OTSEM London 2019
- Reader-

Please click on a presentation to find further information
about the presenter and his/her paper (abstract, project summary etc.)

Friday, 30th August

3.00 pm Registration, welcome and tea & coffee

The Conservatory, ground floor of the Franklin-Wilkins Building, Waterloo Campus

3.45-4.40 Paper Session 1

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Manfred Hedley
'Covenant in Dialogue? The Case of Lamentations 3'

Respondent: Kare Berge
Chair: Franziska Ede

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Elisabet Nord
'Vindicating Vengeance and Violence: Contemporary Exegetical Approaches to Imprecatory Psalms'
Respondent: Janet Fyffe
Chair: Kristin Joachimsen

4.50–5.45 Paper Session 2

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Suzanna Millar
'A Proverb in a Collection is Dead?'

Respondent: Marcel Krusche
Chair: Jennifer Singletary

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Ingunn Aadland
'"A Man May not Put on Filthy Clothes:" Impurity, Clothing and Ritual Agency in the Book of the Twelve and Beyond'
Respondent: Jonathan Stökl
Chair: Reinhard Kratz

6.00–7.30 Keynote, Stamford Street Lecture Theatre
Paul Joyce, 'Ezekiel's Heavenly Journey: The Temple Vision of Ezekiel 40–42'

7.30 Buffet Dinner, The Conservatory
(ground floor of Franklin-Wilkins Building
Followed by visit to local pub(s)

Saturday, 31st August

7.30-8.45 Breakfast, The Conservatory

9.00-9.55 Paper Session 3

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Patrik Jansson
'Conspiracy, Lions, and Plaster: The Different Enemy Images of the Prophets in the MT and LXX of Ezekiel 22:23-31'

Respondent: Anja Klein
Chair: Mathis Kreitzschek

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Anderson Yan
'A Critical Appropriation of the Term "Theodicy" for Study of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible: The Case of Jeremiah 2–6'
Respondent: Fredrik Poulsen
Chair: Martti Nissinen

10.00-10.30 Tea & Coffee

10.30–11.25 Paper Session 4

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Steinar Skarpes
'Hezekiah and the Assyrian Invasion in 2 Chr 32: A Mere Battle of Words and a Prayer?'

Respondent: Antti Laato
Chair: Jasmine Foo

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Joanna Bauer
'Old Greek Isaiah 53: A Paraenetic Message Regarding a Collective Servant?'

Respondent: Paul Joyce
Chair: Fredrik Lindström

11.30–12.25 Paper Session 5

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Ted Song

'"Nothing is Better for Them": The Omniscient Voice in Ecc 3:9–22'

Respondent: Jan Dietrich
Chair: Blaženka Scheuer

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Søren Lorenzen

'Self as Symbol: The Function of the Proper Name in regard to Self-Reflectivity in the Hebrew Bible'
Respondent: Suzanna Millar
Chair: Manfred Hedley

12.30–2.00 Lunch

2.00-2.55 Paper Session 6

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Franziska Ede
"And Thus is the Pesher of the Word" (1QpHab II:5): Reflections on the Double Interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1-4, 5-10
Respondent: Ingunn Aadland
Chair: Janet Fyffe

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Fredrik Poulsen
'Defining Diaspora in the Book of Esther'

Respondent: Kristin Joachimsen
Chair: Jonathan Stökl

3.00-3.55 Paper Session 7

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Topias Tanskanen
'The Impact of Deuteronomy on the Reception of the Jacob Tradition in the Book of Jubilees — Jubilees 30–32 as a Test Case'
Respondent: Fredrik Lindström
Chair: Corinna Körting

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Mathis Kreitzschek
'Source Citations and Other Metatexts in the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Sources'
Respondent: Ola Wikander
Chair: Jan Dietrich

4.00-4.30 Tea & Coffee

4.30–5.25 Paper Session 8

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Paavo Huotari
'The Unified Text of the Lucianic Reviser in 2 Kingdoms'
Respondent: Reinhard Kratz
Chair: Marcel Krusche

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Scott Bickle
'The Glory of Hardening: *Kavod* and Judgment in the Theophany of Isaiah 6'
Respondent: Martti Nissinen
Chair: Suzanna Millar

5.30–6.25 Paper Session 9

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: Mikael Nouro
'*Hebel* and the Context of Hellenistic Philosophy in Qohelet'

Respondent: Urmas Nömmik
Chair: Anja Klein

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Heather Pillette
'The Relationship Between Daughter Zion and YHWH as Portrayed through the Poetry of Lamentations 1'
Respondent: Anne Gudme
Chair: Paul Joyce

7.00 Dinner and Red Rose Ceremony, Tas, the Cut, South Bank
Followed by local pub(s)

Sunday, 1st September

7.30-8.45 Breakfast

9.00-9.55 Paper Session 10

(a) Room 2.42
Presenter: John Ritzema
'The Semiotics of Theophany in Text and Image: Isaiah 6 and Phoenician Cultic Iconography'
Respondent: Jennifer Singletary
Chair: Antti Laato

(b) Room 2.43
Presenter: Amir Vasheghani Farahani
'The Peshitta Psalm 19 as a Poetological Example of the Translation Technique'

Respondent: Ola Wikander
Chair: Fredrik Poulsen

10.00-10.30 Tea & Coffee

10.30–11.30 Student meeting 11.30-12.30 Committee meeting 12.30-1.00 Annual General Meeting

1.00–2.30 Lunch and Departure

OVERVIEW SECTION

AMIR VASHEGHANIFARAHANI

University of Tartu PhD student

▶ **Paper**

The Peshitta Psalm 19 as a Poetological Example of the Translation Technique

➥ Respondent: Ola Wikander

▶ **Abstract**

This paper is inspired by the study of poetological features and some translation techniques in the Hebrew Book of Psalms and the Syriac Peshitta. It is worth bearing in mind that the author of the paper addresses not grammar or linguistics, but stylistic features, thus studying mostly poetology and asking how Hebrew poetic features have been "translated" into Syriac. The paper concentrates on Psalm 19 in case of which several poetological dissimilarities between two versions can be observed. The paper argues that a specific translation technique and a certain poetological view of the Syriac translator are reasons for significant differences. Not only is alliteration in the Syriac psalms more prevalent than in its Hebrew counterpart, but also the dominant sound is more tangible than in the Hebrew version. Furthermore, although the standard meter in the Syriac poetry is measured by syllables, the author of the paper uses also the “colometrical tool” to demonstrate differences in the colon length in two versions.

As noticed in previous studies, in some cases, some cola of the Masoretic text are left out in the Peshitta. Some of these exclusions may be imputed to different Hebrew Vorlagen, while some others may be attributed to the poetical translation technique of the Syriac translator. Furthermore, the Peshitta does not use common metaphors for God usual in the Hebrew Masoretic text and employs specific and different phrases. This paper, moreover, points up different verbal forms being applied in an au courant way in both the Masoretic text and the Peshitta.

▶ Project Summary

The translation technique of the Hebrew psalm poetry in Peshitta

The PhD project will aim at studying the translation technique of the author of the Syriac Peshitta psalms (P-Ps), especially from the point of view of the form (parallelism and its types, word-pairs, meter, sound figures, etc.). Where possible also grammatical and tradition (motif) historical peculiarities will be taken into account. Apart from biblical psalms, most likely one or two examples of extra-biblical psalms will be considered. It should be underlined that this study focuses not much on grammar or linguistics, but mainly stylistic features, thus studying mostly poetology and asking how Hebrew poetic features have been "translated" into Syriac. The main aim is to map and describe the sensitiveness of the Syriac translator to Hebrew poetological phenomena. By considering some previous studies, the purpose of the current study is to find and elaborate on the characteristics of the psalms indicated. Besides, amongst these figures, the study attempts to demonstrate to what extent the previous researchers working in the field have answered the poetical issues and been able to cover more technical inspection in P-Ps. In addition to it, the study will analyse the psalms from the point of view, whether the Syriac translator has harmonized discrepancies of the Hebrew text. The perspective represented by the current PhD thesis will, of course, not exclude grammatical, lexical, semantic and phonologic aspects of the Hebrew Vorlage and the Syriac translation.

In this study, in order to have a comprehensive investigation some specific questions should be replied. The thesis includes questions, such as: Does the translator take any notice of the Hebrew verse structure, strophic patterns, word-pairs, word repetition, sound figures? How to describe the meter of P-Ps? Does it have any connection points with the Hebrew meter or colometry? Is there a tendency to level up poetical inconsistencies in the Hebrew text? Is the Peshitta translation following Syriac poetic genres and forms? Are there any poetological arguments in support of the discussion on whether P-Ps are a translation from Hebrew, Aramaic or Greek? What difference does it make for our understanding of the poetry of the Hebrew Bible if we investigate the stylistic and poetic features of the Hebrew texts diachronically? As the Syriac language is a free and flexible language, does the translator employ the word order and specific phrases accurately and precisely? To what extent the fidelity and intelligibility of the source language have been considered?

Concerning the previous study, contemporary research on P-Ps has been guided since its origin, more than a century ago, by the question of the influence of other versions, especially the Septuagint and Targumim. It should be declared that some practical and remarkable investigations have been carried out, although there exist some problems, which have caused many difficulties including a lack of text critical analysis as a starting point, or absence of a determined Hebrew evidence for text critical study, such as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The German scholar F. Baethgen (1878, 1882) was the first remarkable scholar working on Peshitta. The next noteworthy academic was B.

Oppenheim – he focused on the fifth book of Psalms (Ps 107-150). Following them both, other scholars were pursuing the study, such as J.F. Berg (1895), E.R. Rowlands (1939), A. Vogel (1951), J.A. Lund (1988), J.E. Eriksson (1989). The most recent weighty work in the field is by Ignacio Carbajosa who has worked on Psalms 90-150 (2008). As mentioned above, studies had strongly been conditioned by this orientation, which had disproportionately focused their attention on this

problem, neglecting and avoiding the characteristics of the version or its translation technique. On the other hand, the survey conducted by Ignacio Carbajosa concentrates only on the translation technique of language and content, not on poetological issues. My PhD thesis is aimed at being a pioneer in comparing the Hebrew Psalms and P-Ps regarding the poetological translation technique.

Regarding the methodology, present investigation is based on an analysis in several steps: on the one hand, the classical elements of the Hebrew biblical poetry will be described with the help of recent research (Alonso Schökel 1988; Watson 2005; Nõmmik 2012, etc.), and on the other hand, basics of Syriac poetry will be defined with the help of classical Syriac poetical models. Then, tools for the study of the Hebrew biblical poetry will be used, analysis of verse and strophic structures, meter and imagery will be undertaken. Also, text criticism is involved, even a random comparison with Septuagint and Qumran psalms is needed. As no hard and easily definable rule has come down to us regarding rhythmical or other laws of Hebrew poetry, the colometrical method according to Oswald Loretz and Ingo Kottsieper will be used in the current study, since it provides a reasonable instrument to measure the length of cola and the relations inside bicola, tricola or a strophes or stanzas. Similarly, as a comparison will be drawn between Hebrew and P-Ps, it is evident that the same colometrical tool will be employed for P-Ps as well. Additionally, counting the syllables will be used both P-Ps and the Hebrew Psalms. A detailed study of the psalms will be carried out. This enables us to discover discrepancies in the use of poetical figures.

More than 150 psalms could be analyzed, but only a fraction can be studied in a PhD monograph. It is still open, which psalms precisely will be chosen for the study. The detailed analysis of eight psalms, such as 8, 19, 86, 84, 37, 18, 146, and 68 has been conducted among which psalms 8, 19, 86 and 146 have been chosen and systematically and thoroughly analyzed up to now. Additionally, the factors that have been taken into consideration in order to select the psalms are the following:

1. Covering the broad spectre of psalms genres.
2. Different poetical profiles in different psalms as well as within one psalm.
3. To what extent thematic-lexical connections are visible in the chosen psalms?
4. The level of complexity in text critical issues.

▶ **Keywords** Psheitta, Psalm, Poetological, Translation, Technique

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that the psalter in both the Masoretic Text (MT) and the Peshitta (P) did not come to us in its original versions, but in the form of different manuscripts (Mss) that came from the hands of the last scribes who, in some way, brought this poetic book to a close (cf. Carbajosa 2008). Psalms translated into Greek (Septuagint LXX) and Syriac (P) were considered to be useful and productive resources for scholars who could draw a comparison between them and the Hebrew version. The edition and the studies based on Peshitta have made it clear that the Hebrew model of the Peshitta must have been nearly identical with the so-called Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible, the standard form of the text handed down to us by a tradition of Jewish scholars, the Masoretes. The Peshitta even reflects a vocalization of the Hebrew text that stands very close to the vocalization recorded many centuries later by the Masoretes. Needless to say, between two traditional Syriac translations, that is to say, Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla, Peshitta is regarded as more essential and older than the extant Syriac versions.

Since the time when scholars embarked on studying the P, they took the influence of LXX and the Targum (T) on P for granted.

Concerning the translation technique, the purpose of the paper is to draw particular attention to the stylistic features employed in the Hebrew psalms, and the way by which these poetological phenomena have been translated into Syriac. The paper concentrates on Psalm 19 in case of which several poetological similarities and discrepancies between two versions (MT and P) can be observed.

This study is based on the Leiden edition of P and the BHS edition of MT. Scholars such as Dennis Bratcher believes that Psalm 19 belongs to the genre of hymns that per se possesses a different poetic profile compared to other genres. However, of course, there exist scholars such as J. Clinton McCann Jr., , (1993 p. 25), who thinks differently and believes this Psalm should more appropriately be called a 'Torah psalm' as opposed to some more generic type of 'wisdom hymns'. Additionally, Psalm 19 presents at least three, if not four different poetic profiles. Not all verses are included in this research paper, but those that were selected can make a substantial contribution to this research. After describing different poetical profiles in the MT Psalm 19, the following aspects will be discussed in this study:

▶ **Keywords** Psheitta, Psalm, Poetological, Translation, Technique

- Translation technique;
- sound figures and word repetition;
- parallelism and meter;
- versification.

Poetic profiles of MT Psalm 19

Psalm 19 is composed of beautiful poetry and also includes a remarkable message. The writer C.S. Lewis has said concerning Psalm 19, "I take this to be the greatest poem in the Psalter and one of the greatest lyrics in the world." (1958 p. 63). What psalm 19 aims to underline is uttered by parallel phrases. Many of these are repeated using different words to convey similar concepts and information from previous phrases. The Hebrew chiasm in each of the two parallel phrases (e.g., noun first then verb followed by verb first then noun) tends to create most pleasing poetry, but also adds to the overall effect of proclaiming a powerful message. This psalm is divided into two sections. The first section (vv. 1-6) talks about the glory of God, as seen in creation. The second section (vv. 7-14) talks about God's Torah and its benefits. Poetologically, according to the strophes, this psalm, is made up of vv. 2a-5b; 6-7c; 8-11, and 12-14 (15).

The first strophe, namely vv. 2a-5b is colometrically nearly balanced (on colometry see below) and is comprised of 3 bicola and 1 tricolon, and the verses are synonymously parallel. The consonants m, a, y, l and š form alliteration in this strophe (marked yellow). Concerning the word repetition (underlined), the only example is two adjacent words, יוֹם לְיוֹם and וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה, which are repeated in the first strophe.

2a	הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֵל
b	וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מַגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ:
3a	יוֹם לְיוֹם יַבִּיעַ אֹמֶר
b	וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה יְחַוֶּה־דָּעַת:
4a	אֵין־אֹמֶר וְאֵין דְּבָרִים
b	בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע קוֹלָם:
5a	בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם
	וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם
b	לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שָׂם־אֹהֶל בָּהֶם:

The second strophe is made of a bicolon and tricola which are colometrically balanced and synonymously parallel and the consonants h, ḥ, ʿ, and m form an alliteration. Regarding word repetition, this strophe is more highlighted than the first strophe.

6a	וְהוּא כֲּחָתָן יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתוֹ
b	יָשִׂישׂ כְּגִבּוֹר לָרוּץ אֹרַח:
7a	מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם מוֹצָאוֹ
	וּתְקוּפָתוֹ עַל־קְצוֹתָם
b	וְאֵין נִסְתָּר מֵחַמָּתוֹ:

The third strophe vv. 8-11 is formed with the help of qinah meter, and verses possess a structure comprised of 8 bicola. Verses in this strophe are synonymously parallel. In terms of word repetition, this strophe is the weakest. Regarding alliteration, this strophe is, vice versa, the strongest in comparison to others.

8a	תּוֹרַת יְהוָה תְּמִימָה
	מְשִׁיבַת נָפֶשׁ
b	עֵדוּת יְהוָה נֶאֱמָנָה
	מַחְכִּימַת פֶּתִי:
9a	פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוָה יְשָׁרִים
	מְשַׂמְּחֵי־לֵב
b	מִצְוַת יְהוָה בָּרָה
	מְאִירַת עֵינָיִם:
10a	יִרְאַת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה
	עוֹמֶדֶת לָעַד
b	מִשְׁפְּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת
	צָדְקוּ יַחְדָּו:
11a	הַנֶּחֱמָדִים מִזָּהָב
	וּמִפַּז רָב
b	וּמְתוּקִים מִדְּבַשׁ
	וְנֹפֶת צוּפִים:

The last strophe vv. 12-14 (15) is comprised of 6 bicola, and one tricolon which are balanced and roughly synonymously parallel. It is not a very bold strophe in terms of word repetition but is a perfect example of the application of alliteration.

12a	גַּם־עַבְדְּךָ נִזְהָר בָּהֶם
b	בְּשָׁמְרָם עֵקֶב רָב:
13a	שְׁגִיאוֹת מִי־יָבִין
b	מִנִּסְתָּרוֹת נַקֵּנִי:
14a	גַּם מִזֵּדִים	חְשֹׂךְ עַבְדֶּךָ
	אַל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִי
b	אָז אֵיתָם וְנִקֵּיתִי
	מִפֶּשַׁע רָב:
15a	יִהְיוּ לְרָצוֹן	אִמְרֵי־פִי
	וְהֶגְיוֹן לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ
b	יְהוָה צוּרִי וְגֹאֲלִי:

Translation technique

To evaluate the detailed readings and to compare the MT with the P, it is necessary to have a comprehensive look at the translation technique employed. The P has been considered as an essential and precious witness to the MT, but it still is to be studied as a primary text, to enable scholars to take advantage of this source to explore similarities and dissimilarities between the two versions. The two primary (and often conflicting) aims of a translation are fidelity and intelligibility. The question of striking the right balance in a translation is often indicated by describing either it as literal or free. Since literalism has different aspects which need separate consideration, and a translation may be 'literal' in one of these respects and 'free' in another (Weitzman 1999:22).

The current study utilizes a particular methodology to indicate the poetological translation technique used in the P Psalm 19. The internal evidence found in the two texts has already shown that the P version is based on a Hebrew text (Weitzman 1999: 1).

Likewise, the chief concentration will be on the Syriac poetological stylistic features that are different from the MT, and due to the stylistic requirements of the Syriac language and the style of the translation employed by the translator(s), that is to say, what causes such differences was due to the difference in language structures. Some problematic terms, which draw attention will be investigated.

Syriac is a flexible and a free language, and one may expect that the word order will follow the MT closely (cf. Lambdin 1973:39; Van der Merwe, Naudé & Kroeze 1996:273; Nöldeke 1966:248; Muraoka 1987:40–69). However, it happens to the Syriac translator that he does not always follow the Hebrew structure. For instance, regarding verse 5, two versions differ in the application of the preposition. Hebrew author would rather use the preposition לְ, לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ, which means "for the sun," whereas its Syriac counterpart is ܒܬܪ, ܒܬܪ ܫܡܫܐ, which implies "above the sun." Given the verse, we may likely infer in such a way that the Syriac translator believes that God put up his tent above the sun and the place of God is there, on the other hand, Hebrew verse indicates that God puts up a tabernacle for the sun and the sun is not his place. Likewise in verse 15, for theological reasons, the Syriac translator is unwilling to employ certain metaphorical phrases like צוּרִי (my rock) which is imputed to God by the Hebrew author. Hebrew author applies צוּרִי as a metaphor for God, whereas the Syriac translator avoids claiming God is a rock, and for this reason replaces it with "my helper" ,ܚܒܝܒܝ.

Furthermore, the Hebrew author does not benefit from the linking particles in his/her poems as much as the Syriac translator does. It can be considered as a different poetical feature employed differently between two versions. Having looked at the Syriac version as frequently seen, in verses such as 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14, Syriac translator employs copula ܘ, while it lacks in the Hebrew version. For the style of the Hebrew poetry in psalms, the two cola of a verse are mostly placed in proximity

without any connecting particles. By contrast, the Syriac translator is inclined to make use of copula. Therefore, we can draw the conclusion that this was a specific means to link up two cola in a bicolon. As shown in verse 4, the Syriac translator uses relative clause ܕ ,ܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܩܠܗܘܢ, which means "So that will not be heard their voice" whereas Hebrew author has not employed a relative clause בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע קוֹלָם "Their voice is not heard." Syriac translator seems to use this conjunction to make explicit a casual or final relation that was implicit in the MT, that is, the Syriac translator tried to make a meaningful connection between two verses. What is more, Syriac translator replaces in the second colon in verse 12 the Hebrew simple nominal clause בְּשָׁמְרָם עֵקֶב רָב "In keeping them there is great reward" with the conditional clause ܐ ܥܒܕܟ ܢܛܪ ܠܗ ܘܢܬܬܠܡ ܣܓܝ "If your servant kept them, would be rewarded abundantly".

Sound figures and word repetition

When considering poetic devices involving sound—assonance, alliteration, rhyme, onomatopoeia, and wordplay—the pronunciation of a language is very much to the fore (Watson 1984:222). Some significant observations on sound figures,in two versions can be made. Both versions possess their own unique form of sound figures such as alliteration[1]. The following table will give an overview of alliteration and word repetition. Word repetition in both Syriac and Hebrew is underlined, and sound repetition, mostly alliteration is marked yellow.

2a	הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֵל	2.ܫܡܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
b	וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מַגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ:	ܘܥܒܕ ܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܡܚܘܝܐ ܪܩܝܥܐ
3a	יוֹם לְיוֹם יַבִּיעַ אֹמֶר	3.ܝܘܡܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܡܦܩ ܡܠܬܐ
b	וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה יְחַוֶּה־דָּעַת:	ܘܠܠܝܐ ܠܠܠܝܐ ܡܚܘܝ ܡܕܥܬܐ
4a	אֵין־אֹמֶר וְאֵין דְּבָרִים	4.ܠܝܬ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܦܘܓܪܐ ܠܝܬ
b	בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע קוֹלָם:	ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܡܥ ܩܠܗܘܢ
5a	בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם	5.ܒܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܢܦܩ ܡܨܬܗܘܢ
	וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם	ܘܒܣܦܪ ܬܒܠ ܡܠܝܗܘܢ
b	לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שָׂם־אֹהֶל בָּהֶם:	ܠܫܡܫܐ ܫܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ
6a	וְהוּא כֶחָתָן יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתוֹ	6.ܘܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܚܬܢܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܚܘܬܪܗ
b	יָשִׂישׂ כְּגִבּוֹר לָרוּץ אֹרַח:	ܢܬܒܣܡ ܐܝܟ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܡܪܘܬ ܐܘܪܚܐ
7a	מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם וּמוֹצָאוֹ	7.ܡܢ ܦܬܟܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܡܦܩܗ
	וּתְקוּפָתוֹ עַל־קְצוֹתָם	ܘܡܗܦܟܝܬ ܟܠ ܦܬܟܐ ܕܐܬܟܗ
b	וְאֵין נִסְתָּר מֵחַמָּתוֹ:	ܘܠܝܬ ܕܡܬܓܢܝ ܡܢ ܚܡܝܬ

[1] The initial consonant of word is considered.

8a	תּוֹרַת יְהוָה תְּמִימָה	8. ܢܰܚܡ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܫܠܡ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܢܦܫܐ
	מְשִׁיבַת נָפֶשׁ	ܫܦܝܪ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܦܬܝܡ̈ܐ ܡܚܟܡܢ ܠܛܘܒܐ
b	עֵדוּת יְהוָה נֶאֱמָנָה	
	מַחְכִּימַת פֶּתִי:	
9a	פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוָה יְשָׁרִים	9. ܦܩܘܕ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܙܟܝܐ ܡܦܩܚܝܢ ܠܠܒܐ
	מְשַׂמְּחֵי־לֵב	ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܝܪ ܡܢܗܪ ܥܝܢܐ
b	מִצְוַת יְהוָה בָּרָה	
	מְאִירַת עֵינָיִם:	
10a	יִרְאַת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה	10. ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܩܝܡܐ ܠܥܠܡ
	עוֹמֶדֶת לָעַד	ܕܒܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܗܝ ܕܚܠܦ ܟܠ
b	מִשְׁפְּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת	
	צָדְקוּ יַחְדָּו:	
11a	הַנֶּחֱמָדִים מָזָהָב	11. ܘܢ ܕܚܡܝܢ ܟ ܕܗܒ ܡܟ ܩܛܝܪ ܠܟܬ ܐ
	וּמַפַּז רָב	ܘܡܬܩ ܟ ܕܟܬܐ ܡܟ ܕܟܬܐ
b	וּמְתוּקִים מִדְּבַשׁ	
	וְנֹפֶת צוּפִים:	
12a	גַּם־עַבְדְּךָ נִזְהָר בָּהֶם	12. ܐܦ ܥܒܕܟ ܢܙܗܪ ܒܗܘܢ ܣ
b	בְּשָׁמְרָם עֵקֶב רָב:	ܥ ܢܛܪ ܥܢ ܢܛܥܪ ܦ
13a	שְׁגִיאוֹת מִי־יָבִין	13. ܣܓܝܬ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܛܪ
b	מִנִּסְתָּרוֹת נַקֵּנִי:	ܡܟ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܕ
14a	גַּם מִזֵּדִים חֲשֹׂךְ עַבְדֶּךָ	14. ܐܦ ܡܟ ܟܠ ܫܠܚ ܠ
	אַל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִי	ܟ ܢܥܒܕ ܒ ܒ
b	אָז אֵיתָם וְנִקֵּיתִי	ܥ ܢܛܪ ܡܟ ܫ
	מִפֶּשַׁע רָב:	
15a	יִהְיוּ לְרָצוֹן אִמְרֵי־פִי	15. ܢܗܘܢ ܠܝ ܕܒܠܐ ܡ ܕ
	וְהֶגְיוֹן לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ	ܢ ܐ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܐ
b	יְהוָה צוּרִי וְגֹאֲלִי:	

Observations on sound figures and word repetition in the Syriac psalm are as follows:

- The pairing and metathesis of m and š are the most noticeable phenomena in verse 2a: ܡܚܡ and ܫܥܒܝ.
- The alliteration is made up of the consonants ܒ and ܥ in verse 2.
- The alliteration is formed by the consonants ܠ and ܡ in verse 3 and 4.
- In verse 5, consonants of ܚ, ܒ, ܪ, and ܣ form alliteration.
- In verse 6, the consonants of ܪ, ܒ, ܟ, and ܢ demonstrate alliteration.
- In verse 7, the consonants of ܣ, ܥ, ܒand ܠ cause alliteration.
- In verse 8, the consonants of ܢ and ܒ build up alliteration.
- In verse 9, the consonants of ܦ and ܒ build up alliteration.
- In verse 10, the consonants of ܦ, ܕ, ܝand ܒ form alliteration.
- In verse 11, the consonants of ܕ and ܝ build up alliteration.
- In verse 12, the consonants of ܪ and ܚ build up alliteration.

- In verse 13, the consonant ת shows alliteration.
- In verse 14, the consonants of ש,ל,ח,ת,רand ט make up alliteration.
- In verse 15, the consonants of ל,תand ף build up alliteration.
- The repetition of בְּ in verse 6 a and 6b indicates the application of anaphora in this verse.
- As marked, the word בְּעַבְדֶּךָ is repeated in verses 2 and 7.
- The word רַחֲמֶיךָ is repeated in verses 2 and 3.
- The word רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן is repeated in verses 3 and 4.
- The word חֶסֶד is repeated in verses 4 and 15.
- The same root of נַפְשִׁי is repeated in verses 5, 6 and 7.
- The word נַפְשִׁי is repeated in verse 7.
- The words תְּחַנּוּנַי ,הַאֲזִינָה is repeated in verse 9.
- The word קְרָא is repeated in verse 9 and 15.
- The word בְּיוֹם is repeated in verses 12 and 14.
- In verse 3, the words חָנֵּנִי and אֵלֶיךָ are repeated.

Observations on sound figures and word repetition in the Hebrew psalm are as follows:

- In verse 2, the consonant מ makes up alliteration.
- In verse 3, the consonants י and לbuild up alliteration.
- In verse 4, the consonant אָ causes alliteration.
- In verse 5, the consonants א and ש cause alliteration.
- In verse 6, the consonants הֹ and ח indicate alliteration.
- In verse 7, the consonants א ,מand ע are the indicators of alliteration.
- In verse 8, the consonants י ,תֹּ, and נ mark alliteration in verse.
- In verse 9, the consonantsי and מ build up alliteration.
- In verse 10, the consonants ע ,י, and א make up alliteration.
- In verse 11, the consonants נ and מ show alliteration of the verse.
- In verse 12, the consonant ע demonstrates alliteration.
- In verse 13, the consonants מ and נ cause alliteration.
- In verse 14, the consonants א ,ע, and מ build up alliteration.
- In verse 15, the consonant ל causes alliteration.
- In verse 4 and 5, the application of ם provides the end rhyme within the verses.
- In verses 6 and 7, the words מַחֲפָתָו ,מַחְמָתוֹ, and וּתְקוּפָתוֹ make up alliteration.
- In verse 8, two words, מְשִׁיבַת, and מַחְכִּימַת, builds up alliteration.
- The words קוֹלָם, קוֹלֶם, and קְצוֹתָם in verses 4, 5 and7 form alliteration.
- The word הַשָּׁמַיִם is repeated in verses 2 and 7.
- The words יוֹם and לַיְלָה create an immediate repetition in verse 3.
- The repetition of the preposition מִ in verse 11 is a witness to the existence of the anaphora.
- The same root in two words of אָמֶר and אִמְרֵי appears in verses 3 and 15.
- The word אֵין in verses 4and 7 creates repetition.

- The words יָצָא in verses 5, 6, and 7 is repeated. Although in verse 7, the same word is not repeated, the root is identical.
- The word קָצֶה is repeated in verses 5 and 7.
- In verses 9 and 15, there exists the repetition of לֵב.
- The frequent application of רָב in verses 11, 12 and 14 is visible.
- In verses 12 and 14, the words עַבְדְּךָ and גַּם are repeated.

Frequency of word repetition in Syriac verses	Frequency of word repetition in Hebrew verses
ܒ (6)	בְּ (6)
ܫܡܝܐ (2, 7)	הַשָּׁמַיִם (2, 7)
ܡܚܘܝ (2, 3)	לַיְלָה יָוֹם (3)
ܐܡܪ (3, 4)	אֹמֶר (3, 15)
ܠܝܬ, ܠܠܝܐ (3)	אֵין (4, 7)
ܡܠܐ (4, 15)	יָצָא (5, 6, 7)
ܣܦ (5, 6, 7)	קָצֶה (5, 7)
ܫܦܪ (7)	לֵב (9, 15)
ܗܡܢܘܬ, ܕܚܘܢ (9)	רָב (14, 15, 11)
ܠܐ (9, 15)	עַבְדְּךָ, גַּם (12, 14)
ܥܒܕܟ (12, 14)	

As seen, the Syriac translator is more tentative of decorating the poem by the use of word repetition than the Hebrew author. He, for example, in verses 2 and 3 takes advantage of the same word ܡܚܘܝ, which means "to show," whereas its Hebrew counterpart would sooner utilize different words מַגִּיד and יְחַוֶּה which denote "declare," "show" respectively.

2a	הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֵל	2.ܫܡܝܐ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܫܒܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
b	וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מַגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ:	ܘܥܒܕ ܝܕܝܗ ܡܚܘܝ ܪܩܝܥܐ:
3a	יוֹם לְיוֹם יַבִּיעַ אֹמֶר	3.ܝܘܡܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܡܦܩ ܡܐܡܪܐ
b	וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה יְחַוֶּה־דָּעַת:	ܘܠܠܠܝܐ ܠܠܠܝܐ ܡܚܘܝ ܡܕܥ:

Besides, the Syriac translator in verses 4 and 15 benefits also from the same word ܡܠܐ which means "words," while the Hebrew author prefers to employ two different words "דְּבָרִים" and "אִמְרֵי" which mean "words" and "sayings" respectively.

4a	אֵין־אֹמֶר וְאֵין דְּבָרִים	4.ܠܝܬ ܡܐܡܪ ܘܠܝܬ ܡܠܐ
b	בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע קוֹלָם:	ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܡܥ ܩܠܗܘܢ:

15a	יִהְיוּ לְרָצוֹן אִמְרֵי־פִי	15.ܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܪܥܘܬܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܦܘܡܝ
	וְהֶגְיוֹן לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ	ܘܗܓܝܘܢ ܠܒܝ ܩܕܡܟ ܡܪܝ ܚܝܠܝ ܘܦܪܩܢܝ

b	יְהוָה צוּרִי וְגֹאֲלִי׃	

Likewise, the Syriac translator in verse 7 repeats the word ܫܡܝܐ, which means "Heavens," whereas its Hebrew peer would instead use its equivalent only once הַשָּׁמַיִם.

7a	מִקָּצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם מוֹצָאוֹ	7.ܒܟ ܡܦܩܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܥܡܝ
	וּתְקוּפָתוֹ עַל־קְצוֹתָ ם	ܡܥܡܝܟ ܟܠ ܡܦܩܐ ܫܡܝܐ

Additionally, the Syriac translator imitates the same poetical feature, and uses in verse 9 the word ܡܦܩܕܢ, ܕܝܗܘܐ "The commands of Lord" twice, whereas the Hebrew author decides to employ two different words here פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוָה and מִצְוַת יְהוָה which mean "The precepts of the LORD" and "The commandment of the LORD" respectively.

9a	פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוָה יְשָׁרִים	9.ܡܦܩܕܢ, ܕܝܗܘܐ ܕܒܝ ܡܚܒܝܢ ܠܟ
	מְשַׂמְּחֵי־לֵב	ܡܦܩܕܝܟ ܕܝܗܘܐ ܡܫܒܚ ܠܒܐ
b	מִצְוַת יְהוָה בָּרָה	
	מְאִירַת עֵינָיִם׃	

Therefore, the main conclusion to be drawn is that word repetition in Syriac by comparison to its Hebrew counterpart is more discernible.

The next table will give an overview of the alliteration in both versions:

Initial Syriac consonants as alliteration	Initial Hebrew consonants as alliteration
2) m, š	2) m
3) l, m	3) y, l
4) l, m	4) ʾ
5) ʾ, m, ʿ, s	5) ʾ, š
6) g, m, ʾ, n	6) h, k̠
7) m, š, s, l	7) m, ʾ, ʿ
8) n, m	8) t, n
9) p, m	9) y, m
10) k, d, q, m	10) y, ʿ, ʾ
11) d, k̠	11) n, m
12) ʾ, ʿ	12) ʿ
13) m	13) m, n
14) ʾ, m, ʿ, l, ḥ	14) ʿ, ʾ, m
15) m, l, p	15) l
39	27

As can be seen in the table, Syriac translator embellishes his poems more through alliteration, Syriac translator has 39 times made use of initial consonants, while the Hebrew author has used them 27 times. Regarding the dominant sound, the Syriac translator used consonant m for 44 times and š for 13 times in different spots of the poem, especially between vv. 2 to 8, and has made it more rhythmical than its Hebrew counterpart. It is worth pointing out that the Syriac translator has composed his poem with 137 words, among which there are 51 words in which the consonant m has

been used; thus it shows that m is the dominant sound in the Syriac psalm and gives more colour to this poem. As can be seen, the variety of alliteration in the Syriac psalm is more noticeable than in its Hebrew counterpart.

Parallelism and the meter

"To talk about parallelism is to use an analogy based on mathematical (or, rather, geometrical) concepts and scholars have failed to see the more profound implications is resulting from this commonly accepted notion" (Watson 1984: 114). Parallelism is widely considered as the unique feature of the biblical Hebrew poetry[2]. The primary structure of the Hebrew poetry is the couplet, which is also called distich or bicolon and consists of two adjacent lines related to each other by form and by content. Poetic analysts define the two lines of a bicolon as the A-line and B-line. Needless to say, that sometimes another kind of structures, such as tricolon, can occur, but they are rare. A principal attribute of the Hebrew poetry is parallelism, the identical forms, syntax, synonymous words or structure of lines in a couplet. In other words, unlike modern poetry, which is often designed to rhyme, Hebrew poetry is specified by an arrangement of thought patterns. This musical arrangement is called "parallelism."
Scholars have defined several sorts of parallelism: synonymous, antithetic, synthetic, but in this study, the categories are used differently, contrasting two types: synonymous and extrapolative (the latter also known as synthetic parallelism). Additionally, in this study, two further categories will be used:
a) infirm verse: the number of syllables in cola differs no more than one syllable;

2a	10	ܥܒܕ/ ܬܗ/ ܡܥ/ ܒ/ ܚܝ/ ܥܒܕ/ܒܫ/ ܕܟ/ ܟ/ ܫܗ
b	9	ܦܕ/ ܬܒ/ ܗ/ ܕ/ ܩܫ/ ܚܒܘ/ ܝܗ/ ܢܡ/ ܬܗ

b) unsound: the number of syllables is rather different in cola;

4a	7	ܠܒܐ/ ܡܚܡ/ ܐܗ/ ܗ/ ܚܟܗ/ ܝ/ ܟܗ
b	5	ܒܟܗ/ ܝܥܐ/ ܒܕ/ ܚܩܠ/ ܗܦ

c) sound: cola have the same number of syllables. (Douayhi 1987);

3a	8	ܒܗ/ ܬܗ/ ܠܒܗ/ ܬܗ/ ܒ/ ܕܒ/ ܡܗ/ ܚܐܗ
b	8	ܗܝܠ/ ܬܗ/ ܠܝܠ/ ܬܗ/ ܚܒܘ/ ܝܗ/ ܒܕ/ ܬܗ

d) balanced: the length of each colon concerning consonant counting within a colon (colometry) is roughly the same.

[2] Parallelism is not a feature peculiar to Hebrew literature: it is characteristic of parts of Babylonian literature, such as the Epics of Creation, the Gilgamesh epic and the hymns to the gods. (Gray: 38).

7a	mqṣḥ hšmym mwsʾw	14
	wtqwptw ʿd qṣwtw	14
b	wʾyn nstr mḥmtw	13

Measured by consonants, it means that the difference between two cola usually averages not more than two or three consonants (Nõmmik 2012);
e) unbalanced: the number of consonants in parallel cola is differing more than four consonants;

4a	ʾyn ʾmr wʾyn dbrym	15
b	bly nšmʿ qwlm	11

f) qinah: a specific form of ancient Hebrew verse, bicolon with a longer colon at the beginning and a shorter colon at the end (Nõmmik 2016).

8a	twrt yhwh tmymh	13
	mšybt npš	8
8b	ʿdwt yhwh nʾmnh	13
	mḥkymt pty	9

Looking at the following tables of Psalm 19 in Syriac and Hebrew and counting the syllables and consonants (colometry), the results are following:

Table 1.1. Syriac psalm based on measuring the syllables

2a	10	ܟ/ ܕܒ/ ܫܡ/ ܥܒܕ/ ܝܢ/ ܒ/ ܒܐ/ ܬ/ ܥܒ/ ܫ	1.ܫܟܝܕ ܫܡܥܒ ܝܢܒܥܐ ܫܟܒܥ
b	9	ܟ/ ܡܐ/ ܘ/ ܚܒ/ ,ܫ/ ,ܕ/ ,ܫ/ ܒ/ ܒܕ/ ܦ	2.ܦܚܒ ܫܒܝܚ ,ܫܐܒܬ ܫܡܟ
3a	8	ܫ/ ܫܐ/ ܒ/ ܒܕ/ ܫܟ/ ܒ/ ܒܗ/ ܫ	3.ܒܫ ܫܟܗ ܒܗ ܫܐ ܫܐ
b	8	ܟ/ ܒܐ/ ܘ/ ܚܒ/ ܬ/ ܠܠ/ ܬ/ ܠܠ	4.ܠܠ ܬ ܬ/ ܚܒ/ ܘ/ ܒܐ/ ܟ
4a	7	ܟ/ ܪ/ ܩܠ/ ܫ/ ܫ/ ܫܡ/ ܒܫ	5.ܒܫ ܫܫ ܫ ܫ ܫ ܩ
b	5	ـܘ/ ܫܠ/ ܒܕ/ ܚܠ/ ـܘ	6.ـܘ ܚܠ ܒܕ ܫܠ ـ
5a	7	ـܘ/ ܒ/ ܫ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܫ/ ܫ	7.ـ ܫ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܫ ـ
	8	ـܘ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ	8.ـ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ـ
5b	7	ـܘ/ ܫ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ	9.ـ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ـ

6a	10	/ܒܝܬ/ ܕܝ/ ܡܐ/ ܪ/ ܟ/ ܒܢ/ ܫܒܥ/ ܩܕܡ ܟ/ ܐܚܪ	10.ܟܐܚܪ ܒܝܬ ܕܝ ܡܐܬ ܟܒܢ ܫܒܥ ܩܕܡ
b	9	/ܠܐ/ ܐܬܠ/ ܟ/ ܐ/ ܕܝ/ ܫܒܥ/ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ/ ܐܦܪ	11.ܡܢܐܪ ܠܐܦܪ ܟܬܬܝ ܫܒܥ ܥܒܕ
7a	7	ܡܢ/ ܚܟ/ ܟ/ ܥܒ/ ܒ/ ܒܐ/ ܕ	12.ܡܢܚܟ ܟܬܥ ܒܐ ܒ ܕ.
	7	ܟ/ ܥܒ/ ܒ/ ܒܐ/ ܒܠ/ ܡܫܝ/ ܐܟܐ	13.ܟܬܥ ܒܐ ܒ ܒܠ ܡܫܝܐܟܐ.
b	5	ܡܠ/ ܕ/ ܥܝ/ ܐܠ/ ܒܥܠ	14.ܡܫ ܡܠ ܕ ܥܝܐ ܒܥܠ.
8a	11	ܒܚ/ܚܟܐ/ܥܝ/ܒܢ/ܟ /ܟܠ /ܟ/ܬܪܐ/ܡܒ/ܚ/ ܬ	15.ܬܚܝܢ ܥܝܟܐ ܒܚ ܟܠ ܟܬܪ ܡܒܚ
8b	13	ܟܚ/ܒܒ/ܢܒ/ܟ/ܙ/ܠ/ ܕ /ܚ/ܟ/ܬܪ/ܡܒ/ܒܐ/ܡ	16.ܒܙܒ ܟܚܒܚܒ ܟܬܪ ܡܒܐܡ
9a	12	ܒ/ܒܒ/ܢ/ܝܝ/ܟ / ܐܢܒ /ܟ/ܬܪ/ܡ,ܬܬ/ܐ	17.ܟܬ ܥܙܢܒ ܐܢܒ ܟܬܪ ,ܡܬܬܐ
9b	10	ܟܫ/ܒܢ/ܢܒ/ܟ/ ܟ/ܬܪ/ܡ/ܬ/ܐܒ	18.ܟܥܢ ܢܒܐ ܟܫ ܟܬܪ ܡܬܐ
10a	10	ܟ/ܒܐ/ܟܟ/ܠ/ ܠܒ/ ܒܙ/ܟ/ܬܪ/ܡ/ ܐ	19.ܐܠ ܟܒܐ ܟܙ ܟܬܪ ܡ
10b	11	ܟܥ/ܟܐ/ ܒ/ ܐ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܒ/ ܐ/ ,ܡ/ܬ/ܪ/ܬܪ/ܬ/ ,ܡ/ ,ܐ/ ,ܐ/ ,ܐ/	20.ܐ,ܡ ,ܬܪ/ܬ/ܐ/ ,ܐ/ ,ܐ/ ,

b	dlʾ nštmʿ bqlhwn	14
5a	bkḷh ʾrʿʾ npqt sbrthwn	19
	wbṣwpyh dtbyl mlyhwn	18
5b	ʿl šmšʾ nqš mšknh bhwn	18
6a	whw ʾykṯ ḥṭnʾ dnpq mn byt gnwnʾ	24
b	ndwṣ ʾykṯ gnbrʾ lmrhṭ ʾwrḥh	22
7a	mn swpy šmyʾ mpqh	14
	wmsmkh ʿl swpy šmyʾ	16
b	Wlyt dṭšʾ mn lh gh	14
8a	nmwsh dmryʾ dlʾ mwm wmpnʾ npšʾ	25
8b	shdwth dmryʾ mhymnʾ wmnḥkmʾ ylwdʾ	29
9a	pwqdnwhy dmryʾ trysyn wmhdyn lbʾ	28
9b	pwqdnh dmryʾ gbʾ wmnhr ʿynʾ	23
10a	dhḷṭh dmryʾdkyʾ wqymʾ lʿlm	23
10b	dynwhy dmryʾ bqwšṭ wkʾnyn bklmdm	29
11a	wrgygyn mndhbʾ wmn kʾpʾ ṭbtʾ	24
11b	whḷyn mn dbšʾ wmn kkrytʾ	20
12a	wʾp ʿbdk nzdhr bhwn	16
b	ʾn nṭr ʾnwn ntprʿ sgy	17
13a	bšrʿtʾ mnw mstkl	14
b	wmn tṣytʾ zkny	12
14a	ʾp mn ʿwlʾ ḥswkyhy lʿbdk	20
	dlʾ nštlṭwn by byšʾ	16
14b	wʾtdkʾ mn ḥṭhy	12
15a	nhwyn lsḇynk mlwhy dpwmy	21
15b	rnyh dlby qdmyk mryʾ ʿdwry wprwqy	28

Table 1.3. Hebrew psalm based on colometry

2a	hšmym msprym kbwd ʾl	17
b	wmʿśh ydyw mgyd hrqyʿ	18
3a	ywm lywm ybyʿ ʾmr	14

b	wlylh llylh yḥwh dʿt	17
4a	ʾyn ʾmr wʾyn dbrym	15
b	bly nšmʿ qwlm	11
5a	bkl hʾrṣ ysʿʾ qw[l]m	[14](13)
	wbqṣh tblmlyhm	13
5b	bšmš śm ʾhl lhm	(9)12
6a	whwʾ khṭn ysʾ mḥptw	16
b	yśyś kgbwr lrwṣ ʾrḥ[w]	[17](16)
7a	mqṣh hšmym mwsʾw	14
	wtqwptw ʿd qṣwtw	14
b	wʾyn nstr mḥmtw	13
8a	twrt yhwh tmymh	13
	mšybt npš	8
8b	ʿdwt yhwh nʾmnh	13
	mḥkymt pty	9
9a	pqwdy yhwh yšrym	14
	mśmḥy lb	7
9b	mṣwt yhwh brh	11
	mʾyrt ʿynym	10
10a	ʾmrt yhwh ṭhwrh	13
	ʿwmdt lʿd	8
10b	mšpṭy yhwh ʾmt	12
	sdqw yḥdw	8
11a	hnḥmdym mzhb	10
	wmpz rb	6
11b	wmtwqym mdbš	11
	wnpt ṣwpym	9
12a	gm ʿbdk nzhr bhm	13
b	bšmrm ʿqb rb	10
13a	šgyʾwt my ybyn	12
b	mnstrwt nqny	11

14a	gm mzdym hśk ʿbdk	14
	ʾl ymšlw by	9
14b	ʾz ʾytm	6
	wnqyty mpšʿ rb	12
15a	yhwh lrṣwn ʾmry py	15
	whgywn lby lpnyk	14
15b	yhwh ṣwry wgʾly	13

Table 1.4. Hebrew psalm based on measuring syllables

2a	8	הַ/שָּׁ/מַ/יִם/מְסַפְּ/רִים/כְּבוֹד־אֵל	הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֵל
b	11	וּ/מַ/עֲ/שֵׂה/יָ/דָ/יו/מַ/גִּ/יד/הָ/רָ/קִ/יעַ	וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מַגִּיד הָרָקִיעַ:
3a	7	יוֹם/ לַ/יּוֹם/יַ/בִּ/יעַ/אֹ/מֶר	יוֹם לַיּוֹם יַבִּיעַ אֹמֶר
b	8	וְ/לַ/יְ/לָה/לְ/לַ/יְ/לָה/יְ/חַ/וֶּ/ה־דָּ/עַת:	וְלַיְלָה לְלַיְלָה יְחַוֶּה־דָּעַת:
4a	6	אֵין־/אֹ/מֶ/ר/ וְ/אֵין/דְּ/בָ/רִים	אֵין־אֹמֶר וְאֵין דְּבָרִים
b	5	בְּ/לִי/נִ/שְׁ/מָ/ע/קוֹ/לָם:	בְּלִי נִשְׁמָע קוֹלָם:
5a	8	בְּ/כָ/לֿ־הָ/אָ/רֶ/ץ/יָ/צָ/א/קַ/וָּ/ם	בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם
	8	וּ/בִ/קְ/צֵ/ה/תֵ/בֵ/ל/מִ/לֵ/יהֶ/ם	וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם
b	8	לַ/שֶּׁ/מֶ/שׁ־שָׂ/ם־/אָ/הֶ/ל/בָּ/הֶ/ם:	לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שָׂם־אָהֶל בָּהֶם:
6a	7	וְ/הוּ/א/כֶ/חָ/תָן/ יֹ/צֵ/א/מֵ/חֻ/פָּ/תָ/ו	וְהוּא כֶחָתָן יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתָו
b	7	יָ/שִׂ/ישׂ/כְּ/גִ/בּוֹר/לָ/רוּ/ץ/אֹ/רַח:	יָשִׂישׂ כְּגִבּוֹר לָרוּץ אֹרַח:
7a	9	מִ/קְ/צֵ/ה/הַ/שָּׁ/מַ/יִם/מ/וֹ/צָ/א/וֹ	מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם מוֹצָאוֹ
	7	וּ/תְ/קו/פָ/תָ/ו/עַ/ל־/קְ/צו/תָ/ם	וּתְקוּפָתָו עַל־קְצוֹתָם
b	6	וְ/אֵ/יִן/נִ/סְ/תָּ/ר/מֵ/חַ/מ/תּוֹ:	וְאֵין נִסְתָּר מֵחַמָּתוֹ:
8a	5	תּ/וֹ/רַ/ת/ יְ/הוָ/ה/תְּ/מִ/מָ/ה	תּוֹרַת יְהוָה תְּמִימָה
	4	מְ/שִׁ/יבַ/ת/נֶ/פֶ/שׁ	מְשִׁיבַת נָפֶשׁ
b	5	עֵ/דּ/וּ/ת/ יְ/הוָ/ה/נֶ/אֱ/מָ/נָ/ה	עֵדוּת יְהוָה נֶאֱמָנָה
	4	מַ/חְ/כִּ/ימַ/ת/פֶּ/תִ/י:	מַחְכִּימַת פֶּתִי:
9a	6	פִּ/קּ/וּ/דֵ/י/ יְ/הוָ/ה/יְ/שָׁ/רִים	פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוָה יְשָׁרִים
	3	מְ/שַׂ/מְ/חֵי־/לֵב	מְשַׂמְחֵי־לֵב
b	5	מִ/צְ/וַ/ת/ יְ/הוָ/ה/בָּ/רָ/ה	מִצְוַת יְהוָה בָּרָה
	5	מְ/אִ/ירַ/ת/עֵ/י/נָ/יִם:	מְאִירַת עֵינָיִם:
10a	5	יִ/רְ/אַ/ת/יְ/הוָ/ה/טְ/הו/רָ/הּ	יִרְאַת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָהּ
	5	עו/מֶ/דֶ/ת/לָ/עַ/ד	עוֹמֶדֶת לָעַד
b	4	מ/שְׁ/פְּ/טֵ/י/הָ/וָ/ה/ אֱ/מֶ/ת	מִשְׁפְּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת
	4	צָ/דְ/קו/יַ/חְ/דָּ/ו	צָדְקוּ יַחְדָּו:
11a	7	הַ/נֶּ/חְ/מָ/דִּ/ים/מ/זָ/הָ/ב	הַנֶּחְמָדִים מִזָּהָב
	4	ו/מ/פַּ/ז/ רָ/ב	וּמִפַּז רָב
b	6	ו/מ/תו/קִ/ים/מ/דְ/בַּ/ש	וּמְתוּקִים מִדְּבַשׁ

	4	וְנֹ/פֶת/צוּ/פִים	וְנֹפֶת צוּפִים:
12a	7	גַּם/עַ֫בְ/דְּךְ נִזְ/הָר בָּ/הֶם	גַּם־עַבְדְּךָ נִזְהָר בָּהֶם
b	5	בְּ/שָׁ/מְ/רָם עֲ/קֹב רָב:	בְּשָׁמְרָם עֲקֹב רָב:
13a	5	שְׁגִי/אוֹת מִ/יָּ֫/בִין	שְׁגִיאוֹת מִי־יָבִין
b	6	מָ/נִּ/סְ/תָּר/נִ/קְ/נִי:	מָנִּסְתָּרוֹת נַקֵּנִי:
14a	7	גַּם/מִ/זִּ/דִים/ חָ/שַׂ֫/עַ/בְּ/דֶּ/ךָ	גַּם מִזֵּדִים חָשַׂךְ עַבְדֶּךָ
	4	אַל/יִ/מְ/שְׁלוּ/בִּי	אַל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִּי
b	6	אָז אֵ֫/תָּם וְ/נִ/קֵּ/יתִי	אָז אֵיתָם וְנִקֵּיתִי
	4	מִ/פֶּ֫/שַׁע/ רָב	מִפֶּשַׁע רָב:
15a	7	יֶ֫הְ/יוּ/לְ/רָ֫/צוֹן/אִמְ/רֵי/פִּי	יֶהְיוּ לְרָצוֹן אִמְרֵי־פִּי
	7	וְהֶ/גְ֫יוֹן/לִ/בִּי/לְ/פָ֫נֶ֥/יךָ	וְהֶגְיוֹן לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ
b	6	יְ֫הֹ/וָ֥ה/צוּ/רִ֫י/וְ/גֹ/אָ֥לִי:	יְהוָה צוּרִי וְגֹאֲלִי:

- As can be seen in verse 2, both Hebrew and Syriac verses are colometrically balanced (17:18 and 20:19 respectively), and synonymously parallel, the syllable counting in the Syriac verse results in infirm number (10:9), and the Hebrew verse is unsound (8:11).
- In verse 3, both Syriac and Hebrew verses are balanced (20:19 and 17:18), the Syriac verse is also sound (8:8), while the Hebrew verse is infirm (8:11). Furthermore, the synonymous parallelism in both versions is evident.
- In verse 4, Syriac verse (15:14) unlike its Hebrew counterpart (15:11) is colometrically balanced and according to syllable number (7:5) unsound, the Hebrew verse (6:5) is infirm. However, they are all synonymously parallel.
- In verse 5, Hebrew and Syriac verses are both balanced (14:13:12 and 19:18:18), and based on measuring the syllables, Syriac is unsound (7:8:7), whereas the Hebrew verse is sound (8:8:8). Likewise, they are synonymously parallel.
- In verse 6, both Syriac and Hebrew verses are balanced (24:22 and 16:16:17), although Syriac verse based on counting the syllable is infirm (10:9), its Hebrew counterpart is sound (7:7). In the meantime, there exists the synonymous parallelism in them.
- In verse 7, both Syriac and Hebrew are balanced (14:16:14), (14:14:13), whereas in terms of counting the syllables both the Syriac (7:7:5) and the Hebrew (9:7:6) versions are unsound. Regarding parallelism, there is synonymous parallelism in this verse.
- In verse 8, the Syriac translator does not act as the Hebrew author and does not keep the qinah meter in verse. As shown, both versions representsynonymous parallelism, although they are unbalanced, both Hebrew (13:8; 13:9) and Syriac (25:29). Besides, it is clear that both the Syriac (11:13) and the Hebrew (5:4; 5:4) verses are unsound.
- In verse 9, the meter is qinah, and the Syriac translator preserves this meter in the Syriac version. Both the Hebrew (14:7; 11:10) and the Syriac (28:23) verses are unbalanced. On the other hand, both the Syriac (12:10) and the Hebrew (6:3; 5:5) verses are unsound. Besides, they are synonymously parallel.

- In verse 10, the Syriac translator does not follow the Hebrew author and does not keep the qinah meter in verse. As shown, both versions possess the synonymous parallelism, and they are unbalanced, Hebrew (13:8; 12:8), Syriac (23:29). Besides, the Syriac verse is infirm (10:11), while the Hebrew verse is sound (5:5; 4:4).
- In verse 11, there is the qinah meter, and Syriac translator preserves this meter in the Syriac version. Furthermore, both the Syriac and the Hebrew verses are neither balanced nor sound, since the number of the Syriac and the Hebrew consonants is 24:20 and 10:6; 11:9 respectively, and their number of syllables is 12:10 and 7:5. Meanwhile, the verses are parallel synonymously.
- It is noticeable that the same structure has been applied to verses 8 to 11 and they syntactically represent parallelism, and the Syriac translator follows the Hebrew structure.
- In verse 12, there is not any parallelism in Syriac nor Hebrew, thus they are extrapolative. Besides, they are both balanced (16:17 and 13:10), and both the Syriac (6:9) and the Hebrew (7:5) verses are unsound.
- In verse 13, both Syriac (14:12) and Hebrew (12:11) are colometrically balanced and synonymously parallel. The number of syllables in the Syriac verse is unsound (8:6), while the Hebrew verse is infirm (5:6).
- In verse 14, not only are the Hebrew (7:4; 6:4) and the Syriac (8:7:6) verses unsound but they are also unbalanced (Hebrew 14:9; 6:12; Syriac 20:16:12). However, they are both synonymously parallel.
- In verse 15, the Hebrew verse (15:14:13) unlike its Syriac counterpart (21:28) is balanced. On the other hand, they both are synonymously parallel. Besides, both the Syriac (8:10) and the Hebrew (7:7:6) verses are unsound. It should be born in mind that the possibility exists that the third line of the Hebrew verse may be considered as a monocolon.

To sum up, P has generally followed the same structure as its Hebrew counterpart. Regarding parallelism, the structure is similar to the Hebrew version. It is notable that with regard to colometry, the MT and the P psalms differed in some verses (balanced or unbalanced). In this study, counting consonants reveals that there exists an interrelationship between form and content in poetry. It shows how colon-monocolon, bicolon, etc.,as the structural elements of literary units can be recognized in a poem. That there is a symmetrical relationship and indicates how each colon itself can be an indispensable tool for discerning cola and large poetic units. What is more, colometrical analysis contributes to the better understanding of verse structures in a psalm. On the other hand, counting syllables reveals the meter in Syriac and shows to what extent the Syriac translator benefits from a variety of Syriac poetic meters in his poem. Furthermore, this technique facilitates the demarcation and the designation of cola, bicola, etc. Gauging the syllables not only helps the reader to recognize harmony and rhythm between cola, but it also unveils a predetermined structural connection between cola in the poem. For instance, application of irregular meter including sound, unsound and infirm in the Syriac psalm shows that this Syriac psalm is

“unsoundly mixed” poetry because it is not made up of regular meter and strophes. Furthermore, measuring the syllables will be practical and useful for determining the versification, and in the following section, it will be shown how far it contributes to this study.

Versification

As seen in the following table, there are discrepancies regarding the versification between two versions. Except for verses 8, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 15 in P, the rest of versifications are identical to those of Hebrew. The exceptional verses are following:

8a	תּוֹרַת יְהוָה תְּמִימָה	8.ܢܚܡܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܫܠܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ .
	מְשִׁיבַת נָפֶשׁ	ܫܘܒܚܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܪ ܒܠܒܐ
b	עֵדוּת יְהוָה נֶאֱמָנָה	
	מַחְכִּימַת פֶּתִי:	
9a	פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוָה יְשָׁרִים	9.ܡܦܩܕܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܫܪܝܢ ܠܠܒܐ
	מְשַׂמְּחֵי־לֵב	ܡܫܡܚܝ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܠܒܐ
b	מִצְוַת יְהוָה בָּרָה	
	מְאִירַת עֵינָיִם:	

10a	יִרְאַת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה	10.ܕܕܚܠܬ ܡܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܠܥܠܡ
	עוֹמֶדֶת לָעַד	ܕܩܝܡ, ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܐ ܗܘ ܠܥܠܡ
b	מִשְׁפְּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת	
	צָדְקוּ יַחְדָּו:	
11a	הַנֶּחֱמָדִים מָזָהָב	11.ܕܚܝܒܝܢ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܗܒ ܘܡܢ ܟܣܦܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐ
	וּמַתְּקִים מִדְּבַשׁ	ܘܡܬܩܝܢ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܒܫܐ
b	וְנֹפֶת צוּפִים:	

14a	גַּם מְזִדִים חְשֹׂךְ עַבְדֶּךָ	14.ܐܦ ܒܥܒܕܟ ܢܛܪܝܗ, ܠܚܛܗ
	אַל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִי	ܕܠܐ ܢܬܫܠܛܘܢ ܒܝ
b	אָז אֵיתָם וְנִקֵּיתִי	ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܗܘ ܫܠܡ
	מִפֶּשַׁע רָב:	
15a	יִהְיוּ לְרָצוֹן אִמְרֵי־פִי	15.ܢܗܘܘ ܠܪܥܘܬܐ ܡܠܐܝ ܦܘܡܝ
	וְהֶגְיוֹן לִבִּי לְפָנֶיךָ	ܘܢܝܚ ܠܒܝ ܩܕܡܟ ܡܪܝ ܥܙܝܙܝ, ܦܨܝܚ
b	יְהוָה צוּרִי וְגֹאֲלִי:	

Syriac psalm is comprised of three strophes vv. 2-7, 8-11 and 12-15. It is noticeable that verse 5c is in both Syriac and Hebrew (highlighted) regarding content very close to verse 6. Therefore, it can build a tricolon 5c+6a+6b[3].

Their message went out into all the earth	5.ܩܠܗܘܢ ܐܙܠ ܒܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܣܘܦ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܢܡܠܐ ܡܠܝܗܘܢ
And at the end of the world are their words	
In them he set up his tent above the sun	ܒܗܢ ܫܪܐ ܡܫܟܢ ܠܫܡܫܐ
And he is like a bridegroom coming out of the bridal chamber	6.ܘܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܚܬܢܐ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܚܘܬ ܟܠܬܗ
He will rejoice like a warrior to run in his way	ܘܒܪ ܚܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܡܪܘܥ ܐܘܪܚܗ

5a	Their voice has gone out through all the earth	בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם
b	And their utterances to the end of the world	וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם
c	In them He has placed a tent for the sun,	לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שָׂם־אֹהֶל בָּהֶם:
6a	That is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber	וְהוּא כֶּחָתָן יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתוֹ
b	It rejoices as a strong man to run his course.	יָשִׂישׂ כְּגִבּוֹר לָרוּץ אֹרַח:

According to this observation, the versification should be changed into a tricolon consisting of 5c and 6 in both the Syriac and the Hebrew psalm.

5a	Their voice has gone out through all the earth	בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ יָצָא קַוָּם
5b	And their utterances to the end of the world	וּבִקְצֵה תֵבֵל מִלֵּיהֶם
5c	In them he has placed a tent for the sun,	לַשֶּׁמֶשׁ שָׂם־אֹהֶל בָּהֶם:
6a	That is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber	וְהוּא כֶּחָתָן יֹצֵא מֵחֻפָּתוֹ
6b	It rejoices as a strong man to run his course.	יָשִׂישׂ כְּגִבּוֹר לָרוּץ אֹרַח:

Likewise, verses 8-11 form tetracolonic verses in MT (in fact, as regards content pairs of shorter bicola), while their Syriac counterpart reads two bicola as only one long bicolon. As seen in tables 1.1-1.4 above, the second strophe vv. 8-11 is understood differently in MT and P regarding the meter. The number of syllables or consonants in the P version is due two very long bicola much higher. . Different poetical structure changes the rhythm of the strophe.

[3] The colon 5c is generally taken as the beginning of the verse line vv. 5c+6, a tricolon (Van der Lugt 2005: 219).

8a	11	ܒܚܡ/ܚܟܡ/ܟܐ/ܬܐ/ܡܥܕ/ܐܡ/ܥܒ/ܟܐ/ ܬ/ܐܚ/ܡܥܡ/ܕܒܐ/ܬܐ/	15.ܬܐܡܥܕ ܕܒܐ ܐܚܒ ܡܟܚܡ ܒܥܒ
8b	13	ܟܐ/ܕ/ܒܐ/ܬܐ/ܡܟ/ܒܒ/ܒܚ/ܟܐ ,ܐܚ/ ܡܥ/ܕܒ/ܡܟ/ܬܐ/ܕܒܐ/ܡܟ/ܐ/	16.ܡܥܕܒܡܟ ܕܒܐ ܡܟܚܡ ܒܚܒܟܐ ܒܚ
9a	12	ܒ/ܒܚ/ܒ/ܐܝ/ܟ ـ/ܐܒܝ ,ܡܐ/ܬ/ܐܒܐ/ܕܒܐ/ܡܐ/ܬ/	17.ܐܒܡܐ,ܡܐ/ܬ/ܐܒܐ/ܕܒܐ ,ܡܐ/ܬ/
9b	10	ܟܐ/ܚ/ܒܡ/ܐ/ ـ/ܐܟ ,ܡ/ܐ/ܕܒ/ܐ/ܡܐ/ܬ/	18.ܐܒܡܐ ـ/ܐܟ ܕܒܐ ܡܐ/ܬ/
10a	10	ܬ/ܟ/ܐܟ/ܡܥ/ܬ ,ܐ/ܟ/ܐ/ܕܒܐ/ܡܟ/ܐ/	19.ܐ/ܡܟ/ܐ ܕܒܐ ܐ/ܬ/ ܡ/ܟ/
10b	11	ܐ/ ـ/ ـ/ ـ

Using this type of versification and gauging the syllables, it will be evident that the number of syllables is harmonious not only in the strophe but in the whole stanza. As seen verse 11 is made up of a quaternary and because the first binary is sound, thus the infirmity of two lines is tolerated.

Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the study.

Firstly, the P psalm renders each word of the Hebrew psalm by a corresponding Syriac word. Furthermore, the Syriac translator imitates the form of the Hebrew author to compose the psalm, and it leads to having the same concept of parallelism in both versions. But of course, imitation of the Hebrew was not in itself a policy of the translators. In conveying the plain sense, they often arrived at a Syriac text, which ran close to the Hebrew. The result is similar to the conclusion of M.P. Weitzman (1999:26).

Secondly, Syriac translator aims at employing the quantitative literalism such as pluses and minuses in P, in other words, words are added to the text or subtracted from it. The motive was rather stylistic: explicit and unambiguous expression was preferred in Syriac (Weitzman 1999:24).

What is more, P is sensitive to the application of inanimate things ascribed to God and replacing them with certain phrases. Likewise, due to relative lack of synonyms in Syriac, P has utilized more word repetition than its Hebrew counterpart, and on the other hand, alliteration is more discernible. In addition, this poetry is the "unsound mixed poetry" since it is made up of strophes having different structures and lines of varying value.

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▶ **Paper**

Vindicating Vengeance and Violence: Contemporary exegetical approaches to Ps 58

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▶ **Abstract**

Using Ps 58:10 (NRSV; v. 11 in MT) as a stepping-stone, with its acclamation of vengeance and violence, this paper aims to engage in a critical discussion of two frequently used generic (i.e. applicable to more than one psalm) interpretative strategies that can be used as arguments against the custom of omitting imprecatory psalms from contemporary liturgy and theological reflection.

The discussion is divided into two steps. First, the meaning of the root nqm is outlined from a biblical (HB) perspective, with the primary focus of establishing how 'vengeance' relates to (retributive) justice and the use of violence as means of establishing said justice from a historical/biblical perspective. Subsequently, a comparison is made between the biblical notion of 'vengeance' and its contemporary (negative) connotations in order to establish what, more specifically, has led to the hermeneutical challenge that 'vengeance' constitutes for many modern readers.

The second step is to approach a selection of contemporary commentaries of Ps 58:10 to see what interpretative strategies are currently applied to such a 'difficult' text where violence is called for and vengeance venerated. As could be expected, the way that Ps 58 is approached correlates with how 'vengeance' and 'justice' is generally perceived within the context of the Hebrew Bible. This historical and exegetically based understanding of 'vengeance' is combined with – and encouraged by? – the contemporary hesitance amongst many readers towards this term and the use of vindictive actions to establish (retributive) justice – resulting in mitigating interpretative strategies applicable to imprecatory psalms in general and Ps 58 in particular. The paper ends with a short summary and reflection on some possible ethical implications of circumventing 'difficult' psalms of vengeance by referring to them as psalms concerned with justice (more or less in opposition to 'vengeance' and acts of violence) and the immensely popular strategy of reading psalms cathartically.

▶ Project Summary

Vindicating Vengeance and Violence: Contemporary exegetical approaches to imprecatory psalms

The backdrop to the dissertation (with the preliminary title "Vindicating Vengeance and Violence: Contemporary Exegetical Approaches to Imprecatory Psalms") consists of the discussions surrounding the omission of so called 'imprecatory psalms' (or 'cursing psalms') from contemporary (Western-Christian) lectionaries and prayer-books. In this case, the Roman Catholic Liturgy of the Hours serves as a particularly interesting example since the liturgy that serves originated with the intention to provide a way by which the entire Psalter could be prayed through during a fixed period of time, and not just parts of it. However, the renewal of the liturgy in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council (with its transmission into vernacular language) sparked a discussion whether it would be appropriate for Christians to recite prayers that resemble curses. After much discussion it was decided that three psalms had to be omitted (Pss. 58, 83, and 109) together with passages from 19 other psalms due to the difficulties that were foreseen from their use in vernacular celebration. This custom of omitting 'difficult' texts from contemporary liturgy and theological reflection has since been questioned from various perspectives, especially in the aftermath of Zenger's influential book Ein Gott der Rache: Feindpsalmen verstehen (1994). Regardless of position chosen in the specific discussion on pastoral and theological consequences of omitting texts concerned with violence and vengeance from lectionaries and prayer-books, these psalms remain a hermeneutical challenge for contemporary worshipping communities that wish to use The Book of Psalms as a Book of Prayer and/or regard the canonical text as a sacred text. For as aptly phrased by Christopher B. Hays as he comments on this custom of omitting 'difficult' psalms from contemporary liturgy and theological reflection:

Psalm 137 is not in many lectionaries. But since it is in the Psalter – rather than, say, Numbers or Chronicles – readers tend to find it anyway. Therefore, teachers and preachers of the Old Testament will have to have something to say about the psalms of imprecations.

So, what does one say when asked for "something to say about the psalms of imprecations"? Facing such a hermeneutical challenge, interpretative strategies are needed and sought for – in commentaries and elsewhere. My dissertation focuses on the scholarly contribution into this discourse by identifying contemporary generic (i.e. applicable to more than one psalm) interpretative strategies presented by biblical scholars writing for a broader audience of readers, using Pss. 58, 109, 137, and 139 as example texts and a selection of representative commentaries on the Psalms. Having mapped the generic interpretative strategies currently supported by scholars, the strategies are then analyzed based on their relevance and applicability to a liturgical setting where the psalms are read as self-involving and performative prayers and not (merely) as ancient texts tied to a historical *Sitz im Leben*.

▶ **Keywords** Ps 58; nqm; vengeance; justice; retribution; liturgy; violence; imprecatory psalms/cursing psalms; interpretative strategies

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VINDICATING VENGEANCE AND VIOLENCE: CONTEMPORARY EXEGETICAL APPROACHES TO PS 58

ABSTRACT:
Using Ps 58:10 (NRSV; v. 11 in MT) as a stepping-stone, with its acclamation of vengeance and violence, this paper aims to engage in a critical discussion of two frequently used generic (i.e. applicable to more than one psalm) interpretative strategies that can be used as arguments against the custom of omitting imprecatory psalms from contemporary liturgy and theological reflection.

The discussion is divided into two steps. First, the meaning of the root *nqm* is outlined from a biblical (HB) perspective, with the primary focus of establishing how 'vengeance' relates to (retributive) justice and the use of violence as means of establishing said justice from a historical/biblical perspective. Subsequently, a comparison is made between the biblical notion of 'vengeance' and its contemporary (negative) connotations in order to establish what, more specifically, has led to the hermeneutical challenge that 'vengeance' constitutes for many modern readers.

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FOR THE SEMINAR:
The paper is not intended to be published anywhere as it now stands. What I've done is to take out part of an early draft for my chapter on Ps 58 [Step 2] (where I outline how a selection of commentaries address the topic of vengeance and violence. To this I've added a short summary on biblical and contemporary connotations to 'vengeance' and 'justice' and how this plays into the reception and interpretation of Ps 58 [Step 1].

My intention is to address possible issues and implications of re-labelling 'difficult' *psalms of vengeance* as *psalms of justice* in my dissertation, but in separate chapters and (of course - in a more in-depth manner). So, see this paper more as a (not so polished) "sneak-peek" into my work than a finished chapter or article. In other words, a test-case that I would appreciate general and spontaneous feedback on.

Key words/themes: Ps 58; *nqm;* vengeance; justice; retribution; liturgy; violence; imprecatory psalms/cursing psalms; interpretative strategies.

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VINDICATING VENGEANCE AND VIOLENCE: CONTEMPORARY EXEGETICAL APPROACHES TO PS 58

What are your immediate associations when you encounter the words 'vengeance' and 'justice'? For many, 'vengeance' is an ethically loaded term with negative connotations, whereas 'justice' has a much more positive ring to it. This becomes especially apparent in commentaries of imprecatory psalms (and Ps 58 in particular) where the longing for violence and vengeance is commonly mitigated (more or less implicitly) by a juxtaposition – or interchange – of the words 'vengeance' and 'justice'. With such an interchange of terminology 'difficult' "psalms of vengeance" becomes less challenging – even highly relevant – for contemporary readers' liturgy and theology.[1] After all, prayers for 'justice' are easier to digest than calls for 'vengeance'.[2]

Using Ps 58:10 (NRSV; v. 11 in MT) as a stepping-stone, with its acclamation of both vengeance and violence, the present paper aims to engage in a critical (albeit condensed) discussion of the frequently used generic interpretative strategy of interchanging 'vengeance' with 'justice' in commentaries of Ps 58. The discussion is divided into two steps. First, the meaning of the root *nqm* is outlined from a biblical (HB) perspective, with the primary focus of establishing how 'vengeance' relates to (retributive) justice and the use of violence as means of establishing said justice from a historical/biblical perspective. Subsequently, a comparison is made between the biblical notion of 'vengeance' and its contemporary (negative) connotations in order to establish what, specifically, has led to the hermeneutical challenge that 'vengeance' constitutes for modern readers.

The second step is to approach a selection of contemporary commentaries of Ps 58:10 to see what interpretative strategies that are currently applied to such a 'difficult' text where violence is called for and vengeance venerated. As could be expected, the way that Ps 58 is currently approached much correlates with how 'vengeance' and 'justice' is perceived within the context of the Hebrew Bible. This historical and exegetically sound understanding of 'vengeance' is combined with – and encouraged by? – the contemporary hesitance amongst many readers towards 'vengeance' as means of obtaining justice – resulting in mitigating hermeneutical approaches to imprecatory psalms in general and Ps 58 in particular. Two of which can be tied specifically to Ps 58:10 and used as arguments against the current custom of omitting imprecatory psalms from contemporary liturgy and theological reflections.

We begin our inquiry into the exegetical discourse on vengeance and violence in the psalms with a short review of how 'vengeance' and 'justice' relates to one another seen from a biblical (HB) perspective.

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[1] The curious reader can find a brief but enlightening introduction to the discussions surrounding the omission of imprecatory passages from the Roman Catholic liturgy in Silber 2013 and Holladay 1993, 304-311. As indicated in the summary of my doctoral project, this discussion forms the backdrop to this study.

[2] Cf. e.g. John N. Day's book entitled *Crying for Justice: What the Psalms Teach Us about Mercy and Vengeance in an Age of Terrorism.* An important caveat is needed here concerning the notion of imprecatory psalms being 'difficult' and that is that this understanding, of course, is much dependent on the context of the reader. Cf. e.g. Adamo and Ademiluka who write from a predominantly Nigerian perspective where imprecatory psalms represent protection, defense, liberation and healing. Adamo 2008, 575, 582-587 and Ademiluka 1995, 221-227.

Step 1: Understandings of 'vengeance' and 'justice' in the Hebrew Bible

As noted by Peels in his extensive study on the root *nqm* (that I rely heavily on for this condensed outline), 'vengeance' is an ethically loaded term that brings forth negative connotations for many contemporary readers. Often, the Psalms' prayers for vengeance is associated with the love commandment in the New Testament, resulting in an antithesis where imprecatory prayers are understood as a "very human but intolerable expressions of personal vindictiveness."[3] However, this negative understanding of 'vengeance' stands in stark contrast to the positive connotation that surrounds the term in the context of the Hebrew Bible, where God is associated with vengeance and called upon to vindicate the oppressed in order to establish justice (e.g. in Ps 58). This gap constitutes a hermeneutical challenge calling for a closer look at the biblical connotations to vengeance and God's vindictive actions. Needless to say, this paper cannot provide an in-depth outline of the extensive discussion on the semantic and theological meanings behind the root *nqm* and/or the ways in which it is usually translated. However, a few and important points can be noted in relation to Ps 58 in particular regarding the biblical understandings and connections between 'vengeance', 'justice' and the use of violence.

First and foremost, as argued by numerous scholars commenting on Ps 58; "the imprecatory *prayer* implies the giving up of *personal* enactment of vengeance via the curses."[4] I.e., the psalmist does not curse anyone in a strict sense but submits vengeance (and the violent actions that comes with it) to God.[5] Imprecatory psalms can therefore, and in general, be said to provide means of simultaneously "letting go" and "holding back", as famously phrased by Miller when he discusses the pastoral relevance of imprecatory psalms.[6] This hermeneutical approach is adopted by Peels as he comments on Ps 58:10 and states that:

> […] it is questionable whether the interpretation of this verse as a negative emotional eruption is adequate. This initial impression is not supported whatsoever in the rest of the psalm; there is no mention of personal experiences or expressions of feelings, but the major question that stands central is whether there is still justice on earth […][7]

Moreover, it can be noted that out of the 79 times that the root *nqm* occurs, God is the subject in 45 of these instances – compared to the 11 times when the subject is undetermined or impersonal, and the 23 occurrences where the subject is a human being. Thus, in 85% of the cases where the root occurs, God is the subject, either directly or in a secondary sense. With this follows that the biblical material perceives the taking of vengeance as both legitimate and appropriate, especially when – and due to the fact that – God stands as the subject in the majority of cases where vengeance is mentioned.[8]

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[3] Peels 1995, 1-3 and 234-236.
[4] Peels 1995, 237.
[5] For this, and other valid reasons, the terms 'imprecatory psalm' and 'cursing psalms' have been questioned. It has (e.g.) been pointed out that few psalms (Ps 109 being the exception) are dominated by maledictions. Cf. e.g. Martin 1972/2008, 113 and Zenger 1996 , viii who questions this terminology since these psalms "do not curse; they present passionate lament, petition, and desires before God." Zenger 1996, viii. (Both referred to in Simango 2011, 1-2 and Simango and Krüger 2016, 583). I consider this as a valid critique but have not yet found any better terminology.
[6] Miller 2004/2007, 200. Also referred to by LeMon 2013, 99.
[7] Peels 1995, 215. Peel's reading relies on the interpretation of v. 2 as referring to "gods", just as in Ps 82 where the forensic situation is more clear and resembling extra-biblical parallels.
[8] Peels 1995, 274-276. Cf. Lipiński 1999, 9.

Secondly, 'vengeance' has a juridical colouring set in the context of God's liberating action and the covenantal relationship. Within this context, 'vengeance' equals punishing retribution (evil for evil) and the righteous, poor and oppressed are assumed to be the subject of the imprecatory prayers. The recipient, on the other hand, is whoever violates the covenantal relationship and God's supreme rule. Thus, obedience and disobedience to the covenant and its commandments stand in direct correlation with salvation and destruction, acquittal and judgement, blessing and curse.[9] Consequently, the wrath of the godless is not (only) a private matter but also an attack against God's supreme rule and order. 'Vengeance' is therefore closely associated with God's supreme rule and worthy of veneration – not aversion.[10]

The third point (important for the following critical reflection on the reoccurring interpretative strategy of interchanging 'vengeance' with 'justice') is implicitly correspondent to the two just mentioned, and that is the close correlation between 'vengeance' and (retributive) 'justice' seen from an HB perspective. In the extensive study by Peels, he concludes that only in a few instances does *nqm* have an evidently negative connotation. In the majority of instances where vengeance is mentioned it is with positive connotations. Therefore, according to Peels, the traditional translation to 'vengeance' can be maintained, as long as one understands this word in a *positive* sense and as a concept closely connected to (retributive) 'justice'. In the words of Peels:

> In general, the root נקם can be paraphrased as punishing, justified retribution. Thereby, נקם is characterized as one of the terms that belongs to the terminological field describing the thought of retribution […] In contrast to modern conceptions of the meaning of 'vengeance', נקם is determined by the notion of legitimate, righteous, even necessary enactment of justice by a legitimate authority. Sometimes this thought is explicit, while sometimes it is more latent. It is significant that the subject of נקם is almost always God, and, further, the legal authorities or the king. Whenever the context of legitimacy is absent, the root receives a negative sense ('vindictiveness', 'to act vengefully') and נקם then describes the conduct of a hostile individual or group.[11]

Moreover, Peels' extensive research on *nqm*-texts revels that vengeance (both divine and human) take place on mainly two terrains, the administration of justice and the conduct of war. Naturally, in this context of justice and battle, the metaphors of God as Judge and Warrior are particularly evident, as is also the case in Ps 58. Both metaphors are manifestations of the root metaphor of God as King. Therefore, God's vengeance is part of his divine rule and closely connected to God's authority to bring about punishing justice. Thus, 'vengeance' is both eligible and desirable as it forms part of God's liberation. "The vengeance of God is a manifestation of his justice."[12]

Consequently, the use of violence constitutes a vital part in God's reign and establishment of justice – as exemplified in Ps 58 where violence and vengeance is both called for and expected from God. The King is also a Warrior. The task of ruling and doing battle cannot be separated, neither can the use of violence be detached from the establishment of

[9] Peels 1995, 238-239.
[10] Peels 1995, 238-239, 242 and 284-287.
[11] Peels 1995, 265.
[12] Peels 1995, 276-283. Quotation from p. 280.

(retributive) justice through vengeance. Once more, Peels summarizes this intertwinement of vengeance, justice and violence well:

> Paired with the 'opus proprium' of God's justice is an 'opus alienum': the judgement and retribution. This side of God's justice receives less attention in the Old Testament, but it is undeniably present. In the demonstration of God's justice in deliverance of his own, the punishing retribution upon the oppressing enemy is implied. Similarly, the vengeance of God functions in a few passages more or less explicitly as the punishing instrument of God's justice.[13]

This 'negative' side of God's justice does not only receive less attention in the Old Testament, scholars commenting on imprecatory psalms also tend to circumvent it. As one reads through commentaries written for the 21st century it soon becomes evident what interpretative strategies that have developed in response to Ps 58 tend to focus on the longing for *justice* (more than vengeance), at the expense of the longing for – and use of – violence in the establishment of this (retributive) justice through God's vengeance. We will return to this below where two interpretative strategies aimed at Ps 58:10 are outlined.

Before then; having established that 'vengeance' has very positive connotations in the Hebrew Bible and that it corresponds closely to (God's) establishment of (retributive) justice – it is time to ask what it is that created this gap between the positive notion of 'vengeance' and contemporary negative understandings of the same term. What, really, is it that makes Ps 58:10 and its mention of vengeance as cause for celebration so difficult to comprehend? What was it that turned the tables?

Vengeance gone bad –contemporary connotations to retributive justice

As noted above, the term 'vengeance' has acquired a pejorative connotation in contemporary language use through its affiliation with self-centred, illegitimate and even (by most standards) immoral actions. For many readers, as noted by Peels; "['vengeance'] indicates 'the most furious and unsparing revenge'. The synonym 'revenge' emphasizes more the personal injury in return for which it is inflicted. Accordingly, 'revenge' often has the implication of personal retaliation, bitter and sometimes excessive conduct."[14] This contemporary and negative understanding of 'vengeance' is understandable from a historical perspective given the developments that has occurred within criminal law and its impact on the general (public) understandings of 'vengeance' and 'retribution' as means of establishing justice. When the state provides an established system for bringing about (retributive) justice for its citizens (with arbitration and enforcement of laws) vengeance as the private enactment of justice will necessarily be less and less tolerated. Consequently, from a juridical perspective, 'vengeance' is today viewed as a phenomenon that in principle belongs to the undeveloped stage of the legal system.[15]

A watershed moment came with the Enlightenment and its altered views on the rights of the state to implement punishments on its citizens. Up until the mid-18th century (especially during the Middle Ages), criminal law had become increasingly cruel in Europe and there had been no other form of jurisdiction than different forms of retribution, i.e. "tooth for tooth" and the like.[16] In this growing philosophical discussion of justification of

[13] Peels 1995, 291-292.
[14] Quotation from Peels 1995, 1. Cf. Hultberg 2012, 15; 413-414.
[15] Peels 1995, 2.
[16] Hultberg 2012, 45-47.

punishments, critical voices emerged inspired by the Enlightenment. One such criticism started from the observation that criminal law at that time could be summarized as vengeance acted out by the state. The critique consisted in that it could not be right that an act committed by a citizen was to be regarded as illegal when the same act executed by the state was to be seen not only as legal but also justifiable.[17] This argumentation took hold and much of our contemporary legal system and criminal law (in Sweden and elsewhere) rests upon this principle. Since the 20th century utilitarian theories have become predominant in the discourse on punishments and have developed into something that could be labeled a treatment ideology. As Molander points out, this ideology reached its peak between 1940 and 1970 when many defended the idea that criminality ought to be considered a mental illness and thus treatable. In the 1970's this 'treatment ideology' was replaced by a 'rehabilitation ideology' that is still maintained in many countries around the world.[18]

As a result, 'retribution' and 'vengeance' in the sense of "eye for an eye" has become something generally not sought for within the criminal law-discourse (except for those who advocate capital punishment for murder.) This idea that emotions of anger and rage need to be separated from the legal system (and especially from criminal law) is very much present in contemporary criminal law-discourse where there is a clear distinction between what the law prescribes and what the general public might consider to be just and/or a just punishment.[19]

In light of the observations above, it is not surprising that references to God's vengeance in the HB causes misunderstanding and offence amongst contemporary readers. The gap between the positive view on 'vengeance' in the biblical texts and the negative connotations that the word carries with it in a modern context constitutes a hermeneutical challenge that calls for interpretative strategies applicable to imprecatory psalms and contemporary worshipping communities. It is here that commentaries on the Book of Psalms constitute an important resource (among others) into the exegetical discourse on the topic of vengeance and violence in the psalms.

With this hermeneutical challenge in mind, it is time to take our next step into our second part of this inquiry into the exegetical discourse on vengeance and violence, using Ps 58:10 as our stepping-stone.

Step 2: Interpretative strategies applied to Ps 58:10

Psalm 58 is indeed a 'difficult text' with its exceedingly turbulent and passionate imprecatory language.[20] As aptly put by Gillingham, the psalm's heading "Do not Destroy" is "somewhat ironic in the face of the psalm itself."[21] The combination of calls for both

[17] Hultberg 2012, 72-76.

[18] Molander 2009, 178-179.

[19] Cf. Molander 2003. In this article, Molander analyses the notion of retribution in connection to moral. Cf. also Tasioulas 1998, 147-148.

[20] The text is also 'difficult' from a textual point of view, which has resulted in great many ancient variants and a plethora of modern conjectures. The scope of the present paper does not allow for a discussion of these variations, nor a representative outline of interpretative strategies applied to Ps 58. Instead, the focus is directed towards the ways that Ps 58:10 and its mentions of vengeance (as a result of violent action) is currently addressed.

[21] Gillingham 2018, 335. Jewish tradition relates the phrase to David's refusal to "destroy" Saul on the grounds that he was the Lord's anointed (1 Sam 26:9). Feuer 1985, 723-725 and Clifford 2002, 273.

vengeance and acts of violence is doubtless what makes Ps 58 into "one of the most fearful passages in the Old Testament."[22]

The following section consists of an (abbreviated[23]) outline of interpretative strategies aimed at this 'difficult' psalm, and v. 10 in particular. The underlying assumption here is that Ps 58 constitutes a challenge for most readers since it is normally considered morally questionable to wish and/or pray for the death or harm of another human being. This assumption also forms the incentive behind the development of interpretative strategies that can help mitigate the ethical difficulties associated with imprecatory prayers.[24] Naturally, not all scholars share this understanding of psalms being 'difficult' and not all commentaries have as their outspoken purpose to guide readers in matters of theology and/or liturgy (although most do). Regardless, the possible lack of such outspoken interests does not stop readers from approaching commentaries in search for mitigating interpretative strategies. Thus, the mode of procedure here is to adopt the role of such an imagined interested reader in search for scholarly-based advice on how to approach (and possibly appropriate) imprecatory psalms.

For reasons of space as well as clarity, the present paper is limited to two popular and generic interpretative strategies applicable to Ps 58:10. The first is the reoccurring strategy of circumventing the call for 'vengeance' by focusing on the "end result", i.e. the establishment of (retributive) justice – without much mention of the violence that forms an inescapable part of this 'justice'. The other is the commonly supported 'cathartic approach' where it is emphasized that God – and not the petitioner – stands as subject for the vindication.[25] Not surprisingly, both strategies reflect the observations made in Step 1 regarding the positive notion and semantic value of 'vengeance' within the context of the Hebrew Bible. Additionally, most commentaries also reflect the general perception that 'vengeance' poses a challenge for contemporary readers. This is particularly noticeable in the priority given to 'justice' (as opposed to vengeance and violence) when the psalm's main focus is outlined, and the mention of 'vengeance' in v. 10 is commented on. Knowing that Ps 58 is generally omitted from liturgy for being a 'difficult' text (presumably due to its mention of vengeance and violence) it is somewhat surprising that what sparks reader's attention is not given more attention and consideration. Put differently; if 'vengeance' is the problem, can 'justice' be the answer? Are the terms really that interchangeable, and does this exegetical maneuver relieve the psalm of its hermeneutical and ethical challenge?

With this question in mind it is time to investigate how a selection of contemporary scholars have approached Ps 58:10, starting with the generic interpretative strategy of differentiating between 'vengeance' and 'justice' whilst prioritizing the latter.

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[22] Cf. e.g. Day 2005, 52 (where he qoutes Peels 1995, 218).
[23] The present paper is partially based on the analysis of Ps 58 in my dissertation.
[24] For a very short outline of commonly advocated 'interpretative strategies' applied to imprecatory psalms see Strawn 2008, 317-319 or Silber 2013, 116-132.
[25] Examples of other generic (i.e. applicable to more than one psalm and supported by more than one scholar) interpretative strategies are e.g. what I have labelled the 'Circumstantial reading' that mitigates the imprecatory language by stressing the psalm's *Sitz im Leben* and/or the petitioner's situation of acute distress. Another popular and pertinent interpretative strategy is to stress the nature of metaphorical language and/or the observation to the call for violence in Ps 58 could be said to be aimed at disarming the enemy, not total destruction.

1) The psalm is not about 'vengeance' but 'justice'

As will be made evident by the examples cited below, there is a general tendency among scholars to address the topic of vengeance by either interchanging 'vengeance' with 'justice' or differentiate between the two as if the terms were not closely related to one another. Harman constitutes a refreshing exception in this regard as he aptly states that "without vengeance there can be no justice."[26] Other commentators on the other hand, appear to seek more or less creative ways to circumvent the negative connotations that 'vengeance' carries with it by speaking of Ps 58 – and especially v. 10 - as a psalm *not* concerned with vengeance but with justice. A reading of v. 10 that is quite the contrary of what first comes to mind.

This notion of Ps 58 as a psalm concerned more with justice than vengeance (and violence) becomes particularly evident in the commentary by vanGemeren where he introduces the psalm with the following general overview:

> The psalmist includes a rhetorical question, a response (vv. 1-2), a description of the wicked (vv. 3-5), and a prayer for justice (vv. 6-8). He finds solace in prayer and comfort in the Lord's promise of justice (v. 9). Instead of having to tolerate mistreatment, the righteous will experience a new freedom illustrated by their joy (v. 10) and will know that the Lord rewards the righteous. The structure of the psalm is as follows:
>
> A Concern for Justice (vv. 1-2)
> B The Lies of the Wicked (vv. 3-5)
> C Prayer for Justice (vv. 6-8)
> C' Expectation of Justice (v.9)
> B' The Joy of the Righteous (v.10)
> A' Affirmation of Justice (v. 11).[27]

In a similar manner, Mays reads the entire psalm as framed by the notion of God being the sovereign judge and just ruler. Consequently, according to Mays, 'vengeance' does *not* mean vindictive revenge but "an action to do justice":

> The psalm as a whole is an expression of the faith common to the psalms and prophets that the God who is sovereign of the world inevitably and inexorably acts as judge in the world. […] To believe in the reign of God is to reckon with and hope for judgement of God. The notion of "vengeance" (v. 10) is a feature of the vision of God as ruler. The term does not mean vindictive revenge; it refers to an action to do justice and restore order where the regular and responsible institutions of justice have failed.[28]

In a similar fashion, Hossfeld comments shortly on the meaning of נקם where he argues that it should be considered as a *liberating retribution* that reflects God's loving care for the world:

> In the fifth strophe (vv. 11-12), in v. 11 [v. 10 in NRSV] the joy of the righteous over YHWH's action is expressed as an emotional reaction to the experience of the complete restoration of justice. YHWH's נקם, "vengeance," is to be understood in Psalm 58 as an overlapping of

[26] Harman 2011, 440.
[27] vanGemeren 2008, 465.
[28] Mays 1994, 212, quoted also in McCann 1996, 909.

> juridical and liberating retribution that, however analogously, reflects faith in God's loving care for the world.[29]

There are also examples of commentators (such as Bullock and vanGemeren) who explicitly challenges the use of the word "vengeance" when referring to Ps 58 in general and/or v. 10 in particular. Bullock, for instance, argues that:

> While some religious traditions will not even permit Psalm 58 to be read in public because of the offensive imagery of 58:10, the idea of the righteous washing their feet in the blood of the wicked makes the picture of divine justice very real, albeit too real for some readers. Nevertheless, the graphic nature of this picture – call it vengeance if you like – draws out the gravity of evil and the urgency of justice. The blood of the righteous can never be silenced until God weighs out justice on his own scale, measured by the standard weights of his character.[30]

vanGemeren also exemplifies the tendency amongst contemporary commentators to circumvent the notion of 'vengeance' as the primary concern on Ps 58 by focusing on justice instead. vanGemeren translates נקם as "avenged" but argues that it is better understood as "being victorious":

> *10. The righteous will be glad when they are avenged,*
> *when they bathe their feet in the blood of the wicked.*
> The joy of the righteous comes to full expression when they see evidences of God's justice. It is not so much the case that they are bloodthirsty but rather that they delight in justice. The reign of terror must come to an end! Isaiah portrays the Lord as the Divine Warrior coming with red garments, stained by the blood of his enemies (Isa 63:1-6). Here the godly join in the victory march, as they too have been granted victory. The imagery of feet in blood portrays the victory (cf. Isa 63:1-6; Rev 14:19-20; 19:13-14), rather than the gruesome picture of people relishing the death of the wicked. The godly share together with the Lord in his triumph over evil. Hence it is better to understand the word "avenged" as "victorious": "The just will rejoice when they behold [*ḥāzâ*] his victory."[31]

Ross has a similar approach where he also stresses the importance of 'justice' over 'vengeance', although from a slightly different perspective where he turns the reader's attention towards the final goal of violent actions and not the violence or vengeance in itself. The focus is and should be, according to Ross, on the notion of 'justice' over 'vengeance':

> The "righteous" is singular in form, but collective in meaning. And here they will rejoice when they see the vengeance (נָקָם; s. v. Ps 18:47). This expression is figurative in that it refers to the divine judgement on the wicked that will bring deliverance to the righteous (and so it is a metonymy of cause put for the effect). The substitution of the word "vengeance" indicates that the righteous will rejoice more because God's justice will be preserved than because the wicked will be destroyed.[32]

In sum, having reviewed a few representative examples of ways that Ps 58:10 is currently commented on by scholars writing for the 21st century, one can conclude that for the most

[29] Hossfeld 2005, 82.
[30] Bullock 2015, 444-445.
[31] vanGemeren 2008, 469.
[32] Ross 2013, 306.

part 'justice' is juxtaposed or interchanged with 'vengeance' when the overall meaning and intention behind Ps 58 is discussed. This leaves us with the impression that Ps 58 is not so much a psalm concerned with a thirst for violent revenge as one could imagine. Despite the psalm's turbulent language and use of violent imagery, it is to be associated with liberation and (retributive) justice rather than vengeance and violence. Thus, this 'psalm of vengeance' is mitigated through exegetical and sound observations concerning the meaning behind the root *nqm* so that is reappears as a legitimate cry for justice on behalf of the oppressed. It is no wonder that the custom of omitting imprecatory prayer from liturgy has been questioned repeatedly.[33] Why omit a psalm that is so passionately engaged in the longing for (God's) justice?

The argument against omitting imprecatory psalms from contemporary liturgy and theological reflection becomes even more pressing seeing that the other currently and widely supported mitigating strategy is to argue that psalms such as Ps 58 does not engage the petitioner to a path of action. Rather, it teaches the importance of submitting violent actions and vindication to God. This generic interpretative strategy that I have labelled the *cathartic approach to imprecatory prayer* is also reflected in commentaries of Ps 58:10.

2) The psalm submits vengeance and violent actions to God

Bullock, Goldingay and McCann (to give but a few examples), make use of the exceedingly popular and generic interpretative strategy of arguing that imprecatory psalms serves the (liturgical) function of submitting (all) violent actions to God. Leaning on the NIV translation (note the translation "dip" instead of the more loud and self-involving "wash" or, as in NRSV; "bathe") Bullock argues:

> Ps 58:10 *when they dip their feet in the blood of the wicked.* Along with Psalm 137:9, this statement is at the top of the charts for the spirit of vengeance that sometimes infiltrates the Psalms. It may be worth noting, however, that the righteous are passive here (lit., "when he sees the vengeance"). Generally speaking, the imprecatory psalms leave vengeance to God. Dahood's rendering of the preposition *beth* (NIV: "in") as "of" ("He will wash his feet *of* the blood of the wicked") is not convincing. The Greek text (LXX) has "hands" rather than "feet."[34]

In a similar manner, Goldingay also stresses the cathartic approach adopted in this psalm as he discusses the meaning behind the utterance in v. 10, adding to his outline also a remark that "vengeance" might give a misleading impression. "Redress" is more fitting, according to Goldingay:

> The metaphor suggests total and irreversible deliverance from danger as God or the gods at least take action against those who are currently spilling the blood of faithful people. The latter *see* the redress, but they do not take it, for that is God's business (see Ps 94:1; Deut 32:35).[35] For *nāqām* EVV have words such as "vengeance" but this gives a misleading impression. The word indeed implies acting with conviction, even passion, yet it does not

[33] Cf. e.g. Zenger 1996 and Brueggemann 1995 (esp. pp 1-32; 98-111). Mihăliă also notices the shift in appreciation of imprecatory psalms that have resulted in the positive outlook being the most representative amongst mainline protestants such as Anglicans, Presbytarians and Reformed. Mihăliă 2012, 233-234.
[34] Bullock 2015, 443. Cf. also the similar approach outlined in McCann 1996, 909. Regarding LXX cf. Hossfeld 2005, 83.
[35] Reference made here (Goldingay 2007, footnote 29) to Day, *Crying for Justice* (2005), 55.

> refer to the taking of personal revenge but to God's putting things right by seeing that people in the wrong are punished. The faithless were overturning the proper God-given order of the world, and the faithful look forward to seeing that order vindicated.[36]

There are also commentaries that frame the entire psalm (not just v. 10) within this interpretative strategy. One such clear example is provided by Brueggemann & Bellinger who end their commentary on Ps 58 with a 'Bridging of the Horizons' where imprecatory psalms and their relevance for contemporary circumstances and theology is discussed and summarized in four intertwined points, using Ps 58 as a reference point. Below I have quoted only point one and three since they fall neatly within the definition of the present and generic interpretative strategy:

> First, the central part of the psalm is in the form of prayer. It is not in the form of a curse [sic!] or a call for human violence. It is rather addressed to God in the hope that God will bring justice. One way to think of the prayer is in terms of the model prayer: "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven." The prayer assumes that God is the one who reigns over all life and prays for divine justice in the face of strong injustice, violence and falsehood. The psalm is not so much about personal vengeance as it is about the hope for God's justice.[37]
>
> [---]
>
> Third, and based on the first two comments, Psalm 58 is a brutally honest prayer that God will powerfully bring justice for the oppressed in this world. Read in such a theological context and with such oppression in mind, the psalm is a bold act of faith, taking the pain and anger of injustice to the one who can act powerfully. In the Hebrew tradition, the execution of justice is the divine prerogative. God is the one who knows and embraces pain, and the plea is that God will act on the side of the faithful. This comment suggests that the lively and intense dialogue of faith modelled in the Hebrew Psalter includes the arresting presence of evil in the world as part of the wrestling with faith and with God. Theodical issues are pressing. Faith in the Psalter is not idealistic bus disturbingly realistic.[38]

This conclusion, as well as the overall cathartic approach to the longing for vengeance expressed in Ps 58:10 brings to mind the observations from Step 1 above where the biblical connotations to the notion of 'vengeance' and 'justice' where outlined, together with the observation that in the Hebrew Bible the establishment of (retributive) justice is reserved for God. Therefore, texts concerned with vengeance could very well be said to support a non-violent approach to injustice, making them relevant for contemporary theology and liturgy.

Concluding summary and reflections

Those who seek scholarly support for the argument against omitting imprecatory psalms from liturgy can find plenty of support in contemporary commentaries on Psalms. Two such arguments (also the most prominent) where mentioned above and in relation to Ps 58:10. First the generic interpretative strategy of arguing that imprecatory psalms are

[36] Goldingay 2007, 208.
[37] Reference made here (Bruggemann & Bellinger 2014, footnote 134) to Bonhoeffer, *Psalms* (1970), 57: "Bonhoeffer's reflection on 'The Enemies' (pp. 56-60) is one attempt to avoid the abusive misuse of the imprecatory psalms." McCann also relates the request for (God's) violent intervention to the Lord's prayer, cf. McCann 1996, 909.
[38] Brueggemann & Bellinger 2014, 262.

concerned with 'justice' rather than vindictive sentiments and/or vengeance. Secondly, the generic interpretative strategy of arguing for a cathartic understanding of imprecatory psalms, where violence and longing for vengeance is entrusted fully to God.

Both of these generic and mitigating interpretative strategies correlate to how 'vengeance' can be assessed within the context of the Hebrew Bible, i.e. as liberating vindication *by God* in the establishment of (retributive) justice. This (admittedly exegetically correct) interchange of 'vengeance' and 'justice' can be questioned from a pedagogical point of view seeing that developments within criminal law discourse has given 'vengeance' a bad reputation and negative connotations compared to 'justice'. The words and concepts are indeed connected, but not entirely and easily interchangeable. Moreover, the hermeneutical strategy of circumventing 'vengeance' by referring to the (retributive) justice that comes after the vindication of the oppressed risks to undermine the close intertwinement of retributive justice and the use of violence – either enacted by God or humans. Without vengeance, there can be no (retributive) justice – and there can be no (retributive) justice without (some form of) violence.

Knowing the reception history of imprecatory psalms and the implications that enemy-psalms has had on Jewish-Christian relations (to give but one example) there are reasons to proceed with caution when mitigating biblical prayers that venerates vengeance/retributive justice and the use of violence as means of establishing justice. Especially taking into consideration the self-involving aspect of reciting a psalm as prayer. For most of us, the shaping of our ethical principles is a largely unconscious process that gradually develops over time. In this process, as argued by Wenham, liturgy can have a tremendous impact. Whatever is included in public and joint prayer is simultaneously and subliminally accepted as important by the community, even if this is not explicitly stated. This makes the act of praying "the most potent form of ethical indoctrination." Thus, the Latin dictum *lex orandi, lex credendi* (that captures the close relation between *how* one prays and *what* one believes) would benefit from the addition of a *lex agendi* that brings to the fore that patterns of prayer and belief have the power to shape the petitioner's behavior.[39]

Commenting on the reception history of another 'difficult' imprecatory psalm (Ps 109) Crenshaw brings to the fore one important aspect and implication of the self-involving language of psalms read as prayers that is in line with the observations made above:

> This self-identification with God's purpose as understood by the pious worshipper shields that person from identifying the signs of spiritual decline. The use of Psalm 109 by Martin Luther and John Calvin to justify pogroms against Jews and others reveals the extent to which this deadly decease can strike religious leaders with its poison. C. S. Lewis has remarked that individuals with enormous potential for good are precisely the most dangerous because they believe so passionately in the justice of their cause. Consequently, they identify their own views with God's intention; in this way, extremism in God's name enjoys the highest sanction of all.[40]

[39] As argued by LeMon 2011, 93, here referring to Sailers 1994, 187. Cf. Sailers 1979, esp. pp. 173-174.

[40] Crenshaw 2001, 68. Unfortunately, Crenshaw fails to mention where C. S. Lewis has made this reflection but it appears to be taken from C. S. Lewis' *Reflections on the Psalms* (1958) where he comes to the conclusion that "[t]hose who are readiest to die for a cause may easily become those who are readiest to kill for it. [---] The higher the stakes, the greater the temptation to lose your temper over the game. " Lewis 1958, 33.

In other words: The more imprecatory psalms are said to be "not psalms of 'vengeance' but of 'justice'" and presented as cathartic prayers that teaches the reader the correct way to approach feelings of aggression and enmity – the greater the possibility that they continue to form readers' outlook on life and their conduct – perhaps even on a subconscious level. One possible outcome of such liturgical usage might be therapeutic, a non-violent way of venting emotions of anger and longing for revenge – as suggested by those arguing in favour or a cathartic approach to imprecatory psalms. However, given the reception history of imprecatory psalms, combined with the potential power of these self-involving prayers, there are good reasons as to why one could question the saying that "sticks and stones may break your bones, but words can never hurt you."

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▶ Paper

Reflections on the twofold interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10

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▶ Abstract

1QpHab provides insight into one of the earliest receptions of the prophetic book. The pesher offers a continuous citation of passages from Hab 1–2, each of which are interpreted in discrete pesher sections. A peculiarity in this regard is Hab 1:5 that receives two discrete interpretations. The double pesher has long "become a locus clasicus for literary growth in the Pesharim […]."1 This paper will attempt to show that 1QpHab II:1–10 not only attests to literary heterogeneity within 1QpHab. Rather, the correspondence between lemma and pesher as well as between different pesher sections may also offer us valuable insight into the early reception of the prophetic book that, in turn, could prove fruitful for diachronic assumptions regarding the genesis of the biblical text.

▶ Project Summary

Vindicating Vengeance and Violence: Contemporary exegetical approaches to imprecatory psalms

In my habilitation project I investigated the literary genesis of the prophetic book of Habakkuk and its reception – particularly in 1QpHab, but also in the LXX translation. The project argues for a cross-fertilization of Qumran and OT studies. It aims to show that the early receptions of the book as attested by the LXX and 1QpHab may help us further our understanding of the literary genesis of the prophetic text. In turn, the methods of historical-critical exegesis may help us trace theological developments within the Qumran scroll. The passage treated in my paper, i.e. 1QpHab II:1–10, serves as a test case in this regard.

▶ Keywords Pesher, OT, Qumran

"And thus is the pesher of the word" (1QpHab II:5). Reflections on the twofold interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10

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1QpHab provides insight into one of the earliest receptions of the prophetic book. The pesher offers a continuous citation of passages from Hab 1–2, each of which are interpreted in discrete pesher sections. A peculiarity in this regard is Hab 1:5 that receives two discrete interpretations. The double pesher has long "become a *locus clasicus* for literary growth in the Pesharim […]."[1] This paper will attempt to show that 1QpHab II:1–10 not only attests to literary heterogeneity within 1QpHab. Rather, the lemma-pesher-correspondence may also offer us valuable insight into the reception of the prophetic book that, in turn, may prove fruitful for diachronic assumptions regarding the genesis of the biblical text.

In order to verify this hypothesis, we will first investigate the object of interpretation, i.e. the prophetic lemma (1). Subsequently, we will turn to the interpretations of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4.5–10 (2). The analysis will conclude with a brief summary (3).

(1) The prophetic lemma Hab 1:5

The book of Habakkuk commences with a superscription that identifies the following context as an oracle (משא) received by the prophet Habakkuk. Contrary to this description the subsequent verses offer a lament, in which the prophet accuses Yhwh of letting evil prevail. "How long, Yhwh, will I call for help, and you wil not hear? I cry out to you, 'Violence!' Yet you do not save. Why do you make me see iniquity, and you, yourself, look on wickedness? Destruction and violence are before me […]" (Hab 1:2f). Hab 1:4b correlates the accusation directed toward the deity with iniquities caused by human evildoers. "[…] For the wicked surround the righteous. Therefore, justice comes out perverted."

In Hab 1:5 the change of addressee indicates a caesura. The speech is no longer addressed to Yhwh, but rather envisions a group of addressees in the 3rd person masculine plural. The identity of both speaker and addressees is not unveiled explicitly. Nor is the purpose of the speech at first sight obvious. Implicitly, some

[1] HARTOG, P.B.: "The Final Priests of Jerusalem" and "The Mouth of the Priest": Eschatology and Literary History in Pesher Habakkuk, DSS 24 (2017), 59–80 (65).

information can be gleaned from the immediate context. The imperatives והביטו … ראוin Hab 1:5 harken back to the prophetic lament in Hab 1:3: למה תראני און ועמל תביט. The correspondence between both verses suggests that the one who was blamed for looking upon evil in v. 3 is reacting to this accusation in v. 5. The speaker in v. 5 would then have to be identified with the deity, who commands the addressees to "look among the nations and see".[2]

The purpose of the divine demand is clarified in the subsequent context: The addressees shall look upon the *nations*, for Yhwh will raise up one of those *nations*. The addressees shall be astonished and astounded, for this nation will be fierce and impetuous. "Their horses are swifter than leopards and sharper than steppe wolves. Their horsemen come galloping […], they fly like an eagle swooping down to devour. […] They collect captives like sand." (Hab 1:8f). The description of the velocity and efficacy of the nation in v. 8f unfolds their description from v. 6a. Their perception as being raised by Yhwh identifies their function as tool of divine judgment.[3]

What remains ambiguous is the identity of the addressees in Hab 1:5. The obvious interconnection between Hab 1:3a, 5a suggests that the divine speech directly relates to the prophetic complaint regarding the prevalence of violence and iniquity. The divine speech would thus constitute the immediate response to the prophetic complaint. The addressed audience would then most likely include the group of the righteous as represented by the prophet. On their behalf Yhwh overcomes his inactivity and abolishes the prevalence of violence and iniquity. In this context the divine speech would represent a promise of salvation for the righteous.[4]

Hab 1:2–3, 5–6a

Prophetic lament: Prevalence of violence and iniquity

[2] עד אנה יהוה שועתי ולא תשמע אזעק אליך חמס ולא תושיע: [3] למה תראני און ועמל תביט ושד וחמס לנגדי ויהי ריב ומדון ישא:

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[2] Cf. FOHRER, G.: Die Propheten des Alten Testaments. Die Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts, Gütersloh 1974, 39; PFEIFFER, H.: Jahwes Kommen von Süden. Jdc 5; Hab 3; Dtn 33 und Ps 68 in ihrem literatur- und theologiegeschichtlichen Umfeld (FRLANT 211), Göttingen 2005, 138.

[3] Cf. Am 6:14: כי הנני מקים עליכם בית ישראל נאם יהוה אלהי הצבאות גוי ולחצו אתכם מלבוא חמת עד נחל הערבה.

[4] Cf. PFEIFFER, Süden, 138.

Divine Answer: Promise of salvation for the righteous

[5] ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר: [6] כי הנני מקים את הכשדים הגוי המר והנמהר […]:

A different frame of reference emerges when we include v. 4 into the equation. The verse mentions the wicked, whose oppression of the righteous illustrates the lack of divine righteousness in the earthly realm. Accordingly, any implementation of divine justice needs to involve their punishment. In reaction to v. 4 the addressees from v. 5 could then be perceived as the human initiators of injustice. In this case, the divine speech would constitute a proclamation of judgment against the wicked.[5]

Hab 1:2–6a

Prophetic lament: Prevalence of the wicked

[2] עד אנה יהוה שועתי ולא תשמע אזעק אליך חמס ולא תושיע: [3] למה תראני און ועמל תביט ושד וחמס לנגדי ויהי ריב ומדון ישא: [4] על כן תפוג תורה ולא יצא לנצח משפט כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק על כן יצא משפט מעקל:

Divine Answer: Proclamation of judgment against the wicked

[5] ראו בגוים והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר: [6] כי הנני מקים את הכשדים הגוי המר והנמהר […]:

The evidence illustrates that in the context of Hab 1–6 the mention of the wicked in v. 4 shifts focus from the accusation of the deity towards the accusation of human evildoers and disrupts the dialogue between the prophet as representative of the righteous (v. 2f) and his god (v. 5f). V. 4 may then, perhaps, represent a later addition that aims to visualize the violence described by the prophet in v. 2f and thereby ambiguates the understanding of v. 5.

The LXX could support this assumption. Over against the MT, the LXX identifies the addressees explicitly: ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονηταί καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε. The vocative καταφρονηταί reminds of Hab 1:13b, where the LXX reads καταφρονοῦντας for Hebrew בוגדים. The evidence suggests that the noun καταφρονηταί in Hab 1:5 goes back to Hebrew בוגדים, which strongly resembles the consonants in MT: בגוים.[6] The different versions could, hence, attest to a misreading. In this regard, literary priority of the reading בגוים is suggested by

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[5] Cf. PFEIFFER, Süden, 136f.

[6] Cf. FABRY, H.-J.: Ambakum Habakuk, in: LXX.E II, Stuttgart 2011, 2413–2428 (2419); PERLITT, L.: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja (ATD 25/1), Göttingen 2004, 52, or COLLINS, J.J.: Prophecy and History in the Pesharim, in: M. Popović (ed.), Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism (JSJ.S 141), Leiden 2010, 209–226 (217).

inner criteria, more precisely by the progression of thought in Hab 1:5–9. The addressees shall look among the nations, for Yhwh will raise up one of those nations, which will then act as tool of divine judgment (Hab 1:6b–9).[7] The mention of גוי in Hab 1:5a is thus well-embedded in the context of the divine speech.

Further observations suggest that Hab 1:5 LXX represents an elaborate interpretation of Hab 1:5 MT against the backdrop of the broader literary context. As mentioned above, the vocative καταφρονηταί "traitors" anticipates the context of the second prophetic lament in Hab 1:13b (בוגדים, καταφρονοῦντας). There, the traitors stand in parallel with the "wicked" (רשע). The "wicked" (רשע), again, had already been accused of oppressing the righteous in Hab 1:4, i.e. in the verse that immediately precedes the divine speech at hand. The LXX thus identifies the evildoer from Hab 1:4 as the addressee of divine judgment proclaimed in Hab 1:5f. This understanding is supported by a plus that the LXX shows over against MT, namely καὶ ἀφανίσθητε "and you [i.e. the traitors] shall perish".[8]

In the broader context the demise of the traitors contrasts the promise of life for the righteous in Hab 2:4. The understanding of Hab 1:5 against the explicit backdrop of Hab 2:4b may have been triggered by the reference to Hebrew אמן in both verses. In Hab 1:5b MT the negated imperfect לא תאמינו continues the imperatives והתמהו תמהו and refers to the incredulous amazement of the addressees. The divine deed is so marvelous that the audience may not believe it (Hab 1:5b).[9] In Hab 2:4 MT the root appears as the noun אמונה "faithfulness" and represents the foundation of the promise that the righteous will live (וצדיק באמונתו יחיה). The LXX translates ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται. The phrase ἐκ πίστεώς μου may simply attest to a waw-yod-confusion. Yet, it explicitly identifies the trust as faithfulness to the deity and thus clarifies, what in MT can only be deduced implicitly from the broader context.[10]

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[7] Cf. THOMPSON, M.E.W.: Prayer, Oracle and Theophany. The Book of Habakkuk, Tyndale Bulletin 44/1 (1993), 33–53 (46); HOUSE, P.R.: Dramatic Coherence in Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, in: J.W. Watts/P.R. House (ed.), Forming Prophetic Literature. Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve (FS J.D. Watts, JSOT.S 235), Sheffield 1996, 195–208 (203), or PFEIFFER, Süden, 137f. Differently, SWEENEY, M.: The Twelve Prophets (Berit Olam), Collegeville/MN 2000, 292f, or JOHNSON, M.D.: The Paralysis of Torah in Habakkuk I 4, VT 35/3 (1985), 257–266 (257f).

[8] For the plus in the LXX cf. FABRY, Ambakum, 2419.

[9] Cf. RUDNIG-ZELT, S.: Glaube im Alten Testament. Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Jes 7,1–17; Dtn 1–3; Num 13–14 und Gen 22,1–19 (BZAW 452), Berlin 2017, 85, 98.

[10] For the deviations in the LXX cf. FABRY, Ambakum, 2421.

It is this theological understanding of אמן from Hab 2:4 MT[11] that underlies its translation and contextualization in Hab 1:5 LXX. The disbelief means the lack of faithfulness to Yhwh. It constitutes the superordinate reason for divine punishment of the traitors.

Hab 1:4f, 13 MT

4 על כן תפוג תורה ולא יצא לנצח משפט כי רשע מכתיר את הצדיק על כן יצא משפט מעקל:
5 ראו בגוים [בוגדים] והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר:
13 טהור עינים מראות רע והביט אל עמל לא תוכל למה תביט בוגדים תחריש בבלע רשע צדיק ממנו:

Hab 2:4

4 הנה עפלה לא ישרה נפשו בו וצדיק באמונתו יחיה:

Hab 1:4f, 13 LXX

4 διὰ τοῦτο διεσκέδασται νόμος, καὶ οὐ διεξάγεται εἰς τέλος κρίμα, ὅτι ὁ ἀσεβὴς καταδυναστεύει τὸν δίκαιον· ἕνεκεν τούτου ἐξελεύσεται τὸ κρίμα διεστραμμένον. 5 ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ ἐπιβλέψατε καὶ θαυμάσατε θαυμάσια καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, διότι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆται.
13 καθαρὸς ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ μὴ ὁρᾶν πονηρά, καὶ ἐπιβλέπειν ἐπὶ πόνους οὐ δυνήσῃ· ἵνα τί ἐπιβλέπεις ἐπὶ καταφρονοῦντας; παρασιωπήσῃ ἐν τῷ καταπίνειν ἀσεβῆ τὸν δίκαιον;

Hab 2:4 LXX

4 ἐὰν ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου ἐν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

What the above evidence illustrates is that the divine speech in Hab 1:5 MT is ambiguous and polyseme. It could either be interpreted as a promise of salvation for the righteous or as a proclamation of judgment against the wicked. The LXX avoids this ambiguity and – in consideration of the broader literary context – identifies the divine speech as proclamation of judgment against the traitors. From this we may conclude that the reception in the LXX attests to comprehension difficulties in the Hebrew Vorlage that are interpreted in light of the reading perspective that determines the "finalized" text.

With these observations in mind, we will now turn to the reception of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10.

11 Cf. RUDNIG-ZELT, Glaube, 85, 98.

(2) The reception of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–4, 5–10

The double interpretation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab II:1–10 has "become a *locus classicus* for literary growth in the Pesharim […]."[12] As to how the growth of this passage is to be understood, however, opinions vary. In the recent past, STEPHEN LLEWELLYN, STEPHANIE NG, GARETH WEARNE and ALEXANDRA WRATHALL have assumed a combination of sources. In this regard, they point out the different perspectives in Col. II:1–4, 5–10.

> I. The first pesher looks back to the community's past. It recounts the failure of the traitors to trust the teacher of righteousness and to trust the covenant of God. The form of the verbs is perfect. The second pesher refers to a future time, the last of days. It talks about what is going to occur and uses the imperfect.
> II. The teacher appears in both pesharim, though in the first he is the bearer of the words from God's mouth, whereas in the second he is the interpreter of the words of the prophets.[13]

From these observations Llewellyn et al. conclude that "the double pesher has used two distinct interpretations that did not arise concurrently."[14] In their view this assumption is supported by formal observations, namely the *vacat* between the two pesher sections, the explicit introduction of the second pesher section with וכן and the scribal sign (א) to the left margin of Col. II:5, each of which may indicate a literary seam.[15]

The assumptions made by Llewellyn et al. are problematic for multiple reasons. Firstly, *aleph* as a scribal sign only occurs once in 1QpHab. Its purpose is highly disputed and by no means obvious in the current literary context. Secondly, there is good reason to believe that the *vacats* in 1QpHab, which precede the interpretation of a lemma, were introduced by the scribe, who copied the extant manuscript.[16] The most obvious indication in this regard is a scribal mistake in Col. III:7. There, the scribe apparently mistook the verb פשו for the noun פשר and, hence, disrupted the quotation of Hab 1:8 by inserting a *vacat*. The misreading was then corrected by "superimposing of a very wide *waw* on the *resh*"[17].

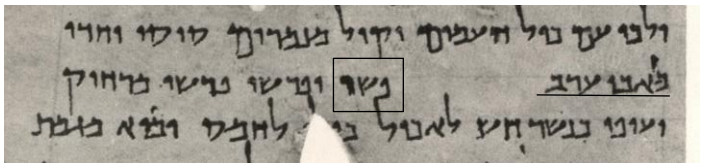
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[12] HARTOG, Priests, 65.
[13] LLEWELLYN, S. et al.: A Case for two Vorlagen, in: Tzoref, S./Young, I., Keter Shem Tov. Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown, Berlin 2013, 123–150 (135).
[14] LLEWELLYN et al., Case, 135.
[15] LLEWELLYN et al., Case, 134.
[16] Cf. LLEWELLYN et al., Case, 132f.
[17] TOV, E.: Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert, Leiden 2004, 23.

Hab 1:8 MT

וקלו מנמרים סוסיו וחדו מזאבי ערב ופשו[8] פרשיו ופרשיו מרחוק יבאו יעפו כנשר חש לאכול׃

1QpHab III,6-8[18]



In view of this evidence the scribe of the manuscript seems to have proceeded in a rather mechanical fashion. He apparently took the noun פשר in his *Vorlage* as a signal that prompted him to introduce *vacats*, thus separating the interpretation from the lemma. At least for the interpretation of Hab 1:8 it is, furthermore, obvious that this scribe cannot equal the author of the interpretation. For whoever wrote the interpretation would have known, where the quotation of the lemma ended and the interpretation commenced. The *vacat* in Col. II:5 needs to be understood against this backdrop and may, thus, not be overestimated as indication of a literary seam.

Further problems arise regarding the different perspective of the pesher sections. While the change may indicate literary growth, it does not necessarily follow that the interpretations were copied from independent written sources. As PIETER B. HARTOG puts it:

> Another problem with the suggestions of Llewelyn and his colleagues is their exclusive focus on written *Vorlagen* of 1QpHab. This focus does not do justice to the complexities of literary development: if Pesher Habakkuk exhibits literary growth, this does not imply that additions to the Pesher must derive from written sources. They may have originated orally, or they may have been the invention of a scribe who incorporated his findings directly into the manuscript he was producing.[19]

Hartog himself proposes a model of reworking that is primarily based on correspondence between the structure of the lemma and the structure of the interpretations. According to Hartog, the original commentator "took up two elements from his base text and interpreted them in turn."[20]

> Before the addition of 1QpHab 2:5–10, this interpretation of Hab 1:5 seems to have depended on the clauses "look … and behold" (ראו… והביטו) and "and be utterly

[18] CROSS, F.M./FREEDMAN, D.N./SANDERS, J.A. (ed.): Scrolls From Qumrân Cave 1. The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Pesher to Habakkuk. Photographs by J.C. Trever, Jerusalem 1972, 152f.
[19] HARTOG, Priests, 63.
[20] HARTOG, Priests, 67.

> astonished" (והתמהו תמהו) in the lemma. In Hab 1:5 these clauses describe actions of the traitors; in the interpretation, these two similar syntactical structures inform the reference to two groups of traitors. With the addition of 1QpHab 2:5–10, the relation between the lemma and its interpretation changed. The basis for the interpretation was now no longer the two parallel clauses, but the three roots in Hab 1:5. These roots [ראה, נבט, תמה] describe actions of the traitors as well, and their use in the lemma governs the mention of three groups of traitors in the interpretation. Thus, the addition of 1QpHab 2:5–10 to Pesher Habakkuk triggered a redefinition of the link between this interpretation of Hab 1:5 and its lemma.[21]

What is most striking about Hartog's interpretation is that the assumed references to the lemma are neither reflected directly nor indirectly in the wording of the pesher sections. While the lemma demands the addressees to "look … and behold", to be "astonished, amazed", the first pesher section accuses the traitors of disobedience towards the teacher and of breach of the covenant. As to how the gist of this accusation relates to the semantics of the imperatives in Hab 1:5, Hartog offers no explanation. Furthermore, he fails to include into his considerations the direct verbal correspondences between the pesher sections and the lemma. With regard to both pesher sections this concerns – in all likelihood – the mention of the traitors (בוגדים) as addressees of the accusations (l. 1, 3, 5) and the accusation itself as expressed by the negated verb אמן (l. 2[?], 3–4, 6).

The traitors as adddressees in the pesher sections are fully attested in l. 1, and can be reconstructed with relative certainty in l. 3–4, 6. With regard to the lemma, they are not mentioned in Hab 1:5 MT, yet they can be inferred as addressees of the divine speech in Hab 1:5 LXX (and its Hebrew Vorlage?). As has been outlined above, the traitors in Hab 1:5 LXX face imminent divine judgment. The superordinate reason for this judgment is represented in the phrase לא תאמינו (Hab 1:5b; οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε) that mirrors the promise of life for the righteous in Hab 2:4b (וצדיק באמונתו יחיה/ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται). In the LXX, the salvation of the righteous in Hab 2:4b has thus become a hermeneutic key for understanding the divine speech in Hab 1:5ff.

Against this backdrop, it is interesting to note that the lack of faithfulness also appears as accusation of the traitors in both pesher sections. Within the first pesher section a negated form of the verb אמן is fully attested for the breach of covenant in l. 3–4. It may – with due caution – also be assumed in reference to the teacher of righteousness in l. 1–3. In view of l. 2–3 the traitors are accused of […] לוא towards the teacher of righteousness. That the accusation refers to

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21 HARTOG, Priests, 67.

disobedience towards or disbelief in the words of the teacher may be deduced from the phrase מורה הצדקה מפיא אל in l. 2–3. That this misbehavior may have been expressed by a negated form of אמן is suggested by consideration of the prophetic lemma as well as by the correspondence between the function of the teacher in l. 1–3 and the role of the prophets in l. 5–10. Both teacher and prophets convey divine words. Disbelief in their words (לוא אמן) leads to the downfall of the traitors. The juxtaposition of traitors and disbelief mirrors the understanding of Hab 1:5 LXX and supports the assumption that the quotation of Hab 1:5 in 1QpHab Col. I may indeed have read בוגדים instead of בגוים MT.[22]

While both pesher sections thus relate to the lemma in that they perceive the traitors as addressees of a divine speech that concerns their lack of faithfulness, they differ in their reference to time. The first pesher concerns unfaithfulness that already occurred in the past (לוא האמינו); the second pesher addresses unfaithfulness (לוא יאמינוא) of the traitors in the *latter days* (לאחרית הימים). Of both references, the latter corresponds with the prophetic lemma, which indicates future disbelief (לא תאמינו) regarding a deed that will occur "in *your days*" (בימיכם). The object of disbelief in Hab 1:5 is a divine deed. Indirectly, this deed can be identified as divine prophecy through the key word ספר: While the traitors in Hab 1:5 will not believe in the *divine deed*, when it is recounted (יספר), the traitors of the latter days will not be faithful to the words of the prophets through which God recounts (ספר) "*everything that is to come*".

Hab 1:5

5 ראו בגוים [בוגדים] והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר׃

1QpHab II:5–10

5 וכן פשר הדבר[על הבו]גדים לאחרית א 6 הימים. המה עריצ[י הבר]ית אשר לוא יאמינוא 7 בשומעם את כול הבא[ות על] הדור האחרון מפי 8 הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[ ]ה לפשור את כול 9 דברי עבדיו הנביאים[אשר]בידם ספר אל את 10 כול הבאות על עמו וע[ ]

The identification of the divine deed from Hab 1:5 with "everything that is to come" (כול הבאות) connects the interpretation of Hab 1:5 with the pesher section to Hab 2:2f.[23] The lemma text concerns a vision that Habakkuk is asked to record.

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22 Cf. COLLINS, Prophecy, 217.

23 For the general correspondence between Col. II and Col. VII cf. DIMANT, D.: Exegesis and Time in the Pesharim from Qumran, in: dies., History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Collected Studies, (FAT 90), Tübingen 2014, 315–332 (316f); BAUMGARTEN, A.I.: What Did The 'Teacher' Know? Owls and Roosters in the Qumran Barnyard, in: Sh.

He shall inscribe the vision on a tablet – and legibly, so that the one who reads it may decipher the inscription quickly (Hab 2:2). The vision itself relates to an appointed time in the future and attests to the end. “Though it tarries, wait for it; for it will certainly come (כי בא יבא)” (Hab 2:3). The admonition to “wait for it” anticipates the promise for life that the righteous receives in Hab 2:4b for his faithfulness.

Within the pesher section to Hab 2:2 the vision is identified as that “which is to come” (הבאות, Col. VII:2). According to the interpretation of Hab 2:3a in Col. VII:7–8 the fulfillment of the vision will tarry beyond everything that the prophets spoke – for the secrets of god are mysterious. The mysteriousness of divine secrets segues into the interpretation of Hab 2:3b in l. 10–14. The men of truth, the doers of the torah will not refrain from the work of truth, when the last time will tarry exceedingly. For all periods come according to the time that God has appointed for them (כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם) in the secrets of his wisdom. The faithfulness of the doers of the torah anticipates their deliverance in 1QpHab VIII:1–2 that mirrors the judgment envisioned for the traitors in 1QpHab II.[24]

Hab 2:2–4

[2] ויענני יהוה ויאמר כתוב חזון ובאר על הלחות למען ירוץ קורא בו: [3] כי עוד חזון למועד ויפח לקץ ולא יכזב אם יתמהמה חכה לו כי בא יבא לא יאחר: [4] הנה עפלה לא ישרה נפשו בו וצדיק באמונתו יחיה:

1QpHab VII:2, 5–14

[1] וידבר אל אל חבקוק לכתוב את הבאות על [2] על הדור האחרון ואת גמר הקץ לוא הודעו
[5] [...]. כיא עוד חזון [6] למועד יפיח לקץ ולוא יכזב
[ ] [7] פשרו אשר יארוך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול [8] אשר דברו הנביאים כיא רזי אל להפלה
[9] אם יתמהמה חכה לו כיא בוא יבוא ולוא [10] יאחר
[ ] [ ] פשרו על אנשי האמת [11] עושי התורה אשר לוא ירפו ידיהם מעבודת [12] האמת בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון כיא [13] כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם כאשר חקק [14] להם ברזי ערמתו.

1QpHab VIII:1–2

[1] פשרו על כול עושי התורה בבית יהודה אשר [2] יצילם אל מבית המשפט בעבור עמלם ואמנתם

Tzoref/I. Young (ed.), Keter Shem Tov. Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of Alan Crown (PHSC 20), Piscataway/NJ 2013, 235–257 (246–248); HARTOG, Priests, or id., HARTOG, P.B.: Pesher and Hypomnema. A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period (STDJ 121), Leiden 2017, 178.

[24] In the extant manuscript the reference to “their faithfulness” in Col. VIII:2 relates to the teacher of righteousness and may imply both faithfulness to the person and his message. Subsequent to the interpretation of Hab 2:2f in Col. VII it may be best understood as faithfulness to the divine prophecy as mediated/interpreted by the teacher.

What does this overview teach us? Firstly, it illustrates that the second pesher section on Hab 1:5 is associated with the pesher sections on Hab 2:2f through the determined participle fem. pl. הבאות, which in both instances refers to divine prophecy. Furthermore, it shows that in the context of Col. VII the root בוא has a reference point in the lemma text (Hab 2:3), where it is emphasized that the vision will not fail to come (כי בא יבא). For the interpretation of Hab 1:5 in Col. II:5–10 no such direct correspondence with the lemma can be perceived. It may then, perhaps, be best understood as a deliberate cross reference to Col. VII that aims to identify the divine deed from Hab 1:5 with the eschatological vision from Hab 2:2f and the subsequent salvation of the righteous (Hab 2:4).

The reason for this equation is readily perceptible. Through the association of Hab 1:5 and Hab 2:2–4, the divine deed is eschatologized. Furthermore, faithfulness towards the eschatological prophecy in Hab 1:5; 2:2f becomes the watershed between the righteous and the wicked. Those who do not refrain from the work of truth despite the delay of salvation (Col. VII:7–14), will be rescued from the house of judgment because of their faithfulness (Col. VIII:1f). Those who are not faithful to the prophetic message, however, will perish (Col. II:5–10).

If these associations have been perceived correctly, 1QpHab II:5–10 follows in the footsteps of Hab 1:5 LXX. Both understand the beginning of the divine speech against the backdrop of Hab 2:3f and render the faithfulness of the righteous the positive foil for the fate of the wicked. In this respect the theological connotation of the term אמן becomes a hermeneutic key for the entire prophecy. It represents the utmost prerequisite for the relation towards the deity. What distinguishes both works is that the LXX constitutes a translation of the prophetic book itself, while 1QpHab reveals itself as a "pesher" of the prophetic book.

As has long been recognized, the

> Hebrew word *pešer* is derived from the common Semitic root *psr* (<*pt̲r) "loosen," "dissolve." Besides Hebrew, the root is attested in Aramaic, Akkadian and Arabic. It has been noted since Oppenheim that the cognate Akkadian verb, *pašaru* […] firmly belongs to the language of Mesopotamian dream divination.[25]

[25] NISSINEN, M.: Pesharim as Divination. Qumran Exegesis, Omen Interpretation and Literary Prophecy, in: K. de Troyer et al. (ed.), The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy (CBET 52), Leuven 2009, 43–60 (45).

> While the semantic field of *pašaru* is very broad and only a small corner of it has to do with interpretative activity, the noun derived from the verb, *pišru*, quite consistently refers to the unfolding of omens […].[26]

In omen literature the noun *pišru* is used by Assyrian scholars as a technical term. It follows the description of the omen (protasis) and introduces the apodosis – thus resembling the structural use of the noun pesher in the Qumran pesharim. In omen literature correspondence between protasis and apodosis is often achieved through what might be called *punning hermeneutics*. "Paronomasia was a widely-used method in the ancient Near East for asserting the relationship between two entities […]."[27] This hermeneutical concept is also evident in the above described lemma-pesher-correspondence in Col. II; VII and suggests that the pesher merely unveils what was always inherent to the prophetic lemma.

In the case of 1QpHab II:5–10 the pesher unveils certain key words from the prophetic lemma and puts them in an eschatological context: The days of the traitors (בימיכם), in which the divine prophecy from Hab 1:5 will fulfill are "the latter days". Faithfulness towards the divine prophecy in the latter days determines membership of the true Israel. If this re-contextualization of Hab 1:5 may tell us something about its authors, then, perhaps, that they identify with the faithful and refer fulfillment of the divine prophecy to their own lifetime, i.e. the latter days.[28]

The above considerations are not without interest for the interrelation between 1QpHab II:5–10 and 1QpHab II:1–4. The orientation towards imminent fulfillment of the divine prophecy connects 1QpHab II:5–10 with the prophetic lemma. Moreover, the pesher continues the prophetic lemma into the presence of its authors. The same does not apply to 1QpHab II:1–4. Rather, this pesher section relates the accusation against the traitors (בוגדים) to past transgressions pertaining to a lack of faithfulness (לוא אמן). In association with the lemma, these references seem to serve as a demonstration of guilt that aims to justify divine judgment: The lack of faithfulness is identified with specific transgressions that will lead to future punishment. If these observations apply, the first pesher section relies on

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[26] NISSINEN, Pesharim, 47.

[27] BROIDA, M.: Textualizing Divination:The Writing on the Wall in Daniel 5:25, VT 62 (2012), 1–13 (9).

[28] For the phenomenon of paronomasia in pesher texts cf. TZOREF (BERRIN), S.: Lemma/Pesher Correspondence in Pesher Nahum, in: L.H. Schiffman et al. (ed.), The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery, Jerusalem 2000, 341–350, or TZOREF (BERRIN), S.: The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran: an exegetical study of 4Q169 (StDJ 53), Leiden 2004, 11.

the conception of imminent judgment as outlined in the lemma and the second pesher section.

That, indeed, the first pesher section not only refers to the lemma, but also presupposes the second pesher section, is suggested by a contentual overlap, namely the motif of faithfulness/obedience towards the mediators of divine words. In 1QpHab II:1–4 this concerns the teacher of righteousness, in 1QpHab II:5–10 the prophets – and indirectly the priest who interprets (פשר) their message. What distinguishes both passages is their primary focus. In 1QpHab II:9f the words of the prophets mediate the divine message that includes "everything which is to come". The main point of interest here is the identification of the divine deed from Hab 1:5 with the overall prophetic message (כול הבאות), which is interpreted against the backdrop of an ongoing delay in fulfillment (לאחרית הימים). In view of this delay, (un)faithfulness to the divine prophecy becomes the watershed between salvation and judgment. 1QpHab II:1–4, on the other hand, does not concentrate on the divine prophecy, but rather on the divine mediator, whose message equals the word of god. Focus thus shifts from the authority of the divine prophecy towards the authority of the divine mediator. As one who speaks directly מפיא אל, the human mediator receives divine authority. The divine authority thus granted to the mediator renders (dis)obedience towards him a watershed between salvation and judgment.

The above comparison is instructive for determining the relation between 1QpHab II:1–4 and 1QpHab II:5–10. Firstly, the interpretation of 1QpHab II:5–10 primarily focuses on the re-contextualization of aspects from the lemma. The divine deed communicated as part of the prophetic book will fulfill in the imminent eschaton. While the mention of the prophets thus reflects the character of Hab 1:5 as part of the prophetic message, through which God communicates his deeds, the reference to the teacher in 1QpHab II:1–4 is not readily deduced from the lemma. His depiction, however, clearly overlaps with the role of the prophets in 1QpHab II:5–10. This evidence may, perhaps, easiest be explained by assuming that 1QpHab II:1–4 was written in awareness of 1QpHab II:5–10. It reflects upon the mediation of divine words and will. In 1QpHab II:1–4 the earthly mediation thereof is discussed against the backdrop of faithfulness. Faithfulness in the sense of obedience towards the earthly mediation of divine will, i.e. the teacher and the new covenant, constitutes a necessary prerequisite for

a relation towards the deity. Those who have not fulfilled these criteria in the past will be met with divine judgment in the eschaton.

In view of the above considerations, it seems reasonable to assume that 1QpHab II:1–4 represents a theological reflection on Hab 1:5; 1QpHab II:5–10. It provides the older context with a demonstration of guilt that identifies certain transgressions against earthly manifestations of divine will as entailing divine judgment.[29] Its position in the current context is guided by this intention: The transgressions are located in the past, while judgment is imminent in 1QpHab II:5–10.

Hab 1:5

[5] ראו בגוים [בוגדים] והביטו והתמהו תמהו כי פעל פעל בימיכם לא תאמינו כי יספר׃

1QpHab II:1–10

[1] יסופר. [ ][ ]פשר הדבר על [הבוגדים עם איש [2] הכזב כי לוא[האמינו בדברי]
מורה הצדקה מפיא [3] אל. ועל הבוג[דים בברית] החדשה כ[י]א [לו]א [4] האמינו
בברית אל [ויחללו] את ש[ם]קודשו[5] וכן

[7] פשר הדבר[על הבו]גדים לאחרית א [6] הימים. המה עריצ[י הבר]ית אשר לוא יאמינוא
בשומעם את כול הבא[ות על] הדור האחרון מפי [8] הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[ ]ה לפשור את
כול [9] דברי עבדיו הנביאים[אשר]בידם ספר אל את [10] כול הבאות על עמו וע[ ]

(3) Conclusion

To conclude: Hab 1:5 MT marks the beginning of a divine speech, the purpose of which is polyseme. In MT, the verse could either be interpreted as promise of salvation for the righteous or as proclamation of judgment against the wicked. This ambivalence is avoided in the LXX and in 1QpHab, where the addressees of the divine speech are identified with the traitors (οἱ καταφρονηταί, בוגדים) from Hab 1:13b, whose lack of faithfulness (לוא אמן) mirrors the description of the righteous in Hab 2:4b. The interconnections illustrate that the LXX and 1QpHab

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[29] In the extant text the literary heterogeneity manifests in the equation of the traitors in l. 5f with the transgressors from l. 3f. The phrase המה עריצ[י הבר]ית interrupts the mention of the traitors with the accusation of unfaithfulness. Its primary purpose seems to consist in identifying the traitors from the second pesher section with the transgression from the first pesher.

Another addition to the context may be seen in the mention of the priest, whose function here presupposes the context from 1QpHab VII:1–5, where the words of the prophets are revealed as containing divine secrets. Those secrets, the teacher of righteousness can unveil owing to participation in divine knowledge (VII:4f). The mention of the priest in col. II tacitly relies on this information, which is only made available to the reader in Col. VII. From a literary critical perspective the exclusion of the teacher is supported by a *Wiederaufnahme* of the phrase כול הבאות from l. 10 in l. 7. The *Wiederaufnahme* coincides with a shift in accentuation: While l. 10 refers כול הבאות to all of "his people", l. 7 restricts the circle of addressees to the "last generation".

interpret Hab 1:5 in view of the "finalized" text and thereby harmonize ambiguities that are perceptible within MT. The interpretation in the LXX and 1QpHab may thus offer us twofold insight regarding the genesis of the prophetic book: While the attempt of harmonization may indicate seams of literary growth, the inclusion of specific aspects from the broader context into the process of harmonization points us to accentuations that determine our reading perspective of the "finalized" text. In view of their programmatic influence on the overall prophetic message those accentuations may – in all likelihood – belong to late stages of the literary genesis.

While the LXX and 1QpHab compare in their interpretation of Hab 1:5, they differ in that the former constitutes a translation of the prophetic text, whereas the latter offers a "pesher" to Hab 1–2. From an etic perspective, this "pesher" adds new aspects to the prophetic lemmata. In view of tradition-historical considerations, however, the "pesher" is better described as disclosure of the hidden meaning inherent to the lemmata. Its hermeneutic strategy resembles ANE omen literature, where protasis and apodosis are often connected through different kinds of paronomasia. It thus figures, that 1QpHab II:5–10 resumes certain key aspects from the lemma, the hidden meaning of which the pesher unveils. In the latter days (לאחרית הימים, Hab 1:5 בימיכם), the traitors (בוגדים) will face divine judgment in view of their lacking faithfulness (לוֹא אמן) towards the divine prophecy. The interpretation of the lemma continues the prophecy into the lifetime of its authors, the latter days.

This re-contextualization of the lemma seems to have been supplemented by 1QpHab II:1–4, 5(only וכן). The passage reflects judgment of the traitors against the backdrop of certain past transgressions. In this regard, the function of the prophets as mouthpiece of god from l. 9f is transferred to the teacher. In contrast to the older context, the close relation between the human mediator and his deity no longer serves to emphasize the truthfulness of the prophecy, but rather aims to establish divine authority for the teacher. Disobedience towards the teacher is thus punishable by divine judgment. On a related note, unfaithfulness to the covenant as symbol of mediation between Israel and her god leads to exclusion from the elect. In nuce, 1QpHab II:1–4 is concerned with a definition of the true Israel as defined by faithfulness towards the legitimate institutions of divine mediation. In the broader context of 1QpHab the passage serves as a programmatic

superscription for the transgressions outlined in the individual pesher sections to Hab 1:6–2:20.

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▶ **Paper**

Defining Diaspora in the Book of Esther

➥ Respondent: Kristin Joachimsen

▶ **Abstract**

My current research project, 'Stories in a Strange Land', concerns biblical diaspora stories: How do the ancient texts envision religious life abroad? What strategies do they reflect for living in different worlds simultaneously without being at home in any of them? Focusing on four stories (Joseph, Esther, Daniel, and Tobit), I study issues of assimilation and preservation of religious identity.

This paper is my initial attempt to describe life in the diaspora according to the book of Esther. Kim D. Butler, in her article "Defining Diaspora" (2001), outlines five dimensions to detect and compare variant aspects of diasporic existence: 1. the conditions of the relocation (forced or voluntary), 2. relationships with the homeland (political, religious, imagined), 3. relationship with the hostlands (assimilation, cultural retention), 4. interrelationships within the diasporic communities (dependency, rivalry), and 5. comparative studies of different diasporas. By applying Butler's approach, the paper seeks to identity, isolate, and compare distinctive aspects of life in the diaspora as envisioned in the story about Esther and Mordechai in Susa.

▶ **Project Summary**

Stories in a Strange Land: Biblical Narratives about Assimilation and Religious Identity

From 2018 to 2021, I am working on a post-doctoral research project, supported by the Carlsberg Foundation. The title of the project is "Stories in a Strange Land: Biblical Narratives about Assimilation and Religious Identity".

Summary: Issues of migration and religious belonging were just as important in the ancient world as they are now. Several stories in the Bible reflect experiences of living among foreigners. How do the ancient texts envi- sion religious life abroad? What strategies do they reflect for living in different worlds simultaneously without being at home in any of them? My project analyzes four biblical stories about assimilation and preservation of religious identity (Joseph, Esther, Daniel, and Tobit). Mapping attitudes towards faith in foreign lands can shed light on the experiences of religious minorities today.

Project: My project focuses on four biblical narratives about Jews dwelling among foreign- ers. A common concern is how to live successfully in a foreign country. The central character in each of the stories provides an exemplary model that readers may copy and imitate. Yet the four stories offer extremely different visions of diasporic existence, presumably reflecting very diverse views within ancient Judaism. Joseph, banished by his brothers and sold into slavery in Egypt, soon rises to become co-regent with the Pharaoh. Receiving a local name and marrying into an important Egyptian family, he assimilates thoroughly into the culture of the host country. Esther, living at the Persian court in Susa, pleases the pagan king with her sensuous beauty. Exemplifying the dangers of living among foreigners, she courageously risks her life to prevent persecution of the Jews. Curiously, she consistently conceals her Jew- ish identity and shows no interest in preserving the basic practices of traditional faith. Daniel, by contrast, insists on preserving a certain dietary practice and praying daily in the direction of Jerusalem. While politically loyal to Babylonian rule, his refusal to eat food from the king's table and to worship a golden statue both threatens and assures his life. Tobit, an exile in Assyria, embodies the fate of an ordinary Jewish family. His intent to live in two worlds by taking part in society through trade while maintaining his strange lifestyle is ambivalent. By his radical fidelity to the traditional values of his ancestors, Tobit is socially isolated and must struggle to survive.

Research questions and method: My project has two key objectives:

1. A narratological study of the four biblical stories to describe their narrative technique, plot development, and setting and to compare the role and behavior of each of their cen- tral characters. Key question: What diasporic ideal does each of the figures embody?
2. A social-historical study that uncovers social structures and controversies behind the sto- ries and maps divergent attitudes towards the hostland, the homeland, and religious life abroad. Key question: What situations and circumstances do the literary representations reflect?

My hypothesis is that insights and methodology from the field of modern diaspora studies can help us to discover elements and patterns in the ancient texts which have remained unnoticed. To detect and compare variant aspects of diasporic existence, Kim D. Butler ("Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse" [2001]: 194-212) outlines five dimensions to such inquiries:

1. the conditions of the relocation (forced or voluntary),
2. relationship with the homeland (political, religious, imagined),
3. relationships with the hostlands (assimilation, cultural retention),
4. interrelationships within the diasporic communities (dependency, rivalry), and
5. comparative studies of different diasporas.

Butler's approach provides fruitful categories for identifying, isolating, and comparing dis- tinctive and shared features of the biblical stories.

▶ **Keywords** Biblical diaspora stories, Esther, assimilation, homeland relations, Jewish identity

Defining Diaspora in the Book of Esther

Frederik Poulsen, Copenhagen

I would like the discussion to focus on:
- Strengths and pitfalls of using Butler's model on the book of Esther.
- Homeland relations in Esther: Have I missed anything?
- Does my analysis present new observations that are worth digging into?
- How to precede from here: What should I focus on in my future work on Esther?

0. Introduction

Among biblical narratives about Jews in foreign lands, the book of Esther appears to be "the most diasporic of diasporic literature."[1] Two important studies in the 1970's proposed to approach the book as a "diaspora novella," that is, a distinct literary genre that portraits and interprets Jewish life, suggesting a certain style of life in a foreign environment.[2] Rather than simply to entertain, the story about Esther and Mordechai in Susa is meant "to teach Jews how to live a productive life in the Diaspora"[3] or "to inscribe Jewish cultural identity in the diaspora."[4] In continuation of these studies, this paper investigates the concept of diaspora in the book of Esther.

To shed light on these matters, it is of relevance to draw on methodological considerations from modern diaspora studies. Kim D. Butler, in her article "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse" from 2001, has developed an approach to detect and compare variant aspects of diasporic existence. There are three primary agents in the formation and development of diaspora communities: the homeland, the hostlands, and the diasporic group itself. Essential elements in understanding diaspora identity include the relation to the homeland, its values and the wish to return; the degree of assimilation into the host culture; and the consciousness or self-understanding that ties the group abroad together. Butler outlines five dimensions for identifying, isolating, and comparing distinctive and shared features of a single diaspora:[5]

1. Reasons for and conditions of the relocation (forced or voluntary).
2. Relationship with the homeland (political, religious, imagined).
3. Relationships with the hostlands (assimilation, cultural retention).
4. Interrelationships within the diasporic communities (dependency, rivalry).

[1] Halvorson-Taylor 2016: 499.
[2] Humphreys 1973; Meinhold 1976.
[3] White 1989: 164.
[4] Kuan 2000: 168.
[5] Butler 2001: 194-212.

[5. Comparative studies of different diasporas.]

By applying the first four categories of Butler's approach, I will examine the different aspects of living among foreigners in the story about Esther and Mordechai.[6]

Before turning to the analysis, I need to address two major issues. First, the book of Esther exists in more versions, including one in Hebrew and two in Greek. In this paper, I examine the MT version, but, occasionally, I refer to some of the important variants in the Septuagint version, which, by additions to the story, emphasizes God's active role in the events and the piety of Esther and Mordechai. Second, the book of Esther is primarily a fabulous piece of literature. Rather than an accurate report of social life in the Eastern diaspora, we encounter a story that has been shaped by the particular views of its author(s). Compared to other biblical stories, this is even more relevant in the case of Esther due to its parodic and farcical style. The descriptions of the local hosts and their habits, for instance, the lavish and indulgent feasts at the Persian court, are likely conscious caricatures that serve to define and uphold the distinctiveness of the diaspora community over against the culture of its hosts. At a later point, I need to consider carefully the significance of such exaggerations and misrepresentations for our ability to define diaspora in the book; here, however, I will simply attempt to follow the story as it is. The aim is to identify and list those aspects of the story that can help us to map diaspora concerns in the book of Esther.

1. Reasons for and conditions of the relocation

The reasons for living outside of the original homeland are remarkably downplayed in the book of Esther. Two minor passages, however, describe the background for Mordechai's residence in Susa (2:5-6) and the Jewish settlements in the provinces of the Persian Empire (3:8).

The initial presentation of Mordechai in 2:5-6 consists of a brief and dense list of information:

[5] Now there was a Jew in the citadel of Susa whose name was Mordecai son of Jair son of Shimei son of Kish, a Benjaminite [6] who had been carried way [הָגְלָה] from Jerusalem among the captives [הַגֹּלָה] carried away [הָגְלְתָה] with King Jeconiah of Judah, whom King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon had carried away [הֶגְלָה].

In this short passage, we hear about Mordechai's ethnicity as a Jew, his name, his family over three generations, his tribe, and, indirectly, about the background for his residence in Susa. The alleged

[6] Later, I shall compare this view of diaspora to those in the stories about Joseph, Daniel, and Tobit.

background is the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 597 BCE, the capture of King Jehoiachin, or Jeconiah, and the deportation of the city's elite (cf. 2 Kings 24:8-17; 1 Chron 36:9-10; Jer 27:20). A key word is the term "to carry away" (גלה). It is a technical term for the act of deportation, typically because of war. The repetition of the term, four times in total, emphasizes the traumatic experience of having been forced away from the ancestral land, from Jerusalem, as war prisoners.

Yet an essential question remains: *who* has been carried away? Is it Mordechai, or his great-grandfather Kish? In other words: to whom does the preposition "who" (אֲשֶׁר) at the opening of v. 6 refer? The majority of ancient and modern interpreters assume that it is Mordechai who has been deported from Jerusalem by the Babylonians.[7] This assumption, however, creates a chronological problem. If Mordechai was carried away in 597 BCE, and if the story takes place during the reign of King Ahasuerus, or Xerxes (486-467 BCE), Mordechai must be more than 100 years old! If so, it is difficult to imagine him as the cousin of the young virgin Esther (cf. 2:7). In order to escape this problem, recent commentaries point the literary character of the book as a comedy or farce, whose narrator does not care about historical inaccuracies.[8]

Nevertheless, other interpreters assume that it is Kish who has been carried away from Jerusalem.[9] There are different arguments in favour of this reading, for instance, that the chronology becomes more credible. For me, the point is that Mordechai, in contrast to his great-grandfather, did not experience the actual defeat and deportation from the land of his ancestors, but merely lives in a foreign land as a fourth-generation descendant. From a sociological perspective, every new generation in a diaspora faces new types of challenges.[10] The older members of the first generation of (forced) migrants must cope with the loss of their home and the longing to return, while the younger members of the first generation – the teenagers – more likely seek to settle down, to marry, and to have children. Members of the second generation are born and raised abroad, they learn the language of the hostland more naturally, are educated, and need to make decisions about the degree of assimilation into the host culture, for instance, by marrying locals. Members of the third generation are in the critical split between the land they and their parents were born in and the land that their grandparents left; they need to define their own "home", thereby justifying their choice to stay abroad. For the fourth generation, this is no longer a problem: the place you are born

[7] *References.*
[8] Levenson 1997: 57; Berlin 2001: 25; Fox 2001: 29.
[9] Gerlemann 1973: 77; Koller 2012: 53-56; cf. the NRSV.
[10] Ahn 2012: 203.

is where you feel at home, and it is completely out of sight to return to the homeland of your great-grandparents.[11]

As I will show, the image of Mordechai as a fourth-generation diaspora Jew corresponds much closer to the depiction of the homeland as a distant and almost non-existent place. Mordechai's home is in Susa. This fact also indicates that his parents (or grandparents) voluntary have chosen to stay abroad although they probably were given a chance to return to Judah (cf. the edict of King Cyrus [?]). It might be that the initial cause for the residence of his family was traumatic in terms of defeat and deportation, but to Mordechai these events are just as distant as the birth country of his great-grandfather. His home is in the diaspora.[12] The events of the past exist only as part of the history of his family, a shared memory which connects Mordechai to other diaspora Jews who have been spread across the Persian Empire.

Furthermore, it is striking that, in the book of Esther, the homeland does not constitute a geographical centre towards which the Jewish communities orient themselves. Rather, the scattering of the Jews is without apparent reference to any national centre.[13] A key statement occurs in Haman's words to King Ahasuerus: "There is a certain people scattered and separated among the peoples in all the provinces of your kingdom…" (3:8). Although the statement as a whole is coloured by Haman's lies and misrepresentation, the initial sentence renders a sober description of what seems to be a fact for the narrator. While the statement does not provide an originating event for the Jewish diaspora, it does offer a hint about negative circumstances in its depiction of the people as "scattered" (מְפֻזָּר). The term פזר, which means to "scatter" or "split," occurs only ten times in the Old Testament.[14] Two of these occurrences are of relevance to the verse in Esther, emphasizing the traumatic actions embedded in this verb. Jeremiah portrays the people's exile in Babylon in this way: "Israel is a *scattered* flock driven away by lions" (Jer 50:17); and Joel envisions that God, in his judgment of the world, will punish all the nations because "they have *scattered* [Israel] among the nations" (Joel 4:2). The designation of the Jews as a "scattered" people points backward to a shared experience of having been split up and spread out to the right and to the left in the giant Empire (e.g. Mordechai's family).[15] Nevertheless, for other Jews, as for Mordechai, this traumatic incident occurred generations ago and life abroad has become an accepted fact.

[11] Ahn 2012: 203: "Usually by the fourth generation there is complete and full assimilation and upward integration."
[12] Stern 2010: 48.
[13] Halvorson-Taylor 2016: 499.
[14] Esth 3:8; Pss 53:6; 89:11; 112:9; 141:7; 147:16; Prov 11:24; Jer 3:13; 50:17; Joel 4:2.
[15] Cf. my analysis of the trope of scattering in Isaiah; Poulsen 2019: 295-335.

The initial part of Haman's statement in 3:8 is also interesting because it highlights the Jews as a group of people that lives *among* the peoples *in* the provinces of the Persian Empire. The book of Esther frequently juxtaposes the words "people" (עָם) and "provinces" (מְדִינָה) (e.g. 1:22) and perhaps one should read the two words as a hendiadys, that is, "a geographical region that is congruent with a particular ethnic group."[16] If so, it might be of importance that the Jews, according to the book, are scattered in the provinces of the Empire and, apparently, nowhere live in their own distinct region. From a historical point of view, the homeland at the time of the story existed as a Persian province, Yehud, so does the book indirectly deny the existence – and thereby the enduring significance – of the homeland? In any case, the result is further emphasis on the status of the Jews as a people scattered across the entire world. The homeland does only exist as a vague memory, if at all. The geographical and cultural centre is no longer Jerusalem, but rather the Persian metropolis Susa. This city is the proper home of Mordechai and Esther and serves as the very centre for their contact and exchange with other Jewish communities to solve common challenges.

2. Relationship with the homeland

In the book of Esther, the relationship with the homeland and its culture is not defined by a specific geographical location and there are no intentions to return to the land of the ancestors. The physical homeland has almost receded from view. As we have seen, the only mentioning of Jerusalem and Judah occurs in the explanation for Mordechai's residence in Susa (2:6). Here, these place names serve merely as geographical locations in Palestine and are not object of any emotional longing; Jerusalem is just a city in Judah, not a holy and symbolically loaded place to which the people dream to return.[17] Rather, the "homeland" has been replace by a kind of shared culture, which to some extent derives from Judah but now manifests itself independently of this place. In other words, the relationship to the homeland is replaced by the relationship to other diaspora Jews who like Mordechai and Esther are tied together by a shared cultural identity.

This affiliation consists primarily of familial and ethnic links. In the introduction of Mordechai in 2:6, his ethnicity is listed before his family; he is "a Jew" (אִישׁ יְהוּדִי) and occurs throughout the book as "the Jew Mordechai" (מָרְדֳּכַי הַיְּהוּדִי).[18] Occasionally, Mordechai appears more as a type or ideal – *the Jew* in a foreign land – than an individual. His family over three generations are

[16] Berlin 2001: 20.
[17] Wetter 2015: 127.
[18] Esth 5:13; 6:10; 8:7; 9:29, 31; 10:3.

presented, and his relation to Esther is also one of family: she is the daughter of his uncle, that is, his cousin who after the loss of both parents is without a protector (2:7). Esther's identity is also portrayed in terms of family relationships, since she is the "daughter of Abihail" (2:15; 9:29; cf. 4:14). Similar language is used to describe the relationship among Jews across the Empire. At the final elevation of Mordechai at the end of the story, his "brothers" (אֶחָיו) admire him. He intercedes for the peace and welfare of all of his seed (זֶרַע; 10:3).

The characterisation of Mordechai and Esther reveals clear differences.[19] The male protagonist does not change at all during the course of the book; he is determined and steadfast throughout and acts consistently for the benefit of his compatriots. By contrast, the female protagonist is constantly changing and develops from being a passive girl to acting independently to ultimately taking responsibility for the fate of her people. The basic difference between the two is also present in their construal of Jewish identity. While Mordechai, as mentioned, appears consistently as *the Jew*, Esther is known as "Queen Esther" (e.g. 2:22; 9:29). Mordechai's identity as a Jew is publicly known (3:4; 5:13; 6:10, 13), while Esther must conceal her Jewish origin due to her cousin's commands (2:10, 20). Even at the climax of the narrative when she intercedes with Ahasuerus on behalf of her people, she hides her ethnicity (7:3-4); we must wait until 8:5-6 where it is made explicit to Ahasuerus – and readers – that she is speaking about the Jews.

As mentioned above, Haman's description of the Jews in 3:8 does not just refer to their dispersal but also to their alleged isolation (פרד in Pual), that is, that they are or have separated themselves from other groups in society. Haman continues: "their laws are different from those of every other people." This statement seems to be a half-lie and a half-truth. On the one hand, it certainly serves to misrepresent the Jews as a strange and unfriendly people that follow their own laws and refuse to assimilate. On the other hand, the statement is right in indicating some particular features shared by this group of people that enable one to distinguish them from all other peoples of the Empire. These features could include distinct religious traditions and cultural norms that determine Jewish identity.

A key question, however, concerns *the manner in which* the book of Esther defines Jewish identity. For as much as the book highlights the Jews as a clearly distinguished and coherent group, just as little does it actually describe the characteristics of this shared ethnicity. As often observed, the book contains few if any references to the Laws of Moses, to a pious orientation toward the Holy Land, to religious customs (dietary habits, circumcision, and Sabbath observance) or other

[19] Fox 2001: 185-211.

features that elsewhere characterize the life as a Jew among foreigners.[20] As an example, it is striking that although Mordecai's identity as a Jew is not a secret, he still needs to inform the servants at the king's gate about it (3:4) – otherwise they would never have guessed. Being a Jew is not something you can immediately see or tell; apparently, it does not involve a particular way of dressing, praying, or eating.

Nevertheless, there are some hints about certain elements that, according to the book of Esther, seem to be constitutive to Jewish identity:

First, Jews live abroad. As suggested above, Mordecai and other Jews in the Empire share the memory of the forced relocation of their ancestors from the original homeland. The presentation of Mordechai's family emphasizes this traumatic event by repeating the word "to carry away" (גלה) four times. While the physical homeland *per se* has ceased to connect the scattered Jews, the very *remembrance* of past displacement creates and preserves the cohesion among the diaspora communities. As Timothy Beal puts it, "To be Jewish, is in the book of Esther, to know exile as formative experience."[21]

Second, Jews speak a particular language. In the book as a whole, it seems to be a central idea that people who speak the same language constitute an ethnic group (cf. Gen 11). The edict following the Vashti affair in chapter 1 is sent out to every province in the Persian Empire "in its own script" (כִּכְתָבָהּ) and to every people "in its own language" (כִּלְשׁוֹנוֹ) (1:22; cf. 3:12). Ethnicity and language are interrelated. Once Esther and Mordechai have gained authority over the Empire, the Jews are explicitly recognized as one people among others, insofar as there is an addition to the standard phrase about the issuing of letters: "and also to the Jews in their script and their language" (8:9). Yet it is unclear what language this might be. Historically, the regime probably communicated with the Jews in Aramaic, Persian, and later Greek. That the narrator likely has Hebrew in mind shows that this language appears as "an ideal rather than a reality"[22] – an ideal that serves to depict a certain vision of Jewish identity. Esther's Hebrew name "Hadassah" (2:7) testifies to an awareness of preserving the linguistic traditions of the family and ancestral culture.

Third, another characteristic of Jewish identity may be derived from Mordechai's refusal to bow for Haman (3:1-6) which in the story forms the background for Haman's desire to annihilate the Jews. At the opening of chapter 3, Haman has been promoted to a leading position at court for

[20] Wetter 2015: 99: "If religion is present at all, it is fragmented, half-hidden, and has a highly *ad hoc* character."
[21] Cited in Wetter 2015: 127-128.
[22] Fox 2001: 230.

uncertain reasons and the king has commanded all his servants to bow down and do obeisance to him. Apparently, Mordechai refuses to do so *because* he is a Jew. In other words: as a Jew there is something that in this case prevents him from obeying the royal command. There are more options available:[23]

a) Mordechai, due to personal reasons, is envious of Haman because he has received the promotion that Mordechai deserved after the exposure of the plot against the king (2:21-23; see 6:3).
b) Haman wants to be worshiped as a god.
c) As a Jew, Mordechai can only bow down to God, not to foreign rulers and kings.[24]
d) It is Haman as such whom Mordechai refuses to bow down to.

Although religious concerns (options b and c) cannot be ruled out completely, option d is the most persuasive. So what is the problem with Haman? We find the key in the introductory presentation of him as an "Agagite" (3:1). Agag was king over the Amalekites back in the days of King Saul (1 Sam 15) and, in several instances, this people is portrayed as the arch enemy of Israel (e.g. Exod 17:8-16; Deut 25:17-19). The conflict between Mordechai and Haman likely emerges from their different genealogical origins and, as a Jew, Mordechai would never bow down to a descendant of King Agag. This explanation for the enmity between the two is of significance from the perspective of diaspora: Mordechai is a diaspora Jew, and Haman is a diaspora Agagite. Both of them live outside of the land of their ancestors; yet they *preserve* and *reproduce* the old conflict from back home. Even a new life in a foreign land cannot put an end to the inherited hostility. Bowing down to Haman, Mordecai would neglect his ethnic roots as a Jew. To be a Jew is to hate the Agagites.

Fourth, the ritual of fast in chapter 4 contains religious connotations. While the city of Susa is perplexed by Haman's edict about the annihilation of the Jewish citizens of the Empire (3:15), Mordechai, Esther, and the Jews in both Susa and the provinces respond by actively expressing their grief and complaint over the threat of destruction (4:1-3, 16). It is uncertain, however, whether the nature of their actions reflects a distinct Jewish practice. On the one hand, Mordechai's tearing off his clothes and walking around openly in sackcloth and ashes may be an expression of ordinary public protest. Furthermore, it is unclear whether his intense and bitter lament is addressed to God,

[23] Cf. Fox 2001: 43-45.
[24] Cf. Mordechai's statement in LXX, addition C: "I will not bow down to anyone but you, who are my Lord" (13:14).

the king, or the public as such. The fasting, weeping, and lamenting of the Jews in the provinces in v. 3 may also reflect a universal ritual of mourning, similar to the fast of the Assyrians in the book of Jonah (Jonah 3:3-10). Nevertheless, while the inhabitants of Nineveh explicitly address God, the book of Esther is strangely silent about a divine addressee.[25] On the other hand, if fasting as a universal religious practice is not directed towards a deity, whom else is it directed towards? However vague the reference to a Jewish ritual of fast is, it must be present. The implicit address to the Jewish God therefore serves to secure the cohesion among the fasting Jews in the Empire. Nevertheless, it is striking that Esther demands her maids, who seem to be non-Jews, to fast with her (4:16).

Fifth, the inauguration of the Purim festival is probably the closest we get to a distinct Jewish religio-cultural phenomenon. Regardless of the exact origin of the feast itself, the book of Esther portrays it as a unique Jewish festival: *all* Jews – present and future generations – must celebrate it (see below). One might even say that you are a Jew *if* you celebrate Purim.[26]

In sum, these elements – experience of dislocation, language, inherited enmity, fasting, and the Purim festival – seem to define Jewish identity according to the book of Esther. It is notable that Mordechai's faith concerns the survival of his people rather than a heavenly reality. Yet there might be a subtlety at stake in the statement that Esther *conceals* her Jewish identity (2:10, 20). Her Persian name "Esther" (אֶסְתֵּר) suggests a word play on the word "to hide" (סתר) and it remains unclear *how much* of her true self she reveals to readers.[27] As the story shows, her ability to manipulate and to play a certain role is unsurpassed.

3. The relationship to the hostland

What is the hostland like according to the book of Esther? Initially, one is surprised by the amusing caricature of the Persian court. King Ahasuerus is a completely ridiculous character. He is gluttonous, lazy, impulsive, and unpredictable. He rather delegates power to others than exercise it, and he is easily manipulated by the agendas of others, including those of counsellors, officials – and Queen Esther. Nevertheless, the introductory description in 1:1-8 actually portrays the court as an international and open-minded place, characterized by tolerance and generosity. The king invites all people present at the citadel to a grand party with abundant amounts of the royal wine. However, no

[25] Notice, however, the addition of these prayers in the LXX version; Addition C (13:8-14:19).
[26] Cf. Wetter 2015: 120: "Purim is presented as the central, and perhaps even the only holiday for the יהודים."
[27] Cf. Halvorson-Taylor 2012: 482: "[Esther's secret] results in a more ambiguous picture of Esther, because the extent of her secret is never revealed. Her secrecy about her identity in the MT leaves open the question of how she understood her identity and its obligations."

one is forced to drink because the host has instructed the officials of his palace to do as each of his guests desire (1:8). Accordingly, one can drink as much or little as one wants. This principle implies a rather liberal attitude towards the individual behaviour of the empire's citizens. Furthermore, the letters that are sent to all the royal provinces are written in a wide variety of languages, pointing to a respect for cultural diversity within the Empire (1:22; 3:12; 8:9). Finally, the opening of chapter 2 confirms this international outlook in a comical way insofar as, after the banishment of Vashti, the plan is to gather "all the beautiful young virgins" in the *entire* Empire so that the king can pick a new queen (2:1-4).

Given the dramatic plot, it is important to notice that Ahasuerus is not portrayed as an enemy. He is not anti-Jewish. In chapter 3, for instance, he is unaware that the edict about the persecution and annihilation of a certain people concerns the Jews. Furthermore, he honours Mordechai although he knows that he is a Jew (6:10). When Esther finally reveals her Jewish pedigree, her ethnicity does not seem to be a problem for him (8:7-8). Therefore, the hostland itself is not portrayed as being hostile towards its Jewish citizens; rather, the Jews experience solidarity and support both from people in Susa (3:15; 8:15) and the provinces (9:3). In the final scenes of the book, non-Jews even show a great interest in joining the Jews and become like them (8:17; 9:27). The enemies are rather specific individuals and groups within the Empire. In Susa, Haman is single out as "the enemy of the Jews" (צֹרֵר הַיְּהוּדִים; 3:10; 8:1; 9:10, 24; cf. 7:6). Across the Empire, the adversaries are referred to as "those who hate them" (שֹׂנְאֵיהֶם; 9:1) and "those who seek their ruin" (מְבַקְשֵׁי רָעָתָם; 9:2).

Nevertheless, the grotesque number of killed in chapter 9 – more than 75,000 – indicates that the number of enemies in the Empire is significant. Moreover, some observations suggest a more problematic relationship to the hostland. Even though the Persian court appears to be an open and tolerant place, its administration and legal system are puzzling, unpredictable, and dangerous: "Clearly, Jews cannot rely on such a state to ensure their existence, but must, like all other subjects, manipulate its power for their own ends."[28] In the end, the hostland is not able to protect its own citizens and the Jews must take responsiblity for overcoming the threat of annihilation.

With regard to the relationships of the main characters to their hostland, the depiction of their loyal attitude is striking.[29] According to the introductory description, Mordechai is in the citadel of Susa and sits at the king's gate (2:5, 19), that is, he has an important and trusted position at court. In his uncovering of the plot against the king, Mordechai appears far more loyal than the two Persian

[28] Fox 2001:177.
[29] Humphreys 1973: 215: "The tale does not permit any tension to develop between [the] double loyalty to the king and co-religionists; the actual benefit of each party coincides."

officials who attempt to initiate a rebellion against Ahasuerus (2:21-23). By his faithfulness to the king, he rightfully deserves the promotion at the court that culminates at the end of the book: Mordechai is "second to the king" (מִשְׁנֶה לַמֶּלֶךְ; 10:3). Esther shows similar loyalty to Hegai, the eunuch placed in charge of the royal harem, as she wins his favour by carefully following his instructions (2:9, 15).

The fundamental loyalty to the hostland reveals the lie in Haman's crucial statement that "they do not keep the king's laws" (אֶת־דָּתֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵינָם עֹשִׂים ; 3:8). It is certainly an ironical twist that the Jews' slaughtering of their enemies in chapter 9 actually occurs in full accordance with the Persian law! It is worth noticing that the main characters only go against the royal laws when they concern Haman and his edict: despite Ahasuerus' command Mordechai refuses to bow down to Haman (3:2; cf. 5:9) and despite his prohibition Esther goes to the king uninvited to prevent the evil plans of Haman (4:11; 5:1-2). The prayer of Esther for the life of herself and her people even contains a statement which indicates a general acceptance of Jewish life under a foreign regime: "If we had been sold merely as slaves, men and women, I would have held my peace" (7:4). While Esther's statement, in its present context, serves a rhetorical purpose in her attempt to manipulate Ahasuerus, it is possible to read it in this way: had the Jews just been allowed to remain loyal subjects of the Persian king, there would have been no problems.[30]

Compared to other biblical diaspora stories, Mordechai and Esther exhibit an astonishing willingness to adapt to the culture of their hostland. This willingness accords with their status as fourth-generation diaspora Jews and their apparently vague connections to the traditional values of their alleged homeland. Both of the characters have Persian names, while Esther initially also carries the Hebrew name Hadassah (2:7). The tradition of double names – a Hebrew and a local one – is also present in the stories of Joseph / Zaphenath-paneah (Gen 41:45) and Daniel / Belteshazzar (Dan 1:7). Like Joseph, Mordechai is honoured with the symbols of power of the host country: royal robes and a horse (6:8-11), the king's signet ring (8:2), and a splendid dress and a great golden crown (8:15). Esther marries a non-Jew – the Persian king – and, as queen, she wears the royal crown (2:17). If Mordechai was obliged to marry his orphan cousin according to Jewish customs, his apparent refusal to do so suggests another sign of neglecting ancestral traditions.[31] Furthermore, the shared meals of Mordechai and Esther with foreigners do not seem to be a problem. As a courtier, Mordechai takes part in the royal feast with wine and heavy drinking (1:5-8); Esther

[30] Berlin 2001: 67.
[31] Stern 2010: 48.

receives portions of food (מָנָה) from the court (2:9) and, at more occasions, she enjoys wine with Ahasuerus and Haman (5:4-8; 7:1-9).[32] At the end of the book, one can hardly distinguish the two Jewish protagonists from the Persians: just like them, they write letters, celebrate parties, and slaughter their enemies.

Nevertheless, there are certain elements that prevent a complete assimilation into the Persian culture. Mordechai is essentially "the Jew", however difficult it is to define specific features of this ethnic and/or religious classification. The character of Esther is more open to changes. It is possible that the beauty ritual in 2:12-14 where Esther is separated from her people and receives cosmetic treatment not only changes here bodily appearance but also her identity.[33] Cosmetics *blur*, so to speak, her ethnicity and turns her into a Persian stereotype. If so, an important purpose of the fasting ritual in 4:16 is to reverse this transformation by reminding Esther of her ethnic roots and by reuniting her with the Jewish community.[34]

4. Interrelationships within the diasporic communities

The relation between diaspora Jews occurs at two levels: the relationship between Mordechai and Esther and their relationship to the Jews in Susa and in the provinces, for instance, with regard to the Purim festival.

The relationship between Mordechai and Esther is described in a series of scenes and develops through the book as a whole. I chapter 2, the hierarchy between the two family members is very clear. Mordechai is the guardian; Esther is the young orphan who obeys her cousin and protector in everything, for instance, by concealing her Jewish origin (2:10, 20). After Esther has been brought to the harem at court, Mordechai daily seeks news about her welfare (2:11). The story thereby underlines the value of having a loyal alliance close to the centre of political power. It is noteworthy that Mordechai, by means of Esther, is able to communicate directly with Ahasuerus, thereby preventing the plans to murder the king and obtaining his goodwill (2:22).

Chapter 4, on the contrary, opens with a critical distance between the two protagonists. Mordechai knows about the imminent threat of annihilation; Esther does not. Mordechai is located

[32] For later Jewish reception of the book of Esther, shared meals with non-Jews were certainly a problem. Rabbinic sources emphasize that Mordechai and his friends did not participate in the feast at court in chapter 1 due to their loyalty to Jewish dietary laws (see Berlin 2001: 8). A similar attitude is present in the LXX version. In Esther's prayer in Addition C, she sincerely ensures God that "your servant has not eaten at Haman's table, and I have not honoured the king's feast or drunk the wine of libations" (14:17).
[33] Cf. Wetter 2015: 100-110.
[34] Wetter 2015: 107: "the fast can be read as an attempt at a (partial) reversal of the rituals that had severed Esther's ties with her people – the same 'people and descent' that she had denied for years."

on the open square of the city in front of the entrance of the king's gate; Esther is behind the walls of the palace, and contact between them must be conveyed through a messenger, the servant Hathach. First, Mordechai commands his cousin to go to the king and pray for her people. Yet Esther refuses to obey his command. Something has changed between them, because Esther has begun to think and act for herself. Apparently, she denies because she is afraid of losing her life. Therefore, Mordechai must seek to *convince* her about her duty to act on behalf of her people. His words might imply a criticism against diaspora Jews who avoid taking care of other Jews in need. Mordechai rhetorically asks whether Esther might have achieved "royal dignity" in order to save others (4:14). Finally, Esther takes responsibility for the situation and urges Mordechai to fast along with the Jews in Susa. Unlike chapter 2, Mordechai is now taking orders from Esther.

Nevertheless, in chapter 8, both protagonists appear as equal partners. Due to Esther's initiative, Mordechai obtains the position as vizier that is necessary to prevent the annihilation of the Jews. Esther, in her prayer to the king, now appears as a leader who feels a deep commitment for her people: "For how can I bear to see the calamity that is coming on my people? Or how can I bear to see the destruction of my kindred?" (8:6). Ahasuerus addresses both of them – Queen Esther and the Jew Mordechai – and gives them license to handle the situation as they please. This royal authorization serves to emphasize their leadership to other Jews.

Notably, the relationship between the two protagonists and other Jews in Susa and the provinces is portrayed as one between leaders and people. Mordechai's role as a representative of his people is already indicated in chapter 4. The Jews in the provinces follow his example by weeping and lamenting the imminent catastrophe (4:3), and, following Esther's orders, he gathers the Jews in Susa for a three day fast (4:16). In the final chapters, the family relatives fully take on the role as leaders, by instance, by issuing letters with instructions to the fellow Jews in the provinces. In the book of Esther, the Jews appear as a homogenous group which remains loyal to its leaders.[35] Although they are scattered across the entire Empire, they constitute a strong entity that, in the threat of destruction, is capable of organizing and mobilizing effective resistance. Self-confidence and self-awareness colour the description of the self-defence of the Jews and the slaughter of their enemies in chapter 9.

Several elements secure a strong solidarity among diaspora Jews. First, there is the awareness of being a particular group among other groups (cf. above). The claim about the Jewish community's extraordinary ability to survive is a central element in this group-awareness. In Mordechai's attempt

[35] Fox 2001: 212.

to persuade Esther to act on behalf of her people, he ensures that, even if she remains silent and passive, "relief and deliverance [רְוָח וְהַצָּלָה] will rise for the Jews from another quarter [מִמָּקוֹם אַחֵר]" (4:14). According to a traditional interpretation, this statement contains a vague reference to God who behind the stage shapes events in history.[36] More importantly, however, is the firm belief that in the end the Jews will survive. This special protection of the Jewish diaspora is also reflected in the reasoning by Zeresh, the wife of Haman, that if Mordechai is a Jew, there is no chance to defeat him (6:13).

Furthermore, the Purim festival is a means to maintain a close social bond between the Jews across the entire Empire: "These days should be remembered and kept throughout every generation, in every family, province, and city" (9:28). In the narrative, the establishment of the festival at first stresses the leadership of Mordechai and Esther. They are the ones who issue letters and official instructions, *enjoining* all the Jews in the provinces to celebrate annually the relief from their enemies. However, the reel purpose of the festival is to create and uphold a collective consciousness among those who celebrate it.[37] First, it renders a shared memory about the overcoming of the threat of extinction. Second, it facilitates social contact in terms of sharing joyful meals with wine, exchanging food, and supporting the poor with gifts. Third, the festival also contains a future-oriented perspective, insofar as it, as a permanent custom for present and future generations, will continue to create cohesion across the single Jewish communities.

The Purim festival along with the story about its invention is thus an essential element in the creation and upholding of a particular group-consciousness and solidarity among diaspora Jews. The end of the book of Esther highlights Mordechai as the ideal leader who, by means of his connections to the political centre of the hostland, ensures happiness and prosperity for his people (10:3). That this leadership, which fosters solidarity among the scattered Jews, emerges from Susa, and not from Jerusalem, accords with the remarkably insignificant role of the homeland in the interrelationship between the members of the diaspora.

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HEATHER
PILLETTE

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▶ **Paper**

The Characterization of Daughter Zion in Lamentations 1:1-22

➥ Respondent: Anne Katrin de Hemmer Gudme

▶ **Abstract**

The Book of Lamentations holds some of the most exquisite Hebrew poetry which creates a unique contrast to the horrific content described within its five poems. There are numerous subjects of interest to be discussed within these five poems, which range from the content, use of poetic devices, and theological messages. The question this paper seeks to address is the characterization of Daughter Zion and YHWH within the initial poem (Lam 1:1-22), and how the poetic devices of Lamentations 1 are being used to portray the relationship between Daughter Zion and YHWH. The methodology used will be a close reading of the text, paying attention to and noting the figurative language throughout as it lends itself toward the characterization of Daughter Zion and YHWH. Daughter Zion and YHWH appear to have a complex relationship with one another, as at times throughout the Old Testament YHWH is characterized as father, protector, and lover and Daughter Zion is conceived of as both daughter and mother as well as an unfaithful wife. Lamentations holds all of these former characterizations in tension in its background and carefully interweaves them while creating its own characterizations. Daughter Zion is the central subject of Lamentation 1 and she is portrayed as a widow, a grieving mother, a rape victim, and an abandoned city-woman. She is left desolate and despised, and while both she and the narrator admit her guilt, she is portrayed in such a way that evokes pity and questions whether or not her punishments exceed her crimes. This is the question that lingers and drives the tension in the relationship between Daughter Zion and YHWH, which will be explored throughout the five poems collectively.

▶ Project Summary

When YHWH Attacks: The Characterization of Daughter Zion in Lamentations and Her Response to Her "Enemies"

I have been extremely interested in Lamentations for about a decade now, and my curiosity with the text continues to grow. The Hebrew poetry of the book is exquisite, which I find to be a fascinating and unexpected element as the content of the book is at many points, horrific. Of particular interest to me, are the figures of Daughter Zion and of YHWH, and of their relationship to one another. The poems portray a relationship between the two that is most certainly on "rocky ground"; and although there are similarities to each of their descriptions in other parts of the HB, what is presented of their relationship in Lamentations is most certainly unique. One of the most curious aspects is that YHWH himself never speaks in the book, but is noticeably silent throughout, a topic I look forward to investigating further. Even more exciting to me is that Daughter Zion does have a voice, one which she uses well, particularly in Lam 1 – 2.

I have long been a lover of poems and literature and general, and am excited to see that the direction the field of biblical poetics is currently moving toward, specifically that of reading biblical poetry as "poetry" before (or alongside) reading the texts exegetically and theologically. The combination of this approach has the potential to yield much fruit. Other aspects I find intriguing with the book is its high literary polish and style, from its acrostics and imagery, to its limping lines and figurative language/poetic devices. I am especially intrigued by the themes of reversals, suffering, hope, and YHWH as enemy which are presented in the book in various aspects. For my PhD project, I am aiming at looking at each of the five poems in the book with the objective of identifying the personas, characters etc within, and then identifying their relationships to one another, if there are any to discover. In order to accomplish this, I will be paying careful attention to the figurative language, especially the metaphors, images, and allusions within, to further unpack the message "between the lines", so to speak. I will be employing various methodologies, but especially that of the close reading technique. I will also be engaging with feminist scholarship at various points of the text, in order to further examine some of the critiques of the content of the book (but notably the physical and sexual violence which Daughter

▶ **Keywords** Hebrew poetry, lament, Daughter Zion, figurative language, widow, mother, rape victim

The Characterization of Daughter Zion in Lamentations 1:1-22

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PAPER PRESENTED AT OTSEM CONFERENCE IN LONDON 2019

Preface

This paper seeks to address the characterization of Daughter Zion in Lamentations 1:1-22, and ultimately her relationship with YHWH and others in the five poems of Lamentations. This paper is very much a work in progress and is directly related to my current doctoral research. Lamentations has long been of keen interest to me, from the painful core content to the magnificent poetry which it encapsulates. These many points of interest and questions have led me to ultimately seek an answer to the following: how is Daughter Zion personified, and how is she characterized? How is YHWH portrayed, and how does the book showcase the relationship between Daughter Zion and others, especially YHWH? The methodology used for answering this question will be a close reading of the text, attention to various poetic devices, and analyzing the differences between personification and characterization.[1]

Points for Discussion:

- The literary usage of persona and character, particularly in biblical texts
- The theme of unending suffering, and lack of a comforter for Daughter Zion
- The recent movement toward reading biblical poetry as "poetry", with engagement of close readings (Dobbs-Allsopp, 2015; and Couey & James, 2018)
- The doubled meanings (layers of figurative and literal) within the poem, related to the personification of Daughter Zion as a city-woman

[1] By close reading, I mean the literary reading (and re-reading) of a text which pays careful attention to the lines, words, phrases, and images of the text; and then secondly, these readings result in an argument of its own extended from this reading. This process includes reading of the poem as a whole, and then re-reading and annotating the poem. Such a process aims to unearth the key words and phrases, specific images, unexpected or surprising anecdotes, attention to whom is speaking and when, as well as what allusions are being made with the imagery and phrasing. For a more thorough definition, justification, and written example, see Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, Intro and Ch. 5. My version of a close reading is limited due to word count constraints, but I have attempted in this essay to highlight strophe-by-strophe the context of the poem, the speakers, the images and their allusions, as well as the significance of these aspects. As this is a preliminary attempt at such a reading, it is imperfect and incomplete, and has much work left to be done. For a more in-depth study of close reading in biblical texts, see Couey and James, *Biblical Poetry*, 2018.

1. Introduction and Orientation to the Book of Lamentations

Lamentations 1 begins the lament poems of the book and is composed of sixty-six lines which are arranged in the acrostic structure via twenty-two even strophes, with the exception of v. 7.[2] The current scholarly consensus regards Lamentations as a work of high literary and poetic merit. The book is comparable to the psalms, but stands out from the psalms in content, structure, and language.[3] The opening poem does not hold to a logical thought-flow, but rather moves from image to image, collating thoughts as it describes the devastated state of the city-woman.[4] This

[2] While the rest of Lam 1 is composed of even strophes with six lines each, v. 7 has an additional two lines for a total of eight lines instead of six. Salters translates in such a way as to make v. 7 appear even with the rest of the poem, but in his comments he notes that there indeed is an extra line added here in the Hebrew text (Salters, *Lamentations*, 55). The scholarly consensus on this extra line is that it is a result of interpolation or later expansion. The various versions presuppose the line as extra material; even 4QLam is representative of enough of the wording as to safely conclude the 4QLam translation carried much the same bulk of words and lines here as does the MT (Salters, *Lamentations*, 55). Gordis and Freedman defend the four lines; Gordis (*The Song of Songs and Lamentations*, 154) argues against deletions on metric grounds as methodologically unsound; and Freedman (*Acrostics and Metrics in Hebrew Poetry*, 378-9) postulates that the vocabulary within the verse is characteristic of Lamentations and nothing can be deleted without affecting the significant theme which is the contrast of past glory and present misery. *BHK* and *BHS* suggest deleting line 2 so that the verse would then read: "Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and restlessness, when her people fell into the hands of her adversaries …". The sentiment here is that Jerusalem looks back bitterly on her time of affliction, which then forces the question: Is Jerusalem not presently distressed? It would seem as if she were presently distressed as the narrator has been describing her devastation and affliction, but the verse appears to read differently. As such, Albrektson (*Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations*, 62) prefers to delete line 3, "when her people fell into the hands of the foe, and there was no one to help her" (Lam 1:3).
Hillers argues that deleting either line still leaves an intelligible text, and as such the verse contains two variant, plausible, readings. While some see line 3 as a gloss on the first line, others choose to omit the phrase ימי...ומרודיה (as does 4QLam). Although Albrektson is right to point out this discussion is an age-old textual problem, Freedman makes a very interesting argument. Freedman notes that in 2:19 we see another four-line verse amidst the three-line strophes. While most delete line four of 2:19, Freedman argues that doing so is a violence unto the text. Instead, he states that as this same deviation occurs twice, once in each of these poems (Lam 1 and 2), that it is indicative of a deliberate device (Freedman, *Acrostics and Metrics in Hebrew Poetry*, 380). Salters does not rule out this possibility, adding that the metre is adhered to throughout and appears to be selected by the author as a poetic vehicle to convey his thoughts. This metre is characterized by an unbalanced line, which could be further signaled and stressed by adding another line where one does not expect. Freedman also draws attention to 4:15 which includes two lines that are longer than all the others in the poem. Although Salters concludes that line three of 1:7 is secondary and functions as an adverbial accusative phrase modifying ימי...ומרודיה and that it is an erroneous explanation and that the days of her affliction do indeed refer to her present suffering and not to a past time when she fell into the hands of her enemy (Salters, *Lamentations*, 56).

[3] Gottwald notes with particular zeal the Book of Lamentations stands alongside Psalm 119 in acrostic grandeur; but he notes Lamentations is composed of finer detail and poetic subtlety, which the psalm does not approach. Although Psalm 119 is itself architecturally grand, so too is Lamentations, with Gottwald describing the Lamentations acrostics as a grand cathedral, with "its unity broken in innumerable pleasing ways, never distracting but always contributing to the total impression" (Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, 23). Finally, he makes the point that the acrostic in Lamentations has 266 lines, which exceeds the psalms' by 90 lines, and quips that despite the difference in length, readers are not conscious of the longer Lamentations' lines, as they are painfully aware of the psalms'.

[4] Almost all commentators have made mention of this quick shift in imagery, and its difficulty in pinning down a neat and ordered structure. However, many commentators also often remark on the similarity of the images grouped together or the repetition of the language and verbs throughout. Few commentators structure the poem on the grammar and syntax alone, but some include such as a heavier weight in their division of speakers and context.

first poem largely focuses on the personified city of Jerusalem, and describes from her perspective, as well as a third party narrator's, the damage she has suffered. The opening formula of the particle איכה is repeated in three of the five poems (Lam 1, 2, and 4) and distinguishes a separation from the other chapters. There does not appear to be a closing formula of any kind in Lamentations 1, although the poem does close with an appeal to YHWH to punish the enemies of Jerusalem with the same punishments Jerusalem herself has received. While not a formal closing formula, these requests are repeated by personified Jerusalem throughout the book itself and may be considered as Daughter Zion's personal closing speech-request.

It is possible to classify the poem's genre as a communal city-dirge or communal lament, and to more broadly identify the poem as a lyric poem.[5] I have structured the poem by its speaking voices: 1:1-11a and 17 belong to the narrator, and 1:11b-16, and 18-22 are the voice of Daughter Zion.[6] The poem begins with a description of the city-woman, the personified Jerusalem, and describes her current state in such a way that it evokes pity, shame, and disgust. The poem then moves outward and away from the city-woman in content, bringing in the region of Judah, then the roads to Zion, and then finally, the enemies are mentioned. The impact of this horizontal-outward movement of the poem is dramatic and powerful: In Lam 1 the poem moves from an outward (third-person narrator view) to an inward (first-person Daughter Zion view); this movement is mirrored in Lamentations 2, wherein the flow of the poem is a vertical, heaven-to-earth movement. Together, the first two poems (Lam 1 - 2) describe the utter devastation and destruction from two different character-views, Daughter Zion and YHWH, and emphasize the totality of the destruction as complete even up to and including every cardinal direction. In accordance with this pattern, there is a distinctive psychological progression noted throughout the poem as the poem moves from a third-person, outside perspective toward an internal, first-person point-of-view.[7] As such, the destruction imagery will be discussed in this chapter as it relates to the characterization of Daughter Zion and YHWH, and then in turn to their relationship with one another.

2. Clarification of Terminology

One of the many characteristics of Hebrew Poetry is the use of imaginative and figurative language, as well as poetical diction set to provoke the reader.[8] Poetry is a work of art sourced from the creative imaginations of the poets who compose these works. The goal of poetry is not

[5] Westermann, *Lamentations*, 59-60. Lyric poetry is that which expresses personal emotions and feelings, and is often spoken in the first person. It typically has a musical rhythm and would have likely been accompanied with a lyre or another instrument in a performative setting (Dobbs-Allsopp, *On Biblical Poetry*, 178ff).

[6] While scholars have debated the structure of the text, most have followed the speakers voices in their own structuring: Berlin separates 1:1-11 and 12-22 (*Lamentations*, 48); Gordis follows a similar pattern: 1:1-11, 12-16, 18-22 (*Lamentations*, 129); Salters follows the same structure as Berlin, describing the voice of the narrator (1:1-11) as a TV reporter, and 12-22 as the in person interview of the victim (*Lamentations*, 31); and Parry composes a brilliant diagram showing the whole of the book, and notes the same pattern of narrator and Daughter Zion occurs in both Lam 1-2, and structures each poem accordingly (*Lamentations*, 17).

[7] Note that Hillers (*Lamentations*. 16); Berlin (*Lamentations*, 48); House (*Lamentations*, 365ff); and Salters (*Lamentations*, 31) have all made mention to a greater or lesser degree of this outward to inward movement and commentary on the suffering within the book.

[8] Meek, *The Structure of Hebrew Poetry*, 523. This of course does not exclude parallelism, rhythm, vocabulary, grammar and syntax (to name a few) which also distinguish Hebrew Poetry from prose. "

only to be aesthetically pleasing and creative, but to capture the "hearts" of the reader and to appeal to emotion.[9] The poetry of Lamentations is provocative, and evocative, as will be shown – but, when reading the poem, have we stopped to consider how the poet has achieved such ends? This is the question which positions our discussion as we consider the following terms which are regularly used in poetical discussions, but often without precision: *persona*, *characterization*, and *personification*. The following discussion will aim toward clarifying these terms and their use in Lamentations, in order to analyze how these categories function in the poetry of Lamentations 1.

Persona

In his 1974 article, William Lanahan analyzes the differentiated speaking voices in the Book of Lamentations.[10] His sole aim is to identify the speaking voice in Lamentations, as a matter of stylistic concern. In order to do so, he employs the literary criticism terminology of "persona", and defines it by a base definition, as the "mask, or *characterization*, assumed by the poet as the medium through which he perceives and gives expression to his world".[11] He goes on to make a point with which I wholly agree, that this persona should not be considered a work of fiction, but argues rather that the usage of such personae should be viewed as the creative procedure of the poet by which he is able to transcend the limitations of his single viewpoint and gain greater insight into the human experience.[12] This creative effect allows the poet to build a more powerful perception of the object or scenario he is describing. Lanahan continues onward to argue his view of five separate and discernible *personae* in the Book of Lamentations.[13] Lanahan views Lam 1-2 as a unit and identifies two voices within both poems: the voice of an "objective reporter", or narrator; and the voice of the city-woman herself. Citing the personified city-woman as a persona only highlights the other distinct persona present: that of the objective narrator.[14] Lanahan conflates terminology by identifying both the narrator and the personified Jerusalem as *personae*, then further adds to the confusion of literary terms by referencing both as characterizations.[15]

The terminology must here be nuanced, starting at the beginning. The idea of persona is one of ancient distinction, noted primarily in Plato and Aristotle. Persona is the device which occurred in between the parts of poems in which the poet speaks in his own voice and those characters which he has created are speaking. Derived from the Latin (*persona*), referring to the "mask of an actor", it is etymologically linked to the *dramatis personae*, or the cast of characters in a play or drama. It can be defined in a literary work as a voice, or an assumed role of a character, but should not be viewed as the character itself or the characterization of such figures.[16] Frequently,

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[9] Ibid., 523-4.
[10] Lanahan, *The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations*, pp. 41-9.
[11] Ibid., 41. Emphasis added.
[12] Lanahan, *The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations*, 41.
[13] Ibid., 41ff. The five personae he sees are as follows: Jerusalem and an objective reporter (Lam 1-2); a defeated soldier (Lam 3); a bourgeois (Lam 4); and the communal chorus (Lam 5).
[14] Ibid., 41.
[15] Ibid., 41-42. Lanahan states the obvious existence of a persona is the voice of the embodied and personified Jerusalem, and then adds that this personified voice leads the reader to become aware of the other voice in the poem, the narrator's (or in his terms, the objective reporter).
[16] Gudas, "Persona" *The New Princeton Encyclopedia for Poetry and Poetics*, 900-2.

the *dramatis personae* are identified with the writers, although at times the persona may be identified as another character or unknown narrator.[17] A persona is a representation of a character or figure by highlighting a particular aspect that is presented or perceived by others. Persona is synonymous with speaker, and is a common feature found in lyric poetry, the type of poetry to which the Book of Lamentations belongs. In lyrical poetry, the writer creates a persona, or speaker, in order to distinguish between the writer and the character(s) of the poem.[18]

Characterization

Characterization is an important topic, and is itself inextricably linked with character, so both will now be discussed. Character stems from the Greek (*charaktēr*) which signifies a stamp, mark, or characteristic and forms its basis in Greek drama. A character, at its most rudimentary definition, is a figure in literary work. This figure does not necessarily need to be human, although the majority of characters are. Indeed, characters can be non-human (such as an animal in a children's tale), or even a non-living entity (as long as the author characterizes them by attributing to them human traits).[19] A character is a descriptive analysis of a human virtue, vice, or other distinctive feature. Character was also considered a genre, and did not come to represent an individual personality until the mid-eighteenth century.[20] A character often presents a brief sketch of a familiar type: for example, "a busybody", or "a contemplative". Character becomes associated with type, and a person depicted as a character becomes associated with particularized and distinguishable traits. Aristotle linked such traits to the realm of morality, and subjugates character to the realm of plot. Aristotle's view of character was rather limited, reducing the definition of a character to that which reveals moral purposes through that which one chooses or avoids.[21] But characters are not merely made of choices, but are rather dynamic figures which emerge within their story, choices, emotions, and responses.[22] A character is a person in a novel, play, or poem who embodies and exercises mental and moral qualities distinctive to an individual. This differs from persona, which is only a mask or representation of the aspect of someone's character which is presented or perceived by others at the hand of the author. Characterization refers to the various ways in which an author depicts and develops the figures in

[17] Some modern critics have pushed back against the idea that a poem is a direct utterance of its author. Instead, modern critics have come to recommend that poems be read as autonomous works of verbal artwork, rather than set on a quest to answer the impossible questions of authorial intentions which belong instead to the world of authorial biography. See Gudas, "Persona", 900 fir further discussion. Lanahan too makes similar mention, as he notes that the voice of the "objective reporter" may very well be the voice of the poet, but admits this assessment is inadequate after reading the whole of the book (Lanahan, *The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations*, 41). Lanahan goes on to state that it is impossible to single out one voice as the author's, and that each of the distinct voices (the five personae) he views are each representative of a "sincere mode" of authentic expression by the poet (Lanahan, *The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations*, 41-2).

[18] The persona was initially associated with the writer in a literary work. Many modern critics insist that the speaker in any poem should be referred to as the persona, in order to avoid the unreliable assumption that the reader is listening to the "true voice" of the writer. For a further history on the development of the usage of persona in literary and biblical texts, see Holt, *Prophets as Persona*, 299-318.

[19] Murfin and Ray, "Character", 43-4.

[20] The genre of character traces its roots to Greek author Theophrastus (ca. 372 – 287 BCE); whose "characters" were more akin to a character type rather than an individual character. See Mikics, "Character", 53-4.

[21] Character has since carried the non-literary connotation of personality and morality (which is visible in the manner of which we speak of persons, as "good", or "bad" (e.g. "Jake is a shady character").

[22] Mimiks, "Character", 54.

a literary work.[23] When characterization occurs in poetry, it is often focused in a few lines or particularized with figurative language. For example, the writer may use a poignant metaphor, or a stark image, or even an action or setting from which the writer will expand in order to show the character's development. Lastly, just as character is intertwined with characterization, characterization is inextricably linked with plot. The characterization of figures is what drives a plot forward; and in order for a work to be believable the characters must be convincing. The reader must be able to visualize the characters, to sympathize with them when they face hardships, and to rejoice with them in their victories. It is the task of the author to then make their characters come alive; and it is the mystery and artistry of poetry which invites the reader to become an active participant. In order to bring to life a particular character, an author may directly characterize a figure by describing, presenting, or commenting on the character (as the narrator does in Lam 1:1-11b, 17); or indirectly by presenting characters through representations of their actions, statements, thoughts, feelings, motivations etc.[24]

In sum, although figure and character can be used interchangeably, I argue that persona is a more mask or covering, a representation of a character's perceived or presented aspect and can be viewed as a one-dimensional speaker. Characterization, in contrast, delves underneath the surface and reveals more of the character's person: their traits which form the basis for their actions, reactions, and conversations; encompassing their physicality and their physical embodiment; and their backstory and particularities. In sum, I will argue that the narrator (Lam 1:1-11b, 17) is indeed a persona, as Lanahan and others have argued, but will further nuance those notations by stating that this *persona* offers a characterization of Daughter Zion in the opening verses of Lamentations 1, and furthermore the personification of Daughter Zion is in some way also a characterization of herself. The writer has then utilized a disembodied persona, and an embodied, personified city-woman to characterize the backdrop of Lamentations and move the plot of the poems, and characters, forward.

Personification

Personification is perhaps one of, if not the, most well-known literary device related to Lamentations' poetical discussions. Personification is a manner of speech which endows nonhuman objects, abstractions, or creatures with life and human characteristics.[25] Personification is a nearly universal feature of written works, and in Greek rhetoric was given the name *prosōpopoeia* (from Gk *prospōn* ["face"] and *poiein* ["to make"]) by rhetoricians. Aristotle

[23] Murfin and Ray, "Character", 43. For a brief discussion on what constitutes a "flat" or "round" character, ideas which are still presently discussed today, see Forster, *Aspects of the Novel*, 43-82. In sum, flat characters are one-dimensional and are defined by a single idea or quality; whereas round characters have a robust, three-dimensional quality and the complexity of real people. In this sense, Daughter Zion can be considered a "round" character, as the complexity of her development has a real human attachment as she embodies her suffering.

[24] Ibid., 44. In the case that an author is using direct characterization, he is telling the reader about the character; and in the case of indirect characterization, the author is showing the reader who the character is by utilizing the character's own words, actions, beliefs, and motivations. In the case of Lamentations 1, the narrator is the first voice the reader encounters, and his subject is fixed on the city-woman as he *tells* the reader who she is and what has befallen her; but it is the latter half of the poem in which the author *shows* the reader just who this city-woman is by using her own voice, words, and suffering to image it all. When one looks at the poem in this manner, the suffering takes on a deeper level than before.

[25] Arthos and Brogan, "Personification", 902.

praised Homer for his creative way of speaking of inanimate things as though they were living, which in turn made those "things" far more vivid to the reader.[26] Personification is a form of symbolic action, which uses representations of human speech-acts to convey emotions, ideas, or strategies for addressing various situations.[27] Biblical examples of personification are frequent, ranging from a simple metaphor like "Let the fields be jubilant, and everything in them; let all the trees of the forest sing for joy" (Ps 96:12); to the extended metaphors which contain monologues, for example Lady Wisdom (Prov 1:20-33; 8:4-36) and of course, Daughter Zion (Lam 1:11b-16, 18-22; 2:20-22). In these aforementioned personifications, metaphor and characterization are joined in varying proportions to depict patterns of personal interaction. This use of figurative language invites the reader to engage more deeply with the characters as common objects and situations are infused with human characteristics. In personification, human emotions and virtues (or vices) also become actors, which aid in sharpening the focus between human motivation and interaction.[28]

Personification is a broad category, and can be categorized for this discussion into four different types.[29] Of the four types, two are of keen interest to this discussion: collective and characterized personification. These forms of personification sharpens the imagery and offers a fresh angle on the positive or negative quality of an aspect or situation described.[30] Collective personification is what Koptak has referred to as a type of personification in the HB which places particular emphasis on YHWH"s relationship with collective people groups. To illustrate his point, Koptak has referenced Lamentations, calling the personification of Jerusalem in the book the most developed example of collective personification.[31] He highlights that Jerusalem is personified in Lamentations in a variety of female roles, which is startling to the imagination of the reader and encourages a particular emotional response. However, the collective personification category, according to Koptak, is entirely centered on the relationship between YHWH and a particular group of people, which admittedly is a present feature of the book. Yet there could be more attention given to parsing out the details of such a collective voice in Lamentations, which was likely not possible for such a short entry. Although Koptak views collective personification as the prevalent type in Lamentations, there also appears to be a pervasive case for characterized personification. Characterized personification is marked by highly developed characterizations of personality and purpose.[32] Daughter Zion too is highly characterized in Lam 1 – 2, and carries deep symbolism and rich imagery regarding her former glory contrasted with her present state of suffering. Not only does the narrator characterize Daughter Zion with heavy and poignant

[26] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 3.10.6; 3.11.1-4. Another literary approach also finds personification wherever nonhuman entities are endowed with intelligence and/or speech; see Paxson, *The Poetics of Personification*, 63-81.
[27] Koptak, "Personification", 516-9.
[28] Koptak, "Personification", 516.
[29] The four types are inchoate (basic) personification; synecdochic personification; collective personification; and characterized personification. These types are based on the types listed in the *DOTW* entry on "personification" by P. E. Koptak (Koptak, "Personification", 516-8). Inchoate personification refers to the basic personification we are most familiar with; that is, those forms of personification which depict brief and simple attributions of human qualities onto inanimate objects or ideas. In synecdochic personification, representative parts of the body can stand for particular human thoughts, feelings, and/or actions. This representation can be witnessed in "the steadfast heart that leaps for joy" (Ps 28:7; 51:7); or the response of the narrator's own eyes and innards in Lam 2:11 ("my eyes were worn out from tears, my stomach churned, my liver-bile was spilled out…").
[30] Ibid., 517.
[31] Ibid., 517. Koptak also draws brief attention here to the idea that Lam 3 may be the personified voice of the exiles.
[32] Ibid., 518. Koptak uses Lady Wisdom and Lady Folly of Proverbs as his example for a highly stylized contrast.

descriptions of her state as a woman and a city, but Daughter Zion too characterizes herself in her own speeches.

Now that we have briefly engaged with what personification is and various types which exist in the world of BH poetry, it is time to more concretely contextualize personification to the world of Lamentations.[33] Throughout Lamentations, but notably in Lam 1, Jerusalem is personified as a woman. This personification is identified and accentuated by the genitive term *bat* [בת] when used in the expression *bat siyyôn* [בת–ציון] and similar expressions. This epithet occurs twenty times in Lamentations.[34] This particular expression (*Bat X*) is generally understood as an appositional genitive. It would be grammatically possible to translate such as "Daughter of Zion", however, the context makes clear that it is Zion who is being addressed, and is classified as a "daughter".[35]

Daughter Zion's personified female form in Lam 1 – 2 is noted for her fallen status in a series of heavy-handed reversals; and she suffers as only a woman can suffer.[36] It is significant that the author has engendered her as a female, as gender plays an important role in literary personification.[37] Maier's research on gendered and sacred space proves an enlightening read.[38] Maier engages with several feminist critics as well as spatial theories to better conceive of the personified Jerusalem. She notes that the literary device of personification attaches a female body to a place, and pays careful attention to the idea that a body is both a spatial concept as well as a persona category.[39] The city's female body had a significant effect on the development of Jerusalem's symbolism in the HB. The role that gender plays in personification is interesting for a variety of other related reasons. It has been commonly accepted that ancient Near Eastern cities were associated with the feminine, as such cities were closely connected to their female deities. However, greater attention to such matters have been undertaken by Mark E. Biddle, in his study of the figure of Jerusalem.[40] The HB regularly personifies Jerusalem/Zion as mother

[33] The question of the biblical image of the personified Jerusalem deserves more detailed attention, Schökel (*A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, 123), and Biddle ("The Figure of Lady Jerusalem", 174) have aptly noted.
[34] There are also sixteen occurrences in Jeremiah, and only approximately forty-five uses in the entire HB (Berlin, *Lamentations*, 10).
[35] Since Zion has no daughter, it cannot be Zion's daughter, but rather an epithet of "Daughter" who is "Zion". Or one could say these two words are in apposition. See also Berlin, *Lamentations*, 10; and Waltke and O'Connor, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 153, 226. To read more from the one who first suggested *bat* serve as titles for personified capital cities, see Fitzgerald, "*Btwlt* and *Bt* as Titles for Capital Cities", *CBQ*, 181ff.
[36] Berlin, *Lamentations*, 8-9.
[37] Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion*, 21.
[38] Ibid., esp. 27-8; 148-152.
[39] Ibid., 28. Furthermore, when personified, this unification of personal and spatial determine the relationship of the place to the people living within it.
[40] Biddle, "The Figure of Lady Jerusalem: Identification, Deification, and Personification of Cities in the Ancient Near East", *The Biblical Canon in Comparative Perspective*, 173ff. Biddle lays out an extensive argument comparing the personified city epithets between not only the WS and Hellenistic backgrounds, but also includes Mesopotamian sources to show that the "identification of the city with its chief deity as seen in the older Mesopotamian sources is related to the deification of cities known in later WS and Hellenistic sources" (Biddle, "The Figure of lady Jerusalem", 181). He argues that the city and its principal deity were integrally intertwined, and that Israel modified this ancient city-deity concept in sophisticated ways by drawing parallels and contrasts to the Mesopotamian, WS, and Hellenistic sources. When viewed against the backdrop of cities' identification with patron deities, or with the cities themselves deified through their patron relationships, the personification of such a city as Jerusalem becomes a theological statement, as well as a poetic one.

(Isa 66:8), daughter (2 Kgs 19:21), virgin (Isa 37:22), bride (Isa 62:3), menstruant (Lam 1), harlot (Jer 2:20) etc.[41] The personification of Daughter Zion/Jerusalem has been noted by scholars, a few who have taken it upon themselves to study the epithet in more detail. Fitzgerald inspects West Semitic evidence and demonstrates major cities were regarded as goddesses and spouses of their corresponding patron deities; concluding that the personification of Jerusalem in the HB conforms to this Western Semitic usage.[42] Follis, in contrast, argues the "daughter" epithet is rooted in a Hellenistic background of "divine daughter" and notes this "intimate image" occurs exclusively in the HB in poetic texts.[43] One of her most pertinent points is the notion that " 'Daughters' have been associated with stability, with the building up of society, with nurturing the community at its very heart and center."[44] This point is paramount when considering personified Daughter Zion in Lam 1-2, as she is depicted as the very embodiment opposing such ideals: her society and cultic center have crumbled (Lam 1:4, 10), her people have fallen (Lam 1:5, 7), her children perish in the city streets (Lam 2:11-12), and she is left grieving and powerless to oppose these reversals. The pain of loss is sharp, but made even more so when considering the communal role and identity of daughters, the very center of which is stripped mercilessly from Daughter Zion.

3. Text in Terms

The "Narrator" Persona in Lam 1:1-11b, 17

Lamentations 1 is entirely devoted to its star subject: Daughter Zion. The contents of this opening poem metaphorically characterize Daughter Zion as a desolate woman. It is noteworthy that though she and her experiences are of central focus, her voice is not the first to be heard.[45] The images of violence, especially in regard to women or the female figure, are especially prominent and difficult in the opening poems of Lamentations. Perhaps adding another layer of difficulty to some readers, is the initial male voice which the reader hears.

The narrator, (or speaker, or objective reporter), is the first to speak in the opening half. This narrator is a disembodied persona, as the poem gives no description or context for this person's physicality or spatial orientation, other than as an outward observer. This outside narrator reports on Daughter Zion's physicality, emotional state, and general description with a disinterested

[41] Many of these same images are directly presented in Lamentations, or at the least alluded to by various imagery. These images have been previously explained by Hosea's polemic against fertility cults, or as a poetic expression of the covenant ideal. Yet these explanations fall short: Hosea was unconcerned with the status of woman as wife, but with woman's unfaithfulness; and marital metaphors are not explicitly connected to the covenant traditions (which are rather associated with the community as a whole and the Davidic line). Many feminist readings have stressed the violent and exploitative nature of the feminine images of wayward daughter or virgin, but have glossed over entirely the associated positive images of mother, beloved, and distinguished. It is these positive images which show how stark and inexpressible the fallen state of Daughter Zion is in Lam 1, by use of the negative associated female imagery therein.

[42] Fitzgerald, "The Mythological Background for the Presentation of Jerusalem as a Queen and False Worship as Adultery in the OT", 404-5.

[43] Follis, "The Holy City as Daughter", 173-9. Follis points to the description of Athena and the application of the epithet *polis* to support her rooting the "Daughter Zion" epithet in Hellenistic traditions.

[44] Ibid., 177.

[45] This point has not gone unnoticed by feminist scholars.

tone.[46] Gina Hens-Piazza views this coolly detached description as a form of objectification.[47] While this may be the case, Hens-Piazza has not evidenced her reasoning, and so would perhaps be better to state this impartial narrator's description as a *characterization* of Daughter Zion, rather than an objectification.

The narrator is, after all, the one who introduces the character (Daughter Zion) with noticeable emergence.[48] The first half of his speech is devoted to describing Daughter Zion as both desolate, and defiled. She sits alone and abandoned (1:1a), she is likened to a widow, vulnerable and dejected (1:1b), and her former glory of royal and renowned worldly standing has been defiled by her current state of servitude (1:1c). This opening verse alone portrays a diverse description of the city-woman. The widow imagery is especially powerful. The widow is an archetypal image of affliction and desolation.[49] The widow is classed in extremely low social standing, which is expressed in the grouping the widow finds herself in, along with the orphan, and stranger in the HB. As marriage in the HB is linked with domestic fullness, widowhood is linked with loss and emptiness.[50] These opening verses set in course a series of reversals which contrast former states of glory, prosperity, and joy, with her present state of shame, servitude, and weeping. The city was once a successful mother, full of people (1:1a), a significant role for women in Hebrew society. Motherhood was considered the chief blessing for women in the HB, and a woman's ability to conceive and bear children was among her most powerful assets. The bittersweet reality of motherhood became the primary role of women in OT culture.[51] Sons were great blessings to their mothers as through the sons the mothers gained significance; daughters too were considered blessings as they would grow and aid in the communal aspects of society until they too became mothers with children of their own. However, this state of blessing is a former memory to Daughter Zion, as she sits alone, widowed, and empty not just of womb, but of riches, and spirit. The city's patron deity, YHWH, likened to her as a husband, has abandoned her, and is considered like a dead husband. Therefore, she is vulnerable, and this loss of social connection (in husband and children), in status (as a former queen), and her current state (forced laborer) elicit pity. The image of her sitting alone, beside her ruined city-state, evokes the city goddesses in the Mesopotamian laments, and begs the reader to imagine the city of stone and mudbrick turned to flesh and blood to cry out over her state.[52]

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[46] Initially, in Lam 1 the narrator speaks in a calm and factional demeanor, but then digresses in Lam 2 into a more emotionally involved spectator. However, one should take note of the opening exclamatory cry, "alas!" [איכה], which is almost more of a sound than a word; this is a cry of despair and horror which sets the tone of the poem. Despite the narrator's initial note of calm, it does not mean that he is entirely disinterested or dispassionate in the state and outcome of which he describes.

[47] Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations*, 3.

[48] The narrator does not actually name her until vv. 4, 6; although the context clues the reader to who is being discussed far before she is named and she herself speaks.

[49] Ryken, Wilhoit, and Longman III (eds), "Widow", 946.

[50] Although judgment, bereavement, and widowhood are often linked together in the prophetic texts, it should be noted that the widow image does not necessarily equate to judgment, as YHWH defends the cause of the widow (Deut 10:18; Ps 146:9), and Isaiah uses the metaphor positively to show YHWH's relief of the widows suffering (Isa 54:4-5). However, it becomes quickly apparent from the narrator's description and the voice of Daughter Zion herself that her case and situation is not one of the latter. She indeed suffers as a woman, and as a woman widowed, with all of the fullness and depth that metaphor encompasses.

[52] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, 55.

This narrator, then in the next stage of characterization, details the behavior of Daughter Zion. Where in the first stanza, the narrator gave a distanced description of the city-woman, he now takes the reader into a panoramic shot, beginning with a close-up. The narrator shows the city-woman sobbing bitterly, continually, and images her to the reader with her tears still flowing down her cheeks (1:2a). The narrator is quick to follow this image up by naming a central source of her suffering: that her suffering continues, without interruption or ceasing, and there is no comforter on her horizon (1:2b). She weeps alone in the night, when she is left with her misery. In the HB, weeping was an act a bit different than what may be expected: weeping was an auditory and purging response to grief and sorrow, to being wronged, or to having been wronged. This type of weeping act would be loudly vocalized, and would likely include facial contortions, shortness of breath consistent with sobbing, and feelings of angst.[53] Although one would expect friends and family to stand in support of her, the next strophe details that her friends and loved ones have also betrayed and abandoned her (1:2c). Their treachery is more painful than their indifference, and adds to the city-woman's grief and despair. In the next stanza, the narrator zooms out from Daughter Zion and reveals that Daughter Zion in part sits alone because her daughter city Judah, dwells in the midst of the nations (1:3).[54] The narrator names Daughter Zion for the first time in v. four, and in so doing calls attention to the cultic center of the city's identity. She is the Jerusalem cult, the center of worship, and the verse describes the broken state and disorder therein: her roads and empty and in mourning (1:4a); her gates are desolate since no one is coming through them (1:4b); and her priests and maidens grieve the loss of the temple and their respective roles (1:4c). YHWH is first brought up in v.5, and to him is credited this state of horror and suffering, as is Daughter Zion's sin of rebellion (1:5b). The narrator does not wish to emphasize her sin, but neither he does not seek to minimize or ignore it. Echoing Zion's children being carried off into exile (1:3), this verse ends with her children, highlighting the intimate bond between the city and her inhabitants. In sum, the narrator has characterized Daughter Zion as a brokenhearted mother, an abandoned widow, and a lost and exiled slave. This serves as the foundational image connected to his next characterizations of Daughter Zion in the following verses.

Immediately following the mention of Zion's young children being taken captive, the narrator then particularizes his description of those children: her princes (1:6). The splendor and glory that has departed from Zion (1:6) is in this case, her rulers. The ruling classes of her city have departed, and without them and the temple cult it is unlikely that the city will be able to regroup and rebuild anytime in the near future. Jerusalem is first named by the narrator in v. 7, and again she is personified as "she remembers" both her former glories, including her "precious things", and the recent past of when this wound was first inflicted.[55] Jerusalem is both of political significance as the City of David where the Davidic line and the seat of divine kingship were established, and as the place where Solomon brought Israel to its economic apex and built the temple, establishing YHWH's presence and protection over the city.[56] Adding insult to injury, the narrator continues to describe her state of shame as she is derided and mocked by her

[53] Ryken, Wilhoit, and Longman III (eds), "Weeping", 939.
[54] Judah is here also personified and given the epithet "Daughter Judah".
[55] Her former glories include but are not limited to: the stories of David and his line, her former riches, her children, her exquisitely built temple, or even the presence and protection of YHWH himself.
[56] Jerusalem's prominence in the imaginations of the Israelites rose to a place where YHWH's administrations of blessings and curses over Jerusalem was presumed and perceived to be extended to the whole of the nation (Isa 2:2; Amos 2:5; Mic 4:1).

enemies (1:7c).[57] The cause of Jerusalem's shame is her sin, which in turn causes her to be classified as the noun *nîdâ* [נידה].[58] She is now devalued and viewed as worthless, and here for the first time Daughter Zion interjects with a plea to YHWH to look and see her distress (1:8c).[59] The theme of shame is continued in the next two verses; in vv.9-10 the narrator depicts Daughter Zion as an abandoned and abused woman. Because the city of Jerusalem and her temple precinct are personified, it is possible to argue that Daughter Zion is shamed for her explicit sexual actions of her own accord, as well as those which were not. Dobbs-Allsopp links the actions expressed in v. 10 to that of rape: the enemy spread his hand over all her "precious things" ((1:10a); and the nations "entered" her temple (1:10b). While Mintz (and others) have linked this verse's imagery to that of rape and other forms of sexual violence, it is Dobbs-Allsopp who has taken the "body//Temple and genitals//Inner Sanctuary" correspondence and grounded them in the feature of personification.[60] The noun *mah a maddêhā* (מחמדיה) at its literal sense carries the meaning of pillaging the "precious things", or the temple treasures. However, it also carries sexual connotations (SoS 5:16), and as the personification of Jerusalem images the city-woman, these words then have double meaning reflective of both the literal sense of Babylonian destruction as well as the metaphorical sense of sexual assault and rape. Here, the enemy's "stretching of hands" "perverts the otherwise positive and healthy notion of sexual desirability denote by *mah a maddêh*, and thus gives the image a far more sinister and heinous coloring, that of a man physically assaulting a woman."[61]

The final image the narrator conjures of Daughter Zion is that of a starving, broken, beggar (1:11). Lastly, this narrator persona introduces the thought-processes of Daughter Zion, as she

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[57] Mocking and derision are common themes expressed in individual and communal laments. Honor and shame were dualities central to her society, and the derision she endures is often as bad as or worse than the reasons which caused it. Here, Daughter Zion's lament extends over not only her defeat, but also her shame and humiliation. She has been left to sit alone in her current state, after her children have been exiled away from her, and now she endures not only the narrator's second-hand description and characterization of herself and experiences, but also the mockery and gloating of her enemies. She is pitiable, indeed.

[58] This term occurs only in this verse, and may be indicative of the ritual uncleanness brought about by menstrual discharge or may be symbolizing the fact that her unclean and fallen state was as visible as a woman's menstruation. However, this is unlikely to be the case, as Berlin has noted that menstruation does not render a woman morally impure (Berlin, *Lamentations*, 54). It makes better sense to take instead the √*nûd* [נוד] following 4QLam, which can mean either "wanderer" or "to shake". For each of these options there are fair arguments. The LXX translates "wanderer" founded upon the idea that Jerusalem is exiled for her sin. However, as Parry points out, Jerusalem herself is not exiled, *her children are*, and she is left abandoned and alone to grieve (Parry, *Lamentations*, 50-1). In contrast to this view, Berlin elects to translate "Wanderer" on the basis that exile is a more likely punishment for sin than is derision (Berlin, *Lamentations*, 54). Parry instead opts toward translating "to shake", as it can refer to the mocking and shaking of the head in horror and insult. This fits with the context also of the preceding verse (Parry, *Lamentations*, 51).

[59] It is possible that the narrator is here quoting Daughter Zion, but it seems justified too that Daughter Zion would break her silence as her shame and distress come to a climax in these verses. She shows then that she has been a bystander to the narrator's assessment and characterization of her this entire time, and she does not yet engage with him or his statements, but instead directs her voice solely to YHWH.

[60] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Rape of Zion", 78. See also Mintz, "The Rhetoric of Lamentations", 3; and Kaiser, "Poet as Female Impersonator", 175. Others, such as Robin A. Parry, Adele Berlin, and Christl M. Maier also view in these phrases the doubled meaning of pillaging of the temple and raping and desecrating the female body.

[61] Dobbs-Allsopp, "The Rape of Zion", 78. Dobbs-Allsopp, Mintz, and Kaiser also argue that this image is further deepened by 1:8 with the association of "seeing her nakedness". Connected to the context of her sin, the view is that of the punishment of a harlot: where her skirts are lifted in public and her most private parts (genitalia) are exposed for all to see, and she is publicly shamed.

herself interrupts his methodical description of her state to interject in her own words. Again, Daughter Zion interjects with a plea for YHWH to see what has become of her, thus beginning her speech (1:11c). In sum, the narrator is a persona who functions in the first half of the poem to introduce and characterize the city-woman, Daughter Zion. He shows her to be an abandoned woman, a lonely widow, a fallen princess, and even an abused and battered rape victim. She is full of shame and humiliation, and mocked by her enemies and passers-by at every opportunity. Thus is the background information and characterization of Daughter Zion before her own speech begins.

Daughter Zion's Speech: Lam 1:11c-16, 18-22

Finally, Daughter Zion ceases her brief interjections and speaks fully with her own voice. In so doing, she adds greater descriptions of her state, as well as insights into her psychological and emotional responses; she thus characterizes herself in her speech. It is interesting that she does not seem to be directly speaking to anyone in particular; she sounds more as if she is addressing both everyone (e.g. passers-by, YHWH, the narrator) and at the same time no one, as she does not appear to be expecting a response. She hopes and longs for a response of comfort, but does not appear to believe she will receive it. Instead, her urgent plea for sympathy and comfort appears to be more of a rhetorical resounding. She does not take the time to correct or address the descriptions the narrator has already outlined; rather, she appears to accept them as she herself exposits them. Her central contrast to the narrator's extended discussion of her enemy's attack, she reveals YHWH himself is her perpetrator.[62]

Daughter Zion again directly appeals to YWHW to look and see her worthlessness, a state which has transpired in direct result of his actions (1:11c). Furthermore, Daughter Zion outlines YHWH's personal attack against her, recording three stages of his assault: first, he sends fire from on high deep into her bones and spreads a trap to ensnare her (1:13), from which there is no possible escape. The image of trapping occurs in the HB often and symbolizes both spiritual and physical peril. The accompanying imagery is usually snares, nets, and pits and is closely linked with hunting; often pits were set as traps with camouflaged nets to ensnare prey. Similarly, Mesopotamian kings described battles in terms of hunting scenes, and viewed their superior hunting skills as mastery over their inferior enemy armies after catching their enemy armies. The image of the trap is used to show dominion then of the one who casts the net over the one who is ensnared by it.[63] Secondly, he strings her transgressions together, in order to make a rope from which he then binds her; he holds her back so that she is unable to move but painfully aware of her sins (1:14). The combination of these consequences, the fire within her bones and the net which ensnares have caused her further shame, and a potential loss of hope. In his final act, he ensures all her warriors are trampled as in a winepress, and thus hands her directly over to her enemies, from whom there is no mercy (1:15).[64] Daughter Zion is clear in both her description of

[62] Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion*, 148.
[63] Ryken, Wilhoit, and Longman III, "Trap", 885.
[64] Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion*, 148. The winepress, when used metaphorically in the HB, is always a negative image. An invading army is compared to wine-treaders; and the grapes that enter the winepress are associated with destruction and judgment. YHWH himself is pictured as treading a winepress alone in his anger (Isa 63:3; see Ryken, Wilhoit, and Longman III, "Winepress", 954.

what has happened to her and by the hand who has dealt her such desolation and suffering. YHWH features in her speech as a military arsonist turned military hunter.

The phrase "the LORD in my midst" (1:15a) is quite telling of Daughter Zion's psychological state. This expression in times past would have indicated YHWH's dwelling with his people, and is blessing and protection over them. Zion now reverses the claim that YWHW's presence brings life, protection and blessing, as to her now it has brought suffering and death. Here, YHWH's presence now means her demise and destruction and the death or exile of her people. Now, YHWH calls an assembly of enemy soldiers against her.[65] Where there was once festival rejoicing and loud clamoring of the people, wine and food to share, there is no emptiness, a lack of food, and the wine has been turned into the blood of Daughter Judah ((1:4; 15). Daughter Zion's body becomes her script: her body expressed her situation as a victim of war: "her feet are fettered, her bones burning, she lies on her back, her neck feels like it is bound by ropes, her heart is overturned, her eyes are full of tears, and her spirits are low."[66] She is downtrodden and nearly crushed, and her hope is fading as she seeks comfort but finds none. This downward movement of her bodily decline parallels the devastation of her city walls and gates.

Daughter Zion finishes her speech recounting YHWH's assault and burning anger (vv.12-16), and then addresses the passers-by how she has reacted: weeping (1:2; 16) and crying out. She has been depicted as being in a state of weeping since the beginning, and even now her tears have not ceased. Her distraught state is entirely caused by YHWH's wrath and her suffering which appears to have no end. Worse is that she bears it alone, her children and people have been taken from her; and she continually seeks comfort that does not come. Perhaps her plight would be easier to bear if only she had someone alongside her to help carry the yoke. Here is the third cry for comfort and the third denial (1:2, 9, and 16). Yet this strophe also offers a faint glimmer of hope, as "her comforter is far from her" (Lam 1:16b); this indicates that her pleas may yet be answered and offers for the first time the possibility that comfort may yet reach her. Yet panning to the next stanza quickly dashes such hopes, as the narrator interjects and informs the reader and passers-by that though she stretches her arms and hands (Lam 1:17a) there is no comfort given. For the fourth time, the reader is informed that Daughter Zion continues to suffer alone. Moreover, rather than offering an inkling of comfort, YHWH that Jacob's neighbors become her enemies (1:17b).[67] The hostility with which the passers-by have treated her appears to have been organized by YHWH himself, so no matter how many tears Daughter Zion sheds, or how far she stretches her hands, or how much she proclaims her pain, comfort will not be given to her. Furthermore, she has become a ritually unclean woman, a menstruant, who is defiled and with whom any contact would defile (Lam 1:17c). This menstruating woman would be considered impure and would be alienated and unable to come into contact with the sacred; that she as a holy city has become defiled would negate her role as the dwelling place of YHWH.[68]

Daughter Zion's second speech is directed toward the nations, and her final speech to YHWH. For the first time, Daughter Zion declares YHWH's righteousness in his anger as a result of her rebellion. She uses herself as an example to the nations, as a warning, and makes no attempt to

[65] Parry, *Lamentations*, 59.
[66] Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion*, 149.
[67] Jacob here likely refers to the encompassing cities of all of Israel.
[68] Parry, *Lamentations*, 61.

deny her culpability (1:18). This is a rather curious and unexpected admittance from Daughter Zion, as the narrator has spent his speech delineating her pitiable state, and she herself has just recalled her suffering at YHWH's hands. So why then would Daughter Zion state YHWH's case as righteous? Dobbs-Allsopp posits an interested, and logical, answer: by shifting the focus back to her pain she is forming a declaration of YHWH's innocence, and thus appealing to YHWH in his role as righteous judge.[69] As a result, YHWH's punishment has been dealt, and deeply felt, and it is credited to him as righteousness, with the hope that an appeal to his justice may result in salvation. Next, Daughter Zion calls out to her lovers (1:19). Although it was not made explicit at the beginning of the poem (1:2, "all those who love her"), it is now apparent that Daughter Zion has engaged in some illicit affairs. The ptc. *me' ahabay* [מאהבי] in the *piel* refers to illicit lovers. Daughter Zion expresses the deceit of her lovers and their betrayal, before commenting of the priests and elders who yet remain. The office of priests and elders is a high civil position, with which is afforded greater protection against famine as their stations would have earned them provisions from the people. However, now they too are fending for themselves and dying of starvation, for the festivals and sacrifices have ceased and the city supplies have dwindled. Daughter Zion's expression of betrayal by her lovers affects not only her, but her people and children. Lastly, she raises her voice to YHWH, the one who has inflicted her wounds, and yet the only one she can seek for a reversal of her state.[70] Daughter Zion's psychological state and the impact of her trauma is again fronted: her bowls churn and her heart is overturned within her and she likens her state to death itself (1:20). This reinforces the picture of her extreme emotional distress as her core (stomach, womb, heart, and inner parts) are turned upside down from within her. She ends her speech with a prayer, seeking a like punishment for her enemy lovers.

4. Conclusions

In sum, the narrator functions as a one-dimensional speaker, or persona, who recounts the present state of Daughter Zion and in his descriptions, characterizes her before she herself speaks. The personified Daughter Zion is a full character, who presents her emotions and motives and reactions, and she interrupts the narrator to speak for herself; in so doing she reveals more aspects of her character. The images of Daughter Zion are multidimensional and layered over one another. The more the reader looks, the more the reader in effect shames Daughter Zion by seeing what should not be seen, and witnessing her humiliation without offering any comfort. Daughter Zion is presented as a widowed woman, an abandoned wife, a fallen princess, a bruised and battered woman, and as a rape victim. She is continually distraught and left weeping at her demise and destruction, and though she seeks a comforter she finds none. She reveals YHWH as her perpetrator, and yet calls him righteous, making no attempt to deny her own responsibility. Every aspect of her description and her speech invites pity, and she stands as the main character of the poem and book. Looking forward, it will be interesting to see how the narrator continues his portrayal and characterization of Daughter Zion, and his introductory characterization of YHWH in Lamentations 2, and in turn what such characterizations reveal about the relationships Daughter Zion has with herself, YHWH, and the "others" of the book.

[69] Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, 71. See also Ps 7:9, 11; Jer 20:12; Zeph 3:5; and Jer 12:1 as a close parallel.
[70] House notes here the wordplay on the nouns for "distress" and "adversary" as they look nearly identical, symbolizing perhaps that the foes and the pain are sometimes nearly identical (House, *Lamentations*, 363).

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Appendix

Translation: Lamentations 1:1-22

1:1 Alas, she sits alone,
The city once filled with people[71]*,*
She has become like a widow[72]*.*
Once great among the nations,
A princess among provinces;
She has become a forced laborer.

1:2 Bitterly she sobs at night,
with tears on her cheeks[73]*.*
There is no comforter for her
From among all who love her.
All her friends have betrayed her,
[all her friends] have become her enemies.

1:3 Judah was exiled after[74] *misery*
and much servitude;
She dwells among the nations,
Finds no resting place.
All her pursuers have trapped her
in narrow straits[75]*.*

1:4 Zion's roads are in mourning,
empty of festival pilgrims;
all her gates are desolate.
Her priests are groaning,
Her maidens are grieving
And she – it is bitter for her

---

[71] Although the word רבתי occurs twice in this verse, the first occurrence is a construct (רבתי–עמ) meaning "having much, many people", hence the translation of "filled".

[72] I have kept here the traditional rendering of the particle "like" for sake of consistency with the MT, however, I will be arguing in Chapter 2 that the כ in Lamentations is best understood as an equalizer. In other words, rather than being considered "like a widow" here, Daughter Zion should indeed be viewed as a widow. This argument will be made with Lam 2:4 and 5:3, and will note that 5:3 comes full cycle and once again describes Daughter Zion in the way in which she was described in the opening poem (Lam 1:1).

[73]The noun לחה in Hebrew is used to reference either the jawbone, or the cheek. It is used often in reference of the cheek of a man or woman, and figuratively for Jerusalem (See BDB, s.v. "לחה"). Although grammatically singular, cheek is understood as a collective.

[74] I am reading the מ preposition before עני and עבדה temporally (after), signifying Judah's movement from a bad state of misery and servitude to a worse state of exile.

[75] The Hebrew phrase בין המצרים is unparalleled and the exact sense is uncertain, but the literal reading would be "overtook her between the narrow places". A psalm from Qumran (1QH v 29) has paraphrased this sense and added "so I could not get away". (See Hillers, *Lamentations*, 7).

1:5 Her foes have become the master,
her enemies rest easy,
for the LORD made her suffer
for her many transgressions.
Her little children have gone away as captives
Before the foe.

1:6 Gone[76] *from Daughter Zion*
is all her splendor.
Her princes have become like stags
That find no pasture,
But go on exhausted
Before the pursuer.

1:7 Jerusalem remembers[77]
(in) the days of her misery and her trouble,
all her treasures of earlier days.
When her people fell into the hand of the foe,
And there was no one to help her,
Foes saw her, mocked her collapse.

1:8 Grievously has Jerusalem sinned,
therefore she has been banished.
All who respected her treat her as worthless,
For they have seen her nakedness.
Indeed, she herself groans,
And turns away.

1:9 Her impurity is in her skirts,
she had no regard for her future;
And she had come down amazingly low,
There was no one comforting her.
"Look LORD, upon my misery,
for the enemy is triumphant."

---

[76] The verb ויצא "has gone out" is act. (qal impf 3 ms) but BHS offers a pass. reading of the LXX, repointing the Hebrew as a pass. The Greek tradition is divided over ויצא; the Hexaplaric and the Lucianic tradition aligns with the MT translating εξηλθεν "is departed". Another translation offers εξηρθη "is taken"; it is unlikely this presupposes the Hebrew and may be either a scribal error for εξηλθεν, or a free translation to express that the beauty of the city "is departed" not by God, but rather he is the one who has taken it away.
Considering the מן בת the ketib is the more unusual orthography and is to be preferred. For further reading see R. Schäfer. *Biblia Hebraica Quinta Edition*. "General Introduction and Megilloth: Lamentations". Vol.18. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004.

[77] The phrase זָכְרָה יְרוּשָׁלַם The 4QLam has a textual variant for the opening of this verse, which was likely derived from the form זכרה `which allows two different interpretations (as a 3 f. sg. Pf or as an emphatic m. sg. Impv; I have followed the 3 f. sg. Pf).

1:10 The foe spread his hand
over all her treasures.
Indeed, she has seen the nations
Enter her temple,
Concerning whom You had commanded:
"They shall not enter your assembly."

1:11 All her people are groaning,
searching for bread,
they gave their treasures[78] for food
to sustain life.
Look, LORD, and see
What a beggar[79] I have become.

1:12 May it not happen to you, all you passersby
Look, See:
Is there any pain like my pain,
Which befell me
Which the LORD made me suffer
On the day of his anger?

---

[78] The noun MRhyé;døwmSjAm is translated typically as "precious things" or "desirable things"; I have translated treasures here as the noun carries the sense of pleasurable times or experiences. Adele Berlin (*Lamentations*, 46) translates similarly in 1:10-11, and 2:4, and adds the sense of "treasured memories" and "treasured moments" as it relates to the things that delight her (Daughter Zion). However, the form in v. 11 is different than v. 10, and the context of v. 11 lends itself more toward the material meaning of treasured items. However, some variations exist; the V uses the indefinite pronoun instead of the possessive, indicating all these precious things are to be given away or traded im commerce. The S holds a sg. which might express that each individual gives his/her most treasured possession and the sg. in the T is understood in a collective sense and fits with the meaning of the MT.

[79] The word זוללה is generally taken from the root זלל with the sense of "lacking value". The etymology of this particular word has been debated amongst scholars, with two primary interpretations rising to the top of the discussion. Some traditional Jewish exegetes have related this word to זולל "glutton", but this is a minority opinion as it does not best suit the context in Lamentations 1. The Targum renders the phrase הויתי נרנריתא "I have become a glutton"; and Ibn-Ezra cites the expression זולל וסבא translated widely as the phrase "gluttonous lush" (Dt. 21:20; Prov. 23:20-21). The central problem with these renderings is that a starving person cannot be a glutton, and no amount of verbal gymnastics can change that fact to strengthen this argument. For this reason, the majority of ancient and modern scholars translate from זלל "to be cheap, worthless" with carries a variety of denotations including זלזל "treat with disrespect". All of these derivations reflect the base meaning of worthlessness, which is also reflected in the LXX, V, Syriac, and many other scholars and biblical versions. V.A. Horowitz (*Zllh = Peddler/Tramp/Vagabond/*Beggar, 542ff) relates the Hebrew word זוללה to the Akkadian "*zilulu*" as it appears in "Advice to a Prince" and in the bilingual lexical text of Diri Vi (translated as "*sahhiru*" with the meaning of vagabond, peddler, beggar. In the texts "The Babylonian Theodicy" and "Advice to a Prince" *zilulu* can be translated as vagabond or peddler. Horowitz favors Diakanoff's (*A Babylonian Political Pamphlet from about 700 BC,* 347) rendition of "beggar". Both stories describe persons, either an heir or nobility, who have had their fortunes reversed and the once proud characters wander the city streets, peddling their possessions for food and sustenance. This is exactly the type of person Daughter Jerusalem describes herself as, thus lending credence to the word זוללה being a Hebrew form of this Akkadian word *sulilu*, with the translation "See O LORD, and look, for I have become a *beggar*".

1:13 From on high he sent fire into my bones,
and he brought it down[80]*.*
He spread a net for my feet,
He held me back
He made me desolate,
All day long languishing.

1:14 My yoke of transgressions was fashioned[81]*,*
with his hand they were entwined,
they mounted upon my neck,
it sapped my strength.
My LORD gave me into the hands
Of those I cannot withstand.

1:15 He trampled[82] *all my warriors,*
the LORD in my midst
He proclaimed against me a set time
To crush my youths
The LORD trod the winepress
Of Dear Maiden Judah

1:16 For these things do I sob,
my eyes, my eyes flow with water
For far from me is any comforter
Anyone to keep me alive
My children are desolate,
For the enemy has prevailed.

1:17 Zion spread out her hands,
there is no comforter for her.
The LORD has commanded for Jacob

---

[80] YHWH is the subject of all the verbs in this verse. The word וירדנה can be derived from the root רדה "to rule" or ירד "to descend"; the form in the MT indicates רדה (*yireddenna*) but many translations emend to *yoreddenna* "he caused it to come down". The 3p fs suffix seems to have no appropriate antecedent; Ibn-Ezra takes "fire" as the antecedent and understands the meaning as "God ruled over the fire", and Provan takes a similar view. Furthermore, Lamentations 2 features "fire from heaven" significantly, and it is clear there that God is the one who causes the fire and hurtles it downward to destroy Jerusalem.

[81] The word נשקד is a hapax-legomenon and there are various postulations; I follow Berlin, using a neutral term to indicate the action of a yoke being made for Daughter Jerusalem.

[82] The word סלה means "heap up", which is close to סלל "lift up, cast up". Hillers translates סלה literally and relates it to a harvest imagery; but סלל is often used in describing the earthen ramp in sieges which is formed by stomping down on earth around the city wall. It is more likely with the context that סלל was intended and what the Syriac seemed to have in mind with the rendering of כבש, which the Targum also translates.

That those around him are his foes
Jerusalem has become
A menstruating woman among them.[83]

1:18 The LORD is in the right,
for I have rebelled against his mouth.
Listen well, all you peoples,
And see my pain.
My maidens and my youths
Have gone into captivity.

1:19 I called to my lovers,
they deceived me.
My priests and elders
Expired in the city
As they searched for food
to sustain their life

1:20 See, LORD, how distressed I am,
my bowels churn,
My heart is turned over inside me,
How very bitter I am[84]
Outside the sword bereaved,
Inside – death.[85]

1:21 They heard that I was groaning,
"There is no comforter for me"
All my enemies who heard my distress
Rejoiced that you had caused it.

---

[83] The form נידה is likely a variant spelling; the LXX renders "*εις αποκαθημενην",* and the V "*quasi polluta menstruis*"; T לאתתא מרחקא and the Syriac "*ndt"* understand this as a reference to a menstruating woman. The f. noun נדת has the meaning "impurity" in reference to either ceremonial impurity (in particular, menstruation) or figuratively, to immorality. Gottwald, Westermann, and Gordis do not deny the links with menstruation but prefer to translate the term to mean something unclean and to be shunned.

[84] The phrase כי מרו מריתי is typically translated as "for I have indeed rebelled". However, C. L. Seow has argued the meaning to be "how very bitter I am" from the root מרר rather than מרי/מרה. This reading better fits the context of Daughter Jerusalem's protest and emotional expressions within the poem (See C. L. Seow, "A Textual Note on Lamentations 1:20", *CBQ* 47, 1985, pp. 416-419).

[85] Many interpreters find the כ troublesome. Salters (2010, 98) states the final line, מחוץ שכלה–חרב בבית כמות, to be reminiscent of the words in Deut 32:25 (sword outside, terror within); Ezek 7:15 (sword outside, plague and famine inside); and Jer 14:18 (sword outside, famine inside). Similarly, Hillers references lines from city lamentations over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur: "inside we die of famine, outside we are killed by the weapons of the Elamites" (*ANET*, 618, lines 403ff). Berlin (*Lamentations*, 46) aptly summarizes taking the phrase כמות "like death" as a weakening of the trope and a rendering which acts against the description of death inside and outside the city (i.e. something that is like death but not death itself is quite bad, but less forceful than death itself). For this reason, Gordis renders the כ as an asseverative, and argues it was clearly recognized as such by the medieval Jewish commentators (*Lamentations*, 159). Berlin and Gordis argue the best translation as "death" communicating that the actions and state of destruction outside the city parallels the destruction found inside (Berlin, *Lamentations*, 47; Gordis, *Lamentations*, 159).

O bring the day you proclaimed
And let them be like me.

1:22 Let their evildoing come before you,
and do to them
what you did to me
for all my transgressions
For many are my groans,
And my heart is languishing.

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▶ **Paper**

(Un)dressing rituals and (un)dressing metaphors in Zechariah 3:3–5 and Isaiah 3:16–26 (–4)

↪ Respondent: Jonathan Stökl

▶ **Abstract**

What do filthy clothes signify? What does a filthy robe represent and how does it relate to the body wearing it? The value of metaphorical language as interpretation and reception of purity regulations is easily overlooked. A filthy cloth can mean different things in different contexts, and impurity language in prophetic literature may or may not allude directly to an operative purity system. However, the significance of wearing clean clothes is repeated in the Hebrew Bible and in Qumran, and these regulations and the rituals they apply to seem to have produced conventional ideas and language about impurity. (Some of them are still efficient in religious language of today.)

The Hebrew Bible does not present one coherent purity system, but contains various regulations, as well as stories and imagery that evoke purity language. The latter is found relatively often in the prophetic literature, in particular within moral (and ritual) discourse. Ideas about purity, arguably affect language about ritual in the prophetic literature. Moreover, ideas about purity and ritual produce ideas about bodies. In this way purity language intersects with language about bodies and gender.

This paper examines prophetic literature that makes use of impurity language. Reading with an intersectional lens, I will focus on the intersection of gender and purity in moral discourse. As a case, this paper examines (un)dressing rituals and (un)dressing metaphors in Zech 3:3–5 and Isaiah 3:16–26. How are morality, ritual agency, and bodies represented in these texts?

▶ **Keywords** Impurity, prophetic literature, ritual

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"A man may not put on filthy clothes:" Impurity, clothing and ritual agency in the book of the twelve and beyond.

Abstract

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The value of metaphorical language as interpretation and reception of purity regulations is easily overlooked. A filthy cloth can mean different things in different contexts, and impurity language in prophetic literature may or may not allude directly to an operative purity system. However, the significance of wearing clean clothes is repeated in the Hebrew Bible and in Qumran, and these regulations and the rituals they apply to seem to have produced conventional ideas and language about impurity. (Some of them are still efficient in religious language of today.)

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(Un)dressing rituals and (un)dressing metaphors in Zech 3:3–5 and Isaiah 3:16–26 (–4)

This paper is part of my project "(Im)purity, clothing and ritual agency in prophetic literature and beyond." My overarching questions are: How do ideas about purity affect language about ritual in the prophetic literature? And how do ideas about purity and ritual produce ideas about bodies (in this literature and beyond)?

My method is to do historical exegesis with a lens![1] I have been particularly interested in purity language that intersects with bodies and gender. There has been done feministic studies on both impurity and prophetic metaphors. I want to do both, by looking at prophetic metaphors from an intersectional perspective. Where e.g. Oylan focuses on the intersection of

1. This approach is inspired from Anna Rebecca Solevåg's study *Negotiating the Disabled body* (Solevåg: 2018), where she uses a Disability Studies Lens (e.g. Illness and Eaglyness, Monster theory, Reading the body to reveal the soul, Body and land as topographies of Evil). See also Marianne Bjelland Kartzow on intersectionality in *Destabilizing the Margins, 2012.*

gender and purity in ritual and tolerated impurities (Oylan: 2019,160), my emphasis is on moral impurity, and sin-language. How is impurity embodied, and how does it reflect on the bodies described in the text?

Scholars of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran and New Testament have long been engaged with the interpretation of the purity system, its ideas and functions.[2] In the context of the Hebrew Bible, the Pentateuch (and more specifically Leviticus) presents various purity regulations. Where some scholars see a coherent purity system (e.g Milgrom), others have emphasised its complexity. Most influential is Jonathan Klawans,[3] which makes a clear distinction between two kinds of defilement: ritual and moral impurity.[4] Where ritual impurity results from e.g. contact with objects that are impure, and is only a temporarily defilement (Lev 11–15; Num 19), moral impurity, results from committing abominations that defile the sinner.[5] One can not recover from moral impurity without the intervention from Yahweh. I am mainly interested in how ideas about (im)purity are attested in the prophetic literature, in particular within moral discourse. It can be difficult to categorise the metaphorical language of the prophetic literature, and its value as reception of the purity system is easily overlooked. Klawans only mentions prophetic texts briefly in his book *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism (2000)*, and as examples of what he calls moral impurity (e.g. Ezek 36:17).

Using the term 'metaphorical' in association with impurity texts is not unproblematic, since it has been used to describe and categorise cases of impurity that is not related to ritual purity, such as Lev 18:24–25 (see the debate in Klawans, p. 32–36). I use the term metaphorical in a broad sense, to refer to all texts that use figurative language, and not in order to distinguish moral purity from ritual/real impurity. Jonathans Klawans distinction between ritual and moral impurity has proven to be effective, though there are still reasons to negotiate some of the sharp lines in his paradigm. One of these being the fact that moral impurity is related to bodily defilement, which again triggers the state of being ritual (and temporarily) impure.

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2. See e.g. Hanna K. Harrington, "Ritual Purity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. A.D. Roitman, L. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref, STDJ (Brill, 2011). See also Susan Haber and Adele Reinhartz, *'They Shall Purify Themselves': Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*, Atlanta: SBL, 2008.

3. The contribution of Klawans has been influential in the recent debate, and most scholars seem to accept his distinction, e.g. Elizabeth W. Goldstein, *Impurity and Gender in the Hebrew Bible* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 3–5; Mira Balberg, *Purity, Body, and Self in Early Rabbinic Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 129. In line with Klawans argument, Wassen underlines that impurity, as regulated in the Torah, is not a sin, and not something one would avoid, Cecilia Wassen, "The Jewishness of Jesus and Ritual Purity," *in Jewish Studies in the Nordic countries today* 27 (2016).

4. Latest in Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 53.

5. Ibid., 55.

E.g. Num 12,9–15. (Kazen 2010). One question that remains is: What does ritual purity has to do with ethics, and what does moral purity has to do with ritual practice?[6]

(Among other things) purity relates to rituals performed by human beings, and their bodies. According to Leviticus the priests must be holy: this implies their bodies, clothes and the way of living. When Haggai–Malachi criticise the priests of being impure, this has to do both with how they perform their rituals, and also their way of living. The idea 'purity' although is mainly associated with the temple and rituals performed there, though its general imagery and language appears to have a wider influence.

This paper is a test case for my project, and presents a first exegetical case study of Isaiah 3–4 and Zech 3. These are texts that make use of impurity language, and convey images of ritual purification. The two textual passages, the commissioning of Joshua (Zech 3:3–5), and the oracle against the daughters of Zion (Isaiah 3:16–26), describe people wearing clothes, and these being removed. Where the daughters of Zion wear fine clothes (מַחֲלָצוֹת), turbans (צָנִיף) and jewellery that are being stripped off (סור) by Yahweh, Joshua wears filthy clothes that are exchanged (סור) with festal robes (מַחֲלָצוֹת) and a clean turban (הַצָּנִיף הַטָּהוֹר). In both texts, the removal of filth, is performed by others than the individual themselves. The angel orders Joshua's filthy cloth to be stripped off (Zech 3:4), and Yahweh himself will wash away the filth of Zion's daughters (Isa 4:4).[7]

This is a preliminary analysis, and the paper can only provide some indications, and at best give directions, for my further research.

Human (Im)purity: More than Metaphors

In the Hebrew Bible, the state achieved by sinning is sometimes described as being filthy, or wearing a filthy rag. The "filth" may symbolise or represent a moral defilement, and thus be self inflicted (e.g Zech 3, Mal 3), or it can be an embodied consequence of Yahweh's punishment (e.g. Isa 3). In both cases, atonement and restoration is associated with purification and cleansing. The filth can be washed away, and a filthy cloth can be exchanged with a clean one.

6. Rogan Wil, "Purity in Early Judism: Current Issues and Questions" *Currents in Biblical Research* 16 (3), 320.

7. Note to self: See also Isa 52– restoration of Sion–dress in fine clothes! בִּגְדֵי תִפְאַרְתֵּךְ (Exod 28:2; Ezek 16:39; 23:26).

Jacob Neusner states that "purity and impurity are not hygienic categories,"[8] yet, sin and impurity are associated in the prophetic imagination. Both Zech 3:3–5 and Isaiah 3:16–26, at least in the context of Isa 1–4, can arguably be read as examples of this:

> "Wash yourself clean" (Isa 1:16) and
> "…. once the Lord has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst" (Isa 4:4).
>
> "Take off his filthy clothes." And to him he said, "See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel." (Zech 3:4)

The oracle against Zion's daughters are by most scholars read as a description of the women in Jerusalem (e.g. Kaiser, Watts and Roberts). Their humiliation, Yahweh's punishment, is a consequence of their behaviour, and their eschatological "purification" (4:4) describes Yahweh's future intervention. The vision in Zech 3:3–5 describes the commissioning of Joshua. Joshua is wearing a filthy rag. As a representative for the people, he wears his guilt. In the following I will examine these texts, Zechariah first, and then Isaiah. What does filthy clothes signify? How does it relate to the body wearing it?

A vision. The commissioning of Joshua the high priest

The commissioning of Joshua in Zech 3:3–5, the fourth out of eight visions, presents Joshua, wearing filthy clothes as he stands in front of an angel. The angel orders the removal of his filthy clothes, and says to Joshua: "See, I have taken your guilt (עֲוֹנֶךָ) away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel." Thus the festal apparel, by contrast, corresponds to his guilt. Joshua's filthy clothes, as a symbol of his "guilt," are now exchanged with festal robes (מַחֲלָצוֹת) and a clean turban (הַצָּנִיף הַטָּהוֹר). Zechariah has a concern for the priestly role, and the restoration of the high priestly office, and in light of the larger contexts, the removal of Joshuas guilt, also reflects the restoration of the people (Zech 3:9). According to Mark J. Boda, Zech 3:1–10 announces Yahweh's defence of Joshua (3:1–2) and shows how the restoration of his line provides hope for the removal of guilt from the nation as a whole (3:9).[9]

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8. Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism. The Haskell Lectures, 1972–1973* (Leiden, Brill, 1973), 1.

9. Boda generally sees influences from Jeremiah, and penitential themes, at least in Zechariah 7. Mark Boda, "Zechariah: Master Mason or Penitential Prophet?". Pages 49–69 in *Yahwism after the Exile: Perspectives on Israelite Religion in the Persian Era, Papers read at the first Meeting of the European Association for Biblical Studies, Utrecht, 6–9 August, 2000*, Edited by Albertz and Becking. Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2003.

הוֹשֻׁעַ הָיָה לָבֻשׁ בְּגָדִים צוֹאִים וְעֹמֵד לִפְנֵי הַמַּלְאָךְ׃
4 וַיַּעַן וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָעֹמְדִים לְפָנָיו לֵאמֹר הָסִירוּ הַבְּגָדִים הַצֹּאִים מֵעָלָיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו רְאֵה הֶעֱבַרְתִּי מֵעָלֶיךָ עֲוֹנֶךָ וְהַלְבֵּשׁ אֹתְךָ מַחֲלָצוֹת׃
5 וָאֹמַר יָשִׂימוּ צָנִיף טָהוֹר עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיָּשִׂימוּ הַצָּנִיף הַטָּהוֹר עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיַּלְבִּשֻׁהוּ בְּגָדִים וּמַלְאַךְ יְהוָה עֹמֵד

Now Joshua was dressed with filthy clothes as he stood before the angel. **4** The angel said to those who were standing before him, "Take off his filthy clothes." And to him he said, "See, I have taken your guilt away from you, and I will clothe you with festal apparel." **5** And I said, "Let them put a clean turban on his head." So they put a clean turban on his head and clothed him with the apparel; and the angel of the LORD was standing by (NRSV)

Zechariah generally does not appear to refer to the Pentateuch (at least its core visions, 1:7–6:15) (Collins 2017).[10] Although the dressing ritual in Zechariah evokes rules for the priestly office (On clothings Exod 28–29; Lev 9), and also (v3:9) ritual for the day of atonement (Lev 16,4), the passage does not allude to the Pentateuch as one might would expect.

The prescriptions concerning priesthood temple service demands cleansing and clean clothes (e.g. Exod 29; Lev 8:6–9, 16:4. See also Ezek 40–48). According to Lev 8, Aron and his sons are washed (רחצ) with water, then dressed, then anointed. There are also ritual for atoning sin (8:14). In Leviticus the sin is represented by the ox. Zechariah 3:4 does not have a concern for cleansing with water, but refers to the removal of "your guilt" (עונך), represented by the filthy clothes that are taken off. Joshua's filthy clothes are then exchanged with festal robes (מַחֲלָצוֹת) and a pure head garment (Zech 3:4–5). The term מחלצות is found only once elsewhere in HB, in the list of headgear that are taken from the daughters of Zion (Isa 3:22). There appears to be also another terminological parallel with Isaiah: Isa 4:4 (צאה). The term "filthy" צאי, repeated in Zech 3:3–4 is a hapax legomenon (צאי)– yet echoed (quoted?) in CD 11:3. Boda suggests that there might be an association with Isa 4:4 (צאה). (Boda:2017, 120–123). The lexical links between Zechariah and Isaiah might suggest that Zechariah alludes to Isaiah. Mark Boda argues that the reuse of Isaiah serves to remind the priest of former fall, and cast as shadow over the priestly investiture event (Boda:2017, 119).[11]

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10. John J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism. Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (California: University of California Press, 2017), 45. Cf. Collins suggest that Haggai refers to a priestly judgment, thus refuting e.g. Meyers note that Haggai 2 anticipates some form of the Pentateuch. See Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 1st ed. (Garden City: The Anchor Bible, 1987).

11. Traces of ideology of temple rebuilding in Achaemenid Judah. Key motifs in Haggai–Zechariah are Yahweh's return to Zion/Jerusalem and Yahweh's kingship. Bedford argues that Haggai and Zechariah draw especially on monarchical traditions and oracles against nations, and are influenced by historical experience of divine abandonment and loss of statehood. See Bedford, Peter R. *Temple Restoration early Achaemenid Judah*, SJSJ (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 261.

How does purity language work within this text? Clothes signal status. In the poetic language of the Hebrew Bible, clothes may also signals moral status. A fine cloth can signify a righteous person, e.g "I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my justice was like a robe and a turban" (Job 29:14) (Isa 61:10). Filthy clothes, on the other hand, can signify guilt (e.g Mal 2:16).[12] (See also Is. 64:6 "We have all become like one who is unclean, and all our righteous deeds are like a filthy cloth.") In this case, Joshuas clothes symbolises both moral status, and his profession (e.g. priestly dressing). (Cf. Exod 29:21– "both him and his clothes are holy.")

Ritual purity is a prerequisite for sacrifice, and the ritual purity of the high priest is clearly in view here. The festal robes (מַחֲלָצוֹת) and the pure head garment (Zech 3:4–5), which replaces the filthy clothes, signifies holiness. Ultimately, Joshua is honoured. According to Zech 6:9–14, Joshua will also receive a crown of silver and gold. Hence, the dressing ritual is both part of an atonement and a restoration act. The dressing ritual, at least in Zech 6, is also linked to the figure of *Zemah* (Zech 6:12), and the rebuilding of the temple.

The atonement of guilt (עון) is part of a ritual, the commissioning of Joshua the high priest, and ritual language relates to the metaphor "dirt is sin." (Grabbe speaks of a metaphor of ritual purity in the description of the high priest Joshua in Zech 3: "The priest suffers metaphorical impurity because of the exile."[13] The purity language found in Zechariah (Haggai and Malachi) does resemble previous prophets, such as Ezekiel 40–48.[14] Hence, the purity concern can be interpreted (intertextually) in light of the exilic prophets.)

In order to summarise: Ritual and moral purity appears to be in a blend here. The description of Joshua is prompted by the ritual, and imagery is taken from conventional metaphors about sin and purity. In the case of Joshua, there is less emphasis on the body, rather his identity and status is signalled by his clothings. In comparison, the iniquity of the land is represented another time as a woman in the ephah (Zech 5:6). Where Joshua's filthy cloth is exchanged with clean garment, the woman in the ephah jar is flown away.

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12. Cf. Isaiah 7 and the mouthpiece, Haggai pure hands.

13. On sacrificial system in Persian period, see Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, Library of Second Temple studies (London: T & T Clark International, 2004), 219.

14. See e.g the uncleanness of the nation (Ezek 39:24); concerning holy clothes (Ezek 42:14); Linen vestments (Ezek 44:17–19).

Isaiah 3:16–26 (4:3–4) The daughters of Zion

> The LORD said: Because the daughters of Zion are haughty and walk with outstretched necks, glancing wantonly with their eyes, mincing along as they go, tinkling with their feet; the Lord will afflict with scabs the heads of the daughters of Zion, and the LORD will [15]make the front of their heads bald.
> In that day the Lord will take away the finery of the anklets, the headbands, and the crescents; the pendants, the bracelets, and the scarfs; the headdresses, the armlets, the sashes, the perfume boxes, and the amulets; the signet rings and nose rings; the festal robes, the mantles, the cloaks, and the handbags; the garments of gauze, the linen garments, the turbans, and the veils. Instead of perfume there will be a stench; and instead of a sash, a rope; and instead of well-set hair, baldness; and instead of a rich robe, a binding of sackcloth; instead of beauty, shame. (NRSV 16–24)

Impurity as punishment

The oracle against the daughters of Zion (Isa 3:16–26) can be read as part of the larger sequence in Isaiah 1–5. It follows descriptions of Judas wickedness (2:6–12; 3:12), an announcement of judgment (3:13–14), and is followed by visions of future restoration (4:4).

Of special interest here, is the prediction: "the Lord will afflict with scabs the heads of the daughters of Zion" וְשִׂפַּח אֲדֹנָי קָדְקֹד בְּנוֹת צִיּוֹן. The term שׂפח (here וְשִׂפַּח piel perf.) "to cause scab," is not found in laws concerning skin diseases (e.g Lev 13), but it evokes Num 12, where Miriam is punished by a skin disease (צרע), and has to remain outside the camp for seven days (v 14). The humiliating punishment of Zion's daughters, first scabs on their heads and baldness, then removal of all jewellery and signs of their wealth, correspond with the reason for judgment: their pride (3:16). It is Yahweh whom will take off (סור) their glory (תפארת). The stripping of their clothes and jewellery is ultimately a disgrace: from perfume to stench; instead of a sash, a rope; instead of well-set hair, baldness; instead of a rich robe, a binding of sackcloth; instead of beauty, shame (v. 24)

The new state of the Zion's daughters is not explicitly described as being impure, but skin disease does render one impure (cf. Lev 13:11, Num 12. See also skin disease on the head in Lev 13:29). The stench (v. 24) (of the rotten skin?) also indicates impurity. Most explicit however, is the reference in 4:4, which declares that Yahweh shall wash away the filth of the daughters of Sion. Isa 4:4 appears to combine two motifs from Isa 1–4, first the encouragement to wash up their hands covered with blood (1:16), and also the description of

15. NRSV reads "lay bare their secret parts."

Zion's daughters (3:16). The combination of these two motifs creates a blend in Isa 4:4, which suggests that Sion's daughters represent more than the women of Jerusalem. Their filth, is associated with more than their pride, and one may associate with their wickedness– e.g. exploiting of the poor (Isa 3:14).

Who are the daughters of Zion (בְּנוֹת צִיּוֹן)?

In Isaiah 3–4 the construct phrase with the plural form בְּנוֹת צִיּוֹן is repeated twice in the first passage which describes there pride (3:16), and then their punishment (3:17), and then a third time their purification (4:4). Elsewhere in Isaiah, there is only the singular בת ציון (e.g Isa 1:8, 16:1).

The oracle resembles the oracles against the nations elsewhere in Isaiah (e.g. 47:1, Nahum 3), only the plural reference has made scholars read this as an oracle against the actual women in Jerusalem. On this note, Kaiser explains "From Jeremiah 4:30 we know that Israel women used make–up" (Otto Kaiser, 1972:48), and further: "It must be noted that the prophet is not attacking female beauty culture as such, but the pride of those who practise it, and who allow themselves to be led by their sensual desires (...)" Similarly, Watts does not seem to read this figuratively (Watts, 44). (See also Roberts in Hermeneia "This appears to be a general term for the society women of Jerusalem, young and old alike").[16] Clearly, the oracle describes women, and reflects gendered bias. Yet, according to my reading of the oracle and its the larger context, and more specifically Isa 4:3, indicate that this oracle is directed against all inhabitant of Jerusalem. The humiliation of Zion's daughters is in line with the repeated humiliation motifs in Isa 1–2 (cf. Isa 1:30, 2:9.11 and 17). The city Zion is conceptualised with feminine gender, corresponding to the noun עיר,[17] e.g Lam 1:28 "Jerusalem sinned grievously, so she has become a mockery; all who honoured her despise her, for they have seen her nakedness; she herself groans, and turns her face away." The basic metaphorical blend, the city is a woman, has here created a lower–level metaphorical blend– the inhabitants of the city are Sion's daughters (see Lundhaug on Idealized Cognitive Models (ICM):76). That the figurative language refers to the inhabitants of the city, and not solely its women, is supported larger context. (See the discussion in Kartveit 2013, pp 64, 71).[18]

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16. Roberts, J.J.M. *First Isaiah: A Commentary,* Hermeneia, Minneapolis: 2015, 60.

17. See Hanne Løland on cities and gender "In HB cities are often portrayed as personified women, mothers, virgins prostitutes, and so on." and "feminisation happens without mentioning the term" (Løland, 82).

18. On Zion/geographical name as nomen rectum, See Kartveit, *Rejoice!* 2013.

Verses 25–26, first remain within the metaphor, adding "your men" (v. 25) and "your gates" (v. 26), then ultimately concludes with the conventional Zion metaphor (cf. Lam).

Purification as atonement?

3 וְהָיָה הַנִּשְׁאָר בְּצִיּוֹן וְהַנּוֹתָר בִּירוּשָׁלִַם קָדוֹשׁ יֵאָמֶר לוֹ כָּל־הַכָּתוּב לַחַיִּים בִּירוּשָׁלִָם׃
4 אִם רָחַץ אֲדֹנָי אֶת צֹאַת בְּנוֹת־צִיּוֹן וְאֶת־דְּמֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם יָדִיחַ מִקִּרְבָּהּ בְּרוּחַ מִשְׁפָּט וּבְרוּחַ בָּעֶר׃

> **3** Whoever is left in Zion and remains in Jerusalem will be called holy, everyone who has been recorded for life in Jerusalem, **4** once the Lord has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning בָּעֶר.

What is "the filth" of Jerusalem's daughters, and what does this imagery imply? The specific terminology in Isa 4:4a, to wash (רחצ) away the filth (צוא), implies filthy bodies. The term filth (צוא) is associated with filthy clothes in Zech 3 and CD 11:3. Yet, the verb רחצ is generally used to denote the washing of feet and hands (Isa 1:16; 4:4; 28:8; 36:12; Prov 30:12), or the entire body (See e.g Ezek 16:9). The verb כבס is more often used to denote the washing of clothes and garments (c.f. Lev 14,8; Lev 15;5).[19] (Exceptions are Jer 2:2; 4:14). Thus the specific terminology evokes more than the description of Zion's daughters in Isa 3:16. It also includes the larger context, e.g Isaiah 1:15–16 which claims that "Your hands are full of blood (יְדֵיכֶם דָּמִים) and exhorts "wash yourself clean" (רַחֲצוּ הִזַּכּוּ). The gendered imagery, however, may imply female impurity, yet this is only implicit. The reference to אֶת צֹאַת is part of a parallelistic structure, which creates a larger blended imagery. The description of cleansing/purging in Isa 4:4 mentions first "the filth of the daughters of Zion," then "the bloodstains of Jerusalem." The reference to "blood stains of Jerusalem" may generally refer to war (jf Isa 9:5 "garments rolled in blood"), and is best read as a reference to the warriors 3:25. In this way Isa 4:4 summarises the larger passage both Isa 3:16–26.

The "purification" is performed by a spirit of judgment and burning. The term בָּעֶר "burning" (piel inf.) can be understood in the sense "remove" (cf. the vineyard passages Isa 3:13; 5:5), or purge evil out of your midst (e.g. Deut 22:22). There are also other references

19. In the Pentateuch the verb כבס is associated with the washing of garments. Note the used of כבס in the following texts: "But who can endure the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears? For he is like a refiner's fire and like fullers' soap כְּבֹרֵית מְכַבְּסִים" (Mal. 3:2), "Wash כבס me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin" (Ps 51:2) "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me כבס, and I shall be whiter than snow" (Ps 51:7). What images are conveyed by these metaphoric blends? Do the language imply that the subject purifies his/her body or garments?

to purification from impurity within the larger context (Isa 1–5). The imagery in Isa 1:18 implies filthy garments. Their sins (חטא) are like scarlet, and Yahweh will make them white as snow/woll (1:18). Note also the imagery where purification is recovered by heat/fire as in Isa 1:25, Yahweh will purge/rinse Jerusalem (צרף) (cf. Isa 48:10; Mal 3:2).

Disgracing and disabling women

Isaiah 3–4 conveys patriarchal ideology. In the larger context, the idolatry/harlotry motif (city is a whore) is found only once in Isa 1:21. In the oracle against Zion's daughters this is not in view, although the rhetorical strategy resembles it: The daughters are exposed and stripped of their pride and beauty (cf. Nineveh in Nah 3 and wife of Hosea in Hos 2:9–10,13). The descriptions may serve to arouse abasement and disgust– and encourage improved behaviour, such as exhorted in Isa 1:15–16.

Isaiah 3 must be read within the cultural rules that they function within (the cultural model). Evidently this implies ideas about the body. The ancient conception of normate/disability, intersects with ideas about purity and gender etc.[20] The stripping of fine jewellery, clothes, and even the hair, is not mere humiliation acts. The bodies will be inflicted with scab, and the stench implies rotting of the skin. The consequence of the sickness implied, is poverty and isolation. The reference to baldness and burning (v 24), may also imply enslavement.[21] Both scab and baldness are stigmatising, and the oracle functions as disability invective (Solevåg: 2018, 115). Similar kinds of oracles may serve to attack an adversary. Here it seems to act as a warning (cf. Isa 20).

The power of metaphorical language

The two passages (Zech 3 and Isaiah 3–4) are situated in different contexts, both literary and rhetorically, but in their own ways they do reflect conceptions of (im)purity. Both texts use images of ritual purification, and describe bodies and clothes within a world that relates to purity. In what sense do they reflect a purity-system, and what does these filthy clothes signify within this system?

20. Normate: "the constructed identity of those who, by way of the bodily configuration and cultural capital they assume, can step into a position of authoriry and wield the power it grants them" (Solevåg: 2019, 7).

21. The term 'burning' is lacking in LXX; and Isaa (DSS) reads כי not as a noun, rather "instead of beauty, shame cf. NRSV (Watts: 1985, 44) (cf. Isa 43:2, Prov 6:28).

There have been different ways to understand how texts such as these reflect a purity system. As already noted, Klawans makes a clear distinction between two kinds of defilement: moral and ritual impurity.[22] This distinction between ritual and moral purity, is partly triggered and developed in opposition to those arguing that moral purity is to be regarded as metaphorical or figurative, and thus secondary.[23] This does not mean that Klawans does not categorise some passages, as "figurative in nature." Klawans does not comment upon Zechariah, but he sees Isaiah 1:15–17 as an example where language of ritual purity and purification is used metaphorically to illustrate righteousness or atonement, "the image of ritual purification serves to illustrate the atonement for which the prophet is calling" (2000: 35). Hence, prophetic texts which criticise the cult, and make use of metaphors related to purity (e.g. Hos 5:3, 6:10; Ezek 36:17), fall outside of Klawans' analytic system.[24]).

As a metaphor, Zechariah may attest to how ideas about purity was conveyed in the Persian period, in how it affects the description of Joshua and the ritual of his commissioning as high priest. Isaiah reflect an earlier notion of purity. The oracle's description of impurity as punishment, and purification as atonement, also reflect a symbolic system, formed by rituals (Mary Douglas).[25] There is no reason to suspect that purity, as a symbolic system, is unable of change. Hence, the prophetic literature may reflect competing ideas. However, in both Zech 3 and Isaiah 3, ritual and moral purity seems to be associated (not necessarily conflated!).

Recent theories on metaphors (cognitive science) suggest that blended metaphors may be projected back onto the source (e.g blend: If a sinner (target space) is associated with someone (ritually or morally) impure (source space), the blended meaning is that the sinner is in fact impure. These projections are especially relevant when notions of impurity intersect with gender. Elizabeth W. Goldstein shows how prophetic rhetoric both create and substantiate a negative relationship between the menstruating body and the God of Israel. The term *ndh*, a menstruating woman, even becomes synonymous with being impure (cf. Ezra 9:11; Zech 13:1).[26] A similar argument can be raised concerning the feminisation of Israels enemies (c.f. Nahum 3:5–6), and also Jerusalem's inhabitants in the oracles against Zion's daughters.

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22. Latest in Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and the Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 53.

23. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 32–34, 41.

24. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 36.

25. *"Rituals form symbolic systems that not only articulate ideas, but serves to enforce them*"

26. Goldstein, E., *Impurity and Gender*, 2.

Summary/Conclusion

Initially, I asked the questions: What does filthy clothes signify, and how does it relate to the body wearing it? (I also asked asked: How are conceptualisations of human (im)purity are interrelated with the (ritual and) moral status?)

First of all, both texts associate impurity with Israel's iniquity. Where the filthy clothes that Joshua is wearing represent Israel's former sin which led to the exile, Zion's daughters filthy clothes represent their punishment: humiliation and loss of privilege. Chronologically, one could say that Zechariah remembers what Isaiah anticipates. The two "scenes" describes both undressing and re-dressing. In Isaiah there is humiliation and punishment, and Yahweh is stripping and inflicting their bare heads with skin disease. In Zechariah the angel of Yahweh commands those who stood in front of him, to remove the filthy clothes, and dress him with a turban and clean clothes. The ritual serves to atone guilt, and prepare Joshua for his positions as high priest.

The two conceptualisations of human (im)purity differs on several points. Neither of the two passages mentions the impurity (טָמֵא) of the people (cf. Haggai 2:14), but both texts describe embodied (im)purity and "guilt" manifested as filth on bodies or clothes. Where the oracle in Isaiah uses impurity imagery to describe anticipated punishments, the vision in Zechariah uses impurity imagery to describes Joshua and his people's moral status. Moreover, where the impurity of Zion's daughters is associated with baldness and skin disease, and fine clothes exchanged with rags, Joshua's moral and ritual status only involves his body.

This very brief analysis does not give enough data to say something generally about gender and embodied impurity. Yet, the prophetic imagination is guided by gender roles. Women suffer embodied impurity, whereas Joshua wears a filthy robe. Where Joshua receives a clean garment as a sign of ritual purity, Zion's daughter's are washed.

The two textual cases does not quote purity regulations from the Pentateuch. Neither Isaiah nor Zechariah presuppose the Pentateuch as we know it, but both texts reflect some notion of (im)purity as found within e.g. Leviticus.[27] Both texts regard the uncleanness as a state that needs resolution and intervention from Yahweh.[28] The purity language found in the

27. According to Jacob Milgrom, bodily impurities focus on four phenomena: death, blood, semen, scale disease, see *Leviticus 1–16. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* New York: Anchor, Doubleday, 1991, 1002. See also "The Impurity System" in ibid., 641.

28. Dirt, or uncleanness is a matter out of place. Defilement occurs only in view of a systematic ordering of ideas. see Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, Routledge classics (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 44, 51.

prophetic literature both confirm and reformulate cultural ideas about gender and bodies. In this way they do reflect a purity system.

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▶ **Paper**

Old Greek Isaiah 53: A Paraenetic Message Regarding a Collective Servant?

➥ Respondent: Paul Joyce

▶ **Abstract**

The paper suggests that the Old Greek (OG) translator of Isaiah interprets the servant of Isaiah 52:13–53:12 (Isaiah 53) collectively, and Isaiah 53 paraenetically, addressing his audience of diaspora Jews in Egypt. This suggestion is based on two main observations. First, in Isaiah 53, the two occurrences of עַבְדִּי are translated by παῖς μου and δουλεύων. עבד occurs 40 times in the Masoretic tradition (MT) of Isaiah. The translator uses seven different words to translate it. The paper first studies these translations in the other chapters of Isaiah. The study shows that the translator clearly distinguishes the words he uses, and deliberately chooses his translations according to context. In Isaiah 42–52, the translator in addition consistently employs singular/plural and personal pronouns (none, μου, (é)autou), often against MT, in order to differentiate the designated individuals or groups and to convey a specific interpretation. Consequently, the paper suggests that the two different translations in Isaiah 53 are relevant. They are chosen deliberately, in line with their use elsewhere in OG Isaiah, in order to convey a specific interpretation. Second, compared with MT, OG creates and strengthens textual links between Isaiah 53 and Isaiah 1 and 6. Based on these, the translator interprets the sickness of God's servant in Isaiah 53 as the collective's sinfulness. Consequently, God punishes the servant by exile, but promises his blessings if the servant ceases to sin. This is followed up by an exhortation to the audience to offer sacrifices and to serve well as foreign slaves, for which in return God's blessings are promised. The paper then suggests that this interpretation of Isaiah 53 is motivated by the historical context, the Jewish community's need for self-preservation in the Hellenistic diaspora. The servant is presented as a token of identification for the community, followed by an exhortation to identify with the community through the traditional ritual of sacrifice, and to preserve the community by retaining the Egyptian's favour through servicing them well.

▶ **Project Summary**

Early Reception History of Isaiah 53: Mutual Relations of Text and Contexts

The project was originally conceived as a study of receptions of Isaiah 52:13–53:12 (Isaiah 53) up to 160 AD, focusing on how context (that is, historical, geographical, cultural, sociological, ideological, economic, and linguistic factors) influenced the reception, and on how this context in turn was influenced by the reception. Work on the project so far indicates that the project needs to be drastically delimited, probably to studying only the Old Greek translation of Isaiah 53. Work so far has also shown that this necessitates a thorough study of Old Greek's interpretations of most other עֶבֶד passages, to the point that this study may become the main focus of the project.

▶ **Key words** Septuagint, Isaiah, Isaiah 53

Old Greek Isaiah 53: A Paraenetic Message Regarding a Collective Servant?

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1 Introduction

The paper suggests that the translator of Old Greek (OG) Isaiah interprets the servant of Isa 52:13–53:12 (Isaiah 53 for short) collectively, and the chapter paraenetically, addressing his audience, the Jewish diaspora in Egypt.

This suggestion is based on two main observations. First, in Isaiah 53, the two occurrences of עַבְדִּי are translated by παῖς μου and δουλεύων. עֶבֶד occurs 40 times in the Masoretic tradition (MT) of Isaiah. The translator uses seven different words to translate it. Section 2 studies these translations in Isaiah 1–40 and 54–66. The study shows that the translator clearly distinguishes the words he uses, and deliberately and consistently chooses his translations according to context. Section 3 shows that in Isaiah 41–51, the translator in addition consistently employs singular/plural and personal pronouns (none, μου, (ἑ)αὐτοῦ), often against MT, in order to differentiate the designated individuals or groups and to convey a specific interpretation. Consequently, the paper suggests that the two different translations in Isaiah 53 are relevant. They are chosen deliberately, in line with their use elsewhere in OG Isaiah, in order to convey a specific interpretation.

Second, Section 4 shows that compared with MT, OG creates and strengthens textual links between Isaiah 53 and Isaiah 1 and 6.

Section 5 suggests that based on these links to Isaiah 1 and 6, the translator interpreted the servant's sickness in Isaiah 53 as the collective's sinfulness. Consequently, God punishes the servant by exile, but promises his blessings if the servant ceases to sin. This is followed up by an exhortation to the audience to offer sacrifices and to serve well as foreign slaves, for which in return God's blessings are promised. The paper then suggests that this interpretation of Isaiah 53 is motivated by the historical context, the Jewish community's need for self-preservation in the Hellenistic diaspora. The servant is presented as a token of identification for the community, followed by an exhortation to identify with the community through the traditional ritual of sacrifice, and to preserve the community by retaining the Egyptian's favour through servicing them well.

Section 6 concludes the paper.

1.1 Points for Discussion

I am aware that the paper is quite compressed. At the time of suggesting the title, I did not anticipate that the word studies would become that extensive. I am also aware that the following is missing:

- A discussion of previous works. In general, they focus on the identity of the servant in OG Isaiah 53, without taking the context of OG Isaiah into account. An exception is van der Kooij (2018), who discusses some of the translations of עֶבֶד in OG Isaiah.
- Thorough textcritical studies. For the time being and unless otherwise noted, I assume that the Vorlage sufficiently resembles MT/1QIs^{a}. I rely on the Göttingen edition of Isaiah (Ziegler 1939) for OG Isaiah, and on the edition by Rahlfs and Hanhart (2006) for other OG books.
- A discussion of the textual basis for word studies. If not indicated otherwise, only OG Isaiah itself and OG Pentateuch are considered.

I especially appreciate feedback on the content. Is the line of arguing clear and coherent? Are the specific points well argued? Where are weaknesses?

1.2 Preliminaries

All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. Statements about content that do not explicitly refer to either MT or OG, refer to both, implying that there are no significant differences between the two versions.

2 Translations of עֶבֶד in Isaiah 1–40 and 54–65

עֶבֶד occurs 40 times in MT Isaiah, 20 times translated by παῖς, and else by six other words. The following sections study the translations outside of chapters 41–53. They argue that the translator clearly distinguishes the words he uses, and deliberately chooses his translations according to context.

2.1 Δοῦλος and Cognates

In classical Greek, δοῦλος and cognates generally refer to slavery, but also to voluntarily submission under an external entity such as τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις (Plato, Leg III 698b), or πρεσβυτέρσιν (Leg III 701b), or ἡδονῇ (Plato, Ep 8 354e–355a). Rengstorf (1935, 265) deems any positively valued use of δοῦλος and cognates an exception of the rule that the Greek only rejected and despised any service even remotely resembling the service of a δοῦλος. However, Plato (Ep 8 354e) states that both slavery and freedom in excess are utterly evil (πάγκακον), but in moderation absolutely good (πανάγαθον). Since Plato can

deem δουλεία to be πανάγαθα, rather than the word group carrying a negative connotation with positive exceptions, the word group seems to refer neutrally to heteronomy, with a positive or negative evaluation depending on who or what is served. The heteronomic aspect of δοῦλος is further evident from its opposite, which is not the master, but the free man: το μέν γάρ δοῦλον, οἱ δ' ἐλεύθεροι (Euripides, Iph Aul 1400f), οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος (Gal 3:28).

In OG, the word group is similarly used for positive or negative heteronomy, for obeying God, or foreign lords or Gods, respectively. In Ex 23:33 and Deut 28:64 all of Israel is addressed, indicating that δουλεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς designates a general rather than a specific service. NETS' renderings of δοῦλοι κυρίου (Isa 56:6) as "slaves of the Lord" and of κυρίῳ δουλεύειν as "being subject to the Lord" (Isa 56:6, 65:8–13) carry a connotation of being forced. However, the relationship is voluntarily (Isa 56:6). Muraoka (2009, s.v. "δουλεύω") translates δουλεύειν as "to perform the duties incumbent upon oneself dutifully and obediently." The heteronomic and voluntarily aspects of δουλεύειν τοῖς θεοῖς and δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ are maybe best conveyed by "obey the Gods," and "obeyers of God," designating those who adhere to their/his commandments.

Most occurrences of the word group in OG Isaiah can clearly be partitioned into two distinct groups:

- involuntary slaves of foreign nations (negative)
  - 14:2 captives of other people becoming Israel's δούλοι
  - 14:3 Israel served (ἐδούλευσας) these other people in slavery (δουλεία).
  - 19:23 the Egyptians will serve as the Assyrian's slaves (δουλεύσουσιν) as their captives of war.
  - 45:14 Sabeans becoming Israel's δοῦλοι, "bound by handcuffs."
  - 60:12 nations and kings who will not serve (δουλεύσουσί) Jerusalem as slaves, in contrast to those kings who were captured (60:11).
- those voluntarily obeying the Lord (positive)
  - οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ (42:19)
  - the Lord's δοῦλοι (56:6, 63:17, 65:9)
  - the Lord's δουλεύοντες (65:8, 13–15, six instances)

2.2 Παῖς

In Greek sources contemporary to LXX Pentateuch, παῖς was used to denote both children and slaves (van der Kooij 2008, 237). In LXX Pentateuch, it rarely carries the connotation of "child," if so, it refers to girls (Rebecca, Gen 24:28,57, Dina, Gen 34:12, a just married girl, Deut 22:15–28), or to "childhood" (Gen 46:34). The wast majority of occurrences refers to servants, covering the whole range from low slaves, synonymous with δοῦλος

(Lev 25:44), to honorable servants (for example, in Gen 24), specifically, the Lord's servant (Abraam, Gen 18:17, Isaak, Gen 24:14, Caleb, Num 14:24). It is also used as polite self-designation (for example, Gen 18:3,5).

In OG Isaiah 1–40 and 54–65, παῖς is used for servants in a honorable position in a close relationship to their master (marked by a genitive). When in singular, the servant is always identified: ὁ παῖς μου Ησαίας (20:3), Ελιακιμ (22:20), Δαυιδ (37:35).

Οἱ παῖδες σου is used as polite self-designation of Eliakim with others in Isa 36:11.

The proverbial comparison **כַּעֶבֶד כַּאדֹנָו** (Isa 24:2), "as with the servant, so with his master," is translated as ὁ παῖς ὡς ὁ κύριος. The choice of παῖς conforms to the word's emphasis on the relation to the master.

2.3 Οἰκέτης

In Isa 36:9, the Assyrian messenger calls οἰκέται those who trust in Egypt for horses and riders. According to van der Kooij (2018, 9f), this choice is motivated by the use of οἰκέτης in OG Pentateuch, where οἰκέτης always renders **עֶבֶד** in the phrase "Remember that you were **עֶבֶד** in (the land of) Egypt" (Deut 5:15, 15:15, 16:12, 24:18,20,22) and the similar phrase in Deut 6:21 (in total seven instances).

However, in OG Pentateuch, **עֶבֶד** is always translated as δουλεία in the phrase **מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים** (ἐξ οἴκου δουλείας, Ex 13:3,14, 20:2, Lev 26:45, Deut 5:6, 6:12, 7:8, 8:14, 13:11, in total nine instances), and δοῦλος and cognates also translate cognates of **עבד** describing Israel in Egypt in Ex 1:14, 6:5 (καταδουλοῦσχαι), Ex 6:6, Deut 13:6 (δουλεία), Ex 14:5 and twice in 14:12 (δουλεύειν), and in Lev 26:13 (δοῦλος).

Οἰκέτης conforms best to the context. Those trusting in Egypt would not have honorable positions, nor would they be heteronomically determined. Rather, they would become Egypt's vassals and thereby become part of the pharaoh's household.

2.4 Ἄγγέλος

The servants of Isa 37:24 are identical to the **מַלְאָכִים** of 37:9,14, there translated by ἄγγελοι. In Isa 37:24, **עֲבָדֶי** is appropriately translated ἄγγελοι, clarifying whom these messengers and their message refer to.

2.5 Θεραπεύων

In Isa 54:17, **עַבְדֵי יהוה** is translated as θεραπεύοντες κύριον. The only other occurrence of a cognate of θεράπων in OG Isaiah is in 24:2, in the comparison ἡ θεράπαινα ὡς ἡ κυρία, as the female equivalent to παῖς.

Elsewhere in OG, θεράπων and cognates do not occur with κύριον, but with κυρίου, τοῦ θεοῦ or μου/αὐτοῦ referring to them, as (self-)designation of Isaak (Gen 24:44), Joseph's

brothers (Gen 50:17), Moses (Ex 4:10, 14:31, Num 11:11, 12:7,8, Deut 3:24, Josh 1:2, 8:31,33, 1Chr 16:40), the sons of Ruben and Gad (Num 32:31), the patriarchs (Deut 9:27), and Job (Job 2:3, 42:7,8).

According to van der Kooij (2008, 232), θεράπων in OG Pentateuch refers to members of a king's "retinue," distinct from other servants "in terms of honor." However, θεράπαινα is used as the opposite of φαραω (Ex 11:5), indicating the lowest possible position. Θεράπαινα is also used in laws concerning beating of servants (Ex 21:26f), likewise indicating a rather low position. Thus, honor does not seem to be intrinsic to the word group.

Rather, its meaning "to cure" (2Kings 9:16) and expressions such as θεραπεύειν τοὺς πόδας (2Sam 19:25) suggest that θεραπεύειν has physical connotations. Thus, θεράπων possibly emphasizes physical tending of the master.

The combination of אָהֳלֵ֔, יְרִיעֹ֖ת and מִשְׁכְּנֹתַ֑יִךְ (Isa 54:2) elsewhere always describes the tabernacle (Ex 26:7,12,13, 36:14, Num 4:25). This may have prompted the translator to see a reference to the cult. OG has no equivalent to מִשְׁכְּנֹתַ֑יִךְ, but the combination of σκηνή and αὐλαία is in OG, apart from one verse in Judith, also only found describing the tabernacle (Ex 26:1,6, 37:1(36:8b), 40:17(19)). The translator's cultic referencing of Isaiah 54 is supported by his translation of Isa 54:11f. The stones סַפִּ֔יר and כַּדְכֹּ֖ד do not occur together elsewhere in MT. However, the stones ἄνθραξ, σάπφειρος and ἴασπις occur together in OG Ex 28:18, 36:18(39:11) and Ezk 18:13 (the lament over Tyros). In the Exodus verses, ἄνθραξ translates נפך. In Isa 54:11, it translates פוך, an al tiqre reading. These three gemstones are those in the second row of the breastpiece of the high priest.

Θεραπεύοντες κύριον could thus be intended to refer to priests, who are serving the Lord physically, tending the cult. Θεραπεύειν is used in this way in Tob 1:7, οἱ υἱοῖ Λευι οἱ θεραπεύοντες ἐν Ιερουσαλημ.

2.6 Σεβομένος (66:14)

[Postponed until after 6th of August, when there is a talk on "Considerations on the use of σέβομαι in the Septuagint and in Jewish-Hellenistic literature" at IOSCS]

2.7 Conclusion

The translator deliberately chooses translations of עֶבֶד according to context. He employs

- δοῦλος for those heteronomously determined; foreign slave, someone obeying God
- δουλεύων for someone obeying God
- παῖς for servants in a honorable position and a close relationship to their master, as proverbial opposite to κύριος, and as polite self-designation
- οἰκέτης for Egypt's vassals
- ἀγγέλος for messengers

– θεραπεύων for priests

3 Translations of עֶבֶד in Isaiah 41–51

In Isaiah 41–51, עַבְדִּי occurs in 41:8,9, 42:1,19, 43:10, 44:1,2,21,26, 45:4, 49:3, עֶבֶד יהוה in 42:19, עַבְדּוֹ in 48:20, 50:10, עֶבֶד in 49:5,6,7. It is translated παῖς μου in 41:8,9, 42:1, 44:1,2,21, 45:4, 49:6, οἱ παῖδές μου and οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ in 42:19, ὁ παῖς in 43:10, παῖς αὐτοῦ in 44:26, 50:10, δοῦλός αὐτοῦ/μου/ἑαυτῷ in 48:20, 49:3,5, and οἱ δοῦλοι[1] in 49:7.

The following sections argue that the translator consistently employs number (singular/plural) and personal pronouns (none, μου, (ἑ)αὐτοῦ), often against the Vorlage, in order to convey a specific interpretation.

3.1 God's Beloved "παῖς μου," Israel/Jacob

God addresses Israel/Jacob as "παῖς μου" in Isa 41:8,9, 42:1 (compared with MT and the versions from Qumran, the translator adds "Jacob" and "Israel"), 44:1,2,21, and 45:4. In these passages, God declares his love for the servant. In OG 44:2, "ὁ ἠγαπημένος" is added compared to MT/1QIs^a, further emphasizing God's love for the servant Israel.

3.2 Isaiah 42:19 — Blind Servants and Blinded Obeyers

MT: "Who is blind if not my servant (עַבְדִּי), and deaf like my messenger (מַלְאָכִי), whom I sent? Who is blind like the dedicated (מְשֻׁלָּם), and blind like the servant (עֶבֶד) of YHWH?"

OG: "Who is blind but my servants (οἱ παῖδές μου) and deaf but those ruling over them (οἱ κυριεύοντες αὐτῶν)? And blinded were the obeyers (οἱ δοῦλοι) of God."

Compared to MT, OG omits one stitch, changes those described from singular to plural, and reformulates the last question as a statement. עֶבֶד is translated by two different words, παῖς and δοῦλος. Further, the adjective עִוֵּר, "blind," which occurs three times in MT, is first translated by the adjective τυφλὸς, then omitted, and then translated by a passive form, ἐτυφλώθησαν, "they were blinded." Elliger (1978, 270–272) suggests that the change to plural is most likely done by the translator, while the other differences may be due to a Vorlage different from MT. However, since 1QIs^a supports MT, a different Vorlage seems unlikely.

OG changes also the surrounding verses, Isa 42:17–20 and 21–25.

1. Ziegler (1939) reads τὸν δούλον, but this is supported by only three manuscripts, while the most, best, and oldest read των δουλῶν. Singular corresponds to MT's עֶבֶד, thus, its occurrence in younger manuscripts can be explained as harmonization with MT. It seems that των δουλῶν is original, "the one detested by nations [consisting] of slaves of rulers"

3.2.1 Isaiah 42:17–20

In MT, 42:14–17 constitutes one paragraph, marked by a paragraph break after 42:17. In OG, 42:17 starts with αὐτοὶ δὲ, emphasized without equivalent in MT or 1QIs^{a}, closely linking the subject to the last word of 42:16, αὐτούς. While all of MT 42:17 is a statement about the idolaters in third person, in OG, only the first two Hebrew words are translated as such. The remainder of the verse is translated as imperative ("Be ashamed, [idolaters]!"), linking this second part of 42:17 to 42:18, which in both MT and OG is imperative. Thus, in OG, the first sentence of 42:17, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀπεστράφησαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω· belongs to 42:14–16.

In MT, 42:20 continues to describe the blind servant of the Lord. In OG 42:20, verbs are plural corresponding to changing עֶבֶד to plural in 42:19, but also changed to second person.

Because of these changes, in OG, 42:17–20 (except the first sentence of 17) constitute a paragraph directly accusing the idolaters, in summary: "Be ashamed, [idolaters]! The deaf, listen! The blind, [. . .] see! Who is blind but my servants and deaf but their rulers? The obeyers of God were blinded. You (pl.) saw much, but did not guard. You (pl.) opened the ears, but did not hear."

Accused are the παῖδές μου and κυριεύοντες αὐτῶν, addressed as blind and deaf in 42:18 and 19, whereas the δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ are blinded (ἐτυφλώθησαν), they are victims. Corresponding to the use of παῖς and δοῦλος in Isaiah 1–40, the δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ likely designate a group of comparatively low status, those obeying God, whereas the παῖδές likely have high status, God's higher officials. Thus, the passage accuses the religious and secular leaders of idolatry and blinding those obeying God. This conforms with OG Isaiah, which even more than MT criticises Israel's leadership (Wagner 2019, 40).

3.2.2 Isaiah 42:21–25

OG 42:21f can be summarized as "God willed [. . .] Israel plundered and seized [. . .]" In Isa 42:24, first person (MT: "we have sinned") is replaced by third person (OG: "they have sinned"), changing the verse from confession to accusation: "Who gave Jacob as plunder and Israel to those plundering it? [Was it] not God? He against whom they had sinned in that they did not want to walk in his ways nor to obey his law." Similarly, in 42:25, the third person singular pronouns/verbs referring to Israel/Jacob are changed to third person plural, continuing the accusation. OG 42:21–25 accuses those who by sinning against God's law prompted God to punish Israel.

This conforms with the suggested interpretation of OG 42:17–20. Again, the leaders are accused of sinning, thereby prompting the punishment of the people who, like the δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ, are not accused.

3.3 Isaiah 43:10 — the Servant Israel as Exemplary Witness

MT: "You [are] my witness, says the Lord, and my servant, whom I have chosen, so that you may know and trust me and understand that I [am] he…"

OG: "Become for me witnesses, and I am a witness, says the Lord God, and the servant (ὁ παῖς), whom I chose, so that you may know and believe and understand that I am…"

OG changes "witness" from singular to plural, adds "γένεσθέ!" at the beginning of the verse, and "I am a witness" as self-description of God.

In MT and OG, God explicitly addresses Israel/Jacob in 43:1 and again first in 43:22.

In 43:1–7, God recounts how he has freed and will continue to free Israel. In 43:6, God promises that he will command north and south (both female in Hebrew) to release the Israelites.

In MT 43:8, God's shift from female to male imperative "Bring a blind people …!" starts a new section, 43:8–13, in which God summons a blind people (**עַם**, that is, Israel, 43:8) and the nations (43:9) into a heavenly court, where Israel is called to be God's witness (43:10, 43:12).

MT 43:15 is ambiguous, literally: "I the Lord your (pl.) holy one creating Israel your (pl.) king." Since in MT, God in this section addresses Israel, "your king" is commonly understood as an apposition to God. OG, however, is grammatically justified in interpreting it as an apposition to Israel: ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὑμῶν ὁ καταδείξας Ισραηλ βασιλέα ὑμῶν, "I the Lord God your (pl.) holy, the one having created Israel, [as] your (pl.) king." Thus, OG 43:15 addresses the nations.

In 43:8, OG changes MT's male imperative to first person singular. Compared with MT and 1QIs^{a}, OG adds και at the beginning of 43:8: "And I brought out a blind people (λαος) …" Thus, while MT Isaiah 43 introduces a new section in 43:8, OG presents 43:1–8 as one section, God's description of his past freeing and future protection of Israel. Consequently, OG presents 43:9–15 as addressing the ἔθνη. They are gathered and called to "Become for me witnesses, both I am a witness, and the servant, whom I chose!"

In both MT and OG, describing the servant as "chosen" refers back to 41:8f ("Israel, my servant, Jacob, whom I chose …you are my servant, I chose you"). The same word for "I chose" is used in all three instances (**בָּחָרְתִּי**, ἐξελεξάμην). In MT, the form in 43:10 omits the personal suffix present in 41:8 and 41:9 (keeping it would be possible). In OG, the three instances have the exact same form, enhancing the reference.

God closes his address to the nations by telling them that Israel is their king (43:15). Since 43:16 begins with "Thus says the Lord," OG can readily start a new section in 43:16, in which God again addresses Israel (explicitly in 43:22).

In MT, Israel is called as a presently blind people (43:8). The people/the servant still have to come to know and believe and understand God, implying that they not yet do

(43:10). OG relegates the people's blindness and deafness to God's account of that he freed them, but since then they became loved by God (43:3f). Thus, while MT presents a blind people/servant, in OG presents the people/servant to the nations as exemplary witness (43:10,12) and their king (43:15).

3.4 Isaiah 49 — The Promotion of Israel

Isaiah 48 reiterates a prominent theme of the book of Isaiah: Jacob/Israel (48:1) was idolatrous (48:5) and lawless (48:8). Therefore, the Lord punished it by selling it into slavery ("I have exacted payment for (MT: I have refined) you," 48:10), but will now save it (48:10) because of his love of Israel ("Loving you, I did to Babylon as you want," 48:14). This is followed up by an exhortation to "hear my commandments" (48:18), for which in return God promises the blessings of peace (48:18) and offspring (48:19). "Go out from Babylon [...], say 'The Lord delivered τὸν δοῦλον αὐτοῦ, Jacob!'" (48:20)

The translator's choice of δοῦλος conforms to both meanings of the word, Jacob as sold as foreign slave to Babylon (48:10,14,20), and as a people adhering to the Lord's commandments (48:18).

In MT, the servant starts introducing himself in 49:1: "Listen to me coastlands, pay attention, people from far away! The Lord called me from the womb, from the body of my mother he gave a name to me."

In OG, the first part of the utterance is attributed to God: "Listen to me islands, and pay attention, nations! After a long time he will present himself." says the Lord. "From the womb of my mother he called my name"

By attributing the first part to God, by interpreting רָהַק temporarily, and by interpreting one of the two parallels of the second half as "he will present himself," the translator links this verse to the preceding 48:12–22, and relegates to a time long ago, as the exile would be from the point of view of the translator, that Israel had been lawless and was sold as a disgraced δοῦλος to Babylon. Now, Israel is rehabilitated. God himself gives the word to the servant Israel to introduce himself, in OG:

49:3 And he told me "you are my δοῦλος, Israel, and I will be glorified in you."

49:4 And I said "In vain I toiled and for nothing and for nobody I gave my strength. Because of this, my standing [is placed] with the Lord, and my pain before my God.

49:5 And now, thus says the Lord, the one having formed me from the womb as δοῦλος for him in order to gather Jacob and Israel to him — I will be gathered and I will be glorified before the Lord and my God will be my strength —

49:6 and he told me: 'It is great for you to be called παῖς μου in order to put in place the tribes of Jacob and to return the diaspora of Israel. See, I have appointed you as light of the nations, so that you become salvation until the end of the earth.'"

Regarding MT 49:5 (and analogously, 49:6), the meaning of לְשׁוֹבֵב יַעֲקֹב אֵלָיו is debated. Proponents of the hypothesis of Duhm ([1892] 1968, 14), that the "servant songs" (Isaiah 42:1–4, 49:1–6, 50:4–9 and 53) are originally independent of Isaiah 40–55 and describe an individual servant of the Lord, typically translate "... formed me in the womb to be his servant, to return Jacob to him ..." and subsequently point out that since the servant is given a mission concerning Jacob and Israel, he must be different from Israel/Jacob. Those who do not support the hypothesis of the servant songs and the individual servant, translate "... formed me in the womb to be his servant *by returning* Jacob to him ...." Both interpretations are grammatically valid.

While OG translates "in order to return Jacob," the translator lumps together Israel from the parallel stitch with Jacob, and changes the thus freed parallel verb "[he] will be gathered" to "I will be gathered." While MT uses two different verbs, the same verb is repeated in OG. Thereby, in OG, the servant makes explicit that it is he who will be gathered. Consequently, the first part of OG 49:5 must mean "formed me as a δοῦλος for him in order [for him] to gather [me] to him ..."

In these verses, the servant presents himself by retelling Isaiah 48 from his perspective: God called him to obey him, but the servant toiled in vain (corresponding to the repeated accusations of idolatry and lawlessness). However, he proves to have learned his lesson by confessing that God is his only hope. Upon this confession, God promotes him from slave to honorable παῖς μου. The servant takes on God's own mission to gather Israel that is still in diaspora. And while in MT, the servant is appointed as light of the nations "so that my [God's] salvation reaches the end of the earth," in OG, God promotes the servant to himself being salvation. "As light of the nations," εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, also occurs in 42:6, for which the translator has clarified in 42:1 that Jacob/Israel is the servant.

3.5 Isaiah 44:26 and 50:10 — God's "παῖς αὐτοῦ"

In these two verses, an unidentified "his servant" occurs in both MT and OG. In both instances, the scarce information points at a specific prophet, probably Isaiah.

3.5.1 Isaiah 44:26

In both MT and OG, in 44:26, "his servant" is paralleled by "his messengers," and these two words are in turn in 44:25 negatively paralleled by "diviners ..., those practicing divination ..., the wise" (MT) and "the ventriloquists ... the wise" (OG). Since all parallel words are plural, "his servant" in MT is sometimes amended to "his servants" (for example, by Elliger (1978, 454)). However, the servant (singular) versus messengers (plural) is supported by 1QIs^{a}, Vulgata, and Peshita, and 1QIs^{b} supports the singular servant (lacuna at "messengers") (454). Berges (2008, 367) argues the servant (singular) should be considered original because of the textual witnesses and because it is the lectio difficilior.

In 44:26, the Lord confirms the servant's "ῥήματα." In OG Isaiah, ῥῆμα occurs 14 times. It designates God's prophetic words ten times (14:28, 15:1, 16:13, 17:1, 29:11, 38:7, 40:8, 42:16, 55:11, 66:5), which also is the most likely meaning here. Since the parallels refer to God's (false) messengers, and that παῖς in contrast to them is singular, παῖς αὐτοῦ seems to refer to one specific messenger, the one proclaiming God's ῥήματα, the prophet Isaiah.

3.5.2 Isaiah 50:10

"Who among you is fearing the Lord? He shall hear the voice of his servant. Those wandering in darkness and not having light, . . ."

The most likely candidate for the addressed "you" is the group most recently addressed, the children of Zion. Further, the formulation οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν σκότει καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς φῶς recalls Isa 9:2, ὁ λαὸς ὁ πορευόμενος ἐν σκότει, ἴδετε φῶς μέγα! Consequently, it is those within Israel who fear the Lord who are addressed, and called to hear the voice of his servant, who thus must be the prophet.

3.6 Conclusion

In these chapters, the translator deliberately chooses translations of **עֶבֶד** and introduces changes to the text with two overall effects. First, παῖς μου, ὁ παῖς, and δοῦλός αὐτοῦ/μου/ἑαυτῷ consistently designate Jacob/Israel, οἱ παῖδές μου religious leaders, and παῖς αὐτοῦ the prophet (Isaiah). Second, Israel designated as παῖς μου or ὁ παῖς is always portrayed positively.

4 Textual Links to Isaiah 1 and 6

Compared with MT, OG Isaiah 53 strengthens and creates a number of textual links to Isaiah 1 and 6.

First, πόνος, πληγὴ, τραυμα(τίζω), μώλωψ (53:4f) are four of the five words describing the sick state of Israel in OG 1:5f. In MT, only two words from 1:5f are used in 53:4f.

Second, the translator creates a link between 52:13 and 1:3 not present in MT: συνίημι translates **שׂכל** in 52:13, but **בין** in 1:3. In OG 1:3, God accuses: "Israel has not known *me*, the people have not understood (συνῆκεν) *me*." The first "me" is added compared to MT, for the second "me," the translator changes the personal suffix of **עַמִּי**, "my people," to a direct object. The translator specifies the accusation to not knowing God and not understanding him. In contrast, the servant will understand (συνήσει, 52:13). **בין** occurs 20 times in Isaiah, but is translated as συνίημι only in 1:3, 6:9, 6:10, 43:10, and 52:15. These instances refer to gaining or having insight into who God is.

Third, Isa 1:4f elaborates what it means to not know God: The people are sinful (ἁμαρτωλόν; **חֹטֵה**), full of sins (ἁμαρτιῶν; **עָוֹן**), lawless (ἄνομοι; **מַשְׁחִיתִים**, "corrupt"), and commit

lawlessness (ἄνομια; סָרָה, "apostasy"). The translator uses only ἁμαρτια, ἄνομια, and their cognates to render four Hebrew terms. The more specific "being corrupt" and "apostasy" are generalized to "lawlessness," thus intensifying God's accusation of the peoples' sinfulness and lawlessness, and the textual link to Isaiah 53.

In OG 1:16, God calls the people to "become pure (καθαροὶ), take away the wickedness from your souls (τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, an addition compared to MT)!" In OG 1:25, God announces that he will burn the people pure (καθαρός), among others, he will humble (ταπεινώσω) the proud. In 53:8, ταπεινώσις is used for MT's עֹצֶר, "arrest." In OG 53:10, καθαρίζω is used for MT's דכא, "to crush."[2]

By his use of συνίημι, πόνος, πληγὴ, τραυμα(τίζω), μώλωψ, ἁμαρτία, ἀνομία, καθαρίζω, ψυχή and ταπεινώσις, OG creates and strengthens a number of references from Isaiah 53 to Isaiah 1. Similarly, there are a number of references to Isaiah 6. Also in 6:9 and 6:10, the people are accused for not understanding (συνίημι), and Isaiah confesses his people's and his impure (ἀκάθαρτα, 6:6) lips, which the seraph purifies (περικαθαριεῖ 6:7). In Isa 1:16,25 and 6:6f, καθαρός and cognates are used in place of four different Hebrew roots in MT.

Consequently, the servant's condition of sickness described in 53:4f seems to refers to God's accusation of Israel described in Isaiah 1 and 6.

5 Isaiah 53

OG Isaiah 53 differs significantly from MT. Some of the most prominent differences concern the relationship of God and his servant. In MT, God wills and actively causes the servant's suffering, and while the servant is rewarded, God is not explicitly active in rewarding him. Contrarily, in OG, God only hands the servant over, that is, instead of actively causing his suffering as in MT, God just passively withdraws his support and leaves the causing of the suffering to others. Apart from that, God only wants to vindicate, save, and reward the servant. The translator also improves the we-group's relationship to God and the Servant, for example, by removing all references to the we-group despising the servant. (Bauer 2018, 36–38)

In Isa 52:13–15, God describes the future glory and also disreputation of his servant (ὁ παῖς μου). Isaiah 53:2–5 describes the servant's past disreputation and sickness, the latter in OG in terms of God's accusation of Israel's sinfulness in Isaiah 1. This sinfulness is confirmed by the collective confession (53:6). Παιδεία (53:5) translates מוּסָר here and in 26:16 ("Lord, . . . in small trouble your παιδεία of us."), the only occurrences in MT. In addition, OG translates לִמּוּדִים, "teachers," by παιδεία in 50:4 ("The Lord gave me a tongue of παιδεία"), and adds the word to 50:5, turning MT's "The Lord God opened my ear", to

2. דכא occurs also in 53:5, where OG translates with μαλακίζομαι, "make sick." It is commonly assumed that the translator in 53:10 resorts to Aramaic, where דכא means "to clean."

"the παιδεία of the Lord opens my ears." παιδεία is instruction from God in all instances, thus, it seems likely that the servant undergoes God's παιδεία.

Because of the group's sins ("διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν," 53:5, "ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν," 53:6), he was handed over to the enemies:

- παραδίδωμι (53:6, 12) occurs 18 times in OG Isaiah. It translates twelve different words in MT. Except for one instance, it is used when God hands a people or town over to its enemies.
- γῆ (53:8) can mean "land" (as in Isa 2:7f (paralleled to ἡ χώρα, 2:6)), thus, αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ can mean "his life was removed from the land," that is, he was sent into exile.
- The use of θάνατος (53:8) can be compared to Isa 9:8,11f. In 9:8, OG intensifies MT's "The Lord sent a word against Jacob/Israel" to "The Lord sent death (θάνατος) against Jacob/Israel," with "death" designating Israel's enemies (9:11f).
- The disreputed condition of the servant (53:2f) conforms with the conditions in exile.

God speaks again from verse 8bβ (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν . . .). In OG 53:9, God promises to vindicate and save the servant after he stopped to sin and be deceitful.

OG 53:10 confirms that God wants to purify the servant. This is followed up by an address to the listeners: "If you (pl.) offer sin sacrifices, your (pl) soul will see offspring longlivingly." Περὶ ἁμαρτίας designates the sin sacrifice in Leviticus and Numbers (Koenen and Kabiersch 2011, 2668), and offspring and long life are typical Deuteronomical blessings for obeying God's commandments.

OG 53:10b–11 gives a list of what God wants to do: "And the Lord wants:

- to take away from the pain of his soul
- to show him light and to form through understanding,
- to pronounce righteous a righteous who as slave is serving (δουλεύων) many well, and their sins he will bear."

While MT has עַבְדִּי both in 52:13 and 53:11, and OG translates עַבְדִּי as ὁ παῖς μου in 52:13, OG translates עַבְדִּי as δουλεύων, also omitting the first person possessive pronoun, in 53:11. Since the translator throughout the preceding chapters meticulously has equaled the servant Israel/Jacob and παῖς (μου), it seems unlikely that δουλεύων refers to the servant Israel/Jacob. Rather, God wants to pronounce righteous a (any) righteous serving many well. To be pronounced δίκαιος by God implies to be pleasing to God and therefore, to be protected and blessed by him. This is supported by Isa 54:17. In OG, "there is an inheritance for those servicing (τοῖς θεραπεύουσι) the Lord, and that is that you (pl.) will be for me righteous (δίκαιοι), says the Lord" (54:17. In MT, the inheritance is formulated more tangibly, the servants will be victorious in battle and court).

As argued in Sect. 2.1, δουλεύων in OG Isaiah either refers to obeying God, or to being a foreign slave. Since in 52:13, it is the πολλοί who are served, it must be the latter. Thus, OG 53:10f exhorts the audience to offer sacrifices and to serve the Egyptians well. In turn, God will bless them with offspring, long life, and by calling them righteous.

OG Isaiah 53 repeats the narrative of the sinful, exiled, and saved servant Israel, however, the salvation is envisioned for the future. OG Isaiah 53 combines the servant's narrative with promising God's blessings to those offering sin offerings and to those who "as foreign slave serve many well."

5.1 Isaiah 53 in its Historic Context

The time and place of the translation indicate a situation in which preservation of Jewish identity against Hellenization is a prominent concern (Wagner 2013, 237). It seems likely that this concern motivated the translator's interpretation.

First, to strengthen Jewish identity and community, the translator might have wanted to provide his audience with tokens of identification. Thus, he might have wanted them to identify with the servant of Isaiah 53, who as παῖς μου refers to the collective, but here not explicitly is identified as Israel. As the servant Israel was a δοῦλος in Babylon, the community is now δουλεύων in Egypt. As offspring of the servant Israel, they have inherited the honorable title παῖς μου, the accompanying close relationship with God, and God's promise of being saved and blessed. Presenting the servant's relationship with God and the we-group more positively than in MT could be motivated by making it easier to identify with him.

Second, the exhortation to offer sin sacrifices (53:10) fosters identity by promoting a traditional ritual of the community. Since this necessitates a place to sacrifice, it also promotes the temple in Leontopolis as another token of the shared identity, and as a meeting place for the community.

Third, since "they understood that self-preservation meant retaining the favour of the ruling power of the day" (Rajak 2009, 180), the exhortation to "as [foreign] slaves serve many well" (53:11) supports self-preservation of the community in Egypt.

6 Conclusion

The translator employs seven different words to translate עֶבֶד, which he clearly distinguishes and deliberately chooses according to context. With παῖς and δοῦλος, he also uses singular/plural and different pronouns, often against his Vorlage, in order to further distinguish the designated individuals or groups, and thereby to convey specific interpretations. In particular, δοῦλος and cognates always designate either foreign slaves or those obeying God, and παῖς always designates a honorable servant. Specifically, in Isaiah 41–

51, παῖς (μου) always refers to Israel, and the servant Israel is always, also against the Vorlage, portrayed positively.

The translator interprets Isaiah 53 conforming to the book of Isaiah's repeated narrative of Israel as sinful, punished by exile, and saved. Based on Isaiah 1 and 6, the translator interprets the sickness of God's servant in Isaiah 53 as the collective's sinfulness. God punishes the servant by exile, but promises to save him if he ceases to sin. This is followed up by an exhortation to offer sacrifices and to serve well as foreign slaves, for which in return God's blessings are promised.

This interpretation of Isaiah 53 might be motivated by the community's need for self-preservation. The servant's salvation and reward are placed into the future, and the servant is portrayed more positively as in MT, making him an attractive figure of identification for his community. This is followed up by an exhortation to identify with the community through the traditional ritual of sacrifice, and to preserve the community by retaining the Egyptian's favour through servicing them well.

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▶ **Paper**

The Semiotics of Theophany in Text and Image: Isaiah 6 and Phoenician cultic iconography.

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▶ **Abstract**

The 2011 monograph of the classicist and art historian Verity Platt, Facing the Gods, dealt with the representation of epiphanic experiences in Greco-Roman literature and art. In particular, Platt argued that deities manifested in their particular forms (εἴδεα) are distinguished from one another by a complex system of signs (σήματα) drawn from a received body of Greek poetry and art, including texts related to particular cults and visual motifs from sacred images and temple architecture.

This paper will investigate the usefulness of this model with respect to the system of signs the Hebrew Bible implicitly associates with theophanies and the Judahite cult. It will offer as a case study the possibility of relating the cultic realia contained in the vision (e.g. throne, altar, temple) and the figures of the seraphim in Isaiah 6 to iconography known from the Phoenician cultural sphere: e.g. the Ahiram Sarcophagus, the votive thrones found at Sidon, the Layard bowls in the British Museum, and the model naiskoi known from Phoenician/Punic sites around the Mediterranean.

In doing so, this paper will draw attention to the visuality of Biblical theophany: the socially constructed modes of viewing generated by literary and iconographic cultural production, which shapes and makes conceptual room for claims to visual experience of the deity. It will also touch on recent debates concerning the question of 'Phoenician' identity, and on methodological issues in the comparison and juxtaposition of textual and iconographic sources in Biblical studies.

▶ Project Summary

Theophany and the Cult in the Hebrew Bible

My doctoral project is an investigation of the relationship between theophany and the Judahite cult as remembered (or, perhaps, invented) in the Hebrew Bible, and grew out of an MPhil project on the implicit theology of revelation in Isaiah 6. I build upon recent work on divine epiphanies in early Greek literature, and on the growing corpus of research on divine bodies in the Bible, to explore how in some texts (e.g. Isaiah 6; Ezekiel's vision; Pss 18, 24, etc.; Exodus 24) the cult provides the implicit theological framework in which claims to visual experience of a deity might make sense. My methodology involves some comparative work with theophanic texts and iconography in the Eastern Mediterranean, understood with reference to elements of Julia Kristeva's theory of intertextuality, and develops the classicist Verity Platt's model of the 'semitoics of epiphany'.

▶ **Keywords** Isaiah, theophany, Phoenicia, iconography, semiotics

The Semiotics of Theophany in Text and Image: Isaiah 6 and Phoenician cultic iconography.

The sixth chapter of the book of Isaiah contains one of the Hebrew Bible's most vividly described theophanies. Written in the first person, the chapter presents itself as Isaiah ben Amoz's record of an actual visual experience of YHWH: וארא את־אדני (Isa 6:1). Related to a wider project investigating how certain Hebrew Bible theophany texts use language, imagery, and an implicit theological framework drawn from the (remembered, reconstructed, or invented) Judahite cult to envision the deity's manifestation, this paper is concerned with possible parallels in 'Phoenician' cultic iconography which might serve to illuminate this relationship.

The present paper will proceed as follows: first I will note the basic 'problem of theophany' in Hebrew Bible texts. Second, I will introduce the methodology by which I approach cultic theophany texts, drawn primarily from the work of the Classicist Verity Platt, which makes room for the comparison of both iconographic and written sources. Then, third, I will make a case for the helpfulness of referring to some particular motifs in Phoenician iconography, connected to cult, for trying to understand how Isaiah's theophany might be envisioned.

1. The Problem of Theophany in the Hebrew Bible.

By way of preliminary definition, by 'theophany' I mean the appearance of manifestation of a deity which includes a visual component (thus the Greek φαίνεσθαι and its cognates), i.e. a visionary experience of the god.[1]

The Biblical tradition offers a variety of disparate, perhaps discordant, answers to the question of whether the God of Israel can be seen by humans. This question touches on the recent trend in Biblical research towards studying the Hebrew Bible's various depictions of YHWH's form and corporeality.[2] In Exodus 33, Moses is allowed to see the back of the embodied deity, but not his face, who declares that "You cannot see my face, for no mortal shall see me and live." (Ex 33:20). Deuteronomy 4:15, however, explicitly denies that there was a proper theophany on the mountain: "You did not see any form on the day YHWH spoke

[1] For present purposes, I am content to use 'theophany' and 'epiphany' more or less interchangeably. The former, however, has the advantage of highlighting that the 'problem of theophany' highlighted below is, at root, a theological one.

[2] See particularly, Benjamin Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Mark S. Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016); Andreas Wagner, *God's Body: The Anthropomorphic God in the Old Testament* (trans. Marion Salzmann; London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2019).

to you at Horeb, from the midst of the fire."[3] In Isaiah 6, these two tendencies, broadly understood, regarding the corporeality and visibility of the deity, are both on display. In verse one, there is the explicit claim to have seen the god: וארֹאה את־אדני יֹשב על־כסא רם ונשׂא, "I saw the Lord seated upon a high and lofty throne", yet in verse five is an explicit acknowledgement of the danger and difficulty of visual experience of the divine: ואמר אוי לי כי את־המלך יהוה צבאות ראו עיני […], "And I said, Woe is me […] for mine eyes have seen the King, YHWH of Hosts".

Even in those Hebrew Bible texts which do affirm the possibility of theophany, the general presupposition appears to be that human beings do not generally, and should not ordinarily, see the god. What, then, makes possible those rare occasions when a theophanic experience takes place? What makes a theophanic experience possible within the world the text creates? This line of enquiry seeks to identify and understand the internal, implicit theological framework which sustains the claims made by a text like Isaiah 6 about seeing the deity.[4] I look to the Judahite cult, or perhaps to the Bible's (re)constructed memories of the Judahite cult, for such a framework.[5] At the same time, a related and overlapping research question concerns how the text deploys elements of this theological framework to represent (or re-present) such a claimed theophanic experience. What literary techniques are used, and what imagery is used, to represent the deity's appearing, both to the seer and to the text's reader? I suggest in this paper that elements of Phoenician iconography are useful to envisioning an answer to this second question.

2. Reading visions: The semiotics of Theophany.

The appearance and manifestation of deities to mortals has recently emerged as a significant theme in Classical scholarship. Indeed, the renaissance in the study of epiphany in the Greco-Roman world over the last few decades has only intensified, offering insights and approaches which prove useful when applied to Hebrew Bible theophanies. Greek literature appears from the beginning to have recognised problems of theophany analogous to those

[3] For a recent study of theophany in the Pentateuch, see Nevada Levi DeLapp, *Theophanic "Type-Scenes" in the Pentateuch: Visions of YHWH* (London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018).

[4] In my doctoral project, I approach these questions along the lines of Eliot Wolfson's thesis in his study of mediaeval Jewish mysticism that (claimed) mystical experiences are dependent upon prior theological and religious assumptions, and in which he builds upon Hans Jonas's assertion that "without an attendant dogmatics there would be no valid mysticism", and that "[T]he mystic not only seeks to express his or her experience within an accepted theoretical framework, but it is the latter that informs and shapes the former." Eliot Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 6, drawing upon Hans Jonas, "Myth and Mysticism: A Study of Objectification and Interiorization in Religious Thought", *Journal of Religion* 49 (1969), pp. 315-329.

[5] By 'Judahite cult' I mean primarily the Jerusalem temple of YHWH, though I also consider evidence of cultic practice which might involve other deities, or at sites outside Jerusalem.

discussed above, expressing them explicitly in both the *Iliad,* χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς ('the gods are hard to behold when they manifest themselves clearly')[6]; and the *Homeric Hymns*: χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι ('the gods are hard for mortals to see')[7].

Beginning in the 1980's, Pietro Pucci undertook valuable research on the textual nature of divine epiphanies in Greek poetry.[8] Renée Koch Piettre's encyclopaedic doctoral dissertation on epiphany in Greek literature is likewise a major resource for the study of theophany; in particular she offers a complex taxonomy of epiphanic terminology and phenomena, which illuminates the variety of epiphanic encounters narrated in Greek literature. [9]Her study anchors recent approaches to divine epiphany in the Classics in early twentieth-century German surveys of the theme,[10] along with more recent work on divine bodies by Jean-Pierre Vernant.[11]

The present study draws most heavily upon the work of the classicist and art historian Verity Platt, whose 2011 monograph Facing the Gods offers several helpful methodological approaches to Greco-Roman epiphany, including a section on what she calls "the semiotics of epiphany in early greek culture".[12]

Platt considers epiphany to be "the manifestation of deities to mortals", and she claims that it "inspired, and was in turn inspired by, practices of visual and literary representation, generating a mutually reinforcing bond"[13]. Platt understands epiphany in the context of cultural production in ancient Greece, drawing on the 'pictorial turn' in the Classics in the late 1980s and 90s.[14] She grounds her study in terms of "the *visuality* of Greco-Roman epiphany", and Greco-Roman "practices of viewing".[15]

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[6] *Iliad* 20.131.
[7] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 2.111.
[8] See in particular Pietro Pucci, "Textual Epiphanies in the Iliad", in Pucci, *The Song of the Sirens: Essays on Homer*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), 69-80; originally published as Pucci, "Epifanie testuali nell'*Iliade*", *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 3 (1985), 170-83.
[9] Renée Koch Piettre, *"Le Corps des Dieux dans les Épiphanies Divines en Grèce Ancienne*" (Doctoral thesis submitted to the École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1996). Cf. also Renée [Koch] Piettre, "Images et perception de la présence divine en Grèce ancienne", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome - Antiquité* 113 (2001), 211-224.
[10] Namely: Ludwig Weniger, "Theophanien. Altgriechische Götteradvente", *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 22 (1923-24), 16-57; Friedrich Pfister, 'Epiphanie', *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Supplement 4 (1924), 277-323; Elpidius Pax, *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΙΑ: Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Biblischer Theologie* (Munich: Karl Zink, 1955).
[11] Jean-Pierre Vernant, "Corps obscur, corps éclatant", in C. Malamoud and J.-P. Vernant (eds.), *Corps des Dieux* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 19-45.
[12] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 50-60.
[13] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 7.
[14] Cf. Georgia Petridou, *Divine Epiphany in Greek Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 10.
[15] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 10.

She analyses divine epiphany in terms of the εἴδεα (outward forms) and σήματα (signs) which serve to distinguish deities from one another in Greek literature and art. Platt's terminology is taken from Herodotus's discussion, at *Histories* 2.53, of the influence of Hesiod and Homer (as canonical poets) on the Greeks' conception of their pantheon and its members, and how the gods are to be perceived and recognised by humans[16].

> Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοί τε τινὲς τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες.
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> Now from where each of the gods came, whether they always were, and what kind of forms they had, they [the Greeks] did not know until yesterday or the day before, so to speak. For the time of Hesiod and Homer seems to me not more than four hundred years ago. It was these [poets] who produced divine genealogies for the Greeks, giving names to the gods, distinguishing their particular honours and competences, and signifying their outward forms.[17]

On this model, Herodotus explains that Hesiod and Homer teach the names (ἐπωνυμίας), honours (τιμάς), competences (τέχνας) and outward forms (εἴδεα), which the poets signify or interpret (σημανεῖν) to their audiences. Knowledge of the divine εἴδεα is therefore mediated though cultural production, "such as mythical narratives and visual representations," so that "humans can only know the gods by means of representations (whether conceptual, verbal or visual)."[18] These representations include, for example, the divinities' distinguishing epithets in archaic poetry ("fleet-footed Iris") and attributes (the *aegis* associated with Zeus). According to Platt's presentation of this model, "to know and worship a divinity was thus to engage with the nature and significance of his or her body."[19]

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[16] Herodotus, *Histories* 2.53. It is worth noting that Platt does not engage directly with modern theories of semiotics, but develops Herodotus's suggestion in dialogue with modern analyses of the σῆμα in early Greek literature. In particular, she relies on the discussion of Homer's use of σῆμα and σημανεῖν in Raymond A. Prier, *Thauma Idesthai: Sight and Appearance in Archaic Greek* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1989), especially pp. 108-112, 200-1.

[17] Herodotus 2.53. Text from Alfred D. Godley (trans. and ed.), Herodotus, *The Persian Wars: Volume I* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926 and 2014); last accessed online 3rd December 2018, DOI: 10.4159/DLCL.herodotus-persian_wars.1920.

[18] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 52-53.

[19] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 51. She cites Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical*. Trans. J Raffan (Oxford: OUP, 1985), 182-9; Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals*, (F. Zeitlin, ed. and trans.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Koch Piettre, 'Le Corps', 43, on the corporeality of

At its most basic level, then, Platt's model presents an account of how Greek deities are known, and identified within the pantheon, by their distinct εἴδεα and σήματα, how these σήματα are drawn from a received canonical body of conventions in Greek religious representation, and how the representation (and repeated re-presentation) of these εἴδεα and σήματα makes the phenomenon of epiphany possible.

Platt's approach is particularly useful because, in treating epiphany as a kind of cultural production, we can locate the manifestation of deities in the context of both the religious culture of cultic praxis and the literary culture of our extant textual sources. We can furthermore accept a wide definition of cultural production which allows comparison of different media, namely both textual and archaeological (visual) artefacts connected to the cult.

Significantly, Platt's model also describes the relationship of epiphany to a religious system. She describes a system of religious "acts and expectations" engendered by Homer and Hesiod, which begins to resemble the kind of implicit theological framework necessary for theophanic or mystical experience. [20]Platt's model also shows how the re-presentation of the conventional/traditional signs in an epiphany lend credence to and reinforce the semiotic (i.e. religious, cultural, cultic, etc.) system to which they belong: "Indeed, epiphany functions as the cognitive device by which such systems can be proven valid."[21] Platt's model, then, offers the prospect of also accounting for the function of cultic theophany within the Hebrew Bible's presentation of Judahite religion.

This way of reading divine epiphany translates rather effectively for Platt into the sphere of iconography. She discusses as series of Greek votive reliefs as exercises in 'visual theology' in a theophanic mode, beginning with a fourth-century BC votive relief from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Athens.[22]

Greek gods. This emphasis on divine corporeality presages the work of Sommer and Smith in Biblical Studies.

[20] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 54.

[21] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 54.

[22] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 31-39.



Fig. 1. Mid-fourth century BC votive relief from the Asklepieion at Athens. Athens NM 1377. Image from Wikimedia Commons.

A procession of worshippers approaches Asklepios for sacrifice, and mortals and deity meet at the threshold of the sanctuary. The divine figures of Asklepios, Hygieia and Epione inside the sanctuary are depicted naturalistically. They are not obviously cult statues, particularly as they are not placed on pedestals, and this naturalism also highlights the similarity between human and divine bodies.[23] That said, the human and divine figures in the scene are clearly differentiated in stature, as well as their situation in the taller, raised naiskos.[24] Extreme height is here, as in Greek poetry, a signifier of divinity. [25]Asklepios himself is identifiable, of course, by his distinguishing iconographic σῆμα, a serpent-staff, just visible in the far left corner of the image above. His wife and daughter are identifiable as the two female figures juxtaposed with the identified male god. So, here in iconography too, the gods are manifest and identifiable in terms of their εἴδεα and σήματα.

The relief appears deliberately to play with the representation of cultic theophany.

[23] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 31.
[24] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 31.
[25] E.g. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 188-9; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 173-4. On the relationship between these examples and visual depictions of theophany, cf. Georgia Petridou, "'Blessed is He, Who Has Seen': The Power of Ritual Viewing and Ritual Framing in Eleusis", *Helios* 40 (2013), 324.

When the viewer stands directly in front of the relief, the deities are partially hidden by the column of the shrine's entrance. To see them better, one can position oneself towards the far right-hand end of the relief, as if joining the tail of the procession of worshippers.[26] The relief has an implicitly didactic theological function: "it suggests that human acts of worship are balanced by a corresponding bestowal of divine presence – that within the network of reciprocity so characteristic of Greek religious practice, the divine goodwill generated by a dedication or sacrifice is rewarded with an epiphany […]"[27]. Yet, as Platt notes, even this repositioning of the viewer is awkward, and partially obscured by the herm which constitutes the border of the scene. She argues that the relief "suggests by example" how the viewer might access the withheld theophany, representing "the ritual and topographical framing necessary for such encounters with the deity.[28]

Another Classicist studying divine epiphany, Georgia Petridou, has categorised the function of such art (and equivalent literature) as generating a "ritual-centred visuality".[29]The basic concept of visuality is derived from the art historian Norman Bryson, who theorised that "vision is socialised", arguing that "[f]or human beings collectively to orchestrate their visual experience together it is required that each submit his or her retinal experience to the socially agreed description(s) of an intelligible world."[30] In cult, then, ritual and iconography combine to orchestrate viewing practices, to create a socialised religious world in which claims to theophanic experience make sense. [31]They create the physical and conceptual space in which divine forms might manifest themselves.

Even a very cursory reading of Isaiah 6 can helpfully be conceptualised in terms of an analogous 'semiotics of theophany'. The scene's cultic setting is strongly implied with reference to the היכל and the בית, signifiers of the temple as YHWH's residence;[32] and the

[26] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 37.
[27] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 33.
[28] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 37.
[29] G. Petridou, " 'Blessed is He, Who Has Seen': The Power of Ritual Viewing and Ritual Framing in Eleusis", *Helios* 40 (2013), pp. 309-341, drawing the term from Ják Elsner, *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 25.
[30] N.W. Bryson, "The Gaze in the Expanded Field.", in H. Foster (ed.), *Vision and Visuality* (Seattle: Bay View Press, 1988), 91.
[31] Petridou's article uses the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and votive images from Eleusius to model the 'ritual-centred visuality' which sustained the Eleusinian Mysteries.
[32] H.G.M. Williamson, *Isaiah 6-12*, (International Critical Commentary; London; New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 43 notes that the heavenly sanctuary is never referred to as בית in the Hebrew Bible, citing George Buchanan Gray, "The Heavenly Temple and the Heavenly Altar", *The Expositor* 7th Series 29 (1908), 385-402, and 30 (1908), 530-46. Cf. the latter's concise argument for Isaiah 6 taking place in the Jerusalem היכל in Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVII* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1912),

מזבח, a signifier of a relationship between deity and worshippers grounded in the offering of sacrifice and liturgy, and further a signifier of the deity's cultic presence brought about or sustained through ritual practice.[33] The theophany scene draws on the semiotic world of the cult to make the manifestation of YHWH conceivable, and in turn the presence of the deity in and via the cult is seemingly validated by Isaiah's vision.

The deity is identified by various names, titles and epithets (אדני, מלך, יהוה צבאות, קדוש) which relate him to, and distinguish him from, the visionary, Judah, the vestigial Canaanite pantheon and perhaps also foreign gods.[34] The high and lofty throne (כסא רם ונשא) can be read as a signifier of kingship. Divine *σήματα* of height ("high and lifted up") and gigantic size ("the hem of his robe filled the Temple") are attributed to him, even though his figure is not directly described. [35]Both the throne and the YHWH's clothing (שוליו) also indirectly signify his anthropomorphic form.[36] The divine form (cf. Greek εἶδος) and identity are signified in ways analogous to those described by Platt.

Just as Platt's reading of the Asklepieion votive showed how the viewer might be encouraged to reorient herself and identify with the procession of worshippers, Isaiah's vision likewise draws the reader into a literary act of viewing. In the vision, there is a movement from the initial glimpse of YHWH to the hem of his robe (6:1), to the attendant seraphim (6:2), to the doorposts (6:4) and finally to the visionary (6:5). More movement is added in verses 6 and 7 as a seraph flies from above YHWH (cf. 6:2) to the altar and then the visionary (6:6), which likely implies that the altar was between the deity and the seer, who may be situated

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103-4. I also argue that status of בית and היכל as residences, analogous to those of men and mortal kings respectively, likely further implies the deity's broadly anthropomorphic form. Cf. Michael Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East* (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 126, 334.

[33] Cf. Verity Platt's comments on altars in depictions of epiphany, *Facing the Gods*, 39.

[34] In my thesis I contend that these titles and epithets are drawn from and reflect usage in the Judahite cult, but limits of space preclude the rehearsal of these arguments here.

[35] Cf. J.J.M. Roberts, 'The Visual Elements in Isaiah's Vision in Light of Judaean and Near Eastern Sources', in J. R. Wood, J. E. Harvey, and M. Leuchter (eds), *From Babel to Babylon: Essays on Biblical History and Literature in Honor of Brian Peckham* (LHB/OTS 455; New York, 2006), 203; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39* (New Haven; London: Yale Academic Press, 2000) 224.

[36] George B. Gray, *Isaiah I-XXVII* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 103 characterises YHWH's שולים as a "boldly anthropomorphic touch" which needed to be "euphemised away by the ancient translators". We can discount the widely rejected view of Driver that it refers to YHWH'S 'lower extremities', and Eslinger's further argument that שול here refers to his *pudenda*. Cf. G.R. Driver, "Isaiah 6:1 'his train filled the temple'" in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright* (Baltimore and London, 1971), 87; Lyle Eslinger, "The Infinite in a Finite Organical Perception (Isaiah VI 1-5)", *Vetus Testamentum* 45 (1995), 145-173.

somewhere in the vicinity of the threshold.[37] Francis Landy argues that this sense of movement endows the scene with a "centrifugal impulse".[38] When the text moves from deity to seer we find ourselves as readers beside the visionary, peering back into the half-described theophany within the smoke-filled temple. The use of synecdoche (e.g. 'the hem of his robe') and a kind of minimalist ekphrasis of the cultic space allows the text to signify or represent (cf. the Herodotean σημανεῖν) the theophany, without daring to reproduce it.[39]

Before considering how some examples from Phoenician cultic art might inform such a reading of Isaiah 6, I would like to suggest that the application of a semiotics of theophany to Biblical texts can go beyond Platt in making use of modern semiotic theory. We may note that Biblical scholars have no native Hebrew Bible explicit theory of divine signification equivalent Herodotus 2.53; above I worked from analogous σήματα, titles, epithets, etc. Moving past these basic analogies, we may note the wider linguistic theories of signification from Ferdinand de Saussure onwards.[40] De Saussure modelled the linguistic sign (*signe*) as the combination of the 'signifier' (*signifiant*) and the 'signified' (*signifié*), the former being the written or spoken form of a word, and the latter being the concept to which the signifier points. This connection is arbitrary:[41] there is nothing in the signifier inherently linked to the signified, and so the linguistic sign is not properly referential. For Saussure, signs exist within a system of available language (*la langue*). The signs which make up actual speech (*parole*) are taken from this system, and derive their meaning from pointing back to the system. Meaning is produced when signs are chosen from among the set of available signs (a *paradigmatic* selection) and placed in combination or contrast with other signs (*syntagmatic* presentation).[42] Meaning on a Saussurean model of semiotic relations is therefore differential; signs exist in systems of relations. Already this provides a theoretical framework for the

[37] Cf. H.G.M. Williamson, Williamson,"Temple and Worship in Isaiah 6", in John Day (ed.) *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2007), 136 suggests on this basis that Isaiah must at least be within the main building of the בית.

[38] Francis Landy, "Strategies of Concentration and Diffusion in Isaiah 6", *Biblical Interpretation* 7 (1999), 62.

[39] On this function of synecdoche, cf. again Francis Landy, "Strategies of Concentration and Diffusion in Isaiah 6", *Biblical Interpretation* 7 (1999), 62.

[40] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (Paris: Payot), 1916.

[41] NB, this is ontological arbitrariness. There can be socially or historically contingent links between a signifier and signified. Cf. Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London; New York: Routledge, 2017), 27.

[42] Saussure's original terminology used '*rapports associatifs*' for 'paradigmatic' here; Chandler, *Semiotics*, 98 notes its introduction by Hjelmslev.

function of signs in Platt's reading of Herodotus, and the function of their equivalents in Isaiah 6.

M.M. Bakhtin further developed de Saussure's theories to stress the social specificity of signification: linguistic signs' differential meaning is only produced within particular social, cultural, and political situations.[43] In the context of the present essay, the signs which make up Isaiah 6 produce meaning with reference to the religious system of the Judahite cult, and its implicit theological framework, that the Hebrew Bible remembers (or creates).

There are three further advantages to engagement with semiotic theory, beyond Platt's model, relevant here. First, Saussurean and post-Saussurean theories of how semiotic systems work are a useful conceptual tool for those who want to analyse both texts and images, because a semiotic system (whether of an ancient culture, or, say, of a specific religious institution) can be composed of both linguistic and iconographic signifiers. Second, we can use semiotic systems as a model for the relationships which exist between related cultures. Jo Quinn's recent study of Phoenician identity has shown quite convincingly the limitations of looking at the ancient world in terms of easily quantifiable ethnic identity and clear cultural boundaries.[44] Instead, cultural commonality and a degree of linguistic mutual intelligibility between Israel, Judah and the Phoenician cities might be understood in terms of overlapping and permeable semiotic systems.[45] We might, then, think in terms of how both linguistic and iconographic signifiers can move between these related semiotic systems. Third, modern theories of semiotics are the foundation of intertextual theory, which cannot be discussed here at length, but helpfully models the instability of relations between the sources available to study, in terms of the countless and often irrecoverable prior uses of the signs which make up our textual and iconographic sources.[46] For Julia Kristeva, these signs are fragments of a

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[43] See in particular M.M. Bakhtin/Valentin Volosinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (trans. L. Matejka and I.R. Titunik; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986). NB, the authorship of this work is disputed by some. Cf. Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, New Critical Idiom (London and New York: Routledge, 2nd edition, 2011), 11.

[44] Josephine Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).

[45] Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians*, 71. On mutual intelligibility, see Gary Rendsburg, "Semitic Languages (With Special Reference to the Levant)", in S. Richard (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology: A Reader* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 71-3. Cf. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "Hébreu du nord et phénicien: Étude comparée de deux dialectes cananéens", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 23 (1992), 89-126.

[46] On intertextual theory, see the overview of Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, New Critical Idiom (London and New York: Routledge, 2nd edition, 2011). Foundational to intertextual theory are Julia Kristeva's essays 'The Bounded Text' and 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel', available in Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: a Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art,* trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine and Leon S. Roudiez (ed.) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). On the use and misuse of

'social text' or 'cultural' text, the set of signs available within a given culture, which are reused such that "any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations". Only a fraction of the social texts which generated the Hebrew Bible or Phoenician art and literature have survived to the present; Kristeva's theory of intertextuality reminds us that we of the vast realm of irrecoverable oral culture, pedagogy, artwork, etc., in the context of which theophany texts like Isaiah 6 or Phoenician cultic art produced meaning.[47] We must remember that the signifiers which combine to represent divine presences in theophany are drawn from such an unmappable social text.

The above considerations combine to suggest that a semiotic approach to theophany offers the possibility of comparing signification in both literary and iconographic sources, and of understanding the related Levantine cultures of Israel, Judah, and Phoenicia as being composed from overlapping social texts; at the same time they stress the need for epistemic humility in approaching surviving sources, and regarding the provisionality of our conclusions. With this latter point in mind, I wish to stress that this essay's investigation of Phoenician iconography in no way precludes the usefulness of comparing the theophany in Isaiah 6 with other material, e.g. Mesopotamian iconography.[48]

3. Phoenician Iconography and Isaiah 6.

Whereas ancient Israel and Judah bequeathed later scholars a complex and diverse literary tradition, but very little material culture with regard to visual art and iconography, almost the exact inverse is true in the case of the region of the Levant commonly referred to as Phoenicia (and its settlements in the Western Mediterranean).[49] While the term

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intertextual theory in Bibical studies, see in particular John Barton, "Déjà Lu: Intertextuality, Method or Theory?" in K. Dell and W. Kynes (eds.) *Reading Job Intertextually* (LHBOTS 574; London: T&T Clark, 2012), 1-16; also David M. Carr, in M. Nissinen (ed.), 'The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies: Actual and Potential", in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010* (VTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 505-535; B.J. Oropeza, "Intertextuality", in S.L. McKenzie (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation* Vol. 1 (Oxford: OUP, 2013), 453-463; and Russell Meek, "Intertextuality, Inner Biblical Exegesis, and Inner Biblical Allusion: The Ethics of a Methodology", *Biblica* 95, (2014), 280-91.

[47] See e.g. Laura Quick, *Deuteronomy 28 and the Aramaic Curse Tradition*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 50-51, on our inability to access so much of this information, including even knowledge of which particular versions of Biblical texts authors or redactors had access to.

[48] See, for example, Shawn Zelig Aster, *Reflections of Empire in Isaiah 1-39: Responses to Assyrian Ideology* (SBL Ancient Near East Monographs; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 41-80.

[49] As a basic introduction to Phoenican studies see Sabatino Moscati (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001). The recent major work on Phoenician religious iconography is Brian Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism in its Mediterranean and Ancient Near Eastern Contexts* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015). For a very basic overview, see Shelby Brown, "Perspectives on Phoenician Art", *The Biblical Archaeologist* 55 (1992), 6-24; and further, Giovanni Tore, "L'art: Sarcophages, relief,

"Phoenician" is controversial on the basis that the inhabitants of the Iron Age Lebanon and its colonies never self-identify as such – φοῖνιξ is, of course, a Greek appellation, and not necessarily an ethnic one – it is used here as a term of general convenience.[50] Within the wider Phoenician world there were observable cultural and religious differences between the different Levantine coastal cities, and between the various overseas settlements, which certainly preclude treating Phoenicia as a cultural monolith. Furthermore, on linguistic, cultural and socio-political levels, the 'Phoenician' cities participated in a wider Levantine, West Semitic world.[51] In particular we can note their role in the geopolitical systems of the area, whether remembered in terms of their engagement with the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah (e.g. the alliance between Solomon and King Hiram of Tyre, 1 Kings 5:26; the reference to a craftsman Hiram at 1 Kings 7:13-14[52]; the dynastic alliance between Ahab of Israel and the Sidonian princess Jezebel 1 Kings 16:31), or in terms of their–willing or unwilling–cooperation in the economic networks and imperial projects of the Mesopotamian and Persian empires.[53] The relative and porous nature of local identities in the Iron Age Levant is perhaps well demonstrated by linguistic commonality: Phoenician, Hebrew, Moabite, Ugaritic, Aramaic languages likely afforded a degree of mutual intelligibility, the former languages being identifiably "Canaanite", and the latter two joining them as part of a West Semitic linguistic family.[54] In terms of semiotics and cultural production, we might

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stèles.", in Véronique Krings (ed.), *La Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique: Manuel de Recherche* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 471-93; Éric Gubel *et al*, *Art Phénicien: La sculpture de tradition phénicienne* (Paris: Musée de Louvre, Départment des Antiquités Orientales, 2002). On Phoenicnain archaeology, see María Eugenia Aubet, "Phoenicia during the Iron Age II Period", in Margaret L. Steiner and Ann E. Killebrew (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant: c. 8000-332 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 706-16, and Hélène Sader, "The Northern Levant During the Iron Age I Period" *ibid*., 607-23.

[50] On the issue of Phoenician identity as a foreign, historiographical construct, see the excellent investigation of the issue by Josephine Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), especially chapter two. Cf. Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 4-5.

[51] On points of similarity between the material cultures of the Phoenician cities and Israel, see C.H.J. de Geus, "The Material Culture of Phoenicia and Israel", in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible: Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Leuven on the 15th and 16th of March 1990* (Studia Phoenicia XI; Department Oriëntalistiek; Uitgeverij Peeters: Leuven, 1991), 11-16.

[52] The introduction of a second Hiram into the narrative here suggests we should approach the specifics of these 'remembered' links with Phoenician cities with a certain amount of caution. Volkmar Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2003), 82, argues Hiram the craftsman to be wholly fictional; this despite John Gray, *I & II Kings* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 182, arguing for a historical Huram-abi on the basis of 2 Chron. 2:13; cf. Mordechai Cogan, 1 Kings (The Anchor Bible; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 261.

[53] See, e.g., Josette Elayi, *Histoire de la Phénicie* (Paris: Perrin, 2018), 325-361, on the role of Phoenicia and its navies in the Persian imperial project.

[54] Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians*, 71. On mutual intelligibility, see Gary Rendsburg, "Semitic Languages (With Special Reference to the Levant)", in S. Richard (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology: A*

therefore expect the cultural or social text of Phoenician religion to be neither identical to, nor far removed from, those of Ugarit or ancient Israel and Judah.

What, then, can we say about Phoenician art, and any potential forays into what Platt christens 'visual theology'? First, that it is intertextual in a fully Kristevan sense. Shelby Brown notes that "The hallmark of Phoenician art is its eclecticism", and that "we recognize Phoenician art by its unusual combinations and modifications of motifs and designs borrowed from a variety of foreign sources".[55] The most common recognisable foreign influence is Egyptian, such that Brown notes that "Egyptian attributes generally dominate, and "Egyptianizing" is the adjective most commonly used to describe Phoenician art."[56] As we shall see, this is reflected in the frequent re-presentation of Egyptian or Egyptianising elements connected to deities, cult and royalty in the material available.

On Platt's basic Herodotean model of the semiotics of theophany, cultural production (i.e. art and literature) teaches the divine forms by which gods may be recognised. The simplest exercise in 'visual theology' is, of course, the visual representation of divine bodies. There is some archeological evidence that the Phoenician cities continued producing bronze anthropomorphic statuettes of deities within the broad tradition of the second millennium BC Levant. Falsone's overview of Phoenician bronzes notes the persistence of typologies he categorises as the 'dieu combattant' and the 'dieu bénissant'.[57] These bronzes exhibit Egyptianizing tendencies which might be considered *σήματα* of divinity: horned disks on the heads of female deities, and the use of Hedjet or Atef crowns.[58]

Various stelae also serve as evidence for how Phoenicians may have envisioned anthropomorphic divinities, two of which I present here as examples here. A mid-ninth or very early eighth century stele from Breidj, near Aleppo, depicts a bearded male deity. The stele's inscription labels the image *lmlqrt*, suggesting the deity be identified with Melqart, the chief god of Tyre.[59] The deity's beard and cap resemble later Phoenician images of Melqart,

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Reader (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 71-3. Cf. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "Hébreu du nord et phénicien: Étude comparée de deux dialectes cananéens", *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 23 (1992), 89-126.

[55] Brown, "Perspectives on Phoenician Art", 8. See also Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 11.

[56] Brown, "Perspectives on Phoenician Art", 8.

[57] Gioacchino Falsone, "Bronzes", in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique* (Paris: Brepols, 1992), 80-81, pl. ii, iii.

[58] Falsone, "Bronzes", figs. 52, 53, pl. ii, iii.

[59] Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians*, 124; Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 52-4. For a detailed discussion of the inscription, see Gotthard Reinhold, "The Bir-Hadad Stele and the Biblical Kings of Aram", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 24 (1986), 115-126. On Melqart, see S. Ribichini,

lending credence to the identification of the image with the form of the deity known at Tyre.[60]

The fifth (or perhaps early fourth) century 'Yeḥawmilk stele' from Byblos, also in the Louvre, is another example of a anthropomorphic divine image upon a stele from the Phoenician world.[61] A goddess sits on a throne, her right hand raised in greeting, her left hand holding a *wꜣdj* sceptre, and her feet resting on a low footstool. She is depicted after the fashion of the Egyptian Hathor, with a sun disk and cows' horns on her head. A bearded man wearing a *polos*-style vestment stands before her, apparently meeting her gaze, with his right hand raised to reciprocate her gesture, and his left offering a two-handled cup.[62] Doak suggests his vesture is Persian. [63]Above the two figures is a solar disk, with wings that overshadow two figures easily; the wings hold the two together in the single scene of their meeting. Beneath the figures is an inscription in Phoenician.[64] It details the dedication of the stele by Yeḥawmilk, king of Gubal (i.e. Byblos), who has received this kingship from the Lady of Byblos (בעלת גבל), who may be identified with the goddess depicted on the stele.[65] The male figure should be recognised, then, as Yeḥawmilk himself. The inscription goes on to note that Yeḥawmilk has presented the Lady with a bronze altar (המזבח נחשׁת, l. 4) along with the image.

There is thus a complex web of relations between image and ritual in the context of the Yeḥawmilk stele. The stele exists within a preexisting relationship between a ruler and a deity; the erection of the stele makes the display of the goddess's form part of that reciprocal relationship of recognition and legitimisation. The stele records the provision of an altar for the ritualisation of this relationship. It also directly depicts such a ritualised relationship, with the figure of Yeḥawmilk offering the goddess the two-handed bowl. The representation of direct engagement between the king and the embodied goddess may not be a claim to a real-world theophanic experience, but the image's production of meaning ('visual theology') employs the representation of such an encounter to great effect. On a very basic level the

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"Melqart", in Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, Pieter W. van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (DDD) Second Edition, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 563-5.

[60] Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 54, citing William Culican, "Melqart Representations on Phoenician Seals." *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1960-61) 41-54.

[61] Louvre I.D. no. AO 22368. See Éric Gubel *et al*., *Art Phénicien: La sculpture de tradition phénicienne* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, Réunion des Musées Nationaux; Snoek, 2002), 64-5, no. 50.

[62] Cf. Gubel, *Art Phenicién*, 64.

[63] Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 57.

[64] Transcription and French translation in Gubel, *Art Phénicien*, 65.

[65] On reading בעלת גבל as a proper name, see Anna E. Zernecke, "The Lady of the Titles: The Lady of Byblos and the Search for her "True Name," *Die Welt des Orients* 43 (2013), 226-242.

Yeḥawmilk stele draws on the same constellation of signifiers as Isaiah 6: embodied anthropomorphic deity, throne, altar, and mortal viewer of the divine form.

Isaiah 6 does not, however, directly depict or describe the divine form. As we have seen, the text relies on synecdoche and implication to suggest YHWH's anthropomorphic body. The god's throne serves this purpose, as discussed above, and serves as the conceptual space which the divine form occupies within the vision. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, YHWH is perhaps portrayed in a sitting position by the so-called 'cherubim formula', in which the deity is described as יֹשֵׁב הכרבים (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 2 Kings 19:15; 1 Chron 13:6; Isaiah 37:16; Pss. 80:1; 99:1).[66] This has frequently been linked to the well-known motif of Levantine thrones, the arms of which are formed of sphinxes, broadly identifiable with the Bible's cherubim. [67]

Such thrones are extant in Phoenician iconography. Henri Seyrig published a collection of cultic, votive sphinx thrones discovered in the environs of Sidon.[68] The thrones are too small for adult human use. Some are empty, some have holes or cavities in the seat, to which a figure may originally have been attached, and one (Seyrig no. 6) is empty but for two miniature stele on the inside of the throne's back, which likely signify divine presence(s). At least one throne (Seyrig no. 3), admittedly from the first century AD, has a seat so steep that it cannot have supported a cult image, and therefore testifies to a tradition of empty cult-thrones in Phoenicia. Mettinger characterised such artefacts as examples of an "empty-space aniconism where the throne is the seat of the invisibly present deity."[69] Platt noted similar thrones whose emptiness provides space for theophanic experience. Discussing empty thrones of Zeus, with particular reference to his cult at Cilician Olba, she relates such objects to Zeus's reluctance to appear visibly to mortals in Homer. She suggests that "[t]his 'Jovian' tension between anthropomorphised form and withheld epiphany finds an effective material

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[66] On this formula, see in particular Adam Carlill, *Cherubim and Seraphim in the Old Testament*, (unpublished DPhil thesis; University of Oxford, 2013), 138-155. Against this position, see Raanan Eichler, "The Meaning of יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 126 (2014), 358-71.

[67] On this identification, see W.F. Albright, "What Were the Cherubim?", *Biblical Archaeologis*t 1 (1938), 1-3; cf. Roland de Vaux, "Les Chérubins et l'Arche d'Alliance", *Bible et Orient*, (Paris: Le Cerf, 1967), 231-259. Carlill, *Cherubim and Seraphim*, discussed alternatives, especially pp. 112-114. See also Raanan Eichler, "Cherub: A History of Interpretation", *Biblica* 96 (2015), 26-38.

[68] Discussed in Tryggve N.D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context.* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 100ff.
Published Henri Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes 70. Divinités de Sidon", *Syria* 36 (1959), 48-56.

[69] Tryggve N.D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context.* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 101-2.

counterpart in objects such as the empty thrones that formed the focus of ritual activity in various sanctuaries".[70] We might then, in Platt's terms, want to question whether such an empty throne served as a signifier of the YHWH's presence in the Temple, and created the space in which Isaiah's theophany takes place.[71] This is, at least, its function within the text.

A similar sphinx throne is shown on the side of the so-called Ahiram sarcophagus from Byblos, dating to c. 1000 BC.[72] One of the long sides of the sarcophagus depicts a male anthropomorphic figure (most likely the late Ahiram) seated on a sphinx throne, with a table laden with offerings before him, and beyond that seven figures lined up to pay homage, several of whom raise their hands in greeting or prayer.[73] The first of the supplicants holds the enthroned figure's gaze. Here we see something close to the 'ritual-centred visuality' of Petridou's model. Formally, the scene resembles Greek representations of divine presence in the cult, such as the Asklepion relief discussed above. The offering-table functions like an altar as a sign of the intersection between human and divine worlds, and the apparent eye contact between the seated figure and the first supplicant signifies the kind of reciprocity Platt locates at the heart of depictions of Greek cultic encounter.[74] Of course, Ahiram may not be a divinity *per se*, but the deceased king is here being offered food and homage in death – his status is at least proximate to that of a deity. The Ahiram sarcophagus might, then, be read as depicting something at least analogous to the ritualised encounter between worshippers and an enthroned divine form.

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[70] Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 102.

[71] Cf. Tryggve N.D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth* (Lund: Gleerup, 1982), 37; Elliot Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 17-18.

[72] Quinn, *In Search of the Phoenicians*, 236 n. 69, suggests it may be as old as the thirteenth or twelfth centuries BC. On the possibility that the sarcophagus may be this old, and only its inscription from the tenth century, see Giovanni Tore, "L'Art: Sarcophages, Relief, Stèles", in Véronique Krings (ed.), *La Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique: Manuel de Recherche* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 472.
On Phoenician sarcophaguses, see Helen Dixon, "Phoenician Mortuary Practice in the Iron Age I-III (ca. 1200-300 BCE) Levantine "Homeland"", Phd diss. University of Michigan, 2013.

[73] See description in Tore, "L'Art", 471; also Silvia Schroer, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient: Band 3 Die Spätbronzezeit* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2011), 388-9. The major recent work on the sarcophagus is Ellen Rehm, *Dynastensarkophage mit szenischen Reliefs aus Byblos und Zypern: Teil 1.1 Der Ahiram-Sarkophag* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2004), esp. pp. 33-47. Rehm notes the scene's strong similarity to an ivory from Late Bronze Megiddo, in Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Oriental Institute Publications 52; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 13, pl. 4:2a.

[74] Cf. Platt, *Facing the Gods*, 33, 39.



Fig. 2. 'Ahiram sarcophagus', tenth century BC [disputed], Byblos. Musée National de Beyrouth. Image: Wikimedia commons.

Isaiah 6 does not only suggest one divine figure seen by the visionary. Much ink has been spilled debating the identity, form and origins of the שׂרפים Isaiah sees above YHWH. The root שׂרף denotes 'burning' in classical Hebrew. In some respects, this coheres with the מזבח and the 'glowing coal' (רצפה) in 6:6, and perhaps the smoke (עשׁן) of 6:4. [75]Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, a שׂרף is quite unambiguously a serpent (e.g. Numbers 21:6; Deut 8:5),[76] albeit a flying serpent at Isaiah 14:29 and 30:6.[77] In epiphanic fashion, we are given glimpses along the lines of synecdoche: mention is made of their wings (כנפים at 6:2), "his hand" (ידו at 6:6), their faces (פניו at 6:2), and feet (רגליו at 6:2), but there is no further description of their overall form. They both stand and fly (6:2).

It is now the view of an overwhelming majority of scholars that a winged version of the Egyptian *uraeus* serpent – a protective minor deity – stands behind the Biblical [78].שׂרף Karen Joines's research connected the seraphim to the *uraeus* serpent in Egyptian and Egyptian-derived art, a protective symbol of royalty human and divine, which could be portrayed with up to four wings.[79] The motif shows up as a royal symbol featuring Egyptian-

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[75] John Day, "Echoes of Baal's Seven Thunders and Lightnings in Psalm XXIX and Habakkuk III 9 and the Identity of the Seraphim in Isaiah VI", *Vetus Testamentum* 29 (1979), 143-151, makes the connection between the seraphim and the smoke of 6:4, going on to suggest that the seraphim be read as literally firey analogues to the lightnings of Baal, non-identical with the deity himself, in Ugaritc literature.

[76] Cf. Karen Joines, "Winged Serpents in Isaiah's Vision", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967), 410-415: 410-11.

[77] A minority view follows Görg in reading שׂרף as derived from Egyptian *sfr* ('griffin'). So, recently, Nicolas Wyatt, "Grasping the Griffin: Identifying and Characterizing the Griffin in Egyptian and West Semitic Tradition", *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1 (2009), 29-39: 31-32; cf. M. Görg, "Die Funktion der Serafen bei Jesaja", *Biblische Notizen* 5 (1978), 28-39. Mettinger, "Seraphim שׂרפים," in *DDD*, 473, suggests that this etymology may allow a closer identification with the cherub iconography of the Jerusalem temple.

[78] Cf. Karen Joines, "Winged Serpents in Isaiah's Vision", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967), 410-415.

[79] Joines, "Winged Serpents", 412. Regarding the protective quality of the uraeus, Provençal, "Regarding the Noun", 374, argues that in Egyptian and Egyptianised Phoenician iconography, the

style crowns in the Samaria ivories, and Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger have documented the winged uraeus on several Judahite seal designs.[80]

It may be, then, that the seraphim belong to an Egyptianised semiotic system of religious iconography and royal ideology. Such imagery was plausibly available to the Judahite author of Isaiah 6, forming part of his broader cultural text, though it beings to disappear from the archaeological record during the seventh century.[81] We may tentatively agree with de Jong that the seraphic imagery of the vision dates to the earlier stages of Isaianic composition in the Neo-Assyrian period.[82]

The שׂרפים have also been linked to the enigmatic object Nehushtan, destroyed by Hezekiah according to 2 Kings 18, which the historian portrays as part of the *realia* of the Judahite cult. According to a probable aetiology for the image in Numbers 21, the image was fashioned by Moses to effect divine healing from the venom of שׂרף snakes. According to 2 Kings 18:4, incense was offered to Nehushtan, though Hendel points out that this may have been "ordinary Yahwistic cultic piety" only retroactively condemned as idol-worship by Biblical authors, and that "[t]he bronze snake probably belonged to the traditional repertoire of Yahwistic symbols."[83] Adam Carlill notes in his 2013 DPhil thesis that the snake image, according to Numbers 21:8-9, was upon a pole (נֵס), and that this might explain the position of the seraphim above YHWH in Isaiah 6:2.[84]

There may be extrabiblical evidence for Nehusthan-like iconography in Levantine material culture. Richard Barnett tentatively suggested identifying a winged *uraeus* on a pole, featured on at least one of the eighth century bronze Levantine bowls found by Sir Henry

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uraeus-cobra is always portrayed upright, a specifically defensive posture, whereas the cobra hunts on its belly. Mettinger, "Seraphim שׂרפים" , 743 notes that "Among the Egyptian designations for the uraeus one finds the word ʒḫt, "flame"," which might indicate a similar indexical sign-relationship to the Hebrew שׂרף. On this, cf. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen*, 83.

[80] Othmar Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977), 70-124. See also images of Phoenician winged *uraei*, with royal and solar symbols, available from the University of Oxford's Classical Art Research Centre at http://www.cvaonline.org/gems/scarab/scarab17.htm, accessed 1st November 2018.

[81] Thomas Wagner, *Gottes Herrschaft: Eine Analyses der Denkschrift (Jes 6,1-9,6)* (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2006), 120. Cf. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen*, 103ff.

[82] Matthijs J. De Jong, *Isaiah Among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 117; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007),
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[83] Ronald S. Hendel, "Nehushtan נחשתן," in *DDD*, 616.

[84] Carlill, "Cherubim and Seraphim", 188.

Layard in the North West Palace at Nimrud, with Nehushtan.[85] Here the winged *uraeus* appears to belong to a repetoire of cultic signifiers: also present are winged sphinxes, perhaps equivalent to the cherubim. Barnett's example had both wings and a sun disk. There is also a much less commented upon example of a *uraeus*, without the sun disk but with outstretched wings, on bowl BM N 25, portrayed with other Levantine cultic σήματα.[86] The decorative use of such apparently cultic motifs is an interesting example of how ritual-centred visuality might be disseminated through visual arts. The bowls' presence at Nimrud – almost certainly war booty from Levantine campaigns[87] – is also a fascinating example of how iconographic signifiers may be physically and forcibly moved from one semiotic (religious, cultural, political, economic) system to another.



Fig. 3. Phoenician(?) bowl, North West Palace, Nimrud.
BM N.25. Image: British Museum website.

Nehushtan would appear to be the closest inner-Biblical parallel for any hypothetical cultic realia which might have inspired Isaiah's שׂרפים. Nevertheless, there is another particularly relevant comparison within the sphere of Phoenician cultic iconography. I refer to the architectural motif of a *cavetto* lintel frieze of multiple *uraei*, which might explain the perhaps unexpected positioning of the seraphim above YHWH in Isaiah 6.

The motif has its origins in Egyptian sacred architecture, and appears frequently in in Phoenician *conscious representations* of sacred space, as the major constitutive element of

[85] Richard D. Barnett, "Layard's Nimrud Bronzes and Their Inscriptions", *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (1967), 1*-6*: 3*.
[86] BM N.25, image available at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=368090&partId=1&searchText=layard+bowl&page=3 , accessed 1st November 2018.
[87] After Barnett, "Layard's Nimrud Bronzes and Their Inscriptions", 4*.

the stylised representation of a shrine-temple (*naiskos*) in various media. Particularly relevant to the present discussion are multiple examples of anthropomorphic deities being depicted inside schematic *naiskos* façades. In a 2018 article Dominique Barcat draws attention traces a Levantine tradition of goddesses being depicted in such shrines. She notes, for example, a stele from Memphis – but originally from the Levant – portraying the goddess Astarte-Hathor receiving worship in a stylised of a shrine-temple, beneath an *uraeus* lintel.[88] The Memphis stele (as reconstructed from its fragmentary form), in contrast to the Yeḥawmilk image, appears to portray the goddess as significantly larger than the priest offering her worship, a σῆμα of divinity discussed with reference to Greek theophanies in the previous chapter. She sits on a winged sphinx-throne, with a cult stand between her throne and the priest. Above her are two divine symbols: an upwards-facing crescent moon and a rosette. [89]Barcat's article demonstrates that this imagery is closely related to a series of eleven Egyptian bronze mirrors of the seventh and sixth centuries which depict a woman in a *naiskos* setting (with the same hathoric columns, and the canonical winged-sun and *uraei* lintel) offering a mirror to the goddess Mut.[90] In the context of the present study, we might consider the Levantine Memphis stele to consist of signifiers drawn from a cultic cultural text very closely related to that of the mirrors.

Barcat also relates the Memphis stele to a scarab seal from the Punic settlement at Tharros on Sardinia, which depicts a deity seated in a stylised *naiskos*, with cultic attendants outside the shrine on either side.[91] Indeed, images on seal impressions constitute a major body of evidence for how Phoenician/Punic religious culture envisioned deities.[92] A great many impressions catalogued online by the University of Oxford's Classical Art Research Centre show seated figures likely to be deities, often with incense stands, suggesting a relationship between cult and the anthropomorphic bodies of Phoenician gods.[93] Several

[88] Dominique Barcat, "L'Égypte et la Méditerranée au Ier Millénaire av J.-C.: Le Naïskos et les « Portes du Ciel »", *Revue archéologique* 66 (2018), 249-78.
[89] Barcat, "L'Égypte et la Méditerranée au Ier Millénaire av J.-C.: Le Naïskos et les « Portes du Ciel »", 256-7.
[90] Barcat, "L'Égypte et la Méditerranée au Ier Millénaire av J.-C.: Le Naïskos et les « Portes du Ciel »", 251-4.
[91] Barcat, "L'Égypte et la Méditerranée au Ier Millénaire av J.-C.: Le Naïskos et les « Portes du Ciel », *Revue archéologique* 66 (2018), 257
[92] Cf. John Boardman, *Classical Phoenician Scarabs: A Catalogue and Study* (Oxford: The Beazley Archive and Archaeopress, 2003). See Culican, "Melqart Representations", cited above; and Doak, *Phoenican Aniconism*, 55-6.
[93] See http://www.cvaonline.org/gems/scarab/scarab17.htm/ [last accessed 12 April 2019] for many examples. That these images are likely to be of deities is suggested by the smaller set of clearly

show seated goddesses possessing larger-than-human bodies, in comparison to worshipping figures.[94] Goddess figures, usually identified as Isis, are often winged; another sign of marking broadly anthropomorphic divine bodies as superhuman. [95]The corpus also contains many depictions of other supernatural non-human beings, such as winged uraei and sphinxes (including many thrones, the arms of which are formed by sphinxes). These too might be counted as divine bodies, or as σήματα of divinity in their own right.

The prominence of the *naiskos* motif in Phoenician representations of divine bodies suggests that the Egyptian-style *naos* shrine may be considered an influential signifier (or set of signifiers) in the production of Phoenician religious visuality.[96] Several model *naiskoi* dating from the ninth to seventh centuries BC have been found at Sidon.[97] These models appear to be miniature representations of the kind of *cellae* found in monumental cultic architecture at, for example, Amrit and Umm el-ʿAmed.[98] Among the best preserved are the near-intact models in the Louvre and the Istanbul Museum.[99]

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related images which show bull-headed anthropomorphic figures enthroned, which are best explained as deities: http://www.cvaonline.org/gems/scarab/scarab21.htm. Ambiguity regarding whether purely anthropomorphic figures are gods are kings might be phrased in terms of the throne, or the scene of enthronement, being 'polyphonic signifiers'.

[94] E.g. http://www.cvaonline.org/gems/scarab/scarab20.htm.

[95] See in particular examples from Ibiza and Cagliari here: http://www.cvaonline.org/gems/scarab/scarab10.htm. The standard catalogue of Ibizan material is John Boardman, *Escarabeos de Piedra Procedentes de Ibiza* (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Catálogos y monografías 8; Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1984).

[96] I.e. the kinds of socially-constructed practices of religious viewing and envisioning discussed in particular by Platt and Petridou in the previous chapters.

[97] Cf. Anna Maria Bisi, "Un Naiskos tardo-fenicio del museo di Beyrut e il problema dell'origine dei cippi egittizzanti nel mondo punico", in *Antiquités Africaines* 5 (1971), 15-38; Ida Oggiano, "Lo spazio fenicio rappresentato", in X.D. Raventós, S. Ribichini, and S. Verger (eds.), *Saturnia Tellus: Definizioni dello spazio consacrato in ambiente etrusco, italico, fenicio-punico, iberic e celtico; Atti del convegno internazionale svoltosi a Roma dal 10 al 12 novembre 2004* (Rome: Consiglia nazionale delle richerche, 2008), 283-300.

[98] Oggiano, "Lo spazio fenicio rappresentato", 286.

[99] Louvre AO 2060 (cf. also AO 4904) and Istanbul E.803-K.92, respectively. Cf. images and decription in Bisi, "Un Naiskos", 20.



Fig. 4. Left: Model naiskos, Sidon, ninth?-fifth century BC. Louvre AO 2060. Image: my own. Right: Model naiskos, Sidon, sixth-fifth century BC. Istanbul Archaeological Museum E.803-K.92. Image: Osama Shukir Muhammed Amin, creative commons license.

Both examples feature the *uraeus* lintel and winged solar-disk above a recessed doorway. Both appear to contain, within the doorway, the remains of an animal- or sphinx-throne, with some empty space on the seat perhaps originally reserved for an aniconic representation of a deity.[100] The pillars framing the doorway of these *naiskoi* are decorated with a palmette relief, which survives most clearly on the Istanbul model.[101] At least one small model, in painted terra-cotta, contains a squat figure (perhaps the Egyptian deity Bes) standing on a pair of lions.[102] A Sidonian relief of the sixth or fifth century BC shows a seated anthropomorphic figure enthroned in a *naiskos* beneath a frieze of *uraei*.[103] These various *naiskoi* images appear, then, to provide the space for actually represented (iconic or aniconic)

[100] Cf. Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 109-111. Room 11 of the Eastern Temple at Umm el-ʿAmed contained a sphinx throne, though the lintel of the chapel's recessed door is decorated only the winged sun disk, and not the *cavetto uraei* frieze; see drawings in Oggiano, "Lo Spazio Fenicio Rappresentato", 287. At Umm el-ʿAmed the winged sun disk appears particularly to mark entrance thresholds to areas of increased sanctity (the East entrance to the East Temple complex; a side entrance to the main temple building therein; the door to Room 11), *ibid*., 287.
[101] Cf. perhaps I Kings 6:18, 29, 35; 7:18-22.
[102] Cf. Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 48.
[103] Louvre AO 5716. Gubel, *Art Phénicien*, 84.

or imagined divine presence.[104] They are close to being a constellation of signs which together make space for theophany, or theophanically-oriented viewing practices. They suggest some link between viewing representations of divine presence(s) and the semiotic world of the cult.

These model naiskoi are self-conscious representations of cultic architecture. They are deliberately miniaturised, [105]and collapse the depth of a temple building into a more immediate re-combination of liminal doorway and holy place containing the throne. This truncation of represented sacred space serves to intensify the relationship between interaction with sacred architecture and the process of viewing the divine form, or a looser representation of the divine form, or the space where the divine form might be imagined.

It is beyond our knowledge whether the Temple featured uraeus lintels, and so on, but I'd like to finish with the following observation regarding these model shrines and our text. Isaiah 6 is *also* a self-conscious representation of cultic architecture, albeit composed of linguistic rather than iconographic signifiers. It too, plays with space. Instead of compressing entrance and holy place to encourage a particular kind of viewing, instead the scene pulls back from the vision of YHWH on his throne, into the *debir* filled with the divine robe, and brings us to the visionary's own location, on the other side of the altar, somewhere near the doorway.[106] We move from the fleeting glimpse of the Lord on a lofty throne, and find ourselves, in the end, with the visionary at the other end of the building. This identification and this movement creates a sense of sacred space in which Isaiah's theophany occurs.

My basic contention then, is this: it may be that some of the Phoenician iconography discussed in this essay bears a resemblance to the *realia* of the Temple which signified for Isaiah the presence of YHWH, and which – in the manner modelled by Platt and Petridou – constituted the visual context into which the divine form could be inserted, and the likes of

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[104] One fragmentary relief in the Louvre collection, AO 5726, cf. Gubel *et al.*, *Art Phénicien*, 84, shows an anthropomorphic deity seated in a similar shrine.

[105] Ziony Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches* (London; New York: Continuum, 2001), 340. Further discussed in Doak, *Phoenician Aniconism*, 102, citing Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: Chicago Univeristy Press, 1966), 23-25.

[106] As discussed earlier in this essay, as per Francis Landy, "Strategies of Concentration and Diffusion in Isaiah 6", *Biblical Interpretation* 7 (1999), 62. "For the moment, Isaiah simply sees YHWH, without interruption or qualification. The frankness of the gaze is echoed in v. 5, where Isaiah says that his eyes have seen "the Kings, Lord of Hosts." In between sight and acknowledgement there is a description of the vision that moves outwards, from the centre to the periphery. From the Lord we go to his train, his retinue, and the world full of his glory. Then the vision is obscured by the smoke that fills the temple."

which taught figures like Isaiah, or the authors and tradents of the Biblical text, a ritually-centred way of looking at their cult and for their deity.

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▶ **Paper**

Covenant in Dialogue? The Case of Lamentations 3

➥ Respondent: Kare Berge

▶ **Abstract**

The Book of Lamentations presents five poems that cry out in response to the devastation of conquest. In each case, the poetry seems to brim with visceral urgency, reflecting the distress and disorientation experienced by those who had survived the onslaught and now had to survive the ramifications. And yet it juxtaposes cries of despair with theological reflection, and utilises controlling poetic devices, which suggest a more measured response than has sometimes been assumed. While the most notable controlling feature is the formation of at least four of the poems into acrostics, scholars have increasingly recognised the importance of multiple voices as a means through which the poetry brings a semblance of order to the chaos. However, no agreement has yet been reached concerning the number of voices that may be detected, and the first studies of the effect of these voices have only emerged in recent years. The PhD research behind this paper seeks to contribute to this discussion by asking whether different voices are used so that the poet may enable a dialogue to take place between conflicting theological responses. Specifically, it examines the presence and influence of ideas about covenant – a theme that looms large in the Golah community's theological response to the same events, but is conspicuously absent from the language of Lamentations – to contend that while the Jerusalem survivors did not share their exiled compatriots' drive to 'solve' theological conflicts (i.e., according to the covenant, should this have happened or not?), they were starkly aware of the same issues and engaged with them by drawing them into the dialogues that take place in each poem and across the book. This paper focuses specifically on Lamentations 3, the poem which most clearly includes both dialogue and language elsewhere associated with covenant, to explore the way this literary technique has shaped what has so often been identified as cornerstone of the whole book.

▶ Project Summary

How far does the theme and language of covenant influence the theology of the Book of Lamentations?

This paper reflects research undertaken throughout the second year of my doctoral research, which seeks to examine the extent to which the theme and language of covenant influences and shapes the book of Lamentations, with particular attention given to the utilisation of poetic voices to draw contrasting theological ideas into dialogue with one another.

Ever since N. Gottwald's seminal monograph Studies in the Book of Lamentations (1954), scholars have recognised the influence of theological ideas, which underpin the poetry and shape its expression, as it seeks to respond to the distress and confusion of sixth-century BCE Jerusalem. Scholarship continues to expand its view, not only of the breadth of concepts, beliefs and traditions that are to be found in the book, but also of the complex way they interact to produce poems of raw emotion, spiritual depth, and literary intricacy. In recent years, attention has turned towards the function of poetic voices and personae, and scholars have increasingly recognised the importance of polyphony and dialogue as literary constructs that enable the poet(s) to view the desperate circumstances being endured from different emotional, prayerful and theological perspectives.

Among the various theological perspectives that have been identified, one theme that is rarely mentioned is Yahweh's covenant with his people. It has been argued that the absence of the term ברית, as well as its most closely associated verb כרת, shows that it was an unknown concept at the time of the book's composition. However, the presence of other themes, concepts and terminology in Lamentations that are elsewhere closely associated with covenant would seem to contradict such an argument. Upon closer inspection, it appears that these themes, concepts and terms reside in contrasting covenantal traditions, which draw the poet(s) to cry out against Yahweh for breaking his promise to favour them with one breath, only to confess their own broken promise to obey him with another. Moreover, when these themes, concepts and terms are 'mapped' over the voices in each poem, what emerges is a sense of dialogue between differing covenantal perspectives that takes place within each poem and across the entire book.

This paper specifically focuses on Lamentations 3, the poem within this short anthology that most clearly includes both dialogue and language that is elsewhere associated with covenant, to explore the way this literary technique has shaped what has so often been identified as the cornerstone of the whole book. Specifically, this paper will prioritise laying out the foundations of the argument, which are located in the identification of covenantal ideology as well as the delineation of the multiple poetic voices that are active throughout the poem. With respect to covenant, it will be argued that there is evidence in the text that at least two covenantal traditions were known to the poet and form an important undercurrent to the language and themes of the poem. With respect to poetic voices, contrary to some scholars who recognise only one dominant speaker, who identifies himself as הגבר (Lam 3:1), it will be argued that in fact three voices are active throughout the poem: הגבר (Lam 3:1-24, 34-36, 48-66), a Wisdom correspondent (Lam 3:25-33, 37-41), and the Jerusalem community (Lam 3:42-47).

Although the paper is focused on making a detailed presentation of these two foundational issues, it will conclude with a brief discussion about how these elements come together in dialogue. Drawing on key insights from the influential dialogic theory of M. Bakhtin (with a particular focus in this paper on dialogic meaning, the independence of voices in polyphonic discourse, and the dialogism of ideas), this discussion will argue that Lamentations 3 represents a complex interaction of contrasting ideas about covenant, not to prioritise one over another, or to resolve the conflict between them, but to enable the poet to bring some sense of order to their own conflicted and chaotic response to the crisis they face, and in the end to find the words to express their grief.

▶ **Keywords** Isaiah, theophany, Phoenicia, iconography, semiotics

COVENANT IN DIALOGUE?
THE CASE OF LAMENTATIONS 3

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PREFACE

This paper reflects the most recent research of my doctoral project, which seeks to examine the extent to which the theme and language of covenant influences or underpins the book of Lamentations, with particular attention to the way voices/personae and dialogue shape the poetry and convey its theological perspectives. The specific focus of this paper is to introduce some key areas for consideration in a so-pointed analysis of chapter 3. With respect to our discussion at OTSEM, I would like to highlight the following areas as focal points for scrutiny and conversation, which broadly follow the main sections of the paper: First, the identification of covenant-related themes and language in Lamentations 3. Second, the delineation of 'voices' in the poem. Finally, this paper will make some introductory comments regarding the dialogical interaction between these voices on the basis of contrasting covenantal perspectives, which may not yield a detailed discussion but could, I hope, set the scene for an informative conversation of the possibilities of what I propose.

I. THEOLOGY AND FORM

The Book of Lamentations presents five poems that cry out in response to the devastation of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 587 BCE.[1] In each case, the poems brim with visceral urgency, reflecting the distress and disorientation experienced by those who had survived the onslaught and now had to survive the ramifications. And yet each poem juxtaposes cries of despair with theological reflection, and utilises controlling poetic devices, which suggest a more ruminative and careful response than has sometimes been recognised. With respect to theology, N. Gottwald is widely credited for reinvigorating a somewhat dormant scholarly conversation about this aspect of the book with his important monograph *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* (1954), in which he argued that theological interpretation was not only present, but vital to the message of the book.[2] While most scholars have tended to reject his assessment

[1] It is not within the purview of this paper to discuss the historical circumstances described by the five poems, or the authorial proximity to those circumstances. Suffice it to say for the argument that follows, that alongside scholars including F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp and P. Tull, and based on much the same evidence, I concur that *all five* poems were composed in Jerusalem in the years following the city's fall to Babylon but before the first exiles' return, sometime between 587 and 539 BCE: F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, 'Linguistic Evidence for the Date of Lamentations' in *JANES* 26 (1998), pp. 1-36; P. Tull, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Precious Texts in Second Isaiah* SBLD 161 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), esp. pp. 265-66.

[2] Gottwald summarizes: "the whole burden of [the poet's] message was the indestructability of Jahweh's purposes of love and justice and, in consequence, the seed of hope in a restored Israel." N. K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* (London: SCM Press, 1954), 56.

that Lamentations responds principally to Deuteronomic sin-judgement theology,[3] finding instead that the poems draw on a variety of theological perspectives which overlap and intermingle,[4] and although many would contest the idea that Lamentations has a 'message' as such at all,[5] Gottwald's primary claim, that Lamentations is a *theological* response to the endurance of grief, continues to influence the scholarly pursuit to understand these poems.

An important line of enquiry throughout this pursuit has been the relationship between the book's theology and its form. Generally speaking, the book's most widely discussed literary feature has been the formation of at least four of its poems into acrostics.[6] However, several scholars have sought to find theological significance in the arrangement of the poems themselves. Most commonly, this has been in service of a theodic interpretation in which Lamentations 3 is elevated to be the centrepiece and final word within a symmetric or concentric structure of the entire book.[7] In recent years, however, attention has turned more towards the function of poetic voices and personae, and scholars have increasingly recognised the importance of polyphony and dialogue as literary constructs that enable the poet(s) to view the desperate circumstances being endured from different emotional, prayerful and theological perspectives.[8] For the most part, attention has been given to the task of ascertaining how many voices speak, including where possible the identification – whether literary or historical – of each speaker. More recently, however, scholars have sought to analyse the extent to which these poetic voices interact to create a sense of dialogue: within each poem,[9] across the five

[3] Note Dobbs-Allsopp's assertion that "the poems steadfastly resist all attempts to superimpose on them a single unifying theological perspective." F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations: Interpretation, A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Pres, 2002), 24; cf. K. M. O'Connor, *Lamentations and the Tears of the World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002), 83.

[4] See, for example, the surveys presented by C. Westermann, I. Provan, and P. House: C. Westermann (trans. C. Muenchow), *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 76-81; I. W. Provan, *Lamentations* NCBC (Grand Rapids, MI: Marshall Pickering, 1991), 20-25; D. Garret and P. R. House, *Song of Songs/Lamentations* WBC 23b (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 316-29.

[5] Typically, this is viewed in terms of Lamentations not seeking to convey a message so much as to bear witness to multiple responses that vie for prominence in the midst of grief. Note, for example, Linafelt's assertion that "[Lamentations] is more about the *expression* of suffering than the meaning behind it" – something Bergant describes as "the unqualified authenticity of the book's testimony." Similarly, O'Connor speaks of Lamentations' "ragged struggles to bring a testimony": T. Linafelt, *Surviving Lamentations: Catastrophe, Lament, and Protest in the Afterlife of a Biblical Book* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 4; D. Bergant, *Lamentations* AOTC (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2003), 139; O'Connor (2002), 4 cf. pp. 14, 110-23, 137.

[6] Here again, this paper will not discuss the function and dynamic effect of the acrostic form in Lamentations 3 or the book as a whole, but it may serve to state that I consider it likely that it should be viewed as a feature that consciously holds the book together as a unity, as well as providing something of an unspoken subplot, conveyed by the intensification and disintegration of the acrostic form throughout the book, implying that any attempt to bring the turmoil, confusion and disarray of the catastrophe into order ultimately breaks down (we might discuss the sporadic use of a 3/2-beat *qinah* meter, or the differing order of פ/ע between chapter 1 and chapters 2-4 in similar terms). K. M. O'Connor has argued similarly that "the alphabetic devices embody struggles of survivors to contain and control the chaos" but that "the shrinking alphabetic forms imply exhaustion, increasing numbness, and the loosening of structures": O'Connor (2002), 12, 14.

[7] See, e.g., B. Johnson, 'Form and Message in Lamentations' in *ZAW* 97.1 (1985), pp. 58-73; Renate Brandscheidt, *Gottesdorn und Menschenleid: die Gerichtsklage des leidenden Gerechten in Klgl. 3. Trierer theologische Studien, Volume 41* (Paulinus-Verlag, 1983), 223, 342-44; J. Renkema, 'The Literary Structure of Lamentations' in W. van der Meer and J. C. de Moor (eds), *The Structural Analysis of Biblical and Canaanite Poetry* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 294-396.

[8] This will be discussed below, but suffice it to say here that while he is not the first to make the observation, W. Lanahan's work on this aspect has proved to be the most influential: W. F. Lanahan, 'The Speaking Voice in the Book of Lamentations' in *JBL* 93.1 (1974), 41-49.

[9] E.g., K. N. Heim, 'The Personification of Jerusalem and the Drama of Her Bereavement in Lamentations' in R. S. Hess and G. J. Wenham (eds), *Zion, City Of Our God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 129-69; M. J. Bier, *'Perhaps There Is Hope': Reading Lamentations as a Polyphony of Pain, Penitence, and Protest* (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2015).

poems of the book,[10] and with other literary-theological traditions.[11] While the first task remains a vital element in the pursuit of the second, it is this latter endeavour that has moved the focus of textual analysis on from an appreciation of the poems' literary complexity, to a more nuanced view of how each poem holds its different perspectives in tension (never allowing one to definitively 'answer' the others).[12]

Among the various theological perspectives that have been identified as influencing the language and movement of the poetry of Lamentations, including (but not limited to) Deuteronomic notions of sin and judgement,[13] Priestly conceptions of ritual and moral impurity,[14] hope,[15] wisdom,[16] concerns for Zion,[17] and the faithful expression of suffering and lament,[18] one theme that rarely draws attention, despite being closely connected to many of the above, is Yahweh's covenant (**ברית**) with his people. In one sense, this is only to be expected, since there are no direct references to a **ברית** in any of the five poems. Indeed, in a brief reflection on the relationship between Lamentations and covenant, R. Salters has noted that of nineteen terms identified by M. Weinfeld as being used in parallel with, or otherwise indicative of, a covenantal relationship in the Hebrew Bible, "Most of these terms are conspicuous by their absence in Lamentations."[19] Consequently, "It would seem … that either the authors of Lamentations, for the most part, studiously avoided the term 'covenant' (and related language), or else they were unaware of it as basic to the relationship between Yahweh and Israel."[20]

His preference appears to be for the second of these options, although he never states as much,[21] and is founded on his belief that Israel's **ברית** with Yahweh was a Deuteronomic

[10] E.g., M. Saebø, 'Who is "The Man" in Lamentations 3? A Fresh Approach to the Interpretation of the Book of Lamentations' in D. J. A. Clines and P. R. Davies (eds), *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson* JSOTSS 152 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 294-306; J. Middlemas, 'Did Second Isaiah Write Lamentations III?' in *VT* 56.4 (2006), 505-25, esp. pp. 515-525.

[11] E.g., Prophetic traditions: E. Boase, *The Fulfilment of Doom? The Dialogic Interaction between the Book of Lamentations and the Pre-exilic/Early-exilic Prophetic Literature* LHBOTS 437 (New York, NY: T & T Clark International, 2006); C. R. Mandolfo, *Daughter Zion Talks Back to the Prophets: A Dialogic Theology of the Book of Lamentations* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); Psalmic traditions: J. Renkema, *Lamentations* HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

[12] Regarding no one perspective 'answering' the others, see, e.g.: O'Connor (2002), 83-84.

[13] In addition to Gottwald, see for example: T. Longman III, *Jeremiah, Lamentations* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2008), 336-38.

[14] A. Berlin, *Lamentations: A Commentary* OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 19-21.

[15] B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1979), 594-95; cf. Johnson (1985), 66.

[16] Brandscheidt (1983); J. H. Tigay, 'Lamentations, Book of …' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica, 2nd Edition, Vol. 12* (Farrington Hills, MI: Thompson Gale, 2007), pp. 446-51, 447; cf. Middlemas (2006), pp. 505-25.

[17] Bertil Albrektson was the first to emphasise the importance of this theological perspective to the book as a whole, and since then he has been followed by many others: Bertil Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations: With a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text* STL 21 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963), 219-30.

[18] E.g., Delbert R. Hillers, *Lamentations: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* AB7A (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 4; Claus Westermann, *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994 [originally published in German in 1990), 76-85; Tod Linafelt, *Surviving Lamentations: Catastrophe, Lament, and Protest in the Afterlife of a Biblical Book* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 43-61.

[19] R. B. Salters, 'Yahweh and His People in Lamentations' in A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters (eds), *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour or E. W. Nicholson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 347-70, 348; cf. M. Weinfeld, '**ברית**' in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Volume II (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972), pp. 253-79.

[20] Salters (2003), 348.

[21] It is notable, however, that his subsequent ICC commentary makes no mention of covenant as a theological idea in Lamentations, and his only discussion of it comes with a refutation that the term … should be considered a covenantal word at this stage in Israel's history: R. Salters, *Lamentations: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* ICC (London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark, 2010), 225-26.

innovation, which may have developed from pre-existing proto-Deuteronomic notions of **ברית** as a juridical term, but only comes to define a bound relationship with Yahweh in the late pre-exilic or even exilic era. Such a view is well-grounded in recent scholarship,[22] but has also been countered by claims that Yahweh's **ברית** did in fact represent a more ancient idea that would have been established by the beginning of the sixth-century and so would have been known by both communities that survived the Babylonian incursion: the remaining Jerusalemites and those exiled to Babylon.[23] Moreover, the presence of themes, concepts and – contrary to Salters' assertion – terminology in Lamentations that are elsewhere closely associated with covenant would seem to support this thesis. Intriguingly, these themes, concepts and terms appear to reside in contrasting covenantal traditions, which draw the poet(s) to cry out against God who has broken his promise to favour them with one breath, only to confess their own broken promise to obey God with another. Moreover, when these themes, concepts and terms are mapped over the voices in each poem, what emerges is a sense of dialogue between differing covenantal perspectives that takes place within each poem and across the entire book.

The present study falls within a wider doctoral project to unpack the extent of this dialogue and its relation to covenantal ideology throughout the book of Lamentations, but the remainder of this paper will specifically focus on Lamentations 3, the poem within this short anthology that most clearly includes both dialogue and language that is elsewhere associated with covenant, to explore the way this literary technique has shaped what has so often been identified as the cornerstone of the whole book. Specifically, this paper will prioritise laying out the foundations of the argument, which are located in the identification of covenantal ideology and multiple poetic voices active throughout the poem, before offering some brief introductory comments about how these come together in dialogic analysis.

II. COVENANT IN LAMENTATIONS 3

Turning first to consider covenantal ideology, we have identified three barriers to being able to assert its influence on Lamentations generally, and chapter 3 in particular: first, doubts about whether such a concept would have been known to the poet; second, its general absence from scholarly discussion of the book's theology; and third, the absence of specific covenantal terminology. As we address each in turn, we will inevitably confront one of the principal difficulties facing any attempt to identify connections with or allusions to other biblical, cultural, or textual traditions; namely, direction of influence. This is a particularly thorny hazard for analyses of covenant traditions, which are beset with difficulties when it comes to dating the texts which display those traditions, and is reflected in the significant disagreements to be found among scholars when it comes to dating specific passages from Deuteronomy, the

[22] Salters cites G. Fohrer on this point, but he is likely to have had the studies published at much the same time by E. Kutsch and L. Perlitt in his mind as well, both of whom argued similarly and, especially in the case of Perlitt, more influentially (although neither have as yet been translated into English, which perhaps explains their omission from his essay): E. Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz: Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Bund" im Alten Testament* BZAW 131 (Berlin, 1973); L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* WMANT 36 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969). Perlitt's influence, in particular, is evidenced by important studies of 'covenant' in the Hebrew Bible that continue to cite and adopt his conclusions many years later, notably including: E. W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. pp. 109-88; N. MacDonald (Ed), *Covenant and Election in Exilic and Post-Exilic Judaism: Studies of the Sofja Kovalevskaja Research Group on Early Jewish Monotheism Vol. V* FAT2R 79 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), ix.

[23] See, for example: D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament, Revised Edition* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978).

Deuteronomistic history, Psalms, Genesis, Exodus, and so on.[24] In the face of such difficulties, for the present study, a synchronic approach will be adopted, which highlights points of correspondence between texts associated with covenant. While this may in some cases leave open a discussion about whether Lam 3 has drawn from or has influenced conceptions about covenant, it will suffice to show the way Lam 3 is articulating the same field of ideas, and how those ideas relate to contrasting understandings about the parameters of Judah's relationship with Yahweh.

i. *Knowledge of the concept*: That said, we must begin with a brief discussion about dates, with respect to whether the poet of Lam 3 would have had access to the basic notion of a **ברית** with Yahweh. As noted above, it has been argued that the theological notion of a covenant with Yahweh was a late development that only found its full expression in exilic times, most influentially by L. Perlitt. To be specific, Perlitt argues for the innovation of covenant ideology by the Deuteronomistic historian as a means to explain the downfall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE, and still recalling the demise of Israel in 721 BCE.[25] This would certainly fit with the prominence given to covenant as a theme in the *Golah* community's prophetic response to these same events, both to explain the situation (Isa 24:5; Eze 16:59; 17:19; 44:7) and to envisage a way out of it (Isa 42:6; 49:9; 54:10; Jer 31:31-33; 32:40; Eze 16:60-63; 20:37; 34:25; 37:26).[26] It

[24] When, for example, are we to date the covenant curse list in Deuteronomy 28? Within the last ten years, scholars have argued for the Late Bronze Age, comparing the text to Hittite treaty curses (e.g. J. Berman), a seventh-century text that adopts the form of Assyrian treaty texts such as the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (e.g. H. Steymans), and for a late- or even post-exilic text based on its lack of specific reference points to Assyrian material and focus on establishing Israel's own ethnic identity (e.g. C. Crouch). Moreover, do we treat the curses as being formed from two separate texts (Deut 28:15-46; 47-68) ascribed to Urdt and Dtr (e.g. D. McCarthy), or treat them as one coherent text? (e.g. Quick). Similar problems surround the dating of other Sinaitic covenant texts, especially Ex 19:3b-8; Ex 24:3-8, or those connected to the Davidic covenant (esp. 2 Sam 7; 23; Ps 89), the Abrahamic covenant (esp. Gen 15), or certain prophetic texts (e.g., Hos 6:7; 8:1; Isa 24:5; Jer 31:31-34; Eze 16:59-63). On the Deuteronomic covenant issues, see: J. Berman, *Created Equal: How the Bible Broke with Ancient Political Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 28-46; cf. J. Berman 'Histories Twice Told: Deuteronomy 1-3 and the Hittite treaty Prologue Tradition' in *JBL 133* (2013), pp. 229-250, esp. 231-32; H. U. Steymans, 'Deuteronomy 28 and Tell Tayinat' *Verbum et Ecclesia* 34.2 (2013), 1-13; C. L. Crouch, *Israel and the Assyrians: Deuteronomy, the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, and the Nature of Subversion* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014); McCarthy (1978), 12; Laura Quick, *Deuteronomy 28 and the Aramaic Curse Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). On the Davidic covenant, see, for example, O. Sergi's discussion of 2 Sam 7: O. Sergei, 'The Composition of Nathan's Oracle to David (2 Samuel 7:1–17) as a Reflection of Royal Judahite Ideology Author(s)' in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 129.2 (2010), pp. 261-279; or A. Weiser and E. Gerstenberger's early and late attributions respectively to Ps 89: A. Weiser, The Psalms: A Commentary OTL (London: SCM Press, 1962), 590-91; E. S. Gerstenberger, Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 154-55. On Ex 19 and 24, as well as Hos 6:7 and 8:1, see Nicholson's discussion: Nicholson (1986), 164-88. On Isa 24:5, see Hay's discussion: C. B. Hays, 'That Date and Message of Isaiah 24-27 in Light of Hebrew Diachrony' in J. T. Hibbard and H. C. P. Kim (eds), *Formation and Intertextuality in Isaiah 24* (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 7-24. On Jer 31:31-34, see W. Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 7-11, 264-71. On Eze 16:59-63 see P. M. Joyce, Ezekiel: A Commentary LHBOTS 482 (London: T & T Clark International, 2007), 134-35 cf. I. M. Duguid, *Ezekiel* NIVAC (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1999), 23-26.

[25] "Geschichte konnte darum in jenem 6. Jh. nur geschreiben werden unter dem theologischen Gesichtspunkt der miβachteten Bedingungen der Heilsgabe. Mögen die endgültig aufgeschreckten Judäer jener Tage sich auf Abraham und David berufen, die dtr Theologen muβten ihnen zuerst mit 'Mose' antworten. Damit war das Problem der 'Bundes'-Theologie vorgezeichnet." My translation: "History could therefore only be written in the sixth century from the theological point of view of the disregarded conditions of salvation. If the disquieted Judeans of those days invoked Abraham and David, the Deuteronomistic theologians had to answer them first with 'Moses'. Thus, the problem of 'covenant' theology was mapped out." Perlitt (1969), 7.

[26] The identification of exilic texts from Isaiah and Jeremiah as Golah productions is, of course, a matter of debate and certainly not conclusive. Suffice to say that the point being made here is to notice the shared emphasis on a new/renewed covenant as constituting Yahweh's vision for Israel's future in passages that have very often been identified as products of the Golah community. See, for example: J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah: A New*

would also cause no problems for those who argue that Lamentations 3 represents a much later composition.[27] However, quite apart from D. McCarthy's critique that Perlitt's argument too often fails to distinguish between Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic texts, and that he ignores parallels with treaties that point to **ברית** with Yahweh as an established concept by the seventh-century BCE,[28] Perlitt's own recognition that earlier pre-exilic Deuteronomic texts spoke about **ברית** in the context of Yahweh's promise (e.g., in Deut 7) and his law (e.g. Deut 5), and of his **ברית** with Abraham (in Gen 15),[29] indicates that in fact the Jerusalemite community would have known these traditions and so a later date for Lam 3 is not required to find covenantal undertones to its poetry.[30] Naturally this raises the question of why the Jerusalemite community neglected to use the term **ברית**, but it seems likely that we can discount Salters' speculation that it was simply an unknown concept to them.

ii. *Covenant in Lamentations scholarship*. Although it is certainly true that covenant has not enjoyed a central position in the scholarly discussion about Lamentations' theology, it has not been completely overlooked. With respect to Lamentations 3, P. House, R. Parry and H. Lalleman have each identified covenant as the theological context that sits behind the themes of judgement and hope,[31] whereas a number of commentaries and monographs have observed points of correlation with covenantal themes, most commonly noting allusions to the covenant curse-list in Deut 28 (see *Appendix 3*),[32] links to the Day of Yahweh and his anger (Lam 3:1-6, 12-13, 43),[33] and a close association between the term **חסד** (Lam 3:22, 32) and covenant – a point reinforced by the word studies of N. Glueck and K. Doob Sakenfeld[34] – leading many scholars to translate the word as "covenant loyalty."[35] Significantly for the present study, G.

Translation with Introduction and Commentary AB 20 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1968), xv-xxx ; W. Brueggemann, *A Commentary on Jeremiah: Exile and Homecoming* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 7-11, 264-71.

[27] E.g., O. Kaiser, who dated Lam 3 to the fourth century BCE: O. Kaiser, 'Klagelieder' in H. Ringgren & O. Kaiser, *Das Hohe Lied, Klagelieder, Das Buch Esther* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 300-02. Cf. also: M. Treves, 'Conjectures Sur les Dates et les Sujets des Lamentations' in *Bulletin Renan* 95 (1963), pp.1-4; S. T. Lachs, 'The Date of Lamentations V' in The Jewish Quarterly Review 57.1 (1966), pp. 46-56.

[28] McCarthy (1978), 22-24.

[29] Perlitt (1969), 55-102.

[30] This point is further reinforced by E. Nicholson's in-depth evaluation of Perlitt's argument, with which he agrees in most instances except for countering that the traditionally earlier-dated Ex 24:3-8 and Hos 6:7, 8:1 are indeed pre-Deuteronomic in origin: Nicholson (1986), 164-88.

[31] In each case, they view covenant as a central theme to the book as a whole on this basis: House (2004); Parry (2010); H. Lalleman, *Jeremiah and Lamentations: An Introduction and Commentary* TOTC (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013).

[32] See, e.g., Albrektson (1963), 231-37; Hillers (1972), 84; Berlin (2002), 21-22, 86. Again, as with the theme of sin and judgement generally, this particular expression of it can be extended to being evident throughout the book as a whole., although the evidence provided in this paper is only for chapter 3.

[33] Gottwald (1954), 82-89; Bier (2015), 112; cf. Boase (2006), 110, 120.

[34] N. Glueck (trans. by A. Gottschalk), *Ḥesed in the Bible* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1967); K. Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry* (Cambridge, MA: The Harvard Semitic Museum, 1978). Some caution ought perhaps to be exercised on this point, since although Glueck and Sakenfeld have strongly affirmed this link, Salters (citing H-J. Zobel) has countered that the link between חֶסֶד and covenant was a relatively late development and so "it is perhaps reading too much into this passage to assume that the poet was thinking of the covenant." That said, Zobel's point was in fact that חֶסֶד becomes essentially synonymous with ברית in the post-Deuteronomistic era (that is, it expressed the fulness of it), whereas he affirms an association between the two terms from a much earlier time, certainly pre-Deuteronomic and possibly as far back as J: R. B. Salters, *Lamentations: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* ICC (London: T & T Clark International, 2010); Hans-Jürgen Zobel, 'חסד' in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Vol. V* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), pp. 44-64.

[35] E.g., Gottwald (1954), 13, 97-98; Provan (1991), 93; Heath A. Thomas, *Poetry and Theology in the Book of Lamentations: The Aesthetics of an Open Text* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013), 182-84; cf. Berlin (2002), 93; Bier (2015), 113.

Hens-Piazza views Lam 3:1-24 as highlighting a conflict between covenantal ideas, noting that 3:21-24 shows that "[The strong man's] theology from the past is grounded in covenant images of God" but that "in light of the strong man's experience thus far … the matter of God's covenantal fidelity becomes complicated."[36]

Hens-Piazza's assessment serves not only as an astute read of the text, but also a broad summary of the spectrum of scholarly views, which tend to prioritise one idea over the other. Generally speaking, three perspectives are represented. The first is theodic and views covenant in the Deuteronomic sense of a treaty, but one which has been infused with Yahweh's grace-filled election of Israel, such that sin will be punished according to the ascribed curses but repentance will be met with forgiveness.[37] The second views covenant in a broader relational sense,[38] which in turn allows for a stronger anti-theodic perspective in which the complaint against Yahweh is as much an expression of covenant as the punishment from him. As Dobbs-Allsopp puts it: "complaint is the lifeblood of the biblical notion of covenant: it ensures that the relationship is alive, dynamic, and open."[39] C. Mandolfo calls this "a more democratic covenant tradition" than the hierarchical treaties of the ANE so widely seen as the template for biblical covenants.[40] A. Berlin recognises both of these perspectives on display in Lamentations, but adds an important third strand that adds substance to the second: that of covenant being rooted in Yahweh's promise and thus placing obligations upon him, which permit Judah's outcry against him should he not deliver.[41] Thus, the spectrum of scholarly views on covenant in Lamentations reflects to some extent the different covenant traditions in the Hebrew Bible, which could inspire the Jerusalemite community to understand their plight (because it *should* have happened, due to their disobedience) or to object to it (because it *should not* have happened, due to Yahweh's promise), but in either case to cry out to Yahweh in response to it. In this sense, Berlin's view of covenant in Lamentations is the most faithful to the text.

iii. *Covenant in the text*. Recalling Salters' contention about the absence of covenant terminology, it is important to note that he overstates his case. In fact, *twelve* of the nineteen terms raised by Weinfeld are used either directly or in their root form in Lamentations, five of which are used in Lam 3, including the previously discussed חסד (Lam 3:22, 32), and are used a total of twelve times in the poem (see *Appendix 1*). Contrary to Salters claim, then, *the majority* of these terms are reflected in some form in Lamentations, and Lam 3 contains more citations than the rest of the book combined. This would seem to be a concentration rather than a dearth of covenant-related terms. Moreover, this impression is only heightened when one

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[36] Gina Hens-Piazza, Lamentations WC30 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017), 8, 12, 30-31, 45.

[37] For example, Parry states: "God's election of Israel was an election of grace based on God's unwavering commitment to them, and that commitment stood firm despite the ongoing infidelity of the people. Crucial to understanding the hope implicit in Lamentations is the appreciation that *the fire of divine punishment falls within a covenant relationship and does not mean the end of that relationship*." Parry (2010), 31; cf. House (2004), 320; Lalleman (2013), 329-30.

[38] Somewhat in line with W. Eichrodt's definition: "Wherever the *relationship with God* has the character of a *relationship of grace*, that is to say, it is founded on *a primal act in history*, maintained on *definite conditions* and protected by a *divine Guardian*, then even where the covenant is not explicitly mentioned the spiritual premisses of a covenant relationship with God are *manifestly present."* Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament, Volume I* (London: SCM Press, 1961 [originally published as *Theologie des Alten Testaments I*, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933]), 36-37.

[39] Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 38.

[40] Mandolfo (2007), 74 cf. p. 20-21, including n.33.

[41] Thus Berlin can speak of Near Eastern treaties as "the model for the covenant between God and Israel" (p.20), specifying Deuteronomy in this respect, alongside other key covenant texts such as Ex 20-23 and Lev 26, whilst also asserting that Judah's prayerful complaint "points to the continuation of the covenant" (p.18), because "God, by virtue of his covenant with Israel, is obligated to help them" (p.93): Berlin (2002).

expands the field of study to include predicate verbs. Although the verb that is arguably most closely associated with covenant-making (**כרת**) is not used anywhere in Lamentations, others are. Altogether, thirty-nine verbs are directly attached to **ברית** as predicates in the Hebrew Bible, and of these, twenty-five are present in Lamentations, fourteen of which are in Lam 3 totalling twenty-five uses (see *Appendix 2*). Not all can be realistically considered even as potential attempts to convey a subtext – **בוא** (Lam 3:13), **היה** (3:14, 37, 47), and **נתן** (3:29, 30, 65), for example, are simply too common. However, **זכר** (3:19, 20), **עבר** (3:44), **נשא** (3:27, 41), **נבט** (3:63), **צוה** (3:37), **סום** (3:45), **פשע** (3:42), **ראה** (3:1, 36, 50, 59, 60), **שמע** (3:56, 61), and **קום** (3:62) present more compelling possibilities, especially when they are used in direct address to Yahweh, as in Lam 3:19 ("Remember [**זכר**] my affliction") and Lam 3:42 ("We have transgressed [**פשענו**] and rebelled [**מרינו**], you have not pardoned"),[42] or, more evocatively, to describe Yahweh's action against Judah (3:44, 45).

Moving beyond word associations, as we have already noted, scholars have identified themes and concepts in Lam 3 that appear to correspond with other texts and traditions associated with covenant. Probably the most notable of these is God's judgement of sin. Berlin identifies this as central to the book's theology and notes its rootedness in Deuteronomic conceptions of covenant, modelled on ANE treaties.[43] As a theological strand in Lam 3, it permeates the entire poem and is expressed via an array of metaphors and references to other biblical texts. For example, the depiction of God first as a wrathful conquering warrior (Lam 3:3-5),[44] and then a hunter (Lam 3:10-13), who brings his foes into darkness (Lam 3:2, 6 cf Amos 5:18; Zeph 1:14-16),[45] has drawn associations with prophetic proclamations of a Day of Yahweh (itself identified as closely related to covenant curse traditions),[46] when God's judgement will root out and destroy all evil.[47] A similar sense is often detected in the reference to "the rod of his wrath" (Lam 3:1b), which closely resembles the imagery from Isa 10:5, in which Yahweh declares Assyria to be "rod of my anger" in his judgement of Israel (cf. Prov 22:8).[48] Perhaps the most pervasive link to a biblical tradition of judgement, however, is the connection that has been identified with covenant curses, such as those listed in Deut 28.[49] The lexical and thematic links that can be detected are extensive (see *Appendix 3*)[50] and appear at every stage of the text.

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[42] Note also that Yahweh's action is described with another verb [סלחת] that is frequently denoted as a response, either positive or negative, to breaches of covenant (Deut 29:20; Ps 25:11; 103:3; Isa 55:7; Jer 5:7; 31:34; 33:8). For examples of direct address to God using covenant predicate verbs elsewhere in Lamentations, see: "Look, Yahweh, and *consider* [**נָבֵט**]" (Lam 1:11; 2:20). "*Remember* [**זְכָר**], Yahweh, what has befallen us; *consider* [**נָבֵט**], and see our disgrace!" (Lam 5:1). "Why do you *forget* [**שָׁכַח**] us forever; why do you *forsake* [**עָזַב**] us for so many days?" (Lam 5:20). "Unless you have *rejected* [**מָאַס**] us?" (Lam 5:22).

[43] Berlin (2002), 21-22.

[44] J. Renkema argues that this specifically depicts Yahweh as "a charioteer careering from side to side in hot pursuit of a prisoner." J. Renkema (trans. by B. Doyle), Lamentations HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 354-57, quote: p.355; cf. Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 110.

[45] Cf. Provan (1991), 85; Parry (2010), 97; House (2004), 409.

[46] F. C. Fensham, 'A Possible Origin of the Day of the Lord' in *Biblical Essays: Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Sud-Afrika* (Bepeck: Potchefstroom Herald, 1966), 93-95; E. Boase, *The Fulfilment of Doom? The Dialogic Interaction Between the Book of Lamentations and the Pre-Exilic/Early Exilic Prophetic Literature* LHBOTS 437 (New York, NY: T & T Clark International, 2006), 110, 120.

[47] E.g., Bier (2015), 112. See analyses of the themes and language associated with the Day of Yahweh summarised by N. Gottwald and E. Boase: Gottwald (1954), 82-89; E. Boase, *The Fulfilment of Doom? The Dialogic Interaction Between the Book of Lamentations and the Pre-Exilic/Early Exilic Prophetic Literature* LHBOTS 437 (New York, NY: T & T Clark International, 2006), 105-13.

[48] Cf. Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 110; Berlin (2002), 89; Parry (2010, 97).

[49] Albrektson (1963), 231-37; Hillers (1972), 84; Berlin (2002), 21-22, 86.

[50] Note that although this paper reflects on correspondence with Deut 28, similar comparisons can be undertaken to other curse lists, including Deut 4:25-28, Lev 26:14-46, Jos 24:19-20, which is not necessarily to suggest that the author of Lam 3 is cross-referencing to any of these in particular, so much as drawing on a known tradition of

These references are used to describe God's action against the strongman,[51] the strongman's plight,[52] the community's outcry,[53] and the strongman's appeal for vengeance,[54] but are also used ironically to suggest that God *is saving* the strongman by discipling him.[55] Such a close connection to a covenant curse tradition does indeed suggest a close affinity between the poem and covenant treaties, rooted in a view of covenant informed by Deuteronomic ideology.

However, this is far from the only theological persuasion in the poem, and a close analysis of the text reveals themes that may relate to other conceptions of covenant with Yahweh. Notably, although there is an obvious comparison to make between Lam 3:1b ("the rod of his wrath") and Isa 10:5 ("Assyria, the rod of my anger"), this is not the only link forged by scholars. D. Hillers, notes four possible interpretations, prioritising the significance of "rod" (**שבט**) over "wrath" (**עברה**).[56] He, too, recognises the correlation with God's judgement, but he emphasises links to 2 Sam 7:14 and Ps 89:33 [ET 89:32], two texts closely associated with the Davidic covenant. His inclination to find the link closer to the Davidic rather than Deuteronomic covenant may be informed by the remaining three interpretations, which relate to parenthood (cf. Prov 22:15), kingship (cf. Ps 45:6; 125:3), and shepherding (cf. Ps 23:4; Eze 20:37). Each of these are foundational concepts for the Davidic covenant, in which David the shepherd king (2 Sam 7:8) and his house are declared sons of Yahweh (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7; 89:26) and shepherds of the flock Israel (Ps 74:1). As such, Hillers posits Lam 3:1-9 as a reversal of Ps 23 in which "the Lord is a shepherd who misleads, a ruler who oppresses and imprisons."[57]

With this in mind, it is notable that the strongman's introduction (**אני הגבר**, Lam 3:1) echoes ANE royal self-presentations – something that M. Saebø has identified as a key link to Davidic covenant and Zion traditions.[58] We ought also to observe the use of **עולם**, which is a vital aspect of the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7:13, 16, 24, 25, 26, 29; 2 Sam 23:5; Ps 89:1[ET:89:2], 2[3], 4[5], 28[29], 36[37], 37[38], 52[53]) and used evocatively in Lam 3 to compare God's rejection to everlasting death (Lam 3:6), and to express hope that it will not last forever (Lam 3:31). Finally, reflecting on the significance of **חסד** at the culmination of the strongman's speech, Dobbs-Allsopp has argued that the construct phrase **חסדי יהוה** in Lam 3:22 alludes to Ps 89, where the identical construct phrase is used (**חסדי יהוה עולם אשירה**; Ps 89:2 [ET: 89:1]), and thus to indicate an allusion to the Davidic covenant.[59]

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covenant curses. Cf. Quick (2018) and N. Weeks, *Admonition and Curse: The Ancient Near Eastern Treaty/Covenant Form as a Problem in Inter-cultural Relationships* (London: T & T Clar, 2014).

[51] E.g., he has driven him into darkness (Lam 3:2 cf. Deut 28:29, 36-37).

[52] E.g., he has perished (Lam 3:18 cf. Deut 28:20)

[53] E.g., dread has come upon them (Lam 3:47 cf. Deut 28:66-67)

[54] E.g., "Destroy them!" (Lam 3:66 cf. Deut 28:20, 24, 45, 48, 51, 61, 63)

[55] Such as in conveyed the wisdom of turning one's cheek to the one who strikes it (Lam 3:30 cf. Deut 28:22, 27, 28, 35) or to putting one's mouth to the dust (Lam 3:29 cf. Deut 28:24)

[56] D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* AB7A (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 124-25.

[57] Ibid., 124; cf. Parry (2010), 97. Bier and Berlin unpack this further and draw the correlation out as far as v.11 and v.13 respectively: Bier (2015), 110; Berlin (2002), 86.

[58] Saebø (1993), 302. This has led to various attempts to identify the poem's first speaker with a historical royal figure. See, for example, Saebø's argument for the strongman to be Zedekiah (Saebø, 1993), or N. Porteous' proposal of Jehoiachin: N. W. Porteous, 'Jerusalem – Zion: The Growth of a Symbol' in *Verbannung und Heimkehr: Festschrift für W. Rudolph* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1961), pp. 235-52, 244-45. Regarding the royal self-presentation formula, note the examples cited by Dobbs-Allsopp in his discussion of this: "I am Azitiwada, the blessed one of Baal, a servant of Bal, whom Awarku, king of the Danunians, made powerful" and "I am Zakkur, king of Hamath and Lu'ath. A humble man am I!" Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 108.

[59] Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 108, 118-19; cf. Berlin (2002), 93. Some caution ought perhaps to be exercised on this point, since although K. Doob Sakenfeld has strongly affirmed this link in her extensive study of חֶסֶד, identifying it as a distinctly covenantal word, being both relational and concerned with responsibility, Salters (citing H-J. Zobel) has countered that the link between חֶסֶד and covenant was a relatively late development and so "it is perhaps

In the absence of direct terminology (**ברית**, **כרת**, or **קום** in its *hiphil* form),[60] the evidence for covenantal allusions will always be subjective. This should perhaps not be surprising for any interpretation of poetry, with its partiality for metaphor and allusion – something R. Alter has called "a way of imagining the world through inventive similitude."[61] In other words, just because something is not said, does not mean it is not meant. Nevertheless, it seems clear from the foregoing discussion that the poet of Lam 3 is working within the same field of ideas that are aligned elsewhere to covenant and does so by calling on many instances of the same lexical and cultural vocabulary.

III. THE VOICES OF LAMENTATIONS 3

Moving now to consider how these covenantal perspectives interact in Lamentations 3, we must begin with an assessment of the voices that speak. The presence of multiple voices in Lamentations is well attested,[62] and owes much of its current prominence to W. Lanahan. He identified five personae (a reporter and personified Jerusalem in Lam 1-2, a defeated soldier in Lam 3, a bourgeois in Lam 4, and a choral voice in Lam 5) which, he argued, speak to the same situation from different perspectives, in order to "deepen and broaden the reader's grasp of the dynamics of the spiritual experience embodied by the book."[63] Lanahan's major contribution was not the novelty of his argument. As far back as 1906, M. Löhr had identified personified Zion as a separate poetic voice.[64] Nor was it the quality of his textual analysis, which lacked

reading too much into this passage to assume that the poet was thinking of the covenant." That said, Zobel's point was in fact that חֶסֶד becomes essentially synonymous with ברית in the post-Deuteronomistic era (that is, it expressed the fulness of it), whereas he affirms an association between the two terms from a much earlier time, certainly pre-Deuteronomic and possibly as far back as J: K. Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry* (Cambridge, MA: The Harvard Semitic Museum, 1978); R. B. Salters, *Lamentations: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* ICC (London: T & T Clark International, 2010); Hans-Jürgen Zobel, 'חסד' in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Vol. V* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1986), pp. 44-64.

[60] The choice to use קום in order to describe adversaries as "the lips of those who rise, and their whispering, is against me" (שפתי קמי והגיונם עלי כל־היום) in Lam 3:62, rather than the more familiar terms צר and איב which are elsewhere employed in the book (Lam 1:2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 16, 17; 2:3, 4, 5, 7, 16, 17, 22; 3:46, 52; 4:12), may possibly be suggestive, but the use of this phrase elsewhere in the context of appealing to Yahweh for his intervention shows that a covenantal setting is not necessary for this employment of the term. Cf. Ex 15:7; Deut 33:11; Ps 18:40, 49 [ET 18:39, 48]

[61] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (Philadelphia, PA: Basic Books, 1985), 237.

[62] The publication in the last twenty years of several commentaries, articles, and monographs that give specific attention to this aspect as a vital literary feature of the book is testimony to its growing appeal as a line of scholarly enquiry. For commentaries, see for example: Provan (1991), 6-7; Berlin (2002), 6-7; O'Connor (2002), 14-15, 83-85; Bergant (2003), 15-16; R. A. Parry, *Lamentations* THOTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 11-12. For articles/chapters, see for example: Heim (1999), 129-69; C. W. Miller, 'Reading Voices: Personification, Dialogism, and the Reader of Lamentations 1' in *Biblical Interpretation* 9.4 (2001), pp. 393-408. For monographs, see for example: H. A. Thomas, *Poetry and Theology in the Book of Lamentations: The Aesthetics of an Open Text* HBM 47 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013), 90-93; K. L. Nguyen, *Chorus in the Dark: The Voices of the Book of Lamentations* HBM 54 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2013); Bier (2015).

[63] Lanahan (1974), 41.

[64] M. Löhr, *Die Klagelieder des Jeremias: Übersetzt und Erklärt* (Göttingen: Vendenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906), 1, 9, 15, 23, 28. This concept was then adopted and expanded upon some years later by H. Wiesmann, whose posthumously-published commentary laid out his argument for Jeremiah, as the sole author of the book, to have incorporated five other poetic voices in addition to his own into his words. Both O. Eissfeldt and D. Hillers had similarly noted the presence of multiple voices: H. Wiesmann, *Die Klagelieder, übersetzt und erklärt* (Frankfurt: Philosophisch-theologische Hochschule Sankt George, 1954), 132, 167, 209, 241-2, 271; O. Eissfeldt (trans. P. R. Ackroyd), *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), 500-03; Hillers, (1972), 79, 103, 120-24, 145, 162.

detail and left the impression that his mode of 'voice-detection' had been an intuitive, and therefore highly subjective, process. Rather, it was Lanahan's recognition of the poet's decision to withdraw his own voice altogether in favour of a myriad of others, each expressing one of the poet's own emotional or theological responses to the calamitous situation in which he found himself. Thus, Lanahan asserts: "the variety of voices sketches the topography of a unique spiritual consciousness, which can realize itself only by projecting its grief in its constituent phases by adopting different personae."[65] In other words, the poet is not to be limited to any one of his poetic voices. He is none of them, and he is all of them.

Most of the studies that have followed Lanahan's lead have contested his claims about the number and identity of voices that may be detected, with alternative proposals ranging between two and nine.[66] However, when it comes to his assessment of Lamentations 3, there has been widespread support for his identification of only one.[67] This voice identifies himself in the opening line – "I am the man (**הגבר**) who has seen affliction" (Lam 3:1a) – and is to be understood, according to Lanahan, as a defeated soldier, based on the setting of the book generally as well as references to imprisonment (3:7), ambush (3:10-12), and injury (3:13).[68] Dobbs-Allsopp counters that such language represents the conventional rhetoric of individual laments, and so cannot tell us too much with regards to identifying **הגבר**; nevertheless, he agrees that only one voice speaks throughout the poem.[69] This seems somewhat at odds with his identification of two voices in the first and second poems based on shifts in grammatical person,[70] given that similar shifts occur in Lam 3, not least with a significant shift from first-person singular to first-person plural speech in vv.40-47. This leads many scholars to identify at least two speakers active in the poem – **הגבר** and the community – either on the basis that the community responds to **הגבר**,[71] or that they join in with his call to repentance and second lament.[72] Dobbs-Allsopp's emphasis on such shifts as literary devices to affect the reading experience by drawing the reader from a place of detachment to inclusion is something that he feels has been achieved by a sense of increasing openness in **הגבר**'s speech, from first-person personal suffering (Lam 3:1-21), to third-person general human experience (Lam 3:22-39), to first-person plural shared personal experience (Lam 3:40-47), and thus a second speaker is unnecessary as **הגבר** switches to hortatory plural speech to speak as one among a larger group.[73]

However, this argument underestimates the points of dissonance between speech units. If the measure of grammatical person is taken to delineate the basic units of the poem as speech, then four basic units emerge: 1) Lam 3:1-12, characterised in the main by first-person singular speech. This does include a short passage of third-person speech (vv.22-23) and, I suggest, a line of second-person speech directed towards Yahweh (Lam 3:19),[74] but it is clearly framed

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[65] Ibid., 42.

[66] Two voices; Lee (2002), 11; three voices: Provan (1991), 7; four voices: Bergant (2003), 15-16; O'Connor (2002), 17, 30, 44-45, 58, 70; five voices: Berlin (2002), 6-7; G. Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations: Wisdom Commentary* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017), xlvii; up to nine voices: Parry (2010), 12.

[67] E.g., Berlin (2002), 7, 84-85; House (2004), 405; Salters (2010), 186; J. M. Bracke, *Jeremiah 30-52 and Lamentations* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 221.

[68] Lanahan (1974), 45.

[69] Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 105-09.

[70] Ibid., 49-53, 78-79, 103-04.

[71] E.g., Hillers (1972), 123-24; S. P. Re'emi, 'Lamentations' in R. Martin-Achard and S. P. Re'emi, *God's People in Crisis: A Commentary on the Books of Amos and Lamentations* ITC (Grand Rapids, MI: The Handsel Press Ltd, 1984), pp. 73-134, 112; Heim (1999), 160-61; O'Connor (2002), 44-45.

[72] E.g., Provan (1991), 6-7, 101; Parry (2010), 115-18.

[73] Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 106-07. Cf. Bergant (2003), 16, 81-82; Hens-Piazza (2017), xlvii, 40-41, 52.

[74] Opinion is divided among scholars as to whether זכר־עניי ומרודי in Lam 3:19 should be understood as an imperative, directed to Yahweh ("Remember my affliction and my restlessness!"), or an infinitive construct directed inwardly ("To remember my affliction and restlessness is …"). P. House has pressed this complexity

within this first-person speech; 2) Lam 3:25-39, characterised by third-person speech; 3) Lam 3:40-47, characterised by first-person plural speech; and 4) Lam 3:48-66, characterised once more by first-person singular speech. When these units are held apart from one another, points of discontinuity present themselves. It seems unlikely that the one who proclaims the goodness of sitting alone in silence (Lam 3:28) could have made the vociferous outcry of vv.1-18. Indeed, the reference to **הגבר** in Lam 3:27 as the third-person referent for sitting in silence only seems to reinforce this distinction (note also **גבר** in 3:39). Similarly, the entreaty that just punishment for sin cannot draw complaint (Lam 3:39) appears utterly opposed to the diatribe against Yahweh that fills Lam 3:43-45. Then, in Lam 3:48, 51, there seems to be an explicit distinction made between the speaker and his people/city; and the individual testimony of Lam 3:52ff., which speaks of "my enemies" (3:52), seems at odds with the communal lament at the defeat to "our enemies" (3:46). These discontinuities are best explained, I believe, by the dynamic created by different voices confronting and entering into dialogue with one another.

M. Bier has argued for just such a dialogue in an important study of polyphony in Lamentations.[75] She, too, contends there is only one voice active in the chapter (although she agrees that identification of multiple voices is "perfectly reasonable," she counters that it is "not necessary"),[76] but that the poem nevertheless contains several interactions as it follows **הגבר**'s own *internal* dialogue, which she delineates along many of the same lines as the units denoted above. She does, however, argue for two further divisions beyond the lines of grammatical person. First, within the communal lament unit (Lam 3:40-47) between verses 41 and 42, on the basis that while the hortatory plural distinguishes Lam 3:40-41 from 3:39, it agrees more with 3:39 than it does with 3:43. And second, within the individual lament unit (Lam 3:48-66) between verses 54 and 55, on the basis of the switch in emphasis from the community's woes to his own.[77]

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further to note difficulties in translating v.20 that follows, which could also be translated as second-person speech if תזכור and תשיח are read as second-person rather than third-person feminine verbs (to refer to the נפש), and if BHS's *tiqqune sopherim* notation is followed to render נפשי as נפשיך. As such, he translates Lam 3:19-20: "Remember my affliction and my wandering, the wormwood and the bitterness. You will indeed remember, and your soul will meditate about me." House (2004), 400, 403. My own view is that House's translation creates a problem more than it solves one, since it adds a note of disjuncture between v.19 and v.20, which then become a request borne from desperation followed by a command borne from confidence. Were there a case to be made for a separate voice interjecting here, this might work, but the continuation of first-person speech without interruption, added to the fact that this comes at the end of a unit of speech rather than interrupting in the middle (as per Lam 1:9c, for example), points to v.20 as a mournful moment of honesty, following his brave appeal to Yahweh. Thus, I follow A. Berlin to find second-person speech in v.19, returning to first-person speech in v.20. Cf. Berlin (2002), 82-83.

[75] Bier (2015), 105-41. Her argument for chapter 3 resonates somewhat with C. Westermann's view of the book as a whole. In his discussion of the possibility of poetic voices, he objected that explaining the differences of perspective in terms of distinct voices "yields no intelligible sense," arguing instead that the poet is both a citizen of Zion and her representative, and as such inhabits both identities without the need of a distinct second voice. In other words, he recognises interchange within the poem as a form of internal dialogue. Nevertheless, contrary to Westermann, Bier does find multiple voices interacting in the other poems, and while Westermann is right to emphasise that the poet sits behind the identities conveyed in the poetry, he fails to appreciate the extent to which these identities contrast and confront one another. Cf. Westermann (1994), 139-40.

[76] Bier (2015), 107.

[77] Bier's reading of this final section follows Provan's argument for the perfect verbs in Lam 3:55ff. to be considered precative perfects, such that the speaker is not remembering a past salvation but turning once again to Yahweh to plead for redemption: Ibid., 131-32 cf. I. W. Provan, 'Past, Present and Future in Lamentations 3:52-66: The Case for a Precative Perfect Re-examined' in VT 41 (1991), pp.164-75. There is not space to discuss this matter in detail in this paper but suffice it to say for now that my natural inclination is to follow Provan and Bier on this point. However, I want to allow for the possibility that the poet in fact intends this to be left as an open question, a feature of the poem's ambiguity, so that the poem's dialogue ends on a note of uncertainty and depends on the readers themselves to engage with the dialogue and decide its conclusion.

The first division she proposes is consonant with the Heim's recognition that 3:40-41 continues the didactic tone of the previous unit,[78] which itself owes a debt to Westermann's analysis that these verses belong with the parenetic section and accordingly use verbs (נחפשה ונחקרה ...) that are closely associated with the same wisdom tradition that appears to guide that section.[79] Such a division is supported widely by other scholars, and is to be commended;[80] the only question is whether it should be considered part of that speech (as per Westermann) or, as has often been concluded, the faithful response of the community. It is important at this juncture to note that grammatical person is not the only, and not necessarily even the primary, indicator of an unmarked voice. Other considerations, including tone, perspective (theological, emotional, political, social, etc), vocabulary, addressee, genre, and its interaction with surrounding statements are also key determiners.[81] Based on this criteria, I see four reasons to align Lam 3:40-41 with the preceding speech. In the first instance, as Westermann has noted, its vocabulary identifies it as engaging with the same Wisdom genre; second, following this observation, there is also a shared theological perspective that views the present situation as the result of God's just judgement of sinfulness; third, there is a dramatic shift in mood at Lam 3:42, which seems to reject the very theology that has just been affirmed, and even to respond to the call to lift hearts and hands to Yahweh by turning to him and, instead of repenting, placing the blame resolutely at his feet; finally, there is a chiastic unity to the parenetic unit if it extends to v.41, which may be depicted as follows:

A (3:25): Commends seeking Yahweh

B (3:26): Commends reflection

C (3:27-30): Commends accepting discipline (specifies **הגבר** 3 verses from the start)

D (3:31): Adonai will not (**כי לא**) reject forever

E (3:32): Adonai will turn from grievance to **חסד**.

D^2 (3:33): Adonai does not (**כי לא**) grieve

C^2 (3:37-39): Affirms accepting discipline (specifies **גבר** 3 verses from the end)

B^2 (3:40): Invites reflection

A^2 (3:41): Invites seeking Yahweh

This works only on the basis that Lam 3:34-36 is removed, but it is significant that a number of scholars have detected an interruption of some kind in these verses, which correspond to the **ל** stanza. The difficulties facing translators of this stanza are well noted, especially with regard to v.36b (**אדני לא ראה**), but there is a growing recognition that it should be translated as an indicative statement ("Adonai does not see"), and that it therefore concludes a stanza that raises questions over the goodness of God.[82] Indeed, this is a reading for which Bier herself allows.[83] Salters views this as **הגבר**'s comparison of the exalted statements of vv.31-33 "which belong to his upbringing" with his present experience, "to juxtapose that high view of Yahweh with

[78] Heim (1999), 160.

[79] Cf. Prov 2:4; 20:27; Job 5:27; 28:3, 27; Ps 139:1, 23; Sir 13:11; 42:18): Westermann (1994), 179 cf. Brandscheidt (1983), 213, 222-23.

[80] E.g., Hillers (1972), 123-24, 131; O'Connor (2002), 52-53; Dobbs-Allsopp (2002), 123.

[81] For the substance of this argument, see the paper I presented at OTSEM 2018: M. P. Hedley, 'The Dialogue of Sorrow, Blame and Protest in Lamentations 1' (Conference paper presented at OTSEM, Oslo, 8th Sept 2018).

[82] E.g., Renkema (1998), 415-18; Bracke (2000), 221; O'Connor (2002), 50-52.

[83] Bier (2015), 120.

an observation that the same Yahweh pays no attention to severe cruelty in the world."[84] Whereas, Provan speculates that this may represent a separate voice altogether, which "constitute[s] an objection, spoken by a second voice, to the narrator's message of hope in the preceding verses [with] vv.37-39 representing the narrator's response to this objection."[85] Provan's thesis on this point is advanced on the basis that there are only two other voices in the poem (the narrator from chs.1 and 2, and the community), but if the parenetic speech is identified as its own voice, as Bier herself delineates within the strongman's internal dialogue,[86] then there is no need to find a new voice – this interruption is made by the strongman, whose first speech concluded at v.24.

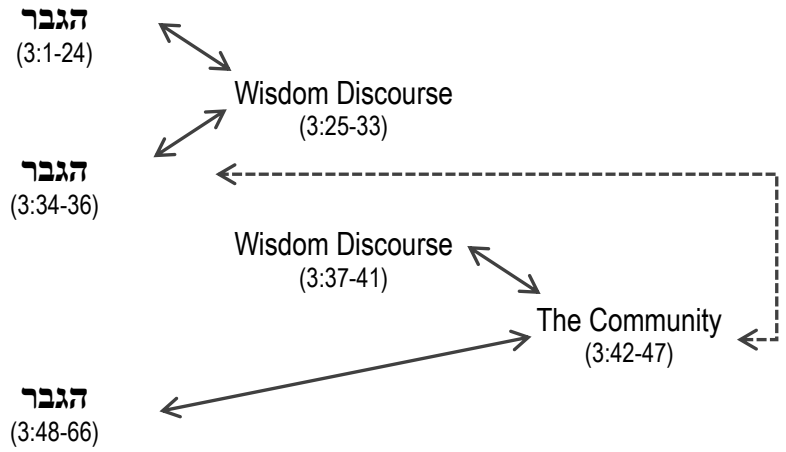
The second of Bier's divisions (between verses 54 and 55) is, however, unwarranted, since it fails to appreciate the way that the first-person singular voice follows the same pattern as the first-person plural outcry of (i) bewailing Yahweh's harsh treatment (Lam 3:43-45 cf. 3:48-51) before (ii) locating that treatment in the conduct of enemies (Lam 3:46-47 cf. Lam 3:52-54). It is only having drawn the community's lament into his own that the first-person singular speaker then turns to Yahweh to appeal for his intervention. As such, vv.48-66 represents a continuous speech from one voice, and given the resumption of the first-person singular, and the similar tone it projects to vv.1-18, there is no reason to doubt that it is **הגבר** who resumes his speech and concludes the poem.[87]

IV. COVENANT IN DIALOGUE?

This brings us to a final assessment of the voices that may be detected in Lam 3, and some brief comments about their interaction with respect to covenant. Bier's dismissal of multiple voices as "unnecessary," on the basis that the poem follows an internal dialogue, astutely retains Lanahan's insight that the poet's voice sits behind all of the utterances in the poem. However, given that she recognises that this dialogue proceeds via the division of the text into utterances that contend with one another in dialogue, it raises the question of what is gained by denying the role of poetic voices to bring this dialogue to life. Indeed, the poem includes several instances where voices and speech are directly indicated or chastised (Lam 3:18, 24, 26, 54-57, 61-63), making speech a pivotal theme throughout the poem.

In such a setting, the movement between first-person singular, third-person, and first-person plural, naturally implies different voices, so that what emerges from the poem as a whole is an array of voices, which speak aloud, or are imagined (the voices of Yahweh and the enemies), and which interact to enable the poet to give a voice to the different perspectives that are vying for his attention amid the chaos of grief. The danger of conflating them into one voice and equating that one voice with the poet's own voice, is that it flattens the dynamics of the text, dampens the dissonance between the utterances, and inevitably prioritises the voice of **הגבר** over the others. The irony of this for Bier's study, is that her dialogic approach draws its methodology from the considerable insights of M. Bakhtin, who one feels would have resisted such a conflation. What emerges, then, is a poem formed around a dialogue of three principal speakers: **הגבר**, Wisdom Discourse (WD), and the community.

[84] Salters (2010), 240-42.
[85] Provan (1991), 81.
[86] Bier (2015), 116-26.
[87] Contra Hillers (1972), 124, 131.



Among the many qualities of Bier's study is her attention to M. Bakhtin's work on the dialogism of ideas.[88] In this, she participates in a growing interest within biblical scholarship for reading biblical texts in the light of Bakhtin's insights. Initially, this interest emerged in analysis of prose and novella literature, in accord with Bakhtin's own focus on dialogue and discourse as a feature of prose,[89] most notably leading to valuable new studies of the literary unity and dynamism of the book of Job by C. Newsom and T. Stordalen.[90] Since then, however, these insights have been tested for their applicability to poetry, and specifically with reference to the dialogic qualities of the book of Lamentations. E. Boase and C. Mandolfo have both evaluated Lamentations' relationship to Israel's theological traditions on the basis of Bakhtinian thought,[91] whereas P. Tull had already done the same with respect to Lamentations influence on Isa 40-55.[92] C. Miller brought Bakhtinian insights into his analysis of dialogue in Lam 1,[93] and Bier has pressed this endeavour further in her analysis of the whole book. There is not space in this paper to reflect in depth on the implications of all of the foregoing scholarship, and particularly the insights of Bakhtin himself, on the material here presented. However, it will serve to make two initial general observations to give an insight into the potential for analysing how the different covenantal perspectives identified in Lam 3 interact once they are 'mapped' onto the voices that can be detected as active in the poem.

First, Bakhtin emphasised the propensity for all speech to participate in dialogue, not only with other speakers, but with the world within which they speak. Such a discourse, he states, "cannot fail to be oriented toward the 'already uttered', the 'already known' and 'common opinion' and so forth."[94] In other words, every utterance carries meaning, or may take on

[88] Bier (2015), 32-37.
[89] E.g., M. Bakhtin, (trans. by C. Emerson), *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 181-269. Hereafter, references to this text will be footnoted as *PDP*.
[90] C. A. Newsom, 'Bakhton, the Bible, and Dialogic Truth' in *The Journal of Religion* 76.2 (1996), pp.290-306; C. A. Newsom, 'The Book of Job as Polyphonic Text' in *JSOT* 97 (2002), pp. 87-108; T. Stordalen, 'Dialogue and Dialogism in the Book of Job' in *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 20.1 (2006), pp. 18-37; T. Stordalen, 'Dialogism, Monologism, and Cultural Literacy: Classical Hebrew Literature and Readers' Epistemic Paradigms' in *The Bible and Critical Theory* 10.1 (2014), pp. 2-20.
[91] For their summary introductions to this theme, see: Boase (2006), 23-34; Mandolfo (2007), 1-28.
[92] For her summary introduction, see: P. Tull (1997), 1-9.
[93] Miller (2001).
[94] M. M. Bakhtin (trans. by C. Emerson and M. Holquist), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 279. Hereafter, references to this text will be footnoted as *Four Essays*.

meaning, according to the perspective of the one who spoke it, and the one who hears it, and the one who replies to it, and the setting within which it was articulated, and according to the manner in which it was stated, and whether it utilised or alluded to cultural, traditional or generic ideas or forms.[95] In Lam 3, this obliges the reader to listen beyond the words to find their meaning. For example, on its own Lam 3:28 is an abstract statement commending the wisdom of silence and contemplation; but set in reply to **הגבר**'s visceral outcry (Lam 3:1-18) it becomes a criticism (note WD's response to the **הגבר**'s suffering: "It is good for **הגבר** to bear the yoke in his youth" Lam 3:27),[96] weighted with the authority of authoritative speech,[97] which is in turn rejected by **הגבר**, first when he interrupts to question the truth of WD's words (Lam 3:34-36), and then in his next statement, "My eyes will flow … [hardly silent!] … "without ceasing" (Lam 3:48-49). This not only indicates a point of sharp confrontation within the text, but it reveals that there are two models for responding to the devastation being endured that are commended in the poem. Indeed, if WD had been given the last word, then it would stand as a correction, but **הגבר**'s interjection, followed by WD's counter argument, opens a dialogue between them (something we might expect from Wisdom literature) about the proper response to suffering, without either triumphing over the other. It may seem, as the poem proceeds, that the argument has been won by **הגבר**, since WD is silenced and the community cries out in much the same tone to **הגבר**'s opening lament, but then **הגבר**'s final utterance looks to Yahweh and seeks his compassion in the anticipation that his **חסד** has not run dry, which seems to follow WD's guidance after all (cf. Lam 3:25, 32). In the end, there is no 'winner'; rather, each hears and is informed by the other.

Second, and linked to the previous observation, Bakhtin emphasised the independence of each voice in a dialogue,[98] not only from the other voices with whom they interact, but also from the ideas that live within them,[99] and even from the author, who "elevates the social heteroglossia surrounding objects … [and] creates artistically calculated nuances on all the fundamental voices and tones of this heteroglossia."[100] Each voice speaks from an "I" perspective that is set against the "other,"[101] and dialogue assumes its meaning, as we have already seen in the previous example, only when the movement between every "I" and "other" is taken into account. Thus, when the covenantal ideas identified above are 'mapped' onto the voices of Lam 3, what emerges is that each "I" holds a distinct but overlapping theological vocabulary. **הגבר**'s speech, for example, includes striking allusions both to Deuteronomic and Davidic covenant perspectives, as does the community speech, whereas WD appears only to draw on the Deuteronomic.

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[95] Ibid., 262-63; *PDP*, 182-83.

[96] It is notable, too, that הגבר's speech tends to use a different root for 'hope' (יחל) that WD's speech (קוה). The only inconsistency comes in WD's first call for הגבר for stop talking: "It is good to hope in silence for Yahweh's salvation" (Lam 3:26). This further distinguishes the two voices, as it reveals a pointed reply from one to another.

[97] This aspect of Bakhtin's dialogic theory (see *Four Essays*, 342-46), which asserts that speakers are in dialogue with *internal persuasive discourse* (based in expectations, experience, hopes, doubts, etc) and *authoritative discourse* (based in authority figures, traditions, laws, cultural norms, etc – in this case, the absence of internal dialogue within WD's speech reflects the rational "outside" voice of an authoritative speaker, reminding הגבר of the tenets of faithfulness to Yahweh) will be a key focus for the research that expands on this paper, but there is not space to discuss it here. The same applies to the distinction between monologic truth and dialogic truth (*PDP*, 93), which also is a key factor for interpreting WD's speech, since WD is introduced as a speaker of monologic truth, but his speech is transformed into dialogic truth by הגבר's interruption.

[98] E.g., Ibid., 6-7, 18, 81.

[99] Bakhtin's understanding of the independence of a living idea guides the focus of M. Bier's argument, and is certainly central to the present study, with different conceptions of covenant operating as living ideas in the text. Cf. e.g., *PDP*, 88.

[100] *Four Essays*, 278-79.

[101] *Four Essays*, 278-79.

A monologic evaluation (that is, assessing the *poet's* theological context), might view this as evidence that Deuteronomic ideas dominate, whilst other covenantal traditions may creep in but are not sufficiently frequent to define the text. Whereas, a dialogic analysis exposes the distinctive interlacing of Deuteronomic and Davidic imagery and phraseology in **הגבר**'s speech, which not only sets it apart from WD's speech, but also gives his words a subversive punch. Yahweh has "driven into darkness" (Lam 3:2 cf. Deut 28:28-29, 37), and **הגבר** is suffering hunger (Lam 3:4 cf. Deut 28:48) and ridicule (Lam 3:14 cf. Deut 28:37), and he has become food for the beasts (Lam 3:10-11 cf. Deut 28:26), all as the Deuteronomic covenant had warned. But Yahweh has done it to one who introduces himself with kingly language (**אני הגבר**), as one whom Yahweh had promised to establish forever (**עד־עולם**, 2 Sam 7:13), but who now faced eternal death (**מתי עולם**, Lam 3:6), and Yahweh has done it as a shepherd, who instead of leading his people to safety (Pss 23:1-3; 28:9) and rest from enemies (2 Sam 7:11), has brought **הגבר** to destruction (cf. Lev 26:44) and tears "without rest" (Lam 3:48-49). The force of this inner dialogue between covenantal traditions is to subvert the Deuteronomic references so that they become an indictment. There is also subversion at work in WD's response, which makes several allusions to covenant curses, but flips their meaning to depict them as blessings. His reply to the indictment of vv.1-18 is tinged with irony: these afflictions actually prove that God is saving them, if only they would respond faithfully.

These brief comments leave much to be discussed, but they serve to demonstrate the importance of recognising the multiple voices at work in Lam 3, and the potential for a careful study of the theological perspectives held by each and the dialogical interaction between them, for a more nuanced appreciation for the complexity, ambiguity and artistry that drives this poem. M. Bier attributes this to the internal dialogue of one voice, and in one sense she is correct, since the poem in its entirety certainly does reflect the poet's own internal dialogue, as he struggles with his complex and conflicted response to the suffering he endures. But the poem cannot be reduced to the sequential, or even sporadic, thoughts of one voice, since there is neither a sequential nor a sporadic movement between his utterances. Rather, each voice has its own identity – sometimes named, sometimes not – and together they engage in a back and forth dialogue, in which each speaks from his/their own distinct theological perspective, as they struggle to articulate and find the proper response to their grief. In the end, there is no definite answer, but then the goal was never to 'answer' the suffering, only to find the words to express it to Yahweh. Nor was it to resolve the theological conflict facing the Jerusalemite community, as happened in the assurances of a new or renewed covenant in *Golah* literature (e.g., Jer 31:31-34; Eze 16:59-63).[102] Instead, the polyphonic poetry of Lam 3, indeed of Lamentations as a whole, enables the poet(s) to legitimize each response with its own voice and space to speak, not to solve the puzzle, but perhaps in the hope of bringing some order to the chaotic physical, emotional and spiritual crisis that is confronted.

[102] See, e.g., J. Goldingay, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Exploring Text, Approaches and Issues* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015), 235. For a discussion of "new covenant" in Ezekiel, see: M. H. Woudstra, 'The Everlasting Covenant in Ezekiel 16:59-63' in *Calvin Theological Journal* 6.1 (1971), pp. 22-48, esp. 30-31.

APPENDIX 1

'COVENANT' PARALLEL NOUNS IN LAMENTATIONS

The following is a list of the nouns identified by M. Weinfeld as operating as parallel terms for **ברית** in the Hebrew Bible, and their usage in Lamentations. This list is referenced from M. Weinfeld, '**ברית**' in G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Volume II (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972), pp. 253-79). Verse references from Lamentations 3 are given in bold.

א	E.G.	MEANING	USE IN LAMENTATIONS
חזה	Isa 28:15	Pact (also: seer/vision)	Root (חזה): 2:14
חזות	Isa 28:18	Agreement	Root (חזה) – see above
דבר	Ps 105:8	Word	X
עצה	Isa 30:1	Plan	X
סוד	Ps 25:14	Secret/friendship (also: council)	X
תורה	Hos 8:1	Law	2:9
אמנה	Neh 9:38 [ET]	Agreement	Root (אמן): 4:5, 12
פקודים	Ps 103:18	Precept	Root (פקד): 4:22
חק	Ps 50:16	Statute	X
אמרה	Dt 33:9	Word/utterance	2:17
עדות	Num 7:89	Testimony	X
מצוה	Lev 27:34	Commandment	Root (צוה): 1:10, 17; 2:17; **3:37**
משפט	Lev 26:46	Judgement/justice	**3:35, 59; and root (שפט): 3:59**
אמונה	Ps 89:25	Faithfulness	**3:23**; and root (אמן) – see above
אמת	Mic 7:20	Truth	Root (אמן) – see above
חסד	Dt 7:9	Steadfast love	**3:22, 32**
טובה	2 Sam 2:6	Goodness	Root (טוב): **3:17, 25, 26, 27, 38**; 4:1, 9
שלום	Jos 9:15	Peace	**3:17**
אחוה	Zec 11:14	Brotherhood	X

APPENDIX 2

'COVENANT' PREDICATE VERBS IN LAMENTATIONS

The following is a list of verbs that are attached to **ברית** as predicates throughout the Hebrew Bible, and their usage in Lamentations. Verse references from Lamentations 3 are given in bold.

א	E.G.	MEANING	USE IN LAMENTATIONS
אמן	Ps 78:37	Be faithful to	4:5, 12
בגד	Hos 6:7	Deal treacherously with	1:2
בוא	1 Sa 20:8	Come/bring	1:4, 10, 21, 22; **3:13**; 4:12, 18; 5:4, 9
גבר	Dan 9:27	Prevail	1:16
געל	Lev 26:15	Abhor	X
היה	1 Kgs 15:19	Be/continue/become	1:1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 11, 17, 21; 2:5; **3:14**, **37**, **47**; 4:8, 10; 5:1, 3
זכר	Ex 2:24	Remember	1:7, 9; 2:1; **3:19**, **20**; 5:1
חזק	Isa 56:4	Hold fast	X
חלל	Ps 55:20	Profane	2:2
ידע	Ps 25:14	Know/make known	X
כפר	Isa 28:18	Cover/cancel	X
כרת	Gn 15:18	Cut/make	X
מאס	2 Kgs 17:15	Reject	5:22
מוט	Isa 54:10	Shaken/removed	X
מרה	Dt 9:23	Rebel	1:18, 20; **3:42**
נאץ	Jer 14:21	Spurn	2:6
נאר	Ps 89:39	Renounce	2:7
נבט	Ps 74:20	Regard/consider	1:11, 12; 2:20; **3:63**; 4:16; 5:1
נגד	Dt 4:13	Declare	X
נשא	Dt 10:8	Lift up/bear/carry	2:19; **3:27**, **41**; 4:16; 5:13
נתן	Gn 9:12	Give	1:11, 13, 14; 2:7, 18; **3:29**, **30**, **65**; 5:6
סום	2 Sam 23:5	Appoint	**3:45**
עבר	Dt 17:2	Transgress/pass by	1:12; 2:15; **3:44**; 4:21
עזב	Dt 29:25	Forsake	5:20
עמד	2 Kgs 23:3	Stand/confirm	X
עשה	Ex 31:16	Do/observe	1:21; 2:17
פרר	Dt 31:20	Break	X
פשע	Hos 8:1	Transgress	**3:42**
צוה	Dt 4:13	Command	1:10, 17; 2:17; **3:37**
קום	Dt 8:18	Establish/raise/confirm	1:14; 2:19; **3:62**
ראה	Jos 3:3	See	1:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 20; 2:16, 20; **3:1**, **36**, **50**, **59**, **60**; 5:1
רשע	Dan 11:32	Act wickedly	X
שבע	Dt 7:12	Swear	X
שחת	Mal 2:8	Corrupt/destroy	2:5, 6, 8
שכח	Dt 4:23	Forget	2:6; 5:20
שמע	Jer 11:2	Hear/obey	1:18, 21; **3:56**, **61**
שמר	Gn 17:9	Keep	X
שקר	Ps 44:17	Deal falsely	X

APPENDIX 3
COVENANT CURSES (DEUT 28) IN LAMENTATIONS

The following is a list of the curses in Deut 28:15-68, with lexical and thematic correspondences to Lamentations noted. Verse references from Lamentations 3 are given in bold.

THEME	DEUT 28	LAM 3	NOTES
Yahweh will curse	28:15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 45	3:38(?), 3:65	Albrektson speculates that 3:38 may refer to the full curse list of Deut 28 (*Studies* …, 234). Lam 3:65 uses תאלה whereas Deut 28 uses קללה (28:15, 45) and ארר (28:16, 17, 18, 19). In Lam 3:65 the speaker calls for enemies to be cursed.
Yahweh will destroy	28:20, 24, 45, 48, 51, 61, 63	3:47-48, 66	3:47-48 uses a different term (שבר) to Deut 28 (שמד), whereas Lam 3:66 uses the same term. In 3:47-48, Judah has been destroyed, in 3:66, the poet appeals to Yahweh to destroy his assailants.
Israel will perish	28:20	3:18	In Lam 3, the גבר's strength has perished.
Yahweh will consume	28:21	3:22	In Lam 3, this image is flipped to proclaim that Yahweh's mercies are never consumed
Yahweh will strike	28:22, 27, 28, 35	3:30	In Lam 3, this image is flipped to convey the wisdom of turning one's cheek to the one who strikes.
Israel will be afflicted with a wasting disease	28:22	3:4	These terms are not lexically related but convey the same image.
The heavens shall become bronze	28:23	3:7, 44(?)	In Lam 3:7, נחשת refers to the גבר's chains. There is a possible double-meaning in Deut 28:23, which depicts the sky searing in the sun's heat and also becoming solid and impenetrable. In this second sense, it may correspond to Lam 3:8 and 44's lament that prayer cannot penetrate the cloud of Yahweh's presence, despite the call to lift hearts and hands to heaven (3:41). This in turn inspires tears that will not relent until Yahweh looks down from heaven (3:50).
Rain will become dust.	28:24	3:29	In Lam 3, this is flipped to convey the wisdom of putting one's mouth to the dust.
Israel will be defeated by enemies.	28:25	3:46, 52	The connection is in the term איב rather than נגף, but it is clearly a poetic depiction of defeat.
Israel's corpse will be food for the birds and beasts.	28:26	3:10-11	Lam 3 does not use the same words, but the imagery of Yahweh as a bear and a lion is very similar.
Yahweh will cause blindness.	28:28	3:2(?), 6(?)	M. Saebø has argued that the "darkness" in Lam 3:2, 6 refers to blindness, in keeping with his identification of הגבר as Zedekiah ('Who is the man …?', 303). Berlin also notes the connection, but not based on identifying הגבר (*Lamentations*, 86)
Israel will grope as the blind do in darkness.	28:29	3:2, 6	Note the above comments, which may indicate a closer connection in this instance. But note that the words for 'darkness' are different: אפלה in Deut 28:29, חשך in Lam 3:2, and מחשכים in Lam 3:6.
Israel will build (בנה) a house but not live (ישב) in it.	28:30	3:5-6	Yahweh has "built against me"(בנה עלי) and "made me live (הושיבני) in dark places."
Israel's eyes will fail from longing for those in exile (v32) and from lack of rest (v65).	28:32, 65	3:48-49, 51	In Lam 3, eyes run with tears and do not fail, but the imagery and the cause are the same, with the added link in 3:49 that there will be no respite, although the word used (הפגה) is different than in Deut 28:65 (רגע and מנוח).
Israel will be physically abused.	28:33	3:4, 11-13	Berlin raises this as a thematic link, although it should be noted there is no shared vocabulary.
Israel will be driven mad by "the sight your eyes will see."	28:34	3:1	Berlin speculates that the phrase מראה עיניך in Deut 28 is deliberately echoed by ראה עני In Lam 3.

"Yahweh will make you go (יולך) … to where Yahweh drive you (ינהגך)."	28:36-37	3:2	"He has driven me (נהג) and made me go (וילך) …"
Israel will become a horror and a taunt.	28:37	3:14, 45	Albrektson notes this thematic connection but concedes there is no lexical link (*Studies* …, 233).
Israel did not serve Yahweh with a good heart, because abundance was taken for granted.	28:47	3:25, 26, 27, 32	In Lam 3, this is flipped to convey the wisdom that it is good to endure the present afflictions, and to wait for the abundance of his חסד.
Israel will hunger and thirst.	28:48	3:4a	The connection here may be inferred from the poetic imagery, but בלה could also apply to the general sense of physical degradation (that 3:4b describes) or the depiction of imprisonment that follows (3:5-7).
Yahweh will put a yoke on Israel's neck.	28:48	3:27	In Lam 3, this is flipped to convey the wisdom of wearing the yoke.
Yahweh will give Israel a languishing soul.	28:65	3:17, 20 cf. 3:24-25, 58	Although Lam 3 does not speak of the soul "languishing" (as it does in Jer 31:12, 25), a soul without peace (3:17), bowed down (3:20), and in pain (3:51) evokes the same idea. In Lam 3:24-25, 58 this image is flipped to depict a soul that hopes and seeks Yahweh, and whose cause has been taken up by him.
Israel's life will hang in doubt.	28:66	3:58	In Lam 3, this is flipped to affirm that the speaker's life has been redeemed.
Israel will be in dread day and night.	28:66, 67	3:3, 14, 47	Several instances of suffering are described in Lam 3 as lasting כל־היום, "all day long" (3:3, 14, 62) Lam 3:47 speaks of the same dread (פחד) as Deut 28.
Dread will make Israel wish away every morning.	28:67	3:23	In Lam 3, this is flipped to declare God's mercies to be new every morning.

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▶ Paper

The Function of Source Citations and Other Metatexts in the Old Testament: Deixis in Joshua and Esther as Exemplary Approach to Biblical "Historiography

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▶ Abstract

Thesis: The narrative books of the Old Testament use metatexts such as source citations to warrant claims made about the past.

1. Literary genres dealing with the past differ from each other from a perspective of pragmatics. To get a better understanding of the pragmatics of biblical narratives, the paper examines deictic phrases in Hebrew texts from the Old Testament. The analysis of deixis shows that some verses have less of a literary than a rhetorical function, i.e., they address the reader.

2. Source citations (e. g. 2 Ki 13:12) or formulae like "until this day" are examples for the use of deixis for rhetorical purposes. By connecting the time of the narration with the time of the narrator, they provide the reader with information about texts and are therefore looked at from a perspective of textual linguistics and called "metatexts" or "metatextual notes".

3. A statistical overview and a more detailed analysis of example phrases shows how this approach offer insights into the rhetorical or communicative role of such textual elements. A closer look at certain phrases in Joshua and Esther suggests that some deictic phrases are metatexts that function as testimony for the veracity of the tradition offered in the text. This in turn helps better understand the overall impetus of biblical narrative texts about the past, when it comes to questions about the link between history and theology or genre discussions about historiography.

▶ Project Summary

Source citations and other metatexts:
Observations on biblical and Ancient Near Eastern historiography and historical thought

The context of the project is the scholarly discussion about historiography in the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern texts. The main question of interest is if and how narrative texts about the past can give hints towards a historical way thinking of people responsible for their production and transmission. Historical thinking is understood as conviction that there is a connection between the perceived accuracy of a report about the past and the interpretations that follow it. Hence, that historiography is the written organization of knowledge in the broadest sense, and that the question of historical accuracy is not an adiaphoron when it comes to deciding whether a text is "true" or not. This means entering the discussion, whether the biblical narratives can be called historiographic or not, and this will be mainly done on the level of rhetoric and pragmatics. This approach helps narrowing done the texts in question. The idea is to focus on verses or phrases which signal how the text is to be understood, i.e. to focus on the search for the meta-layer(s) of the texts. This approach borrows ideas from cognitive and textual linguistics, specifically the concepts of the function of deixis and metatextual elements in literature.

To provide preliminary answers, the project starts with statistical observations: Which deictic text signals can be found where? The overall distribution may already give insight into the importance, role and limitations of deixis and metatextual elements within the corpora in question. Then the most important groups will be examined more closely. These more detailed examinations should shed light on the issue how rhetorical elements in the text try to tell the reader how the texts are to be understood, especially about the role of perceived historical accuracy and the importance for the same for the interpretation of the text.

To put the observations in the Old Testament into perspective, the project will also examine comparable textual signals in Assyrian and Hittite annals and the Babylonian chronicles. While the text corpora are very large, the actual texts and phrases that come into question are rather limited, as preliminary examinations of said corpora suggest. The comparison with literary texts is to be supplemented with thoughts about the use of legal vocabulary and the description of past events and the question of accuracy of accounts about the past in legal texts, such as case protocols.

The methodological premises, the text corpora and individual phrases in question should allow for a balanced account of the function of metatextual elements, constituted by deixis and other grammatical phenomena, in narratives about the past in different context. This in turn should shed light on the role of narrating the past, the accuracy of such accounts and the intended interpretation and reception of the text. The goal is to get a better understanding of the connection between historical narration and theological interpretation in the Old Testament, especially with regard to questions about theologies of history and the modern reception of the texts.

▶ **Keywords** Isaiah, theophany, Phoenicia, iconography, semiotics

The Function of Source Citations and Other Metatexts in the Old Testament:

Deixis in Joshua and Esther as Exemplary Approach to Biblical "Historiography"

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1 Approaching Biblical "Historiography"

Large parts of the Old Testament are narrative prose about past events and intertwined with the narrative about past events are concrete theological claims. The integral bond between narrative about past events and theology was the foundation on which G. von Rad built his *Theologie des Alten Testaments*.[1] Not a few people considered this kind of narrative the proprium of Israelite thought and literature within a greater Near Eastern context.[2] Debated until today, however, is the adequate designation for biblical corpora in narrative prose like the Pentateuch or the Former Prophets. Can they be called "historiography"?

This question presupposes an understanding of historiography that separates it from other accounts of the past, such as epics, novels and the like. In the endeavor to achieve more than the minimal consensus, namely that historiography is narrative prose about the human past and that it conveys meaning to the reader with regard to this past, scholarship can be roughly divided into primarily literary approaches and primarily pragmatic-rhetorical approaches.[3] Literary aspects, such as form, and pragmatic aspects, such as the function of the text, are interdependent of course, and the larger works of biblical scholarship focusing on the topic have offered assessments of this interdependence.[4]

This paper will focus on the rhetoric and pragmatics of biblical narratives about the past. What do the texts try to tell the reader about the past? This touches questions about the role of historical accuracy and how the reader's attention is guided. I'll show a possible way how to get a better impression of such questions in biblical narratives about the past. Concretely, I'll try to find text signals which provide the reader with information on how the narrative is to be received and understood.[5] This may in turn have consequences on the perceived connection of narrative and theology, as well as the theological reception of narrative texts about the past.

To achieve this goal, I'll operate with the linguistic category of deixis. In a speech act, any expression that refers to the *ground* is deictic (or a *grounding* expression).[6] The *ground* consists of the speech act, its participants, the knowledge shared between them, and the time and place of speaking.[7] The first step is to look for biblical verses with deictic expressions.

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[1] Cf. VON RAD 1966, 117-142.

[2] Cf. among others GESE 1958; LAMBERT 1972; 69-71 and HALPERN 1996.

[3] Examples for the first group are HALPERN 1996; VAN SETERS 1983, 4-5 and ROBERTS 1976, 3; examples for the second group are ROFÉ 2016, 434-440; WALTON 2009, 227-229, and CARREIRA 1987, 36-57; for an overview cf. also EDELMAN 2000, 246-255.

[4] Cf. CANCIK 1970 and 1976.

[5] This has been dubbed "author intention" or the like, and this term has rightly been criticized by EDELMAN 2000, 250-252. Near Eastern text rarely have "authors"—whose "intentions" remain elusive anyway because they are no longer with us—and biblical texts in particular are subject to redaction. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that there are textual elements which allow for the reconstruction of how parts of the text were designed to be understood.

[6] Cf. LANGACKER 1991, 90-93; EVANS/GREEN 2007, 722.

[7] Cf. LANGACKER 1987, 126.

2 Deixis in Old Testament Narrative: Examples and Implications

2.1 Deixis in Hebrew Verses

To begin, let's have a look at four biblical verses[8]:

> Gen 5:1a:
> [1] This is the book of the generations of Adam (זה ספר תולדת אדם).
>
> Jos 4:9
> [9] Twelve stones Joshua erected in the midst of the Jordan, where the feet of the priests who carried the arc of the covenant had stood, and they are there until this day (עד היום הזה).
>
> 2 Kgs 13:12
> [12] And the rest of the matters of Joash, and all that he did and his manly deeds, that is, how he fought against Amazjah, king of Judah, are the same not written in the book of the matters of the days of the kings of Israel? (הלא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל)
>
> Esth 2:16
> [16] And Esther was taken to the king Artaxerxes, to the house of his kingship in the tenth month—the same is the month Tebet (הוא־חדש טבת)—in the seventh year of his kingship.

While these verses come from different books and different contexts and were most likely composed at different times, they share certain aspects regarding their role within their textual surroundings. They all are associated with narrative texts, yet none of these are part of their respective narrative. As a matter of fact, the genealogy of Adam (Gen 5), the Jordan crossing (Jos 4), the story of Joash (2 Kgs 13) and Esther's way to the Persian court (Esth 2) can all be told without these phrases. They do not add anything substantial to the narrative. Rather, they provide information on the narrative or parts of it form an outside perspective: the following verses are "the book of the generations of Adam" (Gen 5:1), the stones in the Jordan still stand (Jos 4:9), more stories about Joash are to be found in a different book (2 Kgs 13:12), the tenth month is called Ṭebet (Esth 2:16). To achieve that, the phrases all four employ deictic elements. They are deictic because they directly refer to an element of the speech act. In linguistic terms: "deictic expressions encode information that is grounded in the speaker's perspective".[9] Such expressions are by nature epistemic, that is, they are linked to and dependent on the shared knowledge of the participants of speech.[10] That knowledge can be of a proper name (טבת), a spatial relation (זה) or a temporal relation (עד היום). In other words: the semantics of words such as *today*, *yesterday*, *this* etc. is by nature connected with their pragmatic interpretation.[11] Take Gen 5:1a as an illustration: זה ספר תולדת אדם. The subject of the nominal clause is a demonstrative pronoun. Demonstrative pronouns function as deictics that point to something in the speaker's proximity.[12] In a conversation, a speaker had to point to a physical object or refer to something within the speech participants' shared knowledge to make זה identifiable and thus understandable.[13] In fact, most of the instances of זה/זות within the Pentateuch e.g. are found in direct speech, where זה can be identified only in relation to the speaker.[14] One may imagine a person speaking and using their fingers to help point out things they refer to, while they

[8] Translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.
[9] EVANS/GREEN 2007, 722.
[10] Cf. LANGACKER 1987, 126-128; LANGACKER 1991, 90-32.
[11] Cf. ZUBIN/HEWITT 1995, 129.
[12] Cf. VAN DER MERWE et al. 2017, 301-303.
[13] A comprehensive study on the deictic function of demonstratives and deixis in Biblical Hebrew is EHLICH 1979; traditionally, the pronouns הם/היא/הוא are considered anaphoric personal pronouns (cf. VAN DER MERWE et al. 2017, 292-296) to distinguish them from demonstratives. For their anaphoric function cf. EHLICH 1979, 730-35; yet anaphoric and deictic function cooccur regularly.
[14] Cf. EHLICH 1979, 250.

themselves constitute the "I, here, now".[15] This vantage point for deictic expressions is called the *deictic center*.[16]
None of the examples above are direct speech, but all four belong to third-person narratives. In third-person narratives, the deictic center usually is "decoupled" from the actual time, space and participants of speech and relocated within the story told.[17] Hence, deictic expressions like *left*, *right*, *today* or *this* relate to the deictic center of the story and the information necessary to interpret them correctly must be taken from there.
Yet in Gen 5:1a, Jos 4:9, 2 Kgs 13:12 and Esth 2:16, none of the necessary information can be derived from the story. No noun in Gen 4 or 5 can be identified with "the book of the generations of Adam", no date in Josh 4 can be identified as "this day", no one in 2 Kgs 13 can be identified as addressee of the rhetorical question, nobody has explained what the month "Ṭebet" is in Esth 2. Thus, it is most likely that reader has to provide the necessary epistemic context, which means that the deictic center those expressions relate to is the narrator, not someone in the story. By referring to the world knowledge of the reader, deictic expressions are a means of adjusting the focus of an expression or story.[18]
All four verses use grounding expressions which shift the deictic center and thus the focus of the story from a past-time narrative to the time of the narrator. They are neither uniform, nor do they all refer to the same ground element. But they all deliberately address the reader by use of deixis. Their function, since it is obviously not primary literary, can hence be called rhetorical. How exactly this rhetorical function is to be understood, will be the question of the next section.

2.2 Deixis, Rhetoric and Metatextuality: Playing with Greek Prepositions

What do the examples given "point" to? In Jos 4:9 an object mentioned in the narrative is pointed out in the surrounding of the narrator, in Gen 5:1 and 2 Kgs 13:12, certain verses are associated with a document in the surrounding of the narrator, whereas in Esth 2:16 a proper name is brought in contact with a semantic equivalent in the shared knowledge of narrator and reader. Thus, all four examples essentially provide the reader with information on texts or textual elements and can be called metatextual accordingly.[19]
An etymological definition of metatext, consisting of *meta* and *textus*, will include any text that refers to text(s). Hence, one can distinguish self-referential and non-self-referential metatexts.[20]
All four examples are self-referential, which does not exclude referring to different texts (cf. 2 Kgs 13:12), too. Such metatexts provide information on themselves to the reader, yet since they are not isolated phrases but rather belong to larger works of literature, their metatextuality must be understood in the context of those works.
The most obvious texts with metatextual function within literary works would be elements such as titles, prologues, etc. In textual linguistics, such texts have been called *peritexts*. Additionally, one may think of a commentary, an abstract or a review of a literary work, texts which have been called *epitexts*. Together, they form the group of *paratexts*.[21] They are part of the literary work, but usually not part of the main text, its narrative, or overall content. Instead, they are tools to guide the reader's reception and understanding of the text, hence they are

[15] Cf. EHLICH 1979, 113-116.
[16] One may find related terms such as "Zeigfeld" or "Origo", cf. EHLICH 1979, 113-116.131.194; LANGACKER 1991, 267; EVANS/GREEN 2007, 197-198.
[17] Cf. ZUBIN/HEWITT 1995, 131.
[18] Cf. LANGACKER 1987, 116-138.
[19] Cf. GENETTE 1993, 13.
[20] Cf. GERTZ et al. 2016, 207.
[21] Cf. GENETTE 1989, 12-13.

rhetorical and because they have text as their object, they are metatextual. The example given by G. Genette, who coined the terms, is James Joyce's "Ulysses". The reception and understanding of the novel would be substantially different, if it wasn't for the title "Ulysses".[22] Similarly, one can assume that attributions such as מזמור לדוד, "a song of David", modify the understanding and reception of a psalm.

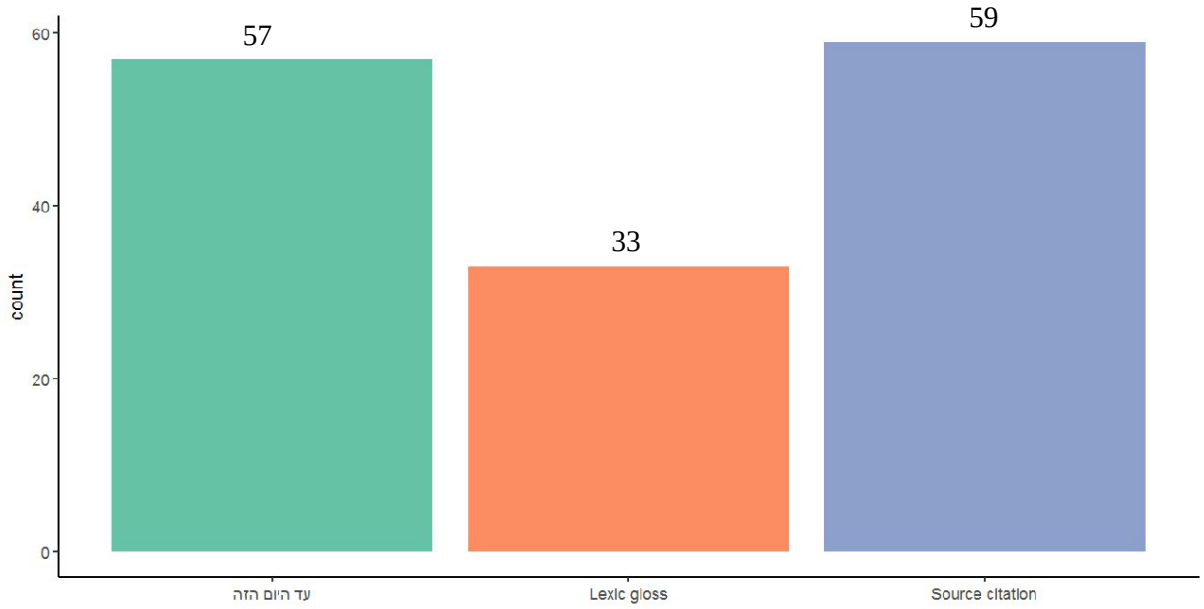
The crucial difference, however, between paratexts and the verses above is their positioning within the literary work. Whereas a title or prologue of a modern literary work is visibly separate,[23] the verses above are no different from any other verse in the Hebrew text. Yet, as their use of deictics have shown, they do not fit into the general hierarchy of the narrative, either. They can be compared to authorial annotations, which are located somewhere in between text and paratext.[24] Since they are not defined by their visible position or role in the larger literary work, but one must figure out their role by realizing what they say, they should be defined by their metatextual function and be called metatextual notes.[25]

To conclude, verses like Gen 5:1, Jos 4:9, 2 Kgs 13:12 and Esth 2:16 are deictic and thereby refer to elements of the *ground*, entered by narrator and reader of the text. As such, they have a rhetorical function and this rhetorical function can be described as metatextual, i.e., providing information on (the) text(s). If deictic, phrases like עד היום הזה can be called metatextual notes or metatexts, in short, on a rhetorical level.

The following chapter will investigate how the rhetorical element works in concrete examples.

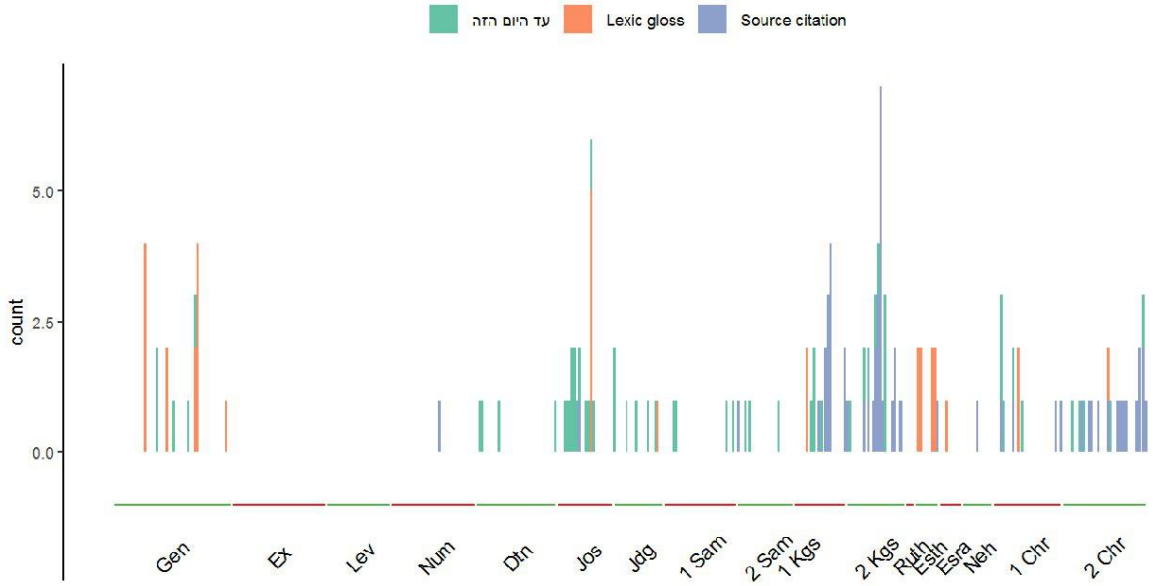
3 Metatextual Notes in the Narrative Books of the Old Testament

So far it has been established that certain deictic phrases are metatextual notes addressed to the reader. The analysis will start with a statistical overview of three types of metatextual notes: the phrase עד היום הזה, as in Jos 4:9, source citations, as in 2 Kgs 13:12 and lexical glosses as in Esth 2:16. They are found in the narrative books of the Old Testament, namely the Pentateuch, Joshua-2 Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah, 1-2 Chronicles, Ruth and Esther. Their total number is:



[22] Cf. GENETTE 1989, 10.
[23] Cf. In fact, depending on ones Bible, certain verses are visibly separate to be marked as peritexts: titles, captions, etc.
[24] Cf. GENETTE 1989, 313.
[25] Cf. WÜEST 2011, 110-118.

Their distribution among the books in question can be visualized thusly:



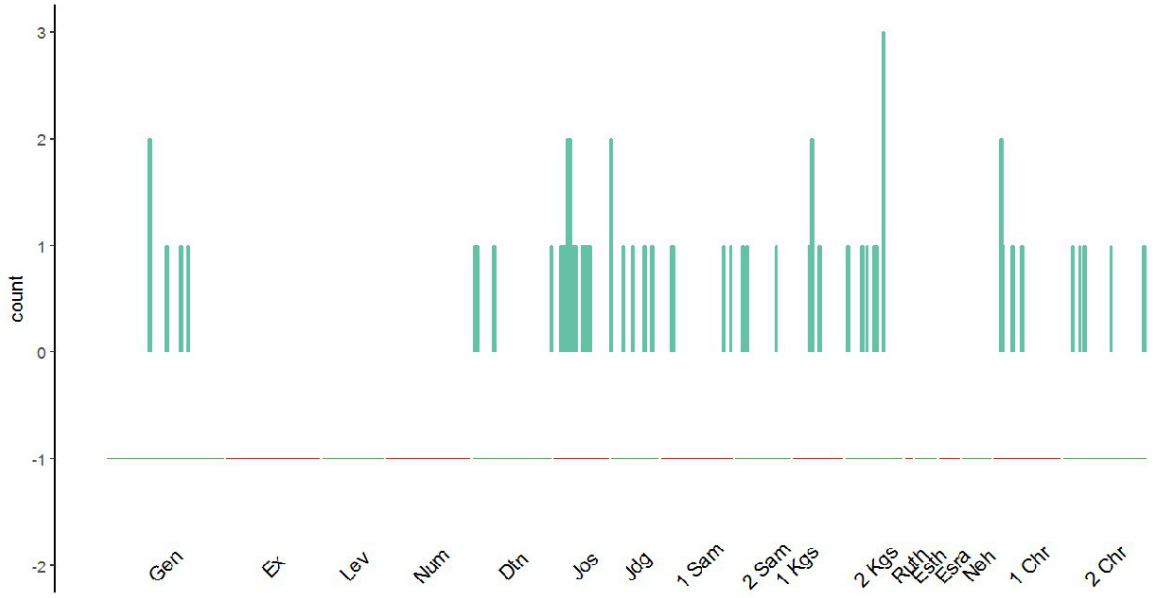
For the statistical analysis, each book has been split into its individual chapters (that's why Genesis in the chart is big and Ruth is small) and every instance of a deictic phrase is represented by one vertical counting mark. Vertical peaks thus represent multiple instances in a single chapter, while horizontal clusters represent multiple phrases in consecutive chapters.
While it is difficult to get an impression of the specific use of deictic phrases from this chart, it serves very well in documenting larger gaps. It is clearly visible that the larger parts of Ex-Dtn are missing all three phrases in deictic function. Similarly, there are smaller gaps in the so-called succession narrative in 2 Sam 9-20 and the beginning of the books of Kings as well as parts of the Joseph-story and Ezra-Nehemiah. All three types of metatexts thus share a similar pattern in "avoiding" the parts of the Pentateuch dominated by direct speech of JHWH or Moses.
To get an impression of the numbers with regard to the entire Old Testament, one has to compare this to the instances found in the latter prophets, the psalms and the rest of the scripture. The phrase עד היום הזה appears once in Isaiah, nine times in Jeremiah and once in Ezekiel. Those ten instances stand all in direct speech and do not refer to a ground element. As far as I am aware, there are no deictic source citations outside the books in the graph. The lexical gloss of the type personal-pronoun + noun phrase is found occasionally, like in Zech 1:7 (glossing a month name).
It is therefore apparent that the phrases in question play a more vital role in narratives than in other types of texts. That does not exclude, however, that other deictic elements can be found in prophetic speech or the like. In the following, a closer examination of the phrase "until this day" and source citations will help understand their precise function within their context.

4 The Formula עד היום הזה

4.1 General Observations

The formula "until this day" appears 84 times in the Masoretic Text, but only 57 times can it be shown that it refers to a ground element. The other instances occur in direct speech in which their deictic elements refer to entities in the story rather than in the surrounding of narrator or reader. The difference is sometimes hard to tell, as in the opening chapters of Deuteronomy. In

Dtn 2:22, 3:14 and 10:8, the phrase is most likely not part of the Mosaic speech but part of a larger narrator's gloss.[26]



The graph shows extensive gaps in the Pentateuch, Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah. In Chronicles it appears rarely independently from Kings. As a deictic phrase, the formula is mainly found in the Former Prophets, especially Joshua, and their parallels in Chronicles, with a few stray instances in Genesis. In its immediate context, it almost exclusively appears towards the end of a passage, often being the last or at least third-to-last verse before a change of subject, location, time, narrative focus, topic, etc. The action or object it refers to only play a minor role in the plot most of the times. In doing so it never adds substantially to the story, but rather connects a detail to the time of the narrator. The phenomena it refers to can be grouped: sixteen times it refers to an ethnic group, more precisely their social or geographic situation (Gen 19:37; 19:38; Dtn 2:22; 10:8; Jos 6:25; 9:27; 13:13; 15:63; 16:10; Jdg 1:21; 2 Sam 4:3; 1 Kgs 9:21; 2 Kgs 16:6; 2 Kgs 17:23; 1 Chr 4:43; 2 Chr 8:8), thirteen times to a visible landmark such as a stone structure (Gen 35:20; Dtn 34:6; Jos 4:9; 7:26; 8:28; 8:29; 10:27; Jdg 6:24; 15:19; 1 Sam 6:18; 2 Sam 18:18; 2 Kgs 2:22; 10:27), eleven times it refers to a place name (Gen 26:33; Dtn 3:14; Jos 5:9; 7:26; Jdg 1:26; 10:4; 18:12; 2 Sam 6:8; 1 Kgs 9:13; 2 Kgs 14:7; 1 Chr 13:11), seven times to customs (Gen 32:33; 1 Sam 5:5; 30:25; 2 Kgs 17:34; 17:41; 1 Chr 9:18; 2 Chr 35:25), four times to a political status quo (1 Kgs 12:19; 2 Kgs 8:22; 2 Chr 10:19; 21:10), three times to a particular object (1 Kgs 8:8; 10:12; 2 Chr 5:9), twice to the tribal affiliation of a place (Jos 14:14; 1 Sam 27:6) and once to a specific theological claim (2 Kgs 13:23, with a slight alteration in terminology).

4.2 Previous Works on the Formula

The function of the phrase has been discussed since the Old Church.[27] Yet critical studies devoted solely to the phrase are numbered.[28] Since it appears mostly within the so-called Deuteronomistic History, this "history" has been its main context of discussion. Especially in 19th and early 20th century scholarship, the formula was considered key to dating the Deuteronomistic History.[29] Linked to the date is the question about the date of "today" and the

[26] Cf. MITTMANN 1975, 70-71.91-93.
[27] Cf. GEOGHEGAN 2006, 9-41 for a very concise and insightful history of scholarship.
[28] In essence ROI 2013; GEOGHEGAN 2006; BECKING 2005; GEOGHEGAN 2003; CHILDS 1963. For discussions about specific usage see also HUBBARD 2001 and GOLKA 1976.
[29] Cf. GEOGHEGAN 2006, 32-40.

literary integrity of the verses containing the phrase. Do they belong to an initial historiographic work, datable to a specific time,[30] or are they more likely to be later glosses, spread across a multitude of layers and time?[31]
In addition to the Deuteronomistic approach, the phrase has thought to be a part of etiologies.[32] The idea of the etiology is that a phenomenon in the world of the narrator is explained by a story which accounts for its existence. The phrase "until this day" in an etiological sense is where the story comes full circle back to the phenomenon whose origins it tells. It was the essay by Childs that contradicted this evaluation, mainly on reasons of language. In many cases the phrase refers to an object of a transitive verb which describes an action of a specific historical figure, which by means of imperfect-tense is then linked to the time of the narrator. Thus, the formula seems less etiological than archaeological.[33] But what does that exactly mean?
In the following investigation I will focus on its role as a deictic and thus as a metatextual note, which may help to find out about its literary role, too. I will limit myself to the occurrence of the phrase in the book of Joshua. It shows the highest density of the phrase and includes the three most common usages of the phrase.

4.3 The Formula in Joshua

4.2.1 Distribution

The phrase עד היום הזה appears thirteen times in the book of Joshua (Jos 4:9; 5:9; 6:25; 7:26a; 7:26b; 8:28; 8:29; 9:27; 10:27; 13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10), that's almost a quarter of the total appearances as a deictic phrase. The phrase mainly appears in the narrative sections and becomes rare in the list-like accounts of the territorial boundaries of the Israelite tribes. Five times it refers to stone structures (Jos 4:9; 7:26a; 8:28; 8:29; 10:27), five times it refers to the whereabouts of a group of people (Jos 6:25; 9:27; 13:13; 15:63; 16:10), two times to a place name (Jos 5:9; 7:26b) and once to the tribal affiliation of a place (Jos 14:14).
In Jos 10:27, the phrase adds עצם, which does, however, not alter its meaning. In Jos 7:26b it is combined with the formula על־כן קרא which is found mostly in the non-P texts of Genesis.[34] In literary terms, the phrase almost exclusively appears towards the end of a passage, i.e. it usually stands among the last three verses before a change of subject, location, time, topic, etc. Since space is limited, I will focus on the references to stone structures.

4.2.2 The References to Stone Structures

The stone structures in Joshua (Jos 4:9; 7:26a; 8:28; 8:29; 10:27) are all deliberately manmade: four times by erecting stones and once by destroying existing structures (8:28). None of them play any role in the story before, yet all five are said to be in their place עד היום הזה. In Jos 4:9, 7:26 and 8:29 the root קום (hif'il) is used, in 8:28 and 10:27 the root שים (qal). The object is אבנים, גל־אבנים or תל respectively. All verses use waw-imperfect forms, except for Jos 4:9, where we find an inverted verbal clause with the perfect tense. Also, only Jos 4:9 mentions a fixed number of stones (twelve) and only Jos 4:9 uses the copula היה with the adverb שם to mark the remaining of the stones, where as in the other verses the phrase follows the main verbal clause directly. The grammatical uniformity of Jos 7:26a; 8:28, 8:29 and 10:27 allows for a combined assessment of their deictic elements. Jos 4:9 will be looked at afterwards.

[30] Cf. GEOGHEGAN 2003, 223-225.
[31] Cf. CHILDS 1963, 292 and BECKING 2005, 26-27.
[32] Cf. ROI 2013, 286; GOLKA 1976, 418-420; GUNKEL 1964, XX-XVI and CHILDS 1963, 279-280.
[33] Cf. CHILDS 1963, 283-286 and also VAN DYK 1990, 20-24.33.
[34] Cf. FICHTNER 1956, 387-388.

In all four verses, עד היום הזה follows the object of the verbal clause using קום or שים. Since the preposition עד implies a motion towards the designated time or place, the imperfect tense could be understood as an ongoing process. This is, however, quite unlikely, because erecting stones is a process of limited time, and the narrator would thus place himself into immediate temporal proximity to the times described, which would render the phrase unnecessary in the first place.[35] The phrase should be understood as ellipsis, rather. A "full version" is provided by Jos 4:9.

The verses' content and the content of their surrounding verses leave the reader with no clue, what day is meant by הים הזה. As established earlier, it is likely then that the "today" of the narrator is meant. Here it becomes obvious how deixis is a means of adjusting the focus of an expression.[36] While the "where" and "what" of the narrative remain the same (stone structures, the place mentioned), the "who" and the "when" of the narrative are exchanged for the "who" of the narrator and the "when" of their time, which now account for the relevant context for the stone structures mentioned.[37] In doing so, a grammatical element (a stone structure) is placed in the physical world of the narrator and pointed out to the reader. This effect is supported by another means of focal adjustment, "windowing of attention"[38]. The preposition עד, as mentioned, implies a process, of which we know nothing, however. The only temporal frames that are offered are the beginning and the end of said process.

Another good example of focal adjustment is the inverted verbal clause at the beginning of Jos 4:9. In biblical Hebrew, a crucial means of adjusting focus is "fronting", whereby "an entity is introduced, activated or reactivated"[39]. The inverted verbal clause Jos 4:9 fronts the object, the twelve stones. They are thereby distinguished from the twelve stones mentioned in Jos 4:8 (Jos 4:9 uses neither article nor anaphoric pronoun) and at the same time presented as the crucial element that is there "until this day". The same reasoning may lie behind the copula clause in Jos 4:9 and the adverb שם, which mark the stones as stationary in contrast with the stones that moved through the Jordan to Gilgal (Jos 4:1-8.10-24). Verb and adverb are also necessary to clarify that the phrase עד היום הזה does not belong to the relative clause, because if so, the phrase would mean that the stones had replaced the priests who had stood there until this day, i.e., the day the stones were set up.

All five verses contain deictic elements that point out stone structures that were deliberately set up after a series of events in the past in the physical, contemporaneous surrounding of the narrator, thereby emphasizing the fact that they are there "until this day" rather than the time in between. Since none of the stones play any discernable role in their respective story before, yet it is apparently crucial for the reader to know that they are still around, one is inclined to assume that these are rhetorical devices which try to tell the reader something about the text,[40] in other words: they are metatexts. To understand what they convey, one must look at the content of the narratives on the one hand, the overall use of the topic "stone structure" on the other.

The rest of Jos 4 as well as Jos 24 offer two good examples of how the references to stone monuments work in speech situations. In Jos 4 and 24, stones are erected as a memorial. The one in Jos 4 is to serve transgenerational education (Jos 4:5-7), the one in Jos 24:26-28 is to be a witness (עד) of Israel giving itself to JHWH and his law. In both cases it's a visual reminder to the event that happened where the stones stand, focusing on the future in Jos 4, focusing on the time of the event in Jos 24. Especially the term עד in Jos 24:27, the same as in legal contexts,

[35] Its use presupposes a certain distance in time between the event and the speaker's time, cf. EHLICH 1979, 503.
[36] Cf. LANGACKER 1987, 116-138.
[37] Cf. ZUBIN/HEWITT 1995, 133-138; LANGACKER 1991, 267.
[38] Vgl. EVANS/GREEN 2007, 198-199.
[39] VAN DER MERWE et al. 2017, 500-509.
[40] Cf. VAN DYK 1990, 26-27.

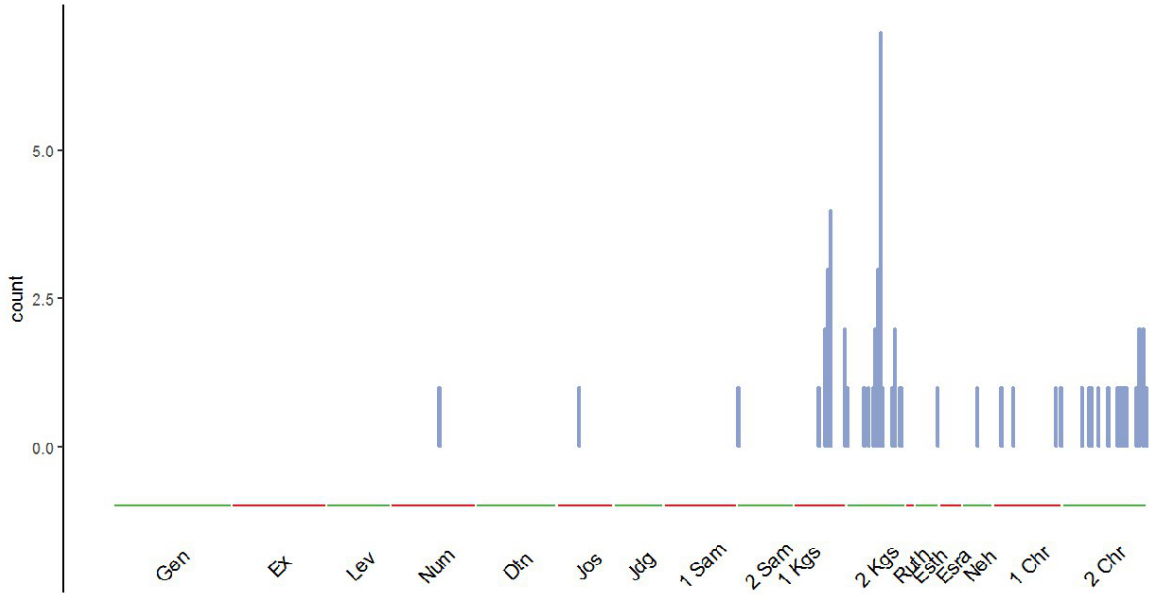
is also found in other books in connection with stones. In 1 Sam 6:18 a large stone on which the arc had rested is witness for the plague sent to the philistines. The task of a witness is to give testimony about the actual ongoing of a past event if called upon, especially if the event in question gives raise to claims to something in the present.
It is very likely that the examples given above have similar function. All five stand in the context of a memorable event, which is moreover connected to divine activity. The entering of the promised land (Jos 4:9), the experience of the devastating consequences of disobeying the law of JHWH (7:26) and the downfall of Israel's enemies (8:28; 8:29 and 10:27). In all these events, it is JHWH who triumphs. The Jordan crossing is the fulfillment of a promise. The stoning of Achan is the triumph of JHWH's law. The destruction of Ai is war on JHWH's command (Jos 8:1-2), the killing of the kings is the breaking of resistance against the conquest of Canaan by the chosen people. [41] Where this happens, the Israelites deliberately raise stones, which are said to be there until the narrator's day. Thus, the reader is told that a significant amount of times has passed since the events. More importantly, however, the reader is presented with a "witness", a remnant of the events that happened. By explicitly pointing out this detail of the story, the narrator provides testimony for what happened and thereby a warrant for the textual tradition he stands in:[42] the stories about Jericho, the Jordan and Joshua are true, as one can see by visiting the stones left behind.[43] Thereby, also JHWH's deeds in the past become manifest in the present of the narrator and the land itself serves as testimony for the story.[44]
The rhetorical and thus the metatextual role of the phrase with regard to stone structures in Joshua is apparently to give the reader a warrant for the textual tradition he receives from the narrator. It is a true account of actual events, and thus, the theological claims associated with the events are reliable, too. It secures that the story is read in this way and not another.
The geographical aspect of עד היום הזה referring to stone structures can be integrated into a larger geographical pattern. When referring to place names, landmarks and ethnic issues, the location lies almost exclusively in the territory of the kingdom of Judah.[45] One could make the case, that the five example verses are part of a theological landscape, that try to provide the reader with evidence that the divine deeds of JHWH before the time of the judges or kings took place in the south of "Israel". This southern focus is programmatic for large parts of the Deuteronomistic theology of Kings, yet the phrase does very rarely with royal issues. More important are demographic, geographic and cultic issues,[46] and it often implies a pre-exilic situation.[47] It does not appear in Ezra-Nehemiah, but the literary traditions of Ezra-Nehemiah deal with questions of foreign ethnicities among Israelites, who "Israel" is and what its lands and cultic traditions are (Ezra 4; 8:1-14; 9-10; Neh 7:4-68; 12:1-13:31). One may suggest that the formula does belong somewhere in between the two traditions, yet the literary critical questions are difficult and need separate attention.

[41] Cf. HUBBARD 2001, 24.
[42] Cf. CHILDS 1963, 290-292.
[43] Cf. VAN DYK 1990, 32.
[44] Cf. HUBBARD 2001, 11-22.
[45] In fact, two of the prominent places mentioned in the northern kingdom are associated with Baal-worship, cf. GEOGHEGAN 2003, 206-208.210-227.
[46] Cf. GEOGHEGAN 2006, 42-62.
[47] Cf. GEOGHEGAN 2006, 64. This does not make it pre-exilic, however.

5 Esther 10:2 as a Case Study for Citing Sources

5.1 Source Citations in the Old Testament

The definition of source citations follows the observation on deictic elements in verses like 2 Kgs 13:12 above. Any grounding expression that points to a text or document associated with the content of the narrative in the narrator's world can be considered a source citation. In the narrative books of the Old Testament, they are distributed as follows:



If the repetitive mentions of the "books of the matters of the days of the kings of Juda/Israel" are each counted individually, 59 source citations are found. 34 are found in the so-called Deuteronomistic framework of Kings and fifteen in the parallels in Chronicles. Ten more which mostly divert in formulation from Kings and Chronicles are found there, too, as well in Numbers, Joshua, Samuel, Nehemiah and Esther. In most of the cases, the quotes are "indirect" citations or rather references to a book, where similar material can be found. Literal citations are limited to chapters like Num 21, Jos 10 and 2 Sam 1, all of which cite poetry.
In this paper, I will have a look on the source citation in Esth 10:2, since the book is a smaller and more confined corpus than Chronicles or Kings.

5.2 Esth 10:2 within its Context

In Esth 10:2, we find a deictic phrase structurally similar to 2 Kgs 13:12:

> Esth 10:2
> ² And all the deeds of his strength and his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, to which the king made him great, are the not written in the book of the matters of the days of the kings of Media and Persia? (הלא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי מדי ופרס)

The key difference to Kings is that a similar document appears in the story of Esther. It is a record document which is attributed considerable authority (Esth 2:23; 6:1-3). Esth 10:2 tells the reader that what they read about Mordecai is indeed recorded in this book of the Persian kings. By doing so, it identifies a grammatical element with an object in the world of the narrator and functions similarly to examples in Joshua. Like 2 Kgs 13:12, the qal-participle signals that the writing is a stative condition in the time of the narrator. In this way the authority attributed to the document by the Persian king is transferred to the document pointed out by the narrator, whereby their narration is equipped with said authority and claims to truthfulness.

The question arises, however, what the greatness of Mordecai is and why there may be a need for employing the authority of Persian record-keeping for one's story at all. The book of Esther has been called a "novella"[48], or more precisely a "diaspora novella"[49], a "historic novel"[50] or has more generally been associated with court tales,[51] dealing with Jews and Jewesses of the Diaspora and their experiences of threats and opportunities. And this story, just as the Joseph-story, works fine as fiction, without any appeal to external authority. Exegetes have, moreover, argued for the secondary nature of Esth 9-10.[52] Especially the sudden introduction of the Purim Festival gives reason to doubt the original integrity of Esth 1-8 and 9-10. And it is Purim and its date that lead to several documents being written to establish said festival and date in Esth 9 (9:20.23; 9:29; 9:32).

Esth 9 additionally employs a number of deictics: Esth 9:1 contains a lexical gloss similar to 2:16 above, where the twelfth month is glossed "Adar", in which the Purim Festival will take place in the future. In 9:24, the term פור is identified with גורל, one of the few instances where הוא + noun phrase does not explain a proper name. 9:26 uses the phrase על־כן קראו in the frequentative perfect, which shifts the perspective to the time of the narrator.[53] These are devices to draw the attention of the reader to Purim and its origins.[54] The condition for the establishment of the festival is Mordecais position at court (Esth 9:4), and the greatness mentioned in 10:3 can be associated with Mordecais role of establishing Purim accordingly. Since this position, however, is product of the narrative development in Esth 1-8, chs. 9-10 gives the story a new outcome. With ch. 9, the book suddenly makes very specific claims about very specific dates to serve as dates for a festival (9:27-28), the warrant for which are written letters and books (9:20.23; 9:29; 9:32). Following this idea, one may propose a similar function for 10:2. The rise of Esther and Mordecai and their establishment of Purim is warranted by the authority of the official Persian record. The formulation chosen in 10:2 does several things. On a literary level, it reaches back to the beginning of the book, where the king Xerxes and his time set the scene of the book (Esth 1:1-4). On a larger scale, it embeds the story of Esther into literary traditions such as Kings and Chronicles, thus marking it as "biblical". On a rhetorical level, it changes the perception of the book of Esther as a whole. Literary fiction is apparently unfit to serve as etiology of a festival; specific claims about specific points in times, which lead to claims about current things—such as a festival date and origin—may need a warrant, which in this case seems to be the perceived authority of Persian royal records.[55] In this way, pointing out a source that is made plausible to the reader by the narrative (Esth 2:23) in the time and proximity of the narrator functions as metatextual note and thereby as rhetorical device, added to change the reader's perception of the book as a true story of a particular time.

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[48] WÜRTHWEIN 1969, 167 ("Novelle").

[49] EGO 2017, 40 and MEINHOLD 1976, 306-308 ("Disaporanovelle").

[50] MOORE 1971, LII.

[51] Cf. for an overview of genre-discussions EGO 2017, 34-40 and WAHL 2009, 12-15.

[52] Cf. EGO 2017, 42 and WAHL 2009, 6-7. The details remain disputed, however.

[53] That this is the case can be illustrated by the instances where the phrase is combined with עד היום הזה (Jos 8:28 et al.); Cf. FICHTNER 1956, 378-386.

[54] That there seems to be a connection between the use of lexical glosses and the general impetus of the text may be demonstrated by the fact that the relevant month "Adar" is glossed three more times in Esther (Esth 3:7; 3:13; 8:12), while the months Nisan, Siwan and Tebet are each glossed only once (Esth 2:16; 3:7; 8:9). There is good reason to assume, that this is done to stress the importance of Adar to the reader beforehand, rather than merely being a service by the narrator.

[55] This historicizing tendency has been observed by several scholars already: Cf. EGO 2017, 35-37; WAHL 2009, 12 and WÜRTHWEIN 1969, 166-168.

6 Conclusions, Context and Continuing the Project

The paper has started with the assumption that rhetoric and pragmatics plays a vital role in understanding how a text works and that they may help clarify how the term "historiography" can meaningfully be applied to biblical narrative. The method has been to look for deictic elements in biblical narrative. Some grammatical elements are only understandable when interpreted as referring to the *ground* which narrator and reader entered, that is, they dependent on elements of pragmatics. Statistics show that certain deictic phrases are mainly found in narrative texts such as the former prophets and the Pentateuch. Two examples were given, the phrase "until this day" in Joshua referring to stone structures and the source citation in Esth 10:2.

The first example has shown how grammatical elements in the story can be identified with objects in the surrounding world of the narrator. The time of the narrative and the time of the narrator are linked to one another, and the narrator is provided with a witness (עד) to the events. Thereby, JHWH's deeds and triumphs are marked geographically and anchored in time and space, while space means mostly the region of Judah. As a rhetorical metatextual note, the phrase provides the reader with "evidence" for the story in the text and tells him that the tradition is true. The deeds of JHWH and his people have happened *in Judah, in this particular way, with these particular outcomes and theological conclusions.* Any alternative account and any other text carrying such an account, concrete and close by or abstract and yet to come, can therefore not claim any authority. Together with the link to legal vocabulary, this implies a communicative situation where the differing accounts and differing interpretations of those accounts are disputed. This raises interesting questions when it comes to scenarios that seem manufactured, such as the twelve stones in the Jordan: what is the relation between the perceived version of the narrator and the version which the reader is supposed to perceive by use of deixis?

Esth 10:2 does something similar by identifying a document mentioned in the text with a document in the world of the narrator. Yet, it goes further in claiming that the story in Esther is taken from that book, transferring the authority the book has in the story to the book in the narrator's surrounding. Belonging most likely to a redactional layer, Esth 10:2 serves as one of several deictic phrases to point out the importance of Purim as actual climax of the Esther story. The metatextual function of Esth 10:2 in its context Esth 9-10 is to signal the reader that it is biblical, that it is mainly about the institution of Purim, and that it is as such truthful.

What does this have to do with the question about historiography? The analysis of deixis has shown that in some biblical narratives about the past, the interpretation of the narrative seems to be intrinsically tied to the perceived truthfulness of the tradition. While this can theoretically be true for any narrative and is not dependent on the use of deixis, its use makes sure that the story is perceived in this way and not another. The book of Joshua can claim that JHWH has done great deeds in Judah because we can see the remnants of those deeds, Esther can be read as the origin of Purim on a very specific day with very specific occasions, because royal records serve as reference for it having actually happened. This link of perceived truthfulness and interpretation may be a criterion how such a narrative about past events may differ in pragmatics from a historic novel or any other text dubbed "fiction" in modern terms.

One should, however, not confuse this with modern perceptions of historical accuracy in an academic sense. Rather, the historicity of the event is by definition tied to specific coordinates in space and time, and these are again vital for the understanding of the link between narrative and deictic elements. The reader is not to perceive the story as true in an abstract sense, as if it was an adiaphoron and only a question of scholarly curiosity. The examples in Joshua e.g. show how these warrants for truthfulness are imbedded into a larger theological context.

The goal of the larger project is to answer the question, how analyzing metatexts and other rhetorical elements of biblical narrative can help understand the relation between claims about

the past and theological claims found within those texts. To achieve this, the observations on deixis will be sharpened. Also, the scope should widen and include Ancient Near Eastern narratives about past events such as the Assyrian and Hittite Annals and Babylonian chronicles, especially since questions such as sources and truthfulness do—however rarely—arise in them and deictic elements may differ widely from biblical texts.[56] Additionally, remarks on the possible parallels between legal and narrative vocabulary in the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East may be necessary, since a situation, in which one (possible) account stands against (possible) other accounts is the default situation in a court case, and vocabulary such as עד is indeed the same as in legal context. In the end, it should help find possible links between concrete text signals for the reader and the ongoing theological reception of the narrative texts of the Old Testament.

[56] Cf. e.g. Muršili‘s II annals in KBo 3.4, iv, 40b-43.46b-48, where references to other material are found.

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▶ **Paper**

Hebel and the Context of Hellenistic Philosophy

➥ Respondent: Urmas Nõmmik

▶ **Abstract**

Hebel is a central keyword in the book of Qohelet, which the author uses in an idiosyncratic and enigmatic way. Interpretative models for understanding the word, as well as different suggested translations are numerous. The most important of these are presented from a historical and systematical perspective. The use of the word in the OT outside of Qohelet will also be considered. It is the assumption of this paper, that Qohelet uses hebel in a plurivalent way with multiple allusions. In exploring possible connotations of the word, the context of Hellenistic philosophy should not be overlooked. Central concepts and ideas in Hellenistic philosophy are analyzed in relation to hebel, which may enrich our understanding of how the author of the book uses the word.

▶ **Project Summary**

The translation technique of the Hebrew psalm poetry in Peshitta

The question of Greek and Hellenistic influences in Qohelet has a long tradition in academic biblical scholarship. Already in 1792 G.Zirkel, *Untersuchungen über der Prediger,* tried to show the influence of Greek philosophy in Qohelet's thinking. From more recent times the works of L.Levy, *Das Buch Qoheleth* (1912), R.Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie* (1973) and Schwienhorst- Schönberger, *Nicht im Menschen gründet das Glück* (1996) can be mentioned. During the latter part of the 20th century the ideas of influence from Greek and Hellenistic literature and philosophy also met with criticism. Egyptian and Babylonian material, as well as the biblical tradition itself, was suggested as a more probable background for the expressed ideas in the book. A Hellenistic influence was often assumed, but in a very vague manner, as a kind of a general *Zeitgeist*. Today Hellenistic influences in Qohelet are usually presuppposed, but the assumed connections are still often lacking in concreteness. Attempts to show Qohelet as a proponent of some specific Hellenistic philosophical school or group have been unfruitful. However, it is likely that the author comments on ideas and topics featuring in the context of Hellenistic philosophies. According to Schwienhorst-Schönberger Qohelet picks up the central theme in the Hellenistic philosophies, the question of *eudaimonia*, also as his major theme. Addressing themes common in Hellenistic philosophy, Qohelet ends up, perhaps unintentionally, creating a vague synthesis between Hellenistic philosophy and a Jewish tradition, at the same time, for his part, reshaping the latter in a very peculiar manner.

The dissertation is based on the assumption, that there is a connection between Hellenistic philosophy and the book of Qohelet. The aim of the dissertation is to show these connections as concretely as possible. The assumed connections between Qohelet and Hellenistic philosophy by no means excludes the possibility of other influences. The emphasis will be on a comparison between the text of Qohelet and a more traditional Jewish wisdom tradition, with its ancient Near Eastern background. Impulses to breaches with earlier traditions are sought against the background of Hellenistic philosophy. Conceptual and thematic parallels with Hellenistic philosophy are analyzed, as well as how these function in the structure of the book as a whole.

The current paper takes a closer look at Qohelet's *leitwort. Hebel* is a central keyword in the book of Qohelet, which the author uses in an idiosyncratic and enigmatic way. Interpretative models for understanding the word, as well as different suggested translations are numerous. The most important of these are presented from a historical and systematical perspective. The use of the word in the OT outside of Qohelet will also be considered. It is the assumption of this paper, that Qohelet uses hebel in a plurivalent way with multiple allusions. In exploring possible connotations of the word, the context of Hellenistic philosophy should not be overlooked. Central concepts and ideas in Hellenistic philosophy are analyzed in relation to hebel, which may enrich our understanding of how the author of the book uses the word.

▶ **Keywords** Qohelet, Hellenistic philosophy, tyfos, natural elements, void, Stoic epistemology, adiaphora, pneuma, eudaimonism

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Hebel and the Context of Hellenistic Philosophy

Introduction

Hebel is the most central keyword in the book of Qohelet. Thus, as Sneed notes "… one's translation and understanding of hebel will largely determine one's understanding of the book as a whole. This cannot be emphasized enough!"[1] However, Sneed forgot to mention the reverse, probably more important state of affairs, that most likely one's understanding of the book as a whole will largely determine one's translation and understanding of hebel. Either way, pressed for a translation the interpreter of this complicated book is already forced to show much of his hand.

Of the 73 attestations of hebel in the Hebrew Bible, as much as 38 are found in Qohelet.[2] The importance of the word is highlighted not only through its frequency, but also through its location in central places in the composition. After the introductory verse 1:1, a cluster of hebels are thrown at the reader/hearer right at the beginning of the exposition, stressing also the evocative function of the word. Verse 1:2 appears again, in a slightly less intensive form, in 12:8, forming an inclusio with 1:2.[3]

This paper focuses on the possible connotations of hebel from the viewpoint of Hellenistic philosophy. This is an often-neglected aspect in the discussion of the best way to understand its meaning for Qohelet. Before turning to Hellenistic philosophy, I will present a brief overview of the use of hebel in the OT outside Qohelet and then some main lines how hebel has been understood in the book of Qohelet.

Points for discussion: Are the proposed connections to Hellenistic philosophy plausible? Can we find other possible connections? How much significance can we attach to the openness of hebel in 1:2 in comparison with the rest of the book?

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[1] M.Sneed, *The Politics of Pessimism in Ecclesiastes,* SBL, 2012, 155.

[2] As the numerical value of hbl is 37, some commentators, most notably Wright, have seen a correspondence between the numerical value and the occurrences of the word in the book, usually regarding 5:6 as secondary. See A.G.Wright, *Additional Numerical Patterns in Qohelet*, CBQ 45/1, 1983, 32-43 and C-L Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, AB 18C, 1997, 44-45, for a critique of Wright.

[3] 12:8 seems to have a double function in forming an inclusio with both 11:7 and 1:2.

1. Hebel in the Hebrew Bible outside Qohelet

Surveying the material, it appears that hebel occurs more frequently in later texts. Seybold has outlined four usages of hebel outside Qohelet.[4] 1. Significantly, hbl, Abel, features as the name of the second son of Adam and Eve in Gen 4. Considering the connections of Qoh to Gen[5], I consider it likely that the story of Abel (and Cain) in Gen 4 is reflected in the book of Qohelet, maybe as one of many allusions.[6] The name can most likely be connected to the idea of transitoriness and fleeting character of existence. 2. In statements expressing worthlessness. Hebel may have a strictly concrete meaning, as in Isa 57:13 or Prov 13:11, 21:6. More often, however, the figurative use passes over into abstract evaluation: “Man is like a breath, his days are like a passing shadow” (Ps 144:4). 3. Expressing the sentiments of the lamenter. Of particular interest are Pss 39:6-7 and 62:10-11, displaying also thematic similarities with Qohelet, cf. Qoh 6:12; transience, shadowlike existence and attachment to material possessions (passim). In what Seybold has identified as a lament context, hebel often takes the meaning of transience or fleetingness, this is certainly the case also in Qoh 6:12, 7:15, 9:9. 4. In the Deuteronomistic polemic against foreign Gods. In verses like Jer 2:5, 8:19, 1 Kings 16:13,26, 2 Kings 17:15, Dt 32:21, hebel found its place in religious polemic.

The usages that Seybold has identified cannot be grouped neatly in four distinct categories. Clearly, in the polemic against foreign Gods, the idea of worthlessness is also present. The idea of fleetingness also occurs strongly in all usages mentioned by Seybold.

Qohelet’s distinct use of hebel need not be dictated by the earlier use of the word in the Hebrew Bible. However, it forms a kind of semantic starting point, from which Qohelet develops his characteristic leitwort further. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, stressing the narrative aspect, concludes that the reader/hearer of 1:2, not yet knowing the directions Qohelet will take, will have entered the word with an understanding of it based on this context.[7] Schwienhorst-Schönberger’s focus on the narrative aspect and the preliminary understanding of the readers is illuminating. However, as I will argue in this paper, confining himself in this respect to the biblical material might be a too limited approach.

2. Interpreting hebel in Qohelet

Before turning to the Hellenistic philosophies, I will present a selective overview of different interpretations of hebel in Qohelet.

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[4] K.Seybold, TDOT 3, 1978, 315-318.

[5] See L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *“Nicht im Menschen gründet das Glück” (Koh 2:24). Kohelet im Spannungsfeld jüdischer Weisheit und Hellenistischer Philosophie*, HBS 2, Freiburg:Herder, 1996, and B.Maurer, *The Book of Ecclesiastes as a Derash of Gen 1-4.* PhD dissertation, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2007.

[6] For a stronger connection, with Abel, as a direct referent, for some of the occurrences of hebel in Qohelet, see e.g. R.Meeks, *The Meaning of Hebel in Ecclesiastes in Light of Qohelet’s Inner-Biblical Use of Genesis*. PhD dissertation, Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2014.

[7] Schwienhorst-Schönberger, 1996, 16-17.

Through its history of interpretation, hebel has, alongside its concrete meaning of breath or vapour, been understood in an abstract or metaphorical way.[8] The LXX uses a variety of terms to translate hebel; kenos Job 7:16, kataigis Isa 57:13, eidola Jer 16:19 and maten Ps 38:7, 39:7. However, in Qoh exclusively mataiotes, 'emptiness', 'transitory', 'vanity', 'breath', is used. The use of one word only may reflect the recognition of hebel as a leitwort for Qohelet. Theodotion, Symmachus and Aquila, on the other hand, translate as atmos, 'vapour', 'steam', leaving less room for a metaphorical interpretation.[9]

In the Vulgate, Jerome translated hebel with 'vanitas' ('vanity', 'emptiness', 'falsity', 'futility'). Vanitas lacks the connotations of temporality and the concrete imagery of breath. While early Jewish interpreters mainly understood hebel in its metaphorical sense of temporality or brevity, early Christian interpreters understood it primarily as a value judgement. 'Vanity' became the dominant interpretation for one and a half millennium and reduced the meaning of hebel predominantly to a lack of value.[10]

In the twentieth and twenty-first century we have a much wider variety and disagreement of interpretation.[11] One suggestion, that seems to arouse strong emotions for and against, is the translation of hebel as absurd. This solution is championed by Fox, followed e.g. by Michel ('sinnlos') and Schoors.[12] According to Fox, the absurd arises from the comparison or tension between reality and an expectation. However, the fact that hebel outside Qoh never is used in the sense of 'absurd', as Sneed notes[13], must count for something, even if Qohelet uses the word in his own distinctive way.

Comparing with the other occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, it is clear that Qohelet uses hebel in a highly idiosyncratic way. At the same time his use of the word seems to be marked by a high degree of ambiguity.[14] This ambiguity is not a result of ambivalence or haphazardness. It is mainly intentional, corresponding to the numerous ambiguities in the book at large. This ambiguity and Qohelet's enigmatic way of using hebel is the main reason for the existence of numerous interpretative models for understanding the word, as well as numerous different individual translations of hebel. According to Seybold, Qohelet uses the word in a way that shows that he is aware of all the possible meanings and connotations it has in the OT.[15]

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[8] For an overview, see G.Vruggink, *Hbl in Ecclesiastes: Abel as Symbol Referent*, 2016, 4-21, https://www.academia.edu/27815844/_%D7%94%D7%91%D7%9C_IN_ECCLESIASTES_ABEL_AS_SYMBOL_REFERENT

[9] R. Meeks, *Twentieth- and Twenty-first-century Readings of Hebel in Ecclesiastes,* CBR 14, 2016, 280.

[10] Meeks, 2016, 280-284.

[11] For a useful overview, see Meeks 2016.

[12] M.V.Fox, *The Meaning of Hebel for Qohelet*, JBL 105, 409-27. D.Michel, *Untersuchungen zur Eigenart des Buches Qohelet,* BZAW 183, Berlin: de Gruyter, 40-51. A.Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, HCOT, Leuven: Peeters, 2013.

[13] Sneed 2012, 163.

[14] See also D.Ingram, *Ambiguity in Ecclesiastes,* LHBOTS 431, London: T&T Clark, *2006*, 109.

[15] Seybold 1978, 318.

It is the assumption of this paper, that Qohelet uses hebel in a plurivalent way. Further, I will apply the idea of multiple allusions. That is, not only may hebel have different meanings in individual contexts, it may also allude to different ideas and meanings simultaneously.[16] Allusion will here be understood as an intentional and implicit reference.[17]

Universal or anthropological hebel?

According to Braun, comparing with the preceding literature, we can see a shift towards a more anthropological interpretation of hebel in Qohelet. The implied meaning of emptiness or nothingness (Nichtigkeit) is here no longer applied to the description of foreign Gods, but to the human condition. Braun nevertheless acknowledges also a cosmological meaning for hebel, reflecting the empiricism of the Hellenistic philosophical schools.[18]

It is important to notice the all-encompassing nature of hebel in 12:8, but particularly in 1:2. An important question concerns the interpretation of what 'ha-kol' in 1:2 signifies. Amir equates the determinative ha-kol with *to pan*, in Greek philosophy signifying universe.[19] Lohfink has critically examined Amir's thesis. Lohfink concluded, that ha-kol nowhere in the Hebrew Bible outside Qohelet has the meaning of an all-encompassing concept with a similar meaning to *to pan*. Lohfink then investigates all occurrences of ha-kol in Qoh and concludes that except for 1:2 and 12:8 it cannot function as an all-encompassing cosmological concept. According to Lohfink, all occurrences of hebel, except 1:2 and 12:8, clearly belong in the anthropological sphere. Hence the ha-kol hebel in 12:8 cannot be interpreted in any other way. Remains the case of 1:2. While Lohfink acknowledges the openness of 1:2, he sees the immediately following sentence '*mah jitron la-adam bekol amalo sheja'amol tahat hashamesh'* as pointing to an anthropological interpretation and thus as the most suitable also for 1:2.[20]

Schwienhorst-Schönberger also points out the openness of ha-kol hebel in 1:2. 1:3 seems to point in an anthropological direction, as does 1:4a, while 1:4b '*weha'arets le-olam omadet'* takes a cosmological turn. Before the cosmological poem in 1:4-11 there are yet no secure clues to the question on the object of ha-kol. Schwienhorst-Schönberger rejects, however, the interpretation of 1:2 as "everything is absurd".[21]

It is evident, that hebel in Qohelet is first and foremost connected to human action and experience. I think, however, that a cosmological connotation cannot

[16] Methodologically, this is close to the ideas expressed in D.Miller, *Symbol and Rhetoric in Ecclesiastes: The Place of Hebel in Qohelet's Work,* Academia Biblica 2, Atlanta: SBL, 2002.

[17] See W.Kynes, *My Psalm has turned into weeping: Job's Dialogue with the Psalms.* BZAW 473, Berlin: de Gruyter 2012, 30.

[18] R.Braun, *Kohelet und die frühhellenistische Popularphilosophie,* BZAW 130, Berlin: de Gruyter, 45-46.

[19] Y.Amir, *Doch ein griechischer Einfluss auf das Buch Kohelet?*, in *Studien zum antiken Judentum* (BEAT 2), Frankfurt 1985, 35-50.

[20] N.Lohfink, *Koh 1,2, "alles ist Windhauch" – universale oder anthropologische Aussage?* in R.Mosis and L.Ruppert (eds.), *Der Weg zum Menschen: zur philosophischen und theologischen Anthropologie für Alfons Deissler*, Freiberg: Herder, 1989, 201-216.

[21] Schwienhorst-Schönberger 1996, 16-17.

be completely excluded, particularly in 1:2. Even if hebel doesn't occur in 1:4-11, the centrally located cosmological poem shows that cosmological reflections were not irrelevant to Qohelet.

Hebel as humour

In Qohelet, as elsewhere, the connotations of hebel are predominantly negative. Qohelet himself is mostly considered a gloomy fellow. However, Qohelet's ironical capabilities have been largely acknowledged.[22] I think that also the outright humorous aspect of hebel should not be overlooked. An example of this could be Jarick's translation of ha-kol hebel as "everything is nothing"!, also noting the similarity in appearance in Hebrew between ha-kol and hebel.[23] Zimmerman offers 'flatulence' as a translation of hebel.[24]

Below I will suggest, that Qohelet utilizes the negative connotations of hebel combined with the different possible meanings of the word to create a humorous effect.

3. Hebel and Hellenistic philosophy

Considering how heavily the meaning and use of hebel in Qohelet is scrutinized, from many different angles, it is surprising how sparsely the word and its possible connotations to Hellenistic philosophy are analyzed, even in expositions presupposing a significant influence of Hellenistic thinking on the book. In the following, I will consider various central ideas and concepts in Hellenistic philosophy that might be contained in hebel as allusions.

Hebel and the literary genre of Qohelet

Before starting with individual ideas and concepts, we may briefly consider the overall structure and composition of the book. Defining the literary genre of Qohelet has proven to be a complex task. While many suggestions, like royal testament/fiction, collection of sayings etc., have some merit, they all seem to face the same problem, namely that they seem to be applicable only to parts of the book, but hardly to all the content of the book as a whole.[25]

In 1912 Levy drew attention to the resemblance between the text of Qohelet and the Cynic-Stoic *diatribe*. Later Lohfink and Schwienhorst-Schönberger have picked up and developed Levy's idea.[26] The diatribe as a literary genre is very elusive and hard to define more strictly. Characteristic features for the diatribe include a

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[22] For the humorous aspects of the book, see É.Levine, *The Humour in Qohelet*, ZAW 109, 1997, 71-83 and J.Jarick, *Ecclesiastes among the Comedians*, in K.Dell and W.Kynes (eds.), *Reading Ecclesiastes Intertextually*, London: T. & T. Clark 2014, 176-188.

[23] J.Jarick, *The Hebrew book of Changes: Reflections on Hakkol Hebel and Lakkol Z'man in Ecclesiastes*, JSOT 90 2000, 79-83.

[24] F.Zimmerman, *The Inner World of Qohelet: With Translation and Commentary*, New York: KTAV, 1973, 131.

[25] For a survey of the discussion on the literary genre of the book, see L.Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Kohelet*, HThKAT, 2004, 54-64.

[26] L.Levy, *Das Buch Qoheleth. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sadduzäismus, Leipzig 1912,* 59*,* N.Lohfink, Kohelet, NEB, Würzburg, 2/1980, Schwienhorst-Schönberger 1996.

dialogical character, rhetorical speech, the emphasis of the I of the narrator, use of simile.[27] For our present purposes, we may specifically note two features of the diatribe. The first is the fluidity and diversity of different literary devices. That is, the diatribe can easily include, e.g., prose and poetry, narrative and direct speech merging into each other. The second, and more important feature, is the development of a specific central theme, usually announced at the beginning of the exposition. It is then presented in manifold contexts, highlighting different aspects and connotations of this particular theme. In the book of Qohelet, hebel functions exactly as such a key theme.

Hebel and tyfos

In his important book from 1912, Levy suggested that Qohelet's hebel was directly modeled on the Cynic *tyfos*. Levy renders tyfos as illusion, pointing to the inability to distinguish between the real and illusory value of things. Levy also points to the more literal meanings of tyfos; vapour, mist, impalpable, then figuratively vain, hollow, self-important. According to Levy, both the literal and figurative meaning of hebel, as Qohelet uses it, corresponds to tyfos and the way it was used by the Cynics. Levy further draws attention to the closely connected expression of hebel, re'ut ruah, which he likens to the kene doxa, the empty opinion, the closely connected expression of tyfos for the Cynics. Re'ut ruah Levy understands as 'desire of the spirit', 'imagination', rather than the more literal meaning 'chasing after the wind'. According to Levy, Qohelet took the programmatic pursuit of the Cynics, to expose the hollowness of traditional values, as the starting point for his philosophical reflections.[28] It should also be noted, that the Cynics didn't use tyfos primarily in the epistemological sense, but rather to underline the practical orientation in distinguishing between real and 'illusory' values.

Braun approves of Levy's suggestion and points also to the occurrence of tyfos in the popular Hellenistic culture. Braun further points to the saying *tyfon einai pan*, 'everything is mist' by the Cynic Monimos, according to Menander as reported by Diogenes Laertius VI.83.[29]

Hebel and the natural elements

Already Ibn Ezra, in his commentary on Qohelet, suggested that the opening cosmological poem in 1:4-11 reflected the Greek concept of natural elements. Qohelet's mention of the earth, sun, wind and sea correspond to the elements earth, fire, air and water as the basic components of the cosmos.

The notion of the four elements goes back to Empedocles. Of course Empedocles himself stood in a longer tradition, beginning with the Ionian natural philosophers. Famously, the supposed saying of Thales, "everything is water" is often seen as the beginning of all subsequent western philosophy.

Anaximenes posited air-vapour as the primal natural element. The Stoics divided the four elements in active; fire and air, and passive; earth and water. Drawing heavily on Heraclitus, fire occupied a special governing place in Stoic cosmology,

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[27] See Schwienhorst-Schönberger 1996, 247-248.

[28] Levy 1912, 12-13.

[29] Braun 1973, 45-46.

both as a craftsmanlike (pyr technikon) and an uncraftsmanlike element (pyr atechnikon).

The extent of knowledge of Greek thinking in 3rd century Judea is still an open question. Even if we take a very cautious stand on the matter, the teachings of the natural elements as basic components of the cosmos could be expected to be familiar even to a larger set of people, not only the superintellectuals of the day.

If Qohelet is alluding to teachings on natural elements already in 1:2, especially in the exclamation ha-kol hebel, it clearly has a polemical ring. At the outset of the book, the author pictures a caricature of a philosopher, possessed by his curious idea that everything could be explained through one single element. The idea is easy to ridicule, especially without any reference to the deeper concomitant philosophical presuppositions of the natural philosophers. The joke is made possible by the fact that hebel, in its literal meaning, could be identified as a natural element simultaneously with its more metaphorical meaning or meanings.

Is Qohelet applying here the literary device spoudaiogeloion, 'seriocomic', featuring especially in Cynic writings? Spoudaiogeloion is not a literary genre in itself, but certainly a typical feature of the diatribe. According to Dawson, it is a pervasive technique of making serious points in a humorous fashion, especially through the parody of serious literature and mythology. Incidentally, according to Diogenes Laertius 6.83, Monimos wrote *paignia* that were "mixed with hidden seriousness".[30]

It should also be noted, that Epicurus rejected the teaching of the natural elements as elementary and foundational components of the cosmos in toto, effectively replacing them with his atomistic theory.

If Qohelet alludes to the long Greek tradition of explaining cosmological reality with natural elements, it certainly cannot be central for the understanding of his use of hebel. Cosmological reflections play a certain role for Qohelet, but do not seem to be at the core of his exposition. The possible allusion to the natural elements would mainly work only in 1:2. Considering the openness of 1:2 from a narrative perspective as to the meaning of hebel, this could have been recognized by Qohelet's audience as a joke. We can also assume, that Monimos' 'tyfon pan einai' most certainly contained a scornful allusion to theories about natural elements.

Hebel and the question of void

Void, nothingness and emptiness have all been suggested as translations of hebel.[31] The existence or nonexistence of void was a dividing question between

[30] See D.Dawson *Cities of the Gods: Communist Utopias in Greek Thought*, Oxford University Press, 1992, 118-119.

the Stoics and the Epicureans. The Stoics denied the existence of void in the cosmos, everything is body and only bodies have being.

One of the basic assumptions of Epicurean physics was, that everything consists of either body or void. The void is not however ‘parasitic’ on body, but is able to coexist with body. The void is not non-being. However, it cannot be recognized by the senses, it is an ‘untouchable substance’ (anafes ousia).

Epicurus seems to have used ‘void’ (kenon), ‘space’ (khora) and ‘place’ (topos) more or less interchangeably. It has often been maintained, that he failed to distinguish between empty and occupied space. Epicurus seems to think however, that void can be occupied by body without ceasing to exist. It does so, not as ‘void’, but as ‘place’. The point seems to be that all void is potentially place and all place is potentially void. Any part of the universe is potentially void at any time.[32]

Gammie, exploring possible connections between Qohelet’s use of hebel and Stoic philosophy, refers to the Stoics teaching that there is an infinite void outside the cosmos and no void inside. However, he connects it to their catalogue on virtues necessary for the good life, listing amataiotes, “lack of emptiness”, “lack of emptyheadedness” as one of them. According to Gammie, Qohelet chose to latch on to a notion that could be recognized by his informed audience to be counter to Stoicism.[33]

If there is a connection between Qohelet’s hebel and Hellenistic conceptions about void, we could again easily recognize the polemical nature of hebel, with a clearly humorous tone. It would also reflect the polemical gibing between Stoics and Epicureans, on void as well as other matters. On a cosmological level, this would draw on the Epicurean understanding on the all-pervasive existence of void versus the Stoic notion that everything is body. However, also this reference would mainly work in 1:2, not the rest of the book (for the exception maybe of 6:4, but this is highly unlikely). Also, the technical and abstract nature of the question on void and body casts doubts on void as a reference even in 1:2. However, Qohelet might here, as elsewhere, play with easily recognizable popular beliefs, not engage in a deep technical philosophical debate.

If Gammie is to be trusted, the polemical intent could work also on an anthropological level. However, even if there is a tight connection in Stoic theory between the physical and the ethical, connecting the cosmological kenos with an ethical imperative, expressed by a completely different word, ‘amataiotes’, makes his argument strenuous at best, even if it happens to match the rendering of hebel as mataiotes in the LXX. Here, as elsewhere, Gammie’s thought seems to be faster than his pen, and he makes no argument whatsoever why kenos and amataiotes should be connected.

[31] See e.g. É.Levine, *The Humour in Qohelet*, ZAW 109, 1997, 71-83 and K.Ehlich, *Hebel – Metaphern der Nichtigkeit*, in A.A.Diesel, R.G.Lehmann, E.Otto and A.Wagner (eds.), *‘Jedes Ding hat seine Zeit…’: Studien zur israelitischen und altorientalischen Weisheit: Diethelm Michel zum 65. Geburtstag*, BZAW 241, 1996, 49-64. In the Swedish Bible translation from 2000, ‘vanity’ was replaced by ‘emptiness’.

[32] J.Rist, *Epicurus. An Introduction.* Cambridge University Press 1972, 56-57; D.Sedley, *Hellenistic Physics and Metaphysics,* in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, eds. K.Algra, J.Barnes, J.Mansfeld, M.Schofield, Cambridge University Press 1999.

[33] J.Gammie, *Stoicism and Anti-Stoicism in Qohelet*, HAR 1985, 179-180, with references.

Hebel and the Stoic pneuma

Pneuma is a central concept in Stoic metaphysical, and even psychological theory. The exact translation of pneuma in a Stoic context is debated. Not going too deeply in this discussion, we may note some proposals; breath, wind, gas, spirit. As it is considered as a combination of the active elements fire and air, it is sometimes also described as a fiery breath.

Pneuma is the basic physical component of the Stoic universe. It acts as a cohesive force both in man and universe, on an individual and cosmological level. The world in itself was also seen as a living being. According to Stoic metaphysical theory, being is divided in that which acts and that which is acted upon. Pneuma is the active principle and can be equated with world soul or God.

Because of the close similarity in the literal meaning between pneuma and hebel and the all-encompassing nature and function of pneuma, we might consider an allusion to the Stoic conception of pneuma in 1:2. The purpose would then undoubtedly be to ridicule the highly technical and difficult Stoic theoretic construction. However, the joke would work only in 1:2, again playing with the literal and more metaphorical meanings of hebel.

A case, perhaps more serious in tone, could be made for 3:19. Pneuma was the active force also in plants and animals, pervading each thing, whether inanimate, a plant or an animal. However, at death only the human soul or pneuma, contrary to the pneuma in the irrational animals, withdraws from the body to survive for a certain time.[34] According to Chrysippus, only the souls of the virtuous survive. Rist assumes that Chrysippus thought that the erratic vibrations of the souls of ordinary men could not hold the soul together long after bodily death. The world in general, and the soul of the world moves through and ordered and rational cycle of events, and it is conceivable that an individual rational soul would be in harmony with that movement, while an irrational would not.[35]

However, it is doubtful whether Qohelet here would allude to ideas connected specifically to pneuma, than rather more generally to the likeness or difference of humans and animals, which was a dividing question between the Stoics and the Epicureans.

Hebel and adiaphora

In his Nicomachean Ethics Aristotle had considered happiness the highest good for man. In the Hellenistic philosophies the eudaimonistic emphasis is even intensified. The quest for happiness is the underlying question and the ultimate goal of all philosophy.[36]

Two differences in comparison with Aristotle can be noted. For Aristotle ethics was subordinated to politics. The questions about the well-being and right conduct of man was seen through the background of his role as a citizen in the

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[34] A.A.Long, *Stoic psychology,* in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, eds. K.Algra, J.Barnes, J.Mansfeld, M.Schofield, Cambridge University Press 1999, 561.

[35] J.Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1969, 93-95.

[36] According to Schwienhorst-Schönberger, 1996, 246, eudaimonia is also the central theme in the book of Qohelet. Schwienhorst-Schönberger argues forcefully, that Qohelet picked up the theme from Hellenistic philosophy.

polis. In the Hellenistic philosophies we can note a radical shift to an individualistic thinking.

Secondly, Aristotle had considered virtuous action according to reason as central for eudaimonia. Besides that, Aristotle considered some amount of external goods as a prerequisite for happiness, for example health, friends and at least a certain amount of wealth. The Hellenistic philosophers took one radical step further. Finding the idea that happiness was dependent on external circumstances unsatisfactory, they declared that (almost) all external goods were indifferent, *adiaphora*. Eudaimonia was dependent solely on man's own mental disposition and was to be reached through own strength. The extremity of this position can be seen in the statement, that the wise man is happy even while being tortured.[37] It is easy to see that the notion of adiaphora and the individualism of Hellenistic philosophy goes hand in hand.

The extent and classification of things that counted as adiaphora was a debated issue particularly in Stoicism.[38] A list of indifferent things is given by Diogenes Laertius VII.102: life and death, health and illness, pleasure and discomfort, good looks and ugliness, physical strength and weakness, wealth and poverty, good and bad reputation, high and low birth; further in VII.106: natural ability, skill, even moral progress and their opposites. As if not enough, Diogenes Laertius concludes this second list with an additional 'etc'.

Qohelet also builds up an impressive list of what can be considered hebel. Seybold notes that the dominant use of hebel in a nominal statement shows that it also for Qohelet serves a purpose of evaluation, or *devaluation*, with critic-polemic intentions. The totality of human activity 1:14, 2:17, Qohelet's own work 2:11, all living things 3:19, the future and youth 11:8,10, striving after wisdom 2:15 (1:17), laughter and pleasure 2:2, the life work of the wise 2:19, 21, 23, 26, energy exerted by the skillful 4:4, wealth 4:8, 5:9, the career of the wise 4:16, zeal 6:9, criticism of the wise, 7:6, decisions by the mighty 8:10, confidence in the law of just retribution 8:14 can all be characterized by hebel.[39] 14 times the expression gam-seh/hu-hebel is repeated 2:1,15,19,21,23,26, 4:4,8,16, 5:9, 6:9, 7:6, 8:10,14. And as if not enough, in 1:2 and 12:8 we are told that 'everything' is hebel. While of course not identical, comparing the lists I think the similarity between what Qohelet targets as hebel and the things that were customarily singled out as adiaphora, particularly in Stoic philosophy, is notable. The respective lists can be seen to comprise the totality of human concern and striving.

Things indifferent constitute the huge class between what is good and bad. Among indifferents, apart from utterly meaningless things as whether the number of hairs on one's head is odd or even, the Stoics distinguished between preferred and dispreferred things, which could be described as having positive or negative value. Preferred indifferents are 'according to nature'. For Qohelet, wisdom, though hebel, seems to have a relative value 1:13-14.[40]

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[37] Diogenes Laertius 10.22.

[38] 'Things' here understood as objects of human concern. See B.Inwood, *Stoic Ethics*, in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, eds. K.Algra, J.Barnes, J.Mansfeld, M.Schofield, Cambridge University Press 1999, 691.

[39] See Seybold, 1978, 319.

Adiaphora is a relative concept. What makes a difference or is indifferent can only be understood with respect to something else. The indifferents are things which make no contribution to a happy or unhappy life.[41] The road to happiness consists for the Stoic in the virtuous life. For Qohelet, the best bet to achieve happiness is to enjoy the creation in the thisworldly life to the fullest. Thus, the carpe diem theme of Qohelet is never considered hebel. As Lohfink points out, neither are the works of God ever valued as hebel.[42] As the carpe diem motive is clearly connected to Qohelet's creation theology, the character of life as a gift from God is emphasized. Here we may also see the different preconditions of Qohelet compared to the more individualistic Hellenistic philosophy. What Qohelet shares with the Hellenistic philosophers, however, is the understanding of happiness clearly as a subjective experience, mainly unconnected to externals. Only by understanding that not only (the temporary) life and the whole (lasting) creation is a gift from God, but also the enabling to enjoy the creation, can man distinguish between what is hebel and what is not.

Assuming the notion of adiaphora as a background to the use of hebel in Qohelet could make sense in almost every single occurrence in the book. Even in 6:4, 7:15, 9:9 this could be a possible interpretation, considering that even life and death could be considered as adiaphora.[43]

Hebel, re'ut ruah and Stoic epistemology

Gammie makes an interesting suggestion concerning the expression re'ut ruah, "a grasping after the wind", and its possible reference to Stoic epistemology. Zeno had illustrated his theory of knowledge with a famous simile. His open hand signified the impression, and the partly closed hand the assent to that impression. The clenched fist signified cognition. Cognition was within reach for the wise man and the fool alike. However, firm or scientific knowledge, which Zeno illustrated by the other hand grasping the clenched fist, was available only for the wise, being able to distinguish between true knowledge and mere opinion. The third stage, the closed fist, Zeno called katalepsis, literally 'grasping'. In contrast, Gammie sees Qohelet as asserting that everything is ungraspable, a grasping after the wind.[44] Hebel and re'ut ruah Gammie understands almost synonymically.[45] In this case, the interpretation of hebel and re'ut ruah would be mainly epistemological.

In 1:13 Qohelet set out with his mind,lb, to search ,drsh, and investigate ,twr, with wisdom everything that happens under the sun. Maybe something of the seriousness, with which epistemological issues were treated in Hellenistic philosophy in general, is reflected in the search for wisdom by Qohelet, constantly reflecting over his observations. Gammie groups Qohelet

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[40] Cf. also the *tob*-sayings in ch 7.

[41] Inwood 1999, 692.

[42] Lohfink, 1989, 213-214.

[43] In my OTSEM paper from last year I argue, however, that life, or death, is not indifferent for Qohelet.

[44] Rist 1969, 133-145 and Gammie, 1985, 180

[45] Gammie, 1985, 178-179.

epistemologically with the Cynics and the Skeptics of the Academy.[46] It is unlikely, however, that Qohelet would comment on the epistemological controversies between the Stoics and the Skeptics of the Academy. However, the possibility cannot be excluded, that he is reacting against a Stoic positivistic epistemology. The Stoics equated nature and logos with God. Having true knowledge of nature was to partake in the divine logos. Hence the fact, that the Stoics believed in divination, will not come as a surprise. On the contrary, Qohelet pronounces the transcendence of God 5:1 and states that man does not understand his works 3:11. And he will not know what will be after him 6:12.

Gammie's hypothesis is severely weakened by the fact, that most instances of hebel, without or in connection with re'ut ruah, do not seem to have any particular epistemological connotations. With a stretch of imagination 2:15 and 2:26, but also these verses address more the question of the worth of wisdom than its epistemological prerequisites. Considering the 'grasping of the wind', only in 1:17, with rajon ruah, but without hebel, an epistemological interpretation seems possible. Thus the conclusion must be, that if Qohelet is commenting on Stoic epistemology, there seems to be no direct connection to the use of hebel in this respect.

4. Translating hebel

Translating hebel has proven to be a complicated task. The easy way out would be to transliterate the word, but this is hardly a satisfactory solution in a Bible translation. One problem is to find a balance between the different meanings of hebel and its function as a leitwort. Both solutions, using the same translation in all instances, or using various translations according to the context, have their obvious advantages and shortcomings. If we apply the interpretative model with multiple allusions, the task is even further complicated. Not only would we like to change the translation from case to case, but perhaps also apply more than one translation in many individual instances. As the complexity of hebel makes it difficult to master the word even with various translations, it is best to opt for a single translation, recognizing at least the leitwort character of hebel, as is of course the case in most Bible translations. This is not to resign before the difficulty of the task, but rather to emphasize the distinction between translating and interpreting hebel.

Deciding on the translation, a word that is sufficiently inclusive and open to the different meanings and underlying connotations of hebel should be chosen. This is best served by a concrete meaning of the word, be it 'breath', 'vapour' or 'puff of wind'.[47] This is of course not a novel strategy.[48] The more complex our understanding of hebel, the more tempting this solution will be.

5. Conclusions

[46] Gammie, 1985, 180.

[47] Lohfink, Schwienhorst-Schönberger: Windhauch. Buber: Dunst.

[48] See Meeks 2016, where, incidentally, the Hellenistic context is not mentioned at all.

In this paper, I have tried to show some possible connections and allusions of Qohelet's hebel to Hellenistic philosophy. However, some caution is required. It must be admitted, that all the connections proposed here are somewhat speculative. In a way we are back where we started. If we disregard the Hellenistic philosophical discourses as an influence for Qohelet, we can easily dismiss these suggestions as nonsense, maybe with the exception of an allusion, albeit unlikely, to the theories of natural elements of pre-Socratic philosophy. However, if we assume that Qohelet is engaged in a dialogue with philosophical ideas current in more or less all the Mediterranean in the late 3rd century BCE, comments upon them critically or takes a defensive stance towards them, we should consider a 'Hellenistic' reading also of his key concept hebel.

Another concern is of course the question about Qohelet's audience. Even if we grant a significant amount of sophistication and erudition to himself, can we expect the same from his readers/hearers? Qohelet is said to have "taught the people" 12:9. However this may be, his book is most probably intended more for the elite than the common people.[49] Dating the book in the late 3rd century, we can already expect a knowledge of Greek culture and thinking by the intelligentsia and the upper classes. The book is philosophical in character, but it is not a technical philosophical treatise. Qohelet rather alludes to catchwords and popular beliefs in Hellenistic philosophy, not seldom in a playful way. The ease at which this is done betrays a deeper knowledge on his part.[50]

It has not been my intention to argue for the replacement of more standard interpretations of hebel with Hellenistic ones. Instead, I have argued that Qohelet uses hebel in a plurivalent and allusive way and sometimes plays with the different, literal and metaphorical meanings it may contain. Taking notion of the Hellenistic context adds up to this complexity. According to Webb 'it is a mistake to try to nail this word down, as though one "right" meaning could be found in it for Ecclesiastes'.[51]

In this paper I have treated 1:2, and the openness of the meaning of hebel, as a special case. The possible allusions to the natural elements or the Stoic pneuma would mainly work in this opening verse in the narrative. The same goes for void in the Epicurean cosmological sense. While Qohelet may take a critical stand against Stoic epistemology, the connection to hebel or even re'ut ruah in this respect remains unclear at best. What is significant, however, is that all of these suggestions could work as an anti-Stoic polemic.[52]

The strongest candidates for a connection between hebel and Hellenistic philosophy seem to be the concepts tyfos and adiaphora, for obvious reasons. The devaluation of traditional values and vain human striving implied in these concepts could be retained throughout in the book in Qohelet's use of hebel.[53]

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[49] Thus also many commentators, e.g. Sneed, 2012, 125-154.

[50] Against R.Gordis, *Koheleth, the Man and his World*, TSJTSA 19, New York, 1951, 56 and M.Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus,* WUNT 10, Tübingen 1969, 3/1988.

[51] B.G.Webb, *Five Festal Garments: Christian Reflections on the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther*, NSBT, Downers Grove Il: InterVarsity Press 2000, 90.

[52] Elsewhere I have argued, that 7:16-20 and 9:1-10 can be identified as anti-Stoic passages.

Tyfos even has a literary affinity with hebel. Both concepts are also strongly connected to the ultimate *telos* of man, his quest for happiness.

[53] Tyfos also has an epistemological aspect, but this seems to be emphasized more in later Hellenistic philosophy.

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▶ **Paper**

The Unified Text of the Lucianic reviser

➥ Respondent: Reinhard Kratz

▶ **Abstract**

The Lucianic text is a Christian revision of the Septuagint from the beginning of 4th century CE. This Christian revision represents a work of a Christian scribe probably connected to the church of Antioch. Although the Lucianic text dates to the Patristic period, it preserves an older text-type, which often attests the Old Greek (the original translation of the Septuagint), particularly in the Historical books. Against the majority of the Greek witnesses, particularly the Codex Vaticanus, the Lucianic text does not show the traces of the early Hebraistic (Kaige) revision (1st century BCE). However, later revisional elements (4th century CE) in the Lucianic text often hides this old textual layer. If the Lucianic text is used in the reconstruction of the Old Greek, the revisional elements need to be identified in the so-called Lucianic manuscripts. This is achieved by searching differences between the Lucianic manuscripts and rest of the Greek witnesses. This is easier in those sections of the Historical books which are only sporadically influenced by the Hebraistic revision.

The Lucianic text is preserved in five Greek manuscripts 19 82 93 108 127. These manuscripts construct a witness group L (Rahlfs´ critical edition), which is still divided into two sub groups 19' (19 108) and L-19' (82 93 127). This paper examines the smoothness of the Lucianic revision in the Book of 2 Samuel. As an example I use the passage 2 Samuel 9:7-11 (David, Ziba and Mephibosheth) that contains several so called unifying changes. The Lucianic reviser has changed the text by reducing different variabilities. I call this kind of editorial activity 'unifying change' in contrast to 'harmonization' which means revision according to a parallel text or theme. This paper provides a relevant information about the reviser(s)'s practices and motifs in the church of Antioch in the early 4th century.

▶ Project Summary

The characteristics of the Lucianic reviser in 2 Samuel

My doctoral dissertation focus on the Lucianic revision of the Septuagint in 2 Samuel. The Lucianic reviser(s) is known for his Greek text that is 1) stylistically and logically better Greek. The reviser also used 2) the Hexaplaric material in order to supply his Greek text. My research focus on these characteristics of the Lucianic reviser (4th c. CE). These are observable in a level of syntax, lexicography and morphology. I attempt to provide some detailed statistics about Hexaplaric approximations, and literary and linguistics characteristics in the Lucianic text. This may provide a small keyhole to the early Christian reviser(s) in the church of Antioch in the early 4th c. CE.

My analysis concerns all Lucianic readings in the non-kaige section of 2 Samuel (1:1-10:5). In order to evaluate the Lucianic revision I must reconstruct the unrevised Greek text that is close to the Old Greek (OG = the original translation of the LXX) and, in general, found in the rest of the Greek witnesses. There are altogether 60 witnesses that provides the Greek text of the Septuagint in 2 Samuel. The major method in such work is textual criticism. After all Lucianic readings that are part of the Lucianic revision (4th c. CE) are found, these need to be analysed and perhaps categorized by their nature. This requires tools of form criticism.

My dissertation is part of the project The Septuagint of 2 Samuel led by Tuukka Kauhanen in Helsinki. The project´s aim is to create a critical edition of the Septuagint of 2 Samuel for the Göttingen Academy of Sciences. In 2 Samuel, the Lucianic text is often the only witness of the Old Greek (The original text of the Septuagint). The identification of late Lucianic characteristics, therefore, is extremely important when reconstructing the OG text of the Historical books, and its Hebrew Vorlage.

▶ **Keywords** Septuagint, Samuel, Textual Criticism

The Unified Text of the Lucianic reviser

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The focal points of discussion

- Unifying change as a concept – Is it credible and clear?
- The presentation of the text example: consistency and clarity

The Unified text of the Lucianic reviser

Starting points

The Lucianic text – The Two Layers

The Lucianic text (the L-text; *see terminology in the end*) of Samuel-Kings is attested in the following five Greek witnesses 19 82 93 108 127.[1] They constitute the text group *L*, which is divided into two sub-groups: 19´ (19 108) and $L^{-19´}$ (82, 93 and 127). These witnesses are dated from the 9th c. CE to the 13th c. CE but they attest an earlier text-type that probably received its final touches around the beginning of the 4th c. CE by Lucian of Antioch (240-312 CE) or a group close to him. The L-text is often followed by the Greek witnesses M^{mg}, V, 158, 245^{s}, 318, 460 and 554, which share some Lucianic readings to a widely varying degree.[2]

The Lucianic MSS

- 19 (Rome, the library of Prince Chigi, R. VI. 38) is dated to 12th-century. This parchment contains the Octateuch, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Iudith, Esther, and 1–3 Maccabees.
- 82 (Paris, National Library, the Coislian collection, 3) is dated to12th-century. This parchment contains the Octateuch and 1–4 Kingdoms.
- 93 (London, British Museum, Royal 1 D. II) is dated to 13th-century. This parchment contains Ruth, 1Kingdoms, Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, 1–3 Maccabees, and Isaiah.
- 108 (Rome, The Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 330) is dated to the 13th-century. This manuscript (written on paper) contains the Octateuch, Kingdoms, Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Iudith, and Esther (and Tobit in another hand).
- 127 (Moscow, Synodal library, Gr. 31) is dated 10th-century. This parchment contains the Octateuch (except Genesis and a part of Exodus), Kingdoms, and Chronicles (exept the end of 2 Chronicles).

The L-text contains two textual layers.[3] The earlier layer is the *Vorlage* and the unrevised Greek text of the Lucianic reviser (the LR). This earlier layer is sometimes called the proto-Lucianic text but to avoid any confusion with the proto-Lucianic recension (see below), I will call it the base text of the Lucianic reviser.[4] The base text attests the Greek text that has, against B (+) and Maj., escaped the influence of the *kaige* revision.[5]

[1] The Cambridge edition of *The Old Testament in Greek* (Brooke-McLean) uses the following signs for the Lucianic MSS: b´ (19) *b* (108) o (82) e_2 (93) c_2 (127).
[2] Kauhanen, *Best Greek Witnesses*, forthcoming.
[3] Bruce M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), 24–27; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 232–36.
[4] The L-text is also called the Antiochian text or the so-called Lucianic text.
[5] Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 126–27. See also Kauhanen, *Best Greek Witnesses*, forthcoming: "Among the notable features of this textual tradition is that it attests only very few *kaige* readings. According to the standard theory, the base text of the revision, the proto-Lucianic text, was a good, old text-type that for a large part escaped the *kaige* revision".

The later layer complicates the identification of the base text. The later layer is the Lucianic revision produced by the reviser at the beginning of the 4th c. CE. The Lucianic revision can still be divided into 1) the revisional elements and 2) the Hexaplaric approximations (see below). In order to investigate the base text of the Lucianic reviser (≈Old Greek), the Lucianic revision needs to be identified and removed. The identification requires knowledge of the revisional elements and the Hexaplaric text. A Lucianic reading produces a logically and stylistically better text that reflects the rules of Attic Greek.[6]

The *Kaige* revision

Whereas the LXX translators made the Hebrew message understandable to the Greek-speaking community of Jews, the *kaige* revisers brought the readers back to the underlying Hebrew text.[7] Although the LXX translation was already slavish in many books of the LXX, the *kaige* revisers went even further by translating the smallest details such as Hebrew articles and particles. The *kaige* revision is named after the Greek particle καίγε which was used by the reviser to render גם or וגם. The text was revised according to a word-for-word principle towards the Hebrew text. The choice of lexemes was done in a concordant manner. The underlying Hebrew text, however, was not the one attested in the Qumran scrolls but the so-called proto-MT.

In his publication *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* from 1963, Barthélemy connected the *kaige* revision found in the scroll 8ḤevXIIgr with the similar phenomenon in other books of the LXX such as Judges, Joshua and Samuel-Kings. It had already been pointed out that Samuel-Kings contained two sections with two different translation techniques.[8] Barthélemy, however, noticed that this was not due to different translators, but due to the *kaige* revision, which explains the differences. Barthélemy and many after him have demonstrated that several features of the *kaige* revision are similar to later Jewish translations such as Aquila and Theodotion.[9] There has been considerable discussion about whether Aquila and Theodotion only share the same ideals as the *kaige* revision or whether they are a direct continuation, Theodotion in particular, of the *kaige* tradition(s).[10] The beginning of the *kaige* section in 2 Samuel is also debated. In this study, it is assumed that the *kaige* revision starts with 2 Sam 10:6.[11]

The identification of a *kaige* reading is extremely important when reconstructing the OG, particularly in the *kaige* section. Furthermore, the *kaige* revision has sporadically influenced witnesses in the non-*kaige*

[6] Sebastian Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta version of 1 Samuel* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani editore, 1996), 224–99. See also Metzger, *Chapters*, 30–35; Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 230–32;

[7] Anneli Aejmelaeus, "The Origins of the Kaige Revision," in *Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Raimo Hakola, Jessi Orpana and Paavo Huotari (Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming).

[8] Henry St. John Thackeray, "The Greek Translation of the Four Books of Kings," JTS 8 (1907): 262–78.

[9] Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 31–80; James D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*, HSM 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Tim McLay, "*Kaige* and Septuagint Research," *Textus* 19 (1998): 131–34.

[10] P. J. Gentry, "1.3.1.2 Pre-Hexaplaric Translations, Hexapla, post-Hexaplaric translations," in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange (Consulted online on 9 January 2019 http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2452-4107_thb_COM_0001030102) suggests that: "Theodotion (ca. 25 BCE–25 CE) was a real person and represents a reviser working within the *kaige* tradition. Aquila (ca. 120 CE) was also a reviser who later took the approach of formal equivalence to extremes."

[11] See Raimund Wirth, "Dealing with Tenses in the Kaige section of Samuel," in *The Legacy of Barthélemy*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen, DSI 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 197: "Lexical and syntactical observations in 2 Samuel 10 prove that […] detailed analysis can show that the line between non-*kaige* and *kaige* goes between 2 Sam 10:5 and 10:6."

section as well.[12] In general, a *kaige* reading corresponds with the MT text. A *kaige* reading characteristically 1) repeats the same number of elements as the Hebrew text, 2) renders a given Hebrew lexeme with the same Greek equivalent and 3) produces the basic meaning of the Hebrew word. A *kaige* reading is also 4) found more often in the *kaige* section than outside it, and 5) in the translations of Aquila and Theodotion.[13] In Samuel, the *kaige* revision is best attested in the following witnesses: B, *b* (121-509), 68´ (68-122), 64´ (64-381), 55, 244, 245, 460, 707. Yet, in the *kaige* section the previous witnesses are often joined by Maj. (see below) when preserving the *kaige* readings.[14]

The Hexaplaric text

The Hexaplaric text attests several additions and a few omissions according to the Fifth Column of Origen's Hexapla. Origen's contemporary Hebrew text was similar to the MT. His aim of "healing" the Septuagint, therefore, did produce a Greek text different from the OG.[15] The Hexaplaric text of Samuel is witnessed by A (the Codex Alexandrinus) and *O* (247-376). Also, the L-text is often influenced by the Hexapla, either by the Fifth Column or the Jewish translations, particularly Symmachus.[16] The Hexaplaric approximations in the L-text also explain some agreements between the L-text and the Hebrew text. Some agreements between the L-text and 4QSam, therefore, may be only coincidental as a result of the Hexaplaric influence on the L-text.

The Majority Text and its relation to other textual traditions

The Majority text (Maj.) is a loose text tradition that is preserved in the Greek witnesses that do not share distinctive traces of other traditions, such as the Lucianic revision or the Hexaplaric text. Maj. is particularly witnessed by M, *CI* (98-243-379-731), 74´ (74-106-120-134-370), $s^{-64´}$ (92-130-314-488-489-762), 29, 71.

In the non-*kaige* section, Maj. does not follow B (+) when the latter shows traces of *kaige*. In the *kaige* section, however, Maj. often follows the *kaige* witnesses. Therefore, the *kaige* revision cannot be reduced to B (+) only or one would underestimate the phenomenon. In the *kaige* section, it is Maj., in addition to B (+), that is influenced by *kaige*. It is essential to understand and remember that the L-text has gone through a more extended Lucianic revision in both sections than B (+) and Maj. are influenced by k*aige*. Thus Maj. is a quantitatively better witness of the OG in the *kaige* section as well.[17] However, when B (+) and Maj. are influenced by *kaige* – and only then – the L-text is the better witness of the OG. Because the influence of *kaige* is more evident in the *kaige* section, the number of OG readings in the L-text against B (+) and Maj. is greater in the *kaige* section than the non-*kaige* section.[18] Because of this difference in number, the value of the L-text has sometimes been overestimated.[19] In the *kaige* section, the OG may occasionally be lost under the Lucianic revision of the L-text and the influence of *kaige* in B (+) and Maj.

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[12] Anneli Aejmelaeus, "*Kaige* readings in a Non-*Kaige* Section in 1 Samuel," in *The Legacy of Barthélemy*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen, DSI 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 169–84.

[13] See the lexicographical and external criteria for a *kaige* reading introduced by Tuukka Kauhanen, "Lucifer of Cagliari and the *Kaige* Revision," in *The Legacy of Barthélemy*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen, DSI 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 147.

[14] Tuukka Kauhanen, *The Best Greek Witnesses for 2 Samuel*, WUNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, forthcoming)

[15] *Ep. Afr.* (5–9); *Comm. Matt* (15.14)

[16] Brock, *Recensions*, 170–173.

[17] Kauhanen, *Best Greek Witnesses*, forthcoming.

[18] Ibid.

[19] See, for example, Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 35.

Unifying change – Major Lucianic characteristic

Evidence suggests that unifying change is among the most frequent characteristics of the LR. Firstly, it is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by "unifying change". The unifying change is a literary characteristic that consists of a combination of five aspects.

The unifying change´s *purpose* is to reduce the variability of textual forms. 2 Sam 7:28 is a good illustration of how the unifying change works. The OG reads καὶ ἐλάλησας "and you said", whereas the L-text reads καθὼς ἐλάλησας "as you said". The text is part of longer narrative, in which David urges the Lord to keep his promise (2 Sam 7:18–29) as Nathan has predicted (2 Sam 7:1-17). The interchange of conjunction from καὶ to καθὼς in the L-text is most likely secondary. The base text of the LR (OG) has probably preserved καὶ. The unifying change´s objects is *form*, thus, in this instance the conjunction καὶ. In the unifying change, the change of form is always related to its source. Unifying change´s *source* is a model sequence. Here the model sequence is found in 2 Sam 7:25, in which the OG including the L-text both reads καθὼς ἐλάλησας. This model sequence has probably triggered the change in the L-text of 2 Sam 7:28. The unifying change´s *context*, in general, is an individual pericope, thus, object and source is found in same pericope. Here the context is David´s prayer in 2 Sam 7:18–29. As a *result*, the unifying change has formed more consistent text regarding David´s expressions. In the L-text, David´s request to Lord is emphasized by repeating twice the expression "*as you said,* may your name be magnified forever" (7:25–26) and "*as you said* […] bless the house of your slave" (7:28–29).

A similar example is 2 Sam 3:24. OG reads Αβεννηρ "Abenner" (object), whereas the L-text reads Αβεννηρ υἱὸς Νηρ "Abenner, the son of Neer" (result). This plus of attribute υἱὸς Νηρ in the L-text is most likely secondary addition by the LR. The addition in the L-text is probably triggered by a previous text (3:23) and a following text (3:25), in which the OG including the L-text reads twice "Abenner son of Neer" (source). Thus, the L-text has reduced the variability of how Abenner is introduced by adding a text.

As every term, also the unifying change has weaknesses. Firstly, the change in the form also changes the meaning of the text. Thus, the unifying change´s objects concerns implicitly also its meaning. A revised meaning, however, is not born in a vacuum. A similar element elsewhere (model sequence) in a pericope triggers the change. Secondly, the unifying change, as described above, is in many ways similar what some might called as a harmonization. Tov defines harmonization: "A harmonization consists of the change, addition, or omission of a detail in a manuscript, in accordance with another verse in the same source or with another manuscript of the same composition."[20] In this study, the difference between the unifying change and the harmonization, however, derives particularly from the model sequence in same pericope. Instead of the model sequence, the harmonization´s source is a parallel or quasi-parallel text outside a pericope, in which object appears. The parallel texts of the Chronicles or the throwbacks of the Kings are sources of many harmonisations in later revisions of the Book of Samuel.

[20] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy*, TSAJ 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 271.

Text example: 2 Sam 9:7–11

N.	The Masoretic text	The OG	The Lucianic text
	7. וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ דָּוִד	7. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Δαυιδ	7. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Δαυιδ
	אַל־תִּירָא כִּי עָשֹׂה אֶעֱשֶׂה	Μὴ φοβοῦ, ὅτι ποιῶν ποιήσω	Μὴ φοβοῦ, ὅτι ποιῶν ποιήσω
1-3.	עִמְּךָ חֶסֶד בַּעֲבוּר	μετὰ σοῦ ἔλεος διὰ	ἔλεον μετὰ σοῦ ἕνεκεν
4.	יְהוֹנָתָן אָבִיךָ	Ιωναθαν τὸν πατέρα σου	Ιωναθαν τοῦ πατρός σου
5.	וַהֲשִׁבֹתִי לְךָ	καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω σοι	καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι
6-7.	אֶת־כָּל־שְׂדֵה שָׁאוּל	πάντα ἀγρὸν Σαουλ	πάντας τοὺς ἀγροὺς Σαουλ
8.	אָבִיךָ	πατρὸς τοῦ πατρός σου,	[om] τοῦ πατρός σου,
9-10.	וְאַתָּה תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם	καὶ σὺ φάγῃ ἄρτον	καὶ συνέσθιε
	עַל־שֻׁלְחָנִי	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου
	תָּמִיד	διὰ παντός.	διὰ παντός.
11.	8. וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ	8. καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ[21]	8. καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ
12.	וַיֹּאמֶר מֶה	Μεμφιβοσθε καὶ εἶπεν Τίς	[om] καὶ εἶπεν Τίς εἰμι ὁ
	עַבְדֶּךָ כִּי	εἰμι ὁ δοῦλός σου, ὅτι	δοῦλός σου, ὅτι ἐπέβλεψας
	פָּנִיתָ אֶל־הַכֶּלֶב	ἐπέβλεψας ἐπὶ τὸν κύνα	ἐπὶ τὸν κύνα τὸν τεθνηκότα
	הַמֵּת	τὸν τεθνηκότα	τὸν ὅμοιον ἐμοί;
	אֲשֶׁר כָּמוֹנִי	τὸν ὅμοιον ἐμοί;	
	9. וַיִּקְרָא	9. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν	9. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν
13.	הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ βασιλεὺς	ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυιδ
14.	אֶל־צִיבָא	Σιβα	τὸν Σιβα
15.	נַעַר שָׁאוּל וַיֹּאמֶר	τὸ παιδάριον Σαουλ καὶ εἶπεν	τὸν παῖδα Σαουλ καὶ εἶπεν
	אֵלָיו כֹּל אֲשֶׁר	πρὸς αὐτόν Πάντα, ὅσα	πρὸς αὐτόν Πάντα, ὅσα
16-17.	הָיָה לְשָׁאוּל	ἐστὶν τῷ Σαουλ	ὑπῆρχε τῷ Σαουλ
18-19.	וּלְכָל־בֵּיתוֹ	καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ,	καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,
	נָתַתִּי	δέδωκα	δέδωκα
	לְבֶן־אֲדֹנֶיךָ	τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ κυρίου σου·	τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ κυρίου σου·
	10. וְעָבַדְתָּ לוֹ אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה	10. καὶ ἐργᾷ αὐτῷ τὴν γῆν,	10. καὶ ἐργᾷ αὐτῷ τὴν γῆν,
	אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ	σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου	σὺ καὶ οἱ υἱοί σου
	וַעֲבָדֶיךָ	καὶ οἱ δοῦλοί σου,	καὶ οἱ δοῦλοί σου,

[21] Om $\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\tilde{\omega}$ = Ra

	וְהֵבֵאתָ	καὶ εἰσοίσεις	καὶ εἰσοίσεις
20-22.	וְהָיָה לְבֶן־אֲדֹנֶיךָ	τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ κυρίου σου	εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου σου
23.	לֶחֶם וַאֲכָלוֹ	ἄρτους, καὶ φάγονται·[22]	ἄρτους, καὶ φάγονται·
24.	וּמְפִיבֹשֶׁת	καὶ Μεμφιβοσθε	καὶ Μεμφιβααλ
	בֶּן־אֲדֹנֶיךָ יֹאכַל	υἱὸς τοῦ κυρίου σου φάγεται	υἱὸς τοῦ κυρίου σου φάγεται
25.	תָּמִיד לֶחֶם	διὰ παντὸς ἄρτον	διὰ παντὸς ἄρτους
	עַל־שֻׁלְחָנִי	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου.	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης μου.
	וּלְצִיבָא	(καὶ τῷ Σιβα ἦσαν	καὶ τῷ Σιβα ἦσαν
	חֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר בָּנִים	πεντεκαίδεκα υἱοὶ	πεντεκαίδεκα υἱοὶ
	וְעֶשְׂרִים עֲבָדִים	καὶ εἴκοσι δοῦλοι.)	καὶ εἴκοσι δοῦλοι.
	11. וַיֹּאמֶר צִיבָא	11. καὶ εἶπεν Σιβα	11. καὶ εἶπεν Σιβα
	אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ	πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα	πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
26.	כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר יְצַוֶּה	Κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐντέταλται	[om] πάντα, ὅσα ἐντέταλται
	אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ	ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς	ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς
	אֶת־עַבְדּוֹ כֵּן	τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως	τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτως
	יַעֲשֶׂה עַבְדֶּךָ	ποιήσει ὁ δοῦλός σου.	ποιήσει ὁ δοῦλός σου.
27.	וּמְפִיבֹשֶׁת אֹכֵל	καὶ Μεμφιβοσθε ἤσθιεν	καὶ Μεμφιβααλ ἤσθιεν
	עַל־שֻׁלְחָנִי	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης
28-29.		Δαυιδ	τοῦ βασιλέως
30.	כְּאַחַד מִבְּנֵי	καθὼς εἷς τῶν υἱῶν	ὡς εἷς τῶν υἱῶν
	הַמֶּלֶךְ	τοῦ βασιλέως.	τοῦ βασιλέως.

Observations

The passage 2 Sam 9 contains a long dialogue between King David and Saul´ servant whose name is Siba. David is looking for a descendant of Saul´s house whom he may show kidness. Siba tells that Jonathan did have a son that is Mephibosheth. David promises to Mephibosheth that Saul´ lands will be return to him, and he will have a place at David´s table. David orders Siba and his family to serve Mephibosheth and take care of his lands.

In general, the passage 2 Sam 9:7–11 shows no major differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts. Among the Greek witnesses, however, the L-text shows several minor differences. Depending on the method of calculation, the L-text attests different text against Rahlfs´ critical text in 30 instances, and against the assumed OG in 28 instances.

[22] *καὶ φάγονται*] *καὶ ἔδεται αὐτούς* =Ra

Analysis

1-3. μετὰ – διά] ελαιος μ. σ. δια A; *ελεον μ. σ. ενεκεν L*

The L-text reads ὅτι ποιῶν ποιήσω ἔλεον μετὰ σοῦ ἕνεκεν 'for doing I will do mercy with you on account of' whereas the most of the Greek witnesses read ὅτι ποιῶν ποιήσω μετὰ σοῦ ἔλεος διὰ (=Ra) 'for doing I will do with you mercy because of'. In this instance, the majority reading is probably the OG. Though the assumed OG reading agrees with the MT (עִמְּךָ חֶסֶד בַּעֲבוּר), it does not shows any secondary elements as the L-text does. The L-text shows altogether three differences in this reading. Firstly, the L-text reads ἔλεον μετὰ σοῦ against μετὰ σοῦ ἔλεος in the OG (1.). The LR may have transposed the reading according to the text in the fifth column attested in A (ελαιος μετὰ σοῦ) that is the Hexaplaric witness. The reading in A may indicate a variant reading in the Hebrew text, which is different than the MT.

Secondly, the L-text reads ἔλεον against ἔλεος in the OG (2.). The change of gender of ἔλεος from masculine to neuter is a frequent linguistic phenomenon in the L-text due to the rules of the Attic Greek.[23] Thirdly, the L-text reads ἕνεκεν against διά in the OG (3.). The Hebrew equivalent עֲבוּר, which is attested here in the MT, is translated with διά seven times and with ἕνεκα five times in Samuel-Kings.[24] Thus, the OG translator is familiar with both of them. In this instance, the change of lexeme from διά to ἕνεκεν in the L-text is probably the unifying change because ἕνεκα match to the previous and almost an identical text in 9:1 (L) καὶ ποιήσω μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔλεον ἕνεκεν Ιωναθαν. The text in 9:1 that is the model sequence describes David´s intention that is fulfilled now in 9:7. ἕνεκεν in 9:1 is preserved in all Greek witnesses (except omitted in 92) including the L-text. The LR probably wanted to use the identical preposition in both instances. In this context, a meaning of both preposition is similar when referring to Jonathan 'on account of; because of'. Thus, the interchange of a lexeme does not change the meaning of the text but is mostly literary.

4. τὸν πατέρα] του πρς L

The L-text reads genitive τοῦ πατρός against accusative τὸν πατέρα (=Ra) in the rest of the Greek witnesses. This change in the L-text is due to the preposition ἕνεκα in the previous instance (III). Linguistically, ἕνεκα requires a genitive word that is connected to it (ἕνεκεν Ιωναθαν τοῦ πατρός σου). Thus, the LR probably is responsible for the word´s new morpho-syntax, whereas the majority reading preserves the OG (= Ra).

5. ἀποκαταστήσω] αποδωσω L

The L-text reads ἀποδώσω 'I will give back' whereas the rest of the Greek witnesses read ἀποκαταστήσω 'I will restore' (= Ra). Elsewhere in the Samuel-Kings of the MT, the Hebrew equivalent שׁוּב is translated nine times with ἀποδίδωμι[25] but never with ἀποκαθίστημι. Thus, the OG could be found here in the L-text. In this instance, however, ἀποκαταστήσω shows no secondary elements such as *kaige* or otherwise is more logically better reading. The expression 'restoring' does not fit to the context of David returning the fields to Mephibosheth as good than 'giving back all the field' in the L-text. In this instance, the rareness of the word ἀποκαθίστημι in the Samuel-Kings (only once), but yet it is the majority reading

[23] See more Brock, *Recensions*, 225

[24] διά (1 Sam 1:6, 12:22, 23:10; 2 Sam 5:12; 7:21; 9:7, 13:2) and ἕνεκα (2 Sam 6:12; 9:1; 12:21; 14:20 and 18:18). ἕνεκεν in 2 Sam 12:25 may be the *kaige* reading, which is attested in the following Greek witnesses B *O CII*$^{-242}$ 509 *d*$^{-68´\ 370}$ *s*$^{-64´}$ 55* 244 460 554. The competing reading εν λογω, which is attested in most of the Greek witnesses, is probably the OG (≠ Ra & MT).

[25] Cf. 1 Sam 6:3^{2}, 4, 8, 17, 7:14, 12:3; 2 Sam 22:25; 1 Kgs 20[21]:34.

here, indicates that ἀποκαταστήσω is the OG.[26] ἀποδώσω in the L-text is probably the unifying change because ἀποδώσω match to the following text in 9:9 (*L*) καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, δέδωκα. The text in 9:9 that is the model sequence describing David who is giving back all the house. In 9:9 all Greek witnesses preserves δέδωκα (except εδωκα in V). Thus, by change of similar lexeme the LR has created parallelism. David is giving back 'all the fields' and 'all the house'. Interestingly, the LR has left the prefix (ἀπο) of the OG in 9:7.

6-7. *πάντα ἀγρόν*] *παντας τους αγρους L* | *ἀγρόν*] pr *τον* 71
The L-text reads πάντας τοὺς ἀγροὺς 'all the fields' in plural and with the article against πάντα ἀγρόν (= Ra) 'all field' in singular and without the article in the rest of the Greek witnesses. The reading in the L-text is most likely later. Firstly, plural form in the L-text is probably a minor stylistic change (6.). Though singular form, if connected to adjective πᾶς, can refer to several units, plural form excludes any misunderstanding about one field that is wholly given to Mephibosheth. The article following πάντας, on the other hand, is probably an addition made by the LR due to the linguistic reasons (7.). In general, the LR but also the OG translator uses an article with a noun that is followed an adjective πᾶς.[27]

8. *Σαουλ*] *ιωναθαν* 376; > 245 707^{txt} | *πατρὸς* ^{1} – *καί* ^{3}] sup ras 762 |
πατρὸς τοῦ] pr *του* 121; > 314(|); om *πατρός* A *O L*; om *τοῦ* 554
The L-text, the Hexaplaric witnesses A *O*, and 314 read Σαουλ τοῦ (< 314) πατρός σου "Saoul, your father" whereas the rest of the Greek witnesses read Σαουλ πατρὸς τοῦ πατρός σου (=Ra) "Saoul, father of your father". It is probable that A and *O* preserve later Greek reading, that is probably found in the fifth column in accordance of the Hebrew text שָׁאוּל אָבִיךָ (= MT). The MT, on the other hand, probably attests a later Hebrew reading that is caused by the haplography of אביך אבי.[28] The LR probably intentionally omitted the attribute according to the Hexaplaric text available to him.

9-10. σὺ φάγῃ ἄρτον] συνεσθιε *L*$^{-82}$; συ εσθιε 82 | φαγης 246
The L-text reads συνέσθιε 'eat' in imperative against longer reading σὺ φάγῃ ἄρτον (=Ra) in the rest of the Greek witnesses. The majority reading agrees with the text וְאַתָּה תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם in the MT but shows no clear secondary elements. σὺ φάγῃ ἄρτον is most likely the OG. The competing reading συνέσθιε in the L-text is probably the unifying change because imperative form matches to the previous exhortation that is Μὴ φοβοῦ (imperative) in the immediate context (9.). The exhortation, which also has the imperative form, is the model sequence. Thus, by changing the morpho-syntax of the verb (indicative => imperative) the LR again has created parallelism by emphasizing David´s exhortation to Mephboshet 'Do not be afraid […] and eat on my table'. In addition, the LR has omitted both the personal pronoun σὺ and the object ἄρτον (10.). The LR perhaps considered them as the redundant elements next to the imperative verb.

11-12. *προσεκύνησεν* B A *O b*] + *αυτω* rel | *Μεμφιβοσθε*] *-θαι* A 509 68´ 489 342 460; *μεφ*. 244; *μενφ*. 158; *μενφιβααλ* M^{mg}; > *L* 527 107´

[26] ἀποκαθίστημι is used 20 times as the equivalent of שוב outside of Samuel-Kings (Tov-Polak).
[27] Cf. 2 Sam 7:9, 17, 13:21, 23, 27, 30, 14:19, 16:6, 16:11. See the similar addition of the article in the L-text in 2 Sam 19:42.
[28] P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel. A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary,* AB 9 (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 259; A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, WBC 11 (Dallas: Word Books, 1989). Cf. Julius Wellhausen who points out that the reading אביך אבי is not found elsewhere in the Hebrew text. See. *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 178. Also Driver, *The Hebrew text*, 221.

In this instance, the Greek witnesses provide three variant readings: 1) καὶ προσεκύνησεν Μεμφιβοσθε ‘and Memfibosthe did obeisance’ in *B* A *O b* (=Ra); 2) καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ ‘and (he) did obeisance’ in the L-text, and 3) καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ Μεμφιβοσθε ‘and did obeisance to him Memfibosthe’ in the rest of the Greek witnesses. The absence of dative pronoun αὐτῷ in B A *O b* agrees with the MT. The B-text probably preserves the sporadic *kaige* reading in the non-*kaige* section whereas the Hexaplaric witnesses A and *O* preserve later omission that is attested in the Fifth column. Thus, both text traditions preserve omission according to the Hebrew text that is attested in the MT. As a result, the majority reading αὐτῷ in the most of the Greek witnesses including the L-text preserves the OG (11.).

The absence of Μεμφιβοσθε in the L-text and 527 107΄, in turn, agrees with the MT against the rest of the Greek witnesses (12.). It is rare that the LR would omit the proper name, in fact, the LR has a tendency to add them. In this instance, however, the intentional omission of the LR is at least possible.[29] If the base text of the LR is καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ Μεμφιβοσθε as in the most of the Greek witnesses, one may understand that αὐτῷ refers to Mephibosheth, especially in this context. David has shown kindness, returned the fields of Saul and even lets Mephibosheth to eat in his table. The careless reader (or listener) of the text may follow a similar line of thought here and understand David continuing his hospitality by doing obeisance to Mephibosheth, though it is Mephibosheth´s reaction to David´s kindness. The same stylistic omission may have happened independently in the Greek witnesses 527 107΄.

13. *βασιλεύς*] + *δαδ O L*
The L-text and *O* read ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυιδ whereas the rest of the Greek witnesses read only ὁ βασιλεὺς (=Ra). The plus of Δαυιδ is probably the later explication of the king. This addition is probably happened in the Hebrew text different than the MT by the early scribe. The Hexaplaric witness *O* attests the addition in the Greek text that is probably first time addressed in the Fifth column. The LR, on the other hand, may have added the proper name due to this Hexaplaric text available to him.

14. *Σιβα*] pr *τον* V $L^{-82\ 93}$ a^{-527} 64΄ 244 460; *τον σειβα* 82-93; *σειβα* B 127^{c} 245;
post *παιδάριον* tr 46΄-313*
The L-text and several other Greek witnesses V $L^{-82\ 93}$ a^{-527} 64΄ 244 460 read τὸν Σιβα (σειβα 82-93) with article against most of the Greek witnesses (=Ra) that do not attest the article. The plus of accusative article is probably made independently in several Greek witnesses including the L-text. In this instance, a trigger of the addition is probably the confusion of David and Siba. The OG reads καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σιβα. The accusative article indicates that Siba is not the king but the object who is called by the king, though obvious even without the article. The LR has excluded this slight confusion by both the Hexaplaric addition of Δαυιδ in the previous instance (XII) and by the accusative article τὸν in this instance. Furthermore, the LR has a tendency to added articles regularly before proper names.

15. *τὸ παιδάριον*] *τον παιδα L*
Regarding Siba the L-text uses the attribute τὸν παῖδα whereas the rest of the Greek witnesses read τὸ παιδάριον (=Ra). The Hebrew equivalent of παιδάριον in the Samuel-Kings of the MT is frequently נַעַר (110 times in Tov-Polak) as in this instance and two times עֶבֶד (1 Sam 21:8; 1 Kgs 22:50). On the other hand, there is no instance, in which the Hebrew equivalent of the Greek word παῖς is נַעַר but frequently

[29] The L-text´s agreement with the MT could indicate that the LR has omitted Μεμφιβοσθε according to the Hexaplaric text that is not preserved in any known Hexaplaric witnesses. The L-text, however, does not follow the previous Hexaplaric omission of αὐτῷ in A *O* (X), which makes the Hexaplaric influence in this instance unlikely.

עֶבֶד (96 times tin Tov-Polak). In this instance, therefore, τὸ παιδάριον in the rest of the Greek witnesses is probably the OG. Instead of reconstructing the underlying Hebrew reading of the L-text, some other factors probably have influenced to the reading in the L-text. τὸν παῖδα in the L-text is probably the unifying change because τὸν παῖδα matches to the previous text in 9:2 (*L*) καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Σαουλ παῖς ἦν καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Σειβα. The text in 9:2 that is the model sequence introduces Siba with the attribute παῖς first time in the pericope. In 9:2 all Greek witnesses preserve παῖς. Thus, by change of the identical lexeme the LR has unified the attributes regarding Siba.[30] The difference of noun παῖς 'servant; child' and παιδάριον 'young slave; little boy' is small, thus, the change is mostly literary.

16-17. *ἐστίν*] *υπηρχε(ν) L* 318; > 245 707

The most of the Greek witnesses read Πάντα, ὅσα ἐστίν τῷ Σαουλ (=Ra) 'all that is to Saoul', but instead of the verb εἰμί in a present tense the L-text and its typical companion 318 read ὑπῆρχε in an imperfect tense 'belonged'. The Hebrew equivalent הָיָה in the MT agrees with the most of the Greek witnesses, though the Hebrew equivalent of ὑπάρχω is הָיָה eight times in the LXX.[31] The verb ὑπάρχω is found only once in Rahlfs´ critical text of the Samuel-Kings (1 Sam 9:7) but four times in the L-text (1 Sam 9:7; 2 Sam 9:9, 14:7, 15:3).[32] It is probable that ἐστίν is the OG whereas the verb ὑπάρχω is Lucianic. In this instance, the lexeme ὑπῆρχε is stylistically better expression for it carries the meaning of 'property' of Saul (16.).[33] In addition to the different lexeme, the L-text also uses the imperfect tense against the present tense in the most of the Greek witnesses. The change of the morpho-syntax of the verb from present to imperfect probably is also due to the LR (17.). The imperfect tense fits better to the context, in which Saul is already passed away.

18-19. *ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ*] *ολον τον οικον* V M *CI* 64´ 29 71 158 244 318 372 460 554; *παντα τον οικον L*; om *ὅλῳ* 799

The L-text reads πάντα τὸν οἶκον 'all the house' whereas several Greek witnesses (including the B-text and the Hexaplaric text) reads ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ (=Ra). The Majority text (V M *CI* +) reads ολον τον οικον that agrees with the lexeme in the most of the Greek witnesses (ολον / ὅλος) but also with the morpho-syntax namely the accusative case in the L-text (ολον τον οικον / παντα τον οικον). Although a typical Hebrew equivalent of both Greek adjectives πᾶς and ὅλος is כֹּל, πᾶς is more used by the OG translator. In this instance, the adjective ὅλος shows no clear secondary elements, and it is attested in all Greek witnesses except the *L*-text and 799. Thus ὅλος is most likely the OG. πάντα in the L-text is probably the unifying change (18.) because it matches to the previous sentence that is καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν Πάντα, ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Σαουλ (*L*) in the immediate context. The previous Πάντα, which is found in all Greek witnesses, is the model sequence. The LR probably wants to use the same lexeme twice 'all Saul´s property' (emphasis mine) and 'all house of his'. The interchange of a lexeme does not change the meaning of the text but is literary. Furthermore, the accusative case in the L-text and in the Majority text

[30] In spite of this, it is curious that the LR did not unified all the attributes regarding Ziba. In 9:2 the L-text uses altogether three different attributes παῖς, παιδάριον and δοῦλος while referring to Siba. Interestingly the addition of παιδάριον in 9:2 is only attested in the L-text.

[31] Cf. Deut. 20:14, 21:16; Jos 4:6, 5:12; 2 Chr 26:10; Psa. 109(108):12; Eze 16:49; Oba 1:16. In general the Hebrew equivalent of ὑπάρχω is אַיִן 'nothing'.

[32] Cf. 2 Sam 14:7 ὥστε μὴ θέσθαι τῷ ἀνδρί μου κατάλειμμα (*L*: τοῦ μὴ **ὑπάρξει** τῷ ἀνδρί μου ὄνομα καὶ λεῖμμα
2 Sam 15:3 καὶ ἀκούων οὐκ ἔστιν (*L*: καὶ ὁ ἀκουσόμενος οὐχ **ὑπάρχει**) σοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

[33] Cf. particple ὑπάρχοντα 'property, possessions', for example, in Gen. 12:5; Ex. 32:24; 1 Sam. 9:7.

(V M CI +) is probably a secondary stylistic change that is done independently in both text traditions (19.).

20-22. *τῷ υἱῷ*] *εις τον οικον L* 158 318 554^{mg}
The L-text and its typical companions 158 318 554^{mg} read καὶ εἰσοίσεις εἰς τὸν οἶκον ‘and you will bring into the house’ against καὶ εἰσοίσεις τῷ υἱῷ ‘and you will bring to the son’ the in most of the Greek witnesses (=Ra). Furthermore, the MT reads slightly differently וְהֵבֵאתָ וְהָיָה לְבֶן־ but with the variant ‘to son’ follows the rest of the Greek witnesses. The L-text could attests a variant Hebrew reading בית that is born due to the confusion of בן and בית.[34] In this instance, however, the noun οἶκος may be the unifying change because it matches to the previous text in 9:9 (*L*) καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, δέδωκα that is the probable model sequence.[35] In 9:9 all Greek witnesses preserve the noun οἶκος. Thus, by the change of the similar lexeme the LR emphasizes the role of the house (20.). The house is yet the same even though owned by Saul before Mephibosheth. Furthermore, the LR has again changed the dative case to the accusative case (21.) but also added the preposition εἰς (22.) that match well with εἰσοίσεις. Both are minor stylistic changes.

23. *ἔδεται* B A *O* 64′ 244 245 460 707] *βρωσεται* 509; *φαγεται* 125 *f*$^{-56mg}$ 55; *φαγονται* rel | *αὐτούς* A *O* 245 707] *αρτους* B; > rel
In this instance, the Greek text provides four major variants: καὶ ἔδεται αὐτούς ‘and he shall eat them’ (A *O* 245 707 =Ra); καὶ ἔδεται ἄρτους ‘and he shall eat bread’ (B); καὶ ἔδεται ‘and he shall eat’ (64′ 244 460) and καὶ φάγονται ‘and they will eat’ (the rest of the Greek witnesses including the L-text). All variants reflects a different interpretation of the Hebrew text. The vocalization of the MT reads וַאֲכָלוֹ ‘he shall eat it’. Thus, the MT is closest to the Greek text in the Hexaplaric witnesses A *O* and 245 707. The plural φάγονται in the most of the Greek witnesses including the L-text probably reflects the Hebrew reading, in which the last *waw* is interpreted as a plural ending of the word instead of an objective suffix in B A *O* 245 707. The plural seems to refer to the sons and the slaves of Siba whereas a singular reading refers to only Mephibosheth. Because the following text also mentions Mephibosheth eating (singular), the plural seems more stylistic reading that avoids to mention Mephibosheth eating twice. Thus, the singular reading in the MT probably is more original. It is probable that the OG translator, however, interpreted the last *waw* as plural. The L-text and most of the Greek witnesses, therefore, probably preserve the OG whereas B (+) is a *kaige* reading agreeing with the MT.[36] Origen, on the other hand, probably did the same correction from singular to plural in the fifth column, which is attested in A *O*. In this instance, B has a reading ἄρτους. This probably is a scribal mistake in a Greek text that is a confusion of ἄρτους and αὐτούς.[37]

[34] Cf. Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 178.

[35] Also Smith: “is an attractive emendation; with it goes καὶ φάγονται for ואכלו” in *1-2 Samuel*, 312: “Against McCarter “but the syntax of the verse, which contrast the provision of food for the family (“your master´s house”) with the special provision for “Meribaal, your master´s son” (in the emphatic first position), strongly favors LXX^{L}” in *II Samuel*, 259. Also Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 140.

[36] Also McCarter favours the earliness of the “LXX^{LMN}” in *II Samuel*, 259. Also Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 140;

[37] This mistake might go back to the first hand of the Codex Vaticanus. Cf. Auld: “Here B uses sg. *arton* to render only its third attestation of lḥm.” in *I-II Samuel*, 434.

24. *Μεμφιβοσθε*] *-θαι* A 509 68′ 489 342 460; *μεμφιβααλ* (*-φειβ. L*$^{-19'}$) *L*; *μενφιβααλ* 158
The name βααλ and its problematic echo suggests that μεμφιβααλ may be earlier than Μεμφιβοσθε. On the other hand, Μεμφιβοσθε is attested in the rest of the Greek witnesses. The determination of the OG reading, therefore, is difficult. Nevertheless, the proper name μεμφιβααλ most likely goes back to the Hebrew text. Therefore, μεμφιβααλ in the L-text, either the OG or an early change, is found in the base text of the LR.

25. *διὰ παντός*] post *ἄρτον* tr A *CII d*$^{-44\ 370}$ *s* 554 | *ἄρτον*] *αρτους* A *O L* 245; *+εσθιειν* 460
The L-text and its typical companion 245, and the Hexaplaric witnesses A *O* read ἄρτους in plural against ἄρτον in singular in the rest of the Greek witnesses. The MT reads לֶחֶם that may reflects either singular or plural form. In this instance, A and *O* probably attests the text in the Fifth column that has been unified in accordance of the previous reading καὶ ἔδεται αὐτούς, which is also preserved in A *O*. Plural αὐτούς there refers to plural ἄρτους here 'and he shall eat them, and your master´s son Mephibosheth shall always eat bread'. Thus, Origen perhaps did want to unify the number of the latter lexeme for it was possible in Greek text. The LR, on the other hand, probably changed the number from singular to plural according to the Hexaplaric text available to him.

26. *κατὰ πάντα*] > 19 | *κατά*] *και τα* 98-379; > *L*$^{-19}$
The L-text reads πάντα, ὅσα ἐντέταλται 'all that he (my lord the king) commanded' whereas the rest of the Greek witnesses preserve a plus κατὰ that precedes the reading. The plus also agrees with the MT (כֹּל). The meaning of the text is yet the same in all Greek witnesses. The preposition κατὰ only emphasizes the content of the commandment. In this instance, the absence of κατὰ may be the unifying change in the L-text because it matches to the previous text in 9:9 (*L*) πρὸς αὐτόν Πάντα, ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Σαουλ that is a probable model sequence. In 9:9 all Greek witnesses do not read κατὰ that would have preceded a similar structure Πάντα, ὅσα ὑπῆρχε as in this instance. Thus, by the omission of the lexeme the LR has unified the syntactical structure in this instance.

27. *Μεμφιβοσθε*] *-θαι* 509 68′ 489 342 460; *μεμφοβ.* 554; *μενφ.* 158; *μεμφιβααλ* (*-φειβ. L*$^{-19'}$) *L*; et *ἤσθιεν* tr 125
Cf. instance 24.

28-29. *Δαυιδ*] *του βασιλεως L*; *αυτου* 121; *σαουλ* 107*
The L-text reads ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως 'on the table of the king' whereas the most of the Greek witnesses (= Ra) read 'David' instead of 'the king'. The Hebrew text attested in the MT reads עַל־שֻׁלְחָנִי 'on my table' (cf. 9:7, 10). In this instance, however, the MT´s reading is strange because it seems that 'my table' is yet a part of Siba´s speech that started in the beginning of 9:11. Thus, Mephibosheth would be eating in Siba´s table in the MT. To solve the problem, the early scribe may have corrected the text as 'David´s table', which is the underlying Hebrew text of the OG. However, the reading that is attested in the MT could be a later mistake[38] but nothing obvious in the Hebrew text seems to indicate a scribal mistake. The Latin reading mensam tuam 'your table' in Vulgata corrects the error of the Hebrew text in the MT but holds Siba as a speaker of the lines. Thus, the reading 'the table of David' may be the underlying Hebrew text of the OG as attested in the most of the Greek witnesses. 'The table of the king' in the L-text, on the other, is more likely unifying change because τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως matches to the

[38] McCarter: "erroneous reading" that may arise from 9:7, 10 (*II Samuel*, 259). Cf. Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 178; Smith, *1-2 Samuel*, 311–12; Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 140.

following text in 9:13 (*L*) διότι ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως ἤσθιεν διὰ παντὸς· (28.). The text in 9:13 is the model sequence. In 9:13 all Greek witnesses preserves the reading τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως (except omitted in 527 107´). Thus, by change of similar lexeme the LR has created parallelism between the two texts.[39] At the same time, the L-text also is more elegant because of the parallelism in the immediate context 'ate on the *king´s* table like *the king´s* sons. Furthermore, the LR has added an article before the new lexeme (29.).

30. om καθὼς – fin 19´ 527 44 | καθώς] ως $L^{-19´}$

The L-text reads ως against καθώς in the rest of the Greek witnesses. ως is a comparative particle that emphasises the correspondence between Mephibosheth and the king´s sons. Thus, the καθώς is most likely the OG whereas ως in the L-text is a stylistic change of lexeme.

Conclusion

In the passage 2 Sam 9:7-11, there are altogether 30 differences between the L-text and Rahlfs´ critical text. Out of 30 differences two differences in the L-text are Old Greek (11; 23), and another two differences perhaps already found in the base text of the LR (24; 27) but yet secondary in relation to the OG. The rest 26 differences are changes done by the LR. Out of 28 changes eight are unifying changes.

N.	Old Greek	The Lucianic	Model sequence	Technique
3.	ὅτι ποιῶν ποιήσω μετὰ σοῦ ἔλεος διὰ Ιωναθαν	ὅτι ποιῶν ποιήσω ἔλεον μετὰ σοῦ ἕνεκεν Ιωναθαν	9:1 καὶ ποιήσω μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔλεον ἕνεκεν (*L*)	Change of lexeme
5.	καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω σοι πάντα ἀγρὸν	καὶ ἀποδώσω σοι πάντας τοὺς ἀγροὺς	9:9 καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, δέδωκα (*L*)	Change of lexeme
9.	καὶ σὺ φάγῃ ἄρτον	καὶ συνέσθιε	9:7 Μὴ φοβοῦ, (*L*)	Change of lexeme and morphosyntax
15.	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σιβα τὸ παιδάριον Σαουλ	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυιδ τὸν Σιβα τὸν παῖδα Σαουλ	9:2 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου Σαουλ ἦν παῖς καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Σιβα (*L*)	Change of lexeme
18.	καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ,	καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,	9:9 Πάντα, ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Σαουλ (*L*)	Change of lexeme
20.	καὶ εἰσοίσεις τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ κυρίου σου ἄρτους,	καὶ εἰσοίσεις εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου σου ἄρτους,	9:9 καὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ (*L*)	Change of lexeme
26.	καὶ εἶπεν Σιβα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐντέταλται	καὶ εἶπεν Σιβα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα om πάντα, ὅσα ἐντέταλται	9:9 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν om Πάντα, ὅσα ὑπῆρχε τῷ Σαουλ (L)	Omission

[39] McCarter: "LXX^{L} "the king´s table" looks ahead to v. 13." In *II Samuel*, 259. Against Anderson who suggests that 'the king´s table' is the earlier reading than the others on based of the similar reading in 9:13 (*2 Samuel*, 140).

28.	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης Δαυιδ	ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως	9:13 διότι ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τοῦ βασιλέως (*L*)	Change of lexeme

These eight unifying changes show how the LR has unified his text in this particular passage. The changes concerns especially the lexemes which are changed according to the model sequence elsewhere in the pericope. In the non-*kaige* section, there are altogether about 55 unifying changes. Because eight of those changes appear in the passage 9:7-11, the dialogue between David, Siba and Mephibosheth is one of the most unified passage of the LR in 2 Samuel.

Terminology

The Lucianic reviser (the LR) is a reviser of the Greek text in the beginning of the 4th century. He is responsible of a revision of the Greek text, which is attested in the Lucianic manuscripts.

The Lucianic manuscripts comprehend five Greek manuscripts 19 82 93 108 127, which construct the MS group *L*. They are dated between 9th and 14th-centuries but they attest an earlier text, so called Lucianic text dated to the beginning of the 4th century.

The Lucianic text (the L-text) is the Greek text from the beginning of the 4th century. It is revised text of the LR. Thus, it contains two textual layers. The later layer (the 4th century) includes revisional elements, which are produced by the LR. The earlier layer is the base text of the LR

The base text (also called the Antiochian text) is an unrevised text of the LR. It is the **Vorlage** text of the LR before his revisional work. This is the earlier layer of the L-text, which often (but not always) preserves the OG text.

The Old Greek (the OG) is the original translation of the LXX.

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▶ **Paper**

Conspiracy, Lions, and Plaster: The Different Enemy Images of the Prophets in the MT and LXX of Ezekiel 22:23–31

➥ Respondent: Anja Klein

▶ **Abstract**

This paper analyzes the enemy images of the prophets in the Masoretic text and Septuagint of Ezekiel 22:23–31. While the most significant description of the prophets as a threat occurs in Ezekiel 13, chapter 22 contains features that differ from the aforementioned section. Most notably, Ezekiel 22:23–31 condemns prophets alongside other groups such as princes, priests, and officials who were also understood responsible for the fall of Jerusalem. This means that it is necessary to assess how the characterization of the prophets differs from or overlaps with the imagery of the other groups of authority.

Additionally, Ezekiel 22:23–31 contains significant differences between the Masoretic text and Septuagint. The Greek text of Ezekiel 22 utilizes a metaphor of plastering to convey the inadequacy of the prophets in a manner that is similar to Ezekiel 13:10–15. Therefore, the characterization of prophets in the LXX corresponds well with the content of Ezekiel 13. However, the Masoretic text contains an additional accusation of the conspiracy of prophets, which is further conceptualized with a simile that utilizes imagery of lions. As the MT and LXX of Ezekiel 22:23–31 convey in certain respects different understandings about the threat of prophets, they provide an interesting case study of text critical issues affecting the study of biblical enemy images and their metaphorical construction.

▶ **Project Summary**

Enemies of My People: Metaphorical and Gendered Construction of False Prophecy in the Book of Ezekiel

The paper is related to my dissertation Enemies of My People: Metaphorical and Gendered Construction of False Prophecy in the Book of Ezekiel. The dissertation seeks to apply the theory of enemy images as a framework for the examination of various negative images of prophecy in the Book of Ezekiel.

Enemy image has become a common theme in the contemporary discussion due to the emergence of propaganda and hate speech in various media. It is a description of a group, which uses various literary devices to create a sense of threat. However, the framework of enemy image has not yet been widely applied to the Old Testament studies. The framework helps to see how texts that are concerned with prophetic groups are not primarily interested in conveying historical information but expressing effectively conceptualized threats and giving audiences a reason to feel strong contempt for these groups.

The study of enemy images focuses especially on the analysis of metaphors and other forms of figurative language. Since metaphors are an effective mean of conceptualizing and dehumanizing various groups, the dissertation asks how the text of Ezekiel utilizes conceptual metaphors, image schemas and conceptual blending. My hypothesis is also that the imagery of prophecy is gendered in the book of Ezekiel. This may be seen in chapter 13 that condemns first the prophets of Israel and then the prophesying women. The dissertation seeks to answer if gendered ideas and norms could be seen as significant causes for different metaphors and imagery that are being utilized.

This particular OTSEM-presentation seeks to assess the imagery that is present in Ezekiel 22:23-31. While that section is not concerned only with the prophetic groups, it provides insight how the prophets were constructed as one of the many authorities of the land. The focus is on the understanding of metaphors and similes, but the paper also seeks to highlight the differences in the MT and the LXX. Some of the differences are significant, and they may pose interesting questions that concern the general framework of enemy images. For example, can these differences reveal something about the situations where enemy images formed, or are they more “accidental” results of complex transmission and formation of biblical texts?

▶ **Keywords** Septuagint, Samuel, Textual Criticism

Possible focal points for the discussion

1. Is the argumentation and the application of various theoretical frameworks (enemy images, theories of metaphor, similes) sound?
2. What should be taken into an account when discussing the different texts of the MT and the LXX, while using theoretical frameworks mentioned above?

4.4 Conspiracy, Lions, and Plaster: The Different Enemy Images of the Prophets in the MT and LXX of Ezekiel 22:23–31

This paper focuses on descriptions of prophets in Ezekiel 22:23-31. As a tool of interpretation, the analysis utilizes the concept of enemy image, which provides a framework for understanding the various imagery that is being related to the group in the text(s). Enemy image can be defined as a description of a threatening group or entity that is often linked to stereotypes and presented with various rhetorical devices, metaphors, or other textual effects. Hence, the paper focuses especially on the figurative language and expressions, metaphors and similes, which are used to construct a sense of threat.[1]

The formation of enemies has an important function. From a social perspective, they represent a threat that could enhance the internal cohesion of a community that faces a crisis or major anxiety about the future. In other words, enemies are a valuable tool for the formation of identity.[2] In the context of biblical texts, however, it is not always clear how enemy images are related to historical situations.[3] The situation is further complicated with the complex textual history of the Hebrew bible. For example, if there are different readings of the description that could be classified as an enemy image, what could that potentially tell about their formation? Was there perhaps a change in context that required a change in the imagery, or could the different imagery be attributed to the complex process of textual transmission, which could include scribal errors?

This paper presents both the Masoretic text and the Septuagint of Ezekiel 22:23-31 to illustrate the issues that may emerge in the study of biblical enemy images. As noted earlier, the characterization of the prophets in these verses is the focal point of the analysis. This means that I seek to explain how various metaphors or similes could function and how they would contribute to the formation of threatening imagery. Taking into an account the both texts, however, helps to elucidate the difficulties one faces if contextualization or finding a possible historical situation of biblical enemies is to be attempted.

[1] For discussion and definitions of biblical enemy images see Eidevall 2005, 55-65; 2009, 1-6, 19-22. The analysis of various metaphors and rhetorical devices used in the text is similar to what Eidevall calls characterization in his methodology.
[2] Fiebig-Von Hase 1997, 15-16; Vuorinen 2012, 1-3.
[3] Eidevall 2009, 195.

MT (BHS)	Translation	LXX (Ziegler)	Translation
וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר׃	And the word of Yahweh came to me, saying	καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρός με λέγων	And a word of the Lord came to me, saying
בֶּן־אָדָם אֱמָר־לָהּ אַתְּ אֶרֶץ לֹא מְטֹהָרָה הִיא לֹא גֶשְׁמָה בְּיוֹם זָעַם׃	Son of man, say to her: You are a land that is not cleansed, nor rained upon in the day of indignation	Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, εἰπὸν αὐτῇ Σὺ εἶ γῆ ἡ οὐ βρεχομένη, οὐδὲ ὑετὸς ἐγένετο ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς·	Son of man, say to her: You are a land that is not rained upon, nor did rain come upon you in a day of wrath
קֶשֶׁר נְבִיאֶיהָ בְּתוֹכָהּ כַּאֲרִי שֹׁאֵג טֹרֵף טֶרֶף נֶפֶשׁ אָכָלוּ חֹסֶן וִיקָר יִקָּחוּ אַלְמְנוֹתֶיהָ הִרְבּוּ בְתוֹכָהּ׃	A conspiracy of her prophets in her midst is like a roaring lion tearing the prey. They have devoured lives; they have taken treasure and precious things; they have made many widows in her midst.	ἧς οἱ ἀφηγούμενοι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ὡς λέοντες ὠρυόμενοι ἁρπάζοντες ἁρπάγματα, ψυχὰς κατεσθίοντες ἐν δυναστείᾳ, τιμὰς λαμβάνοντες, καὶ αἱ χῆραί σου ἐπληθύνθησαν ἐν μέσῳ σου.	whose leaders in her midst are like roaring lions seizing prey, devouring souls with dominance, taking worthy things, and your widows have been multiplied in your midst.
כֹּהֲנֶיהָ חָמְסוּ תוֹרָתִי וַיְחַלְּלוּ קָדָשַׁי בֵּין־קֹדֶשׁ לְחֹל לֹא הִבְדִּילוּ וּבֵין־הַטָּמֵא לְטָהוֹר לֹא הוֹדִיעוּ וּמִשַּׁבְּתוֹתַי הֶעְלִימוּ עֵינֵיהֶם וָאֵחַל בְּתוֹכָם׃	Her priests have violated my law and have profaned my holy things; they have made no distinction between the holy and the profane, and they have not made known the difference between the unclean and the clean; and they have hidden their eyes from my	καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς ἠθέτησαν νόμον μου καὶ ἐβεβήλουν τὰ ἅγιά μου· ἀνὰ μέσον ἁγίου καὶ βεβήλου οὐ διέστελλον καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀκαθάρτου καὶ τοῦ καθαροῦ οὐ διέστελλον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σαββάτων μου παρεκάλυπτον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ	And her priests nullified my law and were profaning my holy things; they were making no distinction between holy and profane, and they were making no distinction between unclean and clean, and they were hiding their eyes from my sabbaths, and I was

	sabbaths, and I am profaned among them.	ἐβεβηλούμην ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν.	being profaned in their midst.
שָׂרֶיהָ בְקִרְבָּהּ כִּזְאֵבִים טֹרְפֵי טֶרֶף לִשְׁפָּךְ־דָּם לְאַבֵּד נְפָשׁוֹת לְמַעַן בִּצַּע בָּצַע:	Her officials within her are like wolves tearing the prey, by shedding blood and destroying lives in order to get dishonest gain	οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῆς ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ὡς λύκοι ἁρπάζοντες ἁρπάγματα τοῦ ἐκχέαι αἷμα, ὅπως πλεονεξίᾳ πλεονεκτῶσιν.	Her rulers in her midst were like wolves seizing prey to shed blood so that they gain through greed.
וּנְבִיאֶיהָ טָחֲוּ לָהֶם תָּפֵל חֹזִים שָׁוְא וְקֹסְמִים לָהֶם כָּזָב אֹמְרִים כֹּה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה וַיהוָה לֹא דִבֶּר:	Her prophets have spread plaster for them, seeing vanity and divining lies for them, saying, 'Thus says the Lord Yahweh,' when the Yahweh has not spoken.	καὶ οἱ προφῆται αὐτῆς ἀλείφοντες αὐτοὺς πεσοῦνται, ὁρῶντες μάταια, μαντευόμενοι ψευδῆ, λέγοντες Τάδε λέγει κύριος, καὶ κύριος οὐ λελάληκεν·	And her prophets, smearing them, shall fall, while they behold vanity, divine lies, saying, “This is what the Lord says,” and the Lord has not spoken
עַם הָאָרֶץ עָשְׁקוּ עֹשֶׁק וְגָזְלוּ גֵּזֶל וְעָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן הוֹנּוּ וְאֶת־הַגֵּר עָשְׁקוּ בְּלֹא מִשְׁפָּט:	The people of the land have practiced oppression and committed robbery, and they have mistreated the poor and needy and have oppressed the stranger without justice.	λαὸν τῆς γῆς ἐκπιεζοῦντες ἀδικίᾳ καὶ διαρπάζοντες ἁρπάγματα, πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα καταδυναστεύοντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν προσήλυτον οὐκ ἀναστρεφόμενοι μετὰ κρίματος.	oppressing the people of the land in injustice and committing robberies, oppressing poor and needy, and did not deal toward the stranger with justice.
וָאֲבַקֵּשׁ מֵהֶם אִישׁ גֹּדֵר־גָּדֵר וְעֹמֵד בַּפֶּרֶץ לְפָנַי בְּעַד הָאָרֶץ לְבִלְתִּי שַׁחֵתָהּ וְלֹא מָצָאתִי:	And I looked for a man among them, who would build a wall, and stand in the breach before me for the land,	καὶ ἐζήτουν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα ἀναστρεφόμενον ὀρθῶς καὶ ἑστῶτα πρὸ προσώπου μου ὁλοσχερῶς ἐν καιρῷ τῆς	And I was seeking from them a man who behaved rightly and stood in front of me entirely in the time of

	that I might not destroy it, but I found none.	γῆς τοῦ μὴ εἰς τέλος ἐξαλεῖψαι αὐτήν, καὶ οὐχ εὗρον.	the land so as not to wipe it out completely, and I did not find.
וָאֶשְׁפֹּךְ עֲלֵיהֶם זַעְמִי בְּאֵשׁ עֶבְרָתִי כִּלִּיתִים דַּרְכָּם בְּרֹאשָׁם נָתַתִּי נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה: פ	"Thus, I have poured out my indignation on them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath; their way I have brought upon their heads," declares the Lord Yahweh.	καὶ ἐξέχεα ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν θυμόν μου ἐν πυρὶ ὀργῆς μου τοῦ συντελέσαι· τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν δέδωκα, λέγει κύριος.	And I poured out my anger upon it with the fire of my wrath to finish it completely; I have given their ways upon their heads, says the Lord.

Ezekiel 22:23-31 is the second section of the book, which contains verses that are explicitly concerned with prophets. Differences to Ezekiel 13, which contains the major judgement of prophetic groups, are apparent from the outset. Prophets are not the only focus of the section as the text is concerned with the misdeeds and transgressions of the authorities within the land. Furthermore, the text contains differences between the Masoretic text and Septuagint, which affect the characterization of prophets. These range from relatively minor differences to significant discrepancies seen especially in the content of verse 25, which subsequently is one of the focal points of the paper.

Before the individual verses of the Masoretic text and the LXX are assessed, it is necessary to briefly note the wider literary context of the section. It has been argued that Ezekiel 22 could be viewed as a chapter consisting of three distinct oracles that may be connected with a shared focus on social injustices.[4] While the formation and arrangement of chapter 22 does not seem arbitrary due to recurring words and themes, and the development of the recipient from Jerusalem (1-16), to house of Israel (17-22), and finally to the land (23-31), the structure of the chapter allows viewing the text of Ezekiel 22:23-31 in relative isolation.[5]

Commentators often see this section bearing a strong similarity to an oracle in Zephaniah 3:3-4., which condemns princes, judges, prophets, and priests with partially similar expressions. Thus,

[4] See Mein 2006, 95.

[5]Bowen 2010, 133-134. Greenberg (1983, 464-465) who strongly argues for the complementary nature of the oracles, notes that they have some significant differences. For example, the punishments that are mentioned in the oracles are not the same, and first and second section place the fulfillment of the oracles into the future. Pohlmann (2001, 329), argues that Ezekiel 22:23-31 forms the core text (*der Kerntext*) of the chapter.

historically this text could be seen as a development of the said oracle.[6] While the purpose of this paper is not to re-examine the connection between these texts, it is important to note that it is not extraordinary or unique to Ezekiel that prophets could be condemned alongside other groups.

It is, however, necessary that the analysis does not only focus on those verses in 22:23-31 that are directly concerned with prophets i.e. 25 in LXX and 25/28 in MT. While the other authorities are not the primary focus of the paper, it is important to understand how they possibly define or affect the imagery of prophets. In other words, it is relevant to know if there is significant overlap between the characteristics of these groups in the texts. The analysis of the imagery will begin with the Masoretic text. Afterwards, the reading of Septuagint will be assessed.

4.4.1 The Conflicting Imagery of the Masoretic Text

Verse 23 describes the arrival of the message with the prophetic word formula, which introduced the previous oracles in verses 1 and 16 of the chapter.[7] Afterwards, verse 24 sets the tone for the section with an order to issue judgement against the land. This provides a context for a series of condemnations for the groups who bear responsibility. The land seems to be a rather general recipient, but it nonetheless makes certain metaphorical expressions possible. If the verse states that the land will not be cleansed or rained upon, it can be concluded that it is in a state of impurity and drought. Thus, the metaphor conceptualizes the situation as something that needs to be cleansed but also revitalized.[8] However, while land in a text is a feminine word, it does not seem to hold similar so explicit gendered connotations as the city in verses 1-16.[9]

In Masoretic text, the prophets are the first group that is condemned. Verse 25 opens with statement קֶשֶׁר נְבִיאֶיהָ בְּתוֹכָהּ. which can be translated as *a conspiracy of prophets in her midst*. In the verse, בְּתוֹכָהּ clearly refers to land and that was introduced in the previous verse, which establishes the conspiracy here as a decidedly internal affair. The exact nature of the conspiracy is nonetheless not elaborated. The word occurs only here in the book of Ezekiel, and the book does not return to the subject in the other verses or chapters.

What can be said about such conspiracy? A major issue here concerns the semantic range of word קֶשֶׁר. It is not an unusual term in the Hebrew bible, occurring several times in various contexts, and it

[6] Zimmerli 1979, 467. See also Duguid 1994, 72-74. Dietrich (2016,) notes that a major difference between the oracles concerns their endings, as Zephaniah directs the punishment towards the nations. Additionally, the condemnation of prophets in Zephaniah 3:4 is very different from Ezekiel 22:28. (Ben Zvi 1991, 204)
[7] Zimmerli, 1979, 467; Hals 1989, 84.
[8]See Greenberg (1983, 460) who notes the metaphors of both rain/drought and purification in the verse. The implied metaphor of drought has been noted by Ndoga, (2014, 250)
[9] Goldstein 2015, 100.

usually denotes a plot that has been devised against a monarch or a ruler.[10] In prophetic literature, Jeremiah 11:9-10 states that a conspiracy against Yahweh has been found in the people as they have broken the covenant. This implicates that the word could mean a harmful plot in a more figurative sense. Such use of קֶשֶׁר could potentially lend offenses additional seriousness since it would clearly imply that Yahweh occupies a status of a king.[11]

While the exact nature and aims of the conspiracy may be difficult to determine in this verse, it seems clear that קֶשֶׁר is a voluntary act that has premeditated goals. When a group is accused of conspiracy, they are not primarily blamed for incompetence. Therefore, the accusation represents a departure from the condemnation of Ezekiel 13 wherein the prophets of Israel were unable to transmit the messages of Yahweh. Whereas the prophets in that chapter could not tell the difference between real oracles and oracles that originated in their own heart, their characterization is here more malevolent. The actions of the prophets are intentionally harmful.

Moreover, as far as enemy images are considered, the presence of conspiracy in this verse could be highly important. A mention of conspiracies may suggest a belief that misfortunes and hardships are caused deliberately by some organized group of people that has sufficient ability to work toward their aims.[12] When the text has such concept, it issues an accusation against the prophets, which could resonate with the audience especially in the times of uncertainty and anxiety.[13]

But could prophets be involved in conspiracies? Interestingly, Amos 7:10 states that the titular prophet was accused of conspiring against the king.[14] The Masoretic text also contains other examples where prophets are involved activity that may fit the category of conspiracy, even though word קֶשֶׁר is not being used. For example, Hananiah in the book of Jeremiah could be viewed as a prophet who takes part in a plot against the Babylonian rule.[15] Another point of comparison regarding a prophetic alliance could be found in the book of Nehemiah where Noadiah and other prophets seek to frighten

[10] For other occurrences of the word see 2. Sam 15:12, 1 Kings 16:20, 2 Kings 11:14, 12:20, 14:19, 15:15, 15:30, 17:4, 2 Chronicles 23:13, 25:27, Isaiah 8:12, Jeremiah 11:9. The related verb that can mean *to conspire* is even more common and occurs in 1 Sam. 22:8, 22:13, 2 Sam. 15:31, 1 Kings 15:27, 16:9, 16:16, 16:20, 2 Kings 9:14, 10:9, 12:20, 14:19,15:10, 15:15, 15:25, 15:30, 21:23, 21:24. 2 Chronicles 24:21, 24:25, 24:26, 25:27, 33:24, 33:25. Nehemiah 4:6, 4:8. Amos 7:10.
[11] Williamson 2018, 291.
[12] Vuorinen 2012, 4.
[13] As noted by Victoria Pagán (1994, 6) in her study of conspiracy narratives of the antique Rome "Conspiracy is dangerous and threatening, morally, politically, economically, and socially. It arouses fear, both in those in power, who risk being overthrown, and in those who conspire, who risk being discovered and punished. A historical account of a conspiracy controls these fears by solidifying them in written word and disengaging other possible narrative outcomes. Conspiracy narratives operate as palliatives; well constructed accounts of the worrisome events assure the reader that the conspiracy was a rare exception and will not happen again, if everyone remains vigilant. In this sense, conspiracy narratives both contain fear and deter future attempts at revolution."
[14] As noted also by Bowen 2010, 136.
[15] Mills 2017, 20.

Nehemiah.[16] The idea that prophetic figures and groups could be involved in deliberate and harmful plots may not be entirely extraordinary.

After the accusation of conspiracy, the verse introduces a figurative expression, which seems to further conceptualize and elaborate its effects and potential threat. *A conspiracy of her prophets in her midst is like a roaring lion tearing the prey* is easily identified as a simile due to presence of word *like,* which makes the comparative nature of the phrase explicit.[17] In other words, such expression invites the reader to seek some point of comparison between a conspiracy of prophets and a lion, which naturally are very distinct from each other. The simile here, however could be viewed as a *broad-scope simile*, which invites a comparison between two domains but does not yet fully elaborate what the exact focus of the comparison is.[18] Indeed, the further elaboration seems to be given later in the verse as the misdeeds of the conspiring prophets are explicitly condemned.

While the simile is initially relatively open, the mention of dangerous animal could have very immediate effects. The basis for this simile seems to be in fairly conventional conceptual metaphors where humans/human behavior are conceptualized with animals/animal behavior.[19] In other words, the simile achieves a notable compression of relations. A potentially complex plot of individual prophets becomes a single predator, which behaves in aggressive manner.

It should be noted that it is highly important that the predator in these verses is not just any animal, but a lion. This particular animal is a rather complex source for a metaphorical mapping, as it has ambiguous nature in biblical texts. While the animal could be related to royalty and high status, it was also understood as a dangerous and even vicious creature.[20] Here the lion is described as roaring and tearing the prey. As noted by Strawn, roaring and predation are the two most important aspects of the animal in the Hebrew bible. In biblical context the prey of lions could very well be human victims, which lends this image additional threatening qualities.[21]

There is a tendency to utilize the imagery of lion to conceptualize human enemies in the Hebrew bible. Aside from this particular text of Ezekiel, psalms notably use the lion as a metaphor for personal

[16] Knoppers 2007, 314.
[17] As Romano (2017, 40) states: *Like announces dissimilarity, the need to find a pattern linking source and target domain, and therefore acts as a staller, facilitating the speaker/writer's process of creation and the hearer/reader's comprehension of the intended mapping by means of elaboration*. See also Israel, Harding & Tobin 2004, 123-128 for discussion and definition of similes. However, it should be noted that the distinction between similes and metaphors and their recognition is not always uniform in biblical scholarship. For example, de Joode & van Loon 2014, 43-44 seem to understand word *like* as an indication of deliberately expressed metaphor.
[18] Dancygier & Sweetser 2014, 145-146.
[19] Basson 2008, 12-14.
[20] Duguid 1994, 36.
[21] Strawn 2005, 34-36, Basson 2008, 13.

enemies. In other words, the image is such that it can be linked to different situations where negative and threatening behavior needs to be conceptualized and emphasized. Strawn notes that when lion is used as and metaphor for an enemy, it lends the image some important features. First, it dehumanizes or demonizes the subject of the metaphor while lending them at the same time incredible power. Furthermore, their victims are rendered more helpless, as they are threatened by a vicious lion.[22] Thus the presence of a lion in the verse could characterize the prophets and their conspiracy as a very severe threat.

However, while the imagery of lion is potentially highly evocative, the simile initially could be seen in certain respects unclear. How is a conspiracy or any initially clandestine plot of select people comparable to an imposing predator? When the simile has established the dangerous point of comparison for the prophets and their conspiracy, the verse more explicitly turns into their misdeeds, which could be seen as an elaboration that is typical to broad-scope similes. It is notable, however, that the focus of the elaboration seems to have shifted from the conspiracy to the conspirators. First, they have devoured human lives. Secondly, they have taken treasure and precious things, and thirdly, they have made many widows.

These accusations correspond well with the simile of lion. As lions are dangerous predators, it makes sense that the simile creates a deliberate connection between the human and animal violence. In this context it also seems to suggest that conspirators are guilty of violent abuses of power. The second accusation conjures an image of a distinctly human endeavor that could well be related to some figure of authority acting in unjustified manner. Finally, the making of widows can be attributed to both lions and violent humans.[23] Thus, the verse presents a fairly typical enemy image where metaphorical expressions are used to convey violent threat and dehumanization.

However, while the connection of lion and violent injustice is understandable in the context of somewhat generic enemy, it remains peculiar in the context of prophets. In fact, nothing in verse 25 is concerned with the transmission of divine knowledge. Furthermore, the imagery is considerably different from the animal simile that was utilized in Ezekiel 13:4. Jackals of that verse are usually understood as scavengers and eaters of carrions. Additionally, they bear no connections to the frames of power or royalty. On the contrary, they seem to represent decay and the lack of ordered society, as they are explicitly situated in ruins in the text of Ezekiel 13.[24] This means that the simile of verse 25

[22] Strawn 2005, 275-276.
[23] Duguid 1994, 39.
[24] Greenberg 1983, 235-236.

is very different from the one that is utilized in Ezekiel 13:4. If prophets are understood as transmitters of divine knowledge, the lion seems highly incongruous animal for this purpose.

The simile could, nevertheless, viewed as somewhat understandable if the goal of the text is to conceptualize prophets as powerful, dangerous and threatening enemies who may have partaken in other activity besides of receiving and transmitting messages. However, this kind of characterization would be in stark contrast with the text of Ezekiel 13:1-16, where the accusations are clearly concerned with prophesying. Additionally, the imagery of lions may also be problematic for the conceptualization of conspiracy. While conspiracies can eventually lead to violence, they also involve plotting and/or secrecy. Lions can be cunning predators, but the metaphor here evokes the image of a roaring animal that has made its presence clear. Moreover, the elaboration that suggests killing and taking of property is not necessarily linked to plotting, but to more general and direct abuse of power. In other words, there seems to be a certain disconnect between the comparison and the subsequent elaboration.

It can be concluded that the Masoretic text of verse 25 is peculiar for various reasons. Syntactically and lexically it presents an understandable enemy image, and formally it can be viewed as a complete broad-scope simile. However, this imagery differs strongly from the very specific accusations of chapter 13, and instead forms an image of conspiring internal enemies, whose offenses have little to do with prophecy. Furthermore, the imagery of lion is in clear contrast with characterization that emphasized the ineffectiveness of prophets in Ezekiel 13. One may indeed ask whether the characterization that is present in the Masoretic text was intentional[25] or represents an incorrect reading.[26] In any case, the verse significantly complicates the otherwise relatively consistent enemy image of prophets in the Masoretic text.

After the highly unusual verse 25, the text turns to the actions of priests. In contrast to the accusations of the previous verse, 22:26 is rather specific and clearly targets priestly offenses, which highlight the importance between the separation between holy/clean and profane/unclean. The verse contains a clear correspondence between the transgressions and the duty of the group.[27] The priests are doing exactly the things that they should not be doing.

[25] Bowen (2010, 136) states that the reading could be considered intentional but also acknowledges its obvious difficulty.
[26] As the apparatus of BHS notes, קשר נביאיה should be read as אשר נשׂיאיה . Zimmerli (1979, 465) strongly advocates that the text should be emendated with the help of Septuagint, which has preserved the correct reading. This position has been taken by most commentators, see also Greenberg 1996, 462.
[27] Wong 2001, 235.

What is interesting here, however, is that the priests here are partially accused of the same thing as prophesying women in Ezekiel 13:19. They have profaned Yahweh himself.[28] Other than that there is not much overlap with either Ezekiel 13 or other groups that are being accused here. The priests are not conceptualized with clear metaphors or similes and there are no dehumanizing elements present in the language.

The officials[29] are judged afterwards with imagery that contains clear dehumanizing elements. The content of the verse is remarkably similar to verse 25. The major difference is that the simile utilizes a different animal as the officials are not lions but wolves, which nonetheless are predatory carnivores. The visible connection between these descriptions makes the content of verse 25 and the description of prophets even more interesting. Since the metaphorical mappings that are present in both similes are comparable, is there a resulting implication that officials are similar to prophets but perhaps lower in a hierarchy?[30] It definitely seems peculiar to create so direct correspondence between these groups that should not have too much in common.

Prophets are once again mentioned in verse 28, but this accusation is different from verse 25. Prophets are said to spread plaster that is analogous to the divining lies and seeing vanity. The spreading of plaster in this case can clearly viewed as a metaphor that seems to be linked to the building of the wall in Ezekiel 13. In that chapter, the prophets of Israel are conceptualized as a group that coats a loosely constructed wall with plaster that initially hides the structural faults but is not able to provide protection against the catastrophic weather phenomena caused by Yahweh. In both chapters the basis for the metaphor lies in a novel conceptualization of prophetic messages as plaster.[31]

Why could plaster be a fitting conceptualization of lies or any message that is revealed to be inadequate in the future? The metaphor where physical buildings are being plastered and eventually revealed seems to be highly dependent on image schematic structures. Image schemas are dynamic and recurring patterns that structure human experiences and form basis for various conceptual metaphors.[32] In the activity of plastering, a schema that seems to be utilized is the one of containment. Containment schema is one of the most basic image schemas as it draws from common human experiences where various objects and actions are conceptualized in the terms of exteriors, interiors and boundaries. For example, clothes form a boundary that separates the exterior from interior, food

[28] Wong 2001, 153.
[29] The group seems to have consisted of people that were not of royal lineage yet held significant power. Depending on the position of king, they could have acted independently. They could also be more specifically military commanders. Duguid 1994, 110.
[30] Interestingly Bowen (2010, 137) does not discuss the hierarchical implications of the verses and similes.
[31] See for instance, Joyce 2009, 121.
[32] Johnson 1987, xiv.

is placed into containers and people traverse between indoors and outdoors.[33] Similarly, the plaster could be understood as a boundary that separates the foundation of some significant structure from the exterior.

The question is, however, why something that could in certain situations be viewed as a harmless surface material be also understood as a negative thing? In certain contexts, the image schema of containment can provide sub-schemas of concealing and revealing. In other words, the boundary affects how much of the interior is being perceived from outside. The manipulation of outward appearance can reveal or conceal various internal states.[34] Since the boundary is separate from the interior, it does not always represent it.[35] Appearances can be deceiving.

The plaster forms a boundary that separates and contains the interior structure, but at the same time it represents the less substantial periphery to the interior. In other words, there seems to be a fair amount of ambiguity to how plaster could be experienced or perceived. It could be a necessary coating to the various buildings, but it also could be peripheral and conceal the more integral internal state of the things that need attention or change. In this metaphor, the latter property of the plaster makes the metaphor an effective way of understanding the nature of prophecies.

It is evident that while verse 28 repeats accusations and metaphors that were introduced in Ezekiel 13:6-15, it expresses them in a far more condensed form. Spreading of plaster is common to both sections, but the syntax and surrounding context here may create additional meanings for the action. Moreover, if לָהֶם is not understood as an ethical dative, the plastering would be done for some other group. The possible implication is that there could have been some interaction between officials of the previous verse and prophets.[36] If that is the case, the relatively short verse would add something to the image of prophets that was not already present in Ezekiel 13.[37] However, the interpretation of לָהֶם as an ethical dative could be more appropriate in this context, as it would highlight that prophets were acting for their own gain, similar to prophets and officials condemned before.

All things considered, verse 28 is remarkably dependent on the content of Ezekiel 13, which contained a more elaborate metaphor of plastering. For example, the entire notion of the wall and its destruction is missing. Additionally, Ezekiel 13 connected the ultimate fate of prophets to the collapse of the

[33] Dewell 2008, 371-372.
[34] See Hoffman 2014, 272. Hoffman argues that the containment and its various sub-schemas commonly used in various religious discourses. For instance, something substantial is often *revealed* due to divine action, or mystery is something that is *concealed.*
[35] See Lakoff & Turner 1989, 148. Here one may potentially see conceptual metaphors ESSENCE IS CENTRAL and LESS IMPORTANT IS PERIPHERAL being utilized.
[36] Greenberg 1996, 463.
[37] Contrary to Duguid (1994, 98).

plastered wall, which does not happen here. Prophets are not yet punished for their actions in this verse. Hence, the use of metaphor here is in some respects different from the larger text of Ezekiel 13.

So far, the Masoretic text of Ezekiel 22:23-31 has presented two very different accusations against the prophets. It seems likely that the metaphors and similes that are used of prophets in Ezekiel 22 are highly mixed and the verses in general do not seem to have a lot in common. In the framework of enemy images this is not necessarily a problem. Enemy images can be inconsistent in terms of strict logical coherence.[38] Furthermore, Ezekiel 13 also utilizes both dehumanizing similes (jackals in ruins) and metaphors that deliberately conceptualize transmission of messages.

Here, however, it is very curious that the metaphor of devouring prey is similarly used of both prophets and princes and that the prophets mentioned twice. The text, in fact, contains two highly different images. One that highlights violence and abuse of power, and another that emphasizes deception. While the dehumanization and the metaphor of plastering were indeed distinct from each other in Ezekiel 13 they nonetheless could be connected with common themes of ruin, lack of order and falling physical structures. Here such connection does not seem to be present, and the verses thus remain more disparate.

The final group that is condemned in the section is the "people of the land". This group could be interpreted as a powerful people with ties to royal house.[39] Like the description of priests in verse 26, this condemnation does not utilize explicitly metaphorical expressions, but is merely a statement of offenses. The condemnation has some overlap between the prophets of verse 25 and officials, but there does not seem to be references to explicit violence that was emphasized with the use of simile in those verses.

After all groups have been condemned, the oracle draws them together using the metaphor of siege that was also present in Ezekiel 13:5. Interestingly, the metaphor of siege warfare could hold significant gendered implications as warfare was an important setting for masculine performances that could either be successful or failures.[40] Since the prophets are also condemned here, the verse forms a clear link between the imagery of this chapter and Ezekiel 13.

An interesting detail is that in verse 22:30 Yahweh states that he has been looking for a man who could stand in breach. This may give this text additional gendered dimensions. Would this perhaps

[38] Lowenthal 1987, 75-76.
[39] Duguid 1994, 121; Bowen 2010, 137. Greenberg (1983, 463), however, sees the group as "the citizenry at large".
[40] Lipka 2016, 177-178.

imply that the prophets that are condemned in chapter 22 are specifically male prophets? Additionally, Ezekiel 22:30 might suggest that the different groups of the section shared a similar duty that could be conceptualized as a defense during the time of siege. In other words, while their transgressions were different, the consequences of these actions led to the eventual catastrophe. The fall of the land is their fault, which is made tangible via a metaphor that emphasizes the courage, choice, and direct causality of actions or inactions.

The final verse of the section issues the ultimate judgement for these groups. Prophets seem to share a similar fate with other authorities which is in contrast with Ezekiel 13:1-16, where the punishment was linked to the metaphor of plastering and deficient wall. However, there is an expression "I have brought their way upon their heads", which seems to imply some correspondence between the offence and the punishment.[41] Nevertheless, the text is explicit about the idea that the groups will be consumed in fire, which does not seem to suggest a highly differentiated fate for the groups.

4.4.2 The More Conventional Imagery of the Septuagint

Septuagint presents a reading that is different from the Masoretic text. These differences also concern the imagery of prophets. Aside from the lack of reference to cleansing in verse 24, the beginning of the text corresponds with the MT, but a major divergence can be seen in verse 25. Whereas the MT contained the accusation against the conspiracy of prophets, the text of Septuagint is a condemnation of leaders (οἱ ἀφηγούμενοι), who were also mentioned in Ezekiel 22:6. The Septuagint also lacks a mention of conspiracy, which was an immediately noticeable feature of the enemy image of the Masoretic text. Otherwise, the simile of lion and its elaboration corresponds well with the MT.

The Septuagint seems to present a far less problematic image than the Masoretic text. The leaders are a group that can be conceptualized rather well with the simile of lions. οἱ ἀφηγούμενοι is a term that is used of the members of royalty in LXX Ezekiel, which lends the simile additional suitability.[42] Hence, the content of the verse is free from the issues that were present in the MT. As noted earlier, the difficulties in the Masoretic text were related to the fact that the broad-scope simile was not elaborated in a sufficient or entirely appropriate manner. The elaboration and the use of leonine imagery seemed to have more in common with an enemy guilty of abuse of power than a specific conspiracy of prophets. All things considered, it is not surprising that many commentators and

[41] Wong 2001, 232-233.
[42] Duguid 1994, 22-23.

translators emend the text of MT with the Septuagint reading of verse 25.[43] as it is very likely that the Masoretic text contains a mistaken reading of אשׁר נשׂיאיה as קשר נביאיה.

While verse 22:25 of the Septuagint is about the powerful leaders who likely belong to the royalty, it also affects the imagery of prophets. The prophets are now only condemned once in the text and with expressions that do not create issues that were present in the Masoretic text. In other words, the characterization of the prophets is much more uniform, albeit less complex in the LXX. The difference that verse 25 causes is very significant.

The next few verses contain some differences when compared to the MT. The description of priests in 22:26 is fairly similar to MT, aside from the detail that the text may emphasize their inability to differentiate (διαστέλλω) between holy/profane and clean/unclean. Ezekiel 22:27 condemns the rulers (οἱ ἄρχοντες), and is similar to MT aside from the mention of destroyed lives. Verse 28, which is now the only condemnation of the prophets in the chapter has one interesting difference. The text seems to state that the prophets will fall. As the punishment against these groups is properly articulated in verse 31, the prophets are interestingly punished twice in the Greek text of the section. Additionally, only the smearing is mentioned, but not the plaster itself. This, however, does not necessarily affect the understanding of the metaphor too much, as the mere verb could easily be associated with image schemas and metaphors that were present in the Masoretic text. Moreover, the verse seems to hold a similar potential connection between the officials and prophets that was also present in the MT.[44]

Interestingly, verse 29 changes the people of the land from the oppressors to the oppressed. Additionally, it should be noted that the verse does not explicitly state who are the ones oppressing the people. One possibility is that the accusation would be directed to previously condemned group of rulers who could fit the role of group that abuses power.[45]

Another major difference can be noted in verse 30. As in chapter 13, LXX does not utilize the metaphor of siege warfare. Instead, Yahweh is looking for a man who is able to behave rightly and stand in front of him. The standing here is not elaborated by a definite location such as siege, but it

[43] See for instance NRSV. A departure from the trend can be seen in the commentary of Bowen (2010, 135), who argues that both can readings can be defended.
[44] Olley (2009, 389) argues that the prophets are deliberately covering the transgressions of officials.
[45] Olley 2009, 389.

refers to intercessory position between Yahweh and the land.[46] Whereas the MT had a clear connection between Ezekiel 22:30 and 13:5, similar link is not present in the Septuagint.

While the verse does not utilize the metaphor of siege, Yahweh is still seeking a man from the groups, which gives the text certain gendered aspect. However, the text of the LXX does remove the potential undermining of masculinity that is suggested in the Masoretic text. Additionally, the standing before Lord is much less specific than a siege, which is a concrete matter of life and death. However, the meaning is not entirely different from the MT, as the person who would have built a wall and stood in a breach would certainly be understood as behaving correctly.[47]

Finally, as in the Masoretic text, the prophets are judged with the other groups. Verse 31 the LXX curiously seems to direct the judgment also towards the land. Nonetheless, the texts are similar in the respect that they seem to advocate both shared judgement and punishment that somehow is in accordance to the misconduct of the groups.

4.4.3 Conclusions

After the examination of Ezekiel 22, it can be argued that the section adds certain interesting aspects to the imagery of prophets. One conclusion that can be made from the analysis is that the prophets and their faults can be linked to the failures of other authorities of the land. This is clearly explicated in verse 30 and 31 where all groups are both accused of inability to perform their duty and finally judged together.

When both MT and LXX have been examined, it is clear that the imagery of prophets is different in these texts. The Septuagint presents an idea of deceptive prophecy that is consistent with the text of Ezekiel 13. Masoretic text on the other hand contains a more novel idea of prophetic conspiracy that via leonine simile links prophets into violent behavior that is similar to the transgressions of the officials in verse 27. It should be noted that verse 25 of the MT contains significant issues. While the conspiracy of prophets could be a potentially effective enemy image, it is elaborated with a simile that does not seem to fit either prophets or conspiracy. The Greek text does not contain such issue, as leonine simile is applied to leaders of the land.

The Masoretic text of 22:25 may in fact raise an interesting question about the intentionality of some biblical enemy images. If that text is a result of a textual corruption, it has nonetheless led to a unique characterization of prophets. While enemy images can be very deliberately constructed and related to crises that necessitate identity formation within groups, there may also be an aspect of accidentality

[46] Olley 2009, 390.
[47] Nevertheless, Zimmerli (1979, 466) states that LXX "has not properly understood the text."

to their formation. This may be a significant issue that needs to be addressed when one applies the framework to biblical texts with complex and often largely uncertain history.

Finally, chapter 22 might have aspects that concern the gendered construction of the prophetic groups. Aside from the metaphor of siege warfare with its gendered implications, it should also be noted that only the male prophets seem to be included in the list of authorities. The language of the texts utilizes only the condemnations that were issued against the prophets of Israel in verses 13:1-16. The text does not return to daughters of your people of Ezekiel 13:17-23 or their transgressions. Furthermore, the seeking of man in verse 30 suggests that women were not included in the text. This may show that unlike their male counterparts, the prophesying women were not understood as belonging to the leaders and authorities of the land. Whatever the reason may be, the powerful women who were even able to profane Yahweh are spared from the additional condemnation.

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▶ **Paper**

The Glory of Hardening: Kavod and Judgment in the Theophany of Isaiah 6

➥ Respondent: Martti Nissinen

▶ **Abstract**

This paper explores the concept of the manifestation of YHWH's glory (dbk) as a leitmotif which accompanies the theme of hardening in the book of Isaiah. Through a narrative-critical lens, this paper examines the literary and theological significance of the combination of the visible presence of YHWH's glory and the commission of obduracy to the people in Isaiah 6. It then explores the recurrence of these combined themes throughout the book of Isaiah.

▶ **Project Summary**

Theophany in Prophecy: The Theological Significance and Literary Function of Theophany in the Prophetic Tradition

This project will explore the literary function and theological significance of viewing the manifest YHWH, what it means in the immediate context, the wider context of the book in which it is found, and in the wider prophetic tradition. In other words, why do the texts of Isaiah 6, Ezekiel 1:25-3:15; 11:1-25; 43:1-12, Micah 1, Habakkuk 3 and Zechariah 9; 14, which share several thematic characteristics, all use theophany as a literary device? To my knowledge, no monograph currently pursues this question. Given that the prevailing process of transmitting oracular material in the prophetic tradition is completed through verbal interaction between YHWH and the prophet, this departure from standard protocol is worthy of exploration.

This project will use a synchronic method, or more specifically, literary criticism, to explore the aforementioned texts. The proposed texts are not always considered historical narratives, but they are in their own way 'narrative.' This means that they tell a story, drawing the reader into a world, whether historically evident or not, through the use of vivid imagery and literary techniques which advance the plotline of the text.[1] This method takes the view that the text, even

[1] Cf. Dutcher-Walls, Jezebel, 1–2; Bodner, After the Invasion, 5–6.

one such as the Hebrew Bible that is constructed from many different sources and traditions, is in its current form compiled as a completed work.[2] I therefore intend to analyse and assess the text as a narrative which employs literary techniques and specific language, to determine the way these techniques develop the rhetorical aims.[3]

Since this project is centrally focused on imagery and motif surrounding the manifest YHWH, the dissertation lends itself to a method of analysis that approaches the text as literature. The project will work primarily from the final form of the MT, consulting other versions when significant textual variants arise.

Paper Summary:

This paper explores the literary and theological implications of YHWH's manifest glory (כבד) and Isaiah's commission of obduracy in Isaiah 6 to the rest of the book of Isaiah. It focuses on Isaiah 35, 40, 60 and 66, texts where the leitmotifs of YHWH's glory and obduracy are prevalent. Isaiah 6 sees YHWH manifest in the temple in Jerusalem with classic OT theophanic images like fire, smoke, and quaking. This ultimately identifies him as none other than Israel's God, authenticating his right to pronounce judgment against his people and subsequently legitimates Isaiah's vocation as a prophet of judgment. Isaiah is commissioned as a prophet of obduracy; to harden the people and to ensure judgment will take place. The outworking of the visual manifestation of YHWH's glory (כבד) in Isaiah 6 and in Isaiah 35, 40, 60, and 66 now brings eschatological hope through the reversal of obduracy. YHWH is no longer manifest in the temple as portrayed in Isaiah 6, but rather is now seen over the nations and in Zion. The depiction of the people's religious health in Isaiah 6 is congruent with spiritual blindness, despite the presence of YHWH's glory filling the earth from his locale enthroned in Israel. The restoration of Israel as depicted by the book of Isaiah thus hinges on the people's return to acknowledging the presence of YHWH. This will ensure that they will dwell in the land with their holy God, graciously reigning from the cultic locale on Zion where heaven meets earth, making Zion an eschatological temple-city. The joint leitmotifs of YHWH's glory and obduracy expose a universal theology in which Zion becomes the place where YHWH's presence is manifest, and his blessing is transferred to all the earth. In the book of Isaiah, the reversal of Isaiah's commission hinges upon the acknowledgment of YHWH's glory being known throughout the earth (Isa. 35:2; 40:1-5; 60:2; 66:18-19). The visual recognition of glory in Isaiah 6, and indeed in the rest of the book is then the rhetorical explanation of the ideal national and global receptivity to YHWH.

▶ **Keywords** Glory, YHWH, Theophany, Hardening, Isaiah, Prophets, Narrative Criticism

[2] Mitchell, "Rhetorical and New Literary Criticism," 626.
[3] Exum and Clines, New Literary Criticism, 15–16.

The Glory of Hardening: Kavod and Judgment in the Theophany of Isaiah 6

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Abstract

This paper explores the concept of the manifestation of YHWH's glory (כבד) as a leitmotif which accompanies the theme of hardening in the book of Isaiah. Through a narrative-critical lens, this paper examines the literary and theological significance of the combination of the visible presence of YHWH's glory and the commission of obduracy to the people in Isaiah 6. It then explores the recurrence of these combined themes throughout the book of Isaiah.

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Preface: Discussion Points

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1. Translation: Isaiah 6

1 In the year king Uzziah died, I saw the Lord seated on a throne[1] high and lifted up,
and the hem of his robe[2] filled the temple. 2 Seraphim stood above him;[3] having six
wings each. Two covered their face and two covered their feet, and with two they
flew. 3 And this one called to that one and said, "Holy, holy, holy is YHWH of hosts,
and the earth is full of his glory!" 4 And the foundations of the thresholds shook from
the voice of the one who called, and the house was filled with smoke. 5 And I said,
"Woe is me! For I am cut off! For I am a man with unclean lips, for I dwell in the midst
of a people with unclean lips, for my eyes have seen the king, YHWH of hosts." 6 And
one from the seraphim flew to me, and in his hand was a coal taken with tongs from
upon the altar. 7 And he touched my mouth and said, "Behold! This has touched your
lips and taken away your guilt and covered your sin."

8 And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, "Who will I send, and who will go
for us?" and I said, "Here I am, send me!" 9 And he said, "Go, and say to this people:
surely hear, but do not understand, surely see, but do not know. 10 Make the heart of
this people grow fat, and their ears heavy, and their eyes blind, lest they see with their
eyes, and hear with their ears, and their hearts understand and turn and be healed." 11
And I said, "How long, O'Lord?" And he said, "Until cities lie wasted, uninhabited,
and houses without a person, and the land is a desolate waste, 12 and YHWH causes
the people to be far away, and the forsaken are many in the midst of the land. 13 And

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[1] 1QIsa[a] attests "his throne" (כסאו). This is most likely an interpretive editorial decision for theological clarity; that this throne is specifically YHWH's alone to sit upon. This decision necessitates that the MT attests the more original reading, and is therefore preferred.

[2] LXX renders "hem of his robes" (ושׁוליו עמדים) as "his glory" (της δοξης αυτου). Likewise, Tar. J: "the brightness of his glory" (ומזיו יקריה). This is most likely an attempt to de-anthropomorphize YHWH or prevent the prophet from seeing any part of YHWH or his clothing. The MT is preferred since it does not reflect these editorial changes and thus attests the more original reading.

[3] LXX has the seraphim "around him" (κυκλω αυτου) not "above him" (ממעל לו) as the MT, likely to avoid any theological ambiguity about the status of YHWH as the "highest" authority in the text. These are clearly latter editorial changes and therefore the MT is preferred as maintaining the more original reading.

still, with a tenth returning, it will be burned; as a terebinth or an oak, which[4] having been felled has its stump remain; a holy seed is its stump.[5]

2. Textual Analysis

The theophany of Isaiah 6 combines a vision of the heavenly realm with the commissioning of the prophet Isaiah. This paper seeks to explore this unique moment in the Hebrew Bible for its literary and theological significance to the manifestation of YHWH in the rest of the book of Isaiah.

2.1. Context

Isaiah 6 begins with a vision where the prophet Isaiah, "saw the Lord" (v. 1). The vision account makes use of one of the classic dating formulae in the HB that can indicate a new literary section, "In the year…" (בִּשְׁנַת).[6] "In the year that King Uzziah died…" (v. 1) is the backdrop for the historical setting of the vision,[7] and given that the vision account does not continue the content or literary style of chapter 5, Isa. 6:1 should be viewed as the start of a new literary section. The vision of Isaiah 6 ends abruptly at the end of verse 13. Given another common indication of a new literary section, "And it happened…" (וַיְהִי)[8] in the next verse (Isa. 7:1), and the lack of literary unity with the content of chapter 7, the end of the literary section must be Isa. 6:13.

The beginning of the book of Isaiah indicates that Isaiah's tenure as prophet stretched across, "the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah" (Isa. 1:1). Since the book of Isaiah does not indicate how long Isaiah was active before the death of Uzziah, there is no way to confirm that Isaiah 6 was his inaugural vision

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[4] BHS suggests that (אשׁר) could be missing a ה, and therefore read: "Asherah"(אשׁרה). This would cause the text to take on a cultic tone regarding the destruction of an Asherah-pole. The editor's suggestion has no textual support from any known manuscript, and is therefore most likely attempting to smooth over a difficult passage.

[5] LXX does not attest the phrase, "a holy seed is its stump." While the shorter version is generally preferred as the more original, in this case, the LXX reading seems to be a deliberate attempt to avoid a difficult passage. Therefore, though it is the longer version, the more difficult reading found in the MT should be preferred.

[6] Cf. Keown, Scalise, and Smothers, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 43.

[7] Habel, "Call Narratives," 310; Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, 104.

[8] Arnold and Choi, *Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, §3.5.1c, 86.

of YHWH.[9] Still, the overall book certainly presents Isaiah 6 as the inaugural vision for the prophet. It is the only vision in the book where Isaiah directly interacts with YHWH and is given a commission that will inform his tenure as prophet in the book of Isaiah.

We must then address why the "inaugural" vision of Isaiah occurs in ch. 6 as opposed to ch. 1. This notorious issue has been approached from countless angles by an equal number of interpreters, far too many to name here. Rhetorically, Isaiah 6 is well placed between chapters 5 and 7. Chapter 5 speaks parabolically about Israel as a garden tended by YHWH, which despite being cared for in every way, has grown wild and unruly. The parable encompasses well the contents of chapters 1-4. The contents of chapter 5 are the metaphorical summary of the prolonged charge against Israel and their misdeeds in chapters 1-4, and explain the exilic fallout from their transgressions. Chapters 1-5 together then act as an overview of the circumstances which brought Israel into exile, and introduce the intimate details of that process. The commission of the prophet in Isaiah 6 is justified through the contents of the previous 5 chapters.

Having exposed the transgressions of the people of Israel and Judah, YHWH's judgment spoken through Isaiah is the logical conclusion to the disobedience of the people. Chapter 7 is an outworking of YHWH's judgment in the narrative. King Ahaz refuses to hear the word of the prophet when YHWH offers to give the king a sign (v. 10), thus giving an example of, "hearing but not understanding" (cf. Isaiah 6:8-13). Chapters 8-12 expand on the idea of rulership, both positively and negatively. Israel's rulers and the king of Assyria are proud and arrogant (9:15-16; 10:12), but YHWH has promised a coming ruler who will govern according to YHWH's will (9:6-7; 11:1-5).

Isaiah chapter 6 then fits well inside both its immediate context of chapters 5 and 7, as well as in the wider context of chapters 1-12. YHWH has seen Israel rebel (ch. 1-5), announces his plan to judge their actions (ch. 6), identifies leadership flaws,

[9] Cf. Seitz, *Isaiah 1-39*, 55.

and promises that after the outworking of his pronounced judgment, a new righteous ruler will arise (ch. 7-12).

2.2. Outline

Isaiah 6 has two main sections of content: the theophany which includes the vision of YHWH and the heavenly realm (vv. 1-7), and Isaiah's commission which encompasses the verbal interaction between Isaiah and YHWH (vv. 8-13). In the first section (vv. 1-7), Isaiah reports seeing the Lord (אדני) on a high and lofty throne with the hem of his robe filling the temple (v. 1). Isaiah describes the seraphim who serve YHWH (v. 2), and their praise of YHWH (v. 3). The voice of the seraph who praises YHWH causes tremors in YHWH's cosmic abode, and the house is filled with smoke (v. 4). Isaiah is overwhelmed by the experience and laments at seeing YHWH with unclean lips (v. 5). One of the seraphim then approaches Isaiah with a coal from the altar (v. 6). Isaiah's guilt is removed, and his sin is covered when the seraph touches the coal to Isaiah's mouth (v. 7).

The second section begins with Isaiah hearing the voice of YHWH asking who will be sent on his behalf, and Isaiah volunteers for the task (v. 8). YHWH then tells Isaiah to give a message to "this people" telling them to hear but not understand, see but not perceive (v. 9), make their hearts fat, ears heavy, and eyes blind, so they will not hear, see, or understand, and thus be healed (v. 10). Isaiah asks how long he must speak this message, and YHWH responds by telling him to continue until the cities and the land are in ruins, and the cities and houses are empty (v. 11). Then Isaiah is told to continue speaking until YHWH sends the people far away, and the land is forsaken (v. 12). YHWH's final declaration promises that a returning remnant will be burned again like a hewn tree, but what remains after will be "a holy seed" (v. 13).

2.3. Genre

Isaiah 6:1 contains a formula that introduces the chapter as a vision report, "I saw…" (אראה).[10] Isaiah explicitly sees YHWH and his attendants, but the prophet's location

[10] Nogalski, *Interpreting Prophetic Literature*, 21.

during the vision experience and how the vision is inaugurated are not as apparent. Isaiah's vision shifts from viewing YHWH's court to hearing the voice of YHWH, "And I heard the voice of the Lord" (ואֶשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל אֲדֹנָי) (v. 8). This seeing and hearing leads to the prophet's commission, giving the vision finite purpose. This has led Habel to classify Isaiah 6 as a call narrative, following his formula for establishing call narratives in the Old Testament.[11]

The sceptical exegete, beyond rebutting the notion that these unique instances in the Hebrew Bible can be boiled down to a simplistic formula, might appeal to caution regarding Isaiah 6 as a "call narrative." This in no small part revolves around the fact that Isaiah is commissioned to administer a message that will cause the people to turn from any receptivity to YHWH. He is an anti-type, and as such must be evaluated through the purpose of his commission.

It is safe to posit that Isaiah volunteers to go on behalf of YHWH for a yet undisclosed mission, and the circumstances surrounding his encounter with YHWH are contained within a vision report. Once Isaiah has volunteered for the mission, YHWH addresses him directly with the details of his purpose (vv. 9-10), and answers Isaiah's question pertaining to the duration of the task (vv. 11-13). The material of the preceding chapters, particularly the parable of chapter 5, illuminates the purpose of this vision and the task Isaiah is given. Israel has disobeyed its God, and YHWH is therefore sending a messenger to pronounce his judgment over them.

Since Isaiah has seen YHWH (vv. 1, 5), has been purified from sin (vv. 6-7), has had his offer of service accepted to the point of being given a task directly from YHWH (vv. 8-9), and is afforded insight into "how long" his task will be (vv. 11-13), the vision of Isaiah 6 serves to legitimate his role as messenger of judgment.[12] Isaiah 6 then should be seen as a dramatic word-vision where, "the traditions and the literary form

[11] His outline of Isaiah 6 is as follows: "the divine confrontation" (vv. 1-2), "the introductory word" (vv. 3-7), "the commission" (vv. 8-10), "the objection" (v. 11a), "the reassurance" (vv. 11-13). Habel, "Call Narratives," 310–12; Cf. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 134–35, who objects to Habel's findings due to the similarities of Isaiah 6 with Micaiah ben Imlah's vision (1 Kgs. 22:19-21).

[12] Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 92; Cf. Wildburger *Isaiah 1-12*, 277.

of vision-report work together to legitimate the claim of Isaiah to a prophetic office and to give a documentary explanation for his message of evil."[13]

3. The Prophet and YHWH

We have identified Isaiah 6 as a vision of YHWH where the prophet is commissioned to pronounce judgment over Israel for their disobedience evidenced in chapters 1-5. This section will now approach the content of Isa. 6 to understand glory in the theophany as it relates to Isaiah's commission of hardening.

3.1. The Theophany (vv. 1-7)

It should come as no surprise that spatial awareness plays a critical role in this theophanic vision, highlighting the concerns of the text in a visualised dimension. The viewpoint of the narrative remains Isaiah's throughout the vision,[14] as he describes what he sees, hears, and says all from a first-person point of view.[15] Isaiah sees the transcendence of YHWH, enthroned on high (v. 1). It seems prudent to understand YHWH's locale as it is represented in temple theology, also prevalent in Isaiah 66:1, "Thus says YHWH, 'Heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool.'" The temple is the place where heaven and earth meet,[16] and the mirror images of YHWH enthroned in both Isaiah 6 and 66 use that theological notion in the theophanic imagery of the passages.

The Hebrew bible often borrows images from other religions in the ANE, especially when referencing YHWH.[17] In the Ugaritic tradition, Athtar's ability to rule is dictated by his stature when seated on the throne of Saphon:

> "Then Athtar the Brilliant went up into the uttermost parts
> of Saphon;

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[13] Long, "Visions among the Prophets," 361; Cf. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 136, who concludes the genre as a commission account inside of a vision report; Also Williamson, *Isaiah 6-12*, 41, who believes the genre is a blend of four different genres: a vision report, a call, and a commission.

[14] Magonet, "The Structure of Isaiah 6," 92–93; See Landy "I and Eye in Isaiah," For a discussion on the importance of sight and the first-person account in Isaiah.

[15] Though fantastical in nature, "The experience is not depicted as an ecstatic trance." Habel, "Call Narratives," 310.

[16] Meyers, *ABD 6*: 359.

[17] See Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*.

[But] his feet did not reach the footstool;

his head did not come up to its top.

Then Athtar the Brilliant said:

'I shall not rule in the uttermost parts of Saphon!'" (KTU 1.6 i 56-62). [18]

It is not clear that the author is making this comparison to Athtar in either Isaiah 6:1 or 66:1, but the similarities are still noteworthy. The image of God that Isaiah describes is one where YHWH is present and ruling over both heaven and earth. It is apt then, that during the year of the death of the earthly king, Isaiah has a vision of the heavenly king (v. 5), both alive and in control of his realm.[19]

The seraphim speak amongst themselves saying, "Holy, holy, holy is YHWH of hosts, and the earth is full of his glory!" (v. 3). This speech seems to happen irrespective of the presence of Isaiah, since he has yet to be acknowledged by the seraphim or YHWH, suggesting continual praise occurs in the heavenly realm regardless of interlopers. The seraphim's repetition of YHWH's holy (קדשׁ) status three times (v. 3), sets YHWH apart from all others by default.[20]

The temple structure shakes according to the voice (קול) of the seraphim speaking YHWH's praise, and smoke fills the house (בית) (v. 4). Smoke (עשׁן), tremors (נוע),[21] and fire (אשׁ/שׂרפ) are classic theophanic images in both the ANE and the Hebrew Bible.[22] The speaker is one of the "fiery ones" (שׂרפים), thus adding to the theophanic language through acknowledging fire as part of YHWH's entourage (cf. Gen. 15:17; Ex.3:1-14; 13:21; 14:24; 19:16-25; Num 11:13; Deut. 9:10; Psa. 18:8; 29:7; 104:4). When combined with the mention of YHWH's glory (כבוד) filling the earth (v. 3), and the temple structure implied through the terms "house" (בית) and the

[18] All KTU citations from: Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*.

[19] Childs, *Isaiah*, 55.

[20] The triple holy is a superlative, conveying that YHWH is the holiest of that which is holy. cf. Gehman, "Ruler of the Universe," 269-281.

[21] The seraphim's speech causes the tremors in the house, not YHWH as per the norm of theophanic events.

[22] Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 169.

"foundations" of its "thresholds" (אמות הספים) (v. 4), these two verses (vv. 3-4) become the subsection that contains the most imagery associated with the presence of YHWH in the chapter.

All of these sensory aspects in the vision of Isaiah strongly denote the presence of YHWH, while continuing to disclose very little about YHWH himself.[23] Thus we see the literary significance of the description of YHWH's surroundings aiding our understanding of this theophanic encounter. The spatial aspects highlight YHWH's manifestation as wholly consuming. He is both high aloft the throne, and low filling the temple. His glory as reported through the seraphim emanates out from the temple to inhabit the breadth of the earth. While YHWH's appearance is substituted in the text by the descriptions of his dwelling, the imagery used by the author is the same as that which customarily identifies YHWH's presence in the OT (cf. Ex. 19:16-25).[24]

3.2. Isaiah's Commission (vv. 8-13)

When Isaiah's commission is revealed, his role is focused through word repetition. The repeated verbs: hear (שׁמע) and see (ראה), coupled with the sensory organs: eyes (עיניו), ears (אזניו), hearts (לבב), combine to highlight Isaiah's mission of obduracy (vv. 9-10). He is told to speak to the people, telling them to continue hearing but not understanding (שׁמעו שׁמוע ואל-תבנו) and to continue seeing but not perceiving (תדעו-וראו ראו ואל) (v. 9). YHWH then commands Isaiah to dull the people's heart (לב-העם השׁמן), make their ears heavy (ואזניו הכשׁד), and blind their eyes (ועיניו השׁע), so that they would not see with their eyes (פן-יראה בעיניו), hear with their ears (ובאזניו ישׁמע), or understand with their hearts (ולבבו יבין) (v. 10). The repetition of language in YHWH's judgment undoubtedly highlights the author's purpose and exposes his concerns with the lack of attention to YHWH's will.[25]

The structure of v. 10 reinforces YHWH's concerns:

A dull heart

[23] Cf. Landy, "Strategies of Concentration," 61–62.
[24] See fn. 22.
[25] Goldingay, "The Theology of Isaiah," 185.

B heavy ears
C blind eyes
C not see with their eyes
B not hear with their ears
A not understand with their hearts

The mirror-image structuring of the content places sight at the core of the verse, which is somewhat ironic in a theophanic vision.[26] The result of this repetition and structure exposes the difficult task placed before Isaiah. "The prophet is a non-prophet, whose mission is not to communicate; the experience, so intensely realised, is correspondingly obfuscated and mystified."[27]

It may be of benefit to assess another biblical instance of obduracy found in the book of Exodus when YHWH hardens the Pharaoh.[28] Isaiah's commission to be a prophet of obduracy may then be understood if interpreted through YHWH's hardening of Pharaoh in Exodus 7:1-5, and through the context of Isaiah 1-5 which lead to this theophany. In Exodus, YHWH tells Moses he will harden (קשׁה) Pharaoh in order to work signs and wonders in Egypt, so that through his great judgment (גדלים בשׁפטים) the Egyptians would know that, "I am YHWH" (7:3-4). Though a different verb is used here in Ex. 7:15, the same verb (כבד) which is used in Isa. 6 to refer to the hardening of the people, is also used in other places regarding Pharaoh's hardening (cf. Ex. 7:14; 8:15,32; 9:7,34; 10:1; 1 Sam 6:6). The three different verbs used to describe hardening in the MT: קשׁה/כבד/חזק, all seem to carry the same connotation and thus should be understood synonymously when referring to the act of obduracy.[29] Hardening becomes a leitmotif in Exodus, giving structural form to the event of Exodus. The structure of the leitmotif of the hardening of Pharaoh concludes with YHWH hardening the hearts (מחזק את-לב) of the Egyptians, to be glorified (ואכבדה) over them (Ex. 14:17). This final act of hardening against the Egyptians in Exodus

[26] Cf. Landy, "Vision and Voice in Isaiah," 22, "Seeing is correlated with a failure of insight."
[27] Landy, "Strategies of Concentration," 60.
[28] Cf. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 102, who acknowledges the parallel of the hardening in Exodus, but thinks it does little to help us understand the call to harden in Isaiah 6.
[29] Hesse, *TDOT 4*: 301–8; Cf. Westermann, *TLOT 2*: 590–602; van der Woude, *TLOT 1*: 403–6; van der Woude, *TLOT 3*: 1175–76; Dohmen and Stenmans, *TDOT 7*: 13–21; Zipor, *TDOT 13*: 189–95.

causes the Egyptians, their chariots, and their horsemen to be consumed by the sea as they pursue the Israelites (14:26).

YHWH spares Pharaoh and his people (9:15) to display his strength to the Egyptians and to cause his name to be praised in all the earth (9:16). YHWH's hardening of Pharaoh guarantees the judgment that will befall Egypt, and the subsequent acknowledgment of YHWH's supremacy.[30] In a wider view of the Exodus narrative, the author explicitly confirms Pharaoh's ignorance of Joseph (לֹא-יָדַע אֶת-יוֹסֵף) (Ex. 1:8), the Hebrew man who saved Egypt from famine through YHWH's intervention (Gen. 41).[31] This lack of knowledge is what sets the stage for the enslavement of Israel (vv. 10-11) and is the catalyst for divine judgment.[32]

Isaiah's commission to harden his people may find meaning in a similar light. The obduracy of the Exodus is centered around a foreign regime for the purpose of liberating YHWH's chosen people. Is it possible to compare the obduracy of a foreign nation to that of YHWH's chosen people? This leads into the wider context of Isaiah 1-5. As noted earlier, YHWH has witnessed the misdeeds of the people:[33] "Their speech and their deeds are against YHWH, rebelling against the presence of his glory" (3:8). Further, YHWH declares his people do not know him (יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יָדַע) (Isa. 1:3), and are estranged (נָזְרוּ) from him (v. 4). This concept of sin and estrangement is prevalent across the first five chapters of Isaiah (Isa. 1:15-16, 19-23, 29-31; 2:11, 17-19; 3:5-12, 15-16; 5:7-12, 18-24). Indeed, Isaiah 1:7-10 compares daughter-Zion to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, with YHWH directly addressing the inhabitants of Zion as if they were inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah.

That YHWH considers the people of his holy dwelling place as no different than those of the cities he destroyed for their corrupt ways (Gen. 19) is astonishing. In essence, the rhetoric of the passage suggests that the people of Zion/Jerusalem are in

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[30] Cf. Ford, "Whose Explanation?," 185; Grossman, "Ten Plagues Narrative," 588–610.
[31] Ford, "Whose Explanation?," 13.
[32] See: Bodner, *An Ark on the Nile,* ch. 2: "Old Promise, New King," where the literary structure of Ex. 1 develops the rationale for the Exodus event, contrasting Pharaoh against the Israelites and YHWH.
[33] Cf. Webb, *On Eagles' Wings*, 61; Darr, *Family of God*, 60.

YHWH's eyes foreigners opposed to his will and worthy of annihilation, even to the point of calling them his adversaries (צרי) and enemies (אויבי) (Isa. 1:24). So too, as Pharaoh and the Egyptians failed to acknowledge YHWH, to the point of being referred to as YHWH's enemy (אויב) (Ex. 15:6), now his own people have done the same and will be hardened accordingly to make certain YHWH's judgment will take place.[34]

This works well with the apparent play on words in Isa. 6:10, which also contextualizes Isaiah's vision experience (vv. 1-7) with his commission. Isaiah reports hearing the seraphim declare the whole earth full of YHWH's glory (כבוד) (v. 3). The verbal form of the term describing YHWH's glory means, "to make heavy" (כבד).[35] I believe it is no coincidence that the verbal form is used to describe Isaiah's task to make the peoples heart "heavy" (כבד). This link to YHWH's presence on earth may be at the core of the judgment. The people have failed to acknowledge the earth they dwell on is full of YHWH's glory (cf. Isa. 3:8; 6:3), so YHWH will judge their ignorance accordingly.[36]

Naturally, Isaiah asks how long he must perform the task of a non-prophet (v. 11).[37] YHWH's answer is also relayed through the literary technique of the repetition of a theme of emptiness. The desertion of the land is emphasized: cities will be waste (אם-שׁאו ערים) and without occupants (מאין יושׁב), the houses will not contain people (ובתים מאין אדם), and the land will be desolate and waste (והאדמה תשׁאה שׁממה) (v. 11). YHWH will remove the people far away (ורחק יהוה את-האדם), and many places in the midst of the land will be forsaken (ורבה העזובה בקרב הארץ) (v. 12). This

[34] Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 83; Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 23–24.
[35] Weinfeld, *TDOT 7*: 22–37; Collins, *NIDOTTE*: 577–87; Cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, 181. The appearance of YHWH's glory is not an abstract quality, but indicates a substantival manifestation.
[36] Evans, *To See and Not Perceive*, 52; Aitken, "Hearing and Seeing," 25.
[37] Landy, "Strategies in Isaiah 6," 74,"'How long, my Lord' obviously contrasts with 'Here I am, send me.'"

emptiness stands in contrast to the fullness of the YHWH's theophany.[38] The hem of YHWH's robe fills the temple (וְשׁוּלָיו מְלֵאִים אֶת-הַהֵיכָל) (v. 1), the whole earth is full of his glory (מְלֹא שׁ֥ל-הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ) (v. 3), and the 'house' is filled with smoke (יִמָּלֵא עָשָׁן וְהַבַּיִת) (v. 4). This contrast of desolation and fullness is further evidence of the use of spatial awareness. The breadth of desolation mirrors the breadth of the emanation of YHWH's glory, and emphasizes the wayward focus of the people.

3.3. Summary

YHWH's manifestation in Isaiah 6 serves several purposes. On a practical level, his overwhelming presence in the temple (v. 1) and his glory throughout the earth (v. 3) are the precedent for his judgment against the people. Isaiah has seen for himself the realized manifestation of YHWH' glory, and thus confirms YHWH's presence on earth. YHWH has not turned a blind eye to his people's sin, but rather confirms to Isaiah through the theophanic event that he has been present to witness the people's shortcomings. YHWH's testimony becomes all the evidence required for his judgment of hardening to be implemented. Since Isaiah is YHWH's representative to the people, he must be able to confirm YHWH's presence as absolute to the people in order to justify the judgment, and thus it also serves to legitimate his prophetic vocation.

It is only logical that YHWH's theophany is portrayed in accordance with other OT theophanic images like fire, smoke, the temple, and quaking. These images are further evidence that it is indeed YHWH who is declaring this judgment. In the context of YHWH's appearance to judge the people's sins, there could be no better entourage for YHWH than the one accompanying him to the giving of the Decalogue at Sinai (Ex. 19-20). Just as YHWH arrived to declare the Law to the people then, so now he is manifest in the same manner to condemn their shortcomings.

[38] See Snijders, *TDOT 8*: 297–307, For discussion on YHWH's glory filling spaces; cf. *BDB*, 570, The term used to describe YHWH's glory "filling" the earth connotates "abundance" in a variety of instances in the HB, such as full winepresses or jars of water, populating the land and sea, etc.

4. Significance in the Context of Isaiah

The different descriptions of the theophany of YHWH in the book of Isaiah consistently draw on the themes and imagery of the theophany in Isaiah 6. These applications are found in circumstances of judgment. Judgment in these instances brings with it the acknowledgement of YHWH and his authority, and salvation for his people from Isaiah's commission of hardening. In this section, we will discuss how viewing YHWH's glory is developed throughout the rest of the book of Isaiah as a leitmotif, specifically in terms of the reversal of Isaiah's commission in ch. 6. Quinn-Miscall notes the frequent use of imagery as a leitmotif in the book of Isaiah which, "hold the disparate parts and themes of the vision together."[39] This section will focus on Isaiah 35, 40, 60, 66, where the recurrence of the visual presence of YHWH's glory (כבד) is confirmed in the text, and coupled with the leitmotif of obduracy.

4.1. Acknowledging YHWH's Glory

Isa. 35 continues the description of the theme of the day of YHWH from 34:8.[40] The day of YHWH is both in this context, and more generally across the Hebrew bible as an eschatological arrival of YHWH on earth to both judge and renew earth and its inhabitants according to his will.[41] In Isaiah 35, during the day of YHWH, the glory of YHWH will be seen by the nations (v. 2). Once this has happened the eyes of the blind will be opened, and the ears of the deaf unplugged (v. 5). "If disobedient Israel had earlier been characterized as having eyes, but not able to see, as having ears, but not able to hear, when God comes to save his people, then the eyes of the blind will be opened, and the ears of the deaf will be opened."[42] The glory which fills the earth (Isa. 6:3) is now not only acknowledged through the seraphim and the prophet, but indeed through all of creation, making clear that spiritual renewal is intrinsically tied to the coming of the glory of YHWH.[43] The promised calamity of Isaiah 6:11-13 is

[39] Quinn-Miscall, *Isaiah 34-35*, 42.
[40] Childs, *Isaiah*, 257.
[41] See: Hiers, *ABD 2*: 82–83.
[42] Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 441.
[43] Ortlund, *Theophany and Chaoskampf*, 165.

reversed to such a degree that YHWH's presence on Zion, the eschatological dwelling place of YHWH,[44] is now acknowledged even by those who were deaf and blind.[45]

The appearance of YHWH's glory is not only associated with the reversal of divine hardening, but also directly connected to YHWH's relationship with the earth. In 35:2, a parallel sentence structure introduces an intriguing theology. The glory (כבוד) of Lebanon and the splendour (הדר) of Carmel and Sharon are given to the desert and the wilderness (v. 2a). The desert and wilderness see YHWH's glory (כבוד), and the splendour (הדר) of God (v. 2b). This verse then offers restoration to the wilderness through the glory (כבוד) and splendor (הדר) of Lebanon, Carmel and Sharon, which is equated to the glory (כבוד) and majesty (הדר) of YHWH.

Lebanon, Carmel, and Sharon are all references to regional and fertile mountains or mountain ranges in the ANE,[46] and are mentioned in Isa. 33:9 in the context of shame, withering, and becoming a desert-like region. Two of these regions mentioned are associated with the presence of other ANE deities. Lebanon, (the mountain of cedars) is said to be the home of the gods (specifically the storm-god Mēr =Adad)[47] in the Epic of Gilgamesh (Tablet 5:6),[48] while Carmel is the location where YHWH and Baal battle for the control of the rains (1 Kgs. 18).[49] Conversely, Lebanon is also the place where Solomon gathers the cedars to build the temple of YHWH (1 Kgs. 5:6-14).

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[44] See: Mare, *ABD 6*: 1096–97; cf. Ortlund, *Theophany and Chaoskampf*, 20–21, who draws the link of the cosmic mountain (Zion/the mountain of YHWH) with the eschatological victory and reign of the warrior god-king in ANE tradition where the mountain is intrinsically linked to the ability to rule and a sign of the safety of the realm.

[45] Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 540–41; Quinn-Miscall, *Isaiah*, 87.

[46] Smith, *ABD 4*: 269–70.

[47] See: Dossin, "Inscriptions de Fondation Provenant de Mari," 156–57; It should also be noted here that Adad/Hadad and Baal were either the same weather god or two separate traditions that eventually merged into referencing the same deity. Either way, the end result is that the Mountain of Cedars/Lebanon was the abode of a storm-god. Herrmann, *DDD*: 132–39.

[48] All citations of The Epic of Gilgamesh taken from: George, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*; cf. Mulder, *TDOT 7*:447–57, Lebanon is specifically mentioned in the Babylonian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh.

[49] This mountain is also historically linked to the worship of an uncertain ANE god. See: Mulder, *TDOT 7*:325–36.

I believe the theology of the passage requires all of these things for contextual clarity. Whether they have been observed as cultic locales associated with deities opposed to YHWH or as a fertile region providing materials to construct YHWH a temple, their judgment is analogous to the fertile becoming a barren desert or those with eyes and ears becoming deaf and blind. It is not the presence of other deities or YHWH's cultic abode, "The House of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 Kgs 10:21), that restores the land and heals the people, but the presence of YHWH. Lebanon, Carmel and Sharon are restored by the coming of YHWH, transforming from the deserted and wilderness state of their judgment into fertile regions once more (35:6-7). This revival is for the purpose of the salvation of YHWH's people, a highway named the Way of Holiness (ודרך הקדשׁ) on which YHWH's ransomed will return to Zion (vv. 9-10) in a new-Exodus type event.[50]

While the return to Zion is the goal of the passage, the restoration of Lebanon, Carmel and Sharon which now claim the presence of YHWH like Zion, also rejoice with joy (ותגל אף גילת) and singing (ורנן) (v. 2). The verb sing (רנן) is the same word used elsewhere in Isaiah for praising YHWH's visible return to Zion (52:8) and by creation for the redemption of his people (42:10-11; 44:23; 49:13; 51:11; 54:1). That Lebanon, Carmel and Sharon are able to rejoice in the theophanic presence of YHWH and the restoration associated with it, infers a theological renewal where YHWH's presence and unmediated access is universal, and just as accessible here as it is in Zion. Further, if places of foreign cultic worship which were decimated by YHWH, are now visited by his glory and have become a highway that will return exiles to Zion, then the certainty of YHWH's ability and will to bring salvation to his people is absolute, that they might also sing (רנן) with joy for their return to Zion (35:10).

YHWH's glory (כבוד) becomes a universal symbol of restoration and renewal for the entire earth, where the presence of his glory not only leads his chosen people on a new-Exodus but restores the desert and wilderness as well. All of the earth is

[50] Cf. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39*, 453.

now able to call YHWH's glory their own, having been redeemed by YHWH's presence throughout it. The glory (כבוד) of Lebanon is the glory (כבוד) of YHWH and the splendour (הדר) of Carmel and Sharon is the splendour (הדר) of God. By combining the restoration of all the earth and the blind and deaf, Isaiah 35 reimagines the theophany of Isaiah 6 for the universal acknowledgement of YWHH's deliverance.

Isaiah 40 is the beginning of Deutero-Isaiah, a new section of the book of Isaiah with an overarching motif declaring the end of YHWH's judgment. Like ch. 35, it invokes an eschatological tone for the coming of YHWH (v. 8), emphasizing that judgment has ceased (v. 2).[51] This text focuses on the preparations for YHWH's arrival (vv. 3-4) and highlights YHWH as the source of strength for those weary from the judgment that has come to an end (vv. 28-31). In Isa. 40:1-5, Israel is pardoned for its iniquity (נרצה עונה) (v. 2), since YHWH's hand has given her punishment for her sins twice over (בכל חטאתיה) (v. 3). This forgiveness is coupled with the revelation of YHWH's glory (כבוד יהוה) seen by all flesh (וראו כל בשׂר) (v. 5).[52]

Once again this expands the theophanic imagery of Isaiah 6:3 where only the seraphim conceive of the breadth of YHWH's glory. Now, all flesh acknowledges YHWH's glory.[53] Furthermore, it is in the context of seeing the glory of YHWH that the prophet is depicted as having his iniquity (עון) and sin (חטא) forgiven (6:5-7), and the same lexical roots are applied to the iniquity and sin of Israel in 40:2-3, thus drawing a further parallel to the setting of forgiveness in the presence of YHWH's glory (כבד). The voice crying out in wilderness in v. 3 recalls the cry of the seraphim in Isa. 6, implying that those who were blind to YHWH and his purpose are now echoing the praise of YHWH spread across the earth.[54] This also suggests that the presence of YHWH in Isaiah 40 brings with it the reversal of Isaiah's prophetic commissioning of hardening the people.

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[51] Cf. Childs, *Isaiah*, 301.

[52] Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 76. Kābôd imagery is key to the passage; Ortlund, *Theophany and Chaoskampf*, 171. The imagery here is identical to 35:1-10.

[53] Oswalt, *Isaiah: 40-66*, 52; Childs, *Isaiah*, 299.

[54] Ibid, 51.

The theme of spatial awareness associated with the presence of YHWH in Isaiah 6 recurs here in Isaiah 40 with new theological dimensions. The valleys are lifted up (נשׂא) while the mountains and hills are made low (שׁפל) (v. 4). The cosmic reshuffling of creation suggests that the theology of the passage is equally dimension altering. Zion is ordered to go up to a high mountain (על הר-גבה) and exult (הרימי) its voice in proclaiming: "Behold, your God!" (הנה אלהיכם) (v. 9). This proclamation is made in the context of the proverbial red-carpet of the wilderness (מדבר) preparing a way for YHWH, and the desert (ערבה) being straightened as a highway for God (v. 3). The mention of wilderness (מדבר) and desert (ערבה) is most certainly an image of a reimagined Exodus, and either a spiritual or a literal return from exile.[55] Where YHWH's presence was associated with the commission of obduracy and spiritual separation in Isaiah 6, now YHWH's presence heralds the coming (יבוא) of YHWH to shepherd and lead his people to safety (vv. 10-12).[56]

The reordered creation has no effect on the exulted position of YHWH who is seated above the circle of the earth (הישׁב על-חוג הארץ) (v. 22). YHWH is seen through lifted eyes (שׂאו-מרום עיניכם וראו) (v. 26) and is called the everlasting God and the creator of the ends of the earth (אלהי עולם יהוה בורא קצות הארץ) (v. 28). Like his status in Isaiah 6, YHWH remains the highest point in the scene, pictured not only as one who controls all below him (cf. Isa. 6), but as their creator as well. Those who wait on YHWH to renew their strength are lifted up (יעלו) on wings like eagles (v. 29) (cf. Ex. 19:4). This echo of YHWH's protection and inclusion from the Exodus evokes an intimacy between YHWH and his chosen people. Like the prophet who is invited into the presence of YHWH in Isaiah 6, now any faithful person is invited to experience the exulted YHWH. The difficult theological position of the prophet's commission of obduracy was related in terms of spatial awareness, and now here in Isaiah 40 it is

[55] Goldingay, *Isaiah 56-66*, 74.

[56] Cf. Goldingay, *Isaiah 56-66*, 89, YHWH coming with a "mighty arm" may be a linguistic link to YHWH's rescue of his people from Egypt.

only fitting that reunion with YHWH and the end of punishment, and coincidentally obduracy, be relayed in similar terms.

Isaiah 60 details the eschatological hope for the people and land of Israel. In Isa. 60, YHWH's glory (כבוד) has risen over and is seen resting on Zion (vv. 1-2).[57] Foreigners will build up their walls (v. 10) and YHWH will make the place of his feet, his sanctuary (מקדשׁ), glorious (כבד) (v. 13).[58] In Isaiah 6, the place of YHWH's feet is the temple, but now in Isa. 60, it is the city of YHWH (v. 14). This city will be called, "Zion, Holy One of Israel" (ציון קדושׁ ישׂראל) (v. 14). The theological implication of YHWH not dwelling in the temple specifically but rather a sanctified city is profound. It is no less than the abandonment of the cultic locale established since the construction of the temple, inferring a new theological era has arrived where YHWH's interaction will not come through the temple priests, but through his direct interaction and unmediated presence in and with Zion and her inhabitants.

Classically, the personified Zion, "is an image of the unity between place and people within which divine favor and civilization create a setting of stability and home."[59] This dual use of the image to represent either a people, place, or both, is the result of different books of the Hebrew Bible applying the image for their own rhetorical aims. Low's exploration of the personified Zion in the latter chapters of Isaiah convincingly argues that the Zion of the Isaiah tradition refers to a physical place, and not the people.[60] In fact, the "people" of the city are not mentioned until the final two verses of the chapter (vv. 21-22).

Reminiscent of the access to YHWH experienced by the prophet in the temple in Isaiah 6, the entire city seems to become the place where heaven meets earth. That YHWH "glorifies" the city Zion and not the people directly, "affirms YHWH's sovereignty," in order to demonstrate that the inhabitants are not superior to the

[57] The addressee of Isaiah 60 is "you" (2 fem. sing.) until identified as the city of Zion in v. 14.
[58] Cf. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 866.
[59] Follis, *ABD 6*: 1103.
[60] Low, *Mother Zion in Deutero-Isaiah*.

surrounding nations.[61] This is made explicit through the first twenty verses as all the blessings from the nations are directed to the city of Zion and not its inhabitants.

Making his sanctuary glorious is obviously for YHWH's own sake, but it also ultimately benefits Zion and its inhabitants. The glory (תפארה)[62] of YHWH will be Zion's everlasting source of light (vv. 19-20) and is seemingly unmediated.[63] It is important to note that while the people are ultimately the beneficiaries of YHWH's favour upon Zion, they are clearly identified as only beneficiaries as YHWH still directly addresses Zion and refers to the inhabitants in the third-person. This crucial method of blessing by association would be a stark reminder that the city's inhabitants must behave according to the standard of the glorified city.[64]

The theme of spatial awareness reoccurs here as well, with the breadth of YHWH illuminating the city (vv. 19-20). This implies that the people who were once unaware of this presence now have no need of any other source of light. The reapplication of YHWH's revealed glory from Isa. 6 is now evident in YHWH's consecrated rulership of Zion and reunion with his people.[65] YHWH's presence brought obduracy and the promise of destruction in Isaiah 6, but now it is the presence of YHWH that causes Israel to function as the reimagined centre of the earth. YHWH's glory (כבוד) is the city's light (אור) (v. 1), and this light (אור) is what brings the nations to Israel and Jerusalem to bless them (v. 3). The land that housed a people who could not see or hear YHWH has become the cultic centre of sacrificial offering to YHWH for all the nations (v. 7). The eschatological tone of the text is exemplified through the repeated use of the term "forever" (עולם). YHWH is their everlasting light (לאור עולם) (vv. 19-20), the people are given a promise that they will all be righteous (ועמך כלם צדיקים) and possess the land forever (לעולם יירשו ארץ), all in order for YHWH to be glorified (להתפאר) (v. 21). Possessing the land forever is a stark contrast

[61] Ibid, 149.
[62] See: *BDB*, 802, this term is used to denote the glory of the heavenly temple in Isaiah 60:7; 63:15.
[63] Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 867.
[64] Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 56-66*, 218; Goldingay, *Isaiah 56-66*, 280.
[65] Ibid, 211; cf. Childs, *Isaiah*, 496.

to the status of those who were promised judgment through their removal from the land in Isaiah 6 (vv. 11-13). The everlasting presence of YHWH and the permanent possession of the land for the people of Israel not only reverses and restores the people from judgment, but promises their renewed status and behaviour will be as everlasting as YHWH's presence among them.

In Isaiah 66, YHWH declares that heaven is his throne (השמים כסאי) and the earth is his footstool (והארץ הדם רגלי) (v. 1), in an almost certain reference to the vision of Isaiah 6.[66] However, YHWH distances himself from the image of his reign as connected to the temple, asking, "what is this house (בית) that you would build for me? What is my place of rest?" (v. 1). After rejecting traditional offerings made in the temple (v. 3), a sound comes from the temple (קול מהיכל) (v. 6).[67] However, this sound is YHWH (קול יהוה) arriving to rebuke in fire (v. 15) and to judge in fire (v. 16). This combination of temple locale and the judgment of YHWH is reminiscent of Isaiah 6, but its application is significantly different. Here YHWH's enemies (v. 6) are those who are found in the temple.[68] They offer sacrifices which YHWH considers to be as an offering of pig's blood (v. 3), a practice forbidden by YHWH as the pig is designated as an unclean animal (Lev. 11:7). They are people whom YHWH called (קראתי) and spoke to (דברתי) but who did not listen (ולא שמעו) (v. 4), reminiscent of those afflicted by the commission of obduracy in Isaiah 6. YHWH's rejection of the temple in favour of Zion (v. 8) and Jerusalem (v. 10) is comparable to the desire of YHWH to dwell in the city with his people in Isaiah 60 and may therefore have the same theological thrust.

After this judgment, people come to see YHWH's glory (וראו כבודי) (v. 18), and YHWH says his glory will be declared among the nations (והגידו את-כבודי בגוים) in a seemingly everlasting state (v. 19).[69] The nations return the people of Israel to Zion as

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[66] *Ibid*, 295.
[67] Childs, *Isaiah*, 541.
[68] *Ibid*, 540.
[69] Ortlund, *Theophany and Chaoskampf*, 185.

an offering to YHWH (v. 20),[70] and some of those gathered from the nations become priests to YHWH (v. 21). The image of YHWH seated on high in Isaiah 6 brought hardening to the people, but now the same depiction of YHWH brings the hope of a renewed Israel.[71] The imagery mirrors the dimensional focus of Isaiah 6, with YHWH once again high aloft a throne, his feet resting on the earth, and his glory emanating out across the earth, but now YHWH's temple is the city of Zion. The people becoming offerings to YHWH (66:20) also parallels Isaiah's lips cleansed with a coal from the altar (6:5-7) to serve YHWH's purposes, as evidenced by YHWH making some of them priests in service to him in Zion (66:21). Now too, the returned remnant is described as a cultic offering for YHWH's will. If YHWH was set to renew heaven and earth (65:16-17), then the image of his enthronement hearkening back to Isa. 6:1 brings with it a renewal of the purpose of this image.[72] Just as the restoration of heaven and earth will remain (עמדים) before YHWH, so will this status of the restored Israel and her generations remain (יעמד) (v. 22). Zion is the place where all flesh will come to worship YHWH (v. 23), confirming that YHWH has indeed restored Zion to such an extent that the city has become his eschatological temple.

5. Conclusion

The frequent reference to the visual confirmation of the glory of YHWH in the book of Isaiah indicates how integral the vision of chapter 6 is to the rest of the book of Isaiah. YHWH's theophany becomes a leitmotif in Isaiah, exposing theological and eschatological hope.

The theophany of Isaiah 6 observed through the lens of the rest of the book of Isaiah begins to unravel the mystery of Isaiah's commission as a non-prophet. The depiction of the people's religious health is congruent with spiritual blindness, despite the presence of YHWH's glory filling the earth from his locale enthroned in Israel. The

[70] Cf. Tiemeyer, "Death or Conversion," The nations will be destroyed if they do not comply with Yahwistic worship.
[71] Chan, "Isaiah 65-66," 462; cf. Schuele, "Who Is the True Israel?," 176, "This new world occurs only in one place, namely around God's holy mountain (Zion)."
[72] Childs, *Isaiah*, 537.

restoration of Israel as depicted by the book of Isaiah thus hinges on the people's return to acknowledging the presence of YHWH. This will ensure that they will dwell in the land with their holy God, graciously reigning from the cultic locale on Zion where heaven meets earth, making Zion an eschatological temple-city.

Earlier we argued that the commission of hardening in Isaiah 6 might be best understood through the lens of Pharaoh's hardening in the Exodus. Just as YHWH's intent for hardening Pharaoh was to make his name known through all the earth (Ex. 7:3-4), now in the book of Isaiah the reversal of Isaiah's commission hinges upon the acknowledgment of YHWH's glory being known throughout the earth (Isa. 35:2; 40:1-5; 60:2; 66:18-19). The visual recognition of glory in Isaiah 6, and indeed the rest of the book is then the rhetorical explanation of the ideal national and global receptivity to YHWH.

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▶ **Paper**

The Self as Symbol:
The Proper Name and Self-Reflectivity in the Hebrew Bible

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▶ **Abstract**

The relation between name and referent, or proper name and person, has been a confounding topic for millennia. In the Hebrew Bible, a pervasive interpretation of the relation between proper name and person has been guided by nominal realism, where the proper name is conceived as being essentially linked to the referent in a substantial and concrete way. While this interpretation was challenged in the late 1960s, there is, in today's scholarship, a considerable disagreement in how the relation between the proper name and the referent is understood. This paper seeks to interpret the relation between proper name and person in the light of language as a form of being. By focusing on Paul Ricoeur's philosophical anthropology, the proper name will be considered as a semantic essence that provides meaning to physicality by the use of a symbol. A semantic essence, in the form of a proper name, offers a way to see oneself as something meaningful, which makes the proper name foundational for self-reflectivity. By concentrating on three select excerpts, the proper name will be presented as (1) a symbol in which one exists (1. Sam. 3,4-10), (2) a symbol that hermeneutically can be appropriated (Ruth 1,19-21), and (3) a symbol that serves as a headline for a story (Ex. 6,2-8).

▶ **Project Summary**

Speaking the Self into Being: Names, Name, and Narrative Identity in the Hebrew Bible

The doctoral project is focussed on language as a Seinsform of the human being presented in the Hebrew Bible. This study abides with two major lines of inquiry. The first inquiry concerns the popular theme of reflective selfhood in the human being presented in the Hebrew Bible, and the second inquiry is a lexicographic analysis of "name". By approaching lexeme "name" and select proper names, self-reflectivity and its dependence on language will be presented. The main dialogue partner for this project is Paul Ricoeur and his phenomenological-hermeneutical anthropology. His theories on selfhood concern a decentered self that hermeneutically appropriates and

attests to actions performed by the embodied person. Furthermore, Ricoeur emphasizes that actions are "texts" that can be appropriated similar to symbols, metaphors, and narratives. His methodology will be utilized comprehensively in order to reveal how the person presented in the Hebrew Bible exist in the sphere of language.

The project is consisting of three main chapters that approaches the human being as symbol, as conceptual metaphor, and as narrative, respectively. The human being as symbol concerns the proper name and how it exemplifies a foundational existence in language. It can also be utilized for self-reflective behaviour due to its linguistic meaning, its conventional connotations, and its ability to serve as a headline for a story.

The human being as conceptual metaphor turns to the cognitive linguistic theory by Lakoff and Johnson and utilizes this framework on the lexeme "name". "Name" is an abstract concept conceptualized as an object that is perceptible to the senses. The chapter investigates the tangibility of "name" through the five classical senses of touch, vision, smell, taste, and hearing. "Name" is thus an objectified being in language that is decentered from the self but pivotal for self-reflective behaviour. The "name" is often conceptualized as a container or vessel that holds actions, descriptions, and narratives, and thus functions as a place-holder for the "texts" that the person can attest to.

The human being as narrative is an offshoot of the previous chapter, since "name" has a prenarrative quality. If someone has a "name", i.e. fame or reputation, a narrative is implied. In the penitential prayer found in Nehemiah 9, YHWH's luminous "name" is unfolded. Through narration, YHWH's actions and character are tied together. The narrative identity of Yahweh is actively appropriated by the penitents and as such becomes a masterplot for the penitents' own narrative identity. The narrative identity of YHWH thus serves for self-reflective behaviour in the penitents, whose own narrative identity is entangled with that of the deity. The intention of the project is to show the relevance of proper names and "name" in the constellative approach to the human being presented in the Hebrew Bible.

▶ **Keywords** self, identity, narrative, symbol, proper name, name, Riceour, semantic essence

Focal points of discussion:

1. I present a concept of *semantic essence*, i.e. the human's fundamental existence in language, in order to bridge diverse interpretations of the relation between proper name and person. Is this a tenable concept? Should I call it something different (e.g., avoid essence)?

2. The relation between person and representation has been a considerable subject for a century within Hebrew Bible scholarship. I would like to discuss how this relation can be conceived. Is there an ontological connection between name (or statue) and person? In other words, does the manipulation of the proper name alter the physicality of the person in a direct way? Similarly, does the knowledge of a proper name entail that a person can command the power of the name bearer?

3. My approach to the question above is language. Language affects our practical reality in several ways and as such have a "magic" to it. This leads to a more meta-level and methodological focal point of discussion: Is it tenable to use modern (or postmodern) philosophy to approach the human being as presented in the Hebrew Bible?

THE SELF AS SYMBOL:
The Proper Name and Self-Reflectivity in the Hebrew Bible

"I 'am' my name, my name 'is' me."[1] Karl Ove Knausgård's statement succinctly illustrates the main question of this paper: How is the proper name related to the person and self-reflective behaviour in the Hebrew Bible? The human being is a peculiar hybrid entity. It is basically a physical body but a body that is always mediated due to our inescapable semantic and symbolic networks.[2] To imagine an existence void of words or symbols is possibly harder than imagining a world without a body (judging from science fiction and the transhumanist movement). Taking this a step further, what matters to the human being is the existence as a representation and not the existence as a body. In other words, it is the representation we care about.[3] Of course, the sense perceptions of our body are foundational for our unique experiences in our being-in-the-world but these perceptions arrive at meaning through our shared symbol systems.[4] Even when the inexplicable emotions of falling in love are perceived by the senses, we label it "falling in love". The emotions are solidified by words. In this way, the correct word creatively puts a feeling rightly into view and provides a new way of experiencing reality.[5] However, symbolic systems also put constraints on the embodied existence, since titles, epithets, and proper names can shape our way of being in substantial ways.[6] As will be

[1] Knausgård, *Min Kamp,* 391-392. My translation.

[2] In her classical study on natural symbols, Mary Douglas writes that "[n]ature must be expressed in symbols" (*Natural,* 11). This paper follows the itinerary laid out by Paul Ricoeur (Kearney, *Dialogues,* 24).

[3] Along these lines, psychologist Philippe Rochat states that "[t]o be human, particularly in the modern era, is indeed to care about reputation" (Rochat, *Others,* 1-2). Social media is a vivid example - an example taken to eerie heights in the (not so) dystoptian novel *The Circle* by David Eggers.

[4] Ricoeur states that "although not everything is language, nothing in experience arrives at meaning unless it is borne by language" (Ricoeur, "Approaching," 48). This resembles Kerby who states that "subjectivity does not know itself outside the fulfillment of its desire to express." (Kerby, *Narrative,* 77).

[5] This is central for Ricoeur's concept of the creative imagination, which is "*the capacity of language to open up new worlds*" (Kearney, *Dialogues*, 44.) The creative imagination can therefore turn a "seeing-as" into a "being-as" when encounters with texts (e.g., symbols, metaphors, and narratives) redescribe our practical reality.

[6] The interest in proper names within the anthropological field is concerned with the political power to give names, remember names, erase names, and change names, which has a substantial effect on how the embodied person exists (Bodenhorn and vom Bruck, "Entangled," 2). This is fictionally portrayed in *The Handmaid's Tale*, where Margaret Atwood draws implicit parallels to the holocaust and creates an entire society where the women are robbed of their proper names, and thereby their identity**.** The main character, Offred, lays at night and remembers her real name, which is a "buried name" that she keeps as her treasure (Atwood, *Tale,* 94). Although Atwood's dystopian novel is fiction, it portrays the very real trauma of forcefully losing one's proper name.

argued in this paper, the proper name is as important to the person presented in the Hebrew Bible as it is for Knausgård because it reaches an ontological depth of the symbolic animal.

This paper will shortly revisit the research history on proper names in the Hebrew Bible to provide a handle for the terminology used in the subsequent exegeses. The main part of the paper concerns 1. Sam. 3:4-10; Ruth 1,19-21 and Ex. 6,2-8 that are used to present the function of proper names and their relation to self-reflectivity. Paul Ricoeur's philosophical anthropology will serve as the main dialogue partner throughout the paper since the focus on the capable human being, language, and the hermeneutic approach to selfhood parallels some of the observations found in the Hebrew texts.

1. Proper Name and The Semantic Essence

Comprehensive systematic studies on Hebrew anthroponomastics have been made since the 19th century. While the roughly century-old studies by G. B. Gray[7], Martin Noth[8] still serve as a foundation for anthroponomastic studies, more recent comprehensive linguistic analyses of Israelite proper names have been provided by Ran Zadok.[9] However, these studies primarily stay on the intra-linguistic level, where the functions of proper names have been minimized. In discourse, a term referring to *meaningful speech* where someone says something to somebody about something,[10] proper names take on a function that is connected to an event in practical reality and as such derives meaning from extra-linguistic elements. The meaning, or semantics, of the proper name is thus dependent on many other factors than its lexical meaning. This can be observed in cases where a specific proper name has stabilized, but conventional, connotations that are unrelated to the lexical meaning.[11] For example, the proper name Babylon in Deutero-Isaiah 46-47 connotes a negatively

[7] Gray, *Studies.*

[8] Noth, *Personennamen*.

[9] E.g., Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic*. This volume provides an overview of anthroponomastic studies until 1988 (1-2).

[10] Pellauer, "Linguistic," 117.

[11] This is a common feature of proper names in literature and can e.g., be seen in *Mrs. Dalloway,* where the proper name Clarissa conveys a meaning of joyful independence and Mrs. Richard Dalloway conveys a meaning of unpleasant belonging to another (Woolf, *Dalloway*, 11).

valued idolatry, whereas the Code of Hammurabi present inherently other and positive connotations. In short, meaning depends on discourse.

Proper names can also serve as a magnetic force for different narratives such as the proper name Jacob being linked to the narrative of the patriarch in Genesis. Therefore, proper names are, in Wilhelm Schapp's words, "Überschriften von Geschichten".[12] Conventional connotations and narratives encapsulated by a proper name will occupy us in the exegetical examples.

The relation between the proper name and the person has in the history of research prominently been seen in the light of *nominal realism,* a term utilized by psychologist Jean Piaget to describe how young children conflate sign and referent.[13] In other words, the proper name is essentially connected to a person's psychological and physiological existence. This framework prominently entered biblical studies through the works of cultural anthropologists e.g., Frazer[14] and Lévy-Bruhl[15]. From Friedrich Giesebrecht in 1901[16] to contemporary dictionaries, the interpretation of the proper name as being connected to the essence of the person is prevalent,[17] although James Barr[18] and Adam Simon van der Woude[19] critiqued this framework in the late 1960's and 1970's. In more recent times, Karen Radner has stated that there is a parallel between physical existence and one's name in the Ancient Near East[20] and that "der Name ist ein Zeichen, eine Spur seines trägers und wird […] mit diesem völlig identifiziert."[21] However, she also proposes a triadic conception of

[12] Schapp, *Geschichten*, 20.

[13] Piaget, *Conception*, 87. Piaget's theory has been challenged and Tomasello has presented that children very early on (18-24 months) understand linguistic symbols as perspectival, i.e. as elements that provide a certain perspective on a thing or event. (Tomasello, Human, 120-121).

[14] Frazer, *Bough,* 244.

[15] Lévy-Bruhl, *Natives*, 37. For the influence of these scholars see the still relevant *Anthropology of the Old Testament* by John Rogersen.

[16] Giesebrecht, *Gottesnamens,* 88.

[17] E.g., Pedersen, *Israel,* 190; Grether, *Name,* 2; Gunkel, *Märchen,* 83; Eichrodt, *Theology,* 207; von Rad, *Theology,* 81; de Vaux, *Ancient*, 43; Sarna, *Understanding,* 129; David Hunsberger even states that "[n]aming a child bestows on him a soul" (*Theophoric,* 11).

[18] Barr, "Symbolism."

[19] van der Woude, "Name."

[20] Radner, *Macht,* 15.

[21] Radner, *Macht,* 17.

the human being in the ANE that consists of physical existence, spirit, and name where the latter two can exist without the body.[22] This triadic notion of the person conceptualizes how the proper name is "not quite identical with what is designated."[23] If the proper name is indistinguishable from the person, as Radner states, but simultaneously independent of the body, what characterizes the person must be conceived as something separate from the body, something that can be *attached to* and *detached from* materiality. For this reason, essence needs to be conceived as something independent of materiality. This seems implicit in the work of Sylvia Schoer and Othmar Keel who have stated that "[t]he name does not express the nature of the named thing itself but the significance of encountering it and its appearance."[24] While Schroer and Keel fall in line with much of German scholarship and have moved away from nominal realism,[25] the relation between proper name and person is far from settled.[26] This paper proposes to bridge the voices, who conceive the proper name as linked to the person's essence, and the voices, who have moved in a more Saussurean direction, by working with language as a *Seinsform.*

Language is used to see something *as* something meaningful, a body *as* a personality, which is the primary function of the proper name. The "*as* something" will be termed the person's *semantic essence*.[27] The use of *semantic* is understood in its simplest sense of "meaning communicated through language."[28] As noted above, the meaning is dependent on its use by an embodied speaker, which therefore entangles the semantic essence with both the name bearer's embodied existence *and* with others who participates in the shared semantic and symbolic networks. In this sense, there is still a close relationship between sign and referent, where language, on the one hand, is a limitation on ways

[22] Radner, *Macht,* 19. The constellative approach to the human being (Janowski, "Herz") works with more than three elements. See also Steinert who moves beyond the triad to reveal the "stark pluralistisch und complex" concept of the person in Mesopotamia (Steinert, *Menschsein,* 220).

[23] Rose, "Names," 1002.

[24] Keel and Schroer, *Creation*, 107. In direct opposition to this statement, Bohmbach states that "names call forth the true nature or essence of that which is named." (Bohmbach, "Names," 945-946).

[25] E.g., Neumann, "Name"; Schroer and Zimmermann, "Name"; Reiterer, "*šēm,*" 134; Rose, "Names," 1002; Rüterswörden, "Name," 701; Liwak, "Name," 752.

[26] Scholars who identifies a kind of nominal realism are e.g., Zakovitch, *Hohelied,* 113; Mettinger, *Search,* 11; Bohmbach, "Names," 944; Moritzen, "Name," 1396; Ryken et. al., *Dictionary,* 583; Høgenhaven, "Navn," 563.

[27] The semantic essence draws parallels to Jan Assmann's clarification that name (*rnw*) in ancient Egypt is "a linguistic representation of the person's essence" (Assmann, *God,* 19).

[28] Saeed, *Semantics,* 3.

of being and, on the other, can form new ways of existence through the creative imagination.[29] We will still utilize the lexeme *essence* but in the qualified sense of meaningful linguistic being that singles out a specific entity, which e.g., can be done through descriptions, narratives, and proper names. If an entity is nameless, stability disappears and one's semantic essence, or one's meaning, is easily forgotten. There is still an underlying materiality but it is a nameless materiality, meaningless and chaotic materiality (cf. Gen. 1:2).[30] This is not an attempt to reintroduce a dualism in new clothes, but an attempt to emphasize how language is a *Seinsform* of the human being that parallels and intersects with a person's embodied existence.

2. Proper Name and Self-Reflectivity

Turning to the main part of this paper, we will focus on proper names and self-reflectivity. The three examples are placed in a progression from simple identification with a symbol, through reflective behaviour in relation to one's proper name, to a more fully developed narrative identity where the proper name serves as a headline for a story. The examples are taken from narratives in the Hebrew Bible and are as such not comprehensive treatises on the relation between the person and proper name. However, according to the classical notion of *mimesis praxeos,* narratives are mimetic of actual practical experience[31] and can, therefore, provide an image of how the writers understood the relation between the person and the proper name.

Before turning to the exegetical examples, a definition of selfhood is necessary. Bernd Janowski describes that the "essence" of the human being in the Hebrew Bible is revealed in its actions,[32] which places agency in a privileged position for approaching selfhood. This segues to Ricoeur's anthropology that is founded on the capable human being. Ricoeur states that "[m]y power-to-be manifests itself in my power-to-do and this power-to-do is revealed to itself in the projects which it forms concerning things and in the world."[33] Being is thus revealed in doing things in the

[29] Feminist theology has especially emphasized the power of language to alter worlds. For example, Sallie McFague writes that "a revolution in language means a revolution in one's world" (*Metaphorical,* 9).

[30] van der Woude, "Name," 947.

[31] Ricoeur, *Time,* 46.

[32] Janowski, *Arguing,* 11. Also Di Vito, "Identity," 233.

[33] Ricoeur, "Philosophy," 69.

world. For Ricoeur, selfhood is *attestation*, which is "the *assurance of being oneself acting and suffering*."[34] While a person realizes one's being in one's doing, selfhood is the attestation to these doings. Ricoeur has a broad definition of agency which includes suffering because a person can say "It is *me* suffering!" and thus appropriate a situation of complete necessity as one's own. Agency can thus range from voluntary movement of one's body to an action of consent which is the response to the involuntary elements of existence. A prime example is the body that in proper phenomenological sense simultaneously is experienced as both *my* body and *a* body. We are able to do voluntary movement but everyone knows the involuntary limits of one's body. I can jump voluntarily, but I also consent to not being an Olympic athlete.

The semantic essence links to agency, because, according to Ricoeur, all human actions are "spoken actions".[35] Meaningful action is something linguistic because it can be explained. Therefore, the human being exists in language, since the attestation to one's actions, i.e., selfhood, is an attestation to a "text", because an action is linguistic. This means that selfhood is decentered because one's self is appropriated through meaningful texts found in the intersubjective sphere. It is also the decentered notion of selfhood that allows language, through the creative imagination, to open up new ways of existence. Other texts, such as symbols, metaphors, and narratives, can transform our practical life, our conceptual networks, and our general way of being in the world. We will now turn to exegetical examples and look for this hermeneutic framework of selfhood.

2.1 The Response to A Call: "Here I Am"

At a low, but far from insignificant, level of self-reflectivity is the response to being called by one's proper name. The response indicates a reflexive[36] capacity, which is a basic self-awareness similar to the one found when one recognizes oneself in a mirror. The difference between the reflexive experience of the mirror and that of name-calling is that one identifies with a symbol in semantic space and not a body in physical space. The proper name thus exemplifies a *being* in language. In the

[34] Ricoeur, *Oneself,* 22.

[35] Ricoeur, "Human," 95.

[36] The historian Jerrold Seigel distinguishes between reflexive and reflective behaviour. Reflexivity is "a passive kind of reflection that takes place in involuntary reflexes" and reflectivity is "the more active attentiveness that establishes a new relationship […] between consciousness and its contents" (*Idea,* 13).

answer to a call, the intersection between the self and a symbol becomes prominent since a person attests to one's existence as a specific symbol; the proper name *is* me.

In the Hebrew Bible, the attestation to oneself as a symbol is observed when a person responds to a call of the proper name using the הנני-particle. This is primarily seen in verses where God calls central figures such as Abraham (Gen. 22:1.11), Jacob (Gen. 31:11; 46:2), and Moses (Ex. 3:4).[37] For the exploration of this basic self-awareness of being a symbol, we will turn to the prophet Samuel who as a small child answers a name-caller. 1. Sam. 3 is a call narrative that portrays a setting of a suspenseful situation where YHWH suddenly breaks his long-lasting silence and awakens Samuel, who is sleeping next to the ark.[38] The chosen excerpt begins with the YHWH's first call that awakens Samuel in 3:4 and ends in 3:10 with the theophany of YHWH.

1st Call [4]And then YHWH called Samuel[39], and he said,[40]

"Here I am!"

[5]And then he ran to Eli and said

"Here I am, for you called me."

And he said

"I didn't call you[41], go back and lie down."

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[37] The הנני-response also occurs in verses lacking a specific proper name, see e.g., 1. Sam. 3:4; 3:8 and 2. Sam 1:7. Occasionally, the הנני-response follows other calls that demand attention such as "my son" in Gen. 27:11 and "my father" in Gen. 27:18.

[38] For a discussion on the much-debated form-critical genre of 1. Sam. 3, see Moberly, "Master's," 444-446. Gnuse has suggested that the chapter lacks several elements in a standard call narrative and should be interpreted as an auditory message dream common in the ANE following a form-critical schema proposed by Leo Oppenheim (Gnuse, "Reconsideration", 388). For a detailed argument against this conclusion, see Moberly, "Master's," 447-449. More recently, Peter Lewis has suggested that the call narrative is strongly influenced by the Sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead and likens Samuel to an "ushebti figure in a servant role" who is spoken "alive" by the word of Eli in order to perform whatever is asked by Yahweh ("Parallel"). Although the latter interpretation is creative, the *ushabti* are to carry the name of the deceased while working for the person in the afterlife, not on this side of death. Also, Yahweh's ark has to be understood as Eli's coffin, the temple as a tomb, and the oracle against Eli as a ceremony of the weighing of the heart, which demands more than the text provides.

[39] The translation concurs with MT and 4QSam[a]. The LXX reads differently with a double vocative of Samuel's proper name.

[40] All translations are my own.

[41] Some manuscripts add "my son" (בני).

And then he went and lay down.

2nd Call [6]And then YHWH called again:

"Samuel!"

and then Samuel arose and walked to Eli. And he said

"Here I am, for you called me".

And he said "I didn't call you, my son, go back and lie down."

[7]Samuel did not yet know YHWH and the word of YHWH had not yet been revealed to him.

3rd Call [8]And then YHWH called Samuel the third time.

And then he arose and walked to Eli. And he said

"Here I am, for you called me".

[9]And then Eli understood that YHWH was calling the young man.

And then Eli said to Samuel:

"Go, lie down, and if he speaks to you say 'Speak YHWH, your servant is listening'." And then Samuel went and lay down in his place.

4th Call [10]And YHWH came and stood and he called time and time again:

"Samuel, Samuel!"

And Samuel said

"Speak for your servant is listening."

This short excerpt reveals a high-paced narrative where there are swift transitions between speaking, standing, going, laying, and exclaiming short interjections. We will not dwell on the historical

perspectives concerning the change of priesthood and legitimate leadership[42] but focus on Samuel's implicit attestation to his proper name using the particle הנני. The events that structure the chosen excerpt are YHWH's four calls to Samuel, where two of the calls explicitly contain Samuel as a vocative.[43]

In the 2nd call, Samuel's implicit decision[44] to use the particle הנני is motivated by YHWH's call that awakens Samuel.[45] After the decision to answer, Samuel acts by moving his body that is conveyed in the two verbs; arising (קום) and walking (הלך). The next sequence is the הנני -response aimed at Eli that reveals Samuel's agency in the capability to answer; that is, an answer that makes him attentive, receptive, and responsible.[46] That הנני serves as an interjection to assume responsibility is for example seen in the calling of Isaiah, who assumes responsibility for his prophetic assignment (Isa. 6:8), and Jonathan, who breaks Saul's vow and assumes responsibility for illegitimately eating honey, which is a consent to guilt *and* the penalty of death (1. Sam. 14:43).[47] The interjection is thus truly a way to express individual agency through attestation.[48]

The interjection, which is used in an event of discourse, can be understood as a speech act since there are constitutive rules that govern the practice of responding to a call; someone calls, someone answers. In the speech act, by stating "Here I am!" or "Behold me!" Samuel performs an illocutionary act because he makes himself available in the statement; he draws visible attention to

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[42] McCarter Jr., *1 Samuel,* 100. On the power struggle between the two priestly houses of Eli and Zadok see Brueggemann, *Samuel,* 21-24.

[43] David Tsumara (*Samuel,* 177) has suggested that the third call in 3:8 can be translated as "Yahweh called: 'Samuel!'" but the *maqqeph* in קרא־שמואל does not indicate direct speech.

[44] There is no direct indication of decision in Samuel's agency but the subsequent movement indicates an implicit command by Samuel to himself, a thought of "Get up, you must answer". Ricoeur states that "to think is to speak to myself, to will is to command myself" (*Freedom,* 47). This idea can be attested to in Ps. 42, where the supplicant speaks to and commands his נפש, or self.

[45] Awakening "is part of the ancient Near Eastern message dream format" and can be attested to in Mesopotamia (Gnuse, "Reconsideration," 383), e.g., in the "Oracular dream concerning Ashurbanipal", where the priest of Ishtar is awakened for a theophany (*ANET*, 451).

[46] Sarna, *Genesis,* 151. הנני has an exclamatory function that emphasizes immediacy and "here-and-now-ness" (Arnold and Choi, *Syntax,* 168).

[47] Ricoeur states that the utterance of "Here I am!" is the way a "person recognizes himself or herself as the subject of imputation" (*Oneself,* 167).

[48] The interjection is frequently used by YHWH prior to one of his actions, e.g., Gen. 6:13; Ex. 9:18; Num. 25:12; Jer. 5:14.

himself. The link that exists between pragmatics and linguistics in the speech act thus connects Samuel's "I" with a location in space as well as a location in language. The elusive "I" is sedimented in the discourse that connects the utterance with Samuel's body *and* the symbol "Samuel".

In the speech act performed by Samuel, there is a clear self-awareness in the young man, who makes himself available to the name-caller, who he thinks is Eli. This reveals that the specific name-caller is unrelated to Samuel's awareness of himself; it is simply just *a* call that makes him self-aware and intentional about his symbol.[49] By expressing "הנני", Samuel attests to a symbol that he recognizes himself in and this symbol is intersubjective, which incorporates the other into Samuel's self-awareness. Therefore, while the attestation is a voluntary action, it is also an action of consent since the proper name was imposed on him from his mother Hannah (1. Sam. 1:20). This highlights the hermeneutic appropriation of the inherent otherness in selfhood as it is conveyed in a proper name; a proper name that was established as a symbol by someone else.

This scene is clearly not name-magic but there is a sense of heightened attention when one's proper name is called. The person is attuned to the prompting of this utterance which creates an access point for communication. Hearing one's name being mentioned in public usually prompts an awareness of one's self: "Is it me, who is being spoken to?" I suddenly understand myself as an object in the symbol used by someone else and I am exposed.[50] Samuel's proper name thus intimately belongs to Samuel but is simultaneously the property of another who uses it.

The chosen excerpt of Samuel being called by YHWH reveals a rudimentary semantic essence. The lexical meaning of "Samuel" is not of importance in this excerpt but the symbol is a vehicle for conception, a way of seeing something *as* what it is; the body of Samuel is understood as "a Samuel". Samuel could just as well be called some other arbitrary proper name but the difference lies in Samuel's recognition of himself in, and attestation to, *this* specific symbol.

[49] Moberly describes the call narrative as one of discernment, where Samuel is unable to discern that YHWH is speaking prior to human mediation through Eli ("Master's," 458-459). This is unrelated to the present study since Samuel is aware of himself in the call, which indicates reflexivity.

[50] This resembles Sartre's phenomenological analysis of "the look" where "I see *myself* because *somebody* sees me" and I appear as an object for myself due to the gaze of someone else. (Sartre, *Being,* 349).

2.2 A World to Inhabit: "Call me Mara"

The previous example focussed more on "What is Samuel?" than "Who is Samuel?" To approach the latter question that takes an evaluation of the self into consideration, we turn to an example with a more reflective stance to one's self found at the beginning of the short story of Ruth (1:19-21).[51]

[19]Then the two walked until they came to Bethlehem. When they were about to enter Bethlehem, the whole town was stirred because of them.

And then the women asked:

"Is this Naomi?"

[20]But then she said to them:

"Do not call me Naomi,	(A [a:b])[52]
call me Mara,	(A'[a':b'])
for Shaddai has made me very bitter.	(A'' [d:e:f:b'])
[21]I left full,	(A [a:b:c])
but YHWH made me return empty.[53]	(A'[b':c':a'])
Why call me Naomi,	(A [a:b])

[51] For a recent discussion on Ruth's genre(s) see Schipper, *Ruth,* 16-18.

[52] Majuscules represent relation between segments whereas minuscules within square brackets represent semantic units within segments. The marked letters (') indicate semantic congruity between elements, where a changed letter indicate a new segment or semantic unit. This system is borrowed from Murphy (*Songs,* 88).

[53] It is difficult to render the chiastic structure of this verse in translation. A more rigid translation is "I, full I left, but empty made me return YHWH."

when YHWH has testified against me[54], (B [a:b:c])

and Shaddai has caused evil against me? (B' [a':b':c])

In Ruth, the role of Naomi is one of authority similar to a *paterfamilias* who can make influential decisions,[55] which accentuates her voluntary agency. In the chosen excerpt, however, it is the encounter with an involuntary necessity that prompts an act of consent. Prior to the chosen excerpt, we have been informed that in the midst of a famine Naomi has lost her husband as well as her childless sons, which have created a disastrous situation of infertility and a struggle for existence; Naomi and her two daughters-in-law are in the worst possible situation.[56]

When Orpah parts ways with Ruth and Naomi, the two remaining women arrive at Bethlehem. As they enter the town, Naomi is prompted to disclose herself by the question posed by the women, who conceivably are puzzled by the absence of the men in her family.[57] The narrative sets up Naomi to address her own situation, which she interprets by using her proper name. Naomi's proper name (נעמי) has positive connotations of attractiveness and can be translated as "My delight",[58] but this symbol does not coincide with her sense of "me". Therefore, the lexical meaning of the proper name is symbolic in the Ricoeurean sense of having a double intentionality that posits its own meaning of literal pleasantness and simultaneously gives rise to thought about Naomi's existential situation.[59]

As a response to the women in Bethlehem, Naomi speaks in poetry,[60] which is, in Jeremy Schipper's words, the usual choice of discourse "for conveying a speaker's interiority in biblical Hebrew."[61] The specific poetic genres are conceived as self-description (*Selbstschilderung*) and

[54] The LXX reads ἐταπείνωσέν με, which more clearly indicates the humiliation caused by YHWH.

[55] Schipper, *Ruth,* 51.

[56] Nielsen, *Ruth,* 43-44.

[57] Lau, *Identity,* 124.

[58] Naomi is rooted in נעם that predominantly occurs in language of love that highlights "the beauty and attractiveness of the beloved" (Kronholm, "נָעַם," 469). Kronholm argues that the suffix in Naomi is not pronominal suffix but indicates a hypocorism.

[59] Ricoeur, "Hermeneutics," 286.

[60] In general, Ruth 1 has a frequent use of literary devices, especially in relation to persuasion (Michael, "Art," 151-159).

[61] Schipper, *Ruth,* 27. Niditch highlights Ruth as a late text where interiority of the characters is emphasized (Niditch, *Responsive,* 124).

description of experience (*Erlebnisschilderung*)[62] in which Naomi rejects attesting to her proper name because "delight" is not an attribute that she can recognize herself in. It fails to communicate Naomi's perceptions about her specific embodied experience.[63] If the poetic speech connects to interiority, then the exterior proper name is used hermeneutically to approach this interiority, which blends the categories of inside and outside; extrospection becomes introspection. The feeling of an ill-fitting proper name prompts Naomi to change her existence as a symbol. Unlike other name changes in the Hebrew Bible that usually is performed on a patient by a more powerful agent, Naomi surprisingly changes her own proper name. This reveals a high amount of agency in the form of consent because she uses the proper name to state: "It is *me* suffering." It is the gazes and voices of the women in the town that makes Naomi reinterpret her own "delightful" existence. They are all co-conscious of the proper name, but Naomi wants to divert their attention to a different proper name that is more appropriate; the proper name Mara (מרא)[64].

Using the creative imagination and paronomasia, Naomi speaks a different world into being; a world she can inhabit. By momentarily shifting her existence as a symbol from Naomi to Mara, she situates herself better in being by an act of consent. Mara means "bitterness" and plays metaphorically on the sense perception of taste in order to indicate the opposite of a positively valued sweetness (cf. Prov. 27:7; Isa. 5:20).[65] But "bitterness" (מר) is not simply a depraved taste; when it is metaphorically applied to practical reality it is associated with fierce emotions of people such as the feeling of being treated wrongfully without a cause (Job 7:11), the experience of losing a beloved child (Zech. 12:10), or having the knowledge of an impending disaster (Esth. 4:1). The word also plays on infertility, since bitter water is undrinkable and endangers life (Exo. 15:22-25). In Naomi's case, the new proper name does not solely receive its meaning from the intra-linguistic level, but from the extra-linguistic discursive situation of a dire socio-economic situation in which she exists. In the application of the new proper name, Naomi can thus express her grim situation and the concerns regarding the continued

[62] Murphy, *Song,* 60. These genre-categories are originally developed for love poetry.

[63] Psychologist Rocco Qualiga and others have identified three different ways of experiencing meanings associated with one's proper name: (1) as being *one's own* where the meanings correlate with one's self-concept; (2) as being *not one's own* where there is no correlation with one's self-concept; and (3) as a *stigma*, where the meanings reveal "aspects of ourselves that we would rather keep hidden." (Quaglia, et. al, "Names," 290).

[64] Unlike MT, many manuscripts have מרה. MT possibly conveys an Aramaism (LaCocque. *Ruth,* 55) but, as always in exegesis, there are disagreements. For a discussion on different positions see Sasson, *Ruth,* 32-34.

[65] Ringgren, "מרר," 16.

existence of her own life and descendants.[66] As Naomi changes her symbolic existence to Mara, she creates a linguistically horrible and dark world, but, nonetheless, it is a world to inhabit that conceptualizes her situation.[67]

The excerpt is not an expression of nominal realism but is indicative of a symbol applied as a label. Naomi only goes by the name of Mara in one verse in the entirety of Ruth and there is no rebuttal of the renaming, which indicates that one body can have several labels attached to it depending on the discursive situation.[68] The excerpt relates to how Naomi is perceived and encountered in the eyes of the women of Bethlehem, but it also concerns how Naomi is perceived by herself. The lexical meaning of the proper name is as such an objectified and decentered notion of selfhood, in which Naomi evaluates on herself with others in mind.

The parallelism that begins v21 serves as a very short narrative identity of Naomi. Narrative identity is central to Ricoeur's philosophical anthropology, because narrative emplotment bridges two kinds of personal identity (*idem* and *ipse*) and secures a permanence in time. *Idem* is the objective side of the human being that concerns the body, sediment character traits, etc. to which the subjective *ipse* can attest. Although *idem* changes over time, "I" (*ipse*) am still the same. These two poles are held together by narrative, since the changes that happen to "me" in temporality can be made coherent through story-telling.

In Naomi's case, two events, going and returning, are emplotted by introducing the causal action of YHWH (שוב, hiphil). These two events are *constituent events* that drive the narrative forward[69] and are necessary for the progression of the narrative that is Naomi's identity. There is a change of events, a *peripeteia,* in Naomi's *idem* in the course of temporality and the regress from full

[66] Fertility and descendants are an overarching theme in Ruth (Schipper, *Ruth,* 31).

[67] Peter Lau, basing his study on theories of social identity, suggests that Naomi's name change is the beginning of a liminal phase that ends in Ruth 4:14-17 and states that "Naomi's new name 'Mara' not only symbolizes the way she feels but also corresponds to her liminal phase" (*Identity,* 126).

[68] Lau states that Naomi "openly welcomes" her proper name back when the women of the town exclaim that "A son has been born to Naomi" in 4:17 (*Identity,* 134). While Lau indicates that this verse creates a reversal motif and posits a theme of social reintegration for Naomi, the narrative never refers to her as anything but Naomi, which distorts a clear theme of welcoming the proper name back. As for social reintegration, there is a different twist in Ruth, since "Naomi rather than Boaz is positioned as the household's senior member" (Schipper, *Ruth,* 184). Although the narrative plays out in a patriarchal society, it is the women in this topsy-turvy narrative who take the roles of men; for this reason, it is difficult to determine the verse as a strong example of social reintegration.

[69] Abbott, *Narrative,* 24.

to empty creates uncertainty in whether or not she is the same, an uncertainty pointed out by the women in the town. In the act of narrating her identity, Naomi's *ipse* creates a coherence for her altered *idem* (from full to empty), which highlights that, although changed, she is the same. The change in *idem* parallels the name change, which reveals the two proper names as portraying a beginning and an end to the narrative identity of Naomi/Mara.

2.3 The Headline of a Story: "I am YHWH"

In Naomi's case, the proper name had to be suitable for her own existence. This was connected with the lexical meaning of the proper name, but the proper name also has meanings that are independent of the lexical meaning.[70] This is the case for the final example, which concerns YHWH's identification with his proper name as it functions as a headline for a story. The present excerpt includes a narrative identity and is taken from the Priestly text of Exo. 6:2-8, where YHWH associates himself with El Shaddai of the patriarchs.[71] Together with the theophany in Ex. 3, this excerpt has been described as the "heart of the Pentateuch".[72]

[2]And then God spoke to Moses and said to him:

Attestation "I am YHWH".

Past

1st Event [3]I became visible to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai,
but my name YHWH I did not make myself known to them.

[70] Quaglia et. al., "Names," 290.

[71] Schmid, *Literary,* 151. Schmid states that the Priestly writer conceptualized the one God Elohim as being able to be worshipped under various names, where El Shaddai was the proper name used for the deity by the patriarchs, and YHWH being the proper name revealed to Moses and used for correct worship (for the cultic significance of YHWH, see Rose, "Names," 1005). For an interpretation of Ex. 3 and 6 as an "inclusive" monotheism that assimilates several deities, see Thompson, "How."

[72] Thompson, "How," 57.

2nd Event	[4]Also, I established my covenant with them to give to them the land of Canaan, the land of their dwelling in which they lived as sojourners.
3rd Event	[5]Also, I heard the groan of the sons of Israel that Egypt made to serve for them,
Core	and I remembered my covenant.
	Promise
4th Event	[6]Therefore, tell the sons of Israel, "I am YHWH and I will bring you out from under the burden of Egypt and rescue you from work and redeem you with an outstretched arm and great judgements.
5th Event	[7]And I will take you for me my people and I will be for you a god, and you will know that I am YHWH, your God, who brought you out from under the burdens of Egypt.
6th Event	[8]I will bring you into the land that I lifted my hand to give it to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and I will give it to you for a property.
Attestation	"I am YHWH".

After Moses' and Aron's initial, and disappointing, encounter with Pharaoh and after the Israelites have become angry with their coming leaders' embezzling in their affairs (Ex. 5), YHWH narrates his own identity as to solidify his promises and provide new hope for Moses. Initially, it is important to clarify how this text can be understood as a narrative identity. Ricoeur states that a narrative has to be more than an enumeration of events since the events themselves have to provide meaning to the plot to which they contribute. The 1st Event commences with a *wayyiqtol,* which, in this excerpt, can be understood as having a narratival function that initiates a new narrative sequence.[73] While the particle גם in 6:4 and 6:5 has an additive function,[74] which indicates a simple enumeration of events, each event is constitutive for the progression toward the culmination of the narrative in the 6th Event where the Israelites, who are subjected by Egypt, are connected with the promises given to the

[73] Arnold and Choi, *Syntax,* 99.

[74] Arnold and Choi, *Syntax,* 144.

patriarchs. The first five events thus move the narrative forward and join two deities, several agents and actions, which create a single theme of promised redemption that has a beginning, middle, and end.

"I am YHWH" demarcates the excerpt and forms an inclusio-structure between 6:2 and 6:8. Similar to Samuel, but more explicitly, YHWH posits himself as an "I", deictically identifies himself by a proper name, and attests to his own existence as a symbol through this utterance. Nahum Sarna likens the attestation to Northwest Semitic royal inscriptions such as "I am Esarhaddon,"[75] and Konrad Schmid states that it is a customary formula in polytheism used by a deity to identify himself (cf. Deut. 5:6-7)[76]. Whether the small nominal sentence concerns polytheism or royal ideology, the proper name functions as a headline for the subsequent narrative. Unlike 3:14, there is no "body" of YHWH as a locus for speech, but solely an attestation and a narrative. This highlights the importance of a semantic essence that is detachable from YHWH's "physicality" and attachable to other bodies such as Moses, who serves as YHWH's locus of speech to the Israelites (6:9).

In narratology, there is a distinction between *story* and *narrative discourse*, where *story* relates to the chronological sequence of events and *narrative discourse* concerns the presentation of the events recounted in a unique narrative.[77] A commonly retold story is called a *masterplot* that serve as a "story skeleton", which structure narratives and communicate culturally specific values.[78] These masterplots can also serve as foundational structures for narrative identities of individuals as prominently shown by psychologist Dan McAdams.[79] The narrative recounted by YHWH is a common redeemer-story, where a redeemer (גאל) commits himself to restore or repair a disruption that has happened to another person or group whom the redeemer is tied to by blood or covenant.[80] This story can be recognized in several *narrative discourses* throughout the Hebrew Bible and thereby communicates something foundational about the role of redeemers and their cultural value in ancient

[75] Sarna, *Exodus,* 31.

[76] Schmid, *Literary,* 134.

[77] Abbott, *Narrative,* 19.

[78] Abbott, *Narrative,* 47.

[79] McAdams, *Stories,* 39-66.

[80] Ringgren, "*gā'al*," 351.

Israelite society.[81] While the narrative discourse differs in various accounts of YHWH the Redeemer's narrative identity (e.g., Isa. 63:7-14), the masterplot stays the same; YHWH redeems his people, or at least promises to do so.

Two other narratological concepts are worth introducing for the exegesis: *voice* and *focalization*. *Voice* concerns "who it is we 'hear' doing the narrating"[82] and *focalization* "refers to the lens through which we see characters and events in the narrative."[83] Both these concepts are distinct to that of the *narrator*, who is the one telling the story. In the chosen excerpt, YHWH is the voice we hear speaking, which means we are dealing with an autobiographical narrative. This being said, the narrator of the excerpt appears to be Moses (6:9), who, on the larger level, is not the anonymous narrator of the framing narrative, let alone the author.[84] The autobiographical narrative is thus a second-hand narrative (if not a third-, or fourth-hand narrative), but it is, nonetheless, YHWH's narrative identity as it appears in his voice.

The focalization is primarily YHWH's but in 6:7 it is momentarily switched since YHWH's voice narrates what his people will see. The people will come to know YHWH as their redeemer and the focalization makes YHWH the object that is perceived by the people. This underlines the sentiment connected with redemption since focalization has, similar to voice, a function that is used to intensify thoughts and feelings from the perspective we are given.[85] In YHWH's autobiographical narrative, the deity thus draws attention to himself as a merciful redeemer, a redeemer that will mesmerize his people with wonderous actions. Co-consciousness on YHWH's proper name that serves as a headline for a story is thus clear; YHWH evaluates his own actions with the Israelites in mind. As Ricoeur has pointed out, a full assurance of selfhood is only achieved if there is mutual recognition because self-recognition depends on recognition by others.[86] A change in focalization is thus an important element for YHWH's sense of self.

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[81] de Vaux, *Ancient,* 21-22. In Deutero-Isaiah, where the exodus-theme is prominent, YHWH is presented as *the* redeemer and Redeemer is even used as a specific proper name for YHWH in Isa. 63:16.

[82] Abbott, *Narrative,* 70.

[83] Abbott, *Narrative,* 73.

[84] On the distinction between author and narrator see Abbott, *Narrative,* 68-69.

[85] Abbott, *Narrative,* 74.

[86] Ricoeur, *Course*, 250.

By turning to the constituent events, the dialectic between *idem* and *ipse* will appear. The 1st Event discloses YHWH's *ipse*, because YHWH stays the same despite changes in his *idem*. "YHWH" is a new proper name for an old deity, at least as presented in the Priestly source,[87] and YHWH reveals his *ipse* through a kind of ancient identity-theft.[88] By appropriating the identity of El Shaddai, which is clarified grammatically with a *beth essentiae* prepositioning El,[89] YHWH identifies with a culturally known deity. In this manner, YHWH posits that he *is* the same although there has been a foundational change in his *idem*. Not only does the appropriation of El Shaddai establish YHWH with a temporal existence that extends into the past, it also provides a descriptive backing through the meaning(s) associated with the older deity.[90] The specific meaning associated with El Shaddai is a *gap* in the narrative that needs to be filled by the hearer, or reader[91] and, therefore, depends on the current knowledge that the hearer possesses at the time of encountering the narrative. As YHWH voices his narrative identity, the hearer co-authors it by filling in the gaps that the narrative entertains. This also touches on the subject of recognition, since the appropriation of YHWH's narrative identity is an event of recognition. However, the recognition is not a "pure" recognition of YHWH's identity, since the filled-in gaps are projections of the hearers' knowledge and expectations. In other words, the hearers not only recognize YHWH's identity as it is narrated, but (unconsciously) encounters themselves in the appropriation of the narrative recounted. YHWH's narrative identity is as such a negotiation between a speaker and listeners, which exemplifies narrative identity as an entanglement with others.

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87 Sarna states that it would be unintelligible if YHWH was a "hitherto unknown name", which makes him prefer that the proper name "came into prominence" with Moses (Sarna, *Exodus,* 18). Although this is historically intelligible since different YHWHs existed (e.g., YHWH of Teman found on inscriptions in Kuntillet Ajrud), the Priestly writer introduces the divine name as a new revelation, or at least as an alternative revelation to Ex. 3 (Propp, *Exodus 1-18*, 266).

88 Radner has brought attention to Mesopotamian kings' appropriation of earlier rulers' names, especially Sargon of Akkad, in order to participate in their fame and power (Radner, *Macht,* 179-182).

89 Propp decides to translate the preposition as "in", because "Yahweh was not fully equivalent to God Shadday" (*Exodus,* 271).

90 The quest for descriptive backing is even more prominent in Ex. 3, where Moses asks how he should introduce the deity to the Israelites. In Ex. 3:14, YHWH states the famous אהיה אשר אהיה as a proper name, but he has to provide a descriptive backing in 3:15 that ties the proper name to the God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob. Without the descriptive backing, YHWH's proper name would be an empty symbol that Moses would have difficulty to persuade anyone with.

91 Abbott, *Narrative,* 90; Iser, *Implied,* 280.

The 2nd Event presents the covenant that was established with the patriarchs. The making of the covenant has a distributional function, i.e., when an event has a subsequent correlate event with which it is connected.[92] This creates an expectancy for the event to be referenced later, which occurs in the 6th Event. The first event takes place in the past and is correlated with the oath-taking[93] and the future fulfilment of the promise. When the narrative is finished, the hearer is, therefore, left with a sense of *catharsis*. The promise made in the covenant strengthens the already existing relationship with the patriarchs (cf. the 1st Event).[94] The loyalty linked to the covenant is not of a legal sort, since YHWH is not responsible to anyone if he decides not to fulfil his promises. Rather, the covenant is a moral one that concerns a "matter of need, where one is in dire straits and the other is especially able to respond to the need by a particular action."[95] YHWH is especially able to provide land for a group of sojourners and he morally commits to the patriarchs and thus becomes responsible. The theme of promises and loyalty continues in the 3rd event, where the covenant receives an additional layer, a layer of redemption from slavery.

The 3rd Event moves close to the time of narration and is dealing with the contemporary issue of the people in Egypt. The narrated time, i.e., the time-span the narrative portrays, expands over a vast time of the clock in the first three verses before we are faced with the "present". In this considerable time-jump, there has been an implicit *peripeteia* for the people between the 2nd and the 3rd Event, since the descendants of the patriarchs are no longer in Canaan but subjugated to heavy burdens in Egypt. What El Shaddai, now YHWH, has done in the meantime is a gap the hearer needs to fill.[96] The plot has also affected the character of YHWH, which is exemplified in the name-change, because El Shaddai of the patriarchs did not complete his promises but the powerful YHWH of renewed promises certainly will.[97]

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[92] Barthes, "Structural," 263-264.

[93] "Lifting a hand" is a symbolic act in connection with an oath-swearing that usually begins with אם clauses, e.g., Gen. 14:22-23 (Lehmann, "Oaths," 88).

[94] Sakenfeld, *Faithfulness,* 13.

[95] Sakenfeld, *Faithfulness,* 13.

[96] The final redaction of the Pentateuch fills the gaps with the Joseph-novella on the one hand and the shortly described enmity towards the Israelites in Ex. 1:8-14 on the other.

[97] Sarna highlights this by stating that the patriarchs "did not experience the essential power associated with the name YHVH" (*Exodus,* 31). There is, therefore, a change internal to the character of YHWH as it plays out in the plot.

The central element in the 3rd Event is the sound of groans that reaches the ears of YHWH, which makes him remember the covenant. In relation to covenants, the Priestly theology usually favours YHWH's act of remembrance, in contrast to the Deuteronomistic focus on human remembrance.[98] Barat Ellman has recently presented that זכר occurs with God as grammatical subject six out of seven times in the Priestly source.[99] It is YHWH that remembers his people and this remembrance "is associated with sensation rather than the intellect."[100] The sound of the groans of the people is the involuntary motivation for YHWH's actions and in the narration this motivation becomes causality for YHWH's promises. Similar to human beings, YHWH is, in this excerpt, motivated by something beyond his control. However, it is important to recall that motivation is not the same as causation since YHWH has the freedom to choose in how he responds.[101]

Remembering the covenant is the core of the narrative since YHWH recalls the promises he gave to the patriarchs and ties them to the Israelites in Egypt. By remembering, YHWH attests to his own story and becomes accountable for his promises. The responsibility that YHWH assumes also propels the story forward since YHWH is to be counted on in the future. Ricoeur states that "[h]olding oneself responsible is […] accepting to be held to be the same today as the one who acted yesterday and who will act tomorrow."[102] Therefore, in responsibility, YHWH creates a permanence in time and simultaneously establishes a character-trait of loyalty that brings YHWH's *idem* into view.

The 4th Event puts the redeemer story rightly into view. With great actions, YHWH will redeem the Israelites, which plays on both the theme of redemption from slavery and the redemption of land promised to the patriarchs.[103] The liberation is in two parts, since the people will be liberated *from* Egypt (4th Event) and liberated *to* YHWH (5th Event).

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[98] Ellman, *Memory,* 54.

[99] Ellman, *Memory,* 60.

[100] Ellman, *Memory,* 61. For this reason, Ellman disagrees with Israel Knohl's conclusion that the tabernacle was a "sanctuary of silence" and states that it was a "sensory symphony and a dazzling display" (*Memory,* 120).

[101] YHWH can e.g., reject sacrifices and thus not intervene in dire situations as seen in Amos 5:22 (Ellman, *Memory,* 113).

[102] Ricoeur, *Oneself,* 295.

[103] Ringgren, "*gā'al*," 354.

The 6th Event is the culmination of the narrative because YHWH entangles the promises made to the patriarchs with the liberation from Egypt. The two themes of the patriarchs and the Israelites in Egypt are tied together in the end, which completes YHWH's narrative identity. YHWH is provided with a sense of an ending that is to be anticipated by the people who are dependent on him.

The completed narrative identity of YHWH consists of disparate actions that are emplotted into a coherent narrative and appropriated in YHWH's attestation to his own proper name; the headline of his story. "I am YHWH" is an attestation to an autobiographical narrative that retrospectively extends YHWH back in time and prospectively drives YHWH into the future. This narrative identity is co-authored with the Israelites, but demarcates the deity and answers the question of "Who is YHWH?"

As has been shown, the proper name has several functions for self-reflective behaviour. It is not possible to adhere to a classical nominal realism but the idea that the proper name is used hermeneutically to approach one's selfhood as it exists in the *Seinsform* of language is certainly a fruitful way to travel.

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▶ **Paper**

Hezekiah as the community's archetype of the faithful

➥ Respondent: Antti Laato

▶ **Abstract**

In this paper, I will examine the rapport on the Assyrian invasion during Hezekiah's reign in 2 Chr 32:1-23. By comparing 2 Chr 32:1-23 with the parallel accounts in 2 Kgs 18:13–19:36 and Isa 36–37, I find that two geneal observations can serve as a foundation for deeper inquiries. First, the Chronicler's rapport of this event is considerably shorter and placed differently than the parallel descriptions in Kings and Isaiah, thus giving it a different emphasis in the overall macro structure of the narrative of Hezekiah's reign. Second, the Chronicler's account of the invasion also diverts considerably from its parallels – by making additions, alterations and omissions – thus contributing to make changes in the overall storyline of the rapport, concerning both the emphasis and development of the series of events, as well as the representation of the main human characters of the story.

The Scholarly debate have mostly sought to explain these changes as examples of the Chronicler's relationship and use of his biblical sources, where scholars use their findings to advance their assumptions of whether the author have re-constructed the narrative from his Vorlage out of historiographical or purely theological reasons.

I wish to make my own contribution to this debate, by trying to wrestle with a narrative memory perspective. This by asking how the re-constructions and changes in the Chronicler's Hezekiah narrative - both on the macro and micro level, can reflect the Chronicler's community need to re-interpret the memories of the past in light of "re-writings" of its present "autobiographical" narrative, and identity in its contemporary world.

▶ **Project Summary**

The objective of this Ph.D. project is to apply the lens of memory studies in order to see what it can tell us about the development of Hezekiah as a hero ideal from the accounts in Kings/Isaiah to Chronicles. It has been widely accepted among scholars that the books of Kings depicts Josiah

as the greatest Judean king since David, while the Chronicler gives its highest esteem to Hezekiah instead. My assumption is that this would indicate that there was a renewed or different kind of need in who and what signifies the hero ideal to the community and condition the Chronicles wish to address, compared to that of Kings. I want to conduct a analysis of both accounts in order to see if there are different sets of characteristics or traits that are emphasized and remembered for the hero figures of Kings and Chronicles, and to what degree does these memories represent ideals that the producers of these texts, the literary circle or elite, wanted to impose on its community? What was the criteria to become such a important hero in the ancient biblical tradition, and can we see if these criteria changed over time in the social or shared memory?

The main focus will be on the description and the memories of king Hezekiah's reign as they are described in Kings and Chronicles, as these accounts of Hezekiah are of considerable size and also differ greatly from each other. In similar comparative studies on the Hezekiah accounts, the tendency have been an historical approach to understand these differences.

They begin with an emphasis on for example the redaction layers in the Kings/Isaiah narratives, continuing into Chronicles by explaining his version as a harmonization or further development of these layers.

I think it could be interesting to go the other way around, by emphasizing Chronicler's version ad how he makes a different narrative out of the one presented in his sources, this in order to explain what these changes can indicate about the how the community in Persian Yehud relates to its authoritative texts and narratives.

Ehud Ben Zvi has done considerable work with social memory studies on the book of Chronicles. In his earlier work he seems particularly interested in the group of scribes that formed and reshaped the memories in Chronicles. In his more recent work it can seem that he seeks to explain the reception of the readership of these texts as well, thus interpreting the social dynamic between the creators of the texts, and its readers. I want to try to supplement (maybe even challenge?) his work, by employing different perspectives of memory theory, such as narrative memory theory. By this I hope that an emphasis on narrative developments on both a macro and micro level of the Chronicler's account on Hezekiah's reign, can make the memory approach more tangible. I put a stress on hope here, because I'm still struggling with how I best can employ a flighty theoretical approach like this, and explain it in a grounded way.

▶ Key words

Chronicles, Hezekiah, Assyrian Invasion, Memory

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Hezekiah as the community's archetype of the faithful

Introduction

In this paper, I want to study 2 Chr 32:1-23 in order to see how the Chronicler rewrites and reshapes the narrative of the Assyrian invasion from its *Vorlage* (Kings and Isaiah[1]) to form new narrative memories of the Hezekiah legend. I want to look into how this reshaping takes place on a macro level and micro level. By macro level, I mean how the narrative of the Assyrian invasion in Chronicles is remolded to fit into a different, broad Hezekiah-narrative, compared to how the invasion story function in the macro narrative in Kings/Isaiah. While at the micro level, the primary focus will lie in the literary adjustments - concerning form, content, and possible changes in chronology, and how this relate to the reforming of the before-mentioned macro-narrative. I will put an emphasis on the developments of the portrayal of the two main (human) characters in the narrative: Hezekiah and Sennacherib, to see how these are sharper conformed to archetypes of "faithfulness" and "unfaithfulness". By employing a memory approach, I hope to shed light on some of the didactic principles behind the changes, as well as the dynamic relationship between the shaping and reshaping of the community's own memories and its "autobiographical" narrative.

The book of Chronicles as seen through the lens of narrative memory.

The study of the purpose behind the formation of the book of Chronicles has commonly been explained in light of the assumption that the author relied heavily on other authoritative texts—primarily Samuel/Kings.[2] Interpreters have divided themselves in two camps, one side seeking to explain it as a new or competing work of historiography to Samuel/Kings, while others emphasize its exegetical nature, attempting to interpret, comment and harmonize problems from its sources.

In recent decades, researcher have offered new perspectives to the questions of the purpose and formation of the Chronicles. By using social memory theory, Ben Zvi has managed to explain how a group of scribes in Persian Yehud rewrote the community's past in Chronicles, in order to shape and reshape the social identity of its members.[3] In this sense the scribes – or *Literati* as he calls them, function as the "memory entrepreneurs", the necessary intermediaries, owners and controllers of

[1] In this paper, I will refer to the Chronicler's *Vorlage* as both 2 Kgs 18-20; and Isaiah 36-38. For simplicity, I will only refer to the account in Kings in instances where Kings and Isaiah are similar. I will also not engage in a debate of whether the account in Isaiah is the younger and thus based on Kings, or vice versa. I will also presume a diachronic distance between Chronicles and Kings/Isaiah, where the formation of the prior is considerably later than the other two works. Thus, I will not engage with theories of a possible synchronic or contemporary formation of Kings and Chronicles.

[2] Ben Zvi has argued that he operates with different degrees of authority among the biblical texts. See: E. Ben Zvi, "One Size Does Not Fit All: Observations on the Different Ways That Chronicles dealt with the Authoritative Literature of Its Time", in E. Ben Zvi & D. V. Edelman (ed.), *What Was Authoritative for Chronicles?*, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), pp. 13-35.

[3] See e.g. E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (New York: Routledge 2014) and E. Ben Zvi, "Chronicles and social memory", *Studia Theologica - Nordic Journal of Theology* 71:1 (2017), pp. 69-90.

the community's mnemonic capital who administer it to the rest of the population.[4] Through this approach and understanding Ben Zvi have also given interpretations as to not only how the scribes reshaped the past, but also to what didactic intentions and methods could lie behind the changes in Chronicles from its Vorlage.[5] Whereas Ben Zvi's memory approach gives comprehensive and rational explanations of the social and possible historical intentions behind the rewriting of the past in Chronicles, it can be more difficult to grasp the full picture of how he envisions the process behind the memory formation in the narratives themselves. In his earlier research, he explained how the writers would have to relate to a shared world of knowledge within the community, which would include the presence of certain unmalleable "core facts" in the narrative, this in order to be regarded as an authentic and acceptable work by its readership.[6] Except for the core facts, the writers were free to make innovations to their narratives as they saw fit according to for example different ideological interpretations.[7] By employing perspectives from narrative memory theory, I believe that I can expound upon and possible deeper insight to Ben Zvi's observations through his social memory approach. This by asking: What is the relationship between these shaped narratives by the author of Chronicles and the experiences remembered by the community? By looking into the alteration to the narrative of the Assyrian invasion in Chronicles from Kings, I hope to see how the Chronicler express and represents the community's experience of itself through the narrative – how he organize and shapes the experience through narrative, and how they are created through and in his narrative.[8]

2 Chr 32:1-6: Hezekiah initial response to Sennacherib's threat to take Jerusalem.

This first segment of the Chronicler's narrative of the Assyrian invasion serves as an introduction to the story. It does not provide any information about any preliminary stages nor political motivations that might have led to conflict. Thus, it seems from the outset, that the Chronicler's goal is not to

[4] Ben Zvi, "Chronicles and social memory", p. 77.
[5] See e.g. E. Ben Zvi, "Observations on Ancient Modes of Reading of Chronicles and their Implications, with an Illustration of their Explanatory Power for the Study of the Account of Amaziah (2 Chronicles 25)" in E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles* (New York: Routledge 2014), pp. 44-77.
[6] As example to these "core facts" in the narrative of the Assyrian invasion between Kings and Chronicles, Ben Zvi, lists the names pf the two kings, the salvation of Jerusalem, the piety of Hezekiah, the collaboration between Hezekiah and Isaiah, and the blasphemy and punishment of Sennacherib. See E. Ben Zvi, "Malleability and its Limits: Sennacherib's Campaign against Judah as a Case-Study", in L. L. Grabbe (ed.), *'Like a Bird in a Cage' The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp. Series 363, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003). pp. 73-105, p. 101.
[7] Ibid 104-05.
[8] Brockmeier builds upon these three elements in his attempt to localize memory in the ongoing dynamic interplay between the interpretations and the autobiographical narrative of an experience. Even though the Chronicles is not "autobiographical" pr. see, I think his approach can be helpful in order to explain the process of how the Chronicler's narrative both reinterprets memories of the past, and that these interpretations creates new memories to needs to be interpreted anew, forming new memories. See: Brockmeier, *Beyond the Archieve: Memory, Narrative and the Autobiographical Process*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 104.

create a report adding more historical details about the Assyrian campaign itself, but to re-tell the whole narrative in a new context, with an emphasis on portraying the nature of the protagonist and antagonist of the story – represented as the two leaders of the opposing forces.

In the introduction, the Chronicler portrays Sennacherib as the aggressor and the initial acting agent behind the conflict, while Hezekiah is a resourceful, coefficient defender, who reacts to the formers aggression by making preparative strategical actions and speeches. As already mentioned, the descriptions of Sennacherib's actions and intentions behind the invasion in 2 Chr 32:1 are both presented in an abbreviated and in a more general fashion compared to the narrative in Kings. Whereas Kings alludes to Hezekiah's rebellion (2 Kgs 18:7.14-16.20) and possible Egyptian involvement (2 Kgs 18:21, 24; 19:8-9) as political justifications for the Assyrian invasion, the Chronicler states that Sennacherib besieged Judean cities because he "planned to breach them for himself"[9] and "was intent to make war against Jerusalem"[10]. In Chronicles, invading foreign kings and powers – with other Assyrian kings being a specific example – do not so much act as independent political subjects following their own political rationales, as they are portrayed as mere agents for God's implementation of his judgment, cf. Ahaz (2 Chr 28) and Manasseh (2 Chr 33). Sennacherib, on the other hand, seems rather to play a double and contrasting role in this regard. On the one hand, he acts in accordance with his own intentions, by waging war against Jerusalem and YHWH. Yet, the statement in the beginning of the invasion narrative – "After these deeds and the faithfulness" (2 Chr 32:1)[11] – seems to imply that what follows can be understood as God testing Hezekiah.[12] Unlike the cases of Ahaz and Manasseh, there is no obvious or rational reason for God to punish Hezekiah with an invading Assyrian king. After all, Hezekiah has carried out religious reforms, re-organized the temple (chap 29 and 31), and celebrated a Passover celebration reminiscent of the glory of the days of David and Salomon (chap 30). This can also explain why the Chronicler is reluctant to include a notion that Sennacherib actually succeeded in conquering Judean cities – unlike the statement in 2 Kgs 18:13[13] and in Sennacherib's own inscriptions.[14] The Chronicler wants to uphold an image of Hezekiah as pious and righteous, and in the Chronicler's narratives the good kings are not supposed

[9] ויאמר לבקעם אליו
[10] ופניו למלחמה על ירושלם
[11] אחרי הדברים והאמת האלה – «After these things and (acts of) faithfulness».
[12] Japhet see an analogy to how the formula אחרי הדברים האלה appears at the beginning of the narrative of Abraham's test in Gen 22:1, and suggests that the Chronicler uses this expression to give a clue for interpreting the Assyrian invasion as a divine test. See Japhet, *II Chronicles*, *A Commentary*, Old Testament Library, (London: SCM Press, 1993), p. 980-81.
[13] 2 Kgs 18:13 tells that Sennacherib "came up" (עלה) and "took/seized" (ויתפשם) all the fortified cities in Judah.
[14] In Column iii Line 19 on the Talyor Prism, Sennacherib's inscription informs that he conquered forty-six of Hezekiah's fortified cities: *ša la iknušu ana niria 46 alâni šu danuti*. For text and translation see: e.g. A. K. Grayson & J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC), Part 1*, The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period vol 3/1, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns 2012), p. 176.

to suffer defeats, as this normally would indicate divine punishment for their sins.[15] Thus, I find it reasonable to assume that Sennacherib's arrival is a test initiated by divine superintendence, intended to spark the inherent strength of the hero to stand up and show his true potential by sending him a foe to match his level of faithfulness. However, to emphasize the difficulty of this test even more, Sennacherib is also acting as an independent agent, pitting against and acting as an enemy of YHWH, thus elevating Hezekiah even more.[16]

The narrative of Hezekiah responding to Sennacherib's invasion by conducting war preparations is not found in the parallel accounts in 2 Kgs 18-19 or Isaiah 36-37, which has raised questions about the Chronicler's source behind this report. While some have argued that the Chronicler included this material from an extra-biblical source[17], I would rather emphasize the similarities to the descriptions in Isa 22:9-11. In this episode an unnamed Judean king has initiated projects to tear down houses in order to build a second wall around Jerusalem, and made a water basin between the two walls, as preparations for an expected invasion. This correlates with the descriptions of Hezekiah's war preparations in Chronicles – conducting the water flow, and improving the fortifications by repairing a breach wall and building another. Moreover, Isa 22:15-25 names two of the officials associated with Hezekiah (e.g. 2 Kgs 18:18.26/Isa 36:3.11). For these reasons, I find it plausible that this is the source behind the Chronicler's report. However, this comparison is not without its problems. First, there are divergences in the details of the descriptions between the accounts.[18] Second, and more important, is that the king seems to be criticized by Isaiah for carrying out these preparations, as they indicate someone who is showing a lack of faith in YHWH to defend the city from enemies. If this king were Hezekiah, why would the Chronicler narrate efforts that Isaiah had rebuked as acts showing a lack of faithfulness? A possible explanation is that the criticism

[15]For example, 2 Chr 12:4 state that Shishak came and conquered the fortified towns of Judah and advanced on Jerusalem as a consequence for Rehoboam's sins. See e.g. S. Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought*, translated by A. Barber Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum 9. 2nd revised edition. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997. (Reprinted, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), p. 130-131.

[16]Hobson have a similar interpretation of the memory of Sennacherib's double role in the biblical texts. See: R. Hobson, "The Memory of Sennacherib in Late Persian Yehud", in D. Edelman & E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *Remembering Biblical Figures in Late Persian and early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University, 2013), pp. 199-220.

[17] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, p. 977-78.

[18] E.g., Knoppers rejects the idea that the Chronicles' report is derived from Isaiah 22 because there is no mention of Hezekiah and because the Chronicler adds details to his reports about the fortifications. See: G. N. Knoppers, "History and Historiography: The Royal Reforms"; in M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supp Series 238, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), pp. 178-203, p. 198n61.

in Isa 22 is against the people as a whole, and not Hezekiah individually.[19] In the Chronicler's report, the war preparations are not simply Hezekiah's undertaking, but something that is conducted after having consulted (ויועץ) with his "officers and heroes" (עם שריו וגבוריו). Elsewhere in the Chronicler, the ability to take counsel (יעץ) and co-operate with subordinates is a positive trait – usually associated with highly venerated kings who accomplishes some considerable enterprise.[20] However, whereas there is ground to interpret the conducting of the water flow as a joint initiative, the building of the fortifications is credited to Hezekiah alone in 2 Chr 32:5. Other explanations, focuses rather on how the Chronicler is not portraying Hezekiah's war preparations as an act of faithlessness. Park has observed how Hezekiah's preparations for war is replicating earlier actions during the cultic reforms, concluding that there is an equivalence between them.[21] This can help to explain how and why the Chronicler chose to diverge from the details in Isa 22. By structuring his descriptions as a parallel to Hezekiah's earlier acts of faithfulness, the Chronicler sought to associate the war preparations as a continuation of this theme, and by that providing a potential parry against the critique in Isaiah.

Thus in his introduction the Chronicler shows how he interprets the Assyrian invasion as a divine test on the faithful. In order to emphasize this idea he reshapes the overall narrative and its progression, which he accomplishes by adding, omitting and reshaping descriptions from his Vorlage. He begins the narrative of the invasion by framing it to a theme of faithfulness in 32:1, alluding to Hezekiah's prior pious acts described in chap 29-31. He then continues by inserting the war preparations from Isa 22, but restructures the descriptions so that they are reminiscent of the stages of the acts described in chap 29-31. By this he provides a reinterpretation of the memory of Hezekiah's role prior to Sennacherib's arrival to Jerusalem, emphasizing his devotion and faithfulness to YHWH. To elevate the hero image of Hezekiah further, he portrays the anti-hero image of Sennacherib clearer, by not providing him any justification behind the invasion. Thus, presenting the

[19] P. S. Evans, "Historia or Exegesis? Assessing the Chronicler's Hezekiah- Sennacherib Narrative", in P. S. Evans & T. F. Williams (ed.), *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography*, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), pp. 103-120, p. 113.

[20] For example In 1 Chr 13:1 King David consulted with his officers (עם שרי האלפים) in regard to bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem, and in 2 Chr 20:21 Jehoshaphat consults with his people before setting out to meet the invading forces of Moab and Ammon. Hezekiah also takes counsel with his officers and the congregation in 2 Chr 30:2 to keep Passover in the second month. In addition to these, Amaziah "took counsel" before sending a message to Joash, king of Israel to come and confront him (2 Chr 25:17). The Chronicler does not portray this action favorably though, as the outcome is rather disastrous for Amaziah (cf. 25:20-24). A difference between the cases of David, Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah versus that of Amaziah, is that there is no identified party involved in the latter's consultation, possibly indicating that he was "counseling with himself". See: L. Ruppert, "יעץ", in G. J. Botterweck & H. Ringgren (ed.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament volume VI,* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1990), pp. 156-185, p. 160.

[21] S.-M. S. Park, *Hezekiah and the Dialogue of Memory*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015), p. 216.

two kings in an exaggerated protagonist – antagonist relationship, more reminiscent of that of Moses and Pharaoh in the Exodus story.[22]

2 Chr 32:7-8: Hezekiah's encouragement to inspire faith.

The final step of Hezekiah's war preparations is to hold an address of encouragement to the people. Since the speech is not in the accounts in Kings or Isaiah, it is common to regard it as the Chronicler's own rhetorical creation[23], leaving the question of what could be the rhetorical motivation behind the creation and placement of this speech in the Chronicler's narrative.

The address begins with a word play on Hezekiah's name through the imperative חזקו ("be strong!")[24]. The motif of strength continues as a common thread in the speech as the inferior strength of Sennacherib's fallible human "arm of flesh" (זרוע בשר) that is "with him" (עמו). This is juxtaposed to the "much more" (רב) strength of YHWH that is "with us" (עמנו). Similar word play with Hezekiah's name also appear in the two occurrences of verb חזק in 32:5. This use of חזק could be intentional by the author – even though the word is commonly used in the Hebrew bible – as to form a thematic bridge relating Hezekiah's "strengthening" of the city's fortifications and the encouragement to "stay strong" in the trust that YHWH's superiority will help Jerusalem. Thus, on the one hand, the speech might be intended as another ploy to emphasize that Hezekiah's faithfulness in YHWH is the core component behind the defense of the city, in an attempt to answer the critique in Isa 22:9-11. This by implying that he above all trusted that YHWH would defend the city, and that the fortifications Hezekiah built, serves as an expression or symbol of the fortitude of his faith.[25]

On the other hand, some elements to this speech could also anticipate the subsequent speech of Sennacherib. At a semantic and rhetorical level there seems to be a play with synonymous words between the two speeches that confirms a connection: 1. A relation between Hezekiah's

[22] R. Hobson, "The Memory of Sennacherib in Late Persian Yehud", in D. Edelman & E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *Remembering Biblical Figures in Late Persian and early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*, (Oxford: Oxford University, 2013), pp. 199-220.

[23] Japhet have emphasized the speech's rhetorical and stylistic nature as "easily recognized as the Chronicler's work". She points for example to structural elements such as the king addressing the people, and the people answering, and lingual elements – reoccurring phrases and terminology such as "be strong and of good courage" and "help us". See Japhet, *II Chronicles*, p. 977.

[24] Emphasized by being followed by the synonym imperative: אמצו ("be courageous"), and in the negations of the antonyms אל תיראו ("do not be frightened") and אל תחתו ("do not be dismayed"). Similar pairings of these imperatives can also be found in Moses', Joshua and Jahaziel's admonition to the people in Deut 31:6; Josh 10:25 and 2 Chr 20:15, 17. See: R. Klein, *2 Chronicles A Commentary*, Hermeneia, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), p. 461-62.

[25] In Chronicles, other good kings are accredited for building fortifications as an indication for enjoying peace and prosperity (e.g. 2 Chr 17:12; 33:14) For example, Rehoboam constructed fortified cities before Shishak's invasion in 2 Chr 11:5, an indication that he enjoyed peace and prosperity for his obedience to YHWH in the years prior to being punished through the invasion. See: Japhet, *The ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, p. 133.

notion of "YHWH helping us" (לעזרנו), which seems to parallel Sennacherib's questioning of YHWH's ability "to save" (נצל). 2. A play on the concept of "Sennacherib's arm/hand" as a symbol for the Assyrian king's power. As noted above, Hezekiah refers to Sennacherib's "arm of flesh" (זרוע בשר) as an image of inferiority compared to YHWH in his speech. When Sennacherib boasts about his own might, he repeatedly refers to the inability of the gods of the nations to save their people (נצל) "from my arm/hand" (מידי). However, when he quotes Hezekiah stating that YHWH will deliver them from Sennacherib's hand he uses מכף (32:11) instead of מידי.[26] Even though Kings does not cite any such speech from Hezekiah, the narrative seems to open for the existence of one in 2 Kgs 18:36, where it tells that Hezekiah gives the people a commandment to keep silent and not reply the Assyrians. Therefore, Evans has proposed that the Chronicler might have wanted to compose the speech out of a historiographical purpose, in order to fill in the gap left behind by the Vorlage.[27]

Thus, there are good reasons to suggest that the creation and addition of Hezekiah's speech in Chronicles serves a dual function. It relates backwards, as it calls to memory the former acts of faithfulness in the Hezekiah narrative, such as the descriptions of his cultic renovations and reforms (chap 29-31), and his preparations for war. Affirming how the speaker himself stand up as the prime example for the rest to follow. On the other hand, the speech also anticipates the threats of the near future, and the rhetorical intimidations of the enemy that will inspire doubt. In this way, the speech could serve as the author's interpretation and encouragement to the community's reoccurring experience of being intimidated by either rhetorical or direct threats from other nations of the world. However, whereas these threats seems reasonable as forms of divine punishment in for example the stories in Judges, the community might be struggling to comprehend an apparent lack of correlation between how a period marked with faithful acts of worship to YHWH, can be followed by such a considerable threat to their existence as Sennacherib's invasion. Thus, by reshaping the memory of the Assyrian invasion from Kings, through excluding any justifiable reason behind the invasion, and adding descriptions of a consequent exemplary faithful response of Hezekiah, the Chronicler adds a new perspective or dimension to the grander autobiographical "we" narrative of the community. How is a faithful leader and its community in Persian Yehud supposed to interpret and respond to a threat that seems unreasonable?

2 Chr 32:9-19: Sennacherib's taunt and threats to arose distrust.

[26] This use of seems to relate to Isaiah's reply in regards to Hezekiah's disease in 2 Kgs 20:6, where YHWH promises to deliver the King from disease, and the city from "Sennacherib's hand". This of course raises an issue in regard to the chronological understanding between the two events as it is presented in 2 Kgs 20:1 and in the transition between 2 Chr 32:23-24.

[27] Evans, "Historia or Exegesis? Assessing the Chronicler's Hezekiah- Sennacherib Narrative", p. 114.

The Assyrian threat intensifies as Sennacherib acts by sending (שלח) his servants (עבדיו) to Jerusalem to engage in a "war of words" (rhetorical warfare). By inspiring fear and mistrust in Hezekiah and YHWH, the Assyrian king seeks to arouse rebellion and subsequent surrender of the city. 2 Chr 32:9-19 consists of two speech parts with narrative portions appearing before (v. 9), in-between (v. 16-17a) and after them (v. 18-19). The first speech consists of two rhetorical thrusts: The first directed to arouse doubt against Hezekiah (v. 10-12), and the second against YHWH's ability to save Jerusalem from the Assyrians (v. 13-15). The second utterance reinforces the thrust against YHWH's ability to save, by asserting that he is just as powerless as the gods of the other nations the Assyrian king has defeated. The narrative sections (v. 9; 16-17a; 18-19) give some information about context (locations, who speaks, type of media etc.), and the Chronicler's own interpretation of the intention (frighten them into panic), as well as to determine the content of the speeches as חרף - "blasphemy".

The Assyrian speeches in Chronicles (32:10-15; 17b) are abridged versions of the three parts of Assyrian speeches and messages sited in Kings: The two parts expressed from the mouth of the Rabshakeh in 2. Kgs 18:19-25 and 28b-35 and Sennacherib's written message in 19:10-13.
The Chronicler either omits or downplays significant rhetorical elements from the speeches in Kings, yet also adds small pieces in order to unify, or make intensifications as to emphasize his own understanding of the objective and nature of the Assyrian rhetoric. The two parts of Rabshakeh's speeches in Kings revolve around two key words: "to trust" (בטח) in 18:19-25[28], and "to deliver/save" (נצל) in 18:28b-35.[29] In 2 Kgs 18:19-25 Rabshakeh seeks to dishearten the people's trust in Hezekiah, advancing the notion that he has both relied on the worldly power Egypt and YHWH. The Assyrian delegate mocks Egypt's ability to, and raises doubt to YHWH's willingness to save him and Jerusalem from the consequences of his rebellion against Assyria. For Hezekiah to stand out as an epitome and ideal of a faithful, the Chronicler would have to omit any allegation that could indicate an ambiguous nature of Hezekiah's faithfulness. Firstly, the omission of a notion of rebellion against Assyria indicates that Hezekiah would not go against God's arranged order of the universe, thus not giving Sennacherib a justified reason to come and punish him for his insolence. This then, follows the narrative outline presented in the descriptions of the preface of the invasion story in 32:1-2, upholding the clear contrast in character between the two kings. Secondly, the Chronicler exhibits a strictly disapproving attitude towards kings that seek aid from foreign nations in war instead of

[28] The stem בטח is used seven times in the first part of the Rabshakeh's speech in 2 Kgs 18.19-25: First it is used as a noun in the programmatic question in v. 19: מה הבטחון. Then in the persuading argument that follows it is used six times as a verb in v. 19.20.21 (x 2).22 and 24. It is also used once as an imperfect verb with the negative adverb אל in the second part of the speech in 18:30, to form a rhetoric imperative: "Don't you (pl.) trust Hezekiah!" as support for the next rhetorical theme: God's unwillingness/inability to save them from the Assyrians.
[29] The verb נצל is used six times in the second part of the speech in 2 Kgs 18:28b-35

trusting solely on YHWH. Ahaz is the prime example of the severe consequence that can befall a king who falls in the trap of relying solely on worldly forces instead of YHWH. The Assyrian "helper" turns against him and invades him, in which Ahaz has to pay a burdensome prize.[30] Instead, the Chronicler reshapes the theme of trust (בטח) by making Sennacherib question Jerusalem's ability to withstand a siege in v. 10. Indirectly expressing the futility of relying on their own agency to defend themselves — cf. Hezekiah's war preparations in v. 3-6 – by recalling the horrible experiences associated with such an event.[31] Thus, the subsequent rhetoric in v. 11b reinforce the idea that none of these efforts will make them prevail, leaving only Hezekiah's claim to trust in YHWH ability to save them as their hope for victory — cf. Hezekiah's speech in v. 7-8. Sennacherib's next attack is directed at Hezekiah's trust in YHWH as the Chronicler includes the faulty rhetoric of the Rabshakeh in Kings, advancing the idea that God will not support him because of his centralization acts and cultic reforms.[32] However, since the Chronicler's narrative of Hezekiah's reign already have devoted considerable space to his acts of cultic piety in chapters 29-31, the Assyrian king statement serves as an additional emphasis on the central Hezekiah "the faithful"- theme that runs like a red thread through his macro narrative.[33]

In the third step in Sennacherib's speech (v. 13-15 and 17b) the Chronicler tweaks the rhetoric as to exhibits a clearer message of blasphemy, in order to make a sharper portrayal of Sennacherib as the anti-hero. Here the Assyrian king boasts over his (and his fathers) victories over other nations gods, asserting that YHWH is like any of these gods, and thus will be defeated as well. The Chronicler makes a syntactical adjustment to the theme of deliverance from the second part of the Rabshakeh's speech in Kings, by adding the support verb יכל (to be able) to four occurrences of

[30] Ben Zvi explains how the Chronicler presents Ahaz as the worst king of Judah because of his sin to let his choices be directed by his own logic and following policies of *Realpolitik* – i.e. having an understanding of "history as human enterprise ruled by worldly forces", instead of from a principle that the divine governs the course of history. Hezekiah policies on the other hand through his extensive cultic reforms in 2 Chr 28-31, stands in contrast to this, as they are dictated from a belief in a divinely ruled world. See E. Ben Zvi, "A Gateway to the Chronicler's Teaching: The Account of the Reign of Ahaz in 2 Chronicles 28.1-27" in E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles*, (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 210-242, p. 218-19. However, also good kings like Asa (2 Chr 16:7) and Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 18:1-19:3) are reprimanded and punished by God for making such alliances during war. See: Dillard, *2 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary 15/2, (Waco: Word, 1987), p. 257.

[31] The impression that Jerusalem is being put under an Assyrian siege seems to be more explicitly stated in Chronicles then in Kings/Isaiah, through ישבים במצור "sitting on the fortifications" and the allusions to hunger and thirst in v. 10. The later experience might also be implied by the Rabshakeh in 2 Kgs 18:27, thus it is possible that this statement was the Chronicler's source for his adaption. See: Evans, "Historia or Exegesis? Assessing the Chronicler's Hezekiah- Sennacherib Narrative", p. 115-17.

[32] According to Ben Zvi it is the Deuteronomistic redactor who puts this faulty rhetoric in the Rabshakeh's mouth in 2 Kgs 18:22. This in order to confirm that it was precisely because Hezekiah carried out these reforms, that God intervene on his behalf. See E. Ben Zvi, "Who wrote the Speech of Rabshakeh and When?", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 10 (1990), pp. 72-92, p. 91-92.

[33] Park, *Hezekiah and the Dialogue of Memory*, p.217-218.

the verb נצל (save/deliver)[34]. This causes an emphasis on an interpretation that Sennacherib taunts YHWH's lack of ability or power to intervene on Jerusalem's behalf, rather than questioning his willingness to do so.[35]

Through these above-mentioned adjustments in the Chronicler's invasion narrative, he has made a more deliberate and sharp portrayal of Hezekiah and Sennacherib as an antithesis' of faithfulness and unfaithfulness. Thus, he has either removed or adjusted any sign of ambiguousness to Hezekiah's faithfulness from the account in Kings, and created a harmonious image of a leader who relied solely on YHWH. Similarly, Sennacherib is portrayed as his stark opposite, depicted as someone who believes solely in his own and his ancestors power — not even giving credit to his gods for his victories, and who mocks the faithful sufferer for his faith in God's ability to save him, similarly to how "the enemy" in the so-called complaint psalms would do. I believe these psalms can work as a good analogy to try to explain a possible reason behind these exaggerations in the Chronicler's reshaping of the Vorlage. Maybe the Chronicler wants to depict experiences where the community felt it has acted faithfully to YHWH, yet still suffered commotions that would indicate divine punishment. To tackle the distress in these situations, how should the community understand their own and the enemy's role so that it would correlates to the conception of the universal and just providence of YHWH?

2 Chr 32:20-23: YHWH's intervention and the fates of Sennacherib and Hezekiah.

2 Chr 32:20 represents the climax or the turning point in the Chronicler's narrative of the Assyrian invasion. Up until this point, Hezekiah has been unresponsive to Sennacherib's threats and taunts, and the Assyrians' cries (ויקראו) at the walls of Jerusalem (32:18). His preparative acts (32:2-8) have not managed to relieve Jerusalem from the Assyrian threat, only to stall it and make sure that the people would not be daunted to rebel against him. Finally, Hezekiah responds to these taunts by praying (ויתפלל) together with the prophet Isaiah and calling to God in heaven for aid (ויזעקו השמים). YHWH answers the prayer and intervenes by sending an angel[36] annihilating the Assyrian army. The anti-hero Sennacherib returns home in shame, where he faces his punishment for his blasphemy, while the victorious hero Hezekiah is rewarded for his faithfulness.

[34] 2 Chr 32:13; 14 (x 2) and 15. Only the first and last occurrence of נצל is without יכל (32:11; 15). In Kings/Isaiah this combination is only used once (2 Kgs 18:29/Isa 36:14).

[35] The interpretation of the second part of the Rabshakeh's speech (2 Kgs 18:28-35) is more ambiguous. It could be understood as a continuation of the first part in 2 Kgs 18:19-25 where the Rabshakeh's rhetoric implies that YHWH is not willing to save Jerusalem because he has sent Assyria to punish Hezekiah for his sins – namely for his rebellion against Assyria, but also for having removed YHWH's shrines in the countryside.

[36] Unlike Kings, the Chronicler state explicitly that God sends (שלח) the angel/messenger (מלאך). This might be a deliberate ironic allusion to indicate the disproportion of power between the two sides, since Sennacherib merely sent (שלח) "his servants" (עבדיו) in 32:9.

Two important points need to be made concerning the narrative of Hezekiah's prayer in 2 Chr 32:20. First, the use of the verb פלל. Only three kings are explicitly praying (פלל) to YHWH in the Chronicler's narratives: Salomon in 2 Chr 7:1; Hezekiah in 2 Chr 30:18; 32:20 and 32:24 and Manasseh in 2 Chr 33:13. In almost all these instances – except for Hezekiah's prayer in 30:18[37] – the prayers seem to allude to well-known prayers (תפלה) from the Chronicler's corpus or tradition.[38] This seems to indicate that he uses פלל as an allusion to these prayers so that he will not need to re-quote them[39] – like for example Hezekiah's prayer in 2 Kgs 19:15-19/Isa 37:16-10).[40] In other instances, good Judean kings such as Asa (2 Chr 14:10) and Jehoshaphat (20:6-12) also reach out and call to the Lord for help in moments of great distress.[41] Here, the Chronicler quotes their prayers but does not use the verb פלל, presumably because these prayers are his own innovations providing him with a strategic mouthpiece to advance his ideological instructions in these narratives.[42] Second, according to the Chronicler's narrative Hezekiah and Isaiah pray together, presumably to abridge the consultations between Hezekiah and Isaiah in 2 Kgs 19:1-7; 14-34/Isa 37:1-7; 14-35. However, the prophet has not played a role at all until at this point in the narrative, indicating that the Chronicler wanted to downplay the prophet as a necessary intermediary between him and YHWH, thus elevating Hezekiah's faithfulness as the reason for God to answer.[43] This change might also be deliberate, as to encourage the members in the Chronicler's community to have faith in YHWH's willingness to answer their prayers, as God had ceased to use prophets as his intermediates in their

[37] A prayer for the atonement for the Northerners that wished to participate in the Passover celebration in Jerusalem.

[38] This can definitely be said about Salomon's prayer in 2 Chr 6:14-42 which follows 2 Kgs 8:15-53, and Hezekiah's prayers to deliver Jerusalem which is recorded in 2 Kgs 19:15-19/Isa 37:16-20 (as well as Isaiah's prayer in 2 Kgs 19:4/Isa 37:4), and to be relieved from his disease in 2 Kgs 20:3/Isa 38:3. The Prayer of Manasseh" is a text included in the Greek orthodox Bible, but which is considered apocryphal by Jews, Catholics and Protestants. Even though this version was probably written down in Greek, as late as in the 2-century BCE, the Chronicler reveals that a prayer of Manasseh already existed in his time, and that it was recorded in "the words of Hozai" (2 Chr 33:18).

[39] The exception here is 2 Chr 7:1 which follows the Chronicler's version of Salomon's speech in 2 Chr 6.14-42. It should be noted that the statement and use of פלל in 7:1 seems to be "borrowed" directly from his *Vorlage* in 2 Kgs 8:54. Likewise in all instances where the Chronicler refrain from quoting a prayer, פלל is rendered in the wayiktol, while it stands in infinitive in 2 Chr 7:1 and the perfect in 2 Chr 30:18.

[40] Kalimi has observed that the Chronicler alludes to prayers from earlier texts, and that he uses phrases such as "he prayed" to allude to these prayers, but he does not explicitly tie all these instances to the use of פלל. See: Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History*, (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), p. 27-29; 197; 205-206.

[41] For example, both Asa and Jehoshaphat face similar threats as Hezekiah, and turn to YHWH for help. The Chronicler quote Asa's prayer (2 Chr 14:10) and introduces it by telling that he "called" (ויקרא) to God, and when quoting Jehoshaphat's prayer in the temple (2 Chr 20:6-12) a simple "said" (ויאמר) is used. Similarly Jehoshaphat also "cried out" (ויזעק) to YHWH in distress in 18:31, but is not followed by a quoted prayer.

[42] See e.g. Japhet, *II Chronicles*, p. 711; 788; Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles*, p. 27-28; 342.

[43] Japhet states that whereas Isaiah is the main protagonist in the story in Kings, and that it is first after the prophet's encouraging oracles that YHWH delivers of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 19:20-34, it is Hezekiah's own conviction that manifest the divine intervention in the Chronicler's story. See: Japhet, *II Chronicles*, p. 989.

time. Moreover, the Chronicler does not inform that the prayer took place in the Temple (cf. 2 Kgs 19.1; 14), which seems to imply that God's answer comes immediately (compared to "that night" in 2 Kgs 19:35). These alterations may also be deliberate, in order to emphasize the inherent power in the intention of a prayer, and to encourage the faithful individuals in the community to pray during times of individual and collective crisis. The exclusion of mentioning the temple as the location could be a subtle reminder that YHWH's universality makes it possible for him to respond to prayers everywhere, also those that only can be uttered "towards this House."[44]

The fate of Sennacherib consists of two stages in the accounts of Kings and Chronicles: The immediate consequences of his defeat and eventually his ultimate fate. The immediate consequence in both accounts is the loss of his forces and having to return home defeated. The account in Kings gives an exaggerated number of casualties in the Assyrian army, which is replaced with "everyone" (כל) in 2 Chr 32:21, thus emphasizing Sennacherib's complete defeat. The Chronicler also adds a notion of the enemy's humiliating experience of having return home with "shame of face", alluding to passages in the Psalms where God's enemies are put to shame.[45] Sennacherib's ultimate fate is his ironic death – being the only one described to have fallen by a sword in an invasion narrative.

Finally, the Chronicler makes an addition by describing the fortunes of Hezekiah and Jerusalem, in the aftermath of the Assyrian invasion. Since the descriptions of the prosperity in 32:22b-23 could allude to the golden age of the unified kingdom — with the remark that YHWH giving them "rest on all sides (LXX)" paralleling David's reign[46], and the gifts and tribute from other nations reminding of Salomon (2 Chr 9:23-34)[47], it would seem that the Chronicler created these descriptions with the intention to associate Hezekiah with David/Salomon. Yet, one can also argue, that the Chronicler does not seem to form these ending remarks, out of thin air. Instead, one can argue that he based this report out of an interpretation of the story of the Babylonian envoys in 2 Kgs 20:12-19 which informs that Hezekiah had considerable riches (v. 13) and that he would enjoy peace in his time after the Assyrian invasion (v. 19). What could be the reason behind the addition of the descriptions of this prosperity? It seems plausible to assert that the

[44] An expression commonly used in Salomon's speech (e.g. 2 Chr 6:18-21) The passage in 6:36-39) is relatable to the context of Manasseh's prayer in Babylon, which YHWH answers.
[45] E.g. Pss 35:4.26; 83.17. See also H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, The New Century Bible Commentary, (Grand Rapids, MI: Eardmans, 1982), p. 385; M. J. Selman, 2 Chronicles: a Commentary, Tynedale Old Testament Commnetaries, (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2008), p. 514
[46] MT have וינהלם «was guided on all sides» here (could be understood as provide), while LXX have understood this as וינח להם "there was rest for them on all sides". Japhet opts for rest because it can be tied to the description of the end of David's reign when the temple was built. See: Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*, p. 305-06.
[47] M. A. Throntveit, "The Relationship of Hezekiah to David and Salomon in the Books of Chronicles", in M.P. Graham et al., eds., *The Chronicler as Theologian*, JSOTSup 371, (London: T. T. Clark, 2003), pp. 105-21, p. 115; Park, *Hezekiah and the Dialogue of Memory*, p. 221.

Chronicler must have found the transition from the different parts of the larger Hezekiah narrative in his Vorlage, to be problematic. Beginning with developing an image of a faithful Hezekiah who secured the salvation of Jerusalem, to be immediately followed by a story of illness and recovery (2 Kgs 20:1-11), and a subsequent visit from Babylon envoys where he is reprimanded and blamed for the later Babylon exile by Isaiah (2 Kgs 20:12-19). How could it be that Hezekiah's faithful deeds during the Assyrian invasion were followed by a misfortune like illness? A destiny that normally would be associated to be a consequence of sin,[48] and would hardly have encouraged or inspired the readership to pursue a path of faithfulness. Thus, the Chronicler added an ending with a clearer instructional function similar to the two paths of Psalm 1. An instruction that would uphold a coherent relationship between act and consequence, so that not only the unrighteous anti-hero got what was coming for him, but also so that the faithful acquired prosperity and peace for himself and the city for his acts of piousness.

Summary

The Chronicler makes two significant alterations to the Assyrian invasion narrative, compared to his *Vorlage* in Kings/Isaiah. First, by making an abridged version covering less than a chapter, he gives the invasion story a different emphasis in the overall macro narrative of Hezekiah's reign. In the book of Kings, the story of the salvation of Jerusalem is placed at the beginning of the macro narrative of Hezekiah's reign, thus giving the narrative of the event itself and its resolution, a prime importance. The Chronicler on the other hand, places the invasion story towards the end, marking it as a transition from a quiet period of preparation and development of the hero's faithfulness, to a period of being tested, culminating in a climactic act that exhibit the strength of Hezekiah's faith in YHWH. Second, the Chronicler also makes considerable twerks to the character portrayal of the two main characters, to ensure a sharper image of Hezekiah as the faithful hero, and Sennacherib as the blasphemous anti-hero. As fitting, both receive a fate that correlates to their character traits and action, reminiscent to the didactic types in Psalm 1. Both these changes in the Chronicler's narrative follows an overall macro structure in the narrative of the Vorlage, adding a different emphasis to the parts by filling in and placing episodes that can be derived or interpreted from the sources.

These changes can have different implications for the understanding of the so-called historical narratology in these two works. Whereas one might infer that the narrative in Kings focuses more on interpreting the historical event itself from a theological perspective, it would seem that the Chronicler reshapes this story to narrate and interpret the memory of a general experience from the past, actualized in the present of the community. Thus, it does not so much relate specifically to the

[48] Japhet, *II Chronicles*, p. 992-93.

events of 701 (or 586) BCE, but rather to a re-occurring experience of having to relate to situations where the community's existence is threatened, even though God is not seemingly punishing them for unfaithfulness. How can the leadership of the community ensure that the community will keep their faith in and continue to worship YHWH during these commodities? Through the reshaping of the memories in the narrative of the salvation of Jerusalem during Hezekiah's reign – with an emphasis on Hezekiah's faith to re-actualize it to their present situation, the Chronicler also reshapes the community's interpretation of its own "autobiographical" narrative. Thus, keeping alive on-going process of perpetually interpreting the narrative of their past in light of the new memories that are made in the present, in order to ensure the future existence of the community.

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▶ Paper

Is the "Book of Proverbs" a book of proverbs?

➥ Respondent: Marcel Krusche

▶ Abstract

The מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה is known throughout English tradition as the Book of Proverbs. Despite this, interpreters are generally reluctant to read these biblical sayings in the same way that they might read genuine proverbs. In this paper, I challenge this tendency. Using contemporary genre theory, I argue that the sayings are not proverbs in a straightforward sense, and yet they should be read as proverbs. Indeed, they invoke the proverb genre through e.g. their content, form and style. This genre invocation brings with it attendant strategies for interpretation and use. In particular, it invites readers to use the biblical sayings like proverbs in specific situations with specific functions. There is much recent research in paremiology (proverb studies) that could be fruitfully incorporated here, and I present some preliminary results of the investigation.

▶ Project Summary

PhD: "Open Proverbs"; Post-PhD: "Animal Intersections"

The paper I am presenting to OTSEM is a spin-off from my doctoral thesis, viva-ed in Feb 2018. The thesis was entitled Open Proverbs: Exploring Genre and Openness in Proverbs 10-22, and will be published in early 2020 with SBL. The OTSEM paper explicit presents an argument which is woven in a more complex fashion throughout the thesis.

Download the whole project summary here

▶ Keywords Proverbs, genre, paremiology, function, wisdom

Areas for discussion

Thank you for taking the time to read my paper. I am happy to discuss whatever emerges out of it from your perspective. But here are some ideas for discussion points; they are mainly things that I myself am unsure about.

- I have spoken of "the prototypical proverb", largely drawing on paremiological research and cross-cultural parallels. Am I in danger of universalising a genre which is actually culturally-specific?
- Related to this, ought I pay more attention to the Hebrew word מָשָׁל, which may give us some insight into the "ethnic genre" of the Israelites (this is what Niditch argues)?
- Have I paid sufficient attention to the way that the biblical proverbs diverge from prototypical proverbs? I am aware that they also invoke genre conventions different from those of folk proverbs (e.g. those of Didactic Instructions). Do I need to comment more on this?
- Do the areas proposed for further research look fruitful, or are some of them problematic?

Is the "Book of Proverbs" a book of proverbs?

The מִשְׁלֵי שְׁלֹמֹה is known throughout English tradition as the Book of Proverbs. Despite this, however, there is a general scholarly reluctance to read its sayings in the way we might read genuine proverbs. Otto Eißfeldt made a seminal distinction more than a century ago: *Volkssprichwörter* "folk proverbs" may lurk somewhere in the book's prehistory, but in the book's current form, they have been replaced by *Kunstsprüche* "artistic sayings".[1] Though the arguments have been refined over the years, the general scholarly impression remains: the sayings should be read as artistic creations of elite scribes, embedded in a literary didactic work.[2] Some scholars do challenge this view, and see more connection between biblical sayings and genuine proverbs,[3] but this often fails to influence their interpretive practices.

In this article, I will address the relationship between the sayings in Book of Proverbs (10:1-22:16 and 25-29)[4] and the proverb genre. In §1, I will argue (with most scholars) that these biblical sayings are not proverbs in a straightforward sense. I will suggest, however, (diverging from most scholars) that they do invoke the proverb genre, and hence can be read in some sense "as proverbs". In §2, I will explore the implications of this for how we interpret them.

[1] Eißfeldt, 1913.
[2] E.g. McKane, 1970 pp.32-33: "The sentence literature in the book of Proverbs… is devoid of the imaginative constituents of the popular proverb." It bears "unmistakable evidence of literary composition according to established stylistic conventions. Such sentences have been hammered into shape, filed and polished, and whatever their difference in content… they have in common the character of self-conscious literary products."
[3] This is often in terms of the origin of the biblical sayings. See below n.22. A few scholars have applied insights from paremiology (proverb studies) to the book of Proverbs. See Hildebrandt, 2005; Millar, 2020; Nahkola, 2016; Sandoval, 2006; Schneider, 1992.
[4] The other sections in Proverbs (1-9, 22:1-24:34, and 30-31) are quite different in genre, so will not be considered.

1. Can we read the sayings "as proverbs"?

1(a) The sayings viewed individually

Invoking a genre

Let us begin, then, with the question of whether we can or should read these the sayings in Proverbs 10:1-22:16 and 25-29 "as proverbs". This immediately raises the issue of genre, which deserves more sustained attention in biblical scholarship.[5] My genre analysis, presented below, suggests that the biblical sayings do not belong to the proverb genre as such. But they do play with and invoke this genre, inviting their readers to interpret and use them "as proverbs".

Biblical scholars have often worked with a simplistic view of genres, which understands them as in/out categories. A text either belongs to the genre or it does not, depending on a set of necessary and sufficient criteria. In the idealised system thus constructed, genres are mutually exclusive, defined in opposition to each other. They are "pure" and uncontaminated,[6] and Derrida's "law of genre" holds: "Genres are not to be mixed. I will not mix genres".[7] What this means for our sayings is that they either are or are not proverbs.

However, this rigid categorisation breaks down in face of real texts, which cannot be categorised so absolutely. A genre is not like an exclusive club, admitting only those who tick a checklist of criteria.[8] It is more like a family, where characteristics are shared in varying degrees by various member-texts.[9] The relevant characteristics can vary from genre to genre (form, style, metre, topic, addressee, context, purpose etc.). When these characteristics accumulate or are particularly pronounced in a certain text, this text may be considered a prototype of the genre, and other texts' memberships are judged by comparison.[10] Overall, genres are flexible and dynamic, and have blurred boundaries.

What's more, genres can overlap. A text can be situated in several genres at once, and hence does not properly "belong to" any of them. Describing how his law of unmixable genres breaks down,

[5] While discussions of genre have been very prevalent in recent scholarship on wisdom literature, these almost focus on the genre "wisdom" itself, rather than on the smaller genres of which it is composed. See especially Kynes, 2019 and the essays in Sneed, 2015b.
[6] In his seminal form-critical work, Gunkel espoused a view of original genres (*Gattungen*) as "completely pure" (*völlig rein*), Gunkel, 1933, p.28 and elsewhere. See discussion in Buss, 1999, pp.246-255.
[7] Derrida, 1980, p.55, Derrida goes on to show how this law disintegrates.
[8] This "checklist" theory of categorisation has been criticised by e.g. Fillmore, 1975.
[9] The "family resemblance" view of categories was seminally introduced by Wittgenstein, 1958. It has been applied to genre in biblical studies by e.g. Dell, 2015, and criticised as an approach by Fishelov, 1993.
[10] The "prototype" view of categories began with the psycholinguistic work of Eleanor Rosch (e.g. Rosch, 1973). It has been applied to genre theory by e.g. Sinding, 2002. In biblical studies, see Wright, 2010.

Derrida speaks of "a sort of participation without belonging – a taking part in without being part of".[11] A text may participate in or invoke multiple genres by employing and playing with their recognisable characteristics (a film may simultaneously invoke the gore of horror and the slap-stick exaggeration of comedy, resulting in a comedy-horror hybrid). I will suggest that the sayings in Proverbs do not "belong to" the proverb genre, but they do invoke it.

The proverb genre in ancient Israel

This, of course, assumes that such a thing as "the proverb genre" existed for the composers and audience of the Book of Proverbs. It is well-established in paremiology (proverb studies) that proverbs in some form have recurred across the globe and throughout history (though we should avoid universal claims).[12] In Mesopotamia, for example, sayings were gathered into collections from as early as c. 2600BCE,[13] and were quoted in narratives, hymns, and letters.[14] Something about the proverb genre taps into human cognitive capacities and societal instincts, giving it transcultural utility.[15] The precise nature of the sayings may vary from culture to culture,[16] but there are also remarkable transcultural similarities, which cluster together in prototypically proverbial texts.[17] In origin, they are apparently authorless creations, the public stock of ordinary people. In content, they give traditional moral advice about everyday issues, often employing concrete imagery. In form, that are short, self-contained and sentential; poetic and pithy. In medium they are spoken conversationally, and in function they cut into specific situations, often serving to evaluate the circumstances or to direct the hearer.

Sayings with characteristics like these are known in the narrative and prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible,[18] testifying that they were part of the common rhetorical stock of the Israelite/Judahite people. When they occur in the text, they are sometimes unmarked, sometimes introduced by "thus it is said" (עַל־כֵּן יֵאָמֵר or similar; e.g. Gen 10:9; 2 Sam 5:8, 20:18), and sometimes designated as מָשָׁלִים (1

[11] Derrida, 1980, p.59. This view of genre has been explored and endorsed in biblical studies by e.g. Newsom, 2005, p.439; Zahn, 2012, p.277.
[12] See the discussion in Hakamies, 2016; cf. Lauhakangas, 2007, pp.214-219, who argues that proverbs are a universal genre.
[13] Published in e.g. Gordon, 1959. There is debate about whether these sayings reflect an oral tradition of the people (Alster, 1993, p.9), or are inventions of the scribal school (Veldhuis, 2000).
[14] Taylor, 2005, pp.21-24.
[15] See Honeck, 2013 on the cognitive foundations of the proverb genre.
[16] See Norrick's distinction between "supercultural" and "ethnographic" definitions; Norrick, 1985, pp. 58-59.
[17] The seminal work on the proverb by Archer Taylor concluded that proverbs elude definition, exuding some "incommunicable quality"; Taylor, 1931, p.3. Since then, there have been extensive discussions about proverb definition. See Norrick, 2015.
[18] E.g. Gen 10:9; Judg 8:2, 21; 1 Sam 10:12≈19:24; 16:7, 24:14[13]; 2 Sam 20:18; 1 Kgs 20:11; Ezek 12:22, 16:44 18:2≈Jer 31:29.

Sam 10:12, 24:14; Ezek 12:22–23, 18:2–3). This term (מָשָׁל) has a broad semantic range, and can refer to various discourse types.[19] I use the English term "proverb" to isolate the "short saying" area of this semantic range. Detailed work elsewhere has used paremiological insights to analyse the characteristics and function of these sayings.[20]

The sayings in Proverbs invoke the proverb genre

My contention is that the sayings in the book of Proverbs tap into this genre, in a way recognisable to the original audience. This does not mean that they "belong to" the genre, nor that they display all its prototypical characteristics. I will suggest that, though the *origin, self-designation, content, form/style* and *medium* of the sayings may diverge in places from prototypical proverbs, they nonetheless resemble the prototypes, and thus invoke the genre.

The biblical sayings may stem from a different *origin* and social location to prototypical proverbs. In caricature: the former are found amongst the elite; the latter amongst the ordinary people. However, both sides of this should be nuanced. The biblical sayings are, in the form we have them, necessarily products of the literati (for they are written down),[21] but some of them may nonetheless have circulated amongst ordinary people.[22] What's more, in contrast to other ancient Near Eastern Instructions, which explicitly set their prologues in a courtly context,[23] Proverbs' own prologue speaks of uncourtly everyday life.[24] Conversely, though prototypical proverbs express the wisdom of the ordinary people, they might be used by the higher echelons too.[25] Hence we find them on the lips of the elite prophet Ezekiel (Ezek 12:22, 16:44, 18:2) and the King of Israel (1 Kgs 20:11). In terms of proverb use, "elite" and "folk" should not be dichotomised.[26] If the elite did compose the biblical

[19] Taunt songs (Isa 14:4, Mic 2:4), allegories (Ezek 17:2, 21:5[20:49]), poems (Pss 49:5[4], 78:2) and discourses (Num 23:7, Job 27:1). There have been some attempts to describe a "ethnic genre" which would account for all these diverse uses, but none are ultimately persuasive. It is better to see the term as a polyseme, denoting different things in different contexts, just as e.g. the English word "script" may denote the written version of a play, a piece of computer coding, a student's exam answer, or someone's handwriting. See Crenshaw, 1974, pp.229-239; Eißfeldt, 1913; Fox, 2009, pp. 54-55; Herbert, 1954; Jeremias, 1963; Johnson, 1955; Landes, 1978; McKane, 1970, pp.22-33; Niditch, 1993; Polk, 1983; Suter, 1981.
[20] Camp, 1981; Fontaine, 1982, 1985, 2002, 2004; Hasan-Roken, 1990; van Heerden, 2003; Lieber, 1984; Niditch, 1993.
[21] Several scholars propose an elite courtly origin for the sayings: Ansberry, 2011; Fox, 1996; Perdue, 2008; von Rad, 1972. For criticisms of this hypothesis, see Weeks, 1994, pp.41-56.
[22] Suggesting a folk origin for (at least some of) the sentence literature: Barucq, 1972; Dell, 2006; Golka, 1993; Naré, 1986; Paterson, 1954; Washington, 1994; Westermann, 1995; Whybray, 1990.
[23] See discussion in Ansberry, 2011, pp.13-19 (Egyptian instructions) and pp.26-29 (Mesopotamian instructions).
[24] Apart from the single titular mention of King Solomon, 1:1.
[25] Compare the contemporary example of Akan folk proverbs which are adopted by the chief's circle. Yankah, 2012, discussed by Fox, 2009 p.485.
[26] Many scholars acknowledge that both these locations are suited for Proverbs. E.g. Dell, 2006, p.53.

sayings, they chose a genre which transcends social boundaries. Their generic choice implies an ideological move, imbuing their instructions with traditional authority and universal validity.

When discerning genre, we should be attentive a text's *self-designation*, which guides the reader in what to expect, and consequently in what she will find. The biblical sayings call themselves מָשָׁלִים (1:1, 10:1, 25:1), priming the reader to recognise their resemblance to traditional sayings. The semantic background of this term is probably מָשַׁל "to be like" (BDB I).[27] Indeed, "likeness" is important for both prototypical proverbs and biblical sayings. Many contain explicit comparisons,[28] and those which do not are intended as standards for comparison with situations in life.[29]

In terms of their *content*, the sayings are strikingly similar to the proverb stocks of other peoples,[30] their tropes recurring across space and time. They impart traditional moral advice, drawing from several spheres of everyday life – the neighbourhood and family (cf. Ezek 16:44; 18:2=Jer 31:29); the law court and agriculture (cf. Jdgs 8:2). They show ambivalence about the elites, and concern for the poor.[31] As conversational wisdom, prototypical proverbs are socially-oriented, and often function to ease community tensions.[32] Similarly, the biblical sayings commend behaviour conducive to harmonious communal life: avoid quarrels (16:28; 17:1,14; 20:3; 26:17), placate the angry (15:1, 18; 21:14), restrain your speech (10:19; 11:12,13; 13:3; 17:27; 21:23).[33]

They also bear the *formal* and *stylistic* markers of proverbs. Proverbs are short and pithy, crying out for a context to elucidate them. But when used in a context, they set themselves apart as self-contained, summarial remarks. They employ heightened poetic language, with soundplay, wordplay (cf. 1 Sam 24:14[13]) and figures of speech (cf. Ezek 18:2 = Jer 31:29), adding to their memorability and persuasiveness. They are indirect and observational, subtly persuading their hearers without abrupt imperatives.

It should be noted though that many biblical sayings differ from prototypical proverbs here. Instead of being single-lined, they have stylised two-lined parallelism.[34] And instead of employing

[27] Some have suggested instead "to rule" (BDB II), hence "sovereign word" or "word of power" (e.g. recently Perdue, 2000, 27). However, this view has largely been discredited, mainly based on cognate languages. See discussion in McKane, 1970, pp.24-26.
[28] E.g. Gen 10:9; Judges 8:2, 21; 1 Kgs 20:11; Ezek 16:44; many examples in Proverbs, esp. chs. 25-26; also e.g. 10:26; 11:22; 12:4,18; 16:15,24; 18:8,11.
[29] See McKane's explanation of the מָשָׁל genre. McKane, 1970, pp.26-33.
[30] Barucq, 1972; Golka, 1993; Kimilike, 2008; Naré, 1986; Westermann, 1995.
[31] Westermann, 1995; Whybray, 1990.
[32] Lauhakangas, 2007, p.208; Fontaine, 1982, pp.154-158.
[33] Restraint in speech is a common trope in wisdom texts across the ancient Near East (see Lyu, 2012, pp.102-107), and in proverb texts cross-culturally (see Norrick, 1997).
[34] It has been common to argue that an original single-lined folk saying was supplemented by a second line when it was incorporated into the written collection. Influentially Eißfeldt, 1913, p.47.

concrete imagery, they use general language.[35] But this cannot disqualify them entirely from proverbiality. Indeed, cross-culturally and in ancient Israel, some proverbs do exhibit parallelism (e.g. 1 Sam 16:7) and generality (e.g. 1 Sam 24:14[13]). And neither feature prevents them from functioning as proverbs, useful for specific situations. A proverb with parallelism shows the situation from dual perspectives, and may have increased motivational capacity;[36] a general proverb allows room for many applications. If proof is needed that such sayings could function as proverbs, then we need look no further than the numerous biblically-inspired societies, who have used them just so.[37]

Finally, though the book of Proverbs comes to us in a written *medium*, it does not lose contact with oral tradition – a hallmark of prototypical proverbs. It is easy to forget, in our contemporary writing-infused culture, that Israel was essentially an oral society, even within its literate subsections. The two media were intertwined, with the oral taking priority.[38] Orality might explain the existence of variant proverbs (multiple versions of ostensibly the same saying, found scattered throughout the collections). While these could be explained otherwise, it is possible that they arose through the Chinese-whisper effect of the oral repetition.[39] Proverbs is aware of its own orality, and is insistent in its imperative: "Listen!" (1:8; 4:1; 5:7; 7:24; 8:32, 33; 19:20; 22:17; 23:19, 22). The sayings thus become available as spoken, conversational tools.

Overall, then, the sayings in Prov 10:1-22:16 and 25-29 do not "belong to" the proverb genre. Their origin, self-designation, content, form/style, and medium diverge in places from those of prototypical proverbs. However, there is enough resemblance that the sayings continually invoke this genre, and invite their readers to interpret them "as proverbs".

[35] This is the main reason why some scholars, like McKane, refuse to see them as genuine proverbs. McKane, 1970 pp.22-33.
[36] Hildebrandt, 1992.
[37] See Hagopian, 2008; Mieder, 2015, pp.35-36; Snapp, 1933.
[38] Niditch, 1996 describes an oral-written continuum, and Carr, 2005 envisages a complex nexus for transmission, involving memorisation, orality, and writing.
[39] E.g. Carr argues that these are "memory variants" based on oral tradition. Carr, 2011, pp.25-34. Other possibilities include scribal error, different literary sources, and editorial activity. See discussions in Heim, 2013 and Snell, 1993.

1(b) The sayings viewed as a collection

Literarily embedded genres

So far, I have considered the biblical sayings as individual units, but now I must turn to the collection as a whole. Indeed, some argue that, whatever the genre of the individual sayings, this is changed inexorably when they are embedded in the book.

Genre is here understood in a quasi-Bakhtinian sense as coming in two forms; Bakhtin calls them primary and secondary.[40] For Bakhtin, primary genres are simple, concise and usually oral; secondary genres are complex, organised, and usually literary. Many primary genres can be embedded into a secondary genre (think of the songs and prayers embedded in Hebrew narrative). And, for Bakhtin, primary genres "are altered and assume a special character when they enter into complex ones", for they lose contact with everyday life.[41] Hence a proverb is changed by its entry into a didactic collection. It is no longer a spoken unit of direct communication, but has been abstracted and anthologised.

In paremiological research, this interpretive move was paralleled by Wolfgang Mieder. For Mieder, stripping a proverb of its situational context was as good as killing it. Thus he famously sounded the knell: "the proverb in a collection is dead!"[42] In biblical studies, scholars like Claudia Camp took note of this obituary, eulogising that the sayings in Proverbs had been entombed by their literary, collected form. Dead and inert, they no longer functioned as they once might have, potent within lived situations.[43] Rather, according to Camp, they had hardened into "encalcifed dogma", dead "inscribed morality".[44] More recent scholars have nuanced this claim. The proverb in a collection may not be "dead", they say, but it has become something else, something distinctly unproverbial.[45] *Sitz im Leben* has been replaced by *Sitz im Buch,*[46] and it is now a didactic saying enmeshed in a literary work. As such, it no longer invokes the proverb genre.

These proposals should be taken seriously, but cannot be assumed a priori. Embedding one genre into another does not *always* denature it (instructions remain instructions, whether they are found on individual sheets or in a lengthy manual). We must therefore examine the particular texts

[40] Bakhtin, 1986.
[41] Bakhtin, 1986, p.62.
[42] Mieder, 1974, p.892.
[43] For Camp, this meant that they no longer functioned as cultural models, evaluating or affecting reality. Camp, 1985, pp.167-175.
[44] Camp, 1985, p.173.
[45] Several scholars cite Mieder in this way. E.g. Ansberry, 2011, p.72; Brown, 2002, p.182; Brown 2004, p.138; Clifford, 2009, pp.243-244; Heim, 2001, p.42; Murphy, 1998, p.67.
[46] Ansberry, 2011, p.72.

involved. For the biblical sayings, two levels of literary contextualisation are sometimes thought to change their nature: immediate and distant.

Immediate literary context

When viewed in their immediate literary context, the sayings might be taken, not individually, but as parts of an interconnected whole. They can then be read in relation to each other, the meaning of each fleshed out by its neighbours. Indeed, Knut Heim suggests that "[t]his reading-together allows for inferences and cross-references which lead to a cross-fertilization and inter-animation of meaning".[47] They lose the self-contained quality of prototypical proverbs, and begin to seep into each other. They meld into their literary context, and are therefore not available for extraction and use as proverbs.

Two main arguments are generally offered to support this view. First is an assumption: speakers and writers tend to create connected discourses; hearers and readers tend to expect them.[48] Heim argues that if a proverb occurs in a conversation, hearers expect it to be related to the conversational context, and similarly if it occurs in a collection, readers expect it to be related to the literary context.[49] In both instances, he says, we naturally use the whole to interpret each of the parts. But searching for an interrelation of parts is an interpretive convention, and interpretive conventions vary depending on genre. (I would not, for example, search for significance in the interrelationship of numbers in my phone book). And indeed, spoken conversations and written collections are very different genres. We expect coherence and inter-part relation in the former,[50] but not necessarily in the latter – if it is there it must be found empirically.

Second, then, are the empirical links which connect proverbs together, e.g. alliteration, catchwords, and thematic similarities.[51] Perhaps these show that the biblical sayings are meant to be enlivened by their literary context. The constraints of this article do not allow details here, but suffice it to say that the alleged connections are often far from obvious, and may not be intentional: proverbs in *any* arrangement will generate some links, purely by chance.[52] And even if intentional, perhaps they

[47] Heim, 2001, p.107.
[48] Heim, 2001, pp.72-75; van Leeuwen, 1988, p.31.
[49] Heim, 2001, p.74.
[50] See Grice's influential conversational principles, which include this "maxim of relation" Grice, 1975, p.46.
[51] According to Stuart Weeks' analysis, 58% of the proverbs in 10:1-22:16 link with their neighbours in these ways. Weeks, 1994, p.24.
[52] Fox, 2009, pp.479-480 experimented with Weeks' method on groups of sayings randomly jumbled. He found that 36–60% of them had links with their neighbours.

are not significant:[53] the scribe may simply have ordered proverbs by some associative principle,[54] or to help the flow of reading.[55]

Indeed, the reader's immediate impression is of random arrangement. If she tries to read straight through the proverbs like a continuous discourse, she becomes disoriented. She could say with Don Quixote, "to pile up and string together proverbs at random makes conversation dull and vulgar".[56] Perhaps, then, this is not how they are meant to be read. So (again with Don Quixote) she might nuance her criticism: "Mind… I do not say that a proverb aptly brought in is objectionable". She might find in the collection, not a connected literary discourse, but a selection of proverb-like sayings, each standing in all its proverbial particularity. Each can then serve as an individual tool, to be extracted from its literary encasing, and "aptly brought in" to a situation like a proverb.

Distant literary context

I suggest, then, that the immediate literary context of the sayings does not stop them from invoking the proverb genre. But might their distant literary context do so? In particular, Proverbs 1-9 is often said to provide a hermeneutical framework for the sayings collections that follow.[57] It sets the reader up with expectations about what will follow and about how to read it. In particular, it establishes a certain *performance context* and *function* for the book. Some scholars suggest that these prevent the reader from seeing the subsequent sayings as proverbs. I contend, however, that they may actually facilitate it.

First, Prov 1-9 indicates a particular *performance context*. Like many ancient Near Eastern didactic texts, it depicts a father instructing his son through long, wise discourses.[58] Some argue that the sayings in chs.10ff are imagined as belonging to the same sustained recitation.[59] If so, they are not functioning as proverbs. However, this idea is questionable. At 10:1, discourse is disrupted by a new title – "the proverbs of Solomon" (10:1).[60] Before had been connected instructions, infused with direct

[53] Arguing for significance in the arrangement of the sayings: Boström, 1928; Hatton, 2008; Heim, 2001; Hildebrandt, 1990; Scoralick, 1995; Skehan, 1976; Waltke, 2005; Whybray, 1979.
Suggesting the arrangement is relatively insignificant: Fox, 2009; McKane, 1970; Scott, 1965; Weeks, 1994; Weeks, 2010; Westermann, 1995.
[54] Fox, 2009, p.480.
[55] Weeks, 1994, p.33.
[56] de Cervantes, 1952, p.334.
[57] E.g. Ansberry, 2011, pp.74-75; Bartholomew & O'Dowd, 2011, p.97; Camp, 1985, p.186-191; Brown, 2002, p.153; Sandoval, 2006, p.116; Clifford, 2009, pp.243-246; Yoder, 2005.
[58] Some suggest that this was the historical actuality behind textual transmission. E.g. Carr, 2005.
[59] Fox, 2003.
[60] While ANE parallels usually indicate at this point that the performance context continues, it is notable that the biblical text does not. Vayntrub, 2016, p.110.

imperatives to "my son"; now we have atomistic, third-person sayings.[61] These differences suggest a break between the sections, and a new performance context.

But if there is not the specific continuity of an ongoing speech, there may be a more general continuity – a continuity, what's more, which may facilitate reading the sayings as proverbs. Chs. 1-9 have established a father-son context. This immediately continues into the sayings (10:1, 5), evoking the familial environment known as a prime locus of proverb performance.[62] Through their didactic, authoritative lectures, chs. 1-9 have inculcated into their hearer a posture of humble receptivity – precisely the posture required to properly heed proverbial advice. And they have highlighted the preeminent value of wisdom, which will then serve as a key motivation to action in the proverbs which follow.

Second, the contextualisation of the sayings after chs. 1-9 is sometimes said to change their *function*. Chs. 1-9 may orientate the book towards offering general moral principles and inculcating timeless virtues. Whether or not the book was used in formal "schools",[63] it enculturates students holistically into a sagacious way of life. This may appear to diverge from the prototypical function of proverbs (namely, to give situation-specific advice). Indeed, Heim argues that readers of Proverbs are probably seeking general guidance in faith and practice, so they are unlikely to use the sayings as proverbs in specific situations.[64] However, I would ask how else faith and practice are manifested, other than through specific situations? The general function does not override the specific, but the two work together. Indeed, paremiologists have long observed that proverbs are used for ethical guidance of the young, promulgating the status quo, and giving traditional moral advice.[65]

Overall, then, the performance context and function established by chs. 1-9 do not prevent the reader from seeing the sayings in chs. 10ff as proverbs. If anything, they may facilitate this genre recognition. Tied with the perception of random arrangement and proverbial characteristics of the sayings, this creates conditions highly conducive to reading the sayings "as proverbs".

[61] Within 10:1-22:16 and 25-29, "my son" only occurs in 19:27; 27:11. Imperatives occur in 23 verses.
[62] Mieder, 1997, p.414.
[63] Influentially argued by Hermisson, 1968. Cf. also Lang, 1979, pp.186-201; Lemaire, 1981; Perdue, 2008; Shupak, 1993.
[64] Heim, 2001, pp.72-74.
[65] E.g. Bascom, 1954; Penfield & Duru, 1988.

2. What are the implications of reading the sayings "as proverbs"?

The communicative capacity of genre

So far, I have argued that the biblical sayings invoke the proverb genre, when considered both individually and as a collection. Now the question must be asked: So what? What difference does this make to our interpretation? I suggest it makes a good deal of difference. The purpose of genre analysis is not classification for classification's sake. Rather, genres have communicative capacity.

A genre functions as a culturally conditioned mediating framework, prompting the reader how to approach the text. Members of a society are repeatedly exposed to certain genres, and come to absorb conventions for their interpretation, and expectations about their content. Each new instantiation of the genre recalls and renews this "social contract", reinforcing the agreement to interpret in a particular way.[66] What's more, a genre often emerges within a typified situation of use.[67] Within that situation, it provides a socially-recognised means for participants to enact particular identities and roles. It offers rhetorical and linguistic resources to perform sanctioned social actions.[68]

For the proverb genre, these situational and functional aspects are particularly important. Paremiologists stress that the essence of the proverb genre does not reside in the text of the proverb alone. Indeed, this is only one part of a much larger "proverb event".[69] The proverb *text* cannot be fully understood outside of a *specific situation*, where it is performed with a *specific function*. The meaning of a proverb involves the dynamic interrelation of these three parts.[70]

I suggest that by invoking the proverb genre, the biblical sayings simultaneously invoke the attendant conventions for interpretation and use. They invite application to specific situations in specific functions in the manner of proverbs. Paremiological insights in this area have been fruitfully

[66] The metaphor of a genre as a "social contract" comes from Jameson, 1982, pp.103-150. Various other metaphors express the same ideas. Freadman, 1994 likens a genre to a tennis match, where utterances are meaningful because they abide by the "rules of the game". Fishelov, 1993 draws an analogy between a genre and a social institution, for they both "provide a network of norms through which our experience is made culturally meaningful", p.2. For Fowler, 1989, a genre is a "shared code" between text and interpreter, and for Jauss, 1982, a genre provides a "horizon of expectation" about how to interpret.

[67] Influentially suggested by Bitzer, 1968 and Black, 1965. Gunkel had anticipated this observation, with his view of *Gattungen* linked to *Sitze im Leben*. However, the rigid one-to-one connection he proposed is untenable.

[68] For the view of genre as social action, see Miller, 1984.

[69] The move was initiated by a special edition of *The Journal of American Folklore*, the introduction to which promised "a full-scale and highly self-conscious reorientation from the traditional focus upon folklore as 'item' – the things of folklore – to a conceptualization of folklore as 'event'". Bauman, 1971, p.v.

[70] Paremiologist Kirshenblatt-Gimblett influentially expressed this as "Proverb (performance) meaning = participants' evaluation of situation [situation] + participants' understanding of proverb's base meaning [text] + interactional strategy of proverb user [function]" (square brackets added). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1973. This equation has been widely cited in paremiological and biblical scholarship since.

applied to the proverbs of Hebrew narrative by Carole Fontaine and others.[71] I suggest they could be applied to the sayings in the book of Proverbs too. In what follows, I will sketch out some preliminary results in this area, which could serve as avenues for further exploration.

Proverb situation

Proverbs are prototypically spoken into social situations. They are particularly often performed in certain types of circumstance – such as education[72] or conflict[73] – but this does not expend the range of possibilities. In their collected form, the biblical sayings have been extracted from any such context. This decontextualization serves, not to kill them (*qua*-Mieder), but to open them up to multiple recontextualisations elsewhere.[74]

When a proverb is spoken into a social context, it maps onto some salient aspect of the context, isolating and highlighting it. This mapping involves, not a one-to-one correspondence, but a dynamic interrelation.[75] Text and context each remould our interpretation of the other. The proverb is not static, but is enlivened to display flexible dynamism. We cannot, of course, predict every possible instance of application, but we can scope out the range of meaning potential, and analyse the directions of interpretation which the saying may or may not permit. Meaning potential is guided both by certain *variables of application*, and by the *text itself*.

First, then, certain *variables* guide the direction of the proverb application. As these shift, the saying's implications and rhetorical force will shift too. For example, a proverb can have a positive or negative relationship to its context, stating what is or is not the case. Thus I can say "a wise son [heeds] his father's discipline"[76] (בֵּן חָכָם מוֹסַר אָב; Prov 13:1a) to a wise son to commend him, or to a fool to shame him. In the latter case, the second half of the proverb – "but a scoffer does not listen to rebuke" (וְלֵץ לֹא שָׁמַע גְּעָרָה) – may have a biting direct relevance. Equally I can speak the proverb at various temporal points – before, during, or after the son has heeded (or ignored) the discipline.[77] The rhetorical force will change in each instance.

[71] See above, n.20.

[72] Lauhakangas, 2007; Penfield & Duru, 1988.

[73] Fontaine, 1982, pp.154-155; van Heerden, 2003; Lauhakangas, 2007.

[74] Bland, 1994, p.128; Fox, 2009, p.484; Hildebrandt, 2005, pp.6-7.

[75] There is a long-standing debate between paremiologists about whether the Great Chain Metaphor Theory or the Extended Conceptual Base Theory best explains proverb application (see helpful discussion in Bradbury, 2002, pp.265-275). There are also increasing contributions from scholars using Blend Theory; e.g. Aasland, 2009; Andersson, 2013; Buljan & Gradečak-Erdeljić, 2013; Johansen, 2007.

[76] I have supplied the verb in translation. See discussion below.

[77] This proverb is unusual in using the *qatal* form of the verb. According to Cook, in the proverbs in 10:1-22:16 and 25:1-29:27, we find: 180 *yiqtol*, 202 verbless, 48 participial, 38 *qatal* and 31 modal clauses. Whatever their grammatical tense, they seem to maintain a general "gnomic" sense, a proverbial present. Cook, 2005.

What's more, a proverb can address several different parties. The prologue of Proverbs presents didactic instruction from a father to a son, and this type of interchange makes good sense for Prov 13:1. But this is not the only possible context for the sayings. Hebrew narrative suggests that proverbs could be spoken, not only to the lowly, but to those with a high status.[78] The book of Proverbs stresses that even wise men have much to learn,[79] and Prov 13:1 might thus be spoken *to* a father. If so, it commends him to discipline his son, who may consequently become wise. It would be worthwhile to give systematic examination to how these variables might alter proverb meaning and rhetoric.

Second, and more fundamentally, the meaning potential of the *text itself* should be analysed. Openness to multiple meanings is widely noted as a hallmark of the proverb genre.[80] Israelite proverbs were probably no exception. Consider, for example, the proverb "Is Saul also amongst the prophets?", which occurs twice in biblical narrative (1 Sam 10:11, 19:24), and which seems to have a subtly different meaning in each case.[81]

True to genre, the sayings in Proverbs are often ambiguous and open-ended. Their terseness and omission of grammatical markers (e.g. אֲשֶׁר and אֵת) leave them underspecified, and may permit multiple relationships between parts. For example, in Prov 13:1a, two noun phrases are juxtaposed: בֵּן חָכָם מוּסַר אָב "a wise son – a father's discipline".[82] A verb must be supplied, but it is unclear which verb (I suggested "heeds" above, but we might choose another[83]). Many proverbs contain grammatical or semantic ambiguities. The subsequent proverb, 13:2, for example, reads מִפְּרִי פִי אִישׁ יֹאכַל טוֹב וְנֶפֶשׁ בֹּגְדִים חָמָס. In 2a, ambiguities emerge in the subject of the verb: "from the fruit of a man's mouth, he/one will eat good". 2b is more ambiguous still: "but the throat of the treacherous [will eat] violence" (interpreting נֶפֶשׁ physiologically, and assuming the verb gapped from 2a) or "but the desire of the treacherous is violence" (נֶפֶשׁ as desire, and the clause as copula) or "but the treacherous person – violence" (נֶפֶשׁ as the acting person,[84] and חָמָס exclaiming the results of his actions).

Many proverbs contain open-ended or flexible metaphors – what would it mean to "eat good" or "eat violence" (13:2) anyway? Many contain general language – the wise (חָכָם) of 13:1; the treacherous (בֹּגְדִים) of 13:2 – which could be fleshed out in many ways. This breadth of meaning potential is not accidental or unfortunate, but essential to the sayings' use as proverbs. As they are applied, ambiguities are clarified by context and generalities are specified by concrete realities. As

[78] Proverbs are spoken to e.g. Gideon (Jdgs 8:21), Saul (1 Sam 24:14), and Ben-Hadad, King of Syria (1 Kgs 20:11).
[79] Prov 1:5; cf. also 10:8; 12:15; 15:5, 14; 17:10, 24; 18:15; 19:25; 21:11.
[80] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1973; Krikmann, 1974.
[81] Lieber, 1984.
[82] This device of "blunt juxtaposition" is very common in Proverbs. See Fox, 2009, p.561.
[83] For example, we could supply "hears" via a back-gapping of יִשְׁמַע from the second colon; or "is the product of" as an extension of the copula understanding: the wise son *is* a father's discipline (Delitzsch, 1884).
[84] נֶפֶשׁ is frequently used to represent the acting person in Priestly legislation (Lev 2:1; 4:2, 27 etc.). Cf. also Prov 11:25.

students of the proverbs, we should be sensitive to this, explore the openness, and not pre-emptively foreclose possibilities.

The situation-specificity inherent in the proverb genre also has implications for the worldview conveyed, about which I can comment only briefly here. A genre provides lenses which colour and distort the reality it mediates, and which thereby control the perspective of its readers.[85] For example, the wisdom conveyed by the proverb genre necessarily maintains contact with everyday life. Wisdom emerges not from the proverb text alone, but from its interaction with situational context. In epistemological terms, not just tradition, but experience, is paramount.[86] Though the biblical sayings are expressed in broad, general terms, they do not drift off into abstraction.[87] Rather, their generality ensures applicability to many concrete situations.

Following from this, proverbial wisdom does not try to construct a wholly consistent system for understanding life. It approaches situation after situation, unperturbed when the muddled mass of human experience generates apparently contradictory principles.[88] Should we or should we not answer a fool according to his folly? Proverbs 26:4-5 merrily advises both. Proverbial wisdom thus accepts its limitations.[89] It distils helpful generalisations, categories and patterns, but never claims to grasp the whole.

Proverb function

Essential to the proverb genre is not only the situation to which it is applied, but also the function for which it is applied. Indeed, proverbs do not simply state facts, but are active – flattering, advising, congratulating, warning, and so on. In linguistic terms, they assert themselves as speech acts. There is a growing body of paremiological research investigating proverbs as speech acts,[90] but this remains largely untapped by biblical scholars. Not all speech acts are equally suitable for proverbs, for genres lean towards certain typified actions.[91] We can highlight two speech acts as prototypical of proverbs: assertion and direction.[92] Proverbs assert the truth about the situation, or they direct their

[85] Medvedev, 1978.
[86] Scholars arguing for an empirical epistemology in Proverbs include Crenshaw, 1985, pp.51-52; Frydrych, 2002, p.53-57. This has been challenged by Fox, 2007.
[87] On wisdom's negotiation between the general and specific, see Bartholomew & O'Dowd, 2011, pp.27-28.
[88] On contradictions in Proverbs, see Hatton, 2008; Nahkola, 2016.
[89] See especially von Rad, 1972, pp.97-110.
[90] Dairo, 2010; Jesenšek, 2015; Kayange, 2018; Klégr, 2013; Lawal, Ajayi, & Raji, 1997; Norrick, 1982.
[91] Miller, 1984.
[92] E.g. Harnish, 2003, pp.167-168; Krikmann, 1974, p.6; Lauhakangas, 2007, pp.219-220.

hearer to change the situation. If Hebrew narrative is anything to go by, Israelite proverbs were no exception here.[93]

As assertive speech acts, proverbs do not give neutral "facts", but charged evaluations. They create a value-laden system of categories and patterns for understanding the world. Circumstances may seem disordered, but they can be sorted into known types. Each situation can be managed by disambiguating and "naming" it – as wisdom or folly, righteousness or wickedness.[94] As more and more situations are confronted, an iterative process takes place. Each speech act invokes the evaluative system to claim a new situation, changing how we understand that situation. Reciprocally, each situation enters the evaluative system, changing how we understand that system. As assertive speech acts then, proverbs negotiate worldview in conversation with situations of the world.

In their directive function, proverbs offer these same categories and patterns as incentives for action. Character categories are value laden, and intend to offer intrinsic motivation for moral development. Becoming wise is the student's highest end. If extrinsic motivation is needed, many sayings describe the tick-tock pattern of the righteous prospering and the wicked falling.[95] This, of course, is not always borne out in reality, leading some to accuse Proverbs of a naïve, unrealistic idealism.[96] But proverb function should be taken seriously here: they offer whips and carrots to spur the student into action.[97]

Like proverbs cross-culturally, the biblical sayings achieve their speech-act potency through sophisticated rhetorical techniques.[98] Well-crafted speech is highly valued in Proverbs and ancient Near Eastern wisdom more generally,[99] and the biblical sayings practice what they preach. They create the appearance of objectivity and timeless veracity, demanding immediate acquiescence to their truth. They do not provoke discussion, but clinch the case.[100] They are depersonalised and indirect, to protect the speaker and avoid affronting the hearer.[101] These functional and rhetorical aspects of the biblical sayings deserve more attention in scholarship.

[93] Fontaine commented on the interconnection between these two functions in Hebrew narrative. Fontaine, 1982, p.164.
[94] On disambiguation, see Lieber, 1984. On "naming" the situation, see Abrahams, 1968, p.150; Bland, 1994, pp.91-94; Lauhakangas, 2007, p.220.
[95] The literature on this "act-consequence connection" is extensive. It was influentially introduced by Koch, 1955. For more recent studies, see Adams, 2008, Freuling, 2004.
[96] See discussion of the "simplicity thesis" in Stewart, 2016, pp.71-78.
[97] Hildebrandt, 2005.
[98] Bland, 1994.
[99] In Proverbs e.g. 12:25; 15:23; 16:24; 25:11.
[100] Jacobson, 1990, p.79.
[101] Fontaine, 1982, p.157.

Conclusion

In this article, I have argued that the Book of Proverbs *is not* a book of proverbs, if understood in a simplistic sense. However, the sayings in the book do powerfully invoke the proverb genre, and hence can be read *as* a book of proverbs. Though they diverge from prototypical proverbs in their origin, self-designation, content, form/style, and medium, they nonetheless resemble them. Neither the immediate nor the distant literary context changes this impression. By this resemblance, they bring to bear the strategies for use and interpretation which are conventional for proverbs. Paremiologists have recently made exciting advances in proverb interpretation, particularly regarding how proverbs interact with multiple situations in multiple functions. Above, I have outlined some of the implications of this for Proverbs scholarship, but have only taken some low-hanging fruits. I would exhort my fellow biblical scholars to gather up the rich insights from this field, and not to sleep through the harvest (Prov 10:5)!

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▶ **Paper**

"Nothing is Good in Them": The Prestigious Voice in Eccl 3:9-22

➥ Respondent: Jan Dietrich

▶ **Abstract**

This paper analyzes the construction of Qohelet's character through the speaker's prestigious voice in Ecclesiastes 3:9-22. The goal of my dissertation is to seek out the development of the Qohelet character, and therefore, narrative criticism plays a crucial role in deciphering the first-person autobiographical voice in this book. In this section, the speaker i.e. Qohelet's evaluating voice addresses humankind's labor and God's judgement with emphasis on the timeliness of the world. Eccl 3:9-22 is a crucial place in the book where the speaker consistently addresses humankind using the third-person indicator (such as בם in v. 12) while emphasizing his personal first-person seeing (ראיתי) and knowing (ידעתי) of God's judgment. This paper examines this literary strategy in order to bring light to how Qohelet's speech distinguishes him as a didactic authority mediating and spectating between God and humankind with his divine yet empirical knowledge of time and eternity. It is as if he is a superior being than the common people. At the same time, Qohelet's usage of the "I"-Heart formula to ponder upon himself about God's judgment (vv. 17-18) and the rhetorical questioning1 about the uncertainty of the spirit's final destination (v. 21) seems to bring him back to the level of humans. Therefore, using the textual analyses of these terms and the narrative close reading of this passage, I seek to locate where the didactic voice of Qohelet is placed in relation to humankind and to God. The findings may suggest that the literary strategies in Eccl 3:9-22 allow the speaker to establish himself above all living beings with privileged knowledge while remaining personal, flawed, and "human" at the same time.

▶ **Project Summary**

"Speaking with My Heart": The Literary Construction of Qohelet as Character

Research Question: What can the first-person narrative bring to the textual understanding of Qohelet as a character and the overall meaning of Ecclesiastes?

Brief Description: The book of Ecclesiastes is written in an unusual way within wisdom literature in the Hebrew Bible. Unlike the storytelling mode that Job adopts and unlike the didactic Proverbs, the book incorporates both storytelling and didactic form in its style. By using a narrative first-person's voice, the author lets the speaker—Qohelet (קהלת)—address his life experience and evaluate accordingly. The character Qohelet is exceptionally interested in his relation and judgment of wisdom, which makes the book fascinating for scholars to decipher its intentions, both from a historical and literary standpoint. Traditionally, the misconception is the identification of Qohelet as Solomon the King, and proceeds to interpret the book accordingly. However, the difficulty of understanding the character and the text lies in the fact that there are layers of narrative frame in Ecclesiastes. In fact, the book of Ecclesiastes is unusual since the third-person narrative voice seldom appears, replaced by a great multitude of first-person speeches. If one were to understand how wisdom is portrayed in the book, it is inevitably the first-person speech that presents the wisdom ideas.

Therefore, identifying the first-person speaker's voice is crucial in understanding the character development of "Qohelet." Instead of making assumptions on Qohelet's identity beforehand, the MT text provides us with the character's portrayal of his understanding of the world. The challenge is thus how to read the persona of Qohelet between the lines and to reconstruct a multi-faceted understanding of this character without being under the influence of any external data. The book has "a character who creates his own character: whether Qohelet is the author or, in some sense, a persona of the author, he is presented as the principal speaker."[1] Thus, my analysis will use narrative criticism through close reading of the text, to demonstrate that letting the fictional character "Qohelet" speak of his self-evident understanding of life and the world will contribute to the understanding of the text. Most importantly, the research will focus on the character development while seeking to resolve the traditional undistinguishable muddle between character and author. Through dissecting the narrative first-person components within the text as stated earlier, the research should show how the character development functions within the text, how the autobiographical voice and form influence the meaning of the text, and finally how recognizing Qohelet's autobiography shapes the theological reflections and wisdom understandings of the text.

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▶ **Keywords** Qohelet, first-person speech, mediator, empirical knowledge, prestigious voice

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

"Nothing is Good in Them":

The Prestigious Voice in Eccl 3:9-22

❖ Preface: points for discussion

i. What should be improved upon this narrative approach of Eccl 3:9-22? What are the weaknesses and risks of using this kind of narrative reading instead of reading the text verse by verse individually?

ii. Should טוב in 3:12 be translated as a predicate adj. "good" or a comparative adj. "better"? What are the textual evidences? (מִן ["than"] and the definite article are both missing in this verse, but the similar "there is nothing good than to…" expression in 2:24 has the particle -שֶׁ ["that"] prefixed in שֶׁיֹּאכַל ["than to eat"] which some scholars have argued for its comparative function.)

iii. Keywords: Qohelet, first-person speech, mediator, empirical knowledge, prestigious voice

1. Introduction

My OTSEM paper last year had dealt with the literary devices and their functions that contribute to the autobiographical voice of Qohelet in Eccl 1:12-2:26. The paper concluded that through the first-person narrative stance, the speaker is able to evaluate his experience of the human condition drawing heavily from his anthropological standpoint. While 1:12-2:26 focuses solely on the speaker's personal level of empirical understanding, in Eccl 3 he extends his evaluation to the relationship between humankind and God with the addition of the notion of time. He reaffirms the authority of God and acts like a mediator between God and human while teaching about God's control of time and the gift of enjoyment. Then he proceeds to bring in the analysis of fate and judgment using the analogy between human and animal, arriving at the conclusion that nothing is better than taking pleasure in life. What interests me is how the speaker places himself in a distinct yet distant position from humankind in general, and how this affects the way we perceive his didactic voice.

This paper analyzes the construction of Qohelet's character through the speaker's prestigious voice in Eccl 3:9-22. The speaker i.e. Qohelet's evaluating voice addresses humankind's labor and God's judgement with emphasis on the timeliness of the world. Peculiarly, this section is a crucial text in the book where the speaker addresses humankind using the third-person indicator (such as בם in v. 12) while emphasizing his first-person seeing (ראיתי) and knowing (ידעתי) of God's judgment. His knowledgeable and prestigious didactic stance is vivid. However, midway through his observations, he encounters the need to ponder upon himself ("I"-Heart formula), and near the end of the passage, his rhetorical questioning using the combination of the interrogative מִי יוֹדֵעַ ("who knows…") and הֲ ("if, whether…") about the spirit's destination in v. 21 seems to bring him as close to human as it gets. Is he deliberately speaking with a prestigious voice? Has he shown vulnerability not knowing certain knowledge in the Godly realm? By deciphering the literary functions of specific terms and the narrative close reading of this passage, I seek to locate where the didactic voice of the speaker is situated in relation to humankind and to God. I will first provide my translation and critical notes for 3:9-22, followed by the context, outline, and summary of the text. Then I will explore the voice of the speaker following the literary markers in the text: (1) the superior establishment with first-person verbs; (2) mediating between God and Man using the first person vs. third person; (3) the double function of the "I"-Heart formula; and (4) exposing vulnerability with interrogatives. The findings may suggest that the literary strategies in Eccl 3:9-22 allow the speaker to establish his voice above all living beings with exclusive divine knowledge while remaining personal, flawed, and "human" at the same time.

2. Translation and Critical Notes

3:9 What profit does the one who works have in which he had labored?

10 I have seen the work that God has given to humankind to be occupied with[1]. ***11*** He has made everything proper[2] in its time; yet, he has given/placed eternity[3] in their hearts, so that humankind will not[4] find out the work God has done from the

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[1] Cairo Geniza (𝔠) has the verb לְעַנּוֹת meaning "to be humble with/afflicted with" instead of לַעֲנוֹת. Both usages derive from the root ענה which could mean both "be occupied" and "be afflicted." The appeal to understand the term as "be afflicted" is due to the negative connotation that Qohelet expresses about work/labor (הענין) that is given to humans by God. However, this is not conclusive. Crenshaw suggests that the noun for "work" (הענין) "retains an oppressive connotation throughout Ecclesiastes, even when the translation appears neutral (task, business)" (*Ecclesiastes*, 97), but even so he follows MT and translates the verb לַעֲנוֹת as "to occupy" (*Ecclesiastes*, 91). A. Lange suggests this meaning by the rule of *lectio difficilior* (*Weisheit und Torheit bei Kohelet und in seiner Umwelt* [Frankfurt 1991], 98), but this is disputed by Schoors, saying that the rule is "not a law of Medes and Persians" and that "the idea that God afflicts people is not expressed by Qoh" (*Preacher* II, 429). Seow also translates the verb according to MT ("to be preoccupied") but emphasizes that there might be "the possibility of wordplay" between the two meanings (*Ecclesiastes*, 121). The meaning, thus, remains open. Nonetheless, according to the context of Eccl 3, the speaker does not explicitly express a negative view towards "work" and that the following v. 11 speaks about God making everything proper. To say that the verb ענה shows God "afflicting" work onto humankind seems unfitting, and therefore it is better to translate it as "to be occupied with."

[2] While *BDB* suggests the adj. form יָפֶה means "fair, beautiful" (*BDB* 421), *HALOT* specifies its meaning as "right" in this verse (*HALOT* 424). W. C. Williams and U. H. Ringgren both note that יָפֶה is taken as a synonym of the word טוב, meaning "good, proper" which is more evident in Eccl 5:17(18) (W. C. Williams, *NIDOTTE* 2: 494; U. H. Ringgren, *TDOT* VI: 220). However, the book has used טוב 52 times and especially once in v. 12, right after v. 11's usage of יָפֶה. Observing this, Schoors draws from the conclusion of L. Gorssen to say that "יפה belongs to the sphere of intelligibility, but the meaning 'appropriate' is closer to the mark, since it is bound with בעתו, which must refer to the appropriate times in 3,1-8, whereas in Gen 1, טוב appears more to belong to the sphere of laudatory acknowledgment and admiration of the good qualities of God's creation" (Schoors, *Preacher* II, 257; referencing L. Gorssen, *ETL* 49 [1970], 292: "reléve de l'ordre de l'intelligibilité").

[3] The meaning of the term עֹלָם (or its plene form עוֹלָם as written in Eccl 3:14) remains disputed, although *BDB* and *HALOT* generally have it to be "long duration, antiquity, futurity" (*BDB* 761; *HALOT* 798). Both N. H. D. Preuss and A. Tomasino have expressed the difficult understanding of this word in Eccl 3. However, Preuss suggests that the usage הָעֹלָם here should be understand along the context of the other occurrences in the book. Examining the usage of the root: in 1:4, the word לְעוֹלָם entails "forever" in the sense that everything in this world remains perpetually the same; in 1:10, the word לְעֹלָמִים either is viewed to be an intensive plural or as a succession of ages; and in 12:5, the term עוֹלָמוֹ with a suffix evidently means "grave, eternal home" (N. H. D. Preuss, *TDOT* X: 541-42). It seems as if this concept of "eternity" in 3:11 and 3:14 is locked, according to the other appearances in the book, within the human existence in this world. Likewise, Preuss notes that "Eccl. 3:14 can merely underscore that v. 11 in its own turn is saying that the 'duration' of which God has made human beings aware is not nor can it be a consciousness of human existence as such, but rather again the experience of the torment of existence as a burden through the passing of time and through the experience of the burdensome, inaccessible, and incessant nature of existence" (Preuss, *TDOT* X: 542). That is, instead of being the "eternity" as a transcend understanding of God's timelessness, the word usage here in 3:11 is rather a way to emphasize the limited and insignificant experience that incorporates human existence as a whole. Similarly, Tomasino suggests this reading of the word in Eccl 3, stating, "this statement probably refers to the knowledge that all events occur in their proper time (season, life, death, etc.; cf. 3:1-9)" (A. Tomasino, *NIDOTTE* 3: 350). Thus, עֹלָם could be translated as "eternity" with the sense of humankind's incapability to comprehend God's doings—a feeling of prolonged futile.

[4] The literal translation "from without that man will not find the work…" is nonsensical. Both Schoors and Seow observed that the phrase מבלי אשר לא is unparalleled (see Schoors, *Preacher* I, 147-48; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 163), so Seow suggests that it might introduce "a result or final clause (so LXX, Vulg, Targ, and Syr)" (*Ecclesiastes*, 163).

beginning to the end. ***12*** I know that nothing is good in them[5], except to rejoice and to do good/well in their lives. ***13*** And also every human who shall eat and drink and see good in all his labor, this is the gift of God.

14 I know that all that God does will exist to eternity; upon it nothing will be added, and from it nothing will be reduced. God has done (this) so that they will be fearful before him. ***15*** Whatever is, it already was; what is to be, already is. And God seeks what is pursued[6].

16 Furthermore, I saw under the sun the place of judgment there was wickedness, and the place of righteousness there was wickedness. ***17*** I said in my heart, "God will judge the righteous and the wicked, because there is a time for all matter and upon all the deed there[7]." ***18*** I said in my heart, "As regards to humankind, God (sought) to test

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[5] There are two MSS that attest the easier reading באדם ("among the man") instead of the MT's בם ("among them"). Scholars have agreed that this is a scribal correction to fit with similar phrases in 2:24 and 8:15, as well as to provide a harmonized reading with the term בחייו ("in his life") with a 3ms suffix (so Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 164; Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 80-81; Fox, *Time*, 212; and Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall, *Qoheleth*, 130). However, there is no need for such correction since בם refers back to the generic and collective האדם ("humankind, human being") that accompanies the plural expression בלבם ("in their hearts") in v. 11. It is one of the features of Qohelet to refer to humankind (אדם) interchangeably between the singular and plural forms, especially with the article, which is "in keeping with the frequent occurrence of the word with the general meaning of 'mankind' in the rest of the Bible, where e.g., his creation by God is emphasized, or where an opposition to other creatures such as animals is suggested" (Schoors, *Preacher* II, 46; see also S. H. Auerbach, *Das Buch Koheleth neu übersetzt mit einem hebräischen Commentar* [Breslau 1837], 37). This notion of "mankind" is especially evident in Eccl 3 when Qohelet compares it/them with animals at the end.

[6] The ending את־נרדף ("pursued") is difficult to understand in context. The question at hand is what is God seeking after? Crenshaw has summarized the historical interpretation of this *crux interpretum*, noting that four answers have been offered: (1) the persecuted (LXX, Peshitta, Targum, and Sirach), (2) the events of the past (Vulgate), (3) the same, and (4) what God sought previously (*Ecclesiastes*, 100). Although the first interpretation has been assumed by many medieval commentators, modern scholars have been skeptical about its fit with the context (so Schoors, *Preacher* II, 108; Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 100; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 30). Seow proposes the view that "*rdp* is also a synonym of *rʿh* 'pursue'" as in Hos 12:2 which denotes a resemblance with "*rĕʿût rûaḥ*" and "*raʿyôn rûaḥ*" in Ecclesiastes; therefore, for Seow the clause means that "God will look after what people have pursued in vain" (*Ecclesiastes*, 165-66). However, this connection is not as convincing since the notion of "pursuing after the wind" is not a main expression in Eccl 3. Alternatively, Crenshaw draws from the similarity of 1:9 about the notion that "there is nothing new" and suggests that "Qohelet envisions God pursuing the past in order to bring it back into the present" (*Ecclesiastes*, 100). This understanding is agreed by Fox who focuses on the context of v. 15a and states that "the gist of the sentence seems to be that God seeks to do things he has already done" (*Time*, 214). Schoors follows this order while drawing attention to Jerome's "*id est quod periit, quod expulsum est, quod esse cessavit*" (what is missing, it has been expelled, and it is finished) and Vulgate's same understanding "*Deus instaurat quod abiit*" (God will call the past) (*Preacher* II, 108). He observes, also, that this interpretation that "God recalls/brings back what is past" is adopted by the majority of interpreters (see Schoors, *Preacher* II, 108). Murphy, similar although coming entirely from spotting the similarity between 3:15 and 1:9, suggest that "the reference then is to the past or the events of the past, which God will call back into existence, in line with the thought of v. 15a" (*Ecclesiastes*, 30). Therefore, with a large body of scholarship agreeing to the interpretation of a reoccurring past, the phrase את־נרדף should be understood as that reoccurrence of events under God's will.

[7] Scholars have very scattered opinions on what the meaning of שׁם ("there") is since it is a crux. According to a narrative reading, it could either point towards God's judgement or time itself in v. 17. Peshitta and LXX reads accordingly with the masoretic as "there" while Vulgate determines it as "time" (*tunc*). Schoors has sorted out

them[8] and to show[9] that they are animals in themselves[10]." ***19*** For the fate of humankind and the fate of animals are a fate of one/the same to them. As one dies, so

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that there are these following understanding of the term in scholarship: (1) Sheol or the world to come, the divine court; (2) "the place of justice" referring to שמה in v. 16; (3) "place, proper place" with the pointing שָׂם; (4) repointed as שָׂם to mean "he has appointed, decreed"; and (5) the Akkadian *šumma* meaning "if" or "behold" (*Preacher* I, 100-1). Since there is no consensus among scholars, Schoors has strongly suggested that there is no certainty in this case, and Murphy suggests the same (*Ecclesiastes*, 30). Seow, aside from listing out all possibilities in scholarship, suggests that the word "corresponds to Akkadian *šiāmu/šâmu* 'to determine' and *šīmtu* 'fate, destiny'" and uses "destiny" in his translation (*Ecclesiastes*, 167). However, Qohelet uses the noun מקרה for fate later in v. 19, so reading שם here with the same meaning seems to be out of place. With a narrative reading, since Qohelet speaks of God's judgment (v. 17) and also "the place of judgment/justice" with the adverb שמה (v. 16), the term שם is seemingly most fitting with the context, suggesting the deeds that are being judged under that circumstance.

[8] The verb לברם ("to test" or "choose, select") is difficult to understand while the root is ברר ("purify, choose"). Although the exact meaning of the root is obscure in this context, the construction is likely to have God as the subject and the suffix -ם ("them, the people") as the object (Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 103; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 30). The main issue is whether to view לברם as an infinite or a finite verb with an emphatic ל? The insertion of "God" between "to test" and "to show" (לראות)—assuming one takes them as infinite—is awkward, and the clause lacks a finite verb. Scholars who agree with the ל used emphatically would suggest that the verb ברם is in the form of a perfect and the continuing verb ולראות is "an infinitive consecutive, used in place of a finite verb in continuation of the perfect ברם, and the *lamed* is again emphatic" (Schoors, *Preacher* I, 113), so therefore Gordis, C. F. Whitley, V. E. Reichert-A. Cohen, and Seow. The sentence would therefore be translated as "Surely God has chosen them to show that they are nothing but animals." However, scholars who maintain that both verbs are infinitives see the verbs depending on the verb אמרתי ("I said") as the finite complement (so Ginsburg, W. A. Irwin, Crenshaw, and Murphy), which translates to "I said in my heart concerning humankind *that* [my italics] God is testing and showing them…" assuming that a copula was presupposed by the text (Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 103; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 30). Both readings are possible since the text itself is difficult. Yet, since both verbs לברם and לראות should be read together with the *waw* consecutive, "it is quite normal that it [לברם] be parsed as an infinitive of ברר plus suffix and preceded by the usual preposition ל" (Schoors, *Preacher* I, 112). Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall have also suggested by reading both verbs as infinitives they form "a null copula clause with האלהים as the subject and a compound ל–PP/infinitive as the copular complement" (*Qoheleth*, 138). Following this lead, I would also propose that since both v. 17 and v. 18 begin with the same idiom אני בלבי אמרתי ("I said in my heart"), I understand the content of the speaker's narrative as a sequential train of thought. Instead of taking אמרתי as the finite complement of the infinitives לברם and לראות, I suggest that the speaker connects them to ישפט ("he [God] will judge") in v. 17 as the complement. If this is the case, the insertion of "God" between "to test" and "to show" acts as a narrative supplement that completes the connection between v. 17 and v. 18 with God being the continuous subject. The mention of "God" between the two intinitives thus serves as a parenthesis usage.

[9] While BHS has the verb וְלִרְאוֹת in Qal form ("to see"), LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate have all opted to read it as the Hiphil infinitive "to show" (equivalent of וְלַהֲרָאוֹת). Syntactically, although Targum associates the verb with the finite אמרתי ("I said") at the beginning of the verse, Crenshaw suggests to view it as "a consecutive infinitive with God as subject and the people as object" along with the previous infinitive לברם (*Ecclesiastes*, 103). This falls in line with the narrative flow that I have suggested in the previous footnote on the verb לברם ("to test"): God is the subject of these two infinitive verbs and the finite verb ישפט ("he [God] will judge") in v. 17 is the complement.

[10] The clause שהם־בהמה המה להם ("that they are animals in themselves") is difficult to interpret when המה seems like a dittography of בהמה (so LXX, H. L. Ginsberg, Whitley, Crenshaw, Seow, etc.), but more peculiar is the ending on להם ("to them"). Schoors explains that Whitley suggests to view להם in the case of emphatic ל, and Schoors himself suggests *dativus ethicus* that is well-used in BH and later Hebrew (Schoors, *Preacher* I, 112-13). Whitley's view is affirmed by Crenshaw as well (*Ecclesiastes*, 103). Murphy assumes that it is a *dativus commodi* (*Ecclesiastes*, 30). All of these views understand להם as dative which renders the meaning to "in/of themselves," and that the preceding המה is the copula, although in many biblical cases the dative should be

dies the other. And one/the same spirit for all. And advantage of the person over the animal—there is none. For all is a puff of wind. *20* All go to one/the same place: all are from dust, and all return to dust. *20* Who knows if the spirit of humankind ascends upward and if[11] the spirit of animals descends downward (in)to the earth? *22* And I saw that nothing is better than that the person should be glad in his works, for that is his portion. For who can bring him to see whatever will be after him?

3. Textual Analysis

3.1 Context

Eccl 3:9-22 comes after the frequently quoted Poem of Time in the beginning of Eccl 3, where the speaker lists mostly in binary pairs the appropriate moments for different human activities. The principle of the poem is to show that there is a time for everything while humans have little to no control over time. The concept of time being used in 3:1-8 is not a fixed time or date but rather an occasion.[12] Some activities like planting and uprooting (v. 2) humankind can have control, but some like giving birth and dying (v. 2) are completely beyond human hands. Then there are the activities concerning human emotions (v. 4 and 8) that rely heavily on the circumstance that the individual is experiencing at that very moment, which are difficult to determine whether they could be controlled by human action and mind. All this vagueness lends to the insecurity that time is ungraspable and out of reach.

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used along with a verb (Seow, Ecclesiastes, 168; Schoors, *Preacher* I, 112). Agreeing with this dative use, I tend not to view המה as a dittography but rather an emphatic wordplay between the former הם ("they") and בהמה ("animal") construct. Krüger has also suggested that this is an intentional pun (*Qoheleth*, 82).

[11] Many scholars believe that the MT having הָעֹלָה ("the one ascending") and הַיֹּרֶדֶת ("the one descending") with an article is a revocalization of the interrogative -ֶה ("if, whether") due to dogmatic reasons. Seemingly, the masoretes "regard the doubt of human immortality expressed in this question as heretical" (Schoors, *Preacher* I, 213; see also Fox, *Time*, 216; Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 82; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 168; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 31). This assumption, however, is questioned by Gordis as he realizes that in v. 19 the similar heterodox teaching remains untouched in v. 19 (*Koheleth*, 238; also Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 104). Nonetheless, if according to MT the translation would be "Who knows the spirit of humankind the one ascending upward, and the spirit of animals the one descending downward (in)to the earth," which renders the sentence syntactically strained and unfitting with the context. Therefore, most ancient versions have read both verbs with the interrogative: הַעלה ("whether if… ascend?") and הֵיֹרדת ("whether if… descends?"). This is widely agreed by contemporary scholarship. In order to maintain the rhetorical questioning that fits with the narrative flow, it is clear that the verse should be read with the interrogative -ַה.

[12] Fox observes that the time here is "an *occasion*, a type or configuration of circumstances, whether on the grand scale of world history (such as war and peace) or on the minute scale of an individual's routines (such as planting and keeping silent)" (*Time*, 298).

Some scholars have suggested that the Poem of Time (3:1-8) concludes with the rhetorical question in v. 9.[13] However, others have either viewed v. 9 as an introductory question for the following section or an independent verse.[14] Textually, one could simply judge by the minor paragraph break ס after v. 8 that v. 9 is set off from the poem. With deeper observation, v. 9 speaks about human labor and its payoff. Before the verse, the Poem of Time is set with the mindset about human activity (in a sense about laboring), but on the other hand, vv. 10-15 also addresses the question of עמל ("labor") that is raised in relation to העושה ("the one who works") in v. 9. Therefore, rather than identifying v. 9 with the poem (vv. 1-8) or with the response to the poem (vv. 10-15), I suggest that the verse is functioning as the bridge between the two sections. The question in v. 9 serves both as the immediate doubt of control over the outcome of human activity in the poem as well as the rhetorical introductory for the following analysis on time, labor, divine intervention, and human activity. The Poem of Time will be omitted from this paper since the main goal is to identify the speaker's personal voice.

Thematically and syntactically, this section ends 3:22, especially with Qohelet's signature phrasal break: nothing is better than to enjoy the present.[15] On the syntactic level, the verb

[13] Concerning scholars who view 3:1-9 as a unit: Seow compares 3:9 with 1:3, the latter being the introduction of the poem in 1:3-9 while the former "concludes the poem on times and seasons (3:1-9)" (*Ecclesiastes*, 169). Murphy might also be suggesting the same when using the verb ראה ("see") in v. 10 as a division break, thus "3:10-15 seems to be a clear development of the initial poem on time" (*Ecclesiastes*, 31). Krüger is vague in defining the borders of the text, only suggesting that "the time-bound nature of human activity described in vv. 2-8 limits the possibilities of gain (יִתְרוֹן, *yitrôn*) for human beings," which appears in v. 9 (*Qoheleth*, 78). Krüger also sees 3:1-9 and 1:3-11 as individual poetic blocks. Initially, Fox is also clear to perceive 3:1-9 as a unit and that v. 9 serves as the conclusion of the "Catalogue of Times" when providing the outline of the text (*Time*, 192), but his later comments suggest otherwise (see next footnote).

[14] Concerning scholars who view 3:9-15 as a unit: Longman III provides a clear-cut division between vv. 1-8 and vv. 9-15, suggesting that the later draws immediate conclusion from the former (Longman III, *Ecclesiastes*, 111). Peculiarly, Fox—albeit viewing 3:1-9 as a literary unit as mentioned in my previous footnote—also identifies 3:1-8 as the "Catalogue of Times" and that "the following verses, vv. 9-15, draw conclusions from this fact [everything has a time]," which renders his textual borders indecisive (Fox, *Time*, 194). For me, Fox's inconsistency shows the fluidity of v. 9 in terms of where it belongs. Crenshaw, on the other hand, seems to view v. 9 standing on its own and leaning more to the following section as he asks accordingly to the poem, "Does God relinquish the tight hold on the correct moment for a particular activity?" and his observation is that "Qohelet addresses that issue in the next section" (*Ecclesiastes*, 96; commentary on v. 9).

[15] See also 2:24-26 and 3:13.

שוב ("again") in 4:1 denoting a repetition is well documented in the MT and is used similarly in 4:7 and 9:11.[16] The function of שוב as a syntactic break in Ecclesiastes has been observed by several scholars,[17] but the watershed between Eccl 3 and Eccl 4 is more evident when the thematic level is taken into consideration. In 3:16-22, the speaker revisits the question of fate (first introduced in 2:12-17) while in 4:1-3 he addresses the oppressions that happen in the world. Although it could be argued that his reflection on the oppressed comes from the injustice of uncertain fate, 3:22 has already marked Qohelet's iconic ending of a unit: to enjoy in laboring.[18] More evidently is the doubting of the afterlife (v. 19, 21) that binds Eccl 3 together as a complete section. Unknowing what comes after death poses an existential question under humankind's vague control of time, which happens to be the main theme of vv. 1-15. In addition, the remark that "there is a *time* for all matter and upon all the deed there [during judgment]" in v. 17 secures the fact that vv. 16-22 is a continuation of the previous section (vv. 1-15). In this paper, 3:1-22 will be viewed as a literary unity while the poem (vv. 1-8) will be set aside to focus on the speaker's didactic strategies.[19]

3.2 Outline and Summary

Eccl 3:9-22 follows the Poem of Time (vv. 1-8) that portrays every human related activities as proper in its appointed time. However, it is not humankind that has control over time but God who "makes everything proper in its time," the speaker answers in v. 11. Then, if the speaker is himself human, how does he know the will of God? Is he using this type of speech to position himself as a prestigious being than the ordinary human in order to

[16] *BDB*, 998.

[17] Seow suggests that "the phrase *wĕšabtî ʾănî wāʾerʾeh* [ושבתי אני ואראה] is, thus, equivalent to *wĕʿôd rāʾîtî* [ועוד ראיתי] in 3:16. However, whereas *wĕʿôd rāʾîtî* seems to stress continuity with the preceding materials, *wĕšabtî* appears to stress the discontinuity" (*Ecclesiastes*, 177). Fox follows the same thought and adds that the verb שוב "is adverbial to the following verb" and that it "points to another in a series of actions or events and means 'afterwards,' 'next,' or the like" (*Time*, 219). Thus, Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall draw conclusion from Seow and Fox to say that the verb שוב functions "in its monovalent capacity and signals, like פנה (2:11, 12) and סבב (2:20; 7:25), that Qoheleth is 'turning' to yet another observation" (*Qoheleth*, 143).

[18] Murphy has also observed that v. 22 is "Qoheleth's patented conclusions" (*Ecclesiastes*, 32).

[19] Although excluding 3:9, Krüger also views 3:10-22 as a thematic unit, titled "God and the 'Good': Happiness as 'Portion'" (*Qoheleth*, 83).

demonstrate his superior knowledge? In last year's paper, I have established the ground that in 1:12-2:26 the speaker poses with Qohelet's autobiographical voice while assuming his authority through the identity of the kingly Solomonic character. In this section, although the Solomonic identity has not been assumed, the features of ANE royal voice remains. The speaker assumes an intimacy with divine knowledge—a prestigious knowledge—to continue that authority in his voice, speaking on behalf of God. The main feature that determines the sub-units in this section is the initial verbs with the first-person suffix, listed in the following outline:[20]

A. 3:9. Rhetorical Questioning
B. 3:10-15. Response to the Question: Time
    a. 3:10-11. God Stores Proper Time (ראיתי, "I have seen")
    b. 3:12-13. Enjoying Life as the Gift of God (ידעתי, "I know")
    c. 3:14-15. God's Deeds Transcends Time (ידעתי, "I know")
C. 3:16-21. Continued Response with Attention to Fate (ועוד, "furthermore, again")
    a. 3:16. Transitional Observation (ראיתי, "I saw")
    b. 3:17-18. God Will Judge and Reveal Human's True Nature[21] (אמרתי אני בלבי, "I said in my heart" in both verses)
    c. 3:19-20. Reflection: Fate of Death Befalls Every Being
    d. 3:21. Interrogative Outcry: Life Beyond Death is a Mystery
D. 3:22. Conclusion: Take Pleasure in Labor (ראיתי, "I saw")

As shown above, the verbs that the speaker uses all have a strong indication of his exceeding knowledge or experience, and conveniently, the initial verbs can be used to identify the sub-units of the text. The only verses that lack the initial verb as the identifier are v. 9 and vv. 19-21, in which v. 9 and v. 21 are rhetorical questions while vv. 19-20 is an explanatory note. 3:9 begins with the rhetorical questioning about the worth of human laboring. The speaker has chosen to use the participle הָעוֹשֶׂה ("the one who works") most likely for rhetorical reasons:

[20] Krüger has provided a very similar outline "in regard to the expressions in first person singular, which in each case introduce a new step in the train of thought" (Qoheleth, 83). Others have simply distinguished between vv. 1-8(9), 9(10)-15, and 16-22 (Fox, Time, 194-216; Seow, Ecclesiastes, 158-59, 169; Longman III, Ecclesiastes, 111, 125; Lohfink, Qoheleth, 59, 66, 68; Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall, Qoheleth, 120, 135).

[21] This is my narrative assumption since all commentators have expressed the difficulty to understand why humans are being equated with animals during the time of judgment.

"to set up the emphasis on what God has done" later in the text.[22] And certainly, the same verb in Qal perfect עָשָׂה ("he [God] made") shows up again in v. 11 where God's temporal doings are being explained. There is no doubt that the rhetorical question which "passes judgment on human activity as being without profit" is "to be explained by the reasoning in vv. 10-15."[23]

Thus, the reasoning of section B (vv. 10-15) tackles God and His proper time for human labor. The key here is that with the verbs used in the beginning of v. 10 (ראיתי, "I have seen"), 12 (ידעתי, "I know"), and 14 (ידעתי) all suggest the speaker expressing his knowledge and experience on the issue raised in the followings. Hence, vv. 10-11 build on empirical data[24] having *seen* that God has stored proper time for everything as well as placed "eternity" in the hearts of humankind. However, what does this "eternity" mean and how could the speaker have experienced this exclusive knowledge of God's? Moreover, what is the function of this mode of speech? This will be discussed in section §4.1. In vv. 12-13 and 14-15, the speaker uses "knowing" as his empirical authority[25] to provide his observation that the gift of God is to enjoy the labor in life (v. 12-13) and that God transcends past, present, and future to eternity (vv. 14-15), the same "eternity" mentioned in v. 11. Thus, humankind—using the third plural suffix "they"—should know to fear God. Peculiar is also the fact that the speaker addresses humankind excluding himself, consistently using the third person for them as opposed to his personal first-person observation. It resembles the king mediating between God and man in ANE royal fictions.

[22] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 162.
[23] Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 34.
[24] Empirical data meaning knowledge from experience. See Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall, *Qoheleth*, 127.
[25] Crenshaw agrees that "although Qohelet complains about inability to discover God's secret times, he does claim to possess sure knowledge of a sort" (*Ecclesiastes*, 98).

Section C (vv. 16-21) is introduced with the adjunct ועוד ("furthermore, again"), which is another break indicator.[26] The speaker's attention now focuses on fate which is determined solely by God's judgment and time. With the adjunct ועוד, v. 16 stands alone as the transition and the introductory observation that wickedness exists among judgment and righteousness. As explained in the footnote of my translation, vv. 17-18 need to be read as a continuous statement to make sense of v. 18, coupled together with the same "I"-Heart formulaic beginning: אמרתי אני בלבי ("I said in my heart…"). The theme here is that God will judge the righteous and the wicked, both subject to time, and reveal their true nature as bare as how animals are naked. Since the verb יִשְׁפֹּט ("he [God] will judge") in v. 17 is in its imperfect form, I suggest that the wickedness mentioned within judgment and righteousness in v. 16 is in a prejudgment state ("place of judgment") subject to time. It is evident that this "place of judgment" exist within the human world since v. 16 has the equal phrase תחת השמש ("under the sun"). Hence, God's judgment of the righteous and the wicked in vv. 17-18 is to sort them apart.[27] The inner dialogue in vv. 17-18 redirects the target of the speaker's speech away from the general public and to his inner self, pondering and making sense of God's judgment. The result is the conclusion he draws in vv. 19-20 which gives a conclusive statement of his personal view on "fate" (מקרה). Using the same term בהמה ("animal"), the speaker leads into vv. 19-20 to elaborate on the same fate that befalls both humans and animals—death.[28] This moment marks the speaker's realization that no certain distinction between humans and animals have been guaranteed with God's judgement, as both return to dust in the end (v. 20). There is a strong sense of existential crisis during this moment in the

[26] Seow notes that the adjunct "signals a new section and links the new section to the preceding unit: the author observes again (cf. *rāʾîtî* in v 10), but he sees a new thing" (*Ecclesiastes*, 166). See also "scalar quality" in Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall, *Qoheleth*, 135.

[27] Contra Krüger, who suggests that "the distinction between the 'righteous' and 'evildoers' (v. 17) is abolished here in speaking of 'human beings'" (*Qoheleth*, 92). Krüger's reading is based on the linguistic problems in v. 18 in which he reads separately from v. 17.

[28] According to my reading, thus, בהמה ("animal") should be used metaphorically in v. 18 while used physically in v. 19 for comparison.

text, especially when the speaker cries out "who knows?" considering the fate of the spirit, both humans and animals, in v. 21.[29] This outcry is also the most "human-driven" status the speaker ever had since prior to v. 21 he has always presented himself as the one knowing many mysteries of God and men. In the end, with this unresolvable uncertainty concerning God's time and judgment, v. 22 stands alone as the conclusion of Eccl 3 that echoes vv. 12-13: nothing is better than to take pleasure during one's labor.

Overall, the narrative sequence entails a shift in the speaker's tone, from his affirmative voice in 3:9-15, to his inner dialogic judgment in 3:16-20, and finally the collapse of his assertive voice in vv. 21-22. For him, the uncertainty that lies beyond human life is a mystery that he may never understand, albeit how much he understands about the divine knowledge of God's time, eternity, and judgment. The shift in his voice throughout this narrative process highlights his ultimate identity as a mere human being, incapable of grasping the immense knowledge of God.

4. The Prestigious Voice in Eccl 3:9-22

This section is the main analysis of the paper which deals with the speaker's formation of his prestigious voice. In my previous paper, I have shown that Eccl 1:12-2:26 is presented as the character's autobiographical narrative through the high frequency of the first-person pronoun אני ("I"). At that time, I have focused on bringing to attention the first-person pronoun as the significant feature of the autobiography, but as we read along the text, it becomes evident that the pronoun אני rarely stands on its own. In fact, אני is almost always accompanied by a first-person suffixed verb before its appearance.

[29] Murphy sees this as the "equivalent to a denial" (*Ecclesiastes*, 37). Longman III suggests that Qohelet "is frustrated with the unknowability of the afterlife, if not its existence" (*Ecclesiastes*, 130). Crenshaw, rather than saying that Qohelet is frustrated by uncertainty, suggests that "he does not rule out the possibility, but he dismisses such speculation as a waste of time" (*Ecclesiastes* 104). Either way, Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall suggest the possibility that the mention of the human spirit ascending and the animal spirit descending may reflect "the Platonic view of the human versus animal soul," and that "Qoheleth recognized that some of his intended audience may have adopted this Hellenistic belief" (*Qoheleth*, 140).

Therefore, in this section, I take into account the first-person verbs that play an important role in characterizing the speaker's autobiographical tone. Drawing from this analysis, the interesting distance between the speaker and humankind who are addressed mostly with the third-person verbs and prepositions is also worth exploring. How does the speaker place himself among humankind? Does he see himself as a higher rank and closer to God, perhaps to maintain the king's persona? In the process I would also revisit the function of לֵב ("heart") to see how it is used in this context. Finally, I will examine the interrogative מִי יוֹדֵעַ ("who knows…") and הֶ ("if, whether") in 3:21, of how they define the meaning of the verse and therefore render the speaker vulnerable against the omniscience of God.

4.1 The Superior Establishment: "I have seen" (ראיתי) and "I know" (ידעתי)

The first two appearances of ראיתי as verse openings occur in 1:14 and 2:13. Speaking of the root ראה ("see"), Seow suggests that all 47 appearances of the verb in the book, it is used "for purposeful and reflective observation,"[30] 18 of which occurring in the first person singular of the perfect tense. In Schoors' review of the verb ראה, he concludes that the verb "expresses his [Qohelet's] experience, his examination of it or the knowledge he draws from it."[31] Schoors also finds that Ogden's definition of the verb best incorporates Qohelet's usage: "It speaks of more than casting a casual eye over things; it connotes a scientific and empirical examination of the realities of human life."[32] Indeed, in 1:14, 2:13, and 3:10 the verb provides conclusive observations of the world that the speaker experiences. In other words, Qohelet's usage of the verb ראה ("see") is purely rooted in the empirical knowledge of this world. The first-person verb is intimate as it represents the speaker from a personal level.

[30] Seow, Ecclesiastes, 121. Also Longman III, Ecclesiastes, 81. Interestingly, Crenshaw, Fox, Murphy, Krüger, and Lohfink have not provided discussion about the verbs in 1:14 or 2:13.

[31] Schoors, *Preacher* II, 75. On his thorough analysis and review on the verb, see *Preacher* II, §1.6.

[32] Ogden, *Qoheleth*, 39. See also Longman III who furthermore emphasizes that Qohelet "does not appeal to revelation of any kind of special insight into God or the world" (*Ecclesiastes*, 81).

That said, returning to the context of 3:10-11, although the speaker's observation of God-given work in this world is reasonable (v. 10), the observation that God "has made everything proper in its time" and "has given/placed eternity in their hearts" (v. 11) does not seem to fit with the empirical-based observation mentioned earlier. How would the speaker be able to perceive that mysterious eternal property (עֹלָם) of God, given to humans, if the speaker is human and subjected to time as well? As an alternative, P. H. F. Fuhs provides a difference perspective on the verb ראה with respect to the context of Ecclesiastes, suggesting that ראה is stripped of any personal interests and is used to announce a collective experience of the community by the speaker.[33] In terms of Qohelet's speech, in most cases ראה is used as an observation of the collective human experience. However, the high frequency of the first person ראיתי has more to it than simply the collective usage.

The first person singular verb ראיתי ("I have seen") in v. 10 is based on the personal level of interest, or else the speaker could have easily replaced the third-person plural בלבם ("in their hearts") in v. 11 for a collective first-person plural בלבנו ("in our hearts"), suggesting that he is one among the collective humankind. Yet, he never does so. The distinction reminds us that the speaker in vv. 10-11 is speaking of humankind as a collective human "they" while he stands aside and observes as a prestigious spectator. Fuhs, providing the theological usage of ראה, observes that

> *rā'â* denotes the entire spectrum of situations in which human beings experience or encounter God in their *personal vision* [my italics]. In this sense *rā'âh* is complementary to → גלה *gālâ*, "reveal": God emerges from the concealment of divinity, being revealed in and through every possible form of human experience. Thus *rā'â* denotes the act of revelation itself, God's self-

[33] P. H. F. Fuhs suggests that ראה "refers not to communication of one's own observations and experience but to critical analysis of what claims to be knowledge based on collective experience, to determine the validity of this claim" ("רָאָה," TDOT XIII: 227).

> manifestation in person and in action. In this usage *rā'â* is not a specifically theological term but remains epistemological. The theological element is the concern that dominates its use in describing the relationship between God and humanity: to express the epistemological character of this relationship.[34]

When looking at the speaker's words in 3:10, he states that he has seen "the work that God has given to humankind," and continues to speak as God's agent while revealing the עֹלָם ("eternity," v. 11), "the gift of God" (v. 13), and how God acts with the eternity that humankind cannot understand (vv.14-15). It is as if he has experienced these traits of God personally and is enlightened by the empirical knowledge that comes with that experience. This privileged divine knowledge empowers him beyond the common person, allowing him to comment from a mediating position—a spectator of this world—between God and man. The way he speaks to us is in a royal demeanor, much like the king in ANE literature, who surpasses common humankind and is prestigious with divine knowledge. Nonetheless, he shares this knowledge with his audience with the combined didactic, prophetic, and priestly voice that an ancient king would have. It would be even clearer when taking the distinct distance between his first person singular and the third person plural (humankind, or simply, "them, they") that constantly appears in his speech into consideration. I will address this in the next section (§4.2). The key is that although the speaker does not directly reveal how he obtained his divine knowledge, he teaches his audience with a very strong epistemological sense, making them aware of their relationship with God.

Observing from the structure of the passage, the usage of ראיתי ("I have seen") in 3:10-11 marks the initial observation of the speaker, followed by two sections using the first-person verb ידעתי ("I know") as empirical feedbacks on the observations in vv. 12-13 and vv. 14-15. The verb ידעתי is used in v. 12 and v. 14 to respectively explain God's gift of pleasure

[34] Fuhs, "רָאָה," TDOT XIII: 229.

to humankind (vv. 12-13) and God's deeds in eternity (vv. 14-15).[35] Thus, the two verbs ראיתי ("I have seen") and ידעתי ("I know") have a strong causal relationship, the former being the observation while the latter is the feedback rooted in personal experience.[36] The consequences of the speakers observation led to two feedbacks of this own: to do well in life which is "the gift of God" (vv. 12-13) and to fear God because eternity is in his hands (vv. 14-15). Murphy is quite right in using "nearness" to express the speaker's distance between human and God, for that nearness is what provides the speaker in the text with both of these mysteries—on time and God's work.[37] Both of these empirical feedbacks are being emphasized by the ידעתי ("I know") statement but cannot be detached from the ראיתי ("I have seen") observation. It is clear that by using ידעתי ("I know") as the emphatic expression, the speaker is sharing to his audience with a didactic purpose of his empirical knowledge. Therefore, the speaker poses as an intellectual superior while passing judgment on human life and speaking to his audience.

Consequently, it is worth noting that the knowledge that the speaker shares is not totally rooted in human experience. The speaker's observation in 3:10-11 includes the knowledge of God's appointed work for humankind and also the divine עֹלָם ("eternity") that belong to God and is seemingly exclusive to the speaker. In addition, the way that he understands pleasure in life is the gift of God (v. 13) and the way time and eternity works in God's term (vv. 14-15) proves that he is not only intellectually privileged but also understands divine knowledge to some degree that no other human being should have known. The question now is how does he speak of himself: does he include himself among humankind?

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[35] Schoors similarly observes that when the first-person ידעתי is used, Qohelet "expresses what he has concluded from his experience," and in the context of v. 12, "Qol draws a conclusion from vss. 1-11, be it this time a practical one, whereas in 3,14 he formulates the more theoretical conclusion of the same periscope" (*Preacher* II, 131, 136).

[36] Certainly as Murphy has noted in v. 14, "'I know' forms an emphatic introduction to certain data about God that underlie what has been previously said: God's actions are in the category of עֹלָם (*ʿōlām*)" (*Ecclesiastes*, 35).

[37] Murphy's note on the speaker is that "one is caught between the nearness of a God who fixes times and the mystery of a God whose work is unintelligible; in this situation fear of that God is the proper response" (*Ecclesiastes*, 35).

4.2 Speaking between God and Man: "in them" (בם)

While in Eccl 3:10-15 the speaker speaks from human experience, it does not guarantee that he is speaking on the same level as humankind as a whole. Empirical knowledge only guarantees experience on the personal level but does not define the identity of the speaker. For instance, the flood narrative in Genesis when God speaks to Noah about never flooding earth again (Gen 9), one may also see that as an empirical evaluation from a divine being. In order to identify how the speaker in Eccl 3:9-22 views himself, it is crucial to decipher his distance from God and humankind.

One of the scholarly addressed issue is the third-person בם ("in them") in 3:12, where there are ancient versions that prefer modifying בם into באדם ("in the man") for the easier reading.[38] However, as I have mentioned earlier, there is no need for such correction since בם refers back to the generic and collective האדם ("humankind, human being") that accompanies the plural expression בלבם ("in their hearts") in v. 11. The preposition בְּ viewed in relation to the term טוֹב ("good") that precedes it in v. 12 describe the speaker observing no "good" quality of human life besides pleasure. From a narrative perspective the meaning of בם here points to the moral judgment of humankind's character as a whole ("nothing is good in them"), because according the context of 3:9-22, the speaker always addresses humankind collectively, at most distinguishing them apart by הצדיק ("the righteous") and הרשע ("the wicked") in v. 17, which are also morally collective. The reason for his inclination to judge that "nothing is good in them" in v. 12a is to prepare for the comparative and ultimate better in v. 12b: לשמוח ולעשות טוב בחייו ("to rejoice and to do good/well in their lives").

Observing the first-person verb ידעתי ("I know") along with the third-person בם ("in them") in 3:12 is an example to knowing how the speaker views himself. Following the analysis in §4.1, it is evident in 3:9-22 that the speaker uses the first-person verbs several

[38] See my footnote on 3:12 in the translation section.

times to introduce his empirical observations and feedbacks, such as ראיתי ("I have seen," v. 10, 16, 22), ידעתי ("I know," v. 12, 14), and אמרתי ("I said," v. 17, 18). At the same time, humankind as the receiver of God's deeds, by contrast, is always addressed in the third person: בלבם ("in their hearts," v. 11), בם ("in them," v. 12), בחייו ("in their lives," v.12),[39] בכל־עמלו ("in all his labor," v. 13), שיראו ("that they will fear," v. 14), לברם ("to test them," v. 18), שהם־ בהמה ("that they are animals," v. 18), להם ("to them," v. 18), במעשיו ("in his work," v. 22), and חלקו ("his portion," v. 22). There is not once that the speaker has chosen to use the first-person plural to address himself along *with* humankind as a collective One. The speaker has chosen to distance himself from humankind, perhaps not fundamentally but rhetorically so that he may speak to the audience with a dominant voice while sharing his empirical knowledge.

Finally, the distance between the speaker with God can be measure by the first-person verbs he uses when addressing God. As mentioned earlier, in section 3:10-15, ראיתי ("I have seen") and ידעתי ("I know") are the verbs that demonstrate the speaker's superior knowledge than the average person. But to what extent? To answer this, the context must be considered. On several occasions, the knowledge that the speaker present is truly beyond human. Time being the main theme being discussed in this section, the speaker introduces also the idea of עֹלָם ("eternity") which he deems a trait that is given to humankind by God and from God alone. What does עֹלָם mean when used in v. 11 and v. 14? In Bo Isaksson's observation, "the whole context is pervaded by time" and "an interpretation that retains a temporal meaning in *ʿōlām* must therefore be given priority."[40] Schoors similarly observes that "עולם has a strong temporal denotation, and the context of 3,11 deals with pre-ordained time (3,1-8) and remote or unlimited time (vs. 14: לעולם, and even the end of vs. 11 itself: את־המעשה אשר־עשה האלהים

[39] Literally, "in his life," but the interchangeability between the singular and the plural form is well documented in Ecclesiastes (Schoors, *Preacher* II, 46).

[40] Isaksson, *Studies*, 180. For his thorough discussion with scholarship, see pp. 179-81.

מראשׁ ועד־סוף)."[41] Evidently, the term עֹלָם is used strictly along the concept of time but not conformed to time, rather, "a sense of that which is timeless and, as such, stands in contrast to *'ittô* 'its time.'" [42] If taking עֹלָם ("eternity") to entail the timelessness of God, then supposedly this knowledge is beyond human comprehension. Nonetheless, the speaker is still able to perceive this divine trait being placed within the human heart (בלבם) through his empirical observations (ראיתי, vv. 10-11). The contradiction comes right when he states that God's purpose of doing this is "so that humankind will not find out the work God has done from the beginning to the end" (v. 11b). The speaker himself understands this exclusive knowledge belonging to God that is not revealed to humankind. Clearly, he is suggesting that he has figured out this mystery—directly or indirectly—which places him in between the distance of God and humankind. The speaker's knowing of God's intention to make people "fearful before him" by placing the sense of eternity in the human heart (v. 14) is evidence to how he portrays himself as a teacher of God's deeds. Hence, the speaker in 3:10-15 poses with a didactic authoritative voice, making observations and judgments between God and man.

4.3 Double Function of the Heart (לב): Dialogic and Judgmental

After establishing that the speaker in 3:10-15 gains his authoritative voice through sharing exclusive divine knowledge, I now turn my focus to 3:16-22. One of the focuses of my previous paper is the function of the לב ("heart") that is often used as a dialogic partner of the speaker alongside the first-person pronoun אני—a pattern that I have coined the "I"-Heart formula. He uses this mainly as a way of reflecting on his observations and to provide evaluation for his findings in life. In vv. 16-22, there are two cases that he uses this construction: אמרתי אני בלבי ("I said in my heart") in the beginning of v. 17 and v. 18. The functions are no different from how the idiom is used in 1:12-2:26, which is a combination of using the heart as a dialogic partner and also a notion of inner dialogue.

[41] Schoors, *Preacher* II, 224. For his thorough discussion with scholarship, see pp. 221-25.
[42] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 163.

What's worth mentioning in 3:16-22 is the context given to the usage of the "I"-Heart formula. In vv. 17-18, the "I"-Heart formula introduces the speaker's observation of God's action during the time of judgment with the continuous theme of time from the previous section. The tone that the speaker uses to address this is in a very confident voice, using the imperfect verb ישפט האלהים ("God will judge") to demonstrate God's action and then providing the rationale using the causal conjunction כי־עת ("for there is a time") to explain further about God's judging action in v. 17. The trajectory of this firm statement anticipates that the event of judgment will happen according to God's will *in his time*. Whether this judgment is eschatological is debatable since the speaker may have expected judgment within worldly time as he gradually move towards the topics of death and fate in vv. 19-20.[43] The key is to understand fully that judgment is solely in God's hands.[44]

The use of the "I"-Heart formula at the beginning of v. 17 and v. 18 redirects the addressee of this speech: whereas the speaker had been addressing his audience from vv. 9-16, he now turns to speaking with his heart or speaking to himself in order to provide a thorough examination of God's judgment (vv. 17-18). This confident usage of the "I"-Heart formula is somewhat different from the way he uses it to pass brief observations (1:16), to give direction to the heart (2:1), and to question the motivation of his life (2:15)—the pursuit of knowledge. Rather than an experimental function of the formula, now the speaker uses it as a mode of

[43] Seow has suggested that the expression here "need not refer to eschatological judgment" and that it does not imply a future setting for the events to happen: it simply means that "God will judge in God's own time" (*Ecclesiastes*, 166). I agree with the judgment not being strictly an eschatological one but it remains difficult to say that the speaker excludes all future anticipations of judgment within worldly time.

[44] Judging by the contrast between v. 17a and 17b, Krüger observes two possible understandings that do not mutually exclude, but rather complement each other: (1) "The concept of divine judgment is thus integrated into the understanding of God's activity that is developed in 3:1-15 and at the same time thereby relativized: of everything that God makes is beautiful and appropriate in its time (v. 11), this is true both for his tolerance of wickedness and for his intervention against it;" and (2) "Yet one can also understand v. 17 to mean that here the concept of a divine judgment is being reinterpreted in the sense of the understanding of divine activity that was previously developed: the changing of the times (cf. 3:1-8) not only allows wickedness but also limits its duration" (*Qoheleth*, 91).

speech to declare a conclusive statement on the relationship between God and man, as he himself speaks as a spectator.

Whether the judgment of God lies ahead of his time, or is it already happening now accordingly to God's appointed times, the speaker rests assured that it is what it is, that judgment is beyond human control and only subject to God alone. Humankind is the receiving end of judgment with no means to alter it. Thus, the לֵב ("heart") being used here with the formula is both dialogic (speaking to oneself, or, considering on one's own) and also judgmental (God's judgment is undeniably divine). The didactic content comes after these two inner dialogues and is revealed in vv. 19-20 where the speaker consolidates that fate is no different between humankind and animals when all shall return to dust.

4.4 Vulnerability Exposed: "Who knows…" (מִי יוֹדֵעַ) and "If/Whether…" (הֲ)

So far in Eccl 3:9-20, I have shown the speaker in all his confidence, of how he stands above humankind as a didactic teacher with divine knowledge revealed to him, and of how he evaluates with ease the process and properties of God's judgment. With all the authoritative voice the speaker has built up through the previous sections, it is interesting to find him drastically falling into an existential crisis in v. 21-22. The theme of v. 21 follows his preceding reflection in vv. 19-20 that the fate of death befalls every living being, regardless of humans or animals; and thus, the unknown destination of the רוּחַ ("spirit"). The verse begins with the idiomatic interrogative מִי יוֹדֵעַ ("who knows…") which entails that the "exclamatory and rhetorical questions in מִי must be recognized from context," and that this fixed expression entails that "the outcome is unobtainable."[45] The context addresses the notion that spirits head either upwards or downwards, depending on human or animal.[46] The answer, thus,

[45] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 321. See also Van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze, *Reference Grammar*, 323.

[46] According to Krüger who quotes Schwienhorst-Schönberger, v. 21 is "often understood as a polemic 'against a popular idea—which perhaps arose under Greek-Hellenistic influence—of the continued life of individuals after death'" (Krüger's translation in *Qoheleth*, 82; translated from Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Nicht im Menschen*, 120). Martin Hengel also notes that "both in Euripides and in Greek epitaphs there often appears

according to this rhetorical question: no one knows.[47] It entails a meltdown of the speaker's intellectual authority underlying Eccl 3 until this very verse (v. 21). What the speaker is suggesting, is that there is no guarantee of life after death.

Many scholars have believed that the ancient masoretes may have turned their attention to the more obscure use of the participle העלה and הירדת, revocalizing them as הָעֹלָה ("the one going upward") and הַיֹּרֶדֶת ("the one going downward") for the sake of orthodox traditions.[48] Whether this is true or not, scholarship has widely agreed that the masoretic reading is difficult, because the revocalization would produce a syntactically problematic meaning. Therefore, the prefixed ה attached to both verbs is actually the interrogative הֲ ("if/whether"), thus rendering both verbs as הַעלה ("if [the spirit of humans] ascends?") and הֲיֹרדת ("if [the spirit of animals] descend?"). The verse would thus demonstrate a very strong sense of unknowingness towards the afterlife. Usually the interrogative הֲ functions as a yes/no question in the MT, but according to the context here, since מִי יוֹדֵעַ ("who knows…") has already taken up the rhetorical function of the question, הֲ should be understood as an open-ended indirect question.[49] That is, הֲ ("if, whether") contributes to the uncertainty of the spirit's destination while מִי יוֹדֵעַ ("who knows…") asks the rhetorical question that entails the answer: no one knows.

Consequently, the interrogative combination in 3:21 "does not necessarily deny the possibility of the afterlife;" it is just that "the issue is beyond the pale of human possibility."[50] For the speaker to ask the impossible question of afterlife (v. 21) that holds such an enormous

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the conception that after death the human soul mounts to its dwelling place, the *aether*, the seat of the gods" (*Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:124).

[47] For Schoors, this type of rhetorical questions in Ecclesiastes "function as an expression of skepticism or, more exactly, agnosticism, *pace* Mazzinghi, who himself admits that they express the impossibility of a human being grasping the deeper sense of reality" (*Preacher* II, 132; quoting L. Mazzinghi, *Ho cercato*, 58: "esprime l'impossibilitá, per l'uomo, di cogliere il senso profondo della realtá").

[48] See text-critical footnote 11 in my translation.

[49] For the functions of the interrogative הֲ, see Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze, *Reference Grammar*, 322. For its function in the context of 3:21, see Holmstedt, Cook, and Marshall, *Qoheleth*, 141.

[50] Longman III, *Ecclesiastes*, 130.

amount of uncertainty, without answering, and especially with so much determination and confidence in vv. 9-20, it only shows that even with exclusive divine knowledge on God's time and eternity the speaker is still human. It is even more evident when he concludes this section by falling back to his idiosyncratic conclusion: nothing is better than pleasure (v. 22). This conclusion has appeared also in 2:24 and 3:12, which always functions semantically as an outcry of the speaker's personal limitations. His final verdict is always that the חלק ("portion") from God is the enjoyment in human activities. In addition, the speaker apparently cannot see past his own death, once again using the rhetorical interrogative מִי ("who") to ask who will lead humans to see among their lives (v. 22). The answer is simple: no one. Simply put, as knowledgeable as the speaker is, he is bound to the world and lives merely as a human being.

5. Summary

In this paper, I have explored the stark distance between the speaker and humankind as he addresses himself using the first-person while consistently using the third-person for the collective humankind in Eccl 3:9-22. Throughout the analysis whilst employing a narrative approach, it has become clear that the literary devices he uses in his speech, functions in a way that distances himself from the general common people. These devices are: (1) the beginning verbs in several verses that are in first person (ראיתי, ידעתי, אמרתי) referring to his superior observations and evaluations; (2) the consistent use of the third-person suffix on prepositions, nouns, and verbs pointing to humankind and the reluctance to use a collective first-person plural to included himself among humankind; (3) the "I"-Heart formula that concludes the relationship between God's eternity and human's incapability over fate, while he judges as a bystander; and (4) the rhetorical questioning at the end that serves as an outcry of his very own incapability. Even as the intellectual authority, he is still man.

Nonetheless, in order for the speaker to maintain his authoritative voice with a didactic function, he distances himself from the general public. The possession of exclusive divine

knowledge about God's time, eternity, judgment, and gift enables him to share his empirical knowledge as the wisdom supreme with the people—just as the role of the king in ANE literature. This oral design remains effective in maintaining the authoritative Solomonic royal voice from the previous section (1:12-2:26). The result is a teacher who teaches accordingly to his so-called "privileged experience," while realizing in the process that he is subject to what he teaches. Longman III thus provides this section (3:9-22) with a very fitting closure: "Qohelet's statement has an objective tone to it. By his use of third-person narration, he presents himself as an impartial observer. It is clear, though, from his expressions of pain throughout the book, that Qohelet understood that he too was subject to the same realities and conclusions. He was not just an observer; he was both observer and participant."[51]

[51] Longman III, *Ecclesiastes*, 121.

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▶ **Paper**

The Impact of Deuteronomy on the Reception of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees – Jub 30–32 as a Test Case

➥ Respondent: Fredrik Lindström

▶ **Abstract**

My Doctoral Thesis is about analyzing how the Jacob Story in Genesis is interpreted and used in Book of Jubilees. One of the main thrusts in the thesis is to analyze how the Book of Deuteronomy has influenced the reception of the Jacob Story in Jubilees, and whether similar interpretive possibilities in Deuteronomy utilized by the rabbinical treatise Sifre Deuteronomy were already at use in Jubilees. This paper analyses how Deuteronomy has influenced the reception of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees. I have argued elsewhere that Ps 78:5 gives the possibility to interpret that Jacob (i.e. Israel) has been given the Law before Moses receives it. This interpretive possibility has also triggered or itself been influenced by an interpretation that Israel, addressed in Deut (often in 2nd singular), could be interpreted as the patriarch Jacob. This paper analyses how this interpretive possibility has been utilized in Jubilees In the paper, I scrutinize the minor and major changes that can be identified between Genesis and Jubilees' version of the Jacob Story. Jub 30–32 are taken as a test case. In these three chapters, Jacob fulfils many commandments that are given in Deuteronomy: 1) The Schechemites are put to חרם (Deut 7:1–4; 12:3; 20:10–20) when returning to the holy land; 2) Having entered the holy land, Jacob destroys the idols that Rachel is carrying (7:5; 12:1–4); 3) Jacob is going to fulfil the vow he gave in Bethel (23:22–24); 4) He seeks the place that God will choose (12:5–7, 17–19), although misidentifies it; 5) He gives tithes to Levi (14:22–29), who officiates as a priest, whereas Jacob does not (10:8–9; 18:1–2, 5; 33:8–11). At the end of the paper, also other Deuteronomic influence on the Jacob Story are discussed. Although one need to be careful when analysing whether some text has directly influenced Jubilees, or whether it is common tradition that the author(s) of Jubilees adapts into his/their work, I argue that Deuteronomy and deuteronomical texts have had a huge impact on the reception of Jacob, and that the interpretive possibility given by Ps 78:5 is consistently utilized.

▶ Project Summary

The Use and Interpretation of Jacob Tradition in Early Jewish Writings

My PhD project examines the use and interpretation of Jacob Traditions of the Hebrew Bible in early Jewish writings, with a clear focus on the Book of Jubilees. The shift of focus has turned towards this 2nd Century BCE work that rewrites/retolds the Jacob Story in a particularistic way from a more broader approach that included also analysis of the reception of Jacob Traditions in Philo, Josephus and even rabbinical *Sifre Deuteronomy*.

Main focus in the project is to analyze how the particularistic or exclusive readings of the Jacob tradition developed and were stressed in the reception of the Jacob tradition and how they have affected the interpretation of the Abrahamic (universalistic/inclusive) blessing. The first phase of my project has dealt mainly with close analysis of the text of Jubilees and its intertextual relationship with the Jacob Cycle in Genesis, reading and getting at the same time acquainted with the broad Jewish literature and exegetical traditions known to us from the Second temple time. I am writing an article on the relationship between Psalm 78 and the Book of Jubilees, where I argue that Ps. 78:5 among others has triggered a particular reading of Jacob as Israel addressed in 2nd singular in Deuteronomy, which also leads into a very particularistic reading of Jacob in Jubilees. The paper presented here in OTSEM is a twin of this forthcoming article, where I analyze three important chapters of Jubilees (30–32) more closely and scrutinize the Deuteronomic influence that wittnesses of this particular reading of Jacob in Genesis and Deuteronomy. I aim to write also an article in the future concerning the Abrahamic blessing and its reception in Jubilees.

These three articles are dealing with the exegetical "hows" in a way similar to how James Kugel has done research on early scriptural interpretation. Nevertheless, also the historical and extratextual "whys" will be tackled on in a later phase of research. Why did this kind of particularistic reading of the Jacob Story (and the Abrahamic blessing) emerge? What kind of social and historical context influenced, helped or even gave rise to such a reading and interpretation of the Jacob Story that is found in Jubilees?

My doctoral work is part of a project "Between Universalism and Particularism: The Reception of Abraham and Jacob Stories in Jewish and Christian Writings" (=UNIPAR) of Inez and Julius Polin Institute for Theological Research, led by professor Antti Laato.
mary of the Paper: The Impact of Deuteronomy on the Reception of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees – Jub 30–32 as a Test Case

In the paper that will be presented in OTSEM 2019, I take three important chapters of Jubilees as a test case for seeing how Deuteronomy and the possible reading of 2nd singular (you, Israel) addressed in Deuteronomy as patriarch Jacob is utilized in these chapters.

In the Introduction of the paper I present first what the Book of Jubilees is about. I argue that the mediaeval Ge'ez text and the Latin palimpsest still can be used when talking about 2nd temple times. I present shortly the possibility that Ps. 78:5 "he established Testimony in Jacob, and Torah he put in Israel" is understood by the author of Jubilees as referring to patriarch Jacob before exodus. For a similar "literal-chronological" reading of Ps 78 I refer to Pre-Mature Ephraimite Exodus -motif, found e.g. in Mek. I. 19, that read Ps. 78:9–10 as chronologically earlier than v. 11ff.

Then I analyze Jub 30 that retells the Shechem episode of Gen. 34. Here, I argue, that Deut 7:1–4 is the basic text that influences the rewriting highly. When Jacob has arrived to the Promised Land, he fulfills the commandments to utterly destroy the Hivites, not intermarrying with them. I argue that although many different exegetical traditions have been connected and utilized (e.g. Connection between Gen 34 and Num 25, already by Malachi; "Seed of Molech" and Lev 18:21, 20 referring to intermarriage), Deut 7:1–4 (2nd sg, cf. 20:16–18) is the backbone in Jubilees' version of the Shechem episode.

In the following chapter, I argue how minor changes, omissions of and additions to Gen. 35:2–4 in Jub. 31:1–2 highlight the importance of fulfilling vows and Jacob as flawlessly fulfilling them. Thus, Jacob is not being reminded at all by God to fulfill his vow, but is eagerly going forth back to Bethel in order to give tithes and make it a House of God, as he promised in Gen. 28:20–22 // Jub. 27:27. Thus he fulfills Deut 23:21–23 (2nd sg).

After this, I show how the addition of Jub. 31:2 about Rachel's idols that Jacob destroys is a clear allusion to Deut 7:5 which (this time in 2nd pl, but see 7:6 which continues as 2nd sg) gives instructions how one should deal with Canaanite/foreign cult objects (cf. Deut 12:1–4). In my opinion, this addition betrays the way the author is reading Deuteronomic stipulations into the Jacob story.

Next, I notice the context of the commandments both in Deut 7 and 12 discussed above. All of the commandments are given in order to follow them in the promised land after God has brought Israel there. Now, God has done it to Jacob, and Jacob follows the stipulations. This includes searching for the *place* that God will choose (Deut 12:5–28), which is needed for the votive gifts, donations and tithes. Jacob aims to make Bethel into a cult place (Jub. 32 that retells Gen 35), but an angel forbids it. Thus, the author wanted Jacob to do what Israel is commanded to do in Deuteronomy, but he cannot fully do it, because the place of Gen 28, 35 is wrong, i.e. not Jerusalem. But he fullfills them as much as he can.

Also, the "second tithe" that Jacob gives in Jub. 32 is connected in early Jewish texts to Deut 14:22–27, which talks about Levites. I argue that Levi was needed (also to be a priest) in order to show clearly how Jacob offers the right tithes and does not neglect Levi/Levites. This is an old tradition of Jacob the tither, that is utilized already in Malachi.

Thus, Jacob diligently follows the Deuteronomic stipulations in Jub. 30–32, and the plausible reason for this is the reading of Israel in Deuteronomy as Jacob, which is possibly triggered by a peculiar reading of Ps 78:5, among others. This reading of Deuteronomy's Israel as patriarch Jacob is found in rabbinic *Sifre Deuteronomy*, but it probably goes even earlier than the rabbinic times.

▶ **Keywords** Jacob, Jubilees, Genesis, Deuteronomy, reception history, early judaism, biblical interpretation

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The Impact of Deuteronomy on the Reception of the Jacob Story in the Book of Jubilees – Jub 30–32 as a Test Case

Preface

This is a part of an article that I am writing about the subject that the title is giving. An Appendix dealing with the debate on whether Jacob was a priest in Jub. 32 or not, is left out of this paper[1]. The focal points that should be discussed are:

1) The coherence of argumentation.

2) Irrelevant parts of the argumentation that should be omitted, or that are weak and should be rethought.

3) Important aspects and points that should be considered but that are not discussed at the moment.

4) Reader-friendliness of the text.

Introduction

The Book of Jubilees is a Jewish exegetical text from the 2nd Century BC that rewrites the story of Genesis-Exodus from Creation to Sinai in Ex. 24. Scholars still debate concerning the date[2] of the work and also the textual history of the work. Problem is, that the work survives fully to us only in mediaeval Ethiopic manuscripts[3], significant parts of it also preserved in one Latin palimpsest[4]. Some fragments have been found also in Qumran[5].

1 My own take is that Jacob *did not officiate as the priest,* but simply presented the sacrifices which Levi then offered, but my arguments for this view are now left out due the limits of this paper.

2 Majority of scholars date the work into 2nd Century BCE, most often into the middle of the Century, but more narrow dating is debatable, ranging from the end of 3rd Century BCE all the way down to Hasmonean period.

3 Concerning the Ethipic manuscripts of Jubilees and their dating, see now James. C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary,* Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 14–16. This is a little bit modified from his article, "The Mansucript Tradition of Jubilees" in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees,* ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2009), 3–21 (here 18–21), which Ted Erho in his article "New Ethiopic witnesses to some Old Testament pseudepigrapha", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London,* 76:1 (2013), 76–97 (here 77–90) criticed of neglecting many recent findings of Ethiopic Jubilees manscripts. See also Matthew P. Monger, *4Q216: Rethinking Jubilees in the First Century BCE.* (PhD diss., Oslo: MF School of Theology 2018), 63–75. The dissertation is available free to download in https://www.mf.no/sites/mf/files/users/Dokumenter/Arrangementer/2018/monger_4q216.pdf (checked 24/5/2019). According to Monger (p. 64), the current number of known manuscripts of Jubilees in Ethiopic is 57.

4 Todd Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees in Latin", pre-print of the same article published in *Textual History of the Bible, Vol 2: DeuteroCanonical Writings,* ed. Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2019). The pre-print is free to read in the homepages of *Jubilees Palimpsest Project*. See http://jubilees.stmarytx.edu (checked 26/06/2019). See also Monger, *4Q216,* 60–62 and VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 14.

5 On the DJD series, see esp. James C. VanderKam and J. T. Milik, ”Jubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1,* ed. H. Attridge et co, DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendron Press 1994). See also VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 4–8. Monger has a good overview on Hebrew manuscripts, disagreeing in some parts with VanderKam, in his *4Q216,* 52–57.

In my opinion, Jubilees is a coherent work of possibly one author from the 2nd Century BCE. The author has used different interpretive traditions connected to Genesis-Exodus, adapted and modified and commented them and made himself exegesis on the text and added the chronological layout[6]. Later on, it was adopted in Qumran and supposedly had authoritative status there[7]. Some Qumran fragments also wittness of some redactional growth in Qumran, although the scope of the possible redaction(s) cannot be more fully determined[8]. Later on, the work was translated into Greek and from Greek to Latin and Ge'ez quite faithfully. The text has not been growing significantly during these stages[9]. This means that the Ge'ez text is still reliable enough for saying something about the interpretive traditions in the 2nd Century BCE. The same goes with the surviving parts of the Latin text. When there is no surviving fragments of the Hebrew text left, as is most often the case, one should then consult the Ge'ez and Latin versions. When these two versions give different readings on apparently the same passage, the evaluation between these two readings should be done in case-to-case basis.

In this paper I analyze how the Book of Deuteronomy has influenced the reception of the Jacob Story in Jubilees. I have argued elsewhere that Ps 78 is in many ways important for the author of Jubilees[10]. The author has understood the phrase ויקם עדות ביעקב ותורה שם בישראל (Ps. 78:5) before the following historical retelling of exodus in the psalm as referring to the Torah of Moses and

6 Thus, I agree with the recent view of VanderKam, represented especially in VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 25. That is a somewhat modified view of Michael Segal's redaction hypothesis, which Segal originally presented in English in his revised PhD thesis, Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology,* SJSJ 117 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), and shorter in Segal, "The Composition of Jubilees" in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees,* ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2009), 22–35.

7 See esp. Aharon Shemesh, "4Q265 and the Authoritative Status of Jubilees at Qumran" in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees,* ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2009), 247–260; also VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 99–107.

8 Concerning the editing of the work in Qumran, see esp. Matthew P. Monger's dissertation *4Q216*. Four articles with introduction and summary and conclusions are included. The articles included in the dissertation are Monger, "4Q216 – A New Material Analysis." *Semitica* 60 (2018): 308–333; Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran." *RevQ* 104 (2014): 595–612; Monger, "The Development of Jubilees 1 in the Late Second Temple Period." *JSP* 27 (2017): 83–112; Monger, "4Q216 and the Jubilees Creation Account: A Material Philological Analysis." in *Research Approaches in Hebrew Bible Manuscripts*, ed. Élodie Attia, Samuel Blapp and Anthony Perrot (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). See also his recent contribution in Monger, "The Many Forms of Jubilees: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence from Qumran and the Lines of Transmission of the Parts and Whole of Jubilees." *RevQ* 30 (2018), 191–211. See also Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "The Qumran Jubilees Manuscripts As Evidence For the Literary Growth of the Book" *RevQ* 26 (2014), 579–594.

In my opinion, especially Monger shows clearly that *some* redactive processes happened at Qumran, but at which scope remains questionable. I myself hesitate to say more than the data itself shows. Also, as Monger himself has many time pointed out in his articles, the Qumran fragments possibly wittness about a transmission history of Jubilees traditions in *many different forms*. As such, also the 4Q216 (roughly chapters 1 and 2 of Ethiopic Jubilees [=EJ]) might well originally have been Jubilees Creation Narrative that has been transmitted indenpendently of the full work. Later on, the first sheet might have been added there when someone wanted to connect it more closely with Jubilees. In my opinion Jubilees is full of material that is very suitable for independent transmission.

9 See here esp. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies of the Book of Jubilees,* Harvard Semitic Monographs 14 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press 1977), 1–102; id., *Jubilees Commentary*, 16. One should though be careful with thinking that one could reconstruct the Hebrew *Vorlage* as maximalistically as done in VanderKam's dissertation and in DJD 13. On the problems of retroverting Ge'ez to Greek (and from Greek to Hebrew), see Michael A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament,* The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1995 (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999), 55–86, esp. pp. 84–86.

10 Topias Tanskanen, "Psalm 78 and the Book of Jubilees" (paper presented at Psalm Conference "David, Messianism and Eschatology in the Book of Psalms: Ambiguity in the Reception History of the Bible in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam" of the SRB Network, Turku, Finland, 4 October 2018).

especially the Mosaic legislation more or less resembling the Pentateuch we have today. So, if this verse is read literally-chronologically (in a lack of a better term), it is claming that God had ”established” Torah and Testimony for/in the patriarch Jacob. What else could it mean, if it happened before Exodus, as the interpreter would think?

Is this understanding or interpretive possibility plausible? I would argue so. The same kind of reading was probably done when a motif of premature Ephraimite exodus was created. It connects Ps 78:9–10 and 1 Chr 7:20–22 with Ex 13:17. *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (19:9, 12–13) gives perhaps the oldest surviving version of the motif:

> Another interpretation of the verse, ’by way of the land of Philistines, although that was near’: Too near was the first war [the one of the Ephraimites] to make a second. … Another interpretation [of the verse, ’Lest the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt’]: This refers to the war with of the people of Ephraim: ’And the people of Ephraim, Shuthelah, and Bered his son…whom the men of Gath who were born in land slew’ (1 Chr 7:20–21), ’two hundred thousand children of Ephraim’ ’The people of Ephraim were archers, handling the bow, they turned back in the day of battle’ (Ps. 78:9) Why? ’They kept not the covenant of God and refused to walk in his law’ (Ps. 78:10) This was because they wanted to violate the designated time limit, because they violated the oath [concerning when the Israelites would be saved, trying to do it too soon]. Another interpretation [of the verse ’Lest the people repent when they see war, and return to Egypt’]: It was so that they should not see the bones of their brethren strewn in Philistia and retreat.[11]

According to Günter Stemberger, the final redaction of *Mek.I.* should be dated to the second half of the 3rd century CE[12]. Nevertheless, Joseph Heinemann has argued that the motif itself should be dated before the Bar Kochba Revolt[13]. Without going too deep into details, the motif strengthens the possibility of interpreting the psalm literally-chronologically also in 2nd temple times, even when the verse 5 is in question.[14] My goal in the following is to argue for a possibility, that this sort of reading was done in the Book of Jubilees. Chapters 30–32 are taken as a test case.

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11 Translation from Jacob Neusner, *Mekhilta According to Rabbi Ishmael. An Analytical Translation. Volume One. Pisha, Beshallah, Shirata, and Vayassa,* Brown Judaic Studies 148 (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1988), 126–127. The motif can also be found for example in targumic traditions.

12 Günter Stemberger, *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrash,* Neunte, vollständig neubearbeitete Auflage (München: Verlag C. H. Beck oHG 2011), 282.

13 Joseph Heinemann, ”The Messiah of Ephraim and the Premature Exodus of the Tribe of Ephraim” *HTR* 68 (1975), 1–15.

14 See the argumentation more fully in Tanskanen, ”Psalm 78 and the Book of Jubilees”. Verse 5 is probably originally a part of the introduction, cf. e.g. Frank-Lothar Hossfeld & Erich Zenger, *Psalmen* 51–100, HthKAT (Freiburg: Herden 2000), 432–433. Nevertheless, the verse and the psalm could also be read differently in antiquity, for which the reading accounted e.g. in *Mek.I.* gives evidence.

”When the LORD, your God brings you into the land…” (Deut 7:1–4)

Jub 30 retells the Shechem episode of Gen 34. The chapter has been researched from many different perspectives, much of the research devoted on the question of intermarriage[15]. A passage, that has influenced the renarration of the story, but that is not often so much reflected upon, is Deut 7:1–4[16].

The double interpretation[17] of שלם (Gen. 33:18) in Jub. 30:1 as "Salem" and "safely" might be intentional. Firstly, שלם as "safely" can be taken as a allusion to God's promise in Jub 27:24 where "safely" (*ba-salām*) is added, and to Jacob's vow in Gen 28:20–22 // Jub. 27:27. Secondly, interpreting the place where Jacob arrives as Salem and not Shechem creates a space between Jacob and Shechemites and makes it also possible for the author to omit the detail, that Jacob purchased something from Canaanites/Hivites (Gen. 33:19) in the promised land, which according to Jubilees originally belonged to Sem's descendants, and thus also to Jacob[18]. Abraham had also commanded Jacob not to become companion of other people (Jub. 22:16) and especially not to marry with Canaanites (Jub. 20:1–5)[19].

In the Genesis' version, Jacob is not offended that much about the rape of Dinah that he is in Jubilees[20]. In Jubilees, he is angry alongside with his sons (Jub. 30:3). The possibility, that Jacob

15 John C. Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees,* CBQMS 18 (Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America 1987), 120–154; Martha Himmelfarb, "Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt", *JSQ* 6 (1999), 1–24, repr. in *Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond.* TSAJ 151 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 27–47 (see esp. pp. 37–41); Magnar Kartveit, *The Origin of the Samaritans,* VTS 128 (Leiden: Brill 2009), 149–160; Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation,* SJSJ 156 (Leiden: Brill 2012), 142–148; Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi,* EJL 9 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), 139–170; Lotta Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis: Ideal Figures in Malachi as a Test Case* (PhD diss., Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2014), 63–89, available free to download in https://www.doria.fi/handle/10024/101124 (checked 13/06/2019); James C. VanderKam, "Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran", *RevQ* 13 (1988), 353–365, repr. in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible & Second Temple Literature,* SJSJ 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 462–475; VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees,* Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 2001), 67–69; Cana Werman, "*Jubilees 30:* Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage", *HTR* 90:1 (1997), 1–22. See also Kugel, *The Ladder of Jacob: Ancient Interpretations of the Biblical Story of Jacob and His Children* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2006), 36–80, where Kugel deals with different motifs that have arisen from interpretation of Gen 34.

16 VanderKam has noticed it in 1988 in his article "Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran", 470 (page numbering refers to the reprinted version). In his recent *Jubilees Commentary,* 820, he takes the passage up again. The connection is also noted by Valve in *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 81.

17 Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 140.

18 The dividing of the land in Jub. 8–10 between Noah's sons bears a huge theological significance. Canaan's (and thus Canaanites') lot is as far from promised land as possible, in western Africa (Jub. 9:1). The name "Land of Canaan" is explained by the story in Jub. 10:27–34 that Canaan was dissatisfied with his lot and decided to occupy the area that is called the land of Canaan. On this, see Florentino García Martínez, "Geography as Theology: From the *Book of Jubilees* to the *Phaleg* by Arias Montano" in *Between Philology and Theology: Contributions to the Study of Ancient Jewish Interpretation,* ed. Eibert Tigchelaar and Hindy Najman, SJSJ 162 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 31–48 (esp. pp. 39–44) and VanderKam, "Putting Them in Their Place: Geography as an Evaluative Tool" in *From Revelation to Canon: Studies in the Hebrew Bible & Second Temple Literature,* SJSJ 62 (Leiden: Brill), 476–499.

19 The context of Jub. 20:1–5 is also revealing, because it also talks about sexual impurity, also of giants (v. 5), and about circumcision (v. 3).

20 As Werman, "*Jubilees* 30", 4, puts it: "from Jacob's perspective, Dinah has been defiled; but the situation is salvageable if Shechem and Hamor undergo circumcision". What does החרש mean in Gen. 34:5? The basic meaning is "keep silent", that is, Jacob did not answer anything (cf. LXX: παρεσιώπησεν). NRSV translation "held his peace" interprets it as if Jacob was very angry but "held his peace" before his sons could come back. But the text does not say it. He was only silent, whatever that means. It is the sons of Jacob (34:7) that become angry, not Jacob.

could actually go against the deuteronomic stipulation and think it possible to intermarry with Hivites/Canaanites, was needed to be corrected[21]. Thus, with the help of few changes, the author of Jubilees corrects Jacob's behaviour. He is angry and with his sons against the Hivites.

The talk about circumcision would be, again, something horrible in the eyes of the author. Thus, the discussion between Hamor, Shechem and the sons of Jacob are omitted and it is left untold in which way Jacob and his sons deceived them (Jub. 30:3). It is later taken up in the angelic discourse: "For this reason I have written for you in the words of the Law everything that the Shechemites did to Dinah and how Jacob's sons said: 'We will not give our daughter to a man who has a foreskin because for us that would be a disgraceful thing'"[22] (Jub. 30:12, taken from Gen. 34:14). Maybe that is what Jacob's sons along with Jacob *did* say[23]. Now, it is taken as Law, for Jacob did already know The Law and the Testimony.

According to Jub. 30:5–6 it was decreed in heaven by God, that the Shechemites were to be annihilated with the sword and so they were handed over to Jacob's son in order that they would uproot the Shechemites. The reason is that such a defilement should never be done to Israel again, which is taken from Gen. 34:7: **וכן לא יעשה.** This is interpreted as God's direct speech for example in Judith 9:2[24].

Now, Kugel has especially emphasized how the ancient interpreters thought that every text must have a reason for them to be written and kept in the Scriptures. Why is the Shechem episode told in Genesis in first place? According to Jubilees, it is the ban for intermarriage. Jub. 30:12 cited above begins with "For this reason" (*baʾənta-zə, propter hoc*). This is the backbone, and I think that both Jub. 30:7 and the following verses 8–17 should be understood from this perspective. The backbone is found in Deuteronomy is 7:3 with Lev. 18:21.

Deut 7:1–4 says, addressing ”you” in 2nd singular:

> "When the LORD your God brings you into the land that you are about to enter and possess (NRSV: occupy), and He clears away many nations before you – the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations mightier and more numerous than you – and when the LORD your God gives them over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them. Make no covenant with them and show them no mercy. Do not intermarry with them, giving your daughters to their sons or taking their daughters for your sons, for that

21 If Kugel's reading of TLevi 6:3 is right (Levi insisting Jakob that the Hivite *ought not to be* circumcised), so TLevi understood Jacob as really going to give his daughter to Shechem. Levi (and Simeon) interrupted the proposition by initiating the killing of Shechemites. But the punishment was not effected upon Shechemites, not because of Shechem's foreigness (cf. Jub. 30!), but because of their other crimes (TLevi 6:6–7:1), though still connected also on sexual immorality. On this, see Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob,* 41–57. This means that the reading of Gen. 34 in Jub. 30 and TLevi 6 would then be different. In Jubilees, Jacob is angry and schemes with his sons against Shechemites. In TLevi he is behaving against Deut 7:3, but Levi interwenes and stops it.

22 If not mentioned otherwise, the English translation of Jubilees is taken from James C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees,* CSCO 511; SA 88 (Louvain: Peeters 1989).

23 Cf. Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 144. This means, that the author of Jubilees could think that Jacob and his sons perhaps said only that much, but that they never intended the Shechemites actually to circumcise themselves. The rest is left for the reader. The ”painfulness” connected to circumcision in Gen. 34:25 is connected to the way in which Levi and Simeon kill the Shechemites in Jub. 30:4.

24 See Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob,* 65–69; *Walk Through Jubilees,* 143–144.

> would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods. Then the anger of the LORD would be kindled against you, and he would destroy you quickly."[25]

As VanderKam has noted, Deut 7:2–4 "lies behind a number of points made in Jubilees 30 and forbids precisely what Hamor and Shechem propose and Jacob and his eleven sons apparently consider in Genesis 34. It also cointains authorization for the response of Simeon and Levi ('you must utterly destroy them')."[26] This is the case even though Lev. 18:21, 20:1–5 seems to take the most prominent role in the surface, those texts and a certain exegetical tradition concerning them being explicitly alluded in Jub. 30:10[27].

The Deuteronomic stipulations about חרם in Deut 7:2 is connected to the problem of intermarrying Canaanites, which in turn leads the offspring to worship false and foreign gods. The same fear is found also in Ex. 34:10–16 and Deut. 20:16–18. Lev. 18:24–30 says how the people that inhabitated ארץ before Israelites were sexually immoral, and this is also the reason why they will be eradicated from the land. It is important to note that the phrase about giving one's "seed" to Molech, which is expounded in Jubilees, is found precisely in this context, which probably implied the meaning of "giving one's seed to Molech" for the ancient interpreters[28]. Moreover, the terms תועבה, used in Lev. 18:22, 26–27, 29–30 is used also in Deut 7:26; 20:17–18 alongside with חרם. It is furthermore worth noting, that Lev. 18:24–30, 20:3 is worried about "defilement" (טמא), a root used in Gen. 34:5 and which probably lies behind the Ge'ez root *r-k*^{w}*-s,* used often in Jub. 30. This means that חרם, תועבה and טמא can be somewhat interrelated.

Another detail that helps the author to connect חרם to the Shechem episode is that חרם is often used alongside with חרב ("sword") in the Hebrew Bible[29]. When this detail is mentioned in Gen. 34:25, it was easy to connect the Shechem episode to the חרם legislation in Deut. 7:2–5. This is especially seen in Jub. 30:6, where God hands (*maṭṭawomu*, *tradidit*) them over to Jacob's sons in order for them to uproot (*yešarrəwəwwomu, eradicent*) the Shechemites with the sword and effect punishment (*k*^{w}*ənnanē, iudicium*). Compare this with Deut 7:2: "when the LORD your God gives them over to you and you defeat them, then you must utterly destroy them."[30]

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25 All Bible translations are taken from NRSV version, if not noted otherwise.

26 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 820.

27 Concerning how the author uses and interprets Lev. 18, 20, 21, see VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 825–832; Werman, "*Jubilees 30*," 11–21.

Shaye J.D. Cohen, "From the Bible to the Talmud: The prohibition of Intermarriage", *HAR* 7 (1983), 23–39 (here 26, 34–36) argues that the author of Jubilees *did not* use Deut 7:3–4 but the interpretive tradition of "seed of Molech", explicit in the halakhic discourse, in his rhetorics against intermarriage. VanderKam sees the mention of "Hivite" as crucial here (*Jubilees Commentary,* 820n12), but that detail is already in Gen. 34:2 and could just be reproduced. The rhetorics of Jub. 30 which implicitly alludes to Deut. 7:1–4 is more convincing argument, and from that *ground* the mention of Shechemites' Hivite background can be connected to the deuteronomic stipulation. Moreover, the argument becomes even stronger when the whole context of Jub. 30–32 is seen from the perspective of Jacob keeping the commandments in Deuteronomy, which this paper is all about.

28 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 827.

29 See *TDOT,* V:183–184.

30 Lat. uses *tradiderit* here, but החרם תחרים is translated as *percuties eas usque ad internicionem.* Dillman's Ethiopic Octateuch uses here *ʾatfəʾa atfəʾomu,* the same root that is used in Jub. 30:5, where Latin version surprisingly has *pugno. yešarrəw* might come from כרת, as VanderKam (*Jubilees Commentary,* 829) proposes. But one should be cautious here, as Knibb has warned. See footnote 9 above.

Deut 7:3 forbids, not only taking foreigners as wives as one exegetical tradition interpreted Lev. 18:21[31], of which Jubilees is aware, but also giving daughters to foreigners as wives[32].The defilement of the land and sanctuary is prominent in Lev 18, 20. Because Jacob is Israel, he and his family is the chosen people and the priestly kingdom (Ex.19:5–6), perhaps also "sanctuary" (Lev. 20:3 // Jub. 30:15)[33]. The laws pertaining to priest's daughter (Lev. 21:3) are applied to every member of Israel[34]. The author might have shared a common exegetical tradition with Mal. 2:11–12, which might also have connected Lev. 20:3 to intermarriage, or the author of Jubilees used also the Book of Malachi and its exegetical tradition already here[35]. This is in turn plausible also because of the allusions of Mal. 2:9, 13 in Jub. 30:16[36].

The law of Deut 22:28–29 did not apply to Shechemites, because they were Hivites/Canaanites, and not Isralites, as VanderKam has noted[37]. Instead, as Hivites, the laws from Deut 7:2–4 and 20:16–18, addressed, again, in 2nd singular (except 20:18), are applied by Jacob/Israel.

Now, in verse 17 the author starts to turn already to Levi. The end of v. 17: "It was a just act for them and was recorded as a just act for them" is in Latin *et computatum est illis in ueritate et conscriptum est illis in iustitia,* which VanderKam translates as "It was counted for them as a truthful act and was recorded as a just act for them". Also the Ge'ez *wa-taṣəḥfomu la-ṣədq* could be translated as "And it was written for them as righteousness". Both options remind of Gen. 15:6, and even more of Ps. 106:31 where Phinehas' act in Baal-Peor (Ps. 106:30, Num. 25:7–13) is counted as righteous for him, the psalm itself most probably alluding to Gen. 15:6.

This, in turn leads towards Num. 25 and Phinehas's action and reward there. Now, along with what Ps. 106:31 says with Num. 25:11–13, Phinehas was lauded as righteous from generation to generation forever, and that God made a covenant with Phinehas. Thus, the link between Phinehas in Baal-Peor (Num. 25) and Levi in Shechem (Gen. 34) is visible in Jubilees. Most probably also the Levites' actions in Golden Calf episode (Ex. 32) and Moses' blessing of the tribes in Deut. 33 played a role[38], but perhaps a lesser one at this point.

This exegetical tradition that connects Phinehas and Levi in Gen 34 is older than Jubilees, or *Aramaic Levi Document*[39]. Lotta Valve has argued, very convincingly in my opinion, that Book of

31 See e.g. *Tg. Ps.-J.* to Lev 18:21. This is noted especially by Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 261–262.

32 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 830, sees Deut 7:3 in background of Jub. 30:11. One of Kugel's reasons for seeing the hand of his Interpolator in vv. 8–17 is that according to him the original text dealt only with Israelite daughters. But Deut 7:3 prohibits both sexes to intermarry with Canaanites, and it is, as I am trying to argue, that influences the whole renarration of Jub. 30–32 too. Thus the contradiction that Kugel is posing (*Walk Through Jubilees,* 259–261) is not real. See also VanderKam's comments in *Jubilees Commentary*, 841–842. The original story in Gen. 34 also dealt with intermarrying both ways, as the proposal by Hamor and Shechem in Gen 34:9–12 clearly shows.

33 On this possibility, see Werman, "*Jubilees* 30," 15, esp. 15n67. The use of קדש in Mal 2:11 as designating either people of Israel, sanctuary, or conciously both, pointed out by Valve (*Early Modes of Exegesis,* 86), strengthens this interpretation. On Malachi's influence on Jub. 30, see her *Early Modes of Exegesis*, 63–89.

34 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 827–828. See also Jub. 33:20 in the context of Reuben's sin.

35 On this possibility, see Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 81–83.

36 Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 83–86.

37 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 820.

38 Thus already Endres, *Biblical Interpretation,* 148–151.

39 Majority of scholars think that Jub has borrowed from *ALD* or from a very similar tradition and thus *ALD* is older than Jub. For this view, see Esther Eshel, "The Aramaic Levi Document, The Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions" in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees,* ed. Gabriele Boccaccini &

Malachi interprets typologically the Jacob Traditions similar to those found now in Genesis[40]. I will not repeat her arguments here. Just to be short, according to her, the covenant with Levi in Mal. 2:4–7 might already be connecting Num. 25 and Gen. 34. Furthermore, Mal. 2:8–12 is against intermarriage, especially of the priests, but also of the whole people. Judah's relationship with a Canaanite woman (probably referring to the tradition found now in Gen. 38), is typologically alluded in Mal 2:11.[41] Thus, this tradition of connecting Num. 25 and Phinehas with Levi and Gen. 34 is older than Jubilees, or ALD.

The line "he was eager to carry out justice, punishment, and revenge on all who rise (*yetnaššəʾu, positi sunt*) against Israel" (Jub. 30:18) might echo Deut. 33:11 "Bless, O Lord, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries (קמיו), of those that hate him, so that they do not rise again (יקומון)."[42] The Latin version, which differs from the Ge'ez in beginning, *aemulatus est veritatem* "he aimed at truth", might recall also Mal. 2:6, as Valve has pointed out[43]. The 1000 generations and "friend" in Jub. 30:20 also allude to Deut 7:9–10, where אוהב, "the lover, friend", is the one who keeps the covenantal stipulations[44]. The continuation in Jub. 30:21–23 continues along the same path, echoing Deuteronomic stipulations (e.g. Deut 7:9–10). Worth noting is the context, right after the חרם stipulations and ban for intermarriage with Hivites in Deut 7:2–4. And Jacob was *not against* anything here, he was as angry as his sons.

After the halakhic discourse and notes concerning Levi (and Simeon), the author returns to the base story. Here, it is worth noting that the children and women captured in Gen. 34:29 are not mentioned at all in Jub. 30:24. Instead, Jub. 30:4 emphasizes the absolute destruction that Levi and Simeon initiate. This is in accordance with Deut. 7 and 20, as previously noted. Jacob is not rebuking Levi and Simeon. He is only talking about the fact that that he is afraid of Canaanites (Jub. 30:25). Gen. 34:30, where Jacob is telling how small his people is, might actually bring Deut 7:1 ("mightier and more numerous than you") into the mind of the author of Jubilees, although the author omits this detail in Jubilees.

The Shechem episode has in Jubilees been changed into a story and warning about intermarriage. At the same time, Jacob's role in the destruction of the Shechemites is changed. Many different exegetical traditions have been connected. One, that more clearly than in other retellings of the same episode is part of the parcel is Deut 7:1–4 and 20:16–18. Jacob is part of the people putting the חרם into action, although Levi (and Simeon) are the ones actually doing it. The original story of Gen 34 and the strong exegetical tradition, found already in the Book of Malachi, that connected this story with Num. 25, is vital. The exegetical tradition connected to Lev 18, 20 is explicit.

Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2009), 82–98; Robert Kugler leans strongerly towards a view that the relationship is indirect and there is an intermediary source which both works have used and adapted, see his *From Patriarch to Priest,* 146–155. For a similar view, cf. VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 90–93. Kugel has argued, in my opinion still convincingly, that Jub is older than *ALD* and the relationship between these two texts are more complicated. On this, see esp. Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 343–364. See especially his comments concerning the critique towards his views by Kugler on pp. 362–363.

40 See her dissertation *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 39–78.

41 See further in Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 65–78 and the discussion about the age of the exegetical tradition of Levi as the priest *par excellence* in Appendix (not included in this paper) below.

42 So also VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 837.

43 Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 86–87. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 838.

44 Segal, *Book of Jubilees,* 292–294.

Nevertheless, Deut 7 influences the rewriting. When Israel (=Jacob) comes to the holy land, as a small people, God gives the Canaanites into his hands and he must utterly destroy them and not give his daughters to them nor take their daughters to his sons. This is what Jacob and his sons do. As a result, Levi is shown to be righteous, and his deed is remembered for 1000 generations, echoing Deut 7:9–10.

”Do not postpone fulfilling it…” (Deut 23:21–23)

After the Shechem episode in Jub. 30, Jubilees continues with retelling about Jacob’s path back to Bethel (Gen. 35:1–8). Below is a synopsis of Gen 35:2–4 and Jub 31:1–2, similar to the style Jacques van Ruiten uses in his many researches. Small caps highlight the elements of the biblical text that do not occur in Jubilees and vice versa. Italics are used for words and phrases that are only slightly modified. Normal script is used for verbatim quotation, whereas rearrangments are underlined[45]:

Gen. 35:2–4	Jub. 31:1–2

45 As explained by Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the book of Jubilees,* SJSJ 66 (Leiden: Brill 2000), 6; recommended by Erkki Koskenniemi and Pekka Lindqvist, ”Rewritten Bible, Rewritten Stories: Methodological Aspects” in *Rewritten Bible Reconsidered: Proceedings of the Conference in Karkku, Finland August 24–26 2006,* ed. Antti Laato & Jacques van Ruiten, SRB 1 (Turku: Åbo Akademi University; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2008), 11–39 (here p. 27). I have modified both the NRSV translation and the Jubilees’ translation by VanderKam in order to better show the similarities and dissimilarities between the two texts in question.

GOD SAID TO JACOB, "ARISE, GO UP TO BETHEL, AND SETTLE THERE.	
MAKE AN ALTAR THERE TO THE GOD WHO APPEARED TO YOU when you fled from your brother Esau."	ON THE FIRST OF THE MONTH[47]
So Jacob said to his household *and to all who were with him*,	Jacob told *all the people of* his household:
"Remove the foreign gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your clothes; Let us arise and go up to Bethel, THAT I MAY MAKE AN ALTAR THERE *to the God* who ANSWERED ME IN THE DAY OF MY DISTRESS and has been with me ON THE WAY I HAVE GONE."	"Purify yourselves and change your clothes; we shall arise and go up to Bethel WHERE I MADE A VOW, on the day that I ran away from my brother Esau, *to the one who* has been with me and BROUGHT ME BACK SAFELY TO THIS LAND. Remove the foreign gods which are among you."
They gave to Jacob ALL the foreign gods that they had, and the rings that were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak that was in[46] Shechem.	They handed over[48] the foreign gods, their earrings and necklaces, AND THE IDOLS THAT RACHEL HAD STOLEN FROM HER FATHER LABAN. SHE GAVE EVERYTHING TO Jacob, AND HE BURNED THEM, BROKE THEM INTO PIECES, RUINED THEM, AND hid them beneath the oak which is in THE LAND OF Shechem."

Jubilees' account omits God's words to Jacob. This is an important change that especially Kugel has emphasized[49]. The problem for ancient interpreters of the Jacob Story was that Jacob seems not to recall his vow that he made to God in Bethel (Gen. 28:20–22). It is nowhere told in Genesis, that Jacob fulfills the vow and gives tithes to God. The second trip to Bethel in Gen. 35:1–8 could be associated with Jacob's vows, and that is actually the case for example in Josephus and in some rabbinical traditions[50]. The differerence here is that God's words are omitted, probably because it could be understood as if Jacob would have forgotten his vow and needed some reminding from

46 MT: עם, LXX: ἐν.

47 Unfortunately the surviving Latin version (see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees,* 1:354) breaks down after this, and thus the Ge'ez version is the only one left to us.

48 Ge'ez *wa-masawəwwomu* "and they melted them". The Ge'ez reading is either a corruption, because Jacob destroys and burns idols later, or alternatively the people of Jacob's household melted them themselves, and the following sentences are a later addition. I lean myself on the first possibility. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees,* 2:201 and *Jubilees Commentary,* 845 entertains the possibility of *maṭṭawəwwomu* "hand over" being the Ethiopic original, although he thinks that the corruption was already on the Hebrew level, where נתן was confused with נתך. I find this a plausible explanation and have followed VanderKam.

49 Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob*, 116–118; *Walk Through Jubilees,* 149. Cf. already Endres, *Biblical Interpretation,* 159.

50 Kugel, *Ladder of Jacob,* 118, 246n7. Some rabbinical traditions connect the payment with the Jabbok River incident in Gen 32, see p. 117. This incident is fully omitted in Jubilees.

God's side[51]. That would be a grave mistake, because Deuteronomy (Deut 23:21–23, addressed in 2nd singular) stipulates about vows:

> "If you make a vow to the LORD your God, do not postpone fulfilling it; for the LORD your God will surely require it of you, and you would incur guilt. But if you refrain from vowing, you will not incur guilt. Whatever your lips utter you must diligently perform, just as you have freely vowed to the LORD your God with your own mouth."

Thus, Jacob fulfills the Deuteronomic stipulation and is going forth to fulfill the vow he had made to God in Bethel.

Jubilees adds the date "on the first of the month", *ba-šarqa warḫ* (Jub 31:1). What is the month in question? Presumably it is the seventh, because the Shechem episode happened during the fourth month (Jub 30:1) and "on the first of the seventh month" (Jub. 31:3) Jacob then continues his way up to Bethel[52]. The dating is not found in Genesis. But it is clear that Jacob is constantly going forth, not wasting time in his path back to Bethel. This could also be a minor change, an addition of a detail that emphasizes that Jacob is going to fulfill what he promised.

There is a minor difference between the Genesis' account and Jubilees' account concerning the people Jacob addresses, which is important. In Genesis, Jacob addresses "his household" (ביתו) and "all who were with him" (כל-אשר עמו). But in Jubilees, the people addressed are "all the people of his household" (*kʷəllu sabʾa bētu*)[53]. Although one could interpret "all who were with him" synonymous with "his household"[54], it could also be interpreted easily as some people who were not of Jacob's household or family[55]. They could also be Gentiles. Actually, that is what Nahum Sarna thinks in his commentary on Genesis: They include the captives taken at Shechem (Gen 34:29)[56]. This kind of interpretive possibility would be disastrous for the Jacob character the author of Jubilees is willing to portray. The author had also already omitted the possibility, that any Shechemites were left alive. Instead, the were devoted to destruction, put to חרם, as argued above.

The exhortation Jacob is making to his household contains many changes. Firstly, the commandment to purify oneself and change one's clothes is rearranged to come first, whereas the commandment to get rid of the foreign gods are placed last. According to Lutz Doering, this implies that the purification and change of clothes are not connected to the renouncement of idols, but to the

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51 See, e.g. Carl Friedrich Keil's interpretation in *The Pentateuch,* K&D 1, transl. James Martin (Edinburg: T & T Clark, 1866–1891; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2011), 202: "This command stirred him up *to perform what had been neglected*, viz., to put away from his house the strange gods … and to pay to God the vow that he had made in the day of his trouble."(emphasis mine) See also *Gen. Rab.* 81:1–2, already in the rabbinical times.

52 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 847. According to VanderKam (*Jubilees Commentary,* 847n2): "Jubilees 27:19 implies that Jacob traveled from Beersheba to Bethel in one day. The journey to Bethel from his present location (apparently near Shechem [30:26 and v. 2 below]) would be shorter."

53 *Sabʾa* is an very likely only an interpretive gloss, that is what is meant with ביתו. So also *Tg. Nf* and *Ps-J* on Gen. 35:2.

54 See, e.g. Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis,* transl. John. H. Marks, OTL (London: SCM Press Ltd , 2nd Revised Edition 1963), 331–332; Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36,* BKAT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1981), 670.

55 Perhaps this is what is implied in Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18–50,* NIBCOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 1995), 374: "Before leaving Shechem, Jacob instructs *his family and entourage*" (emphasis mine).

56 Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis,* The JPS Torah Commentary (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society 1989), 240.

way Jacob is taking towards a cultic setting in Bethel[57]. This is itself connected to the vow he had made in Gen. 28:22 // Jub. 27:27 of the pillar (or the place) becoming a House of Lord.

Secondly, although surprisingly the detail of bulding an altar is omitted here (but not in Jub. 31:3). The reason for the venture back to Bethel is the vow that Jacob had made: ”we shall arise and go up to Bethel *where I made a vow*” (Jub. 31:1). In Gen. 35:3, the vow is not implied. The phrase "who were with me on the way I walked" (ויהי עמדי בדרך אשר הלכתי) can be connected either to God's promise (Gen 28:15) or to Jacob's vow (Gen. 28:20). In Gen 28:20–21 // Jub 27:27 Jacob has four conditions for his vow: 1) God is with him, 2) he will guard him *in this way on which he is travelling*, 3) he gives food and clothes and 4) returns safely to *his father's house*[58]. In Gen 28:15 // Jub 27:24, on the other hand, God promises to 1) be with Jacob, 2) guard him *wherever he goes* 3) bring him back to "this land" (Jub. adds "safely"), and 3) not abandon him before fulfilling His promise. The promise and the vow are interconnected already in Genesis.

In Jubilees, the vow is mentioned *expressis verbis.* Also other additions connect the reason for the journey to the vow Jacob had made. The phrase "made a vow … to the one who has been with me and brought me back safely (*ba-salām*) to this land." (Jub. 31:1) alludes to first and fourth conditions of Jacob's vow and first and third of God's promises. By many small changes and additions, the author has thus emphasized the role of the vow Jacob had made in Gen. 28:20–22 // Jub. 27:27.

The importance of the vow is enhanced also when Jacob is visiting his parents. In Jub. 31:24–26, Jacob recounts to his father what he had vowed and that everything was ready for the fulfillment of the vow. Now, Isaac answers that Jacob must *hurr*y and fulfill the vow, because otherwise he is held accountable for not fulfilling it (Jub. 31:29), clearly alluding to Deut 23:21–23[59].

The rewriting of Gen. 35:2–4 in Jub. 31:1–2 clearly emphasizes the role of the vow Jacob had made. That vow is the *primus motor* for his journey to Bethel again. Behind this is the urgent matter: A vow must be fulfilled[60]. Jacob remembers the vow himself, and makes his household ready for the cultic happening connected to the vow.

57 Lutz Doering, "Purity and Impurity in the Book of Jubilees" in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees,* ed. Gabriele Boccaccini & Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans 2009), 261–275 (here 267). Compare Sarna, *Genesis,* 240, where Sarna gives three different possibilities to which the purification is connected: 1) rite of renunciation of idols, 2) bodily impurity acquired by corpses with Shechem, 3) pilgrimage to Bethel, 4) preparation for an experience with God. *Tg. Ps-J* 35:2 connects the purification to the corpses in Shechem.

58 This might be one of the exegetical reasons for the addition of the story of Jacob visiting his aged parents before fulfilling the vow, as noted by VanderKam, "Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest", 552–553. Kugel, ”Levi’s Elevation”, 24–27 has noted that the exegetical background for the trip is the mentioning of Deborah in Gen. 35:8, and the reason for the sidetrip is especially that Levi could officiate as the priest.

59 See also VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 863–864.

60 For a different approach, see the warnings against giving vows altogether in Ben Sira 23:9–11. Cf. Jesus' teaching in Matthew 5:33–37 and James 5:12.

"…burn their idols with fire" (Deut. 7:5–6)

Another peculiar detail in the beginning of chapter 31 is the addition in verse 2: "And the idols that Rachel had stolen from her father Laban. She gave everything to Jacob, and he burned them, broke them into pieces, ruined them, and hid them beneath the oak which is in the land of Shechem."[61]

The addition of Rachel's idols is extremely peculiar, because there is no mention of Rachel stealing any idols whatsoever in Jubilees before. The mention of Rachel stealing his father Laban's *teraphim* while he was tending his flock in Gen. 31:19 is omitted in Jub. 29:1–4. Also, Jubilees is silent of Laban searching for these *teraphim* among Jacob's fleeing group (Gen. 31:22–42 // Jub. 29:5–8). There are no idols or *teraphim* for Jubilees to mention in Jub. 31:2. So, why *add* a detail about idols, that in the first place is not tbe found in Genesis, while the detail itself is *omitted* in the renarration of Jubilees in that place where it actually is found in Genesis?

I think the reason for adding this detail is to be found in Deut 7:5 (2nd plural):

> But this is how you must deal with them: break down their altars, smash their pillars, hew down their sacred poles, and burn their idols with fire.

The verbs used in Deut 7:5 are נתץ (qal "break, tear down"), שבר (pi. "smash") and גדע (pi. "hew down") and שרף (qal "burn"). What Jacob is doing in Jub. 31:2 is *ʾawʿaya* ("burn"), *ṣatama* ("break into pieces") and *ʾamāsəna* ("ruin, destroy, desolate")[62]. The semantic range of גדע and *ʾamāsəna* on the one hand and שבר and *ṣatama* on the other hand correspond one another. שרף and *ʾawʿaya* correspond one another smoothiest. Burning of the idols, and not taking any gold or silver from idols is important also in Deut 7:25. Although there is in Ge'ez verbs etymologically coming from the same common Semitic roots than the Hebrew שבר and גדע with similar semantic ranges[63], which are not used at this context, one should keep in mind that the translator might have not understood the allusion, and that there is still the Greek version in-between the Ge'ez translation and the Hebrew original. And it was the LXX that was used in Ethiopia[64].

It is also most important to keep the context in mind. The exhortation in Deut. 7 continues in verse 6 (2nd singular): "For you are a people holy to the LORD your God; the LORD your God has chosen you out of all the peoples on earth to be his people, his treasured possession." This means that the 2nd person plural of Deut 7:5 could be understood to mean a singular person-ought-to-become-people, Israel i.e. Jacob. Deut 7:6 plays an important role already in Jub. 19:18[65].

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61 *wa-ṭāʿota za-saraqat Rāḫēl ʾəm-ḫaba Lābā ʾabuhā wa-wahabat kʷəllo la-Jāʿqob wa-ʾawʿayo wa-ṣatamo wa-ʾamāsəno wa- ḫabʾo tāḫta dəryos za-hallo wəsta mədra Saqimon.*

62 For the English glosees of the ge'ez words, I have used Wolf Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic): Geʿez-English / English-Geʿez with an index of the Semitic roots* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987).

63 i.e. G *sabara* "break" and D *sabbara* "break in pieces, shatter", *gʷadʾa* "strike, smite, crush, shake".

64 In Dillman's Octateuch, the Ge'ez verbs in Deut 7:5 (also 12:3) are *našata* "destroy, demolish, ruin", *qaṭqaṭa* "smash, crush, break to pieces", *gazama* "cut, cut down, tear up" and *ʾawʿaya* "burn", the last being the same as in Jub. 31:2. Again, the semantic fields correspond one another with those used in Jub. 31:2, but the translator(s) of Deuteronomy or Jubilees did not allude to the Hebrew original (which they did not possess!) by using verbs that still had the same semantic field than the Hebrew cognates in Deut 7:5. That would be too much to expect.

65 Betsy Halpern–Amaru, *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Postbiblical Jewish Literature* (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1994), 37, 145n53; Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 115.

Thus Jacob is doing exactly what is said in Deut 7:5. Also Deut 12:1–4 gives another context for the commandment to destroy the false worship in the holy land. The verbs used in Deut 12:3 are the same as in Deut 7:5, though in different order.

It would be disastrous for the author's portray of patriarch Jacob, again, that Jacob would treat the idols as respectfully as he seems to be doing in Gen. 35:4, not following the stipulations of Torah that he in the author's reading of Deuteronomy and Psalm 78:5 had already received. Burying is not burning.

"But you shall seek the place that the LORD your God will chose…" (Deut 12:5–28)

It is worth emphasizing, that all of these commands (except fulfilling the vow in Deut 23:21–23) are given to Israel in order that the people follows them *in the promised land*:

> "When the LORD your (sg.) God brings you (sg.) into the land that you (sg.) are about to enter and possess (NRSV: occupy), and he clears away many nations before you (sg.) – the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations mightier and more numerous than you (sg.)…" (Deut 7:1)

> "These are the statutes and ordinances that you (pl.) must diligently observe in the land that the LORD, the God of your (sg.) ancestors, has given you (sg.) to possess (NRSV: occupy) all the days that you (pl.) live on the land (NRSV: earth[66])" (Deut 12:1)

Jacob has crossed the Jordan in the first year of the fifth week of "this jubilee" (44th, Jub 27:19), that is 2136 AM (Jub. 29:14). Now, during the first year of the sixth week, 2143 AM, Jacob went *safely* to Salem (Jub. 30:1)[67]. During the same year he starts his journey towards Bethel. Still, Jacob is a sort of newcomer in the promised land. Now, when he has put the Shechemites to חרם (Deut. 7:1–4; 12:3), destroyed the idols Rachel and his own house were carrying (Deut 7:5–6; 12:1–4), he is searching for the right place for worship (Deut. 12:5–7 in mixed 2nd plural and singular; cf. also vv. 8–28):

> But you shall seek the place that the LORD your God will choose out of all your tribes as his habitation to put his name there. You shall go there, bringing there your burnt offerings and your sacrifices, your tithes and your donations, your votive gifts, your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herds and flocks. And you shall eat there in

66 Hebrew אדמה is used also of the promised land in Deuteronomy, see e.g. Deut 11:21.

67 VanderKam ("Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest", 551–552) has actually pondered whether the seven-year time lapse (שבוע) might imply that now was the time for Jacob to fulfill the vow (שבועה, although נדר is used in Gen 28:20 and in Deut 23:21–23). See also the *seventh* month in which Jacob is going to Bethel (Jub. 31:3).

> the presence of the LORD your God, you and your households together, rejoicing in all the undertakings in which the LORD your God has blessed you.

The place is a place that God, not humans, chooses. According to Jub. 32:16, Jacob "decided to build up it [Betel, the place] into a (cult) place[68] and to surround the courtyard with a wall, to sanctify it and make it eternally holy for himself and for his children after him forever." Jacob thus thought to make it *the place,* המקום, the right place that God must have chosen. What else could be up to his mind, when God had appeared there before? Another *angelophany* was needed in order to make it clear that it was not המקום: "Do not build this into a (cult) place, and do not make it an eternal temple. Do not live here because *this is not the place*[69]." (Jub. 32:22) What place? The place that God will choose and which Jacob is seeking.[70]

Deut 12:5–28 talks about tithes and votive gifts, מעשר ונדר, that ought to be offered in המקום that God will choose (12:6, 11, 17, 26). Jacob is fulfilling the vow (נדר) he gave, and giving tithes (מעשר) as he had vowed. The place is of course Bethel, because the original narrative in Gen. 28, 31, 35 is well known. The contradiction is that Jacob *must* fulfill what he had promised, but he cannot do it fully according to the Deuteronomic stipulations, because it is later revealed that המקום is Jerusalem and not Bethel. But Jacob is *thinking* that Bethel is המקום, as he was planning to build it as המקום.

Deut. 12:17–18 stipulates:

> "Nor may you eat within your towns the tithe of your grain, your wine, and your oil, the firstlings of your herds and your flocks, any of your votive gifts that you vow, your free will offerings, or your donations; these you shall eat in the presence of the LORD your God at the place that the LORD your God will choose, you together with your son and your daughter, your male and female slaves, and the Levites resident in your towns, rejoicing in the presence of the LORD your God in all your undertakings."[71]

According to Jub. 32:7 Jacob "was eating happily there – he, all his sons, and his men – for seven days." Although this is connected to the Festival of Tabernacles (cf. Jub. 16:20, 25–27), it is at the same time connected to Jacob's votive gifts and offerings. When Jacob[72] had given the first tithe and offerings, Jubilees says: "This was his gift because of the vow which he had made that he would give a tithe along with their sacrifices and their libations" (Jub. 32:5). The merriful festival Jacob

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68 ge'ez *kama yəḥnəṣ wəʾəta makāna.* The manuscript variations (see VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees,*1:178) indicate that the phrase was somewhat difficult to understand. Instead of *wəʾəta,* ms. 25 has *wəʾətu* and ms. 38 *wəsta.* The word *makān* is in nominative in ms. 21. Other variations: *wəʾətu makān* (ms. 9); *wəsta wəʾətu makān* (ms. 63). Maybe the Hebrew original had המקום with a connotation to holy place, or Jerusalem, i.e. the place of right worship and cult place, which the translators into Greek or Ge'ez did not understand fully. The meaning would then be, that Jacob decided to build it as המקום, which had connotations to Jerusalem. On these connotations, see *TDOT,* 8:537–540. See also VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 885.

69 *ʾəska ʾakko zə-makān.*

70 See also Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 153–156, according to whom this belongs to his original author. VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 771 has rightly noted that Jacob's eagerness to build a sanctuary in Bethel is also part of fulfillment of the promise he had made in Jub. 27:27.

71 The whole passage is addressed in 2nd person singular in MT, LXX has 2nd. plural in few instances.

72 I will comment the problem of who was the officiating priest on the Appendix (not included here) below.

and his household is celebrating is at the same time fulfillment of the stipulations of Deut. 12:5–28 and also Deut 14:25–27.

Is this reading too far-fetched? It might seem so from first look, but it fits perfectly to the context. Jacob has come and put the people of Shechem to חרם. Then he has destroyed and burnt the idols. What next? Find *the place.* And that is what Jacob is doing, although his plans are denied by an angel.

"As for the Levites… do not neglect them…" (Deut. 14:27)

According to the vow Jacob had made in Gen. 28:20–22 // Jub. 27:27, he was to give tithes *from everything* (*kʷəllu*), which he now does in Jub. 32:2: "[Jacob] gave a tithe of everything which had come to him – from people to animals, from money to all utensils and clothing. He gave a tithe of everything."[73]

It has been noticed, that the tithing and sacrifices in Jub. 32 do not correspond with any tithing that is stipulated in the Pentateuch[74]. I will not deal with this, but shall concentrate on the importance of Levi as the recipient of the tithes.

The most interesting detail in Jub. 32 is "the second tithe" which Jacob is giving in Jub. 32:9. It is not Levi which Jacob tithed, as VanderKam assumed in his *Guide to Jubilees* (2001)[75], but a second tithe, that is probably connected to verse 7, as he remarks in his recent *Jubilees Commentary*[76]. This second tithe, which is then elaborated upon in Jub. 32:10–15 is more or less linked to the tithing regulations in Deut 14:22–27 and the exegetical traditions connected therein, although even Num. 18:21, 24 and Lev. 27:32, which probably is quoted in Jub. 32:15, plays a role[77]. Deut. 14:22–27 (addressed in 2nd singular) goes as follows:

> "Set apart a tithe of all the yield of your seed that is brought in yearly from the field. In the presence of the Lord your God, in the place that he will choose as a dwelling for his name, you shall eat the tithe of your grain, your wine, and your oil, as well as the firstlings of your herd and flock, so that you may learn to fear the Lord your God always. But if, when the Lord your God has blessed you, the distance is so great that you are unable to transport it, because the place where the Lord your God will choose to set his name is too far away from you, then you may turn it into money. With the money secure in hand, go to the place that the Lord your God will choose; spend the money for whatever you wish–oxen, sheep, wine, strong drink, or whatever you desire. And you shall eat there in the presence of the Lord your God, you and your household rejoicing together. As for the Levites resident in your towns, do not neglect them, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you."

The importance of Levi's presence in the tithing is quite clear. In his earlier article, VanderKam comments that "A tithe had to be given to someone. In the Hebrew Scriptures, it is a portion set

73 *ʾəm-kwəllu za-maṣʾa məslēhu*; *decimauit uniuersa quaecumque uenerunt cum eo. Tg. Ps-J.* on Gen. 14:20–21 interprets Abraham's tithe also including human tithes, which VanderKam (*Jubilees Commentary,* 876) points out.

74 Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 152–153; VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 875–881.

75 VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees,* 71.

76 VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 882.

77 Kugel, *Walk Through Jubilees,* 152–153; VanderKam, *Guide to Jubilees,* 71–72; "Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest," 555; VanderKam, *Jubilees Commentary,* 883–885.

aside for sacred purposes and specifically a portion given to the Levites, the priestly tribe, who had no assigned land on which to grow food and raise animals."[78] Perhaps the original "inventor", as far as we can know, is the author of the Book of Malachi. According to Valve, the author of Malachi uses Jacob as an ideal tither in Mal. 3:6–12[79]. In Mal 3:8, 10 it is complained that the people has not given its tithes to the temple. Consider this and Jub. 32:10: "The entire tithe of cattle and sheep is holy to the Lord", reflecting Lev. 27:32. The tithes to the temple belong also to the priests/Levites. And this is what the second tithe is all about, not even speaking about the exegetical tradition in Malachi.

Robert A. Kugler has also pointed out, that Jacob is fulfilling in chapter 32 what was said about him in Jub. 30:18–20, 31:12–17 and 32:1[80]. What is relevant regarding to the "second tithe" is the blessing of Isaac, which said (Jub. 31:16): "His table is to belong to you; you and your sons are to eat (from it). May your table be filled throughout all history; may your food not be lacking throughout all ages." This might echo the tithes and sacrifices of which priests/Levites are part of, something which also Deut. 14:27 addresses[81].

Thus, Levi was needed in order to Jacob to give rightly the tithes and sacrifices connected to the vow he was presenting. In so doing, the author shows how Jacob, i.e. Israel, is doing what has been ordered to him in Deuteronomy. As John Endres has put it: "In sum, the author described the correct giving of the tithe, and Levi provided an opportunity to view the proper observance."[82]

Conclusion

So what does Jacob do in Jubilees 30–32? He fulfills the many commandments in Deuteronomy that can easily be connected to the basic text of Gen. 34–35 and the exegetical traditions that already had been connected therein before the author. Here, the Book of Malachi was one big inspirator, as Valve has shown. But the author's possible new innovation is that Jacob follows closely the commandments that he reads in Deuteronomy: You Israel, do this, do that. And in the author's reading of Genesis, Israel does.

This was possible already by biblical basis. According to one possible reading of Ps. 78:5, the Torah and Testimony were established in Jacob/Israel, before exodus. It is Jacob, who has gotten the Torah and Testimony. This is what influenced the author's portray of Jacob and his rewriting of the head character in this play. Jacob is Israel, and fulfills that which has been ordered to Israel. This is the big influence that Deuteronomy has on the Reception of the Jacob Story in Jubilees.

78 VanderKam, "Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest," 554–555.
79 Valve, *Early Modes of Exegesis,* 39–62, esp. 58–60.
80 Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest,* 166–167.
81 Thus also VanderKam, "Exegetical Creation of Levi the Priest," 554–555.
82 Endres, *Biblical Interpretation,* 166.

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▶ **Paper**

A Critical Appropriation of the Term 'Theodicy' for the Study of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible: The Case of Jeremiah 2 – 6

➥ Respondent: Frederik Poulsen

▶ **Abstract**

The term theodicy was coined by Leibniz in 1710 in a treatise that adopts scholastic methods, fitting better within the category of systematic theology than that of biblical studies. Schmid, however, argues that although the OT/HB does not contain theology in the scholastic sense, it is not atheological. According to Carroll, theodicy belongs to the area of theology that attempts to justify God in the face of evil and suffering. In Jeremiah's case the circumstances around the deportation of 587/6 BCE invite the use of this term. Yet since Weber argued that the issue of theodicy is dependent on one's own perspective about god, the use of theodicy in the study of the OT/HB must first dissociate the religious background of ancient Israel from theistic perspectives because, as stated by Gericke, the imposition of a highly transcendental being on the OT/HB misrepresents what this literary corpus intends to say about its main deity. In addition, Leibniz's visible systematisation of the relationship between God, the people and evil alongside the logic of non-contradiction is also problematic, as pointed out by Ricoeur. Thus, Landsberger's notions of 'conceptual autonomy' alongside Pike's distinction between 'emic' and 'etic' are valuable tools for differentiating the modern and ancient milieux, particularly with regard to dichotomies involving polytheism versus monotheism and iconic versus aniconic. This paper argues that since Jeremiah went through a long and complex process, involving redaction, transmission and reception, Crenshaw's first definition of theodicy would fit with the circumstances around the exile, as for the Deuteronomists the people are not innocent. Nonetheless, Crenshaw's second definition of theodicy, which adds 'hostility toward virtuous people', would be applicable to G-Jeremiah within the Diaspora context, a period in which Wisdom of Solomon with other writings present a high view with regard to righteousness and vindication after death.

▶ Project Summary

'Theodicy in Jeremiah 2 – 6: Composition and Early Reception

My research project considers 'theodicy' as part of the enterprise of a theology of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible. It argues that there is a connection between the move to an exclusive Yahwistic worship alongside aniconic practices from the exilic era onwards and the subject of theodicy. Crenshaw's definitions of theodicy might reflect different stages of Jeremiah's redaction and reception history. The focus of this study is on Jeremiah 2–6, as these five chapters consist of a coherent literary section in its own right. Apart from a few insertions of prose, independent oracles of doom in poetry were bonded together into a composition in which apostasy features as its dominant theme. The borders of this literary unit are well-defined by the standard introduction in prophetic literature, which in Jeremiah 1 includes the call narrative followed by two visions, and the temple sermon written in prose in Jeremiah 7.

The project is divided into seven chapters: (1) introduction, (2) a critical appropriation of the term 'theodicy' to the study of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible, (3) a selective survey on Jeremiah studies, (4) methodology, (5) composition of Jeremiah 2–6: a diachronic reading, (6) early reception of Jeremiah: a synchronic reading in light of the diaspora and (7) synthesis and conclusion.

Since the term 'theodicy' originated from the scholastic setting, which is intimately associated to the field of systematic or Christian theology, I dedicate part of chapter 2 discussing the rationale of 'theodicy' within its own context to avoid potential misrepresentations, as systematic theology is by nature more philosophical whilst biblical studies tend to be in essence more descriptive. Although I acknowledge their methodological and presuppositional differences, I do not completely reject that occasionally distinctive areas can benefit from interdisciplinary interchanges (e.g., Spinoza's contribution regarding the individual's perspective in relation to the construction of the concepts of 'good' and 'evil' or their ideological use). Ricoeur's contribution on the issue of evil, however, is the main theoretical reference adopted in this study, as he argues that the hermeneutic of symbols (e.g., defilement, sin and guilt) and myths become the predominant issue of the phenomenology of evil and are the first linguistic expressions of one's negative experiences. Such contributions alongside the notions of 'conceptual autonomy' and the distinction between 'emic' and 'etic' form an important step to move to the ANE ideas of divinity and evil, which represent the milieu that produced the OT/HB. The last part of the chapter attempts to map the dynamic between Yahweh, Judah and evil in the present form of Jeremiah in order to have an initial idea of how these parts relate to each other within the book. Chapter 3 provides a selected literary review on Jeremiah studies, observing the main issues in its research history, which involves the relationship between G- and M-Jeremiah alongside the book's relation to Deuteronomism. This chapter also highlights the development from an atomistic to a more organic approach, bifurcating into biographical and literary approaches. Whereas the former concentrates on the correlation between internal and external events, the latter focuses on the nature of Jeremiah's redaction. Chapter 3 concludes that essentially Jeremiah studies can be divided into three well-established perspectives: author-, text- and reader centred approaches. Chapter 4 provides some methodological considerations, which first clarifies terms, such as Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic. It also problematises rigid distinctions, such as emic and etic, redaction and *Fortschreibung*, as well as the challenge of clearly defining the boundaries between redaction and reception history. This chapter attempts

to integrate author-, text- and reader- centred approaches, arguing that G-Jeremiah can be used as both diachronic and synchronic reconstructions, as it suggests an earlier literary stage of the book in comparison to M-Jeremiah. Nevertheless, as a translation, it also gives access to possibly the earliest synchronic reading of the book, which inevitably involves the readers from the diaspora, as the new interpreters of G-Jeremiah. Gadamer's *Wirkungsgeschichte* and horizontal intertextuality offer insightful contributions to these chapters. Chapters 5 and 6 apply these methodological principles to Jeremiah. Whilst chapter 5 focuses on the diachronic aspect of Jeremiah 2–6, chapter 6 attempts to locate these five chapters within G-Jeremiah as a whole in light of the diaspora. The last chapter provides a synthesis and conclusion of this study with some projections of potential areas for further research in the future.

▶ **Keywords** Evil, Jeremiah, Suffering, Theodicy, Theology

A Critical Appropriation of the Term 'Theodicy' for Study of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible: The Case of Jeremiah 2–6

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1. Preliminary Questions

(a) The relationship between theodicy, monotheism and aniconic practices. As Jeremiah 2–6 presents a polemic discourse against apostasy ridiculing idols, it may be possible to make a case that the theologising process of the Fall of Jerusalem evolved in a way which laments about such a tragedy and were theologically interpreted through small localised expansions in chapters 4–6, which connected to the more elaborate metaphor of marriage and adultery in chapters 2–3.

(b) *Forstchreibung* versus Redaction. If the comments above have some grounds, then, it might be necessary to reassess the rigid distinctions between *Fortschreibung* and redaction, as even glosses would not be written without any purpose.

(c) Jeremiah 2–6 is not simply the oldest part of the book but the oldest strata, which has been reinterpreted until possibly the book's most recent phase. If such localised expansions in chapters 4–6 belong to the later editorial stage, which seems reinforced by the presence of Pentateuchal laws in Jeremiah 2–3, then, perhaps Jeremiah 2–6 should no longer be considered as the oldest part of the book but it might involve both the oldest portion as well as the most recent instead.

(d) Historical Jeremiah versus history of ancient Israel. Another question concerns the criteria adopted by some of the scholars mentioned in this paper (e.g., Schmid and Rom-Shiloni) in terms of crediting part of the material to the historical prophet. Are such attributions really necessary or even achievable? Or perhaps, scholarly discussions on particular texts should limit themselves to the literary history of such pericopes without venturing in a new quest for the *ipsissima verba* whilst the historical reconstruction of ancient Israel should be conducted independently and only after

both inquiries are complete, then, one could assess the interrelation between both enterprises.

(e) Where are the boundaries between redaction criticism and reception history? Finally, it would be interesting to hear some feedback about the challenges involved in establishing the end of redaction of 𝔐-Jeremiah and its reception history and the option for 𝔊-Jeremiah in response to such challenges.

(f) Vertical versus horizontal intertextuality. I would appreciate some thoughts about the distinction between different types of intertextuality.

2. *Introduction*

The book named after the prophet Jeremiah[1] exposes the accounts of the last days of Judah. Its storyline develops through a series of events, which led to the Babylonian invasion of Jerusalem (587/6 BCE) followed by a sequence of incidents that escalated after the capital's occupation, inaugurating the dark period of the exile when the foundations of Judah's identity vanished raising serious questions for Judah's faith (Römer, 2003:7).

Colourful images of violence and distress have influenced readers from various generations, resulting in a powerful identification with their own negative experiences from those distressing pictures evoked in Jeremiah. Such associations, however, may be directly influenced by some internal elements introduced within the book itself (e.g., the weeping prophet cf. Jer 8:33). The combination of these internal components in conjunction with intertextual readings (e.g., allusions that Jeremiah composed laments about king Josiah cf. 2 Chr 35:25) is amplified by the organisation of the Septuagint alongside the interpretation of 𝔊-Lamentations.[2] This identification can be found in

[1] Hereafter Jeremiah.

[2] In the Septuagint, Jeremiah is followed by Baruch, Lamentations and the Letter of Jeremiah. 𝔊-Lamentations attributes Jeremiah as its author (Hillers, 1972:11; Salters, 2010:5). The influence of 𝔊 tradition in the presentation of Jeremiah as a lamenting prophet is depicted in various works of art e.g., Rembrandt (Callaway: 2004:48-60).

ancient Jewish and Christian traditions as well as amongst modern readers,[3] which reinforces Jeremiah's melancholic impression. Such a tie of gloomy experiences frequently attributed to 'evil' combined with other closely related terminologies alongside painful images described in Jeremiah seem comprehensible. For Síwek (1951:15), the invasive way in which tragic events break into one's life disrupting its peaceful and harmonious status quo naturally leads those afflicted by immeasurable pain to search for answers regarding the causes of such distress.

Nevertheless, one still might wonder if the use of the term 'theodicy' in the study of the OT/HB is justifiable since this term is originally a neologism coined by Leibniz in 1710, which combined the Greek θεος and δικη in his attempt to address the 'problem of evil' (Jorgensen and Newlands, 2014:1-5) raised by the maxims often credited to Epicurus.[4] Leibniz (1710) tried to harmonise the nature of the Jewish and Christian god with human freedom and the existence of evil in the world. Although the unity between theology and exegesis was common prior to the post-Reformation era, the process of separation between the 18th and 20th centuries gave birth to two distinctive disciplines: systematic and biblical studies (Rowe and Hays, 2007:435-450).

3. Initial Remarks for a 'Theodicy' in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

Leibniz's treatise resembles the scholastic discourse and method and fits better within the former than the latter category. As Ricoeur (2007:33-34) argued, the problem of the rationale behind this type of theodicy is its subjection 'to the demands of logical consistency', which 'is at once not a contradiction and yet concerned with systematic totality' without considering that the propositions involving God's

[3] Parallels between Jeremiah and Josephus (Avioz, 2018:379-393). Jesus as the suffering prophet in Matthews (Knowles, 1993:265). Disaster and trauma theories applied to Jeremiah (O'Connor, 2011:1-6).
[4] The first occurrence of these dictums is registered in *Ir.* 13.19, but they were brought back by Hume (1779:186).

omnipotence alongside the coexistence of his goodness with the presence of evil in the world 'express an "onto-theological" state of thought' based on 'an advanced stage of speculation', which relies on the combination of 'the confessional language and a discourse on radical origin of all things dating to the period of pre-Kantian metaphysics'.

Laato and de Moor (2003:ix-xiii) argue that the fact that the ancient writers did not use the term theodicy does not imply that they did not struggle with similar problems. One of their objections regarding most modern philosophical approaches to theodicy is the lack of connection with those afflicted with suffering, which is different from the written testimony imbedded in diverse religious traditions over millennia because they reflect the voices of those who actually have experienced pain. Such remarks also resonate with Williams' and Crenshaw's observations (Williams, 1956:15; *ABD* 6:444), as both mention that unlike the highly speculative meaning, ANE traditions related to theodicy are mainly driven by religious and cultic beliefs anchored in observations of daily affairs instead of a purely speculative exercise. However, as Weber (1963:139) observed, solutions to the issue of theodicy in different religions, 'stand in the closest relationship both to the forms assumed by the god-concept and to the conceptions of sin and salvation crystalized in particular social groups'. Thus, Gericke (2012:293-342) argues correctly that the use of imported concepts from classic theism next to Aristotelian metaphysical notions misrepresent what the OT/HB intends to say about its main deity.

Since the milieux that produced the OT/HB stand at a far distance from theistic settings, the notions of 'conceptual autonomy' alongside the distinction between 'emic' and 'etic' are valuable tools to assess the socio-religious backgrounds which produced this literary corpus. The former was coined by Landsberger (1976), who advocated the study of the Mesopotamian culture in its own terms, arguing that the observer must abstain from his own cultural values and restrict the analysis of the particular culture in question to its own system of values. Such a concept is similar to Pike's (1967:37-42) 'emic' notion,

as it aims to analyse the object of study within its own native cultural terms whereas his 'etic' concept seeks to remove the object from its indigenous environment giving general explanations.

Unlike theistic perspectives, which often present a highly transcendental being and attempt to address the issue of evil in a speculative manner, the ANE religious world was significantly plural and representations of its deities was not uncommon besides the fact that the dynamics between the deities, evil and mankind are anything but systematised as theistic constructions of god.

Thus, distinctions between monotheism and polytheism alongside the debate iconic versus aniconic practices are anachronistic constructs, which were probably designed to address different cultural traditions and values in the West and non-Western traditions (Smith, 2001:11-12; MacDonald, 2012:5-21; Idem, 2007:33-44; Becking, 2006:57). Despite the fact that a group of exclusive Yahwistic worshipers might have existed in pre-exilic Israel (Smith, 1971; Lang, 1983), there is a strong consensus that an emerging form of monotheism only appeared at a late stage during the exilic or even post-exilic era and before that pre-exilic Israel had significant continuity with the religious practice of the neighbouring Canaanite peoples (Gnuse, 1997:346-347; Pakkala, 1999:239; Day, 2000:226-233; Römer, 2005: 172-174). Thus, one should not be surprised to find elements of continuity between ancient Israelite and Canaanite religious practices, which occasionally emerge within the biblical texts. The language of divine council in Bronze Age texts from Mesopotamia and Syria referring to the aggregation of deities orbiting specific gods with the division in tiers, suggesting a hierarchical system, alongside a number of El epithets in Genesis imply a close relationship between the religion of the patriarchs and the El Canaanite ones (Smith, 2001:41-46). Apparently, El was the chief deity and Asherah was his consort before his presence started gradually fading as Yahweh was elevated and Asherah became his wife (Emerton, 1999:315-335; Day, 2000:13-67; Dijkstra, 2001a:17-44; Idem, 2001b:81-126; Korpel, 2001:127-150; Gilmour, 2009:87-101). This phenomenon was not unusual, as times of hardship could result in

radical religious transformation, which was probably what happened in the last days of Ugarit, as it was marked by assaults, famine and plague, leading its inhabitants to abandon the worship of El, replacing the deity with Baal (De Moor, 2003:108-150).

Different from the theistic highly transcendental god, ANE deities were often embodied and represented in various forms, such as anthropomorphic and theriomorphic characterisations (Hamori, 2008; Sommer, 2009; Smith, 2001:32; Becking, 2001:151-163). Therefore, it is not surprising to see the deities behaving like humans. The Hittite traditions, for example, present the relationship between the deities and mankind in terms of the suzerain-vassal model, which visibly influenced some OT/HB scholars at different levels (Von Rad, 1984:1-78; Mendenhall, 1970:26-46; Eichrodt, 1961).[5] In Hittite tradition evil could either be attributed to human actions, such as sin or negligence which may have displeased a particular god, or to the work of an evil deity. One could find which sin was committed through oracular practices, which would enable the sinner to confess and offer sacrifices as compensation, but in the case of an action from a malign god the individual could revert evil with the assistance of his/her personal deity. The lack of response from the gods, however, was usually interpreted in light of human behaviours e.g., laziness or injustice (Hoffner, 2003:90-107).

A common feature in ANE religious culture is that the interaction between the deities, mankind, evil and the world was often explained by myths and expressed through the observation of ritual practices. For Ricoeur (1969:5), a myth does not reflect false explanations, but it involves traditional narratives about the beginning of times with the purpose to support ritualistic practices and to give basis for how mankind sees the world.

For Lee (2005:14-15), rituals have a significant role in the organisation of societies alongside the reaffirmations of their

[5] Eichrodt (1983:17-41) imposed the theme of covenant in wisdom literature. Von Rad (2005:105-121) objected to the idea that the OT/HB had a centre and McCarthy (1972) argued that the covenant in the OT/HB is not uniform.

institutions. They also assist with the identification of socio-religious changes as well as the maintenance of the religious harmonic order to prevent chaos. In Ancient Egypt the notion of *Ma`at* bridged human actions with the cosmic order touching every single aspect of daily life (e.g., law, morality, state and religion) whilst *jzf.t* (evil) was typified by chaos disrupting the perfect order (Assmann, 2002:127). Mankind had the responsibility to reverse it through magical spells accompanied by clear instructions where the magician reenacts a divine antecedent (Loprieno, 2003:27-56). Most information about rituals in the OT/HB, however, appear in the priestly material, as this body of literature contains an expressive selection of ancient Israel cultic laws and conventions with noticeable emphasis on the order of things in a way where holiness and profanity were combined with purity and impurity in a system, which was meaningful to the priestly class (Jenson, 1992; Milgrom, 1989:103-109). The importance of rigorously following these rules – which involved who could conduct the rituals and could participate as well as where, when and how they should be executed – was based on the following reasons: the belief that since God created the world as orderly, its existence depended on the maintenance of such order through a careful observation of these rules. Their transgression could jeopardise God's presence within the community or even attract something disastrous like divine wrath (Gorman, 1990:229-232; Klawans, 2001:133-155; Douglas, 1966:1-6; Ricoeur, 1969:31). Such a retribution was also visible in Akkadian writings and reflected the law of nature embedded in the orthodox tradition of the Mesopotamian intellectuals, which was based on experience. They believed that suffering was the fruit of the individual's own actions, although reality proves the opposite. To answer such incongruity, there was the idea that no one was innocent, as there may be sins from the individual's youth or sins of which one is unaware (Van der Toorn, 2003:57-89). In the OT/HB the notion of retribution appears with more frequency in sapiencial writings mostly applied to individuals, although there are a few instances where this notion is applied to the whole nation. Yet the same logic of retribution also seems present in prophetic literature and

the Psalter, but the latter tends to highlight the importance of the involvement of Yahweh in the retributive act (Koch, 1983:57-87).

A final remark is related to the phenomenon in Jewish and Christian traditions where the term evil is employed to address a wide range of distinctive negative experiences ranging from reprimand to lamentation, e.g. 'sin, suffering and death' (Ricoeur, 2007:35-38). A similar incident, although not identical, can also be found with the terms derived from the Hebrew root רעע, as they also cover numerous variations, depending on different contexts and grammatical functions. Interestingly out of 787 occurrences of the root רעה in the whole OT/HB, Jeremiah leads by far with the frequency of 146 appearances (*TDOT* 13:363). Koch (1984:19-20) even mentions that derivations of this root occur with more frequency in Jeremiah than any other prophet. Nonetheless, the frequent distinction between 'moral evil' and 'natural evil' adopted by both theological and philosophical circles faces challenges in Jeremiah as both aspects are significantly entangled in the book.

4. Theodicy in Jeremiah 2–6

Despite the fact that theology in the scholastic sense is an anachronistic concept to the OT/HB, Barr (1973:89-111) and Schmid (2015:48-49) reject the argument that this literary body is absent of theological formulations. Schmid (2015:114-115) argues that rather than a matter of different personal convictions, the existence of theological reasoning in the OT/HB is an issue that is content related and it should not be restricted to the canonical writings but extended to post-canonical literature instead. Therefore, I suggest that the subject of theodicy need not be associated with theistic beliefs in whichever form but can be approached in a similar manner instead. Carroll (1984:33) argues that theodicy is the area of theology engaged in justifying God alongside evil and suffering in the world, which in Jeremiah is linked to the destruction of Jerusalem by Babylon.

Crenshaw provides two definitions, which shall be used to guide this study. In 1983 he defined theodicy as the attempt 'to pronounce a verdict of "Not Guilty" over God for whatever seems to destroy the order of society and the universe' (p.1), but nearly 10 years later he slightly modified his definition as 'the attempt to defend divine justice in the face of aberrant phenomena that appear to indicate the deity's indifference or hostility toward virtuous people' (*ABD* 6:444). Personally, 'hostility toward virtuous people' seems the key difference, but as biblical texts were subjected to a long and complex process involving edition, transmission and reception, Crenshaw's definitions may correspond to different stages of such an activity. Since the Deuteronomists do not consider Israel innocent (Laato, 2003:183-184; Römer, 2005:113-114; Crenshaw, 2003:236-237), Crenshaw's first definition seems applicable to the circumstances involving the exile. His second one, however, might be suitable to the later diaspora generation within the Hellenistic setting, especially because of the high view towards righteousness alongside vindication after death in the Wisdom of Solomon.[6]

Schmid's approach (2015:53-60) is different from those theologies of the OT/HB which import the observer's external systematic notions into the biblical texts, as his method attempts to trace the development of theological reflection from the texts themselves where an implicit theology evolves into a more explicit one. Although not identical, Ricoeur (1969:14) proposed something similar in his assessment of evil in *Symbolism of Evil*, arguing that 'the most inarticulate expressions of the confession of evil that philosophic reason must listen'.

Although I do not think that there is any reason to dismiss that part of Jeremiah's material reflects the knowledge of a writer contemporary to some of the events described within the book or even that there was a historical figure named Jeremiah active during the days leading to the

[6] This indicates some knowledge of its pre-existence (e.g., Wis 8:19-20). Immortality seems conditioned to righteousness (Collins, 1998:185-87). Like apocalyptic writings, the book also mentions the reversal of conditions between the righteous and wicked during the 'divine dispensation' (Winston, 2003:531).

exile (See Reimer, 2004:207-224; Grabbe, 2006:189-204; Idem, 2017:253-254), his involvement with the composition of the book named after him is uncertain.[7] One needs to make a distinction between the book's literary history and the history of ancient Israel, which despite some points of contact, have their own development.[8] Such a symbiotic marriage between historical events and the compositional process of the book ended up resulting in a fictionalisation of reality where the distinction between historical and literary worlds are significantly blurred.[9] Jeremiah reflects a theological interpretation of the events leading up to the exile where the collection in chapters 2–6 presents significant challenges in terms of its authors' identification.

Apart from a few differences in the opening of 𝔐 and 𝔊, both start with the prophet's background alongside some historical information, which includes the knowledge of the captivity (Jer 1:2). Since this information appears right at the beginning, it sets up the book reflecting on the life of its protagonist within the events that culminated with the exile and its aftermath, i.e., the exile and Jeremiah's priestly connections are already part of the assumptions of the present forms of the book.

Obviously, this does not automatically mean that Jeremiah 2–6 share the same premises, as introductions in general are very likely the last editorial stage. These five chapters consist of a coherent literary section in its own right. Apart from a few insertions of prose, independent oracles of doom in poetry were bonded together into a composition where apostasy features as its dominant theme. The borders of this literary unit are clearly defined by the standard

[7] Carroll (1989:99-114; Idem, 1991:222-35) presents the contrast between biographical and literary approaches.
[8] The relationship between Jeremiah and Ezekiel illustrates this. Holladay (2001:31-34) attempts to explain this relation in biographical terms, but such constructions are based on literary formulations founded on face value readings. Vieweger (1988:15-34) suggests that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were mutually influenced, but in literary terms it seems that the former was influenced by the latter. Rom-Shiloni (2012:203-230) proposes that the investigation of such a relationship needs to be considered historically, socially and literary.
[9] Frei (1974:10-16) uses the following categories 'realistic', 'history-like' or 'lifelike'.

introduction in prophetic literature, which in Jeremiah 1 includes the call narrative followed by two visions, and the temple sermon written in prose in chapter 7.

In fact, some scholars have placed 2:4–4:2 within the Josianic period on the grounds that בית יעקב וכל־משפתות בית ישראל refer to the northern Israel[10] in addition to similarities between the first half of this collection and Hosea.[11] Furthermore, the anonymity of מצפון ...רעה has provoked extensive discussion in terms of its identity[12] as well as the chronology of the prophet's career,[13] but despite that, except for sporadic references to king Josiah which appear as exegetical comments (e.g., 3:6-18), there is little evidence within the book to support that the prophet was active in those years.[14]

Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to consider that even in the process of composition of Jeremiah 2–6, the exile and priestly affinities were already within the writers' horizons, who theologically interpreted the fall of Jerusalem[15] presenting a clear development in three different acts: it starts with the lawsuit, which presents the charges against Judah in 2:4-37 (e.g., ריב cf. 2:9), evolves with the call for repentance in 3:1–4:2 (e.g., שוב cf. 4:1) and ends with the verdict in

[10] Albertz (1982:20-47), Unterman (1987:23-38) and Leuchter (2006:87-110) place the first half of the collection within the Josianic period, arguing that Jeremiah supported the Josianic reform.

[11] Wilson (1980:231-251), Unterman (1987:165-166), de Winkel (2000:235-240) and Carr (2011:318-323) believe Jeremiah belongs to the same tradition as Hosea. Stipp (2009:148-186) revives the quest for the *ipsissima verba Jeremiae*.

[12] Scythian hypothesis (Duhm, 1901:xiv, Cazelles, 1984:129-149, Yamauchi, 1983:90-99). Eschatological judgment, (Volz, 1922:58; Welch, 1928:97-131). Alexander the Great (Torrey, 1937:193-216). The Chaldeans (Hyatt 1940:511-512). Ackroyd (1968:51-52) mentioned that the enemy from the North was not originally Babylon. The chaos tradition (Childs, 1959:187-98). The place where the judgment comes from (Reimer, 1989:223-32).

[13] Discussions on the beginning of Jeremiah's early career appear mostly in biographical approaches. After the death of king Josiah in 608 BCE (Hyatt, 1966:204-218). The Battle of Carchemish in 605 BCE (Whitley, 1964:467-483; Idem, 1968:38-49; Sweeney, 1999:200-218). 627 BCE as the year of the prophet's birth (Holladay, 1987:130-142). 627 BCE as the year of the prophet's call (Lundbom, 2012:54-66).

[14] Despite some variation, a significant number of scholars agree on Jeremiah's Deuteronomistic redaction (Hyatt, 1942:156-173; Thiel, 1973:80; Clements, 1996:123-142; Römer, 2009:179).

[15] Hardmeier (1996:3-29) combines the empirical-historical and theological-relational aspects, where memory turns into experienced history and functions as a critical mirror to the present circumstances.

4:5–6:30 (e.g., מצפון...רעה cf.).[16] As a reader, such a progression may have a dramatic effect in terms of how the story evolves, but it does not necessarily reflect the order that these chapters were written. Indeed, the redaction history of Jeremiah 2–6 was the opposite.

Although I do not think that it is possible to conclude that the laments in chapters 2–10 can be attributed to the historical Jeremiah, I concur with Schmid in terms of the development of these chapters. As Schmid argues, whilst the present form of Jeremiah 2–10 gives the impression of evident accusations, such a feeling only occurs because of localised exegetical comments (mostly identifiable by the use of 2.f.s. referring to Jerusalem e.g., ...כבסי מרעה לבך ירושלם cf. 4:14) added to pre-extant announcements of laments and judgments, which interpret the destruction theologically as Yahweh's retribution for Jerusalem's wrong doings e.g., פן־תצא כאש חמתי ובערה ואין מכבה מפני רע מעלליכם, ...כי רעה אנכי מביא מצפנן ושבר גדול cf. 4:4, 6 (Schmid, 2012:126; Idem, 2015:62). The purpose of these laments would only make sense after the destruction of the city and the temple. As Schmid argues, the fact that such laments were not documented should not be seen as an obstacle since laments would be historically expected besides the fact that the oldest lament in Jeremiah (6:22-26), suggests a theological position against the orthodox theology of Jerusalem-Zion (e.g. ...כאיש למלחמה עליך בת־ציון cf. 6:23), which assumed the inviolability of Jerusalem and its temple, available during the days of the first temple, e.g., ...סבו ציון והקיפוה cf. Psa 48:13 (Schmid, 2012:127-128).

Williamson (2013:26-27), however, has noticed that the term 'redaction criticism' has been employed too broadly and urged scholars to use such a term more precisely since its recent use covers almost any expansion to an existent text without considering its implications. For him, redaction must involve 'the physical process of copying the complete work onto a new scroll' and includes editorial features (p. 28). Nevertheless, he notices that in some cases the text might have

[16] Henderson's synchronic (2007:116-152) reading extends this progression until chapter 10 and suggests that Jeremiah 2–10 present the story of Yahweh and Israel covering from exodus to the exile.

been glossed without being completely recopied. As such cases only involve modest alterations, which could be explained in terms of textual corrections or explanative comments of single words or sentences, Williamson prefers to name interventions of this nature, as glosses, marginal comments or *Fortschreibungen* (pp. 28-34). This second case argued by Williamson resembles McKane's notion of rolling corpus (1986:lxxxiii). His proposal confirms Stulman's conclusion (1986:145-146), as Stulman observes that the Deuteronomistic layer is already present in the Greek version, but he notices that the exclusive Masoretic additions appear only as small insertions built from existing passages in 𝔊-Jeremiah instead of whole blocks. Stulman, however, argues that these expansions on a small scale are less Deuteronomistic than those Deuteronomistic strata in the Greek version whilst the expansions in the Hebrew text favour the exiles in Babylon, as they focus on the return of the remnant, which strongly indicates postexilic origins since the Deuteronomistic theology is no longer in evidence (p.145-146). McKane's model of textual growth (1986:xlix-i), however, rejects Thiel's proposal of a carefully planned Deuteronomistic redaction of Jeremiah.

Whilst these differences are good guiding principles to distinguish the editorial process from the transmission of the text, such boundaries are not always easy to discern. In fact, more recently some scholars have argued that the boundaries between textual criticism and literary history are no longer as distant as once thought.[17] Schmid highlights the importance of evaluating such expansions in light of the entire book or sometimes even collections of books, as the full picture reveals the text's new theological meaning (Schmid, 2015:63). Even Zimmerli (1979:71), who coined the term *Fortschreibung*, admits it is intimately connected to the editorial process, although *Fortschreibung* corresponds to a late stage of this activity. Thus, small localised

[17] This is more striking in Ezekiel, as Popović argues that elements of pseudo-Ezekiel were incorporated within 𝔐-Ezekiel (Popović, 2010:227-251). But as in Jeremiah the growth of the book is more visible within the relationship between 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah, such boundaries are minimised by the artificial means of canonicity (Tov, 1997:145-67; Bogaert, 1997:168-73; Sæbø, 1998:36-46).

additions in 𝔐-Jeremiah need to be considered in light of the book as a whole. As such expansions in 𝔐 tend to support the remnant, it is possible to make connections with Pohlmann's proposal of Jeremiah's pro-golah redaction (1978:183-190).

Such remarks are significantly relevant in terms of the redaction of Jeremiah 2–6, as the exegetical expansions using 2f.s. addressing Jerusalem in chapters 4–6 are directly connected with the adultery motif in Jeremiah 2–3 (Schmid, 2012:127). For van der Toorn (2007:202-203), these oracles belong to Hosea's time, but arguably northern traditions found their way into the southern kingdom after the Fall of Samaria and were interpreted in light of the Judahite context (Soggin, 1999:260-261; Becking, 2001:162-163; Finkelstein, 2015:188-206).[18] Biddle (1990:228) argues that such Hoseanic oracles were transformed and re-applied into the new context of the Babylonian exile, which far from belonging to the earliest phase of the book, the editorial process lasted until the latest stages of Jeremiah's redaction. Popko (2015:554-558) claims that the image of the woman developed from being less defined in a later strata in Jeremiah 2 to more defined in a recent layer in chapter 3 and it is only in 3:6-11, when Jeremiah was read under the influence of Ezekiel, that the marriage metaphor is fully developed with the purpose of comparing Judah with Israel. Chapman's use of gender studies (2004:1-32, 112-135, 164-172) is insightful here, as she argues that gendered language was employed within the context of warfare between Assyria and Israel and their significance continued even during the rise of the Babylonian power. My only objection against Popko's proposal (2015:554), however, is when he attributes the doom of the woman in chapter 2 to the sapiencial act-consequence nexus (e.g., תיסרך רעתך ומשבותיך תוכחך cf. 2:19), as the presence of אריב אתכם... ואת־בני בניכם אריב in 2:9 indicates that the downfall is fruit of divine retribution. As Barton (2014:217) argues, the OT/HB presents divine intervention as a response to human

[18] Particularly Emmerson (1984) argues for the transformation of Hosea, addressing Judah.

transgression alongside the idea of an automatic consequence. Whilst prophetic literature resembles talionic laws where Yahweh is introduced as an intervening agent in the world's business and his judgment is presented by the prophets in forensic terms, sapiencial writings appear grounded on some form of natural theology where the notion of retribution seems automatic (Barton, 2014:217-220). By contrast, Deuteronomistic writings and Lamentations were close to the prophetic view, as they clearly emphasise the divine intervention in human affairs where punishment was plainly presented as a consequence of disobedience (Barton, 2014:220). Interestingly, however, Popko (2015:555) suggests that the lament literature is the origin of this feminine persona, as it represents the personification of the city destroyed, abandoned as a humiliated woman without guardians.

Another intriguing aspect in Jeremiah 2–3 is the presence of specific vocabulary of impurity as well as the assumption of priestly laws regarding divorce to illustrate the status of the relationship between the people in relation to their deity, which to some extent has an internal coherence since 1:1 associates the prophet with הכהנים אשר בענתות בארץ בנימן. Hendel (1995:185-198), however, argues that although priests and prophets may share common ancient Israelite religious traditions, they often present clashing views about ritualistic practices, which may reflect distinctive hermeneutical keys influenced by different social milieux. As mentioned earlier, some scholars explain this reference biographically alongside the resemblances between Jeremiah and Hosea, but as reported by Huffmon (1999:261-271), the strong association of Jeremiah with Deuteronomistic circles and the harsh criticism against his own home village in 11:18-23 raise serious challenges to a face value interpretation of 1:1. Nevertheless, Rom-Shiloni (2014:772-774; Idem, 2012:203-230) argues Jeremiah's early ministry already seems familiar to both Deuteronomic and priestly traditions, arguing that the prophet employs priestly terminology exegetically rather than just simply sharing vocabulary and explains the absence of references of Jeremiah in Ezekiel and vice versa in terms of

competing priestly traditions alongside the social circumstances involving the Judeans and the exiled communities. Whilst I agree that the exegetical use of priestly terminology alongside diverse priestly traditions are plausible explanations since Ezekiel seems to present an alternative view of the temple and others have suggested diverse priestly traditions (Fleming, 1998:401-414; Milgrom, 1991:558-566), there is no need to associate this passage with either the prophet's early career or even the prophet. Although diverse biblical traditions (including priestly laws) may have existed orally, the only access we have now is via the written work of the scribes, who did not just transcribe such traditions but had to adapt them according to writing conventions and give shape to the content (Van der Toorn, 2007:115). As Biddle (1999:222) suggests, Jeremiah 2–3 seems structured along the lines of Deuteronomistic confessions of sin. It may be possible that the scribes employed the priestly ideology using the laws about adultery to address the apostasy.[19]

The main point I want to stress in the development of Jeremiah 2–6 is how the city's destruction appointed as the deity's judgment (e.g., כי רעה אנכי מביא מצפון ושבר גדול cf. 4:6) was developed into an incipient monotheistic and even aniconic discourse (e.g., ההימיר גוי אלהים והמה לא אמרים לעץ אבי אתה ולאבן את ילדתני, אלהים ועי המיר כבודו בלוא יועיל cf. 2:11, 27). Although the HB/OT still preserved some residue of anthropomorphic images and human emotions related to its main deity, it seems that the dominant exclusivist Yahwism initiated a process of rupture with previous institutions.[20] Whilst pre-exilic Israel had visible elements of continuity with ancient Canaanite religions, (post)-exilic Israel begins to present discontinuity.

Within the process of theological reflection about the destruction of the city in Jeremiah 4–5, Hoseanic oracles were used negatively to

[19] Niditch (1993:68, 80) suggests something similar regarding the oracles against Babylon, responding to the temple's destruction.

[20] The implementation of an exclusive Yahwistic worship is followed by the denigration of other religions, resulting in the deconstruction of the former Canaanite practices (Gnuse, 1997:60; Middlemas, 2014; Levinson 1997:148-149), including the accusation regarding cult prostitution in Amos (Barstad 1984:21-23).

interpret the Fall of Jerusalem, but employment of previous texts giving new meaning is visibly dynamic, as sometimes negative oracles can also turn into positive ones. Clements (1996:124-125) thinks that was the case of Jeremiah 30–33, as these chapter reflect retrospectively on earlier oracles in the book, which were originally negative, and recycle them transforming them into positive words of hope addressing the resurgence of Israel from the exile in Babylon. As it has been pointed out throughout this section, the process of reinterpretation generates different meanings where rewritings can even result in new literary works (e.g., Chronicles). Although the act of translation also includes the dynamic between two different languages, as Gadamer (2004:386) correctly states, 'every translation is at the same time interpretation'.

So far, this paper has concentrated on the diachronic dimension focusing on how Jeremiah 2–6 developed. A synchronic reading, however, that analyses the place of these five chapters within the book is also equally important. Yet such evaluation should not be conducted without historical consideration. As Barr (1995:1-15) argues, even a synchronic reading is socio-historically located, but since this book still did not have a fixed form during the Second Temple period as attested by fragments of Jeremiah found in Qumran (Brooke, 1997:184-187), there is the challenge of establishing when the earliest period was when the book was read synchronically. Tov's contribution (2012:166) is enlightening, as he argues that the transmission of biblical texts was already taking place before reaching their final phase; nevertheless, earlier steps should not be reduced to drafts but each stage was seen as final and then distributed. One of these stages included a shorter version of Jeremiah, which was translated into Greek, and for Schmid (1996:20), this was the first time when the book was read synchronically. Applying narrative criticism (Alter, 1981) to 𝔊-Jeremiah, the prophet would be the implied author and the Hellenistic community the real audience. Apart from the absence of ולהרוס in 1:10, the Greek version presents Jeremiah as a prophet to the nations with the following mission: εκριζουν και κατασκαπτειν και απολλυειν και

ανοικοδομειν και καταφυτευειν in which Jeremiah 2–6 would fit within εκριζουν και κατασκαπτειν και απολλυειν. Nevertheless, as 𝔊-Jeremiah also preserved the harsh criticism towards those who fled to Egypt (e.g., 𝔊-Jeremiah 24, 49–50), it raises serious problems in terms of how the Alexandrian community would have interpreted such severe texts, i.e., one still needs to ask who the readers of the synchronic text in question are.

Hong (2013:521-539), however, argues that the emergence of new literary theories alongside social methods, which include ethnic, gender, and other agendas, not only empowered minorities' voices democratising biblical studies, but also resulted in a situation where the terms diachronic and synchronic no longer accommodate such diversification. This leads us to where we started this paper, the reader's existential experience. Particularly the issue of refugees can be potentially explored in Jeremiah studies. For Vicki et al. (2007), within the European refugee crisis, individuals move from various complex causes and their journey hardly has a definite destination as their situation is in constant change.[21] Arguably the forced displacement which started in 587/6 BCE had no end, as it extended to the experience of diaspora. However, Reimer argues that whilst exile tends to be more negative, diaspora suggests something more positive implying God's works in renewing the faith of the community wherever the people are located (Reimer, 2010:3-17). By the time Jeremiah was translated into Greek, the idea of Yahweh's universal lordship over the world was already crystallised (Orlinsky, 1972:63-79).[22]

[21] Report available at https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/researchcentres/irs/crossingthemed/ctm_final_report_4may2017.pdf [accessed on 20-10-2017].

[22] This is evident in the call narrative where Jeremiah is called to be a prophet to the nations, which is present in both versions. Still, regardless of the different order of the OAN in 𝔊- and 𝔐-Jeremiah, the idea of Yahweh judging the nations is already present in 𝔊-Jeremiah 25:12, as it mentions that εκδικησω το εθνος εκεινο φησιν κυριος και θησομαι αυτους εις αφανισμον αιωνιον. Reimer (1993:289-291) and Peels (2007:81-91) also recognise Yahweh's universal lordship over the nations, although their focus is on 𝔐-Jeremiah. Römer (2005:172-174) argues that radicalisation towards some form of monotheism happened only at the beginning of the Persian era, as it can be noticed in later strata of the Deuteronomistic history where ideas of

Until now intertextual connections have been addressed vertically, but once Jeremiah is translated into Greek intertextual readings can also be approached horizontally without rigid hierarchical rules.[23] During the Hellenistic era, most of the OT/HB was already available in a relatively advanced form, which stimulated such horizontal readings, which also would include non-canonical texts. What is interesting within these texts is the reapplication of the figure of Jeremiah within the context of resistance in 2 Maccabees alongside the highly developed idea of resurrection in the *Lives of the Prophets* where Jeremiah prophesies the resurrection of the saints (Adams, 2018:359-377), which in my view matches Crenshaw's later definition of theodicy.

5. Conclusion

As the term 'theodicy' attempts to justify God's nature in face of evil and suffering in the world, the circumstances of the Babylonian exile reported within Jeremiah invites the use of this term. However, since the milieu of the OT/HB is located at a considerable distance from where this term originated, one must first dissociate the dynamic between Yahweh, Judah and evil from theistic constructions, as unlike the highly transcendental theistic god, the ANE religious culture is notably diverse and its deities are colourfully represented and active in daily affairs. Nevertheless, it seems that in the exilic age, the biblical writers started a process of rupture where the polemic discourse of Jeremiah 2–6 is inserted, but despite this parting, some vestige is still noticeable in the biblical texts.

Diachronically, after the fall of Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE laments would be the most likely natural reaction. Such a response may be found between chapters 4 and 5. Still, crises demand explanations, given through a different editorial strategy where localised

universalism alongside the belief that Yahweh is the creator in connection to the doctrine of election seem more evident (cf. Deuteronomy 4 and 10:14-22).

[23] Miller, (2010:283-309), particularly, calls for a terminological distinction between these two intertextual approaches.

interpretative expansions are connected to the story of continuous apostasy in Jeremiah 2–3. Thus, the tragedy of the city's destruction was interpreted as divine retribution where distinctions between natural and moral evils have no place, as both dimensions are intimately entangled in these chapters. Within this sophisticated interpretative move using Pentateuchal laws, the metaphors of marriage and covenant were developed, and the idols are ridiculed. As the figure of the prophet is provided only by interpreted texts, any reconstruction of historical Jeremiah is very likely to be compromised. The best-case scenario is an attempt to reconstruct the milieu where the prophet lived without attributing him specific passages, but this would be a task related to the history of ancient Israel, which should be distinguished from the literary history of the OT/HB.

Synchronic readings are as important as diachronic ones, as they assist the reader to locate particular parts of the book within the whole; thus, it represents the next step of the literary analysis. However, as complete books are at a significantly later stage, although not fixed as the rewriting process still continued, synchronic approaches should not be employed in historical reconstruction but read within their respective milieux, which seems most likely the Second Temple period (Teeter, 2013:349-377). Since it is difficult to determine when redaction history finishes and reception history starts in מ-Jeremiah, the Greek version seems to me the best option, as the act of translation provides clear boundaries between the two dimensions, although they are both still part of the hermeneutical task separated by the canonisation of particular texts (Spieckermann, 2012:327-350). In synchronic terms, the universalisation of Yahweh approximates the theistic god, although is not identical. The prophet is the implied author of the book named after him and has priestly connections. Jeremiah 2–6 presents a clear progression of theological story of the fall of the capital, which fulfils the judgment in Jeremiah's commission cf. 1:10. However, the more that biblical books are available in advanced forms, the more their readings will be horizontally intertextually affected by

other literary works available during the same period; consequently, the meaning of particular books will not be the same as in their genesis. It is within such conditions that Jeremiah can be read existentially addressing the new situation of the diaspora.

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