[63]

Verse 6

6 A time to seek and a time to give up as lost;

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[58] See Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 21, who notes a tradition of interpretation by means of sexual allusions, which Fox rejects.

[59] Thiel, שלך, *TDOT*, vol XV, pp. 90-92.

[60] See Isa 28:20; Ezek 22:21, 39:28; Psalms 33:7, 147:2; Eccl 2:8, 26, 3:5; Esth 4:16; Neh 12:44; 1 Chron 22:2.

[61] See e.g. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 161-162.

[62] See e.g. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 165.

[63] See Krüger, *Qoheleth*, p. 78.

(עת לבקשׁ ועת לאבד)

a time to keep and a time to throw away.

(עת דשׁמור ועת להשׁליך)

In v. 6a the action of "seeking" (בקשׁ) is set in contrast to that of "giving up as lost" (אבד). These actions are opposites, as are the two in v. 6b, "keeping" (שׁמור) or "throwing away" (השׁליך).[64] The idea in v. 6a is of something having been lost which is sought for but then given up as irrecoverable, which implies the first half line as positive in contrast to the negative conclusion of the line. It is the sense of having lost something which establishes the time as beyond human control. In v. 6b it is difficult to judge which half line is positive or negative, there are circumstances where to keep something beyond the point of usefulness results in harm. So although the two actions in v. 6b are opposites, in different times each of them may be either positive or negative.

Verse 7

7 A time to tear and a time to sew together;

(עת דקרוע ועת דתפור)

a time to be silent and a time to speak.

(עת לחשׁות ועת לדבר)

It is likely that both lines in v. 7 describe activities from every day human life.[65] Tearing a garment, v. 7a, is opposite to sewing a garment together, or repairing a tear in a garment. Sewing would be judged a positive activity in contrast to the negative of tearing. In v. 7b the two activities "being silent" (חשׁות) and "speaking" (דבר) are mutually exclusive, if one speaks one is no longer silent. It is impossible to assign one or the other as positive or negative, because in different times each may be positive or negative.

[64] See e.g. Krüger, *Qoheleth*, p. 78.

[65] It is possible to read these activities in relation to mourning, but this is neither implied nor necessary, see, e.g. Krüger, *Qoheleth*, p. 78.

Verse 8

8 A time to love and a time to hate;

(עת לאהב ועת לשׂנא)

a time for war and a time for peace.

(עת מלחמה ועת שׂדום)

Verse 8 presents two pairs of opposites which can be assigned as positive or negative. In v. 8a "love" (אהב) is positive and opposite to "hate" (שׂנא), and in v. 8b "war" (מלחמה) is negative and opposite to "peace" (שׂלום). The positive and negative elements of these two lines are arranged chiastically.[66] The common element in the four activities in v. 8 is that the appropriate time for each is beyond the control of any individual.

The poem in 3:2-8 sets out a series of 14 lines of mutually exclusive activities. Not all the activities can be clearly described as negative or positive and as the following table shows there is no obvious pattern[67] in the negative/positive contrast in the lines.

v. 2a	Positive (P)	Negative (N)
v. 2b	P	P
v. 3a	N	P
v. 3b	N	P
v. 4a	N	P
v. 4b	N	P
v. 5a	N	P
v. 5b	N/P	N/P

[66] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 162. Seow's comment that, "None of the other sets manifest this structure" depends upon how the negative/positive elements are assigned to each element in each line.

[67] This contra e.g. Loader, *Qoheleth 3:2-8*, pp. 240-242, and *Polar Opposites*, pp. 29-33. See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 171, "from the beginning to the end [of the poem] one can detect no progression or structure of any sort."

v. 6a	P	N
v. 6b	N/P	N/P
v. 7a	N	P
v. 7b	N/P	N/P
v. 8a	P	N
v. 8b	N	P

Table 1: Analysis of negative/positive activities in Eccl 3:2-8

The meaning of the poem is not to be sought in the exact paralleling, in a chiastic pattern, of the terms, but in the overall effect of the poem. The purpose of 3:2-8 is to confirm the introduction in 3:1, there is a time for everything. The impression given by the poem is that these events happen, or may happen, to any single human; at one time a person may experience love, while at another time the same person may experience hate. The challenge of the poem is that each human must live in the times which come upon them.

(c) 3:9

3:9 is the conclusion to the poem in 3:2-8. The phrase "What advantage" (מה־יתרון) used in 1:3, 3:9 and 5:15(16) does suggest a recurring interest in this question. The question of advantage or gain is enquiring into the benefit which may be accrued from human labour.

With the poem, 3:2-8, emphasising the universal human experience of time being beyond human control, the rhetorical question in 3:9 focuses the concern raised by this lack of control of times. If humans do not, or cannot, control the times which come upon them in their lives how is it possible for them to achieve any profit/advantage (יתרון) from their labour (עמל)? The use of the word "labour" (עמל) in v. 9 and v. 13, and the verb "work" (עשׂה) in v. 9 and in vv. 11^2, 12, and 14^2, connect the rhetorical question in v. 9, which concludes the poem (3:1-8), with the prose commentary in 3:10-15.

2.4.2 Eccl 3:10-15

(a) 3:10-11

This section opens with the verb "I have seen" (ראיתי) 3:10, which marks the beginning of a reflection or observation. The implication of vv. 10-11 suggests more than simple observation,[68] what is reported is not only what Qoheleth has seen, but something which having been seen has been subjected to examination. The occupation (הענין) which is seen is the labour (עמל) from which an advantage is sought, 3:9.

Qoheleth reflects upon, "the occupation (הענין) which God has given to the sons of men to be occupied (לענות) with" (3:10). The noun ענין, and the verb ענה, are found only in Ecclesiastes.[69] In Ecclesiastes this noun is used to identify various tasks, or activities, with which humans are occupied.[70] In 1:13; 4:8; 5:13(14) the noun ענין is paired with the adjective רע, "an evil occupation", which could suggest that this "occupation" (ענין) is consistently viewed as bad or evil. The association is also negative in 2:23, "and grief his task" (וכעס ענינו), 2:26, "but to a sinner he gives a task of gathering and collecting" (ולחוטא נתן ענין לאסוף ולכנוס), and in 5:2(3), "For as dreams come with much occupation (ענין), so the voice of a fool with many words"[71]. In 8:16a the "occupation" is not clearly negative, "When I gave my heart to know wisdom and to observe the occupation (הענין) which is done on the earth", however, 8:16b does introduce a negative impression of sleepless frustration, "how also in the day and the night sleep his eyes did not see". In the verbal form 1:13 has a close association with a negative use of the noun, however, 5:19(20) is a positive occurrence, "God keeps man occupied (מענה) with joy of his

[68] See Schoors *Pleasing Words vol II*, p. 66, who renders the verb, "examine". This contra Loader who uses this verb to identify a *Gattung*, see Schoors, *Pleasing Words vol II*, p. 63.

[69] See for the noun ענין: 1:13; 2:23, 26; 3:10; 4:8; 5:2(3), 13(14); 8:16, and for the verb ענה: 1:13; 3:10; 5:19(20); 10:19.

[70] See Diamond, *NIDOTTE*, vol 3, pp. 452-453, and Schoors, *Pleasing Words*, vol II, pp. 427-432.

[71] The negative association in 5:2(3) is derived from the comparison between the occupation and the many words of a fool.

heart."[72] Finally 10:19, "and money occupies (יענה) all" is also a contested use of the verb[73], which may be read either negatively or positively in the context of the whole verse.[74] In 3:10 the occupation need not be evil (רע) as e.g. in 1:13. However, taken together with 3:11 the flavour of the two verses is of frustration and inability, which have negative connotations. The occupation (הענין) which God has given to humans, which could have been fulfilling and beautiful is marred by the frustration of human inability to comprehend the work of God.

Verse 11a appears to challenge the frustration of v. 10, "He [God] has made everything beautiful (יפה) in its time (בעתו)". The adjective יפה, occurs 42 times in the Hebrew Bible most often referring to the beauty of the external form.[75] Although it may be possible to translate the adjective in 3:11 as "good", the use of the adjective in 5:17(18) in parallel with the adjective טוב (usually translated "good"), suggests that "beautiful" is better is both verses. This phrase, which repeats the key word "time" (עת) from the poem 3:1-8, needs however to be understood in relation to the remainder of the verse.

The key theme in 3:10-15 is introduced in v. 11b by the crucial word "eternity" (העלם), "he [God] has also given (a sense of) eternity (העלם)[76] in their hearts so that men cannot find out the work which God has worked from the beginning until the end." (3:11). Reading the noun עולם, in the context of other uses in Ecclesiastes[77] we can arrive at the sense of "duration".[78] This emphasises the contrast between time as a duration of time (עולם), and time as a specific instance of time (עת).[79]

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[72] See discussion in Schoors, *Pleasing Words vol II*, pp. 430-431, for this disputed reading of the verb.

[73] See discussion in Schoors, *Pleasing Words vol II*, pp. 431-432.

[74] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 340.

[75] See H. Ringgren, "יפה" *TDOT* vol vi, pp. 218-219.

[76] Fox, Ecclesiastes, p. 23, suggests emending העלם (the world) to העמל (the toil), to establish, "a meaningful text". In the absence of any text critical evidence, e.g. LXX reads *τὸν αἰῶνα* in for העלם in 3:11, and any contextual need for this emendation it is rejected.

[77] See Eccl 1:4, 10; 2:16; 3:11, 14; 9:6; 12:5.

[78] See H. D. Preuss, עולם, *TDOT* vol x, pp. 541-542. See also, Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, pp. 29-30.

[79] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 173.

The experience of the duration of time is given into the hearts (בלבם) of humans by God. This use of the noun לב (heart) has been read to, "denote in a unique way the existential nature of humanity".[80] Wolff considers the noun לב to be, "The most important word in the vocabulary of Old Testament anthropology", and that most commonly, "it is the intellectual, rational functions that are ascribed to the heart".[81] By means of the noun לב, the theme of human life is introduced into this passage. The rational faculty of human life is engaged by God in a consideration of the tension between duration of time and specific instances of time. Verse 11 concludes, "so that men cannot find out the work which God has worked from the beginning until the end." Taken together vv. 10-11 identify a particular human frustration (occupation), given by God, which consists in humans being unable to rationally comprehend the relationship between the activity of God over a duration of time and the specific instances of God beautifying everything in a given moment of time.

(b) 3:12-13

Verses 12-13 open with the verb ידעתי (I know). This opening, here and in vv. 14-15, gives a sense of certainty to what it is that Qoheleth knows.[82] Qoheleth continues with a "nothing better" (אין טוב) formula. This formula highlights the enjoyment of life as a response or conclusion to an observation made by Qoheleth.[83] The "nothing better" formula is connected with the rhetorical question, "What advantage?" (מהיתרון), see 3:9, 12; also 1:3, 2:24, creating units of text which display, "the movement of thought from question to response and advice".[84] The parallel between 3:12-13 and 2:24-25 extend beyond the repeated use of "nothing better" (אין טוב). In both 3:12 the Inf. const. "to rejoice" (לשׂמות), and in 2:26 the noun "joy" (ושׂמחה),

[80] H. -J. Fabry, לב *TDOT* vol vii, p. 421.

[81] Wolff, *Anthropology*, pp. 40 and 46.

[82] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 173, "Qohelet's observation leads him to two certainties".

[83] See, e.g. Schoor, *Pleasing Words*, vol II, p. 39.

[84] Graham S. Ogden, "Qoheleth's Use of the 'Nothing is Better' – From", *JBL* 98 (1979), p. 350. Note that Ogden reads 3:1-22 as a unit taking into the one unit both occurences of the "nothing better" formula in chapter 3.

appear, and so the "nothing better" formula is used together with a commendation of rejoicing/joy.. 3:13 and 2:24 have considerable parallels:

3:13 שׁיאכל ושׁתה וראה טוב בכל־עמלו מתת אלהים היא

2:24 שׁיאכל ושׁתה והראה את־נפשׁו טוב בעמלו ... האלהים היא

From 3:13 the nouns "all" (כל) and "gift" (מתת) are not found in 2:24. However, from 2:24 the noun and suffix "himself" (נפשׁו) is reflected in 3:12 in the noun plus suffix "their lives" (בחייו). These parallels indicate that we have two units of text with similar component sub-units:

rhetorical question	3:9	1:3
poem	3:1-8	1:4-11
reflection	3:10-15	1:12-2:26[85]

3:12-13 are verses which enthusiastically encourage the enjoyment of life. This has been read as a "resigned conclusion"[86], but also more positively as a recognition that there is "something good for humans 'to do'".[87] Although there are frustrations for humans in living lives between the eternal duration of time (עולם) and the specific instances of time (עת), there is good which can be found and enjoyed in such lives.

(c) 3:14-15

A second "I know" (ידעתי) opening introduces the final observation Qoheleth will make in this section. Verse 14 repeats the key word from v. 11, "eternity" (לעולם). Once again in v. 14 this word carries the sense of duration of time.[88] The idea of duration of time given by the word "eternity" (עולם) in this passage is not an unlimited or unending time, but an experience of time

[85] This analysis extends the parallels offered by Krüger, see above, p. 4.

[86] See, e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 35.

[87] See, e.g. Eunny P. Lee, *The Vitality of Enjoyment in Qohelet's Theological Rhetoric*, *BZAW* 353 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005). p. 41. Also the comments of Krüger, *Qoheleth*, p. 88.

[88] See Schoors, *Pleasing Words* vol II, p. 221, "It [the noun עולם] does almost never mean 'eternity' in the traditional philosophical sense, but it rather refers to the remote ages in the past as well as in the future, a connotation that may include the sense of an unlimited duration and of invariability."

which is not confined by being a specific instance of time, which is conveyed by the word (עת) in 3:1-8.

In vv. 14-15 there are four explicit references to God: the noun "God" (אלהים), twice in v. 14 and in v. 15; and the 3rd masc. sing. suffix to the noun in v. 14 "fear of him" (שׁיאו). This should be compared to only one reference to God in vv. 12-13, the noun "God" (אלהים), in v. 13, and to the four explicit references to God in vv. 10-11: the noun "God" (אלהים), twice in v. 10 and v. 11, and the 3rd masc sing verbs "He has made" (עשׂה), and "he has also given" (נתן), in v. 11. In the sub-units vv. 10-11, and vv. 14-15in which there are references to "eternity" (עולם) there are also repeated and explicit references to "God" (אלהים), in contrast to vv. 12-13 which do not refer to "eternity" (עולם) and only once to God. The experience of time as "eternity" (עולם) can only be discussed in the context of the divine. Although "(a sense of) eternity" (את־העלם) 3:11, has been given to humans, only God lives in this "eternity" (העלם). Human awareness of "eternity" (העלם) is intended to lead humans into "the fear of him" (שׁיראו מלפניו).

Verse 15a is similar to 1:9a, b.[89] Without using the phrase "under the sun" (תחת השׁמשׁ)[90], v. 15 repeats the theme that everything which humans experience in their lives already has been. Verse 1:9 is followed by an expression of the desire for something new (1:10), and concern that there is no memory of anything (1:11). In contrast 3:15 is in the context of "eternity" (עולם) (3:11. 14).[91] Verse 15 is then responding to v. 14b, "to it nothing can be added, and from it nothing removed" (עליו אין להוסין וממנו אין לגרע). To that which God does in the expanse of a duration of time, humans cannot add or subtract by activity constrained to a specific instance of time.

[89] In 3:15 the contrast is expressed by means of verbs in the Perfect and Inf. const. and pronouns, in 1:9 by means of contrasting Perfect and Imperfect verbs. 1:9 also focuses upon what is done, with 3:15 taking account of existence.

[90] The phrase "under the sun" (תחת השׁמשׁ), is unique in the Hebrew Bible appearing 29 times in Eccl. It is used in 3:16 but this does not give cause to include 3:16 in the passage 3:1-15.

[91] See, e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 35.

In 3:15b the Ni. Ptc. "pursued" (נרדף) is a *crux interpretum*. The focus in v. 15a is on "what has been" (שׁהיה) and it is best to read v.15b as continuing this focus upon the past, giving the sense, "God recalls/ brings back what is past."[92] The verse then claims that all things already have been (v. 15a) to the God who is able to remember what is past (v. 15b). This sets up a strong contrast between God who recalls, pursues the past (v. 15) and humans who cannot comprehend the work of God at all (v. 11).

It is in this context of human inability to understand the work of God that the proper response of humans is to, "stand in fear of him" (שׁיראו לפניו) (v. 11). In Ecclesiastes, the "fear of God" is not about terror[93]. There is a great difference between God and human, as these verses show in relation to time and eternity, the "fear of God" is a phrase which seeks to recognise this difference and promote a proper human response to God.[94]

2.4.3 Summary Conclusion

Human life is lived in a series of specific instances of time (עת), 3:1, none of which are under human control, 3:2-8. This lack of control over the events of life calls into question any perceived advantage (יתרון) to be gained in life, 3:9. Beyond the limits of specific instances of time (עת) God works in eternity (עולם), which humans cannot comprehend, 3:10-11. Although unable to control specific times (עת) or to understand eternity (עולם), humans can find enjoyment in life as this gift, to find enjoyment in life, has been given by God, 3:12-13. The limits placed upon humans by their lack of control over time (עת) and failure to understand eternity (עולם) require humans to live in the fear of God (שׁיראו), 3:14-15.

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[92] Schoors, *Pleasing Words* vol II, p. 108. See also Gordis who has, "and God always seeks to repeat the past", Gordis, *Koheleth*, p. 156. This in contrast to Blenkinsopp who reads the Ni. form in Ecclesiastes, "with *the action of the wind driving something before it.*" Blenkinsopp, "Ecclesiastes 3.1-15", p. 63. And also Seow who has the Ni. verb in 3:15 refer, "to that which people seek in vain." Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 166.

[93] See ecc 3:14; 5:6 (7); 8:12,13; 12:13.

[94] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 174. See also Schoors, *Pleasing Words, vol II*, pp. 197-198, "in Qoheleth, fearing God has more to do with an attitude of awe and probably resignation than with theonomous ethic of *Torah*-based piety."

3 Life, Time, and Eternity

In this section I will consider the theme of life in Eccl 3:1-15. Having identified the theme of life I will set life in relation first to time and then to eternity, before examining life between time and eternity. In this analysis, I will show that for human life is not lived only in time, nor in eternity, but in the tension created by these two temporal poles.

3.1 Life in Eccl 3:1-15

The explicit vocabulary of life appears only in two verses in Eccl 3:1-15. In 3:12 the noun "life" (חי) is found in the plural const. with a preposition (`ב) and 3rd masc. suffix, בחייו. In 3:11 the noun "heart" (לב) is used in the phrase, "he has also given (a sense of) eternity in their hearts (בלבם)". The reference to human intelligence, or understanding, is highlighting a limitation upon human life. Human intellect is a key component of life and in 3:11 this is limited by eternity.

Although not making use of any specific vocabulary for life, the poem in 3:1-9 does deal with human life by means of the activity of human life as it is experienced in specific instances of time (עת). The catalogue of events is not intended to be a complete description of human life, but rather to indicate by the repetitive form of the poem that all human life in its activity is experienced in specific moments of time (עת).[95]

The repeated references to God in 3:1-15 locate human life as lived in relation to God. That which occupies humans is the gift of God, v. 10; God has created the conditions for human intellectual frustration, v. 11; any good that may be enjoyed in life is the gift of God, vv. 12-13; and before the eternal work of God the appropriate human response is to fear God, vv. 14-15.

The חיה word group distinguishes between physical life and the activities that make up a life, and a more than physical quality which is very much part of the experience of life.[96] Both the

[95] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, p. 171, "The list is not exhaustive, but it is meant to be representative of every occasion and situation in which human beings find themselves."

[96] H. Ringgren, "חיה" *TDOT, vol iv*, p333, "In Hebrew, 'life' has nuances besides purely physical life".

physical and more than physical aspects of life are engaged by living in specific instances of time (עת) and living in relation to a duration of time (עולם).

3.2 Life and Time

In section 2.4.1 above I have shown that there is a time for everything and human life must respond to the specific times which come into all life. Verse 3:2a sets this point of view noting that in human life there is, "A time to be born and a time to die". The human being born and dying[97] does not control the times in which these events occur. While the two activities in v. 2a are clearly opposite and mutually exclusive for any one human at any one time, other lines in the poem are not so clearly opposite and mutually exclusive, e.g. v. 3b, "a time to break and a time to build", which may describe consecutive events[98]. The significance of the poem is not then to be found in contrasting the pair of events in one line, or in contrasting line with line.[99]

The poem presents the observation that specific times come variously upon each human. It is not given to any human to control when these times will come upon them. In the absence of any mention of God or allusion to God in 3:1-9 it can only be by implication that the idea of divine predestination enters the poem.[100] The phrase "under heaven" (תחת השׁמים), 3:1, is synonymous with "under the sun" (תחת השׁמשׁ)[101] and both "refer to the realm of human life as against the domain of God *in* heaven."[102] In Eccl 5:1(2) the author highlights the distance between heaven and earth, "for God is in heaven (בשׁמים) and you upon the earth (הארץ)". In 3:1-8 all who are "under heaven" (תחת השׁמים) are unable to control the times which come upon

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[97] The possibility of suicide or euthanasia is not considered in this verse.

[98] As I have shown in section 2.4.1 (b) the two elements in each line to relate to one another, however, they do not simply relate to one another as opposites which can be compared favourably or unfavourably with one another.

[99] Contra Loader, *Polar Opposites*, pp. 11-13, 29-33. In his analysis, which he limits to 3:1-9 Loader sets "life, conservation" in contrast to "abandonment, death".

[100] See, e.g. Schoors, *Pleasing Words vol II*, pp. 114-115. Although, p. 243.

[101] The phrase תחת השׁמשׁ, occurs 29 in Eccl, 1:3, 9, 14; :11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22; 3:16; 4:1, 3, 7, 15; 5:12(13), 17(18); 6:1, 12; 8:9, 15^2, 17; 9:3, 6, 9^2, 11, 13; 10:5. In contrast to only 3 occurrences of the phrase תחת השׁמים, 1:13; 2:3; 3:1.

[102] See, Schoors, *Pleasing Words vol II*, p. 243. Author's emphasis.

them. A limit is set upon all human ability, humans cannot control the times, in contrast to the unlimited ability of the one who is not "under heaven" (תחת השׁמים).

The response of humans to this situation is described in the rhetorical question in 3:9, "What advantage does the worker have in his labour?" (מה־יתרון העושׂה באשׁר הוא עמל). The inability to control the times described in the poem leads us to expect the answer that there is no advantage (יתרון) to any human in any of their labour. However, this negative answer only holds if the perspective under which the question is answered is limited to the specific instances of time described in the poem. If human life is not lived beyond specific times (עת) this conclusion is the only one which can be reached. However, the specific times of 3:1-8 are set against the duration of time (עולם) in 3:10-15.

3.3 Life and Eternity

The three sections of 3:10-15 each offer a limited advantage which a human may gain when the perspective of eternity is considered.

In 3:10-11, humans are identified as those who labour, who have an occupation.[103] In and of itself labour or work, "occupation" (ענין/ענה), is not bad or negative, and v. 10 does not require any qualitative judgment. There is a negative note in v. 11b, "he [God] has also given (a sense of) eternity (עולם) in their hearts so that men cannot find out the work (המעשׂה) which God has worked (עשׂה) from the beginning to the end". This negative note, however, is not directed towards the occupation, or work, given to humans in v. 10, but to an inability to comprehend the work of God. This identifies a sense of frustration which humans experience when trying to consider the activity of God in eternity (עולם). This frustration in v. 11 is the counter part of the inability to control specific times identified in 3:1-8. That humans cannot control the

[103] See Gen. 2:15, where the newly created human is placed in the garden, "to work it (לעבדה) and to keep it (ולשׁמרה)".

specific times and are unable to grasp the work of God are both consequences of God working in eternity beyond the limits of specific times.

The negative note in v. 11b is set against the small positive note in v. 11a, "He [God] has made everything beautiful (יפה) in its time (בעתו)". These words, reported by the human character Qoheleth, reveal the possibility of humans observing beauty in specific times (עת). The observation of beauty is not a material advantage, it cannot be measured in financial terms, but it is an advantage. For some it may be experienced as frustrating to see beauty in uncontrollable times, however, they are still recognising that there is beauty.

Verses 12-13 introduce the second "there is nothing better" (אין טוב) conclusion in the book (see 2:24-26). That "there is nothing better" can be viewed as a poor return, hardly an advantage at all.[104] However, humans can "rejoice" (שׂמח), there is a good (טוב) which they can do, "Enjoyment *is* doing good; it is being 'good before God'".[105] This idea of good before God is strengthened in v. 13 where eating, drinking and seeing good in human labour (עמל) is, "a gift of God" (מתת אלהים היא). The advantage described in these verses is a limited advantage, "there is nothing better". Within the constraints placed upon human life by uncontrollable times and incomprehensible eternity, to enjoy and experience good is a real advantage. For a human to live in the present, the specific instance of time, rather than living in eternity, is the nature of genuine humanity[106]. Not every specific time will be desirable, but the possibility of good and enjoyment in this life as the gift of God is real and to be welcomed as an advantage.

The passage ends in vv. 14-15 confessing an awareness of God and his work and eternity. This is not a confession of knowledge of the works of God in eternity, but a higher-level knowledge. The verse confesses that whatever God does will be for eternity, there will be no need to add or

[104] See e.g. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes,* p. 39, "meagre pleasure", "a compensation for עולם".

[105] Lee, *Vitality*, p. 41, author's emphasis.

[106] See Seow, "Qohelet also restates what is said in 2:24, that living fully in the present is something that God wills", *Ecclesiastes,* p. 173.

subtract anything from the activity of God. Alluding to 1:4-11, v. 15a asserts that God is the one who works in the repetition of events.[107] Humans cannot know the "everything" which God does, they cannot add or remove from it, they do not even have a memory of what has already been.[108] On the face of it there is no advantage to be gained here. However, there is a significant phrase in v. 14, "so that they may stand in fear of him [God]" (שיראו מלפניו). This phrase has been read as adding to the negative reading of these verses.[109] In contrast to this negative reading,

> Even here in 3:14, the inscrutable work of God does in fact include a consoling element. The fear of God also has a positive dimension that affirms what humans can know, can have, and can do – and that positive dimension is found in the possibilities of enjoyment.[110]

Before the work of God in eternity it is an advantage to humans to acknowledge that they are not God, it is good for humans to live in a right relationship with God. It is with this perspective on eternity that humans can gain a genuinely human life in proper relation to God.

Human life is not lived in eternity, but is lived knowing that there is an experience of duration of time (eternity) which is not experienced by humans. Any advantage gained in human life will not be an absolute advantage, but will be limited by not being eternal. However, this does not reduce the advantage to be gained.

3.4 Life: lived between Time and Eternity

Human life is lived wholly within the specific times described in 3:1-8. These times are beyond human control. Human life is also lived with a revelation of eternity. Eternity is also beyond

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[107] Krüger, *Qoheleth*, p. 90.

[108] For a reading of v. 15b, "God recalls/brings back what is past" see earlier, p. 18.

[109] See e.g. Gordis, *Koheleth*, p. 233, who writes of the fear of God as "a primitive attitude", and James L. Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes,* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987), p. 100, who writes of Qohelet's understanding of the fear of the Lord as coming, "very close to terror before an unpredictable deity as jealously guarding divine prerogatives.

[110] Lee, *Vitality*, pp. 88-89.

human control. If a human worker is to gain any advantage in his labour, 3:9, that cannot be sought beyond human possibilities. If advantage is defined as controlling specific times, there can be no advantage. If advantage is defined as engaging with eternity, there can be no advantage. However, advantage need not be define in such beyond human experience terms.

God gives the gift of enjoyment and good to those who labour, he creates beauty in all his own work, and he welcomes humans into a relationship with himself, which begins to transcend the limits placed upon humans in specific times and in eternity. In the absence of God eternity is unimaginable and the uncontrollable times are frightening. But, entering a knowledge of God and receiving his gift of enjoyment and good there is a real benefit for human life.

If the answer to the rhetorical question in 3:9 is sought only in the specific times of 3:1-8, then humans, based on their experience, will conclude negatively that they can find no advantage in life at all. Again, if the limitations of eternity become limitations upon answering the question there can be no positive answer found. It is only in the difference between specific times and a duration of time (eternity) that any human can find the advantage of standing in fear before God.

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The Correspondence between Divine and Human Kingship: Some Vestiges in the Psalms

Focal points of discussion:

- *The conceptual relationship between the ancient Near Eastern examples mentioned in the paper (and maybe others) and the discussed biblical passages*
- *The metaphor of girding with strength: Is it convincing to interrelate Ps 93 and 65 on the one hand and Ps 18 on the other hand? Are there analogies to this motif outside the OT? Is "strength" a metonymy for a real weapon or 'just' a metaphor?*

1. Introduction

The Psalms belong to the most important witnesses regarding the concepts of both earthly and divine kingship in ancient Israel and Judah. As very few other Old Testament texts, the Royal Psalms partly provide insight into the royal ideology proclaimed and propagated at the royal court; partly, they also give information on how the royal ideology continued in the post-exilic era without an actual Davidic king and how it could take the form of 'messianic' expectations. The fact that several royal psalms are placed at compositionally prominent positions of the Psalter (especially Ps 2; 72; 89) proves the high significance of these texts for the formation of the Book of Psalms. On the other hand, the kingdom of *God* is not just one subject among others in the Psalms, but it can be conceived at their central theological issue.[1] It takes center stage especially in the so-called YHWH-King-Psalms Ps 47; 93; 95-99 (formerly called Enthronement Psalms), but the conception of YHWH as king is also tangible in numerous other psalms. In the Hebrew Bible, the Psalter is the writing that contains by far the most occurrences of the root מלך with regard to YHWH[2] and that portrays YHWH most intensely in a specifically royal role.

1 Cf. Müller, Art. Psalmen, 5.1: "Im Zentrum des Gottesbildes (sc. of the Psalms) steht die Vorstellung des königlichen Gottes".

2 In the Psalms, the verb מלך and its nominal derivatives are 31 times related to YHWH (Ps 5:3; 10:16; 22:29; 24:7, 8, 9, 10 [2x]; 29:10; 44:5; 47:3, 7, 8, 9; 48:3; 68:25; 74:12; 84:4; 93:1; 95:3; 96:10; 97:1; 98:6; 99:1; 103:19; 145:1, 11, 12, 13; 146:10; 149:2). To compare: In the Book of Isaiah, in which the conception of the kingship of God neither plays an unimportant role, there are eight (nine?) occurrences of the root

In my dissertation, I try to define the relationship between these two conceptions, i.e. between divine and earthly kingship, in the Psalms. This endeavor is yet decisively complicated by the fact that over long stretches, divine and human kingship stand unconnectedly beside each other. The occurrences of the root מלך refer – apart from foreign kings – either to YHWH or to an Israelite or Judean king, but never to both within one psalm. The two conceptions of kingship are basically concentrated on two different groups of psalms: on the one hand, there are the YHWH-King-Psalms, being silent about an earthly king on the throne of David. On the other hand, the Royal Psalms grant YHWH a significant function for the institution of human kingship, but they never call YHWH explicitly "king" (neither in verbal statements).

My thesis is that, despite the fact of the – at first glance – mostly unconnected parallel existence of the two conceptions of kingship in the Psalms, there is a close interrelation between divine and human kingship and that they relate to each other in a similar way as they do in the ancient Near Eastern environment of the Old Testament. This paper aims to trace some of the vestiges found in the Psalms. The interrelation between divine and human kingship is yet more obvious in some ancient Near Eastern texts and traditions, which will be dealt with before. In both the biblical and the ancient Near Eastern traditions, the combat myth (*Chaoskampf*) turns out to be a central connection point between the two conceptions of kingship.

2. Vestiges in the ancient Near East

One of the most prominent documents of the combat myth, i.e. the myth of the opposition between the storm god and an aquatic entity, is the Ugaritic Baal Cycle (KTU/CAT 1.1-1.6) from the 13th century BCE. Its central theme is the kingship of the storm god Baal, which is dealt with in all its parts.[3] The first two tablets (KTU 1.1-1.2) tell about the conflict between Baal and Yamm. After Yamm, the god of the sea and the rivers, is designated by El to be king among the gods and after Baal is subordinated to him, KTU 1.2 IV 7-32 narrates the preparations for the combat between Baal and Yamm, the combat itself, in which Baal smites Yamm with weapons made by the god Kotharu-wa-Ḫasisu, the victory of Baal and his acquisition of

with regard to YHWH (Isa 6:5; 24:23; 33:[17?,] 22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6; 52:7; 62:3). Because of the high density, also the (Aramaic) Book of Daniel has to be mentioned with its five occurrences (Dan 2:44; 3:33; 4:31, 34; 6:27). It must, however, be conceded that the conception of the kingship of YHWH is not limited to the root מלך; the statistics of its occurrences can only provide a first insight.

3 Cf. Smith, Baal Cycle I, 103; Niehr, Mythen, 187; Wyatt, Arms, 852.

kingship. After that, a palace is built for the newly enthroned king of the gods (KTU 1.3-1.4). The abstracted plot of the combat myth is as follows:

1. The storm god defeats the sea god with weapons.
2. The storm god is enthroned as king.

During the last decades, an increasing number of scholars have claimed a connection between the Baal Cycle (especially KTU 1.1-1.4) and the Ugaritic dynasty and royal ideology.[4] The Baal Cycle is – as well as the Keret Epic and the Aqhat Epic – written by the scribe Ilimilku, an official of King Niqmaddu (IV?[5]) (cf. KTU 1.4 VIII left side; 1.6 VI 56); the royal house may have been the addressee and perhaps even the customer of the epic.[6] In Ugarit, Baal is considered as the patron of the earthly king, so that the epical glorification of Baal's kingship necessarily has implications for the Ugaritic city kingdom.[7] The stele "Baal au foudre" (RS 4.427) depicts Baal, equipped for battle, standing behind a far smaller figure that looks in the same direction and probably represents the Ugaritic king,[8] so that Baal figures as protector and powerful combatant of the king. Furthermore, a number of motivic similarities between the kingship of Baal and human kingship are referred to by the proponents of this view.[9] Finally, the Ugaritic king's political dependency on the international superpowers provides a good explanation for the "limited exaltation of Baal", who is always dependent on the aid of the other gods and whose kingship is continually endangered.[10] Thus, the supposition is plausible that the Baal Cycle functions inter alia as a legitimacy of the Ugaritic city kingdom and as a model for it.[11]

The plausibility of this thesis can be further validated by a prophetic text from Mari from the 18th century BCE, which is at the same time the oldest certainly identifiable document for the combat myth: in the letter A.1968, King Zimri-Lim receives an oracle from Addu, the storm god of Aleppo, in which Addu claims that he has given the weapons with which he has

4 Cf. Smith, Baal Cycle I, 89-91, 105-14; Wyatt, Arms, 848-61; Niehr, Mythen, 186-7.
5 So Niehr, Mythen, 179-81.
6 Cf. Smith/Pitard, Baal Cycle II, 21; Wyatt, Arms, 857.
7 Cf. Smith/Pitard, Baal Cycle II, 14.
8 Smith, Baal Cycle I, 107f; Yon, Ugarit, 134f (fig. 18). According to Niehr, Bodies, 163-4 (with reference to D. Bonatz), the smaller figure depicts more exactly a statue of a divinized deceased king.
9 Two of the parallels may be instanced: Firstly, according to Niehr, there is a relation between the motif of tribute in KTU 1.2 I 36-8, where Baal shall bring tribute (*argmn*), and the draft of a treaty in KTU 3.1, containing the tribute (*argmn*) of King Niqmaddu IV to Hittite King Šuppiluliuma II (Niehr, Mythen, 186). Secondly, the lament for the missing palace of Baal in KTU 1.3 V 38-9 et al. (*in bt l b'l km ilm ḥẓr k b[n] aṯrt*) and the lament for the missing sons of Danil in KTU 1.17 I 18-9 (*d in bn lh km aḫh w šrš km aryh*) are shaped parallelly (cf. Niehr, Mythen, 272 n. 375). For further parallels see Wyatt, Arms, 855-8 and Niehr, Mythen, 186-7.
10 Smith, Baal Cycle I, 96-114.
11 Cf. Smith, Baal Cycle I, 109: „the divine kingship of Baal mirrors and reinforces the human kingship of the royal patron of the Baal Cycle".

defeated Têmtum / the sea to the king (*kakkī ša itti têmtim amtaḫṣu addinakkum*), so that no opponent of the king could stand up to him (*mamman ana pānīka ul iz[zi]z*).[12] The storm god's smiting of the sea with weapons strongly reminds of the myth narrated in the Baal Cycle. One may assume that the myth alluded to in the quoted relative clause of the Mari letter also includes the acquisition of kingship by the storm god as in KTU 1.2 IV. It is significant that the weapons of the storm god[13] used in this combat are handed over to an earthly king, seemingly in the context of his enthronement. In the king's martial acting, the deity's mythical acting continues and is reinforced, and the king participates in the power of the storm god, for whom he fights vicariously. The extract of the letter illustrates how the combat myth can be adapted for royal ideology and how it can serve for the legitimacy of an earthly king.[14] Assuming that the myth to which is alluded here is similar to that of KTU 1.2 IV, the above summarized plot can be complemented:

1. The storm god defeats the sea god with weapons.
2. The storm god is enthroned as king.
3. The storm god hands the weapons of the combat over to the earthly king.
4. The earthly king defeats his enemies with the storm god's weapons.

This sequence demonstrates the correspondence between divine and human kingship, between the mythical and the historical-political realm. At the same time, the earthly king is dependent on the divine king, who enables the king by means of the gift of weapons to overcome his enemies. Thus, the combat myth functions as a model for the king's warfare.

The most prominent Mesopotamian document of the combat myth is *Enūma eliš* (late 2nd millennium BCE[15]), narrating Marduk's rise to kingship among the gods in the context of his defeat of Tiamat and the subsequent creation of the world. The kingship of Marduk in *Enūma eliš* has at the same time a great significance for earthly kingship: the work of Marduk functions as a paradigm for Babylonian kings, who understand themselves as protectors of the world order created by Marduk and hence derive their claim to universal rule.[16] Even the Neo-Assyrian kings take up the Babylonian creation epic, namely "to evoke their role as the hu-

12 The Akkadian text is from Schwemer, Wettergottgestalten, 226.
13 On the weapons of the storm god see Töyräänvuori, Weapons, 147-180. The weapons of the storm god are not just a mythical motif, but were real weapons, stored in the temple of the storm god and used as a cultic object.
14 For the interpretation of the section see Durand, Combat, 41-61; Wyatt, Arms, 841-4; Schwemer, Wettergottgestalten, 226-7.
15 So Lambert, Enuma Elisch, 565.
16 Maul, Haus, 316.

man counterpart of the god in the cosmic battle against chaos";[17] however, the god Marduk is replaced by Aššur as divine warrior.

Besides Aššur as the main deity in the context of legitimation of Neo-Assyrian rulership, the god Ninurta plays an important role, especially for the warfare of the king. In the Ninurta mythology, Ninurta is depicted as divine warrior, who, by defeating chaotic entities, gains or secures his kingship and restores the threatened world order. The Akkadian Anzu epic[18] narrates how the bird-like monster Anzu steals the tablets of destinies from the gods and thus threatens the divine order. Enlil's son Ninurta defeats and kills Anzu in the mountains and thus regains the tablets of destinies. As a result, Ninurta is elevated to be the lord of the gods. A cognate narration is the Sumerian epic *Lugale*,[19] speaking even more explicitly of Ninurta's kingship. After his defeat of the mountain demon Asag, Ninurta organizes the irrigation of the riverscape of the Tigris. The Sumerian epic *Angim dimma*[20] tells about Ninurta's return from his victorious battles to Nippur and glorifies him as king. In all these epics, Ninurta's weapons play an important role.

As in the Mari letter A.1968, the handing over of the divine weapons to the earthly king is also attested with Ninurta. The text SAA III,11/VAT 13831,[21] a coronation ritual for Ashurbanipal,[22] contains inter alia an enumeration of regalia given to the king by the gods (l. r.5-8), which originates from an older tradition.[23] Among these gods is Ninurta, who gives Ashurbanipal his weapon (^{d}*Ninurta kakkašu ittadin*, l. r.6). Thereby, also the martial potency is transferred to the king. His combat on earth is the continuation and reenactment of the deity's mythical combat. In the Neo-Assyrian royal ideology, the royal acting is frequently parallelized with the Ninurta mythology. Accordingly, the king's military enemies are depicted in analogy to the mythical chaotic monsters and are conceived as an embodiment of Ninurta's opponents.[24]

The reception of *Enūma eliš* and especially of the Ninurta mythology in Mesopotamian royal ideology confirms the correspondence of divine and human kingship along the same lines as in ancient Syrian traditions. On the basis of these observations, it will be asked below

17 Crouch, War, 191.
18 Translated in Dalley, Myths, 203-27. The older one of the two versions originates from the Old Babylonian era from the 2nd millennium, the younger one from the first millennium (cf. Dalley, Myths, 203).
19 For text and translation see ETCSL c.1.6.2 and t.1.6.2.
20 For text and translation see ETCSL c.1.6.1 and t.1.6.1.
21 For text and translation see Livingstone, Court Poetry, 26-7; Dietrich, Ritual, 130-4.
22 Cf. Dietrich, Ritual, 153.
23 Cf. Arneth, Šamaš, 41.
24 Regarding the analogy of Ninurta and the Neo-Assyrian king cf. Maul, König, 210-212; Otto, Krieg, 48-50 and especially Annus, Ninurta, 94-101

whether there are similar conceptions of linkage of divine and human kingship in the biblical Psalms.

3. Vestiges in the Psalms

3.1. The arm and the (right) hand in Ps 89

It was mentioned above that in the Psalms, the two conceptions of divine and human kingship stand unconnectedly beside each other and are mostly concentrated on two different groups of texts. Ps 89, however, is a significant exception: although the root מלך does not occur with regard to YHWH, the section v. 6-19 (following the introduction v. 2-5) can be considered as a hymn on the kingship of YHWH (cf. e.g. the throne in v. 15), and after that, a royal oracle is quoted, in which YHWH makes promises concerning David and his dynasty (v. 20-38), followed by a lament (v. 39-52). The hymn on the kingship of YHWH and the royal oracle not only occur consecutively, but are also related to each other by means of numerous keyword connections. Hence, Ps 89 is the psalm that most significantly relates divine and human kingship to each other and the only psalm that displays both divine and human kingship more extensively.

A crucial connection between the two middle sections is the combat motif. In v. 10-11, 14, it functions to illustrate YHWH's power:

אַתָּה מֹושֵׁל בִּגְאֹות הַיָּם	10	You rule the raging of the sea;
בְּשָׂוא גַלָּיו אַתָּה תְשַׁבְּחֵם׃		When its waves rise up, you still them.
אַתָּה דִכִּאתָ כֶחָלָל רָהַב	11	You crushed Rahab like a slain;
בִּזְרֹועַ עֻזְּךָ פִּזַּרְתָּ אֹויְבֶיךָ׃ [...]		With your mighty arm you scattered your enemies. […]
לְךָ זְרֹועַ עִם־גְּבוּרָה	14	Your arm is endowed with might,
תָּעֹז יָדְךָ תָּרוּם יְמִינֶךָ׃		Your hand is strong, your right hand is exalted.

V. 10-11 allude to the combat myth. Whereas v. 10 depicts YHWH's present and permanent taming of the sea, v. 11 looks back to his primeval victory.[25] The participle מושל describes YHWH's perpetual exercise of rule. The root משל II is, as measured by the overall frequency in the Hebrew Bible, rather seldom used with YHWH as subject,[26] but in Ps 22:29; 103:19 and 145:13, it is immediately and explicitly associated with his kingship. The object of his

25 Cf. Rüterswörden, Art. רהב, 377.

26 Besides Ps 89:10 only in Jdg 8:23; Isa 40:10; 63:19; Ps 22:29; 59:14; 66:7; 103:19; 145:13; Job 25:2; 1 Chron 29:12; 2 Chron 20:6.

rule is the most tremendous and most threatening element of nature, namely the sea, or more exactly: the "raging" (גאות) of the sea. In its restless motion, the sea strives upwards (cf. Ps 93:3-4), but nevertheless, it is curbed by YHWH. This becomes especially clear in the second colon of v. 10: whenever its waves rise up (נשא), he stills them (שבח II pi., iterative imperfect tense). The threatening potential of the sea again and again manifests in its waves, but is again and again held back by YHWH, so that is has no destructive impact on the earth. As Ps 93 (see below) and Northwest Semitic parallels[27] demonstrate, there is a close connection between the taming of the sea and divine kingship.

YHWH's control of the sea is established in a primeval event: YHWH, depicted as warrior, has crushed Rahab and has scattered his enemies with his mighty arm (v. 11). Concerning Rahab, it is controversially discussed whether it is the name of a mythical, primeval chaos monster[28] or whether it is a cipher for Egypt[29] and v. 11 thus alludes to the exodus. The connection with the raging sea, however, clearly points to a mythical meaning of Rahab (cf. Isa 51:9-10; Job 26:12); on the whole, v. 10-13 are wholly situated in the mythical-cosmic realm, whereas political-national subjects are not mentioned until v. 16-19. Moreover, the crushing of mythical chaos monsters (Rahab, Leviathan, Tannin) by YHWH is a motif attested several times in the OT.[30]

The enemies scattered by YHWH (v. 11b) could be identified with the "helpers of Rahab" (cf. Job 9:13).[31] YHWH has gained victory over Chaos. The victory is the manifestation of his power (בזרוע עזך), that establishes his superiority among the gods (cf. v. 6-9).

The subject of divine power is once again picked up in v. 14. As well as his arm (cf. already v. 11), his (right) hand (v. 14b) is a metonymy for his power.[32] YHWH permanently owns power and again and again implements it in the cosmos and in history (cf. the imperfect tense). Power and strength are an elementary condition and an integral part of his kingship.

However, YHWH does not keep his power to himself. Rather, he bestows it upon the Davidic king, about whom he promises in the subsequent royal oracle:

אֲשֶׁר־יָדִי תִּכּוֹן עִמּוֹ 22 … So that my hand will be firm with him

27 See above and furthermore Schwemer, Wettergottgestalten, 226-237.

28 Cf. Isa 51:9; Job 9:13; 26:12. This interpretation is supported by Day, Conflict, 26-7; Emmendörffer, Gott, 216 (with n. 514); Venter, Translation, 539-40 et al.

29 Cf. Isa 30:7; Ps 87:4. This view is recommended by Dumortier, Rituel, 181; Watson, Chaos, 179-80 et al. Hossfeld, in: Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 51-100, 591 endorses a middle course: according to him, v. 10-11 oscillate between YHWH's creative and his historical work.

30 Cf. Isa 27:1; 51:9; Ps 74:13-4; Job 26:12.

31 Cf. Rüterswörden, Art. רהב, 377.

32 The combination of the terms ימין – יד – זרוע is still attested in Exod 15 (v. 6, 12, 16, 17) and in Ps 44:3-4.

אַף־זְרוֹעִי תְאַמְּצֶנּוּ׃		And my arm will strengthen him.
לֹא־יַשִּׁא אוֹיֵב בּוֹ	23	No enemy will betray him
וּבֶן־עַוְלָה לֹא יְעַנֶּנּוּ׃		And no wicked will oppress him.
וְכַתּוֹתִי מִפָּנָיו צָרָיו	24	And I will crush his foes before him
וּמְשַׂנְאָיו אֶגּוֹף׃		And strike down those who hate him.

YHWH's יד and זרוע, which illustrate in v. 11, 14 his own power and with which he has gained victory in the mythical combat, now support the king, so that the king participates in YHWH's power (v. 22). This implies at the same time that the king completely depends on the divine power.

This power appears, as in v. 11, towards enemies (אויב), who will not prevail against him (v. 23). The mythical enemies of YHWH and the historical enemies of David are thus parallelized (cf. also v. 52: YHWH's enemies revile his anointed). What refers in 2 Sam 7:10 to the people of Israel (ולא־יסיפו בני־עולה לענותו), is here stated with regard to David. According to v. 24, rather than oppressing David, the enemies themselves shall be crushed and destroyed (cf. 2 Sam 7:9). Again, YHWH is the subject of the action; it is he who defeats David's enemies. Although v. 24 is not lexically connected with the preceding hymn, there is at least a semantic connection: the verb כתת ("to crush, to beat") is a synonym of the verb דכא pi.,[33] designating in v. 11 YHWH's act of crushing Rahab. As a result, David's enemies once more appear as the historical manifestation of the mythical enemies of YHWH, who destroys both of them in the same manner. There is a clear correspondence between the mythical combat of the divine king and the warfare of the earthly king. Yet, the scheme of the plot differs a little from that in the ancient Syrian royal ideology in so far as there is no handing over of weapons and as, at least on the textual surface, YHWH is the only actor:

1. YHWH as divine king defeats his mythical enemies with his arm.
2. YHWH defeats the earthly king's enemies with his arm.

In v. 26, however, David's own hand also comes into play:

וְשַׂמְתִּי בַיָּם יָדוֹ	26	And I will lay his hand upon the sea
וּבַנְּהָרוֹת יְמִינוֹ׃		And his right hand upon the rivers.

The king's power is expanded to cosmic dimensions in so far as it extends to the sea and the rivers. Although it is spoken of David's own (right) hand now, YHWH still is the decisive agent, who directs the hand of the king. Yet, it is disputed whether the sea and the rivers are

33 Cf. the combination of the two terms in Job 4:19-20.

geographical specifications concerning the extension of the king's dominion (Mediterranean Sea and Euphrates)[34] or whether they have to be interpreted in a mythical-cosmic sense.[35]

The geographical interpretation would have a parallel in Ps 72:8, where ים and נהר mark the geographical borders of the royal dominion. According to Ps 80:12, the branches of the vine Israel stretch as far as the ים and the נהר (= Euphrates). Nevertheless, the geographical interpretation is problematic for three reasons: firstly, the term נהר never appears as a plural when it means the geographical border of a territory and is identified with the Euphrates.[36] Conversely, the plural functions several times – especially in combination with ים – as a designation for chaotic waters.[37] Those who prefer the geographical interpretation identify the נהרות either with the Euphrates and its arms[38] or with the rivers Euphrates and Tigris;[39] however, the subsumption of the Euphrates under the plural נהרות would be unique in the Hebrew Bible, and a plural of rivers is not very suitable for the description of boundaries. Secondly, in descriptions of the extension of a territory, always the prepositions (מן and) עד are used (in Ps 80:2 also אל) (cf. also Zech 9:10; Ps 72:8). In Ps 89:26, on the contrary, YHWH lays David's hand *upon* (ב) the sea,[40] which is thus put under his control. Thirdly, v. 10-11 mention YHWH's rule over the sea (ים) and its waves as the result of the victorious battle, in which he prevailed by means of his (right) hand (cf. v. 14). Especially against the background of the close terminological and thematic connection between the two sections, the interpretation seems virtually cogent that YHWH bestows his own control of the sea upon the king, so that he participates in the divine rule.

יד and ימין symbolize power and rule, and if YHWH lays the king's (right) hand on the sea and the rivers, it is implied that the king is put in charge of the aquatic entities. Consequently, the king shares in the cosmic power of YHWH; he participates in his control of chaos[41] and contributes to the preservation of the world order. "It is now the Davidic throne that guarantees cosmic stability, the continuation of the order established through primeval combat".[42] YHWH appoints him as vicegerent over his own domain and exercises his rule through him. The cosmic extension of the king's rule is in this form unique in the OT (according to Ps 72:8, it only stretches *up to* the sea and the river). In a sense, Ps 89:26 is a biblical parallel to the Mari letter A.1968 (see above).[43] However, it is not about weapons here,[44] nor does the deity hand something over to the king, nor does the verse mention political enemies of the king.

34 So Saebø, Grossreich, 86, 89; Veijola, Davidverheißung, 22-9; Saur, Königspsalmen, 167; Watson, Chaos, 169-70 (with n. 131) et al.

35 So Snijders, Art. נהר, 290; Dumortier, Rituel, 188; Emmendörffer, Gott, 224; Hossfeld, in: Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 51-100, 593 et al.

36 Cf. Gen 15:18; Deut 1:7; 11:24; Josh 1:4; 1 Ki 5:1; 2 Ki 24:7; Isa 27:12; Mic 7:12; Ps 80:12; 1 Chron 5:9; 2 Chron 9:26.

37 Cf. Isa 44:27; 50:2; Hab 3:8; Ps 24:2; 93:3-4.

38 So Veijola, Davidverheißung, 26.

39 So Saur, Königspsalmen, 167.

40 Admittedly, 2 Sam 8:3 (|| 1 Chron 18:3) could be used as an objection, where David is said to have reconstituted or erected, respectively, his power at the Euphrates and where, as in Ps 89:26, the terms יד + ב + נהר are used (להשיב/להציב ידו בנהר־פרת). This refers to the control of the region at the Euphrates.

41 Cf. Roberts, Imperial Reign, 215.

42 Levenson, Creation, 22-3.

43 Cf. Roberts, Imperial Reign, 215; Müller, Herrschaftslegitimation, 197-99.

44 Pace Töyräänvuori, Weapons, 168-9.

There is no correspondence between different spheres (mythical and historical), but an immediate transfer of a divine domain to the king:

1. YHWH as divine king controls the sea with his (right) hand.
2. YHWH lays the earthly king's (right) hand upon the sea.
3. The earthly king controls the sea with his (right) hand.

As a result, Ps 89 proves the close connection between divine and human kingship in ancient Judah by explicitly relating the two kingships to each other. Divine kingship functions as a model for earthly kingship, and the latter is derived from the former. Next, a motif will be examined that connects the two kingships as well, yet not within one psalm, but between different psalms, namely the girding with strength.

3.2. The girding with strength in Ps 93, 65, and 18

In Ps 93, the motif of YHWH girding himself with strength is explicitly associated with his kingship:

יְהוָה מָלָךְ׀	1	YHWH is / has become king!
גֵּאוּת לָבֵשׁ		He is robed in majesty,
לָבֵשׁ יְהוָה		YHWH is robed,
עֹז הִתְאַזָּר		He is girded with strength.

The introducing monocolon, the formula יהוה מלך, indicates the subject of the psalm and places the entirety of its statements in the context of the kingship of YHWH. This is not the place to discuss the exact meaning of the formula יהוה מלך (whether it has a durative or an ingressive meaning), but in more recent scholarship, two tendencies have emerged:[45] 1) The durative and the ingressive meaning do not exclude each other: YHWH has once become king and since then reigns as king by dynamically manifesting his kingship. 2) Concerning the question which lexical aspect dominates, the context is more relevant than the word order. The context of Ps 93 clarifies that YHWH's kingship is eternal (v. 2) and that he secures again and again the stability of the cosmos (v. 1e) against the uproar of the chaotic floods (v. 3-4). He repeatedly manifests and enforces his kingship, which can thus repeatedly be celebrated and proclaimed.

The same applies for the following verbs לבש and התאזר: YHWH is constantly clothed, yet not in a static way, but in such a way that he repeatedly activates his garments. Clothes of

45 Cf. Leuenberger, Konzeptionen, 139-41.

YHWH are mentioned in two different contexts, connected by the theme of divine kingship: on the one hand, the royal splendor robe is meant; on the other hand, it is about the armament of the divine warrior.[46] In Ps 93:1, several observations support the interpretation that with his metaphorical garments, YHWH is equipped for battle:[47] firstly, the verb אזר hitp. otherwise only occurs in Isa 8:9, where it means "to gird oneself for battle".[48] Secondly, also the 'material' of the armament evokes a martial background: strength/power (עז) is used in battle, whereas the splendor robe is associated with the semantic field of glory and majesty (see e.g. הוד והדר in Ps 104:1). The same holds true for גאות: in fact, the term could be classified within the semantic field of majesty, but in several texts, it is also associated with battle: in Ps 89:10, the גאות הים is controlled and tamed by YHWH. In the Song of the Sea, the verb גאה and its derivative גאון are associated with YHWH's martial acting (Exod 15:1, 7, 21). Thirdly, the context suggests the understanding of the garments as war armament: in v. 3-4, the floods are mentioned as the opponent against whom YHWH enforces his power. They constantly rise up, make a lot of noise and mobilize their entire force, but YHWH is even more tremendous. Consequently, the garments of YHWH are destined to be used in the mythical combat. YHWH is robed and equipped with combat readiness and combat strength; that is why he is superior to the chaotic powers.[49] Thus, v. 1 depicts him as royal warrior. The fact that he puts on abstract qualities as strength and majesty is not merely a metaphorical manner of speaking, but it means very concretely that a person is covered by and equipped with these qualities[50] and is thus permanently able to bring them in.

The plot of Ps 93:1-4 can be summarized as follows:

1. YHWH, girded with strength, defeats and controls maritime powers.
2. YHWH maintains his kingship.

The motif of YHWH girding himself with strength is also found in Ps 65, where it is combined with the opposition to the sea as well:

מֵכִין הָרִים בְּכֹחֲוֹ	7	He (sc. YHWH) established the mountains by his strength,
נֶאְזָּר בִּגְבוּרָה׃		He is girded with might.
מַשְׁבִּיחַ שְׁאוֹן יַמִּים	8	He stills the roaring of the seas,
שְׁאוֹן גַּלֵּיהֶם		The roaring of their waves,
וַהֲמוֹן לְאֻמִּים׃		And the tumult of the peoples.

46 Regarding the clothing of YHWH cf. Müller, Art. Kleidung, 271-2.
47 Cf. Mosis, Ströme, 237-40; Podella, Lichtkleid, 231; Müller, Jahwe, 80-1.
48 Cf. also the verb חגר „to gird oneself" as preparation for battle in 1 Ki 20:11; 2 Ki 3:21.
49 Podella, Lichtkleid, 231.
50 Podella, Lichtkleid, 265.

V. 7b strongly reminds of Ps 93:1, but instead of עז, the synonym גבורה is used, and instead of the Hitpa'el, the Nif'al is found here, which, however, does not change the meaning fundamentally. As in Ps 93, the armament is used to control the aquatic chaos. The chaotic character of the sea manifests in its waves and their restless and forceful motion. The control of the sea is a permanent action (see the participle). As in Ps 93, YHWH's control of the sea by his powerful armament is associated with the stability of the world (cf. v. 7a). In contrast to Ps 93, however, there is no explicit reference to YHWH's kingship, but it may be implied here. Besides Ps 93, v. 8 also resembles Ps 89:10 in so far as the sea with its waves is mentioned and as the same verb (שבח, yet here Hif'il instead of Pi'el) is used to describe YHWH's stilling of the sea. In addition, Ps 65 parallelizes the roaring of the sea and the tumult of the peoples. Even if v. 8c is a secondary addition, as some scholars assume,[51] it demonstrates that there is a close connection between the threat of the chaotic sea and the threat of foreign peoples[52] and that the peoples can be viewed as a concrete manifestation of the mythical floods.

In a similar way as in Ps 93 and 65, the motif of YHWH's clothing is also used in Isa 51:9-10, but there, the verb לבש is used instead of אזר, and not YHWH, but particularly his arm is clothed with strength (עז). The arm of YHWH is addressed and summoned to wake up and be clothed with strength as in former times, when it crushed the chaos monsters Rahab and Tannin and dried the waters of the sea (cf. Ps 89:11). Again, the motif of YHWH being clothed with strength is associated with the combat myth. The three passages discussed here demonstrate the prominence of the following mytheme in ancient Judean mythology: YHWH, girded/clothed with strength, defeats/controls maritime powers.

The motif of being girded with strength furthermore appears in a royal psalm. Ps 18, consisting of several quite diverse sections, contains in v. 33-50 a royal victory song, in which a king blesses YHWH for supporting him in war and submitting his enemies.[53] The motif occurs twice, with almost identical wording:

הָאֵל הַמְאַזְּרֵנִי חָיִל	33	The God is he who girds me with strength
וַיִּתֵּן תָּמִים דַּרְכִּי: [...]		And has made my way perfect. […]
וַתְּאַזְּרֵנִי חַיִל לַמִּלְחָמָה	40	And you have girded me with strength for battle,
תַּכְרִיעַ קָמַי תַּחְתָּי:		You made my assailants sink under me.

51 Cf. Müller, Jahwe, 138 et al.; Hossfeld, in: Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 51-100, 217, on the contrary, pleads for the originality of v. 8c.

52 Cf. also Ps 46:3, 7; Isa 17:12-3 et al.

53 Regarding v. 33-50 cf. particularly Adam, Held, 66-109.

As in Ps 93:1 and 65:7, the verb אזר is used, but now in the Pi'el: YHWH is the subject, the king the object of girding. חיל belongs, as well as עז and גבורה, to the semantic field of power and strength, so that the 'material' of girding is virtually the same. The context of girding with strength is the battle (מלחמה, cf. also v. 35): the king fights with weapons (v. 35-6) and he pursues his enemies and destroys them (v. 38-41). The girding with strength is an important element that causes the king's victory. YHWH plays a significant role in the king's battle: it is he who enables and equips the king and who finally brings about his victory. In warfare, the king and YHWH act in synergy.[54] In the light of the parallels of the motif of girding with strength, is seems probable that Ps 18:33, 40 relates to the combat myth. It follows that by girding the king, YHWH gives the king the role as combatant of chaos which he himself is holding. It comes to a correspondence between divine combat against aquatic powers and royal war against the king's enemies, as it was already noticed in Ps 89. The king's enemies thus appear as the political manifestation of the mythical chaotic powers; YHWH's fight against the sea and the sea monsters is reflected in the political-historical realm in the king's battle against his enemies. At least on the level of the final text and its reception, this can be further validated: the theophany (v. 8-16) not only depicts YHWH as a warrior, but also contains an allusion to the combat myth (v. 16),[55] and the king is saved by YHWH from מים רבים (v. 17). Ps 144, that strongly receives Ps 18, parallelizes or even identifies in v. 7 the strangers (בני נכר) with the chaotic waters (מים רבים), although the king has an even more passive role as in Ps 18. In Ps 18:33, 40 is probably found the closest biblical parallel to the motif of the handing over of the weapons of the divine combat to the king, as attested in the letter A.1968 from Mari. In the metaphor of being girded with strength, the strength functions like a weapon (cf. Ps 45:4, where the king is girded [חגר] with a sword). It may be asked whether "strength" is just a metonymy for a strong weapon.[56] At least in v. 36, YHWH gives the king a concrete weapon (מגן),[57] and both YHWH and the king operate with bow (v. 35) and arrow (v. 15), so that the royal archer appears as a reflection of the divine archer.[58]

Consequently, the plot of the combat myth, as summarized above on the basis of Ps 93, can be complemented in analogy to the Mari letter:

1. YHWH, girded with strength, defeats and controls maritime powers.
2. YHWH maintains his kingship.
3. YHWH girds the earthly king with strength.

54 Cf. Crouch, War, 70, 72, 192; Müller, Herrschaftslegitimation, 209, 212.
55 Cf. Müller, Jahwe, 35.
56 Cf. Müller, Art. Kleidung, 271.
57 Cf. Adam, Held, 84-99.
58 Müller, Herrschaftslegitimation, 210.

4. The earthly king, girded with strength, defeats his military enemies.

4. Conclusion

Both in the ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible, it is sufficiently evident that the myth about a deity defeating an aquatic or otherwise chaotic entity can be taken up in royal ideology and applied to earthly kingship. In these myths, the warring and victorious deity is depicted as king; thus, divine kingship functions as a model for earthly kingship. In the Psalms as well, divine and earthly kingship conceptually do not stand unconnectedly beside each other, but are related to each other and correspond to each other; divine kingship forms the background for human kingship. Concretely, there is a clear correspondence between the mythical combat of the royal deity and the warfare of the earthly king, so that the divine *chaoskampf* can be seen as the archetype of the war that the king wages against his enemies.[59] In Ps 89:26, the king's power even stretches to the sea itself as a result of the transfer of the divine domain to the king. Throughout, however, there is a strict hierarchy between the divine and the earthly king: the latter receives his kingship from the former and is dependent on him. So, he owes him his military victory and his power.

There are further indications in the Psalms of a close relation between divine and human kingship, either in terms of correspondence or of transfer, analogically to the examples discussed here. For instance, there is a correspondence between the superiority of YHWH among the gods and the superiority of the king among the kings of the earth, provided by YHWH (cf. Ps 89:6-9, 28), and there is a transfer of divine qualities (e.g. glory; cf. Ps 104:1 with 21:6) and functions (e.g. the shepherdship; cf. YHWH as shepherd in Ps 77-80 and the appointment of David as shepherd in Ps 78:70-72) to the human king. These further vestiges confirm the thesis of this paper, but have to be discussed in more detail elsewhere.

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Still sketching the blueprint?
Early rabbinic reconstruction of the tabernacle narratives.

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Preface

Dear colleagues,

the paper at hand is still work in progress and is not to consider a final draft. I have yet to clarify how my theoretical lens, critical study of space, guides the analysis (which in itself is still in development). Also, a discussion on the socio-historical realities that may shed light on BMM is also to be added. Please note that the paper in this stage is unedited.

I would appreciate your reflections on some general focus points:

- Is my purpose clear?
- Is my understanding of BMM defensible? Is my argumentation convincing?
- Have I overlooked relevant aspects, theories, material dealing with early rabbinical exegesis on the biblical tabernacle/temple narratives?

Introduction: Man, machine and the Evergreen Spatialization of Superpower

At all times mankind has built - or envisioned building - elaborate material structures to encompass cosmic energy.
Exodus tells the tale about how the momentous theophany at Sinai resulted in the construction of the tabernacle, a portable structure, a dwelling place for the deity, accompanied by blazing fire and a radiating cloud.

Perhaps we can find a contemporary example to the tabernacle in the Large Hadron Collider, the world's largest machine, constructed by scientists at CERN, The European Organization for Nuclear Research. This machine has enabled scientists to get a glimpse of the basic building block of the universe, popularly called "the God particle".

Both in the wilderness of Sinai and in the civilization of Geneva, man has taken on the challenge of building devices that not only can hold, but also generate energy of the universe. The tabernacle and the Large Hadron Collider provide *space* for superpower to *take place*.

Theology and particle physics aside, this paper explores how the space of the tabernacle is articulated in an early rabbinic account of the biblical tabernacle description. What kind of textual space did the early rabbis create as dwelling place for the deity and imagined center of the cult? And which socio-historical realities may have caused such a space?

Examining an early rabbinic account of the tabernacle complex

The tabernacle (henceforth: *miškān*) narratives are longer and more elaborate than any other building description in the Hebrew Bible.[1] There seems to be no end to the detailed description of the planks, hooks, bars, pillars and curtains. The painstaking cataloging of architectural and artistic particulars would put any aesthetic perfectionist to shame. Dimensions, colors, material, style, even the ingredients of the holy anointing oil and incense (Exod 30:23-38) are described in a meticulous manner.

The *miškān* was the place where God dwelt among the Israelites (Exod 25:8; 29:45-46). It was also the center for the cult in which a burnt-offering was sacrificed twice a day (Exod 29:38-43). It was in the *miškān* that the Divine Presence revealed itself to Moses (Exod 25:22; 30:6). There are similarities

[1] Here referring in particular to the two sections of texts in the second half of the book of Exodus, but also considering the additional Pentateuchal texts pertaining to the *miškān* (the ordination of Aaron and his sons and the inauguration of the cult in Lev 8-9, and the role of the Levites transporting the *miškān* in Num 3-4).

between the *miškān* and Salomon's temple (as described in 1 Kgs and 2 Chr), in particular concerning the sancta.

In short, what we have in the narratives dealing with the *miškān* are highly-detailed descriptions of a metahistorical construction that at the same time contain puzzling lacunae and a lack of various particulars;[2] a portable locus of God's dwelling that bear a resemblance to the Solomonic temple and therefore encompass theological aspects pertaining to the temple (and its destruction).

The spatial ideas of the *miškān,* merged with the spatiality of both the Solominic and the Herodian temples and the loss of the them, has continued to be debated and reinterpreted throughout the long history of Jewish civilization. Examination of exegetical accounts dealing with the *miškān* can reveal the spatial logic of it through concepts, concerns and modes of discourse.

This paper is concerned with an early rabbinic (henceforth: *tannaitic*)[3] account of the tabernacle description. *Baraita de-melekhet ha-mishkan* (BMM)[4] is the only sustained and consecutive rabbinic exegetical account of the biblical tabernacle description. The fourteen chapters of BMM are in their entirety devoted to elaboration upon the building of the *miškān*. My main purpose is to analyze the rabbinic corpus from within its own textual premises,[5] not to examine how the text differs from the inherited materials.[6] Also, I am not aiming to draw an architectural map over (imagined) physical structures, but rather examining the phenomenon of describing the space of the *miškān* in the historical context of the *tannaim*.

The traditions of BMM stem from an era when the Herodian temple had been destroyed for over a century and the forms of post-destruction society already had become deeply settled. The *miškān* belonged to an imagined past that no longer had a physical reminder in the form of an accessible temple. Nevertheless, the BMM displays a throughout exegetical enterprise by proliferating details of the *miškān*. I want to understand why. Thus, the overarching question for this paper reads: how and why were the *tannaim* behind the BMM concerned with the *miškān*?

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[2]Haran 1985, 150.

[3]I.e. literary traditions of rabbis who lived between approximately 70 CE and 250 CE in Palestine.

[4] My point of departure is the fourteen chapters of the BMM as they are presented in Kirschner's edition (Kirschner, 1992) based on all available MSS, with the *MS Oxford Bodleian 370.11* as *codex optimus*. There are not more than two scholarly works that treat the BMM at lenght (Friedman, 1908; Kirschner 1992).

[5] Yes, I believe you can be spatially *inside* a text and there is also where I want to place myself. This does not mean that I considered a delimited corpus to be detached from other textual premises, on the contrary: "Until then I had thought each book spoke of the things, human or divine, that lie outside books. Now I realized that not infrequently books speak of books: it is as if they spoke among themselves." (Eco, translated by Weaver, 1994).

[6] This approach is inspired by Balberg 2014, see 8.

Among the tannaitic, amoraic or geonic corpora now extant, *Baraita de-melekhet ha-mishkan* (BMM) is the only sustained and consecutive exegetical account of the tabernacle description.[7] The major part of the text is preoccupied with architectural calculations and the technology of construction. The rather technical text of chapter 1-12 shifts into imaginary literature in parts of the last two chapters, 13-14.[8] The two leading scholars on the composition (Friedmann 1908 and Kirschner 1992) estimate that the BMM is a *tannaitic* work originating in the third or fourth centuries.[9] While the Mishnah with certainty antedates BMM, the same cannot be said of Tosefta or Sifre Numbers. The earliest certain quotation of BMM appears in geonic sources, and the most extensive citation of BMM in any medieval work is recorded in Sefer ve-Hizir (probably originating in the tenth century, as it is quoted in the eleventh). The first twelve chapters of BMM are recorded in full in Sefer ve-Hizir. Some scholars consider the absence of chs. 13 and 14 from Sefer ve-Hizir, attest that they were not part of the original text of BMM, but a late addendum. However, fragments from the Cairo Genizah testify that chapters 13 and 14 were included in the BMM in the tenth century, when Sefer ve-Hizir first appeared.[10] BMM may have been a constituent of the Mekhilta or an earlier form of midrash on Exodus.[11]

Kirschner's evaluation of the linguistic features of BMM points to a composition entirely based on *tannaitic* Mishnaic Hebrew, whether of Babylonian or Palestinian provenance. All tradents mentioned are *tannaim* from three different chronological strata dependent on geographical centers of *tannaitic* activity: Yavneh (ca. 70-130); Usha (ca.135-170); Beth Shearim (ca. 170-200). The majority of attributions cite *tannaim* from the mid-second century.[12]

The fourteen chapters of BMM are in their entirety devoted to elaboration upon the building of the *miškān* and contains exegesis primarily concerned with Exod. 25-27; 30-31; 35-40.[13]

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[7] However, throughout the literature there are scattered remarks, especially in the later midrashic collections (Kirschner 1992, 3). For example are large sections of y. Sheq. and b. Men. dealing with details of the tabernacle account (Kirschner 1992, 14, n. 13).

[8] For a brief summary of the contents of each chapter, see Kirschner 1992; 5-6, cf. Lantz 2014, 21-25. For an analysis of the last two chapters focused on the arrival of the divine presence to the miškān, see Lantz 2014.

[9] All dates refer to CE unless otherwise stated.

[10] Kirschner 1992, 55-69.

[11] Kirschner 1992, 75, following Friedmann's theory.

[12] Kirschner 1992, 17-36.

[13] As recorded in published editions and most MSS.

The exegesis of BMM is organized according to subject rather than to verses in the biblical text. Organization around subject is characteristic for the Mishnah and the Tosefta, but the BMM cites the Bible in the same manner as does the *halakhic midrashim.* Unlike the *halakhic midrashim*, however, the BMM does not follow the verse-order of the Bible. The biblical text pertaining to the tabernacle do receive a verse by verse exegesis, but not necessarily according to their biblical sequence.[14] Kirschner understands these peculiarities as distinctive features representing a unique genre in Rabbinic Literature that best falls somewhere in between the categories of a *midrash* and a *mishnah*:

> We have before us a rabbinic work that is formally, topically, and generically anomalous. It is neither mishnah nor midrash, neither halakhah nor aggadah, neither "Akiban" nor "Ishmaelian". Fully one third of its pericopae are attested in tannaitic and amoraic parallels, yet its composition is self-referential, distinctive, and internally cohesive. It betrays no sign of contemporary situation or place of origin. Its primary agendum is exegetical, but its principle of organization is taxonomic. It is at once an exercise in scriptural induction and in descriptive deduction. There is nothing quite like it, to our knowledge, in rabbinic literature.[15]

Naturally, the distribution of individual works into *beraitot*, *mishnayot*, *midrashim*, *halakhot* or *aggadot* is very much dependent on the scholar's definition of these "genres".[16] The paper at hand is not the place to discuss these matters at length.

Previous scholarship on Mishnaic temple discourse

In the history of the study of the Mishnah, the persisting question is why the authors and/or compilers were so concerned with the practices of the Second Temple, when temple ritual could no longer be performed. Many answers have been proffered. One traditional suggestion is that the rabbis were preserving earlier traditions dating back to temple times. Even if that was the case, that explanation is insufficient on the basis of the throughout reconstruction that the material has undergone. Another option is that the rabbinic laws and narrative concerned with the temple are part of the larger project of creating an "all-encompassing biblically derived legal system".[17] The aim may have been more comprehensive than just the engagement in legal exegesis:

[14] Kirschner 1992, 6.
[15] Kirschner 1992, 74-75.
[16] The title of BMM indicates a category that is also applicable on the work, namely a *baraita*, i.e. an ancient tradition or collection of traditions that was not included in the Mishnah. The difficulty to ascribe distinct rabbinic genres to the BMM helps explain the variety of names given the corpus in medieval citations: *mishna*, *baraita*, *pirqe* or without generic classification like "Melekhet ha-Mishkan", "Ma' aseh Mishkan" (Kirschner, 1992:6ff).
[17] Cohn 2013, 2.

perhaps the rabbis strove to preserve and develop temple practices for the future, when the temple would be rebuilt – a hope expressed in the Mishnah.[18] Jacob Neusner brings forth another option: the temple narratives express a rabbinic "reaction" to the loss of the temple. According to this view, the rabbis responded to the disaster by creating a continuity to the past and thereby asserted that "nothing has changed".[19] In line with the emphasis on how the loss of the temple shaped rabbinic narratives, other scholars stress the rabbinic enterprise to provide substitutes to the destroyed temple.[20] Recently, two studies have contrasted these earlier explanations by stressing the contemporary usefulness of temple discourse for the rabbis. Cohn argues that the temple served a political function for the rabbis in the context of Roman dominance. The rabbinic version of the temple ritual helped them to invent for themselves an authoritative identity in a time when they wielded no real power. According to Cohn, the rabbis mapped the temple's sacred space and put themselves and their predecessors at the very center of that map. Balberg goes even further into the era of the *mishnaic* rabbis and views their discourse of impurity as a shift of focus from the temple to the self:

> Whereas in the Bible and in Second Temple literature the dominant focal points of the discourse on purity and impurity are the sancta and the Temple, and by extension the camp, the city, and the community insofar as those bear a sanctity of their own, the Mishnah's Order of Purities introduces the *self*, the individual subject of the law, as a new focal point.[21]

Balberg argues that the temple discourse in the context of purity and impurity is reoriented toward the self, and thus sheds light on the ways in which persons relate to themselves, their bodies and material surroundings.

Every so often, scholars assume a comprehensive agenda behind the rabbinic project as a whole. Studies are thereby designed to discover a certain aspect of this agenda in the rabbinic material. In this paper, I aim for a more general approach by studying the text without the desire to assess its place in the fabric of the rabbinic corpus on the whole. I claim that the rabbinic enterprise that resulted in BMM to a large extent is anchored in exegetical imagination, perhaps with no other motive than documenting as well as releasing the interpretative creativity of the rabbis. In this paper, I will bring forth socio-historical and ideational aspects of how and why the *tannaim* behind BMM were concerned with the *miškān* to argue that the exegetical imagination is a motive in itself. BMM, I argue, is a record of imagined space and as such, a full-fledged realm in itself.

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[18] *m. Tamid 7:3; m. Ta'anit 4:8*, noted by Cohn 2013, 135, n. 8
[19] For a brief survey of previous research on temple ritual, see Cohn 2013, 2-3.
[20] Balberg 2014, 5.
[21] Balberg 2014, 5.

As for recent research on the BMM, only Kirschner's critical edition treats the text at length.[22] Kirschner notes a tendency in BMM to establish harmony and continuity between the tabernacle and the Salomonic temple.[23] Contrary to the common view that there was no rabbinic historiography (like the works of Herodotus and Tacitus), Kirschner suggests that BMM can be seen as a parallel to the genre of *archaiologia*/*antiquitates* in Greek and Latin literature, i.e. works that examine aspects of the ancient past.[24] Phenomenologically the BMM thus can be described as an exegetical project as well as an archival document seeking to bridge the gap between past and present by presenting a historical description of a metahistorical event. Kirschner provides two theories to the intentions of BMM: it might be a "willful denial of Israel's disaster", suggesting that the attention to the details of the divine design would serve as escapism from the disorder of Jewish life. It might also be a vision of the future, seen from messianic perspective alike the eschatological temples of Ezekiel and the Temple Scroll. Kirschner suggests that BMM:s occupation with pre-exilic models may reflect not only a historical tradition, but a messianic one: "[as a projection] backward to Israel's first sanctuary, BMM carries forward the promise of restoration."[25] The indications for such a claim Kirschner finds in BMM 11:19-20, where it is stated that the dimensions of the altar of the burnt-offering will be identical (to the altar of Moses, of Solomon and the exiles returning from Babylon) in the future, and in the imagery of the last two chapters.

As noted above, I don't subscribe to the paradigm that views *tannaitic* literature as essentially a response to the destruction of the temple, therefore I cannot accept that the BMM would serve as "escapism from the disorder of Jewish life". A far more compelling suggestion is to view BMM as a vision of the future. This explanation may be partly true, but it reduces BMM to merely a visionary (incomplete) blueprint with little practical value for the rabbis other than infusing hope for a restored temple. I argue that the most compelling explanation for the rationale of BMM is that it was a cataloguing, explanatory handbook to the extensive and scattered biblical tabernacle narratives. As such, its main purpose was not necessarily to bridge the gap between past and present, but to bring forth an all-encompassing depiction of the *miškān*. We can call it "a *tanna's* guide to the wilderness shrine and by extension the Solomonic, Herodian and future temple".

[22] in fact, there are not more than two scholarly works that treat this text thoroughly (Friedman, 1908; Kirschner 1992).
[23] Kirschner 1992, 14, n. 4.
[24] Kirschner 1992, 79.
[25] Kirschner 1992, 81.

Synchronic zoom – assumptions

Greatly indebted to the pioneering text critical work of Friedmann and Kirschner, several assumptions guide and inform this study. First, I assume that BMM as a *tannaitic* corpus, a continuum of 14 chapters originating in the third or fourth century. Secondly, I assume that the *tannaim* behind BMM had not experienced the fall of the temple, some of them may have been the sixth or seventh generation of eye witnesses. Thus, the way of life for the rabbis must have been normalized. In accordance with the general view on the *halakhic midrashim* (redacted after the Mishnah but by ca. 300)[26] I view BMM as a product of Palestinian production. Within the setting of the larger Roman society and the Judaean subsociety, the *tannaim* were not a particularly powerful group. Nevertheless, they hoped to gain authority over the Jews of Roman Palestine and their literary production helped them to strengthen their authenticity and authority.[27]

What seems out of place may not be out of space
– a spatial gaze on Baraita de-melekhet ha-mishkan

The enigmatic preoccupation with the *miškān* in BMM can fruitfully be discussed with attention to space. I argue that the BMM does more than just simply describing and proliferating the narrative of the construction of a divine dwelling and worship place, it creates *miškān*-space in a temple-less time. By tapping into the cultural resource of the *miškān*, the *tannaim* describe the temples of the past as if they had visited them themselves, the historical tradition enables them to imagine also a future temple.
Guided by spatial theory, I will employ Soja's heuristic model of Secondspace and Thirdspace.[28] Secondspace is understood as symbols, meanings and narratives about space or imagined space, whereas Thirdspace involves "lived space", i.e. the ways that people use space, how they discuss and negotiate social practices, behaviors and performances.[29] My textual-conceptual approach focus on the Secondspace category, to which text interpretation is the essential methodological approach. I will also make use of the philosophical aspects of spatiality inherent in Thirdspace and its theoretical possibilities generate analysis of construction of new spaces.[30] Naturally, I will only consider

[26] Ben Eliyahu et al. 2012, 61.
[27] See Cohn 2013, 3.
[28] Soja 2000, 15f; cf. Meredith 2016, 75. Soja's trialectic model is an adaption of Lefebvre's three conceptual categories for analyzing space, namely spatial practice, conceptual space and symbolic space, see Lefebvre, 1994.
[29] Berquist 2008, 42 in Camp & Berquist.
[30] In biblical scholarship, many scholars have applied a Thirdspace analysis, see for example: Camp, 2002; George 2007; Lied, 2008; Lopez, 2008; Pula, 2015. See also Meredith's (2008, pp. 77-101) devastating critique of the tripartite schema has been in biblical studies.

the textual discourse of "lived space", although socio-historical conditions might bring understanding to why certain aspects are highlighted.

Remodeled sequence as new imagined space

As stated above, BMM is organized according to subject rather than to verses in the biblical text. It constructs a new space by remodeling the biblical sequence. Below I present three passages that are representative for BMM's reorganization of biblical verses:

BMM 1:7-35 treats the measurements of the *miškān*; planks, bars, posts, tenons, sockets and rings. The passage quotes Exod. in the following order: 26:33; 26:32; 26:19; 26:24; 38:27; 26:28, 26:29; 36:34.

Chapter 6 opens up by describing the ארון (*ărôn*, ark) that Moses made in the wilderness. The account continues by listing the dimensions of the ark, arrangement of the tablets and the Torah scroll, discussion about the history and contents of the ark. Quotations are assembled from a range of different biblical books: Exod. 25:10; Deut. 31:26; Cant. 3:9; Num. 10:33; Num. 14:44; I Sam. 14:18; II Sam. 11:11; I Sam. 4:4; I Kings 8:9.

The imaginary narrative in chapter 14 contains description of the pillar of cloud and the locus of the divine voice within the *miškān* and quotes Exod. 40:34; 40:38; Is. 60:1; 60:19; Exod. 30:6; 30:36; 29:42.

The space of the *miškān* in BMM is a quilt of biblical quotations and rabbinic exegesis. The *tannaim* demonstrate their expertise in Tanakh by linking one passage to another, and at the same time they show their authority by constructing a proliferated narrative, assuredly dependent on the biblical, but also a literary production in its own right.

A blueprint or a guidebook?

BMM has essentially the character of a technical, architectural treatise that fill in the gaps that the biblical text leaves open. Contrary to the idea that the archival and explanatory character of BMM points to it being a kind of visionary blueprint for a future temple, I argue that the detailed account is a product of exegetical imagination, with no other end than to record authoritative thoughts on how certain things were made. Instead of consulting the socio-historical situation in detail, I suggest we entertain the idea that the rabbis nourished a creative desire to imagine and record the *miškān*, possibly without any another agenda than the exegetical outlet it offered. The *miškān* simply served as a muse for exegesis, not an arena for ideological discourse.

As so often in rabbinic literature, the formulaic word כיצד (*kêṣad*) introduces the rabbinic exegesis:

ויצף את הבריחים זהב (שם לו לד) כיצד היה עושה היה מביא שפופרת זהב ארכו אמה וחצי וגובהו חצי אמה ונותן בחלֹלו של קרש מקום שנותנים הבריח[31]

Two other examples of this pedagogic way of explaining how a certain thing was done, appears in BMM 2:1 and 7:1:

כיצד היו מקרין המשכן[32]

כיצד עשה בצלאל הארון[33]

Another type of rabbinic explanation, without the formulaic question, states that there were two arks there [in the wilderness]:

... אחד שהיה עמהם במחנה ואחד שהיה יוצא עמהם למלחמה והיו בו שברי לוחות שנ' וארון ברית יי נוסע לפניהם (במבר י לג) וזה שהיה עמהם במחנה היה בו ספר תורה שנ' וארון ברית יי ומשה לא משה (שם יד מד)[34]

The insistent questions generated from the biblical accounts by the rabbis allow them to construct and transmit explanations that can be seen as a guidebook to the *miškān*. As a blueprint for an eventual future temple, it is utterly incomplete.

Blurred temple spaces in Baraita de-melekhet ha-mishkan

BMM is clearly preoccupied with establishing a continuity between the wilderness shrine and the Solomonic temple. On occasions the Herodian temple is also put into the mix.

In BMM 7:8-11 the temporal delimitations are stretched: the rabbis refer not to the *miškān*, but to the holy of holiest in Solomon's temple:[35]

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[31] "And they overlaid the bars with gold" (Exod. 36:34). How was [it] done? A tube of gold was produced, one and a half cubits long and half a cubit high, and it was placed in the hole of the plank where they insert the bar (BMM 1:34).
[32] How did they cover the *miškān* (BMM 2:1)
[33] "How did Bezalel make the Ark?" (BMM 7:1).
[34] … one that was with them in the camp and one that went forth with them to battle. In the one [that went forth with them in battle] were the broken tablets, as it is said, "The Ark of the Covenant of YY traveled in front of them"(Num. 10:33). And in the one that was with them in the camp was the *Sēfer Tôrā,* as it is said, "Neither the Ark of YY nor Moses stirred from the camp" (Num 14:44), (BMM 6:19-22).
[35] Kirschner 1992, 247, n. 45.

ואעפי שעשה שלמה תבנית כל כלים תבנית הארון לא עשה שנ׳ ויבואו כל זקני ישר׳ ׳גו׳ (מלכים א ח ג)[36]

This continuity is further elaborated on in BMM 7:8-10:

כשם שהיו מוחים בבית עולמים אלא שאהל מועד ארכו שלשים אמה ורחבו עשר אמות ובית עולמים ארכו ששים ורחבו עשרים הא למדת שאהל מועד רביע של בית עולמים[37]

Bêt ôlāmim is a less common term for the temple that I have only come across in rabbinic literature.

Chapter 5 deals with the dimensions of החצר (*he-ḥaṣēr*, the enclosure) of the *miškān* and the set-up of *he-ḥaṣēr* (Exod. 27:9-12; 38:18; 27:19; Num. 4:26; Exod. 38:18; 27:11; 27:12; 27:13; 27:14; 38; 15; 27:18). The passage lingers in particular by the distance between certain objects and spaces, such as the hangings and the entrance of the enclosure. The rabbis infer distances between spaces that are not explicitly mentioned in the bible, by employing biblical verses that do give measurements for distances between other spaces.
Toward the end of the account we come across another comparison to the temple:[38]

כפתחו של אהל כך של אולם כפתחו החצר כך פתחו של היכל מכאן ר׳ יוסה ב״ר יהודה או׳ קרפף שהוא כבית סאתים כחצר המשכן מטלטלין בתוכה בשבת[39]

In BMM 7:21-3 we have a description of differences between the Solomonic and the Herodian temples:

היכן ארון נותן ר׳ יהודה בן לקיש אומר במקומו בבית המקדש הוא שנ׳ ויהי שם עד היום הזה (דהי״ב ה ט, מ״א ח ח) וחכמי׳ או׳ בלשכת דיר העצים ר׳ אליעזר אומר לבבל ירד שנ׳ ולא יוותר דבר אמר יי (מ״ב כ יז, ישעיה לט ו) ואין דבר אלא דברות הארון ר׳ או׳ יאשיהו גנוז שנ׳ ויאמר ללוים המבינים את העם וגו׳ (דהי״ב לה ג) אמ׳ לא ירד עמכם לבבל שתעלו אותו בכתף בית קדש הקדשים שעשה שלמה היה לו כותל פתח ודלתות

[36] Although Solomon made a *tavnît* (pattern) of all the vessels, he did not make a *tavnît* of the Ark, as it is said, "When all the elders of Israel had come [the priests lifted the Ark and carried up the Ark of *YHWH*]" (1 Kgs 8:3-4 (BMM 7:8-10).
[37] As they were placed in *ōhel môēd*, they were also placed in *bêt ôlāmim*, but the length of *ōhel môēd* was thirty cubits and its width was twenty [cubits], and the length of *bêt ôlāmim* was sixty [cubits], and its width twenty [cubits]. From this you learn that *ōhel môēd* was one fourth of *bêt ôlāmim* (BMM 4:9-11).
[38] Cf. BMM 4:9-11 where the measurement of *ōhel môēd* was compared to that of *bêt ôlāmim*.
[39] Like the entrance the *ōhel* (tent), so was the entrance of the *ûlam* (porch [of the temple]), like the entrance of *he-ḥaṣēr*, so was the entrance of the *hêkal* (great hall [of the temple]), from this R. Jose b. R. Judah declared: a *qarfēf* (an enclosed area outside of a town or village, cf. M. Betzah 4:2 and M. Eruvin 2:5; 5:2-3) of two בית סאתים is like *he-ḥaṣēr* of the *miškān* [therefore] one can carry [objects] within it on *šabāt* (BMM 5:28-31).

שני ויעש דלתות להיכל ולקדש (מעין דהי״ב כב) אבל בבניין האחרון לא היה שם כותל אלא שני פסיו ארכו של כל אחד ואחד אמה ומחצה ושתי פרכות של זהב היו פרוסות עליהן מלמעלה והיה נקרא מקום הטרקסין[40]

By addressing *binyān hā-aḥărôn* (the second temple), the rabbis seem to have continued the chronology, from the biblical account, and into their own time: *miškān*, Solomonic temple, Herodian temple, Second temple, and, in BMM 11:19-20, also the future temple:

מזבח שעשה משה במדבר גובהו עשר אמות ושעשה שלמה גובהו עשר אמות ושעשו בני הגולה גובהו עשר אמות ולעתיד לבא גובהו עשר אמות[41]

BMM address the future temple as a statement just as true as the accounts about what Moses did in the wilderness. It is mentioned without further ado, just as the *miškān* is objectively described as realia. Contrary to Kirschner, I don't read an explicit messianic perspective into this one mentioning of a future temple. The hope for a restored temple is part of the *tannaitic* tradition, it is a reality, just like the historicity of the *miškān*. And as such, the future temple resembles the shrines and temples of the past: only narratives and narratives put in to practice through the mechanisms of *halakhah*, vouch for their historical or future existence.

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[40] Where was the Ark placed? R. Judah b. Laqish says: it was in its place in the holy of holies, as it is said,"And there it remains to this day" (2 Chr 5:9; 1 Kgs 8:8). But the sages say: In the chamber of the woodshed (cf. "שכת העצים", M. middot 2:5). R. Eliezer say: it went down to Babylon, as it is said, "[A time is coming when everything in your palace which your ancestors have stored up to this day will be carried off to Babylon;] not one thing (דבר, *dāvār*) will remain behind, said YY" (2 Kgs 20:17: Is 39:6). And "not one *dāvār* " means the Decalogue (דברות) of the Ark. Rabbi [Judah ha-Nasi] says: Josiah hid it, as it is said, "He said to the Levites [consecrated to YHWH] who taught the people (eg. "all Israel"), [Put the holy ark in the house that Solomon son of David, King of Israel, built; as you no longer carry it on your shoulders, see now to the service of YHWH your God and His people Israel]" (2 Chr 35:3). [Josiah] said, [The ark] will not go down to Babylon with you, for you [must] carry it on [your] shoulders. The holy of holies that Solomon made had a wall, an entrance, and doors, as it is said, "And he made doors for the *hêkal* and for the holy of the holies" (cf. 2 Chr 4:22). But in the second temple (בניין האחרון, *binyān hā-aḥărôn*) there was no wall but rather two partitions, each of them one and a half cubits in length. Two veils of gold were spread over the top of them. It was called the partition space (מקום הטרקסין, *māqôm hā-trqsin = probably from Greek*, see Kirschner 1992, 247, n. 51).

[41] The altar that Moses made in the wilderness was ten cubits in height; the one that Solomon made was ten cubits in height; the one that the exiles made was ten cubits in height; and in the time to come its height will be ten cubits (BMM 11: 18-20).

Conclusions

I hope to have illustrated that BMM does more than just simply describing and proliferating the narrative of the construction of a divine dwelling and worship place, it creates *miškān*-space in a temple-less time. BMM is thus a guidebook, an imagined space turned into a historical reality that guarantees the restoration of the temple in the future.

I also conclude that BMM blurs the distinctions between the *miškān* and the Solomonic and Herodian temples and that the rabbis sought to establish a continuity between the *miškān* and the temples of the past (and even the future temple). I have found no address to contemporary life in the text. Therefor I find it plausible that exegetical purpose of BMM is primary to enrich this piece of "history" by elaborating on details of construction not specified in the biblical account and relate the *miškān* to the Solomonic and the Herodian Temples. creative desire to imagine and record the *miškān*, possibly without any another agenda than the exegetical outlet it offered. The *miškān* simply served as a muse for exegesis, not an arena for ideological discourse.

The sacred structures of Israel's past and future came alive through rabbinic imagination. Now is that not a powerful driving force to conduct exegesis for the sole sake of exegesis?

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Does the Samaritan Book of Joshua Provide Evidence for the Textual History of Josh 24?

1. Introduction

Let me begin by pointing out the greatest problem of the source analyzed in my paper: we do not really know much about the early history of a Hebrew Samaritan book of Joshua before the modern times. For a long time, scholars have had a sense that the Samaritans must have had a version of the book of Joshua from early times.[1] Joshua is, after all, probably the greatest hero of the Samaritans after Moses.[2]

There are three known Samaritan versions of the book of Joshua. First, in 1848 Theodor W. J. Juynboll edited and published a 14th Century manuscript of the Arabic Samaritan book of Joshua.[3] This work narrates a long era from the appointment of Joshua as the successor of Moses to the times of the Samaritan high priest Baba Rabba (4th century CE). It contains some parallels with the biblical book of Joshua—paraphrasing mostly the first chapters and adding some legendary stories. The work likely utilized Hebrew sources.[4] Second, a copy of the Hebrew version of the Samaritan book of Joshua was acquired from the Samaritans and published by Moses Gaster in 1908. This work parallels largely with the biblical book of Joshua but contains many Samaritan additions. Gaster considered it to be a version of a composition dating ultimately to the Second Temple period, which had also served as the Hebrew source of the Arabic version, even though these works differ drastically. The manuscript itself is a modern copy dating to 1904. Scholars remain divided in their opinions concerning this composition.[5] Third, a major part of the so-called

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1 R. Pummer, "The Samaritans and Their Pentateuch," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance* (Eds. G. N. Knoppers and B. M. Levinson; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 240–241.

2 J. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II (or: Sepher Ha-Yamim). From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar* (BZAW 107; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969), 3.

3 T. W. J. Juynboll, *Chronicon samaritanum, arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber Josuae. Ex unico codice Scaligeri nunc primum edidit, latine vertit, annotatione instruxit* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1848).

4 For more on the content and character of the Arabic work see, for example, I. Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism. A Literary Analysis* (JSOTSup 303; Sheffield: Sheffield Academid Press, 2000), 100–101.

5 The publication of this manuscript and claims made by Gaster sparked immediate opposition and critique. Scholars such as P. Kahle, "Zum hebräischen Buch Josua der Samaritaner," *ZDMG* 62 (1908): 550–551; A. S. Yahuda, "Über die Unechtheit des Samaritanischen Josuabuches," in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 39 (1908): 887–914; and A. D. Adler, "On the Samaritan Book of Joshua," *JRAS* 40 (1908): 1143–1147 claimed that the manuscript is either a forgery or a late compilation from Arabic sources and the MT. Gaster responded to the criticism and defended the authenticity and antiquity of the text. A somewhat mediating position was presented by A. D. Crown, "New Light on the Interrelationship of Samaritan Chronicles from Some Manuscripts in the John Rolands Library," *BJRL* 54 (1972): 86–111 who showed that, on the one hand, much of the early criticism was either unfounded or too hasty and, on the other hand, the claims made by Gaster were too extreme. According to Crown, Gaster did not consider the possibility that while the core of the work might be ancient, the composition as it stands may have gone through several changes along its long transmission process. Crown himself argued that a text like that found in the manuscript published by Gaster probably served as a source of the Arabic version and was written utilizing earlier sources which may reflect traditions from the third and fourth centuries CE. Recently E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. *Third edition.* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 216 has noted the possible text-critical

Samaritan Chronicles or *Sepher Hayamim* is devoted to the events that took place during the time of Joshua. It contains material parallel to the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, II Chronicles, and Psalms. The work is extant in several modern manuscripts. The most accessible edition was published by John Macdonald in 1969 following in its main text a manuscript copied by Tobiah ben Phinehas in Shechem and presenting variant readings in an apparauts.[6] Even though Macdonald cautions not to confuse *Sepher Hayamim* with the independent book of Joshua published by Gaster,[7] the works overlap extensively and both should therefore be considered together when analyzing the Samaritan Joshua traditions. While *Sepher Hayamim* is often judged as representing merely late reception history of Joshua, Macdonald himself notes: "But even if the ST is a later work *in extenso*, it may contain genuinely ancient traditions which antedate some polemical MT passages."[8]

In this paper, when I refer to the Samaritan book of Joshua (SamJosh), I refer to the common text of the manuscript published by Gaster and the Joshua-section of *Sepher Hayamim*. In the case of Josh 24, these clearly represent the same text with only some variants.

2. Traces of an Ancient Variant Version of Joshua?

When determining the character of SamJosh, it is important to carry out a thorough internal analysis of its readings—instead of, for example, relying on the age of the manuscripts. Before introducing the results of such a textual analysis, however, I would like to briefly recap arguments from other scholars that speak in favor of the possibility that SamJosh preserves the core of an ancient variant version of Joshua.

1. There is a considerable plurality and fluidity in the textual traditions witnessing to the book of Joshua in the Second Temple Period.[9] The textual forms of the MT, LXX, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Josephus demonstrate that there were multiple versions of the same passages in circulation. Therefore, it is entirely possible that some of the unique readings in SamJosh derive already from these times.

2. Aside from easily recognizable secondary Samaritan expansions, the text is considerably shorter than the MT and the LXX. In light of the usual tendency of expanding rather than shortening texts in the ancient

value of the Hebrew Samaritan book of Joshua.

6 For the Joshua part of Sepher Hayamim, Macdonald, *The Samaritan*, 9–10 utilized six different manuscripts.

7 Macdonald, *The Samaritan*, 5.

8 Macdonald, *The Samaritan*, 89. See also Stenhouse 1989, "Samaritan Chronicles," in *The Samaritans* (Ed. A. D. Crown; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 218–265 and 222–223 and Hjelm, *The Samaritans*, 98–99.

9 See, for example, K. De Troyer, "The Textual Plurality of the book of Joshua and the Need for a Digital Complutensian Polyglot Bible," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in the Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polylglot* (Eds. A. Piquer Otero and P. Torijano Morales; Leiden: Brill), 330–346 and A. Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (BZAW 438; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 7–23.

world,[10] it does not seem likely that the shorter text of SamJosh was derived from the MT as we know it today. This is especially since it is hard demonstrate any thorough motivations for the assumed omissions. For example, many passages that are very critical in regard to the Northern kingdom are found in the Samaritan text, while many neutral passages are not.[11]

3. There are many instances where SamJosh agrees with Josephus against the other witnesses. Three examples suffice. First, in Josh 7:16, for the discovery and judgment of Achan, SamJosh and Josephus both introduce Eleazar and the elders into the procedure (SamJosh 8:13 // Ant 5:43). Second, both SamJosh and Josephus recall the capture of Ai but they leave out the reference to the eternal ruin of Ai and the execution of the king mentioned in Josh 8:28–29 (SamJosh 9:1ff. // Ant 5:49). Third, in both traditions the succession of the priesthood to Phinehas is reported after the death of Eleazar (SamJosh 23:16 // Ant 5.119). Based on these and other similarities Nodet concludes: "…since it is really improbable that Josephus had sought Samaritan sources, or that the Jewish Antiquities would have had any influence on the present JosS, it must be concluded that one as well as the other, despite their reputation for inaccuracy, had drawn a common source..."[12]

4. In SamJosh, there are 24 additions citing various texts of the Pentateuch. These are not specifically Samaritan in their nature. Among these additions, 15 make references to Deuteronomy (e.g. SamJosh 22:8 below). Nodet notes that expanding texts with material taken from Deuteronomy is a compositional technique well-attested in several texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls.[13] Indeed, secondary additions harmonizing towards Deuteronomy are also found in the MT in instances where the LXX preserves the earlier shorter text.[14] The use of this editorial technique in SamJosh could therefore go back to the end of the Second Temple Period.

5. In recent textual criticism, it has become clear that LXX Joshua was translated from a Hebrew source text differing extensively from the MT. The 5% shorter text of the LXX often represents the earlier version of the

10 For a description and analysis of the "trend toward expansion" see D. Carr 2011, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible. A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: University Press), 65–88

11 E. Nodet, *A Search for the Origins of Judaism: From Joshua to the Mishnah* (JSOTSup 248; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 197, 200.

12 Nodet, *A Search*, 198–199.

13 Nodet, *A Search*, 199–200.

14 For example, Josh 23:16 reads in the OG: "when you transgress the covenant of YHWH your God which he commanded you and go and serve other gods and bow down to them." This text is expanded in the MT by taking material from Deut 11:16–17 (addition in bold): "When you transgress the covenant of YHWH your God which he commanded you and go and serve other gods and bow down to them, **then the anger of YHWH will be kindled against you and you will perish quickly from the good land which ge gave you**." See K. Latvus, *God, Anger and Ideology. The Anger of God in Joshua and Judges in Relation to Deuteronomy and the Priestly Writings* (JSOTSup 279. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 32–33.

book of Joshua.[15] Therefore, the strongest argument for the antiquity of SamJosh is that it frequently agrees with the LXX against the MT. There is still no thorough analysis of all of these agreements. However, Macdonald has listed 51 agreements of omissions and variants between SamJosh and the LXX.[16] Also Emanuel Tov has pointed out two significant agreements; that is, Josh 20:4–6 is missing from both the LXX and SamJosh and two significant additions in the LXX—10:12 and 24:33—are partially reflected in SamJosh.[17]

3. The Samaritan Farewell Speech of Joshua

3.1 An Analysis of the Textual Variants

The text of SamJosh 22—which contains the farewell speech of Joshua—is found in your handouts, along with a color coding of the text-critical variants. SamJosh does not contain two farewell addresses at the end of the book of Joshua as is the case with MT and the LXX. Instead, the text contains the beginning verses of Josh 23 and some key parts of Josh 24.

The most characteristic variants in the Samaritan farewell speech of Joshua are the secondary expansions which are in part clearly Samaritan in nature. These are highlighted with a grey background in the table. These additions highlight that the scene took place at the foot of Mount Gerizim in Bethel at the entrance of the tent of meeting (SamJosh 22:4–5, 16, 24). At the end of the scene, there is a particularly long Samaritan addition describing a sacrifice and the choosing of Nathaniel as king over Israel with a lot. Two remaining additions are clearly secondary but not necessarily Samaritan. First, SamJosh 22:17 describes that the book of the law was given to the Levites for safeguarding. This idea is probably taken from Deut 31:24–26 where Moses gives the book of the law for the Levites. Second, SamJosh 22:17 contains a verbatim citation of Deut 4:34. These two Deuteronomically inspired additions may well belong to a pre-Samaritan layer of the text.

Most of the material following the biblical account of Josh 24 is common to both the MT and the LXX. However, there are nine significant variants. In five instances, SamJosh follows the MT against the OG.

1. The scene in SamJosh takes place at Shechem. This is the location also in MT in contrast to Shiloh in the LXX. It is not easy to decide which represents the earlier location.[18]

15 See, for example, E. Tov, "Literary Development of the Book of Joshua as Reflected in the MT, the LXX, and 4QJosha," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint. Collected Essays. Vol. 3.* (VTSup 167. Leiden: Brill, 2015), 132–153.
16 Macdonald, *The Samaritan*, 208.
17 Tov, *The Text-Critical*, 216.
18 For arguments supporting Shiloh as the earlier reading see E. A. Knauf, *Josua. Zürcher Bibelkommentare 6. Altes Testament* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2008), 195. For arguments supporting Shechem as the earlier reading see J.

2. SamJosh 22:4 agrees with the MT against the OG as we are told that Joshua gathered זקני בני ישראל "the elders of the sons of Israel". Here the shortest form "their elders" (OG) is likely the earliest. The MT together with SamJosh contains the addition of ישראל "Israel", while SamJosh expands even further by adding בני "the sons of".
3. SamJosh 22:15 contains the secondary plus "and they said: 'We are witnesses!'" also present in MT Josh 24:22 but missing from the OG. SamJosh and the LXX likely preserves the earlier shorter text.[19]
4. SamJosh 22:18 contains the sanctuary also present in MT Josh 24:26. It is omitted both in the OG and SamJosh. The omissions is likely secondary "due to theological disquiet over the presence of a sacred tree" in a sanctuary.[20] The omission of the sanctuary and a change of Shechem to Shiloh together might attest to late anti-Samaritan editing attested in the LXX.
5. SamJosh 22:19 reads together with MT Josh 24:27 the first-person plural stating that the large stone will be a witness against "us" while the LXX uses the second-person plural.

In four cases, SamJosh follows the LXX against the MT.

1. SamJosh 22:10 together with LXX Josh 24:14 specifies that the Israelites should put away אלהי הנכר "the foreign gods", while the MT mentions only gods.
2. SamJosh 22:9 together with LXX Josh 24:13 reads the verbal form referring to the acts of YHWH in the third-person ויתן לכם את הארץ "and he gave you a land". This is important since while in LXX Josh 24:5–13 the whole speech is given in this form, the MT presents the whole section as YHWH's first-person speech. SamJosh, therefore, corroborates that the LXX likely reflects a Hebrew source which presented the text as the third-person speech of Joshua.
3. SamJosh 22:17 follows the LXX in Josh 24:26 where both are missing "Joshua" which is likely secondarily added in the MT in order to make the implicit subject explicitly clear.
4. SamJosh 22:19 together with LXX Josh 24:27 reads "and Joshua said to the people", while the MT contains a minor secondary addition reading אֶל־כָּל־הָעָם "all the people".

In addition to these variants, SamJosh sporadically agrees with some other witness. These cases are highlighted with light green in the table and specified in a footnote. One observation is that SamJosh agrees three times with the Sahidic daughter version of the LXX as it is witnessed in the edition by Maspero

Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted* (FRLANT 251; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013). 197. In my opinion, Shechem represents the likely earliest location which was harmonized to Shiloh in light of Josh 18–22 and possibly due to anti-Samaritan tendencies.

19 The priority of the LXX is argued by S. Holmes, *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pree, 1914), 79 and T. C. Butler, *Joshua. Word Biblical Commentary. Vol. 7* (Waco: Thomas Nelson, 1983), 265.

20 R. Nelson, *Joshua* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press 1997), 265.

(SamJosh 14, 16, 24). Although these are small variants, the convergence of three variants makes them interesting. Especially the mention of Bethel at the end is remarkable since there is no such mention in any other witness. Nevertheless, it is possible that these additions were simply made by different scribes independent of each other and they just happen to converge.

The analysis of textual variants in the Samaritan farewell speech of Joshua demonstrates that the text is not derived only from the MT. It contains a diverse mixture of readings. Especially the agreements with the LXX suggest that—through some unknown process of textual transmission—SamJosh has preserved variants that go as far as the late Second Temple Period. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the text is in its entirety a late Samaritan creation since that would entail a highly creative use of sources in the Samaritan community. While there certainly is a distinguishable Samaritan layer, the core of the text is likely pre-Samaritan.

Further Observations from Literary Criticism

The last observation pertaining to the Samaritan farewell speech of Joshua is that in relation to the MT and the LXX, several parts of the text are missing. Interestingly most of the missing parts have been evaluated as secondary additions in modern literary and redaction critical theories. Many literary critics argue that it is possible to discern the secondarily added material by observing repetitions, tensions, and literary connections in the text. Such a procedure leads roughly to the following reconstruction of the basic text of Josh 24.

Literary-critical construction of the basic text of Josh 23–24[21]
23:2a And Joshua summoned all Israel 23:2b* and said to them: "I am now old and well advanced in years 23:3 and you have seen all that YHWH your God has done to all these nations for your sakes. For it is YHWH your God who has fought for you.

21 For a closer literary analysis and arguments for this reconstruction see E. Aurelius, "Zur Entstehung von Josua 23–24," in *Houses Full of All Good Things. Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola* (Eds. J. Pakkala and M. Nissinen. Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 95–114. This reconstruction is almost similar to those given by R. Müller, *Königtum und Gottesherrschaft. Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Monarchiekritik* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 253–254; U. Becker, "Endredaktionelle Kontextvernetzungen des Josua-Buches," in *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke. Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten* (Eds. M. Witte, K. Schmid, D. Prechel and J. C. Gertz; BZAW 365; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 139–161; and C. Levin, *Re-Reading the Scriptures. Essays in the Literary History of the Old Testament* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 87; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 126.

[24:14a] Now fear YHWH and serve him in sincerity and in faithfulness. [24:15a] Now if you are unwilling to serve YHWH, choose yourself today whom you will serve. [24:15b*] Me and my household, we will serve YHWH [24:16] Then the people answered and said: "Far be it from us that we would abandon YHWH to serve other gods. [24:18b] also we will serve YHWH, for he is our God." [24:22] Then Joshua said to the people: "You are witnesses against yourselves that you have chosen YHWH, to serve him." And they said: "We are witnesses!" [24:28] So Joshua sent the people away, each to their inheritances.

This assumed early text is surprisingly similar to the Samaritan version. In particular, there are four similarities that should be pointed out.

1. The literary-critical model assumes that the historical summary in Josh 24:1–13 has been secondarily added in front of a commitment scene which originally began from Josh 24:14. One reason for this assumption is that while the historical summary is connected with the Pentateuch and some late texts in the Hebrew Bible, the commitment scene is dependent on Deuteronomy and the later historical books. Many argue that especially the references to the Patriarchs are late in this chapter.[22] The Samaritan text corresponds roughly with this assumption. After introductory words taken from Josh 23:1 and 24:1, the historical summary in Josh 24:2–13 is missing almost entirely from SamJosh 22. Only Josh 24:13 referring to Deut 6:10–13 is presented before the commitment narrative.
2. The short historical summary in 24:17–18a is often evaluated as a later addition to the commitment scene. This is seen in two elements that are only loosely connected to the commitment scene: the mention of the fathers and the Amorites.

> 16 Then the people answered, "Far be it from us that we should forsake the LORD to serve other gods;
> for it is the LORD our God who brought us and our ancestors up from the land of Egypt,
> out of the house of slavery, and who did those great signs in our sight. He protected
> us along all the way that we went, and among all the peoples through whom we
> passed; 18 and the LORD drove out before us all the peoples, the Amorites who lived in
> the land.
> We will also serve the LORD, for he is our God."

   The assumed addition, filling historical details, is absent from the Samaritan text. It is hard to argue that the author of the Samaritan text would have omitted these verses. There is nothing polemic about them. The simpler explanation is that the text that the Samaritan version is based on did not yet have this secondary expansion.

22 See, for example, U. Becker, "Endredaktionelle," 144.

3. One of the most peculiar sections in Josh 24 is the claim in vv. 19–21 that the Israelites cannot serve YHWH. Even some scholars who argue for the literary unity of Josh 24 regard this notion as a late addition.[23] The content of these verses is hard to reconcile with the context since the Israelites solemnly promise to serve YHWH and Joshua seems to be convinced about the promise as seen in the making of the covenant. The addition would have been made due to the later historical books which demonstrate that the Israelites did not remain faithful to YHWH. This section is also missing completely from the Samaritan text.
4. Finally, Josh 24:23–24 is recognized as a secondary addition with the help of the many repetitions. It repeats נַעֲבֹד אֶת-יְהוָה כִּי-הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ in a slightly modified form נַעֲבֹד אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ from v. 18b.[24] In addition, the order to put away the foreign gods (הָסִירוּ אֶת-אֱלֹהֵי הַנֵּכָר) is repeated from v. 14. Moreover, the addition creates a sudden change of speaker from the people (v. 22b) to Joshua (v. 23b). This is peculiar since when the speaker changes to Joshua elsewhere in the dialogue of Josh 24, it is always introduced with a formula (vv. 19, 22, 27). This repetitive section is also missing from the Samaritan text.

That these sections are missing from the Samaritan text can be explained in two ways. Either an editor of the text has secondarily omitted them or the Samaritan community has transmitted a text that did not yet contain them. The convergence of textual evidence with literary-critical considerations suggests that the latter is the case. Moreover, the missing sections are mostly ideologically unproblematic and it is hard to demonstrate convincing reasons for their omissions. In any case, if the literary-critical model is correct, the Samaritan evidence attests partly to an earlier version of Josh 24. This hypothesis would either gain corroboration or be falsified through a textual and literary-critical analysis of the whole SamJosh.

Conclusion

The textual analysis of the Samaritan farewell speech of Joshua demonstrates that the Samaritan Joshua traditions should not be outright discarded as merely late reception history of the book of Joshua. As illustrated by a comparison with other textual witnesses, the text is not derived from the MT but represents an interesting mixture of early and late readings. Despite the problems and open questions related to its history and transmission, the text-historical importance of the Hebrew Samaritan book of Joshua should be explored further. A thorough internal textual analysis of this material in the light of the best textual

23 Most notably T. Römer, "The Elusive Yahwist: A Short History of Research," in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (Ed. T. B. Dozeman and K. Schmid; Atlanta: SBL. 2006), 539.
24 Thus also Müller 2004, 216 and Becker 2006, 144.

witnesses of the book of Joshua is needed. Moreover, the Samaritan Joshua traditions should be researched more carefully in their own right comparing all the available Arabic and Hebrew witnesses.

APPENDIX: THE SAMARITAN FAREWELL SPEECH OF JOSHUA

The text is from the edition of M. Gaster, "Das Buch Josua in Hebräisch-Samaritanischer Rezension," *ZDMG* 62, 273–276. (Published online at https://archive.org/details/MN41923ucmf_0). The edition of *Sepher Hayamim* published by J. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II (or: Sepher Hayamim): From Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar* (BZAW 107; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1969) contains essentially a similar text with some textual variation.

Normal text follows both the MT and the LXX
Green variant agrees with the MT
Yellow variant agrees with the OG
Light green variant agrees with some other witness (details in the footnote)
Grey text is unique to SamJosh
Dark grey text is a reference to another text in the Hebrew Bible

v.	SamJosh 22	MT	Translation
1 2	ויהי מקץ ימים רבים אחרי הניח יהוה לישראל מכל איביהם מסביב ויהושע בן נון זקו בא בימים	23:1	This happened after a long time when YHWH had given rest to Israel from all their enemies around and Joshua, son of Nun, was old in years.
3 4 5	ויאסף יהושע את כל שבטי ישראל שכמה ויקרא לכל זקני בני ישראל ולראשיהם ולשופטיהם ולשוטריהם ויעלו אליו אל המקום המבחר הרגריזים בית אל ויתיצבו לפני האלהים בפתח אהל מועד	24:1	And Joshua gathered all the tribes of Israel to Shechem and summoned all the elders of the sons of Israel, their heads, their judges, their scribes, and they went up to the chosen place at Mount Gerizim in Bethel and presented themselves before God at the entrance of the tent of meeting.
6 7	ויאמר אליהם יהושע בן נון אנכי מת והלך מביניכם ואתם ידעתם את כל אשר עשה יהוה לכם	23:14 23:3a	And Joshua, son of Nun, said to them: "I am about to die and depart from you. You know all that YHWH has done for you.
8	ויוציא את אבותיכם מארץ מצרים באותות ובמופתים ובמלחמה וביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה ובמראים גדלים ותעברו את מי ים סוף ביבשה	24:6 Deut 4:34	He brought[25] your fathers out of the land of[26] Egypt with signs, wonders, war, a strong and outstretched hand, and great miracles; you crossed the Sea of Reeds on dry land
9	ויתן לכם את הארץ אשר לא יגעתם בה והערים אשר לא בניתם ותשבו בהם כרמים וזיתים אשר לא נטעתם אתם אכלים	24:13	and he gave you the land on which you did not labor and the cities which you did not build and you live in them; from vineyards and olive yards that you did not plant, you will eat.
10	ועתה יראו את יהוה אלהיכם ועבדתם אתו מכל כוחיכם בתמים ובאמה והסירו את אלהי הנכר מביניכם ולא תעבדו כי אם את יהוה אלהיכם לבדו	24:14	And now fear YHWH your God[27] and serve him with all your strength in sincerity and faithfulness. Put away the foreign gods from among you and do not serve them for YHWH your god you shall serve.
11	ואם רע בעיניכם לעבד את יהוה אלהיכם בחרו לכם היום מי תעבדון אם את יהוה אלהיכם אם את אלהי הגוים אשר אתם יושבים בארצם ואנכי וביתי לא נעבד כי אם את יהוה אלהינו לבדו	24:15	If it is bad in your eyes to serve YHWH your God choose for yourselves today whom you will serve, either YHWH your god or the gods of the nations in whose land you are living. But me and my household will not serve them for we will serve YHWH our God."
12	ויען כל העם ויאמר הלילה לנו מעזב את יהוה אלהינו	24:16	Then all[28] the people answered and said: "Far be it from us that we forsake YHWH our God[29]

[25] The MT reads וְאוֹצִיא "when I brought". The third-person form is found in some LXX witnesses (W 82 120 La100).
[26] LXX 509.
[27] Lucianic LXX manuscripts (54 75 106 134 314): κυριον τον θν.
[28] Sahidic (Maspéro's edition: *ⲡⲗⲁⲟⲥ ⲧⲏⲣⲟ).*
[29] Armenian (Quoted from Brooke-McLean: *deum nostrum*)

	לעבד אלהים אחרים		to serve other gods
13	כי יהוה אלהינו נעבד כי הוא אלהינו ואלהי אבותנו	24:18b	for YHWH, our God we will serve for he is our God and the God of our fathers."
14 15	ויאמר יהושע אל העם עבדים אתם בכם כי אתם בחרתם לכם את יהוה לעבד אתו ויאמרו עדים	24:22	Then Joshua said to the people: "You are witnesses against yourselves that you have chosen to yourselves YHWH, to serve him." And they said: "We are witnesses!"
16	ויכרת יהושא בן נון ברית לעם ביום ההוא וישם לו חק ומשפת בעיר שכם חקדושה אשר היא מתחת להר גריזים בית אל וישמה כסא המשפט	24:25	So, Joshua, son of Nun[30], made a covenant with the people that day and gave them statutes and ordinances in the holy city of Shechem which is at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, Bethel, where he set the judgment throne.
17 18	ויכתב את הדברים האלה בספר ויתנו אל הכהנים בני לני ויאמר אליהם לקחו את הספר הזה ושמרתם אתו ויקחו אבן גדולה ויקימה שם תחת האילה אשר ביסיד הר גריזים מקום מקדש יהוה	24:26	And he wrote these words in a book and gave it to the Levite priests. And he said to them: "Take this book and keep it safe." And he took a large stone and set it up there under the oak which is at the foot of Mt. Gerizim in the site of the sanctuary of YHWH.
19 20	ויאמר יהושא אל העם הנה האבן הזאת תהיה בנו לעדה ויבן שם מזבח תחת ההר ויקח איל אחד מן הצאן ויקריבו על הברית הזה אשר כרתו בני ישראל עמו	24:27a	And Joshua said to the people: "Look, this stone shall be a witness against us." Then he built there an altar at the foot of the mountain and he took a ram from the cattle and offered it for the covenant which the Israelites had made with him.
21	ואחרי כן בחר יהושא בן נון שנים עשר נשיא מן נשיאי בני ישראל איש אחד לשבט		After this Joshua, son of Nun, chose twelve rulers from the rulers of the Israelites, one man from each tribe.
22	וישלך עליהם גורל על פי אלעזר בן אהרן הכהן במקם המדבר הר גריזים בית אל לפני יהוה ויצא גבול המלכות על בני ישראל לאיש שמו נתנאל בן אחי כלב משבט יהודה וימליכו על בני ישראל		And the lot was tossed by Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the priest of the chosen place at Mt. Gerizim in Bethel before YHWH. And fell the lot of kingship over the Israelites to the man called Nathaniel, the son of Caleb's brother from the tribe of Judah. And he was chosen as king over the Israelites.
23	ויהי אחר הדברים האלה וימת יהושע בן נין עבד יהוה בן מאה ועשר שנים	24:30	And it happened after these things that died Joshua, son of Nun, servant of YHWH, 110 years old.
24	ויקברו אתו בגבעה אשר היא מיל המקום המבחר הר גריזים בית אל בתמנת סרח ויבכו אתו בני ישראל שלשים יום ויתמו ימי בכיתו	24:31[31]	They buried him at Gibeah which is opposite to the chosen place, Mt. Gerizim, Bethel[32], in Timnatserah And the Israelites cried for him for 30 days. Then he days of grief became full.

[30] Sahidic (Maspéro's edition: ⲡⲱⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲁⲩⲏ)

[31] The location of the following verse (MT Josh 24:32) reporting the burying of Joseph's bones in Shechem is different in SamJosh. It is situated earlier in the composition just before the incident with the Gibeonites (MT Josh 9) and after the conquest of Ai (MT Josh 8). At this juncture, SamJosh also contains a markedly expanded and ritualized version of the altar scene (MT Josh 8:30–35).

[32] At the end of the verse, the Sahidic version adds a plus stating that the burial place is "near Baethel which is Magdaritis Baithon".

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Sexual Expediency in a Foreign Land: Reading the Wife/Sister Narratives in Genesis with the Concept of Diaspora as the Central Heuristic Key

1 Introduction

This paper focuses on three narratives in the book of Genesis similarities of which are striking and whose narrative proximity begs attention. They have been referred to as wife/sister narratives and are found in Genesis 12, 20 and 26. The three are built around a core plot in which a patriarch (the first two with Abraham and the last one with Isaac) finds himself at the mercy of a powerful overlord and is definite that he would be killed on account of his beautiful wife. With the consent of his wife, the patriarch decides to introduce his wife as his sister. In each instance, not only is the patriarch saved from death but also walks out of the arrangement with great wealth. I am reading this as sexual travesty in which conventional boundaries defining sexual norms were stretched as biblical Israel negotiated life beyond its homeland. I intend to argue for a postexilic context for these narratives as the most appropriate to allow for an imagination that includes conversion of women into currency of trade. Arguing for a postexilic date for patriarchal narratives is old news. Julius Wellhausen represented a tradition going back for centuries when he remarked concerning patriarchal narratives:

> It involves no contradiction that, in comparing the versions of the tradition, we should decline the historical standard in the case of the legend of the origins of mankind and of the legend of the patriarchs … the patriarchal legend has no connection whatever with the times of the patriarchs.[1]

In other words, there is not much historical knowledge of the patriarchs to be gained in the narratives about them. If anything, all we get is a reflection of the world in which the narratives emerged, which, in Wellhausen's estimation, was not until the exilic period at the earliest.

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[1] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* J. Sutherland Black and A. Menzies, trans. (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1885), 360.

2 A Word on Methodology

The dominance of the historical critical methods in biblical studies over the better part of the last two centuries is well attested, an approach Fernando Segovia has described as '… the much-beloved scientific method that held sway in academic circles from the early nineteenth century to the third quarter of the twentieth.'[2] As is all well known now, the methods developed on the epistemological bedrock that the (biblical) text contains all that is required for its reading. After attending to questions of a textual nature (lower criticism) – the preoccupation would be to ask questions of source, form, oral history and redaction – proceeding with the understanding that with an appropriate methodology, an 'objective' reading would not only be possible but also a requirement to doing biblical studies. A wave of 'protest' approaches traceable to Paul Ricoeur, with philosophical justification in his notion of a 'Hermeneutic of Suspicion'[3], has since emerged. Electing to approach texts with suspicion and assuming that there is more to every narrative than what the reader is told have opened up the interpretive arena to allow for the participation of the reader in ways unimaginable in the guise of the historical critical methods. In these newer approaches, the reader 'participates' in the text, applying their personal experience into searching for the story behind the story of the text. Reader response approaches have taken shape in the understanding that a reader's interaction with the text is dependent on such factors as gender, race, sexual orientation, culture, location, etc. Despite the gains made in developing alternative approaches to reading the biblical text, the gains of the historical critical methods remain indelible in my view. The technical rigours that came to be associated with the historical critical methods aside, it would be foolhardy of subsequent biblical scholarship to assume that we can just 'unlearn'/'unsee' all that we have learned and seen through the lenses of the historical critical methods. It is for this reason that I will begin with a summative view of the gains made by using the historical critical approach in reading the Pentateuch in general and the wife/sister narratives in particular.

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[2] F. F. Segovia, *Decolonizing Biblical Studies: A View from the Margins* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2000), 147.
[3] P. Ricoeur, *Freud and Philosophy: An Essay on Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 27.

The rise of academic interest in diaspora must be viewed in relation to the modern day increased movement of people across political borders[4] in search for political asylum, work and other opportunities. It is only axiomatic now to state that the term diaspora has become a buzzword. However, it is my opinion that academic attempts in the recent past to develop some sort of a theoretical framework to work with, the concept now provides for reasonable use in the manner such as this study is proposing. It is this study's submission that the theories emerging out of this exercise can and should be employed to illuminate biblical interpretation. Despite secularists' objections to religious and moral codes being imposed on social and legal matters, the interface of the Bible and migration is already underway. James Hoffmeier notes that such objections notwithstanding, the reality on the ground is that various stakeholders continue to appeal '… to teachings, laws, principles, and practices from the Bible or are quoting Scripture as the basis for the positions they advocate regarding immigration and the treatment of illegal aliens.'[5] Perceived this way, the interaction of the Bible and the migration crisis has been predominantly a one-way matter with the Bible assumed to be capable of informing migration policies. This study aims to turn the tables by employing gains made in the field of diaspora studies to read a biblical text.

3 The Sister/Wife Narratives – A Historical Critical Analysis

In its classical sense, Source (or Literary) Criticism in biblical studies developed from a realisation that, for the most part, biblical narratives are imbued with inconsistencies in style and repetitions in content such as to make the idea of single authorship unsustainable. The nature of biblical material itself calls for source analysis. With particular reference to the use of this approach to the Pentateuch, John Barton notes:

> A work which consists of narrative mixed with poems and hymns and laws, which contain two or even three versions of the same story set down with no apparent awareness that they are the same, and which changes style so drastically from paragraph to paragraph and from verse to verse, cannot in a certain sense be read at all: you simply don't know what to do with it.[6]

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[4] A. Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996), 178.
[5] J. K. Hoffmeier, *The Immigration Crisis*, 21.
[6] J. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, 2nd ed. (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1996), 22.

The probability of the historical occurrence of an incident in which a patriarch was compelled to give away his wife to another man for fear of his life is very unlikely. Having three narratives of the same in such close proximity[7] is too absurd and reading Genesis 12, 20 and 26 as 'three versions of the same story' is not only sensible but also the most convenient. While I agree with T. Desmond Alexander that the close proximity of these three narratives in the book of Genesis makes for some absurdity, I am opposed where he states that there is ' … complete absence of such incidents elsewhere in the Old Testament…'[8] In another project I have argued for recognition of a tradition preserved in the B Text of Esther in which Mordecai raised his much younger cousin not as a sister but as επαιδευσεν αυτην εαυτω εις γυναικα (he brought her up for a wife for himself) (Esther 2:7). The thesis of this paper seeks to go further by investigating the kind of conditions that would make such an imagination possible in the first place.

3.1 Source Critical Reading

The historical-critical approach to the Pentateuch thrived on a conviction that the Torah is a composite document consisting of materials originally compiled and fully developed into documents in their own right. Proponents of the Documentary Hypothesis, going as far back as its classical expression in the work of Julius Wellhausen and even earlier, have argued that 'Many of the logical inconsistencies in some parts of the Biblical text and stylistic differences between various sections can be easily explained … by viewing the text as an amalgam of originally distinct literary works.'[9] A source critical analysis will explain the noted absurdity as evidence for the existence of multiple documentary sources that the final redactor of the Pentateuch could not harmonise. One document had this happening with Abraham at the mercy of the Egyptian pharaoh (Genesis 12); another has the same taking place when the patriarch is in Gerar before Abimelech (Genesis 20) and the other has Isaac in Gerar with Abimelech, king of the Philistines repeating the same with Rebekah (Genesis 26). For source critics, there were at least three documents telling the same

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[7] T. D. Alexander, 'Are the Wife/Sister Incidents of Genesis Literary Compositional Variants?' *Vetus Testamentum,* Vol. 42, Fasc. 2 (April 1992), pp. 145-153, 145.
[8] T. D. Alexander, 'Are the Wife/Sister Incidents of Genesis Literary Compositional Variants?', 145
[9] D. H. Gordis, 'Lies, Wives and Sisters: The Wife-Sister Motif Revisited' *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought* Vol. 34, No. 3 (1985), pp. 344-359, 344.

story with variations in characterisation and location; the final redactor found all versions compelling enough to leave any.

3.2 Form Critical and Tradition History Reading

Form critics read these narratives as 'oval variants of one original story.'[10] As already alluded to above, the historical veracity of these narratives is not even imaginable. It is definite that in these narratives the reader comes face to face with folklore. John Barton describes folklore as 'narrative material that has been transmitted orally in traditional cultures'[11] In that process of transmission, the said narrative material takes turns and twists as it is re-told by people in different times and places. The variations in how the same story may be told is a result of local communities re-telling the same tale with local tint. Patricia G. Kirkpatrick refers to a study that 'followed the careers of story-tellers over several decades [and] have demonstrated the considerable change which is involved in each retelling of the stories.'[12] Gunkel traced the origins of the folktale to dreams and visions embodying 'some wish or other of primitive humankind; such 'boulamatic [sic] folktales' depict as reality what in hard life could, of course, only remain an unattainable desire.'[13] While Gunkel discussed folklore as a specific form definitive of much of the biblical narrative,[14] Barton paid attention to type and structure and located the linking of folktales to biblical studies within the new approach of Structural Criticism.[15] Similarities in structure, form and content can be explained on the basis of the fact that the aspirations of human beings may be the same, which is why 'folk-tales are a great problem for any critic who wishes to argue that meaning always requires someone to mean it, for it is clear that most folk-tales have some kind of existence which transcends any given version of them.'[16] In a discussion of the similarities between folktale and myth, Eva M. Thury and Margaret K. Devinney stress the fact that these are genres that are transmitted orally with the obvious implication that 'they change and evolve'.[17] Utilising discussions in the

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[10] T. D. Alexander, 'Are the Wife/Sister Incidents of Genesis Literary Compositional Variants?', 145.
[11] J. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 114.
[12] P. G. Kirkpatrick, *The Old Testament and Folklore Study* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 117.
[13] H. Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament*(Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1987), 30.
[14] H. Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament*, 33-36.
[15] J. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 114-116.
[16] J. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 114.
[17] E. M. Thury, *Introduction to Mythology: Contemporary Approaches to Classical and World Myths* 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 547.

Jewish Rabbinic traditions, Barton argues that arguments relating to which biblical texts did not defile hands such as Esther was not about their sanctity but rather about the fact that they were narrative meant to be recited and not read.[18] The multiple versions of the wife/sister narratives, their variations and similarities are not at all peculiar if the argument that in this story we are working with a folktale can be sustained.

3.3 Redaction Critical Reading

The first occurrence of this story in Genesis 12 posed serious challenges in that it left the safety of the matriarch unsecured. It is not unreasonable to imagine that the incident involving Sarah at the hands of the Egyptian pharaoh resulted in her sexual violation. From a redaction standpoint, the express statement in Genesis 20 that YHWH intervened in time to save the matriarch from possible sexual exploitation at the hands of Abimelech was an attempt to redress the anomaly in the earlier narrative. Despite narrative inconsistence, it was necessary that in Genesis 20 the reader is informed in clear terms that Abimelech had no sexual contact with the matriarch who, in the next chapter would miraculously conceive. Genesis 26 would have served as a connective link between Abraham and Isaac, legitimising the latter as the true heir in the line of promise.

4 A Case for a Diaspora Reading

One constant in all three narratives is the fact that, without exception, the incident takes place when the respective patriarch is de-centred – circumstances have seen the patriarch leaving his kindred. Yet conspicuous by its absence is the transnationalism element. I will take a moment to consider the narrative wording of the biblical sources. I must state that this is not a historical consideration but an attempt to use some specification of the said collective memory to offer an explanation to the notion of victim diaspora. There is sufficient evidence to show that biblical Jews have retained memories of several excursions outside the land of Israel. Yet diaspora is a concept that became associated mainly with the Babylonian

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[18] J. Barton, *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel After the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1986), 68-72.

deportations of 587/6 BCE. A close attention to the biblical accounts close to the event gives the impression that the deportation was a highly selective process with only those from the upper echelons of the society affected:

> He carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon; the king's mother, the king's wives, his officials, and the elite of the land, he took into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. The king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon all the men of valour, seven thousand, the artisans and the smiths, one thousand all of them strong and fit for war. The king of Babylon made Mattaniah, Jehoiachin's uncle king in his place, and changed his name to Zedekiah. (2 Kings 24:15-17)

Of course consensus is illusive where it concerns details of numbers and the exact offices of those constituting this 'elite' group. Piecing together with what is known about the presence of thriving Jewish communities discernible prior to this deportation, this must be read as only one of several narratives on how biblical Jews found themselves living outside the land of Israel. However, it is important to stress that this group was special in that it was remembered in terms of its social class – the elite. It is only prudent to read the biblical narratives relating to the reality of exile as, at best, amalgamations of the myths, folklore, legal documents, 'historical' records of an assortment of people with a varied range of experiences. Insisting on victimhood, as the lone central theme of diaspora would be inappropriate. It is reasonable to infer that the narrative of the group that is remembered as elite naturally developed to dominate narrative experiences of all others and became *the* exilic narrative for all Jews.

One thing certain is that in its earliest coinage, diaspora is undesirable. Deuteronomy 28:25 reads:

יתנך יהוה נגף לפני איביך נדרך אחד תצא אליו ובשבעה דרכים תנום לפניו והיית **לזעוה** לכל ממלכות הארץ

Below is the Greek translation of the Hebrew text and the NRSV rendition of the same, the former being particularly critical in the subsequent understanding of 'diaspora':

δῴη σε Κύριος ἐπισκοπὴν ἐναντίον τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου· ἐν ὁδῷ μιᾷ ἐξελεύσῃ πρὸς αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν ἑπτὰ ὁδοῖς φεύξῃ ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν· καὶ ἔσῃ ἐν	The Lord will cause you to be defeated before your enemies; you shall go out against them one way and flee before them seven ways.

διασπορᾷ ἐν πάσαις βασιλείαις τῆς γῆς.	You shall become an **object of horror** to all the kingdoms of the earth.

While 'fleeing in seven ways' is an expression that could justifiably create an image of dispersion, it is not to this aspect that the Septuagint assigns the term diaspora but, rather, to the Hebrew זעוה(terror). Evidently, the NRSV rendering 'an object of horror' is an attempt to stay close to the Hebrew rendition. 'Diaspora' in the Septuagint is therefore closely associated with the זעוה that יהוה has in store for biblical Israel in the event of disobedience. Of the seven occurrences of זעוה in the Hebrew Bible, Deuteronomy 28:25 is the only instance the word is employed outside a corpus that can be read as narrating events of the exile and beyond.[19] Used this way, זעוה serves to distinguish diaspora from גלה (translated in the Septuagint as αποικια) and used to denote exile or banishment, presumably with an emphasis on distinct settlements of the 'other' in host territories. The distinction between זעוה – διασπορα on the one hand and גלה/גלת – αποικια on the other is often ignored in diaspora studies, as is the case when Safran places *galut* in parenthesis as the Hebrew equivalent of diaspora.[20] In nuancing the Hebrew זעוהand Greek διασπορα in this manner, I have provided the trajectory by which the diaspora-based theoretical framework central to this thesis has come into being.

That diaspora is a distinct form of migration is arguably now established.[21] However, it would seem premature to speak of a proper diaspora theory as the academic discipline is only taking shape and discussions to order thoughts into theories are only beginning. Let it suffice for now to say that diaspora theorists are working on a framework that is based on the trajectory the concept has taken to proliferate both popular and academic discourses with such remarkable propensity. In a 1991 publication, William Safran lamented the conspicuous absence of scholarly attention to diasporas in the discussion on ethnicity and migration.[22] It is a reality that was

[19] The other occurrences include: 2 Chronicles 29:8; Jeremiah 15:4; 24:9; 29:18; 34:17 and Ezekiel 23:46, all of which, according to the biblical narrative timeline, can be read as accounts of exilic and post exilic events.
[20] W. Safran, 'The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective' in *Israel Studies* 10 (1), 2005, 36.
[21] A fuller discussion of this claim is in my doctoral thesis at KCL, 2017
[22] W. Safran, 'Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return' in *Diaspora* 1 (1), 1991, pp. 83-99, 83.

about to change in graphic ways. Employing an internet base tool at http://wwwlib.umi.com/dissertations/search , Rogers Brubaker observed:

> 'Diaspora' and its cognates appear as keywords only once or twice a year in dissertations from the 1970s, about thirteen times in the late 1980s and nearly 130 times in 2001 alone. And the diaspora explosion is not confined to academic writing. 'Diaspora' yields a million Google hits; a sampling suggests that the large majority are *not* academic.[23]

From the conspicuous absence, which Safran lamented in 1991, diaspora has blossomed into a vibrant field of academic enquiry. Once in the public discourse, diaspora became a term 'of fashion', usage of which became completely detached from its etymological background. It is from this background that Brubaker makes the observation that the term 'diaspora', within a short period of time, has moved so far from its centre such that it can be said to have gone into a state of diaspora itself.[24] Robin Cohen offers, among other things, an assessment of how the phenomenon of diaspora has developed over the years and how it has become a subject of interest to academic scrutiny. In his categorisation, he distinguishes and discusses in some detail four phases in diaspora studies, namely: the prototypical, the expanded, the social constructionist critiques and the consolidation phases.[25] Given the scope of this paper, I will limit my application to two of the four stages of the diaspora theory trajectory namely; prototypical diaspora and social constructionist critiques phases.

4.1 Wife/Sister Narratives in Relation to Prototypical Diaspora

In its prototypical configuration, the term diaspora (always spelt with a capital D) connoted that one experience in the memory of biblical Jews at the beginning of the sixth century following the Babylonian conquest. I have shown above the intricate connection between the people and their land on the one hand and YHWH and his relationship with them on the other. The belief that there was a portion of the earth assigned to biblical Israel; one that would be theirs to keep for as long as they remained faithful to YHWH became central to their self understanding such that its loss would require a complete overhaul of their theology. As Paul Joyce reads

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[23] R. Brubaker, 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora' in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (1), 2005, pp. 1-19, 1.
[24] R. Brubaker, 'The 'Diaspora' Diaspora', 1.
[25] R. Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* 2nd ed., (Oxford: Routledge, 2008), 2-12.

prophetic traditions in the immediate aftermath of the Babylonian conquest, biblical Israel needed new theological reflections in its new state of landlessness:'The primary task of the prophet Ezekiel (like that of his prophetic contemporary, Jeremiah) was to provide a theological interpretation of the disaster which was engulfing the nation.'[26] One cannot overemphasise the undesirability of the situation and the need to develop a theology. In his analysis of Ezekiel's prophetic theology, Joyce discerns a tendency to apportion blame 'especially upon the leaders and, more specifically, upon the royal leaders of the nation.'[27] It seems to me it was critical in the new dispensation to show that biblical Israel's safety was only guaranteed when it was centred in the 'land of promise' and that she could only stray to her own peril. To say that a man would be prepared to convert his wife into some form of currency to ensure his survival, even only in imagination, provides for some shocking reading is only axiomatic. One of the effects of the noted conspicuous absence of a diaspora consideration in interpreting the wife/sister narratives is that biblical scholarship is missing a central heuristic key. It is my contention that these narratives took shape in a postexilic context and where part of the developing narrative that sought to show that biblical Israel was not safe away from Eretz Israel. Analogically speaking, people with a self-understanding of a diaspora have certain cognitive ways of constructing memory and narrating their experiences, which are shaped by a heightened sense of conflict, trauma and victimhood.

4.2 Wife/Sister Narratives as Social Constructionist Critiques

In diaspora, the currency of trade changes completely and so does the hegemonic structure. Upon entering diasporic space determination of value lies with the host and quite often does not follow the patterns set in homeland conditions. Working with an analogous community for this study, JoAnn Mc`Greggor makes reference to the increased wave of Zimbabwean migration to the United Kingdom in the late 1990s and observes that '…the movement became more all-encompassing, with women prominent in the outflow thanks to the feminisation of opportunity in care and

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[26] P. Joyce, 'King and Messiah in Ezekiel' in J. Day, ed., *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* JSOTSup 270 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 323.
[27] P. Joyce, 'King and Messiah in Ezekiel', 323.

nursing.'[28] JoAnn McGregor notes of the United Kingdom's care industry: 'The care industry is a significant employer in Britain, and estimates of the numbers of careworkers range between 922,000 and 1.6 million, the overwhelming majority of whom are women.'[29] The host community had sufficient engineers, accountants, lawyers and most of those professional lines of prestige and power. The care and nursing industries, which is largely feminine and would be considered lowly were the areas the host community valued. A lot of households witnessed huge upsets in income patterns with women earning more.

It is my contention that the conversion of wives into currency in these narratives is typical to diaspora dictates. The man who would rely on their own mighty and bravado to ensure their survival and that of their dependents find themselves stripped of that agency in diasporic space. Women not only become more valuable in the eyes of the host community but also the only reasonable means to ensure community survival and the only hope for the coming to fruition of the promise that defines a people. This they do at huge personal costs and feminist/womanist readings of protest to such narratives are warranted. However, the voiceless woman and the attempt to restore male bravado by making these narratives about the tactful manoeuvres of the male protagonists do not succeed in masking where real power lies. In the end, and typical to diaspora narratives, the wife/sister narratives are not intended to offer some historical rendition but are social constructionist critiques reflecting the overhaul of hegemonic structures in diasporic space.

5 Conclusion

There are still a number of open ends needing further exploration that the scope of this project would not allow. The paper has been limited to not only showing the inadequacy of reading the wife/sister narratives in the book of Genesis through historical-critical lenses but also suggest how turning to diaspora theory may benefit

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[28] J. McGregor, 'Abject Spaces, Transnational Calculations: Zimbabweans in Britain Navigating Work, Class and the Law' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33 (4) (2008), 466-482, 469.
[29] J. McGregor, '"Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners)": Zimbabwean Migrants and the UK Care Industry' in *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33:5 (2007), 801-824, 804.

such reading. It is my contention that these narratives took shape in a postexilic milieu and reflect the concerns and aspirations of a people whose self-understanding is that of a diaspora. Life in diaspora demands renegotiation of norms and often results in tensions between homeland and diaspora communities.[30] That the narratives are told from a male perspective is a given. However, lying underneath that male story is one I read as acknowledging women's ability to retain power in transnational contexts – a subtle critique of the male constructed narrative.

[30] I hope to explore the element of sexual expediency more fully in the fuller project but let it suffice here to say that what shocks sedentary/homeland communities as inappropriate behaviour is mere survival necessity in diasporic space.

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THE STRUCTURE AND FORMATION OF ISAIAH 40-55

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CREATION THOUGHT

INTRODUCTION

The constant usage of creation language in Isaiah 40-55 (especially in chapters 40-48) which upholds Yahweh as the unique creator and incomparable God, demands a closer reading, in order to find the necessity, reason and influence of the environment in which these chapters were composed. With this outlook, the researcher attempts to examine carefully the formation of Isaiah 40-55 with special reference to chapters 40-48 and the significance of creation thought with a juxtaposed reading of selected verses from *Enûma Elîš* and Isaiah 40-48.

1.1. IMPORTANT OBSERVATIONS OF ISAIAH 40-55

During the end of 18th century CE the Old Testament scholarship[1] maintained the notion that Isaiah 40-55[2] was not written by the 8th century Isaiah of Jerusalem.[3] Subsequently, the view of isolating 40-55 as a single book appeared during the end of the 19th century CE.[4] The process of composition, authorship and dating of Isaiah 40-55 are

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[1] It has to be noted, that some of the observations in relation to the book of Isaiah, with regard to its different sections and multiple authorships, were already identified by the scholars of the Middle Ages. Especially, Abraham Ibn Ezra, a Spanish poet and exegete composed his work on Isaiah in the 12th century, recognizing that the book of Isaiah is not a single literary unit, pointing out that chapters 1-39 and 40-66 were written by different authors. Abraham Ibn Ezra, *The Commentary of Ibn Ezra on Isaiah, Vol.1: Translation of the Commentary* (trans. M. Friedländer: New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1873), 169-71.

[2] Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892); S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the OT* (9th ed.; ITL; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913), 204–46; Otto Eissfeldt, *The OT: An Introduction* (trans. Peter R. Ackroyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 303–46; Erich Zenger et al., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (5th ed.; KST; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 427–51; cf. R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the OT* (Peabody, MA: Prince, 1999 [1969]), 764–800; O. T. Allis, *The Unity of Isaiah: A Study in Prophecy* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1950); H.D. Preuss, *Deuterojesaja. Eine Einführung in seine Botschaft* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976); R.N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press: 1983); A. Richter, "Hauptlinien der Deuterojesaja-Forschung von 1964-79 in *Sprache und Struktur der Prophetie Deuterojesajas* CTM II (Stuttgart: 1981) 89-131; D. Michel, "Deuterojesaja" *TRE* 8 (1981): 510-530; H.J. Hermisson, "Deuterojesaja-Probleme. Ein kritischer Literaturbericht *VF* 31 (1986): 53-84.

[3] It was Johann Döderlein, in the late 18th century, who in several of his writings questioned the traditional view of Isaiah 40-55 and begun to pay particular attention to the sources behind the book of Isaiah in its present form. He argued that Isaiah 40-55 was written during the exile and he refused its authorship by the Isaiah who lived in Jerusalem. Johann Döderlein, *Esaias* (Altorfi: Venum Prostat in officina Schuipfeliana, 1780); M. Mulzer, "Döderlein und Deuterojesaja," *BN* 66 (1993): 15-22. Later, throughout the 19th century similar views found at the same time the traditional view also dominated. And it was especially Johann Gotfried Eichron, who in his thesis discussed in detail, the different sources of the book of Isaiah. Johann Gotfried Eichron, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (Leipzig: Weidmann & Reich, 1781).

[4] The major break-through and the culmination of this conclusion came with the monumental work of Bernhard Duhm. He emphasized on the delimitation of Isaiah 40-55 and noted the disparate dates for the

some of the significant topics of discussion which prevails even today. There are two main parts in Isaiah 40-55, namely: the Jacob/Israel section (40-48) and the Zion/Jerusalem section (49-55).[5] However, there are many internal editions that has been done in the process of redaction.[6] The arrival of Yahweh at Zion/Jerusalem (52:7-12) which resembles Isaiah 48:20-21 constitutes the first epilogue, which has several versions of the prologue (40:1-11).[7] It can also be noted that Isaiah 52:7-12 acted in the earlier stages as the end of the book.[8] Likewise, the chapters of Isaiah 40:1-52:7 are structured by the so-called 'eschatological hymns' (40:10-13; 44: 23; 45:8; 48:20-21; 49:13; 52:9-10).[9] Therefore, Isaiah 40-55 is a multiple corpus of several prophecies of which chapters 40-48 were uttered or composed in the Babylonian context emphasizing the incomparability of Yahweh through the creation language.

1.2. REDACTIONAL PROGRESSION WITH SELECTED SCHOLARLY VIEWS

Three factors contribute to the discussion on the redactional process of Isaiah 40-55, namely: the identity of the author(s),[10] the geographical location of the author(s) and

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various sections of the texts and he claimed that this section of Isaiah (i.e. 40-55) was from around 540 BCE. The commentary of Duhm has an immense influence on the subsequent interpretation of the book of Isaiah. Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia* (HKAT: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892).

[5] 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.

[6] According to Blenkinsopp, the call to flee from Babylon (Isaiah 48: 20-21) is a conclusion for the first section. At the same time the second section is structured by an alternation between Servant and Zion passages, but suggested that the last sequence, the fourth servant song (52: 13-53:12) and promises for Zion (54: 1-17a) could have been added subsequently. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55,* 61.

[7] Rainer Albertz, "On the Structure and Formation of the Book of Deutero-Isaiah," in Richard J. Bautch/J. Todd Hibbard (eds.), *The Book of Isaiah: Enduring Questions Answered Anew. Essays Honoring Joseph Blenkinsopp and His Contribution to the Study of Isaiah* (Cambridge UK: Eerdmans, 2014), 22.

[8] Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja in seinem Verhältnis zu Tritojesaja,* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 63 (Stuttgart; Kohlhammer, 1933), 267; Odil Hanes Steck, *Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja,* Forschungen zum Alten Testament 4 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1992), 125; Reinhard Gregor Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jesaja 40-55,* Forschungen zum Alten Testament (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1991), 217; Jürgen van Oorschot, *Von Babel zum Zion: Eine literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung,* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 206 (Berlin and New York: de Gruzter, 1993), 345; Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition und Endgestalt,* Herders Biblische Studien 16 (Freibrg, Basel, Vienna, Barcelona, Rome and New ZorkÖ Herder, 1998), 549; Jürgen Wertlitz, *Redaktion und Komposition: Zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40-55,* Bonner Biblische Beiträge 122 (Berlin and Bodenheim: Philo, 1999), 319-23.

[9] Rainer Albertz, "On the Structure and Formation of the Book of Deutero-Isaiah," 22-23.

[10] The vast majority of prophets in ancient Israel were male, but females also served in this role according to the Bible. An especially important example just two or three generations before Deutero-Isaiah is Huldah, who verified the holiness and authority of the Book of Deuteronomy; see 2 Kings 22.14–20; 2 Chronicles 34.22–29. It is perhaps relevant to note that Second Isaiah is the only biblical author who repeatedly uses feminine metaphors and similes when referring to God; see Mayer Gruber, "Feminine

added to that, the place of the formation of the book. There are no references in the book which reveal the identity of the person(s) who prophesied.[11] The most probable theory is that, an individual prophet from the prophetic group[12] proclaimed the message of salvation and hope of returning to the homeland[13] and this exilic prophet acted as a group leader whose message was subsequently collected and published by the school of prophets or scholars.[14] Hence, it indicates that the prophet/prophets and the collector/redactors who were responsible for initiating the mission of salvation and hope among the exiles during the last stages of the Babylonian kingdom, continued their mission even in the following years of the sixth and the beginning of fifth centuries BCE.[15] This is again a significant point to note that, sections of Isaiah 40-55 (esp. 40-48) originated in the Babylonian setting.

Similes Applied to the LORD in Second Isaiah," Beer Sheva 2 (1985): 75–84 [in Hebrew], available in English as Mayer Gruber, The Motherhood of God and Other Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 3–15; and Hanne Løland, Silent or Salient Gender?: The Interpretation of Gendered God-Language in the Hebrew Bible, Exemplified in Isaiah 42, 46, and 49, Forschungen Zum Alten Testament 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

[11] The following available references are not clear in unveiling the identity of the author: Isa 40:6 – "And he said: what shall I cry? and Isa 50:4-9 – "Yahweh gave me a tongue…" Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile,* 380.

[12] Possibly the disciples or successors of Isaiah of Jerusalem. However, contrasting view appears in relation to the book and the author. Albertz states that the name Deutero-Isaiah is an appropriate title which contains prophecies of hope and salvation, but not a single person, rather a group of prophets are responsible for this prophetic book which covers a long period of time in history. Redactional criticism plays a vital role identifying the different corpus in the book. Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period Vol. 2: From the Exile to Maccabees* trans. by John Bowden (Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 414-415; R.J. Coggins, "Do We Still Need Deutero-Isaiah?" *JSOT* 81 (1998): 77-92.

[13] Westermann assumes that the prophet could be a temple singer since there are similarities with Isaiah 40-55 and the book of Psalms. Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66* trans. by D.M.G. Stakler (Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1969), 8; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: From the Settlement in the Land to the Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 211; Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III Vol. 1: Isaiah 40-48* trans. by A.P. Runia Historical Commentary on the Old Testament 1 (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997), 12-13; Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,* 113-116. Hermisson is also of the opinion that the intensive use of the world of language and form of the Psalms suggest that Deutero-Isaiah originated from the circles of cult singers. Hans-Jürgen Hermisson, "Deuterojesaja," *RGG* 2: 684.

[14] Diethelm Michel, "Deuterojesaja," *TRE* 8: 521; Rainer Albertz *Exilszeit,* 285; Ulrich Berges, "The Book of Isaiah as Isaiah's Book: The Latest Developments in the Research of the Prophets," OTE 23/3 (2010), 561.

[15] It is a debatable matter to assume whether the prophetic message was available in the written or the oral form. The chapters of Isaiah 40-55 are comprised of works possibly collected and edited by various disciples of Second Isaiah. This group can be considered as a reviving group or school which kept the prophecy of salvation during the dark side of the history. S. Mowinckel, "Die Komposition des deuterojesajajischen Buches," *ZAW* 49:87-112, 242-260; Diethelm Michel, "Deuterojesaja," *TRE* 8: 521; Y. Gitay, "Deutero-Isaiah: Orral or Written?" *JBL* 99 (1980): 191; Blaženka Scheuer, *The Return of YHWH – The Tension between Deliverance and Repentance in Isaiah 40-55,* 7; Ulrich Berges, "The Book of Isaiah as Isaiah's Book: The Latest Developments in the Research of the Prophets," 555-558.

The other concerns which are closely linked, when it comes to the discussion about Isaiah 40-55, are the geographical location and the chronological development of the text. Although, ample number of redactional critics have presented their views on the formation of Isaiah 40-55, in the following lines, I would highlight the views of three scholars, namely: Rienhard Gregor Kratz, Ulrich Berges and Jürgen Werlitz. Rienhard Gregor Kratz who focused on the formation of Isaiah 40-48, observes that the Cyrus text[16] played a vital role in shaping chapters 40-48. With the help of form criticism Kratz concludes that the final form of Isaiah 40-55 is problematic in nature.[17] He claims that the final form is filled with contradictions and obscurities, therefore he proposes multiple redactional layers, each with its own emphasis.[18] According to Kratz's redactional theory, the Babylonian core (*Grundschicht*), dated shortly after 539 BCE contains most of Isa 40:1-48:21 and 52:7-10 and this work is credited to the prophet in Babylon. Five redactional layers were composed between 539 and the latter part of the fifth century BCE namely: *Zion-Fortschreibungen*, *Kyros-Ergänzungsschicht*, *Götzen-Schicht*, *Ebed-Israel-Schicht* and *Späte Einzelzusätze*.[19]

Ulrich Berges follows the pattern of Van Oorschot,[20] however present five stages of redactional development of Isaiah 40-55[21] in which only the core material originated from Babylon between 550-539 BCE (Isa 40:12-46:11). The *golah* community who had returned to

[16] Isa 41:1-4, 21-29; 42:5-9; 44:24-28; 45:1-7, 9-13; 46:9-11; 48:12-15. R. G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes 40-55*, (FAT 1, Tübingen 1991), 148-149.

[17] Kratz states that even though the final form of Isa 40-55 appears to be united in terms of content, a deeper study reveals that it was composed from a large number of shorter and longer textual units that were placed in their current order designed to form the final version of the book. R. G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes 40-55*, (FAT 1, Tübingen 1991), 148-149.

[18] Kratz identifies a major break between Isa 40-48 and 49-55, in which the former passages emphasizes on returning from exile by Jacob/Israel and the latter passages accentuates on the return as children of Zion. R. G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes 40-55*, (FAT 1, Tübingen 1991), 148-149.

[19] At the time when the prophetic words were compiled according to Kratz, Isaiah 40:1-11 and 52:7-10 were added and this was composed in Judah since God is presented as enthroned in Zion. Furthermore, Kartz stresses that all the further redaction layers which are mentioned above were composed in Judah and especially the *Golah* community who returned from exile played an important role in the redactional process. R. G. Kratz, *Kyros im Deuterojesaja-Buch. Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes 40-55*, (FAT 1, Tübingen 1991), 216-217.

[20] Jürgen van Oorschot, *Von Babel zum Zion. Eine literar- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Jesaja 40-55,* (BZAW 206; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993). 345-347.

[21] Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition Und Endgestalt* (Herders Biblische Studien 16; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 338-413, 549.

Judah redacted Isa 40-48 between 521-520 BCE. In 521 BCE the first Jerusalem redaction was composed in Jerusalem (Isa 49-52) and the second Jerusalem redaction took place in the middle of the fifth century BCE (Isa 54-55, this also includes other chapters Isa 40:3a, 6-8; 40:29-31; 46:12-13; 50:4-9; 51:1-2, 12-16). And the fourth Servant Song was added to it later.[22]

Jürgen Werlitz, in his work on Isaiah 40-55, proposes another redactional pattern. He argues that the Babylonian collection (Isa 42:14-44:8) was composed by a group in Babylon between 539-520 BCE and this collection underwent a major redactional process by the same prophetic group which arrived in Judah. In order to develop the core collection into a well-structured book form, this editorial group added the following passages: Isa 40:1-2, 42:10-13; 44:23; 45:8; 48:20-21; 52:9-10, the first three Servant Songs and the so-called imperious texts (Isa 51:9-52:2).[23] In this way Werlitz proposes two editions of Isaiah 40-55 and the first book speaks of the exilic situation and encourages the people to overcome their misperceptions and distrust. On the contrary, Isa 49-55 extends the emphasis continuing to convincing the returnees in Judah.[24]

The above discussions demonstrate that Isaiah 40-55, like any other early prophetic text has undergone several stages of growth and redactions. The core layer of Isaiah 40-55 (i.e. Isa 40-48) was composed by a prophetic group or an individual before 539 BCE, possibly those who were active in Babylon.[25] However, they returned to Judah immediately after the downfall of the Babylonian kingdom perhaps between the reign of Cyrus and Darius (between 539-520 BCE). It is plausible that this same group or the successors/disciples of Isaianic community redacted the major portion of the original core text of Isaiah 40-55, which is the first edition that was intended to read in the local

[22] Ulrich Berges, *Das Buch Jesaja: Komposition Und Endgestalt* (Herders Biblische Studien 16; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 338-413, 549.

[23] Jürgen Werlitz, *Redaktion und Komposition: Zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40-55*, 359-363.

[24] According to Werlitz, the second also included a further scholastic redaction, a Trito-Isaiah redaction and finally an Isaiah redaction, which brought out the final form of the book of Isaiah incorporating all the 66 chapters. Jürgen Werlitz, *Redaktion und Komposition: Zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40-55*, 319-323.

[25] Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *The Geographical and Theological Location of Isaiah 40-55*, 33-34, 42-43; Blaženka Scheuer, *The Return of YHWH – The Tension between Deliverance and Repentance in Isaiah 40-55*, 11-13.

gathering.[26] Additionally, the further redactional process (i.e. second edition) happened during the beginning of the fifth century – 520 BCE or later, resulting in the final formation of the complete book of Isaiah as well.[27]

1.3. CREATION THOUGHT IN ISAIAH 40-48

There are numerous imageries used in Second Isaiah to describe Yahweh and the most unique one is the indication of Yahweh as Creator, especially in Isaiah 40-48. The variety and persistence of creation language used in the following way for Yahweh is remarkable: Yahweh is depicted as creator of the cosmos, humanity, people of Israel and the one who transforms the nature.[28] The creation language used in Isa 40-48 is more representational[29] in nature, however it does not undermine the theological emphasis of Yahweh as Creator. On the one hand it is used in the anti-idol polemics passages[30] and on the other hand it correspondences to the creative activity of Yahweh. Isaiah 40-48 employs variety of creation vocabularies which includes; ברא (to create), עשׂה (to make), יצר (to form), פעל (to work), נטה (to stretch out), יסר (to found), רקע (to spread out), צמח (to sprout), כון (to establish), טפח (to extend), נטע (to plant).[31] The verb ברא needs special attention, since it occurs forty eight times in the Old Testament and among these, thirty seven times it is used to denote the origins of the universe (world) or to the humankind.

[26] Rainer Albertz, *Die Exilszeit 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,* 319-320.

[27] Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *The Geographical and Theological Location of Isaiah 40-55*, 33-34, 42-43; Blaženka Scheuer, *The Return of YHWH – The Tension between Deliverance and Repentance in Isaiah 40-55,* 11-13.

[28] An intertextual study also reveals the plausibility of these concepts originating from the Priestly and Yahwistic creation traditions and ANE cosmological mythologies added with the Exodus traditions. Paul Del Brassey, *Metaphor and the Incomparable God in Isaiah 40-55,* BIBAL Dissertation Series Bd. 9 (North Richland Hills, Texas: BIBAL Press, 2001), 53.

[29] It is to say that the author is not concerned of portraying a chronology of how the world and its beings came into existence rather he uses the creation imageries to accentuate the creative activity of Yahweh.

[30] Creation texts in Isa 40-55 served as polemics against the allegedly more powerful Babylonian gods and the religious ideology found in the creation text *Enûma Elîš*. Lena-sofia Tiemeyer, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Isaiah 40-66. History of Research," in *Continuity and Discontinuity: Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40-55* (ed. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer and Hans M. Barstad; FRLANT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 40.

[31] Karl Eberlein, *Gott der Schöpfer–Israels* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1986), 73-82; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Cosmological and Protological Language of Deutero-Isaiah," *CBQ* 73 (2011), 494-496; R. Reed Lessing, "Yahweh Versus Marduk. Creation Theology in Isaiah 40-55," *Concordia Journal* (Summer, 2010), 237-238.

Fourteen times it occurs in Isaiah 40-48 (Isa 40:28; 41:20; 42:25; 43:1, 7, 15; 45:7, 8, 12, 18; 48:7) and only three times in rest of Isaiah.[32]

1.4. DIVERSE DIMENSIONS OF CREATION THOUGHT IN ISAIAH 40-48[33]

The creation vocabularies in relation to Yahweh are more significant due to its multidimensional meanings in various occurrences. Yahweh is depicted as creator in the anti-idol polemic passages, His creative acts are emphasized in His act of transforming the desert into a fertile place. Especially, Yahweh's creative activity is accentuated more in the creation of cosmos and humanity – Israelites in particular. Most of these references, highlighting Yahweh as the incomparable creator and the ultimate God, are found in Isaiah 40-48.

1.4.1. Yahweh as Creator of Cosmos

Isaiah 40:12-31 begins with the obvious reference to the creation of the earth and the sky and in the rhetorical presentation, where Yahweh is depicted as the ultimate creator who cannot be compared with anyone or anything.[34] The creative mastery of Yahweh and His dominion over the universe is presented to accentuate the immensity of the bay between Yahweh and humanity, added to that Yahweh's unrelenting creative capacity which is immeasurable and His understanding which is incomparable is emphasized as well.[35] Yahweh's incomparability and His comprehensive creative activity

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[32] Yahweh is personified as the ultimate creator who is sovereign over the heavenly bodies (Isa 40:26), the source of strength to His people Israel (Isa 40:28), the one who transforms the nature (Isa 41:20), caring about His people (Isa 42:5), the one who brings Israel into being and protects them (Isa 43:1), the one who intervenes in Israelite history (Isa 43:15), the one who causes disasters that indirectly brings restoration to His people Israel (Isa 45:7), commanding His creation to fulfill His purposes (Isa 45:8), and the one who makes new things to happen (Isa 48:7) etc. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Cosmological and Protological Language of Deutero-Isaiah," 494-496; R. Reed Lessing, "Yahweh Versus Marduk. Creation Theology in Isaiah 40-55," 237-238.

[33] Jan Christian Gertz, „Antibabylonische Polemik im priesterlichen Schöpfungsbericht?" ZThK 106 (2009), 137-155; Friedhelm Hartenstein, „JHWH, Erschaffer des Himmels. Zu Herkunft und Bedeutung eines monotheistischen Kernarguments," ZThK 110 (2013), 383-409; Paul Del Brassey, *Metaphor and the Incomparable God in Isaiah 40-55,* 55-99; Joachim Schaper, Divine Images, Iconophobia and Monotheism in Isaiah 40-66, in Lena-Sofia Meyer and Hans M. Barstad (eds.), Continuity and Discontinuity. Chronological and Thematic Development in Isaiah 40-66 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 145-158.

[34] The author here uses the elements from human understanding of construction in the form of measuring and weighing materials in order to emphasize the incomparable creative activity of God in contrast to nihility of humankind and the powerlessness of the nations.

[35] The undercurrent of political realities are also mentioned here in the way how the nations and the rulers are rhetorically reduced to nothingness and insignificant and also shadows the polemic rhetorical against the other deities which are incomparable with the creative power of Yahweh.

is also demonstrated in Isaiah 45.[36] In the OT, ברא is uniquely used for Yahweh's creative activity and all other terms were used metaphorically denoting the creative activity of Yahweh and human craftsmanship. The terms referring to creation are likewise used to denote human craftsmanship of forming, making, founding, stretching etc. however, it does not surpass Yahweh's creative power, because His creativity is incomparable.[37]

1.4.2. Yahweh as Creator of Jacob/Israel

The creation language is used in Isaiah 40-48 precisely in relation to Jacob/Israel with various emphasizes: Yahweh is represented as creator (ברא – Isa 43:1; 15), maker (עשׂה – Isa 43:7; 44:2), potter (יצר – Isa 43:1, 7, 21; 44:2, 21, 24; 45:9, 11), refiner (צרף – Isa 48:10); and other verbs like: set, place (שׂים – Isa 41:15), give, place (נתן –Isa 42:6), which are used in transforming Israel. Isaiah 43-45 specifically deals with the Yahweh's creation of His people, Israel which stresses on Yahweh as an incomparable God. Creation of the people of Israel is connected with the formation of heaven and earth (Isa 44:24). At the same time the creation of Jacob/Israel is also connected with redemption (Isa 43:1-7). On the one hand Isaiah 40-48 emphasizes Yahweh as cosmic creator (Isa 45:18) and on the other hand as a national deity who is concerned over His people whom He has created (Isa 43:1-7). Furthermore, imageries like, Yahweh fashions His people as a potter (Isa 45:9-11) and shapes them for the expected future events are also depicted.

1.4.3. Yahweh as (Trans)forming Nature

Isaiah 40-48 does not tends to present the evolution of cosmos and all in it which were created by Yahweh. Rather it accentuates the unique creative activity of Yahweh which is also presented in His activity of (trans)forming the nature that already exists. The transformation or renewal of nature in Second Isaiah is generally connected with the miraculous transformation of the desert (between Babylon and Jerusalem) through which the Judean exiles from Babylon will travel to Jerusalem. This presentation is understood in literal and metaphorical way (Isa 41:17-20). At the same time the depiction of

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[36] The verb ברא which is used elsewhere in the OT to denote the creative activity of Yahweh appears in Isaiah 40-55 in parallel with the other creation terms which indicates human craftsmanship – עשׂה to do, make (41:20; 43:7; 45:7, 12, 18), יצר to form (43:1, 7; 45:18), נטה to stretch out, extend (42:2; 45:12), כון found, establish (45:18).

[37] The similar verbs are used in the Genesis creation account (Gen 1:1-4:4a)

transformation of desert into a way mirrors the exodus tradition (Isa 43:16-21). Transformation of nature is also used to depict the spiritual renewal of the people (Isa 40:6-8) and also assures provision of life. Such passages which emphasizes on the transformation of nature again underlines Yahweh's ability to create, destroy and recreate since He is the ultimate creator and sustainer of the entire created cosmos.

1.4.4. Creator Yahweh vs Idol Manufacturers

Second Isaiah employs numerous terms relating to skillful workers who manufacture idols which are worshipped as gods. The usage of this human craftsmanship is mainly to depict Yahweh's creative activity at the same time these presentations raise rhetorical questions of Yahweh's incomparability (Isa 41:4; 44:9, 12-20). The manufacture and worship of idols supplies a large portion of vocabulary of human craftsmanship which is the vehicle for describing the creative activities of Yahweh. This polemic passages establish that idols represent the antithesis of Yahweh. Idols are made by human – Yahweh makes humans. Idols are visual presentations of deities, but Yahweh cannot be visually presented. Idol is made out of the creation of Yahweh, i.e. wood. Idols cannot save those who worship them, in contrast Yahweh is not only the creator, but also the savior of Israel. Idols know nothing, but Yahweh is the source of all knowledge.

1.5. THE BABYLONIAN FACTORS BEHIND THE CREATION THOUGHT

Isaiah 40-48 constantly accentuates the uniqueness of Yahweh through underlining Yahweh as the creator and sustainer, incomparable God and the master of historical events in the past and the future. These emphases, further leads to numerous queries: In an exilic context, what actually prompted the author(s) of Isaiah to underscore the uniqueness and incomparability of Yahweh through the creation language? Did the author(s) borrow the ideas from the Babylonian context in order to encourage the Israelites or did they refute or pose polemic arguments through the prophetic utterances against the religious/political ideologies which existed in Babylon?[38] The political and the religious factors which are articulated in the Cyrus Cylinder and in particular the

[38] Tina Dykesteen Nilsen, "Creation in Collision? Isaiah 40-48 and Zoroastrianism, Babylonian Religion and Genesis 1," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* Vol 13 (2013), 1.

prominent creation epic *Enûma Elîš*[39] could relatively facilitate to disclose the parallels between the Babylonian context and Isaiah 40-48.

It was the time when Cyrus was advancing his conquest in the ANE region, during which, Isaiah 40-48 was presumed to be composed.[40] The Cyrus Cylinder attests the historical background, where Nabonidus, the last Babylonian ruler (556-539 BCE)[41] was accused of attempting to restore the moon-good Sin[42] by means of untraditional and inappropriate rituals, which led to ignore the significance of the other gods, especially Marduk, who was Babylon's city-god and the supreme god of the pantheon.[43] Furthermore, the celebration of *akitu,*[44] the New Year festival, which ensured peace and fertility both to the nation and to the citizens, was completely ignored and eliminated by Nabonidus.[45] The priests and devotees of the Babylonian supreme god Marduk were annoyed and expecting a change in power in order to reestablish 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 the supporters, Marduk was reinstated as the

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[39] *Enûma Elîš,* the Akkadian creation epic preserves a relatively late Babylonian conception of the creation of the physical world including human being. However, the focus of the epic is on the elevation of Marduk to the top of the pantheon in return of taking up the cause of the embattled gods, who build his great temple of Esagila in Babylon in recognition of his leadership. The composition could therefore be called as the "Exaltation of Marduk." B.R. Foster, "Epic of Creation," *COS* 1: 390-402.

[40] 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," 507.

[41] 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

[42] "Nabonidus and His God," trans. A.L. Oppenheim (*ANET,* 562-563); "The Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus," trans. P.A. Beaulieu (*COS* 2.123A:310-313); "Nabonidus' Rebuilding of E-Lugal-Galga-Sisa, the Ziggurat of Ur," trans. P.A. Beaulieu (*COS* 2.123A:313-314); "Nabonidus and the Clergy of Babylon," trans. A.L. Oppenheim (*ANET,* 312-315); cf. Tina Dykesteen Nilsen, "Creation in Collision?," 8.

[43] T.J. Schneider, *An Introduction to Ancient Mesapotomian* Religion (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Eerdmans, 2011), 104-108; H. Ringgern, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (London: SPCK, 1973), 83-88; cf. C. Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib, 43; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 75-82.

[44] A.J. 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. J.A. 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.

[45] 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. Tina Dykesteen Nilsen, "Creation in Collision?" 8.

supreme deity and the cultic practices were resumed, above all the celebration of *akitu* was recommenced.[46] Hence, this background of projecting Marduk as superior among the gods, certainly led the author of Isaiah 40-48 to stress Yahweh as the unique God, who is incomparable and the sole creator.

Enûma Elîš,[47] which was composed in the late second millennium, known as the Babylonian Creation Epic, is read predominantly as a political myth intended to support Babylon's claim of dominance among the cities and to justify the elevation of her supreme god, Marduk, to the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon.[48] The text of *Enûma Elîš* was customarily read annually during the celebration of the *akitu* festival. The purpose of the festival is also therefore to emphasize the following motives found in *Enûma Elîš*: to acknowledge and to celebrate Marduk as supreme among the gods; to concede his cosmic role as creator and sustainer of the cosmos; at the same time, more precisely, with a political outlook providing religious legitimation for Babylonian imperial rule.[49] Thus, the validation of Marduk as supreme god and the celebration of *akitu* festival in which the *Enûma Elîš* text was read (possibly) had influence and impact on Isaiah's perpetual emphasis on Yahweh as unique among all other gods. The following section has been an attempt to trace the similarities between these texts which made Isaiah to uphold his theology of Yahweh's distinctiveness.

[46] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Cosmological and Protological Language of Deutero-Isaiah," 507.

[47] *Enûma Elîš* is now generally dated to the late second millennium, however, various other dates have been suggested. See Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 228-230, and Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 107-108.

[48] Karen Sonik, "Gender Matters in Enūma eliš." In *In the Wake of Tikva Frymer-Kensky,* edited by Richard H. Beal, Steven W. Holloway, and JoAnn Scurlock, (Gorgias Précis Portfolios 4. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009), 85-101.

[49] B.R. Foster, "Epic of Creation," *COS* 1: 390-402.

1.6. JUXTAPOSING *ENÛMA ELÎŠ*[50] AND ISAIAH 40-48

It is an assumption that the author of Isaiah 40-48 would have witnessed the *akitu* celebrations and he attempts to counter the ideology of the Babylonian priesthood inscribed in the *akitu* ritual and its related theogonic and cosmologic myth by emphasizing that Yahweh as the one and not Marduk who supports the victorious carrier of Cyrus and his conquest of Babylon. Therefore, an attempt has been made in the following lines in juxtaposing the parallel ideologies that appear in Isaiah 40-48 and *Enûma Elîš*.

1.6.1. Marduk was created / Yahweh exists from the beginning and not created

According to the Babylonian theogony, not only creation of the world and humanity is mentioned in *Enûma Elîš* but also the creation of different gods and the hierarchy that existed among the gods are recorded. The concept of creating gods, resembles as a sort of salvation history for the gods, for e.g. the creation of *lullu*, the gods who is considered to be inferior, was created to deliver the other god *Igigi* from its service to the other gods.[51] Isaiah rejects this claim in the following lines.

***Enûma Elîš* I. 80ff (cf. VI.1-44)**	**Isaiah 43:10**
…(80) The most capable, the sage of the gods, **the Lord was begotten**, (81) In the midst of Apsu **Marduk was formed**, (82) In the midst of holy Apsu was **Marduk formed**! (83) **Ea his father begot him**, (84) Damkina his mother was confined with him…	(10) "You are my witnesses," says the LORD, "and my servant whom I have chosen, that you may know and believe me and understand that I am He. **Before me no god was formed (יצר), nor shall there be any after me.**

[50] References to the text of *Enûma Elîš* are based on the following materials: Ph. Talon, "Enūma Eliš," in *The Standard Babylonian Creation Myth*. (Helsinki: SAACT-IV, 2005); Th.R. Kämmerer/K.A. Metzler, *Das babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos Enūma eliš* (Münster: AOAT 375, 2012) and W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Creation Myths* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 16; Winona Lake, Ind. 2013); Gösta Gabriel, *enūma eliš – Weg zu einer globalen Weldordnung. Pragmatic, Struktur und Semantik des babylonischen „Lieds auf Marduk*" (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014). B.R. Foster, "Epic of Creation (*Enuma Elish*)," in W.W. Hallo and K.L. Younger (eds.) *The Context of Scripture (COS)*, vol. 1: (Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World; Leiden: Brill, 1997): 390-402; E. A. Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics (The Creation Epic)," in James B. Pritchard (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (ANET)* 3rd edition Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 60-72.

[51] Cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Cosmological and Protological Language of Deutero-Isaiah," 509.

1.6.2. Marduk created the heavenly hosts / Yahweh created the heavenly hosts

For the Babylonians priestly theology, it was Marduk who created the heavenly hosts, whereas Isaiah underscores that Yahweh is the creator of the heavenly hosts.

***Enûma Elîš* V. 1ff**	**Isaiah 40:21-22, 26 (cf. 45: 12, 18)**
…(1)**He (Marduk) made the position(s)** for the great gods, (2) **He established** (in) constellations the stars, their likeness. (3) **He marked** the year, described its boundaries, (4) **He set up** twelve months of three stars each…	(21) Have you not known? Have you not heard? Has it not been told you from the beginning? Have you not understood from the foundations of the earth? (22) **It is he (Yahweh) who** sits above the circle of the earth, and its inhabitants are like grasshoppers; who **stretches out** (נטה) **the heavens** like a curtain, **and spreads** (רקע) **them** like a tent to dwell in; (26) Lift up your eyes on high and see: **who created** (ברא) **these?...**

1.6.3. Personal counselors for Babylonian gods/ Yahweh needs no counselor

In *Enûma Elîš* there is a strong belief that the gods had personal advisors in order to deal with various things. A god named Mummu who is also referred as *tamlāku* (counselor) and the god Ea counseled Marduk, who is the head of the Babylonian pantheon.

***Enûma Elîš* I. 47ff; VI.11ff**	**Isaiah 40:13-14**
…(47) It was Mummu who answered, **counselling** Apsu, (48) Like a dissenting vizier's was the **counsel** of his Mummu, (49) Put an end here and now, father, to their troublesome ways! …(11) Ea answered him (Marduk), saying these words, (12) **He told him a plan** to let the gods rest (13) "Let one, their brother, be given to me, (14) Let him be destroyed so that people can be fashioned…	**(13) Who has directed the Spirit of the LORD, or as his counselor has instructed him? (14) Whom did he consult for his enlightenment, and who taught him the path of justice, and taught him knowledge, and showed him the way of understanding?**

1.6.4. Marduk created heavens and earth/ Yahweh alone created everything

The creation of the heavens and the earth is always attributed to Marduk in *Enûma Elîš*, whereas the prophet constantly maintains that Yahweh is the creator, not only the heavens and the earth, but also that one sees in the whole universe.

***Enûma Elîš* IV. 136ff**	**Isaiah 45:18 (cf. 45:12)**
…(136) That he might divide (?) the monstrous lump and **fashion** artful things. (137) He split her in two, like a fish for drying, (138) Half of her he set up and made as a cover, heaven, (139) He **stretched** out the hide and assigned watchmen, And **ordered** them not to let her waters…	(18) For thus says the LORD, who **created** the heavens, He is God, who **formed** the earth and **made** it he established it; he did not **create** it a chaos, he **formed** it to be inhabited: **I am the LORD, and there is no other.**

1.6.5. Marduk is king/ Yahweh alone is king over all

One of the main motives of the akitu festival is to declare and celebrate the supremacy of Marduk as king. On the contrary, Second Isaiah insists Yahweh alone is the king over all.

***Enûma Elîš* V. 85ff; IV. 28**	**Isaiah 43:15 (cf. 41:21; 44:6; 52:7, etc.)**
…(85) All the Igigi-gods together prostrated themselves before him, (86) [And] the Annuna-gods, all there are, were doing him homage, (87) The whole of them joined together to pay reverence, (88) [Before him] they stood, they prostrated themselves, **"This is the king!"**	(15) **I am the LORD, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your King.**

1.6.6. Marduk – greatest of all gods/ Yahweh alone is God and there is none

The Babylonian priestly theology depicted 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 boasted as the savior god, who can only save the cosmos and the people. Whereas, Isaiah emphasizes repeatedly that Yahweh alone is God. There is none but Yahweh alone can offer salvation which is more significant and effective than that which is promised by the Babylonian gods.

***Enûma Elîš* VI. 95ff**	**Isaiah 45:6, 21(cf. 40:18, 21-23; 43:11; 44:6, 8; 45:6; 46:9, etc.)**
…(95) Then the great gods convened, They made **Marduk's destiny highest**, they prostrated themselves. (96) They laid upon themselves a curse (if they broke the oath), (97) With water and oil they swore, they touched their throats, (98) They granted him exercise of **kingship over the gods**, (99) They established him forever for **lordship of heaven and earth…**	…(9) that men may know, from the rising of the sun and from the west, that **there is none besides me; I am the LORD, and there is no other.** (21)…**there is no other god besides me, a righteous God and Saviour; there is no one besides me.**

1.6.7. Marduk Creates and Destructs / Yahweh Commands Creation and Destruction

On the one hand *Enûma Elîš* expresses the ultimate supremacy of Marduk as the ruler of the universe and on the other hand Isaiah 40-48 stresses the same thing. They both have control and dominion over life and death. Similarly, both the texts separately insists that both the deities (i.e. Marduk and Yahweh) possess creative and destructive power.

Enûma Elîš **IV. 22ff**	**Isaiah 45: 7**
…(22) **Command destruction or creation**, they shall take place. (23) At your word the constellation shall be **destroyed**, (24) Command again, the constellation shall be intact. (25) He commanded and at his word the constellation was **destroyed**, (26) He commanded again and the constellation was **created** anew. (131) **Creation, destruction, deliverance, grace –** Shall be by his command. They shall look up to him…	(7) **I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe, I am the LORD, who do all these things.**

1.6.8. Acclamation of Marduk as Unique / Incomparability of Yahweh

One of the important concepts repeated persistently is the acclamation of Marduk as unique 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. The same tone can be noticed in Isaiah 40-48, where the author frequently emphasizes on the theme – 'incomparability of Yahweh.'

Enûma Elîš **VII. 14f (cf. VI. 96)**	**Isaiah 47: 8, 10**
…(14) **Truly, he (Marduk) is the supreme in the Assembly of gods; (15) no one among the gods is his equal.**	(8) …**I am, and there is no one besides me**; I shall not sit as a widow or know the loss of children… (10)…No one sees me; your wisdom and your knowledge led you astray, and you said in your heart, **I am, and there is no one besides me.**

1.6.9. Marduk Creating Human being / Yahweh – Unique Creator

Enûma Elîš not only portrays the creation of gods and the universe, but also the creation of human beings. Marduk consults with the god Ea (the god of wisdom) and decides to create human beings to be a helper to the gods. However, in Isaiah 40-48 emphasizes that Yahweh created humankind and he placed him upon the earth to inhabit it.

***Enûma Elîš* VII. 5ff**	**Isaiah 45: 12 (cf. 45:18)**
…(5) I shall compact blood, **I shall cause bones to be, (6) I shall make stand a human being, let 'man' be its name.** (7) **I shall create humankind,** (8) they shall bear the gods' burden that those may rest…	(12) I **made** the earth, and **created** man upon it; it was my hands that **stretched out** the heavens, and I **commanded** all their host.

Apart from these possible parallels, there are also some practices and rituals which were observed in the *akitu* festival, are deliberately refuted through the passages of Isaiah 40-48. As stated elsewhere above, as part of the *akitu* festival celebration, on the ninth day, the image of Bēl (i.e. Marduk) and Nebo (i.e. Nabū) are carried in procession to the temple of the other.[52] In contrast to this practice, Isaiah states that Yahweh is the bearer and sustainer of the people of Israel from birth and He is not transported or carried in procession like the gods of Babylon.[53]

> Bel bows down, Nebo stoops, their idols are on beasts and cattle; these things you carry are loaded as burdens on weary beasts (Isa 46:1).
> Assemble yourselves and come, draw near together, you survivors of the nations! They have no knowledge who carry about their wooden idols, and keep on praying to a god that cannot save (Isa 45:20).

OBSERVATION AND CONCLUSION

The emphasis and uniqueness of Yahweh as the cosmic creator against any other gods or creators (for e.g. *Marduk*) is one of the main factors to assume the Babylonian setting of the core material of Isaiah 40-55 (i.e. Isa 40-48). The emphasis of Isaiah 40-55 on God's uniqueness and incomparability serves as the mirror-image of the ideology expressed by *Enûma Elîš*. The projection of Yahweh as the cosmic creator, the eternal God (Isa 40:28), the god of all the earth and the Sovereign Lord– all these thoughts together suggest that Isaiah 40-48 was written as a conscious rejection of the Theogony of *Enûma*

[52] Detailed information with regard to the role of cultic images of deities in the Mesopotamian context and its parallel to the OT can be traced from the following materials. C. Walker and M. Dick, *The Induction of the Cult Image in Ancient Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamia Mīs Pî Ritual* (State Archives of Assyria Literary Texts, 1; Hensinki: University of Helsinki, 2001), 4-31; A. Berlejung, *Die Theologie der Bilder. Herstellung und Einweibung von Kultbildern in Mesopotamien und die altestamentliche Bilderpolemik* (OBO, 162; Frieburg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 20-283; A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia. Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (rev. ed. E. Reiner) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 183-198; cf. Tina Dykesteen Nilsen, "Creation in Collision?" 9.

[53] Cf. Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Cosmological and Protological Language of Deutero-Isaiah," 508-509.

Elîš. Added to that, Yahweh's kingship expressed in Isaiah 40-55 is also the polemic expression against 'Marduk as king.' This also applies to the expression of Yahweh's incomparability. Although it is often assumed that the unique theology of Isaiah upholding Yahweh and monotheism is polemic in nature, one cannot deny the assumption from the above juxtaposed reading, that the author of Isaiah 40-48 who was presumed to be familiar with the *akitu* festival and *Enûma Elîš* constructs a prototype in his own style, based on his religious convictions, with the use of creation language in order to heighten his perspective of Yahweh's uniqueness and incomparability as the sole creator, king and deliverer.

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’Pray for Obama: Ps 109:8’

The Ethics and Exegetics of Imprecatory Prayer

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Requested focus for the seminar:

I have introduced the term 'interpretative paradigm' in this paper in an effort to (more efficiently) capture what it is that I've set out to do in my doctoral project and how I wish to limit my discussion of hermeneutical approaches to imprecatory psalms in general, and Pss. 58, 109, 137 and 139 in particular. Heretofore I've used the more commonly recognized term 'interpretative strategy' but noticed that it sometimes creates confusion as to what could and should be rendered a 'strategy' in the context of my study and whether my project would include any empirical study of ordinary readers' use of interpretative strategies. (A question I get a lot – and the answer is no).

> 1) I am of course curious of what you think of the term 'interpretative paradigm'. Is it better than the more commonly used 'interpretative strategy' or does it only add to the confusion?
>
> 2) My second question is whether my reference to 'experience-taking' in relation to the study and appraisal of imprecatory psalms is enlightening or too far "outside of the box"? There are after all several other ways of proving the same point(s).

Please note that my outline of commentaries of Ps 109 is only an abstract version due to the limited space of this paper. Longer and more quotes from the commentaries are needed in order to exemplify the paradigms in a more sufficient and representative way. Thus, the paper in its current form is not intended as a chapter for my dissertation but written specifically with the OTSEM meeting in mind. Likewise, the emphasis on reception-criticism is not representative of my work in general. I only included it here to help prove my point that some of the interpretative strategies currently presented and supported by biblical scholars can be questioned for being somewhat naive. Advice on the use of reception-criticism as method is therefore less relevant than the two questions mentioned above.

List of Abbreviations

BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
Int	*Interpretation*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
KGT	Kommentar till Gamla Testamentet
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NIB	*The New Interpreter's Bible*
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenchafliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament.
WW	*Word & World*

'Pray for Obama: Ps 109:8': The Ethics and Exegetics of Imprecatory Prayer

On the 10th of June 2016, towards the end of Obama's presidency, the republican senator David Perdue was invited to speak at an event for conservative Christians in Washington. A passage in his speech created quite a stir in public media and was criticized for bordering the line of correct political discourse. These are the words that caused all the commotion:

> I think we're called to pray for our country, for our leaders, and yes, even our president. In his role as president I think we should pray for Barack Obama. But I think we need to be very specific about how we pray. We should pray like Psalms 109:8 says. It says, "Let his days be few, and let another have his office."[1]

The biblical pun made the audience chuckle, others were not amused. As was soon pointed out by political commentators it's unclear whether the quote from Ps 109 was intended as a mere anticipation of the end to Obama's time in office or an end to his life. The lines that follow v. 8 definitely hint at the latter. As a result the question arose whether Perdue's use of Ps 109 could be rendered a form of hate-speech or incitement. It does, after all, anticipate the death of the person spoken off as well as the subsequent suffering of his family (v. 9). Still, both ACLU and the Anti-Deformation League concluded that the use of Ps 109 in this particular context is a legal form of political speech. They called it a sinister pun, slightly inappropriate but ambiguous enough to fall within a politically acceptable discourse. For it to be considered hate speech, it would have to advocate actual violence or "cite scripture that was more clear in its message."[2]

But Perdue was not the first to come up with this pun. Already in 2009, at the beginning of Obama's presidency, merchandise such as bumper-stickers, teddy bears, and T-shirts with the imprint "Pray for Obama: Ps 109:8" were sold and distributed in the US and the meme was called "hilarious" on Twitter.[3] But there were also retailors that were troubled by the ambiguity of the 'Obama Prayer' and consequently took the merchandise off the market.[4]

But the problem of interpreting Ps 109 is not limited to the political discourse. The same year as the bumper-stickers made their way across the US an interesting lawsuit was filed in Dallas

[1] Perdue's speech was filmed, posted and later commented on by e.g. Ferguson 2016 in *Huffington Post* [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/david-perdue-obama-psalm-109_us_575af016e4b0ced23ca7e771] and Weigel 2016 in *The Washington Post* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2016/06/10/georgia-senator-prays-for-obama-to-suffer/?utm_term=.59598a63c5ed].

[2] According to Lauter (director at *Anti-Defamation League*) and Hansen (staff attorney at *American Civil Liberties Union*, ACLU) interviewed and quoted by Samuelson 2009 in *The Christian Science Monitor* [http://www.csmonitor.com/USA/Politics/2009/1116/biblical-anti-obama-slogan-use-of-psalm-1098-funny-or-sinister]

[3] For a brief analysis of the bumper stickers and their rhetorical function and implicit communication see Cottrill 2012, esp. pp. 366-374.

[4] Terkel mentions this uncertainty amongst retailers and provides examples of products sold by e.g. CafePress.com. See Terkel 2009 in *Think Progress* [https://thinkprogress.org/new-right-wing-craze-prays-that-obamas-days-be-few-dcc349594409]. Cf. also Greiner 2009 in *NBC Chicago* [http://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/Psalm-109-8-obama-assassination-70459737.html.] and Zorn 2009 in *Chicago Tribune* [http://blogs.chicagotribune.com/news_columnists_ezorn/2009/11/hate-speech-straight-from-bible-to-bumpers.html].

by the Weinstein family against a chaplain who had issued imprecatory prayers (Ps 109 included) on them by posting the prayers on his webpage. Without going into too much detail here the background can be summarized as follows: Michael Weinstein, attorney and former Air Force Officer, founded the *Military Religious Freedom Foundation* in 2005 to ensure that every member of the US Armed Forces could enjoy the religious freedom that they are entitled to through the Constitution. Weinstein (and several of his family members) had been persecuted because of their Jewish faith by Christian fundamentalists whilst serving the army. Not surprisingly, the defendant Jim Ammerman, chaplain and founder of the *Chaplancy of Full Gospel Churches* (an organization that provides conservative chaplains for the US Army) did not agree in Weinstein's vision of an army detached from religious sentiments. The founding of the *Military Religious Freedom Foundation* became the beginning of a controversy that would last for years to come. And according to the lawsuit filed in September 2009, the harassments and death-threats sent to the Weinstein-family had increased rapidly since Ammerman had posted imprecatory psalms on his webpage – thus inciting his adherers to pray and act aggressively towards the family. Could such use of religious texts be allowed or should it be considered as unlawful threats, bordering the line of free speech? Is it legal to *publicly* wish for the death and suffering of another human being?

The issue at stake in the courtroom in Dallas, as well as the other excerpts from the reception history of Ps 109, succinctly captures the contemporary scholarly and pastoral discussion concerning the use of the so called "imprecatory psalms"[5] and their relevance for theology and liturgy. As will be outlined below, the current trend within the scholarly discourse is to be supportive towards "ethically difficult"[6] psalms. Following Zenger's influential work[7] were he challenged the still maintained custom of omitting challenging texts from prayer-books and lectionaries, several hermeneutical strategies have developed within the exegetical discipline in an effort to mitigate the ethical difficulties recognized by ordinary readers.[8]

[5] The term 'imprecatory psalm(s)' (sometimes 'cursing psalms' or 'psalms of vengeance') can be questioned for various and valid reasons (as will be outlined further in my dissertation, including a note on the difference between 'imprecation' and 'curse' in this context). It has (e.g.) been pointed out that few psalms (Ps 109 being the exception) are dominated by maledictions. Cf. e.g. Martin 1972/2008, 113 and Zenger 1996 , viii who questions whether the term is appropriate since these psalms "do not curse; they present passionate lament, petition, and desires before God." Zenger 1996, viii. (Both referred to in Simango 2011, 1-2 and Simango and Krüger 2016, 583). I consider this as a valid critique but have not yet found any better terminology.

[6] An important caveat is needed here and that is that the notion of imprecatory psalms as "ethically difficult" is much dependent on the context of the reader. Cf. e.g. Adamo and Ademiluka who comment on Ps 109 from a mainly Nigerian perspective where the 'imprecatory psalms' are considered psalms of protection, defense, liberation, healing and success against enemies. Adamo 2008, esp. pp. 575, 582-587 and Ademiluka 1995, 221-227.

[7] *Ein Gott der Rache?: Feindpsalmen Verstehen* (Freiburg im Bresigau: Herder Verlag, 1994). English translation: *A God of Vengeance?: Understanding the Psalms of Divine Wrath* (Westminster: John Knox, 1996).

[8] My initial plan for my project was to summarize contemporary 'interpretative strategies', including approaches that reflected a *critical* outlook on these prayers and evaluate their possible implications. However, I soon discovered that the absolute majority of the commentaries published during the 21st century reflect a positive or condoning attitude towards these passages. An exception would be the occasional scholars that support the so called "evolutionary approach" which is easily understood as an implicit critique of OT-ethics with its underlying assumption that the NT is the norm against which every OT-text can be measured. For a critical discussion of this hermeneutical approach see Davies, Eryl 2010, 22-43 and/or 2005, 199-205.

Framing the search for 'interpretative paradigms'

The aim and outline of this paper

It should come as no surprise that biblical texts condoning violence is generally understood by contemporary readers to be problematic since they tend to challenge commonly held ethical principles. But among these "difficult texts" the psalms hold a certain place. The first section of this paper is aimed at establishing what it is that separates "psalms of vengeance" from other ethically "difficult texts". The second part of the paper covers the question of how these psalms are approached in contemporary commentaries, i.e. what readings (and liturgical usages) that are advocated by scholars writing (primarily) for or from within a Western-Christian perspective.

As anticipated by the heading the aim here is not only to present the "exegetics" of imprecatory psalms (i.e. to summarize hermeneutical approaches) but also the "ethics" of imprecatory prayer. The latter can include a number of aspects, ranging from what moral principles that can be derived from these passages to possible ethical implications of omitting imprecatory psalms from liturgy and/or theology. The latter issue constitutes the present study. However, for reasons of space as well as clarity this aspect will not be addressed here.[9] Instead, this paper is limited to the following two questions:

> *1) What is it that separates imprecatory psalms from other biblical texts condoning violence and vengeance?* [10]
>
> *2) What readings ('interpretative paradigms') are currently advocated by biblical scholars commenting on imprecatory psalms?*

In order to answer these questions I've chosen to use Ps 109 as a focal point and representative for the broader exegetical discussion concerning the imprecatory psalms, and the 'interpretative paradigms' included in this paper will be critically discussed on the basis of the perspectives outlined in the first section.

A few clarifications are needed before turning to the main questions, including the definition of an 'interpretative paradigm' and a short note on the material chosen for this summary.

A (tentative) definition of an 'interpretative paradigm'

The notion of an 'interpretative paradigm' should not be confused with traditional exegetical methods. Nor is it a matter of how *individual* readers approach *individual* texts in a fixed setting or at a certain time. In these cases the term 'interpretative strategy' is often used.[11] Sjöberg, for instance, uses the terminology in this way in his studies on how individual readers interpret violent biblical texts where he defines an 'interpretative strategy' as "the

[9] For a short overview of the discussion surrounding the ethical implications of omitting imprecatory prayer and lament-psalms from liturgy see e.g. Carney 1983 and Brueggemann 1986. For a more comprehensive discussion of the positive aspects of lament in the context of suffering see e.g. Lee 2010 and Billman and Migliore 1999/2007.

[10] I'm often asked why I've chosen to focus solely on the interpretations of *Psalms*, without including passages from the prophets or narratives that address issues of enmity, vengeance and/or violence. This section of the paper will hopefully provide a sufficient answer to that question.

[11] Cf. Conradie 2001, esp. pp. 429-430 were he defines the term in a similar manner.

manner in which the reader solves the interpretative difficulties that he or she confronts during the act of reading."[12]

What I mean by 'interpretative strategy' (as used in the present summary) is similar to Sjöberg's use of the term as it can be defined as a hermeneutical approach to a *certain* text adopted by an *individual* reader/scholar (or sometimes a collective of readers). An 'interpretative paradigm' on the other hand is set apart from an 'interpretative strategy' in that it applies to *the general guidelines* (i.e. approaches applicable to several texts) *offered by scholars to a broad audience of readers*, preferably without any certain confessional tradition or context in mind.[13]

Consequently, in order for an interpretative strategy to fit within my definition of an 'interpretative paradigm' it needs to be applicable to *more than one psalm*, and be a *reoccurring* strategy, i.e. advocated by more than one scholar (or referred to by several scholars). That is, it needs to be *representative for the broader discussion* on how to interpret imprecatory prayers.

My definition can be further illustrated with the help of the following example: Several attempts have developed in order to address the identity of the children in Ps 137.[14] These are 'interpretative strategies' aimed at mitigating a certain passage, but *not all* of these strategies are applicable to other psalms or referred to by several scholars. As a result, they are irrelevant for the *overall* discussion on how to interpret imprecatory psalms in general. However, there are also interpretative strategies that *are* applicable to more than one psalm and supported by several scholars. One such example is the reoccurring references to 'justice' (as opposed to vengeance) as the central and overshadowing theme of Ps 137. This interpretative strategy is applicable to several psalms and supported by the majority of scholars commenting on imprecatory psalms in general and Ps 137 in particular. It therefore helps to form one of the 'interpretative paradigms' currently supported and withheld by contemporary scholars.

[12] Sjöberg 2004, 209-210 and 211-217. The strategies that he identified through his study of the Jephthah-narrative were: *Condemnation*, *Identification*, *Glorification*, *Alienation* and *Censure*. He also notes that a reader's use of interpretative strategies can be both deliberate and unconscious. See Sjöberg 1998, 6-7.

[13] As has been pointed out (Gillingham 2012, 242-246), during the 21st century the scholarly engagement in the Book of Psalms has developed into a pluralist and ecumenical endeavor. Our global world, with all its technical achievements, have not only brought people closer together but also contributed to the intellectual exchange across cultural and confessional boarders. Biblical interpretation is therefore no longer (necessarily) as limited to the confessional tradition of the interpreter as was once the case. With this in mind, my aim is to be as inclusive as possible in my selection of material. See further under the heading "Choice of material and demarcation in time".

[14] E.g. to stress the importance of reading the passage metaphorically (the children are the citizens of Babylon, not real infants), allegorically (the children should be interpreted as the deceivably innocent sins that ought to be crushed before becoming fully grown – a reading first advocated by the Church fathers and later by e.g. C.S. Lewis), with the principle of *lex talionis* in mind (i.e. that the longing for 'justice' is the key to understand the passage) and the commonly advocated view that the best and most honest approach is to recognize that these are the *real* and actual consequences of war and not (only) a metaphorical statement.

In short; an 'interpretative strategy' can but does not need to be part of an 'interpretative paradigm' but the paradigms consist solely of reoccurring 'interpretative strategies.[15]

This study is therefore concerned with the exchange and communication between "ordinary readers" and biblical scholars.[16] Consequently, any critical evaluations of certain paradigms can serve the purpose of possibly improving the communication and exchange between exegesis as an academic discipline and the interests and concerns of ordinary readers.

Choice of material and demarcation in time

As illustrated by Zenger, Christian reception of imprecatory psalms was for a long time characterized by a supercessionist attitude towards these prayers, resulting in a more or less explicit polarization between Old- and New Testament ethics (with its effect on Jewish-Christian relations).[17] Such sentiments eventually led to the omission of "difficult" psalms from Christian liturgy.[18] The most evident example being the revision of the Roman Catholic *Liturgy of the Hours* published in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council. As the new version was presented in 1970 three psalms had been completely omitted (Pss 58, 83 and 109), together with 19 other psalms that have had one or more verses removed.[19]

Such omissions have been increasingly challenged during the last decades, much due to the critique instigated by Zenger and Brueggemann.[20] This growing support of imprecatory psalms for (Western) Christian piety can also be detected in contemporary commentaries (as will be illustrated below). Needless to say, not all commentaries address or advice on the liturgical usage of psalms, although several do since many commentaries are written specifically with a Jewish or Christian audience in mind.

Consequently, the secondary sources included in this summary consist of commentaries of Ps 109 that I consider to be *representative* for the contemporary exegetical discourse (with the addition of some articles and excerpts from monographs discussing Ps 109 specifically).[21]

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[15] Other examples of 'interpretative paradigms' (besides the ones discussed in this paper) are to read the psalms allegorically or with David (or Christ) as subject.

[16] Please note that I have deliberately chosen *not* to include sermons and/or interviews of 'ordinary readers' in this study. I've done so for a variety of reasons, mainly because I'm interested in the relation between exegetics as a scholarly discipline and the *probable* questions and concerns posed by ordinary readers who read and pray from the Book of Psalms within a confessional setting.

[17] For an outline of (Christian) supercessionist interpretation of a selection of imprecatory psalms during the 19th century and onwards see Zenger 1996, 13-22.

[18] For a comprehensive overview of the omissions of imprecatory psalms from contemporary Christian liturgy see Holladay 1996, 304-315.

[19] If of interest the omissions are as follows, beginning with psalms that have had only one verse removed: Pss 5:11; 54:7; 55:16; 110:6; 141:10; 143:12. Four psalms have had 1,5-2 verses omitted: Pss 28:4-5; 31:18-19; 40:15-16; 56:7b-8. Six psalms have had 3-5 verses omitted: Pss 21:9-13; 63:10-12; 79:6-7, 12; 137:7-9; 139:19-22; 140:10-12. Three psalms have had more than 3 verses omitted: Pss 35:3a, 4-8, 20-21, 24-26; Ps 59:6-9, 12-16 and Ps 69:23-29. Holladay 1996, 305.

[20] See esp. Zenger 1996 and Brueggemann 1995 (esp. pp 1-32; 98-111). Mihăliă also notices the shift in appreciation of imprecatory psalms that have occurred, resulting in the positive outlook being the most representative amongst mainline protestants such as Anglicans, Presbytarians and Reformed. Mihăliă 2012, 233-234.

[21] This rather subjective demarcation can of course be questioned. What I mean by "representative" in this case is commentaries published by internationally respected scholars intended for a broad audience (i.e. not sermons, nor commentaries bordering this genre) combined with other material (articles and monographs) referred to by internationally acknowledged scholars.

The material is limited to publications published during the past three decades, i.e. following Zenger's work and covering the impact that liberation theology has had on the exegetical, pastoral and liturgical discourse concerning lament psalms in general and imprecatory psalms in particular.[22] Needless to say, given the vast material published in this area, the selection can only be considered representative but never fully comprehensive.[23]

With these clarifications in place it is time to address the first of the two questions mentioned above, i.e. what it is that separates imprecatory psalms from other texts condoning violence, thereby making imprecatory psalms especially relevant to study from an ethical and pastoral perspective.

Part One: The 'ethics' of imprecatory prayer

'Ethics' is a rather loose term that can cover a variety of areas. In the following 'ethics' is defined as something that involves both "being" and "doing". It is a matter of *character* (which addresses the question "what kind of person should I be?") and *conduct* (that answers the question "what should I do?").[24] As noted by LeMon, the Latin dictum *lex orandi*, *lex credendi* captures this close relation between *how* one prays and *what* one believes. However, what is called for in our time (as has also been attested by modern liturgical theology) is the addition of a *lex agendi* that takes into consideration that patterns of prayer and belief have the power to shape the petitioner's behavior.[25]

Lex orandi – lex agendi: The ethical impact of prayer

For most of us, the formation of our ethical principles is a largely unconscious process that gradually develops over time. And as argued by Wenham, liturgy can have a tremendous impact in this process of ethical development – especially the act of reciting canonical prayers. After all, the psalms have much to say about character and conduct, ranging from what path to choose from (Ps 1) to what actions that pleases God and what doesn't. But most importantly, those who use the psalms for prayer are usually not even aware of this formative aspect. Whatever is included in public and joint prayer is also subliminally accepted as important by the community, even if this is not explicitly stated. This makes the act of praying "the most potent form of ethical indoctrination."[26]

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[22] Several scholars have also stressed the beginning of the 21st century (with its increase in terrorist-attacks) as an important milestone for the interpretation of sacred texts dealing with enmity and violence. See. e.g. Fretheim 2004, 366; Day 2005, 9; Billman and Migliore 1999/2007, 15; Jenkins 2011, esp. pp. 1-10 and Creach 2013, 1.

[23] If of interest, the commentaries consulted for this summary were (apart from articles and monographs discussing Ps 109): Mays 1994 (IBC); Zenger 1996 (*A God of Vengeance?*); McCann 1996 (NIB); Ringgren 1997 (KGT); Davidson 1998 (*The Vitality of Worship*); Gerstenberger 2001 (FOTL); Allen 2002 (WBC); Holt and Nielsen 2002 (*Dansk Kommentar til Davids Salmer*); Goldingay 2008 (Baker Commentary of the Old Testament); Hossfeld and Zenger 2011 (Hermeneia); Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014 (NCBC); DeClaissé-Walford 2014 (NICOT) and Ross 2016 (Kregel Exegetical Library).

[24] This short definition of 'ethics' is the same as in Durant 2010, 1 and falls within the category of *virtue ethics*. Virtue ethics is one of three major approaches in normative ethics. It can, initially, be identified as emphasizing the virtues, or moral character, in contrast to the approaches that emphasize duties or rules (deontology) or the consequences of actions (consequentialism).

[25] LeMon 2011, 93, here referring to Sailers 1994, 187 who also mentions the correlation between *lex orandi, lex credendi* and *lex agendi*. Cf. Sailers 1979, esp. pp. 173-174.

[26] Wenham 2012, 1-3.

On the basis of this, as well as the mere fact that Psalms have maintained its central position in both Jewish and Christian piety for centuries, it is rather surprising that ethical analysis has remained a less-frequent mode of inquiry in the study of Psalms.[27] Especially since several have noticed the close connections between prayer and theology. Put differently: if God is proclaimed through prayer as the protector of the poor, the ethical and theological implications of that utterance are non-mistakenly clear. It becomes a matter of 'ethics' based on the well-established principle of *imitatio Dei*.[28]

The rhetorical aspects of imprecatory psalms

What separates 'psalms of vengeance' from other biblical texts concerning vengeance and enmity is first and foremost the fairly obvious fact that psalms belong to the prayer-genre. Another important rhetorical feature is, as noted by e.g. Wenham and Erbele-Küster, the grammatical use of the first-person through which someone reading (or praying) a psalm at a later date is invited to step into the character of the psalmist and partake in his experience and outlook on life.[29] Praying psalms is therefore best described as a performative act that alters ones relationship (to God, the world or to the enemy addressed) in a way that mere listening cannot accomplish. Praying a psalm includes committing to its values, sometimes even on a subconscious level.[30]

Another important rhetorical feature of the psalms is the *Leerstellen* that help the reader adopt the psalmist's standpoint by "filling in the gaps" with personal sentiments and understandings of the situation described in the text. It helps to smoothen the transition between the "I" of the psalm and that of the reader.[31] This possible and probable transition that can occur in the reading-process is what psychologists refer to as 'experience-taking'.

Reading the psalms in the light of 'experience-taking'?

The suggested continuity between reading psalms (*lex orandi*) and formation of ethical conduct (*lex agendi*) can be summarized and exemplified with the help of 'experience-taking' – a concept coined by Kaufman and Libby through their study.[32]

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[27] As also noted and exemplified by Wenham 2012, 5-7 and Durant 2010, 58-60.

[28] See e.g. LeMon 2011, 93-98. For further insight on the principle of *imitatio Dei* and its impact on ethics and interpretation of Psalms see Durant 2010, esp. pp. 1-3 and 150-218. However, not all OT scholars agree on whether *imitatio Dei* can be said to be the basis of Old Testament ethics – and those who do generally rely on e.g. Lev. 11:45; 19:2; Deut 10:17-19; 15:15 and 24:17-18, as well as other passages from the law or prophets rather than the Psalms. As noted by e.g. Durant 2010, 5-37 and Barton 2003, 29-30.

[29] Erbele-Küster 2001/2013, 111-113 and Wenham 2012, 60. The grammatical use of first-person is of course not a unique feature. The Bible contains several biblical prayers written in the first-person (e.g. Jer. 15:10-18; 18:19-23; Job. 10; Neh. 9:5-37; etc.) but they are not incorporated as frequently into liturgy and/or used as prayers as often as the psalms.

[30] In his work, Wenham argues for the relevance of speech-act theory in the study of psalms, with special reference to Evans 1963. Wenham 2012, 67-76. This approach also brings to mind the Role Theory outlined by Sundén with his demonstrations of the psychological effects of reciting prayer. See Sundén 1971, 51-65, 166 and 172-173. I'm aware of these perspectives and their influence and importance for my study but I chose to limit the present summary to examples from the psychology of 'experience-taking' outlined below since it captures many of these aspects but from a slightly different angle.

[31] For a further outline of the importance of *Leerstellen* see Erbele-Küster 2001/2013, 141-180.

[32] Kaufman and Libby 2012. The study consisted of six psychological studies that investigated the degree to which particular psychological states of mind and features of narratives caused individuals to (without

It is well known and attested that reading fiction can alter a reader's perspective on the world as he/she is invited to take on the perspective of another human being portrayed in the text (this is what psychologists call 'perspective-taking'). The concept of 'experience-taking' is set apart from 'perspective-taking' in that it involves *first-person experiencing-as*, i.e. adopting, to various degrees, the psychological orientation of a literary character. This process is a *non-deliberate* process with potential alteration of ethical conduct as a possible outcome.[33] The concept is briefly defined by the authors in the following way:

> We propose that when experience-taking occurs, readers simulate the events of a narrative as though they were a particular character in the story world, adopting the character's mindset and perspective as the story progresses rather than orienting themselves as an observer or evaluator of the character. […] In the process, readers let go of key components of their own identity – such as their beliefs, memories, personality traits, and ingroup affiliation – and instead assume the identity of a protagonist, accepting the character's decisions, outcomes, and reactions as their own.[34]

As powerful as this transformative experience might be, some narratives and the characters that they inhabit seem to have more potential than others to encourage the process of experience-taking (e.g. the grammatical use of first-person). In the same way, readers are more or less inclined to undergo this psychological process depending on their psychological state of mind.[35] However, what makes the concept of experience-taking especially relevant for the study and appreciation of psalms (and imprecatory psalms in particular) is the connection between *reading* and *alteration of behavior* attested through the study.[36]

Seen from the perspective of 'experience-taking' one can conclude that fictional texts offer readers imaginative experiences with both cognitive and moral implications. The same can be said about poetry and prayer as a genre since they invite the reader to take the perspective of another, simulating some aspect or aspects of that other person's psychology as if they were his/her own.[37]

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instruction!) engage in experience-taking. In addition, the study investigated how the merge between self and other led to changes in self-judgement, attitudes, and behavior that align with the fictional character.

[33] Kaufman and Libby 2012, 1-4. Cf. Denham 2015, 186-187.

[34] Kaufman and Libby 2012, 2.

[35] Kaufman and Libby 2012, 2. Examples of such factors are carefully outlined in their study. A short summary of important factors and findings would be: *1) The extent to which the readers' personal identity is salient when reading the fictional work* (reduced self-concept accessibility should promote higher levels of experience-taking since it allows readers to more easily "forget" themselves in the reading-process). See further Kaufman and Libby 2012, 4-8 (studies 1-3). *2) First-person narratives are more conductive to experience-taking than third-person narratives*. (Cf. Erbele-Küster 2001/2013, 111-113 on the importance of grammatical use of first-person in individual psalms). See further Kaufman and Libby 2012, 8-10 (study 4). *3) Shared group-membership and/or other familiarity or similarity between the reader and the character* increase the likelihood of sub-conscious experience-taking. See further Kaufman and Libby 2012, 8-10 (study 4).

[36] See especially study 4 in Kaufman and Libby 2012, 8-10, where they attested that participants who read a first-person narrative of a person who had overcome various obstacles before being able to participate in an election where more likely to cast a vote themselves a few days later than those who had read the same story but written from a third-person perspective.

[37] Cf. Denham 2015, 187-189 and 195. Denham does not discuss biblical texts but refers to the poem "Psalm" by Paul Celan. The main point however remains the same; a text/prayer/poem can, through experience-taking, direct a reader to attend a new outlook on life, just as visual art achieves this by effecting a reorientation of perspective

Conclusion: Identifying the particularity with imprecatory psalms

As noted by Brueggemann et al, imprecatory psalms create both *theological* and *liturgical* challenges for modern readers since they articulate themes that are not congenial to popular and habitual religious notions. One such theme mentioned as particularly challenging is the longing for vengeance expressed in some of the psalms.[38] This longing, combined with the prayer-genre that draws together the *lex orandi* and *lex agendi* is what makes Ps 109 into "the most difficult and most embarrassing psalm for conventional piety".[39]

On the basis of the observations outlined above the question of what separates "psalms of vengeance" from other biblical texts condoning violence can now be answered. It is first of all a matter of genre. Psalms are prayer-texts and often read as such within a liturgical setting.[40] And as was shown above the act of praying can be described as a form of performative speech where the individual praying is invited to merge his/her identity with that of the petitioner (as in the psychological concept of 'experience-taking). The sentiments and ethics of the implied reader are thereby easily juxtaposed with that of the contemporary reader.

Put differently, one can listen to a proverb or a prophetic text and then "take it or leave it." If one is unhappy about the ethics that can be derived from e.g. Josh 6-11 one could easily argue that this is an ancient text, articulated for a specific and fixed setting and not applicable to or relevant for contemporary concerns.[41] But once a text is *prayed* the reader commits him/herself to a path of action and applies the dramaturgy of the psalm to a setting of one's own choice by "filling in the gaps," regardless of the texts' original *Sitz im Leben*. This is why the imprecatory psalms require an exegesis that takes into consideration the possible ethical implications of psalms being used as prayers, including not only positive theological uses but the full range of possible usages. When looking at what 'interpretative paradigms' that are currently supported by contemporary scholars one soon realizes that the current focus appears to be solely directed towards mitigating the "difficulties" and focusing on the positive theological uses of imprecatory psalms. A closer look at Ps 109 illuminates this preference.

Part Two: The 'exegetics' of imprecatory prayer

A Closer Look at Ps 109

Turning now to the core issue, i.e. the exegetical treatment of Ps 109 and the interpretative paradigms provided by Old Testament scholars to interested readers. As anticipated in the introduction, this summary will not include any detailed discussion of particular verses or

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at the experiential level, subjecting the viewer's perceptions to the authority of the artist's point of view. Cf. also Wenham 2012, 57-76.

[38] See e.g. Brueggemann 1985, 144; Durant 2010, 67 and DeClaissé-Walford 2014, 827.

[39] Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 473.

[40] An exception would be within the (Christian) Orthodox tradition where Ps 109 is read within the liturgy for Good-Friday as a prophecy. As noted by Mihăilă, Orthodox biblical interpretation rests heavenly on the work of the Church fathers and since the Patristic exegesis does not recognize the imprecatory speech, the imperative verbs in Ps 109 are interpreted as futures and a foretelling of the punishments for Judas - or for the unbelievers among the Jews (cf. esp. Athanasius and Augustine). Mihăilă 2012, esp. pp. 227-229.

[41] Such a reading-strategy based on fixing the text to its historical setting is mentioned by Nielsen (with reference to Assmann 2006, 57) as a responsible reading-strategy as it limits the causative validity of the text to its historical setting. Nielsen 2013, 211-212.

text-critical remarks. Instead, the focus remains solely on the generic 'interpretative paradigms' that can be identified in contemporary commentaries and articles written primarily for or from within a (Western) Christian perspective. In addition, these paradigms will be analyzed with the ethical aspect in mind as outlined above in the first section. But before turning to the reoccurring 'interpretative strategies' that builds up the paradigms a quick note is needed regarding an issue that has divided scholars in their understanding and appreciation of Ps 109.

The dividing issue concerning vv. 6-19

The dividing issue concerns the question of who's uttering the malediction. Two main options have developed; the first is to interpret vv. 6-19 as the words of the psalmist against his accuser(s), the second is to understand the passage as the psalmist's quotation of his accuser(s), as reflected in e.g. NRSV and NIV. Scholars are currently divided almost equally between the two alternatives.[42]

As often pointed out, the latter option (that falls within the definition of an 'interpretative strategy') does not relieve the psalm of its theological problem since the psalmist prays that the misfortunes should fall upon the accusers in v. 20, regardless of who uttered the curse in the first place.[43] Also, as I'd like to add, if the psalm is read from the perspectives outlined above it does not matter whether vv. 6-19 is a quote or not. The rhetorical setting (including the "openness" of the text) remains the same. And *even if* the curse were to be a quotation it does not answer the broader question of imprecatory prayers in the Book of Psalms since there are still several other passages that cannot be argued to be quotations. This is why the "quotation theory" does not qualify as an 'interpretative paradigm' based on the definition outlined above (pp. 5-7).[44]

Identifying the 'interpretative paradigms'

Nevertheless, the option to read vv. 6-19 as the petitioner's quotation of his adversaries remains a popular and somewhat helpful 'interpretative strategy' that serves the purpose of mitigating this ethically challenging psalm. However, other as well as more general approaches are needed if the harshness of imprecatory psalms in general (including Ps 109) is to be softened. What is called for is general guidelines, applicable to several psalms and various contexts and traditions – guidelines that I chose to label 'interpretative paradigms'.

One such immensely popular and reoccurring strategy is to read Ps 109 as an act of catharsis.

[42] For examples of scholars arguing for vv. 6-19 as the words of the psalmist see e.g. Wright 1994, 393-394; Ringgren 1997, 582; Davidson 1998, 360; Gerstenberger 2001, 257-263 Ejernæs 2002, 155; Firth 2005/2007, 37-38; Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 473-474 and Ross 2016 , 326, 329-333. Cf. those in favour of the quotation-theory (as first proposed by Hans Schmidt in 1928 in *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im Alten Testament* BZAW 49, pp. 40-46 [not seen]) see e.g.: Weiser 1962, 690-691; Kraus 1989/1993, 238; Allen 2002, 102-105; Goldingay 2008, 279-280 and Zenger 2011, 128-130.
[43] As pointed out by e.g. Mays 1994, 349.
[44] Neither does Brueggemann's (much referred to) reading of Ps 109 since it only discusses Ps 109 and is applicable only to this particular psalm). See Brueggemann 1985. Durant belongs to those who rely heavily on Brueggemann's interpretation as she comments on Ps 109 in her study. See Durant 2010, esp. pp. 212-214.

Reading the psalm as an act of catharsis

This approach draws from the field of psychology in that it argues that the act of praying an imprecatory psalm can serve as an act of catharsis. According to this line of thinking, feelings of hatred that are suppressed instead of acknowledged run the risk of having a negative effect on people's welfare and ethical conduct. The reasoning here is that the desire for vengeance is universal. It inevitably needs to be dealt with and only three options appears to be available; the longing can be *acted upon*, *denied* or *articulated*. The first option is generally understood to be morally questionable and to deny feelings of vindictiveness and hatred has yet to be proven successful. That leaves only the third option, to articulate and acknowledge these feelings. And because of that imprecatory psalms such as Ps 109 are often argued to help accomplish this in a positive way. On one hand they help the person suffering from trauma to vent his/her feelings in a non-violent way, and on the other hand the community is spared from an increase of violent retaliation through the cathartic effect that praying psalms is believed to have.[45]

Crucial for this principle is of course the absolute separation between violent *speech* and *actual acts of violence*. Brueggemann belongs to those who make such a definite demarcation, as does Blumenthal when he argues that "the well placed curse" is performative speech but not performative action.[46] Not surprisingly, this interpretative approach have become very popular amongst scholars writing for (mostly Christian) communities since it helps mitigate the harsh prayers in an effective way by arguing that the psalm's *intention* is to honor God as the supreme judge and ruler of the world by "leaving vengeance up to God."[47] A psalm such as 109 can therefore be said to teach the basic principle of pastoral care (that anger is a legitimate response to abuse) but at the same time also honor God's affirmation in Deut 32:35 ("vengeance is mine", Cf. Ps 94). In this sense, the "violent-sounding prayer is, in fact, an act of non-violence."[48]

An influential and much quoted scholar in this case is Miller who, as he discusses the relevance of imprecatory psalms in general, states that:

> What must not be missed in these prayers is that they turn the issue of justice over to God rather than taking vengeance into our own hands. They are in some sense "liberating" in that they release the anger and fear of the oppressed as well as the, at times, quite unemotional desire to take justice and judgment into one's own hands and hand all that over to God.[49]

The same attitude is also reflected in the extensive discussion outlined by Durant in her dissertation where she discusses the appropriateness of *imitatio Dei* as an ethical principle

[45] As argued in e.g. Brueggemann and Bellinger 2014, 476.
[46] Blumenthal 2002, 186. Cf. Brueggemann who states that "In the Psalms we do not have violent acts, but only violent speech. And the violent speech is often directed against Yahweh, who is perceived on occasion as the perpetrator of violence." Brueggemann 1984, 175. See also Brueggemann 1985, 152, Brueggemann 2007, 67 and Brueggemann and Bellinger 2914, 476.
[47] Among those who stress that the psalmist (or the person praying the psalm) "leave vengeance up to God" are e.g. Allen 2002, 106-107 and Goldingay 2008, 288-289.
[48] McCann 1996, 1127. Also referred to and quoted in e.g. DeClaissé-Walford 2014, 833.
[49] Miller 1994, 303.

when reading psalms (esp. Pss. 94 and 109). Durant's conclusion is that Ps 109 is *not* "ethically difficult" since it teaches that vengeance should be entrusted solely to God, the God of justice. In this prayer "vengeance is transferred from the heart of the speaker to the heart of God."[50]

I can't help but question this sharp distinction between words and (violent) action when it comes to the act of praying, as does Cottrill.[51] To begin with, 'violence' has many forms and need not be restricted to *physical* actions that inflict physical harm on an individual or a group.[52] Secondly, the line between actual killing or physical violence and verbal or symbolic violence is both thin and permeable.[53] Sure, as argued by Miller in his often quoted work, the imprecatory psalms can be said to represent a simultaneous "letting go" and "holding back" thus supporting a radical ethic of non-violence since the psalms proclaim God as the rightful judge and distributor of violence – and not the petitioner.[54] However, it appears reasonable to assume that someone who prays for God to execute violence against enemies may be motivated to act as God's agent if and whenever that is a possible option.[55] If the ethical principle of *imitatio Dei* is applied to imprecatory psalms there is no guarantee that the end-result will always be a non-violent one. Especially if one allows for a broader definition of 'violence' than *physical* harm done to others. And if Ps 109 is read with the concept of 'experience-taking' in mind it *could* have a cathartic (non-violent) effect, but the result could *also* be the exact opposite. Excerpts from the reception-history of imprecatory psalms in general (and particularly Ps 109!) illustrates that the use of psalms have not *only* resulted in therapeutic catharsis but also inspired to (violent) action.[56]

Reading the psalm as a 'cry from below'

Several contemporary commentators and scholars argue for the relevance of imprecatory psalms from a political point of view, often noticeably inspired by perspectives from liberation theology and/or pastoral perspectives.[57] One such clear example is the interpretative paradigm that I have chosen to label 'a cry from below', since it is oriented towards mitigating the harsh content of imprecatory psalms from a circumstantial perspective by

[50] Durant 2010, 217 (where she quotes Brueggemann 2007, 67). See also Zenger 1996, 71.
[51] Cottrill 2012, 375-376.
[52] As noted by e.g. Collins 2003, 4. Cf. e.g. Seibert's rather broad definition of violence as "physical, emotional, or psychological harm done to a person by and individual (or individuals), institution, or structure that results in injury, oppression, or death". Seibert 2012, 9-10.
[53] As noted by Juergensmeyer 2003, 163-164, Collins 2003, 4 and Cottrill 2012, 375-376.
[54] Miller 2004/2007, 200. Also referred to by LeMon 2013, 99.
[55] LeMon 2013, 98-100.
[56] And as noted by Block, even the most sophisticated interpretative strategy aimed at mitigating an ethically difficult passage (Ps 137:9 in his example) does not relieve the psalm from the possibility of being read literally, and once such an literal reading is left to linger in the mind of the reader – who knows what effects it will have on that persons' ethical conduct. And the more far-fetched interpretative strategy, the more risk of the literal reading being the one that dominates the reader's ethical compass. Block 1970, 80-81.
[57] See esp. Gerstenberger 1982 and Gerstenberger 2001, 257. Not so that imprecatory psalms would be relevant only for those suffering from oppression, quite the contrary! Several have argued that cursing psalms are *especially* relevant for those readers as they can serve as pedagogical tools for anyone who might need a reminder that whenever they are in the position to say that they have no enemies – someone else is likely to have identified *them* as the real enemy. As argued by e.g. Davies, Ellen 2001, 28-29; Brueggemann 1984, 87 and Strawn 2008, 318-319 (esp. point 6 and 8 in the listings of ways modern scholars have appropriated imprecatory psalms in general).

stressing the social situation of the petitioner (both past and present) and reading the psalms metaphorically rather than (as in the particular case of Ps 109) focusing on the reconstruction of an actual law-court as the psalm's primary *Sitz im Leben*.[58]

This perspective on Ps 109 is reflected e.g. in the commentary by Goldingay where he states that one way to read the psalm is through the eyes of "Christians in context of oppression (maybe economic oppression by the West), who may not find this psalm so uncongenial." and that "we ourselves cannot afford to have people praying this prayer, because we are the people it prays against."[59]

This interpretative strategy appears to have been introduced by Gerstenberger (and later adopted by Zenger et. al.) as he stresses that "It is important to note: The prayer speaks up against wrongdoers; it is a cry from below (cf. Ps 130:1)."[60] Gerstenberger also points out that

> In the first place, all Biblical complaints, be they national or individual, have been articulated on a low, of not the lowest level of existence. Downtrodden people who are facing certain death are trying to win the support of God. Prayer, within a ritual of petition or cursing, is the last resort to survive a threatening catastrophe. […] His inferior position does not give any chance to the supplicant to revenge himself with his proper hands. Only God, the guardian of justice, can turn the tide, can restore health and good fortune, bring black former bliss and security.[61]

Zenger appears to have been inspired by Gerstenberger's reading as he writes that

> […] here we find public calumny and hostile threats, involvement in the processes of a corrupt justice system, social and economic ruin at the hands of the wealthy and powerful. All this is experienced as the lying and hatred of people who want to destroy the devout person and his or her family. In this extreme distress, he or she *will not and cannot* retaliate with the same weapons.[62]

The popularity of this interpretative strategy[63] with its ideological approach, fits well within the situation described in the psalm itself where the psalmist identifies with the poor and needy and God is described as the protector of the poor (vv.16, 22, and 31). However, such a reading can be criticized from both an ethical and exegetical perspective. Scheffler engages in such a critique (centered on the interpretation of Ps 109) as he argues that well-meaning scholars have advocated this strategy from social-political reasons, but simultaneously overlooked the basic insight that psalms were written and redacted by people who could write, i.e. by those who lacked a first-hand experience of poverty. Such passages, where the

[58] For an example of such an interpretation with its focus on the reader rather than the *Sitz im Leben* of the psalm see e.g. Tanner's intertextual-feminist reading of Ps 109 in Tanner 1998, 283-301.
[59] Goldingay 2008, 289.
[60] Gerstenberger 1982, 64. Cf. Zenger 1996, 60 where the suppliant's weakness is stressed.
[61] Gerstenberger 1982, 67.
[62] Zenger 1996, 60: Emphasis in the original. Cf. Zenger 2011, 128. Zenger's interpretation of Ps 109 in *A God of Vengeance?* has been echoed and quoted in several later published commentaries. Cf. e.g. Allen 2002, 104-105; Goldingay 2008, 280 and LeMon 2011, 104-109.
[63] The strategy fits within the concept of an interpretative paradigm since it is *applicable to a number of psalms* (eps. Pss. 58 and 137) and referred to in several commentaries, more or less explicitly stated as a mitigating circumstance.

petitioner identifies with the poor represent a *metaphorical* use of the terms and should be interpreted accordingly.[64]

I agree with Scheffler's objection and, as was the case with the catharsis-approach mentioned above, the reception-history of Ps 109 reveals that not all who use Ps 109 do so from their "weakest and most exposed state".[65] This calls for a critical sensitivity within the communities that wish to use Ps 109 as prayer since the openness of the text invites *every* reader to identify with the individual speaking in Ps 109 and adopt his/her outlook on life. An outlook not hesitant towards violent vindication.

Reading the psalm not as a "psalm of vengeance" but as a psalm of 'justice'

Another interesting trend, in my opinion, is the reoccurring focus on *justice* (often, but not always, set in opposition to vengeance) in commentaries of imprecatory psalms. This interpretative paradigm is also visible in commentaries of Ps 109 although not as explicitly stated as in the commentaries of e.g. Pss. 58 and 137 where vengeance and retribution is discussed more at length and often contrasted with 'justice'.[66] Nevertheless, it deserves to be mentioned here since it is an interpretative paradigm that has gained great support amongst contemporary scholars.[67]

This paradigm inevitably touches upon the catharsis-approach as it tends to stress the image of God as supreme judge, thereby implicitly stating that no human action is called for in Ps 109. An example can be found in the commentary by Allen where he stresses God's character as the just judge:

> The psalmist's goal is not the satisfaction of personal vengeance but that Yahweh may be acknowledged as the just and faithful God who governs the covenant community by means of moral adjustments.[68]

Cf. the commentary by Ross where the longing for (personal) vengeance is also combined with the popular catharsis-approach:

> […] it ceases to be personal vengeance as he turns all his wishes over to the LORD in a prayer, thereby leaving it to the LORD to deal in justice with his adversary.[69]

This sharp distinction between '(personal) vengeance' and 'justice' becomes interesting once these key terms are examined more carefully. The reoccurring references to 'justice' in

[64] Scheffler 2011, esp. 194 and 197.
[65] As also pointed out by LeMon 2011, 104-109.
[66] I addressed the reoccurring strategy of contrasting 'vengeance' and 'justice' in my paper for OTSEM-2016 where I focused on commentaries of Pss. 58 and 137. Since this focus on 'justice' as a mitigating circumstance for the imprecatory psalms is a reoccurring strategy, applicable to more than one psalm and supported by several scholars it will be included amongst the paradigms discussed in my doctoral thesis.
[67] For a brief outline of ways that modern scholars have sought to appropriate imprecatory psalms for contemporary readers see Strawn 2008, 316-316, esp. point 3.
[68] Allen 2002, 105. To be fair, in the passage just above the one I quote, Allen states that in vv. 26-31 "The psalmist renews his appeal in a plea for *vindication* and so for the failure of his accusers and for their humiliation." (Italics added by me). Thus, it appears as if the psalm does capture *both* personal and theological sentiments, and not just one of the two. Cf. also Allen's end remarks to Ps 109 where he again stresses that the "supreme concern was for divine justice". Allen 2002, 106-107.
[69] Ross 2016, 326.

commentaries of Ps 109 is understandable given the influence that liberation theology have had on the interpretation of imprecatory psalms, with the subsequent development of the 'cry from below' paradigm discussed above. However, what all commentaries that I've encountered so far have in common is a lack of a proper definition and discussion of what is and can be meant by 'justice' in the context of Ps 109 vs. the context of the contemporary reader. This is unfortunate since the meaning and understanding of 'justice' much effects the interpretation and appreciation of imprecatory psalms in general and Ps 109 in particular.

The *most* basic definition of 'justice' requires a separation between *corrective* or *retributive* justice and *distributive* justice.[70] Put differently, the outcome of "justice being done" can have several (and very different!) consequences depending on what is read into the word. This hermeneutical challenge can be further outlined with the help of what moral philosophers call thick and thin concepts[71] or Walzers (related) distinction between thick and thin moral universes. As argued by Walzer, moral thinkers often agree on *thin* moral universals (e.g. 'justice', 'equality' etc.), but disagree on *thick* moral concepts (i.e. the narrower definition of the thin concepts). He mentions the passage in Deut 16:20 as a clarifying example; "Justice, and only justice, you shall follow" (ESV) and explains that it is not difficult to agree in this statement as long as we are allowed to fill in our own developed understanding of what 'justice' is. "But if someone were to produce for us a thick description of what the Deuteronomist actually meant – a close reading of the text, a reconstruction of the historical context – we would not find it so easy to agree."[72]

The same problem occurs whenever Ps 109 is described as a psalm of *justice* (as opposed to "a psalm of vengeance").[73] If the justice sought for is in fact *retributive justice* (vv. 15-19 certainly gives that impression) the separation between vengeance and justice cannot be done as easily. Certainly not if the longing for vengeance in Ps 109 is considered to be the main problem. Put differently, if 'vengeance' is the problem, 'justice' cannot be the answer – unless we speak of *retributive justice* and recognize that vengeance is an essential part of the concept.

Durant belong to those who support the distinction between 'vengeance' and 'justice' as she notices that Ps 109 (to the modern mind) might come across as "vindictive and vengeful" but that what the psalmist asks for is in keeping with the *lex talionis* (i.e. the very definition of *retributive justice*!). But according to Durant: "[…]the psalmist is not seeking revenge, but is calling upon God to exercise justice and punish the enemies for their accusations and attacks

[70] In the article on "Justice" in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 'Corrective justice' is described as covering what is due to a person as punishment and 'Distributive justice' as that which is due by way of benefits and burdens other than punishments. Barry and Matravers 1998, 141.
[71] The idea of a 'thick concept' was first coined (in print) by Bernhard Williams in his *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy*, 1985. The distinction between 'thick' and 'thin' concepts developed later. For an introduction to these concepts and their influence on linguistics and hermeneutics see Kirchin 2013, 1-18.
[72] Walzer 1994, 5.
[73] See e.g. Zenger 2011, 128 and 138 where he calls Ps 109 "a justice psalm".

against him."[74] And "In both Psalms 94 and 109, we see that the psalmists do not really want revenge on their enemies; rather, they want deliverance from oppression and injustice."[75]

McCann also reminds his readers of the principle of *lex talionis* in his commentary but does not hide the (possible) violent implications of this doctrine as much as others tend to do as he writes that:

> […] it is important to notice that the psalmist's request is in accordance with what most persons, then and now, would say is only fair – the punishment should fit the crime. […] In short, the enemy deserves to die (v.8), because he persecuted others to their death (vv. 16; 31;[…][76]

This rather honest observation and reading of Ps 109 concludes this section where some of the paradigms applied to Ps 109 have been discussed and evaluated on the basis of the observations made in the first section of this paper.

The paradigms presented above help provide a general view of the efforts made by contemporary biblical scholars to exonerate the imprecatory psalms from their moral blame and argue for the relevance of imprecatory prayer for contemporary liturgy and theology. But do these paradigms (or rather, the scholars responsible for them) take into consideration the full range of possible interpretations and uses of imprecatory psalms? As I see it, there is need for a critical evaluation of some of the currently withheld paradigms that pays attention not only to the ethical accountability of the text but also that of the interpreter. Especially considering the reception-history of imprecatory psalms in general (and Ps 109 in particular) and the implications that previously held paradigms have had on Jewish-Christian relations.[77]

Summary, with further excerpts from the reception history of Ps 109

As illustrated in the introduction the reception history of Ps 109 ranges from billboards and merchandise, to political puns and courtrooms in Dallas, all bringing to the fore questions concerning the limitations of free speech and the appropriateness of imprecatory prayer in our contemporary world.



Billboard in Victoria, Texas.

In this paper I set out to answer two questions, using Ps 109 as a focal point for the broader discussion. The questions were:

> 1) *What is it that separates imprecatory psalms from other biblical texts condoning violence and vengeance?*

[74] Durant 2010, 211. Cf. McCann 1996, 1126 who also stress *lex talionis* as a basic (as well as mitigating?) principle of the psalm.
[75] Durant 2010, 214.
[76] McCann 1996, 1126.
[77] For a brief summary of the earlier reception-history of Ps 109 and its implications see Zenger 1996, 13-23 and 55-62.

2) *What readings ('interpretative paradigms') are currently advocated by biblical scholars commenting on imprecatory psalms?*

The short answer to the first question is that psalms belong to the prayer-genre with its considerable ability to involve the reader in the dramaturgy of the Psalm through the speech act that is prayer. What might happen is basically the same as in the psychological process of 'experience-taking, where the individual reading/praying a psalm is invited to merge his/her identity with that of the petitioner. The sentiments and ethics of the text are thereby easily juxtaposed with that of the reader.

Put differently, one can read a text condoning violent actions against enemies and then "take it or leave it" but once a text is *prayed* the reader commits him/herself to a path of action in accordance with the sentiments expressed in the text. This calls for an exegesis that takes into consideration the ethical implications of reading psalms as prayers, preferably focusing not *only* on possible positive outcomes of praying imprecatory prayers.

In order to answer the second question several contemporary commentaries of Ps 109 were compared and (a selection of) reoccurring 'interpretative strategies' that fitted within the definition of an 'interpretative paradigm' were outlined and critically discussed on the basis of the observations made in the first section. The paradigms were:

1) Reading the psalm as an "act of catharsis."

This paradigm focuses on the idea of "handing vengeance over to God", thereby making a sharp distinction between *words* and *action* that is difficult to maintain, especially if one allows for a broader definition of 'violence' than *physical* harm done to others. In addition, it appears reasonable that someone who prays for God's violent action against enemies would also (if given the opportunity) act on behalf of God. If the ethical principle of *imitatio Dei* is applied to Ps 109 there is no guarantee that the end-result will always be a non-violent one.

2) Reading the psalm as a "cry from below."

This paradigm focuses on the social circumstance of the person praying (both past and present), not necessarily taking into consideration that not all who pray Ps 109 are in absolute despair.

3) Reading the psalm "not as a psalm of vengeance but of 'justice."

This paradigm identifies the longing for vengeance as the main problem in Ps 109 but fails to define what is and can be meant by 'justice' in the context of the psalm vs. that of the contemporary reader. This is unfortunate since the understanding of 'justice' much effects the interpretation and appreciation of imprecatory psalms in general and Ps 109 in particular. The *most* basic definition requires a separation between *corrective* or *retributive* justice and *distributive* justice. And as long as 'vengeance' is the problem 'justice' cannot be the answer – unless one defines 'justice' as *retributive justice* and recognizes its close connections to vengeance and (possibly violent) acts of retribution.

As was also shown in the summary, the current trend within the scholarly discourse is to support rather than warn against the use of imprecatory prayers. This appraisal appears to be grounded, at least partially, in pastoral concerns influenced by liberationist theology that

stress the importance of 'justice' for the oppressed, as well as the possible cathartic effect of praying Ps 109. But not all who find Ps 109 relevant for contemporary situations in life are "crying from below." As noted by Cottrill, the simple fact that it exists bumper-stickers with the "Obama prayer" printed on them is evidence that palms are capable of being used in ways that do *not* cathartically express pain, but urge more aggressive sentiments.[78]

Given the broad range of possible uses and interpretations of imprecatory psalms it appears advisable for both scholars and ordinary readers not to succumb to the current trend of mitigating imprecatory psalms without a critical evaluation of the possible ethical implications of the paradigms currently supported.[79] After all, not all who use imprecatory prayers do so out of pastoral concerns. When, for example, the Southern Baptist pastor Wiley Drake was interviewed he stated that:

> "I believe the whole Bible […] I don't just preach part of it. I don't just preach the soft, fuzzy, warm stuff where we're supposed to be nice to everybody. I preach the whole Bible." […]"This whole concept that we're always to pray little, nice, soft, fluffy, prayers — that we're not to pray imprecatory prayer — has been something that just, in all honesty, that Southern Baptists have lost, and we need to regain imprecatory prayer. […]"[80]

Drake's reclaim of imprecatory prayer sounds uncomfortably familiar to what can be found in commentaries published during the 21st century.[81] It's 'uncomfortable' because Drake was interviewed after an abortion doctor had been gunned down in the foyer of a Lutheran Church in Wichita, Kansas in May 2009.[82] Drake had openly admitted to praying imprecatory psalms against the doctor and he had now proclaimed that his prayers had been heard.[83] Was he in any way responsible for the murder of George Tiller?

The question brings us back were we started, to the courtroom in Dallas and the complaint filed by the Weinstein family. In 2012, after several years of filing lawsuits back and forth, the judge dismissed the claims made by the Weinstein's. It is not illegal (in Dallas) to publically pray and wish for the death of another human being. But is it appropriate?

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[78] Cottrill 2012, 376. For earlier (violent) examples from the reception-history of Ps 109 see Zenger 1996, 57-58.
[79] By this I do not mean that one ought to return to formerly held 'interpretative paradigms' (a critique of imprecatory psalms in general fueled by suppressionistic sentiments, as exemplified by Zenger 1996, 13-23). On the contrary, as I challenge the generally held support of imprecatory psalms I call for interpretative paradigms that take into consideration *also* the possibly negative consequences of condoning prayers that speak of enmity and violent vindication – including a reminder of how these psalms have been used in the past.
[80] Quotes from a radio interview of Wiley Drake for Fox News Radio on the 2nd of June 2009, summarized and reproduced by Allen 2009 for *Baptist News* [https://baptistnews.com/article/drake-former-sbc-officer-says-hes-praying-for-obama-to-die-updated/#.WUENa02wfIU].
[81] As noted by LeMon 2011, 104.
[82] Stumpe and Davey 2009 in *The New York Times* [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/01/us/01tiller.html?pagewanted=all].
[83] Later in that interview, Drake also admitted to praying the same way for "B. Hussein Obama". The radio-interview with Drake for Fox News Radio on the 2nd of June 2009 was summarized and reproduced by White 2009 for *Baptist News* [https://baptistnews.com/article/formersbcofficersayshespray ingforpresidentobamasdeath/#.WUETPk2wfIU].

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Picture on page 18:

Billboard in Victoria, Texas.
Taken from http://www.theblaze.com/news/2012/08/31/pray-for-obama-faith-based-anti-obama-billboard-causes-firestorm/

PATRICK (P-DOC), OXFORD, SEVEN DAYS OF CREATION

The Seven Days of Creation in Ancient Israelite Thought

Dr James Patrick (University of Oxford)

Have you ever wondered why today happens to be Saturday, rather than Thursday? Or, why are there only seven days, and not six, or ten? The origins of our seven-day week are lost in the mists of time, if one discounts biblical history. Practically all ancient cultures relied on nature's cycles of the moon and sun to divide time into 29½-day periods and 365-day periods, but the continuous cycle of seven-day weeks, a rhythm independent from the created order,[1] was for many centuries unique to ancient Israel. As the IVP Bible Background Commentary summarises,

> "Dividing time into seven-day periods was a practice that is so far unattested in the other cultures of the ancient Near East, though there were particular days of the [lunar] month in Mesopotamia that were considered unlucky, and they were often seven days apart (that is, the seventh day of the month, the fourteenth day of the month, etc.). Israel's sabbath was not celebrated on certain days of the month and was not linked to the cycles of the moon or to any other cycle of nature; it was simply observed every seventh day."[2]

Seven-day dedication ceremonies for new temples were known in Mesopotamia even as early as Sumerian times,[3] but these were one-off weeks did not correspond to any continuous cycle of seven-day weeks without any connection to the moon.[4] The non-stop seven-day week finally spread out across the world from Alexandria in Egypt only in the second century BC, but only when it had been disconnected from the well-known Jewish custom of Sabbath rest. It was Hellenistic astrologers who came up with the idea of giving names to each of the seven days of the week based on the seven

[1] The seven-day week has no straightforward correlation with either the lunar cycle of twenty-nine and a half days (rather than twenty-eight), hence the distribution of either 29 or 30 days for each lunar month in the Jewish calendar: Nisan/Aviv (30), Ziv/Iyyar (29), Sivan (30), Tammuz (29), Av (30), Elul (29), Tishri/Ethanim (30), Bul/Marcheshvan (29 or 30), Kislev (29 or 30), Teveth (29), Shevat (30), Adar (29), and seven out of every nineteen years, Adar Sheni (30). It is also unconnected with the solar cycle of 365.2422 days (364 would be divisible by 7). Julius Caesar added one extra day every four years in his Julian Calendar (a year of 365.25 days), so in 1580 Pope Gregory had to remove ten days from the Julian Calendar to correct it to the solar year, excluding three out of every four centuries from being leap years in his new Gregorian Calendar (a year of 365.2425 days).

[2] John H. Walton, Victor H. Matthews & Mark W. Chavalas, *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2000): 30.

[3] I.e. the temple built by Gudea; see Richard E. Averbeck, "A Literary Day, Inter-Textual, and Contextual Reading of Genesis 1–2", in *Reading Genesis 1–2: An Evangelical Conversation* (ed. J. Daryl Charles; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013): 7-34, here 27 and n.38. In Ugarit, Baal's mountain temple was said to have been forged in seven days. Seven is a prime number, and perhaps for this reason had great significance in ancient Mesopotamia. But then, five is also a prime number, and would have fit better with the ancient Sumerian's sexagesimal system of counting, from whence we have inherited our sixty seconds in a minute, sixty minutes in an hour, and 360 degrees in a circle.

[4] Gerhard F. Hasel ("Sabbath", *Anchor Bible Dictionary, vol. 5: O–Sh* (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992): 849-56, here 850) points out that while the Akkadian term *šab/pattu(m)* may have meant a "day of (divine) rest", it is now clear that it was the full moon day (15th of the month), and the Akkadian and Hebrew words do not appear to be mutually related according to comparative Semitic linguistics. On the other hand, the roughly seventh-day "evil (taboo) days" of the Assyrian calendar were the 1st, 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st (added later), and 28th days of the lunar month, with the 19th day being the most important day. Others (Webster, *Rest Days*: p.224) have suggested that the 19th day would correspond to 49 days (7x7) after the start of the previous month, though I have not yet seen evidence presented for this significance to ancient minds.

wandering planets that move across the sky, identified with the gods.[5] This enabled them to turn the week from a Jewish religious observance into an astrological cycle.[6] It is also why our days are known in English by the Saxon names for "Sun-day, Moon-day, Mars-day, Mercury-day, Jupiter-day, Venus-day, Saturn-day".[7] It is quite clear that the Israelite seven-day week had existed for centuries by that point, and scholars generally agree that it has no convincing precedents in any other ancient culture. So when and why did the Jewish week begin?

The earliest story about the Jews observing six days of work and one day of rest, which is closely associated with events understood to be historical, is in Exodus 16, when God provided manna daily for the Israelites to eat in the wilderness after leaving the Red Sea. God sent twice as much on the sixth day, and supernaturally extended its shelf life so that it could be eaten on the seventh day without any need to gather more. The seventh day was therefore free to be "a holy sabbath to the LORD" (16:23), a day of stopping and of rest. So important was this lesson that a jarful of manna was later placed alongside the Ten Commandments, inside the Ark of the Covenant according to an early Jewish interpretation cited in Hebrews 9:4.

Yet in the fourth of the Ten Commandments, an even earlier precedent for the sabbath rest was mentioned. Exodus 20:8-11 tells the Israelites to "remember" the sabbath day, just as the feast of Passover was to "remember" the day they left Egypt (13:3). Which event of past history was Israel to "remember" with sabbath observance? Not the giving of manna in the wilderness. No, it was the six days of the world's creation and seventh day when the Creator Himself rested. Naturally, only God Himself could "remember" those events, so we find them described for Israel at the start of their 'family history' in Genesis 1:1–2:3, to be "remembered" weekly by Israel on behalf of humanity.

Our task here is to try to understand what significance it might have had for ancient Israelites to be told in Genesis and Exodus that God had created the world in seven days, rather than for example in a split second by a single word. A <u>first</u> meaning is naturally, the connection in the Fourth Commandment between Israel's six days of work and one day of rest, and the Creator's own rest at the end of the week. This might have suggested to the Israelites that God accommodated His

[5] Claudius Ptolemy in Alexandria established the order of the wandering stars from the Moon to Saturn, and Dio Cassius later (c. 210-220AD) explained the origin of the astrological seven-day week in an excursus in his account of Pompey's campaign in Palestine (after a first explanation from the idea of the planetary gods presiding over different days of the week according to the foundational 'principle of the [musical] tetrachord'): if days are divided into 24 hours (a system known to both ancient Babylonians and Egyptians) with each ruled by one of the seven planets in turn – the astrological theory of 'chronocratories' – this would lead to a cycle of days named after the planet ruling the first hour (Saturn on 1st, 8th, 15th, and 22nd hour, then Jupiter and Mars, hence the Sun on 1st hour of the following day, and so forth). For a clear account of this see Hutton Webster, *Rest Days: A Study in Early Law and Morality* (New York: Macmillan, 1916): 213-222. At some point a decision must have been made by someone about beginning this astrological cycle on a particular day in history, since everyone subsequently had to name their days consistently. Considering the astrological association of the Saturn with an unlucky and melancholic influence, and the undoubted familiarity in Alexandria with the Jewish day of rest (on pain of death according to their God) on Saturdays, it is not unlikely that Hellenistic astrologers creating a new seven-day week would have chosen to connect the first Saturn's-day with the Jewish Sabbath.
[6] See Eviatar Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle: The History and Meaning of the Week* (New York: Free Press / London: Collier Macmillan, 1985): 11-20. Zerubavel notes a subsequent Jewish naming of the planet Saturn as "Shabtai", and a consequent association of the Sabbath with pagan superstitious ideas of this day being "an inauspicious day for doing any work anyway!" (p. 17). [see also references from 1986 in footnote 101 of Hasel & Hasel, "The Unique Cosmology of Genesis 1", p.28]
[7] Tiu (Mars), Woden (Mercury), Thor (Jupiter), Frija (Venus).

actions in creation to the needs of his creatures, setting them an example of work and rest out of compassion, not because He Himself needed to take a break.[8]

A second meaning might come from the creation of the sun and moon already half-way into the first week. Every other ancient culture was bound to the natural timekeeping of the moon and sun. So by establishing a seven-day week independent of, and actually more important and earlier than the cycles of His creation, God was effectively asserting His sovereign independence from what He had made, illustrating that He was the Creator of time itself.[9] For Israel, the seventh-day Sabbath then became a way of associating them with God's own time frame. God's supernatural provision freed them from the tyranny of Nature's cycles, so that they could walk to the beat of a different drum.[10]

A third meaning of the week is seen in its purposeful arrangement. God chose from the beginning to create time not as circular, like the cycle of the moon or the seasons, but as a linear periodic sequence destined for a seventh day. This effectively defined time from that point on (that is, all of history) as a story with a final climax. It would therefore be natural to assume that the end of the current period of history will be a golden age which will have a distinct function, set apart for God Himself. Israel's day of rest at the end of every working week became a sign to other nations, pointing to the Creator's ultimate good purposes in history.

However, there is one more principle underlying this seven-day pattern, without which the account of Genesis 1–3 remains obscure to modern readers – the idea of completion. This is what I want to focus on in the rest of this paper. When the Sabbath day of rest was established for Israel at Mount Sinai, God prohibited all work on the Sabbath on pain of death (Exod 31:12-17; 35:2-3), even to the point of sentencing to death a man who was simply gathering wood on the Sabbath (Num 15:32-36). This harsh judgement had the effect of drawing a sharp boundary to prevent the next working week from encroaching at all upon the Sabbath rest of the previous week, even so little as making preparations for the fire to be lit after the Sabbath to cook dinner on.[11] The full seven-day week had to be completed before a new week could begin.

Seven days to consecrate a new person or institution

But not every seven-day week is the same; some are even more important to complete than the rest. The religious calendar of Israel set apart two particular weeks as week-long festivals – the seven days of Passover in the first month, and the seven-plus-one days of Tabernacles in the seventh month, both begun and concluded by days of complete rest. Each of these festivals began at the full moon, and the first and seventh months represented the beginning of the religious year and civil year respectively. Beginnings are a theme commonly associated with a seven-day period; it becomes apparent from a survey of the Hebrew scriptures that Israelites tended to observe seven days of consecration for every new identity within society.

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[8] Cf. God's subsequent commands through Moses which apply the principle of Sabbath to animals and even to the land itself. H. Grattan Guinness (*The Week and Its Origin: A rejoinder to the article by the Bishop of Carlisle, in the "Contemporary Review," October, 1886* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1886): 8) observes that "The statement of Christ that 'the Sabbath was made for man' implies that it was appointed, not at Sinai for the Jews merely, but for the human race as a whole from the beginning".

[9] Cf. Bill T. Arnold, *Genesis* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: CUP, 2009): 48-50. Jack M. Sasson, "Time … To Begin", in *'Sha'arei Talmon': Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon*. (ed. Michael Fishbane, Emanuel Tov & Weston W. Fields; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992): 183-94.

[10] A point made persuasively by Zerubavel, *The Seven Day Circle*.

[11] [Find supporting evidence from Targums or Rashi for this point.]

For example, any clean animal had to remain with its mother for seven days, and could only be sacrificed from the eighth day onwards (Lev 22:27). This was particularly the case for firstborn animals (Exod 22:29-30), suggesting that not only was the newborn animal's identity important, but also the parent animal's identity as a new mother. Firstborn Israelite male babies were to stay with their mothers for seven days before circumcision on the eighth day (Lev 12:2-3), female babies bonding with their mother (to use a modern expression) for two weeks rather than one (12:5).[12]

The same applied to social institutions at a larger scale.[13] Marriage required a seven-day period of communal and personal celebration for the couple to be established in their new identity, as for example Jacob had to complete Leah's week before marrying her sister Rachel also (Gen 29:27-28). The first king of Israel, Saul, was told to wait for seven days in Gilgal until the prophet Samuel who anointed him arrived to offer burnt offerings and sacrifice peace offerings (1Sam 10:8); this would complete Saul's consecration before God as Israel's new king. Even the shortest reign of a king of Israel was the seven days of Zimri, who destroyed Baasha's household (1Kgs 16:15).

If general social institutions required seven days of consecration, how much more did this apply to religious institutions. When the Tabernacle had been constructed in the wilderness of Sinai, God required a seven-day period of consecration not only for the new altar and Tabernacle (Exod 29:36-44, esp. 37),[14] but also the new priesthood of Aaron and his sons (Exod 29:1-35, esp. 30, 35; Lev 8:33-35).[15] Consequently, when Solomon built a new Temple for the God of Israel, this too was consecrated over a seven-day period (1Kgs 8:65-66; 2Chron 7:8-9). Centuries later, the altar in the eschatological Temple envisioned by Ezekiel would also have to be consecrated for seven days before any other burnt offerings or peace offerings would be accepted (Ezek 43:18-27).

Failed consecration weeks

As with the weekly Sabbath, however, there would be serious consequences if any of these consecration weeks were not properly completed. Stories of such failures were well-known in ancient Israel, serving as warnings much like the poor man gathering firewood on the Sabbath.

Samson, the famous strong man, might have avoided his string of disastrous relationships with women if he had only observed the seven-day principle with his first wife. On the seventh day of his marriage feast, he finally gave in and told his wife the answer to his riddle. She told her friends, who

[12] The loss of a precious life also qualified for a seven-day period of separation and mourning, perhaps to adjust to the changes in one's self-identity (Gen 50:10; 1Sam 31:13; Job 2:13).

[13] It is even possible to see Israel's seven full weeks (i.e. fifty days) in the wilderness between his exodus from Egypt and his meeting with God at Mount Sinai (Lev 23:10-16; Deut 16:9-10; cf. Exod 19:1) as a symbolic depiction of the newborn nation remaining seven week-long days with its divine parent (Exod 4:22-26) before being circumcised in a covenant with God (Gen 17:10-14) through the Law (cf. Deut 10:12-16; 30:6; Jer 4:4).

[14] Jon D. Levenson (*Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1988): chapter 7 – "Cosmos and Microcosm", pp. 78-99) gives a thorough and fascinating exploration of the connections between the Temple of Solomon and the cosmos as a divine sanctuary. This includes reference to Peter J. Kearney ("Creation and Liturgy: The P Redaction of Ex 25–30", *ZAW* 89 (1977): 375-87) who notes that the seven divine speeches giving plans for the Tabernacle (25:1–30:10; 30:11-16; 30:17-21; 30:22-33; 30:34-37; 31:1-11; 31:12-17) conclude with the sabbath commandment, which explicitly refers to Gen 1:1–2:3. Similarly, the narrative of Moses' construction of the Tabernacle in Ex 40:17-33 includes seven instances of the expression "just as the LORD had commanded Moses".

[15] A ritual from Emar describes the installation of the Storm God's high priestess over a period of seven days, with two preceding days for selection and for shaving plus anointing – see Daniel Fleming, "Rituals from Emar", in *The Context of Scripture, vol. 1: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (ed. William W. Hallo & K. Lawson Younger, Jr.; Leiden: Brill, 1997): 427-443, here 427-31.

won the contest with Samson, so he stormed off in a huff. When he returned some time later to his father-in-law's house to go in to his wife, he was told that she had been given to his best man – Samson hadn't sealed the deal by completing the week, so he evidently did not really want her (Jdg 14:10–15:3).

Likewise, King Saul might have established his own dynasty, rather than passing on to David, if he had only observed the seven-day consecration principle at the start. Samuel the prophet had told him to wait seven days until Samuel came to offer sacrifices. Saul waited even until the seventh day, when he finally lost his patience and started the sacrifices himself. At that point Samuel arrived, and told him that if he had waited, "the LORD would have established your kingdom over Israel for ever". But now God was going to find another man to replace him (1Sam 13:13-14).

The third example of failed consecration comes from the priesthood, and it was more of a very close call, narrowly averted by God's own direct intervention. God had told Moses that once the Tabernacle was built, it would need to have a week-long consecration along with the priests who served in it. Sure enough, after the Tabernacle was set up at the end of Exodus, the first ten chapters of Leviticus tell the story of the consecration week. Aaron and two of his four sons made it through to the eighth day, when God sent fire on the altar to confirm that it was acceptable to Him. However, chapter 10 is a flashback to a slightly earlier point in that week. The older two sons of Aaron had broken God's explicit command and offered strange incense in the Tabernacle. If God had ignored it, this would have invalidated the whole week, and defiled both the priesthood and the Tabernacle. So God had to execute them immediately, and have their bodies removed from the Tabernacle, much like Adam and Eve in some ways (Lev 10:1-7; cf. Exod 29, esp. vv30, 35, 37).

That brings us back to Genesis 1–3, where we can explore the relevance of failed consecration weeks for the creation story.

<u>Genesis 1 and 2–3 as complementary accounts of the creation week</u>

Biblical scholars often separate Genesis 1 from chapters 2–3, which actually begin at 2:4. The two accounts of creation are said to have come from different sources, but whatever original sources might have been used for these chapters by the editor of the text we have, they are now side-by-side in the final form of Genesis, and are evidently expected to be interpreted in light of one another.[16] Traditionally, chapter 2 was understood by the rabbis to be a recapitulation of the sixth day of creation from chapter 1, in greater detail.[17] The two chapters are tied together by 2:4, the

[16] See Davidson footnote 4 in Klingbeil, p. 60 – Doukhan and Shea (x2). The story of Genesis 2–3 presumes that of Genesis 1. Having granted mankind authority over the animals in 1:26 and 28, God facilitates this authority by bringing animals to Adam to name (2:19-20). Thus Adam's naming of his wife (2:23) equally reinforces his responsibility for his wife that was implied by God entrusting Adam with His command before Eve's creation (2:16-18). Nevertheless, Eve is understood to share Adam's authority over the animals (1:26-28), which explains why the serpent challenged Eve about what God had said to Adam, effectively questioning Adam's faithfulness in mediating God's authority (3:1). Adam's sinful obedience to Eve rather than God (3:12, 17) is parallel to Eve's sinful obedience to the serpent rather than to Adam (3:13). This then resulted in rebellion and domination in relationships, not only between animals and Eve's descendants (3:15; 9:2-3, 5) but also between woman and man (3:16; cf. 4:7). Even so, Adam recognised in God's judgement a promise of "seed" for his wife rather than their immediate death (3:15-16; cf. 2:17), and in pious faith reclaimed his benevolent responsibility for his wife by renaming her 'Eve' (3:20), resulting in God's atonement for their sin with animal skin (3:21).

[17] This is consistent with the pattern of 'doublets' in Genesis 1–11, where the second element focuses on some detail of the first element. Cf. C. John Collins, "Reading Genesis 1–2 with the Grain: Analogical Days", in *Reading Genesis 1–2: An Evangelical Conversation* (ed. J. Daryl Charles; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2013): 73-92. Collins cites Richard Hess, "Genesis 1–2 in Its Literary Context", *Tyndale Bulletin* 41.1 (1990): 143-53.

first of ten editorial headings throughout Genesis.[18] This poetic couplet introduces what follows as:[19] "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created // in the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven." This is not contradicting chapter 1, and saying that God made the world in one day rather than in seven. Rather, "the day" when earth and heaven were made, refers most naturally to one specific day from among the seven, and clearly not the final day when God rested from creating.[20] The sixth day in Genesis 1 the only day of creation which is said to be "the day" (1:31), rather than "a day" – "a fifth day" – for all the others. The sixth day is also referred to using very similar language in 5:1-2, and the events of Genesis 2 closely reflect those of the sixth day in chapter 1 – the creation of man, woman and animals.[21]

Some, however, object to seeing Genesis 2 as a retelling of the sixth day, pointing to contradictions between the two accounts:[22] Genesis 1:11-12 puts the creation of vegetation on Day Three, but 2:5 suggests a lack of plants before man's creation. Genesis 1:24-27 has animals created before man on Day Six, but in 2:18-19, God creates them after declaring man to be lonely. Genesis 1:20-23 clearly states that fish and birds were created on Day Five, but chapter 2 equally clearly says that birds were created along with the animals after man's creation. As a fourth point, some also find internal contradiction within chapter 1, where light is created on Day One, before the creation of sun, moon and stars on Day Four. Do these four points prove that Genesis 1–3 was not intended to be read as a coherent story of the week of creation?

In fact, these supposed contradictions were explained by careful readers long before even the rabbis. First, cultivated crops ("plants of the field") as a distinct sub-category of vegetation (2:5; 3:18) were logically not created until after the man able to cultivate them, and similarly spiny desert

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Collins notes for example the links between "blessing" (ch 1) and "curse" (ch 3), divine first-person plurals in 1:26 and 3:22, and the linking function of 2:4, and "good" (ch 1) versus "not good" (2:18). Note also that God does not name anything from Day Four onwards, which is consistent with Adam in 2:19-20 and 23 naming the living creatures created on those days (cf. *New Heavens and New Earth*, p. ??].

[18] 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1 (repeated in 10:32); 11:10; 11:27; 25:12; 25:19; 36:1 (repeated in 36:9); 37:2.

[19] In the theology of Genesis, the "begettings" (*toledot*) of an individual speaks of their designated heir(s), as determined through the stories or genealogies that follow (_____; *pace* _____). The "begettings" of the heavens and the earth (2:4) therefore looks ahead to the lineage of the appointed "seed" of woman (4:25; cf. 3:15), one of whom will eventually inherit the promised authority over all creation (1:26; cf. 5:29). The scope of that inheritance was defined in 1:1–2:3.

[20] B.C. Hodge [*Revisiting the Days of Genesis: A Study of the Use of Time in Genesis 1–11 in Light of Its Ancient Near Eastern and Literary Context* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011): chapter 4] has recently demonstrated quite emphatically that the singular word 'day' in Hebrew only ever refers to a literal day of twenty-four hours or less. Hodge himself does not believe the author of Genesis was trying to describe 'real time' in Genesis 1, despite arguing that "day" in Hebrew never means a vague period of time. Hebrew does have alternative ways of describing a vague period of time, such as the plural "days", or "time" ('ēt) as in Judges 4:14. "Day" can refer either to the time of light between sunrise and sunset (Gen 1:5a; cf. Num 9:15) or to the period from one sunset to the next (Gen 1:5b; cf. Exod 35:3), as indicated in the repeated expression "And there was evening and there was morning…".

[21] For the use of 'create' or 'make' with the sense of 'completed', see Ezekiel 43:18 (cf. 1Kings 6:9, 14; 9:10), and for the idea of a process finishing with a specific 'day', see Jer 11:4, in light of Exod 19:1-6 and 3:12. Although Gen 2:2 speaks of completion on the seventh day, in 2:3 the verbs "create" and "make" from 2:4 are associated only with activity before the day of rest. Cf. also _____.

[22] For further discussion (including some less convincing solutions to apparent contradictions) see also Jiří Moskala, "A Fresh Look at Two Genesis Creation Accounts: Contradictions?", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 49 (2011): 45-65 [other books/articles cited in fn.63]. See also the counter-arguments offered by Randall W. Younker, "Genesis 2: A Second Creation Account?", in *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary: Why a Global Flood Is Vital to the Doctrine of Atonement* (ed. John Templeton Baldwin; Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2000): 69-78.

shrubs growing "in the field" were a consequence of human sin according to chapter 3,[23] even though other plants had existed on earth since the third day of creation. Second, Day Six in Genesis 1 records that mankind, male and female, was created after the animals. This is consistent with chapter 2, where 'mankind' was completed with Eve's creation, after the animals were made. A resolution to the third and fourth problems of the creation of birds and of light can be found in Psalm 104 – perhaps the earliest clear interpretation of Genesis 1–3 in its current form.

Psalm 104 as exegesis of Genesis 1–3

Many scholars have recognised how the author of Psalm 104 was inspired by the sequence of seven days in Genesis 1:1–2:3. He described the world around him in precisely the order of the seven-day pattern of its creation. This is listed for convenience as follows, and I only have space to touch briefly on certain details of the psalmist's interpretation. One important point to make is that the psalmist evidently assumed the second creation account of chapters 2–3 to be part of the same seven-day sequence as chapter 1.

Psalm 104:

	1a	– "Bless the LORD."
	1b	– "O LORD my God, You are very great…"
1	1c–2a	– "Splendour and majesty you put on; cloaked with light as a mantle."
2	2b–4	– "stretching out heaven… upper chambers in the waters… angels…"
3	5–18	– "earth … waters … vegetation…"
4	19–23	– "moon … seasons … sun … until evening"
5	24–26	– "the sea … swarms … Leviathan…"
6	27–30	– "give them their food … you send forth your breath, they are created…"
7	31–35b	– "Let the LORD rejoice in His works … I myself, I will rejoice in the LORD …"
	35c	– "Bless the LORD."
	35d	– "Hallelujah."

Verse 1a and verse 35c bookend Psalm 104 with the benediction "Bless the LORD", probably meant to connect with the preceding Davidic psalm 103.[24] The final "Hallelujah" in verse 35d likewise connects this psalm with the following Exodus psalms 105 and 106. The beginning of the psalm itself is therefore the identification of its divine creator subject – "O LORD my God, You are very great". Notice how it uses the combination of divine names from Genesis 2–3 rather than the simple "God" of Genesis 1.

The section reflecting Day One, verses 1c-2a, describes the Creator: "Splendour and majesty you put on; cloaked with light as a mantle." Since light was created on Day One without the appearance of sun and moon until Day Four, the logical conclusion is that God Himself was the original source of light for the earth, though the light was like a cloak for Him rather than the full shining of His own glory.

Day Two, verses 2b-4, clearly describes the stretching out of the "expanse" between the upper and lower waters. The name God gave to this expanse in Genesis 1 was "heavens", and the psalmist

[23] The full expression *śîaḥ haśśādeh* ("shrub of the field") is unique here, but *śîaḥ* also appears in Gen 21:15 and Job 30:4, 7, both times growing in dry or desert environments, and hence presumably a spiny or thorny plant, which would echo "thorns and thistles" in Gen 3:18. See Randall W. Younker, "Genesis 2: A Second Creation Account?", in *Creation, Catastrophe, and Calvary: Why a Global Flood Is Vital to the Doctrine of Atonement* (ed. John Templeton Baldwin; Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 2000): 69-78, here 72-73.

[24] Psalm 104 has thus been attributed to David, e.g. by the LXX (Ps 103:1); cf. also Ps 145:15-16 with 104:27-28.

understands this to have a double meaning, being a description also of the creation of God's palace in "heaven". That is why verse 4 speaks about servants for God's palace – fiery spirits who are His "messengers" or "angels", as Hebrews 1 translates the verse. Angels were therefore created on Day Two, which fits with the description of them in Job 38, shouting for joy at seeing land established on the following day.[25]

Day Three has a lengthy section devoted to it in Psalm 104:5-18, which covers both the gathering of the waters in order to reveal dry land called "earth" (verses 5-10 and 18), and the sprouting of the earth with all kinds of seed-bearing vegetation (verses 11-17). On Day Six of Genesis 1, God gave this vegetation as food for mankind and animals and birds, so the psalmist takes the opportunity to list all sorts of vegetation that benefits different living creatures

Day Four is so obviously described in Psalm 104:19-23, that I don't even need to explain the connection of moon and sun, night and day.

The section of Psalm 104 relating to Day Five is more interesting, since fish are described on their own in verses 24-26 without any specific reference to birds. This absence of birds is presumably deliberate, in light of the apparent contradiction I mentioned earlier, in that Genesis 2 has birds made on the same day as animals, which would be Day Six instead.

It is at the transition between Day Five and Day Six, in Psalm 104:27, that we find the psalmist's ingenious explanation for the paradox of the creation of birds on two days. "They all wait for you to provide their food in its appointed time." Although Genesis 1:22 says that God blessed the fish and birds after their creation on Day Five, the food for birds was not apportioned to them until verse 30, after mankind had been blessed and told what they could eat. As the psalmist rightly says, the birds had to wait for God to provide their food at its appointed time, so in a certain sense their creation was not complete until Day Six along with mankind and the animals, just as Genesis 2 depicts.[26]

The rest of Psalm 104:27-30 finishes off Day Six by talking not only about the food of living creatures but also about what they are made from. Genesis 2 describes animals being made just like Adam from the ground, or from dust in chapter 3, and similarly their life must also have come from God's breath in their nostrils, as the Flood narrative confirms (Gen 7:21-22). The psalmist unexpectedly chooses to describe the death of living beings before their re-creation, relying on the pattern of God's mercy in the Flood to establish the idea of physical resurrection after death, expressed poetically.

Finally, verses 31-35b of Psalm 104 conclude with Day Seven, the Sabbath. "Let the LORD rejoice in His works" (verse 31) parallels verse 34, "I myself, I will rejoice in the LORD". It would be hard to find a better summary of the purpose of the Sabbath day. The reference between these, to mountains that tremble and smoke, brings to mind the giving of the Ten Commandments at Mount Sinai, which is another passage referring explicitly to the seven days of creation. But it is interesting that the psalmist's description of the Sabbath day concludes with the prayer, "Let sinners be finished from the earth; and the wicked ones be no more" (verse 35). Since he has evidently worked from the

[25] 38:4-7. The association of the serpent in the garden with the "anointed cherub" of Ezekiel 28:11-19, or with the fallen "star of the morning" of Isaiah 14:12-15 (cf. Rev 12:9), would be consistent with a being created on either the second or sixth day, which despite its beauty found itself subjugated to mankind at the time they were created (cf. Ps 8:5-6 [MT 6-7]), and out of pride chose to test the suitability of its appointed rulers.

[26] Without means of continuation, an object's identity is not secure. For similar ideas, one might compare God's provision of an heir to Abram to preserve for him the promised great reward (Gen 15:1-6), or the minimum provision prescribed for a wife (Exod 21:10-11), or Caleb's additional "blessing" of springs of water to accompany his gift of the city of Kiriath-sepher (Jdg 1:11-15).

assumption that Genesis 1 and Genesis 2–3 are part of the same story of creation, this leads us back to look more closely at the story in Genesis 3.

Mankind's creation and expulsion on Day Six

We saw earlier that "the day that the LORD God made earth and heaven", Genesis 2:4, also described as "the day when God created man" in Genesis 5:1-2, was none other than Day Six of the creation week. That means that Genesis 2 at least, is a close-up description of the events on Day Six: God formed Adam before planting and filling the garden of Eden and bringing Adam into it with a warning about the forbidden fruit, the beasts and birds were created and named, and then Eve was built from Adam's rib while he slept, and then introduced to him. The blessing and granting of food as recorded in chapter 1 may be hinted at in the permission to eat from all trees in the garden except one.

It is worth reminding ourselves that chapter divisions were added to the Bible only a few hundred years ago, and are only an educated guess at the originally intended sense divisions. We thus need to look again at the separation between chapters 2 and 3, because this has been taken by many to imply an unspecified but presumably long period of bliss for Adam and Eve in the Garden. People presume that this involved fellowship with the LORD God who walked with them in the Garden, but nowhere does the text even imply this. Even marital relations between Adam and Eve are only recorded after they left, in the first verse of chapter 4.

On the other hand, if the text is read as a continuous narrative, the first verse we come to which speaks about timing is verse 8 of chapter 3, immediately after Eve and Adam have acted on the serpent's temptation: "They heard the sound of the LORD God walking in the garden in the breeze of the day…" A very similar expression is used in Song of Songs 2:17 and 4:6 of a time of day when "the day breathes" and "the shadows flee". Shadows lengthen in the late afternoon, which also happens to be the time of day in the hill-country of Israel when a breeze tends to arise from the direction of the sea. If this is what is referred to in Genesis 3:8, this points to the end of the day approaching and the start of a new day of "evening and … morning". For ancient Israelites, the most natural reason for the LORD God walking in his garden at this time of day would therefore be to get things ready for the Sabbath day that followed, wanting to enjoy it with His newly-created children made in His image (cf. 5:1-3, 22; 6:9), just as Psalm 104 describes.

However, when the LORD arrived in the garden, Adam and Eve were already hiding in the bushes covered in fig leaves. According to God's own word, they had to be judged immediately, "in the day that" they ate from the fruit (2:17). If the serpent's promise about their eyes being opened "in the day you eat from it" was fulfilled promptly (3:5, 7), so also the LORD's warning would have to be fulfilled. This happened in two ways, firstly by the spoken curse of eventual but certain death and return to the dust (3:19), since God's word has power in and of itself to bring about His will (cf. Gen 1:3, etc.). Secondly, God expelled mankind from the Garden and in so doing cut them off from the tree of eternal life. This prevented any attempt to reach out for the only available remedy for their curse of mortality, on pain of even faster death from either the cherubim or the flaming sword (3:22-24). This, therefore, was the tragic conclusion to Day Six of creation, implying that on the day of rest God had sanctified, He had to enjoy His creation alone in the Garden, without His sinful children.[27] As Psalm 104 ends its reflection on Day Seven, a proper Sabbath day must also be free of all sinners and wicked ones.

[27] A directly equivalent punishment, excluding sinners from a promised time and place of rest, is the condemnation of the Exodus generation to forty years in the wilderness (Ps 95:10-11; Deut 12:9-10). An even closer parallel is the way God promises that the land of Israel will be allowed to rest and "enjoy its sabbaths" while its wicked inhabitants have been exiled into the lands of their enemies (Lev 26:34-35, 43).

In this way we have come full circle, back to the concept of a seven-day period of consecration for new institutions or identities in ancient Israelite culture. More specifically, we have another example of the failure to complete a consecration week.

The cosmic effects of a failed consecration week for Creation

If cultural respect for consecration weeks was widespread in ancient Israel, the original audience of Genesis 1–3 would have read it as a coherent story of God creating the world in seven real days. Not only were these first seven days modelling a pattern of labour and rest for the Israelites themselves to imitate. They were also preparing and consecrating the whole created world, just like any new child or relationship or institution, keeping it strictly as originally designed for one full week, to make it ready for its intended role.

The natural world had been declared "very good" on the sixth day, presumably at the point when God finished His creation activities by making Eve. But events rapidly spun out of control, until God had to pronounce curses on the serpent, on Eve and her relationships, and on Adam and his work, before expelling them from His presence within His perfect Garden. From that point and even up to the present day (or at least the day of the author of Psalm 104:35), the world around us is clearly no longer "very good". Genesis 3 identifies the cause of its corruption as the failure of mankind to complete the final seventh day in fellowship with God.[28] Mankind's fall from initial harmony with God was a catastrophe for the created order, over which Adam and Eve had been put in authority, as God's representatives. Like the marriage of Samson, mankind's disloyalty to its Creator made Him separate Himself from His beloved, even from the beginning (cf. Hos 2:18-23). Like the priestly ordination of Aaron and his sons in the Tabernacle, mankind failed to follow God's clear instructions, and so defiled not only humanity's role as priests for the earth, but also the beautiful sanctuary of creation built by God Himself.[29] And like the kingship of Saul, mankind's rule over the earth and its

[28] The most famous of Rabbi Gamaliel I's students spoke of the whole creation as existing in a state of "slavery to corruption", long ago having been "subjected to futility", and still "groaning and suffering" as it waits in "anxious longing" for physical redemption (Romans 8:19-23). [Need to look up James Kugel's book *Biblical Interpretation Traditions at the Turn of the Common Era* to find other writers sharing this view.]

[29] Various scholars have noted how the cosmos in Genesis 1 and the Garden of Eden in chapters 2–3 are depicted with temple features (e.g. Gordon J. Wenham, "Sanctuary Symbolism in the Garden of Eden Story," Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies 9 (1986): 19-25; _____), and equally how the plan and construction of the tabernacle in Exodus 25–31 and 35–40 resembles the creation of the world (e.g. Angel Rodríguez, "Sanctuary Theology in the Book of Exodus," AUSS 24/2 (1986): 131-137; six sections of instructions to Moses in Exod 25–31 plus a seventh about the Sabbath – Richard M. Davidson, "Cosmic Metanarrative for the Coming Millennium", *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 11 (2000): 102-19, here 109-11; _____). John H. Walton's book *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity, 2009) argues "that the seven days of Genesis 1 are literal days but refer to the inauguration of the cosmos as a functioning temple where God takes up His residence", this literal week describing "God's establishment and installation of functions", and not God's material creation of anything at all [quotes from Younker & Davidson, "The Myth of the Solid Heavenly Dome", pp. 54-55]. "Since for him the cosmos is a temple, the seven days of creation relate, then, to the cosmic inauguration of the temple and do not concern material origins. In this view, the nature of the days of the creation week, as twenty-four-hour days, does not play a significant role because these days are not related to the age of the earth. They do not refer to the time of the cosmos, but to a liturgical time. They are temple days, not creation days." (summary of Walton by Jacques B. Doukhan, "A Response to John H. Walton's *Lost World of Genesis One*", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 49.1 (2011): 197-205, here 203 [see also other papers in this issue]). Doukhan makes the helpful observation that in the creation of mankind, material and functional creation are explicitly described and distinguished, both taking place on the sixth day; if material creation is not explicitly specified at every point, this does not mean that it was not presumed. [Need to consult also his *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible*

creatures was not properly established at its start, because humanity's royal ancestors directly disobeyed the divine command. God would therefore have to find a new Adam to become king.[30]

Eschatological completion of the world's consecration

In one sense, God's decision to strike down Nadab and Abihu, so as to enable their father and brothers to complete the consecration week without them, resembles God's decision to exclude mankind from the Garden and complete the seventh day on His own. Mankind did not fall down dead on the day that they sinned, despite God's apparent promise to that effect (2:17), but instead He allowed them to live long enough to produce a seed of promise who would succeed where Adam failed (3:15). On the one hand, this resembles the temporary survival of Saul's kingdom despite the prophetic promise that it would not endure (1Sam 13:13-14; 15:28; 28:17). On the other hand, this does still place a question mark over either God's truthfulness (Gen 3:4) or His justice (Isa 43:25-28).

It seems that other prophets in addition to Isaiah wrestled with the question of God's justice in passing over the sins of humanity's "first father", wiping out His people's transgressions "for my own sake". Hosea draws the same parallel between Adam's transgression and that of Israel and Judah, whose loyalty was "like the dew which goes away early", forcing God to execute His people "by the words of my mouth", His judgements being as effective as His initial creation of light (Hos 6:4-7). Even so, Hosea promises that the LORD will heal what He has wounded, reviving and raising up the nation after two days and on the third day, "that we may live before Him" (Hos 6:1-3). Micah draws similar conclusions, drawing connections between God's judgement on the serpent and His promised crushing of Israel's iniquities (Mic 7:17, 19). God "passes over the rebellious act of the remnant of His inheritance", and will display "miracles" in His ultimate redemption of His people, just as He did when He brought Israel out of Egypt and humbled those nations that had tested His people (Mic 7:15-20; cf. Exod 34:9-10; Num 14:19-21). There is a shared understanding here that God will show Himself to be just in passing over transgressions, and that this restoration of humanity will be connected with the restoration of Israel at the time when God's promises are all fulfilled.

In fact, Hosea's reference to "two days" and "the third day", in terms of eschatological restoration of Israel, hints at a theological solution to the ongoing problem of creation's failed consecration week. Psalm 90, the "prayer of Moses, the man of God" which begins Book Four of the Psalms, refers directly to the origins of the earth and the world, and in this context speaks of God's command which returns mankind to the dust (Ps 90:2-3; using variant terms for "mankind" and "dust"). The psalmist goes on to say "For a thousand years in your eyes are like a day of recent past or a watch in the night. You flood them away, they fall asleep." It is not surprising, then, that later interpreters of the Hebrew Bible have noted that Adam died just seventy years short of one thousand years (Gen 5:5),[31] and the oldest man in Scripture, Methuselah, likewise died at the age of 969, his death coming, according to the numbers of the Masoretic Text, in the same year as the Flood swept away all mankind apart from Noah's family (Gen 5:27). The second epistle of Peter records the Jewish tradition that "with the Lord one day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years like one day" (2Pet 3:8), the context similarly referring to the historical events of creation and the Flood.

Early Jewish and Christian mainstream theology for at least the first two centuries AD was in broad agreement that world history would continue for six thousand years, after which there would be a seventh thousand years of Sabbath rest, when the Messiah would fulfil all of God's promises

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(Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006) to see whether and if so how it describes the seven-day inauguration period elsewhere in Hebrew culture.]

[30] Scholars have recognised in mankind's creation certain elements of kingship (e.g. Carly Crouch article, etc.).

[31] E.g. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, 80-81.

towards His people. The implications of this belief, and the biblical and later Christian and Jewish calculations of how much time has elapsed since creation, must be the subject of another article. Yet it becomes clearer how early biblical commentators and theologians might understand God to have chosen to extrapolate the consecration week principle from single days to the scale of millennia instead, so as to consecrate the cosmos properly through redeemed humanity, preparing it for its future purpose as originally intended.

Power (P-Doc), Uppsala, Israel's Language

Israel's Language? Conceptions of Hebrew in the Hebrew Bible

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Introduction

The close association of the ancient Hebrew language with the Israelite people is a fixed feature of biblical scholarship. The following, fairly representative quotation from a modern introduction to the history of Hebrew is illustrative: "The Israelite tribes that settled in Canaan from the fourteenth to thirteenth centuries BCE … used Hebrew as a spoken and a literary language until the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE."[1] In other words, Hebrew was the language of ancient Israel.

Now, such historical claims require nuancing and refining. It is true that epigraphic finds from the areas generally considered "Israelite" in the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. are overwhelmingly written in dialects that closely resemble closely Biblical Hebrew. However, epigraphic evidence is extremely sparse between the period of putative Israelite settlement and the 10th century B.C.E. Thus, the precise linguistic situation of the region before the Israelite and Judaean kingdoms is uncertain.

Perhaps more importantly, however, a language corresponding to our notion of Hebrew may not be identifiable in the ancient epigraphic record. W. Randall Garr, for instance, describes a continuum of Canaanite dialects, with a high degree of mutual intelligibility, where sharp boundaries are in general difficult to establish.[2] In this continuum, the isoglosses separating, for instance, the Moabite dialect from Judaean Hebrew are of a comparable order to those distinguishing Judaean Hebrew from "northern Hebrew." In fact Garr points out that, from

[1] Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. John Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 52.

[2] W. Randall Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000–586 B.C.E.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 229–235.

the perspective of historical linguistics, this northern Hebrew dialect may deserve a position on the dialect continuum distinct from its Judaean relative.[3]

If we add to these considerations the historical uncertainties and ambiguities that surround the term "ancient Israel,"[4] it becomes apparent that a claim such as "Hebrew was the language of Israel" is a difficult one. But is it even a claim that we find in the Hebrew Bible? What, indeed, was Hebrew to the biblical authors and editors? What were its boundaries, and what its nature and significance? This paper will offer answers to these questions by focusing on what the Hebrew Bible has to say about its own language.[5]

Background

The question of how the biblical authors conceived of their own language is an important one in light of the increasing significance of the Hebrew language in Judaism of the late Second Temple period. The "ancestral [πάτριος, πατρώιος] language" of the Jews (2 Macc 7:18, 21, 27) has ethnic and religious significance through its association with the Mosaic Law, as Jan Willem van Henten points out.[6] According to the ancient translator of the Wisdom of Sirach, Hebrew is a uniquely expressive language in comparison with Greek (Prologue, lines 21–22), as Stefan Schorch has discussed.[7] Hebrew, which has cosmic importance as the "language of creation" in *Jubilees*, becomes, as David H. Aaron notes, a marker of God's people when it is retaught to Abraham after Babel by an angelic tutor (12.25–27).[8] A text from Qumran

[3] Ibid., 239 n. 67.

[4] On which see, for instance, Philip Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel': A Study in Biblical Origins* (JSOTSup 148; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992).

[5] The following articles address the Hebrew Bible's attitudes towards language and languages more generally: Edward Ullendorff, "The Knowledge of Languages in the Old Testament," *BJRL* 44 (1961–2), 455–65; Werner Weinberg, "Language Consciousness in the OT," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 185–204; repr. as "Language Consciousness in the Hebrew Bible," in *Essays on Hebrew* (ed. Paul Citrin; SFSHJ 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 51–73; and Daniel I. Block, "The Role of Language in Ancient Israelite Perceptions of National Identity," JBL 103 (1984): 321–40.

[6] Jan Willem van Henten, "The Ancestral Language of the Jews in 2 Maccabees," in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda* (ed. William Horbury; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 53–68.

[7] Stefan Schorch, "The Pre-Eminence of the Hebrew Language and the Emerging Concept of the 'Ideal Text' in Late Second Temple Judaism," in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Papa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 43–54.

[8] David H. Aaron, "Judaism's Holy Language," in vol. 16 of *Approaches to Ancient Judaism* (ed. Jacob Neusner; SFSHJ 209; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 49–107, at 73.

(4Q464) that pairs the phrase שׂפה ברורה, "purified speech" (Zeph 3:9) with לשׁון הקודשׁ may be the first reference to Hebrew as the "holy language."[9]

In these and other extrabiblical texts, then, we find attitudes that anticipate features of later, more developed rabbinic language ideology concerning the holy tongue.[10] However, claims from the Hebrew Bible itself about Hebrew are quite different. After an overview of the evidence, Aaron makes the following assessment: in the Hebrew Bible "there is no discrete notion that Hebrew had a unique value or purpose as will become the case in post-biblical eras . . . Hebrew during the biblical eras of Israelite religion . . . is not yet Judaism's language, let alone, a holy tongue."[11] This paper will proceed to evaluate this claim by first analysing the two biblical names used to refer to Hebrew, and then discussing important references to Hebrew in Isaiah and Nehemiah.

Biblical Glottonyms for Hebrew

Within the study of language ideologies, "glottonymy," or the naming of languages, is an important focus of research. Isabelle Léglise and Bettina Migge write, "linguistic naming conventions provide valuable insights into the social and linguistic perceptions of people."[12] We appear to find two ways of referring to the Hebrew language in the Hebrew Bible. It is important to note at the outset that "Hebrew" is not one of them: the term עברית, *ʿibrît* is not used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to a language. As Schorch has illustrated, our earliest evidence of the use of "Hebrew" to designate a language is in the translator's prologue to the Greek version of the Wisdom of Sirach (132 B.C.E.), where the language is referred to as Εβραϊστὶ. And it is not until the 3–5th centuries C.E. that we have evidence of the Hebrew

[9] So Esther Eshel and Michael E. Stone, "The Holy Language at the End of Days in Light of a New Fragment Found at Qumran," *Tarbiz* 62 (1993): 169–77 [Hebrew].

[10] On which see, among others, Willem F. Smelik, *Rabbis, Language and Translation in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Milka Rubin, "The Language of Creation or the Primordial Language: A Case of Cultural Polemics in Antiquity," *JJS* 49 (1998): 306–33, at 309–17.

[11] Aaron, "Judaism's Holy Language," 64.

[12] Isabelle Léglise and Bettina Migge, "Language-Naming Practices, Ideologies, and Linguistic Practices: Toward a Comprehensive Description of Language Varieties," *Language in Society* 35 (2006): 313–39, at 313.

term עברית, *ʿibrît*, being used in this sense.[13] By contrast, in the Hebrew Bible the designation עברי does not appear to have a linguistic dimension.[14]

יהודית, *yəhûdît*, "Judaean"

The first biblical glottonym I shall consider is יהודית, *yəhûdît*, derived from יהודה, Judah, which occurs a total of six times in the Hebrew Bible, in two contexts.[15] Five occurrences are in the three versions of the episode of the Rabshakeh at the walls of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:26, 28; Isa 36:11, 13; 2 Chr 32:18). Here, in order to avoid panic among the city's populace, the Judaean officials request to be addressed by their Assyrian besieger in Aramaic, rather than Judaean, but to no avail. The other occurrence is in the account of a mixed-marriage episode in the time of Nehemiah, in which Judaean men married to Ashdodite women are scolded because their children cannot speak Judaean (Neh 13:24).

Because of the wide range of applications of the name יהודה, "Judah," the origin and referent of the glottonym is unclear. "Judah" in the Hebrew Bible is the name of a patriarch, a tribe, a tribal territory, a district within a larger kingdom, an independent kingdom, a Persian province, and a diasporic people. To which one or which several of these does יהודית refer? We may give two kinds of answer, contextual and historical.

We may first consider the meaning of יהודית in its biblical contexts. The Rabshakeh episode is set during Hezekiah's reign over the kingdom of Judah. Here the glottonym יהודית is used first by the characters in the story, the high officials of the kingdom (2 Kgs 18:26), and then by the narrator, presumably with the same sense (2 Kgs 18:28). It is a language that the inhabitants of Jerusalem understand, unlike Aramaic. Thus it is quite natural to assume, that in this case יהודית is imagined to be the language widely spoken in the kingdom of Judah.

In Nehemiah's case, the function of יהודית must be different. This episode takes place in the Achaemenid province of Yehud/Judah. But יהודית probably does not indicate the official language of that district, whose administration was likely undertaken in Aramaic, and the

[13] Schorch, "Pre-Eminence of the Hebrew Language,"43–48.

[14] Ullendorff suggests that the absence of a linguistic use of עברית from the Hebrew Bible is purely accidental; Ullendorff, "Knowledge of Languages," 330.

[15] Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, יהודית is the name of an individual, a wife of Esau (Gen 26:34).

population of which may have spoken Aramaic as widely as Hebrew.[16] Surely instead, יהודית here is a reference to the particular language associated with the Judaeans, a diasporic people living throughout the Achaemenid territories. In the book of Esther, this language is referred to by mentioning that people: "an edict was written . . . to the Judaeans in their script and language" (Esth 8:9).

In the broader canonical context, of course, these languages of Hezekiah's and Nehemiah's periods are one and the same: the Judaeans kept their language after the fall of the kingdom of Judah. Moreover, this is the same language in which apparently the bulk of the biblical texts are written. Indeed, this perceived continuity is part of the rhetorical strategy of Neh 13: Judaeans living in their historic homeland *ought* to speak the language of the former kingdom. Thus, because of its ambiguity יהודית is able to resonate with any or all of the associations of "Judah"— the patriarchal, tribal, monarchical, territorial, and ethnic.

As for the historical issue of when and with what meaning the glottonym יהודית originally arose, we must admit uncertainty. The glottonym is not attested in ancient extrabiblical sources, and therefore its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible are our earliest evidence for it. Of these, the oldest texts in which it appears must be 1 Kgs 18//Isa 36, where it refers to the language of the kingdom of Judah. While specific dates for this account are elusive, there is reason to believe that the original episode was composed in the seventh or early sixth centuries B.C.E.[17] Therefore, this usage of יהודית may well reflect the terminology of monarchic Judah.

Other arguments support the suggestion that the origin of the term is to be sought in the monarchic period. As was noted above, several consistent differences obtained between the dialects of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. In driving and maintaining these apparently standardized dialects, the role of the centralized offices of the state can hardly be doubted, as Seth Sanders others have argued.[18] Thus, it is historically likely that the kingdom of Judah was responsible for the emergence of a distinctive, standardized variety of Hebrew. It is

[16] For an overview of the discussions concerning the linguistic situation of Achaemenid Yehud, see William Schniedewind, "Aramaic, the Death of Written Hebrew, and Language Shift in the Persian Period," in *Margins of Writing: Origins of Cultures* (ed. Seth L. Sanders; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2006), 141–51, 142.

[17] See, e.g., Peter Machinist, "The *Rab Šāqēh* at the Wall of Jerusalem: Israelite Identity in the Face of the Assyrian 'Other,'" *HS* 41 (2000): 151–68.

[18] So, e.g., Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew* (Traditions; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 113–20.

natural to think that the glottonym יהודית was coined within Judah for just this variety (יהודית would thus have arisen as an endonym). I am, therefore, inclined to agree with Daniel Block when he accounts for יהודית as follows: "The name is derived from the name of a geopolitical entity, which in turn originated with the name of the tribe occupying it."[19]

Block further notes that the glottonym יהודית contains within it an implicit contrast: "Judaean" is the language of Judah, not the language of all Israel.[20] We may hypothesize that the standardized variety of Hebrew that arose in the northern kingdom of Israel was also known by a specific glottonym (Israelite? Ephraimite? Samarian?), although that name is not attested. The distinction between Israel and Judah, in the arenas of religion, politics, and territory, is a prominent theme in the Hebrew Bible, and it is important to note that a distinction was also perceived and represented in the realm of language. However, a differentiation by name does not necessitate any particularly strong degree of linguistic difference. Linguistic difference can be concealed by glottonyms (as in the case of Chinese and Arabic) or it can be accentuated by them (Dutch vs. Flemish), and ideological motivations are often relevant in these processes.[21]There is no *prima facie* reason to believe, then, that the distinction between Judaean and "Israelite" Hebrew that the name יהודית implies arose because of a perception of a high degree of linguistic difference; rather, the distinction may primarily reflect a political boundary.[22]

[19] Block, "National Identity," 329; compare also Weinberg, "Language Consciousness," 53. In contrast, William Schniedewind does not emphasize the role of the state in the origin of the name: "language is an important basis for kinship affiliation . . . *Judean* . . . is derivative of the tribal and geographic name Judah"; William M. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins through the Rabbinic Period* (ABRL; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 96.

[20] Block, "National Identity," 330. This point stands whether or not יהודית arose specifically as the name for the standard language of the kingdom of Judah.

[21] See, for instance, Andrée Tabouret-Keller, *Le nom des langues I: Les enjeux de la nomination des langues* (BCILL 95; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 69–80.

[22] Gary Rendsburg has worked extensively on isolating differences between the southern Judaean dialect, evidenced in Standard Biblical Hebrew, and the northern "Israelian" one. In this project, Rendsburg's primary method has been to identify linguistic peculiarities in biblical texts that he regards as northern in origin; see especially Gary A. Rendsburg, "A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon," *Orient* 38 (2003): 5–35. However, many of Rendsburg's findings must be considered quite uncertain. See Ian Young, "The 'Northernisms' of the Israelite Narratives in Kings," *ZAH* 7–8 (1994–1995): 63–70; and William M. Schniedewind and Daniel Sivan, "The Elijah-Elisha Narratives: A Test Case for the Northern Dialect of Hebrew," *JQR* 87 (1997): 303–337.

שׂפת כנען, *śəfat kənaʿan*, "Language of Canaan"

In Isa 19:18, an oracle foretells a time when "there will be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan [שׂפת כנען] and swear allegiance to Yahweh of hosts." In the next section I will address the potential significance of this claim, for now instead focusing on the glottonym "language of Canaan." The speaking of this language in these cities will follow after Judah terrorizes Egypt through Yahweh (Isa 19:17). This, and the fact that worship of Yahweh in Egypt (with standing stone and altar, v. 19) will follow has led most scholars to assume that "the language of Canaan" is a way of referring to the language of Judah in this case. [23]

The glottonym "language of Canaan" is at once intelligible and surprising. In light of the similarity between the languages spoken in the Southern Levant in the biblical period, a reference to "language of Canaan" is quite intelligible. Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Phoenician, and Hebrew form a distinct branch within Northwest Semitic languages (over against Aramaic, for example), dubbed "Canaanite" in modern linguistics. As Block writes, "the language of Canaan" may thus refer to this "general linguistic category."[24] In technical terminology, "the language of Canaan" would thus be a *Dachsprache*,[25] a name that provides a "roof" over related languages/dialects including, presumably, Judaean.

On the other hand, as was pointed out earlier, linguistic similarity and difference are only one factor, of variable significance, in the demarcation of languages through names. Actually, "the language of Canaan" as a way of referring to the language of the biblical authors is unexpected in the biblical context, and three reasons in particular may be noted. First, Canaan is frequently presented in the Hebrew Bible as a territory comprised of many peoples. In the literature describing the early period of Israel's settlement in Canaan, these peoples include Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, Hivvites, Girgashites, Jebusites, and so on (see, e.g., Exod 3:7; Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10). Later, in the monarchic period, the Hebrew Bible refers to

[23] Csaba Balogh, *The Stele of YHWH in Egypt: The Prophecies of Isaiah 18–20 concerning Egypt and Cush* (OtSt 60; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 297; Block, "National Identity," 327; Ullendorff, "Knowledge of Languages," 456.

[24] Block, "National Identity," 327. This seems preferable to Ullendorff's related proposal that the "language of Canaan" refers to an additional, unattested Canaanite language variety, "a Canaanite *lingua franca* which . . . remained in oral use but was obviously excluded from written sources"; Ullendorff, "Knowledge of Languages," 455.

[25] This term was coined in Žarko Muljačić, "Standardization in Romance," in *Bilingualism and Linguistic Conflict in Romance*, vol. 5 of *Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology* (ed. Rebecca Posner and John N. Green; The Hague: Mouton, 1993), 77–116.

numerous polities in Canaan, including Israel and Judah, the Phoenician and Philistine city-states, and the Transjordanian states of Ammon and Moab. Thus, the reference to a single "language of Canaan" is not expected based on the biblical picture of Canaan as a multiethnic and multinational land, as it defies the general association of each people/nation with its own language that we find elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.[26]

Secondly, texts in the Hebrew Bible imply or assume the existence of linguistic differences among the inhabitants of Canaan. We read in Deut 2:10, 20, that the giant Rephaim were known to the Ammonites as Zamzummim, and to the Moabites as Emim. In the next chapter the Sidonian and Amorite names for Mount Hermon are given (Sirion and Senir respectively; Deut 3:9). Furthermore, in Judg 12:6, the famous "Shibboleth" episode, a difference in the pronunciation of sibilants between the Gileadites and the Ephraimites is recorded. And as mentioned above, the glottonym יהודית, "Judaean," implies a linguistic distinction between the languages of Judah and those of the surrounding polities, including Israel. In this way, the overall biblical picture of Canaan is not one of a linguistically unitary region, so that the term "language of Canaan" is surprising.

Finally, the authors of the Hebrew Bible generally take great pains to distinguish Israel from the peoples of Canaan. Israel's genealogy and geographical origins are presented as distinct from that of the Canaanites (e.g., Gen 10;[27] Gen 11:10–32), and this is a distinction that the Israelites are told they must maintain, especially in the domain of religion (Lev 18:3). In cases where Israel is linked with the Canaanite peoples, the intent is usually to criticize Israel (e.g., 1 Kgs 4:24; Ezek 16:45). But in Isa 19:18, most scholars have imagined that "the language of Canaan" is not intended to exclude the language that the Judaeans speak (even if it is not precisely the same thing as "Judaean").[28] Such an association between Judah and any Canaanite cultural item, without a hint of reproof, is highly unusual in the Hebrew Bible.

These three considerations indicate the various respects in which "the language of Canaan" is a strange glottonym in biblical context. To account for its use in Isa 19:18, then, various explanations have been offered. Edward Ullendorff and Csaba Balogh imagine that the oracle

[26] Block, "National Identity."

[27] Israel is not mentioned in this genealogy, but Shem, the ancestor of the Israelites. The Canaanites descend from Shem's brother, Ham.

[28] Csaba Balogh, *The Stele of YHWH in Egypt: The Prophecies of Isaiah 18–20 concerning Egypt and Cush* (OtSt 60; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 297; Block, "National Identity," 327; Ullendorff, "Knowledge of Languages," 456.

is worded with an Egyptian audience in mind: "this is how Egyptians referred to the language spoken by Judaeans."[29] This is possible, but this name is not attested in Egyptian sources, and the audience of the oracle is Judaeans rather than Egyptians. Block proposes that the issue is one of scale: "in the context, [the language of Canaan] may have been intended as a counterpart of Egyptian."[30] That is, Canaanite is a suitable match or rival of Egyptian, since both are languages spoken across wide areas; perhaps in high-level international affairs, it would be parochial to refer to the "Judaean" language. But there is no particular indication in the text that this is the intent of using "the language of Canaan," and the term "Judaean," after all, is used in the Rabshakeh episode, in the context of high-level international relations.

In the explanations offered by these scholars, we see examples of how setting may have influenced glottonymy. The sociolinguist Andrée Tabouret-Keller has emphasized that glottonyms are used within specific domains or discourses, and must be related to the conventions and assumptions of those domains.[31] This may indeed be the direction in which an explanation of "the language of Canaan" should be sought, but unfortunately the biblical evidence is not sufficient to resolve the issue.

Can we know anything about when and where the term שׂפת כנען originated? The date of the Isaianic oracle in which "the language of Canaan" is mentioned is extremely uncertain, beyond the fact that it does not appear to belong to the earliest material in the book (thus, seventh century B.C.E. or later). It does not seem likely, however, that the term originated within Israel or Judah; or rather, it would surely not have originated among the circle of Israelites and Judaeans who emphasized the Israel/Canaan distinction, and whose attitudes are reflected throughout the Hebrew Bible. Among the other nations in the region no unified or extensive polity went by the name Canaan,[32] and thus "the language of Canaan" did not originate as a glottonym in the manner that "Judaean" may have, according to the explanation

[29] Quotation from Balogh, *Stele of YHWH*, 297; similarly, Ullendorff, "Knowledge of Languages," 456.

[30] Block, "National Identity," 327.

[31] Tabouret-Keller (ed.), *Le nom des langues*, 69–80.

[32] See especially Niels Peter Lemche, *The Canaanites and their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). The boundaries of the land referred to as Canaan in Egyptian, biblical, and other sources do not appear to have been fixed.

I offered above.[33] Rather, as Block points out, the name appears to derive from a "geographic rather than an ethnic" or geopolitical entity.[34]

As for the idea of regional linguistic similarity conveyed by "language of Canaan," it is most applicable to the linguistic situation of the land before the Assyrians and Babylonians extensively depopulated the region in the eighth–sixth centuries B.C.E., and resettled foreign peoples there (see, e.g., 2 Kgs 17:24–41). It is possible, then, that the name originated before this time, but we must admit that we do not know precisely when and among whom.[35]

Relating and Reflecting on these Two Terms

An important point arises from this investigation into the names of the language used by the biblical authors. No name for the language associates it with *Israel*, considered to be a community unified as Jacob's descendants and as the people of Yahweh. Instead, we have two different notions expressed in biblical texts: "Judaean" is narrower than Hebrew, being the language of the kingdom of Judah, and of the postexilic community tracing its roots to that kingdom; and "the language of Canaan" is broader than Hebrew, since it does not exclude the dialects of the nations, city-states, and peoples around Israel and Judah. Thus, the texts of the Hebrew Bible do not indicate that all Israel is a special linguistic unity; the distinction between Israel and its neighbours, so important to the biblical authors, is not seen to consist in language.

How, then, are we to relate the two terms used by the biblical authors to refer to their own language? Two different names, "Judaean" and "the language of Canaan," can be accurately applied to the language spoken by Judaeans, although it is doubtful that the terms are equivalent—Judaean is more exclusive than Canaanite. This glottonymic duality for Hebrew is not explicitly acknowledged in the Hebrew Bible, nor is any attempt is made to explain it. Our scholarly explanation of this duality—basically that Judaean is a subdivision of

[33] An origin in the Late Bronze Age is intriguing, during the period of Egyptian hegemony over the area frequently referred to as *Kinaḫḫa*, "Canaan" in the Amarna letters (EA 38.15; 148.46). However, this predates the biblical attestation of the glottonym by at least half a millennium.

[34] Block, "National Identity," 327.

[35] Alternatively, if the name dates from a later period, it may reflect an attempt to refer to the speech of Canaan at a time when well-defined polities like Judah, and their associated standardized languages, had come to an end, and when therefore the differences between various dialects of Canaanite might have been less apparent.

Canaanite—involves distinguishing between orders of language (that is, between language and dialect), assigning each name to a different order, and nesting one beneath the other in light of linguistic factors. However, despite the fact that the glottonyms attested in ancient Hebrew provided the opportunity for reflection on orders of language and kinship among languages, it appears that, if such reflection did occurr in ancient Israel, it is not recorded in the biblical corpus. That is to say, the Hebrew Bible does not reflect a recognition of the distinction between language and dialect.[36]

The Significance of Hebrew

I will now turn to a discussion of two passages that shed light on how biblical authors assessed the significance of their language.

Isa 19:18

In Isa 19:18 we find a prophecy in which the biblical authors' language is spread to new regions:

> "On that day there will be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan [מדברות שׂפת כנען] and swear allegiance to Yahweh of hosts."

The context of this passage was described briefly above. This verse is one of five short prophecies concerning Egypt that are introduced by the phrase ביום ההוא (vv. 16–25). These prophecies focus on the victory of Judah over Egypt (vv. 16–17), the worship of Yahweh in Egypt (vv. 19–22), and relations among Egypt, Assyria, and Israel (vv. 23–25).

In trying to understand this prophecy, let us ask what might seem to be a simple question: What does it mean to say that five Egyptian cities will speak the language of Canaan? We may first address the issue of what it means for ערים, "cities," to speak a language. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible this ability is attributed to individuals or nations, and clearly עיר in Isa

[36] Ullendorff was perhaps too pessimistic about discovering an awareness of a dialect/language difference in the Hebrew Bible. He wrote: "the mental operation and intellectual insight required to discover linguistic kinship are of a high order . . . we may well doubt that such recognition obtruded itself upon their conscious minds"; Ullendorff, "Knowledge of Languages," 458–59. The Shibboleth incident in Judg 12:6 makes use of what we would call a dialectal difference; however, that difference is not categorized or expressed in such terms.

19:18 is used not to refer to a location, but in the metaphorical sense of "the inhabitants of a city as a group." Though only here in the Hebrew Bible is עיר the subject of the verb דבר, other verbs of speaking are elsewhere similarly predicated of עיר (e.g., ענה, "answer," Deut 22:10; זעק, "cry out," 1 Sam 4:13).

The speaking of Canaanite in these cities must be of such a kind that it can be attributed to these cities as a whole. This might be appropriate if the language of Canaan became the "official" language of these cities— the language of the rulers of these cities or that in which administration was carried out; or it might be appropriate if Canaanite were the language of commerce, or that spoken by the majority of citizens. However, it does not seem an appropriate description of a city with an ethnic enclave of Canaanite speakers. Thus I do not agree with Blenkinsopp and others that the specific mention of "five cities" refers to "a federation or network of Jewish communities" in diaspora in Egypt.[37] Rather, some kind of transformation of the five Egyptian cities is surely envisaged, which will change the linguistic situation within them.[38]

It is important that this transformation is both a linguistic and a religious one, for the cities will also "swear allegiance to Yahweh of hosts [נשבעות ליהוה צבאות]." The cultic worship of Yahweh in Egypt is emphasized in the surrounding verses: an altar and a pillar (מצבה) to Yahweh will be set up (v. 19), and sacrifices, grain offerings, and votive offerings will be made (v. 21).[39] Perhaps here the Canaanite language is considered the precondition for such service of Yahweh. After all, swearing an oath to a god named יהוה צבאות involves using that language: צבאות at least is a Hebrew word; and the name יהוה might also be regarded an item in that language, as the word play or etymologizing in a passage like Exod 3:14 may attest.[40] This is perhaps the only place in the Hebrew Bible where the biblical authors' language is attributed a religious significance: it is implied that the language of Canaan is the proper medium for worshipping Yahweh.

[37] Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 2000), 319.

[38] This he transformation could build on something already existing—the author of this verse might be envisaging that certain existing Canaanite-speaking enclaves will achieve new prominence in their host cities.

[39] Balogh, *Stele of YHWH*, 258–260.

[40] This is not to say that יהוה was analysed as anything but a proper noun by the biblical authors, although scholars have proposed a verbal origin for the term; see Patrick D. Miller, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2000), 1–3.

What is the reason for this? Is it because, as Balogh states, Yahweh is "the Canaanite speaking overlord"?[41] That is, does this passage express the notion that Yahweh's own language is the language of Canaan? This question is hard to answer with certainty. Some kind of relationship between Yahweh and the Canaanite language is presumed in this passage, but the question of the nature of that relationship is not addressed or explained here. Thus the suggestion that Canaanite is Yahweh's own language, an idea that is similar to the rabbinic claim that Hebrew is the language of heaven, is impossible to establish convincingly. Indeed, alternative explanations of this relationship exist, most plausibly that Yahweh is connected to Canaanite through Judah: when Egypt adopts the worship of Yahweh from Judah, it will also adopt Judah's language. On this understanding, Yahweh would have an indirect, rather than a direct, relationship with the language of Canaan. Whichever explanation is ultimately correct, it is certain that this passage is the one in the Hebrew Bible that most clearly associates Yahweh with a particular language.

It is important to point out, however, the political connotations of the image of Egyptians using the religion and language of Judaeans. Religion and language are pieces of a nation's cultural property; to this extent, the two claims, that Egypt will take up Judah's religion *and* its language, reinforce a single idea: that Judah will achieve dominance over Egypt (as in vv. 16–17). This is apparently Balogh's interpretation: "the adoption of the Canaanite language should . . . be seen as a political necessity after YHWH, the Canaanite speaking overlord, has conquered and subdued the country."[42] If this is correct, Balogh is astute to observe that this passage contains an analogue of biblical prophecies that tell of Israel having to hear a foreign language on the lips of invading nations (Isa 28:11; 33:19; Jer 5:15; Deut 28:49). Egypt will likewise suffer this fate at the hands of Judah. In this understanding, the worship of Yahweh in Egypt is primarily conceived of as the service due from a vassal to a suzerain, and this appears to be conveyed in the use of שׁבע, "swear," in our verse, a term that can expresses political fealty in the language of international relations. The nature of the "religious" dimension of the language of Canaan in this picture must therefore be understood in this light.

[41] Balogh, *Stele of YHWH*, 255.

[42] See Balogh for a discussion of the significance of the מצבה, which may also (or primarily) function here as Yahweh's royal victory stele, rather than a cultic object; Balogh, *Stele of YHWH*, 255.

A further question that arises from this passage is that of the potential universal significance of the language of the biblical authors. Some scholars, including (tentatively) Hans Wildberger, have considered Isa 19:17–23 to contain a salvation oracle for Egypt and intimations of universalism.[43] Now, it is true that Judah's dominance over Egypt, and the accompanying worship of Yahweh there, involve a linguistic shift. It is thus interesting to speculate on whether, in other biblical passages where the international acknowledgement of Yahweh is foretold, a similar linguistic change is also expected or anticipated. Indeed, this is how Zeph 3:9, which speaks of the worship of Yahweh by many peoples through "purified speech," appears to have been interpreted in 4Q464. However, strictly speaking Isa 19:18 envisages only an increased role for the language of Canaan, not a universal one. No biblical passage presents a future in which linguistic diversity disappears, and Hebrew becomes to sole language of humanity.

Neh 13:23-24

Two verses in Nehemiah contain the clearest expression in the Hebrew Bible that the relationship between Judaeans and their language *ought* to be of a certain kind:

> [23]גַּם בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם רָאִיתִי אֶת־הַיְהוּדִים הֹשִׁיבוּ נָשִׁים אַשְׁדּוֹדִיּוֹת עַמֹּנִיּוֹת מוֹאֲבִיּוֹת [24]וּבְנֵיהֶם חֲצִי מְדַבֵּר
> אַשְׁדּוֹדִית וְאֵינָם מַכִּירִים לְדַבֵּר יְהוּדִית וְכִלְשׁוֹן עַם וָעָם
>
> [23]In those days also I saw Judaeans who had married Ashdodite, Ammonite, Moabite women; [24]and their children—half spoke Ashdodite, and they did not know how to speak Judaean, and according to the language of each people.[44] (Neh 13:23–24)

The MT of these verses is awkward and it seems likely that it reflects a complex textual history. Hugh Williamson posits a three stage compositional process: v. 23 was first

[43] Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah: A Continental Commentary* (3 vols.; trans. Thomas H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991–2002); 2:281–82.

[44] NRSV modified.

expanded by the addition of עמוניות מואביות "Ammonite, Moabite women," in order to bring this passage into line with other mixed marriage descriptions in Ezra-Nehemiah.[45] At this point the Greek translation was made. Later another editor added וכלשון עם ועם, "and according to the language of each people," which is absent from LXX, to v. 24. This second insertion was made by an editor who felt that the reference solely to the Ashdodite language was not sufficient; surely the children of the unions with Ammonites and Moabites would have spoken those languages. This reconstruction seems sensible, and we may tentatively conclude that Nehemiah's point was originally made specifically about intermarriage with women from Ashdod, and about the Ashdodite language, rather than about various peoples and languages. This reconstruction has the advantage of leaving in these verses two pairs, Ashdodite women and Ashdodite language; and Judaean men and Judaean language.

This verse occurs in a short narrative (Neh 13:23–27) which tells of Nehemiah's encounter with Judaean men who had entered into marriages with Ashdodite (Moabite, Ammonite) women. Nehemiah verbally and physically chastises these men for their sin, citing Solomon's apostasy as evidence of the great risk foreign women pose even to great men. This is one of several pious interventions recounted in this chapter that Nehemiah makes to life in and around Jerusalem, the others being aimed at enforcing Sabbath observance and cultic propriety. In the wider context of Ezra-Nehemiah this episode should be linked to the great communal divorce of foreign wives under Ezra (Ezra 9–10).

A significant interpretative difficulty with these verses is the identity of the language referred to as אשׁדודית, "Ashdodite," a language not mentioned elsewhere in texts from the ancient Near East. The name is clearly taken from the city of Ashdod, in earlier times one of the five cities of the Philistine pentapolis. This paper is not the place to adjudicate the issue of the identity of this language, which include Aramaic,[46] Phoenician,[47] a local pidgin,[48] or even an Indo-European language representing the prototype of gibberish for the author.[49] But one

[45] Hugh G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1985), 393.

[46] So Wilhelm Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (HAT 1.20; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1949), 208–9.

[47] So David Janzen, *Witch-Hunts, Purity and Social Boundaries: The Expulsion of the Foreign Women in Ezra 9–10* (JSOTSup 350; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 144.

[48] André Lemaire, "Ashdodien et judéen à l'époque perse: Ne 13,24," in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński* (ed. by K. van Leberghe and A. Schoors; OLA 65; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 153–63.

[49] So Ullendorff, "C'est de l'hébreu," 133.

important point, observed by Peter Machinist, may be made.[50] The wording of v. 24— ואינם מכירים לדבר יהודית, "they did not know *how to speak* Judaean"—does not preclude the possibility that the Judaean and Ashdodite languages were closely related, or even mutually intelligible. The verse claims that the children of Judaean men and Ashdodite women lacked *active* knowledge of the Judaean language, the ability to speak, rather than *passive* knowledge (understanding). Perhaps these children spoke a Canaanite dialect that did not correspond to Nehemiah's standards of "proper Judaean," in Machinist's words. Thus we cannot deduce anything about how different Ashdodite was from Judaean from this verse alone.

Nehemiah appears to detect two undesirable elements in the situation he encounters: marriage to Ashdodite women; and the inability of children with Judaean fathers to speak Judaean. It is clear that the more significant of these evils is marriage to the Ashdodites, which Nehemiah denounces in his homily (Neh 13:25–27), primarily on the grounds that foreign women can lead men into apostasy, as they did Solomon. Concerning the evil of children who cannot speak Judaean, Nehemiah takes no measures to change the situation (he does not take the children away from their mothers, or institute some educational programme),[51] nor does he mention the topic in his speech to the Judaean men. It is certainly less significant, then, than mixed marriages. Nevertheless, the linguistic concern is voiced very clearly. In this concern we are dealing with a clear indication that the relationship between language and people *should* be of a certain kind: Nehemiah believes that the children of Judaeans should speak Judaean. In some sense, then, Nehemiah believes that the Judaean language has a part to play in being Judaean.

The question is, then, what leads Nehemiah to hold this belief? One possibility is offered by Williamson. In attempting to understand what leads to Nehemiah's prioritizing of Judaean, Williamson cites the role of Hebrew as a scriptural language: "For a religion in which Scripture plays a central part, grasp of the language is vital; one might compare the importance of Arabic for Islam."[52] On this interpretation, Nehemiah would be emphasizing the role that Judaean, as the language of the holy writings, must play in the religious life of

[50] Peter Machinist, "Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History," in *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (ed. Eliezer D. Oren; Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Philadelphia, 2000), 53–83, at 75 n. 76.

[51] Compare Ahasuerus' decree, discussed above, aimed at making every man "speak the language of his people" (Esth 1:22).

[52] Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 391.

Judaeans, and the threat that a foreign language poses for that religious life. We might compare the need for the Mosaic Law to be מְפֹרָשׁ, "explained" to Ezra's audience in Yehud (Neh 8:8), a process some have understood as translation. [53]

In favour of Williamson's view, it is certainly true that religion is at issue in this passage. Nehemiah warns the Judaeans that foreign women led Solomon to apostasy, and so we may posit some kind of association between language and religion. However, the *scripturality* of the Judaean language is not explicitly raised in this passage or, indeed, anywhere in the Hebrew Bible. Nehemiah does not describe Judaean as the language of the Law. Thus we must modify Williamson's claim, and detect, at most, a sense that there is a religious, rather than a scriptural, dimension to Judaean in this passage. But this too is not stated explicitly. Nehemiah does not call Judaean holy, or associate it with Yahweh or the cult. In fact, the connexion between religion and language is made only indirectly. Both apostasy and foreign language are linked to foreign women, but at different points of this passage. Here, the assessment made by Aaron originally with reference to Gen 31 (Jacob and Laban's confrontation) might also be said to apply: "Language usage clearly has some part in this ethnic and religious differentiation, but only as an ancillary aspect of the narrative."[54]

I would offer another explanation for Nehemiah's strong reaction. This passage is the only one in the Hebrew Bible in which it is stated that an Israelite or Judaean (or child thereof) cannot speak the language of his people. The situation that Nehemiah faces is thus, biblically speaking, unprecedented. For the first time, Judaean and Judah do not stand in an automatic relationship; the role of the language in Judaean identity is potentially subject to change. Perhaps Hebrew could even cease to exist among Judaeans.

This is a very uncanny thing to realize. Here, we may detect the basic belief that ethnic and linguistic distinctions go hand in hand, a belief reflected in the Tower of Babel episode (Gen 11:1–9) which associates the emergence of linguistic diversity with ethnic differentiation. Therefore, the loss of a distinct Judaean language might eventually lead to the disappearance of the Judaean people. This fear of "the Jewish people were losing their identity,"[55] as Loring Batten put it, might be especially acute if the differences between Judah and neighbouring

[53] Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra. Nehemiah* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), 150. The linguistic situation of Judah in the Persian period is discussed further below.

[54] Ibid., 62.

[55] Loring W. Batten, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah* (ICC; New York: Scribner's, 1913), 301.

peoples were so fine: if Ashdodite were a Canaanite dialect closely related to Judaean Hebrew, for instance.

But even without a worked-out concept of the various roles that Hebrew played in Judaean identity (in history, religion, literature/scripture, etc.), Nehemiah would have been able to perceive that a great deal was at stake if Hebrew were at risk. Thus he reacts strongly, but his objection is amorphous. It is more a protest at the situation, expressing outrage, than an argument about what the specific problem is with the children of Judaean men being ignorant of Hebrew.

Conclusion

Concerning the biblical authors' understanding of their own language, this paper has in some confirmed Aaron's assessment, quoted earlier, that the Hebrew Bible does not clearly attest the elements of language ideology intimated in extrabiblical Second Temple literature and further elaborated upon in rabbinic writings. Hebrew is not clearly a scriptural language, a holy language, the language of God, the past or future universal language of humanity, nor a uniquely expressive language.

However, Aaron's assessment that "Hebrew is not yet Judaism's language" requires significant qualification and explanation. Firstly, it follows from my discussion of biblical glottonyms for Hebrew above that the Hebrew Bible does not attest a concept corresponding to our "Hebrew" as the language of all Israel. In this way, it is trivially true that "Hebrew" did not have "a unique value or purpose" for the biblical authors, simply because they appear not to have known of the idea of "Hebrew." In fact, the concepts expressed in the Hebrew Bible are more closely related to scholarly reconstructions of the linguistic situation of the ancient Israelite territories based on ancient epigraphic evidence: a situation involving a standardized Judaean dialect, distinct from the northern, both of which were closely related to other dialects in a Canaanite language group.

We may not say, however, that the language of the biblical authors had no significance for them. In fact, there are several indications that this is not the case. For instance, the "language of Canaan" appears to be presented as symbol of Judah's future military dominance over Egypt, and a proper medium for worshipping Yahweh (Isa 19:18). Thus for the author of this

oracle at least, his community's language had political and religious significance. Nehemiah's anger at seeing children of Judaean men ignorant of the Judaean language also reveals a perception of the importance of that language (Neh 13:24), apparently in maintaining an ethnic boundary. For these and other biblical authors, then, the language of their community was not an irrelevance. However, the significance of Hebrew in these passages is not of the same kind—Nehemiah does not clearly claim that Judaean had a particular religious meaning, in contrast to what is implied in Isa 19:18. In addition, we must admit, that the significance that the biblical authors' language had for them is only infrequently affirmed in the Hebrew Bible.

In a similar way, it is true, but only trivially so, that the biblical authors' language is not yet "Judaism's language." For it is problematic on historical grounds to refer to the religion or religious community of ancient Israel and Judah as "Judaism." But in fact, we may point out that the community called "Judah" *is* presented as having a distinctive language: "Judaean" is the proper language of Judah and the Judaeans (2 Kgs 18//Isa 36; Neh 13:24; Esth 8:9). Judah, then, is a community bounded and bound by language, and while the nature of that community shifted over time—from tribe to kingdom to diasporic people—a religious dimension is never absent from the biblical presentation of this community. Judah is always understood in the Hebrew Bible in relation to its god Yahweh. Hence, while the Judaean language is not in the Hebrew Bible "Judaism's language," it is nevertheless the historical and distinctive language of the essentially religious community of Judah. The later development of a notion that this language is itself a "holy tongue" is certainly not inconsistent with this picture, although it can hardly be said to be explained by it.

Granting Authority as a Limit to Power: Prophets in Deuteronomy

Introduction

This paper explores the relationship between prophecy and power in the Hebrew Bible through an analysis of Deuteronomy 13:2–6 and 18:9–22, the laws on divination and in particular prophecy. As prophets and their authority do not exist in isolation, this study seeks to enhance our understanding of the relationships of power within the text, specifically the different types and levels of authority within the human realm and the divine sphere. This analysis will be informed by a theoretical discussion of prophecy (a type of divination), divine knowledge (the result of divinatory practice) and power (different forms gained through possession of divine knowledge). I will approach the concept of power with reference to Strenski's theory of *potestas* and *auctoritas* borrowed from ancient Roman law and Principal-Agent theory from the field of economics.

I will argue that the discussion of divination in Deut 13:2-6 and 18:9-22 is an acknowledgement of the powerful role of prophets and other diviners (*potestas*) may play in the social order. In actual fact, these passages seek to undermine prophetic authority (*auctoritas*) in two ways: by declaring technical divination illegitimate and by tracing the authority of prophets (true and false) back to Yahweh. In this light, the promise of a new prophet who will be like Moses in Deut 18:15-22 should not be considered an encouragement of prophecy but a 'subtle' way of prohibiting it as, most likely, there will never be a prophet who can live up to such expectations. In the biblical text, prophets are depicted as more important or legitimate than other diviners. This, however, does not empower them but, instead acts to limit their authority. I will supplement my discussion of power and prophetic authority in Deut 13:2-6 and 18:9-22 with a brief analysis of Deut 17:14-20, a discussion of the authority of the king within the literary context of Deuteronomy as well as the wider historical context of the ancient Near East.

Prophecy in Deuteronomy

Deut 13:2–6 forms part of a wider section within the legal core of Deuteronomy 13:2-19, a warning of potential encouragement through different means to worship a god other than Yahweh and, thus, committing apostasy. As chapter 13 tells us that above everything else, what is most important is to remain loyal to Yahweh, we may consider it an elaboration of the First Commandment in Deut 5:6-7. Following a *Wortsicherungsformel* in verse 1 are three different scenarios in which the worship of other gods is proposed. The first scenario (vv. 2-6) is of particular interest to this study as it deals with divination. Here, the proposal of idolatry is made by an individual, either a prophet or a dream diviner. In verses 2-3, we are told that if someone who appears to be a legitimate diviner–their authenticity having been proven through predictions that came true–proposes to worship and serve other gods, they should not be listened to or followed. According to verse 4, if such a situation arose, it would only be Yahweh testing his people's loyalty to him as clarified in verse 5 which states that the people of Israel should serve only him and keep his commandments. The proposal of non-Yahwistic worship by prophets and dream diviners is an act of treason (against Yahweh) and to be punished by death (v. 6).

In Deut 13:2-6, idolatry is not proposed by any type of individual but a חלם חלום ("dreamer of dreams" or "dream diviner") or a נביא ("prophet"), both intuitive diviners. While Veijola (2004: 288) traces the origin of this juxtaposition of נביא and חלם חלום to Jeremiah, Otto (2016: 1239), argues for a Neo-Assyrian parallel in Esarhaddon's loyalty oath. The exact extent to which Deuteronomy is influenced by the ancient Near Eastern treaty tradition is not crucial to this study but a closer look at some of the points can contribute to our understanding of relationships of power in Deuteronomy. SAA 2 6 § 10:108-122 is an order to inform the king about any diviner who spoke out against him, implying that not all prophets were directly controlled by the king (Nissinen 1998); 'If you hear any evil, improper, ugly word which is not seemly nor good to Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, your lord, either from the mouth of his enemy or from the mouth of his ally, or from the mouth of his brothers or from the mouth of his uncles, his cousins, his family, members of his father's line, or from the mouth of your brothers, your sons, your daughters, or from the mouth of a prophet, an ecstatic, an inquirer of oracles, or from the mouth of any human being at all, you shall not conceal it but come and report it to Assurbanipal, the great crown prince designate, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria'.

Practitioners of a variety of types of divination are drawn out as potential traitors who might call for treason. The fact that a warning is required that specifically highlights the threat of diviners, acknowledges their power and suggests that they were respected figures of authority. The prophet or dream diviner as the propagator of apostasy in Deut 13:2-6 is not a devaluation of divination but derives from the assigned value of divination in the Neo-Assyrian empire. In other words, the warning in Deut 13:2-6 similarly acknowledges the powerful role diviners could play in connecting the people of Israel with the divine sphere. The exact office of these diviners, whether dream diviner or prophet, appears to be of little concern. Instead, what matters is that they facilitate the communication between the people of Israel and deities other than Yahweh. Both, SAA 2 6 § 10:108-122 and Deut 13:2-6, therefore, acknowledge that diviners pose a potential threat to the established order and that not all divinatory activity was in support of the ruling king (Otto 2016: 1225). While prophecy, with its service in providing divine knowledge as well as divine approval of royal legitimacy, was a valuable tool in Neo-Assyrian politics, it could also pose a substantial political threat in case prophets spoke out against the king. And there is another prophetic tradition that is removed from the Assyrian powerhouse. Evidence includes sporadic references in documents such as letters and inscriptions in form of quotations of prophecy and references to prophetic activity (Nissinen 1998: 158) such as the letters written by Nabû-rehtu-uṣur to Esarhaddon in which the king is warned about a conspiracy by Sasî and accomplices and a prophecy against him (SAA 16 59-61). After Pongratz-Leisten, Frahm (2010) suggests that divination was at the heart of the Assyrian model of rulership and that conspirators chose to, in one way or another, refer to divination in their actions. This access to divine knowledge could endow them with authority and, ultimately, followers. As such, it was a threat to the establishment.

The use of prophecy against the ruling king as preserved in Neo-Assyrian sources is, Nissinen argues, closely linked to the concept of 'false prophecy' in the Hebrew Bible. The term ψευδοπροφήτης was introduced with the Septuagint to replace נביא in several

instances, turning a more neutral statement into a judgement of the prophet's nature. A prophetic message may only be considered true if it is in accordance with the Deuteronomic laws. Otto (2016: 1500) notes that, according to Deut 18:20, a false prophet is somebody who acts as if they were a prophet of Yahweh without actually having been summoned by Yahweh. A 'false prophet' is, therefore, a prophet who is considered false on the basis of their message or behaviour. For instance, 1 Kgs 18 tells of the confrontation between Elijah and the prophets of Baal of which the latter are considered false as their divine source of knowledge is not Yahweh. Nissinen (1998: 161) translates דבר סרה as 'disloyal talk'. According to Tigay (1996: 130), this expression means 'to claim falsely that God said something'. The text is not concerned with prophets of other gods but a prophet of Yahweh who promotes the worship of another god. Prophets who openly speak in the name of foreign gods are more easily identifiable and, therefore, pose less of a threat; prophets who appeared loyal to Yahweh but actually argued to worship other deities were more dangerous (Tigay 1996: 131).

Also the proposal to follow another unknown god in Deut 13:3 shows that the passage is less concerned with the prophet than with loyalty to Yahweh. Deut 13:4 highlights Yahweh's omnipotence by claiming that these 'false' prophets and diviners who tempt the people of Israel to worship other gods, are the result of Yahweh testing his people's loyalty. The text tries to remove any form of agency false prophets and diviners may seem to possess and instead attributes it to Yahweh, the almighty deity. According to Deut 13:4, there are no diviners who falsely claim to speak in the name of Yahweh. They always function as the deity's mouthpiece – in some instances, Yahweh makes them speak out against his laws in order to prove a point. From Deut 13:2-6 we know that prophecy promoting disloyalty to Yahweh is prohibited. In this context, prophecy is only referred to as one of three scenarios that could lead to apostasy which highlights the important relationship between prophecy and power. In addition, it points towards the laws on divination and prophecy outlined in Deut 18:9-22 (Otto 2016: 1257).

In Deuteronomy 18:9-22, prophets and diviners are mentioned within the context of an outline of four types of human authority whose role it is to ensure that the people of Israel live by the laws of Yahweh, the only divine authority, ideologically positioned above all others: priests, judges, the king and prophets (Deut 16:18-18:22). Verses 9-22 are concerned with divination: Part 1 (vv. 9-14) is about the people of Israel in relation to other nations, in particular as to how the former should differentiate themselves through their relationship to their god by not performing certain types of divination, and Part 2 (vv. 15-22) is Yahweh's promise of a new prophet to facilitate the communication between him and the Israelites after Moses' death. Part 1 begins with a statement that the people of Israel must be different to other peoples in Canaan (v.9). The main condition of Yahweh's promise to provide land to the Israelites is that they mustn't assimilate by taking on the traditions and practices of those nations already living there but to remain loyal to him by worshipping him alone and keeping his commandments. Hence, Yahweh wants his chosen people to fight other nations and to keep their own traditions.

A variety of divinatory practices that seem to be associated with other nations is, therefore, forbidden which are listed in verses 10-11. Otto suggests that the practice of making

children pass through fire is only loosely linked to divination and that, above all, it is abhorrent to Yahweh. קסם קסמים refers to a diviner, somebody whose 'special skills, although they might earlier have been based solely on the casting of lots, now involve the use of any oracular means likely to help his decision-making' (Jeffers 1996: 98). A מענן is a soothsayer, a מנחש is an omen observer, 'a skilful man who has the ability to recognize and interpret the signs with which nature is endowed' (Jeffers 1996: 78). A מכשף is a herbalist connected to foreign practices from Egypt, Mesopotamia or Canaanite tribes. The foreign origin of מכשף specifically suggests that Deut 18:9-14 is, at least to some extent, concerned with the formation and manifestation of an Israelite identity.[1] A חבר חבר is a spell binder (Jeffers 1996: 35).

The terms קסם and נביא are often used synonymously in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Is 3:2; Jer 14:14; 27:9; 29:8) or the נביא fulfilled the role of the קסם (Ezek 13: 6; Mic 3:11) which suggests that at least some prophets were religious specialists with proficiency in human-divine communication that was specifically instigated by humans. According to Otto (2016: 1494-1495), the specific type of divinatory practise is less significant than whether it was authorised by Yahweh.[2] In other words, the problem with the divinatory practices in Deut 18:10-11 is that the divine knowledge they produce, does not derive from Yahweh but another deity. There is not only a division between the divine and human realms but also a division within these two spheres where different players compete for divine knowledge (and, ultimately, power), including different deities in the divine sphere and diviners and kings in the human sphere. Again, the first commandment serves as theological and ideological background to Deut 18:9-14, a warning not to imitate other nations in following diviners and to remain loyal to Yahweh by worshipping him alone. This is repeatedly requested in verses 12-14.

Part 2 (Deut 18:15-22) promises the instalment of a prophet from within the community through whom Yahweh will share his divine will. Following on from 18:14, verse 15 states that instead of technical divinatory practices, Yahweh will speak to them through a single prophet, just like he does with Moses. Through Moses, Yahweh states that he will place his own words into the mouth of the prophet who shall say everything that the deity commands (v.18) and whoever does not listen to and abide by these words will be held accountable by the deity (v.19). According to 18:20, if a prophet a. speaks in the name of another deity or b. says something in Yahweh's name that the god, however, did not tell them to say, they shall be punished by death. The message of a. seems clear: the proposed scenario is an act of treason as the prophet is proposing idolatry which is against the First Commandment and already prohibited in relation to divination in Deut 13:2-6. b., however, is more complex. Opposed to a. where the prophet's message derives from the divine sphere, but a different deity than Yahweh, the message in b. did not originate in the divine sphere but from the prophet themselves, i.e. from the human sphere. Thus, the prophet is considered to be wrong in (perhaps, unknowingly) attempting to make people believe that they are sharing divine knowledge when, in fact, this 'knowledge' is not divine.

[1] Barrett writes about Deuteronomy as a nation-building document.

[2] 'Das zeigt, dass nicht die Art der divinatorischen Praxis ihren apostatischen Charakter ausmacht, sondern einzig, das JHWH sie nicht gegeben habe ..., sie also in einen anderen religiösen Kontext als den der JHWH-Religion gehöre' (Otto 2016: 1494-1495).

18:22 offers guidance on how to identify situation b. from v. 20. Confusingly, the text bases the prophet's authenticity on whether their predictions spoken in the name of Yahweh become true or not. Therefore, Deut 18:22 is in contradiction with the scenario outlined in Deut 13:2-6.

It seems that the parameters and guidelines set in Deut 13 and 18 as to how to identify a true prophet who truly speaks the words of Yahweh are informative with regards to prophetic authority but also distracting from the main point which is that, most likely, there is never going to be a prophet like Moses. The parameters are set too high and, realistically, nobody will ever be able to fulfil the role of a new prophet (who is like Moses). We may assume that also in ancient minds, Moses was considered a figure somewhere between legend and reality. A human being would never be able to live up to this standard and, similarly, we would struggle likening a modern-day playwright to Shakespeare (who is considered equally legendary!).

What is Prophecy?

A prophet is a person who facilitates the communication between humans and their deities through their voice. This person is spoken through by a deity in order to transfer a message from the divine into the human sphere. As such, a prophet fulfils the role of a deity's 'mouthpiece'. Nissinen (1998: 157) defines 'prophecy' as 'a divine message received by a person without using any inductive method and transmitted by him/her to a third party that may be an individual or a group of people'.[3] Prophecy is one of many types of human-divine communication for which 'divination' is an umbrella term. These practices fall into two subcategories: technical and intuitive divination. The first is conducted by religious specialists who possess the skills to interpret divine signs through a variety of practices such as hepatoscopy (interpretation of divine signs in animal entrails) and extispicy (reading divine signs in a sacrificed animal's liver, most commonly that of a sheep), necromancy (communication with the dead) or oracular inquiry (making inquiries to a deity in form of polar questions). The second group, intuitive divination, includes, other than prophecies, also dreams which are either instigated by the deity or can be self-induced. In the biblical context, they are generally instigated by Yahweh. As the messages of intuitive diviners do not require 'translating', they do not necessarily have to be religious specialists.

As biblical prophetic literature combines text and commentary, prophetic books are more than a written down and slightly edited version of prophetic speech (Schmid 2014). He states that the key differences between biblical and non-biblical prophecy are, the biblical tradents' attribution of intertemporal relevance and continuous updates of text. In this sense, Nissinen (2008: 31) distinguishes between 'ancient Hebrew prophecy' and 'biblical

[3] Manfred Weippert provides a more detailed definition: 'Ein(e) Prophet(in) ist eine Person männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts, die 1. in einem kognitiven Erlebnis, einer Vision, Audition, einem Traum o.ä., der Offenbarung einer Gottheit oder mehrerer Gottheiten teilhaftig wird, und 2. sich durch die betreffende(n) Gottheit(en) beauftragt weiß, die Offenbarung in sprachlicher oder metasprachlicher (Symbol- oder Zeichenhandlungen) Form an einen Dritten, den eigentlichen Adressaten, zu übermitteln' (1988: 287).

prophecy'. The former he defines as 'the concrete transmission of the divine word in the Hebrew language in ancient Palestine by persons that qualify as prophets'. Biblical prophecy is 'prophecy as interpreted by those who created the writings that gradually took the shape of what we call the Hebrew Bible'. Nissinen further notes that, while ancient Hebrew prophecy is part of the wider Near Eastern phenomenon of prophecy, it does not qualify as an 'authentic' prophetic phenomenon as much time has passed between the time of supposed prophetic action and writing it down. Nonetheless, biblical prophecy historically and literally originated from ancient Hebrew prophecy.

Traditionally, prophecy in the Bible was studied as a separate phenomenon opposed to and with a negative bias against all other types of divinatory practices in biblical scholarship. The picture presented in the Hebrew Bible is one of intuitive diviners dominating the 'divinatory scene' in Syro-Palestine (Sweek 2002: 44). In the study of ancient Israel and Judah, prophecy is the most examined form of divinatory practice while other types of divination remain neglected.[4] Regardless of which type, divination is about the relationship between humans and their gods (Scurlock 2012: 1) and much of what we are told in the Hebrew Bible is about how Yahweh communicates with his people. Divination – as the practice of divine-human communication - is, therefore, an important subject in the study of the biblical text where it is frequently featured or mentioned in a variety of forms (prophets and prophetic literature, divine dreams, *ummim* and *thummim*, etc.), directly and indirectly. The biblical texts do not offer a single ideological point of view on divination that is represented throughout the Hebrew Bible. Instead, the reader faces a reflection of the numerous perspectives on divination of its authors and editors that vary depending on time and place of writing and redaction and the nature of the story being told. The study of divination, as the practice of human-divine communication, can significantly enhance our understanding of the relationship between Yahweh and his people in the Hebrew Bible.

Prophecy and Power

The purpose of divinatory practice is the acquisition of divine knowledge, i.e. knowledge usually limited to the divine sphere. The possessor, and, in particular, the communicator of such knowledge gains authority, and ultimately power through this process (Lenzi 2008). Hence, divination is placed somewhere within the realms of religion, science and politics. Through performing religious activities, diviners acquire divine knowledge which enables them to play an influential role within their community, i.e. they become powerful. Pongratz-Leisten (1999) considers divination a political tool for the communication between king and god, serving the creation of divine knowledge (*Herrschaftswissen*) which central political authorities, the king, appropriated for their own advantage in order to maintain the social order. Lenzi (2008) creates a social model to further explain the ancient belief that deities communicated knowledge and why this

[4] Concerning the rest of the ancient Near East, it is the other way around: divinatory practices such as extispicy and astrology have been extensively studied whilst prophecy has only received little attention (Nissinen 1998: 157). This has created a distorted image of ancient Israel where prophecy is now over- and other divinatory practices underrepresented (for the rest of the ancient Near East, the opposite is the case).

divine knowledge was believed to be secret.[5] He refers to Tefft who argues that 'secret knowledge always gives its possessors some degree of power over others' (1980: 321).

The communication between humans and their gods is not a phenomenon limited to the ancient Near East. It appears in numerous different cultures through all periods. Hence, anthropological and ethnographic data can help us understand the relationship between divination and power in ancient and biblical Israel. In his study of domestic groups in Sisala society, Mendonsa (2000: 7) observes that elders use divination as a ritual means of politically controlling subordinates. Through divinatory practices, members of older generations gain social power that counteracts the natural physical power of younger members of the same social group. Lewis (1989) specifically focuses on the social context within which divination flourishes, in particular its characteristic phenomenon of ecstasy or possession.

The anthropologist I. M. Lewis argues that 'the religious enthusiast, with his direct claim to divine knowledge, is always a threat to the established order' (2003: 29). As Lewis considers access to divine knowledge as the religious enthusiast's medium of power and not the specific type of practice, his statement is relevant to divination (the practice of divine-human communication) as a whole. Lewis (2003: 24) analyses the relationship between religious ecstasy and social order and the potential benefits for individuals from ecstatic experiences within society in order to identify the specific social circumstances which 'encourage the development of an ecstatic emphasis in religion'. Lewis shows that possession can influence politics and be politically motivated, its impact depending on the social position of the diviner, either in the centre or on the fringes of society. Thereby, he distinguishes between 'central' and 'peripheral' possession cults. While the first tend to reinforce a status quo of the ruling group and their official moral system, the latter mostly occur as a form of protest of the marginalised or oppressed. As such, Lewis regards religious enthusiasm as a means to reinforce and legitimise already obtained power as well as a potential initiator of protest movements and a means to reach otherwise unachievable levels of social status and authority for the lower class. Divination is, therefore, a method to compete for authority and power within a society.[6] The promise of a new prophet in Deut 18:15-22 ties into the argument Lewis makes about religious leaders who, he claims,

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[5] Lenzi limits his study to textual evidence. He justifies this decision with the claim that there is no Mesopotamian or Israelite material culture to inform us on ideas of divine secret knowledge (2008: 22). Having presented a study of divine knowledge in materialised form through an analysis of Egyptian textual amulets and liver models at last year's OTSEM conference, I suggest that it is worth consulting the archaeological record. Also see Ann Jeffers 1996.

[6] Most biblical prophets are presented as outsiders on the periphery of the power structures (Elijah, Elisha, Amos, Jeremiah) where they are actively restricted by the court. They never proclaim their divine messages in secret but always in public – even though they use language suggesting secrecy (see Jer 23:18; Amos 3:7). Some biblical prophets are linked to the social elite (such as Nathan in 2 Sam 7 or the 400 prophets in 1 Kgs 22; Isaiah in Isa 7-8, 36-39). On behalf of the king, the prophet inquires of the deity about state matters (e.g. the decision to build a temple (2 Sam 7), political and religious reform (Josiah), enemies and the king's health) and deliver the divine message to the royal court (Lenzi 2008: 261). The biblical prophets fulfil an important role in facilitating the communication between the divine sphere and all social classes of the human sphere.

have a duty to sustain public morality. In order to do so they may resort to ecstasy in order to reinforce and validate their authority. Lewis (2003) suggests that the more established a religious authority becomes, the more depreciative its attitude towards 'unauthorised' religious ecstasy becomes. New belief systems are often instigated by a thriving of ecstatic revelations which comes to a halt once these religions become more established.

Ivan Strenski (2010: 94) argues that power only gains meaning through its contrast to authority (the ability to make others behave as one wishes). He distinguishes between two types of power which he borrows from Roman law: *potestas*, the secular, material and temporal type is generally associated with politics whereby power is monopolised and best understood as dominion and 'raw coercive force'. It is a dominant form of power that is imposed onto others. The other type is *auctoritas* which is authoritative in character and accepted by others, rather than imposed. It is spiritual and eternal in nature and as such relevant for the field of religion. In Roman law, *auctoritas* initially referred to the strength of a legal document or the value of a witness' testimony. Its meaning changed to signifying the respect attributed to this witness or contract. The person responsible for adding dignity to a contract was the *auctor* who was believed to increase the worth of the thing said to hold *auctoritas*. The *auctor* had the ability to act as an intermediary of things from one level to another (Strenski 2010: 92-94). Being authoritative did not necessarily mean that the *auctor* was also authoritarian. The *auctor*'s authority was not expressed in a forceful manner but ascribed, functioning in a more passively influential way than raw force.

As diviners act in an intermediary role between the divine and humankind, they may be considered an *auctor*. In Deut 13:2-6 and 18:9-22, they can only possess authority if it is granted by Yahweh for which they have to show loyalty to him; prophetic authority as outlined in Deuteronomy 13 and 18 is fully dependent on Yahweh. The Principal-Agent model is about a relationship between two parties in which one party, the principal, delegates work to another party, an agent, who then performs this work. It lends itself to be applied to the situation we encounter Deuteronomy by merging it with the *potestas-auctoritas* model, with Yahweh as 'principal *auctor*' who possesses *potestas* and the prophet, whom he endows with authority, as his agent. A potential problem that may arise in such a situation is that the two parties have conflicting interests or that it is difficult for the principal to ascertain what their agent is actually doing (Eisenhardt 1989).

Greenberg argues that, in the Hebrew Bible, power belongs to Yahweh. He utilises his power for two purposes, to create and sustain the world and to maintain the moral order (1990: 103). This is evident in Deut 13:2-6 and 18:9-22 (as well as 17:14-20 which will be discussed below). Sweek (2002: 44) argues that 'it is a necessary part of the business of the divinatory specialist, even of the extra-institutional diviner, to persuade the community that he or she has special access to divine knowledge and authorization, and subsequently, to sustain his society's confidence'. Other than the fact that diviners require their audiences' acknowledgement in order to continue with their profession, Sweek further argues that they also have a social responsibility in maintaining society's confidence; 'The study of divinatory systems has made it clear that much of the diviner's activity is aimed at the maintenance of position by playing a positive role in the

construction of order in the community' (Sweek 2002: 44). Similar to the role of the king, as the keeper of social order in other ancient societies, the diviner's role is also concerned with ensuring that the world order is intact.

Kingship in Deut 17:14-20

A brief excursion into a discussion of kingship and the role of the king as presented in Deuteronomy 17:14–20 will further support this point. In Deut 17:14-20, the role of the king is not defined through what he is supposed to do rather than what he is not allowed to do. He must be chosen by Yahweh and he must be Israelite. 17:16-17 is a portrayal of an ideal king who must not 'acquire many horses for himself' (and, hence, cannot form an army that would strengthen his power, *potestas*) nor must he return the Israelites to Egypt, hoping to acquire more horses (17:16). Neither is the king allowed to marry many wives - 'or else his heart will turn away' - or become too rich with silver and gold (17:17). The only positive duty specified is to read his own copy of Yahweh's laws on a daily basis. Lohfink (1993: 349) argues that 'In reality, only two things are left for the king: administration (so obvious as to require no mention) and the exemplary reading of the Torah. The king is now no more than administrator and model Israelite'.

In Deut 16:18-18:22, while priests and judges are assigned to deal with cultic and legal matters, the function of the prophet is to facilitate the communication between Yahweh and his people. The function of the king occupies a less prominent place in the text and a less politically relevant position in this social model than one might expect on the basis of kingship in other neighbouring cultures of the ancient world (e.g. Assyria, Egypt) where, ideologically, the king was, as a god or demi-god and the most important human being, placed at a connective point within the divine and human spheres. This section on kingship (17:14-20) follows a long discussion on the role of judges and the court system. This placement, Miller argues, is not accidental as judges play a fundamental part in Moses' instructions in a way the king does not; he notes that righteous judges are reflective of the way of Yahweh whereas 'the way of the king in Deuteronomy is not a reflection of the deity but a model of the true Israelite' (Miller 1990: 147).

Overall, kingship in Deut 17:14-20 is portrayed as a concept of legitimacy – with certain limitations. Barrett notes that kingship in Deuteronomy 'neither centralizes political power in the person of the king nor identifies his office with representing the will of Israel's God' (2009: 208). It is not the result of a divine decision but of human desire. People choose kingship and Yahweh chooses the king. Thus, Barrett notes, 'kingship is neither wholly humanly nor wholly divinely instituted' (2009: 211). 17:14-20 implies that the people's desire for a king comes from an outside influence, from neighbouring cultures. The question arises of why kingship is accepted as a 'foreign import' while divination is not. How does the prophet relate to the king? And what is the nature of the relationship between the king and Yahweh?

As shown by scholars such as Lewis (2003) or Pongratz-Leisten (1998), divinatory practices play a key element in the justification, stabilisation and, ultimately, the maintaining of a political status quo in order to preserve the king's rule. As a way to

reinforce and legitimise already obtained power, divination can therefore also function as a great supporter of a prevailing hegemony and is as such deeply entwined with the politics of divine kingship. The difference in Deuteronomy is that divination is not designed to support a human king but Yahweh. With this, the laws about kingship and the role of the human king in Deut 17:14-20 is yet another example in line with Deuteronomy's general policy to outline the limitations of human power, prestige and authority. In Deut 17:14-20 as well as some of the Psalms, the biblical text rejects the authority of human kingship and ascribes leadership to Yahweh as divine king alone, Yahweh in the role of the principal *auctor* who possesses *potestas* endows the king, his human agent, with *auctoritas*. Therefore, the role of the king within this literary context of Deuteronomy is portrayed in a similar manner as that of true prophets.

Summary and Conclusions

In this study, I explored the theme of prophetic authority in Deut 13:2-6 and 18:9-22, passages concerned with divination and the role of the prophet. My aim was to illuminate our understanding of relationships of power between the human and divine sphere within the literary context of Deuteronomy. For this, I provided a theoretical framework that differentiates between different forms of power, based on Strenski's *potestas–auctoritas* theory and the Principal–Agent model from modern economics. Based on Lewis' work on ecstatic religion, I considered divination as a method in the struggle over authority and power– as diviners possess divine knowledge, if not incorporated into the official system, they pose a threat to the establishment.

In Deuteronomy, we are confronted with false prophets, abhorrent diviners, weak kings and Yahweh's powerful prophets. Even though Deut 13:2-6 and 18:9-14 explicitly cover the subjects of divination and prophecy, in all passages, the key point being made is about loyalty to Yahweh: the prophets and dream diviners of chapter 13 are problematic as they promote the worship of other gods; diviners who perform divinatory practices from other nations as referred to in chapter 18 could also promote the worship of those nations' gods and are, hence, forbidden. Thus, prohibiting the worship of other deities, the First Commandment limits the authority of prophecy. Technical and intuitive divination are approached differently in Deuteronomy based on matters of agency. Technical divination is problematic as practitioners instigate the communication process with the deity, i.e. they are independent agents, which distracts from Yahweh's almightiness and reduces the deity's level of power. Prophets are portrayed as possessing authority only through Yahweh and possess no power of their own. Hereby, Yahweh functions as the principal and the prophet as his *auctor*. In Deut 17:14-20 the biblical text rejects the authority of human kingship and ascribes leadership to Yahweh as divine king alone, Yahweh in the role of the principal *auctor* who possesses *potestas* endows the king, his human agent, with *auctoritas*. Therefore, the role of the king within this literary context of Deuteronomy is portrayed in a similar manner as that of true prophets. The promise of a new prophet like Moses in Deut 18:15-22 is not an encouragement of prophecy in general but merely a way to increase Yahweh's authority by trying to cancel out any future prophecy as it is unlikely for somebody to equal Moses' achievements in the eyes of the people of Israel.

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Proposed focal points for the discussion: The "CBH" vs. "LBH" cases of weyiqtol – further examples? How should we perceive "LBH"? The Qumran texts – further cases of non-volitive weyiqtol? Explanations for the usage in 11QT?

Kasper Siegismund **OTSEM 2017 Helsinki**

On the Use of *Weyiqtol* in the Documents from Qumran

The purpose of this paper is to provide a (preliminary) overview of the use of *weyiqtol* (i.e. "unconverted" *waw* plus *yiqtol* as opposed to "converted" *wayyiqtol*) in the documents from Qumran, as well as a discussion of the use of the form in the Old Testament (OT). In the type of Hebrew that can be designated Classical Hebrew (CH), *weyiqtol* most often expresses explicit volition, though it is possible to find examples where this does not seem to be the case. Joosten argues that most of such instances occurring in what he considers the core books of (presumably early) Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH) are suspect in different ways, while a substantial number of assured occurrences are found in so-called Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH).[1] According to Joosten, in LBH, *weyiqtol* is found in contexts where classical usage would require a *weqatal*. A similar more or less indiscriminate use of *weyiqtol* and *weqatal* has been noted in some Qumran documents, most notably the Temple Scroll (11QT).[2]

1. The origin of *weyiqtol*

The finite verbal forms of CH can be described as belonging to two subsystems. The first subsystem consists of a group of forms that make up what is arguably the most characteristic trait of the verbal system of CH, the so-called "consecutive" system, featuring a mostly regular interchange between *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* on the one hand and between yiqtol and *weqatal* on the other hand. *Qatal* and *wayyiqtol* share the semantic content of anteriority, while *yiqtol* and *weqatal* indicate non-anteriority (which is often close to different shades of modal meaning).[3]

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[1] Jan Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose* (Jerusalem: Simor, 2012), 308–311 and 404–407. CBH = Genesis–2 Kings; LBH= 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, and Ecclesiastes.

[2] Cf. Mark S. Smith, *The Origins and Development of the Waw-Consecutive* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 60–63.

[3] Of course, these questions are immensely complicated and far from settled. A substantial part of my dissertation is devoted to the much debated question of the semantics of the Hebrew verbal forms and the characterization of the system as aspectual, modal, or temporal (relative or absolute tense). In the present context only a brief introductory presentation can be given, which means that my assertions may appear somewhat unsubstantiated. I will be happy to discuss these questions at the conference. I prefer to describe the basic opposition between *qatal*/*wayyiqtol* and *yiqtol*/*weqatal* in terms of relative tense, with the former group indicating anteriority and the latter non-anteriority. On this view, the meaning marked by the two groups of forms is merely whether an event or situation is located before or not-before a contextually determined reference point ("not-before" meaning either simultaneous with or after). Thus, *qatal* is used in all such cases where English or another language with a similar repertoire of forms would use either simple past, present perfect, past perfect, or future perfect, while *yiqtol* refers to present, future, and future in the past, as well as such notions as habitual or durative/progressive action in the past (everything that is not finished in relation to the point of reference). The notion of durative/progressive action, however, is mostly expressed by the participle, which appears to be playing a steadily increasing role in the verbal system as a substitute for *yiqtol* (and *weqatal*) in the domain of non-anteriority. Regarding the connection between the simple forms and the *waw*-prefixed forms, I adhere to the (far from universally held) view that

The second subsystem is the volitive or directive-volitive system.[4] It consists of a suppletive paradigm of forms that express the will of the speaker: the cohortative, imperative, and jussive, used for first, second, and third person, respectively.[5]

Synchronically, the cohortative is a lengthened version of the first person *yiqtol* form, with the ending *-ā* (־ה), while the jussive, in contrast, is a shortened form of *yiqtol*.[6] The shortened jussive form is only attested in roots of particular types. At an earlier stage of the language (which can be reconstructed on the basis of evidence from other Semitic languages as well as from Hebrew itself), the ancestor form of "ordinary", non-jussive *yiqtol* must have been **yaqtulu*, plural **yaqtulūna*, while the jussive and the *yiqtol* part of *wayyiqtol* can be traced back to a reconstructed **yaqtul*, plural **yaqtulū*.[7] At some point, Hebrew lost final short vowels (and the *n*-

qatal and *wayyiqtol* share the same semantics and that the choice of form has to do with the way the author (or speaker, presumably) wants to present the events. If there is a continuous flow of clauses introduced by "and" *wayyiqtol* will be used, but if something interrupts this flow *qatal* is used, and the same applies to *weqatal* and *yiqtol*. The reason for such an interruption may be the introduction of a new subject with some kind of focus or contrastive emphasis, a focused object or adverbial phrase, or it may be a way of marking past perfect events or circumstantial clauses. Indeed, sometimes an author seems to use the interchange between *waw*-prefixed forms and (*waw* +) X + simple forms as a means of providing variation. Note further that what I refer to here as *weqatal* is the form marked by final stress in some instances (1s and 2sm, except when prevented in certain root types and in certain phonetic and/or syntactical environments). In addition to this *weqataltí*, there is a *weqatálti*, i.e. simple "unconverted" *waw* plus *qatal*, which seems to have the same meaning as a *wayyiqtol*. While this is the normal form in a continued past narrative in Rabbinic Hebrew (RH), where the "converted" *waw*-prefixed forms have gone into disuse, *weqatálti* in CH does not really fit into the system, though the precise status of the form disputed.

[4] See, e.g., Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 17–18, and 313ff. Similar ideas were presented earlier by other scholars. Thus, Joüon refers to the imperative, jussive, and cohortative as a group of "modes volitifs" (Paul Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hebreu biblique* [Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1923], 307, §114), and Bergsträsser states more clearly that these forms "bilden ein einheitliches Bedeutungssystem für den Ausdruck eines Begehrens des Sprechenden irgend welcher Art" (Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik: Mit Benutzung der von E. Kautzsch bearbeiteten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik, II. Teil: Verbum* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929], 45, §10). Cf. also Ernest R. Revell, "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 60 (1989): 1–37.

[5] The jussive also occurs in the second person, though mostly negated (as the negative counterpart of the imperative). Non-negated second person jussives as well as second person *weyiqtol*s are very rare in classical usage. Cf. the non-use of the precative (= jussive) in the second person (and generally in the first person, too) in Akkadian (Wolfram von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1969], 105, §81c). In Ugaritic and Arabic, too, the use of second person jussive is somewhat restricted, while the corresponding form in Classical Ethiopic is used in all persons.

[6] As a rule, roots of the types ל״ה and ל״א do not have distinct cohortative forms. The *ā*-ending (which also occurs on the imperative 2sm in some cases) has been compared to different forms in cognate languages, and there seems to be a complicated historical relationship between the Hebrew cohortative (and the similar form in Ugaritic), the Arabic subjunctive (*yaqtula*), the Akkadian ventive (*-am*), the different "energic" *n*-forms attested in various languages, and the "emphatic" particle נָא־ in Hebrew (for a recent overview, see John A. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew* [Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2012], 238ff.). Note that the Arabic subjunctive and the energic forms are conjugated in all the grammatical persons. The same applies to the Akkadian ventive. In Hebrew, the use of *-ā* on *yiqtol* is restricted to the first person (except for two cases in Isa 5:19 and possibly a few more isolated examples, cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 143, n. 55).

[7] This much is more or less uncontroversial, cf. Cook's mention of the "hegemonic status" of this view in Hebrew studies (*Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 257). An affirmative answer to the related question of a possible distinction between the jussive and the ancestor of the *yiqtol* part of *wayyiqtol* marked by stress as argued by Hetzron is a far more marginal view (Robert Hetzron, "The Evidence for Perfect **Y'aqtul* and Jussive **Yaqt'ul* in Proto-Semitic," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 14.1 [1969]: 1–21). In chapter 5 of my dissertation I argue for a revised version of Hetzron's approach in an attempt to integrate the position of the stress in the explanation of the development of the entire "consecutive" system, specifically in relation to *weqatal* with its unexpected final stress in certain forms.

endings that were part of some of the forms were reduced), but in certain root types in some grammatical persons, the difference between original open and closed syllables (**yaqtulu* vs. **yaqtul*) resulted in different evolutions of the final vowel in the root (in ע״ו, ע״י, and *hif'il*), or, in the case of ל״ה, in the complete loss of the final syllable (plus subsequent segolisation) in original **yaqtul* forms vs. preservation of the syllable in original **yaqtulu*. In most roots, however, the jussive and the simple *yiqtol* have the same form. Still, there are reasons to believe that CH upholds a distinction between jussive and simple *yiqtol*, even in cases where no formal contrast is possible.[8] Thus, other traits occur with verbs with volitive meaning: the use of the negation אַל (rather than לֹא), the particle ־נָא, the lack of paragogic *nun* on the jussive (i.e. relics of the ending *-na* in **yaqtulu*, **yaqtulūna*), the non-use of the "energic" object suffixes, and a tendency for verbs with volitive meaning to occupy the initial position in a clause (while ordinary *yiqtol* is mostly non-initial).[9] The words "tendency" and "mostly" are important. There are exceptions to practically all the defining marks of volitive verbs. Thus, marked volitive forms are found in contexts that seem to be non-volitive, and forms specifically marked as non-volitive occur in contexts that seem to demand a volitive interpretation. Similarly, there are cases of initial *yiqtol* without volitive meaning, and clearly volitive forms can be placed in non-initial position (typically if another element needs to be focused).

That *weyiqtol* belongs to the volitive subsystem (indicating a specifically jussive or cohortative meaning) can be seen from the general functioning of the verbal system. As noted above (n. 3), *yiqtol* and *weqatal* share the same non-anterior semantics, the choice between the two forms depending on the occurrence or non-occurrence of focused elements before the verb. The form *weqatal* and its interchange with *yiqtol* seems to be the result of an analogical process, with the interchange between *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* as a model.[10] In any case, regardless of its origin, the interchange between *yiqtol* and *weqatal* is readily observable in innumerable places

[8] Cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 314–319.

[9] For a short overview of the characteristics of the volitives, see David Kummerow, "How Can the Form יִקְטֹל Be a Preterite, Jussive, and a Future/Imperfective? A Brief Elaboration of the Forms and Functions of the Biblical Hebrew Prefix Verbs", *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 8–9 (2008): 63–95. Regarding word order, the connection between volitives and initial position was noted by Haim B. Rosén, "The Comparative Assignment of Certain Hebrew Tense Forms", in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies Held in Jerusalem, 19–23 July 1965* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1969), 212–234; Alviero Niccacci, "A Neglected Point of Hebrew Syntax: *Yiqtol* and Position in the Sentence", *Liber Annuus* 37 (1987): 7–19; Revell, "The System of the Verb". Cf. also Harry M. Orlinsky, "On the Cohortative and Jussive after an Imperative or Interjection in Biblical Hebrew: IV (Continued)", *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 32.3 (1942): 273–277 (274). It should be noted that the initial position is not the cause of the volitive meaning (cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 353). Indeed, the reverse seems to be the case. In general, Hebrew uses fronting (initial position) as a way to focus the fronted element. In clauses with volitive verbs, the focus would tend to be on the verb itself in order to highlight the volitive force inherent in the verb, hence the widespread use of initial position (cf. Revell, "The System of the Verb", 21). Several other languages show a marked tendency for placing volitives (especially imperatives) in initial position (English, Danish etc.; in Danish, non-initial imperatives sound decidedly odd).

[10] The background of *weqatal* and the general origin of the "consecutive" system will be treated in a separate chapter in my dissertation (parts of which were presented at OTSEM in 2015). There is no consensus in the field on these questions, and though several scholars have embraced some sort of analogical explanation (cf. the list in Smith, *The Origins*, 6), others have denied such attempts quite emphatically (cf. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 209; however, his objection to the analogical theory is clearly based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of analogical relationships).

in the texts. Non-anterior, verb-initial clauses introduced by "and" use *weqatal*, while clauses with other elements before the verb use *yiqtol*. In this system, there is no place for *weyiqtol*.[11] The occurrences of *weyiqtol* seem to require some other explanation. Indeed, most occurrences are in clearly volitive contexts with other volitive forms in the vicinity. Further, where a formal distinction can be made, most *weyiqtol*s are marked as volitives.[12] These facts, combined with what is known about the prehistory of the forms as belonging to distinct volitive paradigms, indicate that *weyiqtol* should be considered an explicitly volitive verbal form.[13]

Often (including in cases where no formal marks can be seen and no other volitive forms occur), a clear distinction between *weyiqtol* and *weqatal* seems to be perceivable. However, since modern readers and scholars are in no position to judge such fine shades of meaning with native speaker intuition, there is a considerable degree of uncertainty.[14]

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[11] Cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 425: "Indeed, there is no place for the syntagm *w^{e}* + YIQTOL in the CBH system, for the syntactic slot where it might occur is occupied by *WEQATAL*".

[12] There are, however, several cases of *weyiqtol*s marked as non-volitives (as well as *wayyiqtol*s with unexpected non-shortened form). Baden has argued for a clear distinction between *weyiqtol* consisting of *waw* plus volitive form (formally marked as such) and *weyiqtol* consisting of *waw* plus simple *yiqtol* not marked as volitive (Joel S. Baden, "The *Weyiqtol* and the Volitive Sequence", *Vetus Testamentum* 58 [2008]: 147–158). According to Baden, there are only 11 of the latter type in the corpus Gen–2 Kgs (p. 151), and he argues for a consistent significance of such forms, viz. the expression of purpose or result (p. 155). He translates the 11 cases with subordinate clauses such as "so that the dry land may appear" (Gen 1:9), "that she might suckle" (Exod 2:7), etc. However, Joosten notes that the count of 11 forms is faulty, since first person *weyiqtol*s without cohortative ending should be added, which brings the number up to 21. According to Joosten, some of these forms are problematic for Baden's interpretation, in addition to two of Baden's original examples, which also "proved to be somewhat resistant to Baden's thesis (Judg 19:11; 2 Kgs 4:10)" (Jan Joosten, "Short Note: A Note on *Weyiqtol* and Volitive Sequences", *Vetus Testamentum* 59 [2009]: 495–498 [496]). Joosten argues that the formally non-volitive *weyiqtol*s noted by Baden should "be regarded as instances of *wə* + volitive, in spite of the unexpected morphology" (p. 498). Joosten is surely right in pointing out that a considerable amount of levelling of the original distinction has occurred, even in roots where the distinction could be upheld, due to the loss of the formal distinction in the majority of root types.

[13] Of course, the "verbal form" consists of two parts, the conjunction "and" and the verbal form itself. The same applies to the other *waw*-prefixed form in the verbal system. Although a good translation will often leave out the "and" or introduce other (sometimes subordinate) conjunctions, it is important to be aware of the widespread use of coordinated expression in Hebrew (and other Semitic languages).

[14] Johnson's approach to the question of *weqatal* vs. *weyiqtol* is worth mentioning (Bo Johnson, *Hebräisches Perfekt und Imperfekt mit vorangehendem w^{e}* [Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1979]). He tries to establish the difference in meaning between the two forms, relying only on some kind of undefined intuition: "Was würde hier ein *w^{e}*Perf [= *weqatal*] statt eines *w^{e}*Impf [= *weyiqtol*] (oder umgekehrt) besagen?" (p. 94). On the same page, he notes that the stress in *weqataltí* vs. *weqatálti* and the distinction between *waw* plus ordinary *yiqtol* and *waw* plus jussive or cohortative are important issues, yet he does not include a treatment of these questions in his study. This omission clearly renders the investigation less than satisfactory. Even though he succeeds in establishing a basic difference between *weqatal* and *weyiqtol*, his failure to use the diachronic and comparative evidence means that this conclusion is really based on nothing but his own translations of the sentences concerned. Since we lack native speaker intuition, we need to use all the evidence available if we want to be able to even begin to answer the question that Johnson asks. Still, his conclusion that *weqatal* marks something that merely follows from the preceding action, while *weyiqtol* marks a new initiative, often implying a wish or expressing a modal sense (pp. 57 and 65), seems to be close to the conclusion that can be reached if the comparative evidence is integrated in the analysis. However, Johnson fails to take account of the important notion of markedness. *Weyiqtol* explicitly marks volition, while *weqatal* does not – however, neither does *weqatal* explicitly mark non-volition (as Johnson seems to think, e.g. on p. 57: "[…] während ein *w^{e}*Perf hier die Handlung als eine notwendige Folge der vorliegenden Umstände darstellt"). Clearly, there are many instances of *weqatal* that logically must imply the active initiative of the subject (e.g. when God says ופקדתי).

Volition is a type of (deontic) modality.[15] Since the non-anterior meaning of ordinary (non-volitive) *yiqtol* and *weqatal* often has various modal connotations (and some scholars, notably Joosten, prefer to describe *yiqtol* and *weqatal* as modal forms), a certain overlap is to be expected between these forms and the volitives. In fact, the wider context of a non-anterior verbal form can often lead to a volitive interpretation of the passage as a whole, though this is not explicitly expressed in the verb itself – i.e., the volitive forms are explicitly marked for the expression of speaker's will, while simple *yiqtol* and *weqatal* are unmarked.[16]

Of special interest for the study of *weyiqtol*, is the fact that many scholars believe that volitives with prefixed *waw* may often be considered subordinate. Allegedly, such forms express the purpose or consequence of the preceding verb.[17] However, such "indirect volitives" need not be interpreted in this way. In fact, it seems clear that the alleged subordination is merely a product of translation into languages that do not share the characteristic Hebrew preference for coordinated clauses. There are other explicit ways of expressing purpose (infini-

[15] It is customary to distinguish between deontic and epistemic modality. Epistemic modality "is concerned with language as information, with the expression of the degree or nature of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what he says", while deontic modality "is concerned with language as action, mostly with the expression by the speaker of his attitude towards possible actions by himself and others" (Frank R. Palmer, *Mood and Modality* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], 121). Joosten lists several kinds of meanings associated with the various volitive forms (*The Verbal System*, 121 and 319–340). He argues that expressions of will are highly sensitive to pragmatic factors such as the status and power of the speaker and the addressee. An imperative, for instance, may be interpreted as an expression of "command (Gen 12:19), request (Gen 23:4), invitation (Gen 18:4), permission (Gen 23:6), concession (Gen 47:19), blessing (Gen 24:60) or prediction (Gen 42:16), all depending on the speech situation" (p. 121). Note that the variety of possible interpretations of the imperative is not a special Hebrew phenomenon; similar interpretations are applicable to the imperative in English, Danish, and other languages. Similarly, the cohortative can express "the intention to act when the speaker is able (Ex 3:3), but a request for help or permission when he is not (Num 20:7)", while the jussive "may express a command (Gen 1:3), recommendation (Gen 41:33), or mere wish (Gen 31:49), according to the authority of the speaker" (p. 121). Note Bergström's use of the term "reduced appeal function" for the jussive and cohortative (Ulf Bergström, "Temporality and the Semantics of the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System" [Ph.D. diss., Uppsala University, 2014], 156). Rather than denoting an outright command, "[e]ven when the speaker has authority over the listener, the jussive gives the impression that the listener has the option to grant the wish by his own free will, which makes the speaker appear as benevolent, and gives the listener a chance of proving his trustworthiness". However, this description seems to owe a lot to the fact that the rendering of Hebrew jussives in English (and other Germanic languages) typically includes a construction with the verb "let". It is doubtful whether the idea of permission is actually that pervasive in Hebrew usage.

[16] Cf. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 247, or Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 66–67. While I do not share all of Joosten's modality prominent analysis of the Hebrew verbal system, there are good reasons for seeing a connection between modality and the various types of non-anteriority (future, habituality, etc.). A further reason for the modal connotations of *yiqtol* (and *weqatal*) seems to be the loss of distinction between the jussive and the ordinary *yiqtol* in most cases (cf. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 248). Note Shulman's somewhat misleading description of ordinary *yiqtol* as conveying "the speaker's certainty or knowledge that the act will be performed" (Ahouva Shulman, "The Function of the 'Jussive' and 'Indicative' Imperfect Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose", *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 13 (2000): 168–180 [174]). While it is correct to stress the fact that there is no explicit volitive meaning in the "indicative imperfect", the form clearly does not always indicate an absolutely certain future event/prediction. In fact, Shulman's example from Exod 20:3 (לֹא יִהְיֶה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים עַל־פָּנָי), which is stated to convey "God's knowledge that this is what will happen" (p. 177), is hardly a prediction. Rather, the Israelites will repeatedly follow other gods in the subsequent stories. Hence, a broader characterization of the form (as non-anteriority, with various modal connotations derived from the context) seems to be more to the point.

[17] See, e.g., Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (2nd ed.; Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2009), 352ff. Cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 140ff. Also note the article by Baden referred to above (n. 12); contrary to most other scholars advocating a final meaning in *weyiqtol*, he ascribes the alleged final meaning specifically to the non-volitive *weyiqtol* forms.

tive, למען, etc.). While the rendering of a *weyiqtol* clause with a subordinate clause of purpose or consequence might be defensible if the intention is to produce a readable translation into English or a similar language, this kind of translational interference should never be allowed to determine the analysis of the Hebrew system.[18] In the Hebrew system, *weyiqtol* is not subordinate.[19] Like the volitive forms without *waw*, *weyiqtol* simply expresses volition, i.e. the will of the speaker, in simple coordination with a preceding clause. Various other interpretations are merely derived from this inherent meaning and the context.

The use of *weyiqtol* as a marked volitive can be briefly illustrated through an overview of the occurrences in Genesis and Exodus. There are 175 occurrences of *weyiqtol* in these two books, in 139 verses.[20] In most cases, the classical rules clearly apply. Where distinct short forms exist, these are used in 14 cases.[21] Only one occurrence has a clearly non-shortened form with a root where a short form exists.[22] In the first person, all *weyiqtol*s from roots that are able to take the added *heh* occur with this ending.[23] Most of the cases are in

[18] On the role of translation in the analysis of *weyiqtol*, see Takamitsu Muraoka, "The Alleged Final Function of the Biblical Hebrew Syntagm <*Waw* + a Volitive Verb Form>", in *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible: Papers from the Tilburg Conference 1996* (ed. Ellen van Wolde; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 229–241. On p. 237 he correctly states: "And even if in very many places such a translation, not only in the ancient versions, but also in modern European languages, reads well and elegantly, the question still remains whether or not it is essentially a question of translation expedience". A good example of the influence of translations on the analysis of the Hebrew verbs is Kelly's treatment of *weyiqtol* (Fred T. Kelly, "The Imperfect with Simple Waw in Hebrew", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 39.1/2 [1920]: 1–23). He divides the occurrences of *weyiqtol* into four different classes (p. 3–4), based on the way the Hebrew is translated into English. He also mentions supposedly "relative conditional sentences" as in Gen 22:5 (וְנִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנָשׁוּבָה אֲלֵיכֶם), which he interprets as "and when we (shall) have worshipped, we will return to you". While this might work as a rather free translation, using such a translation to talk about the Hebrew sentence as a "relative conditional sentence" is clearly misguided.

[19] Note that the Arabic subjunctive (*yaqtula*), which seems to share a common origin with the Hebrew cohortative, is indeed a subordinate form (as the name implies), at least most of the time. The form does occur after the coordinating conjunction *wa-*, as in Hebrew, but in simple main clauses without *wa-* the subjunctive cannot be used. The use of this form is required after certain conjunctions, which clearly mark the clause as subordinate, contrary to the situation in Hebrew. On the secondary nature of the subordinate use of the form, see David Testen, "On the Development of the Arabic Subjunctive", in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics: Papers from the Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. Volume VI: Columbus, Ohio 1992* (ed. Mushira Eid, Vicente Cantarino and Keith Walters; Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994), 151–166. Cf. the Ethiopic jussive.

[20] Gen 1:6, 9, 26; 9:26, 27 (two); 11:3, 4, 7; 12:2 (three), 3; 13:9 (two); 17:2 (two); 18:5, 21, 30, 32; 19:5, 20, 32 (two), 34; 20:7; 22:5 (two), 17; 23:4, 9, 13; 24:3, 14, 49, 51, 56, 57, 60; 26:3 (two), 28; 27:4, 7 (two), 9, 21, 25, 28, 29 (two), 31, 41; 28:3 (two), 4; 29:21, 27; 30:3 (two), 25, 26, 28; 31:3, 27, 37; 32:10; 33:12 (two); 34:12, 21 (two), 23; 35:3 (three); 37:13, 20 (three), 27; 38:24; 41:33, 34, 35 (two); 42:2, 16 (two), 20, 34; 43:4, 8 (three); 44:21; 45:18, 28; 46:31 (two); 47:16, 19 (two); 48:9, 16 (two); 49:1, 7, 25 (two); 50:5 (two); Exod 2:7, 20; 3:3, 10, 18; 4:18 (two), 23; 5:1, 3, 9, 21; 6:11; 7:16, 19, 26; 8:4 (three), 16; 9:1, 13, 22, 28; 10:3, 7, 12 (two), 17, 21 (two); 11:2; 12:3; 14:2 (two), 4, 12, 15, 16, 17 (two), 26; 15:2 (two), 17; 17:2; 18:19; 19:3; 20:19; 23:8, 12; 24:7, 12; 25:2; 26:24; 27:20; 28:28; 32:10 (three); 33:5, 13; 35:10. The list is from BibleWorks 9.

[21] Gen 1:6; 9:26, 27b; 19:20; 24:51; 41:34; Exod 2:7 (consonantal text; vocalisation as for ordinary *yiqtol*, וְתֵינֵק); 8:4a; 9:22; 10:12a, 17, 21a; 18:19; 32:10a.

[22] Gen 1:9. The same applies to the consonantal text in Exod 19:3, though not the vocalisation (וְתַגֵּיד). On Gen 1:9, note that 4QGen^{k} has the sequence ותרא היב]שה (see Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants* [Leiden: Brill, 2010], 3). Nothing else is preserved, but Ulrich assumes that the form is a *wayyiqtol* and that this manuscript contained more text than the MT (cf. LXX). However, since the preceding part of the text is not preserved, this might be the MT *weyiqtol*, with the expected shortened form.

[23] Gen 11:3, 7; 12:2c, 3; 13:9a, 9b; 17:2a; 18:5, 30, 32; 19:5, 32a; 22:5b; 23:4, 13; 24:56, 57; 26:28; 27:4, 7a, 25, 41; 29:21, 27; 30:25, 26, 28; 32:10; 33:12a, 12b; 34:12; 35:3a; 42:34; 43:4, 8a, 8b; 44:21; 45:18; 46:31a, 31b; 47:16; 49:1; 50:5a, 5b; Exod 3:18; 4:18a; 5:3; 8:4b; 9:28; 14:4, 12, 17b; 20:19; 24:12; 33:5. Note that some of these first person forms have no final *heh* in the Samaritan Pentateuch (Gen 12:3; 18:5; 19:5; 22:5b; 24:57; 27:4, 25; 29:21; 32:10; 34:12; 45:18;

clearly volitive passages, typically following other volitive verbal forms (approx. 151 of the 175 occurrences).[24] In some cases (approx. 13), the general context is clearly volitive, even though the preceding verb is not a volitive form.[25] Thus, in the overwhelming majority of cases, *weyiqtol* seems to be volitive.

2. *Weyiqtol* in so-called CBH and LBH

The classical usage of *weyiqtol* described above is not the only usage attested in Hebrew. In RH, the imperative is the only surviving part of the volitive system, while the formal distinction of cohortatives and jussives has been lost (except for a few traces of short forms). The "consecutive" tenses are no longer used, which means that a distinction between volitive *weyiqtol* and non-volitive *weqatal* can no longer be maintained.[26] The question is to which extent the beginnings of this development can be seen in the pre-RH textual corpora. According to Joosten, the texts designated LBH exhibit a system where "the different [volitive] forms are still extant, but they no longer imply a different meaning".[27] In LBH, the cases of non-volitive *weyiqtol* "represent normal syntax", mixing with *weqatal* "without obvious semantic or pragmatic implications".[28]

46:31b; 47:16; Exod 8:4b; 9:28; 24:12;). Gen 29:27 also lacks the final *heh* in the Samaritan text. However, the form is 1s, while the MT has 1p – unless the MT וְנִתְּנָה is a *nif'al weqatal* 3sf (in which case, however, the following את is unexpected).

[24] The following cases occur after an imperative: Gen 12:2a (the intervening simple *yiqtol* is in a relative clause); 12:3 (וְהְיֵה; it might make more sense to read the *waw* + imperative as a *weqatal*; the preceding forms are *weyiqtol*s); 13:9a, 9b; 17:2a; 18:5; 19:5; 19:34; 20:7; 23:4, 9, 13; 24:3, 14, 49, 51, 56, 60; 26:3a; 27:4, 7a, 9, 21, 25, 28 (a relative clause intervenes between the imperative and the *weyiqtol*), 29b; 29:21, 27; 30:3a, 25, 26, 28; 31:3, 37; 32:10; 34:12; 35:3a; 37:13, 20a, 27; 38:24; 42:2, 16a, 16b, 34; 43:8a; 44:21; 45:18; 47:16, 19a, 19b; 48:9; 49:1; Exod 2:20; 3:10; 4:23; 5:1; 6:11; 7:16, 19, 26; 8:4a, 16; 9:1, 13, 22, 28 (a nominal clause intervenes between the imperative and the *weyiqtol*); 10:3, 7, 12a, 17, 21a; 11:2; 12:3 (?); 14:2a, 12, 15, 16, 26; 17:2; 20:19; 24:12; 25:2; 32:10a; 33:5, 13. After a jussive (either formally marked or in initial position): Gen 1:6, 9; 9:27a; 18:30, 32; 26:28; 27:29a, 31, 41; 41:33, 34 (initial, but long: יַעֲשֶׂה; the Samaritans have ויעש); Exod 5:9, 21; 15:17 (?). After a cohortative: Gen 1:26; 11:3, 4, 7; 18:21; 19:20, 32a; 22:5a; 24:57; 33:12a; 34:23; 43:4; 45:28; 46:31a; 49:7 (?); 50:5a; Exod 3:3, 18; 4:18a; 5:3; 18:19 (?); 24:7. After another *weyiqtol*: Gen 9:27b; 12:2b, 2c; 17:2b; 19:32b; 22:5b; 27:7b; 28:3b; 30:3b; 33:12b; 34:21b; 35:3b, 3c; 37:20b; 41:35b; 43:8b, 8c; 46:31b; 48:16b; 50:5b; Exod 4:18b; 8:4b, 4c; 10:12b, 21b; 14:2b, 17b; 32:10b, 10c.

[25] Gen 9:26 (after a בָּרוּךְ-clause); 28:3a (the preceding *yiqtol* does not have a short form and the initial position has been overruled by a focused subject; the content is clearly a prayer/blessing), 4 (belongs to the same sequence, although the preceding verb is a *weqatal*); 34:21 (after a descriptive nominal sentence; the whole context suggests a volitive reading; LXX and the Samaritans have no *waw*); 37:20c (disregarding the intervening quotation, the preceding verb is a *weqatal*; the verbs that occur before that, however, are *weyiqtol*s and an imperative, and the context is clearly volitive; on the *weqatal*, see p. 12 below); 41:35a (though the preceding verb is a *weqatal*, there are other volitive forms in the vicinity and the context clearly allows a volitive reading); 48:16a (similar to 28:3a); 49:25a and 25b (the syntax of this passage is difficult; the meaning of the verbs – "help" and "bless" – indicates a context of prayer or blessing, which would suggest a volitive reading, but certainty is hardly possible; LXX has "and" plus aorists); Exod 2:7 (after a *weqatal*; the context seems to indicate that the volition of the addressee is asked for, cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 275: however, see p. 13 below); 15:2a and 2b (after nominal sentences; the context of praise seems to suggest a cohortative interpretation); 27:20 (the preceding verb is a non-initial *yiqtol*; however, the lexical content of this word is "command"; hence, a following volitive *weyiqtol* makes sense; note Niccacci's claim that the preceding *yiqtol* does have jussive value – because the parallel text of Lev 24:2 has an imperative instead of the *yiqtol* ["A Neglected Point", 10]; however, such arguments from the semantic equivalence of different verbal forms in parallel passages are not convincing).

[26] Moses H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 72. A further difference between RH and earlier stages of the language include a much more widespread use of the participle as a replacement of *yiqtol* in many of its former functions, while *yiqtol* has become more restricted to subordinate and modal contexts.

[27] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 314. Cf. Revell's earlier statement of the same idea ("The System of the Verb", 30–31).

[28] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 399.

However, the notion of a clear difference between the use of *weyiqtol* in the supposedly clearly defined corpora of CBH and LBH is problematic. On the one hand, the overall chronological development is clear enough.[29] On the other hand, the reflection of this development in the biblical books does not seem to be as straightforward as claimed by Joosten.[30] First, in supposedly early books, there are problematic cases of *weyiqtol*, some of which are possibly non-volitives. Second, some of the books in Joosten's LBH corpus do not exhibit any deviations from the classical usage (as acknowledged by Joosten,[31] as far as Esther is concerned). A major problem in dealing with the two supposedly chronologically distinct corpora is the circular nature of the assumptions underlying the interpretation of the forms (*weyiqtol*s in CBH are classical and deviations are to be explained away, while this is not the case in LBH). In fact, the evaluation of a given *weyiqtol* form is often

[29] There is no space for a detailed survey of the (deplorably small) corpora of non-literary Hebrew texts, which might illuminate the evolution of the language in texts that are not clearly part of a literary tradition, but the following conclusions should be noted. In the ancient Hebrew inscriptions (tenth to sixth century BC), there are only four (more or less) clear cases of *weyiqtol* (disregarding forms that might plausible be interpreted as *wayyiqtol*s, where the reading is uncertain, or the context too fragmentary): Ketef Hinnom 2:6–7 and 10–11 and Kuntillet ʿAjrûd 19:8 and 19:9. The forms in Ketef Hinnom are only partially preserved (שמרך[י]ו and שם[י]ו; the first of these is preserved in an even worse state in Ketef Hinnom 1:15–16, שמרך[וי]), but it seems clear that they must have been *w+yiqtol*s. Since there are also initial *yiqtol*s in the passage, and since the content is clearly a version of the same text that is preserved in Num 6:24–26 (the Priestly Blessing), the interpretation of these forms as *weyiqtol*s, with an explicitly jussive meaning, seems evident. The reading of the two instances in Kuntillet ʿAjrûd 19 as *weyiqtol*s seems to be certain as well (line 8 וישמרך, line 9 ויהי). The preceding verb is a *yiqtol* in initial position, i.e. probably a jussive (יברך). Since the content is clearly a blessing functioning as the introduction to a letter (note the performative *qatal* in line 5 ברכתך), the jussive reading is the obvious choice. Note the short form in Kuntillet ʿAjrûd 19:9 (ויהי). In the other verbs, no distinction can be made. Thus, the four attested cases conform to the classical rule. For the inscriptions, see, e.g., F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, Jimmy J. M. Roberts, Choon-Leong Seow, and Richard E. Whitaker, *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). The general classical character of the inscriptions has been noted, among others, by Gogel (Sandra L. Gogel, *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1983], 292).In the documents from the Bar Kokhba period, on the other hand, there seem to be approximately ten instances of *weyiqtol*, none of which can be clearly identified as explicit volitives. No convincing examples of non-anterior *weqatal*, or of *wayyiqtol*, are found in these documents, in contrast to the earlier inscriptions. For the texts, see Yigael Yadin, Jonas C. Greenfield, Ada Yardeni, and Baruch A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 2000).

[30] In recent years, the presumed connection between linguistic characteristics and chronology has faced heavy criticism. See especially *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. Ian Young; London: T&T Clark International, 2003); Ian Young and Robert Rezetko (with Martin Ehrensvärd), *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (London: Equinox, 2008); Robert Rezetko and Ian Young, *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps toward an Integrated Approach* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014). While some of the claims made by Young and Rezetko in their 2008 book have been lambasted for seemingly implying an almost total denial of chronological evolution of the language (cf. several contributions in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew* [ed. Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé and Ziony Zevit; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012]), the basic point of their criticism is certainly valid. The nature of the texts at our disposal, the way they were produced and transmitted through the hands of scribes, and the fact that CH must have been used as a scholarly language of religious literature for a substantial period of time (while the spoken language evolved farther and farther away from the classical standard) would seem to preclude any direct and necessary relation between supposedly diagnostic traits in the linguistic makeup of a text and the date of writing of the original text. In fact, it does not seem to be possible to trace the development of the verbal system in a straight line through the various books of the OT, via the Qumran documents, to RH. There is no guarantee that clearly late texts such as the ones from Qumran must exhibit a clearly unclassical use of every part of the verbal system. Since it seems necessary to assume a continued use of CH as a literary standard language, a skilled late writer or copyist might be able to use a polished classical style without betraying his lateness.

[31] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 408.

highly subjective. It is necessary to highlight the difficulties in using linguistic traits of this type in the discussion of the chronological layering of biblical texts.

As stated above, most occurrences in Genesis and Exodus seem to follow the classical rule (i.e., *weyiqtol* is an expression of explicit volition), and the same applies to the other books described as CBH. Still, a substantial number of instances seem to be problematic. In Joosten's account, the cases of non-volitive *weyiqtol* noted in Genesis and Exodus are Gen 22:17 (וְיִרַשׁ); Exod 19:3 (וְתַגֵּיד); 23:8 (ויסַלֵּף); 23:12 (וְיִנָּפֵשׁ); 24:7 (וְנִשְׁמָע).[32] However, Joosten "eliminates" most of such instances in CBH by pointing to textual or other problems in the various passages.[33] Thus, according to Joosten, the only real case of non-volitive *weyiqtol* in the two books is Exod 24:7. Joosten argues that this verse is surprising, both because of the *weyiqtol* (instead of a *weqatal*) and because of the order of the two verbs in the clause (כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר יְהוָה נַעֲשֶׂה וְנִשְׁמָע).[34]

Apart from this case from Exodus, Joosten finds only one other undoubted instance of non-volitive *weyiqtol* in the corpus of classical prose: 2 Kgs 7:12 (וְנִתְפְּשֵׂם).[35] The other problematic cases in the corpus are all eliminated by the same or similar methods as those used in Genesis and Exodus: Num 16:5 (וְיֹדַע);[36] Deut 2:4

[32] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 309. In n. 111, he refers to difficult cases in Exod 26:24 and 28:28. He seems to think that they express "light subordination", which, according to Joosten, is a special usage of the volitive forms.

[33] Gen 22:17 is a פ״י root, and the writer of the consonantal text might have intended the form as a *weqatal*. The problematic instances in Exod 19:3, 23:8, and 23:12 are explained as "poetic syntax", following the "peculiar rules of ellipsis obtaining in poetry" (Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 311 and 429). Exod 19:3 (וְתַגֵּיד) is a 2sm form, which is unclassical – though occurring in the classical corpus. According to Joosten (p. 406), the *e*-vocalization reflects the late tendency to use the marked volitive forms with *waw*. None of these three cases are poetry in any real sense of the word and the claim that influence from poetical usage might explain the use of *weyiqtol* does not, of course, remove the problematic occurrences. In 23:12, the preceding verb is an ordinary *yiqtol* introduced by the particle למען, where we would clearly expect a *weqatal* as the continuation of the *yiqtol* (cf. Neh 6:13 below). Still, as in several other cases, a jussive interpretation cannot be ruled out ("and let the son of your servant woman be refreshed"). Note that the Samaritans have a different version of this verse, with no second verb in the למען-clause: למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך כמוך וכל בהמתך והגר).

[34] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 308: "one would have expected the 'hearing' to be mentioned before the 'doing'". In fact, we can note that the Samaritans and one Greek manuscript have the verbs in the opposite order, and there is a Qumran manuscript (4QPaleoExod^{m}), which – though fragmentary – seems to exhibit the same order (נ]שמע ונעשה; Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 85). It might be remarked that a volitive (cohortative) reading makes excellent sense in the context, but the non-initial position of the first verb and the lack of final *heh* on the *weyiqtol* would seem to argue against. However, as noted above, a focused object might overrule the initial position of volitives, and there are other examples of non-use of cohortative *heh*, see, e.g., ונלין in Judg 19:11 (cf. Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 319, n. 22).

[35] However, as in the case from Exodus, I would argue that nothing in the context seems to rule out a cohortative interpretation.

[36] Textual corruption? The root is פ״י (*weqatal*?). Note that the Samaritans have ויודע making the *weyiqtol hif'il* reading clear (unless it is a *qal* participle?).

(וַיִּירְאוּ);[37] 13:12 (וְיִרָאוּן);[38] 16:19 (ויסַלַּח);[39] 17:13 (וְיִרָאוּ);[40] 19:20 (וְיִרְאוּ);[41] 21:21 (וְיִרְאוּ);[42] Jos 3:13 (וְיַעַמְדוּ);[43] 7:9 (וְיִשְׁמְעוּ);[44] 19:29 (וַיְהִיוּ);[45] 1 Sam 10:5 (ויהי);[46] 28:19 (וְיִתֵּן);[47] 2 Sam 5:24 (ויהי);[48] 1 Kgs 11:39 (וְאַעַנֶּה);[49] 14:5 (ויהי);[50] 14:16 (וְיִתֵּן).[51] Elsewhere, Joosten mentions two additional non-volitive cases: Deut 32:39 (וַאֲחַיֶּה), 41 (וְתֹאחֵז). However, they occur in a poetical segment of possibly archaic character and are presumably "eliminated" on that account.[52] In addition, outside of his specific list, Joosten refers to 1 Kgs 1:2, which displays a seemingly random interchange of *weqatal* and possibly non-volitive *weyiqtol*. He explains the unexpected *weyiqtol* as a late intrusion.[53]

Two of the cases mentioned are apparently "eliminated" by Joosten without explanation (Jos 7:9 and 1 Kgs 14:16). They seem to be rather clearly non-volitive. In addition to the cases noted (and "eliminated") by Joosten, there are a few other cases in his CBH corpus that might be candidates for a non-volitive reading

[37] פ״י (*weqatal*?). However, in this case, the consonantal text with two *yod*s points to a *weyiqtol* reading – but 4QDeut^{h} has one *yod* only. Note that the Samaritans have two *yod*s in all the other instances of this verb mentioned above, where the MT has only one.

[38] פ״י (*weqatal*?). The form has a paragogic *nun*, which makes a *weqatal* reading difficult. Joosten, however, suggests that the *nun* might be a secondary feature (*The Verbal System*, 311, n. 123). The form occurs right after a simple, non-initial *yiqtol* with a seemingly non-volitive meaning.

[39] "Poetic syntax". This is more or less the same sentence as Exod 23:8.

[40] פ״י (*weqatal*?).

[41] פ״י (*weqatal*?).

[42] פ״י (*weqatal*?).

[43] Textual corruption.

[44] Joosten does not provide any explanation for the "elimination" of this one. It seems to be a rather clear example of a non-volitive.

[45] Textual corruption: The *qere* has a *weqatal*, while the *ketiv* has a *weyiqtol*. This, then, is an example of the older consonantal text having a later, unclassical form in contrast to the later vocalization – unless, of course, the *ketiv* is to be interpreted as a *wayyiqtol*, as the apparatus in BHS suggests. Note that if it is a *weyiqtol* it can be interpreted as an expression of iterative, habitual, durative action in the past, a decidedly unclassical usage (see pp. 11 and 15 below).

[46] Joosten does not treat this case explicitly, but refers generally to cases of non-volitive ויהי as a subtype of textual corruption. Note that 4QSam^{a} has a *weqatal* here.

[47] Textual corruption. Joosten (*The Verbal System*, 310, note119) refers to Driver, who removes the first part of the verse – with the *weyiqtol* – because it is "out of place where it stands" (Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913], 218). Driver reconstructs the verse based on the second part of the verse in the LXX. However, the *weyiqtol is* represented in the LXX, καὶ παραδώσει. As the text stands, it seems to be rather clearly non-volitive. On the other hand, it might be argued that it might make sense to read the form as a *wayyiqtol* instead (translate as present perfect)?

[48] Not treated explicitly. ויהי is considered a type of textual corruption.

[49] Textual corruption. The verse is missing in the LXX, "suggesting that it may have been added by a later hand", according to Joosten (*The Verbal System*, 310, n. 120).

[50] Not treated explicitly. ויהי is considered a type of textual corruption. Note further that the LXX apparently read the form as a *wayyiqtol*, which seems to make good sense. In this case, the verb in question indicates the transition from the direct speech back to the narrative. A similar case of misunderstanding a *wayyiqtol* as a *weyiqtol* might be found in 1 Sam 12:3a (וְאֶעְלִים), which makes more sense as a continuation of the preceding questions about Samuel's past behavior. As it stands, it makes little sense as a volitive. The *weyiqtol* 1 Sam 12:3b (וְאָשִׁיב), on the other hand, does make sense as a volitive, continuing the volitive sequence initiated by the imperative at the beginning of the verse.

[51] Joosten provides no explanation for this case. It seems to be a rather clear case of non-volitive usage.

[52] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 418.

[53] The form is lacking in the Greek Antiochene text (Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 297).

(though given a volitive interpretation by Joosten): Exod 26:24 (וְיִהְיוּ) and 28:28 (וְיֵרָכְסוּ);[54] 1 Sam 12:3a (וְאַעְלִים; cf. n. 50); 1 Kgs 13:33 (וְיִהִי). The latter case is especially interesting. It is clearly non-volitive and should be interpreted as marking iterative/habitual action in the past, i.e. a decidedly unclassical usage, which Joosten ascribes solely to certain LBH cases (see below p. 15).

Thus, Joosten's count of only two non-volitive *weyiqtol*s in CBH is probably too low. In addition, the use of textual corruption or scribal misunderstandings as explanations calls into question the entire enterprise of correlating specific linguistic traits and the date of the original writing of a text. The reference to "poetic syntax" as an explanation for some cases seems to presuppose a different grammatical system in prose and poetry, a claim for which there seems to be little evidence.[55] Rather, the general difference between prose and poetry is a question of different stylistic uses of the same system, with poetry typically being more abrupt with different segments referring to different temporal frames etc. For instance, sudden shifts from non-volitive description to volitive outbursts are not inappropriate. However, the examples of "poetic syntax" referred to above are not of this type, but rather examples of *weyiqtol* seemingly having the same meaning as *weqatal* – indicating that, though atypical, this usage was generally available to the writer/scribe.

A major problem when trying to interpret the occurrences of *weyiqtol* in various texts is the fact that it is not mandatory for a writer (or, presumably, a speaker) to use *weyiqtol* in a certain context. According to the classical rules, the choice between *weyiqtol* and *weqatal* in an otherwise identical passage would indicate a difference in meaning, with *weyiqtol* explicitly stressing the volition of the speaker. As noted above, the use of *weqatal* (or simple *yiqtol*) does not necessarily mean that there is no volition involved – it is simply not expressed explicitly. Since we do not have native speaker intuition, a lot depends on our analysis of the context and our understanding of the development of the system. In the same context, the choice of *weyiqtol* or *weqatal* might be the only variable. How do we decide whether the forms are used indiscriminately or with separate specific meanings (explicit volition vs. lack of explicit – but still possibly implicit – volition)? There are many cases in the CBH corpus of this type, i.e. passages where a volitive interpretation of a *weyiqtol* makes sense, but where a non-volitive interpretation would seem just as meaningful. If we did not entertain the idea that such forms ought to be volitive in CBH, some examples could easily be interpreted as non-volitives.[56]

[54] The cases are similar, with no volitive context in either case, though Joosten refers to the verbs as cases of volitive "light subordination" (p. 309, n. 111). However, in similar passages in the context, *weqatal* is used – and in fact, in the Samaritan version of 26:24, the verb is a *weqatal*. The preceding verbs are ordinary *yiqtol* (26:24) or *weqatal*s (28:28).

[55] Apart from the possible relics of archaic anterior *yiqtol* < **yáqtul* in certain supposedly archaic or archaizing poems. Such forms, however, might also be attested sporadically in prose, cf. Max Rogland, *Alleged Non-Past Uses of* Qatal *in Classical Hebrew* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2003), 13, n. 70.

[56] Cf. Revell, "The System of the Verb", 31. He notes (and rejects) the position that various "anomalies" in the classical corpus might indicate that the late system was already more or less evolved at an earlier time and that, maybe, "the different connotations ascribed to modal and indicative forms in many other cases are illusory". While it seems unwarranted to abandon the notion of different meanings for *weyiqtol* and *weqatal* altogether, the theoretical position referred to by Revell does point to an important problem. The decision to understand a given case of *weyiqtol* as volitive or not is often far less straightforward than Joosten seems to think.

In the CBH corpus, several cases of *weyiqtol* occur in passages that are not clearly volitive and where it is difficult to see why *weyiqtol* is used rather than *weqatal*. Conversely, sometimes it is hard to see a reason for the choice of *weqatal* over *weyiqtol*. In such cases, then, we might claim that the distinction is still there and understand a *weyiqtol* as having explicit volitive meaning, or we might say that this a manifestation of the eventual breakdown of the system. Thus, in Gen 1:14–15, we have two *weqatal*s (both וְהָיוּ), following an initial jussive (יְהִי). Similar sentences in the immediate context have *weyiqtol*s (ויהי in 1:6 and וְתֵרָאֶה in 1:9), and in 4QGen^{g} frg. 2 the line corresponding to MT v. 14 has a *weyiqtol* (ויהיו).[57] How are we to interpret such a state of affairs? Does the MT attest to an unclassical, possibly indiscriminate use of *weqatal* and *weyiqtol*, while the Qumran scroll has the proper classical usage? Or, on the contrary, did the scribe of the scroll misunderstand some subtle point in the MT's choice of not using an explicit volitive form?

Joosten notes the case of Gen 37:20 with the sequence imperative, two *weyiqtol*s, one *weqatal*, one *weyiqtol*. He states that "the transition from a volitive form to *WEQATAL* obviously does imply a semantic nuance".[58] Indeed, interpreting the *weyiqtol*s as expressing volition and the *weqatal* as merely indicating a future action makes perfect sense ("come and let us kill him", "and let us throw him", "and (then) we'll say", "and let us see"). However, apart from the form itself, our interpretation of the system as a whole, and our decision to see the passage in question as belonging to the classical period, nothing in the context seems to prevent reading this as an example of the breakdown of the system and an indiscriminate use of the two forms.[59]

The following list contains other potential CBH examples, in which the distinction between *weyiqtol* and *weqatal* is difficult to discern, and which might be argued to reflect a blurring of the classical usage:

[57] Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 4. The next verb at the beginning of MT v. 15 has not been preserved in the scroll.
[58] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 296.
[59] Cf. the similar cases in Gen 28:3 and 41:35. In both instances, the *weqatal* probably (but not unambiguously) indicates simple future consequence in contrast to the volition of the *weyiqtol*s. Thus, in 28:3, "And may El Shadday bless you and may he make you fruitful and may he multiply you and (then) you will be an assembly of peoples". Note the possible alternative rendering as a result clause ("so that you will be"). This would be a purely translational "trick", of course, though one that often seems to be more applicable to *weqatal*s than to the supposed "light subordination" expressed by *weyiqtol*.

Gen 41:34 (*weqatal*; וְחִמֵּשׁ);[60] Gen 42:20 (וְיֵאָמְנוּ);[61] Exod 2:7 (וְתֵינִק);[62] Exod 8:12 (*weqatal*; וְהָיָה);[63] Exod 14:17a (וְיָבֹאוּ);[64] Exod 28:3 (וְעָשׂוּ);[65] Exod 35:10 (וְיַעֲשׂוּ);[66] Lev 9:6 (וְיֵרָא); 15:24 (וּתְהִי);[67] Lev 24:14 (*weqatal*; וְסָמְכוּ and וְרָגְמוּ);[68] Lev 26:43 (וְתֹאַר); Num 17:3 (וְיִהְיוּ);[69] Num 22:6 (וַאֲגָרְשֶׁנּוּ);[70] Num 23:19 (וִיכַזֵּב and וְיִתְנֶחָם);[71] Num 35:2 (*weqatal*; וְנָתְנוּ);[72] Deut 10:2 (וְאֶכְתֹּב); Deut 30:12–13 (וְיִקָּחֶהָ, וְיַשְׁמִעֵנוּ, and וְנַעֲשֶׂנָּה, twice); Judg 11:37 (*weqatal*; וְיָרַדְתִּי);[73] Judg 19:11 (וְנָלִין) vs. 19:13 (*weqatal*; וְנָלִנוּ);[74] 1 Sam 2:10 (וְיִתֵּן and וְיָרֵם);[75] 1 Sam 17:46–47 (וְיֵדְעוּ,

[60] In the passage in Gen 41:34–36, the sequence of volitive *weyiqtol*s is interrupted by a single *weqatal* (v. 34, וְחִמֵּשׁ). In the Samaritan rendering of this verse, the form is a *weyiqtol*.

[61] A jussive interpretation makes sense, "and may your words be believed", but it might as well be a simple consecutive event, "and (then) your words will be believed".

[62] As noted above (n. 25), this form makes sense as a volitive. However, a non-volitive reading might work as well, cf. the *weqatal* in 4QExod[b] (והינקה; Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 30).

[63] The passage contains several commands, and in similar contexts *weyiqtol*s are often found. In the Samaritan version of this verse, the form is a *weyiqtol*.

[64] The preceding verb is a participle ("I am hardening Egypt's heart") and the following verb is a *weyiqtol* marked as cohortative. It is possible to understand the first *weyiqtol* as a volitive, but a simple future tense expressed by a *weqatal* might have been expected. Cf. 14:4?

[65] A volitive *weyiqtol* might have been expected (cf. Exod 27:20)?

[66] The preceding verb is an ordinary, non-initial *yiqtol*. However, the context does not preclude a volitive reading, and the preceding *yiqtol* might be non-initial because of a focus-fronted subject. In the context, a jussive reading and a simple indicative reading both seem to make sense. Note that the Samaritans have *weqatal*.

[67] Joosten refers to this as a problematic case, where one would expect a *weqatal* (*The Verbal System*, 339–340). However, he prefers to see the *weyiqol* as volitive after all, as a kind of outburst in the middle of the legal text, "an expression of the legislator's outrage". Note that if such an interpretation is allowed in CBH, the way should be open for a volitive interpretation of many seemingly non-volitive cases in the LBH corpus as well.

[68] In the context, *weyiqtol*s rather than *weqatal*s could have been expected.

[69] Joosten (*The Verbal System*, 309, n. 111) referes to this as a "difficult case", probably indicating "light subordination", i.e. a type of volition (according to Joosten's approach). In fact, wihtout introducing the notion of subordination from the translation, a volitive as well as a non-volitive interpretation seems to make sense. The Samaritan version of this verse has a *weqatal*. Note that the LXX apparently read the *w+yiqtol* as a *wayyiqtol* (καὶ ἐγένοντο) – or possibly the translator had a *weqatal* before him, which was interpreted as an unclassical anterior usage of the form?

[70] Cf. the very similar sentence in Num 22:11 with a *weqatal* (וְגֵרַשְׁתִּיו). How do we decide whether these verbs mean the same thing or not?

[71] These two cases are interpreted by Joosten as subordinate volitives (*The Verbal System*, 154). However, as argued above, there is no subordination in such cases. Rather, it should be possible to read the occurrences as real volitives, which might make sense ("God is not a man – and may he lie [to prove otherwise…]"). Alternatively, a non-volitive reading as a short interrogative outburst maybe makes better sense ("God is not a man – and can/will he lie?"; cf. the question in the last part of the verse).

[72] Following the imperative צַו, a *weqatal* seems odd, compared to *weyiqtol*s in other similar contexts.

[73] A single *weqatal* in a volitive sequence. Again, it is possible to give the forms their classical meaning, but the passage might be claimed to betray a certain blurring of the distinction.

[74] Yet again, a distinction between an explicitly volitive *weyiqtol* vs. a not-explicitly volitive *weqatal* makes sense in these very similar passages. However, since the contexts cannot help us out, as non-native speakers we cannot rule out an unclassical, indiscriminate usage.

[75] Poetry. A sudden, volitive outburst makes sense – but a non-volitive reading (simple future prediction) cannot be ruled out in the context.

twice);[76] 1 Sam 24:16 (וַיֵּרֶא, וַיָּרֻב, and וְיִשְׁפְּטֵנִי);[77] 2 Sam 13:5 (*weqatal*; וְעָשְׂתָה);[78] 2 Sam 17:1–3 (וְאָקוּמָה, וְאֶרְדְּפָה, וְאָבוֹא, and וְאָשִׁיבָה);[79] 2 Sam 22:43 and 22:46 (וְאֶשְׁחָקֵם and וַיִּחְגְּרוּ);[80] 2 Sam 24:2 (*weqatal*; וְיָדַעְתִּי);[81] 1 Kgs 15:19 (וַיַּעֲלֶה);[82] 1 Kgs 18:5 (וּנְחָיֶה);[83] 1 Kgs 22:6 (וְיִתֵּן);[84] 2 Kgs 19:23–25 (וְאֶכְרֹת, וְאָבוֹאָה, וְאַחְרֵב, and וּתְהִי).[85]

Turning to Joosten's list of non-volitive *weyiqtol*s in the corpus of so-called LBH, it is clear that the occurrences are far from uniform.[86] Some (especially in Daniel and Ecclesiastes) do seem to attest to an indiscriminate use of *weyiqtol* and *weqatal*, while many others are more ambiguous. Some might be interpreted as volitives, while others might be "eliminated" using the same methods applied to the supposedly early corpus.

Ecclesiastes (7:7; 8:10; 12:4–7; 11 total): All seem to be non-volitive. However, 7:7 should be "eliminated" (poetic parallel, which is a reason for "elimination" in CBH).

Daniel (8:12; 9:25; 11:4–7, 10, 11, 15–19, 22, 25, 28, 30, 36, 40, 42, 45; 12:4, 10, 12–13; 34 total): While some of these occurrences might be interpreted as volitives (9:25; 12:4, 10, 12–13),[87] and one could possibly

[76] Most often, we find this verb in the *weqatal* rather than the *weyiqtol*. Some cases of *weyiqtol* (1 Kgs 18:37 and 2 Kgs 19:19) are rather clearly volitive, while the two occurrences in 1 Sam 17:46–47 could be non-volitive or volitive. As will be noted below, the same ambiguity seems to apply to the form in 2 Chr 12:8. In any case, the root is פ״י.

[77] These *weyiqtol*s are preceded by *weqatal*s – is there a difference of meaning or are they used indiscriminately? Joosten (*The Verbal System*, 298) claims that the *weqatal*s in this case express a wish and he translates them as "may the Lord therefore be judge" etc. Alternatively, the *weyiqtol*s might be interpreted as non-volitives indicating simple future.

[78] It is difficult to argue that there must be a difference of meaning between the *weqatal* and the preceding *weyiqtol* (וְתַבְּרֵנִי).

[79] This passage is another example of *weyiqtol*s co-occuring with *weqatal*s. It *is* possible to interpret the forms as volitive and non-volitive, respectively, assuming that the system works in the classical way. Otherwise, in the context it would seem to make sense to attribute the same meaning (either volitive or non-volitive) to all of the verbs.

[80] Simple, non-initial *yiqtol*s occur in the immediate context of both cases. Due to the poetical nature of the passages, a volitive reading may be possible (especially v. 46).

[81] The *weqatal* might be considered somewhat unexpected. In the version of the text preserved in 1 Chr 21:2, the form is a clearly volitive *weyiqtol* (וְאֵדָעָה), but contrary to Eskhult's view that this *weyiqtol* is an unclassical substitution, in fact, the usage in 2 Sam might attest to an unclassical blurring of the distinction between the forms (see Mats Eskhult, "Verbal Syntax in Late Biblical Hebrew", in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* [ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 2000], 84–93 [87]).

[82] A volitive reading makes sense, and the unshortened form does not necessitate a non-volitive analysis. However, the clause makes sense as a non-volitive as well.

[83] Though Joosten sees the *weyiqtol* as an example of subordinate volition (*The Verbal System*, 147), it seems possible to read the passage as non-volitive.

[84] Cf. 1 Kgs 22:12 and 22:15 with *weqatal*s. Also cf. 2 Chr 18:5 (*weyiqtol*), 18:11 (*weqatal*), and 18:14 (*weyiqtol*). Is there a deliberate meaning behind the variation or is it an example of free interchange of forms with the same meaning? At least, the first *weyiqtol* (1 Kgs 22:6/2 Chr 18:5) might seem unexpected as it is uttered by the prophets in what appears to be a prediction (false, of course, but still a prediction). On the other hand, the difference between the *weqatal* in 1 Kgs 22:15 and the *weyiqtol* in 2 Chr 18:14 (in Micaiah's rendering of the prophecy) might make sense as an attempt to make sure that Micaiah does not lie, by phrasing the words as a wish rather than a prediction (cf. Johnson, *Hebräisches Perfekt und Imperfekt*, 62: "Möglicherweise will der Chronist den Worten im Munde Michas ein weniger kategorisches Gepräge geben").

[85] A poetic passage. The *weyiqtol*s are difficult to interpret – they might be volitive or not, or some might be original *way-yiqtol*s? One of the verbs is (possibly; it might be 3sf) a second person, which is unexpected in classical usage.

[86] For the list, see Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 309, n. 115, and 399. Eccl 7:7 is included in the list on p. 309, but not on p. 399.

[87] In another context, Joosten notes the possible volitive reading of 12:13 (*The Verbal System*, 402). The four cases in 9:25 and 12:13 are 2sm, which is unexpected in classical usage. Cf., however, Num 17:25 (וּתְכַל). Though probably volitive, the verb is a 2sm, which is unclassical. Note, however, that the form might be repointed as a 3sf, see Joosten, *The*

be "eliminated" due to textual corruption (8:12; cf. LXX < *wayyiqtol*?), the majority of cases seem to be non-volitive. The 25 *weyiqtol*s in chapter 11 alternate with *weqatal*s and simple *yiqtol*s without any apparent distinction. However, Daniel is clearly not ordinary narrative prose, but prophetic, visionary discourse with passages that are often somewhat obscure.[88] Neither can Ecclesiastes be classified as ordinary prose. For this reason, if "poetic syntax" and archaic or poetic passages from the CBH corpus are "eliminated", it seems preferable to refrain from basing one's conclusions on works like Daniel and Ecclesiastes as well.

Nehemiah (3:14–15; 6:13; 8:15; 9:27–28; 7 total): Several of these cases are problematic in some way. The only (comparatively) clear case of non-volitive *weyiqtol* in Neh is 6:13 (following a simple *yiqtol* introduced by לְמַעַן; the next verb is *weqatal*).[89] In 3:14, the LXX seems to have read יִבְנֻנּוּ as הוּא וּבָנָיו (αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ), followed by two καὶ plus aorist, the first one not represented by anything in the MT. The verbs in LXX v. 15 are aorists as well (and most of v. 15 seem to be lacking in some LXX manuscripts). In 8:15, the LXX has only one verb (καὶ ὅπως σημάνωσιν σάλπιγξιν) representing the MT's קוֹל וְיַעֲבִירוּ יַשְׁמִיעוּ וַאֲשֶׁר. Comparing the Hebrew and Greek text suggests that something is missing after וַאֲשֶׁר יַשְׁמִיעוּ, and that the *weyiqtol* should be vocalized as a *wayyiqtol* (cf. the Peshitta, which has the equivalent of a *qatal*). The cases in chapter 9 are represented by καὶ plus aorist in the LXX, and though there are simple *yiqtol*s in the passage, there are *wayyiqtol*s as well, and the original intention could have been *wayyiqtol*s. However, if the cases in 9:27–28 as well as the ones in 3:14–15 are read as *weyiqtol*s, they must be interpreted as expressions of durative (3:14–15) or iterative action (9:27–28) in the past.[90] There are simple *yiqtol*s in the immediate context, with the same meaning, and in classical usage we expect these to alternate with *weqatal*s, not *weyiqtol*s. However, in such past iterative/durative passages, the explicit expression of iterativity/durativity is often abandoned in favour of *wayyiqtol*s or *qatal*s.[91] Thus, the consonantal text might have indicated *wayyiqtol*s. In any case, note that the same usage is attested in the classical corpus as well.[92]

Verbal System, 150–151. Other 2sm *weyiqtol*s in the classical books are Exod 15:17 and 19:3, and 2 Kgs 19:25 (?). On the question of second person *weyiqtol*, see also the remarks by Rezetko, according to whom this usage cannot be considered a feature of the LBH corpus (Robert Rezetko, "What Happened to the Book of Samuel in the Persian Period and Beyond?", in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics, and Language Relating to Persian Israel* [ed. Ehud Ben Zvi, Diana V. Edelman, and Frank Polak; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009], 237–252 [248–249]).

[88] Cf. Ohad Cohen, *The Verbal System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose* (trans. Avi Aronsky; Harvard Semitic Studies 63; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 250: "[…] the linguistic picture that emerges from Daniel 11 differs from the rest of the Second Temple period texts. Consequently, it stands to reason that this chapter should be treated as an independent entity".

[89] Cf., however, the similar case in Exod 23:12 (n. 33).

[90] According to Joosten, *yiqtol* (and *weyiqtol*) do not indicae durative/contemporaneous action (in general; this is the domain of the participle). Thus, he refers to the *weyiqtol* in 3:14–15 as prospective (*The Verbal System*, 282) or as iterative (p. 398–399). However, neither a prospective nor an iterative reading makes much sense in the context.

[91] Cf. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, 31 on וַיֹּאמֶר in 1 Sam 2:16: "This should strictly be וְאָמַר, in accordance with the other tenses before and after: but Hebrew is sometimes negligent in such cases to maintain the frequentative tense throughout". "Negligent" is probably not a fitting word – the point is that the explicit expression of iterativity etc. in a past context is never mandatory in Hebrew.

[92] Cf. the clear case in 1 Kgs 13:33 (p. 11 above). Joosten interprets this *weyiqtol* as a "subordinate volitive" in a past context, translating the sequence הֶחָפֵץ יְמַלֵּא אֶת־יָדוֹ וְיִהְי כֹּהֲנֵי בָמוֹת as "any who wanted, he consecrated to be priests for the high

2 Chronicles (2:15; 7:14, 20; 12:8; 20:9; 24:11; 34:25; 16 total): Practically all of these seem to be interpretable as volitives. This applies to 2:15,[93] the six cases in 7:14,[94] 7:20,[95] 12:8,[96] the three cases in 20:9,[97] and 34:25.[98] In 24:11 (three cases), in contrast, the unclassical iterative/habitual usage of *weyiqtol* seems to be attested. However, as in the similar cases from Nehemiah, the intention behind the consonantal text might have been *wayyiqtol*s (cf. LXX καὶ plus aorists).[99]

Thus, it seems that the difference between supposedly CBH and LBH usage is not as clearly marked as expected. The number of problematic, possibly non-volitive cases in CBH is higher, and the corresponding number of clear non-volitive cases in LBH is lower than assumed by Joosten. In addition, it is clear that the general usage in the LBH corpus is quite classical. In 1 Chronicles, there are 16 *weyiqtol*s, and only one of

places" (*The Verbal System*, 155). However, if this is permissible in CBH, why not in LBH? The cases in question might be translated using the same method, e.g., "he was building it in order to/that he might set its doors etc." (Neh 3:14) or "in accordance with your great mercy you would give them saviours that they might save them/to save them etc." (Neh 9:27). However, since the alleged subordinate usage is really only a translational convenience, the most likely explanation is to interpret such cases in CBH as well as in LBH as non-volitive, non-classical use of *weyiqtol* with the same meaning as simple *yiqtol* (unless the forms are revocalized as *wayyiqtol*s). Note also the consonantal text of Jos 19:29, which might be an additional example (n. 45). Similarly, Bloch proposed to read וְתִּבְכֶּה in 1 Sam 1:7 as a *weyiqtol* (but see preceding note; Yigal Bloch, "From Linguistics to Text-Criticism and Back: *Wayyiqṭōl* Constructions with Long Prefixed Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew", *Hebrew Studies* 48 [2007]: 141–170 [164, n. 75]). Cf. also Arie Rubinstein, "Singularities in Consecutive-Tense Constructions in the Isaiah Scroll", *Vetus Testamentum* 5.1 (1955): 180–188 (185–186).

[93] The corresponding v. in 1 Kgs 5:23 is quite different.

[94] The first four cases would be jussives (and, in Joosten's terms, they might be cases of "light subordination": "…if I send plague among my people that my people […] might humble themselves etc."?), the following two would be (unmarked) cohortatives. However, note the unclassical anterior *weqatal* in v. 16, which could indicate that the passage in general is marked by unclassical usage. According to Cohen, all the verbal forms in the passage have the same meaning, including the infinitive construct in v. 17; they have all "undergone a certain degree of neutralization" (Cohen, *The Verbal System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*, 172–173). Nothing prevents us from making a distinction between the *weqatal*s and *weyiqtol*s in regard to degree of volition, and there is no reason to understand the infinitive as a finite verb as Cohen does (translating the passage ...וְאַתָּה אִם־תֵּלֵךְ לְפָנַי כַּאֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ דָּוִיד אָבִיךָ וְלַעֲשׂוֹת as "As for you, if you will walk before me as your father walked before me, and will do…"); rather, the infinitive should be understood as dependent on the main verb (תֵּלֵךְ) and as coordinated with the preceding phrase (...כַּאֲשֶׁר).

[95] Nothing seems to rule out a volitive reading (in contrast to Eskhult, "Verbal Syntax", 87, n. 16, who seems to see this case as an example of unclassical usage). The corresponding verse in 1 Kgs 9:7 has a *weqatal*, but the sentence is quite different, so no conclusions can be drawn from a direct comparison. Though the preceding verbal forms in 2 Chr are *weqatal*s and a simple, non-initial *yiqtol*, similar seemingly strange shifts from *weqatal* to (volitive) *weyiqtol* occur in CBH, e.g. Exod 14:4, 14:17, and 1 Kgs 1:2.

[96] Again, nothing precludes a volitive reading. In any case, the root is פ״י, and the intention behind the consonantal text might have been a *weqatal*. Similar cases in the CBH corpus are "eliminated".

[97] These can easily be interpreted as volitives: one (unmarked) cohortative (there is a preceding marked cohortative simple *yiqtol*) and two jussives. The jussives, however, are 2sm, which is unclassical, but see n. 87.

[98] While this case (וְתִתַּךְ) might be read as a jussive, reading the form as a *wayyiqtol* might be more to the point. The LXX has καὶ plus aorist, and the statement in v. 21 (כִּי־גְדוֹלָה חֲמַת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר נִתְּכָה בָנוּ) might substantiate this reading. In fact, if we compare 2 Chr 34:25 with the corresponding v. in 2 Kgs 22:17 (*weqatal* וְנִצְּתָה), it might be argued that the consonantal text (*wayyiqtol*) of the version in 2 Chr is more classical than the possibly unclassical anterior usage of *weqatal* in 2 Kgs (note that 2 Kgs 22 also has a simple *qatal* from the same root in v. 13, indicating that the *weqatal* in v. 17 could be interpreted as an anterior).

[99] Note that Joosten refers to the *weyiqtol*s in 2 Chr 24:11 as iterative (*The Verbal System*, 398–399). Nonetheless, he maintains that the *weqatal* in the same verse is not iterative since, according to him, there are no examples of this usage in LBH (p. 404).

these is (probably) non-volitive.[100] In 2 Chronicles, there are 36 *weyiqtol*s, of which only 16 figure on Joosten's list. As argued above, most of them are interpretable as volitives. In Ezra, there are only two *weyiqtol*s, both of which are volitive. In Nehemiah, there are 18 *weyiqtol*s. Seven of these are found in Joosten's list, and as seen above, most are less than clearly non-volitive. In Esther, there are 11 *weyiqtol*s, all of which are volitive. As stated above, most of the clear occurrences are in Daniel and Ecclesiastes, which are not representative of ordinary prose and should be "eliminated" on that count. In sum, the picture is a lot less clear than Joosten's list would suggest. Joosten's claim that non-volitive *weyiqtol*s in CBH are "spurious examples that are hard to integrate into the verbal system", while the occurrences in LBH "represent normal syntax",[101] seems to be an exaggeration. In fact, the nice distinction between the two corpora seems to be, at least partly, a result of a decision to interpret the forms according to different rules in the two preconceived corpora.[102]

While the general evolution of the language discernible in the non-literary material indicates that the general development from volitive to non-volitive usage of *weyiqtol* did happen, it cannot be assumed that this development is reflected in any direct way in the literary texts.

3. *Weyiqtol* in the Qumran documents

The distribution of *weyiqtol* in the documents from Qumran illustrates the same phenomenon – there is no necessary connection between the date of writing and specific linguistic traits. On the one hand, some documents have many *weyiqtol*s, many of which are probably non-volitive and employed in seemingly indiscriminate interchange with *weqatal*. On the other hand, some documents follow classical usage.

It is not possible to state a precise number of *weyiqtol*s in the Qumran material. Neither can the precise proportion of non-volitive occurrences be established with certainty. Many documents have been preserved in a state so fragmentary that a given form is often equally interpretable as *wayyiqtol*, volitive *weyiqtol* or non-volitive *weyiqtol*. Even in larger, less fragmentary documents, the interpretation of forms is often highly subjective, as has been made clear in the previous section – volitives occasionally show up in unexpected places. Due to the unvocalized nature of the texts it is often difficult or impossible to decide with certainty whether a *w+yiqtol* is *weyiqtol* or *wayyiqtol*, even in texts that are not full of holes. This applies especially to poetic texts like the

[100] 1 Chr 14:15 (וַיהִי). A *weqatal* would be expected. The occurrence is not included in Joosten's list of non-volitive LBH *weyiqtol*s, but the same form in 2 Sam 5:24 is "eliminated" due to textual corruption.
[101] Joosten, *The Verbal System*, 399.
[102] Cf. Young's general criticism of the method used by the proponents of what he calls the "MT-Only paradigm" (i.e. the idea that the MT reflects the language of the original author and hence that linguistic traits can be used for the purpose of dating the text): "When a few PCH [Peripheral Classical Hebrew; otherwise referred to as LBH] features turn up in Samuel or Kings, clearly this is not a sign for them that these books are late (the MT-Only scholars know that these books are early). However, when a few PCH features turn up in Pesher Habbakuk or the Community Rule, this is taken by MT-Only scholars as clear evidence that they are late (because they know they must be, and that late books are characterised by these PCH features)" (Ian Young, "Ancient Hebrew without Authors", *Journal for Semitics* 25.2 (2016): 972–1003 [992]).

Hodayot.[103] In any case, if we want to investigate whether documents from Qumran behave like CBH or LBH in their use of *weyiqtol*, we should use the same standards of "elimination" of problematic forms as in the OT – this means disregarding poetry, textually problematic and highly ambiguous and fragmented texts, etc. Of course, the mere absence of non-volitive *weyiqtol* in a document might not be significant unless *weqatal*s are attested. The lack of *weyiqtol*s might merely indicate a lack of appropriate context for such forms rather than a preference for the classical usage.

I will highlight a few texts in order to illustrate the different degrees of adherence to the classical standard in the corpus.

In 1QM, most verbs are non-anterior forms referring to the future or indicating directions for action.[104] Large numbers of ordinary *yiqtol*s and *weqatal*s occur in classical interchange, according to the presence or absence of other clause elements in fronted position.[105] In contrast, only few *weyiqtol*s are attested. There are nine cases of *w+yiqtol*, of which three are quite clearly *wayyiqtol*s.[106] Of the six remaining cases,[107] one occurs in a badly preserved context that does not allow secure analysis (18:14, ותבצור). The occurrences in 11:9 (ותעש) and 13:13 (ונשישה and ונגילה) are interpretable as volitives.[108] Holst interprets the verb in 17:6 (וישלח) as "indicative

[103] One of the characteristics of poetry is its segmentary nature, which often includes abrupt shifts in temporal reference or between description and prayer etc. In an unvocalized text, it can be virtually impossible to decide whether a *w+yiqtol* is a *wayyiqtol* or a *weyiqtol*, and in the latter case, whether it is volitive or nor. Note De Vries' statement concerning "the conflation of past, present, and future" in some passages in the Hodayot: "Obviously, the poet is living within the eschaton, whose beginning has already come but whose completion still awaits God's final triumph. Surely there seems to be a significant parallelism between the inconcinnities of the poet's theological ideology and the ambiguities of the verbal system that was part of the language he employed" (Simon J. De Vries, "The Syntax of Tenses and Interpretation in the Hodayoth", *Revue de Qumrân* 5.3 [1965]: 375–414 [389]). Cf. Zuber, who uses the term "ein bewusst angewandtes Stilmittel" about the phenomenon of ambiguous verbal forms (Beat Zuber, *Das Tempussystem des biblischen Hebräisch: Eine Untersuchung am Text* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986], 141). However, the ambiguity is only there in unvocalized writing. Although this is a matter of some controversy, with some scholars claiming that the masoretic distinction between *weyiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* is late and possibly artificial, I find no evidence for this claim. Rather, since the masoretic system fits so well into what we know from historical and comparative Semitic studies, it seems likely that the vocalization reflects an actual difference in pronunciation. Of course, it is likely, too, that at least part of our feeling of bewilderment in the face of verbal usage in some poetic passages is the result of our lack of native speaker intuition and an inadequate understanding of the conventions of the poetical style(s).

[104] Cf. the approximate numbers in Søren Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll: Studies in the Hebrew Verbal System and the Qumran War Scroll* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2008), 80.

[105] See Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll*, 143.

[106] 10:2 (וילמדנו); 13:7 (ותקימה); 14:5 (ויקרא).

[107] 6:11 (ויהיו); 11:9 (ותעש); 13:13 x2 (ונשישה and ונגילה); 17:6 (וישלח); 18:14 (ותבצור). In addition, there is וירד in 11:7, in a quotation from Num 24:19 (וְיֵרֵדְ). However, in the consonantal text of 1QM, the form might be interpreted as a *weqatal* from the root ירד.

[108] One jussive and two cohortatives, as is also evident from the forms themselves. Note, however, that the form in 11:9 is an unclassical 2sm. The following verb in 1QM 11:10 is a non-initial (and unshortened) *yiqtol* (תבעיר). However, it might still be considered jussive with a preposed, focused object contrasting with the wicked ones denoted by the "them" in line 9. Such use of a non-negated 2sm jussive is, of course, unclassical as well. It should be noted that in Qumran, to an even higher degree than is the case in BH, there is a clear tendency for short forms (or, in the first person, for the lengthened forms in *heh*) to be used after a *waw*, regardless of the meaning of the form (see Elisha Qimron, "Consecutive and Conjunctive Imperfect: The Form of the Imperfect with *Waw* in Biblical Hebrew", *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 77.2/3 [1986/1987]: 149–161). This tendency, of course, is a natural product of the fundamental fact referred to above that, originally, all occurrences of *waw* plus *yiqtol* would be short forms (< anterior **yáqtul* or jussive **yaqtúl*) or, in the

future", rather than jussive.[109] However, a jussive reading seems probable, considering the initial simple *yiqtol* in line 8, which seems to be jussive as well. Alternatively, a *wayyiqtol* reading of וישלח is possible. The only remaining case is 6:11 (ויהיו). This form can hardly be a *wayyiqtol* and a volitive reading seems odd in the context – we would clearly expect a *weqatal*. Note, however, that the root is היה. In the CBH corpus, *weyiqtol*s from this root are "eliminated" due to textual corruption – but those cases involve the impersonal, introductory "and it will happen"-type, which is not the case here. However, the case in 6:11 is very similar to the one in Exod 26:24, which Joosten explains as the "subordinate" type of volitive (n. 54). A similar reading might make sense here. However, I find it more convincing to read both cases, 1QM 6:11 as well as Exod 26:24, as simple non-volitive, unclassical *weyiqtol*s. In sum, 1QM seems to have one non-volitive *weyiqtol*, as well as one 2sm volitive form (11:9), a type also attested sporadically in the CBH corpus (n. 87). In light of the widespread use of classical *weqatal* in the document, the few cases of deviant usage do not seem to warrant a general "unclassical" label for 1QM (since similar unclassical usage is found inside the "classical" corpus itself).

In 1QS, there are more than 50 *weqatal*s of the ordinary, non-anterior type (although many are instances of the same word, ונענש). The number of non-volitive *weyiqtol*s, in contrast, is very low. Though Smith notes four "unconverted imperfect forms", only one of these seems to be clearly non-volitive (1QS 10:2).[110] In 1QSa,

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first person, the cohortative forms, while *waw* plus *yiqtol* < **yaqtulu* was expressed by *weqatal* in the classical system. The use of pseudo-cohortative forms in the first person of *wayyiqtol*, which is such a characteristic trait of QH, is clearly an analogical extension of the perceived connection between *wayyiqtol* and the jussive in the third person producing a similar connection between *wayyiqtol* and the cohortative in the first person. Qimron's argument that the prevalent use of short forms in *weyiqtol* is conditioned by the *waw* and not the volitive meaning of the form is, to a large extent, based on his reading of many forms as non-volitive. However, in many cases, a volitive reading is more likely. E.g. in Zeph 2:13, Qimron states that the following *weqatal* and *yiqtol* indicate that "the prophecy is in the indicative mood" (p. 157). However, this is no decisive argument.

[109] Holst, *Verbs and War Scroll*, 109.

[110] Smith, *The Origins*, 41–42. The four non-volitives noted by Smith are 1QS 5:8 (ויקם); 6:2 (וישמעו); 10:2 (וישתהו); 11:13 (ויכן). Furthermore, he mentions jussive *weyiqtol*s in 1QS 2:3, 4, 6, 16; 3:9. There are a few additional instances of volitive *weyiqtol* not mentioned by Smith: 6:22 (ויהיֽ); 10:13 (וארצה); 10:14 (ואברכנו). In fact, all but one of the supposedly non-volitive cases might be interpreted as volitives as well (5:8; 6:2; 11:13). Concerning 5:8, see John C. Kesterson, "A Grammatical Analysis of 1QS V, 8–17", *Revue de Qumrân* 12,4 (1987): 571–573. 11:13 might not be volitive, but rather a *wayyiqtol* introducing a new segment continued by the following *qatal*, both translatable as present perfects ("And he has made firm…"). Only 10:2 seems to be quite clearly non-volitive. An additional case in 6:25 (ויבדילהו), curiously referred to by Smith as a "converted perfect", yet correctly given as *wybdylhw* (*The Origins*, 43), could be non-volitive (beginning of the apodosis in a legal rule, followed by a *weqatal*; note that BibleWorks reads והבדילהו, which is clearly not what can be seen on the pictures available). However, the added volition might have been needed to avoid reading the verb as a straight continuation of the immediately preceding participial clause (והואה יודע). Further, note the possible connection with the clearly volitive use of the same word in 2:16. In addition, there is the case in 4:21 (ויז), not mentioned by Smith, which might be non-volitive, but not necessarily. The preceding verbal form has been read as a *weqatal* (וזקק) or as a *yiqtol* (יזקק, in Florentino García Martínez and Eibert. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols [Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998], 1:78), which would be in initial position. A volitive interpretation cannot be ruled out, like a wishful outburst (cf. Lev 15:24, n. 67 above). Kesterson suggests that the particle אז (as found in lines 19 and 20) has been left out between the *waw* and the verb (John C. Kesterson, "Tense Usage and Verbal Syntax in Selected Qumran Documents" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1984), 169). This would be akin to the type of usage referred to as "poetic ellipsis" by Joosten. One additional case might be mentioned, which should not be interpreted as a non-volitive *weyiqtol*, viz. 1QS 10:16 (ואדעה), which is probably a *wayyiqtol* (an example of the stative present use of *wayyiqtol* or, alternatively, interpreted as "and I have come to know"; this is merely a question of translational preference – in the Hebrew system the semantic content of a *wayyiqtol* is merely anteriority).

most verbs are *yiqtol*s, in occasional interchange with *weqatal*. There are no *weyiqtol*s (though two of the four *weqatal*s are פ״י [2:13 and 2:14] and might be claimed to be *weyiqtol*s).

In the Damascus Document (CD A and B), most *weyiqtol*s seem to be volitives.[111] The most likely non-volitive is the partially preserved form in CD A 15:14 ([מד]ויל). The context is fragmentary, making it difficult to decide whether the passage is volitive, but the preceding verb is a *weqatal*, which could indicate that the two forms are used indiscriminately. The form in CD B 19:4 (ויתהלכו) follows two *weqatal*s, but the *weyiqtol* marks the beginning of the apodosis of a conditional clause. Since the meaning is clearly a command ("if… then they must…"), a volitive reading makes sense. However, since *weqatal*s are usually found in such passages (which often makes it difficult to decide where the protasis ends and the apodosis begins), an indiscriminate use of the form as a substitute for *weqatal* cannot be ruled out.[112] CD A and B are not from Qumran, but medieval manuscripts found in the Cairo Genizah. It might be interesting to note that the much older fragments of this text found at Qumran provide a few additional *weyiqtol*s in parallel passages. In 4Q266 f 8 i:5, there are two *weyiqtol*s (ויצוהו and וילמד) corresponding to the *weqatal* plus *weyiqtol* in CD A 15:14. Does this mean that the meaning of the entire passage is in fact volitive (in which case CD A possibly exhibits an unclassical, indiscriminate use of the two forms), or is the passage non-volitive (in which case both texts are unclassical, but the older text even more so)? Similarly, 4Q266 f 10 i:6 has a *weyiqtol* in contrast to the *weqatal* in CD A 14:13 (וינתן vs. ונתנו). Again, it is not quite clear if the intention is in fact volitive, and accordingly, whether the older or the younger text is more classical.[113]

1QpHab contains several (apparently) non-volitive *weyiqtol*s, but interestingly, they all occur in the parts that quote the biblical text of Habakkuk. Some of these are in the masoretic text as well, while others are additions (MT simple *yiqtol* or *weqatal*). In some cases, however, it is difficult to decide whether the intention behind

[111] Note that CD A 14:19 might be a *wayyiqtol* (ח אהרן וישראל ויכפר עונם עד מעמוד משי, "until the rise of the anointed of Aaron and Israel, and (until) he has atoned…"). Similarly, CD B 20:2 (ויקוץ) and CD B 20:28 (x2; וישמעו and ויתודו) could be parsed as *wayyiqtol*s. Note that Thorion-Vardi lists several cases of "future" *w+yiqtol* (2:2; 2:9; 2:14; 11:1; 13:8–9, x4; 20:2; 20:33, x3; Talia Thorion-Vardi, "The Use of the Tenses in the Zadokite Documents", *Revue de Qumrân* 12.1 [1985]: 65–88 [74–75]). Some of these might be *wayyiqtol*s (2:9, וידע, and 20:2, ויקוץ, though Thorion-Vardi notes that the form in the manuscript has "babylonian vocalization of copulative W" [p. 74]). 11:1 (וירד) is probably a *weqatal* (or a *wayyiqtol*). The remaining cases from Thorion-Vardi's list seem to be volitive. Cf. also Kesterson, who argues that the *weyiqtol*s in 20:33 (followed by two *weqatal*s) "seem to function as the *wĕqatalti* does in BH" ("Tense Usage", 144). However, it seems reasonable to interpret the *weyiqtol*s as volitives while the *weqatal*s indicate simple future. In general, Kesterson's evidence for a "breakdown" in the distinction between *weqatal* and *weyiqtol* in Qumran (p. 172) is less clear than suggested.

[112] In CD A 9:17, the form וידיעהו looks like a defectively written *hif'il weyiqtol* (also in an apodosis). However, it might be a mistake for a simple *yiqtol* יודיעהו. There are also cases of *weqatal* introducing an apodosis in the Damascus Document, see CD A 9:12 and 21.

[113] In addition, 4Q266 f 11:8 might be non-volitive too (וידבר; there is a *yiqtol* right before this form, and the following verbs are *weqatal*s). The same applies to 4Q270 f 7 i:16 (וידיעהו, with a simple *yiqtol* preceding); possibly 4Q270 f 7 i:10 as well, but the context is very fragmented ([בוהו]וֹיִכֹּתֹוֹ).

the written form is *weyiqtol* or *wayyiqtol*.[114] In contrast, no *weyiqtol*s appear in the actual *pesher*-sections, while several cases of ordinary *weqatal* are attested (4:2, 3, 8; also 1:9, which is very badly preserved).[115]

These documents hardly provide any reason for claiming that the classical use of *weqatal* and *weyiqtol* had been abandoned. The few cases of probable non-volitive *weyiqtol* and the examples of second person *weyiqtol*s do not indicate that the forms were used indiscriminately, but rather (as was the case in most of the biblical material, "CBH" as well as "LBH") that the classical usage was occasionally and sporadically disturbed by what could be interpreted as interference from the spoken language of the period, where the system known from the later rabbinic literature might have already developed. In contrast, other texts exhibit a usage that seems to indicate a much more far-reaching interference in the classical system. The clearest example of this is the Temple Scroll (11QT). Smith notes that this document differs from the other documents examined, stating that "the converted and unconverted forms were mixed" in this text.[116] Indeed, there are many passages in 11QT with no apparent difference in meaning between the two forms. Although it might be true that the *weyiqtol* in 26:9 (ויכפר) indicates a type of volition (command) while the following *weqatal* in line 10 (ונסלח) indicates mere future consequence ("and then they will be forgiven"), such a correspondence between form and meaning does not hold for the next verb, which is a *weqatal* (ורחץ), yet clearly indicates a command.[117] Similar seemingly random shifts between *weqatal* and *weyiqtol* occur in other places as well, e.g. 45:15–16 (וספר...ויכבס...ורחץ; cf. Lev 15:13 with three *weqatal*s), or 49:17–20 with several *weyiqtol*s in contrast to a similar passage in 50:8 with *weqatal*s. 50:14–15 and 51:3 exhibit the same kind of seemingly indiscriminate use of *weqatal* and *weyiqtol*. The same verb (כבס) occurs as a *weyiqtol* in line 51:3, but as a *weqatal* in line 4. Does this mean that the forms are equivalent? Did the writer(s) have no idea about a difference of meaning between *weqatal* and *weyiqtol*? It might be the case that the writer(s), though clearly aware of the classical *weqatal* forms (these are far more numerous than the *weyiqtol*s), simply did not understand the finer shades of meaning obtaining in the classical language between this form and a *weyiqtol*. However, it might be possible to argue that the usage is not completely arbitrary. Due to the genre of the document, practically all the *weyiqtol*s are in inherently volitive contexts. Maybe the beginning of the document contained a description of God telling someone to command the people to do all the things that are commanded (as in, e.g., Lev 24:2 or Num 5:2), in which case *weyiqtol*s would not seem out of place, indicating an explicit degree of added volition. Of course, since *weqatal*s are employed in the majority of cases, this added volition would be only occasionally expressed in an explicit way – as was noted above, *weqatal* does not specifically indicate non-volition, but merely the

[114] 1QpHab 4:9 (וישם = MT 1:11, וְאָשֵׁם; the form in the scroll is probably a *wayyiqtol*, cf. the preceding MT וַיַּעֲבֹר); 5:8 (ותחריש = MT 1:13, *yiqtol*); 5:13 (ויגרהו = MT 1:15, *yiqtol*; the preceding MT *qatal* is a *yiqtol* in the scroll); 8:13 (ויקומו = MT 2:7, *yiqtol*); 8:15 and 9:3 (וישלוכה = MT 2:8, *yiqtol*); 10:6 (ויכונן = MT 2:12, *weqatal*; the form in the scroll could be a *wayyiqtol*).

[115] 1QpHab 6:1 might be claimed to be a non-volitive *weyiqtol*, but nothing prevents reading the form as a *wayyiqtol*. Cf. Smith, *The Origins*, 39.

[116] Smith, *The Origins*, 60.

[117] Cf. Lev 4:20 with two *weqatal*s: וְכִפֶּר עֲלֵהֶם הַכֹּהֵן וְנִסְלַח לָהֶם.

lack of explicit volition.[118] Only few of the *weyiqtol*s in 11QT occur in passages that are not commands. Furthermore, at least some of these potentially non-volitive *weyiqtol*s might be parsed as *wayyiqtol*s.[119] Note also that there is only one unclassical second person *weyiqtol* (25:11, ותענו), while numerous *weqatal*s and simple *yiqtol*s are used in the second person. Another possible indication that the writer(s) of 11QT did not use *weyiqtol* and *weqatal* in a haphazard way is 55:17. This passage reflects Deut 17:3, where the MT has three rather unexpected *wayyiqtol*s (וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיַּעֲבֹד אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ לָהֶם). They must be interpreted as future perfect, since the reference is clearly future as indicated by the preceding clauses (כִּי־יִמָּצֵא... אִישׁ אוֹ־אִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה...). In v. 4 there is a shift to *weqatal* with ordinary future reference. In 11QT 55:17 the first part of the passage is the same as in the MT, but the *wayyiqtol*s are *weqatal*s in the scroll (והלך ועבד אלוהים אחרים והשתחוה להמה). There seems to be no reason to claim that these forms are unclassical, anterior (i.e. "unconverted") *weqatal*s. An ordinary non-anterior reading fits the context perfectly, and it raises the question whether the *wayyiqtol*s in the MT might be a product of late vocalization while the original consonantal text had *weyiqtol*s – in a non-volitive context. In any case, it seems significant that the scroll does not use *weyiqtol* in a context that is clearly not volitive. In sum, while the large number of *weyiqtol*s in 11QT remains strange from a classical point of view, it seems possible to maintain that the classical distinction is still there, although employed in a manner quite unexpected. The grammar and inherent semantics of the forms might be classical, but the style is certainly not.[120]

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[118] Note the way *DSSSE* occasionally tries to distinguish between the two forms in the translation. Thus, the passage in 61:15 (ונגש הכוהן וידבר אל העם ואמר אליהמה) is rendered as follows: "the priest shall come forward and he will speak to the people and shall say to them" (García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2:1285). Curiously, "will" is used for the *weyiqtol*, and "shall" for the *weqatal*s.

[119] The following *weyiqtol*s occur in contexts that can hardly be considered volitive: 48:17 (ויטמאנו; this form is probably a *wayyiqtol*, cf. Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: Volume Two, Text and Commentary* [Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1983], 210: "And as for the leper who is afflicted with old leprosy or scab, and the priest has declared him unclean"; Smith, in contrast, states that the form is "an unconverted imperfect, as the syntactically parallel clause in line 15 indicates" [*The Origins*, 49]; however, these lines are not parallel at all, and the *wayyiqtol* reading is clearly preferable); 50:10 (וימות; again, the form might be read as a *wayyiqtol*: "And a woman, when she becomes pregnant, and her child has died in her womb, all the days that it is dead inside her, she will be unclean like a grave"; the context is clearly non-volitive); 51:17 (אשר יקח שוחד ויטה משפט צדק; clearly non-volitive; however, note that this case is similar to Joosten's "poetic syntax" as found in Exod 23:8 etc.); 56:8 (ויעש; probably non-volitive, though a *wayyiqtol* might be considered as in 50:10?); 57:7 (ויתפש; in this case, Joosten's "light subordination" makes sense, i.e. a type of volition? Cf. Yadin, p. 256: "lest he be taken…"); 59:16 (ויעש; clearly non-volitive, but it might be an example of "poetic parallelism"?); 64:9–10 (כי יהיה באיש חטא משפט מות ויברח אל תוך הגואים ויקלל את עמו; clearly non-volitive, though a *wayyiqtol* reading might be possible, as in 50:10, cf. Yadin p. 290: "and has defected… and has cursed…"). In addition, 49:20 (ויטהרו), though in a context of command, could be considered to indicate a simple future consequence.

[120] It has been noted that the Temple Scroll is a composite work consisting of originally separate parts with different backgrounds. Wilson and Wills argue that the scroll can be divided into several sections based on content and that these sections differ with regard to stylistic and linguistic characteristics (Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, "Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll", *Harvard Theological Review* 75.3 [1982]: 275–288). Some sections have far more *weyiqtol*s (in comparison to *weqatal*s) than other sections, and the use of היה in the *yiqtol* plus participle is concentrated in certain sections as well (p. 285–286). They do not give any indication of the relative date of the presumed earlier sources, but note that "[a]lthough *wĕyiqṭôl* and *yihyeh qôṭēl* are both late forms, the authors of the documents had different styles and used these forms with different frequencies" (p. 286). In addition, see Phillip Callaway, "Source Criticism of the Temple Scroll: The Purity Laws", *Revue de Qumrân* 12.2 (1986): 213–222. He questions (some of) the divisions made by Wilson and Wills and is more cautious when it comes to positing separate sources. He does not deal specifically with

Other documents exhibit a similar seemingly indiscriminate use of *weqatal* and *weyiqtol*, although, in shorter texts, it is impossible to see how typical such more or less isolated cases are in the context of the entire original writing. Note, for instance, 4Q274 1 i 3 (ורחץ במים ויכבס בגדיו) and 2 i 1 (ורחץ ויכבס). The fragments of Jubilees in 4Q216–228 seem to include several unclassical *weyiqtol*s as well.[121] Similarly, non-volitive *weyiqtol*s (seemingly indicating future prediction) probably occur in the writing represented in 4Q371 and 4Q372.[122] If this is indeed the case, the text seems to behave more or less like Dan 11 referred to above, i.e. in a manner that is atypical in the classical corpus as well as in so-called LBH.

In the biblical scrolls, too, different usages are attested.[123] Some manuscripts exhibit a seemingly random use of *w+yiqtol*s in contrast to simple *yiqtol*s and *weqatal*s in the MT, most prominently in the great Isaiah scroll (1QIsa[a]). However, while many cases are surely non-volitive *weyiqtol*s, others can be interpreted as *wayyiqtol*s or as volitive *weyiqtol*s.[124] Many other biblical manuscripts, however, do not blur the distinction between *weqatal* and *weyiqtol*. For instance, in all the manuscripts of Genesis and Exodus, very few variants concern *weyiqtol*. Only one has a clearly non-volitive *weyiqtol* instead of a *weqatal* in the MT (Gen 41:30, in 4QGen[j]).[125]

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the linguistic evidence, except for a short note on a היה plus participle in a section claimed by Wilson and Wills to have none (Callaway, "Source Criticism", 220, n. 34).

[121] See, e.g., 4Q216 II 5 (וי]ול) and 6 (ויעבודו), which seem to be predictions concerning the future bad behavior of the Israelites (and not something they are commanded to do). Note that the Jubilees fragments exhibit other types of unclassical verbal usage, most conspicuously the use of unclassical anterior *weqatal* (4Q216 VII 11 and 4Q223–224 Unit 2 IV 18).

[122] Note that there is some overlap between the two manuscripts. In a few cases, a *w+yiqtol* in the one is paralleled by a simple *yiqtol* in the other (4Q371 1 2 vs. 4Q372 1 6; 4Q371 1 12 vs. 4Q372 1 13). However, the analysis of this writing is difficult, with Schuller and Bernstein advocating a past tense reading, interpreting the *w+yiqtol*s as *wayyiqtol*s, the *weqatal*s as unclassical anteriors, and the simple *yiqtol*s as archaic past tense forms (Eileen Schuller and Moshe Bernstein, "371" and "372", in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh, and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2*. [ed. Douglas M. Gropp et al.; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001], 154–197). This would seem to be a rather amazing mixture. In contrast, Mitchell argues that it makes more sense to read the text as referring to the future (David C. Mitchell, "A Dying and Rising Josephite Messiah in *4Q372*", *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18.3 [2009]: 181–205 [193]).

[123] The distinction between a biblical scroll and a non-biblical one containing lots of biblical material is, of course, difficult to make. E.g., 11QT, discussed above, reuses passages from the Pentateuch to a great extent.

[124] The classical treatment of the scroll is Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a])* (Leiden: Brill, 1974). On *weyiqtol*, see especially p. 357. Cf. Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, *Qumran Cave 1, Volume 2: The Isaiah Scrolls: Part 2: Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants* (DJD 32; Oxford: Clarendon, 2010). Many cases of variants are interpretable in different ways. A *wayyiqtol* reading seems to be possible in 24:9; 29:11–12, 15; 34:10; 40:6, 19; 41:2–3; 44:19; 48:13; 50:4; 56:4; 57:2, 14; 65:8; 66:9. For a volitive reading of possible *weyiqtol*s (MT *yiqtol* or *weqatal*), see 3:7; 8:14; 10:26; 21:6; 24:9; 26:11; 27:4, 6; 33:12; 34:10; 42:11; 45:23; 48:13, 14; 56:12; 57:13–14; 66:9. The clearest cases of non-volitive *weyiqtol*s seem to be 3:24; 4:3, 5; 5:5; 7:17; 11:8; 13:16; 17:13; 20:5; 22:4; 39:7; 40:31; 46:6–7; 52:13; 53:10–11; 60:7; 62:9. There are several instances of *weyiqtol* in the MT as well (e.g. 46: 6–7).

[125] The cases involving *weyiqtol* are: Gen 1:14 in 4QGen[g] (Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 4; MT וְהָיוּ, scroll ויהו; a volitive *weyiqtol* fits the context, seemingly better than the MT *weqatal*, cf. p. 12 above); Gen 41:30 in 4QGen[j], (Ulrich p. 18; MT וְקָמוּ, scroll ויקמו, probably non-volitive); Exod 2:7 in 4QExod[b] (Ulrich p. 30; MT וְתֵינֵק, scroll והינקה, cf. n. 62); Exod 5:8 in 4QExod[b] and 4QGen-Exod[a] (Ulrich pp. 36 and 37; clearly volitive, but while the MT has two asyndetic volitives, נֵלְכָה נִזְבְּחָה, the scroll adds a *waw* in front of the second one); Exod 15:14 in 4QExod[c] (Ulrich p. 65; MT יִרְגָּזוּן, scroll וירגזו, which is probably a *wayyiqtol*; the preceding verb (in the MT) is a *qatal*).

4. Conclusions

The main conclusion to be drawn from this study is that the supposedly clear-cut distinction between the use of *weyiqtol* in CBH and LBH is not reflected in the material. The general evolution of the real world language seems clear enough (full use of the "consecutive" system and clearly volitive *weyiqtol*s in the ancient inscriptions as against the abandonment of the "consecutive" system in RH and Bar Kokhba, as well as a not clearly volitive usage of *weyiqtol* in the latter corpus). In the entire pre-mishnaic literary corpus, however, the classical system seems to function, with sporadic interference from what can be assumed to have been the spoken language, in which the development of the system was already underway. In some texts, this interfering influence is very restricted or non-existent, in others it is clearly felt.[126] There seems to be no direct link between the date of a text and the degree of "classicality" in the use of *weyiqtol*. Additional problematic cases have been noted in what is usually referred to as CBH, while many of the apparently non-volitive cases in so-called LBH might be interpreted in a way that fits the classical usage better. There are supposedly late texts with no cases of non-volitive *weyiqtol*, indicating that LBH is not a unified phenomenon. The discussion of several documents from Qumran, which must all be assumed to be later than the books in the LBH corpus, has shown that some texts show the same low degree of unclassical interference as the CBH texts, while others seem to attest to a more or less indiscriminate use of *weyiqtol* and *weqatal*. The most likely candidate for the latter category (11QT) is presumably older than the major "sectarian" works, which generally exhibit a much more classical use of the forms.[127] For the long period in which Hebrew in its classical form was in use as a learned, religious language, the date of composition of a text is clearly not the only determining factor in the observable linguistic variation. In addition, in texts that have been transmitted by scribes, such phenomena as scribal additions, corrections, corruptions, etc. call into question the attempts at correlating linguistic traits and date of origin.

Furthermore, it must be concluded that the large degree of subjectivity in the interpretation of occurrences as volitive or non-volitive makes it difficult to make any firm conclusions in this regard. If we are allowed to analyse a CBH case like Lev 15:24 (n. 67) as volitive, numerous supposedly odd occurrences of *weyiqtol* might be analysed in the same way in the non-CBH documents. In fact, it might be possible to ascribe a large part of the apparently deviant behavior of *weyiqtol*s in texts such as the Temple Scroll to the style of the writer(s), rather than to a fundamental change in the grammatical system and the semantics of the verbal forms. For this reason, it would hardly make sense to use statistical means to measure the "classicality" of different texts according to their use of *weyiqtol*. What would be measured would not be objective, observable facts, but rather the scholar's subjective interpretations of the material.[128]

[126] Cf. the distinction between macrodiachronic change (the "final" outcome of a process of linguistic change) and microdiachronic change (the "facts on the ground", variation in specific texts) noted by Klein (Jared S. Klein, "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: An Indo-Europeanist's View", *Journal for Semitics* 25.2 [2016]: 865–880 [869]).
[127] See Smith, *The Origins*, 62.
[128] Cf., e.g., Cook's criticism of Penner's statistical approach (*Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 184).

SALEMI (PhD) – KINGS' COLLEGE LONDON – E*zekiel 12:6 - "I have made you a sign"*

Preface

As the Jewish captivity into Babylon was underway, Ezekiel received a great vision of the impending destruction of Jerusalem. In a visionary walk, guided by a "mysterious" man (Ez.9) Ezekiel witnesses a most important event: the departure of the glory of YHWH (כבד) from the Temple (Ez.9-11). In the tragic aftermath of Israel's Exile the book of Ezekiel present a *scenario* that seems to have played a peculiar role for the developing of a very specific and unique form of symbolic language, a prophetic 'body' and 'performance' mode of expression consisting of actions replacing verbal messages and often to be interpreted by the observers. The book of Ezekiel vividly expressed the fullness of this reality, coinciding with the departure of the כבד, with the statement: "I have made you a sign" [מוֹפֵת] (12:6)

This phenomenon raises questions related to a) the use and theological role of the symbolic terminology in Ezekiel, b) the narrative function of the symbolic accounts, their interconnection an dependencies, themes and props, figures and theological implications, c) the role of the prophet in the narrative plot of the departure of YHWH, d) the wide spectrum of sense offered by the term *sign* [מוֹפֵת] (or *môphêth* in this paper), and related terminology, which constitutes a stimulating opportunity for a semantic and linguistic analysis in the Masoretic text and the Septuagint, in order to evaluate the impact of symbolic and figurative terminology, and the nuances of meaning given by translations and by different biblical and extra-biblical context, in the hermeneutical process of interpretation.

The paper offers an introductory review of the interest that this specific phenomenon has received and how the symbolic actions have been generally understood. This will constitute the basis for a further study of Ezekiel's form of communication via mimes, active-parables, performances and symbolic actions. The major interest in the discussion, therefore, is that of evaluating and suggesting hermeneutical approaches to the bizarre ministry of Ezekiel, with a focus on the function of the symbolic actions' narrative accounts and language for the theology and unity of the book. Furthermore, the conclusion paragraph will state several questions that may offer valuable points of discussion.

State of the Question

In the book of Ezekiel, as well as in Hosea, Jeremiah and elsewhere in the Old Testament, the lives of the prophets are sometimes presented as a symbol of YHWH's action and relationship with Israel. As it is stated in Ezekiel 12:6,11 and 24:24,27, the prophet had to be a *sign.*

Scholars have used several different definitions to address the peculiar actions of Ezekiel: "dramatic actions" (Stacey[1]), "enacted prophecy" and "street theatre" (Matthews[2]), "prophetic acts" (actes

[1] Stacey, W.D., *Prophetic Drama in the Old Testament* , London: Epworth, 1990, 171

[2] Matthews, V.H., *Social World of the Hebrew Prophets*, Peabody: Mass., Hendrickson, 2001, 135.

prophétique, Amsler[3]), "acts or deeds of power" (Overholt[4], Long[5]), "demonstration actions" (Demonstrationshaundlungen, Lang[6]), "pantomime" (Schökel[7]). The research prefers to use interchangeably the terms "symbolic actions" or "sign acts", as used in the important commentaries of Zimmerli and Block. These definitions underline, without inserting any specific meaning, the representative character of the actions performed by Ezekiel as a means to symbolize, visualize the oracles of YHWH.

Over the last half century, the focus of scholarship has diverted from the peculiar phenomenon of the symbolic ministry of Ezekiel to address mainly the critical issues of the book that bears his name. Significant contributions to the comprehension of the theological project of Ezekiel have clearly drawn important issues to pay attention, regarding the propositions of the book. This remarkable work may be traced, for example, in the research of authors such as Zimmerli[8] (1979,1983) and Block[9] (1997,1998). But, all these important studies have tended to disregard the theological function of symbolic actions, narrative, language, and terminology, within the frame of the critical interplay of YHWH's presence and absence in Exilic time. Often, research has not taken into account the relevant and evident attempts done by the author/s of the book to give solidity and unity to the text. There has been often an approach that privileged diachronic reading to synchronic one.

There are significant contributions to the comprehension of the theological project and redaction of Ezekiel in Joyce[10], 1989,1995; Mein[11], 2001; Cook & Patton[12], 2004; Odell & Strong[13], 2000, Klein[14],

[3] Amsler, S., Les prophète et la communication par les actes, in Albertz R., Müller H.-P, Wolff H., Zimmerli W., (eds.), *Werden un Wirken de Altern Testaments,* Festschrift Claus Westermann, Gottingen: Vandernhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980; Neukirken-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 194-201; *Les actes des prophètes,* Essais Bibliques 9, Geneve: Labor et Fides, 1985.

[4] Overholt, T.W., Seeing is Believing: The Social Setting of Prophetic Acts of Power, *JSOT* 23, 3-31, 1982; *Prophecy in Cross-Cultural Persepctive: A Sourcebook for Biblical Researchers*, SBL 17, Scholars Press - 1986; *Channels of Prophecy: The Social Dynamics of Prophetic Activity,* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.

[5] Long, B.O., Prophetic Authority as a Social Reality, in Coats G. and Long B. (eds.), *Canon and Authority,* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977, 3-20.

[6] Lang, B., *Propheties, prophetische Zeichenhandlung un Politik in Israel*, *TQ* 161, 1981, 275-280; *Ezekiel: Der Prophet und das Buch,* Erträge de Forschung, 153; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgensellshaft, 1981.

[7] Alonso Schökel, L., *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics,* Subsidia Biblica, 11, trans. Graffy, A., and Alonso Schökel, L., Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1988.

[8] Zimmerli, W., *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979; ----, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 24-48, Ibid.,* 1983.

[9] Block, D.I., *The book of Ezekiel Chapters 1–24;* ____,*The book of Ezekiel Chapters 25–48* (New International Commentary on the Old Testament) Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998.

[10] Joyce, P. M., *Divine Initiative and Human Response in Ezekiel*, JSOTSup 51, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989;____, "Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives on Ezekiel", in J. C. de Moor (ed.), *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis,* OTS 34, Leiden: Brill, 1995, 115-128; *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies, 482), New York/London: T&T Clark, 2009.

[11] Mein, A., *Ezekiel and the Ethics of Exile*, Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

[12] Cook, S. L. – C. L. Patton (eds.), *Ezekiel's Hierarchical World: Wrestling with a Tiered Reality*, SBLSymS 31; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004.

[13] Odell, M. S. – J. T. Strong (eds.), *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives*, SBL SymS 9; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000.

[14] Klein, A., Schriftauslegung im Ezechielbuch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ez 34–39, Beihefte Zur Zeitschrift Fur die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 391, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008.

2008, and others[15]; all these studies constitute a valuable source in the analysis of the functions of the symbols in Ezekiel. The several publications of Johan Lust[16] together with the important works of Avi Hurvitz[17], Brian Neil Peterson[18], Jan Josteen[19], and others, constitute a most important source for the question of the term *môphêth,* its relation, influence and use in the MT and LXX of the book of Ezekiel (the linguistic question will not be discussed in this paper).

Regarding the reasons for the strange behavior or bizarre personality of the prophet, further research on Ezekiel argued, for example, that the symbolic actions could be due to the result of a psychological disorder or an emotional disease (Jaspers[20], 1947; Broome[21], 1946), or of a rage caused by a possible childhood abuse (Halperin[22], 1993) - too speculative about his past life and too conjectural about his emotional state. Other studies tried to frame the peculiar case of Ezekiel into the context of a "spirit language" (Robson[23], 2006), or into the sociological dimension of prophecy in ancient Israel (Wilson[24], 1980).

Some authors (Lang[25], 1986) have suggested that the origin of sign-acts must be researched in a "sympathetic magic" or prophetic ecstasy, but a more common view is that these actions have the function of dramatizing the events represented in order to visualize the message and touch the perception of the observers, or that they are a form of causing the prophecy itself to be fulfilled (Orth[26], 1990). Sign-acts are seen also as a form of YHWH's "visible word" enhanced with power (Lindblom[27], 1973), or, if this view is refused (Wevers[28], 1969), as mere predictions.

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[15] Crane, A. S., *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel* 36–39, VTSup, 122; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008; Lyons, M.A., *From Law to Prophecy: Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code*, LHBOTS, 507; London and New York: T & T Clark, 2009.

[16] Lust, J., *Ezekiel and His Book. Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation*, BETL 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986; "Ezekiel 36-40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript", CBQ 43 (1981) 517-533; "The Septuagint of Ezekiel according to Papyrus 967 and the Pentateuch", ETL 72 (1996) 131-137; " אדני יהוהin Ezekiel and Its Counterpart in the Old Greek", ETL 72 (1996) 138-145; "Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments: Stepbrothers?", in A. Denaux (ed.), New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis. Festschrift J. Delobel (BETL 161; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002) 15-31, esp. 20-31.

[17] Hurvitz, A., *Linguistic Study of the Relationship Between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*: *a new approach to an old problem,* Cahiers de la Revue Biblique, Paris: Galbalda, 1982.

[18] Peterson B.N., *Ezekiel in context: Ezekiel's message understood in its historical setting of covenant curses and ancient Near Eastern mythological motifs,* Princeton theological monograph series 182, Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012.

[19] Josteen, J., "A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets: The Elimination of Verbal Repetitions" in F. García Martínez, M. Vervenne, eds., Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust, BEThL 192 (Leuven, Peeters, 2005), 217-223; "The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and its Historical Context" in E. Bons, J. Joosten, eds., Septuagint Vocabulary. Pre-History, Usage, Reception, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 58 (Atlanta, SBL, 2011), 1-11.

[20] Jaspers K., "Der Prophet Ezechiel: Eine pathographische Studie"*,* in H.Kranz (ed) *Arbeiten zur Psychiatrie, Neurologie und ihren Grenzgebieten: Festshrift K.Schneider,* Willsbach: Scherer, 1947.

[21] Broome, E.C., "Ezekiel's Abnormal Personality", JBL 65, 1946, 277-92.

[22] Halperin, D., *Seeking Ezekiel: Text and Psychology*, University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

[23] Robson, J., *Word and Spirit in Ezekiel*, (Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies, 447) NewYork/London: T & T Clark, 2006.

[24] Wilson, R., *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel*, Augsburg: Fortress Publishers, 1980.

[25] Lang, B., "Street Theater: Raising the Dead and the Zoroastrian Connection in Ezekiel's Prophecy", in *Ezekiel and his Book*, ed. J. Lust, BETL 74, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986, 297-316.

[26] Orth, M.*,* "Genre in Jonah, The Effects of Parody in the Book of Jonah"*,* in *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature*, W.W.Hallo, Lewiston: Mellen, 1990, 257-81.

[27] Lindblom, J., *Prophecy in ancient Israel*, Philadelfia: Fortress Press 1973.

[28] Wevers, J.W., *Ezekiel.* (The New Century Bible Commentary), Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1969.

Certainly, many important brief commentaries overtly Christian (Eichrodt[29], 1979; Blenkinsopp[30], 1990), together with more exhaustive ones such as those of Zimmerli, Block and Greenberg (1983, 1995)[31], and various studies (Clements[32], 1986; Galambush[33], 1992; Granados García[34], 2009, etc.), have been published, but, since a relevant attempt to give solidity and unity to the book seems to be the result of a general theological purpose, an analysis of this theological filigree, which conveys the impression of relating YHWH's interplay of presence-absence with the symbolic ministry of the prophet as a form of communication, results in being of a great value.

Although there is an obvious theological debt to all scholars in the guild of Ezekiel studies, there are only a few publications, often general or devoted to a case, dealing with Ezekiel symbolic dimension itself, and none specifically addressing questions related to its reasons, purposes, peculiarities, language, characteristics, hermeneutical context, narrative and theological functions.

It must be remembered the great contribution of Kelvin G. Friebel[35] (1999) in his book entitled "Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's Sign-Acts. Rhetorical Nonverbal communication" which may be considered the most extensive work done on the topic, as a doctoral thesis at the Department of Hebrew and Semitic Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. This research addresses the symbolic actions as a means of communication without a problematized reading of them in the theological context of the issue of presence/absence of YHWH. Friebel offers a reason for the particular form of prophetism with the following statement: "since the intent of the prophetic messages was also suasive (interactive), the sign-acts served the two prophets effectively as rhetorical vehicles in addressing the perceived exigencies of the people's theological presuppositions. The sign-acts were adaptable to be used to transmit messages not only of judgment but also of hope."[36]

Another significant addition to the discussion is found in the commentaries of Zimmerli. As Zimmerli briefly introduces the argument saying that "the purpose of the prophet's sign-actions is to set forth in a visible action the event announced by Yahweh as something already begun"[37], it will be important to consider how the oracles of YHWH acquire visibility through sign-actions and why. Though Zimmerli continues saying that "almost all sections which deal with sign-actions are reduced to the introductory divine word which commands the prophet to perform the action appears therefore as a process of formal transposition into another medium"[38], this investigation argues that the prophet is more than a medium and the phenomenon is not just simply a formal transposition but functions as a 'form of revelation' in itself.

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[29] Eichrodt, W., *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970.

[30] Blenkinsopp, J., *Ezekiel (Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching & Preaching)*, Lousville: John Knox Press, 1990.

[31] Greenberg, M., *Ezekiel 1-20,* The Anchor Bible, Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1983;____, *Ezekiel 21-37*, *Ibid.,* 1995.

[32] Clements, R. E., "The Ezekiel Tradition: Prophecy in a Time of Crisis", in R. Coggins – A. Phillips – M. Knibb (eds.), *Israel's Prophetic Tradition*: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, 119-36.

[33] Galambush, J., *Jerusalem in the Book of Ezekiel. The City as Yahweh's Wife*, SBLDS 130; Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1992.

[34] Granados García, C., "Ezequiel, 'hijo del hombre': un paradigma para la casa de Israel", in J. M. Díaz Rodelas – M. Pérez Fernández – F. Ramón Casas (eds.), *Aún me quedas tú:* homenaje al Profesor D. Vicente Collado Bertomeu, Estella [Navarra]: Editorial Verbo Divino, 2009, 147-163.

[35] Friebel, K. G., *Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's Sign-Acts. Rhetorical Nonverbal Communication*, JSOTSup 283, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

[36] *Ibid.,* 466-467.

[37] Zimmerli, W., *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24*, 29.

[38] *Ibid.*

According to Zimmerli a "sign-action never arbitrarily becomes a meaningful didactic 'pictorialization' by the prophet himself but possesses its legitimacy solely from the fact that it is a part of the (coming) divine action. In this measure, the divine command to perform the action becomes an integral part of it"[39]. This would imply to consider the symbolic actions merely prophetic anticipations in a figurative way, even if legitimated by the divine action. It may be important to evaluate if their legitimacy is not solely the result of a divine action but if the symbolic actions may be indeed considered divine actions themselves.

A relevant input to the research is constituted also by the commentary of Block. In relation to the first of the sign-act, the eating of the scroll (ch. 2), Block supports the idea that Ezekiel is a "passive prophet"[40] being a spectator in the inaugural vision and a "sponge" in the beginning of his symbolic ministry, and that "There is only one speaker, Yahweh"[41]. All these concepts require further discussion.

There are few specific works closely related to the general reasons for the phenomenon itself, such as the case study of Te Stroete[42] (1977) where, in in his book entitled "*The meaning of a Symbolic Act",* he considers the pericope regarding the death of Ezekiel's wife (24:15-27) a sign addressing the question of the relation between the deity and the city-temple-people of Israel as a "wife"; or the texts of Dom Hubert van Zeller (1944) "*Ezechiel, man of signs"*[43], and of H.L.Ellison (1956) "*Ezekiel: The Man and His Message*"[44], and others[45].

Important support, for a general understanding of the theological question of the symbolic actions, comes from most recent publications such as that of John F.Kutsko[46] about the presence and absence of YHWH in Ezekiel, Angela Russell Christman[47] about the Christian exegesis of Ezekiel's vision of the Chariot (ch.1), or the research of E.A.De Boer[48] (2004) whose focus resides in the sermons of Calvin on

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[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Block, D.I., *The book of Ezekiel Chapters 1–24*, 113.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Te Stroete, G.A., *Ezekiel 24:15-27: The meaning of a Symbolic Act*, Bijdragen 38, 1977.

[43] Van Zeller, Dom H., (1944) *Ezechiel, man of signs,* London: Sands and Co., 1944.

[44] Ellison, H.L., *Ezekiel: The Man and His Message,* Gran Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1956.

[45] Kruger, P.A., "The Hem of the Garment in Marriage: The Meaning of the Symbolic Gesture in Ruth 3:9 and Ezek 16:8," JNSL 12 (1984), 79-86; Stiebert, J. "Shame and Prophecy: Approaches Past and Present [Ezek 16]", BibInt 8 (2000), 255-75; ____, "The Woman Metaphor of Ezekiel 16 and 23: A Victim of Violence, or Symbol of Subversion?" OTE 15 (2002), 200-208; Granados García, C., "Ezequiel, 'hijo del hombre': un paradigma para la casa de Israel", in J. M. Díaz Rodelas – M. Pérez Fernández – F. Ramón Casas (eds.), "Aún me quedas tú": homenaje al Profesor D. Vicente Collado Bertomeu, Estella (Navarra): Editorial Verbo Divino, 2009, 147-163; Klein, R. W., *Ezekiel: The Prophet and His Message* (Studies on the Personalities of the Old Testament), Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina, 1988; Block, D. I., "In Search of Theological Meanings: Ezekiel Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium", in S. L. Cook – C. L. Patton (eds.), Ezekiel's Hierarchical World: Wrestling with a Tiered Reality, SBLSymS 31, Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004, 227-239; Duguid, I. M., "Ezekiel: History of Interpretation", in M. J. Boda – J. G. McConville (eds.), Dictionary of the Old Testament: Prophets, Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2012, 229-235; Peterson, B. N., *Ezekiel in Context: Ezekiel's Message Understood in Its Historical Setting of Covenant Curses and Ancient Near Eastern Mythological Motifs*, Princeton Theological Monograph Series, 182, Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012; Odell M.S., and Strong J., eds., *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives*, Atlanta: SBL, 2000: 15-42; ___, "Ezekiel's Boiling Cauldron: a Form-Critical Solution to Ezekiel xxiv 1-14," VT 41, (1991), 12-37.

[46] Kutsko, J.F., *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel,* Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California San Diego, 7; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.

[47] Christman, A.R., *What Did Ezekiel See? Christian Exegesis of Ezekiel's Vision of the Chariot from Irenaeus to Gregory the Great*, volume 4 in The Bible in Ancient Christianity, Leiden: Brill, 2005.

[48] De Boer, E.A., *John Calvin on the Visions of Ezekiel, Historical and Hermeneutical Studies in John Calvin's 'sermons inédits', especially on Ezek. 36-48,* Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Ezekiel (especially on chs. 36-48), from the point of view of Calvin's doctrinal outcomes of the interpretation of Ezekiel's visions. The work of De Boer dedicates a general and historical introductory part to previous Christian and Jewish interpretation of symbolic actions, though as background to Calvin's theology.

Another valuable contribution comes from Donald Guthrie, "John's Use of Signs and Ezekiel's Sign Acts", where he points out the central role that signs play in the Fourth Gospel in developing John's theological/Christological presentation on the light of, as some have hypothesized, a "sign's source" related to Ezekiel.[49]

The symbolic actions

The symbolic actions are certainly a non-verbal form of communication, but not a peculiar characteristic of the Old Testament in its general sense, and not often the most common form of YHWH's revelation or self-revelation. These acts are rhetorical and figurative devices which address the main theological and hermeneutical questions of the book of Ezekiel and in particular YHWH's presence and absence during the Exile. Therefore, the role played by the prophet Ezekiel with his symbolic actions, and the relevance of the specific Hebrew terminology, in relation to the presence of YHWH in the traumatic experience of the Exile, is an important issue of the book. In fact, Ezekiel 12:6 (12:11; 24:24,27) affirms that the deity makes of the prophet a sign - "I have made you a sign" [50] - coinciding exactly with the beginning of the period of YHWH's absence from the Temple. In the very moment in which the כבד departs from the Temple, Ezekiel is called to assume the role of a "sign".

Surely, as Block clearly states, the book of Ezekiel raises several approach-questions: "1.Ezekiel, what are you saying? (the text-critical issue); 2.Ezekiel, why do you say it like that? (the cultural and literary issue); 3. Ezekiel, what do you mean? (the hermeneutical and theological issue); 4. Ezekiel, what is the significance of this message for me? (the application issue)"[51]; and other important points are surely raised by the study of this phenomenon in Ezekiel: a) the role played by the symbolic actions in defining and/or replacing the presence of YHWH in the traumatic experience of the Exile; b) the prophet, as a sort of divine mime, functions as a metonymic figure, thus closely associating the divine with the human; c) the symbolic actions function as a unifying device, seaming together all the content of the book; d) the semantic field of sign-terminology constitutes an important question to consider in order to clarify the meaning and use of *môphêth* and related terms within the Hebrew Bible, by compering terminology with the LXX and other texts.

Though aware of the general interpretations which consider symbolic actions simply a theological expedient to present YHWH's wrath over the people of Israel, almost a *Schadenfreude* (pleasure derived from the misfortune of others), the research claims the need to reverse the perspective, in order to grasp the value of the question. [52]

[49] Guthrie, D., "John's Use of Signs and Ezekiel's Sign Acts", in *John's Use of Ezekiel: Understanding the Unique Perspective of the Fourth Gospel,* ed. Peterson B.N, Augsburg Fortress 2015, 65-98.

[50] The Bible translation used (if not differently stated) is the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV)

[51] Block, D.I., *The book of Ezekiel Chapters 1–24*, p.XI.

[52] Studies on the literary form and motifs of the sign-acts: Schmidt, K.W, Prophetic Delegation: A Form-Critical Inquiry, *Biblica 63* (1982)*:* 206-218.; March, W.E., Prophecy, in Hayes J. (ed.), *Old Testament Form Criticism,* San Antonio TX: Trinity University Press, 1974, 141-177;

As Taylor says, referring to Ezekiel - "But if he did, in fact, use symbolic actions to convey his messages, it is important that we try to understand what he actually did and how he did it […] we must cast ourselves in the role of his fellow-exiles, and sit where they sat, and watch his every movement as closely as we may"[53] – there is a concrete need to interpret the symbolic actions as to have a meaning for readers of the past and present time.

Therefore, as Hiebel Janina Maria, explains in her book (2015) related to the visions of Ezekiel, "*Ezekiel's Vision Accounts as Interrelated Narratives - A Redaction-Critical and Theological Study"*[54]*,* though Ezekiel is one of the best-structured books in the Old Testament and its interrelated vision accounts contribute greatly to this impression of unity, there has been a lacuna in research focusing on the vision accounts in Ezekiel as an interconnected text corpus and the same difficulty this present research sees in the sign-acts phenomenon's narrative.

In this direction, it is also the work of Thomas Renz, *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel*[55]*,* an analysis of the book of Ezekiel as a tool of communication, suggesting that the purpose was that of shaping the self-understanding of the exilic community. The study presents a detailed examination of individual rhetorical techniques such as the use of the watchman motif, emotional language, legal traditions, and others.

Another important contribution to this methodological perspective comes from Davis [56] "*Swallowing the Scroll",* a valuable study of the function of narrative, audience, dumbness motif, archival speech, the use of metaphor, and others, in framing the literary question of Ezekiel and its unity.

Therefore, the present study suggests that a combination and integration of narrative-critical analysis with literary methods that are typically used in a synchronic approach, together with a linguistic study, may try to consider interconnections and dependencies among the symbolic accounts. Building on these results, the research may follow the development of selected themes, such as the relationships between characters, the roles of intermediate figures and theological implications. The study thus represents a step towards an understanding of the complex phenomenon of the symbolic action in the book of Ezekiel, and indeed of its theology, giving the opportunity to study the book as a whole and to explore some of its intricacies.

The symbolic "language" of Ezekiel and the actions

In the book of Ezekiel, there may be identified 19 symbolic actions performed by the prophet, 11 of which before the departing of the *Kavod* (chs. 9-11), and around 2/3 of this figure, namely 8, after the departure of it. The first explanation of the meaning of each of these strange performances of the prophet is found within the text itself. Every symbol has a general description of its meaning, not always very detailed.

Here, a chart summarizing the symbolic actions and their general meaning within Ezekiel:

[53] Taylor, J.B., *Ezekiel: An Introduction and Commentary,* Tyndal Old Testament Commentary, Downers Grove IL: Intervarsity Press, 1969, 80.

[54] Hiebel, J.M., *Ezekiel's Vision Accounts as Interrelated Narratives - A Redaction-Critical and Theological Study*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 475, Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2015.

[55] Renz, T., *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel,* Brill, 1999.

[56] Davis, E., *Swallowing the Scroll.* Textuality and the Dynamics of Discourse in Ezekiel's Prophecy, JSOTSup 78/Bible and Literature Series, 21, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989

	SYMBOLIC ACTIONS	PERICOPE	GENERAL MEANING
1	*The scroll to be eaten*	2:8-3:3	The rejection of YHWH's oracles
2	*The sadness of the prophet seated for 7 days*	3:10-15	Ezekiel warns Israel as a sentinel
3	*The prophet becomes dumb*	3:22-26	A sign of the rebellious condition
4	*The tile portray and the iron plate*	4:1-3	Prophecies on the siege
5	*Lying on his sides*	4:4-6	Period of punishment
6	*The naked arm and the cords*	4:7-8	Unchangeable decision of YHWH
7	*Cooking food over human excrement*	4:9-12,15	Anguish and deportation
8	*A sharp knife and the hair*	5:1-4	Judgment and deportation
9	*A strange behaviour*	6:11	Dismay and scorn
10	*Making a chain*	7:23	Slavery, desolation, despair
11	*Digging a hole to pass through*	8:7-9	Idolatrous abomination
	Departure of the *Kavod*		
1	*The exile of the prophet and the baggage*	12:1-6	The Exile
2	*Bread and water with trembling*	12:18	Violence takes over the city
3	*Moan with grief*	21:6	Violence and fear over Jerusalem
4	*The two ways*	21:18-20	Divine guide of the siege
5	*The writing of the date*	24:1-2	The beginning of the siege
6	*The boiling pot*	24:3-5	Transgression and purification
7	*Wife's death*	24:15-17	Loss of the temple and of YHWH
8	*The two pieces of wood*	37:15-28	The Future Messianic Kingdom restored

Lindblom (1973), in his book *Prophecies in ancient Israel*, while discussing the supernormal experiences of some prophets such as Jeremiah, Zechariah, Hosea, Isaiah, Ezekiel, underlines what he sees to be the purpose of the symbolic actions and their primary meaning: "It is true that these actions were symbols and pointed beyond themselves to something else. They served to represent to the bystanders an object, an occurrence, a course of events which were of particular importance in connection with the total message of the prophet".[57]

There is not an attempt by Lindblom to broaden the meaning of the symbolic actions beyond the historical frame of the so-called "bystanders". Lindblom affirms that "…it is nearer the truth to say that such an action is a form of the divine word. It is *verbum visibile*, a visible word, and shares in all the qualities which distinguish the divine word"[58]; this affirmation prompts to consider in which way and with which extension the symbols may be considered *verbum visibile.* The symbolic actions may have had the purpose of impressing the mind of the onlookers with a token of YHWH's oracle, a form of visible teaching which at the same time makes the prophet enacting what the symbol pointed. Fear, emotions, hope, comfort or dismay, and many other experiences and feelings could be felt not only by the prophet but also by the people of Israel. Therefore, eventually, the symbolic action is specularly lived by the Israelites.

It may be argued that some of the bizarre actions of Ezekiel, as for example that of lying on one side for 390 days to bear the iniquity of the House of Israel (4:5), could only be real in a vision, therefore

[57] Lindblom, *Prophecy in ancient Israel*, 171.

[58] *Ibid.,* 172.

not a concrete act. The argument is worthy of notice. Stacey[59] states, referring to Ezekiel, that "…some of his dramatic acts had the precise purpose of making the conditions in Jerusalem evident to those who were so far away" but that "most of the dramatic actions we consider here exist only in the form of instructions that Ezekiel received in his mind".

It may be noted that all the visions in the book are concretely explained as such, and there are visible and tangible differences when the texts, instead, present an action structured as a command from YHWH. Furthermore, the purpose of the symbolic action is exactly accomplished when it is publically performed. Anyhow, a further analysis is required to see if the symbolic actions may all be considered concrete and real or if some may be understood as only "mind-real".

Launderville (2007), in his recent publication where he compares and contrasts the pictures gained from Greek and Mesopotamian cities with Ezekiel's Jerusalem, he shows how Ezekiel presents a symbolic thinking focused on transforming the same Israelites into living symbols of the deity. Referring to Israel in Egypt as a symbol of YHWH's presence in the world, Launderville gives a valuable definition of the symbolic language of Ezekiel stating that: "A symbol is a visible, material reality that signifies an absent or invisible reality by participating in the signified reality. The visible embodied character of the symbol is essential to its capacity to communicate"[60].

It is important to understand how the visible embodied character of a symbolic action is an efficient form of communication and how, therefore, the material and tangible reality that the symbolic action offers may be capable of signifying the invisible and absent, and how the human personality of Ezekiel may be "dissolved" and "merged" in the deity through the symbol.

While Launderville and Lindblom agree in considering the symbolic language of Ezekiel a form of expressing an embodiment of what is concrete but invisible, namely the oracles of YHWH and his presence, Block addresses the phenomenon underlying the biblical definition of Ezekiel as a *môphêth,* and the connection of the symbol to the prophet's personal and historical experience, though only as an omen in which reality is unconnected to the symbol: "*mopet,* a portent or a sign, points to a symbolic meaning for the prophet's experience, analogous to omens in which observable natural phenomena mysteriously portend historical or personal events with which they have no real connection" [61].

Another point of view about the symbolic "language" of Ezekiel is found in the work of Friebel where the focus is on the communicative and rhetorical purpose of the symbolic actions: "The sign-acts, therefore, proved to be an acceptable means of addressing the exigencies, not only prior to but also subsequent to, the fall of Jerusalem when the circumstances and exigencies were altered by the execution of the divine judgment on Judah. Also in response to different exigencies which constituted other rhetorical situations, other biblical prophets also employed sign-acts to present their messages (e.g. Isa. 20.1-6; 1 Kgs. 11.29-31; Hos. 1.2-9; 3.1-5). They too undoubtedly did so for communicative and rhetorical purposes"[62].

Certainly, all these valuable contributions are an evidence of the importance of the phenomenon of the symbolic actions and the related language, but there is a risk to underestimate the relevance of it for the theology of the book of Ezekiel.

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[59] Stacey, *Prophetic Drama in the Old Testament,* 172.

[60] Launderville, D.F., *Spirit & Reason, the embodied character of Ezekiel's symbolic thinking,* Waco-TX: Baylor University Press, 2007, 349.

[61] Block, D.I., *The book of Ezekiel Chapters 1–24*, 792,793.

[62] Friebel, K. G., *Jeremiah's and Ezekiel's Sign-Acts,* 466, 467.

A considerable attention needs to be paid to the concept formulated by Zimmerli regarding the symbolic actions as a form of YHWH's self-revelation: "…the symbolic action, by its development into a proof-saying, becomes an element of God's self-revelation to his people." "…the prophetic suffering becomes a vehicle for a message to be practiced by the prophet"[63].

Symbolic actions are surely a diversified form of YHWH's presence, and Ezekiel's entire being is involved in his ministry as redefining of a famous *adage* "*The medium is the message".* The syntactical and terminological way in which this "sign dimension" is presented urges a thorough investigation, and the genre of the symbolic language is derived from the text itself.

Conclusion

This brief introductory approach to the phenomenon of the symbolic actions of Ezekiel is certainly both an evidence of the richness of it and of the difficulties of interpreting it. Researching the significance and role of the symbolic actions and terminology requires a thorough analysis in order to understand the central issue of Ezekiel as a *sign.*

The symbolic actions and the related terminology, as the literature review has shown, present various challenges, as for example: May the actions be considered concrete and real or some may be understood as only "mind-real"? In which way and with which extension the symbols may be considered *verbum visibile*? How does the prophet become himself a prescriptive sign, a message - observable in nature and communicative in value? Of - or for - what is Ezekiel a sign? Are Ezekiel's sign-acts a replacement of YHWH's presence? What is the relation between the departure of כבד and the following and coincident call of Ezekiel to become a *sign*? Is the specific ministry of Ezekiel a result of the crisis of the Exile? What is the role of the sign-terminology in the theology of the book? What support the nuances of meaning and the use of *môphêth* could bring to the understanding of the function of the sign-acts within the book? What approaches may better suit the analysis of this phenomenon in Ezekiel? What is the rhetorical function of the sign-acts' narrative? What is the narrative structure of the symbolic actions within Ezekiel and what role does it play in the book?

[63] Zimmerli, W., *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: Chapters 24-48,* 504.

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Summary

The paper offers an introductory review of the interest that the specific phenomenon of symbolic actions in Ezekiel has received, as a basis for a further study of Ezekiel's form of prophetical ministry.. The book of Ezekiel presents a very specific and unique form of symbolic language, vividly expressed in its fullness by the statement: "I have made you a sign" [מוֹפֵת] (12:6)

This phenomenon raises questions related to the use and theological function of the symbolic actions and the related terminology in Ezekiel, its rhetorical and narrative structure and role, the wide spectrum of sense offered by the term *sign* [מוֹפֵת] (or *môphêth* in this paper) - and related terms - which constitute a stimulating opportunity for a semantic and linguistic analysis.

The research, then, focuses on the interpretations of the symbolic actions of Ezekiel and more specifically on the meaning, role and influence of the statement "I will made you a sign" for the theology of the book of Ezekiel.

The actions of the prophet are rhetorical and figurative devices which address the main theological and hermeneutical questions of the book of Ezekiel, and in particular the question of YHWH's presence and absence during the Exile. The role played by the prophet, with his "symbolic language" replacing his muteness and 'embodying' YHWH's oracles and presence, in relation to the absence of YHWH in the traumatic experience of the Exile, is a key issue of the book.

The symbolic actions convey messages but are also an important narrative element to structure the book of Ezekiel as well as to contribute to its impression of unity. The sign-acts accounts are an interconnected text corpus which requires an analysis as to its role in shaping the self-understanding of the exilic community. The research will try to present an examination of the account of the actions, suggesting a combination and integration of narrative-critical analysis with literary methods, individual rhetorical techniques used in a synchronic approach, together with a linguistic study, to consider interconnections and dependencies among the symbolic accounts. Building on these results, the research follows the development of selected themes, such as the relationships between characters, the roles of intermediate figures and theological implications and others. The study thus represents a step towards an understanding of the complex phenomenon of the symbolic action in the book of Ezekiel, and indeed of its theology, giving the opportunity to study the book as a whole and to explore some of its intricacies.

Literary layers of 2 Kgs 17:7–23

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Abstract: The literary/redaction critical status of 2 Kings 17:7-23 (the homiletic denunciation of Israel's fall) is notoriously difficult, and remains debated to this day. While the verses contain only few remarkable text-critical variants, the text is clearly composite and consists of multiple different textual layers. In this paper I will examine the text of the verses and assess the literary state of the text. Does any of the text in these verses seem to come from the Deuteronomistic Historian, for example, or is everything in these verses to be seen as later additions? How should the different literary layers be (re-)constructed?

Points of discussion: This is my reconstruction of the literary growth of the first "homiletical" part of the chapter 2 Kgs 17. I apologize for the text being a little too long. Do you find the arguments valid? At which points should they be strengthened? Does the reconstruction seem valid to you – and if not, why? Even though I may make some quite intricate differentiations between different parts of verses, I am more interested in the overall picture and its coherence: does the idea of there having been 3-5 different greater revisions (in the given verses) to the text seem possible/plausible/probable to you?

Thank you for your time!

Literary Layers of 2 Kgs 17:7–23

<u>In search for DtrH – broader literary limitations in verses 6–23</u>

The annalistic material (1.3.4b*.5–6aα, mostly in the OG form) and the oldest text of the chapter ends with the verse 6,[1] possibly according to the OG text and its ending plus "until this day." From 6aβ (…וַיֶּגֶל אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַשּׁוּרָה) onwards the text may also derive from a later hand (DtrH) than 6aα (annals), as the earlier object of conquest, "Samaria" of verses 5–6, changes to a broader term "Israel," denoting the whole northern kingdom, a term which is retained for the rest of the chapter.[2] After this the scholarly opinion on the literary and redactional state of the chapter start to differ drastically, as seen in the table below:

Scholar[3]	Most original unity	Secondary additions	Later additions
Klostemann (1887)	18b.21–23	7–18a	19–20
Benzinger (1899)	21–23	7–18	19–20
Kittel (1900)	18.21–23	7–17.19–20	
Burney (1903)	7–18.21–23	19–20	
Stade (1904)	21a.bα.22–23	7–14.15bβ–18	15a.bα.19–20.21bβ
Shanda (1912)	7aα.א21–23	7aα.ב–18	19–20
Noth (1943)	7–20	21–23	
Montgomery (1951)	21–23	7–18	19–20
Jepsen (1953)	21.23b	7–20.22.23a	
De Vaux (1958)	7a.21–23	7b–18	19–20
Gray (1964)	18.21–23	7–17.19–20	
Debus (1967)	21–23	7–20	
Dietrich (1972)	7–11.20	12–19	21–23
Nelson (1981)	7–20.23b	21–23a	
Rehm (1982)	7–18a.23	21–22	18b–20
Würthwein (1984)	21–23aα	7–12.18	13–17.19.20.23aβ
Becking (1985)	21a.bα.22–23	7–20	21bβ
Cogan & Tadmor (1988)	21–23a	7–18	19–20
Provan (1988)	7aα.18a.21–23	7aβ–17.18b–20	
McKenzie (1991)	21–23	7–20	
Brettler (1995)	13–18a.23	21–22	7–12, 18b–20
Eynikel (1996)	7a.9.11a.16aβ.21–23	8.10.12–16aα.ב.18.20	11b.17.19
Fritz (1998)	21–23aα.b	7–12.18	8b.13-17.19–20.23aβ
Campbell & O'Brien (2000)	21–23	7–20	
Kratz (2000)	21–23	7–12.18	13–17, 19–20
Aurelius (2003)	21–23	7a.8–11.18	7b.12.13–17.19–20
Römer (2005)	21–23	7–20	

[1] See XXX for the analysis of the material in verses 3–6.

[2] This use of "Samaria" as the object continues in verse 24, possibly showing an original link between these two passages; see Levin, "Der Untergang des Königtums von Israel," 180, who posits the annalistic material to encompass verses 1.3a.5*–6.24aα.b, verse 4(b*) thus being late as well. As has been seen, there are indeed many grave text-critical problems in verse 4, which would further corroborate Levin's hypothesis.

[3] Small glosses (like that of שְׁנֵים עֲגָלִים in 16) have not been included in the table. Klostermann, *Könige*, 453–4; Benzinger, *Könige*, 174; Kittel, *Könige*, 274; Burney, *Kings*, 330–1; Stade, *Kings*, 48; Shanda, *Könige*, 220–4; Noth, *ÜSt.*, 85; Montgomery, *Kings*, 470; Jepsen, *Quellen*, app. I; De Vaux, *1–2 Rois*, 199; Gray, *Kings*, 591–2; Debus, *Sünde Jeroboams*, 99; Dietrich, *Prophetie*, 45–6; Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 63; Rehm, *2 Könige*, 166–71; Würthwein, *Könige2*, 395–7; Becking, *Ondergang*, 179–200; Cogan & Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 207; Provan, *Hezekiah*, 71–2; McKenzie, *Trouble with Kings*, 141–2; Brettler, "Text in a Tel," 131–2; Eynikel, *Reform*, 91–2; Fritz, *Könige2*, 95–6; Campbell & O'Brien, *Unfolding*, 442–3; Kratz, *Composition of the Narrative Books*, 168–9; Aurelius, *Zukunft*, 84–5, 89; Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 121; Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1–2 Kings," 143–5.

Pakkala (2012)	7a.21	7b–11.13–15a.bβ.16b–18.22	12.15bα.16

Essentially all scholars agree that there is a literary break between verses 7–18/20 and 21–23. According to most scholars, a later hand has interpolated 19–20 between 18 and 21. This is a clear and well-argued position. However, it is still debated whether 7–18 or 21–23 (or rather, some parts of them) includes the more original text – and whether either of these units belonged already to the DtrH layer of the text. Since it is very unlikely that the Historian would not have at all commented the fall of the northern kingdom himself, the starting point of constructing a redactional model of the chapter would be to separate these original parts, upon which later redactors and revisers piled their additions and glosses. In order to do this, it is important to first consider the most elementary literary limitations of the text: which textual units can or cannot, from the get-go, be considered viable as the original DtrH text, and on what basis? Or are there indeed reasons to conclude, that there is no DtrH material to be found after verse 6?

It is indeed important to note that the verse 6aβ seems, from a structural point of view, to form a *Wiederaufnahme* with the verse 23b:

6aβ.b	23b
וַיֶּגֶל אֶת־**יִשְׂרָאֵל אַשּׁוּרָה** וַיֹּשֶׁב אֹתָם בַּחְלַח וּבְחָבוֹר נְהַר גּוֹזָן וְעָרֵי מָדָי	**וַיֶּגֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל אַשּׁוּרָה** מֵעַל אַדְמָתוֹ עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה׃

Such use of an ancient editorial technique would indicate that most, if not all, materials found inside this resumptive repetition (verses 7-23a) are later additions to the text.[4] Therefore the DtrH layer in the chapter would be extremely small: only in verses 1-6 there could be found any traces of the oldest text of the author, everything else – that is 35 verses – coming from later hands. The text of verse 23b is suspiciously similar to 6aβ, except for the additional "מֵעַל אַדְמָתוֹ" of 23b, which has a slightly theologizing flavor: the use of אַדְמָתוֹ quite clearly alludes to the idea of the promised land and to the myth of "empty land" after the deportation.[5] This indicates that the mention of 23b is indeed later than that of 6aβ. However, in order for this repetition to indeed constitute an editorial *Wiederaufnahme*, it needs to be ascertained that also the thematic and ideological contents of the framed text, which will be analyzed below, can be deemed as reflecting late ideas.

The passage framed by verses 6 and 23 adds the reason(s) for the fall of Israel narrated in verses 3–5. As the verses 7–23 form evidently not a literally unit as a whole, we have to look for the original unity added. It is often proposed that this unity most probably started with verse 7a.[6] Taking the text of MT as it is, the protasis construct וַיְהִי כִּי ("and happened, *because*…") can only have its apodosis

[4] See XXX for further analysis. Thusly also Aurelius, *Zukunft*, 77-8. Long, *2 Kings*, 182–3, while also positing a *Wiederaufnahme* here, does not see it as a marker of late addition, but as a stylistic device.

[5] The idea of the promised land is found elsewhere only in Kings in 1 Kgs 8:34, 40, 9:7, 14:15 (not found in OG); 2 Kgs 21:8. See especially 2 Kgs 25:21, where the exile of Judah is recounted with the exact same formula (וַיִּגֶל יְהוּדָה מֵעַל אַדְמָתוֹ). The quite rare phrase גלה + מעל אַדְמָתוֹ is also used in Jer 52:27 (=2Kgs 25:21) and Amos 7:11, 17. Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 61, sees 23b as a conclusion not to (21-)23a, but to 18.

[6] It needs to be noted, however, that verse 7 has some grave text-critical problems, which may make its redaction critical use and assessment more difficult, if not impossible; see XXX.

in verse 18a ("…*that* Yahweh became angry towards Israel") – or, alternatively, 13a ("*that* Yahweh warned Israel and Judah…"), which interrupts the flow of the narrative, and is therefore likely a very late interpolation to the context (cf. below).[7] This is the only unproblematic syntactical understanding of the construct וַיְהִי כִּי of the present text, and any other translations of the construct are likely faulty.[8] This, of course, restrains the literary and redactional analysis of the chapter further, since at least verse 7a together with 18a would seem to thus form part of the oldest text after verses 1–6.[9]

Alternatively, Šanda suggests that only the first verb of verse 7 (וַיְהִי) should be seen as original, with the otherwise enigmatic syntactical structure כִּי־קָרַע of verse 21a (instead of כִּי־חָטְאוּ of 7a) serving as its original continuation.[10] This resulting וַיְהִי כִּי construct would thus be unproblematic grammar-wise, having its apodosis in the וַיַּמְלִיכוּ of 21b ("[7]And it happened, [21a]because/when *he* tore Israel from the house of David, [21b]that they made Jeroboam king…").[11] This makes it possible for Šanda to consider everything else in 7–20 as later additions. In the present MT text Šanda's suggestion is not possible, since the subject of קָרַע of 21a would directly after verse 6 be the king of Assyria, which is obviously impossible. However, as argued by many, the qal form קָרַע should be understood as either reflexive ("Israel tore *itself*") or, more likely, as having originally been in nif'al, according to the LXX reading.[12] This would also alleviate the problems of Šanda's theory. His suggestion is therefore plausible with one minor textual modification in 21a – which, as will be argued below, should indeed be seen as the preferred reading.

Verse 18a works thus as the punishment clause for the sins listed from verse 7 onwards, and as a suitable conclusion even to the original denunciation of Israel and its sins in the chapter. One would not expect any more sins to be mentioned after the exiling of Israelites has happened in 18a. However, this would leave the mention of Jeroboam's sin in verses 21–22 out of both the original DtrH text of

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[7] Similarly Becking, *Ondergang*, 169 ("…onderbroken door vers 13…").
The verses 20b and 23a, which have practically the same text, have not been proposed as the apodosis in the research, although they are grammatically completely viable options, too.

[8] See XXX. The way of translating the construct, therefore, has also repercussions to the analysis of the redactional layers of the passage. For example Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1–2 Kings," [12], translates "this happened, because…," which makes it possible for him to connect 7aα directly to 21a as the oldest text, with nothing else in between. Similarly De Vaux, *Livres des Rois*[2], 199. However, such a Hebrew text with two "כִּי" conjunctions, reading וַיְהִי כִּי־חָטְאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם כִּי־קָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל בֵּית דָּוִד וַיַּמְלִיכוּ אֶת־יָרָבְעָם is not very likely and does not make much sense.

[9] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 71–2, indeed sees only this unity of 7a.18a as the most original text in verses 7–20, with everything between as later addition(s).

[10] Šanda, *2Könige*, 224.

[11] One could even argue that the two כִּי conjuctions in 7a and 21a now form a *Wiederaufnahme*-like repetition, between which the later interpolations then happened.

[12] See for the text-critical discussion in XXX. Thomas, *Hezekiah and the Compositional History*, 435, in his "Reconstructed Hezekian History" has verse 21 follow 6 directly while still maintaining that the subject should be seen as Yahweh, apparently implicitly. However, this is not possible. However, it is possible that the original nif'al form was harmonized to a qal form because of the late additions of verses 7-18, or even 19-20, before it, so that the subject of 18/20 (Yahweh) would become also the subject of 21a.

verses 1–6 and even a supposed DtrH layer in 7–17, where no mention of Jeroboam can be found. Some scholars have found this problematic, since this would mean that the sin of Jeroboam, the universally thought staple mark of DtrH, would not have been mentioned at all in the original edition of chapter 17, but only by some later redactor.[13] If the DtrH text is supposed to have ended already with verse 6, *no* sin would have been in such text recounted for either the people of Israel or its king, Hoshea. The only apparent reason for the destruction would be the *political* miscalculation of Hoshea found in verse 4a.[14] It would indeed seem very strange that no explicit reason at all had been given for the fall of Israel in chapter 17.[15]

However, the textual problem of verse 17:2 – whether Hoshea was a relatively good (MT) or the worst (OG) king of Israel – should also be noted here, since it may also have redactional significance.[16] According to MT Hoshea, who "did what was wrong in the eyes of Yahweh, though not like the kings of Israel before him" seems to do nothing particularly wrong – apparently he did not even walk in the sin of Jeroboam. This is of course baffling, as in this case there would be even less reason for the exile in verses 1–6. If we were to understand, for instance, that Hoshea being the not-worst king means that the worship of the calves in Bethel and/or Dan had already ceased,[17] the condemnation must be late, since it is unlikely that the calves were present yet at the DtrH text.[18] Hoshea being "not like the kings of Israel before him" would then have to mean something else, and there is at least a possibility that him not being as evil had something to do with him not following the sin of Jeroboam, since almost all the other kings of Israel are indeed told to have done so.[19] In the OG text there would of course be much more reason for the exile, since Hoshea "did more evil than anyone before him," apparently surpassing even Ahab, the epitome of evil. Such a reading would at least implicate that the sin of Jeroboam was continued by him, although it is hard to say if such an implicit remark alone would be enough reason for the fall of Israel for DtrH – probably not. In any case, the OG text would make somewhat more sense in a redactional model where only verses 1–6 were posited to attest to the most original text.

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[13] Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1-2Kings," [12–13];
[14] And even 4a may be a later addition; see XXX for the text-critical assessment.
[15] It is also possible – albeit extremely unlikely – that the explicit reasoning was originally given elsewhere, for example in 1 Kgs 14:15–16 or 2 Kgs 18:12, and therefore there was no need to do it again in 2 Kgs 17. Indeed, O'Brien, *Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, _, 209, argues that 1 Kgs 14:16 was part of the DtrH scheme, while also claiming that 2 Kgs 17:22-23a should similarly be seen as DtrH material. On the other hand Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 61-3, seems to rather opt for the originality of 2 Kgs 18:12. Both passages are, however, quite suspect for being late: ; cf. also Campbell & O'Brien, *Unfolding*, 380, 447, who argue for the lateness of both passages.
[16] See XXX for the text- and literary-critical assessment of the verse.
[17] As argued by Van der Kooij, "Zur Exegese," 111–12.
[18] The calves in 1 Kgs 12:28–30 are probably a late invention. See Pakkala, "Jeroboam's sin."
[19] Levin, "Frömmigkeit," 156, indeed assumes that Hoshea stopped with the Jeroboam's sin: "Der letzte König *Hoschea* schließlich unterläßt die Sünde Jeroboams ganz."

As a second option it has been proposed that the original unity should be found in verses 6.21–23, between which verses 7–20 were then added in various stages.[20] The problems of the subject of the construct כִּי־קָרַע stay the same, but, as has been argued, they are text-critically emendable. There is thus no grave need to suggest that some material has been lost before 21, for instance.[21] In any case, the unity of 6.21–23 would easily solve the problem of Jeroboam's sin not being mentioned in relation to the fall of the northern kingdom. There are two main literary critical problems to this solution, however, the first being the already mentioned possible *Wiederaufnahme* in 6b and 23b. The second one would be another suspicious repetition found in 18a and 23a:

18a	וַיִּתְאַנַּף יְהוָה מְאֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְסִרֵם מֵעַל פָּנָיו	23a	עַד אֲשֶׁר־הֵסִיר יְהוָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל פָּנָיו

Brettler comes to a similar conclusion concerning 21–22, although he sees a resumptive repetition between 20b (עַד אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁלִיכָם מִפָּנָיו) and 23a.[22] There are indeed some ideological peculiarities in verses 21–22 that indicate that at least some latter parts of verse 21, if not the verse as a whole, are probably late additions (cf. below).[23] Nelson therefore suggests that 21–22 are "an even later addition by someone who missed any mention of Jeroboam, dependent upon both the historian and the second editor in language."[24] It is not necessary to make such drastic statements, however: some parts of 21–22, especially 22, may be salvageable, as will be argued below.

Therefore, even if verses 21–23 were deemed ideologically as the most original in the passage, there are thus some larger questions that need to be heeded when further analyzing 7–23: 1) the possible (editorial) framing devices in 6b/23b and 18a/23a; 2) the grammatical frame of 7aα.18a; 3) and the grammatical problems of MT 21a, even when connected directly to 6b. With these preconditions in mind we may start the assessment of the first homiletical passage and the possible DtrH layer of the chapter.

The unity of verses 7-18?

It has been concluded that at least verses 7.18a, 19–20, and 21–23(a) should be seen as coming from at least two different hands, 19–20 being an interpolation between the two other units. What about the in-between material in 7-17? Even though some, most notably Noth, have seen the passage as

[20] Thusly for instance Römer, *The So-called Deuteronomistic History*, 121; Thomas, *Hezekiah and the Compositional History*, 435.
[21] As cautiously suggested by Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 56: "However, it is just possible that the beginning of the phrase was lost through the editorial process."
[22] Brettler, "Text in a Tel," 119–20. This would of course make the unit 21-22 even later than verses 19-20, which are usually seen as the latest additional unit in 7-23.
[23] Namely 21b, which seems to even allude to the late idea of calves of Jeroboam; cf. below.
[24] Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 63. Similarly Rehm *2Könige*, 171.

coming from only one author,[25] the amount of repetitions, glosses, contradictions, and even differing ideologies makes it likely that the materials in-between have been composed by several hands. There are repetitions of certain elements, such as Yahweh exiling the peoples from before Israelites (8, 11), Israelites erecting Asherim (10)/making Ashera (16), or doing evil and inciting the wrath of Yahweh (11, 17). In verses 8 and 11 we learn the peoples have been exiled by Yahweh from before the Israelites, but in 15 they are told to be still around them. Furthermore, the verses 7-12 (and 16aβ–17a) have their focus on the cultic crimes and the venerating of other gods, while verses 13-16aα have their focus solely on the many ordinances Yahweh had given to the Israelites (and their fathers), which they had not followed. [26]

Several scholars have seen these characteristics as a reason for a redactional break between two distinct units in verses 7–12 and 13–17.[27] The interrupting verse 13 is in this model seen as beginning a second unit, spanning all the way to verse 17 or 18. The earlier subject of verses 7–12, "Israel,"[28] changes in verse 13 to "Yahweh," whose speech is now addressed not only to Israel, but unexpectedly also to Judah. The mentioning of Judah also means that, grammatically, the plural subjects of verses 14–17 are to be understood as both Israel and Judah, which can hardly be the meaning of the original text. Also the theological significance of the prophets as the preachers of Yahweh's statutes and commands in verse 13 differs from the more customary idea in the books of Kings of a prophet as a miracle maker or as a messenger of Yahweh's word.[29] It is indeed highly likely that verse 13, and at least 14a following it, form a later explicating addition to a text that originally ran from 11 to 16, possibly by the same hand that added Judah to the text in 19–20.

Also other unities can be proposed on the basis of the underlying ideological tendencies of redactors. Not finding the differentiation between 7–12 and 13–18 satisfactory, Eynikel proposes that

[25] Noth, *ÜSt.*, 85–6, according to whom this was the Historian. Similarly e.g. O'Brien, *Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, 210: "From a literary critical point of view 2 Kgs 17:7-18a, apart from a later insertion in v 12, exhibits a high degree of uniformity"; and Shanda, *2Könige*, 223: "Der Abschnitt 7–18 ist einheitlich."

[26] See XXX for the suspiciously even distribution of many of these repetitions and differences between the two textual units of OG (9–14, 15–18). A somewhat similar division, although not as marked as in OG (which has clear literary divisions between the two), is thus to be found also in MT. The fact that both traditions display similar tendencies points very strongly to a conclusion that there are indeed at least two distinct literary layers in verses 7–17.

[27] Thusly for instance Fritz, *2Könige*, 95, 98–9; Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur*, 222; Würthwein, *Könige2*, 392, 395-7 (two DtrN units 7–12.18 and 13–17.20). Some see the break to lie between 11 and 12 (or 13), instead; see Dietrich, , (7-11, 12-17); Aurelius, *Zukunft*, 82, 87 (8-11.18, 13-17.19-20, verse 12 being an even later interpolation between the two).

[28] The terms "Israel" and "sons of Israel" are in this section interpreted as denoting the inhabitants of the northern kingdom only. This is the most uncomplicated understanding of the terms, even though some objections can be raised, as argued earlier; see XXX for the discussion of these terms.

[29] Würthwein, *Könige2*, 397; Rösel, "Why 2 Kings 17," 88: "This understanding is typical of Jeremiah and Ezekiel and is alien to the Deuteronomist, especially to the Deuteronomists in Kings, who describe the prophets as intervening in Israel's history according to a schema of prophecy and fulfillment." According to Gray, *Kings*, 588-9: "The inclusion of Judah in the doom of Israel here and at v. 19 indicates a post-exilic date, as does also the reference to the ignoring of the prophets' call to turn from their evil ways."

since DtrH was evidently interested in the high places, verses 7a.9.11a.16aβ.21–23 could have formed the original textual unity, everything else being added later in two main stages.[30] However, the main problem with this particular reconstruction is that the resulting text is not grammatically sound: the protasis of 7a does not have an apodosis, since 18a is deemed as later by Eynikel.[31] Nevertheless, the idea of a text unit (whether here DtrH or not) in verses 7–11 revolving around the illegitimate and uncentralized (still Yahwistic) cult on the high places is plausible. Indeed, there are literary signs that suggest that verses 9b and 11a originally followed each other without verse 10 in the middle (see below).

Therefore, a *working hypothesis* of 7aα.9bα.11aα.b.18a.22.23a is proposed as having the oldest text in verses 7–23, and as the best base text to mostly suit the style and needs of the Historian.[32] Verses 7aα.18a form the grammatical "frame" inside which 9bα.11aα.b recount the provocation of making high places.[33] After this the sin of Jeroboam (22) is recounted for the whole Israel one last time before the exile (23a). All other verses can be shown to have been added after these verses as further explications or harmonizations.

Verses 7-12. Beginning with verse 7b, already the text-critical findings suggested that the phrase "they feared other gods" (וַיִּירְאוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים) may be a late proto-MT addition to the text that has found its way even in the *L* tradition.[34] The phrase is suspicious even without text-critical evaluations, since the phrase ירא + אלהים אחרים can be found in the whole Hebrew Bible otherwise only in 2 Kgs 17:35, 37, 38, which are very late.[35] As this is the first explicit sin mentioned, this phrase could have been added here to emphasize that the main sin of Israel was first and foremost idolatry – i.e., transgressing the first commandment. Kartveit notes that this use in the latter part of the chapter may

[30] Eynikel, *Reform*, 91. Eynikel asserts that the calves were also important to DtrH, thusly taking 16aβ (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מַסֵּכָה) as original material, but this is not likely.

[31] Eynikel, *Reform*, 91. Such resulting syntactical structure with two כִּי clauses in 7a and 21a would also be very peculiar, not to mention that the second כִּי clause of 21a would also be quite nonsensical after 16aβ (how does making molten image relate to Yahweh tearing Israel from the house of Judah?), even if read as reflexive or nif'al נקרע. His reconstruction does not therefore pass the *Gegenprobe*.

[32] In a way this hypothesis can be seen as updating the base text proposed by Eynikel.

[33] In fact, if one reads 7aα *without* the verb וַיְהִי, one could even posit a grammatically sound redactional model 7aα.9b.11aα(.b).22.23a (or an even more stripped one of 7aα.22.23a!), thus without the apodosis of 18a, as the original DtrH text of the first homiletical passage. The text-critical evidence (La[115], which does not have this verb; see XXX) could to a limited extent support this claim. In this model one would need to also delete the unnecessary and redundant בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל of 22 as a gloss, which was made necessary after the addition of 21bα.β (the subject of which is Jeroboam). While this model is extremely tempting, the very scant evidence for the reconstruction does not seem to allow for such tampering with the text. Therefore, the current text and hypothesis needs to be left standing.

[34] See XXX.

[35] See XXX for the discussion of this phrase in both redactional and especially text-critical terms. Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 53–4, 57, notes that 7b and 13–14 show similarities with the language use of Judges 2:1–5 and 6:7–10, which he deems secondary additions to Judges.

have simply been picked up from the earlier verse 7 – but the reverse is just as possible, and more likely.[36]

Indeed, verse 8 is redactionally quite suspect, as its text clearly resounds Lev 20:23a, and has phraseology used nowhere else in Kings.[37] Textual criticism also indicates that 8b is an even later addition to the verse, as the meaning of "the sons of Israel" also changes between verse 7 (northern kingdom) and 8 (all Israelites).[38] Furthermore, the similarities with 1 Kings 14:24 are to be noted: the clause הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ("the peoples whom Yahweh drove from before the sons of Israel") is verbatim the same as found in 1 Kgs 14:24.[39] This allusion to the sins of Judah is probably no coincidence, when it is noted that verse 10, too, alludes to the said sin (1 Kgs 14:23b).[40] As seen in the table below, it is likely that these passages are here linked:

1 Kings 14:22-24	2 Kings 17:8-10
וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוּדָה הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה וַיְקַנְאוּ אֹתוֹ מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ אֲבֹתָם בְּחַטֹּאתָם אֲשֶׁר חָטָאוּ:	וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקּוֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וּמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ:
וַיִּבְנוּ גַּם־הֵמָּה[41] לָהֶם בָּמוֹת	וַיִּחְפְּאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־כֵן עַל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיִּבְנוּ לָהֶם בָּמוֹת בְּכָל־עָרֵיהֶם מִמִּגְדַּל נוֹצְרִים עַד־עִיר מִבְצָר:
וּמַצֵּבוֹת וַאֲשֵׁרִים עַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן:	וַיַּצֵּבוּ לָהֶם מַצֵּבוֹת וַאֲשֵׁרִים עַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן:
וְגַם־קָדֵשׁ הָיָה בָּאָרֶץ עָשׂוּ כְּכֹל הַתּוֹעֵבֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	

The similarity between the phrase וַיִּבְנוּ לָהֶם בָּמוֹת in 1 Kgs 14:23a and 2 Kgs 17:9b seems to have prompted a later reviser to add also the other cultic misdeeds of 1 Kgs 14:23 (מַצֵּבוֹת וַאֲשֵׁרִים) to the text, in verse 2 Kgs 17:10. Verse 10 severs the connection between the high places of 9b(α) (וַיִּבְנוּ לָהֶם בָּמוֹת בְּכָל־עָרֵיהֶם) and the sacrificing on them in 11aα (וַיְקַטְּרוּ־שָׁם).[42] Indeed, it seems that the addition of the harmonizing verse 10 forced then the reviser or a later glossator to add in 11aα the explicating בְּכָל־בָּמוֹת after שָׁם, since in the present text שָׁם actually refers to the hills and the lush trees of verse

[36] Kartveit, "Date of II Reg 17,24-41," 41. If 7b is taken as original, the sentence could also work very well in direct connection with 9b: "[7b]they feared other gods [9b]and built *them* (לָהֶם) high places…," were the verses 8–9a deemed secondary to them (which they very likely are), effectively rendering the text of 9b idolatrous – and likely non-DtrH – as well.

[37] Lev 20:23a reads:" וְלֹא תֵלְכוּ בְּחֻקַּת הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי מְשַׁלֵּחַ מִפְּנֵיכֶם".

[38] The verse 2 Kgs 17:8 is of course text-critically suspect as a whole, since it seems to have been fully missing from the OG edition (see XXX), but it is also quite clear that the confusing 8b is a late gloss as well; see XXX.

[39] The verbatim same clause can be also found in 2 Kgs 16:3 (Ahaz) and 21:2 (=2 Chr 33:2).

[40] Indeed, Brettler, "Ideology, History, and Theology," 273, notes that these verses are a quotation from 1 Kgs 14:22-23, made according to the "inverted quotation" or the *Zeidel's Law* principle.

[41] The MT plus "גַּם־הֵמָּה", "also they," seems to be a late MT addition, as it is missing from LXX (καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑψηλα=וַיִּבְנוּ לָהֶם בָּמוֹת) and marked with an asterisk in Syrohexapla, the reading coming to some Greek manuscripts from Aquila and/or Symmachus. The plus may even be classified as an "anti-Israelite" MT addition: the custom of building high places came, according to this plus, originally from Israel (as their building is recounted verbatim to 1 Kgs 14:22-23 in 2 Kgs 17:9-11), as the Judahites "too" started building them! The addition could, alternatively, also be due to the now unclear text of MT 14:22bβ, where it is not completely certain, who the subject of בְּחַטֹּאתָם אֲשֶׁר חָטָאוּ is (either the fathers of the Judahites). Therefore a late copyist may have wanted to clear the confusion by adding that "they too," probably referring to Judah, did evil things, like their fathers. This potential gloss, of course, ultimately only further *adds* to the ambiguity of the passage.

[42] Similarly Eynikel, *Reform*, 96, who concludes that the phrases come from the same hand.

10b, not to the high places in the cities of Israelites (9b).[43] It is thus possible that this addition of verse 10 happened together with 8a as a harmonization towards the sin of Judah, the "customs of the peoples" (8a) denoting in the resulting text the high places (9a) and the matsebot and asherim (10a).[44]

The evaluation of the relative age of 9a, on the other hand, is hard because of multiple reasons. First, the first word of the verse, וַיְחַפְּאוּ, is a *hapax* and its translation is highly disputed. Second, the odd phrase of 9a, "and they (either "the sons of Israel"[45] or "the kings of Israel" of the previous verse) *did in secret*[46] things that are 'not right' against/concerning Yahweh," is found nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, and is quite vague and ambiguous. The fact that this very awkward Hebrew sentence conforms in part to Aramaic language use only makes it more suspicious for being very late.[47] If "doing in secret" or the like is indeed the right translation of חפא, it could allude to some idolatrous deeds, as also in Deut 13:6 and 27:15 idolatry is performed "in secret" (בַּסֵּתֶר). Nevertheless, at least the "sin of Jeroboam" was quite clearly done in the open, as almost every king of Israel is accused of it.[48] Furthermore, the explication of the subject "sons of Israel" in 9a is surprising, as it is unnecessary: the subject should carry over from verse 7. This suggests that the text of 9a was added behind 8b and its strange gloss containing "the kings of Israel," after which the new explication of the subject became necessary.

As the text now stands it is somewhat hard to say whether the sacrificing at the high places in verses 9b.11a should be seen as Yahwistic (potentially DtrH) or idolatrous (later redactions) practice.[49] If either 7b ("they feared other gods") or 11b ("they did evil things in order to *provoke* Yahweh") come from the same author, the cult is clearly idolatrous. The wording of the original

[43] However, in 2 Kgs 16:4 Ahaz is told to have indeed sacrificed both on the high places and on the hills and under all lush trees. The idea of sacrificing on any of these places is thus not impossible, although 16:4 itself may well be simply dependent on 17:9-11. Nevertheless, the form of 16:4 (וְעַל־הַגְּבָעוֹת וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן) is remarkably verbatim that of Deut 12:2, unlike 2 Kgs 17:10 (עַל **כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה** וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן), which makes this somewhat more complicated an idea.
[44] Verses 8 and 10 are attributed to the same redactor also by Eynikel, *Reform*, 91.
[45] If the subject is indeed "the sons of Israel" of 9a, this mention of the subject is here quite unnecessary. However, this superfluous repetition of the same subject as in 7a (which carries over to here) should probably not be seen as too literary critically disconcerting: as the strange "kings of Israel" (which is probably some sort of gloss) at the end of 8b could be understood as changing also the subject of verse 9a, the successive explicative addition of "sons of Israel" would then be completely understandable. On the other hand, if the gloss "kings of Israel" came later than the "sons of Israel," this would change the situation: the repetition of the subject would indeed be unnecessary and possibly hint at a late provenance of either verse 9a or 7a, where the "sons of Israel" are also mentioned. On the basis of MT's text "the kings of Israel" could be either earlier or later, more probably earlier; however, see XXX for the text critical notes, and XXX for an assessment of La[115] lacking verse 8 – on the basis of these results the situation becomes even more complicated, as "the kings of Israel" seem to indeed come to the text later than the "sons of Israel," who themselves seem also latecomers to the text!
[46] The most often used translation "to do in secret" is pretty much nonsensical, as commented by Snaith, *Kings*, 280: ". Cf. XXX for discussion.
[47] See Goldstein, "A Suggestion," 397; Montgomery, *Kings*, 478, asserts that "אשר is used like Aram די, ד"; see XXX for text-critical discussion of this sentence.
[48] In 2 Kgs 17:22 also the people of Israel are told to have walked in the sin(s) of Jeroboam, apparently quite publicly.
[49] Provan, *Hezekiah*, 82, sees them as idolatrous.

unity 9b.11aα (וַיִּבְנוּ לָהֶם בָּמוֹת | וַיְקַטְּרוּ־שָׁם) could be interpreted either way, since the verb קטר (in hif. and pi.) is used for both Yahwistic and non-Yahwistic sacrifices,[50] although one could also expect here the verb זבח, "to sacrifice," the common pair of קטר in Kings.[51] Building (בנה) or making (עשׂה) high places is not a very common sin either.[52] On one hand the text only speaks of Yahweh, but on the other the many idolatrous practices in verses 7–11 indicate that these high places were understood – at least by the later redactors – as non-Yahwistic. Apart from 1 Kgs 12–13, mentions of (houses/priests of) high places in the northern kingdom are just as scarce, and appear almost solely in late contexts. It is clear that also the later redactors of Kings were interested in high places and were ready to add them to the text:[53]

The (houses/priests of) high places in Israel		Function	Redactional layer
1 Kgs 12:31	בֵּית בָּמוֹת	Yahwistic	DtrH
12:32	כֹּהֲנֵי הַבָּמוֹת	Yahwistic	Late
13:2	כֹּהֲנֵי הַבָּמוֹת	?	Late
13:32	בָּתֵּי הַבָּמוֹת	?	Late
13:33	כֹּהֲנֵי בָמוֹת *bis*	Yahwistic	DtrH(?)
2 Kgs 17:9	בָּמוֹת	???	???
17:11	בְּכָל־בָּמוֹת	Idolatrous	Gloss
17:29	בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת	Syncretistic	Late
17:32	כֹּהֲנֵי בָמוֹת	Syncretistic	Late
17:32	בֵּית הַבָּמוֹת	Syncretistic	Late
23:15	הַבָּמָה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יָרָבְעָם	Idolatrous	Late
23:15	הַבָּמָה *bis*	Idolatrous	Late
23:19	בָּתֵּי הַבָּמוֹת	Idolatrous	Late
23:20	כֹּהֲנֵי הַבָּמוֹת	Idolatrous	Late

A further problem is the syncretistic 11aβ with its כַּגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־הָגְלָה יְהוָה מִפְּנֵיהֶם, "like the peoples whom Yahweh exiled from before them," a rewording of 8a. As the combination גוים + גלה of 11b occurs elsewhere only in 2 Kgs 17:26, 33, this pairing may be a sign of late language, although this use in the two later verses more probably derives from the earlier verse 11.[54] In 11b the "bad things" (דְּבָרִים רָעִים) also point to idolatrous behavior, as they probably should be seen as an allusion to Deut 13:12, which deals with the punishment for idolatry (דָּבָר הָרָע). Because of the unnecessary

[50] Similarly Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 326. Eynikel, *Reform*, 221, sees the verb as "RI" when the subject is the stereotypical king or the people of Israel.

[51] Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 57–8, asserts on this lack of the second verb: "For the historian, the verb seems to have had its more narrow meaning of burning incense or causing smoke to rise; therefore, when he is making a negative judgment about sacrifices at the high places, he always uses the verbs qtr and zbh together...For the exilic editor, however, the word seems to have had the broader connotation of sacrifice in general, for he always uses this verb alone in his negative judgments." Indeed, the attestations of קטר as the sole verb of sacrifice seem generally late in Kings; cf. 1 Kgs 9:25, 12:33, 13:1, 2; 2 Kgs 16:13, 15 (however, both have עֹלָה as their object), 18:4, 22:17, 23:5 *bis*, 23:8.

[52] With בנה in 1 Kgs 11:7, 14:23; 2 Kgs 21:3; Jer 7:31, 19:5, 33:35; 2 Chr 33:3, 19. With עשׂה in 1 Kgs 12:31; 2 Kgs 23:15, 19; 2 Chr 21:11, 28:25; Ez 16:16. Many of these mentions are quite late as well.

[53] Thusly also Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings," [13]. Pakkala (24) notes that at the very latest redations the high places even lose their meaning as a place of sacrifice and become understood as cultic objects that should be destroyed with other idolatrous objects (as in 2 Kgs 23:19-20). The mention of high places in 2 Kgs 17:9 as an actual location is therefore at least earlier than this very late conception.

[54] The use of verb גלה likely derives from 6b (=23b), where it is used in connection with Israel.

repetition of the idea of Yahweh exiling the peoples from before the Israelites in 8a and 11b, it is likely either of them is later than the other.

Verse 12, sometimes thought to come from the same hand as verses 9 and 11,[55] could be another indication that this cult at the high places was criticized in these verses of being syncretistic and idolatrous. However, verse 12 with its גִּלֻּלִים, a very rare and late word in the Hebrew Bible,[56] comes from a later hand than 9bα and 11aα. It is likely that verse 12 serves as a secondary explication and interpretation of verse 11, possibly added with or after the other allusions to the sins of Manasseh in 16–17.[57] The לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה of 12b is a furthermore clear allusion to Deut 12:4 (לֹא־תַעֲשׂוּן כֵּן לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם), probably evoked by verses 8 and 10–11 before it, which also allude to Deut 12:2.[58] The verb כעס with Yahweh as its object clearly denotes idolatry,[59] after which "idols" as an explication of "bad things" works well.[60] Verse 12 is thus likely a very late "materialistic" addition.[61]

Furthermore, Dietrich sees verse 11b (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ דְּבָרִים רָעִים לְהַכְעִיס אֶת־יְהוָה) as a sort of "summary" statement to 7-11a.[62] It is not impossible that 11b, or at least its לְהַכְעִיס אֶת־יְהוָה, was even the ending and climax of the original condemnation of Israel,[63] which was then followed by the original punishment formula of 18a.[64] Indeed, this would explain the second, similar statement at the end of verse 17 (לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיסוֹ), which quite clearly ends in a *Wiederaufnahme*-like fashion a second layer of additions (parts of verses 12–17) to a more original unity that ended in verse 11b.[65]

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[55] Thus Würthwein, *Könige2*, 396; Fritz, *2 Könige*, 98;

[56] The word itself is probably of late origin, as it suggests that the other "gods" were nothing else but simply material idols (or rather, even "dung") with no power whatsoever; see Pakkala…. The word is found in abundance only in Ezechiel; otherwise only in … . See also

[57] Serving the "גִּלֻּלִים" is again mentioned as one of the sins of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:11) and especially his son Amon (21:21).

[58] Also Goldstein, "A Suggestion," 403–4, notes the close resemblance of 2 Kgs 17:8–11 and Deut 12:2–4. The phrase עַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן (10b), found verbatim only in 1 Kgs 14:23 and Jer 2:20, resounds Deut 12:2 (וּעַל־הַגְּבָעוֹת וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן, quoted verbatim by 2 Kgs 16:4). Deut 12:2 also speaks of the peoples whom the Israelites will dispossess (הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם יֹרְשִׁים אֹתָם), similar to verse 2 Kgs 17:8.

[59] In both Deuteronomy and elsewhere in Kings this is the understanding of the verb, cf. Deut 4:25, 9:18, 31:29, 32:16, 19, 21 *bis*; 1 Kgs 14:9, 15, 15:30 *bis*, 16:13, 26, 33, 21:22, 22:54; 2 Kgs 21:6, 15, 22:17, 23:26. Similarly Judg 2:12. Only in 1 Kgs 16:2, 7 these verses speak only of Jeroboam's sin, being clearly secondary, and 2 Kgs 23:19, which is somewhat unclear (albeit in any case very late).

[60] Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 44, furthermore sees verse 12a as a "Wiederholung von V. 7b."

[61] Thusly also O'Brien, *Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, 210: "Verse 12 may therefore have been added later to introduce the theme of idol worship."

[62] Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 44, according to whom: "Nichts spricht dagegen, daß dieser Gedankengang von dem Verfasser des dtr Geschichtswerkes, von DtrG, stammt." On the other hand Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings," XX, sees 11b as a late gloss, although he does not discuss the passage further. There is nothing in the passage that would outright deem it as a gloss, but it is also somewhat unlikely that it would come from DtrH (or "DtrG," as Dietrich maintains), since it speaks of the Israelites "provoking Yahweh," an idolatrous statement.

[63] Thusly Aurelius, *Zukunft*, 82.

[64] Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 44–5, connects 11b rather to the second punishment formula in 20b, but this seems very unlikely.

[65] This is indeed what also Aurelius, *Zukunft*, 82, proposes: "Die einfachste und vorerst zu prüfende Erklärung des doppelten Vorkommens ist, der Abschnitt v 13-17 später hinzugefügt und durch die Wiederaufnahme von v 11b am

As a preliminary conclusion it is proposed that in verses 7–12 the original unity 7aα.9bα.11aα.b(without בְּכָל־בָּמוֹת) was later augmented with verses 8a.10.11aβ (possibly by one hand), and even later in different stages with 7b, 8b, 9a, and 12 (all being very late). The original textual unit in 7–18 would have thus been quite short, since the protasis 7aα would have found its apodosis in 18a, right after 11aα. It is not impossible that this unit of text was written already by the Historian.

Verses 13-18. It was already noted before that verses 13–14, which interrupt the narrative flow and bring Judah prematurely to the fore, likely come from a later hand from that of 7–11 or 16–17, which seem to deal solely with Israel. The combination עוד + Yahweh (as subj.) used in 13a (and 15a) is very rare in the Hebrew Bible, and is used mostly in late contexts – it is significant that the combination is used by the Masoretic idiolect of Jeremiah, but is missing from the older Septuagint edition.[66] This indicates that עוד + Yahweh as a subject is indeed a very late phrase. Therefore verse 13 is quite clearly an addition, as the rest of the verse cannot work without the beginning וַיָּעַד יְהוָה. There are also some indications that parts of 13b may come from an even later hand.[67] Verse 14 is dependent of 13, and fulfils the charges of Yahweh: the Israelites (and Judahites) did not heed the warnings of the prophets.[68] The language of verse 14 is unique in Kings as well: only here the people "harden their necks" (קשה את עורף)[69] and "(do not) believe (hif.) in Yahweh" (אמן ביהוה).[70] According to Levin, the theological idea of "(not) believing in Yahweh" is indeed a very late one in

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Ende von v 17 in den Kontext eingebunden worden ist." If this verb is indeed used in such a narrative framing fashion, it is interesting to note that the verb כעס is also found in the OG version (La[115]) of verse 7, similarly framing thus also the beginning of the homiletical portion 7–23.

[66] The combination is found elsewhere in Ex 19:23; Jer 11:8, 42:19 (both missing from the LXX edition, thus being very late additions of the MT edition); Psa 49:7; Neh 9:29, 30; Mal 2:14. Furthermore, the mention of 1 Kgs 2:3 "וְעֵדְוֹתָיו" of MT is not found in LXX manuscripts B M a^{-119} *b f* 64′-381 55 71 158 245 318 460 707 either, even though the text is in a *kaige* section, indicating a very late addition (probably Hexaplaric in the rest of the manuscripts); see Trebolle & Torijano, "From the Greek Recensions to the Hebrew Editions," [4]. Mentions of "עדות" are thus shown to be textually suspicious sometimes even in Kings.

[67] 13bα (וְאֲשֶׁר שָׁלַחְתִּי אֲלֵיכֶם) repeats the preceding sentence (אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶת־אֲבֹתֵיכֶם), but instead of having the "fathers" as the object, here the statutes are sent to "you," i.e. the present generations. After this 13bβ repeats that the preaching came "in the hand of the prophets," as in 13a. It is probable that this high degree of redundancy of 13b stems not from the original writer of verse 13a, but is due to later insertion(s), possibly to underline that the subject of 14a "וְלֹא שָׁמֵעוּ וַיַּקְשׁוּ אֶת־עָרְפָּם כְּעֹרֶף אֲבוֹתָם" are not the fathers, but the present generations, or to make it explicit that the preaching of the prophets did not only happen at the times of the fathers, but continued even until the destruction of Samaria. It would not seem impossible either that the text between the two mentions "in the hand of (his [servants]) prophets" was originally added via *Wiederaufnahme*.

[68] Verse 14's "וְלֹא שָׁמֵעוּ" could also serve as a continuation of verse 12, since also in 12b there is a quotation of Yahweh's speech. This would necessitate seeing verse 13 as a late addition between 12 and 14, which is unlikely, albeit not impossible.

[69] Elsewhere in Hebrew Bible in Deut 10:16, 31:27; 2 Chr 30:8, 36:13; Neh 9:16, 17, 29; Psa 29:1; Jer 7:26, 17:23, 19:15.

[70] Elsewhere only in Ex 14:31; Deut 1:23, 9:23 (negative statement with "they did not listen"); 2 Chr 20:20. The phrase is found with the verb in singular in Gen 15:6; and in Psa 78:22 and Jon 3:5 with "אלהים" as the object. See also Smend, "Zur Geschichte von האמין."

the whole Hebrew Bible.[71] It is therefore likely that the original text of 14 consisted of only וְלֹא שָׁמֵעוּ, after which the text was expanded with a harmonization towards Jer 7:26, and, possibly even later (in the Hellenistic period?), with the remark of Israelites "not believing in Yahweh."

The nomistic language of verse 13 continues in 15a. The likely late use of the verb עוד with Yahweh as the subject is again notable. The question arises whether the similar use of this phrase in verse 13 comes from the same hand or not. The phrase וְאֵת עֲדָוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר הֵעִיד בָּם is not integral to the sense of the verse 15, and indeed seems to come only as an afterthought to the first sentence in 15aα, which has already ended its listing. It may be that the phrase was here added either by the author of verse 13 or a later reviser who wanted to harmonize the two verses. Similarly, the mention וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ, "they went after the vanity[72] and became vain" is suspicious. As it stands, it seems to interrupt the connection between the beginning וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי ("they went after") and the latter part of the sentence, הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבֹתָם, "the peoples who were around them."[73] Also the singular הַהֶבֶל ("vanity") is unexpected, and possibly refers to the singular מַסֵּכָה of 16, one of the latest additions in the passage.[74] It is likely that this is a gloss, likely from Jer 2:5, where the same phrase is found verbatim.[75] Similarly with the *gilulim* of verse 12, the reference to the foreign gods as only "vanities" likely comes from the same very late editorial stage(s).[76] However, this resulting text would have an expression "walk behind nations," encountered nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible; walking after (other) god(s), on the other hand, is very recurrent, which could support reading "after vanities" as a more original unity.

The nations being in 15b still *around* the Israelites differs from the idea of completely wiped out nations in verses 8 and 11,[77] which clearly indicates that these verses do indeed come from at least two different hands. Together with 15aαב's mention of the covenant of the fathers (בְּרִיתוֹ אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם), this idea of surrounding nations could be seen as another case of inclusive language,[78] in

[71] Levin, "Glauben im Alten Testament," [14], who tracks the use of this phrase to the hellenistic period. The almost monotheist tenet of this phrase is indeed notable.
[72] The LXX reading is in plural, but this is probably due to secondary harmonization in Greek.
[73] Similar reconstruction is made by Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1–2 Kings," 142; and Römer, "Current Discussion," 60. Especially problematical is the *waw* before the second אַחֲרֵי. According to Kittel, *Könige*, 275, this could however be simply due to dittography from the earlier verb. On the other hand one could also argue that וְאַחֲרֵי הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבֹתָם אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֹתָם לְבִלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת כָּהֶם is a later addition to the verse, since it is grammatically quite straining after וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ and partly resounds 12b. It also bring to the text the new idea of the peoples still living around the Israelites (unlike in 8, 11 them having been exiled by Yahweh).
[74] The word הֶבֶל is found elsewhere in 1–2 Kgs only in 1 Kgs 16:13, 26 (both in plural).
[75] Thusly also Würthwein, *Könige2*, 392, and Stade, *Kings*, 264. On the other hand Klostermann, *Könige*, 454, only deletes the verb וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ as an intrusion from Jeremiah. The gloss would have been added to the text in a *Wiederaufnahme*-like fashion, between two mentions of אַחֲרֵי. See, however, Fischer, *Jeremia 1–25*, 157, and McKane, *Jeremiah I–XXV*, 31, for the opposite opinion: according to them וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ is suspicious as the conclusion of Jer 2:5, since it breaks the poetic structure of the verse, and is likely quoted straight from 2 Kgs 17:15. The fact that this mention is overly suspicious also in Jer 2:5 only underlines its probably secondary nature in 2 Kgs 17:15 as well.
[76] Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings," 144–6.
[77] In Judges 2 this is a well-known difference between the different deuteronomistic textual blocks that constitute the chapter; see Soggin, *Judges*, 41–4, and Smend, "Gesetz und die Völker," 133–7.
[78] See XXX on "the fathers" and their role in the inclusivity of both Israel and Judah in the chapter.

which also Judah could take part – indeed, there is nothing in verse 15 that would solely condemn Israel, but, rather, both Israel and Judah. On such basis verse 15 could be seen as coming from the same late hand as 13–14.[79]

The beginning of the verse 16, וַיַּעַזְבוּ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם, repeats the information of verse 15 (or vice versa), only with another word denoting the statutes of Yahweh. The mention of "Yahweh their God" in 16aα is unnecessary as well, since Yahweh has been already mentioned in the previous verse (compare with the unnecessary "sons of Israel" in 9a). This slight repetition indicates that 15 and 16 likely do not stem from the same reviser.[80] Verse 16 has Israelites again building an Asherah, which indicates that also verses 10 (Asherim) and 16 likely come from two different hands.[81]

The mention of 16aβ (וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מַסֵּכָה שְׁנֵים עֲגָלִים), has now its interest again solely on the northern kingdom and the sin of Jeroboam, similarly to verses 7–11/12. However, there is a grammatical problem with the combination of singular מַסֵּכָה and the dual שְׁנֵים עֲגָלִים, which is universally seen as a late explicating gloss to מַסֵּכָה, and should indeed be taken as such.[82] On the other hand the origin of the whole sentence may be kept suspect: the addition underlines again the material aspect of the idolatrous gods, which has been shown to come from the latest stages of editorial stages of Deuteronomy and Kings. It would thus belong to the layer of very late glosses/additions with verse 12 and 15bα (and 21bβ, see below).[83]

While verses 7–11 are very strongly reminiscent of Judah's/Rehoboam's sin (1 Kgs 14:22–24), verses 16–17 with their cultic misdeeds are highly similar to the sins of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:3–6), to the point of verbatim similarity. The sins depicted in verse 17[84] (making children walk through fire and divining) are elsewhere in Kings only found in connection with the kings and people of Judah:

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[79] Verse 15 alludes furthermore to Deut 6:14, as the language is also otherwise very similar (notably L even brings the text slightly closer to Deuteronomy; cf. XXX).

[80] This is with 1 Kgs 18:18 the only occasion of the combination עזב + מצוה in Samuel–Kings (elsewhere in 2 Chr 7:19; Ezr 9:10). O'Brien, *Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, 210, argues that the use of verb עזב is, as would indeed be expected from the attestations, a sign of later redactions.

[81] The mention of Asherah is quoted here directly from the sin of Manasseh (21:3) together with the sin of bowing down to the host of heaven, and should therefore not be omitted as a gloss together with the "שְׁנֵים עֲגָלִים", as argued by Stade, "Miscellen," 166. One could of course argue that the mention of Asherah is simply a later harmonization towards the wording of the sin of Manasseh, but there is no exact need for this supposition.

[82] Thusly Benzinger, *Könige*, 174; Klostermann, *Könige*, 454; . Cogan & Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 205 note that this may be a gloss, "but it is most appropriate nevertheless," which of course makes it even more suspicious. A scribal mistake from "מַסֵּכוֹת" does not seem very probable, and neither does a later change from plural to singular. However, *L* and La[115] both give this as a plural. Was this thus the OG reading? While this is possible, a harmonization (either (proto-)Lucianic or independent in both *L* and La[115]) of the number is here most likely – and it could have taken place already in (the *Vorlage* or translation of) the OG.

[83] Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings," 144–6, accordingly ascribes these glosses to the same very late glossator. This is corroborated by the fact that 2 Kgs 17:16 is the only place aside from 1 Kgs 14:9, also a very late passage, where the word מַסֵּכָה is used in Kings.

[84] Unlike most of the verses analyzed above, verse 17 does not seem composite – rather, it is likely some text (*L* La[115] "and they made *ephod* and *teraphim*" = OG) has been *omitted* from it; see XXX for the text-critical arguments.

Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:3), Manasseh (21:6), and Josiah (23:10). As with the previous verses, it is likely that these sins were added here to create a connection between the sins of Israelites with those of Manasseh. The ending formula of the verse, לְהַכְעִיסוֹ בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע, which forms a *Wiederaufnahme* with 11b, is found in 21:6 (=2 Chr 33:6), 16 as well. The curious hitp. verb form of מכר seems late from redactional viewpoint, as in Kings it is otherwise only found in 1 Kgs 21:20, 25, in condemnations of Ahab.[85] In 2 Kgs 21:3 Manasseh is also compared to Ahab, but in different wording, of which this passage is clearly a reformulation. It is thus quite clear that the redactor who added verses 16b-17 wanted here to conflate the sins of Ahab and Manasseh, the two worst kings of all time.[86] Since 16(b)–17 deal with cultic sins, they are best seen as originally forming a secondary continuation of 7–11. The thematically quite different verses 12–15 were likely later interpolated between these two units (7–11 and 16–17) in various stages.

Verse 18a (וַיִּתְאַנַּף יְהוָה מְאֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְסִרֵם מֵעַל פָּנָיו) finally closes the long syntactical structure begun in 7a (וַיְהִי כִּי), indicating that these verses should be ascribed to the same hand. Some scholars have tried to ascribe the Yahweh's denunciation (אנף hitp.) of Israel to certain redactors, either early (DtrH) or late (DtrN).[87] A nomistic background seems in this case the more likely option,[88] but since the word is so rare in the books of Kings, this verb alone cannot be taken as a definitive argument for the provenance of this verse. Similarly, Yahweh as the subject of סור hif. + מֵעַל פָּנָיו has been argued to be a late phrase as well, since it only appears elsewhere in 2 Kgs 23:27, 24:3, and Jer 32:31.[89] The language use appears late, and therefore could undermine the attempts to ascribe the verse – and thus anything between 7a–18a – to DtrH.[90]

The verse 18b (לֹא נִשְׁאַר רַק שֵׁבֶט יְהוּדָה לְבַדּוֹ), dealing explicitly with Judah instead of Israel, is in its explicative and interpretative nature undoubtedly later than 18a, and has an appearance of a marginal gloss.[91] Furthermore, 18b bears striking resemblance to 1 Kgs 12:20 (לֹא הָיָה אַחֲרֵי בֵית־דָּוִד זוּלָתִי שֵׁבֶט־יְהוּדָה לְבַדּוֹ), which deals with Jeroboam and Israel separating from the house of David –

[85] Shanda, *Könige*, 222; The form is attested elsewhere only in Deut 28:68. However, there the use of the verb form is technical and in a context of the actual action of selling of oneself to slavery.

[86] Similarly Brettler, "Ideology, History, and Theology," 275-6: "…2 Kings xvii 17 *wytmkrw lᶜswt hrᶜ bᶜyny yhwh lhkᶜysw* may be seen as a conflation of the Ahab formula *htmkr lcswt hrc bcyny yhwh* 1 Kings xxi 20, 25) and the Manasseh formula *hrbh lᶜswt hrᶜ bᶜyny yhwh lhkᶜys* (2 Kings xxi 6)."

[87] The verb אנפ can be found twice elsewhere in 1 Kgs 8:46 and 11:9; elsewhere in hitp. in Deut 1:37, 4:21, 9:8, 20; qal in Ezr 9:14; Ps. 2:12, 60:3, 79:5, 85:6; Isa 12:1. According to Würthwein, *Könige2*, 95-100, 131, 1 Kgs 11:9 comes from DtrH, while 8:46 comes from later redactor. On the contrary Campbell & O'Brien, *Unfolding*, 367, see both as likely late. Similarly Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 68–9.

[88] Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 44-5, and Jones, *2 Kings*, 551, deem 18a as specifically "DtrN."

[89] See Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 43–4;

[90] That is, unless the verses 7a and 18a, and/or their grammatical dependency on each other is a later phenomenon. While this may be postulated, it is nearly impossible to verify with any of the empirical evidence attainable at the moment (apart from La[115]).

[91] Thusly also Würthwein, *Könige2*, 396 ("Es klingt wie eine Glosse, wenn in v. 18b dazu gesagt wird, daß nur der *Stamm* Juda übrigblieb");

which is interestingly recounted only a few verses later in 2 Kgs 17:21. It is likely that the verses 18b and 21 were originally more linked with each other, even though they are now separated by verses 19–20.

Conclusions: Verses 13–17 are some of the most worked-over verses in 2 Kgs 17. Verses 16–17, without the glosses of 16aβ, were added via *Wiederaufnahme* of 11b. After this, as the latest large addition to the passage, verses 13a.14a, and likely parts of 15, were inserted. After this many smaller glosses and additions were made.

Verses 19–20

The verses 19–20, ascribed to the latest hand in 7–23 since the early commentators,[92] are suspicious in several ways. Firstly, the focus of allegation changes to Judah in 19, which is unexpected in a chapter dealing with the destruction of Israel. Secondly, the verse-beginning "וגם"[93] is a well-known tool for inserting later additions to the text. Thirdly, the verses break the connection between 18b and 21, which were likely originally united – indeed, 19–20 seem like a gloss-like addition to 18b.[94] Fourthly, both verses have apparently been composed of elements taken from elsewhere in the chapter.[95] Fifthly, the pan-Israelite ideology of "all the seed of Israel" in 20, seemingly compassing the inhabitants of both northern and southern kingdoms, is likely late in the chapter, possibly deriving from Jeremiah 31:37b.[96]

However, the unity of verses 19 and 20 has been sometimes contested.[97] While the lateness of 19 is mostly accepted, the opinions differ on 20, since it is not directly dependent of 19, syntactically or otherwise. However, verse 20 would be just as problematical after 18b as it is after 19: in any case the view of "all the seed of Israel" seems to contain both kingdoms. It is best to ascribe these verses to the same hand.

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[92] The view of Stade, "Miscellen," 166–7, has become the standard, and is followed by most.

[93] Add *waw* after the versions. MT only reads "גם", but the *wav* may have dropped because of a copying mistake after "לְבַדּוֹ". Nevertheless, the simple גם is just as likely here to begin a later interpolation.

[94] Thusly also Debus, *Sünde Jerobeams*, 99;

[95] Verse 19 has "לֹא שָׁמַר אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה", a direct violation of 13a "וְשִׁמְרוּ מִצְוֹתַי"; "וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקּוֹת ...אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ:" resound the text of 8, apparently *after* the gloss 8b with its אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ had been inserted (or less likely 22b "וַיֵּלְכוּ ... בְּכָל־חַטֹּאות יָרָבְעָם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ"). In verse 20 MT has probably lost some of its text via homoioteleuton (cf. XXX), which is however retained in LXX; LXX has the verb "מאס" in plural, as in 15; LXX *"וַיִּתְאַנַּף יְהוָה" is taken directly from 18a; and finally "עַד אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁלִיכָם מִפָּנָיו" resounds 23a "עַד אֲשֶׁר־הֵסִיר יְהוָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל פָּנָיו" (and possibly acts as a *Wiederaufnahme* of 18a "וַיִּסְרֵם מֵעַל פָּנָיו").

[96] MT verse 20 resembles quite clearly MT Jer 31:37b: גַּם־אֲנִי אֶמְאַס בְּכָל־זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ נְאֻם־יְהוָה.

[97] See Campbell , ; and O'Brien 161, who follows Campbell's theory. On the other hand Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, , assigns 7-11.20 to DtrH. These verses are indeed separated in La[115] (=OG).

Verses 21–23 – a coherent unit from DtrH?

Earlier exegetes have often taken verses 21–23 as a coherent unit of its own. However, there are certain complexities to this view, especially concerning verse 21. Already the unclear beginning of the verse evokes some questions regarding the literary unity of the section, especially when there are also text-critical considerations to be taken into account. The beginning כִּי is most probably to be read as customary "for/because," and not as "when."[98] It is practically certain that verse 21 was originally attached to some previous verse other than 20, after which it now obviously does not work. This verse was likely 18b. The literary critical considerations indicate that the verses (18b.)21-22(-23aα) may have even been added to the text via resumptive repetition of verse 18a in 23b.[99] Such a view would differ quite radically from the traditional appraisal, which has deemed 21–23 as the original DtrH commentary of the fall of the northern kingdom.

However one decides to solve the problems of the conjunction כִּי at the beginning, the second challenge of the verb form קָרַע remains and needs to be simultaneously solved: if one does not want to take the verb as a reflexive (as attested by the versions), its subject has to be Yahweh, and so 21a must have originally followed a text mentioning him.[100] The only grammatically valid possibilities for this are verses 18a and 20, of which 18a is more likely, since 19–20 with their focus on Judah and repetitive nature are certainly secondary to 18a, which was likely part of the earliest text in the section 7–18.[101] It is very unexpected, however, that Yahweh's decision to separate Israel from Judah is given here as a reason for Israel's exile: why would Yahweh now punish Israel for something he himself made happen (1 Kgs 11:29–39)?[102]

However, were we to read the verb קרע as a reflexive nif'al (נקרע), the text begun even only with 7aα (וַיְהִי), as proposed by Šanda,[103] would make perfect sense: "[7]And it happened, [21a]*because* (or:

[98] It at least cannot be read as both, i.e. "for when," as is done by Provan, *Hezekiah*, 72.
[99] Nelson, *Double Redaction*, 61, comes to somewhat similar conclusion, although he does not mention the *Wiederaufnahme*.
[100] Šanda, *Zweite Könige*, 224, retains the qal form and posits the original text to have had "יהוה את ישראל". However, it is hard to see why "יהוה את" would have dropped from the text.
[101] Any verse in 7-17, for instance 7a, cannot have preceded 21 because of the already mentioned syntactical unity of 7a and 18a. However, Campbell, *Of Prophets and Kings*, 161–7, argues for the original (pre-dtr) unity of 6.20-21.23b, verses 7–19 being later additions. This would indeed solve many of the problems of verse 21a, and would allow us to take the "sin of Jeroboam" as the reason for the exile. However, this reconstruction is unlikely for a number of reasons: the language use of 20 is very unusual in Kings, likely coming from later redactions; the כִּי of 21a is much more likely to be meant as causal – a temporal understanding is still quite straining; verse 21bβ is a late gloss, and therefore verse 22 is needed as a continuation of 21; verse 21b reflects ideology that likely comes from a later redactors; early or not, the text 20-21.23b still has an impression of being a later addition via *Wiederaufnahme* of 6b in 23b.
[102] Even if read as a protasis to the apodosis "and [because/after this] they made Jeroboam son of Nebat king," the actual accusation (Jeroboam's "great sin", which is in fact an even later gloss, cf. below) comes only at the second part of the verse. Making Jeroboam king is no sin either, but the will of Yahweh. Thusly also Van Den Born, *2 Koningen*, 188; and Rösel, "Why 2 Kings 17," 89: "Verse 21 states that the Israelites made Jeroboam king. After the preparatory sentence that Israel "tore away from the house of David," this must be understood as designating a sin by the people of Israel."
[103] Šanda, *Könige*, 224.

when) Israel **tore itself** (נקרע) from the house of David, *that* they made Jeroboam king; [21b]but Jeroboam seduced Israel…" One could even see 21a as a direct continuation of 6b: "[6b]and he settled them…in the cities of Medes. [21a]Because/when Israel tore itself from the house of David…" The nif'al form נקרע could have easily been changed, even accidentally, to a qal קרע at some point, since the preceding verses 19–20 now speak of Yahweh's actions, too.[104] If this reflexive reading is accepted as the more original – as it should – one could even argue that there would be no need to see verse 21a as expressing unexpected ideological tendencies,[105] because the כִּי clause could simply function as an (possibly temporal) explanation for the action of Israelites crowning Jeroboam. Nevertheless, the ideological peculiarity seems to remain: even Israel tearing itself (and this being a sin) seems ideologically somewhat unexpected, whether the text derives from DtrH or not. In any case, then, verse 21a (with or without כִּי) seems ideologically like a late addition to the text, [106] creating with 18b an understandable text ("[18b]none was left except the tribe of Judah, [21a]for Israel tore itself from the house of David") and a likely harmonization towards 1 Kgs 12:20 – and an explication of 22.[107]

At first glance, the material in 21b seems suitable for DtrH, as it mentions the "great sin" of Jeroboam and how he made Israel sin. However, the way this customary information is given is somewhat unusual. First, in 21bα, the verb נדח (hif. "banish, thrust out, lead astray, seduce") is only used here in all of the books of Kings,[108] which in itself is not too disconcerting: maybe the author preferred a different verb here. However, the sin of Jeroboam is here "seducing Israel *from behind Yahweh*" (מֵאַחֲרֵי יְהוָה),[109] a phrase which in Kings implies idolatry, not simply the change of cult venue.[110] This ideological feature would be the most notable reason to doubt the DtrH roots of this

[104] Taking into account that there would have been 10 verses added before 21a, according to the classical redactional reconstructions, such a small scale correction of one *nun* (which seems to even be text-critically noticeable!) at some point of the transmission does not seem very unexpected.

[105] As does, for instance, Brettler, "Ideology, History, and Theology," 279: "This short source provides an unusual reason for the north's exile: they deserve their fate for breaking away from the Davidic monarchy. According to this view, non-Davidic kingship is illegitimate from its inception; this is in striking opposition to the prophecy of Ahijah (1 Kings xi 29-39), which offers divine legitimation to the northern kingship." See also XXX for further discussion.

[106] Both Becking, *Ondergang*, 191, and Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 85–6, argue the same on phraseological basis: according to them קרע and hif.cons.perf.3.pl.m. of וַיַּמְלִיכוּ come from later redactor, as they can only be found in other late contexts.

[107] Indeed, the quite rare term בֵּית־דָּוִד is otherwise only used in 1 Kgs 12:19 (=2 Chr 10:19), 20, 13:2, 14:8 (>LXX), thus making the connection between the two only stronger. Elsewhere only in 1 Sam 20:16; 2 Sam 3:1, 6; 1 Chr 17:24, 21:7; Psa 122:5; Isa 7:2, 3, 22:22; Jer 21:12; Zec 12:7, 8, 10, 12, 13:1.

[108] The use of this verb seems very similar to that of 2 Chr 21:11, where Manasseh is told to have "led Judah astray (וַיַּדַּח אֶת־יְהוּדָה"). The verb is used in Deut 4:9, 13:5, 11, 14, 30:17 in connection to idolatry and forsaking Yahweh.

[109] Even though the italicized part is according to BHS missing from two Hebrew manuscripts, it is hard to make any text-critical conclusions as no other textual witnesses, such as LXX (or *any* of Greek manuscripts), miss the mention.

[110] This whole phrase seems to refer back to Deut 13:11, where we find "לְהַדִּיחֲךָ מֵעַל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ", and 13:13 "וַיַּדִּיחוּ אֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי עִירָם", both passages dealing with idolatry. Cf. Deut 7:4 and 1 Kgs 9:6, 11:2, 10. See also 1 Kgs 11:4, where Salomon's foreign wives "turned his heart to behind other gods" (נָשִׁיו הִטּוּ אֶת־לְבָבוֹ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים), and 11:6, where Solomon does not "follow fully behind Yahweh as his father David had done" (וְלֹא מִלֵּא אַחֲרֵי יְהוָה כְּדָוִד אָבִיו). This can

passage: it is very probable that DtrH still saw Jeroboam's cult as Yahwistic and not yet as idolatrous like the later redactors. He simply changed the cult venue, but did not yet seduce Israel "from behind Yahweh."

On the other hand, in 21bβ the use of the verb וְהֶחֱטִיאָם is unusual, as חטא usually gets no suffixes, and nowhere else in its hif'il forms in the Hebrew Bible.[111] The usual formula gives the verb הֶחֱטִיא always with אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל.The "great sin" (חֲטָאָה גְדוֹלָה) of Jeroboam is nowhere else called such, and the term "great sin" can elsewhere only be found in Exodus' calf episode (Ex 32:21, 30, 32) and once in Genesis 20:9 – all of these quite late passages.[112] This mention of Jeroboam's sin is thus in a somewhat unexpected form and has some unexpected characteristics. Most importantly, however, the sentence begins with a *we-qatal* construct והחטיאם as *tempus historicum*, even though a more customary narrative-continuing *wa-yiqtol* form (ויחטאם) would be expected. This sudden change in the verbal form, together with the other uncommon stylistic features, is quite a telling sign of a very late addition.[113] Thus 21bβ can be confirmed as a gloss-like addition.[114] The addition may have been an attempt to harmonize this passage telling of Jeroboam's sin with both Exodus's and Jeroboam's calf episodes (similarly to 16aβ), and especially the normal formulaic practice of recounting Jeroboam having made Israel sin (אֲשֶׁר הֶחֱטִיא אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל). As the text did not have the common formula of Jeroboam "making Israel sin," a later reviser saw the need to harmonize the passage with the rest of the passages in Kings.[115] This probably happened together with at least

only refer to idolatry. On the other hand in 2 Kgs 23:3 in the covenant of Josiah the people are to "walk after Yahweh," which most probably denotes monotheism; in 17:15 the exact opposite happens (וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל). The phrase seems to be late in origin. Becking, "Josianic View," 287–8, argues that as this verb is also used metaphorically in connection with adultery, the verb here is meant to be read as depicting Israel's adulterous behavior towards Jerusalem. In Josh 22:10–34 the phrase seems to indeed be used for denoting the sin of decentralization, though not from Jerusalem, but from the Tabernacle. However, this story comes quite clearly from an ideological context different from dtr, as noted by Nelson, *Joshua*, 248: "The ideological background of the plot is the conviction that no more than one altar can be a place of lawful sacrifice. While this was an axiom of both deuteronomistic and priestly theology, here the single central altar is delineated in a typically priestly mode."

[111] A suffix added to other forms of the verb can be occasionally found in Gen 31:39 (pi.), Lev 9:15 (pi.), Num 19:19 (pi.), Psa 51:7 (pi.), Prov 8:38 (qal), and Ezek 33:12 (qal).

[112] Becking, *Ondergang*, 199–200, considers this phrase a "toevoeging van een latere redactor." He also proposes that the quite clear addition "two calves" in verse 16 has been made by this same reviser (227–8). Of course, the phrase could have also been taken over from here to Exodus. One could also expect some preposition to be given with " חֲטָאָה גְדוֹלָה", possibly "בְּ".

[113] Becking, *Ondergang*, 192, argues that this verb "ends the narrative" of the section. However, it is much more likely that this is simply a sign of later, Aramaizing, language use – like that of the later part (24–41) of the chapter; cf. Levin, "Empty Land in Kings," 68: "...the perf.cop. as *tempus historicum* is an evident disturbance of the syntax, which, as so frequently, indicates a late interpolation." Similarly Vanoni, *Literarkritik*, 119, notes that this verbal form "unterbricht die *we=yiqtul*-Reiche 21b-22a."

[114] Stade, *Kings*, 265, accordingly takes the passage as an addition. See also the argumentation of Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 93–5, who ascribes this sentence to his "DtrP."

[115] The reviser may have even simply taken the verb form הֶחֱטִיא usually found in the formula, and simply put a *waw* before it (and a *mem* after it) as if it was a consecutive form. This may imply that the reviser was no more completely fluent in classical Hebrew, as he did not notice the (in fact quite large) grammatical problems of his newly made construction. See also XXX for a similar problematic verb form הִגְלוּ in verse 33.

some of the other glosses underlining the material aspect of the idolatrous worship of the Israelites (12.15bα.16aβ).

On the other hand verse 22 seems like a good candidate for DtrH, as it has the formulaic qualities of the usual condemnation of Israelite kings "walking in (all) the sin(s) of Jeroboam (which he made)."[116] However, the verse deals with the *people* of Israel instead of its king, which is quite unusual, but in a closing chapter of the northern kingdom this could be accepted as stylistic variant to the more normal practice, since Jeroboam is indeed told to have "made Israel sin" as well.[117] This same ideology of people sinning is expressed by 2 Kgs 13:6, where Israel "did not turn from the sins of the house of Jeroboam" – similarly to our working hypothesis of 7a.9b.11aα.b.18a.22, where Israel is also the one sinning, not the kings. As verse 13:6 is clearly part of a late interpolation,[118] this similarity in ideology could somewhat undermine the DtrH character of 17:22 as well. Some do indeed see 22 simply as a later explication of verse 21 (but, as we have seen, this verse is likely late as well).[119] This could be indicated by the unnecessary explication of the subject, "sons of Israel," which also differs slightly from the "Israel" of the preceding verse. On the other hand, though, the recurrence of "the sons of Israel" may be a sign of literary unity of 7a and 22. In any case, 21a(with reflexive נקרע).22[120], or simply 22 alone, would make the most unproblematic DtrH text in 21–22, if one is ready to overlook the aforementioned peculiarities in them.

The beginning of verse 23a then repeats 18a and/or 20b, probably as a sign of a literary seam, ending the unit 21–22. The prophetical note of 23aβ with its unconventional idea of prophets as harbingers of destruction is late in Kings.[121] The position of verse 23b, which recounts the information from 6b in a *Wiederaufnahme*-like way, is debated. In earlier research the whole verse 23 was often seen as a part of the oldest layer of the chapter,[122] while some scholars recently

[116] The last words of the formula of 17:22, "אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ", are somewhat unusual, and can only be found in two other formulae in 1 Kgs 16:19 (Zimri); and in Judah in 1 Kgs 15:3 (Abijam). Usually Jeroboam is not told to have "done" sins, but to have "made Israel sin." Similarly, having Israel walk in "*all* the sins" of Jeroboam seems late, since Jeroboam was originally likely to have committed only one grave sin of decentralization – but this exaggeration (the addition of כָּל and the *yod* in חַטֹּאות) may easily have been later brought to the text; see XXX.

[117] Contra Rösel, "Why 2 Kings 17," 89, who contends that this "democratization of sin" is a late phenomenon. Similarly O'Brien, *Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, 209; and Knoppers, *Two Nations*, 64. On a larger scale, as seen in this chapter, this is certainly true, but this "democratization" cannot be taken everywhere as an absolute rule. The customary notice on Jeroboam's sin constitutes of both the mention of the king following it and Jeroboam making the *people* go after it (1 Kgs 15:30, 34, 16:2, 7, 19, 26, 21:22, 22:53; 2 Kgs 3:3, 10:29, 31, 13:2, 6, 11, 14:24, 15:9, 18, 24, 28), and therefore there is nothing completely new or distressing in hearing now at the end that the people did indeed walk after the sin of Jeroboam, as they were told to have done.

[118] The verses 13:5-6 clearly sever the verses 3/4 and 7 from each other. Now one needs to read the subject of verse 7 as Yahweh (from verse 5), which is very awkward. The original subject of verse 7 must have been the "king of Aram" of verse 3 or 4. Würthwein, *Könige2*, 360, 362, sees 13:6 as an especially late addition. See also Stade, *Kings*, 243.

[119] O'Brien, *Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis*, 208–9; Pakkala, "Deuteronomy and 1-2 Kings," 144.

[120] Reading thusly: כִּי־נִקְרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל בֵּית דָּוִד וַיַּמְלִיכוּ אֶת־יָרָבְעָם בֶּן־נְבָט | וַיֵּלֶכוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל־חַטֹּאוֹת יָרָבְעָם אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לֹא־סָרוּ מִמֶּנָּה׃.

[121] See Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte*, 41, _, according to whom the notion comes from "DtrP." Similarly Jones, *2 Kings*, 543.

[122] Benzinger, *Könige*, 174; Shanda, *Könige*, 224; Stade, . More recently also Fritz, *Könige*, 98; MUITA?

connect it to 24ff. rather than 7-23a.[123] Indeed, seeing 23b as a beginning of a new homiletical section 24–41 (instead of ending the one in 7–23a) seems the *least problematic* way of interpreting this *Wiederaufnahme*.

Even if some of the ideologically and terminologically unexpected traits even in verses 7a.9bα.11aβ.b.18a.22 may not completely unequivocally endorse this conclusion, it seems harder to posit an all-encompassing *Wiederaufnahme* in 6b–23b than one beginning a new unit 23b–41. While the verse 23 could be dispensable, as 23aα simply repeats the text of 18b/20b, and 23b that of 6b, verses 21–22 (or rather, only [21a.]22) confront us with a redactional problem: the sin of Jeroboam would not be expected to be a later addition, framed apparently not only by one but two *Wiederaufnahmen*, but rather an original part of the theological judgment of the northern monarchy. However, if 21–23 were deemed late, as is done by some scholars,[124] why would denunciation of Jeroboam's sin be missing also from the verses 1–6, the only place where the DtrH materials could customarily be expected to be found in the chapter?

It is needs to be again noted that Jeroboam's sin is not found where it would be expected, that is after verse 2 and the deuteronomistic condemnation ("He did evil in the eyes of Yahweh…") of Hoshea, since with other kings of Israel these two remarks always follow each other.[125] In MT this problem is mitigated by the fact that Hoshea is told to have apparently been a *better* king than "the kings of Israel before him." As the sin of Jeroboam is missing in connection to him, it could even seem like Hoshea did indeed not continue the sin of Jeroboam – certainly reason enough for him not to be as evil as even most (if not all) kings of Israel. If this was indeed the case, it would also be no surprise that the mention of Jeroboam's sin is only to be found in a redactionally later portion of the text, and with the uncustomary "sons of Israel" walking in the sin, and not its king(s).[126] These two notices may, after all, be logically incompatible with each other: if, against all odds, Hoshea ended the sin of Jeroboam, the people would not have been able to follow it, as in 21–23a, "until Yahweh

[123] Thusly apparently Würthwein, *Könige2*, , and Cogan & Tadmor, *2 Kings*, 207. See, however, the criticism of Aurelius, *Zukunft*, 78: "Daß v 23b ein Zusatz zu v 21-23a sei, ist keine gute Erklärung der Wiederaufnahme von v 6, denn warum sollte jemand einen solchen Zusatz machen? Näher liegt der Schluß, daß v 23b geschrieben worden ist, um einen größeren Zusatz in den Kontext einzubinden, nämlich den ganzen Epilog v 21-23."
[124] For instance Rösel, *Why 2 Kings 17*, 85–90;
[125] See for reference the Omride kings Omri (1 Kgs 16:25-26), Ahab (16:30-33), Ahazyah (22:52-54), and Joram (2 Kgs 3:2-3), who also are, like Hoshea, compared to their predecessors. With them the doing evil, the comparison, and the sin of Jeroboam are always given in direct connection with each other. The customary condemnation is also missing altogether from the Israelite kings Elah (1 Kgs 16:8) and Shallum (2 Kgs 15:13). While Shallum reigned for such a short period of time (one month) that he may been interpreted to have not even been able to follow in the sin of Jeroboam, the lack of the mention in the case of Elah is a mystery, as he reigned two years, certainly a time sufficient enough to walk in Jeroboam's sin, as even Zechariah (2 Kgs 15:9), who reigned for six months, is told to have done so. Whatever Jeroboam's sin may have been, Hoshea with his nine years would definitely have had time to indulge in it. It is therefore unlikely that the length of reign has any significance when it comes to the condemnation of Hoshea.
[126] The "sons" of Israel could of course be argued to include also the kings, but this interpretation is stressed.

cast them from before his face." Of course, if Hoshea was indeed such an exceptional king, one could expect the author to have then explicated reasons for this in a more pronounced way. Therefore, taking into account all the variables in the chapter, it is exceedingly hard to come to a definite conclusion on the relationship of verse 2, on one hand, and the "unit" 21–23, on the other.

Conclusion: The incoherent unit 21–23 does not originate from one single hand. Verse 21 seems largely (if not completely) late, the ideologically unexpected 21a (to be read with נקרע), which was originally attached to 18b, being earlier than 21bα, and 21bβ exhibiting clear signs of being a gloss. Of 21–23, verse 22 has the least amount of unexpected traits, and is the best option for a DtrH text in these verses. While there are no great objections for seeing 22.23a as coming even from DtrH, the doubly repetitive nature of 23 makes it somewhat suspicious.

The redactional picture of the MT edition verses 6–23

The literary analysis of verses 7–23 above has shown that the sections do not form a literary unity. Even the often posited units-such as 7–12, 7–18, 13–17, or 21–23 – are not internally coherent. There are many secondary glosses and additions of varying sizes, from multiple hands. This makes their literary and redactional assessment rather hard and uncertain. It is thus no wonder that scholars have come to completely contradicting conclusions on the relative age of these passages.

It has been concluded that the suggested working hypothesis of 7aα.9bα.11aα.b.18a.22.23a as the original DtrH text in verses 7–23 seems to answer quite adequately the questions pertaining to the redactional outline of the chapter: the original text had its focus on the high places and the sin of Jeroboam – i.e., the decentralization of the cult.[127] However, as has been argued, this solution is not without suspicions either: verses 11b, 18a, and 22 reflect some ideological or lexical tendencies which may not be readily accepted as DtrH by all. The somewhat uncommon language use is possible to attribute, at least to a certain extent, to the equally uncommon content of the chapter, namely the final destruction of the northern kingdom. The repetitive nature of 23a.b, even though explainable to a large extent, raises its questions, too. As three other possible theories of DtrH layer in 7–23 should be mentioned those of Shanda (7aαא.21–23), Stade (21a.bα.22–23), and Provan (7aα.18a.21–23), albeit all with certain necessary modifications (cf. above). In many ways these reconstructions could be seen as alternative literary critical results, since they are all plausible, hard to refute, and work on slightly different presuppositions, even if their base tenets are roughly the same.

Everything besides these verses comes from several later hands. The earliest addition to the text was likely already one that brought Judah into picture, although mostly by implication. The cultic

[127] If aimed for the absolute minimum, one could possibly take out 11b as yet another later component, but in such case one would need to explain how the *Wiederaufnahme* 11b/17b came to be.

sins of Manasseh (16a–17) were added to the text after 11b, together with 11aβ.18b and possibly also 21a, which further explicate the historical background of the fall of Israel and change the original sin of decentralization into that of idolatry.

The second layer of additions consisted of 8a.10 (maybe with 21a), and brought the sins of Judah/Rehoboam from 1 Kgs 14:22–23 to the chapter. At this point the text ran through 7a.8a.9–11.16a.17–18.(21a.)22.23a, and formed one long list of different cultic sins, which were attributed solely to Israel. To 8a was glossed 8b, after which, at some late point, the awkward addition of 9a was made.

The third reviser likely now added a full denunciation of Judah to the text as well in 19–20, after which the chapter dealt no more with only Israel, but "the whole seed of Israel." The text became explicitly not only about Israel, but Judah as well, which led to the last larger interpolation of 13a.14a.15aα.b(without הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ וְאַחֲרֵי).23aβ by the fourth reviser. Judah became now effectively a full partner in crime in verses 13–17, and because of the allusions to the sin of Rehoboam in 8–11, implicitly in the whole chapter. Even later these verses, and especially 14b, were supplemented further with small glosses and harmonizations. One of these later hands probably brought, at least partly, to the fore the materialistic aspect of idolatry in 12.15b(הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ וְאַחֲרֵי).16b(α).21bβ. One of the latest, if not the latest, additions was 7b, which was taken from the end part of the whole chapter.

The literary layers of 2 Kgs 17:6-23	
בִּשְׁנַת הַתְּשִׁיעִית לְהוֹשֵׁעַ לָכַד מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר אֶת־שֹׁמְרוֹן	6a
וַיֶּגֶל אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל אַשּׁוּרָה וַיֹּשֶׁב אֹתָם בַּחְלַח וּבְחָבוֹר נְהַר גּוֹזָן וְעָרֵי מָדָי:[128]	6b
וַיְהִי כִּי־חָטְאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם	7
הַמַּעֲלָה אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִתַּחַת יַד פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם	
וַיִּירְאוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים:	
וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקּוֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	8a
וּמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ:	8b
וַיַּחְפְּאוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־כֵן עַל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם	9a
וַיִּבְנוּ לָהֶם בָּמוֹת בְּכָל־עָרֵיהֶם	9b
מִמִּגְדַּל נוֹצְרִים עַד־עִיר מִבְצָר:[129]	
וַיַּצִּבוּ לָהֶם מַצֵּבוֹת וַאֲשֵׁרִים עַל כָּל־גִּבְעָה גְּבֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן:	10
וַיְקַטְּרוּ־שָׁם	11a
בְּכָל־בָּמוֹת	
כַּגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־הֶגְלָה יְהוָה מִפְּנֵיהֶם	11b
וַיַּעֲשׂוּ דְּבָרִים רָעִים לְהַכְעִיס אֶת־יְהוָה:	12
וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ הַגִּלֻּלִים אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יְהוָה לָהֶם לֹא תַעֲשׂוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה:	13
וַיָּעֵד יְהוָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּבִיהוּדָה בְּיַד כָּל־נְבִיאוֹ ~~כָּל־חֹזֶה~~ לֵאמֹר	
שֻׁבוּ מִדַּרְכֵיכֶם הָרָעִים וְשִׁמְרוּ מִצְוֹתַי חֻקּוֹתַי	
כְּכָל־הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִי אֶת־אֲבֹתֵיכֶם	
וַאֲשֶׁר שָׁלַחְתִּי אֲלֵיכֶם בְּיַד עֲבָדַי הַנְּבִיאִים:	14
וְלֹא שָׁמֵעוּ	
וַיַּקְשׁוּ אֶת־עָרְפָּם כְּעֹרֶף אֲבוֹתָם	
אֲשֶׁר לֹא הֶאֱמִינוּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם:	15
וַיִּמְאֲסוּ אֶת־חֻקָּיו וְאֶת־בְּרִיתוֹ אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם	
וְאֵת עֵדְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר הֵעִיד בָּם	
וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי	
הַהֶבֶל וַיֶּהְבָּלוּ וְאַחֲרֵי	
הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבוֹתָם אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֹתָם לְבִלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת כָּהֶם:	16
וַיַּעַזְבוּ אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם	
וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מַסֵּכָה	
שְׁנֵי עֲגָלִים	
וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֲשֵׁירָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לְכָל־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־הַבָּעַל:	17a
וַיַּעֲבִירוּ אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְאֶת־בְּנוֹתֵיהֶם בָּאֵשׁ וַיִּקְסְמוּ קְסָמִים וַיְנַחֲשׁוּ וַיעשו אפוד ותרפים[130]	17b
וַיִּתְמַכְּרוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה לְהַכְעִיסוֹ:	18a
וַיִּתְאַנַּף יְהוָה מְאֹד בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְסִרֵם מֵעַל פָּנָיו	18b
לֹא נִשְׁאַר רַק שֵׁבֶט יְהוּדָה לְבַדּוֹ:	19
גַּם־יְהוּדָה לֹא שָׁמַר אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּחֻקּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ:	20
וַיִּמְאַס יְהוָה בְּכָל־זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְעַנֵּם וַיִּתְּנֵם בְּיַד־שֹׁסִים עַד אֲשֶׁר הִשְׁלִיכָם מִפָּנָיו:	21a
כִּי־קָרַע[131] יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל בֵּית דָּוִד וַיַּמְלִיכוּ אֶת־יָרָבְעָם בֶּן־נְבָט	21b
וַיַּדַּח יָרָבְעָם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאַחֲרֵי יְהוָה	
וְהֶחֱטִיאָם חֲטָאָה גְדוֹלָה:	22
וַיֵּלְכוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל־חַטֹּאת יָרָבְעָם אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה לֹא־סָרוּ מִמֶּנָּה:	23a
עַד אֲשֶׁר־הֵסִיר יְהוָה אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל פָּנָיו	
כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּיַד כָּל־עֲבָדָיו הַנְּבִיאִים	23b
וַיִּגֶל יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַל אַדְמָתוֹ אַשּׁוּרָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:	

[128] It is likely that the OG plus *עד היום הזה should be taken as the original ending of verse 6 (see XXX).

[129] The last part of the text, מִמִּגְדַּל נוֹצְרִים עַד־עִיר מִבְצָר, "from watchtower to fortified city," seems like a gloss. The same construct is only found in 2 Kgs 18:8, in a context of warfare, in which the construct works well. However, in 17:9, where the context is about cultic deeds, the phrase's militaristic flavor is unexpected. It is likely that the phrase was added to 17:9 from 18:8. This way verse 9b also parallels the text of 10b, where a further remark is made about the location of the idolatrous worship ("on every high hill and under every lush tree").

[130] The original text probably had here ויעשו אפוד ותרפים, omitted from the proto-MT edition, but retained by OG; see XXX.

[131] The verb should probably be read in the nif'al form נקרע on basis of the witness of the versions.

Translation[132]

{[6] In the ninth year of Hosea king of Assur conquered Samaria, and he exiled Israel to Assur and settled them in Halah and in Habor, the river Gozan, and cities of Medes *until this day*.}

[7a] And it happened, because the sons of Israel sinned against Yahweh their God, [who brought them up from the land of Egypt, from under the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt,]

[7b] and they feared other gods,

[8] and they walked in the customs of the peoples, whom Yahweh had driven out from before the sons of Israel,

[and the kings of Israel, which they made]

[9] and the sons of Israel ?did in secret? things that are not right against Yahweh their God,

[9b] and built themselves high places in all of their cities, [from watchtowers to fortified towns,]

[10] and they erected themselves standing stones and Asherim on all high hills and under every lush tree,

[11aα] and sacrificed there

[on all high places]

like the peoples whom Yahweh had exiled from before them,

[11b] and did evil things in order to provoke Yahweh,

[12] and they served the Gilulim, about which Yahweh had said to them "do not do this thing."

[13] And Yahweh warned Israel and Judah by the hand of all his prophets, [all the seers,] saying: "turn from your evil ways, and observe my commandments, my customs, *and* all my Torah, that I have commanded to your fathers,

and which I sent to you, by the hand of my servants, the prophets,

[14] but they did not hear,

and hardened their necks *more than* their fathers,

who did not believe in Yahweh, their God,

[15] and they rejected his customs and his covenant, which he made with their fathers,

[and his testimonies which Yahweh had testified to them,]

and they walked after

[vanities and became vain, and after]

the peoples who were around them, about whom Yahweh had commanded them to not do like they did.

[16] But they forsook [all] the commandments of Yahweh, their God,

and made themselves molten image, [two calves,]

and they made *Asherim*, and they bowed down to all the host of heaven and served Baal

[17] and they made their sons and their daughters walk through fire, and divined by divinations and sought omens, *and made ephod and terafim*, and they sold themselves to do evil in the eyes of Yahweh in order to provoke him,

[18a] that Yahweh was very angry with Israel, and he removed them from before his face.

none was left but only the tribe of Judah alone.

[19] And also Judah did not observe the commandments of Yahweh, their God, and they walked in the customs of *all* Israel, which they made.

[20] And *they* rejected Yahweh *and Yahweh was angry* with all the seed of Israel, and he humbled them and gave them to hand of plunderers, until he sent them from before his face.

[21a] For *Israel rent itself* from the house of David, and they made Jeroboam, son of Nebat, king;

but Jeroboam seduced Israel from behind Yahweh,

[and he had made them sin a great sin.]

[22] And the sons of Israel walked in [all] the sin[s] of Jeroboam – they did not turn away from it

[23] until Yahweh removed Israel from before his face.

[as was told by the hand of all his servants, the prophets];

Israel was exiled from its land to Assur, until this day.

[132] The *italicized* parts are to be read according to OG; [bracketed] readings denote glosses.

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Social Norms and the Outsider
How Different Fields Appear in the Texts and Shape Values

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Preface

Dear participants at this year's OTSEM, this is a very preliminary draft as you will see both in the analysis and in the layout and more formal aspects of the paper (I am aware that the foot notes are not consistent, but as is apparent, I have not worked through them yet).

In the discussion at this year's OTSEM in Helsinki, I wish to focus on these main questions. They are broad, but I believe they will guide the conversation in a way that is beneficial to my continued work.

- What is missing? What is redundant?
- Is it possible to follow the line of thought?
- Is this a fruitful way of performing a literary analysis?
- And a minor note; should I write Trito-Isaiah, or Third Isaiah? Should I transcribe or use Hebrew?

Introduction

The point of my dissertation is to analyze how power structures manifest themselves in texts through language and how language creates norms and shape values. To elaborate, this means that by doing a close reading of the texts and see what language is used, I will be able to understand how power is exercised in the texts. Since I believe the relationship between terms used, as well as the relationship between the characters described in the texts, be of importance I have chosen to focus on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus and field, primarily, and his understanding of doxa. I have focused on his theories as he has laid them out in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* and *Power and Symbolic Language*. To summarize, the focus is on how power is visible through language, and how both a study of individual facets of language (such as words) and larger text units as well as historical context(s) are important; "The importance of language (Munslow 1997: 25) is highlighted as an unavoidably ideological medium for describing experience, tied to relations of power, and thus never innocent."[1]

In this paper, I wish to understand what in the text points to sets of values, norms, hidden and outspoken, that can shed light on who the Outsider is and how one should view such a character. In my dissertation, I outline a methodological approach that makes it possible to study the emergence of norms and views as they appear in the texts and how language construct such norms and values. I have chosen to focus on the view of the Outsider. By outsider is meant the one who is not a part of the community, in different forms. I analyze the figure of the Outsider, and how such a figure is conceived in two texts from Persian Yehud (Isaiah 56 and Nehemiah 13) and in an earlier text from Deuteronomy (Deut. 23:1-8[2-9]).

In this paper, I analyze how the view of the Outsider in Persian Yehud is conveyed through language and how that manifests itself in Isaiah 56:1-8. As power is an important factor in this, I use theories from semantics and critical theory to base my method on. The paper contains a discussion of the different fields that appear in the primary texts under survey. An analysis will follow, of how these fields operate in one of the chosen texts (Isaiah 56:1-8), to visualize how norms on the Outsider appear in the text. This paper is part of the literary analysis that make up chapter 4 in my dissertation. Before this chapter comes a chapter where I have done a word study on terms I deem denotative of the Outsider. I have treated the terms as unquestionably related to the concept Outsider. However, that is not self-explanatory just by analyzing the terms. I state it as a hypothesis that these terms could be related to the concept, and in this part

[1] (Bandia 2006, 2009). P 205

Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies, edited by Gisella M. Vorderobermeier, Editions Rodopi, 2014.

of the study I will test that hypothesis, after having assessed the possible meanings of the terms in relation to their cotext. To be able to find the semantic denominators of the terms, I will use Pierre Bourdieu's notions of habitus, field and doxa, as a way of situating the texts. By focusing on the literary text, I will analyze the usage, or the practice of both terms and the assumed, underlying concept.

I will relate this to an analysis of the social and historical contexts. Practice, in this regard, should more be understood in the Wittgensteinian sense of language usage, or "subject-matter" in linguistic terminology (compare below) rather than Bourdieu's own use of the term, especially in his ethnological studies.[2] To be able to understand the practice, we need to understand the habitus that informed the practice and in what fields the habitus was formed. To discuss habitus is also a way of relating the individual to the collective, the acts we do are not unique, they are shaped by our habitus and while they may be unique in content, they are shared in structure.[3] In sum, it becomes a tool for looking at how the actors in the texts appear as agents in their corresponding field and what capital they hold in order to gain their habitus and secure their place. As Quentin Skinner notes: "I seek to elucidate concepts not by focusing on the supposed 'meanings' of the terms we use to express them, but rather by asking what can be done with them and by examining their relationship to each other and to broader networks of beliefs." I believe, in contrast to Skinner, that the terms used to express a concept should be analyzed as well, but just as Skinner, I believe that this is not enough, but that we also should look at how the concepts operates, i.e. what is their habitus and in what fields do they operate. Fields, as used by Bourdieu, can also be related to context as a linguistic term.

Context; or Domain and Field

I adhere to those that believe that language is best understood in context, in how words are used in actual circumstances. A contextual theory of meaning relies heavily on the function of language,[4] and as defined by J. R Firth (the main linguist associated with a contextual theory of meaning), it is one of the foundations of socio-linguistics. Johns Lyons discusses what context, or more specifically, "context-of-situation", in this aspect might entail, in his study of Firth's theory. Why it is important for semanticists to concern themselves with a contextual meaning

[2] Cf. e.g. his works in Algeria, discussed in Outline of a Theory of Practice, where much of the study is grounded in being able to observe and analyze a community in the present, which is very difficult in relation to what I am undertaking in this study, where so much is lost to us concerning everyday life in Persian Yehud. Moreover, it would shift the focus of this study, even if it were possible to study the community in a more ethnological or anthropological way.
[3] (Maton, 2012, p. 52)
[4] (Lyons, 1977, p. 607)

of words or utterances is shown in the very common, pre-theoretical usage of context. Very often, if we are asked what a certain word means, we will respond with asking about the context in order to explain the word. In this case, 'context' helps us to intuitively explain meaning, rather than observing and studying context, and thereby provide a given meaning. The question for semanticists is how that transmission of meaning can be traced through scientific study.[5]

In order to systematize such a study, there are a few parts of an utterance, or rather, of the context-of-situation that needs to be outlined. These concern what the roles and status are of those that are communicating, i.e. who speaks in the context, who is listening, are there other individuals or objects that the speaker refers to that is not present in the context of utterance, and what social position do they have, how do they relate to one another.[6] Furthermore, the participants need to know where they are spatially and temporally, that is, the time and place of speaker, listener and utterance need to correspond. Other variables that are important is subject-matter – do speaker and listener know what the utterance is about? Otherwise they will not be able to construct utterances or listen to them and know what they are talking about. When this is not the case, we can sense a change of style or formality. For example, if a person says "good afternoon" to a colleague at work even though it's still morning we could say that they do not know the subject-matter of which the utterance refers to, or we could use it as a way of detecting (most probably in such a case) irony.[7] Lyons also discusses a notion that ties in well with 'field' and is best exemplified by the following quote:

> The participants must know how to make their utterance appropriate to the province or domain to which the situation belongs. … The term 'domain' is taken from Fishman (1965), who defines a domain as a "cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules" and relates it to "those 'generally termed' spheres of activity which have more recently been independently advanced by others interested in the study of acculturation, intergroup relations and bilingualism.8

To ask about 'context' within a semanticist framework is thus to ask about what subjects and objects are involved in the context-of situation and what their relations are as well as asking about what the subject-matter of the utterance is, what the time and place of the context-of-situation and within which fields or domains an utterance occurs.

However, we must remind ourselves that we are dealing with texts in this study, not utterances. It is true that texts are made up of utterances, but the two are not equivalent.[9] When I use the semantic aspects of context in my study, it is mainly to gain a theoretical language for

[5] (Lyons, 1977, p. 572)
[6] (Lyons, 1977, pp. 574-576) cf. also above, on textual habitus.
[7] (Lyons, 1977, p. 578)
[8] (Lyons, 1977, p. 584)
[9] (Breed, 2014, p. 84)

all the aspects that come into play in the understanding of an utterance, and then, using Bourdieu's theories, relate it to the study of the text.

This latter aspect shows similarities between field and context. However, by using field, one gets a term that is more precise. In many ways, social context is field, or, better put, context is "the position we occupy in a particular social field".[10] Field is more precise because it allows for closer scrutiny of what is under study and see how different facets relate. For example, in the case of Nehemiah we can say that the context of the story is Persian Yehud, or a law-abiding community or the rebuilding of the temple. We could claim that all three fields form part of the social and/or historical context but if we instead choose to call them fields we might get a clearer view of how they connect and intersect. By using field, we can also discuss where it ends and begins, as opposed to context, which is more abstract in that sense. If we were to speak of the field of law observance in relation to Nehemiah 13, we can simultaneously see the contours of a different field, concerned with the position of Torah in the Persian period, which in turn means we can begin to discuss the field of Persian Yehud et cetera. Thus, a semantic structure can appear, not only through cotext, as discussed above, where terms are discussed in relation to paragraphs and texts but also in relation to phenomena and structures as well as in relation to which agents appear in the fields. This holds for both the study of fields that surface in the textual world as well as the study of fields in the social and historical contexts.

Field is therefore a term that points more clearly to the relational than context does, in that the field consists of boundaries (you can always be inside or outside of the field, compare the football field for example) and it is made up by the people defining it.[11] Bourdieu discusses this himself in the book *Language and Symbolic Power*, where he talks about the literary field in relation to legitimate language;

> This production of instruments of production, such as rhetorical devices, genres, legitimate styles and manners and more generally, all the formulations destined to be 'authoritative' and to be cited as examples of 'good usage', confers on those who engage in it a power over language and thereby over the ordinary users of language, as well as over their capital.[12]

What is authoritative in the texts that I am studying? What relations are visible? Which agents appear, what are their positions and how do they operate within the different fields? Bridget Fowler completes the argument thusly: "Bourdieu is concerned here … with the hegemony of

[10] (Maton, 2012, p. 51). Cf. (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14). Also, William F. Hanks discusses the relation between the terms field and context; "To describe a social phenomenon as a "field" is therefore to focus on certain of its features: the space of positions, the historical processes of their occupancy, the values at stake, the career trajectories of agents, and the habitus shaped by engagement. Compared with a term like "context," field is both more specific and more consequential. (Hanks, 2005, p. 73)

[11] (Thomson, 2012, pp. 66-67)

[12] (Bourdieu, 1991, pp. 57-58)

certain linguistic codes, which, when viewed as cultural capital, are linked to the dominant class."[13]

The use of the notions habitus and field in the literary analysis becomes a way for me to structure the analysis in the direction that focuses on the relations that exist in the texts. The fact that בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר and סָרִיס exist together point to a relation that carry meaning, of equal importance is to analyze the verbs that appear in the texts or what conjunctions are prevalent; "the value of a word can only be determined by defining it in relation to the value of neighboring and contrasting words".[14] Through field and habitus, I also have a way of distinguishing fields from among each other, thereby seeing if they should be understood in a hierarchical relation as well.

"Legitimate Language" and Doxa

In order to more fully understand the individual aspects of agents and their habitus and how it relates not only to field but to society at large, I will discuss one more concept from Bourdieu, *doxa*. Doxa can be equated with norms, unwritten rules or shared values, that which is taken for granted but not always necessarily uttered;

> [I]n the extreme case, that is to say, when there is a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization (as in ancient societies) the natural and social world appears as self-evident. This experience we shall call doxa. [15]

In relation to this, there exists in society those that adhere to the doxa in an orthodox way or in a heterodox way. Orthodoxy, as used by Bourdieu, becomes a way for the dominant group to limit what is understood as doxa, to limit the views on that deemed "right" or "wrong".[16] Heterodoxy, in contrast, becomes a kind of "heresy", which opposes orthodoxy by stretching the limits of what is allowed, what is imaginable and what is possible to utter. Through the incorporation of doxa, and how it is used in orthodox versus heterodox ways, the power relations thus appear more vividly. In relationship to language, orthodox language is the same as the legitimate language, official and authoritative language. In order to assess the field of power in relation to such language, one has to analyze who is speaking and what that person's social position is, as Bourdieu states: "authority comes to language from outside".[17]

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[13] (Fowler, 1997, p. 28)
[14] Lyons, Semantics I, p. 251.
[15] (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977], p. 164)
[16] (Bourdieu, 2013 [1977], p. 169)
[17] (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 109), furthermore, Bourdieu shows how the analysis of words alone are not enough, but that we need to analyze who is uttering them as well in order to understand the meaning of those words: "Looking within words for the power of words, that is, looking for it where it is not to be found… the power of words is nothing other than the delegated power of the spokesperson, and his speech". (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 107)

Doxa manifests itself as an analytical tool in the investigation of text through asking what can be deemed authoritative or legitimate language. Legitimate language can be understood as the preferred usage, i.e. what is correct in terms of pronunciation or spelling, or the correct way of talking, in what manner one speaks and with which authority. Legitimate language is both form and content, "between what is said and the manner of saying it". [18]To put it in relation to habitus and field, one can state that legitimate language is deemed as such depending on the field and the agents within the field, who, according to their habitus, know how to speak in a given situation; not just what to say but also how to say it. Applied to the material in this study, the study of doxa makes it possible to analyze the kind of language that is being used, especially how it can be viewed as authoritative. When I am studying Isaiah 56, this might show in what language can be deemed specific for prophetic writings or how the character of YHWH is used to legitimize.

The Literary Unit Isaiah 56:1-8

After an examination of the theoretical foundation for the textual analysis, I will now look at the text under study. I begin with a translation of the pericope.

> [1]Thus said YHWH: observe justice and do what is right. For soon my salvation will come and my deliverance be revealed. [2]Happy is the man who does this, the mortal [son of man] who takes hold of it; who keeps the Sabbath, not profaning it, and keeps his hand from doing anything evil. [3]Do not let the foreigner, who has joined himself to the Lord, say: the Lord will surely separate me from his people and do not let the eunuch say: I am a withered tree. [4]For thus said the Lord: to the eunuchs who keep my Sabbaths and who choose that which pleases me, who hold on to my covenant, [5]I will give them, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters. I will give them (him [a]) an everlasting name, which will not be cut off. [6]And foreigners who join themselves to the Lord, to minister to him (me [b]) and to love the name of the Lord (my name [c]) and to be his servants; all who keep the Sabbath, and not profane it, and who holds fast to my covenant, [7]I will bring them to my holy mountain and I will make them rejoice in my house, their burnt offerings and sacrifices will be accepted ([d]) upon my altar, for my house will be called a house of prayer for all peoples. [8]This

[18] (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 139).

is the saying of the Lord God, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather more in addition to those gathered.

The verses of the pericope form a chiastic structure, which helps to emphasize the themes. Several commentators have discussed how all of Third Isaiah forms a chiastic structure, where 56:1-8 ties together with chapter 66, thus strengthening the argument for the unity of Third Isaiah.[19] However, such a structure is visible also in this pericope and partly deconstructs the idea that the pericope is tripartite, i.e. that vv. 1-2, 3-7 and 8 forms three different units.[20]

A **Thus says the LORD**

B **Happy** is the mortal who does this (Isa 56:2 NRS)

C Do not let the **foreigner joined** to the LORD say…

D And let not the eunuch say, "I am a withered tree."

D For thus says the LORD: To the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths…

E will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off.

C And the **foreigners who join** themselves to the LORD…

B …make them **rejoice** in my house of prayer.

A **Thus says the Lord GOD,**

Through this, one verse stands out, which is verse 5.

וְנָתַתִּי לָהֶם בְּבֵיתִי וּבְחוֹמֹתַי יָד וָשֵׁם טוֹב מִבָּנִים וּמִבָּנוֹת שֵׁם עוֹלָם אֶתֵּן־לוֹ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִכָּרֵת: ס

And I will give to them, in my house and within my walls, a monument (lit. a hand) and a name, better than sons and daughters, I will give them an eternal name, which shall not be cut off.

This verse, in turn, seem to follow the structure in verse 7;

וַהֲבִיאוֹתִים אֶל־הַר קָדְשִׁי וְשִׂמַּחְתִּים בְּבֵית תְּפִלָּתִי עוֹלֹתֵיהֶם וְזִבְחֵיהֶם לְרָצוֹן עַל־מִזְבְּחִי כִּי בֵיתִי בֵּית־תְּפִלָּה יִקָּרֵא לְכָל־הָעַמִּים:

I will bring them to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer (lit. the house of my prayer) and their burnt offerings and their sacrifices upon my altar for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples.

[19] Cf. The Theology of the Book of Isaiah, John Goldingay, p. 75, see also, Concentricity and Continuity: The Literary Structure of Isaiah, Robert H. O'Connell pp. 216-217.

[20] Cf. Blenkinsopp, p. 130.

Legitimate Language in Isaiah 56

The chiastic structure points to several aspects of interest. First, we see a type of *inclusio*, or bracketing,[21] where the pericope both starts and finishes with "thus said the Lord". Apart from being a very common prophetic formula,[22] it also gives authority – and therefore legitimacy – to what is to come. With this formula, the author both shows which genre the text belongs to, i.e. prophetic speech, but also how this text is supposed to be heard.

Several scholars argue for a reading of this text as an abrogation of the Law of Assembly in Deuteronomy 23:1-8.[23] If the author if Isaiah 56 indeed meant for the text to be read in this way, the beginning "Thus said the Lord" is rhetorically a good way to start. It gives the idea that even though what is to come questions Torah, it is still the word of the Lord.[24] As a rhetorical strategy, it points to that which Bourdieu calls legitimate language, both because it lends authority to the utterance as well as showing a type of "good usage", given its status as prophetic formula.[25] It is also interesting that such an utterance shifts focus from who is speaking to whom the addressee is supposed to listen to as speaker. That is, the one talking is the prophet, but he is understood as a vessel, not as main communicator, which is YHWH.[26] The character of YHWH continues to uphold the primary deictic role;[27] the use of the first-person pronoun denotes YHWH. The deictic role of addressee is laid upon an unknown listener, but the two imperatives in the plural form that follows means that it is directed at a community of listeners; שִׁמְרוּ and עֲשׂוּ .

Furthermore, the use of the imperative shows that the other deictic role in the conversation is in the second person (given that the imperative always appears in the second person).[28] Here we notice a shift from Deutero-Isaiah, where Israel is addressed in the second person *singular*, as a unit, which is also visible in other parts of Trito-Isaiah (e.g. 60:1).[29] In the beginning verses we therefore find as the main established characters, or agents, to be YHWH as primary speaker and the community as listener. The second person plural is not found in the rest of the text. Rather, in verses 3-8 the third person, either in the singular or the plurals, occurs. How is the shift from second to third person best explained?

[21] Blenkinsopp, p. 132.
[22] Blenkinsopp, pp. 130-131.
[23] Brueggeman, p. 170
[24] Cf. Westermann p. 305.
[25] Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic language, pp. 57
[26] The Concept of Exile in Ancient Israel and its Historical Contexts, Ehud Ben Zvi , Christoph Levin p 244.
[27] Lyons, p. 662
[28] Nyberg, H.S. p 280
[29] Westermann, p. 298.

The first verse also contains a word pair מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה , which scholars have written extensively about, especially Rolf Rendtorff, who states that the prevalence of these two terms is a "key to understanding all of Trito-Isaiah".[30] The occurrence of these two terms also has the literary function to point back to Deutero-Isaiah, and for example Westermann claims that "these words make an excellent link with that part of the book which begins at 56 and the proclamation of Deutero-Isaiah".[31] Westermann goes on to refer to this introduction (v.1) as admonition, as does Hanson.[32] Sweeney refers to the rhetorical goal of the book (of Trito-Isaiah) to be to persuade the community to hold fast to YHWH's covenant. The language is very clear in its admonition, it states what the listener should do and what will happen if one does so. This, too, point to "preferred usage" or "good usage", it is a rhetorical strategy partly aimed at its intended audience but also as a way of defining the text in relation to other prophetic speeches. When reviewing the scholarly literature on the word pair, most argue that the words should not necessarily be understood as an ethical proclamation, rather the main point is to connect what is to come with the message of Deutero-Isaiah, and to some extent Proto-Isaiah as well. As Hanson states;

> The first verse of the third major section of the Book of Isaiah thus seems to give a summary of the message of the prophet of the exile. But there is a subtle shift in emphasis from an announcement of what God is about to do to an admonition concentrating on what the community should do."[33]

The admonition is worded in a way that suggests that YHWH as speaker means that you should do this, because I have done it. However, as Blenkinsopp notes, it might be that the heavy association of understanding מִשְׁפָּט not in a judicial way, but rather in a social way, focusing on helping the fatherless, the widow and the oppressed (cf. Isa 1:17; 10:2).[34] Thus, the inclusion of the word pair מִשְׁפָּט and צְדָקָה might here not only serve as a link with other parts of Isaiah, but also to set the stage for the eunuch and the foreigner; do what is right, i.e., allow the eunuch and the foreigner into the community, as an implied aspect in relation to the more literal aspects of what it means to do right in verse 2. To use such language would in that case be deemed both authoritative and orthodox, in the Bourdieusian sense. However, this is also a rhetorical device, intended to look as legitimate language but used in a heterodox way, stretching the meaning from what it has signified to instead point to something new.

[30] Rentdorff, p. ??, cf. Sweeney p. 31.
[31] Westermann, p. 309. Cf. Hanson, p. 193.
[32] Westermann, p. 310 and Hanson, 193.
[33] Hanson, p. 193
[34] Blenkinsopp, p. 134.

The text then goes on to say that whoever does this will be happy, in verse 2. It is explained that to do what is right, is to keep the Sabbath. As many scholars have noted, this is an important shift, where Sabbath observance becomes the primary marker for holding fast the covenant, rather than circumcision. Such a focus can be read in relation to another prophetic text, Ezekiel 44:7-9, which also concerns foreigners and their place in the community, where the emphasis is on the fact that they are not circumcised. Furthermore, Ezekiel goes on to scold the community for not "keeping charge of [YHWH's] sacred offerings" (Ezek. 44:8) whereas in Isaiah 56:7, YHWH accepts their offerings and sacrifices on his altar. Another post-exilic book that stresses the command of Sabbath observance is Nehemiah, and for example in ch. 13, the place of the Sabbath in the theological agenda of Nehemiah is strong.[35]

A note not stressed by the commentators is the fact that אֱנוֹשׁ and בֶּן־אָדָם can be read in relation to בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר and סָרִיס. בֶּן־אָדָם occurs elsewhere in the prophetic writings (cf. Ezekiel) but still form a pair when read next to בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר. The chiastic structures shows a relationship between verses 2 and 7, I have singled out the terms "happy", אַשְׁרֵי, and "joyful", שָׂמַח, as connected. Sure enough, they are not the same terms, but share a semantic field and can thus be read together. If read as such, it points to the fact that if you keep the Sabbath and do not profane it, you will be happy, indeed YHWH will make you rejoice and reserve a place for you in his house of prayer. If אֱנוֹשׁ and בֶּן־אָדָם is read next to בֶּן־הַנֵּכָר and סָרִיס, then the pairing functions as another rhetorical strategy where the author ties the verses together, and connects the eunuch and the foreigner to all of Israel, bringing another dimension to the final verse as well, verse 8.

As Westermann notes, verse 3 contains the foreigner and the eunuch lamenting not being able to be part of the community. The saying of YWHW consists of two jussives, which show their status as wishes. This utterance is thus supposed to be understood as a kind a new order, one not based on Deuteronomic laws but on Sabbath observance, something which is equated with keeping the covenant, a fact mentioned three times in this fairly short pericope. The subject-matter of the utterance is therefore clear, the text concerns Sabbath observance, which can also be called a practice in Bourdieu's terminology. When reading the text, both speaker – both implied in the sense of the prophet and factual in the sense of YHWH – and listener know what the subject-matter is. Moreover, Sabbath observance is not only mentioned as the preferred practice, it is promoted as doxa. Its status as doxa is further strengthened by the fact that the one speaking is YHWH. When the foreigner speaks – in an implicit way in the form of the jussive – he is described as joined to YHWH, and is fearful that YHWH will separate him

[35] Cf. Blenkinsopp, p. 135.

from his people. The use of the infinitive absolute emphasizes this point. Here the author uses another word pair, לוה and בדל. Commentators show that such language might point to the idea of conversion.[36] The terminology points to Ezra, who discusses the two groups עַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת and בְּנֵי־הַגּוֹלָה. Brooks Schramm points out that these groups should be understood as based on religious affiliation, meaning that if one adheres to *Torah*, one can become a member of the בְּנֵי־הַגּוֹלָה.[37] Schramm continues to discuss how this relates to Trito-Isaiah's focus on Sabbath observance, thus rendering the argument that Trito-Isaiah is inclusive where Ezra-Nehemiah is not obsolete, or at least more complex that many scholars have discussed previously.[38] We can conclude therefore that the hospitality granted them, to join and be part of the community is conditional, it is not entirely open. This point is strengthened by the phrasing in verse 4; "to the eunuchs… who choose that which pleases me", YHWH is not a gracious host who opens his door to anyone; it has to be someone who performs according to YHWH's will. Interesting to note is the more abstract form of what is expected of the eunuch, whereas the expectations on the foreigner are more clearly stated; join yourself to YHWH, minister to him, love the name of YHWH and be his servant. Their established role is the one of the servant, the one depending on the other established agent, that is, YHWH. However, there is nothing in the text that deem the foreigners more servant-like than the אֱנוֹשׁ and בֶּן־אָדָם in verse 2.

If they do what is asked of them, the foreigners will have important roles in the new community. They will serve as ministers, as servants. One of the central themes found in this pericope, which ties in with the central theme found especially in Deutero-Isaiah but also at the end of Trito-Isaiah is the theme of the servant of YHWH.[39] There are several links, both thematic and semantic, between chapters 56 and 66. In chapter 66, the motif of the servant is predominant. That motif is very common also in Deutero-Isaiah, which would explain the need for the author of Isaiah 56 to form strong links with the message of Deutero-Isaiah.

A final point is that of place. Several different terms occur that point to a new temple. In verse 5, it is said that eunuchs will receive a monument *in my house and within my walls*. Given the other aspects in Isa 56:1-8 that relates to Ezra-Nehemiah, it is of interest that the author has chosen the phrasing "within my walls" to express that foreigners and eunuchs should be allowed into the community.[40] We see this theme resurfacing in another part of Trito-Isaiah, in 60:10:

[36] Schaper, p. 29, Nihan p. 69.
[37] Schramm, p. 123.
[38] Brueggeman even goes as far as calling the message of Isa 56:1-8 "radical inclusiveness", p. 139.
[39] Many scholars discuss this as the central theme, cf. Stromberg, Schramm, Raymond de Hoop even calls it the central theme of Trito-Isaiah, cf. p. 678.
[40] Fishbane, p. 118.

וּבָנוּ בְנֵי־נֵכָר חֹמֹתַיִךְ וּמַלְכֵיהֶם יְשָׁרְתוּנֵךְ כִּי בְקִצְפִּי הִכִּיתִיךְ וּבְרְצוֹנִי רִחַמְתִּיךְ׃	Foreigners will build up your walls, and their kings will minister to you. For in my anger, I struck you down, but in my mercy I have been compassionate.

The building of the wall is one of the central themes in Nehemiah. Here, in Trito-Isaiah, it seems as though the author is aware of the text in Nehemiah and points to it by refuting it. To choose such language is also in line with the usage of the word pair לוה and בדל, which occurs frequently in the material stating the theological agenda of Ezra (cf. e.g. Ezra 6:21)

Mapping the Field(s): tracing Relations

Through the analysis on what can function as legitimate language in the text, I have outlined central themes and been able to determine the social roles of the established agents operating in the text. These agents are the prophet, YHWH, the community, the foreigner and the eunuch. These characters operate on two levels in the text; YHWH has the main authority, the prophet shows knowledge of doxa and can thus formulate the speech through using certain rhetorical devices and therefore function as the one pushing the story in a certain direction, i.e. pushing a certain agenda. Through the study above, certain relationships have become clear and what role they play in the story. The text contains word pairs that relate to each other and thus point to a field or domain in which they are used. Likewise, certain concepts appear in similar wording that also point to a domain, forming a context-of-situation through which the characters can be interpreted. Furthermore, the study shows which themes are central in the text.

A core idea in Bourdieu's thinking is the role relations of different kinds play in the assessment of that which is under study. It is for this reason that his notions are incorporated in this study. Relations can be understood in many ways, for example; how does the text of Isaiah 56 relate to Deuteronomy 23? Or how does it relate to the rest of the three parts of the book of Isaiah? Furthermore, what relations are visible in the literary unit 56:1-8 itself? The main way for Bourdieu to analyze relations is to understand which fields they operate within. Field is not an arbitrary category; "field is probably best characterized as a method: namely, a method of analyzing causal relations and of building scientific constructs".[41]

It is possible to trace the outlines of the field by placing the established agents within the field, and their relationship to each other. Based on the analysis above, the agents relate to each other in the following way:

- The prophet – YHWH

[41] Bourdieu's Theory of Social Fields: Concepts and Applications, Mathieu Hilgers,Eric Mangez (ed) p. 5

- YHWH – the mortal/son of man (related through an aspect of "I have done this, therefore so should you).
- The mortal/son of man – the foreigner and the eunuch (related through the choice of words)
- The foreigner and the eunuch
- YHWW – the outcasts of Israel

The analysis above stated that the established agents are YHWH as dominant and the eunuchs and foreigners as the dominated. Yet, if we interpret what type of capital is at play in the text, another hierarchy appear. One of the primary ways of determining social position in the field is to look at the amount of capital an agent possesses.[42] In Isaiah 56, some forms of capital is easily spotted as desirable, mainly access to the holy place, be it the holy mountain or to be allowed within the walls of YHWH. The holders of this capital are the eunuchs and the foreigners. Moreover, within the holy place, the eunuchs will have an eternal monument set up for them, which sets them above the foreigners. The eunuchs can also be said to have symbolic capital, given the use of their title. As the word study performed in the chapter previous to this chapter, of which this paper is a part, to use סָרִיס instead of the more graphic language of Deuteronomy 23 may point to a willingness to include for example Persian officials. The eunuchs therefore hold both physical capital in the form of the eternal monument and the symbolic capital of the title סָרִיס. Their place as dominated is thus questioned. Other forms of capital that exist is knowledge of the "right" practice, such as Sabbath observance and the "right" language, such as the ability to use rhetorical devices in ways which persuades your listener. Here, the prophet stands out as dominant character, but again the foreigner and the eunuch too, since they know the importance of Sabbath observance (in contrast to the happy mortal, whom YHWH needs to instruct).

The fields that materialize are:

The field of covenant, where the subject-matter or main practice discussed is Sabbath observance. The established agents are YHWH, the prophet, the eunuch and the foreigner, the mortal/the son of man and all of Israel. The dominant is primarily YHWH, but to a certain extent also the prophet. In this field, the eunuch and the foreigner are the dominated, but this needs to be analyzed further with regards to their habitus. Such a study will be performed as part of my dissertation but not as part of this paper. Moreover, the emphasis on the foreigners

[42] Laird, pp. 46-49

as ministers or servants also show that the continuity with Deutero-Isaiah constitutes a form of capital, which further strengthens the prophet's social role.

The field of Golah, where the subject-matter concerns the place, where both the use of the house of God as well as "my walls" as descriptions for the temple point to Ezra-Nehemiah. The dominant here is the prophet and the dominated are not present in the text itself; it is Ezra-Nehemiah. In this field, both the eunuch and the foreigner seem to be symbols, they do not hold capital of their own in relation to the Golah field.

The fields can be translated into domains, for the sake of the semantic discussion, to construct the context-of-situation. In the analysis above I have outlined that which is necessary to define such domains, i.e. who speaks and who listens, what is the subject-matter, et cetera. Outside the scope of this paper, I will use these domains/fields as a guide in the structuring of the next step of the overall study in my dissertation, of historical and social context. Much more can be said as part of the literary analysis, but for the sake of space, I choose to finish my paper at this point.

The Ancient Near Eastern Flood Myth as a Political Text - Using Myths in Historiographic Research

The mythologeme of the Flood seems to be metacultural, existing in cultures where flooding has occurred as a natural consequence of man's physical environment. But the use of the mythologeme also finds very specific political uses in the ancient Near East, functioning as it did as a metonym for the Assyrian imperial army – and in particular for the Assyrian king. This association between an unstoppable, advancing military force and the Flood has left apparent traces on the flood narratives of many conquered nations. This paper examines strategies with which the ideological content of such politicized mythological texts can be studied, and what can be learned from them vis-à-vis ancient Near Eastern history.

Questions for discussion:

1. How to check for confirmation bias when the ancient subjects cannot be interviewed like they have been in the creation of the modern social scientific theories?
2. How does one control for the use of ancient texts as 'hidden transcripts' without access to the creators and the users of the texts?
3. What strategy to take regarding the dating of the HB texts?

My post-doctoral research project examines the dissemination of stories, narratives, and mythic traditions as means of cultural resistance in the ancient world. The particular aim is to study **the inversion of narrative as a method of cultural resistance**, using elements of the Flood story, as they appear in the Hebrew Bible in the books of Jonah, Nahum, and Gen. 6–9, as case examples of the employment of the inverted narrative in response to hegemonic pressures. In order to contextualize the different iterations of the Flood story in the HB, I compare them with ancient Near Eastern versions of the narrative, particularly witnesses dating to the time of the Neo-Assyrian empire, in order to discover the strategies with which the ideological content of such politicized mythological texts can be studied and what can be learned from them.

What makes the Flood story especially fruitful for the study of the uses and formation of ancient political narratives is because "the Flood" was a political symbol associated with the Neo-Assyrian king in their royal inscriptions. In the Neo-Assyrian Flood narratives we have in our possession what is inarguably a hegemonic story – the prime examplars of the standard version of both Gilgamesh and Atrahasis come from Ashurbanipal's library in the capital of the Neo-Assyrian empire – but which we also have in several versions that come from conquered peoples or peoples in opposition to this central power.[1]

[1] We know of versions of the Flood narrative from the Hittites, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Ugaritians, and in addition to the HB witnesses, a fragment of the Gilgamesh (IM 55-2) was excavated from Megiddo. Cf. George 2003, 339ff.

The problem with historiography

It is well-acknowledged in the study of the ancient world that the nature of historiography was very different in Antiquity. Historiography was interested in narratively coherent and rhetorically impressive stories rather than facts, and facts were incidental to the telling of history.[2] Facts could be altered, borrowed, invented, or lifted from mythology in excess to recording things that had come to pass, and it is often the difficult and thankless task of the modern historian to attempt to unravel this web of fact and fiction in search of *meaning* for the stories. Alternative facts, that is, are not a modern invention.

While still we see some straight reading of, for example, royal inscriptions where events are repeated, sometimes verbatim, by a succession of kings in texts that are acknowledged as having attempted to exert political influence rather than to faithfully record historical events, they are still far too often uncritically read as history as written.[3] But we, as researchers, are aware of the problem, and have taken to supplementing their 'historical' records with the evidence of, for example, archaeology, climatology, astronomy, social sciences, et cetera, attempting to create an approximation of past events.[4] To peak through these 'keyholes' into history.

It is the reverse side of the coin that I wish to bring into discussion in this paper, something which is only beginning to make inroads into historiography: mythology. Often purporting to seem timeless and universal, mythological texts were nonetheless written in specific times and places, by people in varying historical frameworks and political contexts, in response to events in their environments, whether natural or manmade. Myths were transmitted and especially written down for a reason and with purpose, and it must be emphasized that the *writing down* of a myth is an act altogether different from the *telling* of a myth in the act of passing down ancestral knowledge or entertainment.[5] Man may always have told stories to influence others but the act of writing makes the transmission of stories a political act, especially in the ancient world,

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[2] Cf. Michael Grant: *Greek and Roman Historians: Information and Misinformation* (1995).

[3] Cf. e.g. Grant Frame (ed.): *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A. K. Grayson* (2004).

[4] E.g. Mattias Karlsson: *Relations of Power in Early Neo-Assyrian State Ideology* (2016), Douglas Green: *"I Undertook Great Works": The Ideology of Domestic Achivements in West Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (2010), Isaac Kalimi: *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (2005), Jens Kofoed: *Fact and Fiction in the Ancient Near East: The Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, The Babylonian Chronicles, and the Book of Kings in the Hebrew Bible* (2004); all owing a great debt to the classic F. M. Fales. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological and Historical Analysis* (1981). See also the contributions of the 2014 Helsinki/Innsbruck International Meeting "*Writing Neo-Assyrian History: Sources, Problems and Approaches."*

[5] Although he references Medieval Europe, Keith Yandell's quote from *Faith and Narrative* (2001) is apt: "We should recall that in medieval Europe literacy and administration were two sides of the same coin. Writing was a political act, the written record a legal rule." (p. 31).

where writing was both intellectually and materially an elite skill.[6] Mythological texts tell us things about the ancient man and of ancient societies.[7]

One of the main problems in using mythological narratives in reconstructing historical political landscapes is in the dating of texts that project themselves back to times immemorial. The flood narratives more so perhaps than other texts claim an antediluvian authority. But the dating of the original or *Ur*-myth is not necessary for the examination of the *effect* of mythological texts in history. When we are in possession of texts from a historical period, such as the Neo-Assyrian period, we can deduce that the texts held some meaning for the people that traded them, and we are able to reflect their content on the historical, socio-political situation in which they were written and handed down.

Jack Sasson, in the context of writing the history of the Mariote king Zimri-Lim, with regards to the tendency of researchers to make the events of the king's life fit a familiar pattern of story-telling, mentions the concept of *déjà entendu*, the recognition of a familiar pattern.[8] We all write narratives to fit these familiar patterns and feel more comfortable reading or hearing stories that do fit them, which leads us to *accent certain features of paradigms* and *disregard others* while passing on stories. It is this mechanism of human story-telling that makes it difficult to use even the particular features of mythological texts in dating them – and the same holds true for non-mythological texts.[9]

It is not necessary for the same story to hold the same meaning for all people in all times, but in observance of particular texts in particular contexts, we may learn historical facts and especially historical *meaning* that may never have been explicated in non-mythological texts, whether administrative, economic, or personal correspondences. Mythological texts read in context may even teach us things about the ancient man that he did not know about himself.[10]

The Flood as a Symbol of Power within the Hegemonic Narrative

The ancient Near Eastern Flood narrative is seen as a *topos* that has been revisited by cultures all over the ancient world, which may or may not hark back to some pre–historic accounts of a particularly devastating river flood in the cultural memory of the

[6] *Writing and Ancient Near East Society: Essays in Honor of Alan Millard (2005)*
[7] Gérard Bouchard: *Pour une nouvelle sociologie des mythes sociaux* in RESS 1 (2013) outlines an empirical and theoretical approach to the sociology of myths, opining that the study of myths is neglected in modern sociological research. The same is true of historical studies, where myths are relegated to the study of the history of literature.
[8] Jack Sasson: *The King and I: A Mari King in Changing Perceptions* in JAOS 118 (1998), 455.
[9] Molly Andrews & al: *The Uses of Narrative: Explorations in Sociology, Psychology, and Cultural Studies* (2004).
[10] While I have issued caution with his conclusions in the past, this is what Aaron Tugendhaft attempted in *"Baal Is Our King": Politics and Narrative at the End of the Bronze Age* (2012), using the myth of the Baal Cycle in discussing the political landscape of the Late Bronze Age.

area.[11] But the story of the Flood is also a so-called Myth of Power,[12] a story which is concerned with relationships of power, not only through its content,[13] but both for tracing its claim to the authority to the Sumerian King List and the fact that we find it in pride of place in the royal library of Aššurbanipal II at Nineveh, the capital of the Neo-Assyrian empire. The Flood was symbolic of imperial power, both as a metonym of the king,[14] the army and the nation, but also explicitly mentioned as the weapon wielded by the warrior god who granted the king his right to rule by gifting the monarch with this weapon.[15]

Several iterations of the narrative are known from Mesopotamian sources, but one of the most well-known is the version embedded in the Epic of Gilgamesh found in the famous library of Aššurbanipal II.[16] While the origins of the Flood story are dated to the 3rd millennium BCE, and the oldest extant text fragments to the early 2nd millennium, there are several different iterations and recensions of the myth from the Neo-Assyrian period, witnessing to the popularity of this narrative in the Neo-Assyrian context.[17] It was not until the Neo-Assyrian period that the contents of the third tablet of Atrahasis were inserted to tablet XI of Gilgamesh, the Flood story being a feature of only the NA Gilgamesh.[18] This is important in examining the particular features of the narrative, as there are aspects e.g. in Jonah that seem to owe influence particularly to the Flood story as told in tablet XI of the Gilgamesh epic.

My examination is concerned with particular versions of the Flood narrative used in distinct historical and social frameworks for specific political reasons, and it is only through the examination of particular narratives that we may uncover the *mechanisms* through which stories may have been used as a method of cultural resistance. Resistance is enabled and collectivized by the circulation of stories narrating moments when the taken-for-granted social structure is exposed and the usual direction of constraint upended for a moment,[19] something at the very basis of the flood stories. While it is possible that some natural conditions underlie the narratives,[20] it is not as mere reflections of natural phenomena or universalizing parables of the human condition that the metaphors of the narrative were employed in their individual contexts. The purpose and function of narratives often differ from their origins, as the

[11] Discussed e.g. by B. L. Bandstra: *Reading the Old Testament : an introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (2009).
[12] The term was used by N. Wyatt in *Myths of Power* (1996).
[13] It is worth a note that all of the ancient Flood heroes bar Noah were kings.
[14] For example in Sennacherib's Bavian inscription (RINAP 3/2).
[15] Cf. J. Töyräänvuori: *The Weapons of the Storm god in Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Traditions* in StOr 112 (2012).
[16] The archives were, perhaps not co-incidentally, located in the city of Nineveh, the site of modern Iraqi *Kouyunjik*.
[17] More fragments of both Gilgamesh and Atrahasis are found periodically, but for recent-ish enumeration, for Gilgamehs cf. SAACT I and for Atrahasis, A. T. Clay: *Atrahasis: An Ancient Hebrew Flood Story and Other Flood Story Fragments* (2003.)
[18] It is referenced in earlier iterations of the Gilgamesh epic but did not feature it.
[19] P. Ewick: *Consciousness and Ideology* (2017).
[20] Such as the flooding of the Tigris during the siege of Nineveh that may have inspired some of the passages in Nahum, or the flooding of the Nile in the time of Osorkon III.

final forms of transmitted stories function as symbolic frameworks rather than just information content.[21] While there are obvious similarities between the ancient Flood traditions, there are also significant differences.[22] In fact, it is these differences that are of particular interest for my project.

According to the cyclical theory of social change, social changes are brought about by struggle for political power by different groups, harsh new elites surpassing declining powers in ever recurring circulation.[23] While the theory was problematic due to its racial and anti-democratic tendencies, there do seem to be cyclical processes that recur in human societies,[24] and it is often that counter-cultural narratives become the hegemonic story in the course of time. In any case, the ancient texts have often been preserved in contexts in which the once oppressed minority has become the new elite, and it is only through a filter that we may glimpse into their former politically disadvantaged state. The songs of the huddled masses yearning to breathe free are different from those that have later come to power, who in turn paint the newly dispossessed in darker shades.[25]

While, according Jean-François Lyotard (1993), grand narratives have lost their significance in the post-modern world, narratives and stories are still used as means of exercising power even in current societies. Hegemonic narratives hold both implicit and explicit influences over their objects. This is why the appropriation and rewriting of stories – which seems also have taken place in the ancient world – plays an important role as a means of cultural resistance, as well as the formation of the group identities of the oppressed and the downtrodden.

As for the mythologeme of the Flood as found in these stories, in the sense of a core element it seems to be metacultural, existing in cultures where flooding has occurred as a natural consequence of man's physical environment. We find flood narratives not only in the Fertile Crescent but also in Europe, East Asia and Meso-America; some would argue: all over the world.[26] The Flood narratives of the ancient Near East in particular have been compared ever since George Smith translated the *Chaldean Account of Genesis* in 1876, and as one can tell by the title of his work, the Biblical Flood myth was one of the first with which Mesopotamian Flood stories were compared.

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[21] There is an example of the Akkadian Sargonids using mythology in a conscious political campaign in affirming their claim to power. So Petrovich (2013): "His accession to the throne and subsequent submission of Mesopotamia and surrounding lands to Akkadian sovereignty were accompanied by a calculated propagandistic campaign, the first such enterprise to extend itself to these limits. At the level of official art, royal relief became a functional medium for conveying ideological messages and invoking fear into the hearts of his enemies."

[22] "The flood stories of Genesis and Gilgamesh are so far removed from each other in focus and intent that one cannot compare the ideas in the two versions of the flood without setting up spurious dichotomies". Tikva Frymer-Kensky: *The Atrahasis Epic and Its Significance for Our Understanding of Genesis 1–9* (1979).

[23] Pareto 1935.

[24] Bottomore 1971, 291–295.

[25] Cf. Charmaine McEachern: *Narratives of Nation Media, Memory and Representation in the Making of New South Africa* (2002), Ashraf Rushdy: *Neo-slave Narratives: Studies in the Social Logic of a Literary Form.*

[26] B. A. Hoena: *Cleansing the World: Flood Myths Around the World* (2017).

The trend in research has been to seek the commonalities in the accounts, and the shared elements between the Biblical Flood account and the Akkadian epic Atrahasis is something that's used to introduce students to the ancient Near Eastern background of the Bible. It is inarguably one of the most obvious points of connection between the bodies of literature. But there are also differences in theme and motifs in these Flood accounts, so whether they constitute a mythologeme is a question of one's definition of mythologeme.[27]

There are at least three or four separate iterations of the Flood story in the HB, each one a re-telling of the narrative in a different social context. While the narratives may have been re-tellings of one another, one after the other, each one is also a commentary on the popular ANE Flood narrative. Especially, I argue, on the Neo-Assyrian versions of the Atrahasis, as found embedded inside the Gilgamesh epic. The HB Flood texts either owe influence to, or for other reasons have found their context in the Neo-Assyrian period and with the locale of the of the capital of Neo-Assyrian Empire, Nineveh, lending themselves readily to an examination of the inversion of the *topos* in shifting political contexts – both for the wealth of comparative textual materials, and for the fact that the Neo-Assyrian period is one of the better known eras of the ancient world.

There is an interesting Assyrian text that seems to provide an example of using a Flood-adjacent hegemonic story in cultural appropriation. Babylonians were, at the time of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, a subject nation to the Assyrians, although retaining a nominal independence. During the reign of Sennacherib, however, there was continued Elamite interference and attempts to supplant Assyrian-approved rulers on the throne of Babylon. We can detect influence of the story of the Flood in the text KAR 143+219, preserved in the Neo-Assyrian period text found in Ashur.[28] The text, often dubbed as the "Marduk Ordeal Text",[29] contains both cultic and mythic portions. It has been interpreted as containing Assyrian political propaganda toward the Babylonians during and after the fall of Babylon in 689.[30]

Frymer-Kensky called the Marduk Ordeal text "one of the best known, most discussed and least understood texts from Mesopotamia". She remarked that the text had also been interpreted as an Assyrian anti-Marduk parody written at the time of Sennacherib, which would make it analogous to the formation of the Exodus-narrative. Frymer-Kensky, however, suggested that the historical occasion for the writing of the text was the return of Marduk's statue to Babylon in 669, written for the purpose of

[27] See discussion in Giorgio Agambem: *Power, Law, and the Uses of Criticism* (2010).
[28] This text is from Asshur, but there is another edition from Niniveh: BM 134503–4+S.1903, which features the same text but in slightly different sequence. Frymer-Kensky 1982, 132.
[29] Frymer-Kensky 1983, discussed a text referred to as the 'Marduk Ordeal', which seems to offer a thorough mythologization of the concept. According to Annus 2012b, 25, the Marduk Ordeal refers to a historical situation during which the boat carrying the statue of Bel was capsized during a procession of the Akītu festival.
[30] Following von Soden 1955. Both von Soden and Frymer-Kensky 1983 contain editions and translations of the text, although the *edition princeps* was by W. Zimmern in *Zum babylonischen Neujahrfest* (BSGW 70/5: 1918). The text was also published by Livingstone 1989 (34 Asshur and 35 Nineveh).

incorporating the historical event of the return of the statue into the religious framework of the myth of divine combat, as celebrated in the Akītu festival, seeing the text as "manifestly political".[31] In the Marduk Ordeal text, Marduk is held captive, and a goddess (possibly Tashmetu) pleads Sin and Shamash on Marduk's behalf, while his son, Nabu, searches for Marduk. On l. 6–7 an unnamed person and persons are questioned at the *ḫuršan.* Nabu goes to Borsippa and on l. 23 it is said that after "Marduk went to the *ḫuršan*",[32] the city revolted.

Annus revisited the text (2010 and 2012), suggesting on the basis of the parallels of Babylonian processional omen texts[33] that the Marduk Ordeal in fact recounts the capsizing of the boat transporting the statue of Marduk while it was *en route* to the Akītu house. The statue was seen as having undergone the ordeal, which had "many consquences for how Marduk's annual battle against Tiamat was interpreted".[34] Among these changes was that Marduk's victory was no longer seen as immediate, but rather resulting from a prolonged battle following Marduk's imprisonment. While this is a rather imaginative interpretation of the development of the narrative, Annus' suggestion that the text used the technique of inverting the standard Babylonian creation epic for political purposes (descrbing Marduk as inferior to Assyrian deities) has merit.[35]

The story provides an example of the subversion of political mythology in the ancient world, and of the political nature of the Flood mythos in the context, even though the source of the subversion was the (at least eventually) politically and militarily triumphant party. Further examples of the inverted narrative may be seen in the Enuma Elish and Erra epics or in the Moses narratives of the HB with regards to the popular Sargon stories, especially *Sargon King of Battle*. The similarities between the stories of Moses and Sargon have been noted of old because their births seem to be tapping into a topos of royal birth narratives. I have argued in my dissertation that in the texts of the Hebrew Bible Moses functions as though an anti-king, an inversion of the character of the archetypal ANE king.[36]

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[31] Frymer-Kensky 1983, 140–141.
[32] L. 23: ^{d}EN *ina hur-sa-an il-lik-u-ni*.
[33] These texts describe the condition and movement of the statue of Marduk during the Akītu festival. One of the omens says that if the boat (KI.MIN) used to transport the statue turns over in the river, there will be a revolt (*nabalkattu*). Annus 2010, 102. Based on this omen he deduces that the Marduk Ordeal refers to a historical situation in which the statue of Marduk fell into the river during the procession from the Ishtar gate to the Akītu house, leading to the divinity "involuntarily" undergoing the ordeal.
[34] Annus 2012b, 25; 2010, 102–103. He suggests that the plunging of Marduk's statue into the water "prematurely and unprepared" for his annual cosmic battle against Tiamat, representing both the sea and the netherworld river of Ḫubur, lead to an "unusually harsh" combat having been imagined between the divinities Tiamat and Marduk at this time.
[35] Annus 2012, 25. He dates the Asshur text to the reign of Sargon II and the Nineveh text to Sennacherib. The older text reflects the historical situation in which the Babylonian pretender Merodach-Balandan opposed the Assyrian hegemony. The latter reflects a situation in which more kings (Elamite, Aramean, and Chaldean) had "joined the treacherous alliance against Assyria". Annus 2010, 102.
[36] Töyräänvuori 2016.

Narrative Inversion as a Hidden Transcript

My current project explores a method of using myths in the study of political history – that of *narrative inversion*. In the tradition of comparative historical research, it requires the existence of different iterations of a myth or a story (sometimes myths of a particular place have been historicised in neighbouring areas and vice versa)[37] from different geographic locations but from roughly the same time period that can be compared. I have chosen the Flood narrative as an example due to its wealth of iterations from politically significant periods, but I hope that the methodology explored will be applicable across platforms.

By comparing and contrasting narratives of the Flood, I believe it is possible to find elements in the HB texts that are in direct response not only to the Neo-Assyrian accounts of the Flood story, but also to the over-arching socio-political situation during which these narratives were written down, when they were *meaningful* to their recorders. My examination of the texts focuses not merely in the changes that have taken place in the narrative, but in the actual process of how the narratives changed in the rewriting of the story. It is my hope that it will highlight the process through which narratives, and particularly the inversion of the hegemonic narrative, are used to re-negotiate asymmetric power relationships in modern cultural discourses, affording oppressed minorities a means of reclaiming social space through satirizing or parodying hegemonic narratives, as kind of cultural reverse imports.

The theoretical framework of the study is based on Ewick & Silbey's article *Subversive Stories and Hegemonic Tales: Toward a Sociology of Narrative* (1995) in which they outlined a new sociology of narrative, and on J. S. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990) and *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985).[38] Both discussions are in modern frameworks but are applicable with ancient narratives, and especially the latter has been used with increasing frequency in Biblical Studies. While Ewick & Silbey's discussion focused on legal narratives of the 21st century, the theory for which they laid the foundation is applicable also with ancient narratives, and in fact may prove fruitful in researching the use and function of narratives in ancient contexts.

Scott studied the situational logic of the contradictions found in the narratives of socially disadvantaged villagers he studied in Malaysia. As an ideology, cultures

[37] Cf. G. Dumézil, *Mythes romains* in Revue de Paris 58 (1951). Most of the later Roman cosmogonic stories were of Hellenistic origin, which was already remarked upon by the ancients. Also Kloos 1986, 190, "The divine mythology was transformed into national history by the Romans, because a concern for their own past prevailed upon their interests in purely superhuman matters."

[38] While using Scott's theory has become almost *passé* in Biblical studies in recent years, especially in with regards to the New Testament (see e.g. Richard A. Horsley: *Hidden Transcripts and the Arts of Resistance: Applying the Work of James C. Scott to Jesus and Paul*; M. A. Stubbs: *Subjection, Reflection, Resistance: A Three-Dimensional Process of Empowerment in Romans 12 and the Free-Market Economy*), the intent is not merely to *apply* his theory to the material of the Hebrew Bible but also to *refine* the sociological paradigm using the ANE materials as a case study.

legitimate existing power structures and the prevailing social order, mystifying (and mythologizing) the sources of inequality and exploitation. [39] Ewick & Silbey examined the use of narrative in changing social settings, arguing that as a social act, the production of narratives depends on contextual features.

Narratives may display existing social disparities, as well as asymmetrical relations of power and their corresponding social effects, but at the same time they reshape the social world in which they're used. Ewick & Silbey examined the conditions for producing both hegemonic tales, being narratives that instruct and educate the public on established or desired mores and exert social control, and subversive stories that often rise in reaction to the former, making the hegemonic narratives visible and explicating the social frameworks in which they exist. According to them, subversive stories are the narratives that employ the connections between the particular and the general by locating both persons and events within the "encompassing web of social organization".

Scott, for his part, introduced the concepts of a public and hidden transcript in order to examine the interactions between dominant and oppressed groups, the HB stories presenting us with an ancient form of a hidden transcript using coded language understood by the minority community but which passed by the members of the elite. I use their theoretical frameworks to examine the Flood texts I argue contain not only subversion of the hegemonic story, but actually display a series of inversions or reversals of the dominant cultural narrative. Describing the inversion of social structures achieves a momentary reversal of power. Power is exercised through the patterned distribution of resources and schemes, so resistance must also operate through the appropriation of the same structures, reworking or refashioning elements of the prevailing hegemony.

Subversion seeks to upset or overthrow an established system, whereas an inversion turns it inside out or upside down. This is not to be confused with the literary technique of reversal that is employed in many Prophetic texts of the HB for means of social commentary.[40] In textual reversal, objects are presented in reverse or anastrophic order to the main text that they are commenting (A, B, C, D, < > D, C, B, A), whereas in an inversion, the objects themselves are presented in the opposites of the main text that is being commented upon (A, B, C, D > -A, -B, -C, -D), ie. instead of blue we find red, instead of up we find down, instead of flood we find draught (or sand storms or a flood that never comes), etc. Both rhetoric techniques may be used in a subversive manner but also for mere literary or artistic effect. These correspond to the *linguistic disguises* and *ritual codes* of slave religion discussed by Scott, each subordinate group creating a hidden transcript representing a critique of power which is spoken behind the back of the dominant, **political discourse disguised in the inversion of the symbolic world**.

[39] Ortner 1984.
[40] Benjamin Swinburnson: *The Rhetoric of the Post-Exilic Prophetic Reversal: Chiasmus in Haggai 1:1–15 A Structural and Biblical-Theological Analysis* in K:NWTS 23/3 (2008).

Containing traces of a Flood story, the Book of Jonah has traditionally been studied in the context of both the New Testament (esp. Mt. 12:39–41), where the Prophet Jonah is mentioned as a sign given to the 'wicked generation', and the ANE combat myth tradition, wherein the great fish of the narrative has been likened to HB beasts such as Leviathan and Tannin.[41] Due to its fantastical elements and dearth of historical particulars, the narrative has long been considered ahistorical.[42] The story has also been interpreted as satire in literary critical studies,[43] and while I agree that it uses elements of satire, I argue that the satire is directed and pointed toward the actual political and cosmopolitan framework in which it was written; that this satire is an example of the use of this text as a so-called hidden transcript. .

The extant text of the Book of Jonah is dated to the Persian period, although the narrative itself is set up against the period of the Neo–Assyrian Empire.[44] The story, that is, uses the symbolism of the Neo-Assyrian era to comment on current issues of its own time. There are aspects in Jonah that seem to owe influence particularly to the Flood story as told in tablet XI of Gilgamesh (e. g. the Castor plant withered by a worm in reference to the plant 'like the Buckthorn' stolen by the serpent shedding its skin; in one the serpent eats the plant and the plant dies, in the other the serpent lives forever. Jonah's death wish, incidentally, inverts Gilgamesh' quest for immortality). The story, that is, uses the symbolism of the Neo-Assyrian era to comment on current issues of its own time, which does not necessitate the dating of the final forms of the texts to the Neo-Assyrian period, only that some elements of the narratives draw from traditions of the era, possibly by means of social memory.

While research seems to favour a post-exilic date for the Book of Nahum, portions of it have traditionally been dated to the time of the Neo–Assyrian Empire, and the prophecies of the book have been seen as commentary on the genuine social situation of the Empire period.[45] It is suggested that the prophecies of the Neo–Assyrian period were later re–used in the context of the Seleucid Empire, and the text received its final form in a new social context. It is possible that the oldest layers of the Book of Nahum, which have been dated on internal grounds to the first half of the 7th century, or at least some of the oracles therein, reflect the oldest traditions of the Flood story of the three HB sources – and possibly in the entirety of the Hebrew Bible. But should the book be

[41] Cf. Haupt 1907, 159, "We need not trouble ourselves about the miraculous preservation of the prophet: the book of Jonah is not actual history, but an apologue like the story of the Good Samaritan".
[42] Cf. e. g. Harper 1883, who reviews the traditional interpretations of the book.
[43] Cf. Marcus 1995, who interprets it as 'anti–prophetic satire' because he sees the satire as directed toward the character of Jonah.
[44] The book has been dated as late as the reign of Alexander Jannaeos in the 1st century BCE. The prophet Jonah, according to whom the book is named, has however believed to have lived in the early 8th century, being the Neo-Assyrian period. Cf. Haupt 1907, 159. The historicity of the prophets themselves is not a question relevant to my line of inquiry.
[45] Arguments for and against a post-exilic date for the book are discussed by O'Brien 2009.

entirely a post-exilic project, it still intends to use the historical situation of the Neo-Assyrian period for reasons of contemporary commentary.[46]

The Book of Nahum has long been studied in relation to the Book of Jonah, as both are considered prophetic books and concern the topic of Nineveh. There is no definitive answer as to which tradition is the older, and the problem is compounded by the fact that both texts are layered. It has been suggested that Jonah was written to counter the harsh theology of Nahum,[47] but both texts in and of themselves contain passages of different ages. The comparison of these books to the Flood account in Gen. 6–9, however, is a road less traveled in research,[48] as is the contextualization to the Flood narratives specifically to the time of the Sargonid dynasty (which does not necessitate the dating of the final forms of the texts to the Neo-Assyrian period, only that some elements of the narratives draw from traditions of the era, possibly by means of social memory) – both of which I suggest may yield results in how the texts were used in their particular social contexts.

With regards to the Book of Genesis, it is largely seen as a product of the Exile, at least in its final form as a part of the Pentateuch. The narrative of Gen. 6–9 is traditionally seen as a combination of at least two separate sources (with regards to the Documentary Hypothesis). It is often assumed that the accounts of the Flood Story in Genesis have borrowed from older Mesopotamian narratives, or at least contain traces of an oral account of the story (established already by Gunkel 1901). Broad literary or narrative connections between the story of Genesis and Atrahasis have been suggested with varying success ever since the discovery of the first Babylonian tablets in the late 19th century.[49]

In excess to the Neo-Assyrian witnesses, witnesses to the Flood story include sources from the broader ANE. Versions of the Atrahasis myth (CTH 347) are known from the Hittite area from Boğazkale, from which fragments of both a Hittite (KUB 8.63, 36:74) and Akkadian (KBo 36.26) version are known. There is also an interesting and potentially relevant Flood story from the time of the Egyptian king Osorkon III (c. 790).[50] In the *Osorkon Chronicle*, the sea purges evil from the city of Waset (Thebes), the reference to the sea in a city far removed from the coast suggesting that the text presents a cultural import. Another possible Egyptian example of a Flood story is found in P.Anastasi 7 (BM 102222). These texts introduce questions of direction of influence

[46] The text fails to correctly predict the fall of Nineveh, so the traditional view saw these passages as written before the rise of the Medians in the mid 7th century. But while the historical setting of the book is in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, there is no guarantee it correctly reflects the socio-historical setting of the extant text that may have been written to comment on contemporary issues in the post-exilic period.
[47] Cf. introduction in Handy 2008.
[48] The HB Flood story has been studied recently by U. Nõmmik in his comprehensive habilitation thesis (2016).
[49] Cf. G. Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis* (1876) and H. Zimmern, *Atra-Hasis* (1899).
[50] The relatively sparsely studied Third Intermediate Period of Egypt is relevant to both Biblical Studies and Mesopotamian history. The Flood (*mḥ.t-wr.t*) is also a feature of Egyptian creation myths.

and origin. The Egyptian witnesses are all the more relevant considering that the Nahumite witness seems to have transferred the Ninevite story to Thebes.

I suggest that using such sociological tools on the study of ancient myths of power may yet yield results in how the texts were used in their particular social contexts, as storytelling is a method of collectivizing and disseminating practices of resistance by contributing cultural knowledge of how power operates through institutionalized structures. And both materially – having so many iterations of the Flood story at our disposal – and ideologically as a Myth of Power, the mythologeme of the Flood provides a very fertile ground for the examination of these ideas.

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Preliminary remarks on this paper and my new project (and apologies for the OTSEM group)
This paper represents a first step into my new three-year postdoctoral project, beginning on 1 September (while my current project, on a quite different topic, will end on 31 August). Therefore, this paper should be viewed as work in progress; or, rather, a very preliminary work barely in progress. As the reader will surely observe, this sketchy paper represents the stage in which the author has read secondary literature and gathered some relevant material but has not yet been able to formulate a full-fetched research question to yield any meaningful and well-organized paper. I apologize for this state of affairs and nevertheless await an interesting discussion – to which this piece of paper can only serve as a first stimulus.

First some brief words about my new project. It concerns the rise of Christianity from the viewpoint of ancient exegesis. I want to examine how ideas current in Second Temple Judaism and the exegetical methods which were in use at that time influenced especially the Gospel authors and their view of Jesus. According to my preliminary hypothesis, traditions pertaining to the prophets Elijah and Elisha were far more influential (or, rather, influential in a more profound way) in this regard than has hitherto been acknowledged. Thus, during the project, it will be necessary to dive deep into the field of New Testament exegesis. In this paper, however, I will remain within the Old Testament and its earlier reception.

Psalms 2 and 110 in comparison, especially with regard to their reception history

Introduction
Psalms 2 and 110 can both be classified as so-called royal psalms. Many scholars have observed certain similarities between them (and other psalms, such as Ps 80, 132, and 133)[1], but some of these similarities were observed already in antiquity. This is, among other things,

[1] For many examples of this intertextuality, see Gianni Barbiero, "The Non-Violent Messiah of Psalm 110," *BZ* 58 (2014): 1–20 and the literature referred to in his article.

due to the use of rather similar thematic and wording in Ps 2:6 and Ps 110.[2] Ancient exegetes commonly used the method, which is in rabbinic literature known as *gezera shava*. Words or phrases that occur twice or more in the Hebrew Bible (in the consonantal text) were compared with one another to yield interpretation of complex texts.[3] The Masoretic notes and rabbinic discussions witness to such comparison. The unvocalized Hebrew text can often be interpreted in many possible ways, and this was a fact that the ancient interpreters intuitively knew. All too often, modern scholars are stuck into the Masoretic vocalization and do not pay sufficient attention to the earlier freedom to interpret the consonantal text in many ways. The ancient versions, above all the Septuagint, witness to the existence of some of these alternative readings, but it is conceivable that many more such readings existed among some groups and individual interpreters, and that these readings have only left indirect traces in later interpretative re-writings.[4] In the rather forceful words of Ernst Axel Knauf,

> An alternative reading of the consonant text is not a 'reconstruction' - the Masoretic vowels are just one reading tradition among others, and not part of the 'text'. Every possible reading of the consonant text might be regarded as equally intended - the biblical scribes did not suffer from the Greek delusion of an 'autonomous individual' and its 'unity of intention'.[5]

The possible factual, textual dependence of Psalms 2 and 110 on one another is a disputed question. Attempts to date these psalms have ranged themselves from the time of the united monarchy to late Hellenistic times. If we assume that the true *Sitz im Leben* for at least Psalm 2 is coronation, then it may reasonably be inferred that this psalm dates to the time of the

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[2] For this, see the Midrash on Psalm 2, in which Ps 2:7 and Ps 110:1 (together with some other texts) are treated together. The date of the Midrash Tehillim in its present form is late, but it is rather conceivable that it incorporates at least some considerably earlier traditions.

[3] See, for example, David Instone-Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis before 70 CE* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 17–18; Gard Granerød, *Abraham and Melchizedek: Scribal Activity of Second Temple Times in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010, 193–194; Miriam von Nordheim, *Geboren von der Morgenröte? Psalm 110 in Tradition, Redaktion und Rezeption,* Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag 2008, 247; Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case*, Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press 2014, 34–38.

[4] James Kugel's books, above all his magnum opus *Traditions of the Bible*, is a treasury when one wants to follow the mind of ancient exegetes – as described by Kugel – in how they arrived at certain interpretations. See James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1998. In my own work, I have continued along similar lines and traced, for example, how the editor who wrote the appendix in Malachi 3:22–24 came to think about Prophet Elijah. In my view, Mal 3:23 represents a midrashic reading of especially Mal 3:2 together with 1 Kings 17–18, in which the ancient exegete has applied the *gezera shava* method. See Lotta Valve, "The Case of Messenger-Elijah: The Origins of the Final Appendix to Malachi (3.23–24)," in *"My Spirit at Rest in the North Country" (Zechariah 6.8): Collected Communications to the XXth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Helsinki 2010*, ed. H. M. Niemann and M. Augustin (BEATAJ 57), Frankfurt a.M. etc.: Lang, 2011: 93–103.

[5] Ernst Axel Knauf, Review of von Nordheim, *Geboren von der Morgenröte? JHS* 9 (2009).

monarchy, in any case. But is Psalm 110 older or younger? Certain traits in Ps 110 suggest that it may at least have an old core. The setting of the psalm has features of ancient Near Eastern iconography; for example that "my lord" (the king?) is sitting at YHWH's right side, possibly in the divine council, and that YHWH stretches a scepter from Zion as a weapon. Possibly also the generally violent undertone of the psalm may be an argument for its ancient origin (even if, admittedly, also some relatively late texts in the Hebrew Bible, such as the Book of Obadiah, apply violent imagery towards the perceived enemy group). However, scholars such as Gianni Barbiero and Ernst Axel Knauf have advocated a rather late date for Psalm 110. Barbiero stresses the affinity of the psalm to the theology of Chronicles, while Knauf thinks that the psalm dates back only to the time of John Hyrcanus.[6] Personally, I have some difficulty to accept so late a date.

The question whether Psalms 2 might be considered as influenced by Psalm 110 (or even vice versa!) is thus a tricky one. The connections between the psalms are, in my opinion, too few to really allow such a conclusion. In this tentative paper, I shall thus not examine the tradition history of these psalms any further (and thus, I now deviate from the title which I originally gave this paper, and which I, for practical reasons, have retained). However, it is a quite different thing that some later exegetes of antiquity might nevertheless have considered the connections between these two psalms as so significant that in their view, the psalms could be read together and shed light on one another. I shall now turn my attention to some of these readings.

Firstly, however, I want to say that, in general, the network of relations and meanings between the biblical texts and their various interpretations is large and very complicated. A scholar whose life's work I esteem very highly, John Collins, has, probably unintentionally, demonstrated this in his *Scepter and the Star*.[7] After reading Collins' fine study, the reader is

[6] Barbiero, "Non-Violent Messiah"; Ernst Axel Knauf, "Psalm LX und Psalm CVIII," *VT* 50 (2000): 55–65, here 61–65.
[7] John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd edition, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.

left yet more perplexed than before. "Messianism," even when narrowed down by the qualification "in light of the Dead Sea scrolls," is such a wide and difficult topic that it escapes the grasp of even the best of scholars. Therefore, I feel ill-equipped to write down my thoughts on this related subject so clearly that it does not become a complete mess. This dilemma somewhat pertains to my whole project.

Melchizedek

It may be best to begin to sort out the tangle from Psalm 110 and the early reception of the Melchizedek character. As is well known, Melchizedek appears in Genesis 14:18–20. In Gen 14:18, it is related that ומלכי צדק מלך שלם הוציא לחם ויין והוא כהן לאל עליון. The information that the reader gets concerning this Melchizedek is that he is the king of "Slm" and that he brought forward bread and wine, and that he was a priest of "El Elyon."[8] Mechizedek, then, (re-)appears[9] in Ps 110:4, where YHWH states for the recipient of the oracle, אתה כהן לעולם על דברתי מלכי צדק. The translation of the oracle is however very disputed, and some commentators do not accept any reference to Melchizedek at all. Thus, for example, the Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation renders the phrase; *You are a priest forever, a rightful king by My degree*. In his commentary, Mitchell Dahood translates; *You are a priest of the Eternal according to his pact; His legitimate king,* (*my lord, according to your right hand*).[10] Whatever the

[8] In a pedagogical fashion, the author of the Letter to the Hebrews repeats this basic information in Hebrews 7 and suggests Christological implications from it. The question of the rhetoric of the Letter to the Hebrews, and the function of the Melchizedek character within it, is a topic of research of its own, and in this paper, I shall leave this question aside. For good overviews, see for example Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J., "'Now This Melchizedek…' (Heb 7,1)," *CBQ* 25 (1963): 305–321; Gard Granerød, "Melchizedek in Hebrews 7," *Biblica* 90 (2009): 188–202.

[9] An ancient reader of the Bible most probably considered the mention of Melchizedek in Psalm 110 a "reappearance," due to the primacy of the Torah and the placement of the Psalms within the Kethuvim. The opinions of scholars concerning the historical development of Genesis 14 and Psalm 110 vary. Gard Granerød argues in his exhaustive study on the topic (*Abraham and Melchizedek*) that the story in Genesis 14 is relatively young and (partly) dependent upon the mention of Melchizedek in Psalm 110. In contrast, Barbiero ("Non-Violent Messiah," footnote 16 p. 8) thinks that Gen 14:18–20 was known to the author of Psalm 110. It is true that the final, Priestly redaction of Genesis is probably late; but it is conceivable that the traditions incorporated in Genesis are mainly much earlier. I side with Barbiero's argument that the way in which Melchizedek is mentioned in Ps 110:4, as if he were already known, strongly suggests that some tradition concerning this Melchizedek was widely known; and it is conceivable that this might have been precisely the tradition which is now recorded in Genesis 14. (For those who argue that in Ps 110 there is no reference at all to King Melchizedek, this question of course does not have any relevance.)

[10] Mitchell Dahood, S.J., *Psalms III, 101–150* (*AB* 17A), Garden City: Doubleday 1970, 112. Dahood thus takes the following phrase, too, as part of the previous one. (Also in other respects, his translation deviates from the conventional ones rather significantly.)

intention of the original author(s) of Psalm 110 was, it nevertheless seems clear that speculation of the Melchizedek character flourished in Second Temple times. Earlier, it could be thought that the theological pondering about Melchizedek in Hebrews 7 was the innovative approach of the unknown author of the letter; but since the discovery of the 11QMelchizedek fragments, it has been clear for the scholarly community that Melchizedek had an "interpretive life" (in Kugel's term) of his own already before the composition of Hebrews.

11Q Melchizedek is a text where Isaiah 61 features very prominently as a prooftext (supplemented by other texts from the Torah, Prophets and Psalms).[11] In fact, Psalm 110 is not explicitly quoted, or even alluded to, in this text, which has led von Nordheim to express the necessary caution that there might be quite other streams of tradition than Ps 110 in the Qumran texts where a "Malki Zedek" is mentioned.[12] For the interpretative line which I want to pursue, however, the prominence of Isaiah 61 (and also Isaiah 52) in a text featuring Melchizedek is very interesting. For me, this is indicative of a perceived – but not clearly articulated – connection between Elijah and Melchizedek.

I have argued elsewhere that the witness of Ben Sira 48:10 should be taken at face value; that is, the author really saw Elijah as identical with Second Isaiah's Servant character, and moreover, that this concept was well-established already when Ben Sira wrote his words. I have attempted to sort out the exegetical background for the idea and arrived at the conclusion that the origins of it lie in an alternative interpretation of Isaiah 42:19, facilitated by the ancient interpreters' shared conviction that if the word מלאכי occurs somewhere in Scripture, it must mean Elijah, because Elijah is the *mal'akî* of the Book of Malachi, due to the accepted interpretation of Mal 3:1(–5) in Mal 3:23–24. Then, by analogy, other Servant texts in the Book of Isaiah were also interpreted in "Elijah horizon," which is visible already in Ben Sira 48:10, where Isa 49:6 is cited.[13] This tendency to read Servant passages with reference to

[11] For a helpful table which displays the relevant Hebrew texts in parallel, see von Nordheim, *Geboren von der Morgenröte?* 241–243.
[12] von Nordheim, *Geboren von der Morgenröte?* 236.
[13] Lotta Valve, "Elijah, the Servant, and Phinehas: The exegetical tradition behind Ben Sira's portrayal of Elijah's coming (Sir 48.10–11)', in P. Lindqvist and S. Grebenstein (eds), *Take Another Scroll and Write: Studies in the Interpretive Afterlife of Prophets and Prophecy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Studies in the Reception History of the Bible 6, Åbo & Winona Lake, Ind.: Åbo Akademi University & Eisenbrauns, 2016: 1–30.

Elijah persisted into later times and probably included Isaiah 61, as can be inferred from Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 25:12–13.

How was the connection between Elijah and Melchizedek, which led to the use of Isaian texts as prooftexts in 11QMelchizedek, originally established? In my view, the answer lies, at least partly, in the interpretation of Psalm 110 in connection with 1 Kings 17–18. There are, in my opinion, certain traits in Psalm 110 that must have evoked association with Elijah in the minds of ancient exegetes.

"Elijah (and Elisha) in Psalm 110?" [14]

When reading Psalm 110, the reader first encounters the enigma of who the speaker in the psalm is. According to its title, Ps 110 is a "psalm of David," but grammatically, the phrase לדוד could also mean that the melody is according to David, or that the psalm should be read with reference to David, or the like.[15] When Jesus refers to the beginning of the psalm in the Synoptic Gospels, he seems to attribute it to David, but simultaneously poses a riddle regarding the true identity of the Messiah (Mark 12:35–37; Matt 22:41–45; Luke 20:41–44), which might indicate that the psalm with its attribution was considered difficult to understand.

If we take the beginning of the psalm, נאם יהוה לאדני שב לימיני, at face value and ask the most simple question which an ancient exegete could ask, it would certainly be "who is the speaker, and who is his 'lord'?" As Jesus' question also might indicate, the phrase applies somewhat poorly to David, unless the reference is to Saul. Saul was David's "lord" in the earliest times, and the narrative in 1 Samuel 24 shows that David used this term of Saul in a very polite manner; but the rest of Psalm 110 does not really fit Saul, whom God abandoned. Therefore, the speaker probably must be someone else than David, and a good candidate is Prophet Elisha. He, too, had a certain "lord," namely Elijah (2 Kings 1:3, 5, 16), who was taken up into

[14] The quotation marks in the subtitle serve to underline that I by no means suggest that the author(s) of Ps 110 had any reference to Elijah (and Elisha) in mind when writing the psalm. I just examine the possibility that a later ancient exegete might have "found" them in the psalm due to the use of certain catchwords; and in what follows, I use the designation "ancient exegete" as a heuristic tool, by describing how this ancient exegete might have reasoned.

[15] For discussion on some of the alternatives, see, e.g., Barbiero, "Non-Violent Messiah," 9–10.

heaven alive in a whirlwind. Possibly, then, Elijah could be sitting on God's right side in heaven?

Verse 3 in Psalm 110 is, as is well known, very obscure and most probably corrupt, and it is conceivable that ancient exegetes simply tried to make the best out of it. (It is, of course, always possible that the MT does not preserve the textual form, which our ancient exegete had.) The Septuagint provides a certain solution, but in my opinion, it is probable that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX already had a corrupt version of the verse, and thus it is somewhat difficult to rely on the Septuagint for any reliable reconstruction of the earlier Hebrew text. Therefore, a search for catchwords of the *gezera shava* type was conceivably the best method, which an ancient exegete could apply when encountered with such an enigmatic text, and I now try to imitate this procedure with the MT. The very beginning of verse 3 is still fairly intelligible; the real problems begin in the second line. What does בהדרי קדש mean? Textually, the emendation to בהדרת קדש in accordance with e.g. 1 Chr 16:29[16] is very reasonable, but was not an alternative for ancient exegetes who did not emend the consonantal text. The noun הדר appears in plural only in Ps 110:3; but there exists a verse in which the word (in singular) appears twice: Isa 35:2. The reference there is to הדר הכרמל and הדר אלהינו. It is possible that an ancient exegete reasoned that when the word "splendor" occurs in the plural, it refers to this verse where the word occurs twice – and the "splendor of Carmel" and "splendor of our God" could be, with some goodwill, connected to Elijah's action at Mt. Carmel (1 Kings 18), even if the word הדר is not used in this story.

The next word, מרחם, "from the womb" recalls God's calling of the Isaian Servant, as recorded in Isa 49:1, 5; even if, admittedly, the word used in this passage is different (בטן).[17] It seems that of all Isaiah's Servant passages, chapter 49 (i.e. the "second song") was most readily associated with Elijah. It is the passage that Ben Sira quoted, and allusions to it flourish in the targumic mentions of Phinehas-Elijah, often with reference to Elijah's task to gather Israel's

[16] See Barbiero, "Non-Violent Messiah," 8 n. 17.
[17] In addition to the *gezera shava* exegesis, later rabbinic rules list also a type of exegesis named *hekkesh*, i.e. inference from theme or content. One could surmise that clearly synonymous words were treated in this manner already earlier.

diaspora. It is then within the limits of possibility that the ancient exegete understood the phrase מרחם משחר as somehow denoting "seeking from the womb" or the like (משחר perhaps taken as piel participle of שחר).

The next words, לך טל, could also remind the ancient exegete about Elijah. They signify that the "dew" was somehow "yours" or "with you," and this statement could well be connected with Elijah's ability to withhold rain and dew, as stated in Elijah's introduction into the biblical story in 1 Kings 17:1: אם יהיה השנים האלה טל ומטר כי אם לפי דברי. How this could be connected with the next word ילדתיך "your youth" is somewhat unclear, but might have been conceived as referring to the duration of the drought. Traditionally it was calculated as about three years (1 King 18:1 as interpreted in Luke 4:25), but in 1 Kings 18:1 it is not actually said from which moment the three years should be counted – the whole time-span could have been considerably longer; in any case, Ahab reigned for a total of twenty-two years according to the chronology in 1 Kings 16:29.

The zeal and fury prominent in Psalm 110 might also have been perceived as something which could easily have been related with Elijah. Elijah was "zealous" for God's sake (1 Kings 19:10, 14), and this was surely one of the operating features in Elijah's association with Phinehas.[18] Finally, the concluding statement in Psalm 110, that the person spoken of will "drink from the river on the way," מנחל בדרך ישתה, can be associated with Elijah's behavior in 1 Kings 17:4,6, when he resides by the Cherith River.

Elijah=Phinehas=Melchizedek?

The exegetical procedure illustrated above yields one important question: Is it necessary to connect the returning Elijah's task as "high priest"(as evident in the targumic and rabbinic material) to his association with Phinehas, or could it be possible that the heavenly Melchizedek and Elijah were somehow related? In my view, it is probable that this is the case, even if the association is not explicitly stated. It seems to me that Collins has also been in the same track, as after discussing and comparing texts such as 4Q521, Psalm 146, Isaiah 61, and

[18] I think the association between Elijah and Phinehas is very old, predating Ben Sira. In my article "Elijah, the Servant, and Phinehas" I present arguments for this view.

11QMelchizedek, Collins writes, "I suggest, then, that the messiah, whom heaven and earth will obey, is an anointed eschatological prophet, either Elijah or a prophet like Elijah."[19] Slightly earlier in the same chapter, Collins writes,

> The prophet and eschatological priest may not always have been clearly distinguished. In fact, Elijah, the prototypical eschatological prophet, was also identified as eschatological High Priest in later Jewish tradition, through an association with Phineas and their shared motif of zeal. Even in the biblical narrative, Elijah builds an altar and offers sacrifice (1 Kings 18:30–39). The association with Elijah, then, could imply a priestly motif as well as a prophetic one, and an eschatological High Priest could also have a prophetic persona.[20]

From these reflections, the step to see Elijah also as a sort of eschatological "Melchizedek regressus" is actually not very long.

Conclusion

As the observant reader has noticed, Psalm 2 has now totally vanished into background in this paper. However, just recently I encountered an interesting study by Sam Janse. He argues that Psalm 2 is post-exilic and heavily influenced by Isaiah 49.[21] Earlier, David Clark sought to prove that the Book of Malachi is influenced by Isaian Servant texts, particularly Isaiah 49.[22] Thus, it seems to me that many questions, relevant for also my survey, center precisely around Second Isaiah's Servant Songs and their subsequent interpretations. As I view the matter, however, many of the connections which scholars have perceived between the texts may in fact result from later interpretations where these texts have been combined. In this regard, we modern exegetes are at risk in beginning to resemble our ancient predecessors; and methodological rigor is needed in order to avoid too far-fetched conclusions. The seminar may now judge whether I have succeeded in the task in this paper, or not.

[19] Collins, *Scepter and Star*, 135.
[20] Collins, Scepter and Star, 128.
[21] Sam Janse, *"You Are My Son": The Reception History of Psalm 2 in Early Judaism and the Early Church*, Leuven: Peeters, 2009.
[22] David George Clark, "Elijah as Eschatological High Priest: An Examination of the Elijah Tradition in Mal. 3:23–24," Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1975.

Genesis 21:14–19: Communication through trees

Introduction

In this paper, practices reflected in Genesis 21:14–19, with a special emphasis on Gen 21:17, will be analysed from a spatial perspective. I use of parts of Henri Lefebvre's philosophy of space as an analytical tool to analyse the text. Lefebvre's philosophy of space will be presented in the first part of the paper, before I analyse Gen 21:14–19 in the second part of the paper.

This paper is a "test case". I aim find out whether it can be fruitful to use Lefebvre's space theory to analyse reflections of practices in biblical texts. I would like to get feedback on whether you as readers think it makes sense to analyse texts such as this one from a spatial perspective.

Henri Lefebvre's philosophy of space

Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991) was a French philosopher and sociologist. In the book *The Production of Space* (translated into English in 1991, originally in French from 1974), he presents a philosophy of space where he argues that "(social) space is a (social) product",[1] always produced through certain social practices. Lefebvre is not concerned by the space *itself,* but rather with the *production* of space. Lefebvre distinguishes between three modes of production of social space: Perceived space (spatial practice), conceived space (representations of space) and lived space (spaces of representation/representational spaces).[2]

Lefebvre's *perceived space* denotes everything that can be grasped by senses; everything that can be seen, heard, smelled, tasted, or touched/felt on or by the skin. Thus, it includes the physical space. The practices that produce perceived space, are practices that

[1] Lefebvre, 1991, 26.
[2] Lefebvre, 1991

the affordances of the perceived space generate.[3] To give an example: An apple tree produces apples. The apples and the apple tree can be seen, smelled, tasted and touched, (and maybe also heard if it is windy), and can thus be labelled perceived space. An apple tree with apples generates the affordance to pick an apple to eat it. Picking the apple from the apple tree can be labelled production of perceived space. By looking at the practices generated by perceived space, such as apple picking in this example, "one gains insight into the way in which a society imprints itself upon its physical environment and the means by which this takes place."[4] In the biblical material, only reflections of perceived space can be found, because the texts are *representations* of the spatial practices. The practices reflected in the texts have always gone through a "filter" of the author(s)' and/or redactor(s)' conceived space.

Conceived space corresponds to an ideological or strategic vision, including world view, inhabited by one or more social agents. It designates the representations of space: "the discursive practices of space, spaces of the mind ('thought things'), and epistemologies."[5] *How things are done* in a particular society or by a particular group in a society is included in Lefebvre's conceived space.

To continue on the same example as above: if an apple juice producer has specialized itself on making a specific kind of apple juice, conceived space could include *which* apples are harvested, *how* it is done, and *what* is done to the apples after the harvesting. These tings correspond to an ideological concept: the specific apple juice is produced in a specific way to make it taste exactly as it should, and thus things have to be done according to the apple juice producer's strategic vision.

The ideology can be combined with knowledge. Lefebvre points to "today's planner, whose system of localization assigns an exact spot to each activity" as an example of how

[3] Stordalen, Forthcoming, 18.
[4] Schofield, 2013, 158.
[5] Schofield, 2013, 158.

ideology and knowledge can be combined within a social-spatial practice.[6] In our example, knowledge of how the specific taste of the juice can be produced in the cheapest possible way, could be a part of the strategic vision and can have an impact on how things are done.

According to Lefebvre, the conceived space "is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production)".[7] This is because representations of space tend to be expressed in "a system of verbal (and therefore intellectually worked out) signs."[8] Hence it is easier communicated.[9] Conceived space is produced and reproduced through the practices done according to the ideology, strategic vision, world view or conception of one or more social agents.

Throughout my thesis, I will show that conceived space is the dominant space in the Hebrew biblical texts where practices connected to trees are reflected. Actually, it can be complicated to find perceived space in the textual material because the mental concepts of the perceived space most often (or maybe always, by necessity) are what the texts present. Janes W. Lanagan notes: "As Soya warned, their Secondspace mental conceptions of material Firstspace become substitutes for it. Firstspace collapses into Secondspace, and Thirdspace, especially of those who did not write the biblical text, is ignored".[10] I will come back to the last part of the quotation under.

Lived space is described by Lefebvre as "the space of 'inhabitants' or 'users'",[11] hence the space of real bodies doing actual practices in everyday life. This space is more difficult to

[6] Lefebvre, 1991, 45.
[7] Lefebvre, 1991, 38–39.
[8] Lefebvre, 1991, 39.
[9] Stordalen (2017, forthcoming) p 19
[10] Flanagan, 1999, 36.. The terms Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace are Edward Soja's terms. Firstspace corresponds to Lefebvre's perceived space, Secondspace corresponds to Lefebvre's conceived space, and Thirdspace corresponds to Lefebvre's lived space. It should be noted that even if Soja's three spaces corresponds to Lefebvre's spaces, they are not identical.
[11] Lefebvre, 1991, 39.

grasp than perceived and conceived space. On an analytical level, we can find traces of lived space where practices or actions entail a "break" with conceived space. Thus, on an analytical level, lived space include uses of perceived space that involves a challenge to conceived space.

Lived spaces are, according to Edward Soja who builds on Lefebre's philosophy, "vitally filled with politics and ideology, with the real and the imagined intertwined (…).They are the chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation."[12] They are "spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning."[13] As stated by Flanagan in the quote above, "Thirdspace, especially of those who did not write the biblical text, is ignored".[14] This does not mean that it is impossible to find examples of lived space in the Hebrew biblical or ancient Near Eastern material. However, one has to look carefully to find it.

An example of lived space could be if one of the apple harvesters in the earlier example stole an apple because she was hungry and did not earn enough from the apple juice producer to buy food. Stealing an apple to eat it would entail a break with the conceived space, if one assumes that the conceived space of an apple harvester would be to harvest apples without eating them. It would also, potentially, be an example of how lived space could be a space for resistance to the dominant order: it could be a way of using the affordances provided by the perceived space to protest against low salaries and demand living wage.

Interconnectedness

Perceived space, conceived space and lived space are related and interconnected,[15] and they contribute in different ways to the production of space. The relations between the three are never static or stable, they may change according to the society, the historical

[12] Soja, 1996, 68.
[13] Soja, 1996, 68.
[14] Flanagan, 1999, 36.
[15] Lefebvre, 1991, 40.

period, etc.[16] When I label something perceived, conceived, or lived space, it is based on which space I see as the most prominent in the specific text or in the specific reflection of a practice. Hence, I am using Lefebvre's philosophy of space as an analytical tool, and not as an attempt to give an ontological description of "reality". Sometimes, the textual material includes examples of conflicting conceived spaces, for examples traces of different ideologies or world views. Space implicates perspective and identity: "(…) every question of 'where' requires the question 'according to whom.'".[17]

Lefebvre's philosophy of space is complicated, and so is Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*. Because of this, and also because Lefebvre's space theory has been used in many different academic fields, many interpretations and uses of his theories exist. Not all parts of Lefebvre's philosophy are relevant for my project. The above presentation should be sufficient for my use of the theory.

Hebrew biblical texts from a spatial perspective

There are earlier attempts to apply Henri Lefebvre's and other's philosophies of space when analysing biblical texts. One of the first biblical scholars who introduced the critical philosophy of space to the field of biblical studies, was James W. Flanagan. He published the article "Ancient Perceptions of Space/Perceptions of Ancient Space" in 1999, and portions of the article had also been presented in 1996 and 1998 in AAR/SBL conferences.[18] Flanagan and Jon Berquist founded a program unit at SBL and AAR in 2000 called "Constructions of Ancient Space Seminar", which later changed name to "Space, Place and Lived Experience in Antiquity".[19] Five volumes called *Constructions of Space* (2008–2013) have been produced as a result of the program unit at SBL/AAR.[20]

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[16] Lefebvre, 1991, 46.
[17] Bergquist, 2016, 163.
[18] Flanagan, 1999. AAR (American Academy of Religion) and SBL (Society of Biblical Literature) co-host annual conferances. The co-hosted conferances are the largest yearly events in the fields of biblical studies and religious studies.
[19] Schreiner, 2016a, 352–352.
[20] Berquist and Camp, 2007; Berquist and Camp, 2008; Økland et al., 2016; George, 2013; Prinsloo and Maier, 2013 The articles in the five volumes will not be mentioned independently here.

In the field of Hebrew biblical studies, the following studies should be mentioned: Victor Matthews published an article in 2003 named "Physical Space, Imagined Space, and 'Lived Space' in Ancient Israel". Matthews uses the threshing floor as a case when aiming to explore how space was lived and perceived in the ancient world.[21] Mark K. George uses Lefebvre as his main spatial theorist in *Israel's Tabernacle as Social Space* (2009).[22] George explores the tabernacle through the lens of spatial practices. Roland Boer identifies examples of spatial practices (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space) and spaces of representation (lived space) in 1 Samuel 1–2 in the book chapter "Henri Lefebvre: The Production of Space in 1 Samuel".[23] Terje Stordalen combines five different scholars' works to research local social discourse reflected in the biblical literature in the forthcoming book chapter "Local Power and Social Discourse: Villages in Early Globalizations of the Southern Levant".[24] Lefebvre is one of them. The other four are Pierre Bourdieu, Fei Xiaotong, Michel de Certeau and Bruno Latour. If I also include Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, Liv Ingeborg Lied's monograph from 2008 should be mentioned: *The Other Lands of Israel: Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*.[25] Lied uses critical spatial theory to argue that human practices should be given priority over an epistemology that sees territory as the most important component. Within the general field of biblical studies, and the field of New Testament studies, more examples can be found.[26]

A spatial approach to biblical texts is, however, far from standard in the discipline: Traditionally, history and historical methods have been the dominating one when working with biblical texts. By reading Hebrew biblical texts from a spatial perspective, I

[21] Matthews, 2003
[22] George, 2009
[23] Boer, 2015
[24] Stordalen, Forthcoming
[25] Lied, 2008
[26] Flanagan, 2001; Gunn and McNutt, 2002; Moxnes, 2000; Moxnes, 2001; Moxnes, 2003; Moxnes, 2008; Moxnes, 2010; Schreiner, 2016b; Sleeman, 2009; Stewart, 2009; Økland, 2004; Wennell, 2007, in addition to the articles published in the five volumes of *Constructions of Space*.

do not intend to say that I am not concerned with history or society at the given time. Rather, the spatial theory is an addition to those, and at the same time includes them. To read texts from a spatial perspective also includes historical readings and readings that are concerned with the society of the ancient Near East.

Lefebvre's philosophy of space as an analytical tool

In my analyses of classical Hebrew texts, my main concern is not the texts or the textual characters in the text themselves. I am mainly interested in the practices, but also the mental concepts, that are reflected in the text. Every society has some shared practices and mental concepts – sometimes shared by everyone in the society, other times shared only by some individuals or some groups.[27] It is these shared practices and concepts I am interested in. The material I am using to access the shared practices and mental concepts of (parts of) the society of (parts of) the ancient Near East, are texts from the Hebrew Bible and comparative textual material. My analytical tool is to analyse texts from a spatial perspective. This analytical tool allows me to analyse the reflected practices and mental concepts in three categories, as (production of) perceived, conceived and lived space. Spatial analyses of texts let me imagine the practices and mental concepts that are reflected in the text and let me imagine the spaces the practices produce.

In the text examined in this paper, Gen 21:14–19, I argue that the author(s) uses different possible mental concepts related to the practices reflected in the text to "play" with the implied reader.[28] For the author(s), this is a way of making the story exciting for the implied reader. For me, it offers a possibility to learn about practices and mental

[27] References to this statement will be added

[28] *Oxford Dictionary of Media and Communication* describes implied reader as "a hypothetical 'role' or 'model' of someone assumed by the author to share the knowledge necessary in order to fully understand the text, as distinct from any actual reader. The difference between an implied reader and an actual reader is likely to be most apparent in reading works from a period when conventional values were very different. The implied reader is embodied in the way in which text structures responses, in the form of a network of schemata, patterns, points of view, and indeterminacies that require and constrain interpretation." Chandler and Munday, 2011

concepts that existed in the society of the ancient Near East, at least to some people or groups of people.

Gen 21:14–19

> 14. Abraham rose early in the morning, and took a bread and a skin of water and gave it to Hagar, putting it on her shoulder, and the child. And he sent her away, and she walked and wandered about in the wilderness of Beer-Sheba.
>
> 15. When the water in the waterskin was gone, she threw the child under one of the bushes.
>
> 16. And she went and sat down by herself opposite at about a bowshot range, because she thought: 'Let me not see the death of the child.' And she sat opposite and she lifted her voice and wept.
>
> 17. Elohim heard the voice of the boy, and a messenger of Elohim called to Hagar from heavens and said to her: 'What is with you, Hagar? Do not be afraid, for Elohim has heard the voice of the boy from there where he is.
>
> 18. Arise, lift the boy and grasp him with your hand, for I will make him into a great nation.'
>
> 19. And Elohim opened her eyes and she saw a well of water and she walked and filled the waterskin with water and she gave the boy a drink.

In the text, Hagar is sent out in the wilderness with her son Ishmael.[29] Abraham gives her a bread and a skin of water, but eventually the water in the waterskin is gone. Hagar throws her child under one of the bushes. She herself sits down at a distance as she does

[29] The age of Ismael is discussed in many commentaries. Some claim that he is a little child, and that verse 14 indicates that Hagar carries him on her shoulders (the word order in the verse is strange, so it is not possible to determine whether only the waterskin is placed on her shoulders, or if both the waterskin and Ismael are placed there. For more on the word order and possible interpretations, see Kozlova, 2017, 62–68). Westermann, 1985, 341 states that "Ishmael is a child in Gen 21 whereas according to 17:25 he was about sixteen years old", while Wenham, 1994, 84 argues that he can walk by himself and probably was "well into his teenth". For my interpretation, it is not really important if the boy is a small child or a teenager as it is not the age as such that is my concern. Nevertheless, to me it seems like Ishmael is a small child in this text: I read verse 14 as Hagar carrying Ishmael, in verse 17 she throws him under a bush (if Ishmael was "well into his teens", he could just sit down by himself), and in verse 18 Hagar is told to "lift the boy and grasp him with your hand".

not want to see the death of her child. She lifts up her voice and weeps. The next thing that happens, will be one of the central points of this analysis.

Implicit conceived space: Trees as spaces of communication and illumination

"Elohim heard the voice of the boy". The boy, Ishmael, is laying under a bush, and the boy has not said a single thing or made any sound throughout the whole story (or the whole Hebrew Bible). Nevertheless, Elohim hears the voice of *the boy*, even if it is Hagar who has lifted her voice. This is stated by the narrator, and is repeated by a messenger of Elohim later in the same verse with some additional information: "Elohim has heard the voice of the boy *from there where he is* (באשׁר הוא־שׁם)". The messenger of Elohim emphasizes the space where the boy is. Why is it important that Elohim heard the voice of the boy exactly *from there where he is*? To answer this question, a quick look at other texts from the Hebrew Bible and comparative textual material is needed.[30]

Yahweh, Elohim or messengers of Yahweh/Elohim often appear in the space of trees.[31] When the divine appears, the divine often communicates with humans, and the

[30] In the thesis, some of these other texts will be thoroughly treated in other chapters.
[31] Gen 12:6–7; Gen 18:1–16; (Gen 48:3–4 depending on interpretation of לוז (Luz)) Ex 3:2–6 (bush); Judg 6:11–24; 1 Kgs 13:14; 1 Kgs 19:4–8; (Jer 1:11–12 depending on interpretation); Gen 22:13–14 (ram); Zech 1:8–11; Testament of Abraham 2:1–4; 16; 2 Baruch 55:1–3

It is here important to note that I understand the word "tree" broadly, and include trees in general, different species of trees, bushes, and wood. The reason why I find it reasonable to understand "tree" broadly, is that also the Hebrew word עץ has a broad semantic meaning. The different meanings Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000, 863–64 lists are 1) collective trees, corpse, timber; 2) individual tree; 3) plural trees; 4a) species of tree; 4b) type of wood; 5) wood (as material); 6a) wood for building constructions; 6b) object made of wood; 7) pieces of wood, sticks.[31] Bushes are not explicit listed in HALOT, but I suggest that different kinds of bushes are different species of trees. It does not seem like the conceived space of trees and bushes in the biblical Hebrew texts necessarily differs. For example, Yahweh appears in and talks to Moses from a bush in Ex 3:2–6, the same way as Yahweh appears and talks to Abra(ha)m, Gideon, and others in the space of trees in other texts (see under); and in the tale in Judg 9:8–15 when the trees (עצ) shall anoint a king over themselves, they tell the bramble (a bush) to become their king, after they had asked the olive, fig, and vine. Thus, the bramble is presented

communication often includes an oracle.[32] That oracles were delivered in spaces of trees or through trees is also suggested by the names of some trees in the Hebrew Bible, such the Oracle Oak(s)[33] and the Soothsayer's oak.[34] Trees as spaces where the divine and humans can communicate or spaces where illumination happens is implied through reflections of practices where trees are inquired;[35] where wise people or kings sit or stand in spaces of trees, which may suggest that the trees are making people wise;[36] and one example where Abraham plants a tree and calls on Yahweh.[37] Trees can have agency and give answers,[38] and they can have knowledge.[39] Because of the many references to the divine appearing to and communicating with humans in, close to, or through trees, it is likely that it was well established that the divine could use trees as "communication channels", and maybe also as "travel channels" between the sphere of the divine and the sphere of humans. Hence, the divine could use trees when the divine needed to get in contact with humans, and some humans performed practices in the space of trees when they needed to get in contact with the divine. Because of these and more examples, I argue that trees as spaces of illumination and/or spaces of communication were a part of the mental concepts of some people in the ancient Near East, and that the implied reader shared these mental concepts.

It is therefore of importance that Ishmael is placed exactly שׁם (there) under the bush in Gen 21:14–19. He is thus laying in a space where the divine and humans can communicate. This goes against E. A. Speiser's interpretation, who choose to translate the words "in his present plight". Speiser himself acknowledges that this is not the

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amongst the other trees, even though it is presented as less important with less status than the bigger trees.

[32] Gen 12:6–7; 18:1–16; 21:14–21; (48:3–4); Judg 6:11–24

[33] Gen 12:6; Deut 11:30

[34] Judg 9:37

[35] Hos 4:12; Hab 2:18–19; Job 12:8; Is 11:10

[36] Gen 18:1–16; Gen 21:14; Josh 24:26–27; Judg 4:5; Judg 6:11; 1 Kgs 13:14; 19:4; 2 Kgs 11:14 (pillar); 23:3 (pillar); 1 Sam 14:2; 22:6; KTU 1:19 lines 20–25; 2 Baruch 55:1–3; Testament of Abraham 16

[37] Gen 21:33

[38] Jer 10:8; Hos 4:12; Hab 2:11; Hab 2:18–19; 2 Sam 5:22–23

[39] Ezek 17:22–24; Prov 3:18; 11:30; 1 Sam 5:22–25

literate translation: "Literally 'where he is'; but the phrase would hardly be much to the point as a topographical reference (Ehrl.), for it is not a question of where the boy is but how he is".[40] To me, it is the topographical reference that makes sense to the story: Elohim can hear the voice of the boy exactly because the boy is laying in the space of the tree.

Hagar's action of throwing the child under a bush as perceived or lived space

Hagar's action of throwing the child under one of the bushes can be interpreted as both perceived and lived space. In verse 14, the text states that Hagar "walked and wandered about in the wilderness of Beer-Sheba." Wenham suggests that תעה (wandered) shows that she was lost, with references to how the word is used in Gen 37:15; Exod 23:4; and Isa 23:6.[41] This seems like a plausible interpretation. The wilderness (מדבר) is probably uninhabited desert land. So, in the narrative, the perceived space includes Hagar and her son Ishmael who are in the middle of an uninhabited land with no more water in the waterskin. It includes bushes, and later in the story, it will be revealed that it also includes a well of water. (At this point in the story, the well is not perceived by the textual characters.) Hagar and Ishmael are sent away early in the morning, and we can thus assume that the sun now has risen and that the temperature is high. Shadow is probably the best thing Hagar could give her son in their desperate situation, and the bush can provide shade for her son. The action of placing (or throwing) Ishmael under the bush could thus be interpreted as an action generated by the affordances of the physical tree, and an action called for by Hagar and Ishmael's physical bodies' need of shadow: a perceived space action. It is likely that Hagar's action reflects a spatial practice of placing children in the shadow of trees (or other types of shadow) when weather is hot and sunny – a spatial practice that probably has been a stabile practice because shadow gives protection from the sun.

[40] Speiser, 1964, 156.
[41] Wenham, 1994, 84.

When Hagar throws the child under a bush in Gen 21:15, it is probably not a part of the expected way of "doing things" (conceived space) in this given situation, which is also emphasized in the text as it is explained that she threw him there when there was no more water left, as a kind of explanation. So, even if the action might reflect a spatial practice of placing children in shadow of trees, the circumstances of the action suggest that it is surprising that Hagar throws her child under the bush. The action is a use of the affordances of the perceived space that entails a break with the conceived space. It can thus be labelled a lived space practice in my analytical use of the term.

Conceived space: Death

It does not seem like Hagar is sharing the mental concept of trees as spaces where humans and the divine can communicate. At least, she does not seem to have this concept in mind when she is throwing Ishmael under the bush, as Hagar is preparing for the death of the boy (Gen 21:16). The verb used to describe Hagar's action when she is placing the boy under the bush is שלך (to throw). This verb has connotations connecting it to death: it is used when Joseph is thrown into a cistern and left to die in Gen 37:20, 22, 24; when Jeremiah is thrown into a cistern to die in Jer 38:6–9; and when Pharaoh commands all his people to throw their boys into the Nile in Ex 1:22. It is also used when dead bodies are thrown away.[42] The author's choice of word probably brings the mental concept of death to the readers' minds.[43] Knowing that burial under trees happened in the ancient Near East,[44] makes it likely that one of the conceived spaces of trees could include death. The author's choice of verb could thus be a way of making the story exciting as it could make the implied readers think about death and the possibility of the child dying under the bush.

In the story, Hagar seems to believe that the child will die: "And she went and sat down by herself opposite at about a bowshot range, because she thought: 'Let me not see the

[42] Josh 8:29; 10:27; 2Sam 18:17; 2Kings 9:25; 13:21; Jer 41:9; 22:19
[43] Kozlova, 2017 suggests that Gen 21:14–19 could be read as a burial scene.
[44] Gen 35:8; 1 Sam 31:13, jf 1 Chr 10:12; Lives of the prophets 1:1; 10:8; 18:5; Testament of Abraham 20:11; History of the Rechabites 23:4

death of the child.'" This is one of the reasons why the action of throwing the child under a bush seems to be a surprising action. She does not place Ishmael there to rest, but she שלך (throws) him there because she thinks he will die.

Lived space as a space of resistance

Lived space can be the space of resistance to the dominant order. Whether Hagar's action can be seen as resistance to the dominant order, is open for discussion. The readers of Gen 21 would know the Hagar story from Gen 16.[45] She was Sarai's Egyptian slave-girl (שפחה) (Gen 16:1). Sarai does not get any children, and "gives" Hagar to Abraham to have sex with him: "Go now in to my slave-girl – perhaps I shall obtain children by her" (Gen 16:2). Hagar gets pregnant, and according to Sarai and the narrator, Hagar looks at Sarai with contempt. Sarai treats her bad, Hagar runs away, and a messenger of Yahweh tells her to go back to Sarai (Gen 16:3–9). Yahweh tells Hagar to name her boy ישמעאל (Ishmael) in 16:11. The name ישמעאל is made out of the words שמע (to hear) and אל (El). Thus, the name means "El has heard" or "may El hear". The reason Yahweh gives for the choice of name is: "for Yahweh has heard your oppression" (Gen 16:11).[46] Hence, Hagar was oppressed, and Yahweh acknowledges Hagar's oppressed situation. The messenger of Yahweh has promised Hagar that Yahweh will multiply her offspring (Gen 16:10), and Yahweh has promised Abraham that Ishmael "shall be the father of twelve princes", and that Yahweh "will make him a great nation" (Gen 17:20).

When Hagar throws the child under a bush, it could be interpreted as a protest against both Yahweh and Abraham – a protest made so that Yahweh's promise cannot be fulfilled; a lived space action calling for change. However, from the context it does not seem like this is the reason why Hagar throws her son under the bush – after all, she sits down in a bowshot's range because she does not want to see the death of her child. In my interpretation, Hagar's intention is not to throw the child under the bush because she

[45] Most scholars seem to regard Gen 21 younger than Gen 16. (I will add references here)
[46] The name Ishmael is never mentioned in Gen 21. However, it is likely that the story play on the name of the boy when Elohim heard (וישמע אלהים) his voice.

wants him to die as a protest against Abraham and Yahweh. Rather, she believes that he *will* die because of the empty waterskin, and thus throws him into shadow.

Protection as a possible conceived space of trees

Protection might also be included in the mental concepts related to trees. Shadow is not mentioned in Gen 21:14–19, but to throw a child under a bush implies that the child is thrown in the shade of the bush. The Hebrew root צל has the meanings 1) shadow and 2) protection.[47] The two meanings of the root appear to be connected, as the shade of trees often imply protection. One example is Jon 4:6 where "Yahweh Elohim appointed a bush, and made it come up over Jonah to give shade over his head, to save him from his discomfort."[48] צל is also used with a double meaning of protection and shadow when it describes El's protection: "Watch me as the apple of the eye, hide me in the צל of your wings."

As the root צל is not mentioned in Gen 21:14–19, I will not elaborate more on it here. I do, however, suggest that the shade of a tree or bush might be associated with protection. When Hagar throws Ishmael under the bush, it might therefore also play on a mental concept of trees as protection. Maybe this was one of the reasons why Hagar threw him exactly שם (there)? Maybe she had a hope that the bush should provide protection, both from the sun and from death?

The implied readers' conceived spaces

The author(s) of the text might play with what the implied readers of the text know. It can be assumed that trees as spaces of illumination were a known phenomenon, based on the many examples of Yahweh appearing in trees and people approaching trees when they need to get in contact with the divine (above). Trees as spaces of illumination was probably also a part of the conceived space of the implied reader as the phenomenon is never fully explained in the text.

[47] Koehler and Baumgartner, 2000, 1024–25.
[48] Other examples can be found in Judg 9:15; Ezek 17:23; Job 40:22

The readers might already when Hagar throws her child under a bush have a suspicion or hope of what will happen. The readers might have understood that there is a chance that Elohim will intervene in the situation, because the child is in a space of illumination and communication. Thus, because of the reader's knowledge of the tree's space as a possible space of illumination or communication, the reader is laying one step ahead of the textual characters in the story.

At the same time, the implied readers probably also know that trees could be places of burial and that the verb שׁלך (to throw) has connotations to death. The wilderness of Beer-sheba might also have given associations to death as deserts could be associated with the realm of the dead.[49] The conflicting conceived spaces in the minds of the implied readers, might thus be an intentionally way of making the story dramatic. Because of the wide range of conceived spaces of trees, the readers cannot know which of the conceived spaces will be the dominating one in this particular story. Is the bush a space of death, a space of protection, a space of communication, or a space of illumination? Or maybe a combination?

The statement that Elohim has heard the voice of the boy shows that it clearly is a space of communication. Is it also something more?

(Re)production of spaces

In the end of the story (21:18), Elohim tells Hagar to arise, lift the boy and grasp him by her hand, and Elohim gives an oracle: "I will make him [Ishmael] into a great nation". In addition to the oracle, another form for illumination happens: "Elohim opened her [Hagar's] eyes and she saw a well of water and she walked and filled the waterskin with water and she gave the boy a drink". Through these sentences, several of the readers' conceived spaces may have been (re)produced.

[49] Kozlova, 2017, 69.

The bush is a space of illumination. This is evident by the oracle given by Elohim in the space of the tree. This oracle has also been given earlier both to Hagar (16:10) and Abraham (17:20). The bush is a space of illumination in a more physical matter as well: Elohim opened Hagar's eyes so that she could see a well of water. This life-saving illumination combines the conceived space of illuminating trees with the perceived space of a well of water, and it combines the conceived space of illumination with the conceived space of protection. The well of water has probably been there all the time, but Hagar did not see it before Elohim opens her eyes. באר (well) is the same word as the first word of the place name באר שבע (Beer-sheba). The implied readers of the text have therefore got a hint to in the start of the story that there exists a well in the place.

The eye-opening experience, which also is a life-saving experience, can be seen as a parallel to Gen 22:13 where the other son of Abraham, Isaac, is about to be offered by his father: "Abraham lifted up his eyes and saw a ram caught in a thicket by its horns". Both sons of Abraham are saved from death because they are in the illuminating and protective spaces of trees.

Production of practices, and failing to notice practices

Above, I have analysed some of the practices reflected in Gen 21:14–19. What kind of practices is it likely that the text produces? In this final part of the paper, I attempt to take a meta perspective. I aim to say something about the readers' practices, and not at least how the readers' conceptions also limit what we are noticing (or failing to notice) when we work with material from another time period and another geographical area than our own.

The perceived space of trees is probably quite similar throughout history. It is therefore likely that perceived space practices (spatial practices), such as resting in the shade of trees when the sun is burning, are quite stabile practices. Practices do, however, always produce a combination of perceived and conceived, and sometimes lived, space. Therefore, the practices might continue in a similar way throughout history, but the space they produce might change.

The (re)production of conceived space of trees as spaces of illumination, as spaces of communication channels and as spaces of protection, as I argue are spaces produced by the practices and actions reflected in this story, probably also (re)produces the readers' practices. It is likely that practices such as listening to trees, talking to trees or sitting under trees are reproduced, at least as long as similar conceived spaces as the ones reflected in this story exist. Religious practices related to sacred trees can still be found in present-day Israel.[50] However, such practices and conceived spaces of illuminating trees and of trees as communication channels seems to be neglected or forgotten by most academics, which is evident from how most commentaries interpret the role (or rather, as they would argue, the non-role) of the bush in Gen 21:14–19.[51] If it trees were considered to be illuminating to the implied readers, we as readers today without the same conceived space might not recognize the practices reflected in the texts. This might be one of the reasons why many commentaries and researchers do not acknowledge the

[50] Dafni, 2007; Dafni, 2002 The article from 2007 present results from interviews with informants from Arab, Bedouin and Druze villages in the Galilee. None of the informants were Christians who, according to Dafni "hardly believed in sacred trees". It does not include Jewish informants either, with the given reason "the adoration/worshipping of trees is a new trend of the last two decades and almost all the worshipperd trees are already known as old Muslim sacred ones in the vicinity of graves of supposed historical righteous Jewish personalities" (Dafni, 2007, 29). The article from 2002 is based on 60 interviewees: 24 Druze, 18 Muslem Arabs, 12 Moslem Bedouins and 6 Christian Arabs individuals. Dafni notes that "Tree veneration was found to be quite uncommon among the Bedouins and rare among the Christian Arabs" (Dafni, 2002, 315). To me, it is, however, not really of importance which religion the respondents have. My point is only that practices related to sacred trees still can be found.

[51] Westermann, 1985, 341 mentions the bush shortly: "Hagar casts the child, now faced with death, under a bush (Job 30:4), her action an expression of her exhaustion; at least he will die in the shade." However, as the quotation shows, the only role of the bush is that it gives shade for the boy. Wenham, 1994, 86 also mentions the bush: "the clause 'where he is' seems to hark back to Hagar's previous experience when she called the god who appeared to her 'the God who sees.' Then she had learned that the LORD knows what is going on in the world wherever it happens. Here the angel states that God can see a child lying under a bush and respond to his prayers." Thus, the bush in itself is not of importance in Wenham's interpretation. Speiser, 1964, 153–57 minimalize the role of the bush ("it is not a question of where the boy is"). von Rad, 1972, 230–35 does not mention the bush at all in his commentary.

importance of the specific space where Ishmael is placed, or why trees' spaces are of importance to many of the biblical Hebrew texts.

Conclusion

Analysing Gen 21:14–19 from a spatial perspective, allows me to imagine the perceived, conceived and lived practices reflected in the text, and to imagine production of perceived and conceived spaces of the implied readers. In my interpretation, the text carefully "plays" with differences of the conceived spaces of the textual characters and the conceived spaces of the implied readers. Conceived spaces of trees include trees as illumination, as communication channels, as travel channels, as protection, as spaces of death, and more. Through a spatial analysis of the text, I have tried to say something about the practices and mental concepts that are reflected in this specific text.

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