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4Q185 and 1QS- function of motifs in discourse of persuasion

1. Introduction

4Q185 was first published by Allegro in 1968.[1] Two years later Strugnell published an article, with important comments and improvements of the reading.[2] Since then there has been a handful articles discussing the text and its contents.[3] All these contributions have classified 4Q185 as a non-sectarian and pre-qumranic wisdom text, dating it to the second century BC. A growing interest in Wisdom literature made 4Q185 the object of various studies.

I am not necessarily challenging the dating of the text, but the implications of its categories. The fragments are difficult to read, because of the damages on the text, but also an uneven hand of the scribe. The intact and readable sections are open towards different interpretations.

4Q185 is a hybrid text, and it is a problem that Wisdom is made the most important literary context. I would like to reread 4Q185 within a larger literary context, beyond merely Wisdom texts. There are many similarities between 4Q185 and other Qumran texts, and I believe that 1QS as well as CD and Hodayot, may shed light upon our reading of 4Q185.

In this paper I aim to read 4Q185 in light of 1QS. The basis of the comparison is an analysis of 1QS based upon the photographs published by Burrows,[4] and the edition of the text by Qimron and Charlesworth in 1994,[5] which I more or less follow in this paper.

Although 1QS and 4Q185 are two very different compositions, I believe that 1QS may shed light upon the function of motifs in 4Q185. Almost every motif in 4Q185 has a counterpart in 1QS. The two texts share a persuasiveness that is recognisable in their religious moralistic rhetoric. As a framework for comparison, I approach 1QS as a discourse of persuasion. This allows the two texts to be compared.

At the end of this paper, I have attached my own reading of 4Q185, based upon photographs and a study of the manuscript itself at IAA, in March 2013. The reading is an important part of my thesis, and the basis of this comparison.

2. 'The community rule'

Burrows published a 'manual of discipline', already in 1951, separate from and four years

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1. John M. Allegro and Arnold A. Anderson, *Qumran cave 4 1(4Q158-4Q186)* (1968).
2. John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des Discoveries in the Judaean desert of Jordan," *Revue de Qumran* 7(1970).
3. See "4Q185 and jewish Wisdom literature" by Thomas Tobin and "Eine Weisheitliche Mahnrede in den Qumranfunden (4Q185) Hermann Lichtenberger, in M. Delcor, *Qumran sa piete, sa theologie et son milieu*, Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 46 (Paris: Leuven University Press, 1978).
4. Millar Burrows, *The dead sea scrolls of St. Marks monastery. Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcriptinos of the Manual of Dicipline.*, vol. ii (New Haven: The american schools of oriental research, 1951).
5. Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of community," in *The Dead Sea scrolls : Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts with English translations. Rule of community and related documents.*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Tübingen: Tu\0308bingen : J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) ; Louisville : Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994-, 1994).

ahead of the first DJD edition that published the findings of cave 1.[6] This was only intended as a preliminary edition, and there have been a number of later publications of 1QS.

The Community rule was found not only in Cave 1, but also in Cave 4 and 5. There is thus not one community rule, but several. Not until 1998, were the 4QS-manuscripts published in DJD by Alexander and Vermes.[7] In this publication, the title 'Serek ha-yahad' is given as a heading of the edition. The text is given different names, but I will adhere to the name 'Community rule', instead of 'serek ha-yahad'. Many scholars tend to avoid a translation of the term יהד, referring to this as the sectarian community that is associated with the production of the text itself, along with other sectarian texts.

'The community rule' has been considered to be one of the more central sources for understanding the Qumran sect. It has more or less become the definition of this sect, 'the yahad'. The importance of the text to this community is indicated by the title of the text,[8] but also the numerous copies, and the long period of time the text was copied, from the end of the second century to the first century BC.

The complexity of the serekh- texts has had and still has an important impact upon current research, which is more or less dedicated to the complexity of the various copies. There is not a consensus regarding which one represents the latest stage of the text.[9] Different suggestions of recension history have been suggested based upon palaeography and the different literary variants.

The text I refer to in this paper is 1QS. This is the longest edition of the 'Community rule' (11 columns), and also the most extant, with only minor damages to the text.

Although I am aware of the complex development of the Community rule, I treat it as one composition, as the different segments are in fact combined into one in this manuscript. The elaborate nature allows an analysis of the function of the motifs. This gives a good starting point for an analysis and a comparison.

2.1 Reading 1QS as persuasive discourse

Sarianna Metso has suggested that 1QS was some sort of a manual for the wise leader. The opening line of 1QS is broken, and various suggestive readings have been put forth.[10] The

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6. See history in O.P and J.T Milik D. Barthelemy, *Qumran cave 1*, vol. 1Lankester Harding, Discoveries in the judean desert (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955). 5.

7. Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran cave 4 XIX. Serekh ha-yahad and two related texts*, Discoveries in the judean desert XVI (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1998).

8. According to Milik a fragment belonging to the original handsheet of the scroll, contains the title, see D. Barthelemy, *Qumran cave 1*, 1Lankester Harding..

9. Sarianne Metso and Alison Schofield are two recent contributors. Whether the different textual stages indicate different historical life settings of the community or are simply a product of literary-ideological motivation, has no real impact upon this study. When this is said, my impression is that the differences between the two explanations are overestimated. The approach to the texts remains the same.

10. See discussion in Sarianna Metso, *The textual development of the Qumran community rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). 111. and Vermes, *Qumran cave 4 XIX. Serekh ha-yahad and two related texts*..

restoration of Metso, ספר ס]רך היחד [למשכיל ללמד את אנ]שים לחיו, is supported by similar introductions later on in the text, and is therefore both plausible and convincing. One example is the phrase: "He shall instruct and teach all the sons of light", 1QS III, 13.[11]

Several passages are thus referring to the instructor in association with teaching. According to Carol Newsom 1QS do present itself as Wisdom teaching,[12] but it is formative, more that informative.[13] It has the rhetorical shape of a work of formation for the Maskil himself and lacks the level of details one would expect if the main intent were to inform. She suggests that it could be the Maskilim that has written down the rule for future use.[14]

The intended addressees are probably members of the community, although there are no plural you. The voice of the instructor is similarly silent, with the exception of column 11. The only two imperatives in 1QS are biblical quotations, 1QS 5,17, 8,14. More central is the use of infinitives. The introduction has a series of infinitive constructs that describe certain behaviour, implicitly saying that it needs to be in a certain way. The alternative is pictured in a contrary world of threat. A tension between the prescribed and prohibited is thus embedded within the instructions. 1QS, at least in parts, is a text that has a message that aims to convince and make change in the attitude or mind of someone.

To some degree, the message of 1QS leans on the authority of scripture, either quoting biblical passages or alluding to deuteronomistic concepts of law-speech. The authority of the speaker is not of importance, but the law of God, given to Moses. This is the ultimate voice of this message.

Moshe Weinfeld describes this 'Religious-moralistic rhetoric' which adjoins the ordinances of 1QS: "The Religious-moralistic rhetoric which adjoins the ordinances of the sect is not to be found in the ordinances of pagan associations.() In contrast to the law codes of An cient Near East which lack motivation, rhetoric and argument, Israelite law abounds in sermonizing an appeal to the emotions."[15]

The appeal to emotions is seen in the utilization of various motifs of persuasion. It is in particular these aspects of the 1QS that I will give attention to: The motivation, rhetoric and argument of the text. These are aspects that 1QS shares with other 'biblical' admonitions, but more important here, 4Q185.

Motivational rhetoric

One significant rhetorical aspect of an instruction and even more in an admonition is the ability to persuade. This is done at more than one level. Most important is that of elements of legitimization and motivation. The message needs to be legitimized within the world of the 'addressee'. In 1QS the ultimate authority is the law of God. This is grounded within the

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11. See also 1QS V,1 and 1QS IX,12.

12. Carol A. Newsom, "Rhetorical criticism and the Dead sea scrolls," in *Methods and Theories in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2010), 208.

13. Carol A. Newsom, *The self as symbolic space : constructing identity and community at Qumran* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2004). 103.

14. Ibid., 108.

15. Moshe Weinfeld, *The organizational pattern and the penal code of the Qumran sect : a comparison with guilds and religious associations of the Hellenistic-Roman period* (E\0301ditions Universitaires Fribourg, 1986). 47.

history where God revealed and acted according to his law, but also in the human experience of sin and judgment. These legitimizing 'motifs' to some degree conflate with those of motivation. Motifs of motivation are attached or embedded in the instruction with the aim to point at the relevance of the message for those concerned. The message does not only need to be legitimate. It needs to be relevant. The perspective of reward is one way of intensifying the relevance of the message. Blessings and God-given gift of inheritance are thus motivating forces. The contrasting reward or punishment is curse, such as terror and wrath, in the judgment of God.

Motifs or themes of legitimization and motivation are all together motifs of persuasion. Their function is to reach the receiver with the intent to either change or upheld a certain attitude or behaviour.

Elements of a Rhetorical strategy in the persuasive discourse:

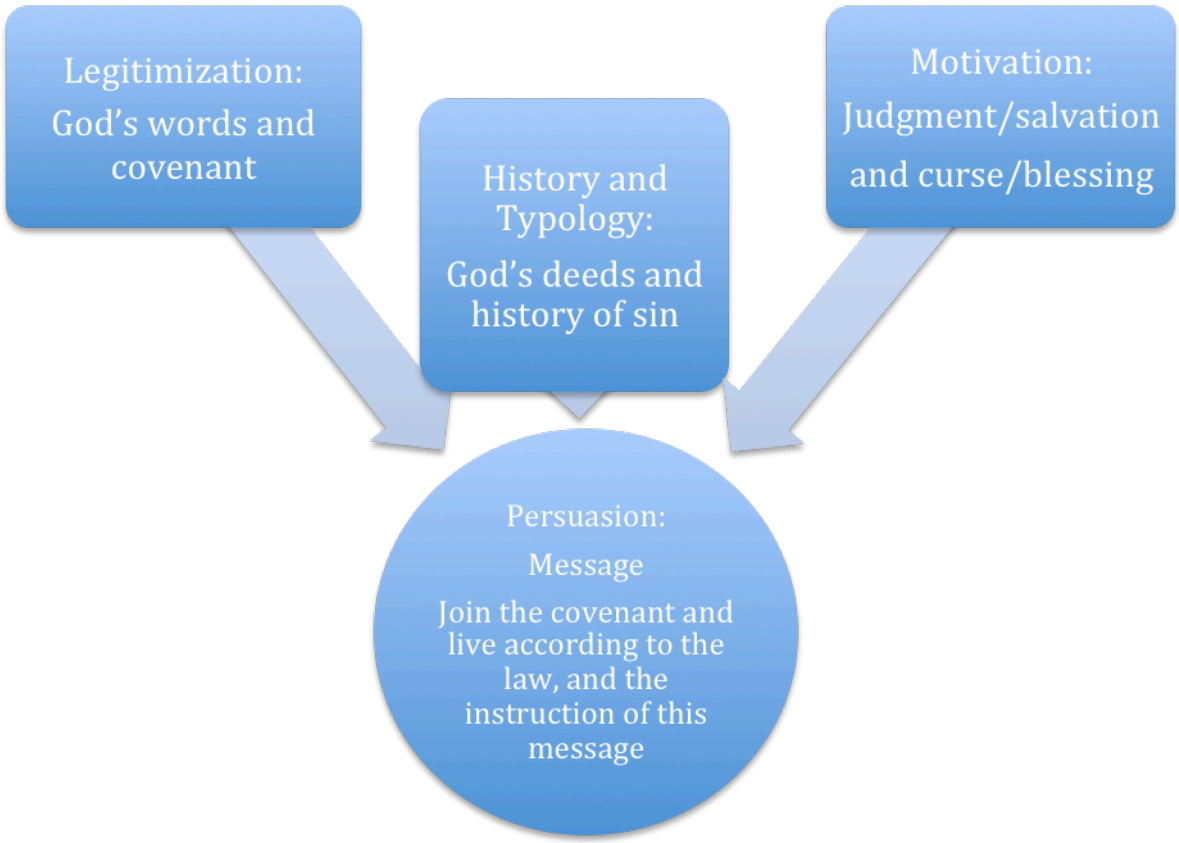
1. Legitimization: Law, revelation and history/experience

2. Motivation: Blessings and curses (judgment)

3. Typology- history - anthropology- sinful me

1+2+3: Persuasion: Message ('Intention of text')

The dynamics between these elements can be put in a table:



The three elements of the table are all dependent upon each other in the discourse of persuasion.

The first column of 1QS is mainly concerned with legitimization, such as law and revelation etc. In the continuation of the text, the introduction is recalled various times, either by allusion or repetition. Thus the themes and motifs of the introduction serves as legitimization of the whole text.

Motifs of motivation, such as blessing and curse, are embedded in the instructional material. In some passages these are described in detail, other times they are only mentioned as a short remark.

At all times in a discourse of persuasion, there will be an attempt to connect with human experience. This is made explicit within the covenant ritual, in which sins are being confessed, sin of the past, and sin of the present. It is at this point the instruction, is able to legitimate its message on a cognitive and emotional level. (subjective legitimization). The relevance of the past is to be understood in a typological sense.

All together these motifs emphasize the message of the text. To connect the table to the text, I will present my analysis of one text passage, the covenant ritual, 1,16 — 3,12.

In her book, "The self as a symbolic space", Carol Newsom has given an analysis of this passage. The structure of the account places a concern for character at an emphatic point, she claims. The descriptive and prescriptive framework of the text creates a moment of self-examinations and decision.[16] Whether our approach is of a sociological kind, or merely textual and exegetic, as mine is here, the rhetorical aspects that seeks to construct identity or put in other words, persuade in a manner that changes one behaviour, is possible to identify. It is these elements, and their rhetorical function that I aim to take a further look at in this analysis.

2.2 Covenant ritual, 1, 16— 3,12

Act according to all that he has commanded

The opening of the covenant ritual is editorial and functions as a transitional passage.[17] It picks up and reinforces aspects from the first lines of 1QS, which stated: "*to seek (2) God with all the heart and with [all the soul], to do that which is good and right before Him, just as (3) He commanded* צוה *through Moses and through all His servants the prophets.*" The prior concern of this rule and the covenant is doing "according to all that he has commanded". This gives a kind of an envelope structure, and signals the beginning of a new section that is to be understood in accordance with the previous text.

There are mainly two worlds in the covenant ritual. There is the sphere of God, associated with his covenant, which demands a doing according to his law. On the other hand there is a world of judgment, associated with sin and defilement. These worlds are counter-worlds, and this dualism is expressed within the rhetoric of the text. The persuasiveness lies in the idea of contrary worlds- and the blessings and curse that are intimately associated with the contrasting two.

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16. Newsom, *The self as symbolic space : constructing identity and community at Qumran*: 118.
17. Manfred Weise, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundesschluss in der Ordensregel vom Toten Meer*, vol. 3, Studia Post-Biblica (Leiden: Brill, 1961). 68. and Metso, *The textual development of the Qumran community rule*: 112.

This symmetry and balance between positive and negative, is very typical for 1QS, in particular in the introduction of 1QS. There is a God-sphere, and there is a mirrored one, that represents the alternative anti-world, which is either a past experience, or a threatening world of the present.

And not to turn back because of fear

The entering into the covenant is an act before God. The main obligation is to act according to "what he has commanded". This is supplemented with a contrasting counter-image, "and not to שוב ". This is a good example of the style of 1QS, and the tendency to move from a positive prescription, to a counter- negative one.

16 All those who are entering the Rule of the Community shall cross over into the Covenant before God,[18] in order to act 17 according to all that He has commanded	*and not turn back from following after him because of any fear, terror or persecution; 18 'Trials'[19] during the reign of Belial.*

When they cross over into the covenant the priests 19 and the Levites shall praise the God of salvation and all his true works, and all 20 those who cross over into the Covenant shall say after them "Amen, amen." ".

Involved in the covenant ritual are priests, Levites and people that are entering into the covenant. The prescription of the ceremony is short, and each phrase is loaded.
In the first passage, running from 1,16-1,20, there are hardly any elaborations. Only the warning of line 17 seems to function as an additional element, 'because of fear, terror or persecution'. These are motifs often connected to the period of Belial. The warning serves as a negative counterpart and explicates the positive, but it is not merely a supplementary element, it is an explicit warning. The list of dangers, either read tripartite[20] "because of fear, terror or persecution" or four, including 'or agony' as Qimron does, is hardly necessary to the ritual itself, but functions as an identification of either a certain kind of man in a typological sense, or an evocation of a certain part of history.
The connection with Belial is not by chance. It is proven to be a relevant threat already in the next passage, which states that sins were committed during the period of Belial.
According to 1QS 7, 22-24 and 8,12 the one without strength, the simpleton, is more likely to backslide. This detail is interesting, and reveals that the initiates represent a variety of people - with various abilities.

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18. I do not follow the word order of Qimron / Charlesworth here.

19. For some reason, Burrows did not transcribe this word. The second letter is difficult, and has by some been read as a ה and not a ס. Unfortunately no other copy covers this word. An alternative reading is thus, "that may occur נהיים in the reign of Belial", which is make sense in the reading, but less convincing in light of the palaeography. Qimron reads: "or agony", which is difficult as there is no ו.

20. In CD 4,15, "fear pit and snare are upon thee" from Isa 24,17, is interpreted as the three traps of Belial. It is difficult not to see 1QS 1,17 as a variant of the same topos.

The identification of God as the God of salvation and truthful deeds is important, line 19. It is in large contrast to Belial, with which 'terror, fear and persecution' is associated. This is further explained already in the next passage.

Historical motifs

After the first 'Amen, amen ', a new passage with further liturgical prescriptions follows. In line with the descriptions in line 18ff, the priests and Levites are parttaking.

God's doings	Man's doings
21 "*Then the priest shall recount*[21] *the righteousness of God along with its powerful deeds*[22]*, and 'proclaim' all his merciful acts of steadfast love towards Israel.*	*Then the Levites shall recount*[23] *the iniquities of the sons of Israel*[24] *and all their guilty transgressions and their sins during the dominion of Belial."*

The act of 'recounting' ספר is significant. The same term is used in psalm 78,3 and 4, where the history of Israel is recalled. This ritual of recounting has multiple functions and dimensions.
One dimension is history as a source of knowledge. It is related to teaching and learning. Within the history of Israel, God has revealed himself, through law and through acts of judgment and salvation. Similar to Psalm 78 history is memorized as a history of sin and judgment.
Two things are being retold מספרים. First the priests retell God's righteousness צדקות that is manifest through his 'great/powerful deeds'. The exact referent is not clear, but גבר is normally associated with judgment. The 'Righteousness of God' is also connected to his judgments, which is why I prefer a translation that is closer to this, 'powerful deeds', rather than wondrous works.
The following phrase could thus be understood as a parallelism of completion, "proclaiming his faithful compassion חסדי רחמים towards Israel. When this pair of words appear together as a description of God, they are often translated as 'steadfast love and mercy'.[25]

In large contrast the Levites are to retell the wickedness of the children of Israel. A list of four synonyms are mentioned, (פשעי,אשמתם, עוונות, וחטאתם). These sins are all done during the dominion of Belial.
Thus the threat of backsliding is not only a random threat, but it is part of the people's experience. As it says in column 1, line 6, one should "*no longer* walk in a guilty stubborn heart".

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21. Qimron: Report.

22. Qimron: 'wondrous works'.

23. Qimron: enumerate.

24. (note for comparison: The sons of Israel, is close to the sons of Jakob i CD 3)

25. Isa 63,7, Jer 16,5, Psalm 103,4. NRSV. See also list in 1QS 8,2

The implicit comparison of the deeds of God with the guilt of Israel makes the sin and unfaithfulness of Israel even greater.
The recital of history seems to prepare for a confession. A similar confession is found in CD, and must have had an important role in relation to the entering into the covenant. "Those who are joining the covenant are to confess by saying:

"We have perverted ourselves, (25) we have rebelled and [sin]ned. We have acted impiously, we and our fathers before us[ ] by our walking 26 [ ] True and righte[ous] is the [Go]d of [Israel and] his judgment against us and [our] fathers.
(2,1) But his loving mercy he has bestowed upon us from eternity to eternity."

The wording of the confession makes one identify with the past. We, and our fathers are the same. In 1QS 2,9, this is reflected only as a detail that is often missed in the translations. אבות has been read as 'intercession', but is more likely 'fathers', as Qimron suggests.[26]
"May there be no peace for you according to all who hold fast to the fathers." This parallels a the preceding line, which mentions "iniquities".[27]

The end of the confession, 2,1 sums up some of the introductory aspects of history.
"True and righte[ous] is the [Go]d of [Israel] and his judgments משפט against us and [our] fathers, but his loving mercy has bestowed upon us from eternity to eternity",

This is a clear indication that righteousness, along with his powerful works, refers to acts of judgment.

The history recalled in the covenant ritual, is a history of righteousness and sin, judgment and salvation. These oppositions belong together. The thanksgiving hymn at the end of 1QS reflects a similar view upon history in a section that seems to evoke the covenant ritual. In 10,23, the speaker recounts ספר the righteousness of God and the unfaithfulness of men.
The aim is similar to the confession: "I will remove vanity from my lips". Further, the history of God is a source of knowledge: "With the council of salvation I will conceal knowledge", 10,24. Again righteousness is associated with judgment,

"But as for me, the judgment concerning me belongs to God....By his righteousness he shall blot out my transgressions", 11,2-3.

The history that is recounted is a history of sin and judgment. Judgment, that removes sin, is an act of salvation, hence the ultimate nature and aim of this recounting is praise.
But it could also awake dread.

Blessings and curse: Knowledge and judgment

An important aspect of the persuasive speech is that of motivation. Blessings and curse are explicit motivating factors. The blessing is a reward of those men of God lot who "walk perfectly in all his ways". The blessing is thus attached to the introductory prescriptions, "To walk perfectly according to all that has been revealed", col 1,8.
The same could be said concerning the curse. The acts, the wicked guilty deeds, are already identified in the introduction, and a typology is given: the fathers and us. The curse is thus a terrifying warning not to backslide.
Note the symmetry of the table:

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26. Charlesworth, "Rule of community," 11.
27. Note: See also Ex 34,7 father and sin

Blessing: "the men of God's lot who walk perfectly in all his ways" 2,2-4	Curse: "the men of Belaial's lot" 2,5-9
May He bless you with all good	Cursed be you in all your guilty and wicked deeds.
and keep you from all evil.	May God give you up to terror through all the avengers; may He visit upon your offspring אהריכה destruction through all those who take revenge.
May He enlighten יאר your heart with insight for living	Cursed be you without compassion in accordance with the darkness אפל of your works.
May he favor you with eternal עולמים [28]knowledge	Damned be you in everlasting עולמים murky fire
and lift up His merciful countenance upon you for eternal peace שלום עולמים	May he not be compassionate unto you when you cry out. May he not forgive you by covering over your iniquity. May he lift his angry countenance to wreak his vengeance upon you. May there be no peace for you according to all those who held fast to the fathers.

> "2:10 And all those who cross over into the covenant shall say after those who bless and those who curse: Amen, amen"

The concrete objects of the blessing are insight for living and eternal knowledge. This knowledge is associated with eternal peace.
The curse is given far more space than the blessing. Wicked deeds are answered with destruction. The curse portrays God as a God of vengeance. The scene of terror is associated with fire and darkness. This should be read also together with the next passage, which deals with the one who enters into the covenant while still holding on to iniquity. The last line in the table, line 9, connects the curse and judgment to the sin of the fathers, echoing the recounted history of the ritual, "we and our fathers".

A negative example: Judgment for the one 'Walking in the stubbornness of his heart'

A particular attention is given to one negative example, 2,11-18, and again in 3,1. The threat is directed to one who enters the covenant but still worships the idols of his heart:

> "cursed be he who enters into this covenant and puts the stumbling block of his iniquity before him so that he backslides because of it. And when he hears the words of the

28. How should we to understand the term עולמים? consider knowledge of 'the past'? (Kugel, concerning the title sentence of Jubilee)

covenant, he blesses himself erroneously, saying: Peace be with me, for I walk in the stubbornness of my heart." 2,13-14a

This example becomes a realization of the introductive line, 'not to backslide', as he takes for granted one of the blessings, peace. On the contrary, his reward belongs to the contrasting world. The description of his punishment further elaborated on the threatening portrayal seen in the curse:

"May his spirit be destroyed, thirst along with saturation, without forgiveness. May Gods wrath and his angry judgments flare up against him fore everlasting destruction." 2,14b

According to Carol Newsom, this language evokes Ezekiel 14,4. The crucial element of his sin is that he holds on to iniquity- while coming to seek.[29] This thus becomes a warning: You need to get rid of the idols of your heart.

A textual parallel is found in Hodayot. In 1QHa 12 the one who walk in the stubbornness of the heart are the cause of backsliding in the period of Belial:

> With a *stubborn heart* they look about and seek You in *idols* גלול. They have set the *stumbling block of their iniquity before themselves*, and they come to seek You through the words of lying prophets corrupted by error. With mocking lips and a strange tongue they speak to Your people so as make a mockery of all their works by deceit. For they did not choose the wa[y of] Your [heart] nor attend to Your word, but they said concerning the vision of knowledge, 'It is not sure,' and concerning the way of Your heart, 'It is not the way.' , 17-19.

The motif, 'Walking in the stubbornness of ones heart', also evokes Jeremiah.[30] The epitome of the blessing and curse, paraphrases prophetic exhortation and serves as a threat. One should make sure not to share these attitudes. The negative example serevs as an anti-type, but also a warning.

Purification טהר

In the third column, the fate of the 'one walking in the stubbornness of his heart' is further pictured. The description evokes the introduction (1,11-12) with a contrasting echo: "his knowledge, strength and property shall not come into the council of community" 3,2.
It is his attitude and character that is estimated, "for his soul detests instructions about knowledge of righteous precepts. He is unable to repent, so that he might live," 3,1.

Further it is stated that

> "He cannot be purified טהר by atonement כפורים, nor cleansed by waters of purification, nor sanctify himself קדש in streams and rivers, nor cleanse himself טהר in water of ablution. Unclean he is as long as he rejects the judgments of God, so that he cannot be instructed within the community of his counsel", 3,5b.

Atonement, purification and cleansing- are used with overlapping meaning in this context. Iniquities need to be atoned (3,7) and cleansed (3,8), but this is only possible with the correct

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29. 121

30. Jer 7,24.11,18.13,10.18,12 and 23,17.

attitude; an upright and humble soul. "It is by humbling his soul to all God's statues, that his flesh can be cleansed טהר" . The instruction goes on to point to a way:

> "For it is by the spirit of the true council of God that the ways of man- all his iniquities- are atoned, so that he can behold the light of life", 3, 6b-7a.

Then he will be acceptable by an agreeable atonement כפורים before God, 3,11.

Summary

The text of the Covenant code do cover the most important aspects of the table (page 4). The first line connects with the introduction- "according to all he has commanded" , and function as a legitimizing motif, but most important is the motivational rhetoric seen in confession ritual, the blessings and curses and the negative anti-type.

The covenant ritual is a text of instruction and formation. There is indeed a particular concern for character, as Carol Newsome puts it. The antithetical balance in the structure of the ceremony and its figured world, in particular regarding the blessing and curse, establish a boundary between insiders and outsiders. This, she claims, distinguishes 1QS from postexilic confessions in Neh 9, Esra 9, Dan 9.[31]

In my opinion, there is indeed a boundary between the two contrasting worlds in 1QS, but the text do reflect that the boundaries are not always that clear.

The thoroughly description of the negative example serves as a negative anti-type, and pictures the consequences of improper attitude and behaviour. This "walking in the stubbornness of ones heart"- is not simply a description of outsiders. The words of threat are directed to community members. The dualistic perspective opens for a movement as well. The listener or participant of the ritual clearly is to identify himself with both worlds - acknowledge both possible outcomes.

This is already implied in the introduction, "one should walk no longer". This is part of each mans experience in the past, and possible present/future. It is a threat that one might backslide and err, as the penal code of column 6 onwards also confirms.

There is a movement in the covenant ritual- a movement from confession of sins and accepting the judgment of God with a humble spirit.

It is more than them and us. It is the past, the way of our fathers, and the present. This sin of the past is still seen as an anti image of the present. One needs to turn away from it, and no longer walk in it. This message is strengthened with persuading motifs of reward: blessing and curse. It is either insight and knowledge or total destruction.

A similar line of thought, with corresponding stylistic features is seen in 4Q185. These alternating perspectives, from positive to negative, are central to the motivational rhetoric.

A judgment scene evokes fear. Historical motifs, including mighty acts of judgment and salvation, are put in connection with learning and correct attitude and response.

A reference to history of sin is only implicit, but it is indeed a warning.

At the end of the admonition a list of blessings seems to be promised- to the one who receives knowledge and does according to it. There is also a list of improper conduct.

These similarities will be investigated in the following.

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31. Newsom, *The self as symbolic space : constructing identity and community at Qumran*: 119-20.

3. Comparison: 4Q185 and 1QS

The analysis of the covenant code will be used as a framework for the comparison. The Covenant code reflects, more or less, all elements of the table of rhetorical strategy. Legitimization, motivation and history/ typology are all part of the rhetorical discourse of persuasion. It is time to turn to 4Q185, to explore the counter parting motifs and discuss whether or not 1QS can shed light upon the motifs and their function in 4Q185.

This size of this paper does not allow an exhaustive comparison. Based upon the analysis of the covenant code, I will now discuss whether the similarities between 1QS and 4Q185 do shed light upon the motifs used in 4Q185.

For the sake of the comparison, I allow myself to add supplementary text passages from 1QS, where the covenant code is brief.

i Legitimization: Word, Will and Way

His commandments and his words

The authority of 1QS is basically the words of God. This is clearly stated in the introduction 1,1-15, which the Covenant code is dependent upon. Similar to the introduction, the covenant code's opening and closure refer to 'his commandments' and warn against deviating from His words.

> "Let him turn aside neither to the right nor the left, nor yet deviate in the smallest de tail from all of His words[32]", 3,10-11

In 1QS 5,14 the same saying is sharpened, "transgress against *his words*, and further in line 19: "all who despise his words" he shall destroy from upon the face of the earth".

In 4Q185 there is no introduction, nor a conclusion to the text, but the body of the admonition reveals the authority of the speaker. The speaker actively refers to these in the effort to reach his listeners. Do not rebel "the words of Jahveh" col ii line 3. There is no further explaining or reference. Perhaps it is not needed, or perhaps it has already been introduced in a now lost part of the text. Elsewhere in the admonition one is exhorted to do His will and to search a Way of life. The way-motif is essential to 4Q185: One should "Search for yourself a way of life, and a path". This parallelism, way and path, is similar to Isa 40, which also 1QS quotes. The exegesis is clear: To prepare the way of the Lord means the expounding of the Law, decreed by God through Moses for obedience. 1QS 8,12-15.

Word, Will and Way are concepts that belong together in 1QS. The 'will' of God is not mentioned in the Covenant code, but it is recurrent elsewhere in 1QS. Its first occurrence is in 1QS 5,1 "to hold fast to all that He, by his good will, has commanded". The next, 5,9 "the priests who keep the covenant and seek his will.. who devote themselves together to his truth and walking in his will." All these phrases show how integrated these concepts are.

This style, repetition by synonyms or overlapping notions, is a typical feature of 1QS and it seems reasonable to understand these notions in a similar manner in 4Q185.

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32. Qimron: מכל דבריו. "all his commandments".

The contrary of doing according to His words and Will is turning back or backsliding. Put in other words: to walk in wrong ways.

Not to stray because of fear or snare of the fowler

The opening passage of the Covenant code, 1,17, warns against backsliding or turning away because of terror פחד. The terror is connected to the reign of Belial. This is also attested in the corresponding passage in CD, that interprets Isa in light of the three traps of Belial.

In the fragmented part of the admonition of 4Q185, there seems to be a mutual warning. One is warned against fear and the snare of the fowler. The word לעתת, is difficult. Should it be read as 'in times of fear', which would normally be לעת, or could it be read as an odd variant of לעות to be bent/ pervert/ subvert?[33] Both meanings function well in the context, but I prefer the latter 'to go astray', because of the lack of another verb, and as the remaining words on the line seems to suppose this[34].

> "[ ]fear (of) him, and not 'go astray' לעתת because of fear or the snare of the fowler "

The context of this line is lost. The snare of the fowler has no clear counterpart within 4Q185, but is should probably be understood in convergence with the wicked of line 9, in a similiar to 1QS. This will be discusses later on.

God's deeds: Greatness and Wonders

In the historical references of the covenant ritual, righteousness and great deeds are put in connection with the judgment of the fathers. In the following I will first explore the potential meanings of the deeds of God, then the sin of the fathers.

"The priest shall recount the righteousness of God along with its powerful deeds, and proclaim all his merciful acts of steadfast love towards Israel", 1QS 1,21

To get a better understanding of the connotations and the meaning potential of the expression גבורת, I allow myself to draw from other parts of 1QS.

Two passages that are formulated with similar motifs are found in the last section of 1QS,[35] a poem with praise.

> "Upon His miracles נפלאות and (deeds of) power גבורת shall I meditate;
> upon His loving kindness חסד I shall rely all the day. Then shall I know that in His hand resides the judgment (17) of all the living, and all His works are truth. When distress breaks out I shall praise Him, and in His salvation shall I rejoice". 1QS 10,16-17

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33. Note: A word very close to the term is to err, לתעת.

34. If one should read this as a temporal clause, note: Joosten has shown how the temporal clause preceeds the imperative in texts from Qumran, in contrary to the Classical Biblical Hebrew.

35. Parts of the line is found in 4Q256 B and 4Q260 F.

"To discern all your wonders along with the power of your strength", 1QS 11,19

The greatness גבורת of God in combination with miracles and deeds is important, but even more interesting is the explicit reference to judgment. In fact one should meditate or recount either his miracles/wonders or his greatness. Within this context, נפלאות and גבורת seem to be synonyms. In the passage of 1QS, God's greatness reflects awareness of judgment, but equally important: praise and rejoice.[36]

One important aspect in 4Q185 is the 'greatness of God, which is manifest through his 'wonders and signs' in Egypt.

> "Humble yourself יהכנעו from the greatness גבורת of the Lord and remember the wonders נפלאות he did in Egypt, and his signs [ ] Tremble your hearts before his dread and do his will [rejoice] your souls according to his good lovingkind ness חסד", col 1,14-15.

According to 4Q185, being fearful and humble is the correct attitude towards Gods great deeds, but rejoice is not in opposition to this. Rejoice your souls, which is reconstructed based upon a parallel in 4Q370, is mentioned a few lines later on in connection with the חסד of God.

If the reading יהכנעו is correct, one is exhorted to humble oneself (subdue) before Gods greatness, line 15.[37] The verb כנע appears in 1QS in the same column already quoted above.

> "I will measure a statute by the measuring-line of times […dispense] righteousness and loving-kindness to those cast down כנע, even strong encouragement to those who are fearful." 1QS 10,26

The speaker reflects upon his role as teacher, "With the council of salvation I will conceal knowledge", line 24. This implies that those cast down and fearful could be thought of as his addressees, his pupils. In 4Q185 the addresses of the admonition are 'simpletons', who are encouraged to humble themselves and be fearful before 'his dread'. The reward is indeed his loving kindess. This means that we have various overlapping motifs within the same context.

Our fathers and us

In the liturgy of reciting history in 1QS 1,20f, the deeds of God are recounted, similar to Psalm 78. Thereafter the people are to confess their sins. The identification with the sins of the past is central: "We have been wicked, we and our fathers before us", 1QS 1,24b-26. This acknowledgement of the sin of the past and its effect upon the present, is articulated in a the confession.

This particular passage has no parallels in the other Community rule-fragments. This does not mean that it is alien to 1QS. The history of sin is significant for the identity of the community. According to 1QS 8,5-7, the community are "chosen by the will of God to atone for the land and recompense the wicked their due".[38] This is further elaborated in the next column, "they

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36. The phrase 'meditate on his wonders/greatness' is recurrent in the Hodayot. See the connection between great deeds, judgment and knowledge in 1QHa 14,14, 17,7 and 19,8.

37. NB- see parallelism in 'songs of maskil' 4Q511 f35, 6-7.

38. Preceeding: Here it might be an allusion to Jubilee, the community is founded to be an 'eternal planting'.

shall atone for the guilt of transgression and the rebellions of sin", col 9,4.

In 4Q185 there is no confession, but the history of sin is recalled: Do not rebel against the words of Jahveh, col ii line 3. Further "Do not walk [J]acob". This might reflect a negative attitude towards the fathers or the past, which resembles some of the ideas as seen in the confession and later on in the covenant ritual, 1QS 2,9. "May there be no peace for you according to all who hold fast to the fathers."

One phrase that precedes a textual parallel to the confession in CD, 28b-29a, is very interesting in this regard: "Those who repent שוב on the sin of Jacob", CD 20,17. Unlike 4Q185 and CD, 1QS never mentions the name of Jacob in relation to history.

One should always be careful in conflating different text from Qumran. Jacob is sometimes pictured as positive figure- sometimes negative.

In 1QS, and CD for that matter, the importance to make a turn form the past is repeatedly underlined. I believe the same attitude is reflected in 4Q185, and will argue the possibility of reading: "Do not walk in the way of Jacob, nor the path instructed by Isaac".[39]

Either the two, Jacob and Isaac, do act as negative typology or not, one is warned against a certain way. This prohibition is found some lines after the appeal: Search a way of life, and only a line before the warning 'not to stray'. The way motif is thus connected to the admonition in both 4Q185 and 1QS, in association with both positive and negative typology.

Wicked- the negative example

In 1QS, the men of Belial's lot are cursed - "in all your guilty and wicked works". There are only to parties. This means, that those who are led astray, are reckoned as part of Belials lot. and deserve destruction.

The wicked in 4Q185 say strange things: 'It is not given'. The prohibition, אל תתהללו, could be read in different ways. Either how we read it, this seems to be a recurrent motif in various texts. 1QS also has a negative example, which is quoted- saying false things: "Peace be with me, for I walk in the stubbornness of my heart, 1QS 2,13".

In Hodayot again the wicked, identified as Belial (line 13 and 14) also say strange things. They exchange the law, and are called lying prophets. They make people err, and then watch them behaving mad הלל, being caught in their nets, line 13.

> "With mocking lips and a strange tongue they speak to Your people.. For they did not choose the wa[y of] Your [heart] nor attend to Your word, but they said concerning the vision of knowledge, 'It is not sure,' and concerning the way of Your heart, 'It is not the way.'" 17b-19b.

Judgment functions here, as comfort. The men of Belial they will be caught in their own sins. The following suits both 1QS and 4Q185 well:

> "But You, O God, shall answer them by judging them in Your strength גבר [according to] their idols and the multitude of their transgressions, in order that they, who have turned away from Your covenant, might be caught in their own schemes. You shall cut off in ju[dgm]ent all deceitful men; seers of error shall no longer be found, 1QHa 12, 20-21.

39. (See also Ex 34,7 fathers and sin)

Summary: A history of sin and judgment

The historical references in 1QS, act as typology. It is the fathers and we. The experience of the past is relevant for the present. The same is reflected in 4Q185, where the sins of the past still are a danger. One should not hold on to the fathers.

In one way, the historical motifs legitimate the motivational rhetoric- God is recalled as the God of judgment and salvation. What he did in our past, he can and will do in the present (or the future). Thus the narrative serves the motivation, blessing and curse with legitimacy, which will be elaborated in the next passage.

iii Motivational motifs

Judgment as threat: Judgment with fire, anger and angels.

In the analysis of the covenant code, we saw how judgment scenes were pictured as curse and punishment upon those who walk in the stubbornness of heart. In 4Q185 the close context is lost, and we are left with a judgment scene of fire, anger and angels.

The following text is recovered: Col 1,7-9a:

7 [--]ואין כח לעמוד לפניה ואֵין מקוה

8 לזעם[--]ומי יכלכל לעמוד לפני מלאכיו כי באש 9 להבה ישפט[ו לפ]י רוחתיו

The rhetorical question: Who can stand? invites to a frightening identification with a possible outcome. The reference to the wrath of God and destruction by fire in this passage is very similar to the ones in 1QS. The angels that execute judgment on Gods behalf correspond well with the angels of destruction מלאכי חבל לשחת in 'the treatise of the two spirits', in 1QS. These angels are however not mentioned in the Covenant Code, but the two passages on judgment do overlap in the other descriptions, and it is reasonable to let the longer passage shed light upon the shorter.

In the table below I have included one text concerning judgment with fire and destruction that do mention angels. This passage from 1QS 4,11-14 is not part of the covenant ritual, but supplements the sparse description.

4Q185 col i 8b-9a	1QS
And there is no strength to stand before her, and no hope before [in]dignation[-]Who can able himself to stand before his angels? For with burning (9) fire he shall be judged [according to] his spirits.	May he visit upon you destruction through all those who ביד כול take revenge נוקמי נקם. Damned be you in everlasting murky fire, col 2,7b-8a May God's wrath אף and his angry judgments משפט flare up against him for everlasting destruction כלה, col 2,15

	And the judgment of all those who walk in such ways will be an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all ביד כול the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath אף of the God of revenges, for permanent terror and shame without end with the humiliation of destruction כלה by the fire of the dark regions, col 4,11b-13
... remnant שרית for the children after you. Why should you give yourself [-]to ruin [-]judgment, col ii 2-3a	...and no remnant שרית nor survivor, col 4, 14

Judgment with fire and wrath are mentioned three times in 1QS. One is within the list of curse in the covenant ritual, 2,5-9. Only one phrase is explicitly referring to such a scene, "Damned be you in everlasting murky fire." Line 15 which describes destruction of the one who walks in the stubbornness of his heart, seems to add to a similar scene: "May God's wrath and his angry judgments flare up against him for everlasting destruction".

The more elaborate version is given within the 'The treatise on the two spirits'. This passage, running from 1QS 3,13 - 4,26, is by many scholars described as an alien to 1QS.[40] This might be so, but when it comes to the scene of judgment in 3,12-14, it is completely in line with other passages elsewhere in 1QS.

In 1QS the concluding phrase of this passage gives the summary: "and there will be no remnant nor survivor among them", 3,14.[41] A similar ending phrase is found later on, "In them (the curses of the covenant) he will execute great judgments resulting in eternal destruction without remnant", 5,13. 4Q185 lacks such a conclusion, while only hinting at it by the repeated phrase: There is no hope. Later on, in there is a reminder of judgment:

> " [ ] a remnant to the children after you, why should you give your[self] to [vanity] judgment", col ii. 2

The context is fragmentary, but this is in the middle of the exhortation, and follow the imperative: Seek for yourself a way of life. Remnant is the opposite of judgment, and one should make sure of being on the right side.

4Q185 has another passage that mentions angels, but the context remains unclear. These are probably also angels of destruction, from whom no one can escape. Col ii, line 6: [He will not escape] from his angels, for he did not spare/ or will not restrain. The text in the lacuna is highly suggestive. My point is first and foremost to say that this is not a reference to community with angels, as some has suggested, and should rather be read as echo of the

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40. It is interesting that 4Q185, 1QS and CD all incorporate alien perspectives to their admonitions/instructions. Why? Could it be that it is not that alien afterall?

41. It should be mentioned that not all S-manuscripts contained this section, and these two lines referred to have no parallels in the other copies. Although the very fragmented copy 4Q257, probably covered this part as a few remaining letters from this section seem to correpond. See Hempel "The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community*".

opening judgment scene.

Scenes of Judgment function as threat in 1QS. Judgment is a worst possible outcome of ones ways, and is pictures as a scene of fire, wrath and destruction. Similar to the deuteronomistic speech, judgment it is connected with curse- in large contrast to blessing. The threat of judgment, depends on ones spiritual qualities, and is therefore to be understood, at least partly, as punishment. On the other hand it is also atonement. Sin is defilement and needs to be atoned, or purified. The message of 1QS is grounded in these convictions.

It is reasonable to interpret the opening lines of 4Q185 as a variant of the same motif- used with a similar purpose: To threat and to motivate for attendance of the message. The rhetorical question in 4Q185 reaches for the attention of the listener.

Purification[42] טוהר

Many texts in Qumran that relates to judgment, is also concerned with 'purification'[43].

There is a possibility that 4Q185 connects judgment with purification in some way, although the connection in 4Q185 remains uncertain.[44] Only the two terms, 'pure' and 'holy' is mentioned in line 4: [--]טֿהור וקדוש[--]

There has been a discussion whether or not the Qumran sectarians conflated the concepts of physical impurity and impurity resulting from sin[45]. According to Mila Ginsburskaya[46] the merging of the two aspects is overestimated. What is of most interest here is when pure/purity is related to moral concerns.

In 1QS sin is seen upon as defilement. Purification is made possible with a humble attitude: "It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes, that his flesh can be cleansed", 1QS 3,8.

A negative example is elaborated in column 3,5: "Unclean, unclean he is as long as he rejects the judgment of God". Judgment is put in connection with the instructions of God and is a good thing as long as one humble oneself with a repenting attitude. This means that judgment it not necessarily 'angry judgment for everlasting destruction'.

according to ones רוח

A lacuna interrupts the last sentence of the judgment scene in 4Q185: כי באש 9 להבה ישפטֿ[ ]י רוחתיו. This leaves us with at least two possible readings. Either judgment will be done according to the spirits of man, ישפטֿ[ו לפ]י רוחתיו , or spirits should be read as a synonym or

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42. *Background in HB: Mal 3, Ezekiel (Jer/Isa)* see notes!

43. Hannah Harrington, "What is the semantic field of the lexemes טהר and טמא?," *Revue de Qumran* 24(2009).

44. In light of a comparison with 4Q370 it is reasonable to assume that the context is atonement for sin in 4Q185 as well.

45. See Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and sin in ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). 67-93., Martha Himmelfalb "Impurity and sin in 4D, 1QS and 4Q512" DSD 8 (2001), and summary of discussion in Alex Jassen in Devorah Dimant and Ingo Kottsieper, *The Dead Sea scrolls in scholarly perspective : a history of its research* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2012). 152.

46. Mila Ginsburskaya, "The right of council & the idea of purity (1QS & 1QSa)," in *Studies on the Texts of the desert of Judah*, ed. F. Garcia Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

parallelism to angels, line 8. Both readings are possible.

The spirit of God is active in the withering- process of the flower, which means that רוח elsewhere is a reference to the spirit or wind of God. Nevertheless, there seems to be an intended use of repetition within the contrast man-God. חסד of man is nothing like the חסד of God. In line with this there could be another implicit point in the comparison of man and Gods רוח.

More interesting is it, that רוח is almost exclusively referring to the spirit of man in texts line 1QS, CD and 1QHa. (See 1QHa 12,32 and 37).

The word רוח could mean various things but in 1QS it is almost exclusively referred to as an aspect of human nature and quality. This is also seen within the covenant code, in connection with the curse: "May his spirit רוח be destroyed, 2,14". Further in 2,20 the priest are ranked "according to their spirits", לפי רוחותם. This ranking and examination of spirits, is peculiar and characteristic of 1QS.

According to the treatise of the two spirits, 1QS 3,17b ff, God has created humankind to "rule over the world, appointing for them two spirits in which to walk until the time ordained for His visitation". The two different kinds are described with two different lists. Within this anthropology it makes sense that one would measure the quality of man by his spirit. This is not only language of the peculiar passage- it is reflection within community regulations and the penal code, where there is continuously an examination of man´s spirit. See 1QS 5, 21f, "They will test his spirit", 5, 24 and 6,17. A similar way is expressed regarding judgment executed by the maskil. He should:

> "separate and weigh the sons of Zadok according to their spirits" and further "carry out the judgment of each man in accordance with his spirit" Col 9, line 14-15 (see the larger section. Viiii 12-19)

One could claim that this relates to earthy judgment-situations only, and that this particular language does not pertain to the eschatological judgment. But CD 20,24 has the same expression in relation to the judgment of Israel's wickedness. "Each of them shall be judged in the holy council according to his spirit". 20,24.

There can be no definite conclusion to the reading of this section in 4Q185, nevertheless, read in light of the Qumran texts the spirit could indeed be read as a reference to man.

Blessings, gift and inheritance

Motifs of motivation are not only negative- both 4Q185 and 1QS mentions reward and blessing.

The second column of 4Q185 is fragmentary which makes a reading, and not least a comparison difficult. In connection with the two beatitudes, 4Q185 promises a good inheritance, with which a long life, fatness of bone, joy of heart is associated. His goodness and salvation forever, seems to be a part of the list. (See table). Similar ideas are reflected in the covenant ritual, and could be further supplemented with another passage in 1QS 4,7.

4Q185	1QS

(12) find her [ ] They will inherit her. With her is [length of d]ays , fatness of bone, a joyful heart [ ] (13) And his everlasting mercy and salvation[ ] 12 ומצאה [-] טֹבה ינחל֯ה ועמה[--]מים ורשף עצם ושמחת לבב עש[--] 13 וחסדיו עֹלמיה וישׂועות	And the reward of all those who walk in it will be healing, plentiful peace in a long life באורך ימים, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal joyment ושמחת עולמי with endless life, and a crown of glory.." 4,7
	May He enlighten יאר your heart with insight for living. May he favor you with eternal עולמים knowledge and lift up His mercyful חסד countenance upon you for eternal peace עולמים שלום" 2, 2b-4
"Then he can bestow it to his offspring, his knowledge to people", line 15.	Those whom God has chosen he has set an eternal נהל possession, 11,7.

In 4Q185, salvation and חסד, is promised to man that is given 'her/it', line 8, and who does according to 'her/it', line 13. The reference(s) of the feminine suffix in 4Q185 remains unclear, and it has been suggested to read it as a reference to lady Wisdom. This is possible, but in light of 1QS it does not have to be her. The use of feminine suffix could also be a stylistic feature seen in the admonition in CD.
In light of the remaining text it seems to refer to an object synonymous or identical with knowledge and inheritance. As a conclusion to the instruction concerning correct and wrong pursuit of it/her, it says: "Then he can bestow it to his offspring, his knowledge to people", line 15. Inheritance seems to be knowledge.

In 1QS eternal knowledge and insight is something given from God, to man who walk perfectly. This blessing is further closely associated with 'mercy' and 'eternal peace'.
The curse that is a mirrored contrast in many ways, results in no gifts, only judgment, terror and destruction.
The speaker of the closure of 1QS lists a series of gifts: "salvation which is hidden from humankind, knowledge and prudent discretion (which is hidden) from the sons of Adam",11,6, and further "To those whom God has chosen, he has given them an everlasting possession", 11,7.

There are thus similar lists present in 4Q185, they all centres around something given to the future generations: inheritance and knowledge. In light with 1QS is makes perfect sense to read this as the benefits and blessings of the 'way of life', which is associated His word, His will.

4. Summary and conclusion

This comparison shows that 4Q185 shares various themes and motifs with 1QS, but also that corresponding motif-pattern used in the motivational rhetoric of 1QS shed light upon 4Q185. The conclusion of this comparison is only preliminary. It is not complete. However, a summary is needed at this point:

A rhetorical strategy can be discerned in the two texts. The implicit comparison of God and man in the covenant ritual is also found in 4Q185. God's wonders, his signs and 'powerful deeds' are contrasted with the sin of the fathers. The rhetoric of contrast makes one ready to listen, and to act according to the covenant.

The main descriptions of God in 4Q185 correspond well with 1QS: God is identified as his words and his deeds. The God-language is in both texts connected with a series synonym parallels: law, statutes, revelation, way. The world- language is expressed through symmetrical and contrasting motifs: blessing and curse- judgment and salvation

There is also some correspondance between the descriptions of man. Man is measured by his spirits, which is reflected in his deed. The negative example of 1QS, the arrogant which walks in wickedness, fits the admonition of 4Q185. A similar contrast-pattern is found in 4Q185, where man's spirit is implicitly contrasted with the spirit of God, and the חסד of man - with Gods good and eternal חסד.

The warnings in 4Q185 have corresponding passages in 1QS. One should fear God and his judgment, but not fear the wicked that makes one backslide. In each text, the threat of judgment with angels of destruction, seem to act as a persuasive force. On the other hand rewards and blessings encourage one to walk the right way.

Even if 1QS presents itself as a Wisdom text- one would not interpret it in light of sapiental literature. I suggest that we also read 4Q185 with an open mind.

Hebrew text

This reading is based upon PAM photographs, but also some of my own, taken at IAA in March, 2013. At this point, I have only included the two first columns.

Mika Pajunen is responsible for 4Q185 in the not yet published reedition of DJD 5. I have made a short comment where I differ from his (preliminary) reading.[47]

Column 1

]מ[

3 [ ]כִּי °[--]

4 [ ]טָהור וקדוש[--]

5 [ ]מתו וכחמתו°[--]

6 [ ]ל[-]ש ועד עשר לְפִעֻמִים[--]

7 [ ] ואין כח לעמוד לפניה ואֵין מקוה

8 לזעם[--] ומי יכלכל לעמוד לפני מלאכיו כי באש

9 להבה ישפטֻ[ולפ]י[48] רוחתיו. ואתם בני אדם א[49]]כי הִנֵּה[50]

10 כח[צ]יר יצמח מארְצו יפרח כציץ חסדו נשבְ[ה --]רוחו

11 ויבש עגזו[51] וציצו תשא רוח עד אנ ֯קום[52] לע[מוד - ויא]בד

12ולא ימצא כי רוח. [[ ]] יִבקשוהו ולא ימצאהו ואין מקוה.

13 והוא כצל ימ[ים] על הא[רץ] ועתה שמעו נא עמי והשכילו

14 לי פתאום. יהכנעו[53] מן [ג]בורת אלהים וזכרו נפלאות עשה

15 במצרים ומופתֵיו°ב[שְׂדֵה־צֹעַן -- .]ויערץ לבבכם מפני פחדו

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47. Mika S. Pajunen, "4QSapiental Admonitions B (4Q185)," in *The Mermaid and the Partridge. Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

48. I suggest this restoration against the suggestion of Lichtenberger: ישפטֻ[ועממ]ו.

49. Various suggestions are put forth. Either 'Woe to you' א[וי לכם (Strugnell), and 'nothing is he' א[ין הוא, Lichtenberger.

50. Mika reads הגה. Every other reading suggests הנה.

51. Mika reads שטו, I follow Strugnell here.

52. Mika reads א֯נ ֯קום, and sees a superlinear י. I could not see this on the original fragment, and follow Strugnell.

53. There have been different suggestions concerning the reading of this word. All are presented with reservations. Strugnell suggests 'Grow wise', חכמו. Mika reads shrivel up, ותצמק. Both are difficult. The reading I suggest gives an account of all traces of letters.

Column 2

1-2 II

1 ועשו רֹצ[ונו . ותשמח נ]פשכם כחסדיו הטבים. חקרו לכם דרך
2 לחיים ומסלֹה[-]ושארית לבניכם אחריכם ולמה תתנו
3 []כֹם לשא°[54 -- מ]שפט. שמעוני בני ואל[55] תמרו דברי יהוה.
4 אל תצעדו[- י]עקב ונתיבה חקק לישחק. הלוא ט֯ב יום
5 אחד[°]ם בעשר[ ]°° יראתו ולא לעתת מפחד ומפח יקוש
6 °°[--] ° ולא ומ[לט] מן מלאכיו כי אין חשך
7 יאפ[ו --]°ש°ה הוא °° ו°[56]ני ידעתו. ואתמה
8 מה ת°[ ]לפניו תצא רעה לכל עם. אשרי אדם נתנה לו
9 ◦תן א[-- רש]עים. ואל תתהללו[57] רשעים לאמור לא נתנה
10 לו ולא[--]לישראל וממד[ט]ב זבדה וכל עמו גאל
11 והרג שנ[ ] אב[- -]יאמר המת֯טבו °בה יש°נה[בק]שה
12 ומצאה ו[58][-] טבה ינחל֯ה[59] ועמה[--]מים ורשף עצם ושמחת לבב עש[--]
13 וחסדיו עלמיה וישועות °[--]°°. אשרי אדם יעשנה ולא רגל[60] על [לשו]ן
14 מרמה לא יבקשנה ובחלקות לא יחזיקנה. כן תתן לאבתיו כן ירשנה[-]?
15 בכל עוז כחו ובכל [מא]דו לאין חקר[61]. ויורישנה לצאצאיו ידעתי לע[מ ש]וב

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54. or לשחת?

55. I follow Strugnell and Lichtenberger against Pajunen's פעל and Allegro's יצל.

56. It is probably not a ח, because of the curve of the left foot.

57. My own reading, against ירהללו: The fragment is torn and has a horizontal gap. When putting the pieces together in photoshop, it is very difficult to read the first letter as י. Better is a ת. The infrared photos taken at IAA confirm this. There is ink trace that belongs to the right corner of the ת. At the end of the word, there is a small ink trace at the base line, that most probably belongs to a ו. There seems to be no room for a preposition before this word. Remnants of on letter is clear, and a ר seems to be the best reading here.

58. Horisontal stroke, but impossible to say whether it belongs to י,ה,ו,ח. I prefer ח.

59. Strugnell suggested ינחלה, but there is indeed a superlinear י, standing on the roof of the ה. This is clear on an infrared photo taken in march. Against Lichtenberg and Pajunen that read יבולה.

60. My reading. Strugnell suggests that a ר is possible.

61. The suggestion of Lichtenberger הסר, which Pajunen follows here, is difficult. I prefer Strugnell's reading.

Translation

1-15, I

(4) Pure and holy

(5) And according to his wrath

(6) And up to ten times

(7) There is no strength to stand before her, and no hope before (in)dignation.

(8) Who can endure (able himself to) to stand before his angels? For with burning (9) fire he shall be judged according to his spirits. (as in deeds)

And you, sons of Adam, N[othing is he] For look

(10) Like grass he sprouts from his soil and blossoms, like the flower is his faithfulness, but his wind blows (on it) (11) and the stalk withers. And the wind carries its flower, so that it will not arise to st[and and it perish]es (12) and it wont be found because of the wind. *vacat* One can seek it, but not find it, because there is no hope/place for it. (13) And he, like a shadow is his days upon the ea[rth.]

And now listen please, my people and learn (14) from me, you simple ones. Subdue from the might of God. Remember the wonders he did (15) in Egypt and his signs..

Let your heart tremble before his dread

II

and do his wi[ll rejoice]your souls according to his good loving kindness. Search for yourself a way of life and a path and a remnant to the children after you, why should you give your[self] to [ ] judgment.

Listen to me, my children, do not rebel against the words of Jahve. Do not walk[--]Jacob, or the path instructed by/ for Isaac. Is not one day better..? (5) [-- ---] fear (of) him, and not go astray because of fear or the snare of the fowler

(6) [-- ---] [He will not escape] from his angels, for he did not spare/ or will not restrain (7) And his anger [-- ---] his knowledge. And you,

(8) What are you?.... from his presence, evil comes forth to all people. Happy is the man she is given to.

(9) ....And do not behave mad (because of the) wicked[62], by saying it is not given (10) to him. And not (…) to Israel. He gives a good gift. And he redeemed all his people (11) but killed … And he says (12) find her and.... They will inherit her. With her is [length of d]ays , fatness of bone, a joyful heart, (13) And his everlasting mercy and salvation…

Happy is the man who does her, and does not slander with his tongue

(14) One cannot seek it with deceit nor hold on to it by flattery(smooth things). As it is given to his fathers, he will inherit it. ……

(15) with all the power of his strength and with all mi[ght] without limit. Then he can bestow it to his offspring, his knowledge to people

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62. or let not the wicked mock?

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Urban Judeans in Mid-First Millennium Babylonia: General Remarks and a Case Study[1]

Last year in Oxford I presented a paper on the Judeans in the hinterlands of Nippur in Southern Babylonia. These people were mainly farmers in the land-for-service sector: state granted lands to certain population groups, many of which were of foreign origin. Even though farmers could not alienate their lands and they were obliged to fulfil work obligations and pay taxes, they were able to participate in society. Judeans rented and bought property, their legal documents followed Babylonian practices, and some of them were able to work as minor officials, acquire property or engage in large-scale rent farming. Documents belonging to the Murašû and Āl-Yāhūdu archives stem from this land-for-service context and they compose the main part of the evidence of Judeans in mid-first millennium Babylonia.

However, the large evidence from the countryside can somehow distort the overall picture of Judeans in Babylonia. The discovery of ancient documents in excavated sites is always accidental and some geographical or social contexts may easily become over-emphasized in the surviving documentation. Moreover, the royal archives of Babylonia are almost completely lost and because of the exclusive nature of Babylonian urban elite, their private archives involve people mainly from their own closed circles. Consequently, even though most Judeans probably lived in peripheral agricultural zones, it is essential to stress the value of the existing documentation that concerns Judeans in other socioeconomic contexts.

In this paper I aim to highlight the life of Judeans in Babylonian cities. After discussing methodological approaches to the study of Judeans in Babylonia I briefly summarize the available evidence on Judeans in Babylonian cities. Finally, I turn my attention to a case study of Judean royal merchants in Sippar. My starting points for this case study are

[1] This paper has been written in the framework of the ERC Starting grant project *By the Rivers of Babylon: New Perspectives on Second Temple Judaism from Cuneiform Texts*. All the dates are BCE, unless otherwise indicated.

the account of Jeremiah's correspondence with Babylonian exiles in Jeremiah 29 and the question of communication channels between communities in Judah and Babylonia.

In the short paper session of the OTSEM conference, I'd like to focus the discussion on my case study in the end of the paper: Is my case study methodologically sound? How does my microhistorical approach to the subject contribute to the broader study of Judeans in Babylonia?

Method: How to identify Judeans in Babylonian sources?

To be able to study a minority, one has to define criteria for identifying the members of a particular population group. Unfortunately, Babylonian records do not generally express the geographic origin of groups or individuals. In the Nippur region, we have those well-known cases of twin towns, which had been named after the former hometown or homeland of their residents.[2] Good examples are the towns of Ashkelon and Neirab as well as Āl-Yāhūdu, the town of Judah. We also know many *haṭru*s, administrative units in the land-for-service sector of the Babylonian agriculture, which were named after immigrant groups.[3] However, there are only few texts that describe a certain foreign group as Ashkelonites, Neirabians or Judeans.

If we wish to study foreign minorities in Babylonia we are forced to use personal names as indicators of the foreign origin of their bearers. Even though it is often difficult to say if a certain Semitic name is, for example, Hebrew or Aramaic, in some cases we can use names of gods, so-called theophoric elements, to pick out the names of one specific minority from other personal names in our sources. As far as we know, the use of Yahwistic theophoric element – the name of Yahweh – was mainly limited to the geographic region of Israel and Judah in the eight and seventh centuries.[4] Following the Assyrian influence on Israel and Judah, and especially after the deportations in the eighth century, some Yahwistic names started to appear in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform records. However, there is no textual evidence of Assyrian deportations from Israel or Judah to Babylonia, and before the beginning of the sixth century very few Yahwistic names appear in Babylonian documents. On the contrary, after the deportations from Judah to Babylonia, the textual evidence of the Yahwistic names is

[2] Dandamayev 2004.
[3] For a list of *haṭru*s in the Nippur region, see Stolper 1985, 72–79.
[4] However, there are some Yahwistic names in Syrian sources before the Neo-Babylonian period. For this issue, see Zadok 1979, 4–5. For the use of Yahwistic names as indicators of an Israelite or Judean origin, see Coogan 1976, 119; Zadok 1979, 4–5, 7; and Ephʿal 1983, 106–107.

remarkable.[5] Thus, the deportations from Judah and the advent of Yahwistic names in Babylonia seem to be closely related. There are also some non-Yahwistic names, such as Hosea, that seem to have been typically or exclusively Judean.[6]

Could there have been other people using Yahwistic names? A native Babylonian might have given his child a foreign name simply because it sounded nice or people in his circles bore such names. However, I can't see a reason for a large scale adoption of Yahwistic names by other minorities or indigenous population. On the contrary, the Judean newcomers had the reason and intention to adopt local Babylonian names to help their integration into society. We see many cases where a father is using a Babylonian name but he gives his son a Yahwistic name – and vice versa.

Admittedly, one must be very cautious when drawing a conclusion that an individual bearing a certain name belongs to a certain foreign minority. Names do not directly equal to ethnic or geographic origin, and in most cases it is impossible to say anything about the origins of *a single person*. But when the sample of names is large enough, it is possible to say, for example, that *most* of the people bearing Yahwistic names in the Nippur region have their roots in the kingdom of Judah. [7]

In the following discussion I classify as Judeans all the individuals who bore by themselves or whose family member bore a Yahwistic name. In addition, name *A-mu-še-e* is understood to refer solely to the Hebrew name Hosea.[8] The bulk of Judean names in Babylonian sources is collected in extensive studies by Ran Zadok.[9]

Overview: Judeans in Babylonian cities

There are around 20 documents from the sixth and fifth centuries concerning Judeans in Babylonian cities. Almost all of these documents are written in two North-Babylonian cities,

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[5] For the evidence of Yahwistic names in cuneiform documentation, see Zadok 2002. The Yahwistic element is usually spelled *ia-a-ḫu-ú-* as the first and *-ia-a-ma* as the last component of a name; shift *w* > *m* follows the general orthographical patterns of Neo- and Late Babylonian. See Zadok 1979, 7–22; Joannès and Lemaire 1999, 18–21, 27–29; Tropper 2001; Zadok 2002, 14.
[6] Zadok 1979, 22–27.
[7] I am indebted to Jonathan Stökl and Rients de Boer for bringing many of these methodological issues to my attention.
[8] This name also shows the Neo- and Late-Babylonian orthography *w* > *m*; *Hwšʿ* > *A-mu-še-e*. See Zadok 1979, 26; Zadok 2002, 18; Jursa 2007.
[9] The most important ones are Zadok 1979 and Zadok 2002.

Babylon and Sippar. I analyse first the documents coming from the imperial capital and then I turn my attention to Sippar, a port town on the banks of Euphrates.

The earliest and undoubtedly the best-known Babylonian archive mentioning Judeans are the so-called Weidner tablets, a small part of the royal archives of Nebuchadnezzar II.[10] The date is preserved in only one of the four partially published tablets and it points towards the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, six years after the first deportation from Judah to Babylonia. These texts are ration lists that document the distribution of sesame seed oil to various groups of people. Among the recipients we find professionals from different parts of the empire as well as some members of foreign royalty. Also 18 Judeans are attested: Jehoiachin, king of Judah, five sons of the king of Judah, a gardener and some Judeans whose status or profession is not known to us.

The ration lists do not let us to pose detailed questions about the socioeconomic status of the Judeans in the royal household. When it comes to the status of foreign professionals in Babylon, a Judean gardener, Elamite soldiers as well as carpenters from Byblos were probably palace dependants who had been gathered in Babylon to improve the safety and glory of the capital.[11] They enjoyed maintenance by palace and should be better regarded as semi-free population than slaves.

The Judean royalty as well as the two princes from Ashkelon were most probably kept in Babylon as royal hostages following an ancient Near-Eastern practice.[12] Keeping the relatives of vassal kings in the imperial capital was a way to control the vassal kings and prevent them from starting a rebellion. The hostages got their living from the palace administration in the same manner as all the foreign professionals working for or staying in the palace. And when it comes to the size of the oil rations, Jehoiachin received significantly bigger amounts than most of the other people in the lists. Consequently, it is difficult to imagine Jehoiachin living in severe imprisonment and still receiving a royal treatment when it comes to his everyday needs.

Outside the palace archives of Babylon we possess four interesting documents that mention Judeans in the imperial capital. Two of them are related to tax collecting and Judean

[10] Weidner 1939. On these archives, see Pedersén 2005a.
[11] See Pedersén 2005b.
[12] For Assyrian evidence, see Zawadzki 1995.

men are mentioned as officials responsible for such duty. An unnamed Judean, son of Zakari-Yāma, held the title of *sepīru*[13] and collected a tax payment from a member of the Ilia family in Babylon.[14] This well-known family held a brewer's prebend in the Ezida temple of Nabû in Borsippa and two of its members even advanced to the position of *šakin ṭēmi*, governor of Borsippa.[15] Another text records a tax payment ordered by three officials, the governor of the province of Babylon and Across-the-River and his two subordinates, who are both carrying a double-title *sepīru bēl-ṭēmi*.[16] Other one of these *sepīru bēl-ṭēmi* officials is Gadal-Yāma, son of Banna-Ea.

The third text from Babylon belongs to the archive of Egibis, an extremely wealthy business family.[17] A Judean man called Neri-Yāma son of Bēl-zēra-ibni is acting as a guarantor and middleman in receipt concerning the partly payment of a debt in silver. Moreover, there is a Judean man witnessing a document that belongs to the Murašû archive but was drafted in Babylon.[18]

The greatest number of tablets mentioning Judeans in an urban context are written in or connected to Sippar and they are part of the temple archives of the Šamaš temple Ebabbar or belong to the private archives of Sipparean families. Some Judeans had a close connection with the temple: a Judean man leased some temple land for cultivation[19] and the temple was also playing some role in cases of civil law.[20] Some Judeans are also mentioned in the administrative documents of the temple – they were most probably attached to the temple household and were not fully free.[21] This is hardly surprising because temples usually got their share of the spoils of war, including prisoners. Judeans had also ties to established Sipparean families. A Judean man witnessed a business document of the prebend-holding

[13] *Sepīru* is often translated as "alphabet scribe" but in the broader sense it seems to refer to officials who were literate in Aramaic. See Pearce 1999.
[14] An unpublished text BM 26553 collated by Caroline Waerzeggers. See Waerzeggers 2010a, 351 + footnote 1183.
[15] For the Ilia family and the Ilia D archive, see Jursa 2005a, 87–88; Waerzeggers 2010a, 434–435.
[16] The text is published and discussed in Stolper 1989.
[17] Dar. 310. For the Egibi family, see Wunsch 2007.
[18] PBS2/1, 005.
[19] CT 56, 132; Jursa 1995, no. 47.
[20] Cyr. 307.
[21] CT 55, 341; CT 56, 795; CT 57, 197, 700.

priestly family of Ṣāhit-ginê[22] and another Judean was even active in Humadēšu, present-day Iran, where he was supposed to deliver an ass to Sipparean businessman Iššar-tarībi.[23]

Compared to Babylon and Sippar, there are very few texts that connect Judeans to the other major Babylonian cities. This must be partly a statistical distortion following the fact that a significant proportion of our Babylonian sources from the sixth and fifth centuries stem from the Ebabbar archives. Moreover, Babylon had the status of imperial capital and Sippar was situated on an important trade route connecting Babylonia to Northern Mesopotamia and Levant, which gives the city an international flavour. In the second part of my paper I take a closer look on a group of trade-related documents from Sippar.

Royal merchants – connectors between two communities?

> These are the words of the letter that the prophet Jeremiah sent from Jerusalem to the remaining elders among the exiles, and to the priests, the prophets, and all the people, whom Nebuchadnezzar had taken into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon. This was after King Jeconiah, and the queen mother, the court officials, the leaders of Judah and Jerusalem, the artisans, and the smiths had departed from Jerusalem. The letter was sent by the hand of Elasah son of Shaphan and Gemariah son of Hilkiah, whom King Zedekiah of Judah sent to Babylon to King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon.[24]

In the light of the rabbinic evidence it is evident that Jewish communities in Palestine and Babylonia were exchanging thoughts, information and people with each other in the early first millennium CE.[25] However, the evidence for contacts between Judah and Babylonia in the first millennium BCE is meagre, even though there is no reason to assume that these connections did not exist at all. Judah and Babylonia were not separate entities in the ancient Near East, where regions were interconnected first by the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian imperial administration and then by the Hellenistic cultural sphere. People were moving across the region for trade purposes or as a result of natural and forced migration or military campaigns. The Babylonian influence on Palestine can be seen in the case of astronomy and astrology, for example. The advancements in Babylonia did not only reach Greek scholars: Some astronomical texts from Qumran show evidence for the transmission of scientific

[22] Zawadzki 2000, no. 6. The text is written in the countryside where the Judean witness probably lived. For the Ṣāhit-ginê family and the Ṣāhit-ginê A archive, see Waerzeggers forthcoming.
[23] Weszeli 1996, no. 2. For the archive of Iššar-tarībi, see Jursa 2005a, 124.
[24] Jeremiah 29:1–3a. The translation follows the New Revised Standard Version.
[25] See Oppenheimer 2005, 417–432.

knowledge between Babylonia and Jews in Palestine, but we lack any direct evidence for the means of this transmission.[26]

However, Jeremiah 29 suggests that Judean communities in Judah and Babylonia were communicating with each other already during the reign of Zedekiah. The chapter describes the contents of three letters, two of which were sent by Jeremiah and one by an exile in Babylonia. According to verse 3, Jeremiah's first letter "was sent by the hand of Elasah son of Shaphan and Gemariah son of Hilkiah, whom King Zedekiah of Judah sent to Babylon to King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon". In this case, the messengers connecting the two communities would have been Judean royal officials travelling to the court of Nebuchadnezzar. However, the structure of the letters in Jeremiah 29 differs from the standard practices of the period[27] and the letter form might be just a literary device[28] to formulate a prophetic message addressed to the exiles in Babylonia. Accordingly, scholars disagree on the value of the letters as historical sources from the sixth century.[29]

In this respect, extra-biblical evidence for a possible communication channel between Judeans in the east and west in the sixth and fifth centuries is of a great interest. Unfortunately, only one group of Babylonian texts throws light on the issue, but these texts do not only hint for a possible communication channel between Babylonia and Judah but also offer us unique information on the social status of some Judeans. A group of three Judean royal merchants and their family members figures in five cuneiform texts from the late 6th century Sippar: two of the documents are copies of the same marriage agreement and three unpublished texts belong to the Ebabbar archive. If these Judean royal merchants travelled to the west to acquire rare goods for Babylonian consumption, occasional interaction with their compatriots in Judah might have taken place. Before turning my attention to these Judeans I explore the Babylonian evidence of professional merchants and foreign trade to put these Judeans into a context.

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[26] For the transmission of scientific knowledge between Babylonia and Palestine, see Popović in press with references to further research. Popović argues that there is no evidence for direct contacts between Jewish and Babylonian scholars and the astronomical and astrological knowledge reached Palestine by means of indirect transmission.
[27] Smelik 1996, 283–284; Lundbom 2004, 346.
[28] Fischer 2005, 88.
[29] Smelik 1996; Lundbom 2004, 344–348, 359–361; Fischer 2005, 87–90.

When one studies traders in Babylonian documentation from the 6th and 5th centuries, two different groups appear.[30] On the one hand, some people are explicitly titled as *tamkāru* (^{lú}DAM.GÀR), "merchant", or *tamkār* (*ša*) *šarri* (^{lú}DAM.GÀR (*šá*) LUGAL), "royal merchant". On the other hand, some urban families played evidently a central role in trade in agricultural staples and others were even engaged in foreign trade, even though these people are not titled as *tamkāru* or *tamkār šarri* in the documents.[31]

Title *tamkāru* is attested in cuneiform documentation from the Old Akkadian period onwards[32] and in the sixth and fifth centuries it probably denoted a specific status of professional merchant.[33] In addition, some merchants bore a title describing the type of trade which they were specialised in[34], and *tamkārū* had apparently an important role in foreign trade, which connected Babylonia to the west and east.[35] *Tamkārū* were also involved in the temple economy: they bought staples from the temple and acquired rare products for the institution. These products were often of foreign origin and could be obtained only by means of long-distance trade. [36] Royal merchants were playing similar role in the palace economy, even though their exact relation to the administrative structures remains disputed.[37] It is not clear whether *tamkār šarri* was an official title or just a description of a professional specialisation. Furthermore, the terminological difference between *tamkāru* and *tamkār šarri* is not clear and the terms might have been interchangeable. Michael Jursa suggests that "[e]s ist also denkbar, wenn auch nicht bewiesen, daß mindestens unter den Chaldäerherrschern *tamkāru*s grundsätzlich spezialisierte staatliche Kaufleute waren, genau wie das im neuassyrischen Reich der Fall war".[38] Be that as it may, there is no doubt that merchants, who were explicitly titled as *tamkār šarri*, were playing a key role in the royal trade of the Neo-Babylonian period.

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[30] For trade in first millennium Babylonia, see Oppenheim 1967; Dandamayev 1995; Joannès 1999; Jursa 2004a, 129–132; Jursa 2010, 214–228.
[31] Dandamayev 1995; Jursa 2004a, 130–131; Jursa 2010, 224–225.
[32] CAD T, 125.
[33] Dandamayev 1995, 523.
[34] Sheep and date merchants are explicitly mentioned in the archives. See Joannès 1999, 179.
[35] Oppenheim 1967; Joannès 1999, 184–189; Jursa 2010, 224.
[36] Joannès 1999, 177–178, 184–189.
[37] Dandamayev 1995, 523–527; Joannès 1999, 178; Jursa 2004a.
[38] Jursa 2004a, 129–130. However, Joannès (1999,178) and Dandamayev are more sceptical. Dandamayev (1995, 523) writes: "Although some (*tamkārū*) were still employed by the palace and temple, they were now generally independent merchants engaged in domestic and international commerce, operating with their own resources and at their own risk."

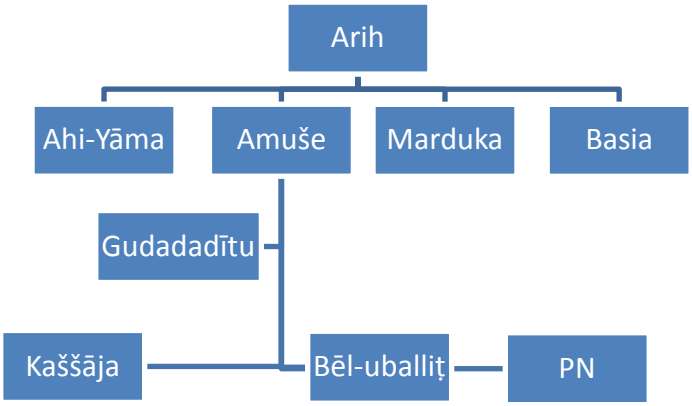
The business activities of urban Babylonians are manifold but two aspects are of our interest here. First, prosperous entrepreneurial families, such as the Egibis of Babylon and the Murašûs of Nippur played a central role in the import of staples from the countryside to cities and their retail to urban customers. Entrepreneurs bought the crops from farmers in silver and thus provided them a channel to sell their products and means to pay taxes.[39] The trade in staples was local and even though members of these entrepreneurial families are attested also in Iran, the reason for these journeys to the east seems to have been centralized tax-paying.[40] Long-distance trade was only a minor interest for these wealthy families, which were doing their profits in Babylonia proper.[41]

Nevertheless, some urban Babylonians who are never titled *tamkārū* were engaged in long-distance trade. One branch of Sipparean Ṣāhit-ginê family had trade contacts to Eber-nāri, areas of Syria and Levant,[42] whereas Iššar-tarībi family from Sippar had trade operations apparently in Humadēšu, Iran[43]. This and other evidence suggests that foreign trade was not a royal privilege limited to professional *tamkārū* but a sphere of business that was open also for private entrepreneurs.[44] In our case, the worlds of these private entrepreneurs and royal merchants intertwine intriguingly in Sippar.

Two contracts from the fifth year of Cyrus document a marriage between Guzānu son of Kiribtu descendant of Ararru, and Kaššāja daughter of Amuše and Gudadadītu.[45] Judging from the name patterns, the groom came from a Babylonian family that was established enough to have a family name, Ararru.[46] In contrary, bride's family seems to have been of a Judean origin: Even though the bride herself, her mother and brother Bēl-uballiṭ bore good Babylonian names, her father had a typically Judean name Hosea that is written *A-mu-še-e* following the Neo-Babylonian orthography.[47] In addition, royal merchants Ahi-Yāma son of

[39] Stolper 1985, 27–28; Wunsch 2007; Jursa 2010, 198–203, 214–220.
[40] Waerzeggers 2010b.
[41] For the available evidence for long-distance trade, see Jursa 2010, 224–225.
[42] Unpublished document NBC 6160. See Jursa 2005b, 402–403; Jursa 2010, 225 footnote 1312.
[43] See footnote 23 above. Cf. also Jursa 2010, 225 + footnote 1311.
[44] For the available evidence and some conclusions, see Jursa 2010, 224–225.
[45] Documents concern the same marriage but are not identical copies. Document BM 68921 is written in ?-II-5 Cyr and published in Jursa 2001 and BM 65149 is written in 11-III-5 Cyr and published in Roth 1989, 92–93 (see corrections in Jursa 2001). See also Jursa 2004b, 90–91.
[46] Zadok 2002, 58. Established, urban Babylonian families can be usually recognised by the following naming pattern in cuneiform documents: PN son of PN1 descendant of PN2. People outside this group were referred to as PN son of PN1. See Zadok 2003, 481–483; Jursa 2010, 56–57.
[47] Abraham 2005/2006, 208. For Hosea, see footnote 8 above.

Arih and Arad-Gula son of Šamri-Yāma – both bearing Yahwistic names – witnessed the documents. Moreover, three unpublished documents from Sippar complete this picture.[48] Basia, Marduka and Amuše, sons of Arih, figure in a receipt for a sheep, contract concerning house rentals and account for purchases respectively.[49] The documents are dated to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth years of Nabonidus, roughly a decade before the marriage agreements. When we bring together the prosopographical evidence from all the five tablets it turns out that the same Arih was the father of four sons, Ahi-Yāma, Amuše, Basia and Marduka.[50] If this assumption is correct, a family tree can be illustrated in the following way:[51]



The marriage agreements themselves follow the Neo-Babylonian legal practice and their primary focus is on the dowry as customary. They include clauses concerning divorce and bride's adultery and the gods included in the curse section are all Babylonian, Marduk, Zarpānītu and Nabû.[52] Kaššāja's father Amuše had most probably died between the twelfth year of Nabonidus and the fifth year of Cyrus, because Kaššāja's mother and brother(s) gave her in marriage.[53] The dowry consists of some jewellery, an Akkadian bed, five chairs, a

[48] BM 68420, BM 74411 and BM 75434. For these texts, see Jursa 2007.
[49] I will study these unpublished tablets during my forthcoming visit to the British Museum. For now, information on their contents is derived from Leichty and Grayson 1987; Leichty, Finkelstein, and Walker 1988; Jursa 2007.
[50] Jursa 2007.
[51] PN is Kaššāja's brother who figures in the first marriage agreement: He, Gudadadītu and Bēl-uballiṭ are giving Kaššāja in marriage. He is absent from the second document, but the last witness in a damaged line is evidently an unnamed son of Amuše. Royal merchant Arad-Gula son of Šamri-Yāma was not a member of the family.
[52] For Neo-Babylonian marriage agreements, see Roth 1989, 1–28. See also Zadok 2002, 58–59.
[53] For this and other similar cases, see Abraham 2005/2006.

table, a goblet and a bronze platter and proves that family could afford to provide some property for the economic safety of their daughter. However, scholars do not quite agree on the socioeconomic status of the Judean family. In Kathleen Abraham's opinion, the dowry is small and the groom probably comes from a lower-class urban family.[54] In contrary, Caroline Waerzeggers speaks of "a rich family of Judean royal merchants"[55] and Ran Zadok states that "[f]Kaššā did not belong to a humble family"[56].

What evidence there is to determine the socioeconomic status of the family? First, Kaššāja's dowry does not include any slaves or real estate and it must be considered rather small when compared to dowries of many urban families.[57] Second, the marriage agreements incorporate the "she will die by the iron dagger" clause that is generally found in the marriage agreements of poor brides.[58] Third, Kaššāja's uncle Marduka was probably renting a house from Ebabbar, which strengthens the conclusion that the family did not own a lot of real estate.[59] On the other hand, Kaššāja receives a dowry, which is not often the case in the marriage agreements containing the iron dagger clause. It is also important to notice how well-integrated the family was in the urban Babylonian society: Kaššāja married a man from an established Babylonian family and many of her family members bore local Babylonian names.[60] Finally, the professional status and social connections of the family clearly indicate a certain socioeconomic status.

As I noted above, professional merchants obviously had important role in the foreign trade in the sixth century Babylonia. Moreover, many merchants who engaged in this trade were evidently of foreign origin and A. Leo Oppenheim suggested already in 1967 that foreigners played a key role in the Neo-Babylonian long-distance trade.[61] Several royal merchants from the sixth century bore non-Babylonian names[62] and in Nebuchadnezzar's Hofkalendar the official in charge of merchants (*rab tamkārī ša šarri*) has a West-Semitic

[54] Abraham 2005/2006, 208 + footnote 65, 211 + footnote 80.
[55] Waerzeggers in press.
[56] Zadok 2002, 59.
[57] See Roth 1989/1990; Roth 1991.
[58] The clause describes the bride's fate in the case of adultery. See Wunsch 2003, 6–7.
[59] See Jursa 2007.
[60] See Zadok 2002, 58–59; Jursa 2007.
[61] Oppenheim 1967. He is followed by Jursa 2004a, 131.
[62] See textual evidence in Zadok 2004, 112–114.

name, *Ha-nu-nu*.[63] Especially Sippar yields important evidence for merchants of foreign origin in the sixth century. A certain Sîn-aha-iddin son of I-ni-da-a-a-ʾ / In-nu-da-i-na-ʾ, *tamkār šarri*, is attested three times in the archive of Šamaš temple Ebabbar during the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus.[64] Likewise, a merchant bearing a West-Semitic name, Abdi-Sîn, features in the Ebabbar archive in the 43rd year of Nebuchadnezzar.[65]

In the light of the above-mentioned sources it is not surprising to find a group of Judean royal merchants in Sippar. Euphrates was the main trade route connecting Babylonia to the west, and Sippar was the northernmost of the Babylonian cities located on the banks of the river – consequently, the goods from the west flowed to the city of Babylon via Sippar. Babylonian trade connections extended as far as Egypt and this trade was at least partly entrusted to merchants who originated from the western parts of the empire.[66]

The family of Judean royal merchants fits perfectly in this picture of a multicultural, international port of the Babylonian trade. As Waerzeggers shows in her article, the family was a part of the larger network of Sipparean families engaged in trade.[67] Groom Guzānu and a brother of Nabû-iddina son of Bania descendant of Pahharu, one the witnesses in the marriage agreement, are attested in documents that belong to the archive A of the Ṣahīt-ginê family. This branch of the family was not only involved in the prebendary system of the Ebabbar temple but also in various business activities, whereas another, closely related branch of the Ṣahīt-ginês is one of the few known urban families engaged in long-distance trade.[68] Moreover, the Ṣahīt-ginês had a link to Iššar-tarībi son of Bunene-ibni who was engaged in foreign trade at least in Humadēšu in Iran. As mentioned above, Iššar-tarībi's agent in Humadēšu is a Judean man called Tamgabi-Yāma.[69]

Amuše, his family and their Judean colleague did not definitely live in the margins of society. They were a part of the network of the Sipparean urban families and they were even able to marry one of their daughters to an established local family. As royal merchants these

[63] Unger 1931, 285: column IV, line 19. For the name, see Dandamayev 1995, 527; Zadok 2004, 114.
[64] CT 55, 96, 173, 763. See Dandamayev 1995, 524–525, 528–530; Zadok 2004, 112–113.
[65] Unpublished text BM 63854. See Leichty and Grayson 1987, 107; Zadok 2004, 113.
[66] Jursa 2004a, 129–132; Jursa 2010, 64, 214–228, 754–756.
[67] Waerzeggers in press.
[68] BM 74597 and BM 67336. Texts will be published in Waerzeggers forthcoming. See also Jursa 2005a, 125–126, 132.
[69] See footnote 23 above. For the connection between Iššar-tarībi and the Ṣahīt-ginês, see Waerzeggers forthcoming.

Judeans were professional traders working in an institutional context, and taking into account their Judean background, their residence in Sippar and the evidence of other *tamkārū* of foreign origin, it seems very probable that they were engaged in the Babylonian long-distance trade. However, Kaššāja's rather small dowry and Marduka's house rental from Ebabbar indicate that the family was not very wealthy and it did not own a lot of real estate. It could not have been very poor either, taking into account its connections to the urban Babylonian families and its professional status. If Kaššāja's ancestors arrived in Babylonia in the early sixth century, the family was pretty fast in integrating into society, while it is not very surprising that they had not accumulated a great property before the 530's.

Did these royal merchants travel to Judah or did they have connections with Judeans living there? The available evidence cannot give any direct answers to these questions, but the mere existence of Judeans involved in foreign trade gives a hint of a possible communication channel between the Judean communities in the east and west.

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Idols and/as Women in the Letter of Jeremiah

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OTSEM Tartu 2013

This paper is the draft of one I will present at SBL. It is based on my PhD work but not part of my dissertation. This draft is intended for oral presentation; however, I will probably prepare a more elaborate version for publication at a later date. Therefore, I appreciate any comments and ideas for both oral and written presentations of the topic.

I. Protagonists in the Letter of Jeremiah: A Focus on Women

The Letter of Jeremiah presents itself as a letter the prophet Jeremiah wrote to the Judeaens who were going to be deported to Babylonia. In this letter, Jeremiah warns them of the Babylonian gods they will see when arriving in exile. The central message "they are not gods, do not fear them" is repeated throughout the letter. Although at the very beginning the letter refers to "sins" committed by the people against God, the author does not try to dissuade the exiled from worshipping Babylonian idols by evoking commandments and obligations towards God; rather, the strategy adopted is the same as in Jeremiah 10 and other polemical texts against idols: the author argues that idols are inanimate man-made objects, unable to act and unworthy of worship. As in Jer 10, the idols are made by craftsmen; they cannot speak nor walk; and they have no breath. The main exhortation, not to fear the idols, is most likely derived from Jer 10:5b (אַל־תִּירְאוּ מֵהֶם). There is, however, a striking difference between the Letter of Jeremiah and Jer 10. Whereas in Jer 10 (as well as in similar polemical texts against idols in Second Isaiah), craftsmen play the leading role, they become supporting actors in the Letter of Jeremiah. A new ensemble enters the stage in the Letter of Jeremiah: priests act as protagonists (EpJer 9, 17, 27, 30, 32, 48, 54), women figure prominently (EpJer 27, 29, 32, 42), other secondary roles come in the form of kings, robbers, and craftsmen. This cast bears more resemblance to the story of Bel (in Bel and the Dragon), where Daniel demonstrates to the king that it is not the Bel image but the priests together with their wives and children who eat up all the food offered to Bel. However, the women in BelDr act merely as family of the priests, while in the Letter of Jeremiah they act independently. Other texts related to idol polemics in the Hebrew Bible show women figuring as independent agents of idolatry, notably Jer 44, Ez 8:14, and 1 Ki 15:13. Nonetheless, they are exceptions to the rule of male or non-specified agents, such as kings or the people in general. The prominent role of women in the Letter of Jeremiah is thus quite remarkable. Moreover, while the women of BelDr and Jer 44 are the wives of men present in the text, it is not

clear precisely how the women in the Letter of Jeremiah relate to the male characters, nor who they actually are.

In this paper, I will first discuss the possible identities of the women in the Letter of Jeremiah. I will briefly present the terms employed for women and what they do. As we will see, several groups of female agents act within this text, most of them related to either prostitution or offerings. I will then assess the literary function of women in the passages dealing with prostitution and evaluate more specifically how these women contribute to larger polemics against idolatry.

II. Female Characters in the Letter of Jeremiah

The first female character we meet in the Letter of Jeremiah is the παρθένος in v.8, a young woman who loves jewelry.

[8] καὶ ὥσπερ παρθένῳ φιλοκόσμῳ	8 As one might for a girl fond of jewelry,
λαμβάνοντες χρυσίον	they take gold
[9] κατασκευάζουσι στεφάνους	9 and make crowns
ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν·	for the heads of their gods.[1]

This young woman does not act herself but serves as a point of comparison for the idols. As a person, she shows no specific identity or function. I will return to her literary function as polemical device in the second part of this paper.

In the same paragraph, we find the πόρναι (v.10), the prostitutes to whom the priests give the gold and silver of the gods.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅτε ὑφαιρούμενοι οἱ ἱερεῖς	Sometimes, even the priests filch
ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον	gold and silver from their gods
εἰς ἑαυτοὺς καταναλώσουσι,	and lavish it upon themselves
[10] δώσουσι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ	10 and give some of it
ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους πόρναις.	to prostitutes on the roof.

These prostitutes are said to be ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους, literally "on the roof". Some scholars have therefore thought of prostitutes on the roof of the temple, performing some kind of cultic prostitution.[2] However, the text makes no explicit reference to the temple. The temple priests are among the customers of the prostitutes, but any other relation of prostitutes to temple is pure speculation. This

[1] The English translations of the texts cited follows closely Moore 1977, but the verse numbering follows the edition by Ziegler (Göttinger Septuaginta).

[2] E.g. Kratz 1998, 93.

is all the more so as τέγος also means "brothel" in late Greek.[3] The prostitutes ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους might thus well be nothing more than common commercial prostitutes.

The next references to women in the Letter of Jeremiah relate to sacrificial practices.

V.27 mentions women (αἱ γυναῖκες) who cure part of the offerings rather than give it to the poor.

[27] τὰς δὲ θυσίας αὐτῶν ἀποδόμενοι οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν καταχρῶνται·	27 Their priests sell the sacrifices offered to them and pocket the proceeds for themselves.
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες	Just as bad, the women
ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ταριχεύουσαι	cure some of it
οὔτε πτωχῷ οὔτε ἀδυνάτῳ μεταδιδόασι·	but share non of it with the poor and the helpless.

The Alexandrinus (and some versions) reads αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν, suggesting the women are the wives of the priests, but the Old Greek text does not advance this claim. Priests and women are agents set in parallel: both priests and women treat the offerings in an inappropriate manner. As demonstrated below,, αἱ γυναῖκες is used again in a similar way in v.42.

V.28 states that women in menstruation and those who have given birth touch idol offerings.

[28] τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν ἀποκαθημένη καὶ λεχὼ ἅπτονται.	28 Their offerings are handled by women who are having their menstrual periods or have just given birth.

These two groups of women are considered unclean according to Lev 12:2-5; 15:19f,[4] yet there is no connection made between these unclean women and those of the preceding verse. Rather than refer to a particular group of women, this verse gives the impression that any women, however unclean, can touch idol offerings.

V.29 points out that women (γυναῖκες) set offerings before the idols.

[29] πόθεν γὰρ κληθείησαν θεοί;	29 For how can they be called gods?
ὅτι γυναῖκες παρατιθέασι	For women set offerings
θεοῖς ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς καὶ ξυλίνοις·	before the gods of silver, gold and wood.

[3] Cf. Moore 1977, 338. Torrey 1945, 66 suggests a misreading of the Aramaic עַל אַגְרָא "as payment" as עַל אָגָרָא "on the roof".

[4] Cf. Gunneweg 1980, 188f. n. i and others. As Marsman 2003, 488f. points out, this was common in the ancient Near East.

This verse is syntactically linked to the following section, which concerns priests performing a kind of mourning ritual. As it is the last verse dealing with women and offerings, we might expect it to resume or conclude the whole issue. It thus comes as somewhat of a surprise, therefore, that after the accusations in v.27 and v.28, v.29 merely states that it is women who offer the sacrifices. No more is there illicit use of offerings or ritual impurity: gender is the only issue at stake in v.29. Scholars commonly explain the polemical impact of this statement with the assumption that v.29 refers to priestesses, an institution for which biblical law makes no provision.[5] However, the polemic might even extend to ritual agency of women in general. The term γυναῖκες is used here without the definite article, and I would suggest that the author does not implicate priestesses exclusively. V.30 explicitly introduces the temple (καὶ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις αὐτῶν), but this is not necessarily the implied setting of the preceding discussion in its entirety. Thus, v.24 declares that the idols are bought (ἀγοράζω), which fits better for private cult practice.[6]

Easier to identify are the women in v.32.

[32] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφελόμενοι οἱ ἱερεῖς	32 The priests take the robes from them (=the idols)
ἐνδύουσι τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ παιδία.	to dress their own wives and children.

αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν are the wives of the priests. Like in BelDr,[7] the families of the priests – wives and children – benefit from the goods illicitly removed from the idols. Unlike the aforementioned women, however, the priests' wives do not act themselves but passively receive the idols' clothing. There is nothing to suggest we should identify other women in the Letter of Jeremiah with the wives of the priests mentioned here in v.32.

A brief remark will do for the next woman, too: it is the widow (χήρα) in v.37.

[37] χήραν οὐ μὴ ἐλεήσωσιν	37 They (=the idols) do not pity a widow,
οὔτε ὀρφανὸν εὖ ποιήσουσι.	nor treat well an orphan.

The widow together with the orphan is common as a person who can reasonably expect help. She is not related to any other female character in the text.

The last paragraph dealing with women is probably the most intriguing one. In v.42-43, the author describes a practice of ritual prostitution.

[5] Cf. Ball 1913, 604; Moore 1977, 346; Kratz 1998, 99; Moatti-Fine 2005, 321.

[6] The "official" cult image of a temple was – at least in Mesopotamia – made in the associated workshop, cf. Berlejung 1998.

[7] Cf. BelDr v.15Th: The priests, their wives and their children eat up the offerings for Bel.

42 αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες περιθέμεναι σχοινία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐγκάθηνται	42 Women sit in the streets, with cords around them,
θυμιῶσαι τὰ πίτυρα·	burning bran like incense;
43 ὅταν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἐφελκυσθεῖσα	43 and when one of them is led off
ὑπό τινος τῶν παραπορευομένων	by a passer-by
κοιμηθῇ,	to have intercourse,
τὴν πλησίον ὀνειδίζει,	she taunts her neighbor
ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίωται ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὴ	for not being esteemed as herself
οὔτε τὸ σχοινίον αὐτῆς διερράγη.	and for not having her cord broken.

As in v.27 αἱ γυναῖκες, the subjects are "the women". How these women or their practice relate to the idols is not made explicit, but the context suggests such an account devaluates the idols. It seems probable, therefore, that either the women belong to temple personnel, the ritual is performed in honor of the idols, or both. A similar account of Babylonian women prostituting themselves in honor of the gods appears in Herodotus I 199. Herodotus remarks that every Babylonian woman has to prostitute herself in the temple of Ishtar once in her life. Herodotus' account is quite similar to the Letter of Jeremiah: he describes women wearing cords and sitting along the paths men travel, who then choose any woman they like for sexual intercourse. Like the Letter of Jeremiah, an implicit competition emerges between the women: the sooner they are chosen, the better for them. Now, historically speaking, there is no evidence for such a ritual actually being performed in ancient Babylonia. Both Herodotus and the Letter of Jeremiah offer a highly polemical account and provide no reliable information for some kind of cult-related prostitution. The question is thus what role these women play *according to the Letter of Jeremiah*? Assuming the Letter of Jeremiah refers to a rumor spread by Herodotus (and others), the women might be Babylonian women in general. Moreover, the image of the broken cord fits a singular act of prostitution, not professional practice. However, if we consider context in the Letter of Jeremiah, the women provide a second (and probably parallel) example to the Chaldeans mentioned in v.40, who also shame the idols by their behavior. As many scholars have pointed out, Χαλδαίοι most likely designates here the Babylonian priests (cf. Herodotus I 181), not Babylonians in general (which would be Βαβυλώνιοι as in v.1). If this is correct, it seems more probable that αἱ γυναῖκες, too, are not merely women in general. As in v.27, αἱ γυναῖκες are mentioned as agents in parallel to priests. Perhaps they, too, should be understood as a group with cultic functions.

In sum, the women we encounter in the Letter of Jeremiah are not all the same. The wives of the priests as well as the widow form no independent group of female protagonists; instead, they belong to the larger group of families of priests and the *personae miserae*, respectively. As for the remaining

female characters, they all perform actions relating to either sacrifice or prostitution. Due to the polemical diction of the Letter of Jeremiah, it is not possible to determine exactly which women the text refers to. For instance, although ritual prostitution as presented in v.42-43 is not a historical fact, it is possible that the author imagines the institution of temple prostitutes for polemical purposes. Moreover, while the male temple staff appears in the Letter of Jeremiah as "priests" (οἱ ἱερεῖς), no female cult personnel is mentioned explicitly. The only women whose function is explicitly specified are the πόρναι in v.10. Nevertheless the γυναῖκες in v.27, 29, 42 may well have cultic functions. Calling them γυναῖκες without further specification is probably the polemical strategy of an author who refuses to acknowledge female cult personnel.

The role of women in the polemic of offerings should already be clear. I will now examine more in detail the two passages dealing with prostitution: v.7-10 and v.40-43.

III. Women, Idols and Prostitution in the Letter of Jeremiah

a) EpJer 7-10

[7] γλῶσσα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστι κατεξυσμένη ὑπὸ τέκτονος,	7 Their tongues are polished by a carpenter,
αὐτά τε περίχρυσα καὶ περιάργυρα,	and they are gilded and silvered;
ψευδῆ δέ ἐστι καὶ οὐ δύνανται λαλεῖν.	but they are a fraud and cannot speak.
[8] καὶ ὥσπερ παρθένῳ φιλοκόσμῳ	8 As one might for a girl fond of jewelry,
λαμβάνοντες χρυσίον	they take gold
[9] κατασκευάζουσι στεφάνους	9 and make crowns
ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν·	for the heads of their gods.
ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅτε ὑφαιρούμενοι οἱ ἱερεῖς	Sometimes, even the priests filch
ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον	gold and silver from their gods
εἰς ἑαυτοὺς καταναλώσουσι,	and lavish it upon themselves
[10] δώσουσι δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ	10 and give some of it
ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους πόρναις.	to prostitutes on the roof *[or: in the brothel]*.

As we have seen, there are two instances of female characters in v.7-10: the young woman in v.8 and the prostitutes in v.10. At first sight, there is no link between the two. However, a closer look reveals they are connected by gold in v.8 and 9:

1) The priests use gold to adorn the idols as one would a young woman.
2) The priests remove the gold from the idols and give it to prostitutes.

The idols are thus compared to the young woman who loves jewelery, and the gold can be used for idols and for prostitutes. If one can give the gold of the idols to a prostitute, is the young woman who loves the golden jewels the idol is wearing really such an innocent character? Connecting the young woman, the idol, and the prostitute by the gold may serve to suggest that the three of them are actually quite the same.

Moreover, there might be yet another female character hidden in this paragraph. Although descriptions of the fabrication of an idol are a common topic in polemical texts, no other text mentions polished tongues of idols (v.7). The Greek term for "to polish" might render here a Semitic word of the root חלק. In Hebrew, the image of a polished tongue makes perfect sense. Prov 6:24 warns the reader of the חֶלְקַת לָשׁוֹן, the "smoothness of the tongue" of the foreign woman. It is quite possible, then, that the tongue polishing in v.7 anticipates the comparison of the idol with the young woman in v.8, who in turn approximates the idol with prostitutes in v.10.

b) EpJer 40-43

[40] ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Χαλδαίων ἀτιμαζόντων αὐτά,	40 Besides, even the Chaldeans themselves dishonor them:
οἵ ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἐνεὸν οὐ δυνάμενον λαλῆσαι,	when they see a dumb man who cannot speak,
προσενεγκάμενοι τὸν Βῆλον ἀξιοῦσιν φωνῆσαι,	they bring (him) and pray Bel [*or: they bring Bel and pray]* (the mute) may speak
ὡς δυνατοῦ ὄντος αὐτοῦ αἰσθέσθαι,	as if he (=Bel) were able to understand!
[41] καὶ οὐ δύνανται αὐτοὶ νοήσαντες καταλιπεῖν αὐτά,	41 But they cannot percieve this and abandon them (=their idols)
αἴσθησιν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν.	because they lack common sense.
[42] αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες περιθέμεναι σχοινία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐγκάθηνται	42 Women sit in the streets, with cords around them,
θυμιῶσαι τὰ πίτυρα·	burning bran like incense;
[43] ὅταν δέ τις αὐτῶν ἐφελκυσθεῖσα	43 and when one of them is led off
ὑπό τινος τῶν παραπορευομένων	by a passer-by
κοιμηθῇ,	to have intercourse,
τὴν πλησίον ὀνειδίζει,	she taunts her neighbor
ὅτι οὐκ ἠξίωται ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὴ	for not being esteemed as herself
οὔτε τὸ σχοινίον αὐτῆς διερράγη.	and for not having her cord broken.
[44] πάντα τὰ γινόμενα αὐτοῖς ἐστι ψευδῆ·	44a Everything that happens to them (=the idols) is false.

V.40-43 are framed by the usual refrain questions of the Letter of Jeremiah: "How can anyone consider them gods?" (v.39, 44). Thus, they form one unit which consists of two scenes in v.40-41 and v.42-43. If v.44 is the conclusion from v.40-43, it refers to the scenes as τὰ γινόμενα αὐτοῖς "that which happens to the gods" or "for the gods". Each of these two scenes apparently presents an example of how the Babylonians dishonor their own gods. This is explicit in the first scene where the Chaldeans handle the image of Bel. It is less clear,though, in which particular manner the second scene implies idols. Comparison with Herodotus' account demonstrates that the second scene depicts a ritual performed in honor of a Babylonian deity. The structure of the unit v.40-43 suggests that the women in the second scene have a particular cultic function by analogy with the Chaldeans in the first. There is a third possibility of construing how the second scene relates to idols. The term ἀξιόω is used once in each scene (v.40.43)[8] and only here in the Letter of Jeremiah. In v.40, the Chaldeans pray (ἀξιοῦσιν) Bel. In v.43, the woman chosen for sexual intercourse thinks of herself as esteemed (ἠξίωται). It is probably no coincidence that the Chaldeans "request" Bel by the same term the passer-by "requests" the woman who prostitutes herself. As in v.7-10, the idol is approximated to a prostitute.

IV. Conclusion

In sum, most of the women mentioned in the Letter of Jeremiah allude to idol offerings or prostitution. It cannot be determined with any certainty whether or not the women referred to merely as γυναῖκες are actually women with specific cultic functions. Nonetheless, it is striking that men never appear in the same unspecific way; male characters are always referred to by their function. The "women" are in some instances acting parallel to priests (v.27.42), and it seems probable that referring to them by their gender rather than (possible) cultic function serves as a polemical device. Whereas in the case of the offerings the author denigrates the idols indirectly by denouncing the illicit practices of their attendants, he goes one step further in the passages related to prostitution and intentionally cross-fades idols with women who prostitute themselves.

[8] The use of the same verb in v.40 and v.43 has already been pointed out by Moatti-Fine 2005, 325 (without further interpretation).

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"Even in His Servants He Puts No Trust"
The Vision in Job 4:12-21 and Its Place in the Book

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Key points for discussion: How could the initial establishment of the tensions between the vision and its context be improved? Does the paper make an effective case for an original attribution to Job? Is the proposed explanation for its current position in Eliphaz's speech plausible and well-explained?

The vision report in Job 4:12-21 is an anomaly, combining a range of disparate theophanic traditions to introduce a subversive message about God's relation to the rest of creation. That such a vision appears in the first speech of Eliphaz is equally curious, for why would this foremost defender of traditional wisdom interrupt his defense of God's justice with so troubling a vision, only to apparently contradict its message elsewhere in the same speech? Many follow Fullerton in seeing the *internal* ambiguities as the poet's means to undermine Eliphaz's position,[1] while Tur-Sinai and a few others have stressed the tensions *between* the vision and its context as evidence that this is not Eliphaz's vision at all.[2] This paper will combine these observations to argue that the vision was originally attributed to Job, and its ambiguity reflects Job's fear that God has deceived and condemned him. It is this subversive aspect of the vision that could explain how it came to appear in Eliphaz's speech.

To see this, I will first argue that the vision combines revelatory imagery with strong allusions to judgment—both on the recipient and the whole human race. I will then argue that Job's subsequent speeches build on the vision to complain of God's antagonism, while his friends repeatedly challenge Job's use of the vision while reaffirming a dichotomy between the fates of the righteous and the wicked. Finally, I will follow Greenstein in seeing the vision as the original conclusion to Job's first speech. But against his conclusion that the vision was *accidentally* displaced, I will suggest that a late redactor *deliberately* moved it from Job's speech to Eliphaz's, in order to obscure Job's use of the vision to accuse God.

I. An Ambiguous Vision

In overall form, the vision in Job 4 strongly resembles the "prophetic vision report" reconstructed by Behrens, in which a vision is reported in the first person (4:12-16), followed

[1] E.g. FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 320-374, esp. 346-355; HARDING, Spirit, 137-166; cf. HOFFMAN, Equivocal Words, 114-19; COTTER, Job 4-5, 109-115; HABEL, Job, 121-22, 127-28; POPE, Job, 36.

[2] TORCZYNER (=TUR-SINAI), Hiob, 10-14, 96-98, 178-181, argues that 4:12-21 was accidentally displaced from one of Job's speeches. The later TUR-SINAI, Job, 88-91, 250-51, 376-77, saw it instead as an implicit quotation. GINSBERG, Patient, 88-111, GREENSTEIN, Extent, 245-262, and WEINFELD, Partition, 222-25, esp. 223 n.18, follow Tur-Sinai's first suggestion that the vision was displaced (cf. also GREENSTEIN, Skin, 63-77). SMITH, Vision, 453-463, follows Tur-Sinai's later conclusion that it is a quotation. GRUBER, Human and Divine, 92-94 and S.M. PAUL, Hair-Raising, 119 n.1, also follow Tur-Sinai and Ginsberg, without saying whether 4:12-21 is a quotation or displaced.

by a divine message, typically beginning with a question (4:17-21).[3] But Job 4 lacks the usual verbal markers of the genre (ראה + הנה and אמר), instead drawing language from a range of theophanic traditions, not all of which imply revelation. This tension is evident from the first verse: "Now a word came stealing [גנב; Pual] to me, my ear received a whisper of it."[4] A word coming to someone commonly describes prophecy,[5] but גנב has strongly negative connotations of theft or deception in all its other occurrences.[6] The only place it describes prophecy is in Jeremiah's depiction of the *false* prophets, who "prophesy lying dreams" (חלמות שׁקר; 23:32) and "steal [גנב; Piel] my [= YHWH's] words from one another" (23:30).[7]

Such dubious connotations continue in Job 4:13-14, where the speaker refers to visions explicitly, but describes them as disquieting and terrifying: "Amid thoughts from visions of the night [מחזינות לילה], when deep sleep [תרדמה] falls on mortals, dread [פחד] came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones shake." חזיון nearly always refers to visions or prophecy in the Hebrew Bible,[8] though it can also describe *false* prophecy.[9] But תרדמה is only associated with revelation in Gen 15:12; elsewhere it seems to be a kind of divine anesthesia, sometimes sent as an act of judgment.[10] Hamori notes that in Isa 29:10, YHWH

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[3] According to BEHRENS, Visionsschilderungen, 32-60, 372-78, the distinctive markers of the genre are: 1. A vision part, introduced by ראה (Qal 1st Sg or Hiph 3rd Sg + 1st Sg Suf), normally followed by הנה; 2. A divine word or dialogue, typically beginning with a ו-consecutive אמר (occasionally שׁמע), beginning with a question or imperative, and always ending with a divine word. A similar form, but less clearly defined, is reconstructed by LONG, Visions, 353-65; cf. HORST, Visionsschilderungen, 438-454, esp. 452-54.

[4] Except where otherwise noted, all translations follow the NRSV. YHWH replaces "the LORD."

[5] Cf. e.g. Gen 15:1, 4; Deut 18:18-22; 2 Sam 7:4; 1 Kgs 22:5, 19; Isa 1:10; 16:13; 38:4; Jer 1:2, 4, 11, 13; 2:1; 25:3; Ezek 1:3; Hos 1:1, 2; Joel 1:1; Am 1:1; Jon 1:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:10; Hag 1:1; Zech 1:1; 1:7; 4:8; 6:9; 7:1, 4, 8; Mal 1:1; Dan 9:23; 10:1; cf. also Num 23:5.

[6] The root appears 57 times in the Hebrew Bible, though in the Pual only in Gen 40:15 (of Joseph being stolen or kidnapped from his homeland) and Exod 22:6 (of stolen goods). In only one case does the verb refer to something other than theft or deceit, in 2 Sam 19:4, and even there it is linked to shame: "The troops stole [גנב hitp] into the city that day as soldiers steal [גנב hitp] in who are ashamed [כלם] when they flee in battle."

[7] HARDING, Spirit, 141-42. WERBLOWSKY, Stealing, 105-6, claims that גנב is a technical term for revelation (followed by FOHRER, Hiob, 142; COTTER, Job 4-5, 179), but his primary evidence is this very passage, which is dubious. The ambiguity continue in 4:12b, where "my ear received" can be used of prophecy, but "whisper" (שׁמץ) is not a standard term for divine speech. In fact, its only other occurrence is in 26:14 (which may be dependent on 4:12), where it describes the small part of God's activity that humanity can perceive, namely God's unmatched power. A feminine form also occurs once in Exod 32:25, where the connotations are clearly negative (cf. J. GRAY, Job, 154. *HALOT* 2.1580-81).

[8] חזיון occurs only five times outside of Job (2 Sam 7:17; Isa 22:1, 5; Joel 3:1[2:28]; Zech 13:4), while the short form חזון is more common (e.g., 1 Sam 3:1; 1 Chr 17:15; 2 Chr 32:32; Ps 89:20; Isa 1:1; Jer 14:14; 23:16; Lam 2:9; Ezek 7:13, 26; 12:22-24; 13:16; Dan 1:17; 8:1, 2, 13, 15, 17, 26; 9:21, 24; 10:14; 11:14; Hos 12:11[10]; Mic 3:6; Oba 1:1; Nah 1:1; Hab 2:2-3). Both are virtually always associated with revelation.

[9] E.g. Jer 14:14; 23:16; Ezek 13:16; cf. Isa 29:7; Hos 12:11[10]; Mic 3:6.

[10] תרדמה occurs in 33:15 (a quote of 4:13), but only five times otherwise, four of which are directly caused by God. In Gen 15:12 it precedes Abram's vision, but in Gen 2:21 in simply anesthetizes Adam in preparation for the creation of Eve, and in 1 Sam 26:12 and Isa 29:10 it is clearly a sign of God's rejection of the recipients; only Prov 19:16 uses the term in a mundane sense. The verb רדם appears seven times, with similar associations: In Ps 76:7[6] it results from God's rebuke, and something like that may be implied in Jdg 4:21 and Jon 1:5-6, though it is not explicit in either case (and CLINES, Byronic Suggestion, 746, doubts that this should be read in); in Dan 8:18 and 10:9 רדם precedes visionary experiences; but in Prov 10:5 it seems to be nothing more than the mundane sleep of the lazy.

sends תרדמה in order to *prevent* prophecy.[11] Further, while fear is a common response to theophany, it is surprisingly rare among visions,[12] while the term used in 4:14, פחד, most often refers to the "dread" that accompanies God's judgment (e.g. Job 3:25; 21:9).[13]

Finally, the tension comes to a head in 4:15-16, "A spirit [רוח] glided [חלף] past my face; the hair of my flesh bristled. It stood still, but I could not discern its appearance. A form was before my eyes; there was silence, then I heard a voice [קול]." When it does not merely describe the "wind," רוח can refer to God's own "spirit,"[14] or to a "spirit" distinct from God.[15] God's רוח could also be linked to prophecy,[16] but in Job it is more regularly associated with judgment, including just before this in 4:9: "By the breath of God they perish, and by the blast [רוח] of his anger they are consumed."[17] Here the spirit, "glided past" (חלף),[18] a verb which describes God twice in Job, both of which see it as an act of judgment (9:12; 11:10).[19] The

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[11] שׂעפים ("thoughts") in 4:13a. Though it occurs elsewhere only in 20:2, a probable allusion to this passage, a similar form (שׂרעפים) also appears in Ps 94:19 and 139:23, with apparent connotations of anxiousness (noted by POPE, Job, 36, who translates "disquieting thoughts" or "nightmares." Similarly, HABEL, Job, 127).

[12] Of the vision reports discussed by BEHRENS, Visionsschilderungen, only Daniel mentions fear (8:27; 10:12, 19), while other visionary accounts that emphasize terror (esp. Gen 15; Isa 21) tend to be unconventional in other ways as well. Nevertheless, fear is a common reaction to theophany more generally, as reflected for instance in the frequent angelic introduction: "Fear not!" (e.g. Gen 15:1; 21:17; 26:24; 46:3; Jdg 6:23). As in Gen 15 and Isa 21, this "dread" seems to be foregrounded well beyond that normally experienced by prophets.

[13] E.g. Exod 15:16; Deut 2:25; 11:25; 28:66-67; 1 Chr 14:17; 2 Chr 14:13; 17:10; 20:29; Est 8:17; 9:2, 3; Ps 14:5; 53:6[5]; 105:28; Isa 2:10, 19, 21; 19:16-17; 24:17-18; 44:11; Jer 33:9; 48:43-44; 49:5; Mic 7:17; it is occasionally used of "the fear of YHWH" in a few other connections (1 Sam 11:7; 2 Chr 19:7; Ps 36:2[1]), but this is not equivalent to the "fear" (יראה) commonly associated with piety, in Job as elsewhere (cf. Job 4:6; 6:14; 15:4; 22:4; 28:28; Exod 20:20; 2 Chr 19:9; Ps 5:8[7]; 111:10; Prov 1:7; 9:10; Isa 11:2-3). רעדה is more rare, appearing only in Ps 2:11; 48:7; Isa 33:14. Of these, Ps 48:7 refers to the trembling of a woman in labor, but Ps 2:11 speaks of "fear and trembling" before YHWH, and Isa 33:14 it is again paired with פחד to describe the fear and trembling of the wicked before the "devouring flames" of YHWH's appearance (cf. 33:10-14).

[14] Cf. e.g. Job 33:4; Gen 1:2; 6:3; Ps 104:30; 139:7; 143:10; Isa 34:16; 40:7, 13; 63:10-14; Ezek 1:4, 12, 20-21; 10:17; 37:5-14; Hag 2:5; Zech 4:6. FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 348-49, denies that רוח can mean "spirit" in Job 4:15, since it is never used of an apparition the way πνεῦμα is at times in the New Testament (also noted by POPE, Job, 37). But the "spirit" in 1 Kgs 22:21 also "stood" before YHWH, indicating a discernible form. That this occurs in a vision is no objection, as Job 4:15-16 does as well.

[15] Cf. Jdg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9; 1 Kgs 22:21-24 (//2 Chr 18:20-23); 2 Kgs 19:7 (//Isa 37:7); Isa 19:14 (cf. 19:3); 29:10; cf. Ps 18:11[10] (//2 Sam 22:11); Ps 104:4; Hos 4:12; 5:4; Zech 6:5; 13:2.

[16] E.g. Num 11:29; 24:2; 1 Sam 10:10; 19:20, 23; 2 Sam 23:2; 1 Kgs 18:12; 22:21-24 (//2 Chr 18:20-23); 2 Kgs 2:16; 2 Chr 15:1; 20:14; 24:20; Neh 9:20, 30; Isa 61:1; Ezek 2:2; 3:12, 14, 24; 8:3; 11:1, 5, 24; 37:1; 43:5; Hos 9:7; Joel 2:28-29; Mic 3:8; Zech 7:12. But enabling prophecy was only one the roles attributed to God's spirit in the Hebrew Bible (cf. UM, Temple Christology, 68-129; MACDONALD, Spirit of YHWH).

[17] Cf. also 1:19; 15:20; 21:18:26:13:30:15, 22. The opposite link, between the spirit and life, is also occasionally seen, e.g. 12:10; 34:14-15. Only Elihu (32:8, 18; cf. 33:4), and possibly Zophar (20:3) link רוח with revelation. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, an association with judgment is especially prominent when a divine רוח is *distinguished* from God's own spirit (e.g. Jdg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:9; 1 Kgs 22:21-24 [//2 Chr 18:20-23]; 2 Kgs 19:7 [//Isa 37:7]; Isa 19:14 [cf. 19:3]; 29:1).

[18] The verb is masculine, where רוח is normally feminine, but J. GRAY, Job, 155, and CAESAR, New Thesis, 438, suggest that this could be meant to imply a personal being rather than a mere wind (though cf. Exod 10:13; J. GRAY, Job, 155; cf. HARDING, Vision, 147-48).

[19] The second half of 4:15 may also imply judgment. Though normally translated "the hair [שׂערה] of my flesh bristled," שׂערה may be an alternate spelling of סערה, the "whirlwind" of Job 38:1; 40:6 (cf. Isa 28:2; Nah 1:3 for the spelling with שׂ; so HABEL, Job, 115, following DAHOOD, Storm, 544-45; cf. also COTTER, Job 4-5, 184-85; rejected by FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 350). סערה is virtually always used in the context of theophany (e.g. Exod 19:16; 2 Kgs 2:1, 11; Ezek 1:4) but it could also indicate judgment, including against false

"voice" (קול) of God can also be revelatory, but in Job it is only used as a reflection of God's power (cf. 37:2-5; 40:9-12).[20]

Taken as a whole, therefore, the account clearly purports to describe a theophany, but many of its expressions connote judgment as well as revelation. That impression is then confirmed by the message in 4:17-21, which also emphasizes the condemnation of human beings, apparently without distinction:

> [17] Can mortals be righteous before God [or "more righteous than God"; מאלוה]?
> Can human beings be pure before their Maker [or "purer than their Maker"; מעשׂהו]?
> [18] Even in his servants he puts no trust,
> and his angels he charges with error [תהלה];
> [19] how much more those who live in houses of clay,
> whose foundation is in the dust,
> who are crushed like a moth.
> [20] Between morning and evening they are destroyed;
> they perish forever without any regarding it.
> [21] Their tent-cord is plucked up within them,
> and they die devoid of wisdom.

In line with the "prophetic vision report" genre, this begins with a question,[21] but if this is a revelation, it is certainly an unusual one. The initial question is ambiguous, whether we assign a comparative or a "confrontational" sense.[22] Most think "Can a mortal be more righteous than God?" is too trivial to be the point,[23] but in fact Job himself will go on to claim

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prophets (Jer 23:19-20 (cf. 20:23-24); Ezek 13:11-13; Jon 1:12; HARDING, Metaprophecy, 532). S.M. PAUL, Hair-Raising, 119-121, suggests a double-entendre. מראה ("appearance") and תמונה ("form") are also regularly associated with divine appearance, but not always that of God himself, FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 350. מראה can mean "appearance" in the mundane sense, but frequently it is used of the "appearance" of God (Exod 24:17; 1 Sam 3:15; cf. Exod 3:3; Num 12:8; Ezek 1:5, 13-16, 26-28; 10:1, 9-10, 22), or an angel (Jdg 13:6; Dan 8:15; Dan 10:6, 18) sometimes in the sense of a visitation or apparition. It is also itself frequently used of a divine "vision" (Gen 46:2; Num 12:6; Ezek 1:1; 8:2-4; 11:24; 40:2-3; 43:3; Dan 8:16, 26-27; 9:23; 10:1, 7-8, 16). The only other occurrence in Job describes Leviathan (41:1[9]). תמונה is much less common, and used exclusively of the "form" of God on the one hand (Num 12:4; Deut 4:12, 15; Ps 17:15), or an idol on the other (Exod 20:4; Deut 4:16, 23, 25; 5:8). It does not occur elsewhere in Job.

[20] Elihu uses קול five times in 37:2-5 to depict God's creative power: "God thunders wondrously with his voice; he does great things that we cannot comprehend" (37:5). In ch. 40, YHWH asks Job whether he can thunder with a voice like God's, bringing the wicked low. Such an association between the divine voice and displays of power are also seen elsewhere, most prominently in Ps 29:3-9.

[21] Cf. BEHRENS, Visionsschilderungen, esp. 56-60. The dialogue begins with a question in Am 7:8; 8:2; Isa 6:8; Jer 24:3; Ezek 3:1; Zech 1:9; cf. also Num 22:9; 1 Kgs 3:5; Am 7:2; 7:5. That the speaker is God or his messenger is probably implied by the same connection, as this case is not a dialogue and in *all* other cases God (sometimes via his messenger) has the last word in the vision (so BEHRENS, Visionsschilderungen, 60).

[22] The term is Beuken's (Eliphaz, 296-97). Such a sense is reflected in the LXX (ἐναντίον in 4:17a; 17b drops the reference to God: ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ἄμεμπτος ἀνήρ). מן is used in this way in Ps 18:22 and Jer 51:5. This reading is accepted by FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 357; *idem*, Chapters 9 and 10, 257-260, POPE, Job, 37; HABEL, Job 116; CLINES, Job, 1.132; GINSBERG, Patient, 106 n. 3; BEUKEN, Eliphaz, 296. WHITEKETTLE, Question, 445-48, especially argues for a comparative reading, which is also accepted by KÖHLMOOS, Auge Gottes, 184, 194-95. That this would normally be the expected meaning is admitted by FULLERTON, Chapters 9 and 10, 257; POPE, Job, 37; HABEL, Job, 116; CLINES, Job, 1.132.

[23] BEUKEN, Eliphaz, 296, thinks that if anyone "can easily respond 'of course not!'… the question thus obviates further discussion by blocking the dispute between Job and his friends in advance, especially if we are dealing with some form of divine inspiration." But as WHITEKETTLE, Question, 446, notes, a rhetorical question is *meant* to be self-evidently answerable, in order to prompt assent from the addressee.

that he is innocent, while God is guilty (see esp. 9:16-24; 16:9-21).[24] Yet even if we follow the more common translation, "Can a mortal be righteous before God?" may also be subversive. If one accepts Eliphaz's contrast between the righteous and the wicked (e.g. 4:7-11), the answer would seem to be "yes—a human can be righteous," but the following verses seem to demand the answer "no—human beings cannot be righteous."[25] Thus, 4:18-19 introduces an *a maiore ad minus* argument, that if God does not even trust "his servants," and "his angels" (or "messengers"; מלאכיו; 4:18), how much less "those who live in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust, who are crushed like a moth" (4:19).[26] This focus on humanity's origin and lowly nature has sometimes been taken to imply that sin is not in view at all, only the "infinite distance [that] exists in the order of the cosmos between creatures and God."[27] But this depends on a distinction the text cannot support.[28] That righteousness and purity do not return in 4:19-21 does not prove that they are no longer in view, as the comparison with God's mistrust of his servants in 4:18 loses any force otherwise.

Pinker seeks to avoid that conclusion by reading the *hapax* תהלה in 4:18b as "weakness," making it a generic reference to the imperfection of creation.[29] But even if he were right, 4:18a still clearly indicates mistrust (לא אמן).[30] Pinker's objection that the usual reading "leads to the doctrine of universal sinfulness, which contradicts the doctrine of retribution in Eliphaz's first speech,"[31] merely assumes what it means to prove: that the vision is consistent with Eliphaz's views.

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[24] Cf. HARDING, Spirit, 163-65. Indeed, KÖHLMOOS, 195, 196 n.3, suggests that the answer ought not to be "obvious" to any reader of the prologue either (cf. also CLINES, Job, 1.133).

[25] BEUKEN, Eliphaz, 297, recognizes that the verse "does not square with Eliphaz's world view," but still goes on to try and make it fit by downplaying the moral aspect to the vision (297-313).

[26] On the textual difficulties in 4:19-21, cf. WEISS, Bible from Within, 164-68. This last clause is especially difficult, and has been variously rendered. TUR-SINAI, Job, 86, even suggests "before their maker."

[27] BEUKEN, Eliphaz, 299, cf. also PINKER, Job 4,18, 500-519. Beuken thinks that יטהר/יצדק tend to refer to ethical and ritual purity respectively, and together represent the two major aspects of humanity's relation to God (as also in their pairing in 17:9; BEUKEN, Eliphaz, 298).

[28] SMITH, Vision, 462-63.

[29] PINKER, Job 4,18, 507, 513-15, derives תהלה from the Aramaic הלי ("to be faint, to labor"), but this root is unattested in any other Semitic language besides Aramaic. All other proposed cognates for תהלה impute some sort of significant defect or failing to these angels or messengers, whether it be "perverseness," "foolishness," "error," "deception," or "mockery," which fits with the emphasis on righteousness and purity in 4:17. The range of solutions proposed to explain תהלה are legion, and will not be reviewed here. PINKER, Job 4,18, 505-9, names eight distinct possibilities, including his own (511-19). The most common seems to be "charges with error" (e.g. POPE, Job, 35, 37).

[30] Pinker's reading further depends on his conclusion that 4:18 refers to "inanimate" heavenly bodies (Job 4,18, 513, 518). This is anachronistic, as the book of Job clearly depicts the sun, moon and stars themselves as divine beings, whether as servants of God (e.g. 38:7), or potential objects of worship (31:26-28).Numerous aspects of creation are more or less explicitly personified in Job, including the stars (38:7; cf. 9:7), the heavens (besides 15:15; also 20:27; 26:11; cf. 26:13; 9:8), the earth (12:8; 16:18; 20:27), the sea (7:12; 9:8; 26:12; 28:14; 38:8), and dozens of others. Presumably not all of these are meant to describe actual divine figures, but regardless the impression is of a cosmos teeming with activity.

[31] PINKER, Job 4,18, 509.

The problem is even clearer in 4:20-21, particularly the affirmations that mortals "perish forever without any regarding it" (4:20b) and "die devoid of wisdom" (4:21b).[32] Clines admits that if read with an indicative sense, these verses would "destroy the premise from which he [=Eliphaz] began… namely that humankind is divided into two camps, the righteous and the wicked (4:7-8)."[33] He therefore concludes that the verbs must indicate a *possibility* rather than a *fact*.[34] But nothing in the vision itself demands such a modal sense; it is read into the text only in order to reconcile the vision to Eliphaz's views. Without the assumption that the vision must comport with Eliphaz's position, the most straightforward reading of 4:19-21 is that mortals "perish" without distinction. This is a problem, as we will see that precisely that conclusion is affirmed by Job in later speeches, but repeatedly challenged by the friends, who insist that the righteous do *not* perish, only the wicked.

II. The Vision in the Rest of the Dialogues

The problem is not just that the vision is at odds with the views of the friends elsewhere, but that Eliphaz directly refutes it before even recounting it (4:7-9):

> [7] Think now, who that was innocent ever perished [אבד]?
> Or where were the upright cut off?
> [8] As I have seen, those who plow iniquity
> and sow trouble reap the same.
> [9] By the breath of God they perish [אבד],
> and by the blast of his anger they are consumed.

According to Eliphaz, it is not all "mortals" who "perish [אבד] forever without any regarding it" (4:20), only "those who plow iniquity." Beuken attempts to minimize this tension by claiming that 4:7-11 refers primarily to passing of all human power,[35] but nowhere does Eliphaz allow that the innocent, the upright, or the righteous could suffer such a fate, and 4:7 implies that they never do. Similarly, in 5:2-5 Eliphaz depicts the dire fate of the "fool," then assures Job in 5:8-27 that the righteous need fear no such disaster. Even if they suffer trouble, it is only a form of divine discipline (5:17), and poses no true threat (5:18-27).[36] If the

[32] Cf. GIBSON, Eliphaz, 265, 267; CROOK, Cruel God, 30-31; CAESAR, New Thesis, 437; HARDING, Metaprophecy, 532-33. J. GRAY, Job, 157, notes that "devoid of wisdom" could mean to die without purpose, without known how, "for lack of wisdom," or "for lack of the self-discipline of wisdom." He thinks the last is best "in accordance with the orthodoxy of Eliphaz," but this ignores the fact that all options imply that *the entire human race* suffers such a fate, which we will see directly contradicts Eliphaz's views

[33] CLINES, Verb Modality, 749.

[34] CLINES, Verb Modality, 750-51; followed by HABEL, Job, 116.

[35] BEUKEN, Eliphaz, 305.

[36] GINSBERG, Patient, 108-9. Eliphaz does not imply that the righteous are sinless or never suffer—he is explicit that "trouble" is an inherent part of life (5:6-7) and that God "disciplines" even those who follow him

vision did not sit right in the middle of this, it would be difficult to conclude otherwise than that Eliphaz flatly rejects its view of human life.[37] Similarly, in 5:1 Eliphaz denies the utility of any appeal to the holy ones: "Call now; is there anyone who will answer you? To which of the holy ones will you turn?" Scholars have often struggled to understand why Eliphaz would suddenly address such an issue, with many simply dismissing the verse as out of place.[38] But if the rest of Eliphaz's speech now looks like a response to the message of the vision, this can be readily understood as a rejection of its medium.[39]

It is in his next speech, however, that Eliphaz finally makes this explicit. Though most commentators dismiss it, 15:12-16 directly quotes the vision *as the words of Job*:[40]

15:12-16 (Eliphaz)
[12]Why does your heart carry you away,
and why do your eyes flash,
[13]so that you turn your spirit against God,
and utter such words out of your mouth?"
What is a mortal, that he can be clean,
that one born of woman can be righteous?
[15] Even in his holy ones he puts no trust,
and the heavens are not pure in his sight;
[16] how much less one who is abhorrent and corrupt,
a man who drinks iniquity like water!

4:15-19 (The Vision)
[15]A spirit glided past my face;
the hair of my flesh bristled.
[16] It stood still, but I could not discern its appearance.
A form was before my eyes;
there was silence, then I heard a voice:
[17]Can a mortal be righteous before God?
Can human beings be pure before?
[18] Even in his servants he puts no trust,
and his messengers he charges with error;
[19] how much more those who live in houses of clay,
whose foundation is in the dust,
who are crushed like a moth.

8:10 (Bildad)
Will they not teach you and tell you
and utter words out of their hearts?

7:17 (Job)
What is a mortal, that you make so much of him,
that you set your mind on him?

9:30-31 (Job)
[30] If I wash myself with soap
and purify my hands with lye,
[31] yet you will plunge me into filth,
and my own clothes will abhor me.

(5:17)—but these admissions are not thought to detract in any way from the fundamental contrast between the fates of the righteous and the wicked marked out in 4:7-8.

[37] SMITH, Vision, 262-63; GREENSTEIN, Extent, 246-48. GIBSON, Eliphaz, 268, also acknowledges that the two are "deeply contradictory," but attempts to explain this as a reflection of a "poignant tension between Eliphaz's mind and heart" (269). There is little evidence of such a tension elsewhere in Eliphaz's speeches.

[38] E.g. HABEL, Job, 130, "A connection between the opening verse [5:1] and what precedes or follows is not immediately apparent" (similarly DRIVER AND GRAY, Job, 49; FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 324, 355-57; DHORME, Job, 62-63). HABEL, Job, 130, thus suggests that this is "a veiled rebuke of Job for summoning the forces of destruction to erase his origins (3:3-9)," but it is difficult to imagine that "the holy ones" could be meant to refer to "those who rouse Leviathan"! SMITH, Vision, 455-46, discusses several similarly improbable explanations of the role of 5:1, for example: POPE, Job, 41-42, thinks 5:1 is a polemic against the idea of a personal god, but such an idea has not been raised by Job, so there is no obvious reason why Eliphaz would suddenly respond to it. Some commentators simply delete it as a gloss (e.g. FULLERTON, Double Entendre, 357), others transfer 5:1 to precede 5:8 (e.g. DHORME, Job, 62-63; J. GRAY, Job, 160-61).

[39] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 247-48; MILLER, Divine Warrior, 66-144, argues that a number of texts across the Hebrew Bible depict "the holy ones" as members of YHWH's court (e.g. Ps 89:6-8 [5-7]; Zech 14:5 and possibly Prov 30:3). Most conclude that "the holy ones" in Job 5:1 refers to the same group as "his servants" and "his angels" (e.g. POPE, Job, 41-42, who notes also Dan 4:10, 14, 20; 8:13; Hos 12:1[11:12]; similarly J. GRAY, Job 156, who notes Sir 42:17), but the members of the divine court can be called spirits, e.g. 1 Kgs 22:18-21, a text that Job 4:12-16 closely resembles.

[40] Translations adjusted to show parallels.

Ginsberg notes that the citation formula in 15:13 parallels that used by Bildad to introduce a proverb in 8:10.[41] That implies that the following "words" are *Job's*, which is precisely what we find in 15:14-16. The overall structure plainly reflects 4:17-19. Each questions the purity and righteousness of a "mortal" (אנוֹשׁ), affirms that God does not trust his own servants/holy ones, and compares this to the still lower status of humanity.[42] But Eliphaz also introduces several modifications that reflect Job's own subsequent speeches. So in 15:14 the question is now structured according to 7:17, reproducing the expression מה־אנוֹשׁ כי…וכי.[43] This is no incidental overlap, as 7:17 follows an explicit complaint that God terrifies Job with "dreams" and "visions" (חזינות) (7:13-14), and the whole of ch. 7 emphasizes the same view of human frailty that the vision itself affirmed.[44] By restructuring 4:17 according to 7:17, Eliphaz implies that both the vision and Job's use of it are the "words" of Job.[45]

Similarly, 15:15-16 blends 4:18-19 with Job's complaint in 9:30-31 that he cannot "purify" (זכך) himself because God makes him "abhorrent" (תעב).[46] For Job this was an accusation against God, but Eliphaz turns it into an accusation against Job, a procedure he makes explicit in 15:6, "Your own mouth [פיך] condemns you, and not I; your own lips testify against you." Eliphaz completes this accusation in 15:14-16, implying that both the vision and Job's subsequent conclusions from it constitute a damning self-accusation.[47] Job 15:14-16 is

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[41] Both Eliphaz and Bildad refer to uttering (יצא; hiphil) "words" (מלין or מלים), "out of" (מן) a body part, the only difference being that Eliphaz refers explicitly to "your mouth," while Bildad spoke of "their hearts." GINSBERG, Patient, 97, notes that the heart can also be understood as an organ of speech (e.g. Eccl 5:1; Prov 23:33; Ps 49:4), so Bildad's expression is equivalent to Eliphaz's. GREENSTEIN, Extent, 252-55; *idem,* Skin, 67, notes additional examples of quotations or direct speech introduced by similar references to one's "words," "mouth," "spirit" or "heart." He also suggests that Job 15:13a, השיב רוח, is "a locution for speech" paralleled in 35:4 (where it is השיב מלין).

[42] That Eliphaz is quoting from 4:17-19 is also given away by the fact that he omits the reference to "their maker" from 4:17, yet still refers to "*his* holy ones" in 15:15 (GREENSTEIN, Extent, 255).

[43] The expression also occurs in Ps 8:5[4], which Job seems to parody (KYNES, My Psalm, 63-79).

[44] KÖHLMOOS, Auge Gottes, 250, notes that "15,14-16 ist wesentlich eher eine Auseinandersetzung mit Hiobs Aussagen zur Anthropologie als eine exakte Zitation der Vision." But she misses how 15:13 quotes the vision itself as Job's own "words," and fails to take seriously enough the tension (which she admits, 251) between 15:14-16 and Eliphaz's clear distinguishing of the righteous from the wicked elsewhere.

[45] GINSBERG, Patient, 102, also notes that the phrase "born of woman" (ילוד אשׁה) in 15:14b is found elsewhere in Job only in 14:1a and the further paraphrase of the vision in 25:4b. The likelihood of an allusion is strengthened by the context in 14:1-4, in which Job again defends the same view of human frailty as the vision itself: "A mortal, born of woman, few of days and full of trouble, comes up like a flower and withers, flees like a shadow and does not last" (14:1-2).

[46] As HABEL, Job, 256, notes, זכך occurs in Job only in 9:30, 15:15 and its paraphrase in 25:5, and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only in Lam 4:7. תעב is somewhat more common, occurring 22 times in the Hebrew Bible, but its only other occurrences in the book are on the lips of Job himself (9:31; 19:19; 30:10). Note that ch. 9 as a whole also reflects directly on the vision, which is paraphrased in the first verse of the speech: "Indeed I know that this is so; but how can a mortal be just [ומה־יצדק אנוֹשׁ] before God?" (9:2)

[47] GREENSTEIN, Inspiration, 106, seems to connect 15:5-6 to the mere fact that Job claims revelation at all, "When Eliphaz reiterates that Job had condemned himself with his own mouth (vv. 5-6), he is referring to Job's claim to have had a revelation." But given the blending of Job's purported admissions of guilt with the words of the vision in 15:14-16, it seems more likely that Eliphaz is referring to the *content* of the vision, as he understands it, and not just to the fact that Job appeals to it at all.

not, therefore, Eliphaz's reaffirmation of his own view; it is a caricature of *Job's* speeches, among which he apparently includes the vision.[48]

That this is so can also be supported by the rest of the speech. The whole first half can be read as a rejection of Job's claims to exclusive divine knowledge (דעת־רוח; 15:2; cf. 15:7-8).[49] The second half then responds with Eliphaz's own view, based on experience and traditional wisdom, that those who so set themselves against God are destroyed (15:17-35; cf. 15:9-11). As in chs. 4-5, Eliphaz insists that (only) those who turn against God perish.

Nor is this an isolated instance, the vision is paraphrased and alluded to perhaps a dozen times in the book,[50] and constantly treated as a reflection of Job's views. For instance, Zophar's second speech also combines a cluster of critical allusions to the vision with expressions drawn from Job's speeches, in another thinly veiled accusation of Job himself.[51] First, in 20:2-3 Zophar either refers to his *own* "thoughts" (שׂעפי) and "spirit" (רוח) as the source of his words (cf. 4:13, 15), or parodies Job to that effect,[52] then reaffirms that "the wicked" will "perish forever" (לנצח יאבד; 20:7: cf. 4:20; 14:20),[53] and "fly away like a dream, and not be found; they will be chased away like a vision of the night" (20:8; cf. 4:13; 7:14).[54]

Holbert recognizes that this critiques the vision, but concludes that "Eliphaz is mocked as clearly as Job here."[55] On the contrary, the argument makes no sense as a response to Eliphaz, as it directly parallels Eliphaz's own in 4:7-11, 5:2-5 and 15:17-35.[56] In turning the

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[48] In that light, the reference to "your spirit" (רוחך) in 15:13a might attribute the vision to Job's *own* "spirit," implicitly denying that it derives from any heavenly intermediary (contrast the use of רוח in 4:15).

[49] This is usually translated "windy knowledge," but can now be seen as an allusion to the vision itself, "words of the spirit." It is probably a double entendre. In 15:8 Eliphaz asks whether Job has "listened in the council of God," drawing on prophetic imagery, and contrasts this with the "consolations of God" offered by traditional wisdom from the ancestors (15:9-11). Many link this to Jer 23:18-22, and suggest that Eliphaz, like Jeremiah, claims to be a true prophet who has stood in the council of God, in contrast to Job, who like Jeremiah's opponents, has not (HARDING, Metaprophecy, 530-31; cf. also J. GRAY, Job, 239).

[50] Most prominently in 7:14; 9:2; 15:14-16; 20:2-8; 25:4-6; 33:12-17; but probably also in 6:10; 8:2-3; 11:10-11; 14:1-4, 16-20; 32:2; 40:8.

[51] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 254-56, appears to have overlooked this example, as he focuses only on 15:13-16 and 25:4-6. It is briefly noted by SMITH, Vision, 456, and discussed by HOLBERT, Skies, 171-79, esp. 174-75, though without recognizing that it attributes the vision to Job.

[52] TUR-SINAI, Job, 308-310, argues for the latter interpretation. "Thoughts" (שׂעפים) occurs only in 4:13 and 20:2, though a related form (שׂרעפים) appears in Ps 94:19; 139:23 (noted by POPE, Job, 36-37).

[53] The use of לנצח to mean "forever" is relatively uncommon, and occurs with אבד only in 4:20 and 20:7. Job also uses לנצח in 14:20 of God's destruction of "mortals" (14:19): "You prevail forever [תתקפהו לנצח] against them, and they pass away; you change their countenance, and send them away."

[54] "Vision of the night" (חזיון לילה) parallels 4:13, while both the term "a vision" (חזיון) and its parallel "a dream" (חלום) were used by Job in 7:14 to describe his own experience. חלום occurs in Job only in 7:14, 20:8 and 33:15. The latter is combined with a nearly verbatim citation of 4:13, in a passage where Elihu also appears to attribute the vision to Job.

[55] HOLBERT, Skies, 175.

[56] HOLBERT, Skies, 174-179, himself affirms that this reapplication of the language of the vision appears alongside numerous other allusions to Job's words in this speech, and no others to the friends. He identifies "satirical" allusions to earlier speeches of Job, especially in 20:9 (cf. 7:8), 20:11 (cf. 10:9), 20:25 (cf. 13:21), and 20:27 (cf. 16:18-19). Also noted by SMITH, Vision, 456. The only other potential allusion to the friends might be 20:23-25 (cf. 15:20-26), but this more likely responds to Job's own complaints in 16:11-14 and 19:6-8.

vision's language against Job, Zophar reaffirms Eliphaz's position that it is the wicked who "perish," not all mortals. Thus, Zophar's practice seems to be the same as Eliphaz's, mocking Job with his own words, which he assumes includes the vision. If space permitted, similar patterns could be traced in Bildad's and Zophar's first speeches, though neither is so overt.[57] Even Elihu seems to reject Job's understanding of the vision in 33:12, "But in this you are not right. I will answer you: God is greater than any mortal."[58] In each case, the friends quote or allude to the vision critically, then reaffirm the traditional dichotomy between the fates of the righteous and the wicked. Yet if we turn to Job's speeches, we find the opposite.

As already noted, in 7:14 Job complains that "you [=God] scare me with dreams and terrify me with visions [חזינות]," using the same term for "visions" that appeared in 4:13,[59] and tying it to fear in the same way that 4:14 did.[60] The context parallels the vision by complaining of the shortness of human life (7:1-10, 12, 16, 21; cf. 4:19-21) and God's indiscriminate judgment (7:17-20; cf. 4:17).[61] Greenstein notes that each of these themes are emphasized repeatedly by Job, at times with explicit citations or allusions to the vision itself. The clearest is in 9:2, where Job explicitly affirms a quotation of 4:17:[62]

4:17	**9:2**
Can a mortal be righteous before [מן] God?	Indeed I know that this is so;
Can a human being be pure before [מן] their Maker?	how then can a mortal be righteous with [עם] God?

Job takes up from 4:17 the terms אנוש ("a mortal") and יצדק ("be righteous") and paraphrases מאלוה ("before/more than God") with עם־אל ("with God").[63] The rest of the

[57] In 8:2-3 Bildad compares Job's "words" to "a great wind" (רוח כביר), then reaffirms the link between sin and destruction, innocence and restoration (8:4-6). Meanwhile, in 11:4-6 Zophar wishes "that God would speak," then again contrast God's treatment of the wicked and the righteous (11:10-20). On their own, neither has to be read as responses to the vision, but each ridicule the notion that God has spoken through or to Job, then reaffirms a sharp contrast between the fates of the righteous and the wicked, much like in chs. 15 and 20.

[58] Despite this direct reversal of 4:17, Elihu *does* consider such visions a viable means of revelation (33:14). GREENSTEIN, Extent, 257, notes that Elihu repeatedly quotes Job (e.g. 34:3 quotes 12:11; 34:5 cites 13:18 and 27:2; 34:10 recalls 10:2-3; 37:5 quotes 9:10; Extent, 256-57), and only quotes the friends where they are paraphrasing Job (e.g. 34:12 reflects 8:3, which Greenstein considers a paraphrase of Job [cf. 8:2]; 34:9 and 35:3 are similar to Eliphaz's comments in 22:2, but seem to be attributed to Job by Elihu; Extent, 257).

[59] Parallel noted by, e.g., SMITH, Vision, 456, GREENSTEIN, Extent, 248.

[60] Apart from חזינות, the terminology is not parallel, but both texts maintain the same contrast between the sleep enjoyed by others and the disturbing visions that keep the speaker awake (this supports the epexegetical reading of 4:13 defended by CLINES, Byronic Suggestion, 745-47, and COTTER, Job 4-5, 181-82).

[61] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 250-51. J. GRAY, Job, 168, recognizes that ch. 7 is "reminiscent" of 4:12-21, without acknowledging that this supports an attribution to Job.

[62] Translations my own. Though thee NRSV translates ו in 9:2b as "but," there is no reason to read such a contrast into the verse. The LXX adds γάρ, indicating coordination rather than contrast.

[63] The shift in prepositions from מן to עם is significant, but cannot be taken to undermine the allusion, given the paraphrastic nature of all the quotations in the book. WEISS, Bible from Within, 429, also notes that the chiastic reversal of order increases the likelihood of a direct reference (האנוש מאלוה יצדק in 4:17a is reversed in 9:2b ומה־יצדק אנוש עם־אל). This is an example of "Siedel's Law," on which see LEVINSON, Legal Innovation, 18-19. Among many other examples in Job, note the similar reversal from 4:17 to 15:14, and from 15:14 to 25:4, in each case swapping יצדק from one colon to the other (first to second, then second to first).

chapter then builds on this basis, arguing that mortals *cannot* be "righteous" with God, because God does not allow them a fair hearing (9:3-4, 14-20, 32-35).[64] Job complains that when God "passes by" (חלף) he cannot be "perceived" (בין; 9:11), much as the spirit "passed by" (חלף) and could not be "recognized" (נכר) in 4:15-16.[65] Job ties this to God's inescapable power, asking "He snatches away; who can stop him? Who will say to him, 'What are you doing?'" (9:12). He also laments human weakness before God (9:12-19; 10:20-22), who "destroys both the blameless and the wicked" (9:22). In all this, Job draws directly on the vision to accuse God of indiscriminate destruction.[66]

Job even seems to admit having passed along the vision in 6:10, where he denies that he has hidden (כחד, Piel) "the words of the Holy One." The NRSV and others translate כחד "denied,"[67] but such a usage is unparalleled and both other occurrences of the Piel in Job refer to *concealing* words (15:18; 27:11).[68] If that is so, then the most natural referent of these "words of the Holy One" is the vision itself, as the context in 6:8-13 again complains of human weakness before God.[69] Here and elsewhere Job seems to rely on the vision to complain of God's treatment and his own lamentable state,[70] while his friends reject both the vision and Job's use of it in favor of traditional wisdom.

Yet there is an exception to this trend, in 25:4-6:[71]

25:4-6	**15:14-16**	**9:2**
[4] How then can a mortal be righteous with God? How can one born of woman be clean? [5] Even the moon is not bright, and the stars are not pure in his sight;	[14] What is a mortal, that he can be clean, that one born of woman can be righteous? [15] Even in his holy ones he puts no trust, and the heavens are not pure in	Indeed I know that this is so; how then can a mortal be righteous with God?

[64] KÖHLMOOS, Auge Gottes, 206-7, notes that 9:2 serves as a heading for the whole speech.

[65] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 249. Going further, TORCZYNER, Hiob, 11, and GINSBERG, Patient, 106, found this connection so close that they moved 9:11 to follow 4:16b.

[66] Recognized by GIBSON, Eliphaz, 267. Similarly, in 14:19-21 Job draws again on 4:20 to accuse God: "so you destroy the hope of mortals. You prevail forever [לנצח] against them, and they pass away; you change their countenance, and send them away. Their children come to honor, and they do not know it; they are brought low, and it goes unnoticed."

[67] E.g. POPE, Job, 48, GORDIS, Job, 64, 72-73.

[68] GINSBERG, Patient, 99, DHORME, Job, 81-82, HABEL, Job, 140, 147, and HORST, Hiob, 105-6, note that כחד nowhere else means "deny." The more likely meaning is "hide" or "conceal" (*HALOT* 1.469). HABEL, Job 147, recognizes this, but tries to avoid the link to revelation by translating אמרים as "ordinances" or "decrees" and concluding that Job "will not 'conceal' the truth; that is, he will expose the truth about 'the decrees of the Holy One'" (cf. 140; following DHORME, Job, 82). This is highly problematic. First, כחד is in the perfect, not the imperfect, and so does not naturally refer to what Job *will* not do, but to what he *has* not done (recognized by HORST, Hiob, 106). Second, "the truth" is simply not in the text, so the conclusion that Job has not hidden something *about* the אמרי קדוש is without justification. It is the אמרי קדוש themselves that Job has not hidden.

[69] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 248, 250; cf. GINSBERG, Patient, 99, 102-4. Though the only lexical link is in Job's (ironic?) wish that he would finally be "crushed" (דכא, Piel) in 6:9, using the same form as 4:19.

[70] This is not, however, a matter of "pride," as GREENSTEIN, Extent, 248, imagines. Job is no happier about this vision than his friends are, but he does affirm it as his own.

[71] Translations modified to show parallels.

[6] how much less a mortal, who is a maggot,
and a human being, who is a worm!

his sight;
[16] how much less one who is abhorrent and corrupt,
a man who drinks iniquity like water!

The overall structure resembles 4:17-19 and 15:14-16, but it lacks any allusion to a visionary context and quotes from 9:2 as part of a hymnic acclamation of God's supremacy (25:2-6).[72] Interpretation is complicated by the abbreviated nature of Bildad's speech and its uncertain textual history,[73] but nothing in this chapter reflects the critical attitude toward the vision seen in the earlier speeches of the friends. This is a significant divergence, and will be seen below to offer a clue to how the vision may have ended up in Eliphaz's speech.

III. The Vision Was Intentionally Moved from Job's Speech to Eliphaz's

If the rest of the book (outside of ch. 25) treats the vision as Job's, then why does the vision itself appear in Eliphaz's speech? The first step toward a solution has been recognized by Ginsberg and Greenstein: That the vision was the original conclusion to ch. 3. This is supported by a good deal of evidence. First, the poetic form of the vision is much more reminiscent of Job's first speech than Eliphaz's.[74] The fearful tone, non-standard poetry and first-person form used in 4:12-16 are especially reminiscent of 3:24-26, which is further linked to the vision by the reference to "the thing that I feared" (פחד פחדתי) in 3:25 (cf. 4:14).[75] The vision therefore reads much more naturally after 3:26 than between 4:11 and 5:1. Such a

[72] In 25:5 Bildad substitutes "the moon" and "the stars" for "his holy ones" and "the heavens" in 15:15, but otherwise reflects the same structure and exactly parallels the final clause לא־זכו בעיניו. He also derives vocabulary from Job's speeches in 25:6, particularly the term "maggot" (רמה) occurs in Job only in Job's own speeches (7:5; 17:14; 21:26; 24:20), including in a depiction of the state in which God has left him (7:5)

[73] TORCZYNER, Hiob, 181, TUR-SINAI, Job, 376-77, and GINSBERG, Patient, 102-4, claim ch. 25 was displaced from Job's speech in ch. 26, which would make it, like 9:2, another paraphrase to the vision by Job. But as CLINES, Job, 2.633 notes, there is a major difference in tone between the contexts of 9:2 and 25:4. Job paraphrases the vision as part of an accusation of God for abusing his power; Bildad as part of a praise of that same power. It is difficult to imagine the same author attributing both sentiments to Job. More commonly, therefore, it is rather 26:5-14 that is attributed to Bildad, as 25:2-6 and 26:5-14 are closely related in form and content, and neither reflects the accusatory tone seen in the rest of Job's speeches (cf. DHORME, Job, xlvii-xlviii, 368-376; POPE, Job, 180-86; HABEL, Job, 364-375; CLINES, Job, 2.618-641; J. GRAY, Job, 325-332). But, in fact, chs. 25 and 26 do not fit with Job's *or* the friends' views as seen earlier in the book.

[74] Where the rest of Eliphaz's speech is almost entirely composed of bi-cola (the apparently corrupt 5:5 is the only exception), Job uses tri-cola similar to 4:19 throughout 3:3-6, while the multi-part line in 4:16 resembles 3:26, "I am not at ease, nor am I quiet; I have no rest; but trouble comes." NEWSOM, Moral Imaginations, 130-31, notes that in general Job's poetry is more diverse and "broken" than the friends'. WITTE, Leiden, 69-74, also notes that v. 13 is longer than any other bi-colon in Eliphaz's speech (70).

[75] GINSBERG, Patient, 105; GREENSTEIN, Extent, 258-260. The whole of 3:24-26 reports Job's terrifying experience in the first person, just as 4:12-16 does (and cf. again 7:13-14), while nothing similar is found in the rest of chs. 4-5.Though Ginsberg thinks the vision originally appeared after 3:25, even going so far as to reverse the order of 3:25-26, it seems to me that 3:26 works well enough as a transition. This might even explain the ו that introduces 4:12, which has otherwise struck commentators as odd (bi-cola in the book of Job do not normally begin with ו). As a transition from 4:11, ו is unexpected, but as a continuation from the overloaded series in 3:26 it may be easier to understand (cf. the repeated ו in 3:26, לא שלותי ולא שקטתי ולא־נחתי ויבא רגז).

placement complements the complaint in 3:23 and forms an *inclusio* between 3:3 and 4:20, which would have originally framed Job's speech. The former wishes the "day" and "night" of his birth would "perish" (אבד), while the latter affirms that mortals "perish" (אבד) "between morning and evening."[76] This also leaves Eliphaz's own speech better structured. Without the digression in 4:12-21, the speech divides roughly in two, with 5:8 at the center, heavily foregrounded by its distinctive alliteration on the name of God, אל.[77] This also neatly explains the visions' prominence in the rest of the dialogues: This is not simply an odd digression in the midst of Eliphaz's otherwise straightforward appeal to traditional wisdom; it is central to Job's complaint, warranting the vigorous response of each of his friends.[78]

If the vision belongs in ch. 3, however, none of the proposed explanations for its present position are compelling. Tur-Sinai's initial suggestion relied on the improbable claim that the whole book of Job had suffered extreme physical damage and was incorrectly reconstructed.[79] Greenstein has recently suggested a much simpler variant, wherein 4:1-11 and 4:12-21 each filled separate manuscript pages that were accidentally swapped in transmission, but even this still requires far too much coincidence.[80] The theory also does not account for the exceptional case in Job 25, which lacks the critical approach to the vision seen in the other speeches of the friends.[81] No better is Tur-Sinai's later theory, followed by Smith, that 4:12-21 quotes Job implicitly, for what then is Eliphaz imagined to be quoting?[82]

I would like to propose a simpler explanation: that the vision was *intentionally* moved from Job's speech to Eliphaz's. Support may be found in ch. 25, where Bildad is attributed a

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[76] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 259-260. In that case the use of אבד in 4:7, 9, 11 make a fitting response.

[77] Job 5:8 reads in Hebrew: אֽוּלָם אֲנִי אֲדַרֹּשׁ אֶל־אֵל וְאֶל־אֱלֹהִים אָשִׂים דִּבְרָתִי; cf. COTTER, Job 4-5, 211-12; WITTE, Leiden, 73, comes closest to this structure, reconstructing an original form with 5:6-9+11 at the center: 4:2-6, 7-11, 5:1-5*, 5:9-11, 12-16, 17-21, 23-27. NŌMMIK, Freundesreden, 18-37, misses this, due to his elimination not only of 4:12-21 from the original book, but also of 5:3-5, 9-17, 22.

[78] Without accepting an attribution to Job, KÖHLMOOS, Auge Gottes, 57, also notes the central role the vision in the ensuing dialogues, especially the way it introduces the dominant theme of "righteousness" (צדק). GREENSTEIN, Extent, 260-61. An original position at the end of ch. 3 would also resolve an oddity in the current structure of the book: Every other one of Job's speeches is at least as long as those of his three friends, and often twice as long, yet Job's first speech is only half as long as Eliphaz's. The transfer of 4:12-21 would leave these two speeches approximately equal in length, while balancing out the larger shape of the book, with a mediated theophany to Job at the beginning, and an unmediated one at the end.

[79] TORCZYNER, Hiob, 10-14, followed by GINSBERG, Patient, 105-6; critiqued by FULLERTON, Chapters 9 and 10, 269; DHORME, Job, xlvii; WITTE, Leiden, 25-36.

[80] GREENSTEIN, Extent, 260-262. That the (only available?) manuscript of Job may have suffered some sort of physical damage and been subsequently reconstructed incorrectly is not inherently implausible, but that that both 4:1-11 and 4:12-21 happened to each fill an entire page of the manuscript completely and with no overlap, in order that they might have been shifted to swapped purely by accident, is a lot to accept. Given that we lack any other obvious cases of such disruptions in the early portions of the book, and that the closest parallel, in chs. 25-26, *also* relates to the vision, suggests that this is no coincidence.

[81] Greenstein does not pay much attention to that example, while Tur-Sinai claims that it *also* was originally attributed to Job, and accidentally displaced, which surely begs the question.

[82] *Contra* TUR-SINAI, Job, 88-91; SMITH, Vision, 453-463. GINSBERG, Patient, 104, also notes that other quotations in the book only ever repeat the most important details, not the whole context. Further, the idea that Eliphaz would quote an extended text *in the first person* without introductory formula strains the imagination.

more positive use of the vision's message. Witte argued that this was added by a late redactor with a more pessimistic view of human nature.[83] Witte thought 4:12-21 and 15:11-16 were added by the same redactor, but the widespread allusions to the vision across the dialogues leaves this implausible.[84] I suggest, instead, that such a redactor could have *moved* the vision from Job's speech to Eliphaz's, and added ch. 25 in order to confirm that shift. In fact, Witte himself points to why a redactor might have done so. As he notes, the tendency of the later shaping of the book, continuing on into the Septuagint and carried much further in the *Testament of Job,* is to minimize the impressions that Job himself viewed God as his enemy.[85] It was this trend, not any inherent desire to advance a more pessimistic view of human nature, which could have driven a redactor to obscure Job's dependency on the vision.[86]

To explain why a redactor would do so, we must return to the ambiguous and subversive features of the vision with which we began. Hamori and Harding note that the allusions to deception and judgment in 4:12-21 can be linked to a wider tradition in the Hebrew Bible, in which YHWH himself sends a "spirit" (רוח) with the specific intent to deceive and condemn.[87] This is especially clear in 1 Kgs 22:19-22, where the prophet Micaiah describes a vision of the divine council in which YHWH sends "a lying spirit in the mouths of Ahab's prophets" (22:22).[88] This is clearly an act of judgment, explicitly intended to "entice" (פתה) Ahab into an ill-advised war, leading to his death (22:20, 34-38).[89] Similar depictions of a "spirit" sent in judgment against the recipient are also found in 1 Sam 16, 18, 19; 2 Kgs 19:7

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[83] WITTE, Leiden, 90-93, *et passim*.

[84] KÖHLMOOS, Auge Gottes, 57-58 n.3, objects to Witte's reading on these grounds, and further notes that Elihu responds to the vision in chs. 32-33, but despite numerous quotations of the earlier dialogues, he nowhere interacts with chs. 24-28 (63, 72-73). She does not consider that the vision could be Job's.

[85] WITTE, Leiden, esp. 226-29.

[86] After all, if the redactor's intent was to urge a lower view of humanity, why attribute it to the friends, who are condemned, and not to Job himself?

[87] HAMORI, Spirit, 15-30; in decreasing order of importance, the primary texts she notes are 1 Kgs 22:19-23; 1 Sam 16:14-23; 18:10-12; 19:9-10; Judg 9:23-24; 2 Kgs 19:7 (//Isa 37:7); Isa 19:13-14. Possibly secondary usage of this tradition is identified in Isa 29:9-10; Job 4:12-21; Hos 4:12-5:4 (in light of Hos 9:7; 12:2); and possibly Mic 2:11 and Ps 104:4. Note also Zech 13:2-6, which refers to the end of prophecy and the "unclean spirit" (13:2). At that time, any who claim to be prophets will be put to death, "for you speak lies in the name of YHWH" (13:3). Cf. also HARDING, Vision, 161-65.

[88] This "spirit" seems to be distinguished from "the spirit of YHWH" referred to in 22:24, just as the "evil spirit" in 1 Sam 16:14 is distinct from the spirit of YHWH. Nevertheless, the spirit is *sent* by YHWH; it is not an adversary of YHWH's (J. ANDERSON, Divine Trickster, 19; CHISHOLM, Does God Deceive?, 11-28, esp. 12-17; ROBERTS, Divine Deceit, 211-220, esp. 216-17).

[89] BEHRENS, Visionsschilderungen, 175-79, notes that in 1 Kgs 22 we seem to have a deliberate reversal of typical prophetic imagery, used to mock the prophets of Ahab. MOBERLY, Does God Lie, 1-23, argues that ultimately this text is about exposing the deception occurring in the *human* court, not an actual attempt to deceive, but even if so the text makes that point through use of a tradition that YHWH *could* actively deceive those he intends to destroy (cf. ANDERSON, Divine Trickster, 20). The whole scene is reminiscent of Isa 6, upon which it is probably dependent (BEHRENS, Visionsschilderungen, 156-163, 182), and Isa 6 itself climaxes in an act of divine deception, this time carried out through the prophet rather than a "spirit" (6:8-13; cf. KNOHL, Does God Deceive, 275-291; followed by ANDERSON, Divine Trickster, 21).

and elsewhere.[90] In other cases, no spirit is mentioned, but YHWH himself claims to deceive people, including prophets. Ezekiel 14:9-10 is most forthright: "If a prophet is deceived [פתה] and speaks a word, I, YHWH, have deceived [פתה] that prophet, and I will stretch out my hand against him, and will destroy him from the midst of my people Israel."[91] Hamori and Harding believe the poet thus implies that Eliphaz is deceived,[92] but such a claim of divine deception is much more plausible on Job's lips than Eliphaz's.[93] Job regularly accuses God of unfairly condemning him and blocking his way, including just before this in 3:23.[94] Only here, however, does Job recount the deceptive vision itself, using it to raise penetrating questions about God's attitude towards both human and—apparently—angelic beings.

In light of the developing picture of Job as a thoroughly orthodox and faithful servant of God, the claim that God sent such a deceptive and condemning vision to Job thus posed a significant problem. Reattributing the vision to Eliphaz, who is condemned at the end of the book, offered a convenient resolution, and the addition of an uncritical reuse of the vision by Bildad in ch. 25 confirmed the shift. Indeed, the redactor's work was so effective that generations of readers have completely failed to notice how thoroughly Job's later speeches rely on the vision, nor how vehemently his friends repudiate it. Yet the evidence remains, as the redactor could hardly rewrite Job's entire dialogue to remove any hint of his dependence on the vision or critique of God.[95] What the redactor could do was hide the primary evidence in the form of Job's explicit recounting of the vision, by transferring it to Eliphaz. Job's subsequent speeches may still be splattered with the blood of his reliance on the vision, but at least the body has been buried in his neighbor's backyard.

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[90] Cf. n. 87 for references. Nor is this phenomenon of divine deception limited to the "spirit of falsehood" tradition. ANDERSON, Divine Trickster, esp. 18-22, notes that similar depictions of God actively deceiving people, typically as an act of judgment, appear at a number of points in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Exod 3:18-22; 14:1-4; 1 Sam 16:2; 2 Sam 17:14; 24:1 (cf. 24:10-17); 2 Kgs 6:15-20; 7:6-7; Jer 4:10; Isa 6:9-13; Ezek 14:1-11; CRENSHAW, Whirlpool, 31-56, esp 41; KNOHL, Does God Deceive, 275-291.

[91] Such a tradition is implied in Job 4 by the "stolen" word (4:12), "deep sleep" and "dread" (4:13-14), and the unidentified "spirit" (4:15-16).

[92] HAMORI, Spirit, 24-25; HARDING, Spirit, 161-65, thinks Eliphaz, like Zedekiah ben Chenaanah, "believes he has received an authentic revelation," but he is deceived (161).

[93] Where in 1 Kgs 22 the one deceived (Ahab) was not the one who received the vision (Micaiah), the two roles are combined in one person in Job 4:12-16.

[94] Such a claim to have been deceived oneself by YHWH is paralleled by one other text, in Jer 20:7, "O YHWH, you have enticed [פתה] me, and I was enticed [פתה]; you have overpowered me, and you have prevailed." Given that Job's complaints in ch. 3 are themselves most closely paralleled by the "confessions" of Jeremiah, especially the curse of the day of his birth in Jer 20:14-18 (cf. Job 3:3-11; cf. KAISER, Hiob, 80; JACOBSON AND NIELSEN, Cursing the Day, 187-204; PYEON, Spoken, 83-93; GREENSTEIN, Inspiration,102-3, cf. 98-110; HARDING, Metaprophecy, esp. 529-533), it seems likely that the allusions to deception in the vision are intended similarly to that in Jer 20:7 (cf. also Jer 15:8; on Jeremiah's accusation, cf. ANDERSON, Divine Trickster, 21; CRENSHAW, Whirlpool, 41). Since none of those who attribute the vision to Job consider that it might be deceptive, this link does not appear to have been noted, not even by GREENSTEIN, Inspiration, 102-3, who argues that Job 3 is dependent on Jer 20.

[95] Though that is precisely what the author of the *Testament of Job* did.

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Rehoboam's Folly and the Division of the Kingdom in Chronicles

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OTSEM 2012

Focal Points For Discussion

1. The analysis of each of the different kings' roles in the division of the United Monarchy: Does this paper assess accurately the Chronicler's emphasis on the actions of Solomon, Rehoboam, and Jeroboam?
2. The Chronicler's methods: Has this paper effectively understood and explained the major themes that the Chronicler has used (i.e. "all Israel") to give his version of the kingdom split?

The idealization of both David and Solomon as pious kings who dedicate themselves to the establishment of a temple for Yahweh in Jerusalem dominates the Chronicler's narrative. Accordingly, he pictures David as the warrior-king who quiets the land and provides materials for the temple's construction (I 22:5, 18). As for Solomon, the Chronicler makes his sole aim to finish the task that David has started. Neither seems to do much wrong since they both successfully do their part to establish the temple.

In contrast to the Deuteronomistic History (DH), this tightly restructured account has left out any reference to Solomon's many foreign wives and concubines who eventually led him into idolatry or the adversaries who arise during his tenure (1 Kgs 11). Such a narrow focus has created a problem for the Chronicler since there now remains no reason for the division of the kingdom. The Chronicler skips these ordeals to conclude Solomon's smooth, forty year reign over all Israel with his burial in Jerusalem (II 9:30-31). However, before this last remark, he does hint that Solomon's reign was not perfect. While the Deuteronomistic Historian (DtrH) refers his readers to the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" for the rest of the king's accomplishments and his wisdom (1 Kgs 11:41), the Chronicler refers them to the accounts of Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo for the details "concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat" (II 9:29).[1] With this statement, the Chronicler candidly cautions his readers that his account does not contain the whole story. Admittedly, he omits details quite familiar to them so that he may focus their attention on the issue at hand- the temple.

With no intimation of the split in Solomon's reign, aside from the allusion in 9:29, the Chronicler has treated the subject completely in the reigns of Rehoboam and Abijah. For each of these kings, he not only borrows much of the material found in

[1] *Contra* Knoppers ("Rehoboam in Chronicles: Villain or Victim," *JBL* 109 [1990]: 423-40), this seems to adumbrate a division in the kingdom (429).

DH, but he also alters it and expands it. Some have argued that the northern secession in Chronicles constitutes an assault against the divinely appointed kingship to the Davidides over Israel.[2] However, I will argue in this essay that, as in DH, the north had good reasons for its secession from the south, such as the wickedness of Rehoboam. While the north eventually turned from a proper devotion to Yahweh, this involved only a false cult, not a false kingship. In other words, the Chronicler criticizes Jeroboam for the sole fact that he made golden calves for gods, not for trying to become king.

Retained material in 1 Chr 10:1-11:4

The opening verse of the first episode has new implications for the Chronicler since it contains the phrase "all Israel", which he has used to emphasize the support given to the idealized leadership of David and Solomon up until this point. For example, all Israel gathers at Hebron to make David king (I 11:1; 12:38). Then, they accompany him as he conquers Jerusalem for his new capital (11:4) and assist him in bringing up the ark there (13:5). As for Solomon, he receives their patronage immediately upon taking the throne (29:23-26) and they participate with him in establishing the temple cult (II 1:2; 7:6, 8). In fact, in this idealized picture of his reign, "all Israel" submits to his authority for forty years (9:30). Only two verses later in 10:1, "all Israel" once again comes together to make his son, Rehoboam, the next king. Though it likely refers to the northern tribes in 1 Kgs,[3] the context here demands that the label denote the entire people as it did in all the occurrences before it. In addition, since the Chronicler has not even hinted that the kingdom would split, it does not seem likely that he would introduce it here.[4] Two verses later, the Chronicler

[2] Cf. Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles," 425.
[3] See also 2 Sam 5:1-3; Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 103.
[4] *Ibid*., 103.

again mentions the group "all Israel" as they, together with Jeroboam, confront Rehoboam about the heavy yoke Solomon had placed upon them. To use the phrase here, however, the Chronicler needed to change his *Vorlage* which read "all the assembly of Israel" (1 Kgs 12:3), a change which shows that the Chronicler is purposefully integrating this episode into one of his larger themes.

This line of interpretation potentially raises a difficulty since the Chronicler does not indicate that Solomon enforced harsh labor on the people, so that their complaint comes as a surprise. Many have argued that the request *in DH* links back to 1 Kgs 5:27-28, where Solomon may have put a number of Israelites to forced labor.[5] Consequently, the Chronicler may have omitted it in order to assert that Solomon never did this cruel act to his own people. If this is the case, the argument continues, then their appeal to Rehoboam has no basis and they are trying to take advantage of the inexperienced king. However, this counterargument poses more problems than it solves. First, it would be just as surprising for "all Israel" to levy such a *false* charge since the Chronicler gives them a positive, obedient image up until this point in Chronicles. Second, Rehoboam nowhere denies the harsh conditions set by his father, yet the older counsel confirms that the good thing for him to do would be to please the people (v 7). Third, instead of making any attempt to appease the people, he incites them to anger by promising even more oppressive measures than Solomon (v 11). Lastly, after the northerners had completely cut their ties to the south, Rehoboam still makes one final attempt to carry out his plan by sending Hadoram, the taskmaster over the forced labor (מס, v 18). Hence, even if the Chronicler did omit the note in 1 Kgs 5:27-28 to exculpate Solomon of oppressing Israelites, this would effectually make Rehoboam worse since he would now be the *initiator* of oppressive reforms.

[5] Though Provan (*1 and 2 Kings* [NIBCOT 7; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995], 65, 107) argues that Solomon never put his own people under the מס but the סבל.

However, in light of all this residual evidence, it seems unlikely that the Chronicler would shape his narrative so that "all Israel" would so audaciously pressure the next Davidic heir without just cause. Perhaps the Chronicler has omitted any trace of the strain Solomon put on the kingdom not to deny that it ever happened, but so that he can idealize him as the faithful temple builder.[6]

In addition to the disregarding of all Israel, the Chronicler's retention of the verb עזב to describe Rehoboam's rejection of the old men's counsel reveals his negative evaluation of the new king's role in the split (vv 8, 13 // 1 Kgs 12:8, 13). On the one hand, DtrH gives no special connotation to the verb itself, but uses only the simple contrast between the older (i.e. wiser) counsel he rejects and the younger (i.e. naïve) counsel he accepts. The Chronicler, on the other hand, uses the verb עזב frequently as a paradigm to further expose Rehoboam's guilt in the matter. This term appears with its first theological sense[7] in David's charge to Solomon, "If you seek him, he will be found by you; but if you forsake (עזב) him, he will reject you forever" (1 Chr 28:9). Later, after the temple dedication, Yahweh gives Solomon one final warning that, if he and the people *forsake* his statutes and commandments, then he will take them from the land and cast them from his sight (2 Chr 7:19-22).[8] Since the Chronicler had established a variety of paradigmatic verbs in his insertion a few verses earlier (vv 13-15), the employment of another such verb should come as no surprise. Indeed, the Chronicler uses it to characterize the reigns of Jehoram (21:10), Joash (24:18, 20, 24), Ahaz (28:6), and the various kings preceding Hezekiah (29:6).

[6] Cf. Roddy Braun, "Solomon the chosen temple builder: the significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28, 29 for the theology of Chronicles," *JBL* 95 (1976): 581-90. On another note, a remark about forced labor has nothing to do with the Chronicler's aims. The only reason he does include the register of the גירים in 2:16-17 (all references correspond to BHS versification) is to show Solomon's full inclusion of all Israel into building the temple (as David, cf. I 22:2-5); see discussion in Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (Translated by Anna Barber; Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1989), 334-351.

[7] Its more general sense can be found in 1 Chr 10:7; 14:12; 16:37, etc.

[8] The Chronicler borrows this passage from DtrH (1 Kgs 9:6-9), but emphasizes the verb's importance by using it twice instead of once (vv 19,22).

The most pertinent use of the verb comes in at the close of the Chronicler's section on Rehoboam since it levies a negative verdict for his rule over the people of Israel (12:1) and shows the direct retributive force for his carelessness (v 5). All that must be noted here is that this verb has too much negative weight for the Chronicler to leave it here without any connotation of judgment.

An even more significant item the Chronicler should have removed appears in the remarks of divine determinism (10:15; 11:4), notes that also say much about all Israel. Williamson cites these verses as evidence that the northerners likely had good reason for their separation from Judah since, consonant with the evidence presented above, this event runs contrary to the "all Israel" theme the Chronicler has hitherto painstakingly established.[9] Further to this point, the Chronicler has made adaptations so that they carry fresh meaning in their new context. He binds the first (10:15) to the verse after it by removing the verb ראה and thus attaching the conjunction *waw* directly to כל־ישראל (10:16). With this change, Ahijah no longer commands Yahweh's prophetic word to only Jeroboam but also to all Israel.[10] To this may be added that, by removing ראה from the sentence, the Chronicler has also changed the כי clause after it ("the king did not listen to them") from giving the *content* of what all Israel saw ("that") to the *grounds* for the prophecy before it ("because"). The final clause of v 16, "So all Israel went to their tents," concludes and brings cohesion to the literary unit 10:1-16[11]: Jeroboam and all Israel present the word of Yahweh to Rehoboam (v 3), but the latter foolishly squanders his dominion over them by rejecting this

[9] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 110-114. Following Adam C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism* (London: Blackwood and Sons, 1935), 189f.
[10] This translation was first pointed out to me by Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 108. No text critical evidence exists that this reading may have appeared in his Vorlage.
[11] The unit vv 17-19 should be separated from the beginning of the chapter for stylistic reasons in addition to this contextual one- the disjunctive *waw*, the separation of all Israel into those who live in Judah (v 17) and the "people of Israel" (v 18 ["people of" replaces "all" here]), and the general change in topic (see below).

prophetic word.[12] This second reference to the prophecy of Ahijah (see also 10:29), carefully crafted by the Chronicler to suit his purposes, both legitimizes the claim of Jeroboam and all Israel and also condemns Rehoboam for his faithlessness.[13]

The second note of divine determinism comes after two futile attempts by Rehoboam to regain his rule over all Israel in 10:17-19 and 11:1-4. In the first, the Chronicler has changed the now obsolete moniker "all Israel" of v 18 to read "the children of Israel". This allows him to juxtapose the Israelites in the south, over whom Rehoboam reigned (v 17), and the Israelites in the north, who rejected his authority by stoning his emissary Hadoram (v 18); thus, the idealized "all Israel" has formally been cut into two pieces. The Chronicler then makes another statement about "all Israel" in Rehoboam's second effort to restore the north to his dominion. After fleeing to Jerusalem from the angry northerners, Rehoboam musters up an army in the south. However, the prophet Shemaiah warns the king and "all Israel in Judah and Benjamin" that the kingdom split has come at the directive of Yahweh. By using this expression for the southern kingdom, a much more concise phrase than in DH, the Chronicler can refer to the southern kingdom in terms similar to the old theme. The fact that they represent "all Israel" *in essence* confirms that Rehoboam has not caused Judah to fall completely, yet since the separation comes from Yahweh this group

[12] In this light, the Chronicler has patterned Rehoboam after Saul (cf. I 10:13-14).
[13] Japhet (*1 and 2 Chronicles* [OTL; London: SCM Press, 1993], 658) claims that "all Israel" *undoubtedly* refers to the northern tribes since she sees them as the referent in vv 1,3, and in the other occurrences in v 16. Williamson likewise appeals to common sense for this deduction (*Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 103), though he avers that the references in vv 1 and 3 are to all the tribes based on the analogy of its previous occurrences in the reigns of David and Solomon and the omission of any hint of the division of the kingdom. While I concur with these latter arguments of Williamson, I still take his argument further that all Israel in v 16 must be regarded in the same way as in vv 1 and 3 based on the tight inclusio it forms. The addition of "all" in v 16 and the removal of "all" in v 18 further supports that this structure is the thought of the Chronicler. McKenzie (*The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* [HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985], 99-100) seems to argue that the southern kingdom could not be displeased with Rehoboam's actions in v 16 so that it must only be referring to the northern tribes. I will argue that the Chronicler marks the break of all Israel into two parts in vv 17-18.

cannot embody "all Israel" *in toto*.[14] As with the prophetic word of Ahijah in 10:15, so Shemaiah also supports the actions of Jeroboam and the northern kingdom in seceding from the southern kingdom. As in the DH, Chronicles depicts Rehoboam as a careless king who divides Israel by not listening to the elders or even the people at large.[15]

Is Jeroboam to Blame?

Looking past this evidence, Knoppers argues that Jeroboam bears more culpability for the division of the kingdom in Chr since he has a more active role in the supposedly false accusation against Rehoboam (10:2,3,12). To make this argument, he appeals to the diverse witnesses in Kings regarding Jeroboam's role in the events at Shechem.[16] However, even if the Chronicler's *Vorlage* resembled closely the LXX,[17] this still does not mean Jeroboam is to blame for leading the people astray. To begin with, these putative additions do not make Jeroboam take any

[14] The verse does not reflect the belief that true Israel only resides in the south; *contra* Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen: Mohr, 1955), 227 and Gerhard von Rad, *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930), 30-31, but see Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 109 and Steven McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use*, 100.

[15] With respect to this last unsuccessful attempt to reclaim the kingdom (11:1-4), Japhet (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 660) surprisingly claims that Rehoboam displays a remarkable turnaround. She explains that the Chronicler changes DtrH's depiction of Rehoboam from one of the most sinful monarchs of Judah to a king with "courage, flexibility, and humility." The formerly cowardly king now takes initiative with the military and also yields immediately to the "word of God" by sending the army home. However, to see a valiant military leader completely misses the point. The Chronicler retains this story in his history to show precisely that Rehoboam could not win a battle against the northern tribes because he is guilty. He offers no hint that this aspect of Rehoboam's abortive attempt to regain the kingdom differs at all from DH. In addition, Rehoboam does not stand out in any way as a penitent in the event. Shemaiah prophesies to him and "all Israel in Judah and Benjamin" with the result that "*they* listened to the word of Yahweh and returned and did not go against Jeroboam" (all plural verbs). Rehoboam himself does not send them home as a great leader in control of the situation, but fades into the background of all (southern) Israel acquiescing to the divine verdict. Compare this with the Chronicler's additions in 12:1-9, 12, where he does make an effort to show Rehoboam as penitent.

[16] Cf. The longer version in 3 Rgns has received a bit of attention in the scholarly literature. Cf. D.W. Gooding, "The Septuagint's Rival Versions of Jeroboam's Rise to Power," VT 17 (1967): 173-89; Ralph Klein, "Jeroboam's Rise to Power," *JBL* 89 (1970): 217-8; *idem*, "Once More: Jeroboam's Rise to Power" *JBL* 92 (1973): 582-4; Steven McKenzie, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History (New York: Brill, 1991)*, 29-40; *idem*, "The Source for Jeroboam's Role at Shechem," *JBL* 106 (1987): 297-300; Charles Shaw, "The Sins of Rehoboam: The Purpose of 3 Kingdoms 12:24a-z," *JSOT* 73 (1997): 55-64; Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboán: Historia de la recensión y redacción de 1 Rey. 2-12,14* (Bibliotheca Salamanticensis, Dissertationes 3; Salamance Universidad Pontificie; Jerusalem: Instituto Español Bíblico y Arqueológico, 1980), 51-61.

[17] E.g. the above articles by Klein.

leadership in the appeal to Rehoboam. After Solomon's death frees him to come back to Israel from Egypt (v 2), all Israel sends and calls him to join them at the assembly (v 3).[18] There, they all speak (וידברו) to Rehoboam together without any hint that Jeroboam is the instigator (see also v 12). If "all Israel" carries the same connotation as it does in all its occurrences prior to this passage as argued above, then Jeroboam has sympathized with their cause, *unlike* Rehoboam. In this case, the Chronicler seems to insert Jeroboam into the story as a subtle contrast to the recalcitrant Rehoboam. Hence, the final form of this event in Chr pictures Jeroboam as faithfully collaborating with all Israel as did the exemplary David and Solomon,[19] placing him in a very positive light. In any case, McKenzie demonstrates the unlikelihood that vv 2-3a could have even originated with the Chronicler so that no theological *Tendenz* should be read into its appearance.[20]

In addition to this, a closer look at the LXX supplement reveals that the Chronicler would have left out much had he wanted to pin the blame on Jeroboam as an opportunistic insurgent. In 3 Reigns 12:24b Jeroboam appears as an active leader who was "aspiring (ην επαιρομενος) to the kingdom".[21] Further on, in v 24o, the text states that Jeroboam assembled all the tribes of Israel at Shechem, an action not found in Chr. In the midst of these calculating moves by Jeroboam, the supplement unexpectedly inserts Ahijah's prophetic judgment of him (v 24l,m) before he has made the golden calves (3 Rgns 12:25-33). Shaw proposes that this condemnatory oracle comes in light of Jeroboam's preparations for rebellion and his divisive

[18] The Hebrew text is ambiguous since the object of the preposition in לו could be either Jeroboam or Rehoboam. The context seems to require that it refer to Rehoboam since Jeroboam and all Israel appear to be doing all these actions together.
[19] E.g. I 13:1-2a; II 1:2-3a.
[20] McKenzie, "The Source for Jeroboam's Role at Shechem," 298.
[21] Cf. *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 309.

actions.[22] Nevertheless, the Chronicler at no point even hints at any of these assertions, but simply has Jeroboam acting with the populace. In a similar vein, the Chronicler does not mention the kingship of Jeroboam until much after the secession, where even then it is a passing note from his Vorlage (13:2; cf. 1 Kgs 15:1). Yet, if Jeroboam's actions at Shechem represent an assault on the divinely appointed kingship,[23] why would not the Chronicler mention the commencement of his reign (1 Kgs 12:20)? It does no good to say that he focuses only on the southern kingdom since he does cover Jeroboam's idolatry concisely in 11:14b-15 and so could have covered his kingship in 1-2 verses if it were indeed critical to the story. The earliest point at which the Chronicler passes judgment on Jeroboam or the northern kingdom comes after the division is final and Jeroboam has established his false cult (11:14b-15). That he makes a value judgment on this action is clear from the comparative action of those who "set their heart to seek Yahweh" (v 16). For the Chronicler, this proves to be the rebellious act that will characterize Israel for the rest of their existence, not a false kingship.

A Positive First Period?

Elsewhere, Knoppers acknowledges some of these difficult statements the Chronicler retains, but counts them as exceptional circumstances in the midst of a primarily positive early phase of Rehoboam's reign (10:1-11:23). He argues that the Chronicler's additions are what create his own distinctive treatment of the schism,[24] by which he establishes paradigmatic features throughout his history, oftentimes using the word חזק.[25] For example, immediately after the split, Rehoboam fortifies (חזק)

[22] Shaw, "The Sins of Rehoboam," 60-61.
[23] Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles," 425.
[24] He notes that, aside from the events at Shechem in which both Jeroboam and Rehoboam participate, the Chronicler devotes 39 verses (II Chr 11:1-12:16) to Rehoboam as compared to DH's 12 verses (1 Kgs 12:21-24; 14:21-30); cf. "Rehoboam in Chronicles," 431.
[25] *Ibid*., 432.

some of the cities remaining under his jurisdiction (11:11, 12). The next use of חזק occurs in v 17, which records how the Levites and Priests left the north because of Jeroboam's false cult and "they strengthened (חזקו) the kingdom of Judah, and for three years they made Rehoboam the son of Solomon secure, for they walked for three years in the way of David and Solomon." With these statements, Knoppers argues that the Chronicler underscores how Rehoboam can finally do after the North's unruly withdrawal what most kings could do at the beginning of their reigns.

On closer inspection, however, these episodes do not glorify Rehoboam as much as Knoppers and others have claimed.[26] First, Rehoboam's building projects differ greatly in style from the building reports that elsewhere praise other kings. For the latter, they often occur in the midst of many other positive reforms and have very little detail (e.g. II 14:6, 17:2b). On the other hand, Rehoboam's project comes as a protective measure since he had just lost a major part of his kingdom. Also, the Chronicler gives an extensive list of cities so that the reader can understand the strategic nature of their placement, a feature not found in the other *Bauberichte*. For this reason, a better comparison can be found in Asa's building activity in 16:6b since it names two cities and shows the king recovering a part of the kingdom he had lost. In each situation, it could hardly be claimed that the Chronicler intended to give the king a favorable portrayal. On another note, Japhet provides a helpful insight into the interpretation of the post-split events in that they correspond to Jeroboam's actions in DH.[27] Accordingly, as Jeroboam set up capital cities in the strategic cities of Shechem and Penuel (1 Kgs 12:25), Rehoboam solidified what was left of his territory in Judah

[26] Cf. Peter Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 14, who puts so much weight on these *Bauberichte* that he assumes II 12:14 must be a gloss since it contradicts the overall positive report of Rehoboam by the Chronicler.
[27] Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 663.

(II 11:5-12). The passage concludes with the note that "he held Judah and Benjamin" (v 12), a significant downsizing from the land Solomon had obtained (cf. 9:26).

With respect to the second occurrence of חזק, neither does this episode redeem Rehoboam of his folly in the kingdom division. In DH, Jeroboam commits a sinful act of idolatry by setting up his golden calves at Dan and Bethel, but in the corresponding section the Chronicler records no faithful cultic measures by Rehoboam (II 11:13-17). Surely the Levites and priests leave the north and Jeroboam's false religion and *they* strengthen Judah through their cultic faithfulness, but Rehoboam noticeably fades into the background. Moreover, the fact that so many of the religiously devout could continue in the north until this point upholds their secession as legitimate.[28] It is not until Jeroboam's transgression with regard to the cult (and, hence, become worse than Judah) that they *must* take up their residence in the south to remain faithful to Yahweh.

The following account of his family, corresponding to the death of Jeroboam's son in DH (1 Kgs 14:1-18), indeed demonstrates that Rehoboam benefitted from Jeroboam's transgression and the devotion of others in his kingdom. Nevertheless, neither does this description record anything positive that Rehoboam actually does. In the end, though Jeroboam's transgression and the immigration of the faithful work to establish his hitherto turbulent kingship, Rehoboam would still act according to his strength[29] by forsaking (עזב) Yahweh's law and leading all Israel into sin (12:1). Moreover, at no point beforehand does Rehoboam stand out for performing any great acts of faithfulness, but merely benefits from the faithfulness of others. Hence,

[28] In other words, before Jeroboam's idolatrous deed, the northerners could still remain separate and practice proper worship, an act that would make them true Israelites.

[29] כחזקתו has often been translated as "When the rule of Rehoboam was established…" Japhet (*1 and 2 Chronicles*, 675) offers the translations "and he was strong" or "at his strengthening", calling the term an infinitive. My translation treats the term as the noun חזקה, "strength", see BDB.

Rehoboam's initial period should not be seen as a literary device that exonerates him from his negligence in the matter of the kingdom split.

Abijah's Speech to Jeroboam

The speech of his son Abijah to the northerners, well known for evincing the Chronicler's distinct theology, also deserves special attention in this matter for its analysis of the secession. I will show here that though the speech maintains the permanence of the Davidic kingship,[30] it does not bring up the issue of another kingship, either valid or invalid. Conversely, he primarily aims to demonstrate that Jeroboam's false cult can offer the northerners no help in withstanding Judah's army, which possesses the true cult of Yahweh, the God of their fathers. The speech can be divided into two parts: an explanation of how the split was even possible (vv 4b-7) and the details of the present situation (vv 8-12).

After calling the attention of his opponents (v 4b), Abijah declares to them that God gave the kingship over Israel to David "as a covenant of salt" (v 5).[31] The content of this verse reflects back to 1 Chr 17:14 when Yahweh promised David a place in his (i.e. God's) kingdom for all time. Later, at the end of his reign, David's speech to the different leaders of Israel in 28:1-10 would demonstrate the continuance of this promise since God had chosen Solomon after him "to sit on the throne of the kingdom of Yahweh over Israel" (v 5). Nevertheless, an element of *individual* conditionality remained in the covenant for the Davidic kings as stated later in v 9b, "If you seek (דרש) him, he will be found by you, but if you forsake (עזב) him, he will cast you off forever." For Solomon specifically, this meant carrying out the construction of the temple (v 10), which he sought to do from the beginning of his reign (2 Chr 1:5) and eventually completed (chapters 3-7). In stark contrast, Rehoboam never sought

[30] Cf. Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles," 437-439.
[31] This expression points to the eternal nature of the covenant; cf. Lev 2:13; Num 18:19 and discussion in Japhet, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, 691.

Yahweh (12:14), but only forsook him (10:8, 13; 12:1, 5). Thus, this strong affirmation, while confirming the enduring nature of Yahweh's promise to the descendants of David, also prepares the reader for discussion of how it appeared to come into peril.

The Chronicler details this danger in vv 6-7, which has received different interpretations based on the ambiguous terms, אדניו ("his *lord*") in v 6 and the pronominal suffix of עליו ("about *him*") in v 7. Japhet argues that the strong language of a slave (עבד) rebelling against his lord (אדניו) points to Jeroboam's revolt, thus indicating that the seeds of division had been sown well before Rehoboam came to power.[32] Accordingly, the next verse refers to the worthless scoundrels that gathered to him and helped him to defy Rehoboam. However, several problems arise with this interpretation. First, not only has Williamson pointed out that it has no context since the Chronicler has left out the account of Jeroboam's rebellion against Solomon (1 Kgs 12:26-40), Japhet herself concedes that this interpretation would give a new understanding even to the text in 1 Kgs by changing a justifiable act to an irresponsible one by "a handful of blackguards".[33] Second, this view must translate the expression יתאמצו על as "defy" to make the point, yet nowhere else does this verb in any stem have this sense. Dillard cautions not to put too much weight on this word because it occurs only once in the hithpael with this preposition, but certainly it must mean *something* closer than what Japhet has offered.[34] Staying nearer to its known meanings, Williamson suggests "prevailed over" as in v 18 or "persuaded".[35] This definition fits well as a reference to how the young counsel persuaded Rehoboam to his foolish action (cf.10:8-11).

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[32] *Ibid.*, 691-692.
[33] As opposed to "a handful of blackguards", the Chronicler creatively alters the text so that it is "all Israel".
[34] Dillard, *2 Chronicles* (WBC 15; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 107-108.
[35] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 112.

Williamson has shown the plausibility of both terms referring to Rehoboam.[36] A look at the strategic use of the word בן (6x in vv 5-8) will help elucidate the Chronicler's meaning in this interpretation. In contrast to David and his sons (בניו), recipients of God's everlasting promise of kingship, v 6 states that Jeroboam, the son of Nebat (בן־נבט; not David!), was merely a servant of Solomon, the son of David (בן־דויד), who rebelled (מרד) against his master. Since the word מרד can have either a negative (e.g. 2 Kgs 24:1) or a positive (e.g. 2 Kgs 18:7) connotation, the context of this early phase, where Jeroboam had all Israel on his side, points to the justified rebellion of 10:2-3. Abijah then explains that some worthless (בני בליעל) scoundrels prevailed over the unproven king Rehoboam, who could not stand strong before them (10:8-11). Thus, through the idea of sonship, the Chronicler has shown that Jeroboam was merely a commoner who served the king, not necessarily wicked. In other words, vv 6-7 make no value judgment on Jeroboam himself, but will come in vv 8-12 for trying to establish a new cult for Israel.[37]

Aside from the ambiguous terms, vv 6-7 clearly end with a condemnation of Rehoboam in the words "he could not strengthen himself (התחזק) before them". The Chronicler uses the verb חזק in the hithpael for each of the first kings up through Jehoshaphat to show them as solidifying their hold over the kingdom.[38] In 12:13, he notes that Rehoboam strengthened himself (התחזק) *over Jerusalem*, hardly a positive concluding note considering he started out with a kingdom from "the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines and to the border of Egypt" (II 9:26). For Abijah to say that Rehoboam could not "strengthen himself" in 13:7 confirms that the immature and

[36] Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 111-114.
[37] In other words, kingship is not the issue, but the idea of a non-Davidide trying to establish a cult. He can be a king if his people still worship the God of their fathers in Jerusalem.
[38] Some examples are David (I 11:10), Solomon (II 1:1), Abijah (13:21), Asa (15:8), and Jehoshaphat (17:1).

tender-hearted (נער ורך־לבב)[39] king could do nothing right at this early part of his reign.

The rest of the speech (vv 8-12) contrasts the true cult of Yahweh in the hands of the sons of David with the false cult that Jeroboam has instituted. Steering clear from any talk about kingship *per se,* Abijah reclaims the divinely-bestowed assignment of temple maintenance that Jeroboam tried to confiscate when he made the golden calves. The speech concludes with a warning that the north should no longer remain separated from the south now that they have a fully functioning temple cult in place, for it will not prosper. In summary, Abijah points to the cult, not any false kingship, to condemn the north for their wayward ways.[40]

Conclusions

Though the Chronicler's depiction of Israel's division into two separate kingdoms has been subordinated to the topic of the temple, he still leaves an impression of the event that greatly accords with that of DH. He presents Jeroboam as a usurper of royal function (i.e. installing a false cult), not of royal office. Rehoboam, on the other hand, appears as a careless king who ignores the counsel of his wisest advisors and, more importantly, the pleas for relief from the people at large, all Israel. The statements in Abijah's speech confirm this interpretation with the final words on his reign, "and he could not *strengthen himself* before them" (II 13:7).

[39] This label has nothing to do with age (he was 41 years old!) but more likely refers to his immaturity and submissive personality. By attaching it to Jeroboam, the Chronicler is not merely justifying Rehoboam's actions by recounting his vulnerable, youthful state (*contra* Knoppers, "Rehoboam in Chronicles," 439); rather, he is making a judgment on his failure to govern properly.
[40] Jeroboam's kingship receives no mention throughout Chr except for one passing reference in the reign of Abijah (13:1 // 1 Kgs 15:1).

OTSEM, Tartu
13-16. September, 2013
Aly Elrfaay
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

BETWEEN RELIGION AND HISTORY: JULIUS WELLHAUSEN AND YEHEZKEL KAUFMANN'S VIEW OF EARLY HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Introduction

The subject of this paper was prompted by the discovery of an encounter between two leading authorities in Biblical studies: Julius Wellhausen, whose work is described as "the literary achievements of German Science in the nineteenth century,"[1] and Yehezkel Kaufmann, who is regarded as the "towering figure in modern Jewish Bible scholarship."[2] This paper attempts to bring into focus the thoughts of those two prominent figures by considering some aspects of their respective histories on the early history of Israel. It will endeavor to show how religion and history in their interplay shaped the course of early Israel. These two facets of Israel's life, religion and history, constitute an integral part in Wellhausen and Kaufmann's understanding and interpretation of Israel's early history. De Wette, the founder of modern biblical criticism,[3] had emphasized the significance of Israelite religion as a key to understanding Israel's history. He wrote, "Das wichtigste Augenmerk für den Forscher der Israelitischen Geschichte muß die Geschichte der Religion und des Gottesdienstes seyn. Die Religion ist die Blüthe und Frucht der ganzem Israelitischen Geschichte,…''[4] Wellhausen, who acknowledged the efforts of de Wette,[5] sought to do the same in reconstructing early Israel's history. With regard to Kaufmann, he insisted on the special nature of Israelite religion and dedicated all his works in serve of this idea. I will start by giving a brief outline of both Wellhausen and Kaufmann's view of Israelite history

[1] The German historian and Jewish philosopher Franz Rosenzweig described Wellhasuen's *israelitsche und jüdische Geschichte* with the following words: " Das Grundbuch der heutigen Wissenschaft ist noch immer Wellhausens israelitische und jüdische Geschichte, ein kurzes und prachtvoll zu lesendes Buch, eine der literarischen Leistungen der deutschen Wissenschaft des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.'' See: R Smend, Wellhausen und das Judentum, *ZThK* 79 (1982), 249-282. P. 277.

[2] Kaufmann was described as "towering figure" by Moshe Greenberg in the preface to the reissue edition of (Kaufmann: the biblical account of the conquest of Canaan, 1985: 9).

[3] J W Rogerson, W.m.l. *De Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism: An Intellectual Biography*. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992

[4] De Wette, *Beiträge Zur Einleitung in Das Alte Testament, 1,* Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1971, p. 4.

[5] *Prolegomena*, J Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the history of Israel*: with a reprint of the article "Israel" from the "Encyclopedia Britannica". Reprint of the edition of 1885; preface by W. Robertson Smith; foreword by Douglas A. Knight. Scholars Press, 1994, p. 4.

and religion respectively, followed by sketching some points of overlapping between them, then I will draw a conclusion based on my analysis.

From religion to history: Wellhausen's view of the history of Israel

From the outset, it was clear that history was the subject that catches Wellhausen's interest.[1] He articulated this in Prolegomena where we read "but history, it is well known, has always to be constructed… The question is whether one constructs well or ill."[2] Certainly, Wellhausen was able to reconstruct a picture of early Israel's history and religion from the literary sources and without recourse more on their theological orientation. As a constructivist historian,[3] Wellhausen was aware of what he called the "alluvial deposits"[4] that covered the tradition. Therefore, Wellhausen refused to speculate about history. In his assessment of the earlier stages of Israel's history, wrote Wellhausen "It is true, we attain to no historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose in the Israelite people."[5]

Additionally, Wellhausen was opposed to imposing philosophical patterns upon history, and he called for a strictly objective investigation of the source. 'Generally, one has no right to establish a priori any privileged point of view…one must rather proceed from certain impulses furnished by exegesis itself.''[6] Gifted with a sense of history, Wellhausen was able to discover different versions in biblical narrative. As Wellhausen put it, "History has to take account principally, if not exclusively, of the natural version, which is dry in tone and lets things speak for themselves, not overlaying the simple story with the significance of its consequences… it may stand as a general principle, that the nearer history is to its origin the more profane it is…''[7] Thus, it may be fairly concluded that Wellhausen's ability to trace the tradition in its 'simple and 'profane'[8] character is what gives his hypothesis a solid ground and clarity.

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[1] Weidmann has demonstrated that Wellhausen wanted to be historian and that he did not like to know much more about philosophy. See: Helmut Weidmann, *Die Patriarchen Und Ihre Religion Im Licht Der Forschung Seit Julius Wellhausen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968, p. 13.

[2] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 367.

[3] Robert Polzin, *Biblical Structuralism: Method and Subjectivity in the Study of Ancient Texts,* Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1977, p. 130.

[4] *Prolegomena*, 228.

[5] Prolegomena, pp. 318-319.

[6] Quoted by Grégoire Rouiller, "Julius Wellhausen, his historical and critical method,'' in *Exegesis* : *problems of method and exercises in reading (Genesis 22 and Luke 15)*. See William Baird *History of New Testament Research: From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann,* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003, P.152.

[7] *Prolegomena*, pp. 244-245.

[8] Juluis Wellhausen, Die *Composition Des Hexateuchs Und Der Historischen Bücher Des Alten Testaments,* Berlin, de Gruyter, 1963, P. 221.

Wellhausen's labour for many years in critical analysis of the Pentateuch and its composition served as a foundation upon which his subsequent results were based. He was preoccupied with determining "the place of the law," in the history of Israelite religion. In the introduction to prolegomena, Wellhausen plainly states, "it is proposed to discuss the place in history of the "law of Moses;" more precisely, the question to be considered is whether that law is the starting−point for the history of ancient Israel, or not rather for that of Judaism, ie., of the religious communion which survived the destruction of the nation by the Assyrians and Chaldaeans."[1] This programmatic opening reveals that Wellhausen was concerned to studying the stages of Israelite religion, or perhaps better the opposition between 'ancient Israel' and 'Judaism'.[2] Wellhausen's inquiry into the law is considered to be the most important element in his view of the history of Israel.[3] Placing the law in its historical order, Wellhausen ,then, came up with a new picture of "ancient Israel," as depicted in the earlier strata of the Pentateuch, differs from that of 'Judaism' which presented in "Mosaic law." To illustrate I refer to few examples taken from Prolegomena. As Wellhausen put it, "Old Israel had not shrunk to a religious congregation, public life was not quite absorbed in the service of the sanctuary."[4] Moreover, "The relation of Jehovah to Israel was in its nature and origin a natural one; there was no interval between Him and His people to call for thought or question."[5] Most important is "in ancient Israel the theocracy never existed in fact as a form of constitution."[6]

Having dating the law, Wellhausen identified three stages of development in the religious history of ancient Israel. The first presents the pre-Prophetic period as embodied in the whole Jehovistic writing.[7] The second stage took its 'historical place only within that movement of reformation which was brought to a victorious issue by King Josiah.[8] The third move in the history of Israelite religion was to be found in the priestly writing, which Wellhausen characterized as "unhampered by visible relics or living tradition of an older state, it can idealize

[1] *Prolegomena*, 1.
[2] R G .Kratz, "Eyes and Spectacles: Wellhausen's Method of Higher Criticism &dagger." *Journal of Theological Studie*s. 60.2 (2009): 381-402.
[3] Leo G. Perdue. *Reconstructing Old Testament Theology: After the Collapse of History*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005, p.37.
[4] *Prolegomena, 422*
[5] *Prolegomena*, 417
[6] *Prolegomena*, 411
[7] *Prolegomena*, 33
[8] *Prolegomena*, 34

the past to its heart's content."[1] It is in Deuteronomy, said Wellhausen, "that one detects the first very perceptible traces of a historical dress being given to the religion…"[2]

It has been suggested that Wellhausen conceived of Israelite religion as moved from nature to history to law.[3] Heinrich Ewald, thirty years before Wellhausen, had viewed the history of Israel as "the history of the growth of true religion rising through all stages to perfection…"[4] Wellhausen, to the contrary, as John Barton has shown, believed that Israel's religion deteriorates over the course of its history.[5] To Wellhausen, introducing the law was a decline in the religious history of early Israel. So we read in prolegomena, "the law comes in and leavens the Jehovistic narrative, first the Deuteronomic (in Genesis even, and then quite strongly in Exodus and Joshua), while last of all, in the Priestly Code, under the influence of the legislation of the post−exile restoration, there is brought about a complete metamorphosis of the old tradition."[6]

In reconstructing Israelite religion, Wellhausen had placed the Prophets before the law. For Wellhausen believed that the real source of the people's religious spirit was not to be found in an ancient lawgiver, but in the prophets.[7] Therefore, Wellhausen said "the element in which the prophets live is the storm of the world's history, which sweeps away human institutions…"[8] He further emphasized, "Die Propheten reden nicht aus dem Gesetz, sondern aus dem Geist; Jahve spricht durch sie, nicht Moses. Ihre Thora ist ebensoviel wert als die Moses und entspringt dem gleichen, perennierenden Quell.''[9] Though Wellhausen had considered the Prophets as "the makers of the new Israel,"[10] he, nevertheless, saw their role in preparing the way for the law as to be "the spiritual destroyers of the old Israel."[11] Therefore, Wellhausen concluded "Prophecy died when its precepts attained to the force of laws; the prophetic ideas *lost their purity* when they became practical."[12]

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[1] Prolegomena, 38
[2] *Prolegomena*, 92.
[3] Patrick D. Miller, *wellhausen and the history of israel's religion*, In: Douglas A. Knight (ed.): Julius Wellhausen and His Prolegomena to the History of Israel, 1983, Chico, Scholars Press (Semeia, 25), S. 61–73.
[4] H.G.A. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis Christus* (Gottingen: Dietrich, 1843–55); English translation*, The History of Israel* (London, 1869), p. 5
[5] Banks, Diane. *Writing the History of Israel.* New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006. P 62. Further J Barton : *The Old Testament: Canon, Literature and Theology : Collected Essays of John Barton*. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2007.
[6] *Prolegomena*, 361
[7] R E. Clements*, A Century of Old Testament Study*, Guildford, 1976, P. 11.
[8] *Prolegomena*, 398.
[9] J Wellhausen. *Grundrisse Zum Alten Testament*. München: C. Kaiser, 1965. P ,57.
[10] *Prolegomena,* 464.
[11] *Prolegomena,* 491.
[12] *Prolegomena,* 488.

Rainer Albertz has argued that Wellhausen "saw history as an organic process in which the history of religion had an integral part. On the basis of this approach it was possible for Wellhausen to describe the history of religion as an ongoing interplay between history and religious views."[1] In effect, as Perlitt mentioned, "Wellhausen writes the history of Israel as a 'profane history' analogous to any other history and renounces any attempt to demonstrate special 'revelations' in it with the tools of the historian. But for him this 'profane' history does not exclude 'religious' history, but on the contrary includes it."[2]

It turns out that Wellhausen conceived of Israel's history to be first and foremost the history of its religion.[3] From the very beginning the correlation between religion and history was established, "at an early period also the historical sense of the people developed itself in connection with their religion."[4] Wellhausen summed up this close relationship between religion and history under the formula "Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah."[5] This relationship appears throughout the course of Israel's history. So Wellhausen emphasized, "Jahve ging durchaus Hand in Hand mit der Nation."[6] Moreover, as Wellhausen explained, "it was out of the religion of Israel that the commonwealth of Israel unfolded first."[7] Further, the political unity was based on religion "Zu einer politischen Einheit wurde Israel erst allmählich, durch die Vorarbeit der Religion, als Volk Jahves."[8] Again, Wellhausen explained the powerful force of religion, saying "Die Religion beteiligte nicht das Volk am Leben der Gottheit, sondern die Gottheit am Leben des Volkes. Sie war nicht festgebannt und verknöcherte nicht in einem unfruchtbaren Zauberkreise, sie hatte praktische Aufgaben, sie war die treibende Kraft der

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[1] Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period*,vol.1., Louisville, Westminster J. Knox Press, 1994, P. 5.

[2] Perlitt, Lothar. *Vatke Und Wellhausen: Geschichtsphilosophische Voraussetzungen Und Historiographische Motive Für Die Darstellung Der Religion Und Geschichte Israels Durch Wilhelm Vatke Und Julius Wellhausen*. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1965, 232. See J Barton, *The Nature of Biblical Criticism*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007. P. 53.

[3] Jahn Rohls, *Protestantische Theologie Der Neuzeit*, vol. 2,. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1997. P. 60.

[4] *Prolegomena*, 464. See also Eissfeldt (Kleine Schrigten, 1, p. 70: "…nicht die politische Geschichte ist ihm die Hauptsache, sondern die Geistesgeschichte oder genauer: die Religionsgeschichte; den auf seinen Gebieten ist Geistesgeschichte Religionsgeschichte.'' See: Horst Hoffmann, *Julius Wellhausen: Die Frage des absoluten Maßstabes seiner Geschichtsschreibg*. Marburg, 1967

[5] *Prolegomena*,

[6] Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 17.

[7] *Prolegomena*, 436

[8] *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 28.

Geschichte."[1] Religion, then, shaped all aspects of Israel's history "The foundation upon which, at all periods, Israel's sense of its national unity rested was religious in its character."[2]

It should be noted that Wellhausen began both Israel's history and religion with Moses "wir dürfen also die Geschichte der Religion erst mit der Geschichte des Volkes beginnen, d. h. frühestens mit Moses."[3] It was also Moses who taught the Israelite during their bondage in Egypt "to regard self−assertion against the Egyptians as an article of religion…" [4] As a rule, Wellhausen related the change occurred upon Israelite religion to the historical context of Israelite people. Having settled in Canaan the Israelites "from the pastoral they advanced to the agricultural stage.''[5] And it was natural that "this change in the manner of their everyday life should be attended with certain consequences in the sphere of religion also."[6] With the emergence of monarchy, Israelite religion adopted itself to the new circumstances. As Wellhausen put it "the consequences were very important in the sphere of religion as well: since the political advance of the people brought the historic and national character of Jehovah to the front."[7]

Certainly, Wellhausen believed in the power of religion in shaping history and culture. To illustrate, I refer to two quotations taking from the last chapter in *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* which Wellhausen titled "the Gospel." The first shows clearly how Wellhausen correlated history and religion together "Die Stufen der Religion, wie die Stufen der Geschichte überhaupt, bleiben neben einander bestehn…''[8] The second and more illuminating summarizes Wellhausen's view concerning the impact of religion, "Der Jahvismus und der Islam lehren, welchen gewaltigen Einfluß die Religion auf die Kultur ausüben kann."[9] Surely, it was this combination of religion and history which attracted Wellhausen and which left its mark on the three areas of study, Old Testament, Arabic and pre-Islamic, and New Testament.

[1] *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 33.
[2] *Prolegomena*, 433
[3] *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 7.
[4] *Prolegomena*, 430
[5] *Prolegomena,446.*
[6] *Prolegoeman*, 447.
[7] Prolegomena, 413.
[8] *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, p. 371.
[9] *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*,p. 370.

Religion and the origin of Jewish ideas: Yehezkel Kaufmann's interpretation of Israel's history

Yehezkel Kaufmann is known for his massive work on Israelite religion.[1] In this work, Kaufmann undertook the onerous task of describing the origin of biblical monotheism. Before shifting to biblical studies, Kaufmann had made a major contribution to Jewish history, attempting to discover the motives which underlie that history.[2] It deserves to be mentioned that Kaufmann's view of Israelite history and religion was developed early in 1914.[3] At that time, Kaufmann engaged in a debate with different philosophies[4] and approaches concerning Judaism and Jewish history.[5] In his early studies, Kaufmann tried to find out the cause of Jewish survival in the Diaspora, and original ideas that inspire Jews throughout their history.[6] What characterizes Kaufmann's view of history is that he believed in the power of ideas and their influence in determining the history of a given culture. He wrote:

> "The birth of an original, genial creation, of an individual or of a society, is not susceptible of explanation. The rise of every new and original idea is a marvel, any explanation of which is bound to be specious and superficial. True, a historian is obligated to explain the phenomena, but this obligation involves too the determination of what he is unable to explain…"[7]

Moreover, Kaufmann showed that a given culture is, in reality, a sum of ideas. As he put it, "a people, groups of individuals living together, have a consciousness, that contents of this consciousness are ideas, and that culture is the actual expression of these ideas."[8] Kaufmann's convincing that ideas can reveal the origin of culture led him to studying the Bible with the intention of getting to know the origin of Jewish history. He viewed the bible a cultural

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[1] Yehezkel Kaufmann, *Toledot ha-Emonah ha-Yisraelit* (Tel Aviv, 1935-1956), 8 volumes.

[2] Yehezkel Kaufmann, Golah ve-Nekhar (Tel Aviv:1928-1932), 4 volumes.

[3] Laurence Silberstein, "Religion, Ethnicity, and Jewish History: the Contribution of Yehezkel Kaufmann." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. (1974): 516-531.

[4] Eliezer Schweid, Between a Scholar and a Philosophical Exegete of the Bible" [in Hebrew], In: Efraim Gottlieb, Michal Kushnir-Oron und Amos Goldreich (ed.): Masuot. Mehkarim be-sifrut ha-Kabalah uve-mahashevet Yisrael mukdashim le-zikhro shel Prof. Efrayim Gottlieb. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1994, pp. 414–428.

[5] Not only did Kaufmann engage in discussion with Jewish thinkers concerning the problem of Jewish history, but he also criticizes different approaches to studying human culture. See: Luz Ehud, *Jewish Nationalism in the Thought of Yehezkel Kaufmann. In: Yoseph Dan (Ed.): Binah. Studies in Jewish history, thought, and culture*, Vol. 2. New York, NY: Praeger, 1989S, pp. 177–190.

[6] Against Dubnow and Ahad Ha'am, Kaufmann propounded the thesis that Judaism alone, and not gentile hatred or a reified national will to survive, accounted for the remarkable preservation of Jewish national consciousness in exile. See: Ismar Schorsch, "The Last Jewish Generalist." *AJS Review*. 18/1 (1993), pp. 39-50.

[7] Kaufmann, *Toledot*, II, p . 41. See further Greenberg, Moshe. *Studies in the Bible and Jewish Thought.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995, P.184.

[8] Kaufmann, *Golah* (1929 1:30). See: Zevit, Ziony. *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches.* London: Continuum, 2001, p.44.

expression that manifests a lived experience of ancient Israel.[1] Guided by such understanding, Kaufmann strove to prove that the ancient Israelites had created an original idea which had the power to dominate the nation throughout its entire history. Having found a special idea, that is monotheism, which set the Israelites apart from all surrounding, Kaufmann asserted that this idea was not a product or philosophical thought or limited to an elite group. Rather, it was an intuitive idea, a product of the creative power of the 'spirit' of the people of Israel.[2]

According to Kaufmann, it was religion that determined the course of Israel's history and maintained the Jewish survival. In Kaufmann's view, all ideas in the realm of human culture, the most significant, historically, have been the religious ones.[3] Therefore, any interpretation of Jewish Israel's history which neglects the interaction between the ethnic and religious elements in that history is invalid. It is with this last point that we will try to explore how Kaufmann conceived of Israelite religion in its interplay with Israel's history.

Kaufmann's interpretation of Israel's history is relied entirely on ideas derived from Israelite religion. Even his conception of "idea" emerges most clearly in his interpretation of Israelite religion.[4] Religion, for Kaufmann, is one of the givens in all cultures.[5] Because religion was the fundamental causal force in giving Israel's history its unique character, Kaufmann contended to explain its social and historical function. As it has been demonstrated, "the power of religion as a social force derives from its capacity to imbue social and cultural forms with a sacred significance. Insofar as values, symbols, and institutions are perceived as sacred, their preservation and transmission is considered to be a sacred obligation."[6] The religious idea, according to Kaufmann, with its powerful effect served to keep the national foundations of the people:

> "Religion absorbed all of the Hebrew national foundations. Because of its powerful influence in the life of the nation, it served to strengthen the national foundations even in exile. Religion gave the nation a mysterious

[1] Job Y.Jindo, Recontextualizing Kaufmann: His Empirical Conception of the Bible and Its Significance in Jewish Intellectual History. *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 19/2, 2011,p 95-129.

[2] Kaufmann used specific terms such as (יצירת בראשית עממית,) and (רוח) in ordert o stress the uniqueness of israelite monotheism. See: Yehezkel Kaufmann, *From the secret of the biblical world* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv, Dvir, 1966, pp. 22-23.

[3] Janet K. O'Dea, Israel with and without religio. An appreciation of Kaufmann's Golah ve-Nekhar. *Judaism,* 25 no 1 Wint 1976, p 85-97.

[4] Laurence J. Silberstein (1982): *historical sociology and Ideology. A prolegomena to Yehezkel kaufmann's Golah v'Nekhar*. In: Frances Malino (Hg.): Essays in modern Jewish history. a tribute to Ben Halpern, S. 173–195

[5] Zevit, *the religions of Israel*, 44.

[6] Laurence, *Historical sociology*, 185.

national life in place of the actual national life that it had lost. It gave it a sacred land, a sacred state and a sacred language in place of the secular land, state and language that had been lost."[1]

The basic idea of Israelite religion is "that God is supreme over all...He is utterly distinct from, and other than, the world...He is, in short, non-mythological. This is the essence of Israelite religion, and that which sets it apart from all forms of paganism."[2] But how this idea came into being, how it developed through history and what was its essential elements? Kaufmann first emphasized the originality of religious biblical idea, saying "this idea was not a product of intellectual speculation, or of mystical meditation, in the Greek or Indian manner. It first appeared as an insight, an original intuition."[3] Furthermore, "Israelite religion was an original creation of the people of Israel. It was absolutely different from anything the pagan world ever knew."[4] This idea, which had no antecedents, remained unchangeable. As Kaufmann put it:

"It is similar to the development of a plant or an animal from a seed to its species: all the stages of growth are concealed in the seed, and they emerge, one by one, from the potential to the actual. In the ancient days of Israel, a new religious idea was planted which fertilized the nation's culture creativity. Over the generations this idea brought forth from the potential to the actual that which was hidden in it. Everything that the nation created, throughout its history, bore the stamp of this idea. Times changes and it remains; symbols change and it appears within all of them, for it was the idea that existed at the outset.''[5]

To Kaufmann, Israelite religion was monotheistic from its very beginning. It differs from all forms of paganism. Moreover, it did no grow out of polemic against idolatry. To illustrate, I quote Kaufmann's words:

"… it is a mistake to suppose that Israel's monotheism grew out of the polemic against idolatry—more particularly, out of the great prophetic denunciations of idol worship…It is a mistake because the Israelite idea never found expression in those polemics and denunciations. Nevertheless, the idea pervades all levels of Biblical literature: ancient folk tales, early, popular prophecy, laws of the cult, and wisdom writings alike.''[6]

[1] 8"*Democratic Nationalism*" (Hebrew), HaShiloah (July-August, 1914), p. 294. See Laurence, *"Religion, Ethnicity, and Jewish History,'' p 521.*

[2] Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel* an abrgidgment translation (by Moshe Greenberg) of the first 7 volumes of kaufmann's Toldot ha-emunah ha-Yiśre'elit : mi-yeme ḳedem 'ad sof Bayit sheni. Chicago: Chicago Uni press, 1960, p. 60.

[3] Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 60.

[4] Kaufmann, *The religion of israel*, 2.

[5] Kaufmann ,''*From the secret of the biblical world* (Hebrew) Tel Aviv: Devir, 1966, p. 59. See also Ehud, *Jewish nationalism*, p. 181.

[6] Yehezkel Kaufmann, *The Biblical age*. In: Leo W. Schwarz (Hg.): great ages and ideas of the Jewish people. New Yourk: Randoum hause, 1965, pp. 3–92, 13.

In addition, Kaufmann asserted that Israelite religion is a folk-religion. It is not set forth philosophically. Instead, Israelite religion urged on Israel on the basis of history.[1] Furthermore, the monotheistic idea 'stirred the popular imagination and brought about the creating of a new genre of legends, whose subject was the life and destiny of the people."[2] This indicates, in Kaufmann view, that "biblical religion is therefore not an esoteric religion of spiritual elite…but is a growth that is rooted in and nourished by the popular religion of Israel."[3]

Likewise, as Albright indicated, "without monotheism, Israel, as we know it, could not have existed."[4] This shows that Kaufmann emphasized the close relationship between monotheistic idea and the history of the Israelites. Kaufmann was also concerned to show the tremendous impact of religion in giving Israel's history its unique character. Moreover, he associated the appearance of Israel on the stage of history with the emergence of its religious idea, monotheism. According to Kaufmann, the historical framework of Israelite monotheism is to be found in the story of Bush which marks the beginning of an epoch and which laid the foundation of all subsequent periods.[5] Because historical monotheism existed as the national religion of Israel, Kaufmann concluded that "the empirical history of monotheism does not antedate the rise of Israel."[6]

It should be noted that Kaufmann laid stress on Moses as the founder of Israel's religion and history. Moses' historicity, according to Kaufmann, was vouched by trustworthy facts.[7] Kaufmann wrote "Moses is the historical person who first envisioned the peculiar ideas of Israelite religion…...As Moses must be considered the initiator of a religious revolution, so he must be considered the creator of an original idea."[8] As Moses was the founder of Israelite religion, he was also the redeemer of his people. It was out of his prophetic genius that transformed the liberation of the tribes into the birth of a nation, an event which proved to be one of the crucial junctures of human history.[9]

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[1] Kaufmann, *the religion of Israel*, 132
[2] The religion of Israel, 235.
[3] *The religion of Israel* , 133.
[4] William F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. London: Athlone Press, 1968, P. 206.
[5] Kaufmann*, the biblical age*, 16.
[6] *The biblical age*, 15.
[7] *The religion of Israel*, pp. 224-225.
[8] *The religion of Israel*, pp. 226-227.
[9] *The biblical age*, 15.

To Kaufmann, Israelite religion is what first molded the tribes of Israel into one nation. This was achieved by Moses's national- religious message, "for at the bottom, the tribal confederation was a free band of believers."[1] It was the idea of religion that united them into one nation.[2] In like manner, Kaufmann sought to relate the events of conquest and settlement[3] to ideas taken from Israelite religion. For instance, the promise of the land was at bottom an ethnic-political one and became a religious ideal "the earliest eschatological motif of Israelite religion."[4] Most important in Kaufmann's structure is his confirmation that the Israelites, in their way to settle down in Canaan, had carried with them their religious idea and remained a distinct people. As Kaufmann put it:

> "The Israelites in Canaan were a people distinct ethnically and culturally. Their vitality was the wellspring of an original national culture, and every aspect of their life became an embodiment of the monotheistic idea. Canaan provided the geographical setting in which a monotheistic civilization could flourish.''[5]

Religion as source for history: Between Wellhausen and Kaufmann

The temper of 19th and 20th century's ideas can be detected in the works, thoughts, and ideological presupposition of Wellhausen and Kaufmann. It is well known that Wellhausen was a child of his time. He was indebted in two aspects of his structure of the principles of 19th century German historiography, historicism and romanticism. In reconstructing Israel's history, Wellhausen followed the lines of writing history developed by Mommsen and Ranke.[6] Moreover, in his sympathetic bias towards simple and natural beginning of Israelite religion, Wellhausen was following the lead of romanticism initiated by Johann Gottfried Herder.[7]

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[1] *The religion of Israel*, 231

[2] *The religion of Israel*, 255

[3] Kaufmann dedicated the last 10 years of his life to studying this subject. He first wrote a monograph in 1953 titled (*the biblical account of conquest*. Two commentaries on Joshua and Judges were written in 1959, 1961. In effect, Kaufmann attempted to reinforce his idea concerning the biblical monotheism and its novelty character in comparison to Canaanite religion.

[4] *The religion of Israel*, 241

[5] *The biblical age*, 32.

[6] Baruch Halpern, *The first historians: The Hebrew Bible and history*. San Francisco: Harper & Row. 1988, P. 21-22.

[7] Herbert F. Hahn, *Wellhausen's interpretation of israel's religious history. A reappraisal of his ruling ideas*. In: Joseph L. Blau, Arthur Hertzberg, Philip Friedman und Isaacmayer Mendelsohn (Hg.): Essays on Jewish life and thought. Presented in honor of Salo Wittmayer Baron. New York: Columbia Univ, 1959 Press, pp. 299–308.

With respect to Kaufmann,[1] it is said that when Kaufmann started to formulate his ideas on Jewish history, the question of Jewish survival engrossed the minds of Jewish intellectuals.[2] Issues such as "the role of religion in Jewish culture," and "the future of the Jews in the Diaspora," come to dominate Jewish studies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Consequently, it was probably under such circumstances that Kaufmann's interest in Judaism and Jewish nationality deepened.[3] As Laurence has suggested, "Ideologically, Kaufmann's writings are best understood within the context of Jewish nationalist thought. Like Pinsker, Ahad Haam, Dubnow, and Herzl, Kaufmann's perception of the social and cultural condition of the Jewish people was rooted in nationalist presuppositions concerning the nature of the Jewish group and the meaning of Jewish history."[4] So Kaufmann worked on biblical exegesis with the aim to find answers to the problem of Jewish existence. He endeavored to renew the national culture on the base of original biblical ideas that unified the people of Israel at its beginning.[5]

Methodologically, both Wellhausen and Kaufmann employed the literary and source critical approach.[6] Wellhausen worked out earlier efforts in the history of Biblical criticism.[7] What was of real importance in his method is that "he had evolved a view of Old Testament history, covering literature, religion, and law, which accounted for most of the facts and answered most of questions brought forth by higher criticism."[8] With regard to Kaufmann, it can be said that he worked comfortably with the methods of historical criticism. Though his method of interpretation seemed to be conservative, he used historical critical analysis.[9] As Blenkinsopp has pointed out "unlike his contemporaries Benno Jacob and Umberto Cassuto, Kaufmann rejected neither the

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[1] For Kaufmann's biographical aspects see: Thomas M. Krapf, Some observations on Yehezkel Kaufmann's attitude to Wissenschaft des Judentums. In: Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Div C, thought and literature, vol 2. 1994, Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, S. 69–76.

[2] Jindo, *Recontextualizing Kaufmann,* p. 103.

[3] Jindo, Revisiting Kaufmann: Fundamental Problems in Modern Biblical Scholarship From Yehezkel. From Yehezkel Kaufmann's Criticism of Wellhausen. In: *Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions* 3, 2007, pp. 41–77.

[4] Laurence J. Silberstein, *historical sociology and Ideolo*gy, 174.

[5] Benjamin Uffenheimer, Yehezkel Kaufmann: historian and philosopher of biblical monotheism. In: *Immanuel* (3), pp. 9–21.

[6] Kaufmann's instance toward biblical criticism is somehow paradoxical. Although he recognized the need for historical criticism, he had rejected many of its results. For more details see R K .Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*. London: Tyndale P, 1970. Also Joseph Blenkinsopp,"An Assessment of the Alleged Pre-Exilic Date of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch." *Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. 108.4 (1996), pp. 495-518

[7] Hans-Joachim Kraus*. Geschichte De Historisch-Kritischen Erforschung Des Alten Testaments*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969.

[8] Hahn, Herbert F. *Old Testament in Modern Research*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1954, P. 17.

[9] Thomas Krapf, *Yehezkel Kaufmann: Ein Lebens Und Erkenntnisweg Zur Theologie Der Hebräischen Bibel*. Berlin: Institut Kirche und Judentum, 1990, p. 111.

historical-critical methods used to construct the documentary hypothesis nor the hypothesis."[1] Kaufmann himself described Wellhausen's theory with the following words "Wellhausen's arguments complemented each other nicely, and offered what seemed to be a solid foundation upon which to build the house of biblical criticism."[2] Menahem Haran has outlined Kaufmann's exegetical approach, saying "he aimed at reaching an historical understanding of the development of cult in ancient Israel; his actual method does not essentially differ from that of Wellhausen."[3]

As we have seen, both Wellhausen and Kaufmann, ideologically and methodologically, were children of their time. The critical historical method by which they had inquired about Israel's history seems to be identical. They differed in dating the Priestly code and the origin of biblical monotheism. It is to be mentioned that Wellhausen and Kaufman's historical reconstructions are counted on a comparison of P's laws with those of the other Pentateuchal codes, and with the history as put forth in the Biblical narrative.[4] While Wellhausen dated P's laws to post exilic period, Kaufmann pushed the time of the Priestly Code backward and reversed the order of Pentateuchal sources to be (JE.P.D). To Wellhausen the priestly code is the constitution of Judaism.[5] Moreover, the Priestly law reflects a situation where we find "kein Volk, sondern eine Kirche gab.''[6] Against the theocratic characterization of P, as Wellhausen depicted, Kaufmann argued with minute details that Israel had no hierocratic ideal.[7] In addition, Kaufmann refused to regard P as second temple composition. He believed that dating P to exilic or post-exilic period would reverse the course of Israeli's history and distort the facts.[8] In supporting of his position, Kaufmann offered a detailed analysis to prove the antiquity of P. His conclusion in this regard can be summarized in the following citation "In every detail, P betrays its antiquity. Its narrative preserves bold anthropomorphisms; its cult presupposes the existence of local altars…its tithes

[1] Blenkinsopp, *An Assessment of the Alleged Pre-Exilic Date of the Priestly Material in the Pentateuch*, 497
[2] Kaufmann, *the religion of Israel*, 1.
[3] Menahem Haran,"Behind the Scenes of History: Determining the Date of the Priestly Source." *Journal of Biblical Literature.* 100.3 (1981), pp. 321-333.
[4] Moshe Greenberg, "A New Approach to the History of the Israelite Priesthood." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. 70.1 (1950), pp. 41-47, 41.
[5] Moshe Weinfeld, *The place of the law in the religion of ancient Israel.* Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004, p xi.
[6] J Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1963, p. 230. Also *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* 167, 168. Futher Grundrisse, p. 72
[7] Yehezkel Kaufmann, Probleme der israelitisch-jüdischen Religionsgeschichte. In: *ZAW* 7, 1930, pp. 23–43.
[8] Kaufmann, *The Book of Joshua* (Hebrew) with an introduction to Josh and Ju (1-3). Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher.*commentary on Joshua*, 1959, p. 15.

are ancient; its thousands of Levites are a reflex of a distant past; its view of the prophets as the civil and military leaders of the people is archaic..."[1]

Wellhausen's dating of P to the exilic period meant that both Israelite law and monotheism were the products of classical prophecy.[2] Kaufmann to the contrary argued against Wellhausen's position,[3] and sought to prove that monotheism was a product of popular religion.[4] While Wellhausen concluded that Israelite monotheism just like the law, the product of its history and experience[5], Kaufmann saw monotheism as an intuitive creation of the national genius of Israel rather than the product of historical development."[6] To Wellhausen, ethical monotheism of the prophets was "a progressive step which had been called forth simply by the course of events."[7] By contrast, Kaufmann reduced the influence of the prophets,[8] insisting that "monotheistic faith was not the property of narrow elite, but of the entire nation."[9]

This apparent disparity in point of views between Wellhausen and Kaufmann concerning the dating of priestly Code and the origin of monotheism does not preclude us from seeing what they share in common. If we consider only one aspect of their respective histories of Israelite religion, we will come up with the conclusion that they sought to reconstruct Israelite religion in its own context. While Wellhausen saw Israelite religion as moving from simple to formal religion, Kaufmann found out that the changes in Israelite religion reflect different expressions of one unified belief. It follows that both Wellhausen and Kaufmann had viewed the course of Israelite

[1] Kaufmann, the religion of israel, 206.
[2] Kohn R.Levitt, *A New Heart and a New Soul: Ezekiel, the Exile, and the Torah*. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002,P. 14.
[3] Yehezkel Kaufmann, Probleme der israelitisch-jüdischen Religionsgeschichte. II. In: *ZAW* (10), 1933, pp. 35–47.
[4] Uffenheimer has shown that as to the relationship between monotheism and the people of Israel, Kaufmann destroys a link in Wellhausen's structure: his historical interpretation of the term "popular religion". he dies the assumption that that religion had been polytheistic; on the contrary, it is exactly monotheism which was created by national spirit, i.e. the popular religion". Here Kaufmann took the leap from empirical history to philosophical anthropology by sequestering monotheism from the field of development in time and putting it in the sphere of the "creative spirit" of the nation. See: B Uffenheimer, Yehezkel Kaufmann: historian and philosopher of biblical monotheism, pp. 13-14.
[5] Niels Peter Lemche, *the Israelites in history and tradition*. London: SPCK, 1988, p. 136
[6] Uffenheimer, Yehezkel Kaufmann, historian and philosopher of biblical monotheism, p. 16
[7] *Prolegomena*, 474
[8] To Kaufmann, Torah reflects a religious stage prior to prophecy. He argued that the great innovation of the prophets lies in emphasis on justice and morality. Moreover, Torah (including historical books) and prophets represent two distinct domains. Thus Kaufmann concluded that „ the ideas of each group are so different as to preclude the possibility that the former was inspired by the doctrines of the latter." Kaufmann, *the religion of Israel,* p. 157
[9] Kaufmann, *the religion of Israel*, 134

religion from different perspectives. Yet, it is still possible to detect a common denominator in their reconstruction of Israelite religion. It may be fairly concluded that:

> "The common denominator between Kaufmann and Wellhausen was their view of the immanent development of Jewish faith. While Wellhausen spoke of development (and advancement) in stages, Kaufmann believed that monotheistic faith was an ancient phenomenon that emerged ex nihilo, as a revolutionary, primal event, the product of the Jewish people's genius, without any stages of development or outside influence."[1]

Conclusion

There is no doubt that both Wellhausen and Kaufmann had contributed in enriching our understanding of the nature and history of early Israel. Yet, their ideas were bound up with the historical context of their time and suffered from many flaws. It is our concern here to highlight the broad outlines of their works. Besides, there can be no doubt that each provided an example of the ongoing debate on early Israel. It is also remarked that Kaufmann's theory of Israelite religion in its relationship to that of Wellhausen was a subject of scholarly inquiry.[2] In an article in Journal of Jewish Education, Kaufmann's work on the history of Israelite religion was described as a running commentary on Wellhausen's Prolegomena to the History of Israel.[3] Jon Douglas Levenson has observed that "in the index to Moshe Greenberg's English abridgment of Kaufmann, one finds numerous references to Wellhausen but none to Eichrodt or Von Rad or even Albrecht Alt, whose historical focus parallel Kaufmann's own in many ways. All three were his contemporaries, yet it is Wellhausen who was his sparring partner."[4] It is true that Wellhausen and Kaufmann's views representing different periods and different intellectual background. Yet, it is important to recall their views and it may be meaningful to study their respective histories on Israel's religion and history together. As Geller, pointed out, "one must disenthrall oneself and attempt to understand the real nature of the clash between the massive structures of thought and fact erected by Kaufmann and Wellhausen."[5]

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[1] Shavit, Jacob, Mordechai Eran, and Jacob Shavit. *The Hebrew Bible Reborn: From Holy Scripture to the Book of Books : a History of Biblical Culture and the Battles Over the Bible in Modern Judaism*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007,P. 394.

[2] See for example, Peter Slyomovics, Yehezkel. Kaufmann's Critique of Wellhausen: A Philosophical-Historical Perspective (in Hebrew), *Zion* 49/1984, pp. 61- 92.

[3] David Lieber (1964): Yehezkel Kaufmann's Contribution to Biblical Scholarship. In: *Journal of Jewish Education* 34/ 4, 1964, pp. 254–261.

[4] John D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies*. Louisville, Ky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993, P. 44.

[5] Stephen Geller,Wellhausen and kaufmann. In: *Midstream* 31 (10), 1985, pp. 39–48.

One aspect which alludes to a common denominator between Wellhausen and Kaufmann is that they had attributed to Moses a prominent role in Israel's history. He is the founder of Israel and its religion. Methodologically, both Wellhausen and Kaufmann worked with literary and source critical method and recognized the need of historical criticism. Significantly, they applied the *inside* model in reconstructing early Israel's history and reduced the contribution of extra biblical sources. Finally, Kaufmann's controversial with Wellhausen refers to polemic dispute between Judaism and Christianity. The traces of this polemic can be traced in Kaufmann's words:

> "Christian scholarship has occupied itself through the ages with the differences between Christianity and Judaism, and to explain the separation in terms of different beliefs, and religious attitudes. Judaism is said to be a religious of fear and of law, its god a dreaded sovereign-king. Christianity, on the other hand, is a religious of love and grace, its god a merciful, loving father. Judaism is ritualistic and concerned with physical purity: Christianity is a religion of faith demanding spiritual and moral virtue. Judaism is community oriented, societal: Christianity individual –personal. Judaism is impersonal law and covenantal-national. Christianity is personal, universalistic, human…"[1]

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[This draft, to be presented at OTSEM, constitutes the first sections of an essay in progress.]

Axes of Inquiry: Julius Wellhausen, Hermann Gunkel, and Religion's Reconstruction[1]

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In fact, the distinguishing character of all scientific research in our century is comparison.[2]
-Max Müller

But the feeling of similarities is one thing and the notion of genus another.[3]
-Émile Durkheim

If Eduard Meyer proclaimed Hermann Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* a creation wrought of chaos, Julius Wellhausen deemed it quite the opposite—an endeavor "more chaos than creation."[4] Both disciplinary historians and historians of disciplines

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1. In presenting portions of this paper, I have benefited from many substantive comments made by particpants in the 2013 Göttingen–Lausanne Conference "Textual, Literary and Social Issues in the Formation of the Hebrew Bible: German, Swiss and French Insights" as well as the Sofja Kovaleskaja research group "Early Jewish Monotheisms" at Göttingen University. Paricular thanks go to Hermann Spieckemann, Reinhard G. Kratz, Nathan MacDonald, and Daniel Pioske. All errors, however, remain my own.

2. Max Müller, "Forgotten Bibles" in *The Essential Max Müller: On Language, Mythology, and Religion* (ed., Jon R. Stone; New York: Palgrave, 2002 [1884]), 263.

3. ½mile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (transl. Carol Cosman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 113. [French Original: *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1912)].

4. Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895) [ET: *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton: A Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 1 and Revelation 12* (trans. K. William Whitney, Jr.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006)]; for the evaluations of Meyer and Wellhausen, along with the latter's subsequent tempering, see Werner Klatt, *Hermann Gunkel: Zu seiner Theologie der Religionsgeschichte und der Entstehung der formgeschichtlichen Methode* (FRLANT 100; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 70-74. Well-attested in academic lore, this remark from Wellhausen betrays a sentiment further expressed in a letter to Adolf von Harnack (see Christhard Hoffmann, *Juden und Judentum im Werk deutscher Althistoriker des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* [Leiden: Brill, 1988], **159-65**). For the disparity between the work of Wellhausen and Meyer, see further Reinhard G. Kratz's "Eyes and Spectacles: Wellhausen's Method of Higher Criticism," *Journal of Theological Studies* 60/2 (2009): 381-402; idem, "Zur Kontroverse zwischen E. Meyer and J. Wellhausen" *ZThK* 95 (1998): 167-84 [repr. in idem, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (FAT II/42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 6-22]; Peter Machinst, "The Road Not Taken: Wellhausen and Assyriology" in *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and*

may frequently (and rightly) interrogate a certain Gunkel–Wellhausen antithesis in pursuit of methodological, historical, and/or socio-political inquiries, as Henning Graf Reventlow and Suzanne L. Marchand have done with ample acuity, but even beyond biographical semblance or literary postulates, Wellhausen and Gunkel shared a common conceptual quandary as well: that hapless fusion of morphological and evolutionary schemata which has continued to plague the human sciences on into the present.[5] Indeed, each may have broken new ground in the field of biblical studies, yet their intellectual implements, forged on the Enlightenment anvil in the workshop of eighteenth-century Europe, plowed furrows that were at times either shallow or askew.[6] Divergence and departures notwithstanding, moreover, these analytical courses betray an underlying orientation that transcends their critiques of one another and even surfaces in the censure they received from others. Objects and objectives may have varied, yet the fundamental problem of form and time obtained. Investigating their reconstructions of ancient Israelite religion, this essay will measure their methodological machinery and weigh the fruits of their labor to trace the impact they left in the field.

I. Proteus and Prototypes

In nineteenth-century science, comparison was king. Channeling the Goethean spirit, Max Müller's motto "He who knows one knows none" incarnates that vibrant geist which animated the growing bodies of specialized knowledge at the time.[7] Although George W. Stocking, Jr., has shrewdly cautioned against the assimilation of all comparative enterprises into a

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Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded (ed. Gershon Galil, Mark Geller and Alan Millard; VTSup 130; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 515-21.

5. This particular distinction in analytical posture derives from Novick's *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 12; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Epochen der Bibelauslegung, Band IV: Von der Aufklärung bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001) [ET: *History of Biblical Interpretation, Vol 4: From the Enlightenment to the Twentieth Century* (trans. Leo G. Perdue; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010); Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, Scholarship* (Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute/ Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), XX; cf. idem, "Philhellenism and the Furor Orientalis" *Modern Intellectual History* 1/3 (2004), 331-58; idem, "From Liberalism to Neoromanticism: Albrecht Dieterich, Richard Reitzenstein, and the Religious Turn in *Fin-De-Siècle* German Classical Studies" *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 46 (2003): 129-60.

   Here I avail myself of the opportunity to express the orientation of this study, expressed in Novick's words, though my own attempts could not help but be dwarfed by such comparison: "In part what seems to some my negativity, or at least failure to be apropriately affirmative, is a function of my focus. Most histories of history concentrate on what professional historians do best, often superbly: write history. Although I constantly refer to historians' substantive work insofar as one or another aspect of it relates to my treatment of 'the objectivity question,' it is not my central concern, and I make no systematic attempt to evaluate it. And, inevitably, I spend a good deal of time talking about what historians do worst, or at least badly: reflecting on epistemology. This loads the dice against historians: something like a sportswriter reporting on their performances in the annual history department softball game" (idem, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988], 15). I choose the work of Gunkel and Wellhausen precisely because their significance rests beyond dispute. As two giants in biblical studies, they only exemplify the ubiquity of an epistemological problem that dominated the humanities of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

6. On the emergence of critical biblical scholarship, see, most recently, Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 2005; Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

7. Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion: Four Lectures Delivered at the Royal Institution in February and March 1870* (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1870), 5.

totalized abstraction of *the* comparative method,[8] Jonathan Z. Smith has revealed with characteristic brilliance the import of comparative anatomy for the emergent disciplines of anthropology and linguistics, the two "great nourishing stream[s] of the Comparative Religions method."[9] Through his career in general and a series of essays in particular, Smith has excavated the intellectual edifice of human science research to unearth awry pillars and survey crooked fundaments, devoting special attention to lines of comparison.[10] "Based on a survey of some 2500 years of the literature of anthropological comparison,"[11] Smith discerns four comparative classes in the cultural, historical, causal, and hermeneutic and concentrates on four specific modes of said classes when deployed for analysis of cultural (and thus religious) data—modes he designates as ethnographic, encyclopedic, morphological, and evolutionary.[12] If, to simplify mercilessly, ethnographic comparison derives from individual impression, encyclopedic does so from surface association, morphological from a logical, formal progression, and evolutionary from consideration of time and space.[13] Extending Karl Mannheim's incisive distinction between rightist and leftist methodologies,[14] Smith further associates the

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8. George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 174. Stocking's shrewd distinction between "Darwinistic" and "Darwinian" conceptualizations likewise offers an important methodological warning (ibid., 146).

9. Smith, "Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit" *HR* 11/1 (1971): **XX** [reprinted in idem, *Map is Not Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 255-56].

10. Those essays most relevant this study include: Smith, "Acknowledgments: Morphology and History in Mircea Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1949-1999), Part 1: The Work and Its Contents" *History of Religions* 39 (2000): 315-31; "Acknowledgments: Morphology and History in Mircea Eliade's *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1949-1999), Part 2: The Texture of the Work" *History of Religions* 39 (2000): 332-51 [both reprinted in idem, *Relating Religion: Essays on the Study of Religion* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 61-100]; idem, *Imagining Religion From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 19-35; idem, "Adde Parvum," 80-81/240-64.

11. Smith, *Imagining Religion*, 22.

12. Idem, "Adde Parvum"; cf. idem, *Imagining Religion*, 22-29. He himself, however, does not use the term causality. For greater nuance on this shift within the natural sciences, see, e.g., Tom Gundling, *First in Line: Tracing Our Ape Ancestry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), esp. **6-41**; Lynn K. Nyhart, *Biology Takes Form: Animal Morphology and the German Universities 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Structure of Evolutionary Theory* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), **93-503**.

13. In the end, he judges, "We stand before a considerable embarrassment. Of the four chief modes of comparison in the human sciences, two, the ethnographic and the encyclopaedic, are in principle inadequate as comparative activities, although both have other important and legitimate functions. The evolutionary would be capable in principle of being formulated in a satisfactory manner, but I know of no instances of its thorough application to cultural phenomena. What is often understood to be the evolutionary method of comparison embodies a deep contradiction which necessitates its abandonment. This leaves only the morphological.... Yet, few students of religion would be attracted by this alternative. Because of the Romantic, Neoplatonic Idealism of its philosophical presuppositions, because for methodologically rigorous and internally defensible reasons, it is designed to exclude the historical. The only option appears to be no option at all" (*Imagining Religion*, 24-25; cf. idem, *Relating Religion*, 63-64).

14. Mannheim writes, "...early nineteenth century German conservatism...and contemporary conservatism too, for that matter, tend to use morphological categories which do not break up the concrete totality of the data of experience, but seek rather to preserve it in all its uniqueness. As opposed to the morphological approach, the analytical approach characteristic of the parties of the left, broke down every concrete totality in order to arrive at smaller, more general, units which might then be recombined through the category of causality or functional integreation. Here it becomes our task not only to indicate the fact that people in different social positions think differently, but to make intelligible the causes for their different ordering of

a) morphological, b) synthetic, c) structural, d) synchronic, and e) phenomenological with the former and the a') evolutionary, b') analytic, c') functional, d') diachronic, and e') historical with the latter.[15] Haphazard conflation of these discrete intellectual enterprises, however, has sabotaged comparative ventures across the humanities since disciplines began to cordon off spheres of knowledge with topical walls, institutional fences, and discursive patrols. An assessment of this genealogy exposes certain theoretical maladies inherited into the intellectual lineage of Wellhausen and Gunkel.

As for morphology—a term Goethe putatively coined and gave currency—this analytical endeavor remains fundamentally typological and atemporal, finding core expression in a correspondence from 1787.[16] "I must confess to you," Goethe penned to Herder, "that I am very close to discovering the secret of the creation and organization of plants...." He unveiled his finding further:

> The *Urpflanze* is to be the strangest creature in the world—Nature herself shall be jealous of it. With such a model...it will be possible to invent plants *ad infinitum*. They will be strictly logical plants—that is to say, even though they may not actually exist they could exist—they would not be mere picturesque or poetic shadows or dreams, but would possess an inner truth and necessity.[17]

In the same letter, Goethe also confesses, "It had occurred to me that in the organ of the plant, which we ordinarily designate as leaf, the true Proteus lay hidden, who can conceal and reveal himself in all forms. Forward and backward, the plant is always only leaf."[18] As Smith espies, "Beneath the apparent surface differences lay a deep similarity of process, the result of internal, logical, teleological principles of transformation that Goethe termed 'metamorphosis.'"[19] If the leaf represents a) expansion, b) progression, c) succession, and d) regularity and the archetype a') contraction b') retrogression c') simultaneity, and d') irregularity,

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the material of experiences by different categories" (idem, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* [London: Routledge, 1979 (reprint of 1936)], 246). Notably, Smith stops short of this last sentence in his quotation of Mannheim.

15. Jonathan Z. Smith. "Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit" *HR* 11/1 (1971): 80-81; reprinted in idem, *Map is Not Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 240-64. See further idem, *Imagining Religion From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 19-35. [NOTE ON LATER QUALIFICATION OF STRUCTURALISM.]

16. Here I follow but truncate Smith's extensive exploration of the Goethean program: see, most thoroughly, "Acknowledgments," Parts 1 and 2; cf. also "Adde Parvum" and *Imagining Religion*, 19-35; see further, e.g., **Gordon L. Miller, "Introduction" in *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: The Metamorphosis of Plants* (ed. Gordon L. Miller; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009), XX-XX; David Seamon and Arthur Zajonc, ed., *Goethe's Way of Science: A Phenomenology of Nature* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998), XX; Karl J. Finke, *Goethe's History of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), XXX; Freerick Armine, Francis J. Zucker, and Harvey Wheeler, ed., *Goethe and the Sciences: A Reappraisal* (Dodrecht: D. Reidel, 1987), XXX.**

17. **Goethe, "Betrachtung über Morphologie überhaupt" in *Goethe: Scientific Studies* (trans. Douglas E. Miller; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 57-60.**

18. **Ibid.**

19. Smith, *Relating Religion*, 69.

both transformations constitute the same phenomenon of metamorphosis.[20] Yet a second type of metamorphosis emerges in Goethe's scheme as well: "accidental metamorphosis...which is effected accidentally by external agents" and can affect the two internal transformations, or first process of metamorphosis.[21] This category, however, Goethe dismisses altogether, bracketing history from morphology. Since formal and logical necessity constitute internal metamorphosis, with all forms potential or actual present at once,

> [c]omparison may thus occur between the individual and the archetype; comparison may also occur between analogous members of an atemporal series (X is homologous to Y). In either case, neither temporal nor causal conclusions may be drawn for such comparison, that is, X is simpler than Y, it is logically prior and formally prior but not necessarily prior in time.[22]

Indeed, Goethe's is a morphological project, ahistorical and nonlinear in view and romantic, neoplatonic, and idealistic in premise. All variability thus stems from regular formative proceses. Although morphological inquiries compared either individuals and archetypes or analogous elements of a given series, they did so without regard to causality or temporality, thereby engaging patterns and manifestations but not linear, temporal development.

Advances in the anatomy of Georges-Louis Leclerc (Comte de Buffon) and Georges Cuvier along with the biology of Jean Baptist de Lamarck and Charles Darwin all led to a gradual yet successful shift from morphological to evolutionary models within eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century natural science, yielding a correlation of temporality with complexity as well as a concentration on variability and individuality.[23] Anthropology and comparative religion did not evolve in kind, however: "Paradoxically (and impossibly), the newer evolutionary and temporal perspective was linked to the older ahistorical methodology. The detection of simplicity now yielded historical origins (e.g., 'the primitive') rather than 'logical' *Urformen*."[24] This amalgam of distinct conceptual systems hence conflated the a) ahistorical, b) synchronic, c) polygenetic, d) internal, e) parallel, f) analogous, and g) logical with the a') historical, b') diachronic, c') monogentic, d') external, e') diffusive, f') homologous, and g') contingent. Epitomized in the *Naturphilosophie* of Immanuel Kant, the *Kul-*

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20. NOTE ON DYNAMIC METAMORPHOSIS WHEN COMPARED TO LINNAEUS.

21. **Goethe, "Betrachtung," 57-60.**

22. Smith, "Adde Parvum," 84. [CHECK THIS REDESCRIPTION, ESP. INNER IDENTITY AND METAMORPHOSIS.]

23. These figures were, of course, not without predecessors, challengers, and successors; I name them only as representatives of a general epistemological shift. While Smith concentrates on the significance of anatomy and botony for subsequent developments within the human sciences, particularly anthropology and the history of religions, Konrad Koerner extends the scope to include biology and geology in his consideration of natural science's influence on historical linguistics (idem, "The Place of Friedrich Schlegel in the Development of Historical-Comparative Linguistics" in *Leibniz, Humboldt, and the Origins of Comparativism* [ed. Tullio de Maauro and Lia Formigari; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990], 243; cf. idem, "Friedrich Schlegel and the Emergence of Historical-Comparative Grammar" in idem, *Practicing Linguistic Historiography* [Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1989], 269-90).

24. Smith, "Adde Parvum," 86. Extending his critique specifically to the work of E.B. Tylor, Smith contends, "Similarities were to be explained on the basis of their reflecting similar 'logical stages[']' of human development and cultural evolution (the *Urmensch* corollary to the *Urpflanze*) though, again impossibly, chronological implications were to be drawn" (ibid., 88); cf. n. 68 below.

turkreislehre of Fritz Graebner, and the *Weltanschauung* of Hugo Winckler, some hybrid undertakings remained morphological in essence but nonetheless sought to incorporate greater temporality and/or spatiality into their programs; others, by contrast, advanced more restricted morphological projects under the guise of an evolutionary inquiry that presupposed some psychic unity of humanity and largely disregarded factors spatial and temporal, thereby diverging from the actual evolutionary model prominent within contemporary natural science.[25] The difference, however, was one of degree, not kind. Indeed, Gunkel and Wellhausen, like almost all of their compeers across the humanities, fell prey to this very conceptual demon—their fate implicated in the ventures of *Weltanschauungen* and *Urtexte*.

II. Julius Wellhausen

"Therefore, according to proper method," wrote a young Julius Wellhausen in 1871, "criticism of the traditional Hebrew and traditional Greek text goes hand in hand, and the combination of the two for recovery of the original text is already permitted and fruitful."[26] These words come from an "unpretending but epoch-making work on the textual criticism of the Old Testament"[27]—an inquiry stemming from "historical investigations" and published

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25. Smith, "Acknowledgements" Part 1, 72. The secondary literature on diffusionism in general and Panbabylonianism in particular is nothing short of Brobdingnagian. On the heuristic (and, at that time, polemic) dichotomy but veritable spectrum of diffusion and evolution, see, e.g., Daniel Gold, *Aesthetics and Analysis in Writing on Religion: Modern Fascinations* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 143-88; Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 201-16; Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 144-85; Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 166-313, 565-72. Theories of evolution may have risen in opposition to those of degeneration, but this debate stands separate from that of diffusion and evolution; hence, diffusion was no mere correlate of degeneration. Concerning the Babel-Bible Controversy—an analytically distinct yet frequently associated occurrence—see, e.g., Klaus Johanning, *Der Bibel-Babel-Streit: Eine forschungsgeschichtliche Studie* (Lange, 1988); Reinhard G. Lehmann, "Der Babel-Bibel-Streit. Ein kulturpolitische Wetterleuchten in Babylon" in *Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte, Wiege früher Gelehrsamkeit, Mythos in der Moderne: 2. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 24.-26. März 1998 in Berlin* (ed. Johannes Renger; Saarbrücken: SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999), **505-21**; idem, *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit* (OBO 133, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994); Yaacov Shavit and Mordechai Eran, *The Hebrew Bible Reborn: From Holy Scripture to the Book of Books: A History of Biblical Culture and the Battles over the Bible in Modern Judaism* (trans. Chaya Naor; Studia Judaica 38; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 195-352; Mogens Trolle Larsen, "The 'Babel/Bible' Controversy and Its Aftermath" in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. Jack M. Sasson; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), I:95-106; idem, "Orientalism and the Ancient Near East" *Culture and History* 2 (1987): **XXX-XXX** [repr. in idem and M. Harbsmeier (eds.), *The Humanities Between Art and Science: Intellectual Developments 1880–1914* (Copenhagen: **XXXX**, 1989), **181-202**]; Bill T. Arnold and David B. Weisberg, "A Centennial Review of Friedrich Delitzsch's 'Babel und Bibel' Lectures" *JBL* 121/3 (2002): 441-57; idem, "Delitzsch in Context" in *God's Word for Our World*, *Vol II: Theological and Cultural Studies in Honor of Simon John De Vries* (ed. J. Harold Ellens et al; JSOTSup 388; London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 37-45; Herbert B. Huffmon, "*Babel und Bibel*: The Encounter Between Babylon and the Bible" *Michigan Quarterly Review* 22/3 (1983): 309-20. While Lehmann and Johanning have provided the most extensive treatments to date, Shavit and Eran's work offers expansive bibliography, not to mention the study's own contribution. Concerning the distinction between (Neo)Babylonians and Panbabylonians, see Gold, *Aesthetics and Analysis*, 263n.3.

26. Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 8. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

27. S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (2nd ed; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), vii.

but a year after his dissertation.[28] As Reinhard G. Kratz has observed, this study marked the ground Wellhausen's oeuvre would then break.[29] With groundwork in order, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*[30] then laid that source-critical foundation upon which Wellhausen built the monumental edifice of his tradition- and religious-historical investigation in *Geschichte Israels*[31] and his historical delineation in *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*[32] thereon. Such a foundation, however, determined not only the methodological but also the conceptual course of Wellhausen's work.

Like other cultural queries, textual criticism and comparative philology came in danger of shipwreck, drawn by the sirens of morphology and evolution in the guise of *Urtext* and *Ursprache*.[33] Such pursuits proved no less exempt from methodological incongruence than other spheres of human science research. While Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl[34] pioneered the genealogy of manuscript traditions along with stemmatology, Johan Nicolai Madvig and Karl Lachmann sought to reconstruct the actual archetypes themselves.[35] Advancing this trajectory

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28. See Rudolf Smend, "The Work of Abraham Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen" in *HBOT III/1: The Nineteenth Century* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 441.

29. Reinhard G. Kratz, "Wellhausen, Julius (1844–1918) in *TRE* 35:528-29. Kratz groups together this work with Wellhausen's previous *De gentibus et familiis Judaeis quae 1. Chr. 2.4. enumerantur* (Göttingen: Dietrich, 1870) and subsequent *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte* (Greifswald: Bamberg, 1875).

30. *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* in *Jahrbuch für die deutsche Theologie* (1876/77); republished in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, II 1885); 2nd ed. published as *Die Compositions des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1889; 3rd ed. 1899).

31. Julius Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels. In zwei Bänden. Erster Band* (Berlin: Reimar, 1878). The following editions appeared as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, the 2nd in 1883, 3rd 1886, 4th 1895, 5th 1899, and 6th 1905. For the change in title choice, see Smend, "Wellhausen," 448-50.

32. Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (Berlin: Reimar, 1894; 2nd ed. 1895; 3rd 1897; 4th 1901; 5th 1904; 6th 1907; 7th 1914).

33. On the interfaces of these two fields, see, e.g., Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method* (2nd ed; transl. Glenn W. Most; Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2005), 119-38; translation of idem, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann* (2nd ed; Padova: Liviana, 1981); Koerner, "The Place of Friedrich Schlegel," 239-61; Moshe Henry Goshen-Gottstein, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament: Rise, Decline, Rebirth" *JBL* 102/3 (1983): 365-99. SMITH ON RECEPTION OF GOETHE IN HUMBOLDT

34. Classical philologist Friedrich Wilhelm Ritschl was the cousin of renowned Göttingen theologian Albrecht Ritschl, eponym of the "Ritschl School." Wellhausen refers to this Ritschl in his well-known retrospect: "At last, in the course of casual visit in Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the Prophets, and, almost without knowning his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it: I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah" (idem, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel with a reprint of the article 'Israel' from the EncBr* [trans. from the 2nd ed., with Preface by William Robertson Smith; Edinburgh: Black, 1885], 3).

35. Timpanaro, *Genesis*, 122. For the history of Hebrew Bible textual criticism, see Emmanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed; Minnepolis: Fortress Press, 2011), 155-90; Richard D. Weis, "'Lower Criticism': Studies in the Masoretic Text and the Ancient Versions of the Old Testament as Means of Textual Criticism" in *HBOT* III/1; Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Bible Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Biblica* 48 (1967): 243-290; idem, "The Textual Criticism of the Old Testament." Histories of textual criticism—particularly those concerning the Hebrew Bible—frequently designate Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller as the first to theorize the development of the biblical text, citing his evaluation of Benjamin Kennicott's *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*: "Dieser ganz, mit so vielem Aufwande von Zeit und Kosten zusammengeführte Varianten-Wust giebt übrigens das einfache Resultat: daɔ alle noch vorhandne Codices im Verhältnisse zu den Originalen

of his intellectual forbears, especially that of Lachmann, Paul Anton de Lagarde postulated a single original archetype reconstructable through intial reconstruction and comparison of the Masoretic and Septuagintal archetypes.[36] Wellhausen himself affirmed Lagarde's theory of textual development but gainsaid his assertion that versional evidence could control that of the Masoretic text only after reconstruction of the versional archetype itself.[37] Consequently, Wellhausen could stipulate, "first the Hebrew text of the Septuagint, that of the Peshitta, the Targum, and the Vulgate—and the Masoretic text—must each be established individually"[38] and yet simultaneously analogize, "One can also safely operate with double-edged knives so long as he knows they are double-edged and uses them carefully."[39] Despite theoretical articulations of comparing individual manuscripts strictly within their respective groups and only then comparing reconstructed archetypes to arrive at an "original" text, much nineteenth-century textual criticism actually compared manuscripts across groups, thereby undermining the

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sehr jung sind..., daᵓ sie sehr reich an Schreibfehlern, aber äuᵓerst arm an wichtigen und brauchbaren Lesearten sind, daᵓ sie sämtlich im Ganzen eine Recension darstellen, aus einer Quelle geflossen sind, und daᵓ folglich aus ihnen für die etwa verdorbenen Stellen des hebräischen Textes wenig oder gar keine Hülfe zu erwarten ist" (Rosenmüller, *Handbuch für die Literatur der biblischen Kritik und Exegese*, vol 1 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1797], 247). However, Emmanuel Tov notes that Rosenmüller had predecessors in Johann Gottfried Eichhorn and Salomon Glassius (*Textual Criticism*, 170).

36. "[E]s ergiebt sich also," writes Lagarde, "daᵓ unsere hebräischen handschriften des alten testaments auf ein einziges exemplar zurückgehn, dem sie sogar die korrektur seiner schreibfehler als korrektur treu nachgeahmt und dessen zufällige unvollkommenheiten sie herübergenommmen haben" (*Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* [Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus], 2). Weis encapsulates the procedure as follow: "The picture of the development of the Hebrew text that de Lagarde presentes here mirrors his understanding of the development of the Septuagint. Just as the Septuagint develops from a single archetype into three recensions – Hexaplaric, Lucianic and Hesychian – each with its own archetype at its beginning, so the Hebrew text develops from a single archetype into two recensions: the Egyptian, which is represented by the Septuagint, and the Palestinian, which is represented by the MT. In order to reconstruct the archetype at the head of the stemma, one uses the mansuscripts of a given recension only to criticize each other in the interests of reconstructing the archetype of that recension. The re-constructed archetypes are then compared to reach their archetype" ("'Lower Criticism,'" 359). Even further, Goshen-Gottstein keenly discerns that "the archetype theory had been formulated in 1863 on purely theoretical grounds, and it was bolstered up and given a chronological setting in 1867" ("Hebrew Bible Manuscripts," 258-59). For a distinction between Rosenmüller's "one recension" theory and that of Lagarde's "one archetype," ibid., 253-65; cf. Weis, "'Lower Criticism,'" 358-62. On the political and religious dimensions of Lagarde's work, including its impact on his philological undertakings, see Fritz Stern's classic *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), esp. 27-34; Ulrich Sieg, *Deutschlands Prophet: Paul de Lagarde und die Ursprünge des modernen Antisemitismus* (Munich: Hanser, 2007); Marchand, *German Orientalism,* 168-74; cf. also Weis, "'Lower Criticism,'" 358-62. Laudably lucid, Ronald Hendel has recently disambiguated the troublesome categories of "archetype," "hyparchetpye," "edition," and "original" (idem, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: its Aims and a Response to Criticisms," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1/2 [2013]: 63-99). He also ocates the Oxford Hebrew Bible within the Wellhausian fold (ibid., **2**).

37. Ibid., 1-9. For important differences between Lagarde and Wellhausen, see Goshen-Gottstein, "The Book of Samuel—Hebrew and Greek Hindisght of a Century" *Textus* 14 (1988), 154-60; cf. also idem, "Textual Criticism," 379-82.

38. Wellhausen, Samuelis, 1-9; cf. xiii.

39. Ibid., 4. Preceding this pronouncement, Wellhausen declared, "Therefore, it is not merely an excessive demand of fruitless methodological rigor but rather a principle of great practical significance—whose neglect takes its revenge on **the most susceptible of elements**—that 'the LXX may only be deployed in its original form for criticism of our Masoretic diaskeuast.' But as critical as this principle is, it certainly does not mean that one must eschew all use of the LXX for critical purposes before a 'definitive' edition of the LXX is available in its entirety" (ibid., 3-4); here Wellhausen has cited Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, **2**.

procedural sequence outlined by Lagarde. Richard D. Weis thus enhances the acute insights of Moshe Goshen-Gottstein and concludes, "Wellhausen continued to use de Lagarde's concept and language of archetypes to describe the evolution of the text, but explicitly rejected the methodological consequence of that conception of textual history"; accordingly, "text critics who followed...the Lagarde-Wellhausen approach spoke theoretically of archetypes but proceeded methodologically as if they were dealing with recensions."[40] In this regard, it was Max Margolis who bore the true Lagardian guidon.[41] Furthermore, while Lagarde attributed textual corruption to mechanics, misunderstanding, and (Jewish) manipulation, Wellhausen blamed scribal processes and, more importantly, the inherent ambiguity of a consonantal orthography. This emphasis on internal factors placed him in direct opposition to Abraham Geiger, who assigned such variability to social history and hence external forces.[42] From a premise of internality, then, Wellhausen surmised, "those principles [*Ursachen*] which acted upon the text's formation were not temporary but constant...."[43] Textual genesis therefore operated on internal principles of form and logic, not external factors of time and space. If his textual studies bore the marks of this conceptual mill, the grist from other scholarly fields were equally imprinted as well.

As for the texts to undergo scrutiny, Wellhausen was a rather strict internalist. This intellectual road, however, began in neither pragmatism nor exigency but led back to a conurbation of assumptions concerning history and text. In perhaps the most penetrating analysis of Wellhausen's program since Friedemann Boschwitz's 1938 *Julius Wellhausen: Motive und Mass-stäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung*,[44] Peter Machinist encapsulates the ends and means of this enterprise:

> What was at stake, in all of this, was above all the internal analysis of master texts – the texts that the ancients themselves, at least in the judgments of 18th and 19th European scholarship, considered the major windows on their histories and cultures. In this approach, one had first to get in order the understanding – which meant especially the source-critical history – of these master texts, before any comparison with other materials could be essayed. For it was in these master texts more than anywhere else, the assumption was, that the particular distinctiveness, the special genius, could be seen of the cultures from which the texts came.[45]

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40. Weis, "'Lower Criticism,'" 364; Goshen-Gottfried, "Hebrew Bible Manuscripts," 253-73. Wellhausen declares, for instance, "Wenn die Aufgabe der Textkritik wesentlich eine Zurückrollung der Entwicklung ist, welche von dem Archetypon aus auf die uns vorliegenden Recensionen geführt hat, so handelt es sich bei ihrer Lösung wesentlich um die Frage, welcher Art jene Entwicklung sei, denn die Richtung des Weges, auf welchem die Entfernung der Copieen vom Original zu Stande gekommen ist, muss man kennen, um ihn umkehren zu können und auf diese Weise wiederum zum Ausgangspuncte zurückgelangen" (idem, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 14).

41. Harry M. Orlinsky, "Margolis' Work in the Septuagint" in *Max Leopold Margolis, Scholar and Teacher* (ed. Robert Gordis; Philadelphia: Alumni Association, Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1952), **38-42**; "Jewish Biblical Scholarship in America" *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 45/1 (1955), 394.

42. See Weis, "'Lower Criticism,'" 351-58, 364-65; Susannah Heschel, *Abraham Geiger and the Jewish Jesus* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 209-**213.**

43. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 30.

44. Boschwitz, *Julius Wellhausen: Motive und Mass-stäbe seiner Geschichtsschreibung* (repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968 [1938]).

45. Machinst, "The Road Not Taken," 501; see further Kratz's perspicacious "Eyes and Spectacles" along with his "Die Entstehung des Judentums." For his meticulous *Vatke und Wellhausen. Geschichtsphilosophische*

Just as Wellhausen essayed a "rollback" of textual development to arrive at unblemished archetypes,[46] so also he sought a path to the earliest history possible: sources reconstructed through literary critique.[47] Both textual and source criticism, then, demanded a thorough understanding of the compositional process itself;[48] accordingly, he belabored the necessity of grasping a given version's "art of translation" before employing said version in critical inquiry[49] and likewise insisted on discerning the "active forces" involved in literary production and revision.[50] Yet again, these dynamics were largely internal. On the assumption concomitant traditions betrayed the selfsame zeitgeist, Wellhausen asserted,

> Under the influence of the spirit of each successive age, traditions originally derived from one source were very variously apprehended and shaped; one way in the ninth and the eight centuries, another way in the seventh and sixth, and yet another in the fifth and fourth. Now, the strata of the tradition show the same arrangement as do those of the legislation. And here it makes no difference whether the tradition be legendary or historical, whether it relates to pre-historic or to historic times; the change in the prevailing ideas shows itself equally in either case.[51]

Voraussetzungen und historiographische Motive für die Darstellung der Religion und Geschichte Israels durch Wilhelm Vatke und Julius Wellhausen (BZAW 94; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1965), Lothar Perlitt also belongs to the pantheon of Wellhausen interpreters, as does Suzanne Marchand for the depth and texture she provides as a historian by trade (cf. n.5).

46. See nn. 18 and 21 supra.

47. Fully recognizing the difficulty involved in such an enterprise, Wellhausen admitted, "the whole area of tradition has finally been uniformly covered with an alluvial deposit by which the configuration of the surface has been determined. It is with this last that we have to deal in the first instance to ascertain its character, to find out what the active forces were by which it was produced. Only afterwards are we in a position to attempt to discern in the earlier underlying formation the changing spirit of each successive ages" (*Prolegomena*, 228). In *Writing the History of Israel*, Banks accentuates the rigor and nuance of Wellhausen's method (71-74; cf. also Ska, "The 'History of Israel': Its Emergence as an Independent Discipline" in *HBOT* III/1:338-39); cf. n. 47 infra.

    Wellhausen considered essays at patriarchal history to be sheer folly given temporal distance and literary retrojection. Referring to the patriarchal narratives, he opines, "The materials here are not mythical but national, and therefore more transparent, and in a certain sense more historical. It is true, we attain no historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose in the Israelite people; this later age is here unconsciously projected, in its inner and its outward features, into hoar antiquity, and is reflected there like a glorified mirage" (*Prolegomena*, 318-19). Wellhausen may have acknowledged the literature's oral precursors, but he doubted the possibility of recovering them—a trail of inquiry Hermann Gunkel would blaze (cf., e.g., "At an early period also the historical sense of the people developed itself in connection with their religion.... Literature began with the collection and writing out of those songs" [Wellhausen, "Israel" in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (9th ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), 498]; reprinted in *Prolegomena*, 464; cf. ibid., 361).

48. Protests to the contrary, the boundaries between textual and literary criticism were—and indeed are—quite permeable; as Wellhausen maintained, "...it is difficult to find the border where literary criticism ends and textual criticism begins" (*Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, xi but cf. infra ad loc.).

49. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuel*, 8-13. Weis opines, "to uncover the impulses for change in the text...is in many ways the center of Wellhausen's method" ("'Lower Criticism,'" 364).

50. See nn. 43 and 47.

51. *Prolegomena* (2nd ed of Geschichted Israels; Berlin: G. Reimer, 1883), 171, cf. also 141, 152, 171 **178,**

True, external variables did, on occasion, factor into his reconstructive equation,[52] but his historicist operation viewed texts as a passage to the heart of a nation. [Sentence on organicism and national history in the historicist project. Locate quote on problem of incorporating Assyrian history.] Literary transmission—like textual formation and even history itself—marched to an inner drum. Though the dust may never settle from the feud for reliance on Hegel, idealism's import stands unscathed.[53] These conceptions were woven into the fabric of historicism, entwined with threads of romanticism.[54] Yet the scrutiny of sources was only a means to an end: history required reconstruction.

Neither textual nor literary criticism could boast pride of place in Wellhausen's work: he was at heart a historian—and one "of rare power" indeed.[55] For him, as for many of his

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219, 234, 293-93, 366**.**

52. He opined, for instance, "That the holy places should be abolished, but the cultus itself remain as before the main concern of religion, only limited to a single locality, was by no means their wish. But at the same time, in point of fact, it came about as an incidental result of their teaching that the high place of Jerusalem ultimately abolished all the other Bamoth. External circumstances, it must be added, contributed most essentially towards the result" (*Prolegomena* (eng.), 24); he also asserted, "Had the Israelites remained in the wilderness and in barbarism, the historical development they subsequently reached would hardly have been possible; their career would have been like that of Amalek, or, at best, like those of Edom, Moab, and Ammon. Their acceptance of civilisation was undoubtedly a step in the forward direction; but as certainly did it also involve a peril" ("Israel"; reprinted in *Prolegomena*, 447); see further Perlitt, *Vatke*, 173-85.

53. The battle lines seem to have shifted from religious disposition to professional association. While more recent advocates for Hegelian influence have come from the field of history (Momigliano, Marchand, Howard), practicioners of biblical studies now voice the loudest opposition to such charges (Smend, Barton, Perlitt), though others still (Shavit, etc.)

54. **Iggers, *German Conception of History*; idem, "Historicism: The History and Meaning of the Term"; idem, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middleton, CO: Wesleyan University Press, 2005). For a more recent nuance of their relationship, see Frederick C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).** For detailed discussion of Wellhausen's place in the historicist tradition, see Robert A. Oden, Jr., "Intellectual History and the Study of the Bible" in *The Future of Biblical Studies: The Hebrew Scriptures* (ed. R.E. Friedman and H.G.M. Williamson; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 1-18; idem, *The Bible Without Theology: The Theological Tradition and Alternatives to It* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987); Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen*. Ad rem, Arthur O. Lovejoy's counsel is apposite: "It is not, perhaps, superfluous to remark also that the doctrines or tendencies that are designated by familiar names ending in *-ism* or *-ity*, though they occasionally may be, usually are not, units of the sort which the historian of ideas seeks to discriminate. They commonly constitute, rather, compounds to which his method of analysis needs to be applied. Idealism, romanticism, rationalism, transcendentalism, pragmatism—all these trouble-breeding and usually thought-obscuring terms, which one sometimes wishes to see expunged from the vocabulary of the philosopher and the historian altogether, are names of complexes, not of simples—and of complexes in two senses. They stand, as a rule, not for one doctrine, but for several distinct and often conflicting doctrines held by different individuals or groups to whose way of thinking these appellations have been applied, either by themselves or in the traditional terminology of historians; and each of these doctrines, in turn, is likely to be resolvable into simpler elements, often very strangely combined and derivative from a variety of dissimilar motives and historic influences" (idem, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936], 5-6).

55. Arnaldo Momigliano, "Religious History Without Frontiers: J. Wellhausen, U. Wilamowitz, and E. Schwartz" *History and Theory* 21/4 (1982): 52. Though perhaps more synthesis than analysis, Diane Banks seeks to contextualize Wellhausen within nineteenth-century historicism more broadly and succeeds quite well indeed (idem, *Writing the History of Israel* [LHB/OTS 438; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2006], 16-75). Despite disciplinary mythologies, however, Banks observes, "It is a fact worthy of remark that no biblical historian is included in the standard dictionaries of historians" (ibid., 1); similarly, Thomas Albert Howard refers to Wellhausen by name when noting, "German-speaking lands in the nineteenth century comprised a virtual hatchery of 'important lesser' theologians and biblical critics..." (idem, *Religion and the Rise of Historicism: W.M.L. de Wette, Jacob Burckhardt, and the Theological Origins of Nineteenth-Century*

generation, original texts regained original sources, and original sources reclaimed history.[56] Sketching the stream of scholarship, Wellhausen once wrote,

> Critical analysis made steady progress, but the work of synthesis did not hold even pace with it; this part of the problem was treated rather slightly, and merely by the way. Indeed, the true scope of the problem was not realized; it was not seen that most important historical questions were involved as well as questions merely literary, and that to assign the true order of the different strata of the Pentateuch was equivalent to reconstruction of the history of Israel.[57]

Notwithstanding a certain reception of German historicism, objectivity was not the final objective.[58] Wellhausen fully recognized the constructive nature of history when he polemicized against Theodor Nöldeke, "But history, it is well known, has always to be constructed.... The question is whether one constructs well or ill."[59] Whether he himself constructed well or ill is a question with juries aplenty. Concerning his procedural method, however, Baruch Halpern astutely adjudges, "The problem was Wellhausen's synthesis: he tried to graft [Theodor] Mommsen's diachronic history of the nation on the antiphilological [Jacob] Burckhardt's purely synchronic history of the culture; he tried to base a political history on the history of

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Historical Consciousness [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000], 4). The standard work on the historicist venture remains Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (Middleton, CN: Wesleyan University Press, 1968); cf. also idem, "Historicism: The History and Meaning of hte Term" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 5/1 (1995): 129-52. For a sound overview of historicism and its impact on biblical scholarship, along with an excellent bibliography, see Gunter Schlotz, "The Phenomenon of 'Historicism' as a Backcloth of Biblical Scholarship" *HBOT* III/1:64-89.

56. Hermann Spieckermann portrays the period well: "The goal, though, lay beyond scientifically verifiable historical reconstruction with all its uncertainties and various degrees of probability. Instead, the goal was nearness to the origins themselves. The assumption was that origins offer a pure, historical truth, however one understands the suggestive yet elusive marriage of truth and history. Accordingly, the source became an ideological compensation for the dismissed claims of tradition and institutions. After the canon's historical relativization, sources received canonical authority" (idem, "From Biblical Exegesis to Reception History" *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1/3 [2012]: 327-50). Reventlow has provided an indispensable intellectual history to account for this shift in "absolute presuppositions" (R.G. Collingwood), "basic paradigms" (Thomas Kuhn), or "underlying epistémé" (Michel Foucault) (Reventlow, *Bibelautorität und Geist der Moderne, Die Bedeutung des Bibelverständnisses für die geistesgeschichtliche und politische Entwicklung in England von der Reformation bis zur Aufklärung* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980]; ET: The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World [transl. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985]). GENERATIONAL DISTINCTION; KRATZ, MARCHAND, MACHINST.

57. Wellhausen, "Pentateuch and Joshua," in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (9th ed; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885) 18:508; cf. his earlier comments in *Geschichte Israels*: "It was a mistake, however, to believe the division of sources ... had also addressed that great historical question" (10).

58. See Novick, *That Objectivity Question*; cf. Iggers, *German Conception of History*, **XXX**.

59. *Prolegomena*, 367; cf. his earlier statement, "What *must* have happened is of less consequence to know than what actually took place" (ibid., 46)—a recognized reflection of Leopold von Ranke. For Wellhausen, the historical value of a given source was spectral, not dichotomous, and his criteria for ascertaining it within a literary complex lay in factual probability and narratival coherence. Ska traces these criteria back to de Wette ("History of Israel," 339). Yet again, textual-literary and historical operations may converge insofar as Wellhausen deployed conjecture for the former (*Der Bücher Samuelis*, 14) and likelihood for the latter (e.g., *Prolegomena*, 249). For Wellhausen's recognition of reconstruction, see Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen*, 185-206; Kratz, "Eyes and Spectacles"; Boschwitz, *Julius Wellhausen*, 39;cf. Banks, *History of Israel*, 51.

theology."[60] By hitching his typological wagon of literary criticism to the temporal horse of development, Wellhausen sought to follow the history of ancient Israel. "There are three strata of law and three strata of tradition in the Pentateuch," he averred, "and the task is to bring them into historical order."[61] He undertook this task himself in *Geschichte Israels*. As for procedure, he announced it in no uncertain terms:

> After laboriously collecting the data offered by the historical and prophetical books, we constructed a sketch of the Israelite history of worship; we then compared the Pentateuch with this sketch, and recognised that one element of the Pentateuch bore a definite relation to this phase of history of worship, and another element to that phase of it.[62]

Contending literary strata "spring from a historical process and characterize [*bezeichnen*] their stages,"[63] he deduced, "On the whole it is easy here to bring the successive strata of the Pentateuch into co-ordination with the recognisable steps of the historical development"—steps evident in values expressed, formulas uttered, and language employed.[64] Wellhausen thus fulfilled the criteria set forth at the beginning: that literary chronology correspond to an independent standard, i.e., "the inner development of the history of Israel so far as that is known to us by trustworthy testimonies, from independent sources."[65] These steps, though, were recognizable because they were already given.[66] He conceived—or rather adopted—a

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60. Baruch Halpern, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 25. The methodological dichotomy of synchronic/diachronic Halpern describes as follows: "...if the sources were evidence primarily of the time in which they were produced, they afforded a systematic purchase on single stages in the history of Greece and Rome. Burckhardt's method was purer: the sequence of synchronic stills was itself the history; Burckhardt ransacked the texts only for data about the times in which they were written. Mommsen used the information the sources divulged about contemporary society as a ladder into earlier history—his synchronic *political* gleanings enabled him to evaluate reports texts made about the time *before* they were written. So his method was, in fact, only synchronic at the outset. He used his grasp of a synchronic system only as a fixed point around which to organize the sources. He did not rest content, as Burckhardt did, with a sequence of stills" (ibid., 21).

61. This quotation first appears in the second edition, however (*Prolegomena*, 382-83).

62. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 367. Both Kratz and Baruch J. Schwartz have recently advocated for a stronger separation of these enterprises, though literary must necessarily precede historical inquiry: see Kratz, "The Pentateuch in Current Reearch: Consensus and Debate," 59-60 and Schwartz, "Recent Scholarship's Critique of the Documentary Hypothesis," 13-14 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research* (ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz; FAT I/78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011).

63. Israel-Jüdische Geschichte, 15 (7th ed. 1914). Elsewhere he writes, "Einer innerer Grund, eben diese Untersuchung jetzt zu veröffentlichen, lag für mich in der Voraussetzung, dass das innere Kräftespiel jener Geschichte Ihrer Theilnahme sicher sein werde" (idem, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer: Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte* [Greifswald: I. Bamberg, 1874], 5-6).

64. *Prolegomena*, 141.

65. *Prolegomena*, 12.

66. As R.N. Whybray charges, "The idea of four successive documents, J, E, D and P, each representing a distinct stage in the development of Israel's religious notions, and off their successive incorporation, step by step, to form a single work was a reflection of nineteenth-century concepts of cultural and religions development." (*The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study* [JSOTSup 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 91). For the most thorough examination of Wellhausen's historical method, including his conception of "development," see Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen*, 153-243, esp. 164-206 [NOTE ON INFLUENCE IN HISTORY, see Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen*, 180, 184] As Max Weber

tripartite developmental schema for Israel's religious history that unfolded from nature to ethics to law.[67] Furthering the theories of Wilhelm Martin Lebrecht de Wette and concentrating on juridical history as emphasized most prominently by Mommsen and Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges,[68] he placed cultic centralization as the fulcrum of his investigation. But in constructing that colossal house of Israelite history, Wellhausen employed not only an external blueprint but also a foreign material.

Though overplayed on the stage of secondary literature, classical Arabic history—and particularly that of the pre-Islamic period—did indeed act in the theatre of Wellhausen's Israel.[69] Historians have surveyed with laudable rigor the individual estuaries of this broad intellectual stream, and disciplinary historians have likewise plunged into the logic of cultural comparison.[70] Perhaps more than anyone else, John W. Rogerson has dismantled with commendable care the anthropological assumptions implied in a number Israelite histories.[71] Such constructions, which include the work of Wellhausen, juxtaposed primitive with modern and

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observed, "Wellhausen's central conception of Jewish religious history may best be termed 'immanent evolutionary.' The developmental course of Yahwe religion is determined by its unique, intrinsic tendencies, though, of course, under the influence of the general fate of the people"—a conviction Weber attributes Wellhausen's presuppositions, which were "religiously determined" (*Ancient Judaism* [trans. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale; Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952], 426). For the conception of organicism in reconstructions of ancient Israel, see Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen*, 71-85, 173-85; Oden, ***XX***; and Karolina De Valerio, *Altes Testament und Juentum im Frühwerk Rudolf Bultmanns* (BZNW 71; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 55-65.

67. Patrick D. Miller portrays the plot as follows: "from *nature*, namely soil, life and death, and fertility, to *history*[,] namely victory over enemies and establishing of a community, to *law*, ritual celebration and correctness to ensure God's blessing." ("Wellhausen and the History of Israelite Religion" in idem, *Israelite Religion and Biblical Theology: Collected Essays* [JSOTSup 267; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 183). Herbert F. Hahn presents a concise synopsis as well: "The stage of primitive worship, exemplified by the popular religion of the early Israelites, was characterized by ritual practices of a simple and spontaneous nature. It was succeeded by the stage of ethical consciousness expressed in prophetic religion, which attempted certain reforms in ritual practice. The final state was the elaborate ceremonial type of religion prescribed in the Levitical legislation" ("Wellhausen's Interpretation of Israel's Religious History. A Reappraisal of His Ruling Ideas" in *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought. Festschrift for Salo Wittmayer Baron* [ed. Joseph L. Blau; New York: Columbia University Press, 1959], 299).

68. While Perlitt observes the impact of Mommsen, Jean Louis Ska draws attention to the significance of Fustel de Coulanges et al. (Perlitt, *Vatke und Wellhausen*, 68-71, 153; Ska, "History of Israel," 339-41). As for Wellhausen's historical inquiry generally, Perlitt recognizes the importance of Barthold Georg Niebuhr paritcularly (*Vatke und Wellhausen*, 57-61, 153; see also Ska, "History of Israel"). More indirect but not less substantial, Karl von Savigny asserted that law "proceed[ed] from the inner nature of the nation and from its history"—a proclamation that resonates deeply with the thought of Johann Gottfried Herder, another foundational figure in the rise of historicism (quoted in Albion W. Small, *Origins of Sociology* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924], 56-57).

69. Machinist, "The Road Not Taken," 502n.84; **cf. Rudolph, "Wellhausen as an Arabist" Semeia 25 (1983); see further T. Seidensticker, "Julius Wellhausen und das 'arabische Heidentum'" in *Biblische Theologie* (ed. M. Kessler and M. Walraff; XXXXX), 303-13**; J.W. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984); idem, "Wellhausen and Robertson Smith as Sociologists of early Arabia and ancient Israel" *Journal of Scottish Thought* 1/2 (2008): 53-61.

70. Centered on the English tide, Stocking's *Victorian Anthropology* is a classic work in this regard; cf., more recently, Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany.*

71. See his *Anthropology and the Old Testmanent* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978) [repr. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984]; cf. idem, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), **57-66**; idem, *Old Testament Criticism in the Nineteenth Century: England and Germany* ([Philadelphia]: Fortress Press, 1985).

reckoned the latter both end and acme of a grand social, intellectual, and even biological development. To go far back in time, these scholars went far in space, seeking to overcome historical time through geographic place. The collapse of past with present—of primeval with puerile and primitive—thus permitted Wellhausen and his ilk to analogize groups historical (e.g., Hebrew), developmental (e.g., young), and cultural (e.g., Arab), with first and last conflated in the category "primitive," this category a cottage industry unto itself. Epitomized by Edward Burnett Tylor, "[t]his impossible and contradictory combination allowed the comparativist to draw his data without regard to time or place and, then, locate them in a series from the simplest to the more complex, adding the assumption that the former was chronologically as well as logically prior."[72] For this reason, Wellhausen could reach such conclusions as, "The steps of religion, like the steps of history overall, remain alongside one another."[73] Whether a conception of internal forces for textual development, a fusion of synchrony and diachrony for literary analysis, a premise of primitivity for cultural comparison, or an understanding of inner organic determination for national history, the diverse critiques various scholars have leveled at the manifold aspects of Wellhausen's work all derive from a superimposition of morphological and evolutionary schemata. They are but symptoms of an epistemological ailment endemic to cultural inquiry for nearly three centuries. In textual criticism, literary analysis, and historical reconstruction, Wellhausen thus fell prey to that intellectual demon which ravaged human science research in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—a demon yet to be fully exorcised.

III. Herman Gunkel [To be completed at a later date.]

72. Smith, *Imagining Religion*, 24. **de la Saussaye discusses the distinction between the two in his *Manuel of the Study of Religion*, 52ff.**

73. *Prolegomena*, 394. Elsewhere Wellhausen wrote, "Damit ist die Bahn frei für eine wirkliche d.h. genetische Geschichte der israelitischen Religion" ("Israelitisch-Jüdische Religion" in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* [ed. P. Hinneberg; Berlin: Teubner, 1905], I/IV:7); within the relevant Wellhausian corpus, I have located the term "genetisch" on only one other occasion, in *Geschichte Israels*: "Ich brauche wol nicht noch auseinanderzusetzen, wie ungemein lebendig, ich möchte sagen wie ungemein geschichtlich und genetisch hier der Begriff der Thora gefasst ist, wie gänzlich incompatibel er ist mit dem 'Thora Mose's'"—an attestation absent from the second edition for reasons unknown to me (417; cf. *Prolegomena*, 419).

Mother of Israel – mother of the Messiah. Ancestral and royal motives in Isaiah and Jubilees

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Introduction

Where does it come from, this notion of virginity in connection with Isaiah 7,14? The identity of the young girl and her son is a major point of dispute e.g. in the dialogue of Justin and Trypho and also in later and similar dialogues.[1] Jerome has commented on it in his treatise «Agains Jovianus».[2] In several of these instances the story of the wooing of Rebekah (Gen

[1] Dial. 43:4−8; 66:1−3; 71:3; 84:1−4. See also the recently published Lee M Fields, *An Anonymous Dialog with a Jew. Introduction, Translation and Notes*, ed. José H. Declerc, vol. 6, Corpvs Christianorvm in Translation (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 34-50.

[2] I know that the Jews are accustomed to meet us with the objection that in Hebrew the word *almah* does not mean a virgin but "a young woman". And, to speak the truth, a virgin is properly called *betulah,* but a young woman, or a girl, is not *almah* but *naarah*! What then is the meaning of *almah*? A hidden virgin, that is, not merely virgin, but a virgin and something more, because not every virgin is hidden, shut off from the occasional sight of men. Then again Rebecca, on account of her extreme purity, and because she was a type of the Church which she represented in her own virginity, is described in Genesis as *almah,* not *betulah,* as may clearly be proved from the words of Abraham's servant, spoken by him in Mesopotamia: "And he said, O Lord, the God of my master Abraham, if now thou do prosper my way which I go: behold I stand by the fountain of water; and let it come to pass, that the maiden which cometh forth to draw, to whom I shall say, Give me, I pray thee, a little water of this pitcher to drink; and she shall say for me, Both drink thou, and I will also draw for thy camels; let the same be the woman whom the Lord has appointed for my master's son". Where he speaks of the maiden coming forth to draw water, the Hebrew word is *almah*, that is, *a virgin secluded*, and guarded by her parents with extreme care. Or if this be not so, let them at least show me where the word is applied to married women as well, and I will confess my ignorance. *Jerome, Against Jovianus 1,32.* in Robert Louis Wilken, Angela Russell Christman, and Michael J Hollerich, *Isaiah: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators*(Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 101.

24) has been used as an example of how the Hebrew word עלמה can actually signify a virgin (בתולה) whom «no man has touched» (v. 43; cf. v. 16).[3] In Gen 24 the LXX has chosen to use παρθενος as the default signification of Rebekah. Three out of five instances of the determined η παρθενος are found in Gen 24. Indeed the Greek word παρθενος, which in most instances translate בתולה, is used as a translation of עלמה in two instances only: Gen 24:43 and Is 7:14. Is the translation of העלמה with η παρθενος in LXX a "mistranslation"?[4] My theory is that in Isaiah 7:14 the term העלמה is actually a playful allusion to the story of Rebekah. And when this connection is discovered, it becomes a key to the interpretation of Is 7 in its Hebrew context and also a key as to understanding why it was translated like this in the LXX. Our thesis in this investigation is that there is a motivic connection between God's promises to Abraham, David and the Messiah. This connection has a twofold thread, comprising both the ancestral mothers and their spouses. In earlier research it is often overlooked that when the ancestral and the royal motivic lines meet, a connection is created between *the mother of Israel and the mother of the Messiah*. Our primary focus is the promise to king Ahab in Is 7:14, and especially the connotation brought into the birth oracle by the rare term העלמה, «the young girl». This term has a prominent place in the narrative where Rebekah surprisingly steps into the ancestral story as a sign of God's faithfulness to his promise. In this context there is a clear connection between the term העלמה and an explicit virginity motive (Gen 24,43; cf. 16f). Our aim in this chapter is to investigate the role of Rebekah in the biblical traditions that coincide in Isaiah and in early Jewish «re-written bible» (Geza Vermes). What we will specifically look for is a combination of ancestral and royal motives in connection with the Rebekah motive. This will strengthen our thesis that Is 7,14 may be understood as a playful allusion to the Rebekah motive in a context where the motivic lines of Abraham, David and the Messiah meet. This will also strengthen our thesis that the "Mother of Israel – mother of the Messiah"-motive is an important background for the translation of העלמה with η παρθενος in Is 7:14 LXX.

Hermeneutics

The hermeneutics applied in developing the biblical literature is part of a larger cultural encyclopedia which is not available for us in its entirety. We do, however, have extra-biblical textual sources dealing with the same material as in the Hebrew Scriptures. Some of them, like the ones from Ugarit, stem from before the canonical fixation of the Hebrew Bible. These sources can give us hints about how themes and lexemes that are seemingly parallel to biblical ones were understood and applied in another cultural context. As the growth of the Hebrew Bible came to an end different kinds of interpretative literature started to appear within the Jewish communities in Babylonia, Judaea and Egypt. This literature may be designated as Midrash one uses the term openly, as a description of the mere act of studying the law in order to teach it or make its meaning clearer to the audience.[5] *Isaac Leo Seeligmann* states

[3] See for example Cf. Fields, *Dialog* 6, 42.

[4] According to Zimmerli *ha 'almah* was «erroneously rendered by the LXX as *parthénos,* with the implication of a 'virgin birth' that is totally alien to the MT». Walther Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark Ltd., 1978), 194f.

[5] The word "midrash" comes from the verb דרש, seek. Ezra is depicted as studying or searching (דרש) the Torah for himself in order to teach (למד) it to the people (Ezr 7:10). In the public space Ezra and the Levites explain (בין hiph) the Torah to the people in order to make it clear (פרש pu) and presenting the sense (שכל) (Neh 8:7f).

that the oldest Midrash exegesis has developed organically out of the biblical sources themselves. In many cases the beginnings of Midrash may be designated as extensions from the growth of the biblical literature.[6] According to Seeligmann certain elements and categories are basic to the oldest Midrash and its hermeneutics:[7]

1. The plasticity of narrative and literary motive
2. The playfulness of the Semitic or Hebrew *Geist* that formed the literature
3. The tendency of adapting motives and thoughts that stem from a foreign context or a different time to the present *Atmosphäre* or *Epoche*
4. The gradual growth of a canonical consciousness

As the stream of editable tradition gradually finds its form in the Holy Word, Torah, the Torah becomes a literary corpus that demands interpretation. The biblical material, which is often handed over through a long chain of tradition, is even after canonization in a state of mobility, a *moto perpetuo*.[8] This means that a certain motive can go through a series of transformations starting before the biblical texts existed and continuing in the Apocrypha and Talmudic literature as well as in the Midrash of the early Church.[9] Some of the early Midrashim may not be interpretations but rather independent variants from earlier stages of tradition history. According to Seeligmann we may find in extra-biblical Midrash literature material which is of the same age or even older than the biblical sources. The precise chronology when it comes to literary dependency may be difficult to decide. To begin with, however, it is necessary to discuss the literary criteria for establishing a relation between texts. There are two basic principles in early rabbinic Midrash. One principle is the ability of single terms to absorb and connote their literary contexts. This is only a natural consequence of the fact that words do not carry meaning in themselves but acquire meaning from the contexts in which they are used. Another principle is the relating of texts to each other by the use of allusive catchwords. In this way different connotations converge to create new and expanded insight. Both are adaptations of the basic hermeneutic principle of explaining the text from the text. In doing this, however, the context of the interpreter is also engaged; when interpreting a text he automatically brings in his own "encyclopedia" into the interpretative process. His conscious or unconscious goal is to render the text in a way which gives meaning, i.e. to apply it to his own situation in a way that promotes understanding. According to Gadamer it is basic for any human being to try to understand the historical and social world, the culture and the traditions that affect him. All reading involves application. A person reading a text becomes a part of the meaning he apprehends. He belongs to the text that he is reading. In this way he interprets history within his own context and at the same time keeps text open for a different understanding in a *Wirkungsgeschichte* which unfolds itself in later generations. Whether the object of interpretation is a literary text or a historical event, interpretation has its ground in «historically effected consciousness», that is, a consciousness in which tradition and experience is available and used as a means of creating

[6] Isac Leo Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen Der Midraschexegese " in *Gesammelte Studien Zur Hebräischen Bibel* ed. Erhard Blum(Tübingen Mohr Siebeck 2004), 1-2.Seeligmann, Voraussetzungen, 1-2.
[7] Ibid., 2-3.
[8] Ibid., 3-4.
[9] The adaptation and reformulating of biblical motives and narratives within other religious traditions such as the Gnostic may also be noticed.

understanding and meaning. This creative process, according to Gadamer, is the basic activity of the human mind. Thus historically effected consciousness is at work in all interpretative activity. In this way «application» does not mean understanding a given «universal» in itself and afterwards applying it to a concrete case. Application is the very act of understanding the universal – in this case the text – itself. Understanding or meaning therefore proves to be a kind of *effect* and knows itself as such.[10] It is the result of a tangency between corresponding «crystallization points» within the interpreter's actual experience and narrated tradition.[11] What constitutes the reader as interpreter is the observation of motives and literary techniques within a text and the linking of these to contemporary phenomena within his own encyclopedia. His re-application of motives through the use of different literary techniques is what constitutes him as a redactor and/or author of a new literary work based on the one he is interpreting. According to Robert Alter the catchword or *Leitwort* technique is the most basic tool in the literary inventory of the Hebrew Bible. The art of recognizing allusive connections between texts has a cognitive as well as a technical dimension. The cognitive process of recognizing and interpreting an allusive connection between texts has been effectively described by *Ziva Ben Porat*.

> «The literary allusion is a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts. The activation is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger 'referent'. This referent is always an independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined».[12]

Ziva Ben-Porat describes four stages in the act of identifying and interpreting an *allusion*. 1. *The identification of a marker*, an identifiable element or pattern belonging to another text. Just as the alluding text contains a *marker*, the evoked text contains *the marked*, the same elements or *signs* as in the referring text: a phrase, a motive, a pattern, even the poetic form of another work. 2. *The identification of the evoked text.* This stage is different from the first one, because a *marker* can be recognized without the immediate and certain identification of its origin. 3. *The modification of the interpretation.* The reader brings certain elements of the evoked text to bear on the alluding text, and this alters the reader's perception of the meaning that the *sign* has in the alluding text. The allusion evokes an emotional state from the source which contributes to the portrayal of a parallel emotional state in the alluding text. 4. *The reader activates the evoked text as a whole.* Once the two texts have been linked, the reader may recall other signs which affect the interpretation of the alluding text. Additional thematic patterns may now come into play, further enriching the understanding not only of the *sign*, but the *alluding text* as a whole. [13] By identifying an allusion the reader assumes the tacit use of

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[10] Hans Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2004), 336.
[11] Reidar Hvalvik and Terje Stordalen, *Den Store Fortellingen: Om Bibelens Tilblivelse, Bruk Og Betydning* (Oslo: Det norske Bibelselskap, 1999), 447.
[12] Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1(1976): 107-08. Cited in John Strazicich, *Joel's Use of Scripture and the Scripture's Use of Joel: Appropriation and Resignification in Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity*, vol. 82(Brill, 2007), 27, n.107.
[13] Benjamin D Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* (Stanford University Press, 1998), 11-13.

antecedent sources of which the original readers have knowledge and the author's deliberate use of distinctive and identifiable elements of precursor texts. The literary function of an allusion is that readers assign levels of meaning from the «evoked text» to the «alluding text» in accordance with the author's meaning.[14] As used in literary criticism, the term «influence» designates «the affiliative relations between past and present literar texts and/or their authors. … Influence-study generally entailed the practice of tracing a text's generic and thematic lineage, [focusing] on the ways literary works necessarily comprise revision or updating or their textual antecedents». The study of influence often accompanies the study of literary tradition. As writers continue adopting themes, topics, genres, and styles from their precursors, patterns of theme and topic, the study of influence could contribute to the investigation of traditions or canons. Thus influence is a broader phenomenon than allusion. Influence refers to relations between authors, whole works and even traditions. Thus one may speak not only of the influence of one work on another, but the influence of a tradition on a work and on a whole tradition.[15] Consequently one may observe within the biblical sources themselves the beginnings of Midrashic interpretation.[16] According to *Michael Fishbane* it is a «fact that, with apparently naïve intuition, most of the imaginative literary possibilities of early and classical Jewish *aggadah* are anticipated by the biblical evidence».[17] The rich discoveries of extra-biblical material in the Judean desert as well as in Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, which contains what *A. G. Wright* calls both «exegetical, homiletic and narrative midrashim»,[18] the latter also labeled «re-written Bible»,[19] shows the continuum between Midrashic treatment of similar texts and motives both within and in the vicinities of the emerging biblical canon. In the same manner we may discover within the retelling of biblical narrative in *Philo*[20] and *Josephus*[21] the wish to make the text applicable to the contemporary reader. In this work I will use this viewpoint to investigate the influence of the Abraham tradition as it is encoded in the book of Genesis and other relevant literary traditions on the book of Isaiah generally and on chapter 7 and its immediate context specifically.

Is 7 – text critical notes

v. 1 Is 7:1 has an almost verbatim parallel in 2 Ki 16:5. The variant readings can be explained from their structural differences. In 2 Ki the pl יכלו «they could not» is proceeded by another pl (ויצרו «they surrounded»). We do find the pl יכלו in 1QIs[a], cf. LXX, Syr, Vg, whereas the MT has sg יכל. It could be regarded as a *lectio difficilior* and its function could be to clarify

[14] Strazicich, *Joel* 82, 27.
[15] Sommer, *Prophet* 14-15.
[16] Ibid., 2.
[17] Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, Paperback ed.(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 431.
[18] Cited in: O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees (Second Century Bc): A New Translation and Introduction " in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* ed. James H. Charlesworth(Peabody, Ma.: Hendrickson Publishers reprint, 2011), 40.
[19] Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, vol. 4 (Brill Archive, 1983), 67f.
[20] For a Midrashic treatment of Sarah in Philo, see the works *Questions on Genesis; Allegorical Commentary; On the Life of Abraham,*. Cf. Maren R Niehoff, "Mother and Maiden, Sister and Spouse: Sarah in Philonic Midrash," *Harvard Theological Review* 97, no. 4 (2004): 413-44.
[21] For a presentation of "Rewritten Bible" in Josephus, see "Two Examples of Josephus' Narrative Technique in His Rewritten Bible," *Journal for the study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman period* 27, no. 1 (1996): 31-45.

that the initiative lies with Rezin.[22] The Tg keeps the sg (יכיל). The suffixed pronoun עליה «against her» highlights Jerusalem as the target. In 2 Ki 16:5 the focus is created by the preceding ויצרו על־אחז, «they put up a siege against Ahaz».
The LXX versions in Is and 2 Ki (Bας IV) are almost identical. The transformations can probably be explained from source text differences; all but one. The translator of Is 7 is more concordant in rendering ארם with Αραμ (cf. v. 2,5,8 and only eight other instances: Gen 10:22f; in 36,28 wrongly for ארן; cf. 1 Ch 2:9f.23; 7:34), while 2 Ki renders Συρια. But see Is 9,11, where ארם is rendered Συρια, which is the standard rendering.

Is 7,1MT	2 Ki 16,5 MT
וַיְהִי בִּימֵי אָחָז בֶּן־יוֹתָם בֶּן־עֻזִּיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה עָלָה רְצִין מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם וּפֶקַח בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם לַמִּלְחָמָה עָלֶיהָ וְלֹא יָכֹל לְהִלָּחֵם עָלֶיהָ׃	אָז יַעֲלֶה רְצִין מֶלֶךְ־אֲרָם וּפֶקַח בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם לַמִּלְחָמָה וַיָּצֻרוּ עַל־אָחָז וְלֹא יָכְלוּ לְהִלָּחֵם׃
Is 7,1 LXX	2 Ki 16,5 LXX
Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Αχαζ τοῦ Ιωαθαμ τοῦ υἱοῦ Οζιου βασιλέως Ιουδα ἀνέβη Ραασσων βασιλεὺς Αραμ καὶ Φακεε υἱὸς Ρομελιου βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ πολεμῆσαι αὐτὴν καὶ οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν πολιορκῆσαι αὐτήν.	τότε ἀνέβη Ραασσων βασιλεὺς Συρίας καὶ Φακεε υἱὸς Ρομελιου βασιλεὺς Ισραηλ εἰς Ιερουσαλημ εἰς πόλεμον καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν ἐπὶ Αχαζ καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο πολεμεῖν.

v. 5 BHS remarks that ארם in v. 5 is missing in the LXX. The relation between the two texts is more complex, however. SD suggest that the translator has read רצין as רצון and conjectured the text in accordance with 54:7f; 57:17f and 60:10.[23] But we may find an intertextual reference even closer than that. Already in 6:10.13 we find ιασομαι and παλιν in a passage presenting the somber calling to harden the hearts of the people so they shall not turn back in order that «I shall heal (ιασομαι) them» (v. 10). And if there is only a tenth of the people left, it shall «again» (παλιν) be plundered (v. 13). Here the curse is reversed: παλιν ιασομαι, «again I shall heal», cf. 61,1f.

Is 7,4f MT	Is 7,4f LXX
הִשָּׁמֶר וְהַשְׁקֵט	Φύλαξαι τοῦ ἡσυχάσαι
אַל־תִּירָא	καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ,
וּלְבָבְךָ אַל־יֵרַךְ	μηδὲ ἡ ψυχή σου ἀσθενείτω
מִשְּׁנֵי זַנְבוֹת הָאוּדִים	ἀπὸ τῶν δύο ξύλων τῶν δαλῶν
הָעֲשֵׁנִים הָאֵלֶּה	τῶν καπνιζομένων τούτων·
בָּחֳרִי־אַף	ὅταν γὰρ ὀργὴ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου γένηται,

[22] Willem Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, Herders Theologischer Kommentar Zum Alten Testament (Freiburg 2003), 185.
[23] Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Eberhard Bons, *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen Und Kommentare Zum Griechischen Alten Testament Bd. 2 Psalmen Bis Daniel* (Stuttgart: Dt. Bibelges., 2011), 2521.

רְצִין	πάλιν ἰάσομαι.
וַאֲרָם	5 καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Αραμ
וּבֶן־רְמַלְיָהוּ׃	καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ρομελιου,
5 יַעַן כִּי־יָעַץ עָלֶיךָ אֲרָם רָעָה	ὅτι ἐβουλεύσαντο βουλὴν πονηρὰν περὶ σοῦ
אֶפְרַיִם וּבֶן־רְמַלְיָהוּ	
לֵאמֹר׃	λέγοντες

v.6 MT has vocalized טָבְאַל, *tave'al*, while Ezr 4,7 has vocalised the identical name טָבְאֵל, *tave'el*. The LXX has ταβεηλ in both instances.
v. 8 BHS suggests moving v. 8b after v. 9a. This may seem to be a more logical progression. The LXX, however, although it lacks 8aβ, has kept the line at the end of v. 8.

Is 7,8f MT	Is 7,8f LXX
כִּי רֹאשׁ אֲרָם דַּמֶּשֶׂק	ἀλλ᾽ ἡ κεφαλὴ Αραμ Δαμασκός,
וְרֹאשׁ דַּמֶּשֶׂק רְצִין	
וּבְעוֹד שִׁשִּׁים וְחָמֵשׁ שָׁנָה	ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν
יֵחַת אֶפְרַיִם מֵעָם׃	ἐκλείψει ἡ βασιλεία Εφραιμ ἀπὸ λαοῦ,
9 וְרֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם שֹׁמְרוֹן	9 καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ Εφραιμ Σομορων,
וְרֹאשׁ שֹׁמְרוֹן בֶּן־רְמַלְיָהוּ	καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ Σομορων υἱὸς τοῦ Ρομελιου·
אִם לֹא תַאֲמִינוּ כִּי לֹא תֵאָמֵנוּ׃ ס	καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε

v. 9 BHS suggest replacing כי with בי (for the combination of אמן and ב, «believe in», cf. Gen 15,6 *et al*.). The combination אם … כי, «if … then», is rare but not impossible, cf. Gen 20:7; 42:16.
v. 10 The Targum substitutes ישעיהו for \י. The change is understandable as an avoidance of the Holy Name.
v. 11 The vocalization of שׁאלה varies. MT renders it as qal m imp sg of שׁאל, «demand», with a paragogic ה, cf. TOB: «demande-le au plus profond». The Greek triad Aquilas, Symmachus and Theodotion have understood it as a name, שְׁאוֹל, «She'ol», with paragogic ה, «in She'ol», and translate εις αδην, «in Hades». The LXX simplifies: εις βαθος η εις υψος, «in the deep or in the height». The Tg also has understood it verbally: «ask (שׁאל) that it shall be wrought for you on the earth (ארעא)».
v. 14 The Greek witnesses depart from each other in the translation of ה עלמה, «the young girl». The LXX renders it as η παρθενος (cf. Gen 24,43 LXX) whereas Aquilas, Symmachus and Theodotion employ η νεανις (cf. Ex 2,8 LXX).
There is an unstability in the rendering of the verb קרא. 1QIs[a] has וקרא, cf. Codex Sinaiticus (καλεσει). The verb form וקראת is ambiguous; it could be understood as a an «archaic»[24] feminine form (qal pf 3 f sg or part f sg), or as a masculine form (qal pf 2 m sg, cf. Gen 17,19). The MT vocalizes it as 3 f sg, וְקָרָאת, «and she shall call». In Gen 17,19 an almost identical consonant text in the form of a birth oracle is found.

[24] Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, 186. Davidson calls it an «Aramaic form», Benjamin Davidson, *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (S. Bagster and sons 1848; repr., 1978), 48.

Gen 17,19	Is 7,14
וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֲבָל שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ יֹלֶדֶת לְךָ בֵּן וְקָרָאתָ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יִצְחָק וַהֲקִמֹתִי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתּוֹ לִבְרִית עוֹלָם לְזַרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו:	לָכֵן יִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי הוּא לָכֶם אוֹת הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת בֵּן וְקָרָאת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ אֵל:
And God said But Sara your woman shall bear unto you a son and you shall call his name Isaac. and I shall establish my covenant with him as a covenant eternal for your seed after you.	Therefore The Lord himself is giving you a sign: Behold the young girl [will be] pregnant and shall bear a son and she shall call his name Immanu'el.

v. 17 contains what most commentators regard as a scribal gloss,את מלך אשור, «the king of Assyria», cf. v. 20.[25]

v. 22 in the LXX has a lacuna in the first part, which may be explained as a reduction of a redundant passage (cf. 3:15f; 7:5).

Is 7,22 MT	Is 7,22 LXX
וְהָיָה מֵרֹב עֲשׂוֹת חָלָב יֹאכַל חֶמְאָה כִּי־חֶמְאָה וּדְבַשׁ יֹאכֵל כָּל־הַנּוֹתָר בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ:	καὶ ἔσται ἀπὸ τοῦ πλεῖστον ποιεῖν γάλα βούτυρον καὶ μέλι φάγεται πᾶς ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
And it shall be from the rich production of milk he shall eat cream indeed cream and honey he will eat the whole remnant within the land	And it shall be − from the rich production of milk − cream and honey he shall eat the whole remnant in the land

Conclusions

The findings when comparing the witnesses have a bearing both on their literary construction and on their inherent history of interpretation through transmission and translation.

1. The intersection in Is 7,1 with 2 Ki 16,5 suggests that these two books share a substantial part of their literary universe. Cf. the extensive textual parallels in Is 36−39 and 2 Ki 18−20 (2 Chr 32) in both MT and LXX.
2. The relationship between consonant text and subsequent vocalization (v. 6, 11, 14) shows that the adding of vocals is a powerful means of interpretation, which makes it

[25] Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, 190, 207.

necessary to keep an eye on the consonant text as a separate strand. In v. 14 the unstable form of קראת is especially noteworthy for its consonant parallel within a similar context in Gen 17,19.

3. When translating Is into Greek several kinds of transformations are in play.
    a. Different readings of the Hebrew consonant text can lead to extensive interpretative emendations in the Greek (v. 5).
    b. Different interpretation of the consonant text can result in a different vocalization from the one chosen in the MT (v. 6), which in other instances can lead different translators to deduct different meanings from one single word (v. 11).
    c. The translator aims for fluency in his target text, and therefore avoids extensive repetitions and creates more condensed solutions when the Hebrew *Vorlage* is redundant (v. 4f; 22). This shows an awareness of the target context and a striving towards communicability.
    d. There are textual signs that in the act of translation the translators are in dialogue with earlier solutions both within the same text corpus (v. 5) and in earlier translated texts, especially within the Pentateuch (v. 14). This raises the question of which hermeneutic key factors are in play when different text corpuses are allowed to interpret each other.
    e. When comparing source texts the textual differences between the Hebrew witnesses internally and between these and the translated versions points toward a fluidity in the textual tradition at the time of the early witnesses that still makes itself felt in the MT.[26]

Isaiah 7 in context

The book of Isaiah is one of the best documented in the literary history of the Hebrew Bible. The extensive manuscripts from Qumran give witness to a tradition which is still not entirely fixed when it comes to textual details but which is relatively stable when it comes to the general outline of the book. The LXX translation of Isaiah comprises the entire literary corpus present in the MT. However, the history of redaction in the book of Isaiah, «one of the most multi-layered books in the Hebrew Bible»,[27] shows signs of being a long and complicated one. The discussions evolve around two central problems: The first is the internal relationship between the two or three subsequent and discernible parts of the literary corpus (1−39, 40−66[55−66]). The second problem is the delineation and dating of textual material that may originate with Isaiah ben Amos as distinct from material that may stem from subsequent redaction activity coinciding with the ongoing interpretation and transmission of the Isaianic material. Willem A. M. Beuken shows how the traditional «Vereinigungshypothese» in recent years has been modified.[28] It has now become a hypothesis of separate source texts being developed within the boundaries of a distinct theological milieu. The source texts are based on the tradition from Isaiah but originate separately according to the needs of a developing

[26] Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History* (Minneapolis Fortress Press, 2012), 223.
[27] David M Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 172.
[28] Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, 28-30.

historical context. From the text [illegible]f it becomes evident that an eventual compilation of the sources must have involved some kind of editorial activity within the literary corpus as a whole. Numerous examples of complex intertextual links between different parts of the text point in this direction. There are also signs of a literary framework in the form of an *inclusio* between the initial and end chapters. This points more in the direction of a «Fortscreibungshypothese» which implies that the redactional adding of textual material to an earlier corpus also includes editorial activity within the earlier corpus itself.[29] Jacob Stromberg has shown in a convincing way how the presumably last redactor of Isaiah has left his mark on the text at important textual intersections from the beginning of the book to the end of it.[30] Through this «an attempt has been made – however rudimentary from our point of view – to infuse this book with hermeneutical guidelines».[31] By drawing the earlier stages of Isaiah into his own future vision in the last part of the book, and by introducing material throughout the earlier parts of the book that point towards this vision, he set up an overall strategy to guide the reader as an interpreter of the book. In his conclusion Stromberg points especially to the motive of the «seed», זרע. This motive is found both in the initial outburst against the זרע מרעים, «seed of evildoers» (1:4; cf. 14:20), and in the promise of a זרע קדשׁ, «holy seed», in 6,13bβ. This expression, which by most commentators is regarded as a redactional gloss, seems to be written in light of chapter 65, which promises that a righteous «seed» (v. 9), a «seed blessed by the Lord» (זרע ברוכי יהוה, v. 23) shall emerge from the national catastrophe of Israel. The term «holy seed» is found in only one other instance, namely in Ezr 9:2. It is noteworthy that another term, namely חרד על־דברי, «those who tremble for my word», is also found in both books (Is 66:2.5; Ezr 9,4). According to Stromberg it is likely that Isaiah 6:13bβ stems from the same socio-historical background as Ezr 9.[32] By confirming Fishbane's conclusion that Ezr 9 is not dependent on Is 6, but on the Deuteronomistic prohibitions of intermarriage (Deut 7:1−3; 23:4−9), he convincingly argues that both Ezra and Isaiah 66 share in the same post-exilic discourse which is also reflected in Ezra 9 (cf. Neh 9:2.8; Mal 2:10−16).[33] In stating this, however, he has effectively given the book of Isaiah its hermeneutical *Sitz*, a position from which to read the book in its entirety. All parts of the book now speak to its post-exilic community of hearers and interpreters, and each part of the literary corpus found in the Hebrew Bible must be understood within thi[illegible] context and on the basis of the editorial framework that makes it a part of this discourse.

"Holy seed" as a link between Isaiah 7:14 and the story of Rebekah

Rebekah is the matriarch who is most broadly treated in the Hebrew Bible. Her story intertwines with the story of Abraham, Sarah and Isaac from its initial genealogy (Gen 11:27−30). Rebekah is again introduced in the genealogical appendix to the story of the Aqedah (22:20−23). The subsequent history falls into two distinct episodes or themes: The

[29] In this model the «Fortschreibung» also implies a form of «Zurückschreibung», where Is 1−33 has been reworked to function as an Introduction to Is 40-55. Ibid.
[30] Jacob Stromberg, *Isaiah after Exile: The Author of Third Isaiah as Reader and Redactor of the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2011), 248-51. Stromberg keeps the possibility open that the «Isaiah Apocalypse» (Is 24−7) as well as chapter 35 may be later additions.
[31] Ibid., 172.
[32] Ibid., 249.
[33] Ibid., 174.

wooing of Rebekah (24) and the story of her birth and guidance of two sons, Esau and Jacob (25−29). Through her whole history her fate is intertwined with the fate of Abraham and Sarah to the extent that she may be seen as the heir to both of them. In addition she plays the role of a leading matriarch in her cohabitation with Isaac. She is not mentioned directly after 29:12 (but cf. the death of Rebekah's nurse in 35:8). Her death and burial is referred to only together with the death of Jacob (49:31), signaling that she somehow has a part in the story until then. Some scholars hold the story of the wooing of Rebekah (Gen 24) to be a late composition. The reason for this is that the prohibition of marriage with other girls than those from the same people or even family is strongly associated with the mixed marriage crisis in Ezra 9−10.[34] There is, however, a sign within the biblical texts themselves that the link between Ezra 9, and thereby indirectly Gen 24, and Is 7 has been perceived even in biblical times. The central motive in Ezra 9 is the pollution of the זרע קדשׁ, "holy seed", through intermarriage with foreign women, i.e. women from the population of Yehud at the time of the return from exile. Precisely this term we encounter again in what many scholars regard as a gloss in Is 6,13bβ: "a holy seed is its stump".[35] If Is 6 is regarded as an introduction to what is often called "the book of Immanuel", this gloss may be an indication that there is some kind of connection between what follows in Is 7−12 and the question about the future of the holy seed. The common motive that binds together the ancestral story of Abraham and the story of the Davidic kingdom is precisely the term "seed", זרע. This term is both an individual and a collective term. This double entendre is most clearly seen in the promises to Abraham that his "seed" shall become numerous as the stars in the sky or the sand on the shore, it shall not be possible to count it (Gen 12:7 et al.). In the Nathan oracle, however, David is promised that his "seed" shall inherit his throne forever (2 Sam 7:12). Here "seed" becomes both an individual term designating the next king and a collective term designating the line of kings through all ages. The true King on mount Zion is The Lord (Is 6:5; 33:22; cf. 43:14; 44:6; Jer 8:19f), and the Davidic king is his son, his vice-regent and representative on earth (2 Sam 7:12−14; Ps 2; 110). But the king is also a representative figure *vis a vis* God, embodying his people (cf. Is 37:14−20). It is therefore not surprising that the people as a corporate unit is designated as a "royal" people (12:6; 62:3). The holiness of the people (cf. 62:12; 63:11.18) has strong cultic connotations, linking it to the priesthood of Israel, which is also a representative function. Thus the people can be designated as a "royal and priestly" people (Exo 19:5−6). In Jer 33:25f. the pivotal function of "seed" as a term for the people, the offspring of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and simultaneously as a term for the Davidic royal lineage, is expressed in the most intense way:

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אִם־לֹא בְרִיתִי יוֹמָם וָלָיְלָה חֻקּוֹת שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ לֹא־שָׂמְתִּי: גַּם־זֶרַע יַעֲקוֹב וְדָוִד עַבְדִּי אֶמְאַס מִקַּחַת מִזַּרְעוֹ
מֹשְׁלִים אֶל־זֶרַע אַבְרָהָם יִשְׂחָק וְיַעֲקֹב כִּי־*אָשׁוּב (אָשִׁיב) אֶת־שְׁבוּתָם וְרִחַמְתִּים: ס

Thus says YHWH: If I have not established my ordinances with day and night and have not set up ordinances for heaven and earth, then I will also reject the seed of Jacob and of David

[34] For a recent treatment of Gen 24 in this context, see Katherine E Southwood, *Ethnicity and the Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9-10: An Anthropological Approach* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 106-07.
[35] For a recent treatment of Is 6,13 and its connection with the final redaction of Isaiah, see Stromberg, *Isaiah* 160-74.

my servant and not take from his seed rulers over the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; for I will turn their turning and have mercy on them.

Also within the framework of Is 7−12 we find links between the individual and the collective understanding of the people both as offspring of Abraham and as a messianic people. In Is 7:14 the term Immanuel seems to be applied to an individual, namely the next Davidic king in line. The term in itself, however, is a collective one: "God with us". It is therefore no surprise that in 8,8 the term is used to designate the people: "and it will sweep in over Judah, it will flood and overflow till it reaches the neck, and with its outstretched wings it will fill your widespread land, Immanuel". Again it is underlined in the applicative use of the term in 8,10: "… for God is with us". One of the questions often discussed is whether the birth oracle in Is 7 could be regarded as a text with messianic overtones at all. Since early times the text has been regarded as a foreseeing of the birth of Hezekiah.[36] The plausibility of this interpretation is supported by the many intertextual and thematic links between Is 7 and the Hezekiah story of Is 37−39. It has therefore been suggested that the young girl alluded to in Is 7:14 may be Abia, the mother of Hezekiah.

Queen Mothers as counselors

In the Deuteronomistic History as well as in Chronicles there are numerous instances where the mother of the king is specifically named. This custom may reflect the importance of a queen mother in the royal courts of ancient Israel and Judah. There are four examples of a king being evaluated theologically according to his following the evil ways of his parents (1 Ki 22:53; 2 Ki 3:2) or his mother (2 Ki 9:22; 2 Chr 22:3) or not (cf. Ps 51:7; 109:14). In many instances the mother of the king (the Queen Mother) seems to have had special influence on the politics and the theological and religious attitudes of the king. This may be reflected in the feminine derivative גבירה *gevirah*, «strong, mighty», in some instances used to designate her (1 Ki 15:13, cf. 2 Chr 15:16; see also 2 Ki 10:13; Jer 13:18; 29:2). Her function as יועץ, «advisor», is described in 2 Chr 22:3. This may be the reason for the extensive naming of queen mothers in connection with the enthronement of new kings in the Deuteronomistic History. The mother of Hezekiah is named Abi, daughter of Zechariah (2 Ki 18:2). If there is a covert allusion to Rebekah, this may be connected to another intertextual connection in the book of Isaiah, namely to the Deuteronomistic history. The chronological framework in Is 1, 6, 7 and 37−39 links the book to this literary work. Stromberg has convincingly shown that the final version of Isaiah is adapting the Deuteronomistic history as a literary source, and not vice versa. In the presentation of new kings in the Deuteronomistic history the naming of the queen mother is a peculiar and noteworthy detail. It shows the important role of queen mothers in the royal houses of Israel and Judah. In one instance the queen mother even takes over the function of the king.[37] The mention of the mother stands in immediate connection with the historical characterization of the individual king's rule. This connection points back to the queen mothers and their important role as advisors and supporters for their royal sons.

[36] For a recent treatment of this, see Antti Laato, "Hezekiah in the Rewritten Version of the Book of Isaiah, Targum Isaiah". The article is due to be published in "Studies in Rewritten Bible" vol. 6.
[37] Athaliah, cf. 2 Ki 11.

No other ancestral mother has had such a strong impact on her sons' fortune as Rebekah. Instructed by God she sees to it that the blessing is given to the younger Jacob and not to his older brother Esau, who is perceived to be unapt for the position of chosen and blessed patriarch of the next generation. The most grievous sin of Esau is precisely his intermarriage with foreign "daughters of the land". Therefore it is an important trait in the Rebekah history that she sends Jacob back to her family in Mesopotamia to marry one of her brother Laban's daughters. Just as Abraham instructed his servant to go to his family and find a bride for Isaac, Rebekah instructs Jacob to do the same.

Royal and ancestral motives in Deut 17

In this connection the link between the royal dimensions of Isaiah and the Deuteronomistic History is interesting to investigate further in light of the Royal Torah in Deuteronomy (17:14−20). In what seems to be a retrospective of previous experiences with the Davidic line of kings a series of demands are given that a future king must fulfill. He must be elected by God, an expression related to the charismatic process of King David's election, including the ritual of anointment (1 Sam 16:10). In the story of the first kings' election the reciprocity of the people's and God's election is highlighted.[38] But just as important is the prerequisite that the king must not be a foreigner but one of "your own community". Do we hear an echo of the prohibition of mixed marriages? The impression is strengthened by the subsequent prohibition of "taking many wives", lest "his heart will turn away" (v. 17). In the covenant renewal at Moab (Deut 29) the people is warned against turning to foreign gods, the gods of the "nations" and of Egypt (v. 18). The ancestral story of Abraham is alluded to as an underlying, primary narrative. It is evoked by the mentioning of the ancestral triad of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the beginning of the passage (v. 13) and by using Sodom and Gomorrah as warning examples against the curse resulting from breaking the covenant (v. 23). The Exodus "congregation" encompasses both the leaders and families of the people and the "alien" (גר, v. 11). The next generation also encompasses "your children" as well as the "foreigner" (הנכרי, v. 22).[39] The familial aspect of worship is underlined: "It may be that there is among you a man or woman, or a family or tribe, whose heart is already turning away from the Lord our God to serve the gods of those nations. It may be that there is among you a root sprouting poisonous and bitter growth" (v. 18). The "turning away" of the heart, however, is a motive which is also found in the story of how King Solomon was led astray by his foreign wives to become an idol worshipper (2 Ki 11:4−9). The king is also prohibited from "returning … to Egypt" in order to acquire "more horses", that is, to seek military aid. This is an important theme in the Hezekiah history as it is retold in Is 37−39.[40] King Sennacherib warns Hezekiah to rely on Egypt, "that broken reed of a staff, which will pierce the hand of anyone who leans on it" (36:9). The warning against acquiring great amounts of silver and

[38] The king must be «elected» not only by the people, but also by God. The word "elect" reflects the election by God of the ancestors (Deut 4,37; 7:6f ;10:15 ;14:2) as well as the freedom of human choice in the relationship between God and his people (Deut 30:19 ;cf. Jos 24:15.22; 1 Sa 8:18) , as well as God's sovereign power to choose a location for his sanctuary (Deut 16:2−16) and appointing people to the central functions of priest (Deut 18:5; 21:5; cf 1 Sa 2:28) and king (Deut 17:15; cf. 2 Sam 10:24; 12:13).

[39] Ruth, the Moabite woman, calls herself a "foreign woman" in front of Boaz (Ruth 2:10). He praises her for having left her country and her parents to join a foreign people and take care of her mother in law while seeking refuge with the God of Israel (v. 11).

[40] See also the warnings against relying on Egypt in Is 30:1−7; 31.

gold may be a warning against idolatry as well as an undue self-sufficiency. In Isaiah silver and gold is strongly associated with the production of idols.[41] It is also associated with the riches of Hezekiah, which he boastingly shows to the envoys from King Merodach Baladan of Babylon (39:2). Silver and gold may also be a symbol of the riches that God shall bring home to Zion at the end of times (60:9.17).

The combination of ancestral and Deuteronomistic motives in Isaiah

In his treatise "Isaiah after Exile" Jacob Stromberg has convincingly demonstrated how the post-exile Trito Isaiah can plausibly be regarded as the final redactor of the book of Isaiah.[42] He has shown how the final redaction of Isaiah is marked by many intertextual links between the initial and ending chapters of the book, links that can also be found in to editorially reworked passages as well as in editorial additions throughout the book. In accordance with this the term "foreign" (נכרי) is characteristically found in the framework of Isaiah. In 2:6 it is found as a negative term linked to an observation of how the people of Israel participate in the practice of idolatry: "They clasp hands with foreigners". In the final part of Isaiah, however, we are presented with the foreigner (נכר) who "seeks the Lord" (56:3.6) and therefore is accepted before the Lord as a temple worshipper together with the people of Israel. The story of human existence after Eden starts with Adam «knowing» (ידע) his wife and her becoming pregnant (הרה), giving birth (ילד) to a son by the name of Cain, the name קין being explained from the verbal similarity with קנה, «acquire» (Gen 4,1). This way of presenting a birth is a literary convention that may be contracted into a very short birth report as well as transformed and expanded into a birth oracle. The birth report is simply a statement of genealogical continuation. Sometimes the mother is mentioned and named, and sometimes she is hidden behind the anonymous niph'al form ויולד ל , «was born to» or the male hiph'il ויולד «and he fathered»; the reported offspring more often are sons, sometimes sons and daugthers (5:3 *et pass.*). In Gen 4:25 the verb for conception is not present, but the birth repost is expanded with a naming formula consisting of קרא «call» and שׁם, «name». The name Seth שׁת has a linguistic likeness to the verb «put» or «add», שׁת.

Gen 4:1	Gen 4:25
וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד אֶת־קַיִן וַתֹּאמֶר קָנִיתִי אִישׁ אֶת־יְהוָה׃	וַיֵּדַע אָדָם עוֹד אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שֵׁת כִּי שָׁת־לִי אֱלֹהִים זֶרַע אַחֵר תַּחַת הֶבֶל כִּי הֲרָגוֹ קָיִן׃
And Adam knew Eve, his woman, and she conceived and gave birth to Cain and she said: I have acquired a man by the Lord	And Adam again knew his woman and she gave birth to a son and she called his name Seth for God has added to me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slaughtered

These are the elements of the birth report in its fullest form (4,25):

[41] Is 2:7f .20; 30:33; 31:7; 40:19;46:6;
[42] Cf. Stromberg, *Isaiah*

ידע «to know», euphemism for sexual intercourse
הרה «to conceive»
ילד «to give birth»
בן «a son»[43]
קרא «to call», naming of the child
כי «for», the reason for the naming

From the story of creation it is the fertility of earth and womb with its abundance of זרע,  «seed», both in fruit trees (1:11f; cf. 8:22), animals (7:3) and humans (3:15; 4:25) which dominates the narrative. This abundance, which has already shown itself through the ability of restoring itself through procreation after the killing of Abel, is restored in a basic way after the deluge (9,9). With the introduction of Abram's wife Sarai, however, the problem of being עקרה «barren» is introduced into the human genealogy (11,30). This is the background of the first reported birth oracle, 17:19. Here the birth report is transformed into an unconditional promise from God to his chosen. It is worth noticing that the angel's statement to Hagar (16:11) is not a birth oracle but a birth report. This is notoriously misinterpreted in the commentaries, just as the birth oracle to Abraham (17:19) is often overlooked as a birth oracle, probably because it is tightly interwoven with the narrative.

Gen 16:11	Gen 17:19
וַיֹּאמֶר לָהּ מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה	וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים
	אֲבָל שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ
הִנָּךְ הָרָה	
וְיֹלַדְתְּ בֵּן	יֹלֶדֶת לְךָ בֵּן
וְקָרָאת שְׁמוֹ יִשְׁמָעֵאל	וְקָרָאתָ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יִצְחָק
כִּי־שָׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל־עָנְיֵךְ:	
וְהוּא יִהְיֶה פֶּרֶא אָדָם	וַהֲקִמֹתִי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי אִתּוֹ
יָדוֹ בַכֹּל	לִבְרִית עוֹלָם
וְיַד כֹּל בּוֹ	לְזַרְעוֹ אַחֲרָיו:
וְעַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו	
יִשְׁכֹּן:	
And the angel of the Lord said to her	And God said
	But Sarah your wife
Look, you are pregnant	
and you shall bear a son	will be bearing unto you a son
and you shall call his name Ishmael	and you shall call his name Isaac
for the Lord has listened to your travail	
and he shall be a wild donkey of a man	and I shall establish my covenant with him
and his hand will be on all	as an eternal covenant
and the hand of all on him	with his seed after him
and in the face of all his brothers	

[43] The only daughters to be named specifically in a birth report are Isaac's wife Rebekah (Gen 24:24.47; cf. 22:23), Jacob's daughter Dinah (Gen 30:21), Moses' sister Miryam (Num 26:59), Absalom's sister Tamar (2 Sam 14:27), Rehoboam's daughter Shelomit (2 Ch 11:20) and Hosea's daughter Lo-ruhamah (Hos 1:6).

he shall dwell	

Through the change in function the individual parts of the statement are transformed. Whereas the birth report in 16:11 is followed by a description of the child the birth oracle in 17:19 is followed by an unconditional promise, a unilateral pact commitment from the Lord. Several allusions to the ancestral story of Abraham are present in Isaiah.[44] Abraham is mentioned together with Sarah in 51:2. In this verse we find a cluster of themes that allude to the Abraham and Sarah story: fatherhood, birth, calling, blessing and multiplication. The term "being in labor" (היל) is an interesting development of the pregnancy-birth-imagery. It is not found in Genesis in this meaning, but in Is 54:1 we find it in combination with a term most emphatically associated with Sarah, namely "barren", עקרה: "Sing O barren one who did not bear". [45] The term is not only associated with Sarah, however. Also Rebekah and Rachel, the wives of Isaac and Jacob, were "barren" (Gen 11:30; 25:21; 29:31). The same was true of the mothers of Samson (Jdg 13:2f) and Samuel (1 Sam 1:2.5).[46] In Isaiah the ancestral barrenness/birth-motive is transformed to a motive designating Zion. In 66:7−8 the motive of giving birth to a son (cf. 7:14; 9:8−9) is further developed and expanded to giving birth to a whole nation.[47] The surprise of discovering that the barren mother has become a multitude of children is, of course, strongly associative of God's covenant with Abraham and the stories of the ancestral triad and their wives. There is a dual direction in the promise. The seed of Abraham and Sarah shall "possess" (ירשׁ) the cities of their adversaries (Is 54:3), an expressing restating God's promise to Abraham after the Aqedah (Gen 22:17) as well as the family's blessing of Rebekah when she is about to become the wife of Isaac (24:60). In the last part of Isaiah his outgoing impulse is transformed into the sending forth of messengers to all nations to declare God's glory (Is 66:19) and to bring back from the nations all Zion's "brothers" (אחים) (v. 20) like a flood of water (v. 12). Nations shall stream to Mount Zion to listen to the teaching (תורה) of the Lord (2:2f; cf. 51:4). In this way the Deuteronomical admonition to the nation and its king is expanded: "When he has taken the throne of his kingdom, he shall have a copy of this law written for him in the presence of the levitical priests. It shall remain with him and he shall read in it all the days of his life, so that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, diligently observing all the words of this law and these statutes, neither exalting himself above other members of the community nor turning aside from the commandment, either to the right or to the left, so that he and his descendants may reign long over his kingdom in Israel" (Deut 17:18−20). Thus, within the framework of Isaiah the Lord of heaven and earth (Is 66:1) includes all nations in the ancestral promise of giving Abraham a seed and a name. He also includes the complete cosmos in the promise of providing him a "new land" (ארץ חדשׁ, v. 22).

[44] Abraham is evoked in 29:22; 41:8; 51:2; 63:16. Sodom is alluded to in 1:9; 1:10; 3:9; 13:19.
[45] In Gen 8:10 it refers to the "waiting" of Noah; in Deut 32:18, however, we find an interesting reference to God as the Rock and father of the people who also came in labor and gave birth to it, cf. Is 45,10f.
[46] For a fuller treatment of the barrenness-motive in the ancestral mothers see the essay "Why were they barren?" in Yairah Amit, *In Praise of Editing in the Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays in Retrospect*, Hebrew Bible Monographs (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2012).
[47] The text uses זכר as a synonym for בן together with ילד.

"Holy seed" in the book of Jubilees

The "holy seed" is encountered again as a motive in the book of Jubilees. The narrative frame of Jubilees is the revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai (1:1; 50:2). Within this framework we find a more or less complete retelling of the Genesis and Exodus narratives from the Creation to the celebration of Passover after the Exodus (Exo 12). The Book of Jubilees is highly focused on "holiness", understood as sexual as well as genealogical purity. A fundamental theme is the conflict between the children of Isaac: the descendants of Esau, who are regarded as unclean, and the descendants of Jacob, who are "a holy seed". The book starts with an intercession for the people by Moses, who is also the receiver of revelation, the implicit author, of Jubilees: «… they are your people and your inheritance, whom you saved by your great might from the hand of the Egyptians. Create a pure heart and a holy spirit for them» (Jub 1,21).[48] And God answers: «… I shall create for them a holy spirit … And I shall be a father to them, and they shall be sons to me … And everyone will know that I am the God of Israel and the father of all the children of Jacob and king upon Mount Zion forever and ever. And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy» (1:23−27). At the outset of the book we see that the Messianic father-son-formula (2 Sam 7:13) is applied to the people. The people is designated as a "kingdom" when the term "holy seed" appears in the angelic message to Abraham in Mamre. Here Abraham and Sarah are told that she will be pregnant and give birth to a son before the year is over (Jub 16; cf. Gen 18). The angel also declares that "all the seed of [Isaac's] sons should be Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. For he should become the portion of the Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and a holy nation" (16:17f). Here we see the close connection between the Messianic idea and the term "holy seed". After this Abraham is said to have instituted the feast of Sukkoth (v. 21), and prescriptions are given for the offerings to be made at that occasion (v. 22−24). And Abraham blessed his Creator because from him would grow a "plant of righteousness" and a "holy seed" (v. 26). When Abraham celebrates the festival of first fruits together with Isaac, Ishmael and Isaac he blesses Jacob and again gives thanks to the Lord that called him out of Ur to inherit the land of Canaan and establish a "holy seed". (22:27). Together with this prayer of thanksgiving he blesses Jacob, and the blessing contains motives with messianic overtones: v. 11 is strongly reminiscent of Ps 2:11 (cf. Jub 26:23).

Ps 2:1.11f	Jub 22:11
Why do the nations conspire, and the peoples plot in vain … Serve the Lord with fear, with trembling kiss his feet,	May nations serve thee, And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.

[48] The quotations from Jubilees are from Wintermute, "Jubilees (Second Century Bc): A New Translation and Introduction ". I have chosen this translation because it is more concordant and therefore more consistent than James C VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translated* vol. 511, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain: Peeters, 1989).

Three out of five instances the term “holy seed” is found in Jub 25, in Rebekah’s blessing of Jacob (25:3.12.18). The density of appearances is a strong signal of the interpretative link between the Rebekah motive and the idea of a messianic people in the mind of the author of Jubilees. As in Isaiah the impact of the Messianic kingdom on “all nations” is an important motive in Jubilees (cf. 15:6−8.16, where Abraham and Isaac, not Sarah, are the progenitors of many kings). The bestowing of Abraham’s blessing on all nations is highlighted (18:16; 20:10; 24:10) and seen as fulfilled in the judgment of the nations (32:19) and subsequent inheritance of the whole world by the seed of Abraham. Rebekah is presented more broadly than Sarah in the book of Jubilees − as in Genesis. The virginity theme from the story of the wooing of Rebekah (Gen 24:16) is not present in the story of how Isaac married Rebekah (19:10). Neither is the story about the mission of Abraham’s servant (Gen 24:1−10). Instead Isaac and his sons receive the instructions about not marrying the “daughters of Canaan” from Abraham himself (Jub 20:4; 22:20). Rebekah, however, repeats the instructions in her blessing of Jacob (25:1.3).

Gen 24:1−4 [26:34; 25:8]	Jub 25:1−3
Now Abraham was old, well advanced in years; and the Lord had blessed Abraham in all things. Abraham said to his servant, the oldest of his house, who had charge of all that he had, “Put your hand under my thigh and I will make you swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and earth, that you will not get a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I live, [When Esau was forty years old, he married Judith daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath daughter of Elon the Hittite; and they made life bitter for Isaac and Rebekah. (26:34)]	And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spoke to him, saying: “My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother, who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them, for (their deeds) are evil.

[…but Rebekah loved Jacob (25:8)]	And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. And now, my son, hearken to my voice, and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife
(repetition) *that you will not get a wife* *for my son* *from the <u>daughters of the Canaanites</u>,* *among whom I live,* but will go to my country and to my kindred and get a wife for my son Isaac."	of the <u>daughters of this land</u>, but only of the house of my father, and of my father's kindred. Thou shalt take thee a wife of the house of my father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children shall be a righteous generation and a holy seed.'

Three times Jacob repeats his decision not to marry any "daughters of Canaan" (25:4.5.9). But before that the description in Gen 24:16 of Rebekah as a virgin is echoed in Jacob's self-description:

Gen 24:15f.[2f]	Jub 25:4
And behold, Rebekah who was born to Bethuel son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, coming out with her water jar on her shoulder. The girl was very fair to look upon, a virgin, whom no man had known. [Put your hand under my thigh and I will make you swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and earth, that you will not get a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites … (24:2f)]	Behold, mother, I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan.

The "daughters" are an important theme in Jubilees. 18 out of 25 instances refer to daughters of Canaan, of the gentiles or of Egypt. Initially in the book the "daughters of men" are named

as the sexual partners of fallen angels (4:22; 7:21). Only once we meet the "daughters of Laban" who are recommended by Rebekah as wives for Jacob in Rebekah's second blessing of him through Isaac (27:10; cf. v. 8). *Betsy H. Amaru* has written extensively on the role of women in Jubilees. She discovered a pattern that indicated the operation of what might be called «a moral matrilineal principle». The woman whom the ancient head of each line selects as his wife determines the moral quality of the heir who will lead the next generation. Women holding appropriate genealogical credentials sustain the line; those with inappropriate lineage corrupt it.[49] Such a pattern clearly benefits the polemical concern with inter-marriage that has long been recognized as a primary feature of Jubilees, says Amaru. The corruption of lineage begins with the "angels of god"[50] coming down to earth to mate with the daughters of men, who in turn give birth to the giants (5:1). The giants are later to be described by Abraham as the source of moral and sexual misconduct among humans (20:9; cf. 29:9−11). Lineage indeed is important in Jubilees. We find 40 instances where the lineage of wives are given through the expression "daughter of". In 34:20 we hear about the wives of Jacob's sons. Two of them are reported to have married Canaanite women, Simeon and Judah. Of Simeon it is said that he repented and took for himself a second wife from Mesopotamia, as his brothers (34:21). When it comes to Judah a longer story is told, namely that of Judah and Tamar (41). After sleeping with his daughter in law Judah is pardoned when admitting his transgression and Tamar is spared from being burned as a prostitute. Levi's wife, however is of the correct lineage: the name of Levi's wife is Melka, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed of the sons of Terah, a lineage strongly reminiscent of the lineage of Rebekah (Gen 11:24−30). This may reflect a critical stance towards the royal lineage of Judah, which again may make be felt in the highlighting of the collective messianic identity of the people rather than stressing the expectation of a Davidic Messiah from the line of Judah. The author demonstrates a much more positive attitude towards the lineage of Levi. In reward for the destruction of Shechem (30:14−17; 32:1−3) the Levites are given a high position. The Levites are entrusted by Jacob with the holy books and secret knowledge from the ancestor Abraham (45:16; cf. 10:4), which again may be an indication that the author of Jubilees belongs to the Levites and that scribal activity is an important part of the priestly responsibility (cf. the high rank of "writers" in Jubilees: Moses, 1:5.7; 2:1; 33:18; 50:13; Enoch, 4:16−18; Jacob 19:14; 32:24). An interesting detail is that Joseph's Egyptian wife Asenath is named twice (34:20; 44:24). A complete apocryphal work, "Joseph and Aseneth", has been recovered from Elephantine. In this work, which has been dated to the 4th century BCE, Aseneht is compared to the ancestral triad Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel and found to be much more like them than her fellow Egyptian women. Her well-guarded virginity plays an important role together with the male virginity of Joseph. This may indicate the need for dealing with mixed marriages in Jewish communities in Egypt as well as in Jehud and Babylon. As in the book of Ruth what qualifies a wife from outside the lineage of Israel is her attitude towards the people of her husband and their God.

[49] Betsy Halpern Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* vol. 60, (Supplement to the Journal for the Study of Judaism) (Brill Academic Pub, 1999), 4.
[50] The term «sons of God» (cf. Gen 6:2) in Jubilees is reserved for the people of Israel, 22:11; cf. 1:23f ;

Conclusions

In the book of Jubilees we find that ancestral and royal Messianic motives are combined in the term "holy seed", which is strongly associated with Rebekah and her role as a mother and spiritual guide of her "royal" son Jacob. We see that the author is well acquainted both with the framework of the biblical narratives and with the lacunae that open up for interpretation. The prohibition against mixed marriages which is prevalent in Ezra and Nehemiah is strongly underlined in Jubilees, as is the critical stance towards foreigners generally. The author seeks to justify cultic traditions by linking them to the ancestral stories. Abraham has a more prominent place and is active over a longer period of time than in Genesis. Likewise Rebekah has a much larger role in Jubilees than she already has in Genesis. She becomes the conveyor of Abrahamic blessing and guidance to her son Jacob, and in doing so she is more active and prominent than her husband Isaac. The role of an individual Messiah is taken over by the "holy seed" of Jacob, which is called a royal and priestly people. Seen on the background of the intermarriage crisis with its dire religious and cultural consequences in the line of Davidic kings, of which Ahaz is a prominent example (2 Ki 16), the function of Rebekah as a role model becomes important. Rebekah is of the right lineage and has an open heart towards the Lord, so that she is able to counsel her son in matters both of marriage and of trust in God. Trust in God, which plays a central part in the ancestral narratives of Genesis as well as in the Deuteronomistic History, is also a central part of the message in Is 7. Even if the story of the wooing of Rebekah in Gen 24 may have gotten its final shape relatively late, two things can be said that still make the story relevant as a "secondary narrative" which is being alluded to in Is 7:14: The core narrative of the "willing virgin" in Gen 24 may very well be old, even if it has been edited into the ancestral cycle of Abraham and Sarah at a later stage. The term "holy seed", which is associated with the mixed marriage crisis in Ezra/Nehemiah as well as with the book of Immanuel in Isaiah, is strongly related to the story of Rebekah in the book of Jubilees. In this way we see a re-application of a central canonical motive in the framework of the "re-written Bible" which may reflect an interpretative tradition which has its beginnings within the biblical Midrash of the Hebrew Bible and which is continued in the Midrashic treatment of Isaiah 7:14 in The New Testament:[51] the nature and role of the mother of the Messiah, which is also the true mother of the "holy seed", the true Israel.[52] The extent to which the New Testament may be labeled a Midrashic treatment of the Hebrew Bible is only recently dawning on biblical scholars. *Richard B. Hays* has demonstrated how Paul uses scriptural allusions as an integrative part of his theological treatises.[53] *Leroy Andrew Huizenga* has tried to show how the Matthean superscript (1:1) and genealogy (1:2−17) introduce a significant Isaac typology which may be regarded as a central motive in the Gospel as a whole. According to Huizenga the Gospel presents Jesus' conception and birth to a virgin mother in the same terms that the LXX uses when narrating the birth of Isaac to a barren mother.[54] In his recent book «The Jewish Gospel» *Daniel Boyarin* argues against the

[51] Is 7:14 is cited in Matt 1:23 and alluded to in Luke 1:32 and Rev 12. In all three instances the combination of an individual and a collective understanding of the Messiah is prevalent.

[52] As a «negative proof» of the importance of the Rebekah-tradition within early Jewish and Christian Midrash is the fact that Rebekah almost disappears from sight in later rabbinical sources. When will she be re-discovered?

[53] Richard B Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (Yale University Press, 1989).

[54] Leroy Andrew Huizenga, "The Matthean Jesus and the Isaac of the Early Jewish Encyclopedia " in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, ed. Richard B Hays, Stefan Alkier, and Leroy Andrew Huizenga(Waco, Texas: Baylor

accusation that Christianity hijacked the Hebrew Bible and distorted its meaning through interpreting it according to its own purposes.[55] To the contrary, Boyarin states, Christianity did not only misinterpret the Old Testament but also the New Testament, imposing on it another hermeneutic matrix than the Jewish traditions. These traditions the New Testament authors sought to uphold and not to destroy. According to Boyarin these traditions give the New Testament narrative its richest literary and hermeneutical context. Boyarin also challenges the notion that the New Testament should be regarded as «an appropriation – or even better – a misappropriation of the Old».[56] Instead he suggests that «the New Testament is much more deeply embedded within Second Temple Jewish life and thought than many have imagined, even … in the very moments that we take to be most characteristically Christian as opposed to Jewish».[57] If this is true, the hidden connections in Is 7:14 between the mother of Israel and the mother of the Messiah may be about to be rediscovered − in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the Old Greek translation and the "re-written bibles" of the Apocrypha and the New Testament.

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University Press, 2009), 72. See n. 50 for an overview of ancient commentators who have pointed to the midrash-like treatment of Gen 17:19 in Matt 1:21f. For a fuller treatment of the Isaac typology in Matt see *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew* vol. 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[55] Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: New Press, 2012).

[56] Ibid., 157.

[57] Ibid., 158.

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IMAGES OF SCENES a paper out of the project:
Locality versus Temporality: A Historiographical Study of 1 and 2 Chronicles. AA/TF.

CONTENTS OF THIS PAPER:

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1a. PREFACE
Dear participant,
In this paper I ask for your comments upon how the presented concepts function when I try to describe the scenes of 2 Chr 1:1-9:28. There are two groups with four concepts in each: firstly (a) main figure, localization, zoom and position, and secondly (b) macro-scene, micro-scene, scene as such and filling-up. The first four concern the scenes as such (question a), and the following concern the relation between the scenes (b).

With the first part of the paper (BACKGROUND) I ask you to try to imagine something of the idea of a background. In the second part, in the main part of the paper (LITERARY SCENES), I use the concepts when I describe the pericope chosen. Finally (CONTEXT) my intention is to try to pick one or two extra-biblical pericopes as for comparison. In the final part of this paper I present five possible fields of features.

This paper is not and will not be a textual part as such of the dissertation. In this paper I want to sharpen the concepts which I use when I describe the scenes I see or imagine while reading. Though the paper does not primarily discuss the definitions either of scene or image you will find my comments also on such issues in the main part.
Jonas

In sum:
The problem discussed concerns the concept of literary scene in 2 Chronicles 1:1-9:28, in the establishment of the temple service: (a) How can a literal scene be described and (b) how are different scenes interrelated? Finally the paper also presents some of the impressions of the text-elements compared to Herodotus and related extra-biblical texts.

2a. BACKGROUND – SHADOWS IN A TWO- OR THREE-DIMENSIONAL FIELD?
When entering the tenth chapter of 1 Chr most modern readers experience a clear shift in the desert of genealogies. Japhet comments upon it in her commentary:

> With ch. 10 we reach the beginning of the principal part of Chronicles: the narration of the history of Israel from this juncture onward, until Cyrus´ declaration in 2 Chron. 36.23. This is also a turning point from one mode of literary expression to another: from a compilation of lists and anecdotes organized according to their common subject, with the factor of time-sequence playing almost no role, to a narration of successive events, disposed along a vertical time sequence. The change of form at this point is an unmistakable indication of the author´s conscious movement from the introduction of his work to its main body.[1]

She also confirms the concept of background:

[1] Japhet (1993:221).

For the Chronicler, ch. 10 serves as a turning point: from pre-Davidic Israel, as symbolized in Saul, to David. We may even say: from pre-history to history. The pre-history remains in the background, and the Chronicles will refer to it whenever the case may require, but it is not of interest as a topic in itself.[2]

Chapter ten is a turning point, but in what way? If we count on some kind of background - what happens when we go on reading? A question is clarified in the tenth chapter that had already been raised at the end of the fifth chapter: the people had not looked for, or searched for, their God. So they were punished (1Chr 5:25f. and 10:13f.).
Rudolf Mosis showed in his study that this question recurs all through Chronicles. The exile was the risk.[3] Mosis turns this chapter into a key one for Chronicles:

This means that the Chronicler depicted the downfall of the house of Saul, and the fleeing of the Israelites before the Philistines, in such a way that an image of almost a-temporal character emerged. In this image was seen what always could be the basic condition for Israel and her kingdom. Due to this 1 Chr 10 was given a position of its own in the composition of the Chronicler and can not be isolated only to serve as an introduction to the cycle of David.[4]

We now sum up, with the first ten chapters in mind, what seems to be a background: Israel is presented, placed in the middle of humanity. We have seen kings connected with the cities. In the middle of Israel we find the temple personnel. A threat or a question is raised in 1 Chr 5:25 and 1 Chr 10. The image grows as all Israel is gathered in Hebron (1 Chr 11:1).

The first chapters, including the tenth, present who is involved in this drama, the centre of this people and something of their enigma. When we stress a spatial aspect we may say that a field or a scene is established where the following story can take place.

Before proceeding into the phenomena of scene as such we will extract shadows from five different contrasts in the composition.[5] In the first preliminary reading we could recognize certain text-elements which provoked warnings, judgements as well as blessings. These elements are woven together in more or less complex patterns. Now the first half of the fifth group of these text-elements: warnings/judgements is of our interest. Our first impression of 1 Chr 10 was that the reader is offered a counter image. Another four such contrasts will be listed here. My present purpose is to show that such phenomena are important for the image, their position in the composition, and that they – thanks to sharp contrast - underline such themes as the redactor wants to focus. Five contrasts:
(1) The end of the house of Saul as a counterpart, 1 Chr 10.
(2) The provocation by the Satan figure in 1 Chr 21.
(3) The separation of Israel as the ten tribes broke away, 2 Chr 10.
(4) The catastrophe when Judah seems to be extinquished due to Queen Attaliah, 2 Chr 22.
(5) The black day when the temple-gates were closed in the time of Ahaz, 2 Chr 28:24.
These episodes we have characterized as warnings or judgements. We will not discuss their particularity but underline that they are important parts of the composition as a whole and especially when we try to identify different components of the scenes in Chronicles. They highlight themes given already in the background of the first chapters of 1 Chr:

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[2] Ibid:230.
[3] Mosis (1973:41ff.).
[4] Mosis (1973:21). My translation. We note that for Mosis (1973) 1 Chr 10 is considered as something included in a more a-temporal preface. For Japhet (1993), on the other hand, 1 Chr 10 is rather a starting-point for history like ours.
In his study, Mosis primarily interprets a theology of the Chronicler. His text-material does not include the first ten chapters but Esra 1-10 and Nehemiah 8.
[5] Not to be mixed with the five groups of characteristic text-elements we identified reading Chronicles as an artefact: Text-elements of (1) buildings, a. temples and b. cities. (2) kings, (3) peoples, (4) cult and (5) warnings/judgements and blessings. Today´s functional source-criticism considers the artefactual aspect of the material as well as the narrative aspect.

(a) the presence of evil/unfaithfulness, מעל [1 Chr 10:13] (b) the locality [1 Chr 21:16] (c) the people and its unity [2 Chr 10:19] (d) transfer of the succession of the royal family [2 Chr 22:10] (e) finally and strongest the service in the temple [2 Chr 28:24].
We are still moving in the shadows of the scenes letting the contrasts speak before we treat the the concept of the scene as such.

Another group of distinguishable human figures, the first connected to the shadows already extracted, are the heavenly messengers – prophets and others. We have not listed all the prophets here since we have only noted the first appearance of each text-element in each four-part of the composition, but we consider them since their appearance in the image makes an important difference. They are more or less present in the parts we classify as contrasts. The prophetic narratives of Chronicles can be described as follows:[6]

Name	Reference	Title	Functions			Audience
Prophet/Inspired Message			Interprets	Warns	Exhorts	
/Amasai	1 Chr 12:19	Officer			Yes	David
[Nathan	17:1	נביא			Yes	David]
[Gad	21:9	חזה			Yes	David]
[/Shemaiah	2 Chr 11:2	איש האלוהים	2nd	Yes		King/All Israel in Judah Benjamin]
Shemaiah	12:5	נביא	Yes	2nd		King, Officers
	12:7					
/Azariah	15:1	None			Yes	All Judah
Hanani	16:7	ראה	Yes	2nd		King
Jehu	19:1	חזה	Yes			King
/Jahaziel	20:14	Levite			Yes	All Judah
Eliezer	20:37	נביא	Yes			King
Elijah	21:12	נביא	Yes			King
/Zechariah	24:20	Priest		Yes	2nd	People
Anonymous	25:7	איש האלוהים		Yes		King
Anonymous	25:15	נביא	Yes	Yes		King
Oded	28:9	נביא	Yes	Yes		Northern Army
/Neco	35:21	Pharaoh		Yes	Yes	King

It is clear that what we understand as prophetic activity is concentrated on the part of the material where the temple is completed.[7] No prophet is found in the first ten chapters section. According to our four-part division of the text, the prophetic activity prevails in the third quarter, in nine out of fifteen figures counted. The only prophet mentioned by name in the last part is Oded who rebukes the northern army when they are to subdue Judah and Jerusalem (2 Chr 28:9). The position and the function of these messengers in the third part of the composition turn out to be complex. The last divine messenger in the list of Schniedewind is Neco, the Pharaoh of Egypt, reproaching the king of Jerusalem. We add: the last messenger in the composition is Cyrus himself.

We have argued that a background is discernible against which the contours of the text elements are to be understood. But how can we approve and speak about such a

[6] Schniedewind (1997:216, 218, 220). In the square brackets the reader find my own additions as elsewhere in this paper. Schniedewind has given the frame for the list. He discerns major issues for the prophets—to confirm examples of the history of Israel. Schniedewind acknowledges the major theme of seeking as Mosis did (Ibid:224). But he also stresses the lack of studies studying prophetic activity in Chronicles (Ibid:210). Therefore the categories used are preliminary.

[7] It is not clear why Schniedewind not includes Nathan and the prohpecy in 1 Chr 17:11ff (or Gad in 1 Chr 21:9). 1 Chr 17:1ff is a key passage in the first half of the composition, just after the hymn. And the hymn is especially marked in the manuscripts. Schniedewing in short (1997:224): the prophets interpreted the events for the kings, the inspired messengers exhorted and admonished the people with historical sermons. So the whole book of Chronicles may be characterized.

background? The major parts of the whole composition are given already in the first ten chapters, though not the prophetical figures.

Is the scene we imagine two- or three dimensional? We repeat the question since its outcome affects how we approach a literary scene. When pinpointing markers of a scene the definitions shift. Bar-Efrat here uses a rather straightforward definition:

> The unit created of several events – the scene – is defined through the characters participating in it. When all or some of the characters change a new scene starts.[8]

Bar-Efrat´s definition frames the scene by means of the characters participating in one or several events.[9] Before imagining the preparations for temple consecration we pay attention to the scene where the first divine messenger, Amasai, appears with David in 1 Chr 12:16-18. Does Bar-Efrats definition work? Is the scene two- or three dimensional?

1 Chr 12:16-18 in short:
Some Benjaminites and Judahites come to David at the stronghold. David meets them and approves that if they come in friendship he accepts them. If dishonestly – God will judge. Amasai is betrothed with spirit like a clothing, and his positive answer obviates all obstacles.

It seems to be a mini-scene well corresponding to the definition of Bar-Efrat. In the following verse new characters gather which means a new scene. Do the men appear out of a distant background, or do they arrive from the left or right side? Should we imagine the scene as a two-dimensional relief? Most people probably reflect upon the meeting in a more or less realistic environment. But from where? In the text it is underlined that the men met David at a certain spot. David addresses them. His way of answering is not that underlined in the Septuagint version but concerning some kind of background nothing is seen except for the ideas in the conversation itself.[10] When we hear the conversation we are placed as one of them. In that moment the perspective seems to disappear. Who puts us there? The Chronicler? Out of the perception of the absolute space the distance seems absolute. Can we, when reading the scene, really relate into such another context? Already a century ago some kind of a fourth dimension was established, which thanks to Einstein was materialized in the relative space-time dimension.[11] In the act of reading two different space-times are intertwined, normally two different contexts. (This should not be mixed with the fusion of horizons by Gadamer, since he argues out of [historical] consciousness as the key.)[12] Our interest is in the concept of scene. Where are we located in relation to

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[8] Bar-Efrat (1989:96).

[9] His definition defines at the same time the content as the edge of a scene. We will return to this issue in the following, in the main part of the paper.

[10] Japhet comments upon the scene more in detail (1993:264f.). She identifies the phrases as rare in Chronicles, more frequent in earlier literature. The two opposite conditional clauses serve to present a given situation in its two aspects, giving full expression to their respective consequences. The last clause leaves the decision with God. Johnstone (1997a:160f.), as Japhet, comments on the new conditions when Benjaminites volunteer. The new conditions cannot be seen or understood out of the plain impression or conversation in 1 Chr 12:16-18. It presupposes knowledge at least of the outcome of 1 Chr 10:13 when a king of the Benjaminites is dead due to unfaithfulness. Therefore the reply of Amasai, who is a first divine messenger as we have listed, is of special importance. Williamson (1982:108) notes that the clothing of Amasai with spirit apparently would be recognized by the onlookers. The onlooker in our case is the auditor, the reader.

[11] Dalrymple Henderson (2013:141ff.) underlines that the idea of a fourth or manifold dimension/s from the beginning was not directly linked to the idea of space-time. The idea of space-time was given to Einstein from Minkowski, his teacher. The idea of a fourth or manifold dimension first of all was a fare well to the geometry of Euclide as absolute. And the Euclidean geometry was the self-evident for Kant and his categories. Our imaginary scene is still highly set by the Cartesian three-dimensional coordinates in a context of a cosmological absolute space.

[12] Gadamer (2006:336f.).

the scene we imagine? The question as to our position must primarily be a question of where we locate ourselves as readers, as one aspect when interpreting.

The insights of narratology is important in this moment but a clarification of the position of the reading process itself improves the possibilities for a better understanding of what we see. Most introductions to the question of images note that the notion of perspective has its origin in the area of the arts, systematized in the era of the Renaissance.[13]

The question on a two- or three dimensional perspective is not only due to our capability of acuity or depth of field, it is also about whether our Chronicler at all intended depth or shadows.[14] So we leave that question at the moment, unsolved.

2b. Summary of the background.

With the first ten chapters in mind, we imagine a background: Israel is presented, placed in the centre of humanity. We have seen kings connected to the cities. In the middle of Israel we find the temple-personel. A threat or a question is raised in 1 Chr 5:25 and 1 Chr 10.

The image grow as all of Israel is gathered in Hebron (1 Chr 11:1). We counted five clear moments of sharp contrasts. Themes in these contrasts were all present in the first ten chapters. Heavenly messengers more or less present only thereafter.

The scene-definition of Bar-Efrat is our first: through the characters involved in the same event. But the image should may-be be considered without any depth of field, maybe better understood if it is compared with the narrative of the hieroglyphs.

3a. LITERARY SCENE 2 CHR 1:1 – 9:28.

When we deal with the concept of literary scene in 1 Chr 1:1-9:28 we will first (3aa.) answer the question what keeps the scenes together, how they are framed, and secondarily (3ab.) how they relate to each other.[15] After each part a summary of key concepts for further investigations and applications of the question on scene.

3aa. First, where does the scene begin and end?[16] And where are our scenes located or framed? At an amphitheatre? Within a relief? In ’reality’?

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[13] Alberti was the first to systematize how to paint perspectives 1435. In sum his idea was that with a clearly marked position, the painting could offer a total impression, as in nature (shadows marked the perspective in the painting), see Mitchell (1986:37ff.). The invention of the camera obscura would confirm the idea that it was possible to offer a total impression.

[14] When Bar-Efrat (1989:15f.) introduces narratology he precisely underlines that with a competence to catch the perspective or even angle of the narrator the reader should better understand the world of the implied author: ”The narrator is like a photographer who decides what will and will not be included in a picture, from what distance and angle, with what degree of sharpness and in what light. Just as the nature of a film is dependent on the position of the camera and the way it is operated, the nature of the narrative depends on the point of view from which the events are presented”. Our project asks from the beginning what happens if history is not told like a movie but viewed more a-temporal, maybe better understood without any depth of field, maybe better understood if it is compared to the narrative of the hieroglyphs. Probably the composition is not dependent on a specific perspective but a synthesized view out of the conventions of the audience (in our case not the same thing as what Alberti thought of as Nature in the era of Renaissance). Again the question on who listens is underlined. Important back-ground may require more space without undermining the focus of the case.

[15] The delimination is here motivated by the chiastic pattern identified by Dillard (1987:5f.). The character of the ten chapter pericope in the middle of the composition may offer micro as well as macro scene models to describe what is seen in a better way.

[16] Bar-Efrat (1989:102) can even use the concept of an act in a drama when describing the scene. We do not test that concept here but let the idea include also the Greek drama and theatre.

19th-century images of historical landscapes seem less and less relevant as models. Even those epic ideals, pushing us to ask for the plot, seem to be all to extensive on a more detailed level of scenes.[17] Groenewegen-Frankforts problematization concerning time and space in epigraphies in Antiquity indicates that the problem of scene is not only ours:

> Those who were patient enough to follow the rather dreary path of abstract reasoning will have to face one more difficulty before tackling the monuments [image], namely, the question of what in actual fact constitutes a scene. Can we trust self-evidence if we are to decide whether a conglomeration of figures is intended to represent coherent action, whether juxtaposition means proximity?[18]

Groenewegen-Frankfort herself answers that we cannot trust any self-evidence, but must rely on imaginative interpretation.[19] At the moment our project includes at least one comparison with clearly multi-cultural material.[20] We will comment on the described numbered scenes I. – XII. with the following concepts: main figure, locality, zoom and position. The following scene-identification is a preliminary one.

The first scene listed above (scene I, 2 Chr 1:1-6) underlines the locality: the place of Gibeon. [21] We may imagine the drama in a distance. The locality is a first natural frame.

The second scene (scene II, 2 Chr 1:7-13), is dark from the beginning. Night means anew scene. But it is combined with the preceding part thanks to the definite article: That precise night. The closure of the second scene, the reference to Gibeon, connects the two. Solomon returns to Jerusalem. The border between the first and the second scene is not sharp.

The third scene (scene III, 2 Chr 1:14-17) confirms the case of the second even though the narration is given in another genre: listing chariots and horses, their value and from where they came. Hitherto the third scene is the smaller one.

As an image the fourth scene (scene IV, 2 Chr 2:1-17) connects to the idea of extra supplies in the former, third scene. Solomon plans.
In the same way as it is possible to join the first and second scenes, so the third and fourth scenes may be related thematically. Chariots as horses, as building materials and resources of craftsmen are brought together from without.

In the fifth scen (scene V, 2 Chr 3:1-5:1) the location is given where the building project is to be situated. Solomon is the building contractor. He is the one who handles the gold. Huram assists making vessels in bronze.

In our sixth scene (scene VI, 2 Chr 5:2-14) Solomon again gathers the congregation (as in the first scene). The ark is to be brought up and into the temple. The intended level of devotion is testified to in the innumerable amount of animals. In the middle of this scene there is a commentary concerning the poles and their visibility, with which the ark was carried: those poles are there to this day. The sixth scene as the

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[17] How much could the performer expect that the audience/reader could grasp? For how long time did the reading go on?
[18] Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951:10). Silverman confirms 1975 that this study has become a classic. Groenewegen-Frankfort investigates three contexts: Egyptian, Mesopotamian and art from Crete. Reprinted also 1987.
[19] Ibid:10.
[20] The Besitun inscription ordered by Darius I, combining an image with textual comments. The inscription contains a relief and a trilingual inscription in the Elamite, Babylonian and Old Persian languages, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1996:244). It is not unreasonable to suppose that a writer who was creating an international panorama with Israel in the middle knew about this inscription.
[21] The division of the scenes is preliminary, named by Roman numerals. We will later in this part deal with the problem that it is not self-evident to argue for imaginative scenes.

following are joined in one moment with the time adverbial za: then Solomon gathers the people (verse 5:2) and then (verse 6:1) he spoke.[22] We zoom in Solomon on his platform.

The first six numbered scenes points out shifts between scenes. The introductory scene of sacrifices we may reflect upon in a distance. This is a scene that could work in an amphitheatre. In the sixth scene instead, we are involved in positions and problems. The commentary on the visibility and the continuation ”to this day” includes the audience in a special way.

The first scene is handable in a special way. We may reflect upon it as placed on a disc which we can hold in our hand, turn it around and view it from different angles. The visitation by night is not possible to treat in the same way.

The show of resources in the third scene is imaginable as a relief even though the markers of the localization would be more difficult to observe.

The casting in the fifth scene explores an ideal with one main figure and besides that figure minor details. Even though Huram is focused in the letter mentioned earlier, finally he supports Solomon like an assistent.

We gather the concepts that we have used to describe the scenes as such:
Main figure – Solomon is the main figure.
Locality – Geographical names mark the locality as well as the night as localization.
Zoom – The first scene we may consider in a distance at the same time as we can zoom it.
Position – The main figure is in the middle. When Huram enters the scene anyway he is the vassal.

3ab. Secondly, how are the scenes related? We read our following six scenes and include the former question (3aa.) concerning those concepts already named. Our last six scenes are more disparate but can apparently be connected to the earlier scenes with the chiastic pattern as a key (Dillard divides the sixth chapter into two parts with the node in the middle, 2 Chr 6:11-12).[23] All these scenes have counterparts in the preceding part of our pericope: the speech and prayer of Solomon in our seventh scene (scene VII, 2 Chr 6:1-42), the confirmation from heaven in our eighth (scene VIII, 2 Chr 7:1-11) and the visitation in the night by himself (scene IX, 2 Chr 7:12-22). The blessings in the seventh chapter have been visible in the beginning of the fifth, as the appearance in the night in the first chapter.

Our scene VII, the blessing and prayer of Solomon, dominates the image due to space. Maybe it should be considered so important that it makes the background in an even larger scene. As middle in the consecration, it may work as middle in the overall view. The prayer of Solomon is the example per excellence. He is placed on his platform, kneeling in front of the people with his hands towards heaven.

The following scene in the seventh chapter, our scene VIII, turns out to be the climax in these nine chapters. The preparations, the offerings and the prayers are confirmed with fire from heaven, as ignition for the sacrifices. The text of the hymn is shown. The music is heard. The temple is filled with glory. All israelites see that the priests cannot enter. Of the three scenes VI, VII and VIII, linked in a sequence, scene six is the widest to be confirmed in the seventh. It is the seventh which is the key to understand the confirmation.[24]

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[22] Johnstone comments that the combinations of the Chronicler in this major pericope show a tendency to gather ”contemporaneous”: ”C with his stress on contemporaneity has no interest in signalizing these acts as sequential” (1997a:355).

[23] Japhet (1993:584) acknowledges a rhetorical division between verse 11 and 12 without referring to Dillard.

[24] Alter (2011:59f.) found the concept of type-scene useful from Homer scholarship pointing out the annunciation of the birth of the hero as a classical type as well as the betrothal type-scene. For

Scene IX could be excluded but its presence confirms the importance of the nights in the composition. But for the Nathan-prophecy, scene IX also high-lights the counterpart in the memory of the visit of Saul in the night. Here YHWH himself visits the main figure Solomon.

The following scenes (scene X, 2 Chr 8:1-18, scene XI, 2 Chr 9:1-12 and scene XII 2 Chr 9:13-28) relate to distinct themes in the composition: the cities, the liturgy and the international perspective. Finally in the ninth chapter a shadow may be hinted when Solomon himself turns out to be the object for inquiries. His national as well as international fame, on all levels, at the same time challenges the basic pattern: ask God. As a matter of fact for ten chapters, the only minor figures is Huram and the Queen of Sheba but they serve to confirm Solomon.

As already underlined there are several transfers in between the scenes. The concepts of micro- and macro-scene may be useful to be able to distinguish some different levels in our overall image. Could it be that the scenes on the one hand follow sequentially, on the other hand relate to a larger composition or overall image? The quick answer is yes, obviously since the scene is given in a context more complex than what precedes and what follows. But how to identify and argue for that as imaginable? Which of our scenes is to be considered as micro- and macro-scenes? Do we imagine them in a sequence or as part of a larger composition? Do we by now touch upon the difference between a reader of scriptures and an exegete competent to imagine?

The model of Bar-Efrat seems to be too simplistic in our opinion. If Solomon as the main figure is to be reckoned as the one who dominates, doesn´t he turn all our scenes into one? We certainly identify different events but all are more or less directly connected to the consecration-scene.[25] We refer to a second definition on scenes as for a comparison:

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us it is relevant to include extra biblical consecration scenes in Persian/Greek context to be able to develop the comparisons.

[25] The definition of Bar-Efrat shows anacronistic tendencies. He also relates to the problem of time and space (1989:195f.): ”After all, the ability of a work of literature to draw pictures of places and scenes with the help of words, thereby achieving high degree of verisimilitude, is well known. The absence of depictions in biblical narrative is connected with the tension which exists in a work of literature between the categories of time and space. This tension, which does not exist in non-literary reality [sic!], derives from the fact that a work of literature can create space only by means of a sequence of consecutive words. As a result of this, narration time continues when a more or less detailed description of places or scenes is given, while narrated time comes to a standstill (---). By stopping narrated time a static element is introduced, and this is incompatible with the dynamic and vigorous nature of biblical narrative. *The biblical narrative is wholly devoted to creating a sense of time which flows continually and rapidly, and this is inevitably achieved at the expense of the shaping of space.*” [My italics] It is an open question if the biblical narrator had a concept of time in our sense. Probably static space and dynamic time are not that clear opposite poles, see Engels (2011:541): ”The widespread assumption that there were in the ancient world two disciplines, strictly separated from one another, history and geography, as well as other genres of geographical and historiographical writings, has been demonstrated, upon closer examination, to result from a projection of modern conditions into the past. This anachronistic conception arose as a consequence of institutional (schools, universities, academia) and scientific development, and the progressive differentiation of the subjects of history and geography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with respect to the Greco-Roman world. The current interdisciplinary subject of “historical geography” is more similar to the proximal, symbiotic relationship of ancient geography and history (---)”. The contrast assumed by Bar-Efrat in between literal and non-literal reality also seems to be an anachronistic image.

Everything that follows in the description of a single dramatized incident, uninterrupted by change of setting or lengthy summary.[26]

Both definitions refer to the act as such, not the figures, even though the Bar-Efrat way frames the scene with changing characters. So the frames seem to be of more interest.[27] But that is a discussion for another paper. We try to balance the connection between frame and figures as such.

Summary a.
So, we form an overview of our concepts answering the first question (3aa.) concerning how a scene is established and framed:
Main figure – Solomon is the main figure. However, we note that the gathering in the eighth scene is that huge and important so that the crowd therefore may be considered as a part of the main figure.
Locality – Geographical names mark the locality, also the frame of the night. A temporal marker which turns out to be a spatial. We sharpen our definition of scene-frame to the shift of locality.
Zoom – The first scene we can imagine at a distance at the same time as we can zoom it in. In our seventh scene we can zoom in on Solomon in on the platform, at the same time as we can step back and see that the speech as such dominates the overall impression. The figure of Solomon is a megaphone for the Chronicler.
Position – The main figure is in the middle. When Huram enters the scene he is turned into a vasall. When the Queen of Sheba arrives (scene XI) it is her position, as a representative for all nations, that makes Solomon shine and take on something of divine status.

Our concluding answer on the second question – how the scenes relate (3ab.) - is easier to illustrate, even if not in detail. We begin with a triad of scene-concepts to classify our pericope: macro-, micro- and the notion of scene as such.

I. The scene of Gibeon can be enlarged as a macro-scene, or diminished to a micro-scene. The scene could be erased but gives a frame and relates priestly material with deuteronomistic.
II. The second scene does not seem possible to enlarge or diminish, a scene with a specific narrative message. Without special visual effects, but for ”that” certain night, it connects to wider themes and may be considered as a part of basic ideas of the composition. If this scene is omitted the message is subverted.
III. Our third scene is discussable. A confirmation of the preceding or a preface for what is to come? It can be omitted. It can function as filling up to balance the composition.[28] The concept ”filling up” will be the fourth concept of ours concerning the relations between the scenes.
IV. The fourth scene can be both enlarged and diminished. The foreign king has a clear function in the composition.
V. The scene may be defined as a micro-scene. The decisive moment is the localization of the Temple mount.

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[26] Henry (1995:257). Henry also differ between a scenic and panoramic method (Ibid:258f). Here we do not argue for a specific choice of the redactor. We look for tools for ourselves to use to clarify the image.
[27] A contemporary literary theory can hesitate to formulate any definition. Hawthorn (2000:127ff., 123ff.) only refers to the concepts of frame and figure/ground (a psychological concept).
[28] Sternberg (1987) does not list the concept of scene in his index but dedicates a chapter to the gaps, ambiguities and the reading process (Ibid:186ff.). The gaps concerns what is inbetween. What is in between the scenes is as decisive as the frame. Maybe one should say that it is the same, see above.

VI, VII and VIII together form a macro-scene.
IX. Compare scene II.
X. The tenth scene can be both blown up and decreased. The scene is important as capstone in the building project.
XI. The attendance of the Queen of Sheba has an effect like the fire which ignited the offerings. If she is considered as a representative of the nations this scene is part of one of the major themes of the book.
XII. Our last scene can be compared with the first, diminishable as well as magnifiable. No decisive function though heavy in its claims.

The macro-scene in the middle - with the grand speech of Solomon - cannot be omitted, but what about the rest? We illustrate the combinations:
(I) Macro/Micro: The offering at Gibeon by Solomon + (II) Scene: Prayer in the night + (III) Filling up-material: The resources of Solomon + (IV) Macro/Micro: The involvement of a foreign king + (V) Micro: The endorsement and localization of the project +
(VI – VIII) Macro: The consecration and the prayer +
(IX) Scene: Revelation in the night + (X) Makro/Mikro: The end of the building project, the rythm of liturgy + (XI) Macro: The Queen confirms + (XII) Macro/Micro: Solomon on the throne.

How much can or should be done on the connections between the scenes? The conclusion here concerns primarily a prioritization of the scenes: those definitely important for the whole, the ones important for supporting a message, those that do not matter and those filling up for other purposes. As we have seen the discussion on frames seems more acknowledged than the discussion on the scene as such. At the moment we do not formulate arguments for the implied frames around each scene.

But we will not leave the discussion which underlines that investigations like this – what we see when we read – is not taken for granted.[29] What do we really see? Is it a fact that though we read the same we do not see the same? Are there no similarities in the images? Or is it questionable to argue for any image at all?
Two opinions have crystallized: (a) Picture-fantasts and (b) Picture-critics.[30] The picture-fantasts (a) suppose that we can reflect upon an image itself from which we can then sharpen our descriptions. The picture-critics (b) hesitate to say anything more than to describe the impression or the actual material. Mitchell speaks about the two groups also out of a historical perspective. In our paper we have formulated metadescriptions with regard to what we have read. Mitchell pays attention to the advise of Wittgenstein, to be able to proceed, when Wittgenstein argues for the idea of proposition when bringing together mental and physical images in the same category:

A proposition is a picture of reality. A proposition is a model of reality as we imagine it. At first sight a proposition – one set out on the printed page, for example – does not seem to be a picture of the reality with

[29] If we compare Henry and Hawthorn on the question of image Henry is sure: ”[images] certainly are possible and often desirable” (Henry 1995:131). Hawthorn speaks of the less fashionable term image due to sever critic around 1970. At the same time critics ”still make considerable use of image and imagery” Hawthorn (2000:169). In the standard dictionary by Harris (1992:159ff.), in the conclusion of the article, an historical overview since Classical time, works are referred to that reflect upon the issue as part of the reality we experience. In the introduction it is underlined that a brief summary of the positions is a kind of travesty. In this paper we do not claim more than so.
[30] Mitchell 1986:3. ”The simplest way of stating this [Every theoretical answer to the question, What is an image (---) seemed inevitably to fall back into prior questions of value and interest] is to admit that a book which began with the intention of producing a valid *theory* of images became a book about the *fear* of images. ´Iconology´turned out to be, not just the the science of icons, but the political psychology of icons, the study of iconophobia, iconophilia, and the struggle between iconoclasm and idolatry.”

which it is concerned. But neither do written notes seem at first sight to be a picture of a piece of music, nor our phonetic notation (the alphabet) to be a picture of our speech. And yet these sign-languages prove to be pictures, even in the ordinary sense, of what they represent.[31]

The difficulties with the concepts for acts in the scene are seriously raised when we are to relate such connections to external historical contexts. We have founded this project in artefactual argumentation with today´s insights in archaeology in mind. We will soon return to that field.

Mitchell focused basic iconological problems. Esrock includes psychological insights and argues that competence to visualize verbal pictures strengthens the literary competence.[32] She is extra relevant for us since she notes that in the verbal-visual scholarly desolation, especially in America last century, until the seventies, the phenomenological approach was something of an exception. The phenomenologists stressed that reading involved ”an imaginative consciousness”.[33] In this context she finds one of her key concepts: phenomenography – a careful description of particular phenomena of various sorts, exactly as they are immediately encountered and experienced.[34] When we have integrated the scenes we have described them rather phenomenographically and let the composition of the pericope as such set the frame for the interpretation.

We find ourselves in a borderland between metaphorical and iconographical research. Since we have entered our project out of an artefactual aspect, analyzing the composition and genre, we will finish and conclude this part with the discussion on biblical studies and iconography by Hulster.[35] But when Hulster presents a method for iconographical exegesis he starts with the text and its history.[36] More precisely he counts

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[31] Wittgenstein (2011:4.01, 4.011). Mitchell (1986:18f.): ”If we eliminate the notion that there is something necessary, natural, or automatic about the formation of both mental and material images, then we can do as Wittgenstein suggests, and put them ’in the same category’ as functional symbols, or, as in our model, in the same logical space. This does not eliminate all differences between mental and physical images, but it may help to demystify the metaphysical or occult quality of this difference, and to allay our suspicion that mental images are somehow improper or illegimately modeled on the ’real thing’. The path of derivation from original model to illegitmate analogy could as easily be traced in the opposite direction.”

[32] Partly she follows Mitchell and describes the discussion out of the two mentioned positions, with her words ”pictorialists/descriptionalists”, see Esrock (1994:16). When she summarizes her investigation she finds seven reasons (1994:188-202): (1) Imaging affects memory. (2) Imaging clarifies spatial descriptions. (3) Imaging helps make a fictional world concrete. (4) Imaging evokes the psychodynamics of visions. (5) Imaging positions the reader within the text. (6) Imaging is a means of establishing a formal contrast. (7) Imaging is a means of producing semantic values. Esrock points out the question how personal experience is integrated with literary experience (Ibid:230).

[33] Esrock (1994:4) ”The phenomenological movement originating in Germany was something of an exception, insofar as reading was understood to involve an imaginative consciousness”.

[34] Esrock (1994:10) To this approach she adds a scientific: An empiric evident approach (psychology) together [!] with a hermeneutical approach.

[35] Hulster has (2010) treated the concept image/phantasy as hermeneutical key where we find parallels in the OT discussion to the study of Esrock. Hulster takes as his starting point Barth´s and Steck´s strict manual, including Brueggemann´s less strict use of the concept imagination. But it must be questionable if the concept as such is considered as a security for successful solutions. The final quotation of the article – by a NT-scholar (W.Loader 2007) – funtions primarily scrutinizingly (2010:136): ”We need to listen to them openly, including critically, allowing them to speak in their own terms and to be what they are without our prejudgements and prejudices, positive and negative. That demands discipline but also imagination”.

[36] The starting point in the model of Hulster is to define the story of the text though also the image and the theme as alternative starting points are presented. The argument, that such a starting point is more handable or practicle seems pragmatic but not very strong, see Hulster (2009a:139f., 142f.,

the contents or theme to be the first link between text and image. And then he is referred to ”the” culture.[37] So the frame is necessary for the parts.

In this part of the project we do not compare the Deuteronomistic material. Instead, after summary b. we will relate extra-biblical material. The major question is in which frame of context Chronicles is received. That the main interest would be a comparison with the Deuteronomistic variants seems less reasonable. We stick to the question what we see if we read Chronicles primarily out of a spatial aspect. Therefore the concepts with which we can speak of the scene are important.

3c. Summary b.

We have tested four main concepts to be able to relate the scenes:
Macro-scene - The consecration and the prayer (VI-VIII).
Micro-scene - The endorsement of the project and its localization (V).
Scene – The prayer in the night (II+IX).
Filling up – The resources of Solomon (III).
Depending on the zoom, certain scenes may work as macro-scenes as well as micro-scenes. The zoom is decided by the reader, the speed of reading is one of the factors that affects the image. Therefore we cannot escape the hermeneutical process.
We ask if we can we imagine how a composition like this can have been read in different contexts?

4a. 1 AND 2 CHRONICLES IN A GREEK- PERSIAN CONTEXT?

The context for our material is the world of the Second Temple period and into the Hellenistic period.[38] Is the Greek or the Persian world the closest? Where do the scenes function best to call for the attention of auditors? And there were people from the Persian as well as in the Greek world in Jerusalem.
First we consider an image concerning genealogies from the Greeks. Then we move to the world of Tyre, closer the Persian context and the borderland. We pay special attention to Herodotus History. Finally we examine images of cult.

Genealogical features

Drews studied Herodotus as historiographer on the border between the old Persian world and the new Greek commonwealth.[39] Drews refers a Socrates-conversation with a certain

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148f.). Priority to any artefactual aspect and then careful examinations of relevant questions should offer some kind of historicity.

[37] Hulster (2009a:144). Hulster refers a classical apporach interpreting *images* [my italics] under his section ”Text as Starting point” (Ibid:149ff.). It is clear that the border between image and textstudy is not thick.

In the same volume Hulster contributes with an article on the image as such. Our difficulties to offer a straight answer on images is confirmed (2009b:229ff). Parts of the categories of Mitchell are used. Hulster states on one hand that text and image are never the same. At the same time he announces three examples how they can be combined. Both can be understood as communication. And the metaphore in a material image can be compared with a verbal one. And finally how an object can be *described* as a literal verbal image as well as a material image *can be given* of the object [my italics], like a drawing.

[38] We localize the composition of Chronicles to Jerusalem in between the Persian and Hellenic era, in years BCE 400-200. If we mark years, there are many possibilities. Do we count local cultural context it is more realistic but also more difficult: ”During this period a number of groups of cultures met, such as: Demotic, Late Babylonian, Greek, Elamite, Old Persian, Phoenician and Aramaic” Hoglund (1991:54).

[39] Drews thesis is that Herodotus focuses heroes and heroic deads, a future constituting approach for history-writing, though not as a purpose of its own (1973:134f.). Herodotus’ History aims primarily to explain something of how the Great Event – the victories in the Persian wars - came about.

Hippias, sophist from Elis. Hippias seems to be disappointed that his students are not asking for astronomy, geometry or rhetoric but genealogies and the archaeology:

> When Socrates asks what it was that struck their fancy, Hippias answered: ’They take most pleasure, Socrates, in hearing about the genealogies of heroes and men, and about foundations—how cities were founded long ago—and in general about all archaeologia…’.[40]

Is this a sigh of Plato due to the influence of old times or is it a contemporary interest? If we right away compare with Herodotus we can state that there we see no lists of genealogies in the introduction. Herodotus starts with a problem or fact: how come war? According to Herodotus it was the Persians who blamed the Phoenicians. The Poenichians were said to have carried off Io, the daughter to king Inachus (H I.I.).

Tyre as feature

The city focused more than others in 1 and 2 Chronicles, after Jerusalem, especially with its composition in mind, is the Phoenician city Tyre. That city is a bridge between the old world and new Greek strength. Not being able to discuss a historicity of the Huram figure Tyre is considered as the second city after Jerusalem in Chronicles. Since cities and their kings were a main category doing history it is relevant to pay attention to something of a Tyrian history: Tyre was one of the bigger ports in the south of Phoenicia, founder of Phoenician colonies in the west as on Cyprus as of Carthage. The navy of Tyre is often named as an allied of the Persians. From Tyre there was a main road to Damascus. It offered an obstinate resistance to Alexander the Great. After a rapid recovery it became a Ptolemaic possession.[41]

Features of historiography between Hellas and Persia

The connection with Tyre hints that the Persian world was to be considered closer, not only – or even – geographically but as a reservation towards the Greek world. Was that of interest for the Chronicler? Would a person, well aware of interests, fond of Persia, feel more comfortable with 1 and 2 Chroncles? A globetrotter interesting in courting the Greeks, would he or she have preferred Chronicles as the link?[42]

In this period of transitions Herodotus´ work is highly relevant. A historiographical development in this period was initiated by the so-called logographers. Many of them came from Ionian cities; Hecataeus of Miletos is the most well known.[43] The Miletos of Hecataeus and the Halicarnassus of Herodotus were like outposts of Hellas towards the old Orient in more than just a geographical sense. It is evident that in this period new approaches towards narration and writing were born.[44]

The first classical historians began their career as geographers. Herodotus even ordered his material geographically since his investigations had to be as local visits

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[40] Drews (1973:147n.27). This is Drews´ own translation of Hippias Major 285D. When Plato had Socrates speak of archaeologia we have to keep in mind that it is not our modern word ‘archaeology’ that is meant. Greek archaeologia deals with the beginnings. Therefore the question of genealogies is one of the first questions formulated. Since Chronicles deals more than others with genealogies, interests of a contemporary audience are acknowledged.

[41] Jones (1996:1568).

[42] No doubt that Chronicles belongs to a context where Jerusalem was the major interest. But people acknowledging that – maybe sharing something of a Hebrew script – had probably more than one religious interest. Also the expectations among the scholars differ: ”The task of creating something like a three-dimensional model of Judean society is also complicated by the one-dimensional religious interests which inform this and other relevant biblical texts, especially where they speak of the Temple.” Blenkinsopp (1991:22).

[43] Pearson/Hornblower (1996:882).

[44] In the Oxford Classical Dictionary (OCD) where the article on ”logographers” is found, it is stated that study of the historiographical subject is developing and deepening. Between the second and third edition another article on Greek historiography was added, third edition 1996, see Hornblower (1996:714).

for information.[45] Their predecessors have been called the ”logographers”. Hecataeus of Miletos is the most well known. The work of the logographers can be classified under various headings:[46] (1) mythographic treatises (2) geographical works (3) accounts of the customs and history of non-Greek peoples (4) local histories (5) chronological works.

The geographical interest of the early Greek logographers also speaks for the priority of a spatial dimension. Meister stresses the pluralism of the historiographic genres:

> The manifold and multifold genres, which the Greek writers of history used, are a special feature of Greek historiography.[47]

Features of attending temples

The History is studied with the Text-elements that were found in the middle of Chronicles. All five groups have their counter-parts in Herodotus. Text-elements of temples are self-evident. Temples are a part of the historical image of Herodotus though not in the structural centre as in Chronicles. We find them already in the first part of the first Book where a burnt temple meant sickness for those responsible (H 1.19). Temple gifts are a feature of everyday life, in this case of Croesus´ (H 1.92). Herodotus particularly points out the difference to the Persians who do not raise statues, temples and altars (H 1.131).

We pay special attention to the text-element that concerns our shadows. Are there parallels? Consulting the oracles is a theme which recurs throughout Herodotus. We have noted 40 examples.[48] We do not claim to have identified all examples of different kinds of enquirings in our survey, but we have seen almost 40 examples, enough to allow nuances in the image to be discerned. When we compare these examples we can fill in part of the background of Herodotus. Most consultations concern requests to an oracle. Of these, most are to the oracle in Delphi, but from the first example it is clear that there were many oracles, some of whom were also situated in the world outside Hellas (H 1.46). We conclude that in the History of Herodotus asking oracles is a part of the story.

Features of cult

We finish this paper turning eastward concerning our problem with the images of cult.

Though the impression is that the Levites dominate in Chronicles, that may derive from a tendency in Chronicles to favour those who they are said to assist: the priests. Knoppers tries to solve the problem by singling out only two perspectives for viewing Chronicles: pro-Priestly or pro-Levitical. The pro-Priestly perspective comes from Priestly traditions; the pro-Levitical perspective comes from Deuteronomistic traditions.[49] Knoppers´ discussion situates us in-between the level of representation and source. Different interests should not surprise us in a real cultural context. The strong presence of prophetical images in Chronicles has been underlined. That should strengthen a Deuteronomistic interest. But as Petersen has pointed out, in the Persian period also prophetic texts on the Jerusalem temple are presented from a remarkable variety of perspectives.[50]

In the light of Persian temple culture it seems plausible to imagine different groups of temple servants. The magi of Cyrus ”never failed to sing hymns to the gods at daybreak…justified in reserving part of the booty for the gods”.[51] In the description of a royal procession of Darius III, the following image emerges:

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[45] Hornblower in the article ”Historiography.” (1996:714–715).
[46] Pearson/Hornblower (1996:882).
[47] Meister (1990:199). My translation.
[48] H 1.46f., 53, 54ff., 78, 85, 91, 158f., 174; ibid 2.18, 52, 83, 133, 174; ibid 3.57; ibid 4.150, 156, 159; ibid 5.1, 42, 43, 89, 90, 92, 114; ibid 6.19, 34, 57; ibid 7.140, 148, 189, 220; ibid 8.20, 77, 114, 133; ibid 9.41, 42ff., 43.
[49] Knoppers (1999:54).
[50] Peterson (1991:142).
[51] Briant (2002:245). Briant refers to Xenophon *Cyropaedia* (VIII.1.23; VII.3.1; VII.35.1), see Briant (2002:1141).

In front on silver altars was carried the fire, which they called sacred and eternal. Next came the Magi, chanting their traditional hymn. These were followed by three hundred and sixty-five young men clad in purple robes, equal in number to the days of a whole year; for the Persians also divided the year into that number of days.[52]

There may have been many temple servants needed in the re-established temple or at least a report on many. There were people curious on cult issues. Herodotus showed a special interest in these traditions as we have seen. The existence of singing temple servants is known: the question is rather in which way the songs were performed. Herodotus especially described the Egyptian priests:

They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation….The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus…Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But they also receive many benefits…sacred food is cooked for them…Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when he dies his son succeeds to his office.[53]

Bringing forward the phenomena of magi, Chaldeans, the Egyptian priests and Greek diviners, we do not claim to establish dependencies. But we can refine our picture of the cultural context. The Persians had magi who sang as a part of the ritual. Herodotus tells that the sacrificer prepared and the magi confirmed:

He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having boiled the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition[no/moj] relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian.[54]

Which cultural context is the closest when it comes to comparisions with our pericope? Unfortunately we cannot yet draw a conclusion. Probably it would work in all three cultures mentioned with more or less serious reservations heard. However, at the moment it is enough with the performed comparison.

b. Summary on Greek-Persian Contexts.

Which of the Geek or the Persian contexts are the closer to our scenes?

The History of Herodotus is especially relevant for us as comparative material since it situates us on the border between Greek and Persian culture. The phenomena of genealogies and consultations with the divine are present in both compositions. The presence of Tyre in the biblical material confirms an eastern interest. Culture-texts are present everywhere in the period, probably with distinct comments on each one´s agendas.

We have not been able to determine, yet, which scenes that are the most relevant for a comparative study in this historiographical project.

5. SUMMARY OF THE PAPER.

With which concepts can literal scenes be described – see summary a, page 9. With which concepts can scenes be related – see summary b, page 12.

We have reflected upon the background in an imaginable scene. We have tried to figure out what these verbal images look like and with which concepts their relations can and should be described. We have seen that many of these scenes have counterparts in surrounding cultural contexts: Greek, Persian and even Egyptian.

In the paper these parallels are preliminary for further sharper distinctions concerning the concept with which we handle the scenes. Thank you for your attention.

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[52] Briant (2002:188). Briant refers to Quintus Curtius *History of Alexander* (III.3.9–11), see Briant (2002:1137).

[53] H 2.38.

[54] H 1.132.

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No Marriage in "Prophetic Marital Metaphors"

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I. Introduction

The term "prophetic marital metaphor" is used in biblical scholarship to classify passages in several prophetic books, such as Hosea, Micha, Nahum, and Maleachi as well as Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The term is used as a generic name.[1] It links texts, which are supposed to share a common motif: YHWH and a female personification who represents a geographical location and/or its people are alleged to be depicted as a married or at least betrothed couple. The scenes of (sexual) violence against the textual woman that appear in the relevant texts are understood as the conventional corporal penalization of an adulteress wife (or even as part of an ancient divorce procedure). At the end, so the mainstream interpretation, the textual woman receives the graceful offer of forgiveness and remarriage. The so-called "prophetic marital metaphors" thus are interpreted in terms of a plot that is organized around a motif of covenant, apostasy, just and deserved punishment and a promise of renewed and eternal covenant.

Against this common interpretation, some scholars have recently found the term "prophetic marital metaphor" to be problematic. Keefe (2001)[2], for example, has highlighted that the relevant texts comprise a variety of images that go far beyond marital imagery. She therefore suggested to introduce the term "family metaphor"[3] instead. The term "prophetic marital metaphor" has been challenged again by Moughtin-Mumby (2008).[4] From a metaphor theoretical perspective she argued that there was no unified formula or plot that could be referred to as "prophetic marital metaphor." Moreover, Moughtin-Mumby also points out that explicit marital metaphors were rare in prophetic books.[5]

Yet, neither scholar challenges the reading of the texts that assumes the portrayal of a relationship between husband and adulterous wife. Moreover, they also

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[1] Cf. Description of state of the art in Baumann,Gerlinde (2000), *Liebe und Gewalt. Die Ehe als Metapher für das Verhältnis JHWH, Israel in den Prophetenbüchern*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 185. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 51.

[2] Keefe, Alice A. (2001), *Woman's Body and the Social Body in Hosea*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 338. London: Sheffield Academic Press.

[3] Keefe (2001), 13.

[4] Mougthin-Mumby, Sharon (2008), *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel*. Oxford Theological Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[5] See discussion in Moughtin-Mumby (2008),132-133.

remain within an interpretative tradition in which (sexual) violence against a woman is, as a matter of course, understood as conventional practice and as a natural consequence for *her own* failures. They, like all other exegetes, never acknowledge the scandalous dimension the ancient reader (though apparently not the contemporary reader!) might have sensed when confronted with scenes of violence against an innocent and rather defenseless person, such as an unmated women and/or prostitute, or children and a widow in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors".

In an earlier paper I have argued that there is no evidence in ancient Near Eastern material (including biblical texts) where sexual violence, such as publically stripping a woman naked or other measures as they are portrayed in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors", is described as a feature of legal divorce procedures or the penalization of an adulteress.

Furthermore, I have argued that at least Hos 2 - which is often considered as a key text within the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors" - does not deal with the issue of *adultery* at all. Based on a close reading of the text as well as on a cognitive analysis of the root *znh* (to prostitute oneself, to be a prostitute, to exist as unmated woman), I have argued that no marital relationship between the textual woman and the male character is assumed in Hos 2. Thus, there is no possible transgression of marital obligations in Hos 2, which could entail legal punishment. Hence, it makes sense that neither the text (not its commentaries!) calls the textual woman an “adulteress”. Instead she is referred to as a "prostitute", i.e. an unmated woman with children, who is said to have many lovers from which she receives material goods.

Based on this analysis, I have argued that the ancient reader must have understood Hos 2 in terms of violence against an innocent person (as opposed to a conventional punishment). This must have been even more scandalous for the ancient audience, the addressees of the text, since they are *indentified* with the textual woman that is threatened to be (sexually) violated without having any understanding that she (and hence they!) have committed any crime that deserves such penalization.

In previous OTSEM sessions I have been asked whether I would argue that <u>all</u> so-called "prophetic marital metaphors" <u>do not</u> assume a marital relationship between YHWH and the textual woman. Would I argue that there is no imagery of marriage, adultery and divorce in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors" <u>at all</u>? And would I argue that <u>none</u> of the violent actions are to be understood as just and deserved punishment?

My answer and hypothesis, for which I will argue in this paper is this: *marriage* and respectively *adultery* is indeed not a key motif in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors." Explicit references to the semantic field of *marriage* (resp. *adultery*) are rare.[6] Moreover, in most relevant texts violence against the textual woman is not tied to the idea of *adultery*, understood as the transgression or violation of a husband's marital rights. In other words, (sexual) violence against the textual woman must not be understood as the deserved punishment for a crime that she has committed. What is portrayed in the relevant texts is quite different from what has been assumed: the image the ancient audience is confronted with is the portrayal of violence that has – as they must have understood it - no legal justification. What the violated people instead have in common is exactly that they are not under (male) custodianship and most likely among the weakest in society, such as unmated women, prostitutes, widows and children.

Additionally, there are only three texts (out of fifteen!) in which the textual woman is actually accused of adultery - among other crimes such as murder and child-sacrifice- for which she is punished: these texts are Jer 2:1-4:4, Ezek 16 and Ezek 23. What *these* texts have in common though is that they all address the fate of Jerusalem/ Judah and not Samaria/Israel (as in Hos 2). Thus, Israel resp. Samaria (alone) is never portrayed as YHWH's (adulterous) wife, but as a prostitute. Moreover, the accusation of *adultery* in those three texts seems to have the same rhetoric function as the accusation of child-sacrifice and murder. It is also interesting that Jer 2:1-4:4 as well as Ezek 16 and 23 seem to *presuppose* Hos 2 and actively reinterprete and adjust it to new contexts. Traits that lead to this hypothesis are: first, the texts use motifs and terms from Hos 2. Second, even the prostitution focus is preserved in them. Third, the texts exhibit an understanding that prostitution itself is not a crime and that violence against an unmated woman (respectively [not-YHWH-venerating] Israel) has been understood as abuse and violation.

In the following, I will thus - like Keefe and Moughtin-Mumby, albeit based on different paradigms - challenge the "prophetic marital metaphors" interpretation of the texts. As textual sources I will focus on texts from the books of Isaiah (1:21; 23:15-18; 50:1; 54:1-6; 57:6-13; 62:4-5), Micha (1:6-7), Nahum (3:4-7); Maleachi

[6] This has been already recognized by scholars such as Keefe or Moughtin-Mumby.

(2:10-16) as well as Ezekiel (16 and 23) and Jeremiah (2:1-4:4; 13:20-27) and once again the book of Hosea (2 and 9:1).[7]

II. *Marriage* respectively *adultery* is not the key motif in the so called "prophetic marital metaphors"

II.1 Marital language in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors"

Among those scholars who have criticized the term "prophetic marital metaphor" and claimed that explicit marital language was rare in these texts, nobody - as far as I'm aware of - has actually listed the few occurrences of actual marital language in those passages. And in fact: the result of scrutinizing the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors" for actual expressions or terms that belong to the semantic field of *marriage* is rather disillusioning. Expressions or roots that explicitly refer to marriage resp. marrying somebody are very rare. While the expression *lkh* [*isha*] does not appear at all,[8] the root *b'l*, which can - under certain circumstances - be translated as referring to a marital relationship, appears eleven times in the relevant texts.[9] Yet, one has to be careful to translate *b'l* in terms of *marriage* in these contexts, for the verb can also mean to "take a woman as sexual partner" or simply "to be lord, rule" or even

[7] There are more texts that are understood in light of the "prophetic marital metaphor", e.g.: Isa 49:15-23; 51:17-52:2; Jer 30-31; Mi 1:4 and Zeph 3:14-17. cf. Baumann (2000), 51. They, however, as Baumann states do not include the relevant termini at all. Thus, I leave these texts outside in this paper.

[8] NRSV translates Hos 2:21-22 (in NRSV: vv. 19-20!) as if the Hebrew would read *lkh isha*. It, however, reads *'rs* (to betroth). There are only two occurrences of *lkh* (*isha*/*Gomer*) in Hos 1. Hos 1, however, does not belong to the marital metphors, but is a sign-act narrative. This is why I don't deal with it here. Of course one could argue, that in the final composition Hos 2, which belongs to the socalled "prophetic marital metaphors, cannot be treated separtedly from Hos 1. Even in this situation, however, I argue that Hos 1 only tells that the prophet Hosea marries a woman called Gomer. Whether Gomer is the *eschet zenunim* (v.2) is not clear. Marrying Gomer might as well be the introduction to a new sign act narrative that evolves around giving birt, weaning and naming Gomer's (and Hosea's?) children. An argument that supports this is that the command in v. 2 is not equivalent with the story about Hosea, Gomer and their children (vv. 3 -9). Furthermore it is unclear whether *lkh* in v.2 denotes the command to marry. It could also just be the command to "take her" (and her children!), try to get hold of her (which seems to be an impossibility for she is running away from him, just as Israel runs away from YHWH). Even if Hosea is commanded to marry the woman, my hypothesis is still not affected: My hypothesis is that the socalled "prophetic marital metaphors" - if at all - do not describe an an already existing marital relationship, which could be violated and therefore entail punishment. And even if one was to read Hos 1:3 as the fullfilment of the command in v. 2 and therefore as actual marriage, it would have no effect on my reading of Hos 2: first, it is god's message that is performed in a sign-act (not: the prophet represents YHWH in his entity, such as e.g. as a husband); second, the message of the sign act in Hos 1:2 is to perform the situation between YHWH and Israel, which is that Israel is running away from YHWH (cf. Hos 3:3-4: Israel shall be without a man), and third, right at the beginning of Hos 2 (v.4) the male speaker explicitly states that he is not the textual woman's husband and she is not his wife. This is why he pushes the woman's children to argue against her, for he, has no right to do so. Cf. footnote 38.

[9] Isa 54:1-6 (2 x: vv. 1. 5), 62:4-5: (3x); Hos 2 (4 x: vv. 10, 15, 18, 19); Mal 2:10-16 (1x: v. v.12).

"to do, make" and as a noun it can be translated as "lord, husband, owner, possessor", respectively "owner, possessor, controller" when it is the feminine form.[10] Given this, it seems to me that the overall *profile-base-relation*[11] of *b'l* denotes "somebody who is associated with somebody or something in a way that s/he is in charge over her/him/it." Thus, the overall *profile-base-relation* of *b'l* might be "to have somebody/ something."[12] The following is an outline of the occurrences of the root *b'l* in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors":

Let me start with Isa 54:1-11. Although most translations render the feminine participal of *b'l* in Isa 54:1 as "married one", this translation is not obligatory. In the immediate context of Isa 54:1-11 it would in fact make more sense to leave the concept of marriage aside. Instead it would be better to translate it in v. 1 as "the one that has children", since there is no evidence that Isa 54:1-11 describes a marital relationship. Instead, it talks about a widow that is barren and therefore has no children. She receives the promise that "the desolate will have more children than the one that [already] has [children]" (not: "than the married one"!). Thus, the "desolate" [= "the barren [...] who did not give birth" (v.1)], stands in opposition to the "one who has [children]" (v.1). The focus in this translation is on having children (or not) and not on being married. In this context, the latter would not make much sense anyway, for the textual woman's own case shows that being married does not guarantee children.

In Isa 54:5 there is another occurrence of the root *b'l*, which again is often translated in terms of *marriage*. The NRSV translates:

> For your Maker is your husband, the LORD of hosts is his name;
> the Holy One of Israel is your Redeemer, the God of the whole earth he is called.

Although the sequence of words is reversed in this translation, it seems that the root *b'l* is rendered as "husband" - just like in ELBER or other translations of the bible. The NRSV translation, however, (probably involuntarily) hints at a different translation of *b'l.* Since *b'l* and *'sh* can be used as synonyms one could translate: "for your maker/ the one you belong to [*b'l*, qal pt m pl contsr] is your creator [*'sh*, qal pt.

[10] Cf. Clines, David J. A. (ed.), *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, Sheffield Academic Press: Sheffield 1995: 237-240.
[11] This is a term from cognitive linguistics, which I use in my dissertation. Cf. Wolde, Ellen van (2009), *Reframing Biblical Studies. When Language and Text Meet Culture*, *Cognition, and Context*. Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns.
[12] A detailed analysis of the cognitive matrix of the root *b'l* will follow later.

m. pl. contsr.]." Thus, it is not necessary to insert the concept of *marriage* respectively the image of YHWH as a husband. But even if one were to interpret Isa 54:1-11 in terms of marriage, it certainly does not deal with *adultery* or *remarriage*. Instead it talks about a widow (v. 6) who has been "left behind [*'zv*]" by YHWH (v.7) and who has encountered YHWH's "overflowing wrath" (v.8).

Further occurrences of the root *b'l* appear in Isa 62:4-5 (4x). Again they are usually translated in terms of marital language. The NRSV reads:

> Isa 62:4: You shall no more be termed Forsaken, and your land shall no more be termed Desolate; but you shall be called My Delight Is in Her, and your land Married [*b'l*]; for the LORD delights in you, and your land shall be married [*b'l*].
> Is. 62:5: For as a young man marries [*b'l*] a young woman, so shall <u>your builder</u> [! this is a revision made by NRSV; BHS reads: "your sons"] marry [*b'l*] you, and as the bridegroom rejoices over the bride, so shall your God rejoice over you.

Again, the question arises whether it is necessary and whether it even makes sense to translate *b'l* in terms of marriage and not more generally in terms of possessing and belonging. Isa 62:5 clearly uses the terms bridegroom (*chatan*) and bride (*kalla*) and compares the bridegroom's rejoicing over his bride to how YHWH will rejoice over Jerusalem/Zion. However, Isa 62:4-5 does not portray YHWH as a husband and Jerusalem/Zion as his wife. Jerusalem/Zion, that is personified as a woman, is not said to be married to YHWH. In fact, if one were to translate *b'l* in terms of marriage, she would be married by her sons (!) (v.5) as would her land be married (v.4). About her relationship to YHWH it is only said that he will "delight in" her and thus will call her "My Delight Is in Her." So the focus here is on delight and rejoicing not on marriage or the establishment of a covenant. It can thus be concluded that although marital language does appear in Isa 62:4-5 it does not appear in the sense that describes a relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem in terms of a marital covenant (that entails obligations and could be broken and punished).

The root *b'l* also appears four times in Hos 2 (vv. 10, 15, 18, 19). Here, however, the term never gets associated with marriage, for either it represents a name in plural (vv. 15, 19) or it refers to YHWH's rival (v.10). Since the extra-textual lense through which exegetes read this text already assumes a marital relationship between YHWH and the textual female, translating *b'l* in terms of marriage is no option for most commentators. In my own reading it also would not make much sense to translate *b'l* as "husband", since I argue that the woman is unmated. Translating *b'l* as husband would - if at all- only make sense in v. 18. Here it is said that the woman will call YHWH "not my *b'l* (Baal? husband?*)",* but "my man." This statement might refer

back to v. 9 which names "my first man." This "first man," however is not YHWH (cf. v. 10) and most likely he is not her (first) husband, for she is a prostitute who is said to have many lovers. So he is just the "first man" out of many men.[14] So, no matter how we decide some of these issues, *b'l* in Hos 2 never denotes a marital relationship between YHWH and the textual woman.

Finally, the root *b'l* appears in Mal 2:10-16. But here too it does not (not even metaphorically) refer to a marital relationship between YHWH and a wife. Instead it appears in a critique of intermarriage between "Judah and the daughters of foreign gods" (v.12).

We have thus the following conclusion: in three occurrences (out of eleven) one could consider translating *b'l* in terms of *marriage*, namely in Isa 54:5, Hos 2:10, and Hos 2:18. But even if we were to do so, there would be only one occurrence in which *b'l* refers to YHWH: Isa 54:5 presents YHWH as husband-*to*-*be*. Translating Hos 2:18 as "husband" would, however, once again confirm that the image that is supposed to represent the relationship between YHWH and Israel is explicitly not that of a husband and a wife (cf. Hos 2:4 and Hos 3).[15] Overall, this means that none of the relevant texts assumes an existing marital relationship between YHWH and a wife, who could have been punished due to violation of her marital obligations. The violence against the textual female thus must not be understood as consequence of her breaking a commitment, and therefore must neither be understood as conventional nor as a just and deserved punishment.

The same can be said about the occurrence of the term *berit*. If the term appears at all, it appears only in a promise of a future condition. It never refers to an existing commitment between YHWH and the textual woman that has been broken by her and therefore entails punishment (cf. Hos 2:20; Isa 54:10; Mal 2:5).

There is only one exception: Ezekiel 16. In vv. 8, 59, 60a an existing *covenant* between YHWH and the personified city of Jerusalem (!not Israel/ Samaria!) is explicitly mentioned. Metaphorically it is expressed in terms of a sexual act (v.8),[16] as well as in the act of anointing and garnishing her (vv.9-13). This description could be interpreted as part of a marriage procedure.[17] Additionally,

[14] See also my paper OTSEM 2010 for a more detailed discussion of this term.
[15] See my reading below.
[16] Cf. the story of Ruth and Boas in the book of Ruth.
[17] Are there other ancient Israelite or Near Eastern evidences that could show that this is ritual connected to marriage?

Jerusalem (!not Israel/ Samaria!) is explicitly accused of having broken the *covenant* (v. 59) and is offered a new eternal one (vv. 60b-63). Moreover, the violent actions against the personified city are understood as punishment for her own wrong-doings (vv. 36-37, 38-41, 58-59), which include the explicit mention of adultery (vv. 32, 38). The image of adultery, however, is neither the core motif, nor the only crime she is accused of. It rather appears as a rhetoric device next to accusations of blood shedding (v. 38) and child-sacrifice (vv. 20-21,), which are attributed to her, in order to amplify the critique and polemics against what is perceived as idolatry (vv. 16-21, 24a) or cooperation with foreign nations (vv. 24b-29).[18] Similar to Jer 2:1-4:4[19] the root *znh* (to prostitute oneself, be/play a harlot, to be an unmated woman who has sexual relationships), which dominates Ezek 16, is reinterpreted in terms of adultery and used as a homonym for *n'f* (to commit adultery). Thus prostitution, which is no crime per se, is reinterpreted and associated with crimes that are subject to punishment.

Reading Ezek 16 strongly reminds of Hos 2. Indeed it reads as if it was a follow-up to Hos 2: it includes similar or sometimes even the same expressions and motifs.[20] The *prostitution* motif is one of them. It also seems, however, that Ezek 16 deliberately and actively rereads and reinterprets motifs from Hos 2 from a Judahite perspective and adjusts it to a new context: Jerusalem's fate is interpreted in terms of punishment for its misdeeds. The major new tendencies compared to Hos 2 are:

1) a covenant (marriage?) between YHWH and the textual woman/ Jerusalem is assumed; 2) Jerusalem is accused of having broken the covenant; 3) the prostitution motif is explicitly reinterpreted in terms of adultery and associated with other crimes (murder and child-sacrifice); 4) violent action is understood as deserved punishment; 5) a (new) covenant is offered.

Overall, it seems that it is this text has become the canonical lense through which contemporary exegetes read all the other texts that have been subsumed under the expression "prophetic marital metaphor."

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[18] The relevant text does not simply talk about prostitution as a crime that has to be punished. Instead, certain strategies are used that make it possible to convert prostitution into adultery and thus associate it with other crimes, which are subject to punishment. I have already addressed this issue, with regard to Jer 2:1-4:4, in my OTSEM paper from 2010. A more detailed analysis of Ezek 16 and 23 will follow. One aim that is connected to this enterprise is to learn more about dependencies between the texts that have been formerly understood as "prophetic marital metaphors."

[19] See below.

[20] Needs more work: References will be inserted later.

Explicit references to *divorce* (or rather the verb *shlch* = to send away, to divorce) appear also not in all of the texts, but only in Mal 2:10-16 (v.16), Isa 50:1 (3x), and Jer 2:1-4:4 (2x: Jer 3:1, 8). Maleachi 2:10-16 mentions many terms that have been identified as typical characteristics for the "prophetic marital metaphor" (covenant, divorce [*shlch*], violence against Judah). Mal 2, however, does *not* use an image that describes the relationship between YHWH and a textual woman. Instead, it criticizes Judah for intermarriage with "daughters of foreign gods" (v. 11), which is understood as "being unfaithful towards the woman of [Judah's] youth" (vv. 14-15). The term *berit* refers either to a *covenant* between YHWH and Levi (vv. 4, 5, 8) or to a *covenant* between Judah and the wife of his youth (v. 14), which has been broken by Judah. *Covenant*, however, is not equated with a marital relationship between YHWH and Judah. YHWH is not Judah's wife of his youth, who has been left behind (divorced?). Instead he is the one who has witnessed the breaking of a covenant between them (v. 14). Furthermore it is not the textual woman who is punished by YHWH, but the "husband", who leaves the woman of his youth behind (divorces her?) and commits adultery[21]. This is the context in which the statement "for I hate divorce (*schlch*), says the LORD, the God of Israel [...]" (v. 16) has to be understood.

Another passage, which refers to *divorce* is Isaiah 50:1. Here, the terms "bill of divorce" (*sefer keritut)* as well as the root *shlch* (2x) appear. The context they appear in is a rhetorical question. The rhetorical question as well as what follows in v. 1 states that YHWH has not divorced the textual woman ("your mother")- due to her fault. Instead, it is said that she "has been sent away" because of the crimes committed by her children. In addition, the motif of a trial against an innocent person is taken up again in v. 8. Thus, it can be concluded that although the motif of *divorce* (or at least "sending a woman away") is associated with YHWH and a textual woman in Isa 50:1 the image does not fit in the "prophetic marital metaphor" mould, in which violent punishment is supposed to be part of a divorce procedure in order to revenge her adultery.

The only text that actually combines a *divorce* between YHWH and Israel (!) with the accusation of adultery is Jer 2:1-4:4 or rather Jer 3:1-8. Jeremiah 2:1-4:4, like Ezek 16, reads like a reinterpretation or follow up to Hos 2: the story in Hos 2 is adjusted to a Judahite context that actually describes Jerusalem's (not Israel's!) fate.

[21] The term adultery is not mentioned in the text.

Thus, the fate of Israel is postum reinterpreted in terms of marriage, divorce and adultery. The fact that Israel's/ Samaria's fate has *not always* been understood as just punishment for her misdeeds (cf. Hos 2) indeed is countered in Jer 2-3 with great effort.[23]

Further passages that could be associated with *divorce* are Isa 62:4-5 and 54:1-11 (3x: vv. 6-7) as well as Hos 2:4. Isaiah 62:4-5, however, does not use the root *shlch* (to send sb. away, divorce sb.), but *ʿzv* (to forsake, leave alone, leave behind). As

[23] From my paper OTSEM 2010: " Jer 2-3, which seems to draw upon topics presented in the book of Hosea, picks up and *counters* exactly a view according to which the Israelites understand themselves as innocent, as not having sinned and as, therefore, not deserving the anger. The implied reader's interjection is explicitly quoted when Jer 2:35 addresses its readership directly by saying: "Yet *you say*, because I am innocent/free (נקה), surely his anger shall turn from me […] *you say*, I have not sinned." Furthermore, it is only here (not in Hos 2) that the verb ריב is (re)used in such a way that Judah's (constructed parallel to Israel's) self-perception as being innocent *is* the reason why YHWH pleads against them. In addition, Jer 2 shows an awareness of the necessity to *re-read* and *explain* Hos 2 in terms of divorce and remarriage in order to justify the accusation of apostasy: unlike Hos 2:4, Jer 3 (explicitly) explains that YHWH has divorced Israel. It is *inserted* that YHWH explicitly says "I had put her away, and given her a bill of divorce" (Jer 3:8). Thus, the gap in Hos 2:4 is filled.

Moreover, Jer 3:1 pays account to the fact that a reinterpretation of Hos 2 in terms of divorce and remarriage – which (as already mentioned) according to Deut 24:4 is a legal impossibility – requires a further explanation that counters another explicitly quoted interjection that could be made by the implied audience: "*They say*, If a man puts away his wife, and she goes from him, and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? shall not that land be greatly polluted?" In the following the idea that remarriage after a divorce is impossible is relativized and reinterpreted, by rereading Hos 2:4;7;9 and 16-25 in terms of Judah's (former Israel's) great pollution and YHWH's gracefulness. This is achieved by mentioning YHWH's explicit command to Judah to "return again to me" although "you have played the harlot with many lovers."

A further explanation for such a re-interpretation that reads זנה in Hos 2 (and Hos 1) in terms of adultery – and thus within the frame of already existing marital relationship - is required. The re-interpretation proceeds in several steps that gradually replaces and re-interprets זנה: first, unlike in Hos 2:4; 7 and Hos 1:2, the verb נאפ instead of זנה is used in order to characterize Israel's behavior in Jer 3:8. The term whoring" (זנה; Jer 3:8) that describes Israel's behavior towards YHWH described in Hos 1:2;2:4,7 is now eliminated and replaced by the term "backsliding." This "backsliding", then, gets explained in terms of a marital relationship (and no longer in terms of "harlotry"). Overall then, the depiction of Israel, portrayed as an autonomous prostitute is *purposefully* and *deliberately turned into* the image of an adulterous wife. This portrayal of a marital relationship, then, gets emphasized again in the same verse by reinterpreting Hos 2:4ff as speaking about a divorce. In addition Jer 3:8 even more exhibits an awareness of the fact that זנה and נאפ can not simply be understood as denoting one and the same thing, by attributing adultery (נאפ) and harlotry (זנה) to separate cases: as we saw earlier, Jer 3:8 does not simply read "harlotrous Israel committed adultery" but introduces the expression "backsliding Israel" as a bridge. Furthermore, נאפ and זנה are not (immediately) attributed to the same female personifications (נאפ gets attributed to Israel; and זנה to Judah). It is thus clear that before merging (what must have been perceived as) two mutually exclusive cases into homonyms, some further effort had to be made, in order to justify usage such as the one introduced in Jer 3:9. The justification of this merging appears right here where the terms are equated for the first time. Jer 3:9 introduces the idea that נאפ and זנה are to be read as homonyms by creating a bridge that units the two expressions: Judah's "harlotry" is equated with "adultery," by explicitly emphasizing the idea that both females are "defiled" (חנפ).

To sum up, a comparison of Hos 2 with Jer 2-3 shows that great efforts on the part of Jer 2-3 were necessary in order to turn "harlotery" into marital language. There probably are theological reason behind this: Jeremiah goal is to portray the relationship between YHWH and Israel/Judah as if it had always been institutionalized and to counter injections made by a readership that exhibit a different understanding (i.e. one more similar to what gets portrayed in Hos 2).

mentioned earlier,[24] marriage or even re-marriage is not a motif that actually describes the relationship between YHWH and the textual woman in Isa 62:4-5. The same holds for Isa 54:1-11. It is again the root *'zv* (to forsake, leave alone, leave behind) - as opposed to *shlch* (to send away, to divorce) - that is used in vv. 6-7. In the context of Isa 54, "to be forsaken" or "left behind", however, does not refer to a divorce (due to her adultery), but to her widowhood (v.5) and her being without offspring (v.1). Additionally, the root *m's* (to refuse, reject, despise) appears in v. 6, which is not used for divorce, but usually refers to the rejection of men (by god), or god (by men) or the rejection of idols or knowledge.

Moreover - as I have also argued in a previous paper[25]- Hos 2:4-15* is - against its prevalent contemporary reading - not the portray of a divorce procedure. In fact, as I have argued, there is not sufficient evidence for assuming a marital relationship and/or a divorce. Instead, all evidence within Hos 2 hints at a relationship between an unmated woman (a prostitute) and her violent suitor.[26]

Other Hebrew terms or expressions that explicitly refer to a (pre-)marital relationship (= *engagement*) are the root *'rs* (to betroth) and the terms *chatan* (bridegroom) and *kalla* (bride).[27] These expressions, however, are quite rare in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors." The root *'rs* appears only three times in Hos 2 (vv. 21-22)[28]. The terms *chatan* (bridegroom) and *kalla* (bride) appear only in Isa 62:5,[29] which reads "[...] as the bridegroom rejoices over the bride, so shall your God rejoice over you." (NRSV). The rejoicing of the bridegroom here clearly is a conventional image used to describe great gladness and joy.[30] Thus the simile does not play with the bride-bridegroom image, but with the image of joy. Thus, it can be concluded that in the few texts where *engagement* actually appears as a motif, it neither refers to preexisting (pre-)marital relationship between YHWH and the

[24] See above.
[25] See my OTSEM paper from 2010.
[26] See my OTSEM paper from 2010.
[27] In addition to that, the term "woman of your youth" and the expression "days of her youth" (combined with the "exodus-motif") clearly needs further research, for it can not be simply pressed into the "prophetic marital metaphor" mould and read as refering to the good old days of covenant/ marriage/engagment between YHWH and Israel (before she commited adultery). It rather seems to me that there is no unified meaning of these terms in the texts that belong to the socalled "prophetic marital metaphors."
[28] NRSV translates this passage as if the Hebrew text would read *lkh 'isha.*
[29] There are more occurrences of the *chatan* in Isaiah (61:10) as well as *chatan* and *kalla* in Jeremiah (7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11). However, they do neither portrayal a (pre)marital relationship between YHWH and a textual woman nor do they express the claim to marital obligations.
[30] Cf. Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11: "the voices of a bridegroom and a bride" serves as an image that represents "gladness."

textual woman nor serves as justification for punishment. Instead it merely provides a simile and/or envisions and promises a future state (Hos 2:21-22).

Depending on the interpretation of *qr'* (to call) and *gvtz* (to gather) as well as the root *b'l* [31] and *g'l* (to redeem; act as kinsman) Isa 54:5-7 might also (but does not necessarily have to) be read in terms of engagement or/and (re)marriage. Still, it again does not refer to an existing state and does not serve as justification for violence. Instead we see a promise to a widow.

There is also no explicit Hebrew term that would refer to remarriage, which makes sense in light of the prohibition of remarriage after a divorce in Deut 24:4, which is also mirrored in the audience's implied objection in Jer 3:1.[32]

Additional terms that might potentially refer to a husband-wife relationship are the terms *'ish* and *'isha*. In most cases, however, it is not clear whether they refer to a husband or a wife respectively or rather simply denote a man or a woman in general.[33] Interpretations here, like in some of the other cases, often get stuck in a hermeneutic cycle: the marriage/adultery lense colors the text in light of marriage and adultery. So, let's again take a look at what we can actually find in the texts.

Most occurrences of *'ish* (man, husband) in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors can be found in Hos 2 (vv. 4, 9, 18).[34] I have dealt with this issue already in a previous paper[35] and highlighted that in v. 4, right at the beginning of Hos 2, it is in fact explicitly said that YHWH and the textual woman are not husband and wife ("...for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband." NRSV). Moreover, the expression *'ish-i ha-rischon* (v. 9) does not refer to YHWH, but to one of her lovers, for v.10 continues by stating that she does not recognize that (in his opinion) he has been the one who has supported her (v.10) - as opposed to "the first man", to whom she will want to return (according to him) in order to escape YHWH's harrasment (vv. 8-9). So, in the very unlikely case that *'ish* denotes a husband, and not one of the prostitute's many lovers, the "(first) husband" would not be YHWH. In v.18 it is similarly unclear whether *'ishi* means "my husband" or "my man." Things get even

[31] See above.
[32] Cf. my paper OTSEM 2010.
[33] Cf. above: the case of the root *b'l*.
[34] There are also occurences of term *'ish* in Jer 2:1-4:4 (2:6;3:1;4:3-4) as well as in Ezek 16 (vv. 32.45) and Ezek 23 (vv. 14. 40.42.45). I will skip an analysis of the term for now, since it has already become obvious that these texts assume a marital relationship between YHWH and Jerusalem. Thus a close analysis would neither contribute to support nor falsify my hypothesis.
[35] Cf. my paper OTSEM 2010.

more complicated since *'ishi* is used in opposition to *ba'ali*, which could either be translated as "my husband" or "my master" or could refer to the name Baal. Let us for now work with the translation offered by NRSV[36], which reads:[37] "On that day, says the LORD, you will call me, "My husband," [*'ishi]* and no longer will you call me, "My Baal [*ba'ali*]." But even if one were to translate *'ishi* as "my husband" this would by no means justify the violence against the textual woman, who (in her own-self-understanding and also in the understanding of the ancient audience, who she is supposed to represent) is not a married woman but an (unmated) "prostitute" and therefore has no husband whom she owes something.

The situation of the term *'isha* is similar. The term can denote both a woman in general or a wife. In the relevant texts the term *'isha* appears in Hos 2:4[38], Jer 13:21, Mal 2:14 -15 and Isa 54:6.[39] As mentioned before, Hos 2:4 introduces the so-

[36] NRSV: Hos 2: 16 (BHS: Hos 2:18).

[37] I myself would try to read: "On that day, says YHWH, you will call me, 'my man' [as opposd to the "first man" mentioned in v.9], and no longer shall (!) you call me 'my master'. Cf. Hos 3:3-4, which also aims to a situation in which the textual woman does not belong to any man - the male speaker included. The idea is that the woman represents "the Israelites [who] shall remain many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar, without ephod or teraphim." (Hos 3:4). Hosea 3:3, furthermore, is an example that demonstrates that term *'ish* must not necessarily be understood as "husband", even if it is associated with a relationship between a woman and a man. Hos 3:3 can either be read "you shall not prostitute yourself/play the harlot and belong to [literally: be for] a **man**, and so will I [be] towards you" or "you shall not prostitute yourself/play the harlot and belong to [literally: be for] a **husband**, and so will I [be] towards you." No matter which translation we choose the message remains that she is and is supposed to be an unmated woman, who shall not belong to a man/husband. As mentioned earlier in this paper it would further be interesting to do more research on the cognitive grammar behind the root *b'l*.

[38] I will not deal with Hos 1:2 and Hos 3:1 here, for Hos 1 and 2 do not belong to the "prophetic marital metaphors", but to the prophetic sign-act-narratives. Nevertheless, it can be briefly said with regard to Hos 1:2 that the term *'isha* appears in the constructus form *eschet zenunim*. The combination with the verb *lkh* makes it likely (not certain!) that *'isha* means wife. Nevertheless, one has to be careful to interpret Hos 1:2 in terms of an existing marital relationship, for there is a huge difference in being commanded to marry and to be already married. Additionaly, it can be argued that the attempt to marry the *eschet zenunim* (v.2) is supposed to be a sign act that aims to represent the situation between YHWH and Isreal, that is running away from him, which means that the prophet does not succeed in marrying the prostitute, for she is escaping from him. Above all, it can be said that a prophet, who performes a sign act does not represent god in his being (e.g. such as being a husband). Instead he performs a message, which is in this case: it seems to be almost impossible to get hold of Israel, for she is running away from YHWH. This, I argue, can also be understood as the message that unites chapters one, two and three.
With regard to Hos 3:1 it can be observed that in a first sign act the prophet is commanded to "love (*'hv* not *lkh*!) a woman (*'isha*) who lets herself be loved (*'hv*!) by another [man] (*'isha ahubat rea*) and who loves (*'hv!*) raisin cakes. And in a second sign act (vv. 3-4) he buys her with the aim that she will be without man/husband (him included), which is supposed to represent Israel's fate, which is that it "will be without a king or political elite, without sacrifice or pillar, without ephod or teraphim." Thus the message is again: It is impossible (for now) to get hold of Israel in terms of a (covenantal/marital) relationship. Isreal will remain alone (for quite a while). Cf. als footnote 8.

[39] Like for the term *'ish* (see above), there are also occurences of term *'isha* in Jer 2:1-4:4 (3:1. 3. 20) as well as in Ezek 16 (vv. 30. 32. 34. 41) and Ezek 23 (vv. 10.44. 48). I will skip an analysis of the term for now, since it has already become obvious that these texts assume a marital relationship

called "prophetic marital metaphor" by explicitly stating that YHWH and the textual woman are not husband and wife. Jeremiah 13:21 similarly does not refer to a marital relationship (wife), but to a "woman in labor." Maleachi 2:14-15, on the other hand, might refer to a marital relationship. The expression "woman/ wife (?) of your youth" resp. ""woman/ wife (?) of covenant", however, does not refer to YHWH and the textual woman. Instead it metaphorically refers to the woman/wife (?) of Judah who is criticized for marrying the daughter of a foreign god and leaving the "woman/ wife (?) of [his] youth/of covenant." If this was not simply a criticism against intermarriage, but a metaphor for YHWH and Judah, we would here have an interesting version of the so-called "prophetic marital metaphor," in which YHWH would be Judah's wife (not husband!).

Isa 54:6, in which the term *'isha* appears twice, again does not use the term in a sense where it serves as justification for violence. Both occurrences could be understood and translated as "wife" ("like a woman/wife (?) that is left behind and grieved [...] like the woman/ wife (?) of [a man's] youth) when she is rejected."). However, she lost her status as wife not due to her adultery, but due to her husband's death, for she is a widow (v.4).

II.2 The roots *znh* and *n'f* in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors"

In my OTSEM paper from 2011 I have already argued in detail that *n'f* and *znh* must not be treated as synonyms. Having scrutinized their *profile-base relationship* it became rather obvious that there is a huge difference in the conceptualization of an *adulteress* (root: *n'f*) and a *prostitute* (root: *znh*): even if one assumed that – generally – the idealized status of a woman in ancient Israel was that of a married woman, an important difference between the two concepts remains. The adulteress stands in a very different relationship to the concept of marriage (as idealized standard) than the prostitute: the adulteress is a married woman, which means that she has marital obligations towards her husband. Committing adultery therefore is a crime (that can be punished), for the woman has violated her husband's rights. The concept of a prostitute, however, is that of an unmated woman. She has no husband (but many lovers!). Hence she cannot violate a husband's marital rights by having extra-marital

between YHWH and Jerusalem. Thus a close analysis would neither contribute to support nor falsify my hypothesis.

intercourse. This, consequently, means that prostitution as such is no crime - which is mirrored in biblical narratives and legal texts.[40] Ancient law furthermore grants prostitutes certain rights, which protect them and their children.[41] Thus, it has to be assumed that the ancient audience recognized (sexual) violence against a prostitute as violent attack and abuse (as opposed to a conventional and legitimate punishment).[42] Even those biblical texts that equate *znh* and *n'f* show awareness of the fact that 1) that there is a conceptual difference between *znh* and *n'f* and 2) that prostitution per se is not a crime and therefore cannot be subject to punishment.[43]

Exegetes, so far, have treated *adultery* as one - if not - *the* key concept in the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors." Moreover, the motif of *adultery* has been used to excuse and justify the violent actions against the textual woman that are described in these texts. A close reading of the relevant passages, however, brings to the fore that it is the *prostitution motif* and not a previously assumed *marriage/covenant- adultery/apostasy motif* that dominates the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors." In fact, there are only three texts that portray an adulterous relationship between YHWH and Judah/Jerusalem (not Israel/ Samaria!). The root *n'f* (to commit adultery) appears only in Jer 2:1-4:4[44] and Ezek 16[45] and 23[46]. To be sure, there is also an occurrence in Hos 2:4[47] that might go back to the root *n'f*. Since both the plural and the constructus form of *n'f* are unique in the Hebrew bible, its meaning can not be reconstructed with any certainty. One the one hand, there are attempts that reconstruct the expression by a literal translation of the root *n'f*, which reads "that she take away [her] adulteries from between her breast"). In this version the expression as a whole is understood as figurative image. On the other hand, since the hapaxlegomena *zenune* (pl. cstr. of *znh*) and *na'afufe* (pl. cstr. of *n'f*) appear in a parallel construction and are combined with a possessive pronoun (3rd person sg.) and

[40] Cf. my paper OTSEM 2010.
[41] Cf. my paper OTSEM 2010.
[42] Cf. my papers OTSEM 2010 and 2011.
[43] See above.
[44] Jer 3:8-9. Cf. also my paper OTSEM 2010.
[45] Ezek 16:32.38.
[46] Ezek 23:45.
[47] Since Hos 3 does not belong to the propehtic marital metaphors, I will skip a detailed analysis of the occurences of *n'f* in Hos 3:1. Nevertheless, it can be said in brief that there is no evidence in Hos 3 that the woman is married to or gets married by Hosea. Quite the opposite is the case: while Hosea is commended to attempt to marry (? literally "to love") her, it is also said about her that she is already loved (married to?) another man. Thus it is not clear at all from its context to which relationship the term *mena'afet* is referring to.

associated with body parts of a woman (face and breast), the terms might as well refer to the jewelry and ornaments worn by a prostitute.[48]

The root *znh* (to prostitute oneself, to be/play the harlot), by contrast, appears almost in all of the texts that belong to the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors."[49] My hypothesis that the prostitution motif dominates the so-called "prophetic marital metaphors", is furthermore corroborated by the observation that the relevant texts exhibit also other expressions and motifs that, in addition to the root *znh*, belong to the prostitution motif, such as the mention of wages of a prostitute (hebr.: *etnan*; or gifts/payment from her lovers) aswell as her lovers and (extra-marital) children.[50]

There are only five exceptions in which the core motif is either not prostitution (Isa 50:1; 54:1-6; 62:4-5; Mal 2:10-16) or is at least not mentioned explicitly (Isa 57:6-13).

What these texts thus all have in common is that they talk about a woman who is not part of or at least located at the margins of a society that is (theoretically) organized around marriage respectively male custodianship: In Isa 50:1 it is a mother that has been send away, due to her childrens crimes (!not her adultery!), in Isa 54:1-6 it is a widow and in Isa 62:4-5 it is a woman that has been forsaken/ left behind. Only Mal 2:10-16 does not fit in this scheme: it is about a critique against intermarriage in Judah and has nothing to do with a marriage between YHWH and Israel/ Judah.

III. Conclusion and Outlook

To sum up: Only in Jer 2:1-4:4, as well as Ezek 16 and 23, sexual violence against the textual woman is associated with marriage and adultery. However, here adultery is not the only crime she is accused of and punished for. With regard to Jer 2:1-4:4, as well as Ezek 16 and 23 it can be also observed that an effort has been made to re-introduce the *prostitution motif* as *adultery motif*. In addition, we can see the effort to emphasize that the textual woman (really) has committed terrible crimes that deserve severe punishment, for prostitution itself is not a crime. The motif that dominates the texts that are subsumed under the – as we can now see – extremely misleading term

[48] Cf. my paper OTSEM 2010.
[49] *znh* appears in Isaiah 23:15.16.17; 57:3; Micha 1:7 (2x); Nah 3:4; Ezek 16:15. 16. 17. 26. 28. 30. 31. 33. 34. 35. 41; 23: 3. 5. 19. 30. 43. 44; Jer 2: 20; 3:1. 3. 6. 8; Hos 2:7; 9:1. Additionally, *zenunim* appears in Nah 3:4; Ezek 23:11.29; Hos 2: 4. 6 and *zenut* in Ezek 23:27; Jer 3:2. 9; 13: 27.
[50] A more detailed analysis and outline will follow.

"prophetic marital metaphor" hence is not the motif of marriage-adultery-remarriage, but the motif of prostitution (i.e. the motif of violence against a person at the margins of society, for she is not under male custodianship, such as a prostitute, a widow or a woman that has been divorced/ send away).

It seems that the *prostitution-motif* and the violence that it is connected to in Hos 2 is gradually reread, reinterpreted and recontextualized in other prophetic texts, which are today called "prophetic marital metaphors". The original starting point of the texts, however, is not the story of YHWH and his adulterous wife, but the provocative image of a prostitute that is chased and violated by her suitor without any obvious justification.

Overall, it can be concluded that the concept of *marriage* respectively *adultery* should not be seen as key to the majority of texts that have been subsumed under the (misconceived) term "prophetic marital metaphors." And thus violence against the textual women cannot simply be understood as a metaphor for a just and deserved punishment, which draws upon conventional ancient practices of divorce and/or punishment of an adulteress.

Based on this analysis, we must ask: why *are* these texts standardly understood as prophetic "marital" metaphors? I would argue that an important distinction is key: a distinction between the individual texts (that have been mistakenly subsumed under the misleading term) and canonizing processes, both innerbiblical processes that canonize commentaries as well as contemporary processes which do the same: canonize recent interpretations. These canonizing processes are influenced by extra-textual theological ideas as well as prevalent biased gender stereotypes. The "prophetic marital metaphors" are the result of these canonizing processes and not simply "in the text" (where, as I have argued today, they aren't to be found). We thus need to address not only the (religio-)historical issues that are related to Hos 2 and the other relevant biblical texts as I have done today, but also investigate the canonizing processes, both innerbiblical as well as contemporary, that shape interpretative practices. This is what another part of my PhD project is concerned with.

Short paper, OTSEM II, Tartu, September 2013
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"Fear of God" in Genesis 20 and Proverbs 1-9

Implicit Concepts of Learning

The aim of my PhD-project is to find perspectives on learning reflected in the Hebrew Bible. My focus is primarily based on the textual evidence and I have earlier presented some of my work here at OTSEM, like "Reflections of heuristic learning in Psalm 73" (presented at Skálholt 2010). Working with old Hebrew Bible texts and at the same time using contemporary terms like *heuristic learning* to define different concepts of learning, I have become increasingly aware of how the terms we use and the different readings we make, strongly determine the way we understand biblical texts. As an example I worked with the term לקח as noun, a term translated and understood as both "learning" and "doctrine" (presented in Copenhagen 2011). Looking for reflections of learning in the Hebrew Bible, and trying to determine how these texts may enlighten our understanding of how learning and education were likely performed in ancient Israel, the gap between "learning" and "doctrine" as possible translations of a term לקח may give different results depending on our choice of translation. The way we choose to translate a word like לקח either widens or narrows possible ways of understanding a phenomenon like learning. Much the same happens when we choose some texts over others. And when working with questions regarding education and learning in ancient Israel the dominant text has been the book of Proverbs.

In my first OTSEM paper "A Tradition of Interactive Learning in the Hebrew Bible" (presented in Göttingen 2009), I claimed James L. Crenshaw was wrong to conclude that the textual evidence we have only shows the teacher's perspective on education and never the addressee or the student's point of view. Crenshaw's work is mainly

based on readings of the Proverbs, and his conclusions are therefore limited to how these texts potentially reflect the student's point of view. In this paper I will return to Crenshaw, trying to reformulate my criticism of his position that the student (the subject of learning) never assumes the position of respondent.[1] This time the staring point will be the phrase "fear of God" found in Genesis 20 and Proverbs 1-9.

"Fear of God" as propositional and perspectival knowledge

Several texts in the Hebrew Bible reveal "fear of God" as knowledge, a human quality and something the characters in the Bible and the readers of the Bible may learn to possess. In the Hebrew Bible the phrase is primarily presented as "fear of JHWH" (יראת יהוה) and "fear of Elohim" (יראת אלהים). Despite their semantic differences, יראת יהוה and יראת אלהים are often treated together. This is what Job Y. Jindo does in his article "On the Biblical Notion of the 'Fear of God' as a Condition for Human Existence" (2011).[2] Jindo shows that "knowledge of God" or "to know God" appear in the sense of "fear of God" or "to fear God", but he also defines "fear of God" as "perspectival knowledge". To specify what kind of knowledge "fear of God" is, Jindo use the terms "propositional and perspectival knowledge" based on Sterns work *Metaphor in context* from 2000:

> *Propositional knowledge here refers to a descriptive knowledge about beings, conditions, or events, whether they may be observable or imaginary, factual or hypothetical. Perspectival knowledge, on the other hand, refers to ways of seeing and thinking, or particular modes of cognition, whereby people perceive and*

[1] Crenshaw elaborates on this in his chapter "The Missing Voice", CRENSHAW J.L. 1998. *Education in Ancient Israel. Across the Deadening Silence*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell, 187-203.

[2] "Semantically, there may be a possible difference in the nuance between the two similar, yet not entirely identical, phrases: יראת יה "fear of Yhwh" and יראת אלהים "fear of God(s)." While the former phrase refers exclusively to the fear for the God of Israel, Yhwh, the latter phrase—because of the semantic ambiguity of the word אלהים "God(s)"—can refer either to the same fear in particular (i.e., God = Yhwh), or to the fear of the celestial beings or authority in general, especially when it is used in contexts that involve gentiles who do not necessarily worship Yhwh (cf. Gen. 20:11; 42:18; Job 1:8; 2:3). While there is a biblical notion that in the eschatological time the gentiles will also come to recognize the sole divinity of Yhwh (Isa. 2:2-5; 56:7; 66:20-21; Jer 10:7; Zech. 8:23; Ps. 87), they are required, at least in the non-eschatological context, to live by the "fear of God(s)," if not specifically by the "fear of Yhwh." In the present study, this difference is considered only when it is pertinent. JINDO J.Y. 2011. On the Biblical Notion of the" Fear of God" as a Condition for Human Existence". *Biblical Interpretation: A Journal of Contemporary Approaches, Volume 19, Numbers 4-5, pp. 433-453(21)*. Leiden: Brill, 437.

> *experience such beings, conditions, or events. In other words, the knowledge we communicate - and we live by -involves not only what we know or experience, but also how we conceive of, and orient ourselves toward what we know or experience*.[3]

Jindos work with "fear of God" applies to my PhD-project since his conclusions clearly differ from the mainstream scholarly work done on education in ancient Israel, exemplified by Crenshaw's book *Education in Ancient Israel. Across the Deadening Silence* (1998).

When "fear of God" becomes "fear of the Teacher"

Questions related to education and schools in ancient Israel have traditionally been debated in a close dialogue with the wisdom literature of the Hebrew Bible. The book of Proverbs has often been a natural starting point for educational studies. Based on Proverbs 1-9, teaching has been viewed as a dialogue between a father and his son, education was cooperation between the parents and the schoolteachers.[4] A major problem in this discussion is the fact that the student's voice is missing. Crenshaw has articulated this problem as "The Missing Voice" and points out how "the son, ever-present as addressee, never assumes the position of respondent".[5] When Crenshaw concludes his work on "The Missing Voice", he draws our attention to how the students most likely kept silent due to the risk of being punished. Crenshaw makes a comparison to contemporary Singapore, which has reinstated caning as punishment for criminal acts performed by juveniles, and creates a picture of the student in ancient Israel as being silenced by fear.[6] According to Crenshaw the students were not encouraged to orient themselves toward what they knew from experience. Comparing Crenshaw's view on education with the terms "propositional and perspectival knowledge" used by Jindo, there is no apparent room for perspectival knowledge in Crenshaw's educational concept.

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[3] Ibid., 438-39.
[4] CRENSHAW J.L. 1998. *Education in Ancient Israel. Across the Deadening Silence*. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell, 4.
[5] Ibid., 187.
[6] Ibid., 203.

Fear of Elohim (יראת אלהים) in Genesis 20

In the Hebrew Bible we frequently find the root ירא together with אלהים. ירא occurs both as verb (ירא),[7] adjective (יָרֵא)[8] and sometimes also as a noun.[9] One of the texts יראת אלהים appears in is Genesis 20. In this texts Abraham and his household move to Gerar (20:1), and Abraham presents his wife Sarah as his sister (20:2). Abraham does so apparently because he is afraid the people of Gerar will kill them and states: "there is no fear of God (יראת אלהים) at all in this place" (Gen 20:11). From this text we may conclude that the character Abraham has "fear of God", but only indirectly, due to his claim that the people of Garar had "no fear of God". Nevertheless the reader may already know that Abraham feared God, based on God's speech to him in Genesis 22:12b "for now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son, your only son, from me" (עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים). The reader might therefore presume Abraham as a character with "fear of God" - but what is "fear of God" to Abraham and how does he behave possessing this quality? And how does "fear of God" in Genesis 20 reflect perspectival knowledge, as Jindo suggest understanding the phrase?

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[7] ירא Gen 3:10; 15:1; 18:15; 19:30; 20:8; 21:17; 26:7, 24; 28:17; 31:31; 32:8; 35:17; 42:35; 43:18, 23; 46:3; 50:19, 21; Ex 1:17, 21; 2:14; 3:6; 9:30; 14:10, 13, 31; 15:11; 20:20; 34:10, 30; Lev 19:3, 14, 30, 32; 25:17, 36, 43; 26:2; Num 12:8; 14:9; 21:34; Deut 1:19, 21, 29; 2:4; 3:2, 22; 4:10; 5:5, 29; 6:2, 13, 24; 7:18, 21; 8:6, 15; 10:12, 17, 20–21; 13:5, 12; 14:23; 17:13, 19; 19:20; 20:1, 3; 21:21; 25:18; 28:10, 58; 31:6, 8, 12–13; Josh 4:14, 24; 8:1; 9:24; 10:2, 8, 25; 11:6; 22:25; 24:14; Judg 4:18; 6:10, 23, 27; 7:10; 8:20; 13:6; 1 Sam 3:15; 4:7, 20; 7:7; 12:14, 18, 20, 24; 14:26; 15:24; 17:11, 24; 18:12, 29; 21:13; 22:23; 23:17; 28:5, 13, 20; 31:4; 2 Sam 1:14; 3:11; 6:9; 7:23; 9:7; 10:19; 12:18; 13:28; 14:15; 1 Kings 1:50–51; 3:28; 8:40, 43; 17:13; 2 Kings 1:15; 6:16; 10:4; 17:7, 25, 28, 35–39; 19:6; 25:24, 26; Is 7:4; 8:12; 10:24; 18:2, 7; 21:1; 25:3; 29:13; 35:4; 37:6; 40:9; 41:5, 10, 13–14; 43:1, 5; 44:2; 51:7, 12; 54:4, 14; 57:11; 59:19; 64:2; Jer 1:8; 3:8; 5:22, 24; 10:5, 7; 17:8; 23:4; 26:21; 30:10; 32:39; 40:9; 41:18; 42:11; 44:10; 46:27–28; 51:46; Ezek 1:22; 2:6; 3:9; 11:8; Hos 10:3; Joel 2:11, 21–22; 3:4; Amos 3:8; Jonah 1:5, 10, 16; Mic 7:17; Hab 1:7; 3:2; Zeph 2:11; 3:7, 15–16; Hag 1:12; 2:5; Zech 8:13, 15; 9:5; Mal 1:14; 2:5; 3:5, 23; Psa 3:7; 23:4; 27:1, 3; 33:8; 34:10; 40:4; 45:5; 46:3; 47:3; 49:6, 17; 52:8; 55:20; 56:4–5, 12; 64:5, 10; 65:6, 9; 66:3, 5; 67:8; 68:36; 72:5; 76:8–9, 13; 86:11; 89:8; 91:5; 96:4; 99:3; 102:16; 106:22; 111:9; 112:7–8; 118:6; 119:63, 120; 130:4; 139:14; 145:6; Job 1:9; 5:21–22; 6:21; 9:35; 11:15; 32:6; 37:22, 24; Prov 3:7, 25; 14:16; 24:21; 31:21; Ruth 3:11; Eccl 3:14; 5:6; 8:12; 12:5, 13; Lam 3:57; Dan 9:4; 10:12, 19; Neh 1:5, 11; 2:2; 4:8; 6:9, 13–14, 16, 19; 7:2; 9:32; 1 Chr 10:4; 13:12; 16:25; 17:21; 22:13; 28:20; 2 Chr 6:31, 33; 20:3, 15, 17; 32:7, 18.

[8] יָרֵא Gen 22:12; 32:12; 42:18; Ex 9:20; 18:21; Deut 7:19; 20:8; Judg 7:3; 1 Sam 23:3; 1 Kings 18:3, 12; 2 Kings 4:1; 17:32–34, 41; Is 50:10; Jer 26:19; 42:11, 16; Jonah 1:9; Mal 3:16, 20; Psa 15:4; 22:24, 26; 25:12, 14; 31:20; 33:18; 34:8, 10; 60:6; 61:6; 66:16; 85:10; 103:11, 13, 17; 111:5; 112:1; 115:11, 13; 118:4; 119:74, 79; 128:1, 4; 135:20; 145:19; 147:11; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; Prov 13:13; 14:2; 31:30; Eccl 7:18; 8:12–13; 9:2; Dan 1:10.

[9] Neh 5:9; 15:2; 2 Sam 23:2: Gen 20:11.

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם כִּי אָמַרְתִּי רַק אֵין־יִרְאַת Gen 20:11
אֱלֹהִים בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וַהֲרָגוּנִי עַל־דְּבַר אִשְׁתִּי׃

Abraham said, "I did it because I thought, There is no fear of God at all in this place, and they will kill me because of my wife"

From Abraham's defence speech in 20:11 "fear of God" is a knowledge Abraham possesses, but we cannot decide whether Abraham's knowledge of "fear of God" is equivalent to propositional or perspectival knowledge, at least not based on this verse alone. Based on 22:12 the reader might suppose Abraham did learn "fear of God", but only to realise that Abraham apparently did not learn it particularly well. Because when Abraham accuses Gerar of being a place with "no fear of God", the text proves him wrong. King Abimelech sent for Sarah and took her (20:2), but then God came to Abimelech in a dream and said to him: "You are about to die because of the woman whom you have taken; for she is a married woman." (20:3). In this dream king Abimelech claims his innocence, and God confirms this: "I know that you did this in the integrity of your heart (בְּתָם־לְבָבְךָ); furthermore it was I who kept you from sinning against me" (20:6). Abimelech did in fact do nothing wrong. And the effect of the dialogue between king Abimelech and God is that the reader now can confirm that the king possess "fear of God". King Abimelech, as a foreigner, knows "fear of God" and affirms this knowledge by not touching Sara.

So far all seems to favour Jindos view of "fear of God" as a general condition for humans. "Fear of God" is an insight Abimelech lives by, a quality integrated in his character and therefore what we may regard as perspectival knowledge. But if Abimelech possessed "fear of God" as perspectival knowledge, consequently Abraham was wrong in describing Gerar as a place with "no fear of God". And since he is wrong the reader may conclude that Abraham can refer to "fear of God" as a condition or a term, but not live by it knowing "fear of God" by heart. It looks like Abraham has "a descriptive knowledge about" (propositional knowledge) of the phrase יראת אלהים. To the reader it therefore looks like Abraham in fact does not have a perspectival knowledge, like Jindo suggests, but rather a propositional knowledge of "fear of God". On the other hand, what if Abraham did know "fear of God" as perspectival knowledge, but did not act on it? What if Abraham and king

Abimelech both knew "fear of God", but Abraham just did not do what the reader of the texts could expect from one knowing "fear of God"? How does the term "perspectival knowledge" give meaning when the reader reads with suspicion towards a character in the texts?

The difference between propositional and perspectival knowledge is clear as long as the persons performing the knowledge does not protest. But the moment we accuse Abraham of intentionally disobeying his "fear of God", the term "perspectival knowledge" is no longer helpful. There are several examples of characters in the Hebrew Bible knowing what the right thing to do is and still not doing it, Abraham himself is a good example. The text of Genesis 20 is not the first time we find Abraham presenting Sarah as his sister. When in Egypt, Abraham presented Sarai as his sister for much of the same reason as in their visit to Garar:

When he was about to enter Egypt, he said to his wife Sarai, "I know well that you are a woman beautiful in appearance; and when the Egyptians see you, they will say, 'This is his wife'; then they will kill me, but they will let you live" (Gen 12:11-12)

Apparently Abraham is not afraid of what the Egyptians might do to Sarai, or the rest of the household. To the reader Abraham's only concern seems to be himself and his own life. This observation makes us suspicious towards Abraham and his concerns, even when he claims to know "fear of God" the reader may think; in what manner? Does Abraham, like in Genesis 12, point out the lack of "fear of God" in Gerar to defend his own interests and well-being? Or is perhaps "fear of God" always in favour of Abraham since "he is a prophet" (20:7)? The answer is simply: we don't know. But the fact that we did asked the question in the first place, show that a definition of "fear of God" as perspectival knowledge is not sufficient when working with texts where there is reason to believe the characters have their own agenda.

Working with "fear of God" in Genesis gives us some new perspectives on Jindo's definition of knowledge. On the one hand it confirms his assumption that "fear of God" is a condition for human existence and not a specifically religious phenomena. We see this because king Abimelech as a foreigner still knows "fear of God". On the other hand Jindo's attempt to show how "fear of God" in the Hebrew bible is always

intended as perspectival knowledge is not self-evident. Abraham was wrong. Either he did not understand “fear of God” as perspectival knowledge, or he knew but simply ignored this knowledge. Anyway, when the reader becomes suspicious of a character like Abraham, perspectival knowledge becomes an inadequate term.

Fear of JHWH (יראת יהוה) in Proverbs 1-9

יראת יהוה is a well-known phrase throughout the Hebrew Bible, yet it is overrepresented in the Proverbs. Out of all the 22 times we find this phrase in the Hebrew Bible it appears in the book of Proverbs all of 14 times, spread from the beginning in 1:7 all the way to 23:17.[10] "Fear of God" is by all means a significant phrase in the book of Proverbs, but what kind of knowledge is it presented as here? And how does "fear of God" as יראת יהוה responds to יראת אלהים know to us from the Genesis text?

A first we notice is how יראת יהוה functions as a beginning and an end of Proverbs 1-9. In 1:7a we read "The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge" (דֵּעַת יִרְאַת יְהוָה רֵאשִׁית), and in 9:10a "The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom" (תְּחִלַּת חָכְמָה יִרְאַת יְהוָה). The two verses differ only slightly in wording. And this may perfectly well work as an argument in favour of reading chapter 1-9 as a separate section, with the expression יראת יהוה as opening and closure.[11] Looking for processes of learning reflected in the Hebrew Bible the striking thing about "fear of God" used in Proverbs is the way is it presented as a concept, even a total concept. "Fear of God" in Proverbs is presented as something suffusing humans, and the reader of the text is strongly advised to accept it, to love it and live by it. The alternative, not knowing "fear of God", is presented as accordingly less attractive.

> יראת יהוה ראשׁית דעת חכמה ומוסר אוילים בזו׃ פ Prov 1:7
>
> *The fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge; fools despise wisdom and instruction*

> תחת כי־שׂנאו דעת ויראת יהוה לא בחרו׃ Prov 1:29
>
> *Because they hated knowledge and did not choose the fear of the LORD*

[10] Prov 1:7; 1:29; 2:5; 8:13; 9:10; 10:27; 14:26.27; 15:16; 15:33; 16:6; 19:23; 22:4; 23:17.
[11] R. N. Whybray present several good reasons for treating chapter 1-9 as a separate section. WHYBRAY R.N. 1994. *The Composition of the Book of Proverbs (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement)*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 11-61.

אָז תָּבִין יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים תִּמְצָא׃ Prov 2:5

then you will understand the fear of the LORD and find the knowledge of God

יִרְאַת יְהוָה שְׂנֹאת רָע גֵּאָה וְגָאוֹן | וְדֶרֶךְ רָע וּפִי תַהְפֻּכוֹת שָׂנֵאתִי׃ Prov 8:13

The fear of the LORD is hatred of evil. Pride and arrogance and the way of evil and perverted speech I hate

תְּחִלַּת חָכְמָה יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת קְדֹשִׁים בִּינָה׃ Prov 9:10

The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is insight

To underline its importance we find יראת יהוה used as an antithesis to אֱוִילִים (the fool) in 1:7b. "The fool" as an antithesis to "the wise" (חכמ) is a well-documented theme in Proverbs,[12] and יראת יהוה seems to share this function. In the phrase "the fear of the LORD is hatred of evil" in 8:13, אֱוִילִים does not only work as an antithesis to יראת יהוה, it also underlines an essential aspect of "fear of God".[13] "Fear of God" is not just a positive attribute to wisdom, knowledge, insight and understanding. It represents an absolute, an either/or. Either you fear God or you are a fool. A person with יראת יהוה does what is right and removes him- or herself from evil, whereas a person without יראת יהוה loves evil and hates knowledge and wisdom.

When looking for reflections of learning, words associated with the process of either receiving or passing on knowledge are interesting. I chapter 1-9 we find several words like knowledge (דַּעַת), instructions (מוּסָר), insight or understanding (בִּינָה), all words closely connected with יראת יהוה. We find דַּעַת together with יראת יהוה in 1:7, 29;

[12] Claus Westermann describes the relationship between "the fool" and "the wise" in his chapter "Proverbs of Antithesis: The Foolish – The Wise". WESTERMANN C. 1995. *Roots of wisdom: The oldest Proverbs of Israel and other people*. Westminster: John Knox Press, 50-58.

[13] "The fool" is used as an antithesis to יראת יהוה, but words like "evil" (רָע) and "hate" (שָׂנְאוּ) helps us further to define יראת יהוה as something positive and good for humans. In 1:29 שָׂנְאוּ is used as a parallel to "did not choose" (לֹא בָחָרוּ) and as an antithesis to "knowledge" (דַּעַת). In 8:13 the statement "the fear of the LORD is hatred of evil" (יִרְאַת יְהוָה שְׂנֹאת רָע) more or less speaks for itself, while reminding us of the first appearance of יראת יהוה in the book Proverbs: "the fear of the LORD is the beginning of knowledge" (יִרְאַת יְהוָה רֵאשִׁית דַּעַת) (1:7).

2:5 and 9:10.[14] מוּסָר takes this position twice (1:7 and 15:33), and בִּינָה appears with יראת יהוה in 9:10.[15] Among the five verses including יראת יהוה in chapter 1-9, only 8:13 does not contain a clear reference to some kind of learning. On the other hand, 8:13 is flanked by verses that are filled with learning related vocabulary: "I, wisdom (חָכְמָה), live with prudence (עָרְמָה), and I attain knowledge (דַּעַת) and discretion" (8:12) and "I have good advice (עֵצָה) and sound wisdom (תוּשִׁיָּה); I have insight (בִּינָה), I have strength" (8:14). The phrase יראת יהוה is linked to these words and a part of a larger semantic field. "Fear of God" is the beginning of knowledge as read in 1:7, but also to have insight, strength, understanding, and wisdom. And of course not being a fool.

Returning briefly to Genesis 20 we might ask what characteristic Abraham would get according to the information gained from Proverbs 1-9? Would he be "the wise" or "the fool"? Does Abraham "live with prudence… attain knowledge and discretion" (Prov 8:12)? No, Abraham acts just like the one who does everything wrong, "Do not plan harm against your neighbour who lives trustingly beside you. Do not quarrel with anyone without cause, when no harm has been done to you. Do not envy the violent and do not choose any of their ways" (Prov 3:29-31). Reading Genesis 20 in a post-proverbial perspective there are good reasons to describe Abraham as "the fool", the opposite of "the wise". And knowing what describes the one with יראת יהוה in the Proverbs, Abraham appears as the "the fool" in this layer of Genesis.

We have seen how the information we have of "the wise" in Proverbs helps us describe the character Abraham in Genesis 20 as acting "the fool", but there are also linguistic reasons for a closer reading of these two texts. From Genesis 20 verses 5 and 6 we find the phrase בְּתָם־לְבָבִי (integrity of my heart):

הֲלֹא הוּא אָמַר־לִי אֲחֹתִי הִוא וְהִיא־גַם־הִוא אָמְרָה
אֲחִי הִוּא בְּתָם־לְבָבִי וּבְנִקְיֹן כַּפַּי עָשִׂיתִי זֹאת׃ (Gen 20:5)

[14] דַּעַת together with יראת יהוה we find in total 6 times in the Hebrew Bible, the remaining two are in Isaiah 11:2 and 33:6.
[15] יראת יהוה also stands with הָגִיב in Isaiah 11:2.

Did he not himself say to me, 'She is my sister'? And she herself said, 'He is my brother.' I did this in the integrity of my heart and the innocence of my hands

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הָאֱלֹהִים בַּחֲלֹם גַּם אָנֹכִי יָדַעְתִּי כִּי בְתָם־לְבָבְךָ עָשִׂיתָ (Gen 20:6a)

Then God said to him in the dream, "Yes, I know that you did this in the integrity of your heart

תם[16] is often understood and translated as either "integrity" / "upright" or "innocence" / "blameless".[17] We may describe תם as a word used where "a perfect man" at the same time is understood as "a blameless man" (Ps 37:37). A representative English Bible translation like NRSV for example chooses to translate תם with "integrity" in Prov 10:9; 19:1; 20:7; 28:6, with "blameless" in 2:7 and 29:10, and "upright" in 10:29 and 13:6. I addition to the 8 hits in Proverbs, Psalms and the book of Job are the places were we often find תם in use. Both the Psalms (7:9; 25:21; 26:1.11; 37:37; 41:13; 64:5; 78:72; 101:2) and Job (1:1.8; 2:3; 4:6; 8:20; 9:20.21.23; 22:23) represented with 9 hits. With a total of 38 hits of תם in the Hebrew Bible, there is little doubt this is a word associated with wisdom related literature. The remaining 12 hits we find in Gen (20:5.6; 25:27); Ex (26:24); 2 Sam (15:11); 1 Kings (9:4); Is 47:9; 2 Chr (18:33) and Song (5:2; 6:9). We find תם in much the same texts as we find words like חָכָם,[18] יָשָׁר,[19]and עָרוּם,[20] all words used as an antithesis to "the fool"

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[16] תָּם Gen 25:27; Ex 26:24; 36:29; Ps 37:37; 64:5; Job 1:1.8; 2:3; 8:20; 9:20.21.22; Prov 29:10; Song 5:2; 6:9. תֹּם Gen 20:5.6; 2 Sam 15:11; 1 Kings 9:4; 22:34; Is 47:9; Ps 7:9; 25:21; 26:1.11; 41:13; 78:72; 101:2; Job 4:6; 21:23; Prov 2:7; 10:9; 10:29; 13:6; 19:1; 20:7; 28:6; 2 Chr 18:33.

[17] KOHLER L. & BAUMGARTNER W. 2001. The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. 2 vol. Study Edition. Trans. MEJ Richardson. Leiden: Brill, 1743-44.

[18] חָכָם Gen 41:8, 33, 39; Ex 7:11; 28:3; 31:6; 35:10, 25; 36:1–2, 4, 8; Deut 1:13, 15; 4:6; 16:19; 32:6; Judg 5:29; 2 Sam 13:3; 14:2, 20; 20:16; 1 Kings 2:9; 3:12; 5:21; Is 3:3; 5:21; 19:11–12; 29:14; 31:2; 40:20; 44:25; Jer 4:22; 8:8–9; 9:11, 16, 22; 10:7, 9; 18:18; 50:35; 51:57; Ezek 27:8–9; 28:3; Hos 13:13; 14:10; Obad 1:8; Psa 49:11; 107:43; Job 5:13; 9:4; 15:2, 18; 17:10; 34:2, 34; 37:24; Prov 1:5–6; 3:7, 35; 9:8–9; 10:1, 8, 14; 11:29–30; 12:15, 18; 13:1, 14, 20; 14:1, 3, 16, 24; 15:2, 7, 12, 20, 31; 16:14, 21, 23; 17:28; 18:15; 20:26; 21:11, 20, 22; 22:17; 23:24; 24:5, 23; 25:12; 26:5, 12, 16; 28:11; 29:8–9, 11; 30:24; Eccl 2:14, 16, 19; 4:13; 6:8; 7:4–5, 7, 19; 8:1, 5, 17–9:1; 9:11, 15, 17; 10:2, 12; 12:9, 11; Esth 1:13; 6:13; 1 Chr 22:15; 2 Chr 2:6, 11-13.

[19] יָשָׁר Ex 15:26; Num 23:10; Deut 6:18; 12:8, 25, 28; 13:19; 21:9; 32:4; Josh 9:25; 10:13; Judg 17:6; 21:25; 1 Sam 12:23; 29:6; 2 Sam 1:18; 19:7; 1 Kings 11:33, 38; 14:8; 15:5, 11; 22:43; 2 Kings 10:3, 15, 30; 12:3; 14:3; 15:3, 34; 16:2; 18:3; 22:2; Is 26:7; Jer 26:14; 31:9; 34:15; 40:4–5; Ezek 1:7, 23; Hos 14:10; Mic 2:7; 3:9; 7:2, 4; Psa 7:11; 11:2, 7; 19:9; 25:8; 32:11–33:1; 33:4; 36:11; 37:14, 37; 49:15; 64:11; 92:16; 94:15; 97:11; 107:7, 42; 111:1, 8; 112:2, 4; 119:137; 125:4; 140:14; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; 4:7;

in the Proverbs. These words all share the same function as "fear of God", as antithesis to "the fool".[21] In sum these words give us a linguistic field where "fear of God", whether as "fear of JHWH" (יראת יהוה) or "fear of Elohim" (יראת אלהים), are included.

In the prologue the phrase "fear of God" is presented to the reader as something of importance (Prov 1:7), and there is little doubt that "fear of God" in fact is something one can learn. But how does the subject of learning, the student or receiver of this teaching, learn "fear of God"? In the Proverbs this is not an easy question to answer because the knowledge of יראת יהוה is never tested; in the Proverbs "fear of God" seems to be presented as a fact, as a nonnegotiable truth. Contrary to what we saw in Genesis, where "fear of God" (יראת אלהים) was presented as something characters like Abraham and king Abimelech could try out and work with, "fear of God" in Proverbs 1-9 leaves little or no room for response, and Crenshaw's conclusions (The Missing Voice) seem perfectly right. On the other hand there are good reasons for reading the Proverbs in relation with Genesis 20 and when doing so things change.

8:6; 17:8; 23:7; 33:27; Prov 2:7, 21; 3:32; 8:9; 11:3, 6, 11; 12:6, 15; 14:9, 11–12; 15:8, 19; 16:13, 17, 25; 20:11; 21:2, 8, 18, 29; 28:10; 29:10, 27; Eccl 7:29; Dan 11:17; Ezra 8:21; Neh 9:13; 2 Chr 14:1; 20:32; 24:2; 25:2; 26:4; 27:2; 28:1; 29:2, 34; 31:20; 34:2.

[20] עָרוּם Gen. 3:1; Job 5:12; 15:5; Prov 12:16, 23; 13:16; 14:8, 15, 18; 22:3; 27:12.

עֲרוֹם Gen. 2:25; 1Sam 19:24; Is 20:2, 3, 4; 58:7; Hos 2:5; Amos 2:16; Mic 1:8; Job 1:21; 22:6; 24:7; 24:10; 26:6; Eccl. 5:14.

[21] The words אויל (fool) and אולת (folly) are spread all across the book of Proverbs and represent "the fool" as a contrast to "the wise". But looking at the books of Proverbs we find several characteristics used as an antithesis to "the fool". In chapter 14 there are all seven antithesis using אויל (14:3.9) or אולת (14:1.8.18.24.29). In this chapter alone we find both אויל and אולת used as antithesis to "the wise" (חכמ), as in 14:1, 14:3 and 14:24, as an antithesis to "the righteous" (ישׁר) in 14:9, "the clever" (ערם) in 14:8 and 14:18, and "whoever is slow to anger" (ארך אפים) in 14:29. Looking at the antithesis to "the fool" in chapter 14 we find a sections of words and characteristics associated with יראת יהוה. Words like ישׁר and ארך אפים are only used as antithesis to "the fool" in chapter 14, but other words like חכמ and ערם are in use several places: חכמ in 10:8.14; 12:15; 15:2 and ערם in 12:16.23; 13:16; 15:5. In addition we find "the righteous" (צַדִּיק) in 10:21, "the (heart of him that hath) understanding" (נָבוֹן) in 15:14 and 15:21 and "Understanding is... unto him that hath it" (שֵׂכֶל) in 16:22.

Implicit Concepts of Learning, some closing remarks

In his article ”On the Biblical Notion of the ‘Fear of God’ as a Condition for Human Existence” Jindo describes different kinds of knowledge, propositional and perspectival. But following “fear of God” in Genesis 20 and Proverbs 1-9 we find more than different types of knowledge, we find differing implicit concepts of learning. The knowledge of “fear of God” that readers gain from reading Proverbs 1-9 actually invites them to describe Abraham as “the fool” in Genesis 20. So, what readers learn from reading Proverbs 1-9 makes them able to be suspicious of the character Abraham in Genesis 20. Facing complex characters like Abraham, Jindo’s definition of “perspectival knowledge” becomes imprecise. The term becomes inefficient the moment the reader of Genesis 20 is able to see that while Abraham claims to know “fear of God”, he does in fact not act according to “fear of God” as conveyed in Proverbs 1-9. The knowledge, “fear of God”, seems to be the same in the two texts, that’s why we are able to call Abraham “the fool”. A clear difference is the active part Abraham and king Abimelech take in Genesis 20 contra the silent, and presumably passive, student we find in the Proverbs. Implicitly in Genesis 20 “fear of God” is something a human performs through actions, rather than repeating as a concept or curriculum. There are implicit concepts of learning in these texts, and seeing this we may ask for the arguments that lead Crenshaw to base an educational system in ancient Israel so strongly on Proverbs. Even though the student or subject of learning is silent in Proverbs, we cannot conclude that his or her silence reflects the way learning was performed. On the contrary, the phrase “fear of God” forces us to look for more complex ways of understanding the processes of learning in ancient Israel. The student of ancient Israel was not silent, and the voice of the subject of learning is in fact not missing. But what is missing is new categories that may help us better understand how knowledge was passed on for one generation to the next.

Wisdom and Torah in the Dead Sea Scrolls

OTSEM Seminar – Tartu, September 2013

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This paper is a draft of my forthcoming SBL presentation in Baltimore (Nov 2013). It includes spin-off reflections about wisdom and Torah that have come to my mind while working on my doctoral thesis concerned with 4Q525. The bibliography found in the footnotes is still rather sparse, since I just submitted my thesis on Tuesday and unfortunately did not have as much time to finish this paper as I had hoped to have. In any event, I look forward to your comments! In particular, I am interested to hear whether you find the brief chapter on wisdom's scripturalisation distractive, or whether it contributes to the overall argument presented here. Many thanks in advance. – Elisa

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between wisdom and Torah in the Dead Sea Scrolls in general, as well as the employment of the identification of wisdom and Torah as a pedagogical technique in *4QSapiential Work* (4Q185) and *4QBeatitudes* (4Q525) in particular.[1] These two fragmentarily preserved wisdom compositions were unknown until their modern discovery at Qumran, and as I hope to show in this paper, their Torah discourse reflects the conceptual thinking of late Second Temple sages in an intriguing way. Yet, we must begin with viewing their wider literary context, i.e. the question about late Second Temple wisdom literature.

WISDOM IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

In recent years, many scholars have addressed the difficulties related to the generic categorisation of Jewish texts from the late Second Temple period, because characteristics of different literary traditions – wisdom, apocalyptic and eschatological imagination, prophecy, Torah piety, liturgical poetry, and so forth – tend to overlap and meld in them.[2] In some cases, the intended genre of a text

[1] For the official edition of 4Q185, see John M. Allegro, ed., DJD 5:85-87. The edition should preferably be read together with the comments of John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 163-276, 269-73. However, due to the technical problems related to the official edition, I have here used the edition of Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls – Study Edition* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997-98), 1:378-81. For the official edition of 4Q525, used also here, see Émile Puech, DJD 25:115-78.

[2] See, e.g., Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism* (SBLSym 35; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005); Hindy Najman and Mladen Popovic, eds., *Rethinking Genre: Essays in Honour of John J. Collins* (Dead Sea Discoveries 17; Leiden: Brill, 2010); Hindy Najman, "The Idea of Biblical Genre: From Discourse to Constellation," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday* (ed. J. Penner, K. M. Penner and C. Wassen; STDJ 98; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 307-21.

indeed remains uncertain, and such a work should not be forced into any predetermined generic category. On the other hand, the dominance of attributes related to a particular tradition is helpful in determining the *primary* genre of a given text in other cases.[3]

Scholars have referred to "Qumran wisdom corpus," most probably on account of the latter criterion, though possibly in part intuitively. Generally speaking, those Jewish works that represent wisdom literature *par excellence* have typically been classified on the basis of vocabulary, literary forms, themes, and pedagogic function.[4] However, the borders of the wisdom corpus, especially with respect to late Second Temple material, are admittedly somewhat fluid.[5] This is due to the pervading influence of wisdom tradition in Judaism towards the turn of the era; many texts of different literary genres contain a myriad of wisdom language and motifs.[6]

The number of wisdom manuscripts included in the Dead Sea Scrolls survives only fragmentarily. There are both texts that belong to the "traditional wisdom corpus," i.e. wisdom texts of the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint,[7] as well as several writings that were unknown until the Qumran discoveries. The exact number of the latter is rather difficult to define, but approximately twenty works have typically been mentioned.[8] The new finds do not contain explicit evidence about a

[33] With respect to the latter approach, scholars have often referred to the usefulness of the prototype theory. See, e.g., Carol A. Newsom, "Spying out the Land: A Report from Genealogy," in *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Michael V. Fox on the Occassion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel and D. Magary; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 437-50; Benjamin G. Wright III, "Joining the Club: A Suggestion about Genre in Early Jewish Texts," *DSD* 17 (2010): 289-314; and the discussion in my forthcoming Ph.D. thesis *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: 4Q525 in the Context of Late Second Temple Wisdom Litearature* (Helsinki, 2013).

[4] Wisdom literature has famously been defined as a marriage of form and pedagogical content by James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (Atlanta: Westminster John Knox, 1981), 19. However, such a definition is not suitable in light of the thematic variety of late Second Temple material; John C. Collins, "Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 265-81, esp. 279-80. Even so, the late Second Temple tradition has many points of contact with early Hebrew wisdom. In particular, Collins has emphasised the continuity of didactic function and literary form; idem, "Wisdom Reconsidered," 281; idem, "Epilogue: Genre Analysis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 17 (2010): 418-30, 429-30.

[5] See, e.g., the slightly different lists of wisdom texts by Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23-58, 43-44; Armin Lange and Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, DJD 39:140; and James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 2002), 236-37.

[6] Note, e.g., the sectarian rule texts and the *Hodayot*, as well as the vast Enochic literature.

[7] The DSS include Hebrew fragments of Prov (4Q102; 4Q103; 4Q103a), Job (4Q99-101), Qoh (4Q109-110), and Sir (2Q18; 11Q5 21:11-17; 22:1); Aramaic versions (*targums*) of Job (4Q157; 11Q10); and the so-called apocryphal (although not such in the context of late Second Temple Judaism) wisdom psalms 151, 154, and 155 (11Q5). No copies of Baruch (apart from the Letter of Jeremiah) or Wisdom of Solomon were found.

[8] The best-preserved manuscripts include *Instruction* (1Q26; 4Q415−418, 418a, 418c, 423); *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299−301); *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184); *Sapiential Work* (4Q185); *Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn* (4Q298); *Ways of Righteousness*$^{a\text{-}b}$ (4Q420−421); *Instruction-like Composition B* (4Q424); and *Beatitudes* (4Q525).

sectarian provenance, perhaps apart from *Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn* (4Q298).[9] They form our principal source – and actually even the only source – for studying Hebrew wisdom literature which settles itself approximately between Ben Sira and the Mishnah.[10]

Early Jewish wisdom literature available to us is now considerably more extensive than it was before the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The overlap between wisdom and other literary genres and traditions, referred to above, has led scholars to revisit the content of ancient Jewish wisdom literature. The present paper takes part in the wider discussion insofar as it revolves around the interfaces of wisdom and Torah discourses. Yet, before the analyses of 4Q185 and 4Q525, some remarks upon divine wisdom as a topic of wisdom instruction are needed.

DIVINE WISDOM IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

The content of early Hebrew wisdom literature, such as Proverbs, can be characterised as fairly human and universal. The texts seek to lead the audience into a virtuous and successful behaviour; the focus is on earthly life and this-worldly matters, despite the figurative references to life and death.[11] No explicit interest is shown in the theme of revelation, except for creation which might be regarded as "universal revelation" of some sort. The orientation of late Second Temple wisdom texts, on the other hand, is radically different. The works frequently address the question of wisdom's divine sources, be it Torah or another revelation. An association between wisdom and a particular revelation is even a characteristic of the majority of texts.

According to Armin Lange, the Qumran wisdom corpus represents "Toraweisheit" apart from *Instruction-like Composition B* (4Q424).[12] Most of the writings indeed refer to the Torah in one way or another. However, the Torah influence appears in a number of ways, for instance, as the use

[9] See, e.g., John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature* (Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dea Sea Scrolls; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011), 271-73.
[10] See Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1.
[11] See, e.g., James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (3rd ed.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 2010), 4: "The reasoned search for specific ways to ensure personal well-being in everyday life, to make sense of extreme adversity and vexing anomalies, and to transmit this hard-earned knowledge so that successive generations will embody it – wisdom – is universal. Until the second century BCE, biblical wisdom was silent about ... anything specific to Israel."
[12] Armin Lange, "Eine Einleitung in die Weisheitstexte aus Qumran," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 3-30, 30.

of legal terminology,[13] passages that could be characterised as Torah piety,[14] and variegated impact of the Pentateuch, including the reuse of its themes, figures, and idiom.[15] Lange's observation insightful because even references that are made in passing imply the idea of Torah as a divine and authoritative source of revelation. On the other hand, such references alone do not yet mean that Torah would be the main topic or theological centre of the work. Nor does it necessarily imply that Torah is the only revelation which is being invoked.

The four best-preserved wisdom texts from Qumran seem to represent two main types of sapiential traditions: Firstly, *Sapiential Work* (4Q185) and *Beatitudes* (4Q525) invoke the Torah given by God to Israel. Generally speaking, their ethos is well in line with Ben Sira's teaching, although they add more eschatological flavour in places. Secondly, *Instruction* (1Q26; 4Q415−418, 418a, 418c, 423) and *Mysteries* (1Q27; 4Q299−301) with strong apocalyptic nuances emphasise the accomplishment of a particular revelation, רז נהיה ("the mystery of being"), which is directed to the chosen elect. Torah alone is not regarded as an adequate source for attaining wisdom, but another revealed source of wisdom is needed.[16]

Nevertheless, the relationship between *raz* and Torah oriented wisdom is not mutually exclusive in that both are considered to be sources of wisdom in the *raz* texts. Obeying Torah is still presupposed; the ones who grasp רז נהיה understand the value of the Torah, too.[17] For instance, 4Q416 2 ii 8-10 states: וחוקיכה אל תרף וברזיכה השמר [מאו]דה ... [אל מנוח בנפשכה וא]ל תנומה לעיניכה עד עשותכה מצו[תיו, "And the statutes do not abandon, *but/and* with thy secrets take [go]od heed of yourself ... [let there be no rest for your soul] or sleep for your eyes, until you have performed [his] command[ments."

[13] For *Instruction* and *Mysteries*, see, e.g., 4Q417 6:2; 4Q423 9:2; 12:1; 1Q27 5:2; 61:2; 70:1; 78:1; 80:3. For other wisdom texts, see, e.g., 4Q184 1:5 (x2); 2:2; 5:5; 4Q421 13:4.

[14] See, e.g., 4Q416 2 ii 8-10; 4Q417 19:4; 4Q418 197:1-2; 4Q426 1 i 1-2; 4Q473 2:1-4; possibly 4Q413 1-2:4; 4Q528 1:5.

[15] See especially the paradise narrative, the Decalogue, and some laws that have influenced *Instruction*: 4Q416 2 iii 15-19 and perhaps 4Q415 2 ii 1 referring to the Decalogue; 4Q416 2 iii 20-iv 5 with respect to the creation story (marriage); 4Q416 2 iv 8-10 based on Num 30:6-15 (the authority of a husband over the vows and votive offerings of his wife); 4Q417 1 i 14-16 on Seth (cf. Ex 32:16; Num 24:17/Gen 4:25; Gen 4:26); and 4Q418 103:6-7 which makes use of the laws of "mixed things" (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9-11). See also 4Q423 8:2; 4Q423 1-2 i; 4Q418[a] 3:3; 4Q423 5:1. For *Mysteries*, see the Pentateuchal figures mentioned in 4Q299 74:2; 79:6; 106:2; the priestly terms in 1Q27 3:2; 6:2; 4Q299 67:3; 69:2; 4Q301 5:2; and the reference to covenant in 4Q299 83:4. See also 4Q303 1:10-11; 4Q305 ii 1-3; 4Q419 1:2, 5; 4Q426 12:3; possibly 4Q302 1 i 7.

[16] See, e.g., Grant Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (JSJSup 115; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

[17] Yet, the overall focus in *Instruction* seems to be on attaining *raz nihyeh*, while the references to Torah are few in comparison with the writing's length. Nor are wisdom and Torah explicitly connected to each other. The link between them is even more uncertain in *Mysteries* which does not exhortate to keep the Torah as clearly as *Instruction* does.

REMARKS UPON WISDOM AND TORAH IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

It is well-known that the roots of the tradition, which identifies wisdom and Torah with each other, are visible in several texts that eventually ended up in the Hebrew Bible – including Deuteronomy 4:5-6; Ezra 7:14, 25; Jeremiah 8:8; as well as Psalms 1; 19; 37:30-31; 119. Even so, the association between wisdom and Torah is more frequent and lucid in numerous late Second Temple texts.[18]

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, even some texts that cannot be counted as wisdom *par excellence* imply the connection. For instance, the *War Scroll* (1QM 10:9-10) states: מיא כעמכה ישראל ... עם קדושי ברית ומלומדי חוק משכילי בינ[ה, "And who (is) like your nation, Israel … a nation of holy ones of the covenant, learned in the law, wise in knowledge." To take another example, *4QapocrJoshua*^{b} (4Q379 18:6) refers to the wisdom given through the Torah: ובעדו[ת] עליון השכלת, "and by the decree[s] of the Most High you have given wisdom."[19]

Many wisdom texts connect the wise life with Torah observance at least implicit. For instance, *Sapiential-Hymnic Work A* (4Q426 1 i 1-2) draws a connection between knowledge and keeping the commandments: "hon]our and a measured portion of knowledge (דעת) and length of days [… those who k]eep all His commandments (מצוותיו), but the seed of (the) wicked ones." In *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* (4Q184), female folly is said to take to the wrong path that leads into destruction, including the rejection of the commandments.[20] In *The Ways of Righteousness*$^{a-b}$ (4Q420-421), the righteous man is described as "walking in the ways of God" (1a ii-b). As a final example we can mention Psalm 154, wisdom-related liturgical poetry which was known in Syriac until the 11Q Psalms scroll (11Q5 18). Lines 12-14 read as follows: "From the gates of the righteous is heard her voice (קולה), and from the assembly of the pious her song (זמרתה). When they eat with satiety she

[18] See especially Eckhard J. Schnabel, *Law and Wisdom from Ben Sira to Paul: A Tradition-Historical Enquiry into the Relation of Law, Wisdom, and Ethics* (WUNT 2/16; Tübingen: Mohr, 1985).

[19] Note also the reconstructed exhortation in *1QDibrêMoshe* (1Q22 ii 8-9): [הבו לכם חכמים אשר י]עשו לבאר [לכם ולבני]כם [את] כול דברי הת[ורה], "[choose for yourselves wise men who will] have the task to explain [to you and to] your [sons] all these words of the To[rah]."

[20] See esp. 4Q184 1:13-17: "…to seek out a righteous man and lead him astray, and a perfect man to make him stumble; upright men to divert (their) path, and those chosen for righteousness from keeping the commandment (מנצור מצוה); those sustained with […] to make fools of them with wantonness, and those who walk uprightly to change the st[atute] (הולכי ישר להשנות ח[וק]) … to turn their steps from the ways of righteousness … tracks of uprightness; to lead mankind astray in the ways of the Pit."

is cited (נאמרה), and when they drink in community together, their reflection is on the Torah of the Most High (שיחתם בתורת עליון), their words on making known his might."

The interest in the Torah is even deeper in the present objects of examination, 4Q185 and 4Q525. In spite of being a prominent example of Torah oriented wisdom thought, the term תורה occurs – perhaps surprisingly – only once in 4Q525, as a part of the designation "Torah of the Most High" (תורת עליון) in 2 ii 4. 4Q185 does not involve any such references, except for the probably synonymous "the words of the covena[nt" (דברי בריׄ[ת) in 3:3. Instead, Torah devotion emerges in an allusive and poetic form, as I hope to show next. With regard to the pedagogical devices, it is distinctive that both texts make use of the feminine, third person singular suffix ה. Where does it refer to – wisdom, Torah, or both of them?

THE EVIDENCE OF 4Q185

In 4Q185, which includes three lengthies text passages, the feminine suffix ה appears almost exclusively in the latter half of frgs. 1-2 ii. Firstly, there is a macarism followed by explanations which describes the divine gift of wisdom and/or Torah (1-2 ii 8-10): אשרי אדם נתנה לו ... ואל יתהלל[ו] רשעים לאמור לא נתנה לי ולא [... אלהים נתנה]לישראל וכזבד[ט]וב זבדה, "Happy is the man to whom she has been given ... The wicked ones should not brag, saying: she has not been given to me and not [... God has given her] to Israel, and like a [g]ood gift, gives her." Even if the feminine suffix ה referred to wisdom in the first instance, the mention about how God gave "her" to Israel makes it clear that Torah is simultaneously involved, while the reference to the wicked highlights the line drawn between the pious and non-pious ones in the text. The phrase "good gift" seems to hint at divine blessings involved in the Torah. The identification of wisdom and Torah is, therefore, at least presupposed. Accordingly, it is logical to expect the same kind of interpretation with respect to the other occurrences of the feminine suffix.

Soon after, further instruction related to inheriting and blessed life of the wise is provided (1-2 ii 11-13): יאמר המתכבד בה ישאנה י[רו]שה ומצאה וח[ז]ק בה ונחלה ועמה[ארך י]מים ודשן עצם ושמחת לבב עש[ר וכבוד] וחסדיו עלמיה וישועות[יו, "Let anyone who glorifies her say: one should have welfare in her, ta[k]e her as po[ssess]ion, find her, ho[ld] fast to her, and inherit her. With her (there are) [longev]ity, greasy bones, the joy of heart, rich[es, and honour.] His mercies are her youth, and

[his] salvation...” According to the instruction, wisdom and Torah can and indeed are to be inherited, yet they are to be found, absorbed, and kept consciously by the pious audience who looks for a blessed, harmonious life. The promises include longevity and riches, as typical of Jewish wisdom literature, but they are described in an abstract and poetical way.

The extant teaching ends with another macarism (1-2 ii 13-15): אשרי אדם יעשנה ולא רגל על[יה וברו]ח מרמה לא יבקשנה ובחלקות לא יחזיקנה כן תתן לאבתיו כן ירשה[וחזק] בה בכל עוז כחו ובכל [מא]דו לאין חקר ויורישנה לצאצאיו, “Happy is the man who performs her, does not slander against [her,] does not seek her [with a] fradulent [spir]it, nor holds fast to her with flatteries. As she was given to his fathers, so shall he inherit her [and hold fast] to her with all force of his strength and with all his [vig]our without restriction. And he will give her as an inheritance to his descendants.”

The reference to performing “her” reveals the motif of Torah observance and confirms the implicit identification of wisdom and Torah. The aspiration of the audience towards an ideal life is described as sincere and earnest. Such a pursuit is expanded to concern future generations through the motif of inheritance; the recipients have an essential role in the transmission of divine wisdom which has been, and is continuosly being, revealed in the Torah given to the fathers in the past.

THE EVIDENCE OF 4Q525

4Q525 similarly makes prominent use of the feminine suffix ה. Firstly, the series of five macarisms and the next poem, which builds upon the last macarism, stress holding “her,” attaining wisdom, following the Torah, and reflecting on “her.” The second extant beatitude (2-3 ii 1) proclaims: אשרי תומכי חוקיה, “Happy are those who hold fast to her statutes,” apparently referring to the statutes of the Torah. The following beatitudes (2 ii 2-3) refers to rejoicing in “her” (אש[רי] הגלים בה) and seeking “her” (אשרי דורשיה בבור כפים ולוא ישחרנה בלב מרמה).

The fifth and final beatitude (2 ii 3-4) states: אשרי אדם השיג חוכמה ויתהלך בתורת עליון, “Happy is the one who attains wisdom, (*vacat*) and walks in the Torah of the Most High.” Hence, attaining wisdom is considered to be parallel to walking in – that is, observing – the Torah. The statement, the most explicit equation of wisdom and Torah in the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf. Sir 24), opens a new section and poem on the character of the wise life led by those who have achieved wisdom. Line 2-3 ii 6 is to be noted in particular, since it describes how the wise person בה יהגה תמיד, “reflects on

her continually," an expression which resonates with the Torah piety of many other texts (cf. Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2; 119:1; 154:12-14; Sir 14:20).

The latter part of frg. 5 depicts ideal groups of people and contains several fascinating expressions. Lines 5:9-10 refer to יראי אלוהים יצורו דרכיה ויתהלכו ב[...] חוקיה ובתוכחותיה לוא ימאסו, "those who fear God keep her ways and walk in […] her statutes and do not reject her chastisements." The combination of ideas resembles Ben Sira's view of fear as an attitude in which wisdom is strived to be achieved by Torah observance (e.g., 1:26; 2:15-16; 19:20, 24; 21:11). The concepts merge, when observance is associated with fearing God and wisdom means observing the Torah.[21]

The next line 5:11 states: הולכי תמים יטו עולה וביסוריה לוא ימאסו, "Those who walk in perfection turn aside injustice and do not reject her punishments." The designation "those who walk in perfection" (cf. 11-12:3; 27:4) might allude to halakhic practices because the sectarian rule texts use similar expressions of strict law observance.[22] Furthermore, the statement אוהבי אלוהים יצניעו בה, "those who love God walk humbly in her," in line 5:13 seems to associate Torah observance and humility with each other, perhaps calling "to submit oneself" to the Torah, as suggested by Matthew Goff.[23]

Despite the fairly general character of the statements about "her," the particularity of wisdom becomes evident through the negations in lines 5:7-8: אל ת]עזובו לז[רים חל]קכמה וגורלכמה לבני נכר כי חכמ[ים, "do not a]bandon to str[angers] your [inheritan]ce or your lot to foreigners. For wis[e are..." There may even have been a reference to purity regulations in line 5:5 with the words והרה התה[לכו]ט, "p]urity [they have] wal[ked."

Finally, frgs. 21 and 24 ii are to be elaborated on with respect to their water imagery. Line 21:7 describes:] רבו מקורה מקור[, "they dev[astat]ed her source, the source of," perhaps referring the source of wisdom which has been destroyed by the wicked. But what is the source in question? Water idiom is repeated in another poem found in frg. 24 ii. Lines 24 ii 8-9 probably refer to the wise people: ושתו מי[בור] ... וכול שות°[...] באר מימי מע[ין, "they shall drink water [of the spring]

[21] Cf. Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel* (trans. J. D. Martin; London: SCM; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1972), 245: "All that differentiates Sirach from the older teachers is that he reinterpreted the expression 'fear of God' for an age to which the will of God spoke from the written Torah. ... Sirach allows himself to be carried away to total identifications: Torah is fear of God, and wisdom is Torah."

[22] The phrase "to walk in perfection" (הלך תמים) occurs in the following rule texts: CD 1:20-21; 2:15; 1QS 2:2; 3:9; 8:18, 21; 9:6, 8, 9, 19; 1QSb 1:2 (and 4Q-par.). For wisdom contexts, see 4Q415 2i+1 ii 3; 4Q417 1 i 12; 1 ii 5. For the HB parallels, see especially Pss 15:2; 84:12; and Pr 28:18; but also Gen 17:1; Pss 101:6; 119:1.

[23] Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 207-08.

... all those who drin[k …] the well of the waters of the sp[ring." The interpretation of water as referring to the Torah is supported by the use of the same metaphor in other late Second Temple compositions (esp. CD 6:2-7; Sir 24:25-29; 4Q418 81:1; 103 ii 6).

REFLECTIONS ON THE TORAH DISCOURSE OF 4Q185 and 4Q525

As has been demonstrated above, the recurrent feminine suffix ה in 4Q185 and 4Q525 functions, along with the detected equation of wisdom with the Torah (esp. 4Q185 1-2 ii 10, 13-14; 4Q525 2 ii 3-4), as a deliberate literary device. The suffix can simultaneously refer to both of these concepts that are feminine of their grammatical gender. The authors intentionally employed the suffix which allowed for multiple interpretations. In the late Second Temple context, the study of wisdom had become to mean Torah studies, and there was no need to make a distinction between them in the conceptual world of the sages. On the contrary, the writers wanted to proclaim Torah to be *the* source of wisdom.

It has been suggested that the possibly lesser degree of wisdom's personification in late Second Temple texts – that wisdom is personified but not presented very concretely as a woman like in Proverbs 1-9 – pertains to the close link between wisdom and Torah.[24] Such an explanation seems logical, but it should not be overemphasised due to the fragmentary evidence. At least 4Q525 preserves some evidence for a clearly personified female character, for wisdom speaks in the first person in places (esp. frgs. 11-12, 24). For the present purposes the question about wisdom's personification is secondary, however. It is more apt to consider the meaning of the concept of תורה. Let us begin with asking whether 4Q185 and 4Q525 have anything to do with halakhic discussion.

As is well-known, תורה was used in an etymological and dynamic sense of "instruction" in the early periods of the Israelite religion, while it came to mean the Pentateuch – or even the entire legal heritage of Judaism – over the course of time.[25] Regardless of the rather abstract character of

[24] With respect to 4Q525, this has been suggested at least by Eileen Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (2 vols.; ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:117-44, 2:138-39; and Sidnie White Crawford, "Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran," *DSD* 6 (1998): 355-66, 365.

[25] See, e.g., Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism* (rev. ed.; The Oxford Bible Series; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 74; Richard Elliot Friedman, "Torah (Pentateuch)," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (6 vols.: ed. D. N. Freedman et al.; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 6:605-22; Shemaryahu Talmon, "Torah as a Concept and Vital Principle in the Hebrew Bible," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1979): 279-88. In particular, the Greek rendering νόμος did not transmit the dynamic character

Torah discourse in late Second Temple wisdom literature, the word תורה clearly does not stand for any type of instruction. In the cases of 4Q185 and 4Q525, this is highlighted by the references to the past and present inheriting of "her" (4Q185 1-2 ii 11-12, 14-15; 4Q525 5:7-8).

Even so, the discussion about Torah in 4Q185 and 4Q525 lacks specificity and concreteness (cf., e.g., Ps 119 and Sir), perhaps apart from 4Q525 5:5. In spite of this, George Brooke has insightfully suggested with regard to 4Q525 that the Torah focused wisdom instruction could, in some sense, be characterised as "wisdom as a practical application of halakhah" or "halakhistic exegesis." The aim of Torah oriented wisdom is more or less the same as that of legal texts. Both types of literature deal essentially with the question of how to live in the world created by God, and they offer Torah obedience as an answer. The styles of responding are yet different: legal texts discuss the details of law observance, while Torah piety is abstracted into conceptual level in wisdom literature.[26]

Brooke's suggestion is very incisive in that 4Q525 in particular even makes use of the verb הלך, "to walk," with regard to Torah piety (esp. 2 ii 3, 7; 5:5, 9, 11; 11-12:3). The same verb of course gave name to the concept of halakhah in later Judaism, but it was used of law observance already in the late Second Temple period (e.g., 1QS 1:8; CD 7:4, 7). On the other hand, naming the Torah oriented ethos of wisdom instruction as halakhic is slightly dangerous due to the major differences between the modes of sapiential and halakhic literature. Wisdom texts that promote Torah devotion display no interest in the details of law observance, whereas the term halakhah itself implies a concern for the specific details of law.[27]

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of the Hebrew word and assisted in establishing its static tone, even though certain legal connotations seem likely already in pre-exilic times; Samuel L.Terrien, "Wisdom in the Psalter," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, B. B. Scott and W. J. Wiseman; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 51-72, 58, 63. The explicitly particular tone of the term is fairly late, however. John J. Collins, "The Transformation of the Torah in Second Temple Judaism," *JSJ* 43 (2012): 455-74, writes on how the talk about the Torah in Ezra-Nehemiah still lacks "the systematic scrutiny of law," and the importance of the Torah remains largely symbolic (461-62). There are no works concerned primarily with halakhic matters until the Maccabean revolt, whereas the interest in them clearly grew in the Hasmonean period (458).

[26] See George J. Brooke, "Biblical interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 201-20, 209: "In the first place halakhic exegesis is offered through the broad imitation of the content of scriptural models in the wisdom books themselves. Here it is a matter of seeking wisdom and walking in her ways, as is paramount in the macarisms of 4Q525. The halakhah is based in practical advice for everyday living which is the application of various of the principles underlying the Torah, rather than the application of individual rulings (*mishpatim*) or statutes (*ḥuqim*)."

[27] See, e.g., Larry L. Lyke, "Halakhah," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. D. N. Freedman and A. C. Myers; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 542: "Halakhah is the means by which often ambiguous legal passages are clarified and interpreted for application in new and changed circumstances." More explicit halakhic discussion can be found in another wisdom text, *Instruction*, which contains a few passages that deal with a married woman's oaths and vows, the rules of mixed species, and the law of the firstborn animals. Weights and measures are also discussed but in a non-halakhic context. Moreover, the wisdom text *4QWays of Righteousness*^{b} (4Q421) contains legal material related to entering the Temple; see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International*

Hence, the Torah discourse of 4Q185 and 4Q525 hints at the aspect of law observance, but the term תורה does not seem to be exhausted by legal connotations. Carol Newsom has argued in an enlightening way how the term "T/torah" had become an ideological sign in second century Judaism. It was used in multiple senses, as "socially multiaccentual" and "the site of intersecting accents." The accents were not merely scholarly abstractions, but they existed in the word itself, because all words bear the traces of their previous use within them.[28] Newsom's characterisation seems very suitable for wisdom context. The term תורה had become associated with the Mosaic Torah, but it could still continue the earlier and literal meaning of "an instruction." The concept and the feminine suffix ה used to refer to it were optimal didactic devices due to their multifaceted character and rich connotations. By the means of wisdom instruction, the authors of 4Q185 and 4Q525 contributed to the prevalent notion of the Torah as *the* instruction of Israel.

The statement about the correspondence between wisdom and Torah pertains to the scripturalisation process of wisdom which finally deserves to be addressed with respect to 4Q185 and 4Q525.

SCRIPTURALISATION OF WISDOM

While certain types of literature make explicit use of scripture with lemmata, the primary way to use scripture in poetical texts is very different. Because of its more subtle nature, the use of scripture is much more difficult to discern and itemise. The mode of scriptural interpretation in poetical and hymnic texts has been depicted by George Brooke as the "allusory anthologisation of traditions." The author(s) were not necessarily even aware of their sources, but they "pluck the best flowers" and put them together, hence creating a new composition with fresh arrangement.[29] Yet, the use of sources was not haphazard. Regardless of the intentionaly of scriptural references, they made the tone of the new text more particular and eventually constructed the identity of the audience who received, memorised, and transmitted these texts.[30]

Symposium of the Orion Center, 20-22 May, 2001 (ed. J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling and R. A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 89-100.

[28] Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 10-11.

[29] Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran," 208.

[30] See George J. Brooke, "Hypertextuality and the "Parabiblical" Dead Sea Scrolls," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature* (ed. P. S. Alexander, A. Lange and R. J. Pillinger; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 43-64, 58; Elisa Uusimäki, "Use of Scripture in *4QBeatitudes*: A Torah-Adjustment to Proverbs 1-9," *DSD* 20 (2013): 71-97.

A number of scriptural references have been previously identified in 4Q185. Generally speaking, much of the language in 1-2 i 13-ii 15 draws on Proverbs and other Jewish wisdom literature. The instruction makes more specific use of the idiom of Isaiah 40:6-8 (cf. Pss 90:5-6; 92:5-9; 103:15-17) in 1-2 i 9-13, and of Psalm 105 (vv. 5 and 27) in 1-2 i 14-15. In addition, other scriptural imagery can be found.[31] It should be remarked that 4Q185 also refers explicitly to biblical figures as exemplars in 1-2 ii 4: עקב ונתיבה חקק לישחק]לי צוה אשר ודרך ...[, "[... but the way which he commanded to J]acob and the path which he decreed to Isaac."

As for 4Q525, I have written extensively on its manifold use of scripture elsewhere.[32] Suffice it to summarise that the largest fragments include a plethora of quotations, allusions, and notable echoes that concern Proverbs 1-9; Psalms 1, 15, 24, 37, 119, 154; Deuteronomy; and Ben Sira. The references can be set in a hierarchical order on the basis of their dominance. Proverbs 1-9 evidently provides the primary literary model and source of imitation, to the extent that 4Q525 reworks and rewrites it. The other references are used as "ancillary" sources to make the wisdom instruction more particular. Furthermore, the sporadic imagery shared by 4Q525 14 and 15 (par. 5Q16 1-2+5), Deuteronomy 32, and Psalm 91 has a further effect upon the work, enforcing the concerns of divine protection and blessings against the prospect of eternal curses. In sum, the use of scripture in 4Q525 indicates that a "Torah-adjustment" to Proverbs takes place in the text.

The mosaic of scriptural idiom and ideas enhances the Torah piety of 4Q185 and 4Q525, especially because it has an integral role to play in their function. The basic purpose of these texts is undoubtedly didactic, but their content suggests, as has been discovered, that the intended audience is not prepared for wisdom merely in the sense of a good and successful earthly life. Moreover, or perhaps even primarily, a comprehensive spiritual formation of the addressees is aspired. Blessings are promised to those who find their wisdom and resort in the Torah and the tradition.

CONCLUSIONS

Traces of the association between wisdom and Torah appear in multiple Dead Sea Scrolls. The connection is particularly prominent in 4Q185 and 4Q525. Even so, these wisdom texts do not refer to any specific laws, rather they exhortate the audience to lead an ideal way of life in which wisdom

[31] See especially the careful study of Thomas H. Tobin, S.J., "4Q185 and Jewish Wisdom Literature," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins. Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 145-52, esp. 146-47.
[32] Uusimäki, "Use of Scripture in *4QBeatitudes*," 71-97.

and Torah obedience are closely intertwined. The employment of the feminine suffix ה, which can simultaneously refer to both wisdom and Torah, is a major literary and pedagogical means used by the authors. It is employed to point out the essential link between these feminine concepts. Recognising the Torah orientation of these works also results in a better understanding of their function: the wisdom teaching did not prepare only for a successful earthly life, but it also took part in the spiritual formation of the recipients. It is clear that the wisdom, which is being taught, goes beyond the educational programme of those works that eventually made it to the Hebrew Bible.

OTSEM, September 13th – 16th 2013, Tartu
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Ḥerem in the Book of Malachi

Introduction: the final verses of Malachi

My doctoral project concentrates on ideal figures in Malachi. However, I have found a very interesting side path in investigating especially the three final verses in Malachi (3:22–24). I noticed that these verses have often been neglected in Malachi scholarship, especially among the majority of scholars who treat them as later additions.[1] Those who opt for the integrity of these verses to the bulk of the book usually pay more attention to them, but at the same time interpret the verses according to that premise, which of course affects their interpretations.[2] For several, linguistic and other, reasons, I joined the mainstream at an early stage of my studies in presuming that the verses are additions. At the same time I thought it was necessary to give them a proper consideration and ask *why* they have been added in the first place.

Scholars have most often thought that the final verses in Malachi are additions at least to the Twelve Prophets or perhaps to the Latter Prophets, or the Former and Latter Prophets in total, or even the Torah and the Prophets. The verses have thus been treated in very general terms, stressing how they summarize the content of the previous section/s of Scripture. In a way, this is un-

[1] It is usually noted that the final verses of Malachi are different from the rest of the book; the vocabulary and style are quite dissimilar to the preceding. Several commentators have also paid attention to the distinctively Deuteronomic character of the verses, even if it is admitted that Malachi as a whole bears Deuteronomic traits. (For this, see, e.g. David L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9–14 and Malachi: A Commentary* [London: SCM Press, 1995], 228; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Die Propheten Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi* [ATD 25/2, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993], 160–161; Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi* [Anchor Bible 25D. New York: Doubleday, 1998], 368–369.)The majority of these scholars also think that there are two separate additions, 3:22 and 3:23–24, respectively. This claim may be supported by the LXX where they occur in reverse order. Some scholars think, however, that the verses form one single appendix.

[2] E. g. Beth Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 243–270; Julia M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 79; Michael H. Floyd, *Minor Prophets: Part 2* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 612–614, 622–626. See also idem, "The משא as a Type of Prophetic Book", *JBL* 121 (2002): 401–422.

doubtedly true.[3] At the same time, I found this reasoning misleading and wondered whether these similarities are mere coincidences, or perhaps better, that the themes simply are important and thus recurring, even if the real focus of the verses is somewhere else.

I found out that the introduction of Elijah to Mal 3:23 was an exegetical reading of especially Mal 3:2. The real purpose of Mal 3:23 seems to be to provide an answer to the question of who the "Messenger of the Covenant" in Mal 3:1 is. The author of Mal 3:23 saw a significant number of similarities between Mal 3:2 and the Elijah cycle, above all 1 Kings 17–18, which led him to the conclusion that the messenger must be Elijah.[4] In a corresponding though perhaps somewhat less obvious way, the aim of Mal 3:22 seems to be identifying the "Book of Remembrance" of Mal 3:16 as the Torah and at the same time stressing the covenantal thematic of Malachi by pointing to the moment of the giving of the Law at Sinai/Horeb.[5] It is quite possible that verses 22 and 23 stem from two different hands.

Having thus examined verses 22 and 23, I thought also verse 24 deserved attention. The verse is puzzling in many ways. The dissimilarity between the MT and the LXX is one issue; the meaning and significance of Elijah's mission another.

Some redaction criticism concerning the final appendix (Mal 3:23–24)

In Hebrew, Mal 3:23–24 runs as follows,

הנה אנכי שלח לכם את אליה הנביא לפני בוא יום יהוה הגדול והנורא

והשיב לב אבות על בנים ולב בנים על אבותם פן אבוא והכיתי את הארץ חרם

See, I shall send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord arrives.

[3] The word Torah is used in Mal 3:22. A character from the Former Prophets is mentioned (Elijah), as well as one from the Torah (Moses). Besides, Moses is called the Lord's servant in Josh 1:1–2 as well as Mal 3:22, which would bring together the beginning of the Former Prophets and the end of the Latter Prophets.

[4] This involved also deliberate alternative readings of the consonantal text and playing with verbal roots. See my "The Case of Messenger-Elijah: The Origins of the Final Appendix to Malachi (3:23–24)," Hermann Michael Niemann & Matthias Augustin (eds.), *"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*. BEATAJ 57: Frankfurt/Main etc.: P. Lang, 2011: 93–103.

[5] Lotta Valve, "Moses and Elijah at Horeb and at the End of Malachi," Erkki Koskenniemi & J. Cornelis de Vos (eds.), Rewritten Holy Places and Cult [? preliminary title], Studies in Rewritten Bible 5, Åbo Akademi University & Eisenbrauns, forthcoming in 2013.

He will turn the hearts of fathers to children and the hearts of children to their fathers so that when I come, I will not strike the land with ḥerem.[6]

To my knowledge, no scholar has questioned whether Mal 3:23 and 3:24 belong together. These verses have always been treated as one single appendix. This is all but natural given the way how verse 24 is connected to the previous verse by a *waw consecutivum*. However, for the purpose of explaining Mal 3:1(–5), verse 23 would suffice, as the messenger is there identified as Elijah.[7] The question of the redaction of Mal 3:23–24 is virtually impossible to solve. I think it must be admitted, though, that the structure in this lengthy sequence is not the most likely one could expect. It is possible to view verse 24 as an afterthought to verse 23. Therefore, it is not quite unthinkable that verse 24 is secondary to verse 23.

It *may* be that someone considered an ending in verse 23 (possibly preceded by verse 22) terse and, what is more important, thought there was something still to say. This idea is attractive because it opens for a possibility that a third redactor also had real concerns, similar to those of the two first ones in form but perhaps not in content. But, of course it may also be that the author of verse 23 had several ideas and that he, after having reported his solution to the messenger problem, reveals some of those other thoughts in verse 24. There is no way to know, and the question of authorship perhaps has no real significance here. The case should only *not* be treated with a presumption that the author of verse 23 simply added some random notes about Elijah's future task and its implications to make up verse 24.

[6] All translations are my own.

[7] The following reference to the Day of the Lord seems to be connected to Joel 2:11; 3:4 as many scholars maintain. The phrase might perhaps also be a traditional way to characterize that Day. However, I think that the question of "enduring" or "bearing" the Day (כול, Mal 3:2) may well have led the editor who wrote Mal 3:23 to cite Joel 3:4 because of the influence of a similar question in Joel 2:11. It is commonly assumed, though, that the latter half of Joel stems from a different hand than Joel 1–2, perhaps from the early Hellenistic period because of a rather apocalyptic outlook and the specific mention of the Greeks (בני היונים) in 4:6. (For this, see e.g. Brenda J. Shaver, "The Prophet Elijah in the Literature of the Second Temple Period: The Growth of a Tradition," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001, 111.) A possibility worth consideration is therefore that the author of Mal 3:23 first cited Joel 2:11 freely, and after this, the editor who wrote Joel 3–4 cited Mal 3:23 *verbatim*.

Elijah's task?

Mal 3:24 is a difficult verse when Elijah's mission is concerned. Above, the Hebrew version of the text was given. In Greek, it runs as follows (Mal 3:23),

ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην

He will restore the heart of the father to the son and the heart of a human to his neighbour, so that I will not come and destroy the world utterly.

The Greek thus already shows a certain interpretation of the verse in question, especially with regard to the first half, and has not either retained the ambiguity that characterizes the second half of the verse in Hebrew. If the LXX is not dependent on a differing Hebrew text, then the translator has made significant changes that may be due to difficulties that already he had in the interpretation of the verse. The possibility that he had a different *Vorlage* is at least not supported by the 4QXII[a] version of Mal 3:22–24. Everything that is visible in that scroll coheres with MT, even though the text is fragmentary.

What does it actually mean, then, to "turn the hearts of fathers to children and the hearts of children to their fathers"? This debated question probably has implications also for the threat that concludes the book. For the grammatical construction of the MT, there are two possibilities. The more obvious one was given above. There, the preposition על 'upon' was understood as the same sense as אל 'to', which is normal variation in Biblical Hebrew. A minority view is that the preposition על should be understood in its other meaning 'with', which gives the following translation,
And he will turn the heart of the fathers together with that of the children.
And the heart of the children together with that of their fathers [to me].[8]
Beth Glazier-McDonald and Aharon Wiener have advocated this translation,[9] but other scholars have rejected it as forced.[10] Most commentators do not even consider this alternative. In any case it is not supported by the LXX or the majority of the Jewish exegetical tradition.

[8] Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi*, 243.
[9] Aharon Wiener, *The Prophet Elijah in the Development of Judaism: A Depth-Psychological Study.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1978, 35.
[10] E.g. Shaver, "Prophet Elijah," 112–114.

If, indeed, the traditional rendering is the one intended by the text, one should be able to make something out of it. Several explanations have been offered. It is common to maintain that the meaning of Elijah's task is connected to the historical situation in which the appendix was written.[11] Thus, scholars speculate that there were conservative and liberal fractions in Jewish culture during the Hellenistic time; perhaps the younger generation often grew assimilated to Greek customs, which their parents could not accept.[12] Brenda Shaver notes that this may be how the LXX translator has understood the verse; in the LXX, Elijah's role is to create harmony in the society at large.[13]

As for the LXX, the translator's solution might also have something to do with the mention of a father/man and a son in Mal 1,6; 3:17 and a person and his neighbour in Mal 3:16. To me, this seems plausible. It has often been pointed out in Malachi scholarship that verses 1:6 and 3:17 interact; in the former, the Lord as a father accuses the son (Israel and specifically its priests) for improper conduct; in the latter, he promises to show mercy upon the repentant as "a man show mercy to his son who obeys him" (יחמל איש על בנו העבד אתו; αἱρετίζει ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν δουλεύοντα αὐτῷ). In Mal 3:16, the ones who fear the Lord talk "to one another" (איש את רעהו; ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτου). Reconciliation is definitely a theme in this small section of Malachi, and it is not at all unthinkable that the LXX translator of Mal 3:24 borrowed the idea from there.

Shaver herself however doubts that the LXX solution conveys the intended meaning of the Hebrew reciprocal expression of fathers and sons. She maintains that the phrase probably has some covenantal background, in the light of the prominence of covenantal language elsewhere in Malachi.[14] Also Julia O'Brien has argued for this.[15] It is true that the language of father and son is

[11] If a citation from Joel 3:4 in Mal 3:23 is accepted and if it is assumed that verse 24 stems from the same hand or at least roughly the same time as verse 23, we arrive at about the years 300–200 for the composition of the appendix. If the case is vice versa (cf. footnote 7 above), the appendix might be slightly older.
[12] E.g. Alexander Rofé, "The Onset of Sects in Post-exilic Judaism: Neglected Evidence from the Septuagint, Trito-Isaiah, Ben Sira, and Malachi," J. Neusner et al (eds.), *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee*, Philadelphia 1988: 39–49.
[13] Shaver, "Prophet Elijah," 120.
[14] Shaver, "Prophet Elijah," 117–119, 121.
[15] O'Brien, *Priest and Levite*, 79.

common covenantal terminology especially with regard to a landlord and a vassal (e.g. 2 Kings 16:7), and in Mal 1:6 there certainly is an allusion to this kind of language. However, to claim the same with regard to Mal 3:24 is somewhat vague, as the whole curious phrase and especially the plural call for special attention there. The more exact background for the language in Mal 3:24 thus needs still to be clarified. It seems clear to me that it is not of use to search for it in the HB, at least not directly. The phrase is unique, and all the other occurrences of "fathers and sons" in the HB are contextually unrelated to Mal 3:24. It is of course reasonable to assume that the background of the expression in some way is in the HB, because Malachi as a whole, including the appendices, is reinterpretation of traditions. But then the idea must be inferred.

A possibility is to assume that Israel's forefathers are the fathers mentioned in Mal 3:24. This is potential in view of the prominence of especially the Jacob traditions elsewhere in Malachi (given that the editor who wrote Mal 3:24 recognized this tendency).[16] Then one would of course ask how these forefathers who have passed by for centuries ago could "turn their hearts towards the children." But one has only to point out Isa 63:16: כי אתה אבינו כי אברהם לא ידענו וישראל לא יכירנו *You are our father, even if Abraham does not know us and Israel does not acknowledge us.*[17] This citation from Third Isaiah is from roughly the same time as the bulk of Malachi, and from later Second temple texts we know that the importance of the forefathers only grew by time. They became central figures in the literary genre of testaments and related literature. Therefore, it is possible that these forefathers are meant also here. A trace of this interpretation may actually be found in a later text. In my opinion, the option that the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31) has something to do with Mal 3:24 should be seriously considered, especially when its context in the Gospel of Luke is taken into account.[18]

[16] See my "Typological Use of Traditions of the Jacob Cycle in the Book of Malachi," Erkki Koskenniemi & Pekka Lindqvist (eds.), *Rewritten Biblical Figures*, Åbo Akademi University & Eisenbrauns 2010: 27–46.
[17] Cf. Shaver, "Prophet Elijah," 115–117.
[18] It has been shown that traces of Mal 3:23 and its interpretation can be found in all the (synoptic) gospels, albeit with different theological emphases with regard to the identification of either John or Jesus as Elijah. These kinds of tradition historical surveys are almost a field of its own in NT exegetics. See, e.g., John T.A. Robinson, "Elijah, John and Jesus: an Essay in Detection," *NTS* 4 (1958): 263–281; Markus Öhler, *Elia im Neuen Testament: Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des alttestamentlichen Propheten im Neuen Testament*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997; David M. Miller, "The Messenger, the Lord, and the Coming Judgement in the Reception History of Malachi 3," *NTS* 53 (2007): 1–16.

For covenant language, I want still to point out as another alternative that the curious plural and reciprocal "fathers and sons" has some parallel in the Sumerian King Lipit-Ishtar's law code: "I made the father support his children and I made the children support their father; I made the father stand by his children, and I made the children stand by their father..."[19] Of course, the dependence of Mal 3:24 from this text can by no means be direct, and we cannot even be quite sure what Lipit-Ishtar actually has done. But because all ancient Near Eastern covenantal texts hardly have survived, it is perhaps within the limits of possibility that Mal 3:24a includes a remote reference to a legal practice now lost.

How should the last half-verse of Malachi be interpreted grammatically?

Bible translators and commentators have thus arrived at differing solutions when interpreting Mal 3:24a. There are likewise several options concerning the second half of the verse. The problem of *ḥerem* will be discussed separately below, but also the grammatical structure of the phrase deserves some attention.

I Bible translations, the construction פן אבוא והכיתי is often translated in the same way as in the LXX.[20] Many commentators opine, though, that a better translation is, *so that I, when I come, should not strike*. The arrival of the Lord would thus not be optional; only the punishment would.[21] The prominence of the verb בוא in Mal 3:1–2 may add weight to this claim.[22]

I side with those who understand the verbal construction in the latter sense and thus translate Mal 3:24b, *lest that I, when I come, should strike the land with* ḥerem. It is interesting to notice, in addition, that the construction with פן is heavily Deuteronomic and evokes covenantal associa-

[19] Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture and Character*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago 1963, 336–337. The possible impact of this law-code on Deuteronomy, as well as that of the Ur-Nammu and Hammurabi codes, is discussed by Moshe Weinfeld (*Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School*, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1972, 148–150).
[20] Nearly all English translations apply this "literal" translation for the verse.
[21] E.g. Shaver, "Prophet Elijah," 118. This rendering is explicit in the Finnish 1992 Bible, as well as in the Swedish 2000 Bible.
[22] In any case, the author of Mal 3:23(–24) has interpreted Mal 3:1 so that מלאך הברית denotes Elijah. It is rather reasonable to think that for him, האדון in Mal 3:1 denotes the Lord who seems to arrive rather simultaneously with the Messenger/Elijah.

tions. The Israelites are warned for many transgressions by this formula (see, e.g. Deut 6:12). Also this feature connects Mal 3:24 strongly to a covenantal context.

The meaning of ḥerem *in Mal 3:24*

As was maintained above, the LXX solution should be translated, *so that I would not come and destroy the world utterly*. Some translators of the Hebrew text arrive at the same conclusion and hence maintain that *ḥerem* in the end of the verse should be understood as "totally" or the like.[23] Thus, they either actually translate the LXX, or imply that even if the background of the word is in the old covenantal concept of *ḥerem*, the meaning has shifted by time so that this covenantal background at the most only was a vague echo in the usage of the word by the time Mal 3:24 was written. I disagree with this view, see below.

The problems of translating the word חרם into Greek, as is envisaged by the terms that have been applied in the LXX,[24] illustrate the semantic field of this apparently very ancient concept. What can at least be said is that translating חרם as 'ban' or 'curse' appears to be somewhat misleading for Biblical Hebrew, even if this became the essential meaning of the word in Classical Hebrew.[25] Those who translate Mal 3:24b in a variant of the expression *so that I will not devote the land to destruction* are more accurate in their interpretation.[26]

חרם is essentially a concept of the Deuteronomistic History, above all the Book of Joshua. It is part of the narrative scheme concerning the conquering of the cities and means their total destruction which seems to have cultic significance.[27] Occurrences of the term in the Priestly material or in prophetic texts related to the sacred are rarer, most notable in Leviticus 27 and Numbers 18. In these texts, votive offerings are the subject. It is very probable that these two meanings (votive

[23] Of the English translations, at least Young's Literal Translation (1862/1898) applies this.
[24] ἀνάθεμα is the preferred translation, but it does not fit every place. N. Lohfink contends that the original meaning of ἀνάθεμα probably was 'votive offering placed in the temple' (ThDOT חרם, 182).
[25] This shift in meaning seems to be precisely the same that has occurred to the Greek word ἀνάθεμα. Translating חרם as 'ban' or 'curse' has been common especially in older Bible translations (such as the King James Version, Luther's 1545 German Bible or the Finnish 1776 Bible), but it is applied also in newer ones, such as the New Revised Standard Version.
[26] E.g. the Finnish 1933 Bible and the Swedish 2000 Bible.
[27] Josh 6:17; 8:26; 10:1,28; 11:20, etc.

offering and destroying the Canaanite cities) are originally interrelated, as also e.g. the expression איש חרמי concerning the Syrian king Ben-Hadad in 1 Kings 20:42.

My point of departure concerning Mal 3:24 was that it is the latest addition to Malachi, regardless of if it was added together with Mal 3:23 or even later. I have previously argued[28] that the dichotomy between the righteous and the wicked that is visible in Mal 3:13–21 reflects the initial conflict between Jacob and Esau in Mal 1:2–5. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that Mal 3:13–21 is already secondary to the original book that could well have ended in verse 3:12.

Chiastic structure was a device in use in the Second temple period, as can be seen e.g. in the final redaction of Isaiah. Mal 3:12 would have been a perfect chiastic ending for the book, stressing the promise given to "Jacob" in the beginning of the book, as well as the contrast between the ruined country of Edom and the lovely land of Israel. Also 3:21 could have served as a chiasm, stressing more the punishment of "Esau." If, however, two exegetical notes (3:22 and 3:23) were needed to clarify some obscurities in Malachi, then the chiasm suffered. It had to be restored in verse 24.

So, I argue that the concept of *ḥerem* in Malachi must be seen as a reference to Esau/Edom. It is a veiled threat that the punishment that Esau and his descendants the Amalekites once avoided will come upon Israel if they do not repent. I take only two texts to illustrate this contention.

In Exod 17:8–16, the Israelites fight against the Amalekites. Verse 14 is of special interest with regard to Malachi. There, the Lord says to Moses,

כתב זאת זכרון בספר ושים באזני יהושע כי מחה אמחה את זכר עמלק מתחת השמים

Write this memorial in a book and put it into Joshua's ears: I will indeed wipe out the memory of Amalek from under the heaven.

If, now, an earlier redactor had identified the "Book of remembrance" of Mal 3:16 as the Torah and possibly also seen a specific connection to Moses and the Sinai event in Exod 32:32–34[29], a slightly later ancient exegete could well have elaborated the statement even further.[30] For surely

[28] E.g. in my paper at the OTSEM 2011 conference in Copenhagen.
[29] See my "Moses and Elijah at Horeb."
[30] I want however to stress that it is still quite possible that there was only one redactor with multiple concerns.

this account in Exod 17:8–16 also was a part of the Holy Torah of Moses, and the suspicious mention of "memorial" and "book" called for special attention. The obligation to remember Amalek's evil deeds is repeated in Deut 25:19, but from a slightly different angle: the denial of the Edomites/Amalekites to give way to the Israelites is stressed (Num 20:14–21; 24:20). Of course, the ancient exegete was well aware that the punishment against the Amalekites was not total: Saul failed due to his negligence (1 Samuel 15), and even David did not completely succeed (1 Sam 30:17). It is possible that the editor reasoned that Israel may be under a threat because of this failure.[31] After all, in Deuteronomistic theology it had been a commonplace to explain the disaster of the exile by the Israelites' devotion to foreign gods – and this was ultimately due to their failure to totally root out the seven Canaanite nations that should have stood under the obligation of *ḥerem* (Deut 7:1–6).

Another text that may be of importance here is Isa 34:5:

כי רותה בשמים חרבי הנה על אדום תרד ועל עם חרמי למשפט

When my sword has drunk enough in heaven, see, it will come down upon Edom (and) upon the people that I have dedicated to destruction, to judge (them).

Isa 34 is one of the earlier oracles of Edom that may have influenced Mal 1:2–5; it is therefore quite possible that a later redactor has returned to this text to form a chiasm for the Book of Malachi.

Conclusion

Above, I have attempted at a possible interpretation of Mal 3:24. The interpretation is by no means coherent; perhaps one should speak of a cluster of interpretations. Despite attempts, I have not succeeded in finding a wholly satisfactory explanation for the "fathers and sons" of Mal 3:24. It may be that the question of the origins of this phrase remains unsolved for the time being. Instead, I offered some possible explanations for why the concept of *ḥerem* was introduced to the end of Malachi.

[31] The redactor might of course have already taken this in a more figurative or metaphorical meaning, as the implied "Israel and Edom"/"Jacob and Esau" elsewhere in Malachi do not either refer to these actual characters but to the "righteous" and the "wicked" of the presumed audience.

HOW DO THE CAVE 4 WAR TEXT FRAGMENTS HELP US TO UNDERSTAND THE WAR SCROLL (1QM) – 4Q491b AS AN EXAMPLE

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Introduction[1]

The rule texts found at Qumran – the Community Rule and the Damascus Document above all – have been much studied for their textual history.[2] Since these texts have been preserved in many manuscripts, their study is based on quite a large amount of material – which is not always the case when trying to look into the literary processes behind ancient texts. Still, there is no consensus on the textual history of the rule texts, but different models of redactional processes – accounting for time and space – have been presented and brought to the discussion.[3]

The War Scroll (1QM) and its parallels from Cave 4, although belonging to the category of the rule texts, have not been discussed as vividly. Thus, reviewing the war text material from Qumran Cave 4 and its offering to the study of 1QM is needed – and in my dissertation, I will analyze the redaction processes behind the war texts by taking into consideration all this material. In this paper, I present one example, namely the manuscript 4Q491b and with the help of it, I discuss how we see the Cave 4 manuscripts, how we name them, what we consider them to be and what we learn from them. In addition, since the textual editing principles have varied both during the course of Dead Sea scrolls scholarship and between individual scholars, I evaluate how this variation have influenced our views of the manuscripts and how much 1QM as a best preserved war text has affected the interpretation of the Cave 4 war text manuscripts. I start with this last-mentioned question and introduce the editions of the Cave 4 war texts.

Editions of the Cave 4 War Texts

At the moment, there exist at least six different editions of 4QM manuscripts. Claus-Hunno Hunzinger was first to bring 4QM texts out in 1957 but in his article, he discussed just 4Q491 and compared it to 1QM 14.[4] After that, sholars had to wait long the "official" edition of 4Q491–497: it did not see the light of the day until 1980's when the seventh volume of the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* was published.[5] In it, Maurice Baillet presents his readings of 4QM texts. As

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[1] This paper is in draft form and it has not been checked by any language consultant. Thus, I apologize for all the mistakes with English grammar and vocabulary and hope that they do not disturb readers too much.

[2] See e.g., Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 21. Leiden: Brill, 1997); Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions and Redaction* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 29. Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[3] See Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 77. Leiden: Brill, 2009).

[4] Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, „Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhama aus Höhle 4 von Qumran" in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 69, 1957, 131–151.

[5] Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD VII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982. Baillet's edition is also in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, vol. 1, Texts concerned with religious law (ed. by D. W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2004) and in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library* (ed. E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

regards 4Q491, Hunzinger had first reported on 70 fragments but many of them were later joined together and in Baillet's edition, there are only 37 left. Thus, Baillet aims to join the fragments when he sees it to be possible. In addition, Baillet tends to reconstruct each manuscript as much as it is possible – usually on the basis of 1QM.[6] This makes it easy to pay attention to the links between 1QM and the Cave 4 war texts. The aim to reconstruct is shown also in detailed level: Baillet aims to read all the traces in the fragments, even the smallest ones. When marking unidentified letters, he bases the number of markings strictly on the number of traces. In general, it seems that he rather tries to guess the identification of the letter than marks an unidentified letter. Baillet also comments his readings and gives his own translations of 4QM texts in French.

Martin Abegg was the first one to challenge Baillet's views. His dissertation *The War Scroll from Cave 1 and 4: A Critical Edition* was finished in 1993 and it includes his editions of 4Q285, 4Q471[7] and 4Q491–497 – and in addition, the edition of 1QM in which the coincident passages with the Cave 4 war texts are marked.[8] Abegg prefers to treat the fragments separately and does not accept all Baillet's joins.[9] In his work, each piece of fragment is edited separately but some ensembles are also given. Especially significant difference in comparison to Baillet is that Abegg divides 4Q491 into three different manuscripts. However, in his readings, Abegg follows mainly Baillet although some minor differences exist. Abegg's comments on his readings are limited. Baillet's influence is also clear in Abegg's reconstructing: there are large reconstructions based on 1QM, mostly similar to Baillet. Abegg's dissertation was never published and that is why its significance has remained perhaps lower than it would have deserved.

Jean Duhaime published his edition of 1QM and 4Q491–497 in the second volume of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*.[10] The text was edited by James H. Charlesworth and Brent A. Strawn who made part of the comments given in the footnotes. The comments concern mostly about the similarities between the 4QM texts and 1QM. Duhaime's edition differs from the two previous mentioned ones by refraining from large reconstructions.[11] Otherwise, Duhaime's editing policy is very similar to Baillet's: his work

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[6] George Brooke notes that in Baillet's edition, "it is often difficult to see what text is actually extant." See Brooke, "Review of The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents" in *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 48 no 2, 1997, 576–579.
[7] 4Q285 and 4Q471 were not published in the DJD series until 2000. See Esther and Hanan Eshel, "4Q471: 4QWar Scroll-like Text B" and Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, " 4Q285: 4QSefer ha-Mil□amah" both in *Qumran cave 4.26* (Ed. by Stephen J. Pfann, Philip Alexander et al. *DJD* XXXVI. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
[8] However, Abegg highlights that his edition is indebted Sukenik's, Carmignac's and Yadin's earlier works. See Martin Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4* (PhD diss., Hebrew Union College, 1993), 211.
[9] Cf. also e.g., 4Q491 fragments 14 and 15.
[10] Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents. (Ed. by James H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgarten et al. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr, cop. 1995), 80–141.
[11] As George Brooke notes, Duhaime's edition "enables one to see easily more or less what the original fragment looks like." See Brooke, "Review of The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations.

includes marks for possible and probable letters and it thus aims to describe the appearance of the manuscript. In his readings, Duhaime follows mainly Baillet although again, some minor differences exist. Duhaime also adheres to Baillet's arrangement of the fragments and does not divide 4Q491 into three – although he introduces Abegg's theory in his later book *The War Texts: 1QM and related fragments* and seems to consider it as plausible.[12]

Almost concurrently with Duhaime, Florentino García Martínez and Eibert Tigchelaar published their *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* which was meant to service the need of students and non-specialists.[13] This idea is shown for example in the choice of edited fragments: the most fragmentary pieces are left out. However, when writing out the book, the editors did not just aim to simplify the work of the previous editors but they worked with primary materials and checked readings independently.[14] Even so, these editors, too, follow Baillet in many respects: large reconstructions, based on 1QM, are mostly similar to Baillet and same is true with readings. Possible and probable letters are not marked but there are only identified and unidentified letters. The order of fragments is mainly similar to Baillet but 4Q491 fragments 11 and 12 are separated from the rest of the text and treated as a separate manuscript, namely 4Q491c.[15]

Rony Ishay finished her dissertation about the Cave 4 fragments including her own editions of these texts in 2006.[16] The case with her dissertation is similar to that of Abegg's: it was not published; and since the thesis is written in Hebrew, it is even more difficult to the international public than Abegg's. As García Martínez & Tigchelaar, Ishay does not make any difference between certain, probable and possible letters but marks only identified or unidentified letters. Her main aim seems to be to give a reliable reading of the certain letters: if a letter is not clearly visible, she usually marks an unidentified letter.[17] In addition, she avoids large reconstructions. As regards 4Q491, the most controversial of the 4QM texts, Ishay does not follow Baillet's order, neither Abegg's division: she creates her own arrangement of fragments and in addition, she separates fragments 1, 2 and 3 and fragments 9 and 10.[18]

Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents" in *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 48 no 2, 1997, 576–579.

[12] See Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 24–30.

[13] The revised paperback edition was published in 2000. As regards the 4QM texts, see Florentino García Martínez & Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition. Vol. 2, 4Q274–IIQ3I*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

[14] George Brooke, "Review of The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition" in *Journal of Theological Studies* ns 52 no 2 O 2001, 764–767.

[15] Cf. García Martínez & Tigchelaar, *Study Edition*, 979.

[16] Rony Ishay, The Literature of War at Qumran: Manuscripts 4Q491–4Q496 (edition and commentary) and their comparison to War Scroll (1QM) (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2006).

[17] The number of these markings does not always correspond the number of visible traces.

[18] See Ishay, *The Literature of War at Qumran*, English abstract, no page numbers. However, these statements can be criticized: for example, as regards fragments 1–3, when reading them together, the space between lines does not vary which supports joining them as one manuscript. Also, the right margin is in view and seems to be fairly straight.

Elisha Qimron's edition is written thoroughly in Hebrew as well and it is the most recent contribution to the discussion on readings of the war texts.[19] Qimron aims to read all the war texts together and place the text of the 4QM manuscripts as part of 1QM; for example, 4Q493 is situated between columns 7 and 8 and 4Q491 is situated on columns 12, 14, 16, between columns 6 and 7, 15 and 16, 16 and 17, 18 and 19, and in the end of the scroll. When a 4QM manuscript is identical with 1QM, the text of 4QM is marked with some color while the text which is only in 1QM is black. The edition includes marks for possible and probable letters but in passages where 1QM and 4QM form a parallel, markings follow the text of 1QM. This way to edit has a great impact on readings: in Qimron's edition, 1QM most clearly directs the reading of 4QM manuscripts.[20] When there are no parallels to 1QM in 4QM manuscripts, Qimron avoids large reconstructions.

All in all, it can be said that 1QM has had a continuous impact on editing the 4QM manuscripts. This impact is not an accident but the editors seem to have been conscious on their decisions. Qimron's edition shows that using Cave 1 manuscript as a basis for editing the Cave 4 manuscripts is not a passing phenomenon – although the editing principles have in general changed. A new material reconstruction of 4QM manuscripts, especially of 4Q491, without using 1QM as a starting point, would be needed.

Example from Cave 4 War Text Manuscripts: 4Q491b[21]

Nature of Differences between Manuscripts

4Q491 is the largest of the preserved Cave 4 war text manuscripts. It was also the first one which ended up with a research subject: Claus-Hunno Hunzinger[22] reported it already in 1957. However, the official edition by Maurice Baillet[23] did not appear until 1982, and the number of fragments has been under discussion until today. According to Baillet, there are 37 fragments and he arranged them with the help of 1QM.[24] Later, many scholars have seen problems with his joins: Martin

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[19] Elisha Qimron מגילות מדבר יהודה: החיבורים העבריים, כרך ראשון (The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Vol. 1. Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2010).

[20] However, there is not necessarily enough arguments to show that all the 4QM manuscripts would be part of one text – especially because the study of the other Cave 1 scrolls and their Cave 4 parallels do not support this idea. Sarianna Metso concludes that many of the Cave 4 fragments parallel to 1QS represent earlier phases in the development of the Community Rule. See e.g. page 154 of *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* in which Metso writes: "On the basis of comparison between the manuscripts of the Community Rule found in Caves 1, 4 and 5 it is clear that there never existed a single, legitimate and up-to-date version of the Community Rule."

[21] In order to consult the texts under scrutiny, see APPENDIX.

[22] Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, „Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhama aus Höhle 4 von Qumran" in Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 69, 1957, 131–151.

[23] Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*. DJD VII. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.

[24] Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 12. Cf. also Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and related fragments* (CQS; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 24. Hunzinger had reported 70 fragments of this manuscript but later, he joined some of these together and ended up to have 62 different fragments. Abegg, for his part, reported 66 fragments. See Martin Abegg,

Abegg was first who rearranged the fragments: he divided the fragments into three categories according to the script used in them, the differences in line height and the orthographical differences.[25] Abegg's group A includes fragments 8–10, 11 col. ii, 13–15, 18, 22, 24–28, 31–33, 35, group B fragments 1–7, 16–17, 19–21, 23 and group C fragments 12 and 11, col. I.[26] As regards the dating of 4Q491 manuscripts, Abegg notes that there are many similar characteristics in all 4Q491 fragments and in manuscript 4QSam[a], which is dated to about 50–25 BCE.[27] Baillet, too, argued for the second half of the first century BCE.[28]

Abegg's division of fragments is not undisputed and now, after finishing the publication of all the DSS and having a lot more information about the scripts, line spacing and material links between fragments, it calls for re-evaluation.[29] Abegg himself, for example, says about 4Q491 fragments 1–3 that he accepts Baillet's joins just "for the purpose of this study" although he sees a need for reassessment in the case of these fragments.[30] Similarly, Abegg's

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The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4. PhD diss. (Hebrew Union College, 1993), 1. It should also be noted that Abegg uses fragment numbers different from Baillet. In this article, the numbers of Baillet are used since his edition of the 4Q491 is the most commonly known and used. Schultz has compiled a table which includes Baillet's and Abegg's fragment numbering and helps to compare their work. See Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 21.

[25] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 4–9. Schultz wades through the research history of 4Q491 (see Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 17, 20–22, 373–374) and ends up to consider Abegg's view as trustworthy. He notes that Esther Eshel "strengthened Abegg's conclusion by pointing out that some of the special orthography and phrases found in 4Q491c are characteristic of 4Q491c alone." Here, he refers to Eshel's article "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn" in *Revue de Qumran*, number 17 in 1996. Duhaime does not divide 4Q491 into three in his edition but he introduces Abegg's theory in his book *The War Texts: 1QM and related fragments* and seems to consider it as plausible (see Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 24–30). Instead, Ishay does not use Abegg's division but says that 4Q491 "comprises of 37 fragments that are not physically joined and therefore do not yield a coherent running text." See Rony Ishay, *The Literature of War at Qumran: Manuscripts 4Q491–4Q496 (edition and commentary) and their comparison to War Scroll (1QM)* (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2006), English abstract, no page numbers.

[26] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 1–3. Fragments 29, 30, 34 and 37 remained undetermined.

[27] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 3. The date of 4QSam[a] is gleaned from Frank Moore Cross.

[28] Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 12. According to Baillet, 4Q491 is hardly a "recension" older than 1QM. See also Duhaime, "War Scroll," 81: "The text of 4Q491 was perhaps copied a little later than 1QM, but still during the second half of the first century B.C.E." Schultz (*Conquering the World*, 38) seems to agree with him: "4Q491 --- may slightly postdate M (=1QM), but still precedes the turn of the era." Ishay (*Literature of War at Qumran*, English abstract), for her part, argues that 4Q491 "belongs to the second half of the first century BC, but it is somewhat older than the War Scroll" (i.e. 1QM).

[29] It should also be noted that Abegg is not the only one who has criticized Baillet's joins of fragments. According to Ishay, fragments 1–3 of 4Q491 "should not be combined into one running text and fragments 9 and 10 i of the same manuscript should be read separately." Ishay argues for this critique by writing that in these cases, "there is no physical join between the fragments, nor do the resulting texts yield smooth and meaningful texts (see Ishay, *The Literature of War at Qumran*, English abstract). However, neither of these arguments is very convincing: for example, although it is true that fragments 9 and 10 do not have a physical connection, their join is on the safe ground since these two fragment share the bottom margin of the sheet and the blank space in the second lowest line. In addition, "smooth and meaningful text" is a difficult criterion since there could be many opinions on what was smooth and meaningful in the Second Temple texts. Still, although I am not completely convincing about Ishay's critique towards Abegg's joins, I think it would be absolutely necessary to have a new material reconstruction of 4Q491 in order to take the study of Cave 4 war text manuscripts forward.

[30] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 36. Duhaime, similarly, follows Baillet's edition and reads fragments 1–3 together. According to him, the content of fragments 1 and 2 is so similar that they must belong together. Fragment 3, instead, is a bit different as regards the content, but it also shares terminology with fragment 1 and

division of 4Q491 to three is now accepted for the purpose of this study since it, after all, is the most thoroughly justified view of 4Q491 thus far.[31] The join of fragments 1–3 is accepted for two reasons: When reading the fragments together, the space between lines does not vary which supports joining them as one manuscript. Also, the right margin is in view and seems to be fairly straight.

After dividing the manuscript for material and linguistic reasons, Abegg noticed that all three manuscripts have different relationship to 1QM: manuscript A contains direct parallels to 1QM and manuscript C does not contain any clear connection to 1QM.[32] For our point of view, manuscript B is the most interesting case since it just vaguely echoes to some occasional parts of 1QM. Thus, it clearly cannot be defined to be a copy of the same texts than 1QM is a copy of – but on the other hand, it cannot be categorized to be completely different from 1QM either.

The ensemble of fragments 1–3 shares most with 1QM; fragments 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 23 cannot be plausibly compared with 1QM since they are so small and fragmentary. According to Abegg, 4Q491b "reflects elements" of 1QM columns 2, 5, 7, 9, 16 and 17.[33] To be more specific, a safe conclusion would be that the links between 4Q491b and 1QM column 5 and 7 are on a solid basis but as regards other columns, the most one can say is that 4Q491b "reflects elements" of them – and especially the links to columns 12 and 13 are highly questionable. Fragments 1–3 are the only ones that can be plausible set in comparison with 1QM. Thus, in the following, we take them under close scrutiny. In **Table 1** (see appendix), the textual connections are marked with grey highlighting.[34]

In fragments 1–3 of 4Q491b, first four and half lines form a first unity ending with *vacat*. These lines are quite fragmentary but what can be said is that there does not seem to be any clear parallels with 1QM to this section. Instead, in fragments 1–3 of 4Q491b, there are some

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fragments 1 and 3 both represent the upper part of the manuscript. In addition, Duhaime argues that there are some material reasons to join fragments 2 and 3 together: "--- one may even wonder if the spot as the left of line 7 on fragment 3 is the remains of the bottom part of a ל, the upper part of which is to be read at the beginning of the corresponding line of fragment 2." (See Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 2, Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents. (Ed. by James H. Charlesworth with J. M. Baumgarten et al. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen: Mohr, cop. 1995), 142).

[31] Abegg plans to publish a new edition in a near future. Thus far he "has reviewed his transcription of the Cave 1 manuscript and has accounted for all the variants in the various editions. This will be central as the new publication is to be first and foremost a text edition." Also, he has "completed a 'draft' linguistic analysis of the Cave 1 text which he currently plan to feature in a focussed discussion of the language of the war texts." The quotations are form a privat e-mail message (08/20/2013).

[32] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 9–11. Abegg – following Baillet – interprets that 4Q491a "shows an expansion of the final skirmishes in the seven part war" against the Kittim.

[33] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 36.

[34] In the table, the texts and translations are from Duhaime, "War Scroll", 100–113, 143–145. Before us, the links were also found and analysed by Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 459–472.

unique terminology and ideas in comparison to 1QM. Straight away in line 1, the mention of biblical character Korah is unique and actually, it does not occur anywhere else in the DSS war texts. Because both Korahs who occur in the HB are described as rebellions (cf. Gen 36, Ob 1:18, Mal 1:3; and Num 16), and since the NT also knows Korah as rebellion (Jude 1:11), it is reasonable to interpret him and his congregation to represent adversaries in fragments 1–3 of 4Q491b, too. The 'commander of his angels' (line 3) – another unique expression – could belong to any side since in 1QM, there are angels (מלאך) both on God's side (cf. e.g., 7,6; 10,11; 12:1,4,8) and on his adversaries' side (cf. e.g., 13:11,12). Since it probably belongs to the same sentence with the following expression 'so that they have a mighty hand' which seems to be some kind of promise, it is more plausible to interpret it to denote God's angels. This interpretation begs a question whether the commander (שר) was some kind of heavenly mediator or an archangel – like Michael who is described in 1QM 17.[35] Due to the fragmentariness of the text, not much can be said about this.

In the middle of line 3, there seems to be some kind of change in vocabulary: Duhaime notes that while the first part of the line speaks about heavenly personage, the last part seems to concentrate on worldly troops with mounts and horsemen.[36] On the other hand, these kind of terms occur in harmony for example in 1QM 12 where the terms גבור המלחמה (the mighty one of war) and צבא רוחיו (the host of his spirits) are followed by a term like פרשינו (our horsemen) (cf. 1QM 12,9). Thus, the terms that perhaps seem to belong to different contexts do not have to be in contradiction in fragments 1–3 line 3 either. In line 4,[37] it seems that the victorious end of the war is described: the hand of God will smite so that there will be an eternal destruction, atonement will be executed and everlasting joy will prevail. Although this part of the text either does not seem to be a

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[35] As the word מלאך, the word שר is also used in 1QM in connection with the both sides of the battle: in 1QM 13, there is the 'commander of light' (see 13,10) whereas in 1QM 17 the 'commander of the dominion of wickedness' occurs (see 17,5–6). The word שר is not directly used of Michael in 1QM but Michael is introduces as a counter force to the 'commander of the dominion of wickedness' (see 1QM 17,6–7) and he is connected with light as the 'commander of light' (see 1QM 17,6).

[36] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 461.

[37] Note that there are small hyphens written to the right edge of the fragment. Especially in lines 1, 6, 14 and 18 they are clearly visible but Emanuel Tov recognizes these hyphens also in the beginning of lines 4, 16 and 19 (see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* [Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004], 184). According to Tov, they are to be interpreted as section markers. In 4Q491b, fragments 1–3, these markers are not in line with *vacats* – but Tov notes that the majority of this kind of section markers "were probably inserted after the writing was completed" (see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 180), so they might represent a way how a later individual or group structure the text. However, there remain question marks in the interpretation of the hyphens of fragments 1–3: while those in lines 1, 6, 14, 16 and 19 seem to be in the beginning of a new part or section, especially that in line 18 seem not to make sense. In addition, it must be noted that these hyphens are very small and it could be possible that at least some of them are just ink blots. Duhaime suggest that in line 4, the hyphen indicates some kind of sense division (see Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 461) but he also argues that lines 1–5 form one section of the text.

clear parallel to any passage in 1QM, there are many sections in which the similar ideas come out in 1QM (see e.g., 1QM 1,4–9, 14–15; 13,1–3).

The next section marked with *vacats* extends from line 5b to line 7a.[38] However, as Duhaime has suggested,[39] line 6 seems to be a beginning for a longer section, הסרך בחנותמה (the rule in their encampments), which extends to the end of the fragments 1–3. Duhaime links line 5b to the previous section,[40] but it does not seem to fit there easily: the content of the text, the prohibition not to go towards the lines of the enemy, could even link better with the rule observed in the camps than the description of the end of the war. According to Duhaime, lines 1–5 form an end of the speech concerning the leaders of the congregation;[41] in that case, line 5b could describe the situation right after the speech before moving on to the next topic. It is not possible to get a complete certainty of this. Also, it is possible that line 5b could be formed in order to link the speech and the following rule – 'the rule to observe in their encampments' (line 6) – together.

In 1QM, there is no rule for encampments[42] although many other units are rules for some field of war (cf. 1QM 2,16–3,11 the rule of the trumpets; 3,13–4,8 the rule of the banners of the whole congregation; 4,9–14 the other rule of banners; 5,3–9,9 the rule for arranging the divisions; 9,10–17 the rule for changing the order; 16,3).[43] However, many of those regulations that belong to the rule for encampments in 4Q491b occur in 1QM in other rule sections, especially in the rule for arranging the divisions in lines 5,3–9,9. The closest resemblances between fragments 1–3 and 1QM are in this rule section: for example, both in fragments 1–3 lines 6b–11 and 1QM 7,3b–7 include the regulations concerning purity. However, there are differences in order: Both texts start with prohibiting women and children (in 4Q491; or children and women in 1QM) to come into the

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[38] In line 5 (fragment 1), Ishay (*The Literature of War at Qumran*, 29) marks a *vacat* between words עולם and °ואחרי. It is true that in the leftmost piece of fragment 1, in the fourth visible line of this fragment and in line 5 of the manuscript, there is an unusual long space before the word °ואחרי. Baillet (*Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 14) remarks as well that there is a blank space at this point and interprets that a new section begins after עולם. I have taken account of this remark and added *vacat* to Duhaime's translation used in Table 1. Also, I have paid attention to two more clear *vacats* in the text: in line 7, between the words איש and ואלפים, there is a bigger space between words that usually and the same is true in line 9 between words המחנות and ועברו. It is of course possible that a larger space between words is due to a damage in a leather but in these cases, the content of the text supports interpreting them as *vacats*. Thus, I have added them to Duhaime's translation.

[39] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 462.

[40] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 461.

[41] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 460. However, Duhaime adds a question mark after his definition for lines 1–5: "Discours au sujet des princes de la congrégation (?)"

[42] The verb חנה 'to camp' occurs twice in 1QM, in 1,3 and 15,2. In the first of these occurrences, the Sons of Light encamp in the wilderness of Jerusalem. In column 15, it is not absolutely clear who is encamping but probably it is the lot of God that is called to encamp opposite the king of the Kittim and the army of Belial.

[43] Cf. Philip S. Alexander, "Rules," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 799.

war encampments. 1QM continues by enumerating what is required of the soldiers: they cannot be lame, blind, crippled, disabled or bodily impure. The exclusion of the last-mentioned group is validated by saying that the angles are present in the encampment. In the end, there is a regulation for the distance between camps and the latrine. In 4Q491b fragments 1–3, similar instructions are given but after the regulation concerning the exclusion of women and children, something else about the craftsmen and the smelters follows. אנשי החרש והמצרף are not directly mentioned in 1QM but, for example, the word חרש occurs many times when describing the war equipment and manufacturing them (cf. e.g., 5,6–11). According to Duhaime, the mention about craftsmen and smelters in 4Q491b belongs to the list of those who do not join the troops.[44] This is possible but the preserved text does not tell it unambiguously. After the *vacat*, in line 7b, the regulation for the distance between camps and the latrine follows.

In line 8b of 4Q491b, there starts a section that describes about setting up somebody for the daily service. Right after that, the 'house of meeting' is mentioned. In 1QM, this house occurs in line 3,4b, in the middle of the list of the trumpets. These two, the one in 4Q491b fragments 1–3 and the other in 1QM, are the only occurrences of בית מועד in the preserved DSS – and it should be noted that דבר יום (daily duty) does not occur either in anywhere else than in fragments 1–3, not even in 1QM. In 1QM, the mention of the 'house of meeting' is supposed to be an addition which explains the 'men of renown,' the expression that do not occur in 4QM texts.[45] In the HB, בית מועד occurs in Job 30:23 and this is why it is sometimes interpreted to be related to burial rites. However, Yadin suggests that in 1QM, בית מועד is rather denoting to a concrete communal assembly –[46] and in case of 4Q491b fragments 1–3, this is also the more plausible interpretation.

In line 10b, the regulations concerning the purity of the camp are again brought out and the reason to obey the rules – that angels are present in the camp – is mentioned. Thus, the regulation concerning the distance between the camp and latrines and the regulation concerning the ritual purity in the camp occur in 4Q491b fragments 1–3 in reverse order in comparison to 1QM.

From line 11 onwards, the viewpoint is channeled into the battlefield, and first, the alignment of the soldiers is in focus. This is also described in the fragmentary end of 1QM 5 which

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[44] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 460.
[45] Cf. Hanna Vanonen, "Vastakkainasettelun aika: Valon ja Pimeyden lapset Qumranin Sotakäärössä" in Teologinen Aikakauskirja 3/2013, 263.
[46] Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (trans. B. &. C. Rabin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 268.

is a part of the rule for arranging the divisions. This rule of 1QM starts with quite a long description of weapons (5,4b–14) which is surrounded by the explanation of how the soldiers are aligned (5,3–4a, 16–18). What is common between fragments 1–3 and 1QM 5,16–17 is that the battle lines are said to stand one between the other and there shall be a distance, probably between the lines. However, while in 1QM, there are seven battle lines, in fragments 1–3, there are three of them. This division into three is shown again later in fragments 1–3: from line 15 onwards, it is gone through how each of three lines 'fulfills its portion' by turns (1–3,15, 16, 17). Although in 4Q41b fragments 1–3, the number of battle lines is different from 1QM, there are many similarities between the texts: as in 1QM, there are different kinds of soldiers in fragments 1–3, probably at least the skirmishers (1–3,12), and like in 1QM, the battle is directed with trumpets (1–3,13).

In lines 12–13, there are some directions of arranging the ambush (אורב) and bursting it out. אורב occurs only once in 1QM, in line 9,17.[47] Unfortunately, again, not much can be concluded on these passages:[48] due to the fragmentariness of the end of 1QM column 9 it even remains unclear whether these two can be said to be parallels. What is clear is there are things connected to the ambush in 4Q491b fragments 1–3 that do not occur in preserved 1QM: bursting the ambush out is linked with the bringing down the slain of guiltiness – the expression that does not as such occur in 1QM. In addition, in 1–3,14, it is described how the soldiers are grouped in four directions, and this does not either occur in 1QM as such.

In the end of the preserved text of fragments 1–3, the Levites and the priests are brought up and the garments of the priests are described. This description is known for 1QM as well, in lines 7,9b–11. There, it precedes the actual acts of war while in fragments 1–3, it seems to follow them. The comparison between the contents of these descriptions is difficult since the end of fragments 1–3 is extremely fragmentary. According to Baillet's reconstruction,[49] the texts could be nearly similar but this remains speculation. However, it seems that something new starts in fragments 1–3 after the description of garments but that this new section probably continues to discuss the rule of encampments (ככול הסרך, according to all this rule).

Options to Explain the Relationship between 1QM and 4Q491b Fragments 1–3

Such a large number of examples of expressions that do not occur in 1QM show clearly that as a whole, 4Q491b fragments 1–3 cannot be defined as a parallel to one certain 1QM passage. In addition, those passages that have similarities to 1QM are not exactly alike with it. Some scholars

[47] In the lists of trumpets, the ambush is mentioned twice (1QM 3,2 and 3,8) but there, the word מארב is used for it.
[48] See also Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 469.
[49] Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 14. See also Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 469–470.

have seen more in common between fragments 1–3 and 1QM than is in view in Table 1, but many of these "additional" parallel elements are based on reconstructions.[50] However, there is so much similarity between fragments 1–3 and 1QM that they cannot be discussed completely in isolation from each other and in fact, many scholars have pondered their possible mutual relationship.

Abegg considers it certain that 4Q491b and 1QM are related to each other – but how they are related is a more difficult question for him. Abegg sees three options to explain the similarities between texts: first, 4Q491b is a summary of 1QM, second, 1QM is an expansion of 4Q491b, or third, there is a common source or common tradition behind these texts.[51] However, he does not form his own opinion whether one of these models would be more plausible than the others. Duhaime seems to see similar options to explain the relationship between the texts and he, for his part, also goes further in his ponderings. He compares 4Q491 fragments 1–3 to the whole text of 1QM and concludes that first, fragments 1–3 are a briefer text than 1QM and second, while 1QM is quite an elaborated text which has a tendency to generalize the application of the rules, especially those concerning purity, fragments 1–3 represent a more practical point of view.[52] Also, according to him, in 1QM, the "biblical sources" are utilized more.[53] Duhaime ends up thinking that the brevity of fragments 1–3 cannot be proven to reflect a late stage in the development of the war texts and on the other hand, that the elaborated use of biblical texts cannot be proven to reflect an early stage.[54] Here, he seems to agree with the common literary critical idea that texts tended to expand. His presupposition seems to be that a brief text is earlier than a long one and that later texts are more probably spiced with biblical citations.[55] However, he does not argue that fragments 1–3 and 1QM are directly dependent on each other but emphasizes that his explanation is valid also if the editors behind the texts have independently used a common source –[56] and seems to consider this in many cases very probable option.[57]

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[50] Cf. Baillet's suggestions that, for example, line 10 and fragmentary line 1QM 2,17 share words and that fragmentary line 17 and 1QM 15,4 share words (Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 17, 19).
[51] Abegg, *The War Scroll form Qumran Caves 1 and 4*, 36. Abegg notes that the last-mentioned option is also pondered by Duhaime – and actually, Duhaime ends up to consider it most probable that in this case, two different redactors had independently used same source texts (see Jean Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," Revue de Qumran 14 (1991), 471; Duhaime, "War Scroll," 142).
[52] According to Duhaime, this practicality can be seen, for example, in 4Q491b fragments 1–3 line 7 where the list of those incompetent to war is followed by a list (?) of persons who are responsible for different practical tasks in their community (e.g., 'craftsmen') (see Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 464). In 1QM, instead, the corresponding passage in column 7 is entirely devoted to the purity rules. However, the conclusion that there is a 'tendency to generalize' in 1QM and more 'practicality' in 4Q491b is not self-evident but can be called into question.
[53] Note, however, that in 4Q491b line 1, the mention about Korah is probably an allusion to the HB text.
[54] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 471.
[55] Cf. what has been argued of 1QS and S texts from Cave 4, e.g., Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*.
[56] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 472.
[57] See e.g., Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 469.

Ishay treats 4Q491a and 4Q491b as one manuscript and thinks that fragments 1–3 should not be read as a running unity. However, she pays a special attention to the similarities between fragment 1 and 1QM. Like many others, she notes that both 1QM 7 and 4Q491 fragment 1 include a list of regulations concerning the encampment but that these lists differ in length, style, order and for some respect in content as well.[58] In her interpretation on the whole manuscript 4Q491, she relates to Duhaime's thoughts: she argues that 4Q491 and 1QM are two different reworkings of the common source material which consists of war descriptions and a thanksgiving hymn. In addition, she thinks that at the same time, some "sporadic theological reworking of the parallel sections" was done.[59] In conclusion, according to Ishay, "it is impossible to determine whether one version depends on the other or the two elaborate a common source."[60] Thus, finally, she leaves it open whether the texts are using a common source or they have a mutual relationship.

Brian Schultz sees many options to explain the relationships between the war text manuscripts: according to him, the manuscripts may be "copies of a recension similar to 1QM," "copies of different recensions," "different compositions altogether," "redaction of 1QM" or "redaction of other Cave 4 compositions."[61] About 4Q491, he immediately concludes that it could mainly belong to the second or third category. In the end, he discusses the 4QM texts in the light of his theory of the origins of 1QM, namely that there was a primitive form of the work, based on the so-called tradition of "the War of the Divisions." According to him, 1QM columns 1–9 represent this form while columns 10–19 are later and represent a later tradition, "tradition of the War against the Kittim" which bases on Ezek 38–39. Schultz places 4QM texts into this theoretical framework: he argues that manuscripts 4Q491a, 4Q492, 4Q494 and 4Q495 represent a "tradition of the War against the Kittim" while manuscripts 4Q471 and 4Q493 (that are copied earlier than 1QM) and 4Q491b represent a tradition of "the War of the Divisions." 4Q496 – as well as 1QM 1–2 – represent a transition between the two traditions.[62] Thus, for him, 4Q491b represents a tradition similar to the early parts of 1QM.

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[58] Ishay, *The Literature of War at Qumran*, English abstract (no page numbers).
[59] Ishay, *The Literature of War at Qumran*, English abstract.
[60] Ishay, *The Literature of War at Qumran*, English abstract.
[61] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 37. Schultz notes that he disagrees with Ishay when stating that a Cave 4 manuscript can be a redaction of another Cave 4 manuscript. He writes that Ishay "denies that there is any overlap between the Cave 4 texts, yet at the same time she admits that both 4Q491 and 4Q493 contain battle narratives." Schultz himself does not see no reason that 4Q491 could not be literary dependent on 4Q493. See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 37n87. About using the term 'recension,' Schultz notes that he follows here Duhiame although "it cannot be established that these texts (=4Q471, 4Q491, 4Q493, 4Q496) are indeed different recensions of M rather than independent compositions on the eschatological war." See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 38n89.
[62] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 401.

Baillet brings out the option that 4Q491 (which he treats as one manuscript) could be a collection of extracts or a summary with inserts, intended for "personal meditation."[63] Thus, the differences between 1QM and 4Q491 would be explained by different purposes of use: while 1QM was a communal scroll, 4Q491 was a private manuscript. Baillet argues for this difference by noting that in 4Q491, the lines are very tight and the script is especially small.[64] Related to this, Baillet seems to suppose that there is some kind of literary dependence between the texts: he writes that the text of 4Q491 "sometimes closely follows the text of the Cave 1" and speculates whether 4Q491 could be a "summary" [65] – of what else than 1QM. However, all in all, the most of scholars do not consider it necessary to suppose that there is a direct literary dependence between 4Q491b and 1QM. At the same time, they do not want to dismiss the fact that there are similarities between these texts. The most common model to explain the relationship between the texts is that they both are reworkings of a common tradition. Schultz argues for this most emphatically and forms a whole theory of the origins of 1QM and 4QM texts on the basis of the idea of the two different war traditions. Others are more careful and do not want to nail down whether a common source or tradition or a mutual dependence between the texts is the most probable model. Duhaime ponders both options: for example, when discussing lines 11–12b of fragments 1–3 and 1QM 5,16–17, he speculates that if the author of 1QM worked with the text of fragments 1–3 in front of him, he clearly changed and extended his source in his own text. On the other hand, if the author of fragments 1–3 worked with the text of 1QM, it have to be concluded that he summarized his source and reduces the number of lines from seven to three – and according to Duhaime, without any apparent reason. In the end, Duhaime concludes that the simplest way to think in this case is that the authors of these two texts "worked independently with a common source or a common tradition towards which they adopt different attitudes."[66]

In general, what is not analyzed very thoroughly by the scholars discussing 4Q491b is the question about the motivation of authors and/or redactors (of texts and/or traditions). For example, it is possible to speculate the question Duhaime brings out, i.e., why would there be a need to reduce the number of battle lines or to add the lines (in comparison to the other text or in comparison to a common source)? If we think the possible reasons to change the number of lines– from seven to three or vice versa – there could be arguments for both directions. On the one hand, expanding the number of lines could go hand in hand with the idea of adding "biblical" allusions (if we agree that "biblical" allusions indicate the late stage of the textual development): number seven is important in the HB, and for example, in the story of the conquest of Jericho (Joshua 6) the men

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[63] Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 12.
[64] Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 12.
[65] Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III*, 12. Quotations translated by HV.
[66] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 468–469. Quotation translated by HV.

of war are told to go round the city for seven days, one time for six days and seven times on the seventh day. In addition, seven priests are to carry seven trumpets and they will blow these trumpets when the attack to the Jericho begins. This passage has several links to the ideas in 1QM in general: priests, trumpets, war cry, men of war.[67] Thus, it is possible that the description of the seven-pronged war was developed – and the number of lines was increased – on the basis of a known "biblical" tradition at the same time when it otherwise became important to spice the text with biblical influence. On the other hand, the three-phased war seems to be an idea which occurs in those parts of 1QM which are often considered to be late (see columns 1, 15–19).[68] From this point of view, it would be possible to think that the authors of 4Q491b reduced the number of lines to fit together with the idea of three-pronged war which became dominant in the late phase of the redaction of 1QM. However, I do not consider this last-mentioned explanation as plausible as the first-mentioned one since at the same time, there seems to be a tendency of gathering traditions together rather than summarizing and harmonizing them (cf. e.g., two creation stories in the beginning of Genesis). However, what should be noted is that whether we accept one or the other of these options, either of them does not prove the direct mutual dependence between 1QM and 4Q491b. According to Duhaime, there are so many differences between the texts that the simple idea of 4Q491b being a summary of 1QM (or 1QM being an amplified version of 4Q491b) must be excluded –[69] a proposal which I consider reasonable.

Finally, what can we conclude about 4Q491b and its possible relationship to 1QM? The section in the beginning of 4Q491b (lines 1–5a) does not have any clear parallel in the text of 1QM and thus, it probably does not share any common source either. In 4QM texts in general, the other "unique" passages (in comparison to 1QM) are always so-called encouragement speeches – and not the narrative sections, for instance (cf. **Table 2**). It seems that the encouragement speeches offer a place for some kind of literal activity and creativity. It is possible that this activity was redactional in nature or perhaps different encouragement speeches developed in different groups or under different circumstances. However, under encouragement speeches, there was noteworthy freedom to be creative.[70] All this makes me ask whether lines 1–5a formed an encouragement

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[67] See, e.g., 1QM 3, 8, 9. Cf. Hanna Vanonen, "The Textual Connections between 1QM 1 and the Book of Daniel" in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. Eds. M. Marttila, J. Pakkala, & H. von Weissenberg. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 419. Berlin: de Gruyter, 240: "It should also be taken into consideration that the number seven also seems to be important in Daniel's chapters 4 and 9 (see, e.g., 4:23–25, 9:24–25). Outside the texts of the HB, the number seven has a special weight in many apocalyptic texts, for example in Enochic literature and in the Book of Revelation (see, for example, 1 En 20; Rev 1:4, 4:5)."

[68] Vanonen, "Vastakkainasettelun aika," 267–268.

[69] Duhaime, "Étude comparative de 4QM[a] fgg. 1–3 et 1QM," 470–471.

[70] It should be noted that while all war text material is mainly targeted at priests, in the encouragement speeches, the audience is wider. Encouragement speeches are given by priest but targeted at soldiers – and more broadly, to everyone who happens to listen or read the texts. When discussing manuscript 4Q493, I have pondered an option that 4Q493

speech. This would explain why the end of the war (cf. 'everlasting destruction' and 'everlasting joy' in lines 4–5) seems to be covered before the preparation of the war: perhaps the first lines form a hymn to be sung during preparations. As regards the following lines of 4Q491b, lines 5b–19, they probably reflect the source that was also used by the authors of 1QM 3–9, and the tradition of the war that will take place in three phases. In 1QM, the traditions of three-pronged war and the seven-pronged war were brought together.[71]

By supposing a common source behind the texts we follow Duhaime's footsteps. If we accept his views entirely, we can also say that the texts reflect different attitudes towards their source – and we must ponder what would motivate these different attitudes. In that case, the idea of local communities and different local situations behind the texts comes into question. This idea should be studied more. The material facts to which Baillet pays attention are undoubtedly something that should be taken into account when discussing the relationship between the texts. Perhaps one should also ponder the idea presented by David M. Carr: according to him, it is probable that in addition to those DSS texts evidently belonging to the category of "educational exercises," there probably was "more advanced student copies of texts that are indistinguishable from the works of accomplished scribes."[72] Thus, one option for different situations behind the texts could be that 4Q491b – with its tight lines and small script – was intended for study purposes while 1QM was a more accomplished work.

Questions to discuss:

- What is the most probable option to explain the relationship between 4Q491b and 1QM? What other options are there than those presented in this paper?
- What options are there to understand the nature of Cave 4 war text manuscripts in general? What kind of models can be created? What kind of findings can be produced with different models?
- What should we take into account when discussing the similarities and the differences and a possible relationship between two texts? Is there something more than the content of the texts and the material facts?
- How can the idea of local communities and different local situations behind the texts be tested?
- What can we learn in general about these observations concerning 4Q491b and 1QM?

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could represent a theology of a small, priestly-oriented group while the corresponding parts of 1QM are reworked from the viewpoint of the larger group which at least partly consisted of laymen. Perhaps the encouragement speeches were as well used in order to make the text more applicable: there are different speeches because the speeches were something that actualizes the war material in wider contexts.

[71] And in the late stage, coated with the dualistic language of the sons of light and the sons of darkness, cf. Vanonen, "Vastakkainasettelun aika," 267–268.

[72] David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press; New York, 2005), 221.

Biblical Chaos Dragons – and Indo-European Ones

Ola Wikander

Cultural contacts between the Indo-European and Old Testament worlds are not only possible in terms of specific words or concepts (as discussed in the paper on the words for "horse" and "to plough" presented at last year's OTSEM meeting). If one is to take a more thorough investigative view of how Indo-European cultures influenced the world of the Hebrew Bible,[1] one must look not only at words but greater units of cultural interaction and transmission. Larger pieces of ideology, motifs or mythemes could also be regarded as having been borrowed between the two cultural spheres, which would of course open up possibilities of highly interesting cultural interactions being unearthed – and of the biblical texts being given yet another layer of interpretation. Mythological patterns are, however, notoriously fickle items to work with, and methodological restraint and rigor must be exercised when this type of comparison is undertaken. One must always ask oneself what is really compared with what, and I believe, try solidly to ground one's comparison in preferably quite concrete parallels, rather than merely to like at vague similarities. I would like to reiterate what I write in an article on certain parallels between the Hurrian/Hittite *Epic of Liberation* and Deut 32:15 – a quite specific instance of cultural transmission between (partly) Indo-European-speaking Anatolia and the Hebrew Bible:

> I would like to underscore the importance of separately discussing both surviving motifs and more literal correspondences, keeping in mind that these two types of retentions may influence and help in preserving each other. […] [I]t must be remembered that such parallel motifs and poetic expressions, preserved from earlier cultural milieus, can be (and very often are) inserted into quite new contexts and given new meanings by later authors.[2]

One of the instances that have often been suggested as a possible link between Indo-European and biblical traditions and thought constructs is that of the battle against the dragon or sea monster, that is, a special instance of the *Chaoskampf* motif. Suggestions in this direction have been put forth by Nicolas Wyatt and by Ajoy Kumar Lahiri,[3] who have argued that Semitic tales concerning the divine battle against aquatic monsters may be somehow connected to Indo-European, or specifically Indo-Aryan, traditions of a similar nature. To be sure, the idea of a divine hero battling a serpentine monster is thoroughly ensconced both in the greater Old Testament world and in many ancient Indo-European cultures. In this paper, it is my purpose to discuss such possible links and evaluate them, and hopefully to add some ideas of my own.

Wyatt's general arguments concerning possible Indo-European influences on Northwest Semitic thought are heavily slanted towards the Dumézilian trifunctional approach, which he believes to be in evidence for example in the Ugaritic mythological texts – and, indeed, in the Hebrew Bible – indicating Indo-European influence. Wyatt believed that evidence of Indo-European-influenced tripartite thinking could be found both in parts of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle and in the story of King David's census.[4] This "tripartite" thinking refers the famous putative

[1] In this paper, as in the research project as a whole, the phrase "The world of the Hebrew Bible" is meant to imply both the texts of the Hebrew Bible itself and parallel and closely related textual material, especially, but not limited to, the mythological texts from Ugarit.
[2] Wikander 2013: 144.
[3] Lahiri 1984: 110-128; Wyatt 1988.
[4] Wyatt 1985; Wyatt 1990.

division of ancient Indo-European social organization and thought into three functions: the priestly, the warlike and the productive.

A somewhat similar line of reasoning can be found in the volume *The Hebrew God: Portait of an Ancient Deity* (2002) by Bernhard Lang, which also uses the theories of Dumézil as tools with which to analyze Northwest Semitic theological and mythological material, in this case the character of the Israelite God himself. There is, however, a crucial difference between the latter study and those of Wyatt, namely that Lang only uses this theoretical framework as a heuristic implement and does not imply the necessity of an actual historical influence from any type of "Indo-European ideology," thus effectively transforming the tripartite scheme of Dumézil from a template for Indo-European religion into an analytical classification applicable to many different mythologies, regardless of linguistic or cultural provenance. Bernhard Lang writes:

> Borrowing could have taken place in both directions, and elements of ideological tripartism may have found their way from the Indo-Europeans to the Semites.
>
> There could have been a much simpler explanation, however, for the tripartite structure may be considered as somehow *universal*, reflecting an elementary mode of organization. Dumézil described the three functions with great virtuosity, but, placing the emphasis on specific cultural traditions, he neglected their archetypal and universal character.[5]

The fact that such an application of the Dumézilian theory appears to work rather well regardless of its in no way implying an Indo-European influence on the Hebrew Bible would actually militate against finding this kind of influence using such a method.[6]

In this study, I will not venture into the area of trifunctional analysis; the theories of Dumézil are, after all, subject to serious doubts even within the field of Indo-European studies itself, and this fact makes it positively dangerous to try to find borrowed traces of such a scheme in biblical or Northwest Semitic material.[7]

The mythology of the battle against the dragon or sea monster is, however, a much more concrete concept, which is demonstrably present in the Old Testament material and the larger Northwest Semitic cultural sphere (Ugarit, Mari) – and in East Semitic materials as well (Enuma Elish). And this type of story is also very prominent in many ancient Indo-European cultures and text complexes (the Vedic story of Indra and Vṛtra, the Hittite one of Tarhunna and Illuyanka, the Greek tales of Typhon, Ophion, and many others). This motif occurs in much of the Indo-European world, and it has been argued by Watkins, West and others that these stories constitute remnants of an ancient proto-Indo-European myth.[8] This means that a historical comparison between the biblical/Semitic versions of the story and the parallel Indo-European ones can be carried out with greater methodological stringency and rigor. The focus is no longer simply on "shared ideological characteristics," but on actual, comparable pieces of texts from the cultures involved.

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[5] Lang 2002: 4.

[6] This point (that the possibility of finding pieces of "trifunctional ideology" in the Hebrew Bible weakens the case for such an ideology being specifically Indo-European) was in fact made more than 40 years earlier by John Brough (1959: see especially the concluding remarks on pp. 84-85). Wyatt (1990: 352-353) sees this as just another impetous for regarding trifunctional ideology as having been transmitted from the Indo-Europeans into the Bible.

[7] See, for example, Belier 1991 and Beekes 2011:41 for scathing criticisms of Dumézil's trifunctional hypothesis.

[8] Watkins 1995; West 2007: 255-259, 430, *etc*.

Of all those mythological items in the Hebrew Bible which have been successfully and productively compared with similar ones in the neighboring Near Eastern World, the motif of the battling thunder god destroying the forces of chaos has long been perhaps the most classic. The descriptions of YHWH's battle with the dragon-formed monster (Leviathan, Rahab etc.) lend themselves excellently to comparison with parallel stories about Baal at Ugarit, Marduk in the Mesopotamian Enuma Elish and also with the myth of the Hittite Storm God and his conflict with the "Serpent". It has for a long time been apparent that what we are dealing with here is a common Ancient Near Eastern mythological concept, one of the main divine protagonist of the stories creating order out of the chaos which the serpent or sea-monster personifies. The concept of a powerful male thunder deity battling and destroying a serpentine monster is ubiquitous in the Ancient Near Eastern world.

But such a statement shows us only one part of the situation. The fact that a mytheme or *theologoumenon* is spread over a whole complex of closely-knit but fundamentally differing cultures also implies another thing: that this common motif might be expressed and handled in quite different ways in its various instances, and that those differences might tell us something important about the religious and ideological histories of the cultures in question, or at least about the theological outlooks of the individual authors of the texts involved. Thus one might argue that, the similarities having been very thoroughly studied for many years, it is equally important to look at the *differences* between the accounts in greater detail.

What concerns us here is, as seen above, that similar concepts occur further outside the classical Semitic world. The most salient example of this is the story of the Vedic god Indra and his battle against the serpent Vṛtra. It is a fact that this story shows many parallels with the classical Northwest Semitic battle myths: a young storm god fights (and destroys) a monstrous serpent, a representative of the chaotic powers, using weapons that he has been given by the other members of his pantheon. This battle appears to be connected with the fertility giving functions of the storm deity and with his imposing order on the universe. It is not surprising that such a comparison has been made.

In his volume dedicated to the battle between the Vedic Indra and his opponent, Lahiri draws wide parallels between that story and similar "cosmic contest" motifs preserved in a Semitic linguistic context. Somewhat surprisingly, however, he does not focus in the West Semitic versions of this motif but on the Babylonian Enuma Elish. Lahiri enumerates sixteen common points between the two stories, some more weighty than others.[9] In a number of cases, the parallels are rather tenuous. For example, Lahiri notes that both Tiāmat and Vṛtra are "very intimately associated with the water" and that the "action of both Vṛtra and Tiamat leads to the extinction of vegetal life, as it were."[10] Neither of these connections really holds up to closer scrutiny. To be sure, Tiāmat is an aquatic monster (her name even means "Deep" and is probably connected etymologically with the Hebrew *tĕhôm* of Gen 1:2) and Vṛtra does indeed have to do with waters, but in quite a different sense. In fact, the Vedic serpent is the one that *holds back* the waters, which have to be liberated by the divine hero Indra, of whom the Ṛg-veda says:

> *yo hatvāhim ariṇāt sapta sindhūn* (ṚV II 12:3)
> "… he who after slaying the serpent released the seven rivers …"

Neither can it be truthfully said that Tiāmat is instrumental in destroying vegetation; there is no

[9] Lahiri 1984: 117-124.
[10] Lahiri 1984: 117-118.

direct reference to anything of the sort in the Babylonian text. Lahiri himself seems to acknowledge this when he says:

> Although this is not directly stated in the *Enuma Eliš*, we believe it was so. Because, as we have pointed out before, it was the yearly flood of the two rivers that led to the inundation of the valley region as also to the extinction, as it were, of the vegetal life of the world.[11]

One should note that Lahiri's interpretation of the parallels between the Enuma Elish and the Vedic narrative does not make him imply an Indo-European influence on the Babylonian myth. Rather, he supposes the opposite possibility, that the Indian story was influenced by Babylonian thought.[12]

The more obvious parallel to the figure of Indra and his battle with Vṛtra is to be found in the Northwest Semitic ambit, which of course includes the Hebrew Bible. Not only the motif of the battle against a chaos dragon or sea monster but the very conception of the heroic deity himself offers obvious parallels. The classical representation of the Northwest Semitic storm deity has much in common with the imagery that is applied to Indra. The most famous exponent of the Northwest Semitic storm god "persona" is that of the Ugaritic Baal, of whom the texts say the following:

qlh qds trr arṣ	His holy voice shakes the earth,
ṣat [*špṭ*]*h ġrm aḫšn*	the issue of his lips makes the mountains fear.
(...)	
bmt arṣ ṭṭṭn	The heights of the earth quake.
ib bʿl tiḫd yʿrm	The enemies of Baal take to the forests,
šnu hd gpt ġr	the haters of Haddu to the slopes of the hills.
(...)	
ydh k tġḏ	His hand shakes,
arz b ymnh	the cedar in his right hand.

(KTU 1.4 VII 31-41)

This storm god theophany is replete with thunder and lightning-based imagery: note especially the references to Baal's "voice" (his thunder) directly impacting topographic details of nature and to his "cedar weapon," apparently meant as a reference to a lightning-bolt, which he wields with his right hand.

Compare this with the following description of Indra from the Ṛg-veda:

dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī namete	Even heaven and earth bow down to him,
śuṣmāc cid asya parvatā bhayante	from his might even the mountains fear,
yaḥ somapā nicito vajrabāhur	he who is called *soma*-drinker, he with the lightning-bolt at his arm,
yo vajrahastaḥ sa janāsa indraḥ	he with the lightning-bolt in his hand – he, o men, is Indra!

[11] Lahiri 1984: 188, n. 312.
[12] Lahiri 1984: 127-128.

(ṚV II.12.13)

And, returning to the area of the Hebrew Bible, both of these textual passages resonate well with what we find in the famous "storm god hymn" that is Psalm 29:

qôl YHWH ʿal hammāyim
ʾēl hakkābôd hirʿîm
YHWH ʿal-mayim rabbîm
qôl-YHWH bakkōaḥ
qôl YHWH behādar
qôl YHWH šōbēr ʾărāzîm
wayšabbēr YHWH ʾet-ʾarzê hallĕbānôn
wayyarqîdēm kĕmô-ʿēgel
lĕbānôn wĕśiryôn kĕmô ben-rĕʾēmîm
qôl-YHWH ḥōṣēb lahăbôt ʾēš
qôl YHWH yāḥîl midbār
yāḥîl YHWH midbār qādēš
qôl YHWH yĕḥôlēl ʾayyālôt
wayyeḥĕšōp yĕʿārôt

The voice of YHWH over the waters!
The God of Glory thunders –
YHWH over the great waters!
The voice of YHWH in strength,
the voice of YHWH in majesty!
The voice of YHWH breaks the cedars,
YHWH breaks the cedars of Lebanon!
He makes them jump like a calf,
Lebanon and Siryon like an ox.
The voice of YHWH carves out fiery flames –
the voice of YHWH shakes the wilderness,
YHWH shakes the wilderness of Kadesh.
The voice of YHWH makes the hinds give birth
and strips the forests bare.

(Ps 29:3-9*b*)

All three of these passages describe what looks like a classical Northwest Semitic storm theophany. They talk of the thunder or lightning of the god in question: in two of the cases – the Semitic ones – poetically referred to as his "voice," while the Baal Cycle passage and the Vedic one agree in symbolically hypostasizing the lightning bolt as an almost physical weapon of the deity (Baal's "cedar weapon," depicted on the well-known "Baal stele" from Ugarit, and Indra's *vajra*-weapon, probably symbolic of a lightning-bolt). In all of the cases, mountains are shaken by the thunderous appearance of the warrior god – they are visibly frightened (literally in the Ugaritic and Vedic passages, and in Ps 29:6 the mountains Lebanon and Siryon are made to jump like startled animals).

One thinks also of Ps 18:8-16, a passage that shows earth and mountains quaking before the God of the storm going into battle against the powers of chaos:

wattigʿaš wattirʿaš hāʾāreṣ	And the earth shook and trembled
ûmôsĕdê hārîm yirgāzû	and the bases of the mountains quaked,
wayyitgāʿăšû kî ḥārâ lô	they shook, for he was angered.
ʿālâ ʿāšān bĕʾappô	Smoke rose from his nose
wĕʾēš-mippîw tōʾkēl	and devouring flame from his mouth.
geḥālîm bāʿărû mimmennû	charcoal burned from him.
wayyēṭ šāmayim wayyērad	He folded the heavens and descended,
waʿărāpel taḥat raglāyw	and gloom was under his feet.
wayyirkab ʿal-kĕrûb wayyāʿop	He rode on the Cherub and flew
wayyēdeʾ ʿal-kanpê-rûaḥ	he swept on the wings of the wind.
yāšet ḥōšek sitrô sĕbîbôtāyw	He put darkness as a covering around him,
sukkātô ḥeškat-mayim ʿābê šĕḥāqîm	his booth was dark waters, dense clouds.
minnōgah negdô ʿābāyw ʿābĕrû	In the radiance before him his clouds passed forth
bārād wĕgaḥalê-ʾēš	hail and charcoals of flame.
wayyarʿēm baššāmayim YHWH	YHWH thundered in the heavens,
wĕʿelyôn yittēn qōlô[13]	the Most High gave forth his voice.
wayyišlaḥ ḥiṣṣāyw wayĕpîṣēm	He sent out his arrows and spread them around,
ûbĕrāqîm rāb wayhummēm	he threw lightning-bolts and created confusion.
wayyērāʾû ʾăpîqê mayim	The stream-beds of water became visible,
wayyigālû môsĕdôt tēbēl	the bases of the world were uncovered,
miggaʿărātĕkā YHWH	by your roar, o YHWH,
minnišmat rûaḥ ʾappekā	by the breath of your raging wind.

All of these three divine characters – Indra, Baal and YHWH – fight a sea monster of some kind, a representative of chaos. In the case of Baal and Indra, we have actual preserved mythological accounts of how this was thought (at least by some) to have taken place – and in these, there are certain striking correspondences. One of these is the fact that both Baal and Indra are presented with specific weaponry with which to battle the chaos monster, and the one preparing this gift and donating this is the "craftsman god" of the respective pantheon – in Baal's case, the responsible party is the deity of handicrafts and magic, Kothar-wa-Hasis, who presents Baal with his weapons *ygrš* ("it drives away") and *aymr* ("it expells all"), and in the Vedic story it is the god Tvaṣṭṛ, who has a similar sphere of influence, who prepares the *vajra*.[14]

Also parallel is the somewhat strange circumstance that the actions of both Baal and Indra against the sea monster/divinity are regarded at some point in the stories as being in some way negative or going against established custom or law, so that the divine hero of the stories is not necessarily always regarded as such by the divine establishment. In the case of Indra, the negativity of the chaos battle consists in the deity thereby acquiring a kind of "sin," which is apparently due to Vṛtra being regarded by the text as a sort of priest and thereby, apparently,

[13] I have removed the repeated *bārād wĕgaḥalê-ʾēš*.

[14] The exact type of weapon represented by the *vajra* is not entirely clear; one suggestion is a type of club (see Dahlquist 1977: 153-155), or "cudgel" (thus Watkins 1995: 302), but (as will be seen below) there are also later descriptions more suggestive of a stabbing weapon.

sacrosanct. This leads to Indra having to go into hiding.[15]

In the Baal Cycle, this state of affairs comes to light when it is recounted that El, the divine patriarch, has actually ordained that Yamm, the sea god, should act as the king of the gods and has thereby granted him his sanction, and also when Baal flies into a rage at Yamm's messengers, who try to get him to submit to the sea god's rule, and is subsequently restrained by the other gods due to the "diplomatic" status of the messengers. In the latter case, El even tells the messengers that Baal is to Yamm's "servant" (*ʿbd*) and the "prisoner" (*asr*) of the messengers.[16] Another instance of this "negativity" apparently inherent in Baal's battle against the powers of sea occurs when, at the beginning of KTU 1.5, Mot (the god of death) apparently accuses Baal for his killing of Lotan/Litan/Leviathan and implies that the ensuing killing drought and powerlessness of the heavens to provide rain is somehow a consequence of this act (this episode is the background of Dietrich's and Loretz's article "Der Tod Baals als Rache Mots für die Vernichtung Leviathans in KTU 1.5 I 1-8", 1980). The Ugaritic text in question is the following:

k tmḥṣ . ltn . bṯn . brḥ	As/although you smote Lotan, the fleeing serpent,
tkly . bṯn . ʿqltn .	killed off the the writhing serpent,
šlyṭ . d. šbʿt . rašm	the ruler with seven heads,
tṯkḥ . ttrp . šmm .	the heavens will burn hot and shine/be weakened.
krs ipdk . ank.	I, even I, will tear you to pieces—
ispi . uṯm ḏrqm . amtm .	I will swallow elbows, blood, and forearms.
l yrt b npš . bn ilm . mt .	You will surely descend into the throat of divine Mot,
b mhmrt .b ydd . il . ġzr	into the gullet of El's beloved, the hero.[17]

(KTU 1.5 I 1-8)

This passage appears to imply that Baal's battle against the powers of the sea may have led to some unintended consequences, at least from a rhetorical point of view. However, the fact of the "negativity" of the battles against the chaos monsters is a rather superficial link, given the methodological and criteria argument given earlier in this paper.

It is a lamentable fact that the Hebrew Bible does not preserve in its entirety a version of the story that must once have existed – "the tale of YHWHs battle with the sea monster." Such a text (or type of texts) must in all probability have been composed at some period in time, given how many and persistent references to the *Chaoskampf* motif that can be found scattered throughout the biblical text. All we can do in absence of such a preserved text is to try to piece together what scraps and fragment we may find in the Hebrew Bible, in order to get an idea how such a "YHWH and the Sea"-epic may have sounded.

In Isaiah 51:9, it is a matter of course that YHWH (or, metonymically, his "arm") has "cut down Rahab" and "pierced the Dragon". Yet the complex of myths which these and other such lines suggest is nowhere spelled out in full. One is reminded of how the classical Greek tragedians wrote plays on mythological themes not in order to tell a new, and previously

[15] *Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. "Vṛtra."

[16] The apparent support from El for Yamm as divine king is found in KTU 1.1 IV (although that column is in a highly damaged state and certain conclusions as to its contents are highly difficult to draw). The aggressive behavior of Baal during his being handed over to Yamm's messengers occurs in KTU 1.2 I 36-41.

[17] This translation is mine (also used in Wikander 2012: 58). It has been especially influenced by the ideas of van Selms (1975), Emerton (1976), Wyatt (2002: 115-116) and Barker (2006).

unknown story to a riveted audience, but rather to make a new artistic interpretation of a story which was already well known. There must once have been such a story (or most probably a complex of stories), which described the battle between YHWH and the chaos monsters; this is indicated very clearly by the author of Isa 51:9, who calls upon the arm of Yahweh to clothe itself in strength and awake *kîmê qedem* ("like in the days of old"), clearly implying a reference to a concrete story about these ancient times. But for reasons we will probably never know (perhaps religious tendency played a part, as Deuteronomistic theology grew stronger) it was not preserved to us. Thus, we have to "read between the lines" to synthesize the beliefs and ideas concerning Yahweh's battle with the chaotic powers.

It would, for example, have been highly interesting indeed to see whether YHWH was ever thought to be given some form of divine weaponry with which to defeat the Leviathan or Rahab, just as Baal and Indra were. The parallels with the Ugaritic and the Indo-European story invite the question whether such a "weapon of YHWH" was once part of the mythology of the Israelite God. In his large study of the Indo-European dragon-slaying tales, Calvert Watkins makes the point that the mention of the weapon of the hero is an important (though optional) part of the poetic structure.[18] Even though no such overt description of YHWH's weapon is available to us, it is interesting to note that in the quite subdued reference to the battle against Leviathan found at the end of the Book of Job, a specific implement is mentioned as the means by which the sea monster can be handled:

timšōk liwyātān bĕḥakkâ	Can you pull up Leviathan with a fishhook,
ûbĕḥebel tašqîaʿ lĕšōnô	and with a rope restrain his tongue?
hătāśîm ʾagmôn bĕʾappô	Can you set a ring through his nose,
ûbĕḥôaḥ tiqqôb leḥeyô	and with a hook pierce his jaw?

(Job 40:25-26)

This passage, though in a sense satirically meant (referring as it does to the great sea monster as a rather demythologized being which YHWH is capable of handling in a way similar to a fish) may well contain within it a reference to a weapon used by YHWH to defeat the Leviathan in an actual (unpreserved) tale concerning that great feat. The "fishing hook" would then be a demythologized and perhaps partly humorous variant of that weapon, which was believed to have been wielded by the Israelite God in the battle. It is probably no coincidence that the above passage uses the verb *nqb* ("to perforate" or "to pierce")[19] with Leviathan as its object – the same verb occurs much earlier in the Book of Job, in the passing reference to certain imagined evil sorcerers, who are called upon to curse the night on which Job was born:

yiqqĕbūhû ʾōrĕrê-yām[20]	Let them pierce through it – those who curse Sea,

[18] Watkins 1995: 302.

[19] The same verb occurs in the line preceding the ones here quoted, Job 40:24, which talks of the other monstrous animal, the Behemoth, in the following way: *bĕʿēnāyw yiqqaḥennû / bĕmôqĕšîm yinqab-ʾāp* ("Can one grab him by his eyes / or pierce his nose with snares?").

[20] MT has *yôm* instead of *yām*. The reading *yām* goes back to Gunckel's (1895: 59) publishing of an idea by Gottfried Schmied. This emended reading has won many adherents, not least because of its increasing the parallelism between the lines. The prominent motif of the "day" (*yôm*) in Job 3m would make it easier for *yôm* to have crept into the text as a *lectio simplicior*. For further discussion and references concerning this problem, see Wikander 2010: 265, n. 1.

hāʿătîdîm ʿōrēr liwyātān those who are ready to awaken Leviathan.

(Job 3:8)

This bicolon, which apparently refers to some sort of curse-magic (boring through "voodoo dolls" or similar) being performed by sorcerers so skilled as to be able to summon the terrible sea monsters,[21] may also contain traces of a reference to a weapon of YHWH. Can it really be a coincidence that both Job 3:8 and 40:26 use the same verb *nqb* in connection with the sea monster Leviathan (in widely diverging contexts)? The evil sorcerers who are powerful enough to command Leviathan are called upon to "pierce" the moment when Job was born (indicating that "piercing" was a standard way of describing power over the sea monster), and Job himself is mockingly asked by YHWH whether he can "pierce" the jaw of Leviathan. It is quite possible to interpret this as an indicator that the traditional telling of YHWH's battle against the serpent to which the Joban poet appears to be alluding included a weapon with which the Israelite God was thought to have slain the serpent – more specifically, then, a stabbing (or "piercing") weapon of some kind, as opposed to the club-like weapons that Baal is given by Kothar-wa-Hasis in the Ugaritic text. When the author of the Book of Job has YHWH ask the protagonist if he can "pull up Leviathan with a fishhook," the reader of the text is apparently meant to know exactly the mythological concept to which this phrase refers, again reinforcing the idea that there must have been at least one actual textual entity recounting the "YHWH and Leviathan"-epic.

The above-quoted lines on "pulling up Leviathan with a fish-hook" is certainly not only a piece of mythological inheritance – it probably also refers to the more mundane practices of fishing. However, these two interpretations need not contradict each other: an older, mythological motif may well have been reinterpreted in a more "near to earth" fashion. This is indicated by the fact that the motif of "piercing" the serpent occurs in other places as well. The idea of the Israelite God using some form of piercing weapon to defeat his serpentine enemy is in part reinforced by the above-mentioned verse from Deutero-Isaiah, which addresses the arm of YHWH with the following words:

halōʾ ʾatt-hîʾ hammaḥṣebet rahab Indeed it was you that cut down Rahab,
mĕḥôlelet tannîn that pierced the Dragon!

(Isa 51:9*b*)

A similar reference is found at another place in the Book of Job, where it is said of YHWH:

ḥōlălâ yādô nāḥāš bārîaḥ His hand pierced the fleeing serpent.

(Job 26:13)

If this analysis is correct, some sort of stabbing weapon seems indeed to be referred to. One should however, note that Ps 74:13 talks of "crushing" (*šibbēr*) the heads of Rahab, which does sound more club-like. A similar double description of the type of weapon used by the victorious divine warrior occurs in the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*, in which it is first stated that Marduk defeats Tiāmat using an arrow that pierces her heart...

[21] For my views on this passage, see further Wikander 2010.

issuk mulmulla iḫtepi karassa He shot the arrow, and it ripped through [her] belly.

(EE IV 101)

... after which the other version of destruction is recounted:

ina miṭṭīšu lā padî ulatti muḫḫa With his unsparing mace he crushed [her] skull.

(EE IV 130)

The double (both beating and piercing) victory over the serpent may possibly be in evidence in the following half-verse from Ps 89:

ʾattâ dikkāʾtā keḥālāl rāhab You crushed Rahab like one pierced through …

(Ps 89:11*a*)

In this case, it is usual to translate *keḥālāl* with "as one slain" or similar, but I believe that keeping the actual root meaning of *ḥālāl* ("pierced") may hint at an older tradition.

The overt description of a "crushing" type of violence against the monster is also in evidence in the Vedic Material – notice for example a line from the more magically oriented Atharva-veda,[22] where the poet addresses Indra in the following way:

tvam rauhiṇaṃ vyā ʾsyo vi vṛtrasyābhinac chiraḥ

You scattered Rauhiṇa and crushed the head of Vṛtra …

(AV XX 128.13)

This imagery is highly reminiscent the following lines:

ʾattâ pôrartā bĕʿozzĕkā yām You split (?) the Sea with your power,
šibbartā rāʾšê tannînîm ʿal-hammāyim you crushed the heads of the Dragons on the waters.

(Ps 74:13)

There are post-Vedic accounts of Indra's battle which seem to point to piercing damage to Vṛtra as well:

[22] Another interesting parallel exists between the Israelite and Vedic serpent demons in their later religious history. Both Vṛtra and Leviathan later become stock characters in various forms of magic or curses – or sometimes the victory of the heroic deity against them is used in such contexts. Such is the case already in Job 3:8, where some evil sorcerers are referred to who are powerful enough to command the Leviathan; a similar motif appears in a number of the Jewish-Babylonian Aramaic incantation bowls from late antiquity, which refer to spells that once bound the great chaos serpent as threats against enemies of the user of the bowl (see Wikander 2010 for my views on the relationships between these texts with one another – and further references). In Vedic India, the Atharva-veda is the natural repository for this type of material, and here too, we find such references (see Lahiri 1984: 229-232).

bhittvā vajreṇa tatkukṣiṃ	After piercing his [Vṛtra's] belly with his *vajra*
niṣkramya balabhidvibhuḥ	and emerging, the powerful slayer of Bala [=Indra]
uccakarta śiraḥ śatror	cut off the head of the enemy,
giriśṛṅgam ivaujasā	which was like a mountain peak, with force.

(Bhāgavata-Purāṇa 6:12:32)

Regardless of whether one is talking of piercing or crushing, the biblical pieces of text referred to above seem to point to a notion of YHWH destroying the sea monster using some form of implement, in the same way that Baal and Indra do in their respective stories. Note that this question of YHWH's weaponry is most easily brought up as a result of a comparison not only with surrounding Semitic-speaking cultures but with Indo-European ones as well.

Another Indo-European parallel to the Northwest Semitic serpent slaying stories is the Hittite narrative of the battle between the Storm God and his enemy, the serpent Illuyanka. This story is rather different than the ones about YHWH, Baal and Indra: the Hittite god is painted as a rather weak character, one who has to be helped not only by the goddess Inara, but also by a mortal named Hupasiya, in order to slay the serpent:

nu ^{d}*Inaras* ^{m}*Hūpas[iyan p]ēhutit, nan mūnnāit*
^{d}*Inasarassaz unuttat, nasta* ^{MUŠ}*illuyank[an] hantesnaz sarā kallista*
kāsawa EZEN-*an iyami*
nu-wa adanna akuwanna ehu
nasta ^{MUŠ}*illuyankas QADU* [DUMU^{MEŠ}-*ŠU*] *sarā uēr*
nu-za etēr ekui[*r*]
[*n*]*asta* ^{DUG}*palhan humandan ek*[*uir n*]*e-za ninkēr*
[*n*]*e namma hattesnas kattand*[*a*] *nūmān pānzi*
^{m}*Hūpasiyass-*[*a uit*] *nu* ^{MUŠ}*illuyankan ishimā*[*nta*] *kalēlēt*
^{d}IM-*as uit nu-kan* ^{MUŠ}*illuyankan kuenta*
DINGIR^{MEŠ} *kattissi esir*

And Inara transported Hupasiya and hid him.
Inara dressed herself, and she called the Serpent up from his hole:
'See, I am making a feast,
come eat and drink!'
And the Serpent came up together with [his children],
and they ate and drank.
They drank every vessel, and they were satiated.
And they could no longer go down into their hole;
Hupasiya came, and he tied the Serpent up with a cord.
The Storm God came, and he killed the Serpent;
the gods were with him.[23]

[23] I have kept my translation from Wikander 2010: 269-270. The transcription is normalized based on the text as edited by Beckman (1982: §§ 9-12).

We see here that the serpent is killed not by mighty force, but rather by trickery. No specific weapon is mentioned, and neither is any storm theophany – but the victorious deity is the storm god (written with the sumerogram IM, "wind/storm"). Another interesting detail in the Hittite story is the fact that the Storm God and the serpent do battle once earlier in the story, at which point the hero is actually defeated. This could possibly parallel the humiliating submission Baal is forced into before Yamm at the beginning of the Ugaritic story (and perhaps his fear of and surrender before Mot).[24]

One tantalizing point of intersection between the stories here in question is the way of referring to the heroes themselves. As we have seen the name of the Hittite Storm God was *Tarhunna-*, which probably means "the conqueror." This word is derived from the Hittite verbal root *tarhu-* ("to defeat, conquer"), which in turn is a reflex of the Proto-Indo-European verb **terh$_2$-u-*, with similar meanings.[25] In the Ugaritic myths, Baal is very often given the epithet *aliyn*, an elative of the root *l*ʾ*y*, "to be able, to be mighty", which apparently meant something like "supremely mighty," "victorious" or "conquering." These two descriptions of the storm gods are quite similar, and one could imagine some form of conceptual link between the two words (especially as we do not find many comparable instances of descriptions such as *aliyn* in the Baal cults of the neighboring Semitic cultures).

There are a few significant differences between the Indo-European and Semitic serpent slaying narratives. The most apparent of these is the connection existing in the Semitic stories with the two concepts of creation – and the sea. None of these central associations are clearly present in the Indo-European narratives. However, it should also be noted the creation-theme is not always present in the Semitic ambit, either: the Ugaritic Baal Cycle lacks all reference to a creation narrative. But the role of the sea is certainly an important and specific part of the Semitic-language stories: one may note with some interest that both the Hebrew and Ugaritic versions of the narrative vacillate between just talking of the "sea" (Yamm/*yām*) and the various serpentine monsters. Could it be that the idea of the serpent was shared through some medium of transmission with various Indo-European cultures, while the Semitic-speakers combined this motif with the more specifically Near Eastern idea of the chaotic sea, which had to be pacified by a deity?[26]

When considering the possible implications of these parallels between the Northwest Semitic (including Old Testament) narratives concerning the battle against the great serpent or sea monster with that found in certain Indo-European cultures, we must (as hinted at the beginning of the paper) distinguish between two possible levels of historical connection. The first of these concern the very general motif of a divine hero (often, but not always, a storm god) slaying a serpent. As we have seen, there are a number of similarities between this type of myth and the dragon-fighting stories of the Biblical and Semitic cultures, and these similarities should be explained. One such explanation would be cultural influence or "co-operation" at some level and

[24] One may note with some interest Haas's (1994: 104-105) assertion that the Hittite Illuyanka forms a parallel to the Ugaritic Mot, rather than Yamm and the chaos dragons!

[25] As demonstrated by Kloekhorst (2007: 964-968 [s.v. *tarḫu*^{zi}]), the verbal root in question in Hittite is definitely *tarhu-*, not simply *tarh-*, as has often been supposed in the past.

[26] Note that the idea of a heroic deity stopping the chaotic sea goes very far back in Ancient Near Eastern history. Already in the Sumerian cylinders of Gudea (of course not Semitic, but very genuinely Near Eastern) from the 2100s BC, talk of the god Ningirsu as *a ḫuš gi$_4$-a* ("the one who made the great waters turn back") (cylinder A, l. 8.15; text available online at the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk).

in some direction, most probably at an early period and possibly during a prolonged time.

The other possible type of connection would be looking at the more precise and detail-oriented correspondences, such as the descriptions of mountains being "afraid" at the thunderous roar of the battling storm god (found both in the Hebrew Bible and at Ugarit on the one hand and in the Vedic story on the other). Another such detailed similarity is the handing over of the divine weapon by the craftsman god (found both in the Baal Cycle and in the Ṛg-veda).

I believe that to provide an understanding of the various types of correspondences and similarities that appear to subsist between the water-dragon slaying stories of the Biblical ambit and the serpent myths of Indo-European provenance, we must be open both to a more general idea of early cultural interaction and of one involving specific loans or cultural back-and-forth concerning specific motifs. For example, the rather significant detail-centered similarities between motifs in the Baal Cycle and those occurring in the Indian Vṛtra story would probably need to be explained through the latter type of scenario. In this case, there is a possible cultural link that suggests itself as the transporting agent, making such specific borrowings possible. This is the kingdom of Mittanni, with its well-known presence of Indo-Aryan onomastics, technincal terminology and divine names. It is a fact the Mittannians included Indra (*in-da-ra*) in god lists, showing a familiarity with that deity. Also, as pointed out by Nicolas Wyatt, there is evidence of Hurrian/Mittannian influence in the Hebrew Bible, for example in the name Arauna, which may represent a Hurrian word like *iwer-na* or *ewirne*, meaning something like "the lord."[27] Even though the Mitttannians were mainly a Hurrian speaking people, it is well established that there was a (possibly somewhat fossilized) Indo-European (Indic, to be specific) linguistic stratum as part of their culture (shown, for example, by the onomastics of their rulers). At Ugarit, the Hurrians had a pervasive influence, and the El Amarna literature attests great amounts of Indo-Aryan names,[28] showing the Mittannians as quite a possible mode of cultural transmission between the Indo-European and Old Testament world. In the 2013 article mentioned above, I have argued for a direct influence from a Hurrian/Hittite bilingual upon Deuteronomy 32 (including some very close parallels).

The other type of correspondence – that which does not concern details of mythology but larger mythemes and motifs – may go back to a much earlier phase of Indo-European/Semitic interaction. This type of explanation is much more difficult and far-reaching, and will be the subject of further research.

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[27] Wyatt 1985: 372; Lipiński 2004: 500 (with ample references).
[28] For many examples of this, see Hess 1993.

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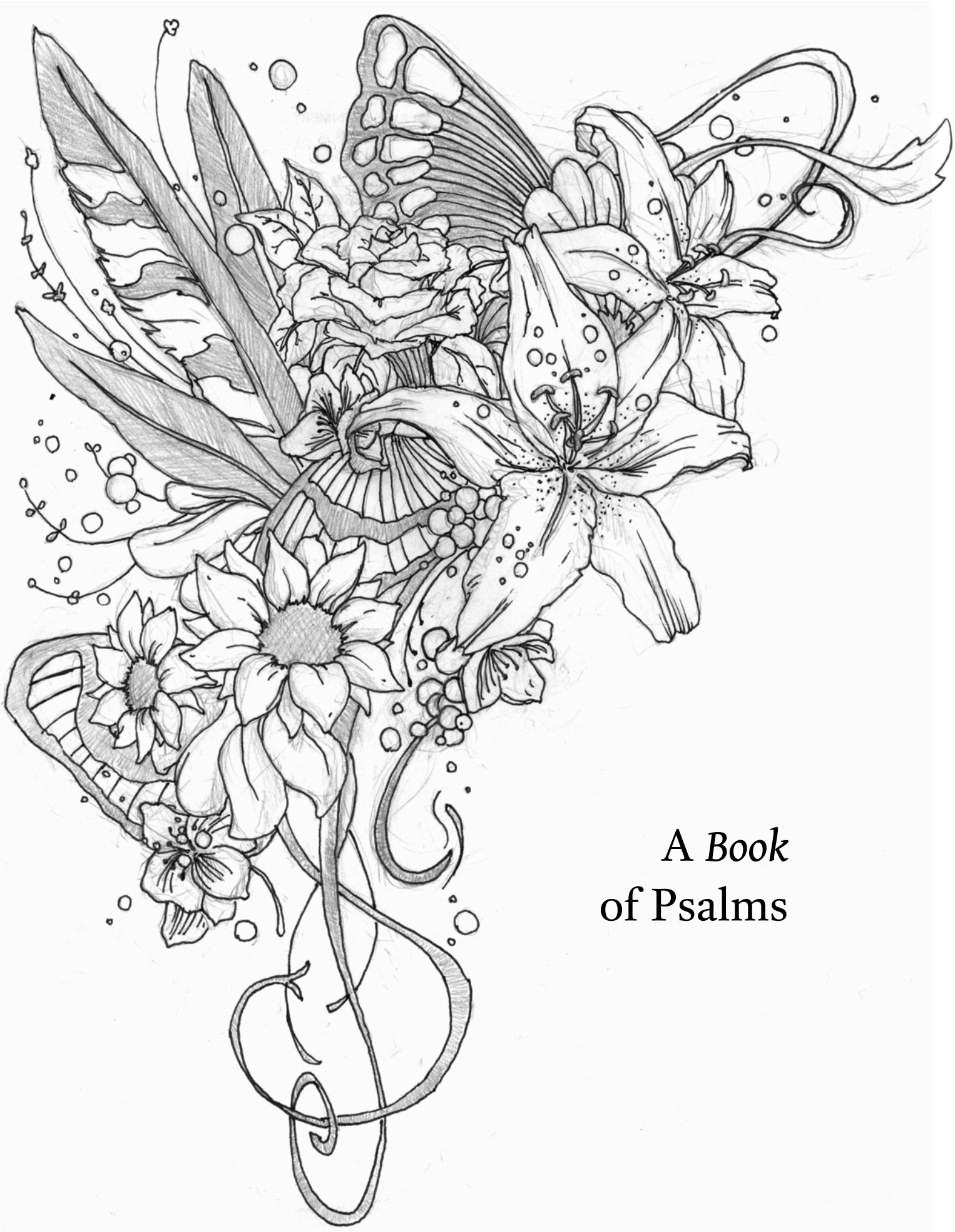
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A *Book* of Psalms

Background

Since the 1980's, a slightly new shift in focus has emerged in the research on the Book of Psalms. Even if such a shift never occurs without precursors,[1] it can be seen as a distinct move away from being primarily interested in original (cultic) contexts of individual psalms, and towards an increasing focus on the arrangement of these psalms into a book. The redaction history and the structure of the final shape of the collection was examined, and a wealth of literature was to be produced. Important, as it shaped much of the discussion, at least in an American context, was the work of Gerald H Wilson. Starting with the publication of his PhD thesis, originally presented in 1981,[2] and followed, expanded and revised in numerous articles as well as a commentary,[3] he laid a methodological foundation on which subsequent studies built, and, thus, it is probably no overstatement to claim that Wilson did for some time obtain one of the leading positions in the study of the shape and shaping of the Book of Psalms. Through the identification of some important editorial techniques, mainly detected throughout the psalm headings, he claimed to have shown that the Book of Psalms was a purposely crafted scripture, and, as such, intended to convey a specific message.

But as I have argued elsewhere,[4] I am convinced that the discussion of intention is in need of further consideration, as the work of Wilson and scholars that built on his conclusions (see especially the works of J Clinton McCann Jr, David M Howard Jr, Nancy deClaissé-Walford, Jerome F D Creach, Robert E Wallace, John H Walton and to some extent David C Mitchell)[5] often tend to conflate synchronic and diachronic considerations, ultimately rendering the idea of an intentional message, conveyed by the editors through the macrostructure of the Book of Psalms unwarranted. What I mean is that these studies reveal a recurrent failure to keep apart discussions of the intention(s) of presumed editors from questions of compositional or structural kind, thus risking to conflate the distinct areas of redaction history and theology. The former cannot be demonstrated only by observing that the Book of Psalms has an identifiable shape, nor by suggesting a possible reading of it. Literary features such as

1. Worth mentioning would be Claus Westermann (Westermann 1981, 250–58), as well as Frantz Delitzsch (Delitzsch 1871) and Ernst W Hengstenberg (Hengstenberg 1972).
2. Wilson 1985.
3. Wilson 2002.
4. These ideas were presented at the OTSEM-conference in Oxford, 2012.
5. See e.g. McCann Jr 1993, McCann Jr 2005, Howard Jr 1993, Howard Jr 1997, Howard Jr 1999, deClaissé-Walford 1997, deClaissé-Walford 2000, 99, Creach 1996, Creach 1998, Wallace 2007, Walton 1991, and Mitchell 1997.

themes, catch phrases and recurring vocabulary will not *per se* correspond to, or even reveal editorial intent, since it is well known that recurring language is an intrinsic feature to poetry.[6] So for intended linkage to be identified, one would have to show that the reuse of language is to be seen as a redaction,[7] but this very endeavor would then be further complicated by the possibility that the editors did not (always) write any actual material, but rather arranged earlier collections, sometimes with great conservatism.[8] Consequently, while they all provide important insights, leading towards a greater appreciation of the theology of the Book of Psalms, they say less about its actual redaction history.

All these scholars are ultimately concerned with the shape of the book, reading it as a linear narrative (albeit complexly unfolding), often clearly related to the history of Israel, and in doing so, they are implicitly proceeding from some idea of what kind of collection the Book of Psalms constitute. This very idea is what I would like to discuss in this paper, since I believe it to be central, not only to the question of editorial intent (which is, of course, connected to the question of the use of the book), but also to the understanding of the complex process through which the Book of Psalms came into being. Such a discussion would heed to the obvious fact that psalms are collected in a book, with the inescapable consequence that the understanding of a single psalm is effected. While not ripped of its autonomy, it is surely enriched by its *Sitz im Buch*,[9] and thus, the book itself becomes more than the "sum of its parts."[10] The question is only how. It is e.g. clear that Pss 1 and 2 form an introduction, but as far as the question of intent goes, it is not clear if it was intended as an introduction to the *Gesamtpsalter* or only to a precedent collection, say Pss 1–119. There is a clear fivefold division, but its purpose still eludes scholars. The shape encourages a sequential reading, but the gradual growth

6. Cf. Gerstenberger: "Doch läßt sich die Intentionalität der angeblichen Textverbindungen sehr schwer nachweisen. [...] Die Frage bleibt jedoch weit offen ob dieser Gleichklang von Psalm zu Psalm eine bewußte Verbindung der Texte darstellt oder lediglich ein zufälliges Ergebnis der Aufreihung verwandter Texte in einer Schrift ist" (Gerstenberger 1994, 5).
7. For a fuller account for this argument, see Millard 1996, 315–6, 23; Rendtorff 1996, 331; cf. also Zenger 1994, 184. The approach of Hossfeld and Zenger, who have written extensively on the Book of Psalms, departs from the idea that as the collection continuously grew (*Fortschreibung*), the existing material was often subject to "redaktionelle Einfügung neuer Psalmenverse/Psalmen zur Veränderung der Sprecher eines Textzusammenhangs" (Zenger 2010, 43; see also Zenger 2005, 439, and a good summary in Auwers 2010, 68; cf. also the remarks in Gelston 2010, 167).
8. Rendtorff 1996, 331; Vincent 1999, 81.
9. Cf. Weber 2010, 738.
10. Cf. McCann Jr 1993, 7.

blurs its extent. Several hypotheses have been proposed to forward this discussion, none entirely convincing. One example is Zenger's conclusion that the Book of Psalms was intended as "Heiligtum, in dem sich der biblische Gott mitteilen will,"[11] a conclusion based on the understanding that it had a "nichtliturgischen und kultunabhängigen *Sitz im Leben*."[12] But although an appealing suggestion, it does not necessarily speak of editorial intent, since such an understanding equally could be the result of changed *associate commonplaces*, as the psalms, being replete with metaphorical language, bore an intrinsic possibility of reinterpretation without changing actual words, i.e. that the locus of this shift was "in the minds of the text's performers and hearers."[13] Steven Fraade puts it quite elegantly in a discussion of midrashic compositions:

> At what point does relative formal and thematic unity such as we have witnessed cease to reflect the redactor's conscious *intent* and begin to be simply the text's *effect* on the mind of its reader/listener? Here the line between the relatively objective literary criteria and more subjective impressions becomes blurred and our task of describing and evaluating the redactional activity which produced such a midrash meets its limits. For the more we read and reread this kind of text and it becomes lodged in *our* minds, the better its pieces seem to fit together, the more its language seems to echo, and the more its messages seem to coalesce. The historian must be careful to recognize the limits of such inquiries into midrashic redaction, distinguishing always between controlled analysis and intuitive impressions. It is all too easy when searching for a consistent "mind" behind such a collective text to find it, but only after having read too much between the lines.[14]

What kind of collection, then, is the Book of Psalms? The idea I want to discuss has not, so far, been given enough attention, namely as anthology. By stating that it is a *nothing more* than an anthology,[15] some scholars has concluded that there would be no intentional organization, but what if the Book of Psalms was *nothing less* than an anthology?

11. Zenger 1999, 127; cf. Janowski 2010.
12. Zenger 1999, 115; this is a common conclusion, cf. Auwers 2010, 86–7.
13. Kugel 1986, 133.
14. Fraade 1983, 292–3, emphases original.
15. Cf. Flint & Miller 2005, 1, but see also Gillingham 1994, 232–7.

An elusive string

What, then, is an anthology? The question has somewhat eluded scholars, there are few theories of the 'genre', as Leah Price put it,[16] and research on the poetics of anthologies could be described as a "virtual *terra incognita*."[17] This may be due to the fact that anthologies are often described as a 'mishmash' of pieces, assembled haphazardly, and thus not worthy of any lengthy treatment, but as I will show below, such assumptions may in fact build on a false dichotomy between, on the one hand, unified compositions and, on the other hand, anthologies. Or, to use the words of David Stern, "even if it is not a monograph—that is, an original work consciously and deliberately created by a single author—an anthology of diverse works need not necessarily be, and usually isn't, a 'random', let alone a 'promiscuous' text, a mere scrapbook of this and that."[18] Rather, the opposite might be true, and it is interesting to notice that this has been increasingly stressed in studies by modern literary scholars.

The objects for these studies being the kind of books that has its roots in England in the mid-1550s,[19] they are not entirely relevant for a study on the Book of Psalms, but as I will show below, they nevertheless give some important insights about anthologies as such and the anthologizing process, the latter being, according to Anne Ferry, "a physical embodiment and figurative representation of what poets have tended to call *the tradition*—the iconoclast Pound said that the 'tradition is a beauty which we preserve and not a set of fetters to bind us'—but which many critics more recently and more often have called the *canon*."[20] If so, it would suggest that the process of anthologizing overlaps with, or perhaps even brings about canon formation, and indicate that a deeper knowledge of this process would possibly give some clues as to how certain anthologies not only authorize the traditions they choose to preserve, but themselves become canonical documents.[21] While interesting, this will not be the focus of this paper. Instead, I would like to focus on anthologies as such,

16. Price 2004, 2.
17. Kittel 1995, xiv.
18. Stern 2004a, 110. An illustration of this recurrent false dichotomy would be the following statement by Stuart Weeks: "They [Prov 1-9] do, however, combine to form a work that has a great consistency of both theme and style: although many commentators have tried to read it as an anthology, it seems probable that it was intended to be read as a unified composition" (Weeks 2010, 39).
19. Ferry 2001, 1.
20. Ferry 2001, 6 (italics original). Cf. also the work of e.g. Guillory 1993, and discussions like Srivastava 2010.
21. cf. the formulation in Stern 1997, 5.

with the aim to pinpoint some of their characteristics, and a good place to start would be to look at how anthologies are commonly described.

Anthology defined

Etymologically, the word anthology stems from ἄνθος (flower) and λέγειν (to gather). In fact, in the introduction to the anthology often mentioned as the first example of this 'genre',[22] the *Stephanos* of Meleager (60 BCE, the earliest part of what is often referred to as the *Greek Anthology*), this connection between poem and flower is made clear as each author is compared to a befitting flower.[23] Thus, the disparate texts were to be seen as constituting a garland (στέφανος) of flowers, arranged alphabetically according to author, and even continuously growing, that is, it seems as if the *Stephanos* was considered 'open-ended', expanded and revised numerous times throughout its history. As such, it can serve as starting-point in defining anthologies, but it can be no more than a starting point, for the metaphor obviously lacks the precision needed. Thus, we now turn to three overlapping descriptions of anthologies made by literary scholars. The first one by Anne Ferry, who, in her *Tradition and the Individual Poem: An Inquiry into Anthologies* sketches the evolution and impact of modern anthologies:

> What is recognizable as an anthology is an assemblage of pieces (usually short); written by more than one or two authors; gathered and chosen to be together in a book by someone who did not write what it contains, or not all; arranged and presented by the compiler according to any number of principles except single authorship, which the nature of the contents rules out. [...] Or to state the distinction [between anthologies and collections by a single poet] simply another way, in a collection made by the author of the poems in it there is no other person whose controlling presence is acknowledged and whose decisions mediate between the poems and the reader.[24]

As can be seen, the definition is rather vague, mainly stressing the difference in authorship between anthologies and the works of a single poet, as well as the effect this has on the collection, but it also makes the important observation that anthologies always consists of a multitude of different parts, gathered into a coherent whole according to some principles, although it is not made clear which they are. A similar description, although with a somewhat different stress is provided by Paul J Griffiths:

22. In fact, in the eleventh edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1910–11), the *Greek Anthology* was the foremost example given, treated at length (Garnett, Richard "Anthology," *Encyclopædia Britannica* 2:94–6).
23. Paton 1920, 111–5.
24. Ferry 2001, 31.

> Formally speaking, an anthology is a work all (or almost all) of whose words are taken from another work or works; it contains a number (typically quite a large number) of extracts or excerpts, each of which has been taken verbatim (or almost so) from some other work; and it uses some device to mark the boundaries of these excerpts. Any work that meets these conditions is an anthology.[25]

Although Griffiths' definition is equally broad as Anne Ferry's description, it makes an important stress on the link between the contents of an anthology and the tradition from where they are selected. According to Griffiths, anthologies are never made up of excerpts written specifically with the anthology in mind, but rather collects and organizes earlier texts, and in doing so in fact creates something new. Griffiths then goes on to further specify the uniqueness of anthologies by e.g. discussing proportions (if less than 3/4 consists of excerpts, it is no anthology),[26] a discussion rather speculative, but still interesting as it reveals that any attempt to demarcate anthologies from other collections seems to be intrinsically difficult. A final example of a description of some characteristics of an anthology is the one by Wendy Ayres-Bennett and Catherine Volpilhac-Auger:

> "Collection" désigne un "Recuëil de plusieurs passages sur une ou plusieurs matières, tirée d'un ou de plusieurs Autheurs" ou un "recuëil, compilation de plusieurs pieces et ouvrages qui ont quelque rapport ensemble." [...] La notion de collection est aussi ce qui permet de concevoir comme un organisme vivant et sur le mode de la continuité ce qui pourrait être lu comme un agrégat traversé de mouvements contradictoires ou purement conjoncturels.[27]

This description is intriguing as it indicates that contradictions and disparate point of views are at the very core of anthologies, and that they, as such, are combined into a 'living organism' which permits them to be read together. Hence, the very fact that they are brought together implies that they have something in common. If not so before, then created by the very act of compilation. By placing disparate texts next to each other, a larger context is formed, ultimately effecting the interpretation of the individual pieces. To this I will return below.

Viewed through the three descriptions provided above, an anthology could be said to be a composition of compositions,[28] and this is often made clear already in the title, as it makes a distinction between the book itself and the entries in it, as observed by Anne Ferry in a discussion of the anthology *Book of Songs and Sonnets*:

25. Griffiths 1999, 97.
26. Griffiths 1999, 98.
27. Ayres-Bennett & Volpilhac-Auger 2011, 301, 4.
28. Cf. Bregman 1997, 68.

> [T]he separation of nouns by the preposition *of* diagrams the case that a book does not belong exclusively to the sphere of discourse. It also occupies space in the world of physical objects, like a package, and within that class it belongs, like a package, to the subset of objects that are themselves containing spaces.[29]

If so, it also affects the discussion of anthologies and genre, to which I will return below, but here suffice to point to the fact that there is some discrepancy between the string binding the flowers together, and the actual flowers, if alluding to the original metaphor. Or, put another way, between the exterior of the package and its content. These will always be in tension, and the one can never be fully understood without the other. They could in fact be described as two forces, one militating toward isolation of the individual piece, and the other toward integration of the individual into the large.[30]

Of course, it could be stated that this applies to any book, but I would regard it is especially poignant when it comes to anthologies. If exemplified by the Book of Psalms, it could thus be said that already in title ספר תהלים are the container and the contained both set apart and linked together.[31] But what then constitutes this link? Griffiths states that "the organizing categories of an anthology (if it has any) may reasonably be called its *commonplaces*,"[32] and it is often asserted that an anthologist collects texts "according to his own preexisting taste and ideology, as representative examples of broader cultural elements,"[33] but how are these detected in the anthology proper?

First, it would be apt to stress the creative aspect of the anthologizing process. As noted above, anthologies are rarely treated as works in their own right, perhaps because the creation of an anthology is seen as a "mere technical feat,"[34] but if the observations made in this paper so far are valid, this would be a great understatement. In fact, a rather dynamic process is starting to uncover, a process where anthologists not only carefully selects and juxtaposes texts from a pre-existing tradition to elicit new (associative) meanings, but often also somewhat reworks these texts to speak more clearly to their new, implied reader.[35] Consequently, another tension reveals itself, namely the tension between the selective and preserving tendencies of the anthologist.[36] On the one hand, the anthologist

29. Ferry 2001, 23.
30. Cf. Kagan 1999, 54.
31. Cf. the formulation in Ferry 2001, 24.
32. Griffiths 1999, 99, italics mine.
33. Yassif 1997, 157.
34. Cf. the similar conclusion drawn by Elbaum 1997, 141.
35. For a similar observation, see Segal 1997, 37.

is free to choose and organize the anthology as fitting with his/her overall plan, but on the other hand, he/she is controlled by a tradition, both as to which texts are to be selected, and perhaps even to some extent how they are presented. This tension is illustrated quite clearly in an article by Eli Yassif, describing the compiler of *Sefer Hazikhronot* (the Book of Memory), Eleazar ben-Asher Halevi:

> Eleazar Halevi viewed all the texts, the noncanonical ones in particular, as we saw in his will, as inalienable Jewish property, and he felt obliged to copy them down for future generations regardless of their content or expressed religious stances. He did not copy the commentaries on the redemption because their ideological positions appealed to him, but because he felt it imperative that they be preserved for future generations.[37]

This observation is important, since it indicates that there is an aspect of 'new yet old'[38] in every anthology, which leads to the second assertion, namely that the string binding together the flowers cannot be universally described, but varies from anthology to anthology. While there are some recurrent *commonplaces*, e.g. topical, any such discussion must inevitably consider also the means of organization, why I now turn to the question of genre. But to sum up this section, I provide a possible definition of anthologies from which further discussion can depart:

> An anthology is a collection of texts, although not obviously connected to eachother before them being juxtaposed, still creatively selected, and thus both preserving and reforming a pre-existing tradition in accordance to some present needs, implicit or explicit, and so inviting its reader to enter into an ongoing discussion.

By this definition I want to stress two things. First that the *commonplaces* need not exist prior to the anthology (that is, alluding to the first tension above, between the book and its entries), and second, that anthologies are in fact superimposing, or rather re-presenting, the past to the present (corresponding to the second tension above, between selective and preserving tendencies respectively). In other words, actualization is intrinsic to anthologies. Roberto Antonelli puts it this way: "By means of selecting and controlling the past, [...] the present is organized, selected and controlled."[39] If so, each anthology would in some way reflect contemporary ideas.

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36. By describing it as a tension, I want to stress that the question is not either/or, as opposed to e.g. Tabory 1997, 116.
37. Yassif 1997, 171.
38. The expression is borrowed from Kagan 1999, 55.
39. Antonelli 1999, viii. Orig. "Attraverso la selezione e il controllo del Passato [...] si organizza, seleziona e controlla il Presente."

An anthological genre?

So what about the question of genre? Do the assertions above indicate "the genre's formal plasticity," as stated by David Stern,[40] or are there other possible conclusions?

In one of the earliest monograph-length studies on Ps 119, Alfons Deißler asserts that there was in fact an anthological genre (*antologische Stilgattung*) emerging in post-exilic times.[41] According to Deißler, characteristic of this genre was its use of scripture, and his analysis of Ps 119 was supposed to show how the author integrated and reinterpreted excerpts of earlier texts into a coherent whole. This anthological genre was seen as a natural consequence of the fact that the author lived in a time when...

> ...das lebendige Offenbarungswort der Prophetie soviel wie versiegt war. So wandte man sich mit Inbrunst an das überlieferte Jahwewort, um es für die Gegenwart neu auszuschöpfen und seinem Inhalt zum Gegenstand und zur Basis neuer Gedankenzüge zu machen. In dieser Situation hat das anthologische Verfahren wie die aufkommende Literaturgattung des Midrasch überhaupt seine Hauptwurzel. Im Millieu der späteren Weisheitslehre fanden diese Tendenzen einen besonders günstigen Boden. Hier ist nicht nur Ps 119, sondern sicher eine ganze Reihe der uns erhaltenen Psalmen gewachsen.[42]

Thus, an interesting development is sketched out, but the actual analysis of Ps 119 fails to support his bold assertions. Nevertheless, the reference to the wisdom literature is interesting, and possibly supported in an article by James Kugel, where he focuses on the "anthological temper" of the sages. Herein, Kugel claims that the sage's "stock-in-trade consisted of timeless, collective insights of all sages everywhere. By definition, then, any sage was an anthologist, any wisdom book a *bouquet de pensées* gathered from here and there."[43] But while this may seem a reasonable conclusion, Kugel and Deißler are in fact not speaking of the same thing. While Kugel talks about a predisposition of the sages towards anthological thinking (and I believe he might well be right on this), Deißler asserts that intertextuality is part of an anthological genre. But even if clear quotations and allusions would be possible to detect in a text, it does not follow that their mere presence indicates a specific genre, it is rather something that features in texts *regardless* of genre. A text cannot be considered an anthology simply because a dependance on other texts can be established. Hence, however intriguing, Deißler does not contribute to an un-

40. Stern 1999, 84.
41. Deißler 1955.
42. Deißler 1955, 317.
43. Kugel 1997, 18.

derstanding of anthologies as a genre. In fact, he might rather point to the opposite. For, as he correctly proceeds from the idea than an anthology consists of disparate pieces, and that there are similarities between Ps 119 and later midrashic exegesis, he juxtaposes two rather disparate genres and call them both anthological. Herein lies the solution to the "plasticity" of the genre: it is difficult to define simply because it is not a genre. Anthology is no genre simply because it is not a text, but a work.[44] And as work, it can consist of many genres, depending on which texts are included. Thus, it is rather approaching what David Stern calls a "habit", that is, a "tendency of gathering together discrete, sometimes conflicting retellings of stories or traditions [...], and preserving them side by side as though there were no difference, conflict, or ambiguity between them."[45] This habit is then materialized in works, but takes different shape according to the content. Consequently, it is probably not possible to provide a definition any more precise than the one I contributed on page 8, with the inevitable consequence that the question of what binds the flowers together returns.

Anthologies unfold

As a part of answering the question of what binds the parts of an anthology together, it is important not to overlook the obvious fact that the main thing that connects them is that they are in fact in the same anthology. Put differently, the mere compilation of anthologies "evokes the contours of a corpus."[46] By assembling disparate texts, the anthologist has in fact created a new context from which individual pieces are to be interpreted, and by means of selection and organization (e.g. juxtaposition, recombination of discrete passages etc), their original meaning are often altered. Thus, "even such seemingly passive acts as the decision to copy several discrete texts within a single codex [...] may have given shape to a major moment of literary history."[47] Regularly, though, the anthologist leaves his imprint upon the collection by adding or changing titles, correcting or modernizing the language, even adding or reinterpreting the pieces, as has been shown by Anne Ferry in her study of modern anthologies,[48] and although one should not too quickly draw the same conclusions as to texts in the Hebrew Bible, it would not be surprising if a similar activity

44. Cf. perhaps Barthes 1977, 157.
45. Stern 1997, 1.
46. Reed 2009, 434. This is especially clear when it comes to the corpus studied in her article - the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, but is equally valid an assertion when it comes to the Book of Psalms.
47. Stern 2004b, 6.
48. Cf. Ferry 2001, 69.

was detected. In fact, in his introduction to the Proverbs, this is what Richard J Clifford finds:

> The ten instructions of chaps. 1–9,[...] resemble Egyptian and Mesopotamian instructions typically addressed to youths beginning their public careers. These instructions are now juxtaposed to speeches of a personified Woman Wisdom seeking disciples. The novel placement elevates Proverb's instructions to a metaphorical level, making them suitable to an audience much wider than young men. [...] Once the metaphorical level has been established in chaps. 1–9, the sayings and poems in the following chapters gain depth and breadth. Traditional elements appear in a new configuration."[49]

Such effects can be seen throughout Proverbs, and it becomes clear that to change a perception of a piece one need not necessarily change the actual text, but only juxtapose it, widen the literary context.[50] Thus, it would not be an overstatement to say that the concept that a text has multiple layers of meaning is advanced and promoted by anthologies,[51] as they present old texts in a new context, preserving alternative interpretations and encouraging the reader to enter into dialogue. Hence, the anthology re-presents the original text, but do, in this process, alter its meaning.

The notion that anthologies are the result of a creative process is thus no overstatement. There is an intrinsic element of reconstruction (not only of preservation or restoration),[52] and the way texts are ordered, be it chronologically, by theme, length, popularity, genre, alphabetically etc, effect their interpretation.[53]

Furthermore, as the anthology unfolds, an community unfolds with it. David G Roskies expressed this observation quite elegantly as he stated that "every anthology is an imagined community on the printed page, where the generations magically engage in dialogue, where materials differing in origin and audience are seamlessly joined."[54] While the notion that materials are being seamlessly joined could be questioned, it is interesting to note that this conclusion is shared by many scholars who have studied anthologies, at least in modern form. In such studies, the communities are often traced by observing both what is included in the anthology, and what is not, and it is interesting to notice that any modern publication of anthologies is followed by an intense discussion about the choices made by the anthologist.[55] This kind of material is rarely available

49. Clifford 1999, 2.
50. Cf. Elbaum 1997, 139.
51. Cf. Huss 1999, 13.
52. For anthologies as reconstructing history, see e.g. Bartal 1997, 80.
53. Whybray argues e.g. that some proverbs are gathered together simply because they were 'numerical proverbs' (Whybray 1994, 153).
54. Roskies 1997, 103.

when it comes to the Hebrew Bible, but where alternative anthologies exist, as could be the case with the Book of Psalms in Qumran (11QPs[a]) it would be a relevant question to ask. After all, a community unfolding with the unfolding of the Book of Psalms would be fascinating to find.

Consequences for the Book of Psalms

How then does the discussion above effect the understanding of the Book of Psalms? Can it be seen as an anthology? Before answering that question, a rehearsal of the observations made above could provide helpful. First, I noted that *an anthology is a collection of heterogeneous texts, although not obviously connected to eachother before them being juxtaposed, creatively selected to preserve and reform a pre-existing tradition in accordance to some present needs, hence inviting its reader to partake in this ongoing discussion*. Consequently, if the Book of Psalms would be an anthology, we would expect it to contain a multitude of heterogeneous texts by different authors (as with Ferry, p.5) and with various backgrounds (see Griffiths, p.6). It would be accommodating different, even contradicting texts (so e.g. Ayres-Bennett and Volpilhac-Auger, p.6), and by juxtaposing them providing new interpretative contexts, ultimately leading to new readings of the individual texts. We would expect old texts alongside newer ones. We would expect the Book of Psalms not to be a single genre, but to contain texts of different genres, and we would expect some reworking of the psalms before included in the anthology. Lastly, we would expect to find some organizing principle throughout the book and perhaps even signs of an unfolding community.

As probably has become increasingly clear throughout the paper, I believe that all these characteristics are present in the Book of Psalm. It consists of a multitude of heterogeneous texts (cf. e.g. Ps 3 w/ Ps 88), by different authors (cf. e.g. Pss 3–41 w/ Pss 42–49) and with various backgrounds (cf. e.g. Ps 45 w/ Ps 120).[56] It accommodates different, even contradicting views (cf. e.g. Ps 2 w/ Ps 149), and provides new interpretative contexts (cf. the function of e.g. Ps 50).[57] There is no single genre in the Book of Psalms, but rather many different genres (cf. e.g. Ps 1 w/ Ps 44), and reworking of the psalms can be seen throughout the book (see e.g. work done on Ps 89).[58] All this seems to point to the conclusion that the Book of Psalms in fact is an anthology. But what about the organizing principle and the unfolding community? Here the answer is more com-

55. Dwight , 301 gives a good portrayal of these issues.
56. Compare the exposition of Ps 45 in Goldingay 2007, 54–5 with the exposition of Ps 120 in the same series (Goldingay 2008, 448–9).
57. See e.g. Zenger & Hossfeld 2005, 4.
58. A good example is Marttila 2012, 86–9.

plex. As scholars have observed, there is no single organizing principle behind the Book of Psalms, but it seems rather that the collection is made up of previous collections. If so, it would not follow that the Book of Psalms is no anthology, but rather that it has grown over time. It is unlikely that it is crafted at a single occasion (contra e.g. Mitchell),[59] but rather gradually expanded. If so, one would expect multiple reworkings, different organizing principles in different sections, as well as reformulations, rearrangement of psalms previously belonging together etc. Furthermore, no single community would unfold, but rather signs of different traditions and communities corresponding to each stage of the growth of the collection. While the latter remains to be shown, the former observations have been made by numerous scholars.[60]

So, to conclude, the Book of Psalms seems to me to be a clear example of an anthology that has grown over time, resulting in sections with different means of organization, different stress in theology and different age. Consequently, we would not expect it to reveal any systematic teaching, but rather consist of collections containing alternate views on important matters without any explicit deciding between them.[61] However, the notion of conflict should though not be over-emphasized. As shown quite convincingly in an article by David Stern, the idea of a 'polysemous utopia' in Rabbinic texts where they all 'agree to disagree' is likely to be seen as a creation of later redactors, the history being far more violent.[62] Thus, it is likely to assume the anthologists responsible for the Book of Psalms would rework earlier material in line with the new shape they intended to give to the collection, but that the tension between preservation of tradition and reinterpretation prevented any comprehensive reworking or removal of previous content.

As an anthology that has been reworked numerous times throughout history, insufficient information is given to make a return to the past easy, and much is due to the fact that it simply is not the purpose of anthologies. Anyone attempting for such an endeavor is not an ideal reader.[63] But this does not mean that it is impossible, only that a careful study of the anthology itself will not suffice in answering questions of purpose. Consequently, in order to say something about the anthologizing process as regards the Book of Psalms, several other factors must be included. For one, the question of use will be important. Is any change in use possible to detect in the long history of the Book of Psalms? Furthermore, an insight

59. Mitchell 1997, Mitchell 2006.

60. See e.g. the articles in Zenger 2010.

61. This feature of anthologies is asserted by e.g. Elman 2004, 58.

62. Stern 2004a, 123–4, for the opposite stance, see e.g. Tabory 1997, 123.

63. To allude to the argument in Griffiths 1999, 102–3

into the material culture, that is, scribal habits, will prove valuable, as it can lend credence to certain conclusions concerning e.g. the redaction of the book. In addition, the anthologizing process of the Book of Psalms would have to be seen in relation to similar processes in other, coeval texts (biblical, as well as non-biblical), and ultimately tied to the question of canon.[64] And last, competing collections (e.g. 11QPs[a]) would have to be taken into consideration.

A garden

To conclude this paper, I would like to return to the metaphor contained in the very notion of anthologies. If conceptualizing the Book of Psalms in these lines, one could easily picture the Book of Psalms as a garden.[65] As such, it invites you to enter into it, to look upon the flowers growing, and to linger the longest by the flowers you enjoy the most, eventually picking some of them into a bouquet. It would be unusual that someone picks flowers of all sorts, rather, some flowers would be attractive to many, while others were rarely picked. All this would be quite expected in a garden, and as such, it invites you to enjoy it.

If so described, the metaphor actually lets us conceptualize anthologies in yet another way, that is, it makes the distinction between organic and artificial.[66] It would be expected to find fences around certain flowers, paths leading to new areas, and although these do not belong to the organic life, it guides the visitor to ever new discoveries. Thus, one need not only discuss how the parts relate to the whole, but also how artificial parts, that is, explicit or implicit anthologizing activity relate and transforms the organic tradition that constitutes the core of any anthology.

64. One might even ponder upon the possibility that this anthological habit is permeating many of the books of the Hebrew Bible, that is, not only those which are explicitly anthological (cf. a similar idea in Barton 1998, 6, for a discussion on the anthological character of the Pentateuch, see Tigay 2004, 19).
65. The idea is borrowed from Griffiths 1999, 98-9, but expanded on.
66. I was made aware of such a distinction in Hever 1997, 200.

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