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Project working title: Metatextual verification in the historical literature of the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East – pragmatical studies on ancient hermeneutics and historiography.

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The broad context of the project is the scholarly discussion of historiography in the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern texts. The main question of interest is if and how ancient narrative texts about the past want to be factually correct. This question is usually not dealt with on its own, but the hermeneutics of historical texts are presupposed by models or working philosophy.
Thus, the dissertation offers an introduction on why this is a problem in our understanding of ancient historical texts and also the question of whether we can call the Old Testament historiography. The method to approach this difficult question is to look at metatexts, i. e. texts about the texts that explicitly or implicitly deal with the truth of the narrative. The model for this are Herodotus' Histories, which are usually deemed the first real example of historiography. Looking at how Herodotus connects elements from the story world with his own world we see that he uses physical, cultural, or textual remains to prove certain stories (chapter 1).
Chapters 2-4 look at pronominal glosses, the Hebrew phrase עד היום הזה, and source citations. It can be shown that they work like the ones in Herodotus' Histories and in all cases connect the story-world with the world of the author and in most cases function as metatextual verification.
Chapter 5 tries to find earlier examples for verification notes in the Ancient Near East. Interestingly, Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Persian, and Egyptian inscriptions show very similar ways of proving stories, mainly through oaths or witnesses. These explicit metatextual verifications are rather rare, in the more than 5000 Ancient Near Eastern royal inscriptions we find roughly 50 examples. However, their similarity across cultural and temporal borders implies that they must be connected to common Near Eastern thinking.
This is finally demonstrated in chapter 6. Lexical and conceptual links between the verification notes in historical texts and legal texts show that the idea of empirical verifiability and the necessity of factual truth derives from the legal world. The parallels are striking: They can be seen between inscriptions in Old Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian inscriptions and respective Old Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian, and Neo-Babylonian legal texts, between Neo-Sumerian royal hymns and Neo-Sumerian legal texts, between Hittite royal annals and Hittite legal texts, between Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian inscriptions and their respective legal text, between Old Testament verification notes and Northwest-Semitic legal practice and finally also between Herodotus' Histories and archaic and classical legal texts.
The paper for OTSEM 2022 focuses on the results of chapter 6, while recalling the results from chapters 2-5, and presents the idea that the idea of factualness of reports about the past and empirical verifiability stems from the legal world and appears in historical texts when they expect or experience dispute.
The tentative conclusions are that the idea of verifiability, factualness, and thus a pillar of what we would consider historical truth is not a modern or Greek concept but develops in the shared necessity of a working legal system. It is thus premature to insist that the texts are literature or theology and not history if it implies that the texts do not know a concept of factual correctness.

LAW & SEX: READING GEN 34 ALONGSIDE THE LEGAL MATERIALS

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(word-count: 3644)

Abstract:

Gen 34 has caused a significant number of exegetical works on the sexual encounter between Shechem and Dinah. This article explores how the cuneiform and biblical legislations inform our interpretation of the story. First, it focuses on analyzing the usage of the three-verb chain (לקח, שׁכב, and ענה) that describes the sexual encounter (v. 2). I will demonstrate that the chain points to general liability for having committed an act that is considered a "heinous crime" (vv. 7, 13). These verbs in and of themselves can have a wide range of meanings; however, they point to the idea of forceful intercourse. The chain, nonetheless, exhibits the intensity with which Shechem carries out his actions and how he conducted himself against Dinah. Second, the article examines specific cuneiform laws (LE §§ 27–28 & MAL A § 55) and their correlation with biblical legislation (Exod 22:16–17 and Deut 22:28–29) in light of Dinah's story. These legal codes recognized that any harm against a female figure was considered an attack on the rightsholder's state. The comparison between the legal materials shows similarities and dissimilarities in how ancient near eastern societies penalized sexual crimes. It also indicates that these societies elaborated less violent options to handle such offenses.

Keywords: Genesis 34; Shechem; Dinah; Legal Codes; Women; Gender; Rightsholder; Sex; Rape; Force Sex; Illicit Sex; Marriage.

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I

INTRODUCTION

This paper explores how the cuneiform and biblical legal materials inform our interpretation of Genesis 34.[1] My interest is not in the juristic application of the ancient laws but rather in how the legal materials help us read sexual and gender-based violence in biblical narratives. The chapter in Gen 34 deals with literary violence rather than actual violence.[2] The following will examine the usage of the three-verb chain in Gen 34, and then discuss how the legal materials (LE §§ 27–28; MAL A § 55; Exod 22:16–17; Deut 22:28) inform our understanding of Dinah's story. These legislations, taken together, thus reflect a concern for handling cases of sexual and gender-based violence, as well as who are the 'true' victims of such assault. With this, I hope to highlight and build upon the recent work by those scholars who have stressed the importance of reading and understanding sexual and gender-based violence materials.

II

MAKING SENSE: (RE)EXAMINING GEN 34

The narrative of Dinah has been read in various ways throughout history.[3] It is set in a wider narrative context introduced in Gen 33:18–20, where the first encounter between Jacob's

[1] For a discussion on the relationship between the narratives and laws, see Calum M. Carmichael, *Law and Narrative in the Bible: The Evidence of The Deuteronomic Laws and the Decalogue* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008); Assnat Bartor, *Reading Law as Narrative: A Study in the Casuistic Laws of the Pentateuch* (Netherlands: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010); Gershon Hepner, *Legal Friction: Law, Narrative, and Identity Politics in Biblical Israel* (Austria: Peter Lang, 2010).

[2] With literary violence, I refer to the representation of violence within a literary work. Here, I follow J. Cheryl Exum's position that a literary work "is not actual violence." She makes a distinction between real violence against women and the violence represented within the biblical narrative. J. Cheryl Exum, "Raped by the Pen," in *Fragmented Women: Feminist (Sub)versions of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993), 170.

[3] For an overview of the different interpretations of Gen 34, see Joy A. Schroeder, *Dinah's Lament: The Biblical Legacy of Sexual Violence in Christian Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2007). Some have concluded that Dinah was raped by Shechem. These are Meir Sternberg, "The Art of Persuasion," in *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 441–

community and the Shechemites took place. Frank Yamada explains that this section "serves as a narrative bridge" and that it is "key to understanding the events and dynamics that follow in Gen 34."[4] In this context, the narrative in Gen 34:1–31 recounts the complications in the relationship between the Shechemites and Jacob's family. The narrator reintroduces Dinah's character as "the daughter of Leah,"[5] which sets the plot into motion. He states that Dinah "went out" (v. 1); however, before reaching her destination, she encounters Shechem (v. 2)—who soul was cleaved to Dinah (vv. 3–4). The narrative pivots to Jacob's compound to show the responses of Dinah's male guardians (vv. 5–12) while addressing the possibility of a marriage alliance (vv. 13–17). The brothers raise an impediment to the alliance (vv. 13–14), which foreshadows a scheme against the Shechemites to avenge their honor (vv. 25–26). Ultimately, things spiral out of control into extreme violence (vv. 27–29), ending the narrative with a divided family (vv. 30–31).

Gen 34 is unusual in several ways: "It is the only account to concern itself with Jacob's daughter Dinah;" "Jacob himself has a minor part" in the narrative—unlike in the rest of his cycle (Gen 25:19–36:43);[6] and "there is a pronounced chronological gap" between this chapter and the

481; Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, "Tipping the Balance: Sternberg's Reader and the Rape of Dinah," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110, no. 2 (1991), 193–211; Paul Noble, "A 'Balanced' Reading of the Rape of Dinah: Some Exegetical and Methodological Observations," *BibInt* 4, no. 2 (1996), 173–204; Susanne Scholz, *Rape Plots: A Feminist Cultural Study of Genesis 34* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000). Others do not see Shechem's sexual misconduct with Dinah as "rape:" Lyn M. Bechtel, "What if Dinah is not Raped? (Genesis 34)," *JSOT* 62 (1994), 19–36; Hilary Lipka, *Sexual Transgression in the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 184–199; Mary Anna Bader*, Sexual Violation in the Hebrew Bible: A Multi-Methodological Study of Genesis 34 and 2 Samuel 13* (Austria: Peter Lang, 2006); Alison L. Joseph, "Is Dinah Raped? Isn't the Right Question: Genesis 34 and Feminist Historiography," *JHebS* 19, no. 4 (2019), 27–37.

[4] Frank Yamada, *Configurations of Rape in the Hebrew Bible: A Literary Analysis of Three Rape Narratives* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 28–9.

[5] Elsewhere in Gen 30:21, the text narrates Dinah's birth; however, unlike her brothers, Dinah's name is not explained. In regard to the epithet, Yamada notes that it is a "more elaborate description than the expected 'Dinah, the daughter of Jacob.'" Yamada, *Configurations of Rape*, 31. Susanne Scholz points out that this is a "rare" identification. Scholz, *Rape Plots,* 134. The name of Leah, nonetheless, is mentioned only to identify and link Dinah to both her father and her maternal brothers (vv. 3, 5, 7, 13, 19, 27, 31).

[6] Scholars have debated the relationship that the narrative has with Jacob's cycle and the overall theme of Genesis; for example, Gordon J. Wenham indicates that there are explicit links with the surrounding material of Genesis. For him, these links are as follows: a) the birth of Dinah in Gen 30:21; b) Jacob's arrival to Salem in Gen 33:18–19; and c) the circumcision motif in Gen 17:10. Wenham, *Genesis 16–5* (Grand Rapids, MA: Zondervan, 2015),

preceding one.[7] Additionally, Dinah's account contains many information gaps. It does not explain why Dinah went to see the daughters of the region, which immediately raises some doubts about her intentions,[8] nor does it explain when or how Jacob heard of Dinah's defilement. Likewise, it does not mention whether or not the family had an internal discussion regarding the incident. Unlike Gen 39 or 2 Sam 13, the narrator does not give Dinah a proper voice to recount her experience; rather, the male guardians act on her behalf. The narrative also does not offer many details regarding the sexual encounter in v. 2. Instead, it moves quickly away from it, unlike the other stories in the same genre that explore the issue deeper (Gen 19 and 39; Judg 19; 2 Sam 13).[9]

In the opening verse, the story transitions from Dinah's perspective to that of Shechem (v. 2–4)—in which he is positioned as the antagonist of the plot.[10] Dinah becomes a mere object in

309. Walter Brueggemann argues that the chapter is set in a wider narrative context that is introduced in Gen 33:18–20. Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis*, Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1982), 274. Michael Fishbane argues that the narrative has "no apparent connection with its narrative context." Michael Fishbane, "Composition and Structure in the Jacob Cycle (Gen. 25:19–35:22)," *JJS* 25 (1975), 15–38. Similarly, Gary A Rendsburg understands that Gen 34 appears to have little or nothing in common with Jacob's cycle. Gary A Rendsburg, *Redaction of Genesis* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986), 58–9); James Kugel indicates that the narrative of Gen 34 serves as an explanation for Jacob's words to Simeon and Levi (Gen 49:5–7), which suggests that the chapter is a later addition. James Kugel, *How to Read the Bible: A Guide to Scripture, Then and Now* (New York: Free Press, 2007), 171–3.

[7] E.A. Speiser, *Genesis: The Anchor Yale Bible* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 266.

[8] According to John J. Pilch, "An unaccompanied woman in the ancient world was suspected of having a loose virtue and deliberately putting herself in danger." He explains that "women normally moved in groups with other women and children. John J. Pilch, *A Cultural Handbook to the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans , 2012), 132. Some have suggested that Dinah's innocence is difficult to reconstruct because of the missing information preceding the sexual assault and her true motivation for "going out." However, I do not agree with this view because Dinah was held by Shechem and Hamor as their leverage to force Jacob to agree to their terms. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative,* 486.

[9] I will be dealing with these narratives elsewhere in my research.

[10] In Gen 34, we encounter a set of characters that play different roles (protagonist, antagonist, and foil). George W. Coats pairs them as a set of opposing characters: Dinah-Shechem, Hamor-Jacob, and Dinah's brothers. George W. Coats, *Genesis: With an Introduction to Narrative Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 234. Since the narrative of Gen 34 is situated within Jacob's cycle, by default Jacob's character remains as the main protagonist of his cycle and thus the one through whose perspective we follow most of the action until this point. However, Jacob is passive alongside Dinah in Gen 34, whereas Shechem (the antagonist) is the one who opposes the protagonist. For more on the character and the story of Jacob, see Leland Ryken, *Words of Delight: A Literary Introduction to the Bible*, (Grand Rapid: Baker Academic, 1992), 72.

Shechem's eyes; while the audience no longer interacts with her.[11] This is precisely seen in the use of the three-verb chain (לקח, שׁכב, and ענה) to describe the sexual encounter,[12] which is key to allowing an interpretation of what happens between the two characters.[13] There is an additional verb, "to see" (ראה), but only three of them are in a "rapid succession."[14] Verse 2 reads,

> Then Shechem, the son of Hamor "The Hivite," chief of the land, saw her and *took her* and *lay with her* and *humbled her* (emphasis added).[15]

The arrangement of the verb chain is important. In his crafting, the narrator is setting down in simple terms a series of actions in which Shechem is the subject. The verse is narrated from an androcentric viewpoint that "centers on a man and his actions."[16] Once again, the narrator does not inform the reader about the sexual encounter; instead, he explains that Jacob's sons understood it as a "heinous offense" (נבלה v. 7).[17]

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[11] On the question of which story are we reading, Joseph indicates that the story is not about Dinah. She writes, "Dinah is barely present in this narrative. The story is not even about her. Dinah does not speak; she acts only once, in 34:1, after which she is referred to only as an object and never as a subject." Joseph, "Is Dinah Raped?" 28.

[12] I should note that the verbs in v. 2 are presented in juxtaposition with those in v. 3 ("clave" דבק, "love" אהב, and "speak" דבר). To this, Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn indicate that "the verbs of violence [are] merge[d] with terms of affection, commitment, courtship, and marriage." Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, *Gender, Power, and Promise: The Subject of the Bible's First Story* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 81. For Yamada, this move turns the reader's attention from the rape to issues of marriage and intermarriage between the two groups. Yamada, *Configurations of Rape*, 41.

[13] Fewell and Gunn, *Gender, Power, and Promise,* p. 80, argue that there is a change of attitude in Shechem's character. In v. 2, for instances, Shechem sees Dinah as an object of desire, while in vv. 3 and 4 Dinah becomes a real persona for Shechem.

[14] Joseph, "Is Dinah Raped?" 28. Nahum M. Sarna also argues that these three Hebrew verbs (לקח, שׁכב, and ענה) point to "increasing severity" that "underscore the brutality of Shechem's assault on Dinah." Nahum M. Sarna, "The Ravishing of Dinah: A Commentary on Genesis 34," in *Studies in Jewish Education and Judaica in Honor of Louis Newman*, eds. Alexander M. Shapiro and Burton I. Cohen (New York: Ktav, 1984), 145.

[15] These same three verbs also occur in 2 Sam 13 where Amnon sexually assaults his sister, Tamar. For a comparison between the narratives of Gen 34 and 2 Sam 13, see Esther Fuchs, "The Biblical Sister: Redeemed by Her Brother?" in *Sexual Politics in the Biblical Narrative: Reading the Hebrew Bible as a Woman* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2000), 200–224.

[16] Bader*, Sexual Violation*, 91.

[17] Gesenius renders the term נבלה as "folly," which has the nuance of a "shameful act of wickedness," "rape," and "incest" (Judg 19:23, 34; 2 Sam 13:12; Gen 34:7). Gesenius, s.v. נְבָלָה, (1860), DXXIX. Bader argues that the translation of the term נבלה as "folly" is not strong enough to convey the seriousness of the transgression. Bader, *Sexual Violence,* 37. According to HALOT, the meaning of the term נבלה has to do with something repulsive, either a transgression against God (1 Sam 25:25); or insulting behavior as something folly Job 42:8); nor as willful sin that is a sacrilege (2 Sam 13:12; Gen 34:7; Deut 22:21; Josh 7:15; Judg 20:6; Jer 29:23) HALOT, s.v. נְבָלָה, (vol. 2), 664. Furthermore, the term נבלה can sometimes refer to sexual atrocities—e.g., the Benjaminites' rape of the Levite's

Regarding Gen 34:2, what is the author trying to convey using the three-verb chain? The first term used by the narrator is the Hebrew verb לקח,[18] which is often employed to express the idea of a legal marriage union—i.e., (ל)אשה (ל + pronominal suffix) לקח, "to take (for himself) (X) as a wife."[19] A marriage union, according to Bruce Wells and Raymond Westbrook, was valid when the following conditions were in place: a) a formal written contract between the prospective groom and the parents of the bride; b) the bride's dowry; c) a nuptial feast; and finally, d) a proper transfer of the bride to the house of the groom.[20] Following these standards, a woman's social status was not harmed.[21] However, Shechem's action does not follow the protocols of marriage union.[22] According to the context, he did not take Dinah with the intention of forming an alliance

concubine at Gibeah (Judg 19:23–24; 20:6, 10) and Amnon's rape of Tamar (2 Sam 13:12). The usage of the phrase "because of the *heinous offense* that was done in Israel" (כי־נבלה עשה בישראל) is considered a technical legal term (Deut 22:21; Judg 19:23–24, 20:6, and 2 Sam 13:12). William L. Holladay suggests that the phrase refers to acts perceived as utterly opposed to the solidarity of a covenant community. William L. Holladay, *Jeremiah 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 26–52* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 143. For Wolfgang M.W. Roth, the possible explanation of the usage of the term נבלה in Dinah-tradition is that Israel was very strict in matters of sex and marriage, while the Canaanite culture, based largely on fertility-cults, was lax in that respect. For him, the affirmation that a sexual crime was "sacrilege" (in Israel) witnesses to the uncompromisingly anti-Canaanite character of Israel's faith. Wolfgang M.W. Roth, "NBL," *VT* 10, 1 (1960), 394–409. Anthony Phillips, however, indicates that the phrase is used "for extreme acts of disorder or unruliness that themselves result in a dangerous breakdown in order and the end of an existing relationship." Anthony Phillips, "Nebalah: A Term for Serious Disorderly and Unruly Conduct," *VT* 25, no. 2 (1975), 238.

[18] The verb occurs 939 times in the G-stem, and its usage is frequent both in narrative writings and regulations concerning offerings. According to the *TDOT,* the action of merely taking a woman is considered a degraded act; for example, David taking Bathsheba before he was able to marry her is considered a degraded act (2 Sam 11:4). A similar situation is presented in Gen 34:2 where Shechem takes Dinah—however, a marriage agreement could rectify the situation, but was not compulsory. In neither instance is force mentioned. Horst Seebass, לָקַח, *TDOT* 8:17.

[19] This expression or a variation of it suggests the idea of a legal union. See, for example, Gen 4:19; 6:2; 11:29; 12:19; 20:2; 21:21; 24:4; 25:1, 20; Exod 2:1; Judg 14:2–3; Jer 16:2; 29:6; 1 Chron 7:14.

[20] Bruce Wells and Raymond Westbrook, *Everyday Law in Biblical Israel: An Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2009), 56–7. Wells and Westbrook explain that no laws in the HB directly deal with the central features of marriage, and those who do are unusual and assume knowledge of general rules. For more on the development of marriage practices, see Tracy Maria Lemos, *Marriage Gifts and Social Change in Ancient Palestine: 1200 BCE to 200 CE* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[21] Bechtel explains that "in group-oriented societies sexual intercourse is shameful when it violates existing marital, family, or community bonding and obligation or when there is no prospect of its leading to marital or family bonding and obligation." Bechtel, "What if Dinah is not Raped?" 24.

[22] Wells and Westbrook points out that the basic principles of marriage law were much the same across the ANE. Wells and Westbrook, *Everyday Law*, 56. I should point out that across the ANE marriage was essentially seen as an alliance between families or royal houses—a powerful move that helped to confirm treaties and cement relationships (e.g., 2 Sam 3:3; 1 Kgs 3:1).

between his family and hers. Verse 2 suggests that Shechem acted because "he saw [Dinah]" (וירא אתה);[23] and then took her, bypassing all social protocols.[24] Hilary Lipka observes that this incident is a "sexual transgression against communal boundaries,"[25] which makes the union illegitimate because "Shechem did not take Dinah in marriage before having sexual intercourse with her."[26] According to Carolyn Pressler, Shechem's offense is not necessarily the fact that he had sexual intercourse with Dinah against her will;[27] rather, he had failed to acquire the consent of Dinah's father.[28] The phrase "and he took her" (ויקח אתה) by itself does not clearly show whether Shechem intended to take Dinah as a legitimate wife or not.

The second Hebrew verb used in this chain, שׁכב,[29] can be followed by the preposition עם (intransitive construction) or the object marker את (transitive construction). The usage here points to the object marker rather than the preposition with the suffix. Scholars, however, have different

[23] It is likely to see Shechem was driven by lust. Pilch, *A Cultural Handbook*, 132.

[24] In a patriarchal society, women were protected by their fathers, brothers, or husbands—which means that some man was responsible for them. This further implies that any harm done to them was considered a humiliation and shame for a man (perhaps also his manhood) who is not able to protect their women. According to John J. Pilch, rape is not primarily about sexual gratification, nor even exerting power over a woman, so much as it is a shaming strategy. For him, "males are shamed for not protecting their women, and the woman is shamed by not having a solicitous male kinsperson." Pilch, *A Cultural Handbook,* 130. The difference between modern and ancient rape scenes is related to the concept and identity of the victim. The laws, as explained below, primary concern is not the violated victim but rather the financial loss of the male guardians.

[25] Lipka explains that the sexual assault of Dinah is related to Exod 22:15–16 rather than Deut 22:28–29. She understands that the sexual encounter is most likely not one of rape but about a "social wrong done to a young woman's family." For a full discussion, see Lipka, *Sexual Transgression,* 184–99.

[26] Lipka, 189.

[27] Carolyn Pressler, *The View of Women Found in The Deuteronomic Family Laws* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 11. I disagree with Carolyn Pressler on this point.

[28] Pressler, 11.

[29] The Hebrew root שׁכב occurs in all the Semitic languages (e.g., Akk. *sakāpu* B), meaning "lie down to rest." CAD15:74–5. The verb שׁכב occurs 212 times in the HB with 198 instances appearing in the G-stem—with 55 occurrences have sexual connotation meaning "sleeping with someone." The TDOT suggests that in Gen 34:2 has the connotation of something that is abominable because of its connection with v. 7. Willem A.M. Beuken, שׁכב, *TDOT* 14:660. It should be noted that the same construction is used in 2 Sam 13:14 where it highlights—alongside the verb חזק ("to be strong")—that Tamar's rapist used strength to overpower her. With regard to the verb חזק, according to HALOT, it has the sense of "to be stronger than" or "to prevail over," (1 Sam 17:50; 2 Sam 10:11; and 1 King 20:23, 25). Ludwig Koehler & Walter Baumgartner, חזק, *HALOT* 1, 30. The TDOT suggests that "when a man abuses his physical superiority over a woman," then "the verb can have the precise meaning 'rape/violate' (2 S. 13:14)." F. Hesse, חזק, *TDOT* 4:302.

opinions on how to read the clause "and he lay with her" (וישכב אתה).[30] Meir Sternberg, for example, believes that the usage of the transitive construction "reduces the victim to a mere object."[31] In a similar vein, Susanne Scholz suggests that "the choice of the accusative pronoun indicates that Shechem acted without regard for Dinah's response."[32] Though the usage of the transitive or intransitive construction does not point to the nature of the sexual encounter, both usages essentially mean "[to] have sexual intercourse."[33] The usage of the clause is ambiguous; by itself, it does not clearly show whether the sexual act was consensual or coercive.

The final word used in this chain is the Hebrew verb ענה,[34] a highly debated term in modern scholarship.[35] In the G-stem, the verb means "to put down" or "to humble," while its usage in the imperfect of the D-stem conveys the notion that "physical or psychic force is used to alter the

[30] Harry M. Orlinsky indicates that the expression שׁכב עם appears twenty-seven times and שׁכב את occurs twenty times. He writes, ". . . no difference between את and עם derives from the allegedly transitive or intransitive character of שׁכב, or from the legal or illegal, voluntary, or forced character of the sexual act." Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Hebrew Root ŠKB," *JBL* 63, no. 1 (1944), 21. Susanne Scholz suggests that the use of the accusative pronoun renders the translation to "Shechem 'laid her.'" Susanne Scholz, *Rape Plots: A Feminist Cultural Study Of Genesis 34* (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1997), 155. Mishael M. Caspi argues that the use of the transitive construction draws "attention to the force used in committing the crime." Mishael M. Caspi, "The Story of The Rape of Dinah: The Narrator and The Reader," *HS* 26, no. 1 (1985), 32. In contrast, Lipka indicates that the usage of שׁכב with the direct object marker אתה does not denote in itself a non-consensual sexual relation, just as "lay with" (שׁכב עם) in itself does not denote consensual sexual relations. Lipka, *Sexual Transgression*, 187. For Caroline Blyth, the "transitive or intransitive nature" of the verb שׁכב "is grammatically irrelevant with regard [to] any attempts to determine the consensual/coercive nature of the sexual act in question." She concludes that "the presence of the phrase in Gen 34:2b is, in itself, insufficient either to confirm or to deny the reality of Dinah's rape." Caroline Blyth, *The Narrative of Rape in Genesis 34,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 55–6.

[31] Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 446.

[32] Scholz, *Rape Plots*, 155.

[33] Beuken, שׁכב, *TDOT* 14:663.

[34] The verb ענה has at least 54 occurrences in the HB, and 13 times is used to describe what a man did to a woman sexually (Gen 34:2; Deut 21:14, 22:24, and 29; Judg 19:24 and 20:5; 2 Sam 13:12, 14, 22, 32). Gesenius reads the verb in Gen 34:2 as to mean "'compressit feminam,' generally by force." Gesenius, s.v. ענה, (1860), DCXLII. Erhard Gerstenberger suggests the translation of "to humble," "to oppress," or "to rape." He argues, "When the verb ענה must be translated 'violate,' the central idea is not the use of brute force but rather civil defamation and its concomitant loss of status" (2 Sam 13:11), Erhard Gerstenberger, ענה, *TDOT,* 11:237. R. Rashi understands the phrase "and lay with her by force" to mean "anal intercourse." For a full discussion on rabbinical interpretation of Gen 34:2, see Michael Carasik, *Genesis*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2018).

[35] For a full discussion on scholars who contest the meaning of the verb ענה, see Allison L. Joseph, "Understanding Genesis 34:2: 'Innâ," *VT* 66 (2016), 663–8. See also Ellen Van Wolde, "Does 'Innâ Denote Rape? A Semantic Analysis of a Controversial Word," VT 52, 4 (2002), 528–44; Tikva Frymer-Kensky, "The Dinah Affair," in *Reading the Women of the Bible: A New Interpretation of Their Stories* (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 2008), 179–98; Lipka, *Sexual Transgression*, 87–90.

status of someone for the worse."[36] Modern scholars often translated the verb ענה in its sexual context to mean "rape" or "violate,"[37] which some translations of the Bible have done.[38] The verb is also used in relation to both consensual and non-consensual intercourse, even in socio-religious infractions.[39] According to Gerhard von Rad, the verb indicates "the moral and social degrading and debasing by which a girl loses the expectancy of a fully valid marriage."[40] Tikva Frymer-Kensky explains that the verb in its sexual context refers merely to having "illicit sex,"[41] which implies having sex with someone with whom one does not have the right to have intercourse. The usage of the expression "and he humbles her" (ויענה) is problematic because it makes no statement or inference about the woman's complicity in the sexual experience. In the case of Dinah, it does

[36] Gerstenberger, ענה, *TDOT,* 11:237.

[37] Bader explains that the verb is attested eight times in a context that modern scholars would read and classify as "rape." Bader, *Sexual Violence*,17.

[38] The following is a brief compilation of the various Bible versions on the translation of the final phrase ויענה (Gen 34:2): "raped her" (CEV), "violated her" (NIV), and "lay with her by force" (NRSV). In a similar vein, some versions of the Bible in Spanish followed the same meaning: "la violó" (NVI) and "la violó" (TLA). I should also point out that there are other translations that prefer to translate the verb as: "defiled her" (KJV) and "dishonoured her" (NEB); as well as in Spanish: "la deshonró" (RV1960), "la deshonró" (DHH), and "la humilló" (BJ), and "la humilló" (BT). This shows us the different disagreements between translations on how to handle the verb ענה.

[39] For example, the verb ענה is employed in narratives that deal with the exercise of dominion and subjugation (Gen 15:13 and Exod 1:11). In non-biblical materials, it is also used to mean "oppress" in a political sense (e.g., the Azatiwada Inscription (KAI 26) lines 19 and 20). See K. Lawson Younger Jr., "The Phoenician Inscription of Azatiwada: An Integrated Reading," *JSS* 43, no. 1 (1998), 17; and the Moabite Stone (c. 840 BCE) known as KAI 181:5–6. See Alviero Niccacci, "The Stele of Mesha and the Bible: Verbal System and Narrativity," *Or* 63, no. 3 (1994): 228). The prophet Ezekiel uses the term to denote God excoriates Jerusalem males for humiliating women during their menstrual period (Ezek. 22:10; cf. Lev. 18:19) or for humiliating their sisters (Ezek. 22:11 recall Amnon). The author of Lamentations uses the verb in the perfect of the D-stem to describe an ancient warfare: "The wives in Zion were humbled (ענה) by the enemy, the maidens in the cities of Judah" (Lam. 5:11).

[40] Gerhard Von Rad, *Genesis* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1972), 331. Bader says that "whether or not rape is described by the contexts in which the verb ענה is found, the verb has to do with honor/shame." She adds that "in all cases" where the verb is employed the idea is "to describe [the] sexual experience which [was] damaging for the woman's honor." Bader*, Sexual Violation,* 36. Unlike Bader, Yamada explains that when scholars analyze these rape scenes, they are "typically polarize into two positions": a) modern definitions of rape that emphasize the will of the victim; and b) cultural representations of rape in terms of honor/shame. Yamada, *Configurations of Rape*, 4. I agree with Yamada that these positions "tend to force the narrative into patterns and definitions that are external to the texts themselves."

[41] Tikva Frymer-Kensky, *Studies in Bible and Feminist Criticism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2005), 244.

not indicate if the sexual act was against her will. The obscure meaning of the verb ענה makes it challenging to determine the nature of the sexual encounter.

Many scholars find it puzzling to determine whether the sexual act between Shechem and Dinah was consensual or coercive, mainly because Dinah's character has no voice, unlike Tamar (2 Sam 13). Since Dinah has no speech in the narrative,[42] it is hard to tell how she saw Shechem's actions. His deeds are not only wrong because he took her;[43] instead, Shechem did so without the consent of her male guardians—which violates social and cultural norms (see below). In my view, the assault on Dinah is far more complicated than it appears. On the one hand, it challenges the male guardians' dominance over Dinah; on the other hand, it further challenges the males' dominance over the women in their household by challenging the exclusive control of their women's bodies.[44] In this regard, the seizure of Dinah is seen as a terrible offense (vv. 7 and 14). To the brothers, this was an embarrassment for their family, who had no recourse but to avenge their honor by employing extreme violence (vv. 25–29).[45] Thus, when Jacob tried to reproach his sons for their doing (v. 30), they justified themselves by rhetorically asking, "Should our sister be

[42] I wonder if Dinah's inanimate reaction to Shechem has to do with the fact that both their respective families knew each other prior to the incident in Gen 34. In this sense, what if Dinah assumed Shechem was not going to harm her. This, perhaps, could explain why Dinah is silent. In Scholz's reading of the narrative, she uses modern understandings of "rape" and thus argues that Shechem is an "acquaintance rapist." Susanne Scholz, *Sacred Witness: Rape in the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2010), 33. I agree with Scholz on this position because Dinah's silence reflects elements of those victims of "acquaintance rape," who are normally ambivalent about whether they were raped. For more on the notion of "acquaintance rape," see Joan McGregor, *Is it Rape? On Acquaintance Rape and Taking Women's Consent Seriously* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2017).

[43] Joseph Fleishman suggests the possibility that the chapter is dealing with the issue of marriage by abduction. According to him, there are many motives, one of which could be the refusal of the bride's parents to permit her to be married to a particular man. In this sense, then, the rejected suitor recovers his honor by abducting the woman. Joseph Fleishman, "Shechem and Dinah, in the Light of Non-Biblical and Biblical Sources," *ZAW* 116 (2004), 13. Eve Levavi Feinstein rejects this idea and sees it as problematic because of the sequence of the plot in vv. 2–4. Eve Levavi Feinstein, *Sexual Pollution in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 68.

[44] Tracey M. Lemos, "Were Israelite Women Chattel? Shedding New Light on an Old Question," in *Women, Worship, and War: Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch*, eds. T. M. Lemos, J. J. Collins, and S. M. Olyan (Atlanta, Georgia: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 238.

[45] I agree with Joseph and see in Shechem's proposed alliance a threat to their uniqueness, which could further imply a declaration of war or foreigners trying to turn them toward idol worship (Deut 20:14–18; 21:10–14; *cf.* Num 31). Joseph, "Is Dinah Raped?" 35.

treated like a whore?" (v. 31). The question marks three critical points: a) their manhood was compromised; b) giving up revenge would give the impression that they are not capable of protecting their women; and perhaps, c) a violated woman is not a whore (זונה),[46] which could downplay Dinah's virtue.

Considering the above, one needs to be cautious not to read too much into a single word; instead, it is appropriate to question if the conceptualization of 'rape' is reflected in the usage of the three-verb chain.[47] The issue is not whether the verbs in and of themselves carry the meaning of "forced sex," but rather that this verb chain and its intensification point us in that direction. First, relying upon a single term to make a case for 'rape' is a dead end; however, how the narrator employs the three verbs in conjunction sheds light on understanding the notion of 'rape' within the narrative. Second, the chain itself exhibits the intensity with which Shechem carries out his actions and how he conducted himself against Dinah.[48] Third, the lack of Hebrew terminology for 'rape' limits the ability of the narrator to frame the scene in such terms. By employing the three-verb chain, the narrator points the reader in that direction, which echoes similar language used by

[46] Commentators have argued that a woman who professionally dedicated herself to being a prostitute, unlike a conventional woman, claims the right to control access to her body—which falls outside the social norms of a patriarchal society. Catherine Clark Kroeger & Mary J. Evans, eds., *The IVP Women's Bible Commentary* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 23. For a discussion on "harlot," "prostitute," and "rape" in Ezek 16 and 23, see Peterson, *Ezekiel in Context: Ezekiel's Message Understood in Its Historical Setting of Covenant Curses and Ancient Near Eastern Mythological Motifs* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 205.

[47] My definition of 'rape' within the context of ANE is unauthorized sexual intercourse with a person who does not possess the sexual right to have intercourse with an individual victim. Note this definition is a composite of the work of Leah R. Schulte, *The Absence of God in Biblical Rape Narratives* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2017), 16; Bechtel, "What if Dinah is not Raped?" 20; Brownmiller, *Against our Will*, 15; Scholz, *Rape Plots*, 4; Pilch, *A Cultural Handbook,* 129–133.

[48] Francis Andersen points out that three-verb chain in Gen 34:2 marks the intensity of Shechem's passion. Francis I. Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 42. Nahum M. Sarna indicates that the three Hebrew verbs ("took," "lay," and "violate") show the increasing severity of Shechem's brutal assault on Dinah. Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis: The JPS Torah Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 234. Regarding Gen 34:2, the New Jerusalem Bible (NJB) shows a four-verb-chain sequence that marks the rhythm of the assault: "Shechem . . . saw her, seized her, and forced her to sleep with him."

the framers of Judg 19 and 2 Sam 13. Considering all this, one can demonstrate that Dinah, like Tamar and the *Pîlegeš* woman, was also raped.

In the next section, I will discuss what illicit sexual activity is and how the legal materials treat sexual offenders. John Van Seters indicates that the situation (vv. 1–3) creates two separate but related procedures controlled by custom and law.[49] The former has to do with a marriage arrangement, while the latter revolves around the violation of an unbetrothed woman. Nonetheless, the ancient laws can shed light on how we read sexual and gender-based violence materials.

III

SEXUAL OFFENSE: WHAT DO THE ANCIENT LAWS SAY?

ANE laws presuppose the dependence of female figures within patriarchal structures and their subordination within the family.[50] In some cases, women were viewed as the property of men like other commodities they possessed, e.g., livestock and material goods.[51] They were even referred to as possessions of war (Num 31:7–9; 15–18); addressed or spoken of in the possessive case (Deut 22:13–19); and lacking personhood (Judg 19; Ezek 16; 23).[52] Their social agency was often limited, especially in juridical matters. Since the legal corpus also defines the agency of women, who are spoken as objects of action rather than as legal agents,[53] any harm against them was

[49] John Van Seters, "The Silence of Dinah (Genesis 34)," in *The Yahwist: A Historian of Israelite Origins* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 238.

[50] Pressler argues that the laws supported the stability of the family within the patrilineal family structures. Pressler, *The View of Women*, 1.

[51] Kroeger and Evans, eds., *The IVP Women's Bible Commentary,* 23. *cf.* Schulte, *The Absence of God*, 11. I should note that the biblical text does not speak of a man selling his wife nor of transferring "ownership" of her to another man, whereas the LH does allow men to sell their wives (LH 117). Lemos explains that this is due to the lack of comprehensiveness of the biblical laws of marriage, property, and inheritance rather than to a difference in Babylonian and Israelite practices. Lemos, "Were Israelite Women Chattel?" 235.

[52] For a more extended discussion of the personhood of Israelite women, see Tracey M. Lemos, "Physical Violence and the Boundaries of Personhood in the Hebrew Bible," *HBAI* 2 (2013), 522–29.

[53] Lemos, 523.

understood to be a violation against their rightsholders.[54] Thus, specific laws were created to protect men's property while criminalizing any harm committed against the state of another individual.[55]

Raymond Westbrook identified several laws that criminalize offenses against the state of an individual,[56] which he describes as "serious wrongs." Westbrook indicates that these wrongs "comprise what in modern law would be the principal crimes: homicide, injury, rape, perjury, [and] theft."[57] He classified 'rape' under this category and indicates that there are two subcategories of 'rape' within the legal materials: a) 'rape' of a betrothed woman (LU § 6; LH § 130; MAL A § 12; Deut. 22:25–27); and b) 'rape' of an unbetrothed woman (MAL A § 55; Deut 22:28–29).[58] There is a third subcategory of 'rape' that deals with the case of a slave woman.[59] Importantly, the laws are not designed to prevent men from committing sexual violence; instead, as Washington

[54] Brownmiller argues that "the historic price of a woman's protection by man against [another] man was the imposition of chastity and monogamy because a crime committed against her body became a crime against the state of the male." Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (New York: Fawcett Books, 1975), 17.

[55] The concept of rape, according to Pressler, is missing entirely from the HB. Carolyn Pressler, "Sexual Violence and the Deuteronomic Law," in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy*, ed. Athalya Brenner (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 109. Harold C. Washington argues that the ancient laws are not directly addressing the issue of rape, rather they deal with adultery (Harold C. Washington, "'Lest He Die in the Battle and Another Man Take Her:' Violence and the Construction of Gender in the Laws of Deuteronomy 20–22," in *Gender and Law in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 208. However, Lipka argues that one can indeed find the concept in narrative and prophetic texts (e.g., 2 Sam 13 and Ezek 16). Lipka, *Sexual Transgression*, 30–1.

[56] For a full discussion on the different classifications of criminal offenses, see Raymond Westbrook, "The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. R. Westbrook (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 75–82.

[57] Westbrook, 77

[58] *Westbrook*, 80. There is a difference between cuneiform and biblical laws. The former is constructed on a model of case law (i.e., "casuistic law"), whereas the latter is known as "apodictic law." Bartor, *Reading Law as Narrative,* 6. The casuistic laws are described as hypothetical cases in which a problem is presented, and the law provides a solution—meaning that if "X" does this, then "X" would receive this punishment.

[59] This paper only focuses on the second type of laws; however, I will discuss the first and third classification of these laws in my research. For now, it is worth saying that the status of women was important in configuring the seriousness and punishment of the offense. For example, the law treated the case of a freewoman differently than that of a slavewoman. In the case of a free woman, if she was betrothed then the punishment was death penalty. If she was unbetrothed then a monetary fee was imposed, followed by marriage without the possibility of divorce. As for the slavewoman, the penalty was a monetary fee paid to her master. Hence, the fee was imposed on the ravisher depending on the status of the woman (e.g., fifty sequels for an unbetrothed girl and five shekels for a slavewoman).

explains, "they stipulate the terms under which a man may commit rape . . ."[60] Whenever a person commits a sexual crime, the laws guide the community to find a less violent solution.[61] The context in which these 'rape' laws are framed is adultery. Taking Westbrook's view, the case of Dinah falls under the second subcategory—i.e., the 'rape' of an unbetrothed woman.

Sexual intercourse outside of wedlock was understood as illicit when a male guardian was "non-consenting."[62] Consequently, an illicit sexual activity was defined as violating another man's property (father, brother, or husband).[63] This type of crime was viewed as what Susan Brownmiller calls "the theft of virginity," meaning that the thief took that which did not belong to him.[64] The woman's virginity was required to enter a marriage union (Deut 22:13–19) because in this way the father could ensure his paternity, though never entirely sure.[65] If the woman was not a virgin, the husband could technically dissolve the marriage.[66]

The first code that sheds light on Gen 34 is a passage found in the Law of Eshnunna (ca. 1770 BCE).[67] It illustrates a case of a non-agreement marriage and the protocol for fixing the

[60] Washington, "Lest He Die in the Battle," 211.

[61] Yamada, *Configurations of Rape*, 3.

[62] Sandie Gravett, "Reading 'Rape' in the Hebrew Bible: A Consideration of Language," *JSOT* (2004), 279–99. Unlike Sandie Gravett, Scholz depicts rape as "forcible sex" with an "unwilling person." Scholz, "Back then it was Legal," 7).

[63] Peterson, *Ezekiel in Context: Ezekiel's Message Understood in Its Historical Setting of Covenant Curses and Ancient Near Eastern Mythological Motifs* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 205.

[64] Brownmiller explains that the "criminal rape" in the patriarchal view is "a violation of the new way of doing business, the theft of virginity." She explains that "this was an embezzlement for his daughter's fair price on the market." Brownmiller, *Against Our Will*, 18. Schulte also indicates that a person who has unauthorized intercourse with a young woman "robs something of monetary value from her father (or her brother)." Schulte, *The Absence of God*, 11. For more on this, see John Sassoon, "Rape and The Family," in *Ancient Laws and Modern Problems: The Balance Between Justice and a Legal System* (Portland, OR: Intellect Books, 2004); Janice P. De-Whyte, "Dinah and Princess Tamar: Violated Women," in *Wom(b)an: A Cultural-Narrative Reading of the Hebrew Bible Barrenness Narratives* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2018), 211–41.

[65] Stuart Macwilliam, *Queer Theory and the Prophetic Marriage Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 113.

[66] The biblical text treated the idea of a woman entering marriage without her virginity intact as an offense against her future husband and was thus punishable by death (Deut 22:20–21). See Pressler, *The View of Women,* 25–6; *cf*. Pressler, "Sexual Violence and Deuteronomic Law," 107.

[67] For a full analysis of the legal code of Eshnunna, see Reuven Yaron*, The laws of Eshnunna* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988).

situation (LE §§ 27–8).[68] According to LE § 27, if a man (*awīlum*) takes another man's daughter (*mārat*) without parental consent and lives with her for over a year, then the woman is not a legitimate wife (*aššat*),[69] mainly because a marriage agreement was not arranged. The law does not show if the *mārat* was forced by the *awīlum* or acted voluntarily. What is evident is that the *mārat* is not considered an *aššat* yet; consequently, the lawgiver brings LE § 28 to solve the situation confronted in LE § 27.[70] He settles the matter with a marriage agreement between the parents and the offender,[71] which further modifies the woman's status. The question that arises is whether this kind of union is socially acceptable or not (see below).

[68] I will not discuss here the two laws found in the *Sumerian Law Exercise Tablet* (SLEx), which are by far the closest to the narrative of Gen 34 because these laws are known to be an exercise tablet of scribe students. I should note, nonetheless, that for Victor Harold Matthews and Don C. Benjamin, the SLEx § 7 presents the case of Gen 34:1–12, while SLEx § 8 describes the chapter as a whole and has some parallel elements to Exod 22:16 and Deut 22:23–4. Victor Harold Matthews and Don C. Benjamin, *Old Testament Parallels: Laws and Stories from the Ancient Near East*, (New York: Paulist, 1997), 100. These laws also have close resemblances with LU § 6 and LH § 130. The statute in SLEx § 7 suggests that if the perpetrator is not known by the parents of the daughter (*dumus-munus*) but he comes forward, apparently the parents are compelled to give their daughter to him in marriage. This prescription, unlike others, shows the willingness of the offender to somehow fix the situation in which he found himself in. The second law (SLEx § 8), however, is much more complex in nature. For example, if the alleged offender disputes his identification, then the prescription orders him to swear an oath at the temple gate. This implies that if the alleged offender is indeed guilty divine justice would take place. In this aspect, the divine agent would punish the offender because he swore an oath knowing that he committed the illicit act.

[69] The significance of this regulation is whether the seized woman is considered a wife (*aššat*) or not. In the Akkadian, the most common terms to refer to the status of the wives were *aššat(um)* (compared with Heb. אשה) and *amtum* (compared with Heb. אמה). The former is designated the "principal wife" of a man. *CAD* 1.2:462–65. In contrast, the latter refers to the "second wife" or "maidservant." *CAD* 1.2:80–85. See also Julius Lewy, "On Some Institutions of The Old Assyrian Empire," *HUCA* 27 (1956), 3–4. Cécile Michel explains that the wives' statuses depended directly on the order in which the marriage was contracted; for example, the first marriage or betrothal offered the woman the status of *aššat*. Cécile Michel, *Women of Assur and Kanesh: Texts from the Archives of Assyrian Merchants,* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2020), 70. Moreover, the status of a wife was necessary because the children borne by an *amtum* did not enjoy the same rights as the children of an *aššat*. According to the LH §§ 170–71, if the children of the *amtum* were legitimized by their father, they could inherit alongside the sons of the *aššat*. If they were not, they could not inherit, but their freedom was granted.

[70] Reuven Yaron indicates that the prescription here is very "detailed and complex" in its formation. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, 102.

[71] The statute (LE § 28) goes on to say that if the *mārat* is discovered *in flagrante delicto*, she would receive the death penalty. This law omits the penalty for both the first man who abducted her and the second man with whom she was found having sexual intercourse. It is interesting that the prescription adds a more dramatic phrase: "She will not live." This seems to suggest that those who carry out the punishment must ensure that the *mārat* do not live. The sentence here is disproportionate to the crime committed by both men, their actions do not receive any punishment. Hence, it is unclear whether the woman enters into the sexual encounter willingly or unwillingly, nor whether it was forced.

The second code that sheds light on Dinah's case is found in the Middle Assyrian Laws (ca. 1076 BCE).[72] MAL A § 55 acknowledges that sexual assault could occur anywhere, and there is no need for witnesses.[73] Unlike the other laws, it provides a range of penalties from an androcentric perspective, among which the rightsholder can choose.[74] Westbrook notes that the law here imposes various talion,[75] meaning that if the offender is married, his wife will experience the same damage he has caused,[76] i.e., the offended party could technically 'rape' the offender's wife.[77] Similar to LE § 27, the language used by the framer in MAL A § 55 to describe the marriage is not the expected phrase "as a wife" (*kî aššati*); instead, he uses the term "marriage-like relationship" (*kî aḫuzzete*).[78] According to Janice P. De-Whyte, this kind of marriage was seen as "less-than" because the woman entered it in an unusual way,[79] i.e., not being a virgin. This kind of marriage would have degraded the women's social status. Thus, De-Whyte adds that families

[72] Godfrey Rolles Driver and John C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 386.

[73] In contrast, HL § 197 indicates that the location where the sexual assault takes place matters (i.e., "in the mountains/countryside" and "in her house/city"). The reason is that the woman's innocence strictly depended on the "particular" location where she was seized. According to the law, if the woman is seized "in the mountain/ countryside" she is not held responsible; however, if she is taken within "her house/city" the woman is an accomplice of the offender and is responsible. Trevor Bryce argues that the laws present themselves with the same problematic concerns that we still face today—i.e., if the woman was willingly or unwillingly taking part in the act. Trevor Bryce, *Life and Society in the Hittite World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 128. Hoffner suggests that this law has significant parallelism with that of Deut. 22:25. Harry A. Hoffner, *The Law of the Hittites: A Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 156–7.

[74] Scholz, "Back then it was Legal," 14.

[75] Westbrook, "The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law," 80.

[76] According to Driver and Miles, this law treats the offender less harshly than other laws because the woman is unbetrothed. Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, 37.

[77] Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of Ameirica, 1996), 209.

[78] The phrase *kî aššati* was restricted to the woman who enters marriage as a virgin. *CAD* 1.2:462–65. The term *aḫūzatu* suggests "marriage-like relationship" meaning that "a woman who has lost her protector by death or her value through rape is handed over to the head of a household who, as relative or culprit, must assume responsibility for her." *CAD* 1.1:217.

[79] Janice P. De-Whyte compares the law with that of MAL A § 55 to show that the girl is not given "'as wife' (*kî aššati*) but 'in a marriage-like relationship (*kî aḫuzzete*).'" Janice P. De-Whyte, *Wom(b)an: A Cultural-Narrative Reading of the Hebrew Bible Barrenness Narratives* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 216. Sophie Démare-Lafont notes that the translation of the expression *kî aḫuzzete* is problematic. Sophie Démare-Lafont, "Inheritance Law of and through Women in the Middle Assyrian Period," paper presented at the Women and Property in Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Societies (Harvard University, 2003), 8–9. Martha T. Roth translates the phrase *kî aḫuzzete* as "into the protection of the household of her fornicator." Roth, "Middle Assyrian Law," in *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1997), 175.

were motivated to keep their daughters from entering this type of arrangement.[80] Shechem's abduction of Dinah puts her in a 'marriage-like relationship,' which degrades her status as not being a legitimate wife.

The biblical laws show two significant legislations involving cases of sexual intercourse with an unbetrothed woman (Exod 22:16–17 and Deut 22:28–29). According to the first passage, if a man "seduces" (פתה) an unbetrothed woman,[81] he must pay her father a monetary fee equal to that of the bride-price (מהר) for virgins.[82] Unlike Deut 22:28–29, the lawgiver in Exodus does not specify the amount that the offender needed to pay, nor does he make marriage a requirement. The offender was required to do more than pay the bride price; perhaps he needed to convince the father and get permission to marry his daughter.[83] The father was in his legal right to reject the offender's offer and deprive him of accessing his daughter.[84] It also places the father in a

[80] De-Whyte, *Wom(b)an: A Cultural-Narrative Reading,* 216.

[81] Pressler points out that the use of the verb פתה does not denote force, while the usage of the verb תפשׂ in Deut 22:28 implies that the man used force. Pressler, *The View of Woman,* 37.

[82] The Hebrew term מהר was designated originally as "tribute" but later became "payments of tribute." Eberhard Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and The Old Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1888), 2, 65. The bride's payment (akk. *terḫatum*) was a transfer of wealth or marriage gift given by the groom or his agent to the bride's family. *CAD* 18:350–54. David Instone-Brewer explains that the purpose of the payment was to give security to the marriage, as well as being the legal seal on the marriage agreement. David Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible: The Social and Literary Context* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 5–8. Westbrook indicates that the *terḫatum* is effective to change betrothal into inchoate marriage, with a sharp rise in the protection of the groom's interest and drastic consequences upon the conduct of third parties. For a discussion of the term and its meaning, see Reymond Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law* (Austria: F. Berger, 1988), 59–60, 99–100. R. Rambam explains that the amount of a bride-price for a virgin woman was fifty shekels; however, if a man committed an illicit sexual act against young woman, the offender had to pay double that amount (one hundred shekels). Michael Carasik, *The Commentators' Bible: The Rubin JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 2015), 151. However, Jeffrey H. Tigay explains that there is no evidence that the bride-price for virgins was fifty shekels (Lev 27:5–6). For him, "it seems unlikely that a rapist's penalty would be identical to that of a seducer; since, his offense is graver. If the seducer of Exod 22:16 is required to pay an average bride-price, the fifty shekels paid by the rapist probably represents a combination of an average bride-price plus punitive damages." Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 208.

[83] Lipka understands that Shechem's words in vv. 11–12 are most likely considered the right thing to do under such circumstances. Lipka, *Sexual Transgression*, 195. Bechtel explains that the phrase "find favor in your eyes" shows Shechem's honor and his desire to legitimate the union. Bechtel, "What if Dinah Was Not Rape?" 29.

[84] In the case of Gen 34, after the incident in v. 2, Dinah is nowhere to be found except in v. 26 where she is taken by her brothers. It is most likely that Dinah was held hostage by Shechem. See Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative,* 486.

compromising position—either he accepts the offer or loses her bride-price altogether.[85] Bader and Sternberg raise the question of whether this legislation applies to non-community members, which is an even greater problem that one confronts within these laws. The second passage (Deut 22:28–29) states that if a man violates a young woman, he is obligated to marry the woman since he took her by force, and the man is forbidden to divorce the woman.

In contrast to Deut 22:23–27, the woman is not engaged, and thus no harm has been done to the fiancé's rights. The woman's consent or lack of it is not a factor in these laws. Nevertheless, the offense was considered a violation of the male guardians' rights. This law also confronts the same issue of non-community members. It is unclear whether the law was in effect when the events narrated in Gen 34 took place.[86] Both legislations in Exodus and Deuteronomy regulate sexual misconduct. They significantly differ in whether the rightsholder can allow or disallow the marriage.[87] In the case of Exodus, the marriage is at the discretion of the rightsholder, while the lawgiver in Deuteronomy forces the man to marry the woman and prohibits the offender from forever divorcing the girl.[88] These laws also raise the question of whether they should be applied to outsiders.[89] By considering the language used by the framers in Exodus and Deuteronomy, I

[85] In a system of domination and subordination, according to Tracey M. Lemos, "rape made unmarried women less marriageable." For her, it was "sensible" to hand over women to their rapists "because doing so would eliminate the problem exclusivity posed to the marital relationship." Lemos, "Were Israelite Women Chattel?" 238.

[86] Wenham acknowledges this problem in his interpretation of Gen 34. Wenham, *Genesis*, 31.

[87] Since the father holds the sexual rights to his daughters, he can refuse to grant access to his unbetrothed daughters—e.g., Lot (Gen. 19:8) and the old man at Gibeah (Judg 19:24a), who respectively offered their virgin daughters to a violent mob. Bader sees the situation of Dinah and Shechem as an issue of intermarriage, i.e., exogamy. She further argues that Jacob was more inclined to the idea of intermarriage, while his sons were against. Bader, Sexual Violence, 61–9.

[88] Pressler argues that Exod 22:16–17 and Deut 22:28–29 are variants of the same case. The former speaks about seduction while later suggests coercion. Pressler, *The View of Woman,* 36. Tigay mentions that the Halakha explains that in cases of both seduction and rape, the girl as well as the father has the right to refuse the marriage. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 208.

[89] Meir Sternberg argues that "the law of forced marriage applies to forced intercourse between Israelite parties ('in thy midst') alone." Meir Sternberg, "Biblical Poetics and Sexual Politics: From Reading to Counterreading," *JBL* 111 (1992), 462. Similarly, Bader argues that these laws were addressed to the Israelite men. Bader, *Sexual Violence,* 65. Sarna comments on this matter and indicates that the law collections offer little help and raises the question of whether Jacob could claim redress against the ruler of the city. Sarna, "The Ravishing of Dinah," 146. I disagree with Lipka

would agree with Bader and Sternberg that these laws are intended for the Israelites alone; and thus, they do not address illicit sex between insiders and outsiders.[90] Hence, the rules here function as a mechanism to control violence or protect people from its effects.[91] This means that the lawgivers did not intend to protect women from sexual violence; instead, the laws were designed to protect men's sexual rights over their women.[92]

Is an understanding of rape possible within the framework of these legal materials? In light of the preceding, the answer will have to be a nuanced "yes" and "no." Yes, in the sense that they define the terms under which a man may 'rape' another person. No, in the sense that these laws are not intended to protect individual victims from such crimes. Moreover, these laws are not a mirror image of what went on in ancient societies; however, it shows a significant coherence with the narrative materials. It was not always the case that a woman who was a victim of sexual violence was eligible to marry another man; instead, it would have been difficult for her to find a suitable husband. Because of this, their rightsholders married them to the offender.

According to the legal materials, Shechem violated Jacob's legal right over Dinah by seizing her without his consent. Regardless of the nature of the sexual encounter, Dinah still is a victim of Shechem. The laws and the cultural setting see Dinah's consent as irrelevant because she does not control her sexuality; instead, it belongs to her father.[93] As for the father's claims, this

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on how she applies Exod 22:16–17 into Gen 34. Lipka, *Sexual Transgression*, 173. The context in Exodus is clearly a sexual transgression against communal boundaries. This means that the law would have been most likely to be applied in cases of illicit sex within members of the same community rather than with outsiders. Once again, since Shechem is not yet a member of the community, the law falls short because it does not address the issue between outsiders and insiders. For a discussion on outsiders and insiders, see Bechtel, "What if Dinah is not Rape?" 21–3.

[90] See Bechtel, "What if Dinah is not Raped? 21–3 for a discussion on the characteristics of group-orientation.

[91] Washington explains that the cultural setting in which the Deuteronomic law was produced suggests that "violence against a feminine object was central to the consolidation of masculine identity." Washington, "Lest He Die in the Battle," 187.

[92] Pressler, "Sexual Violence and Deuteronomic Law," 111–2.

[93] Joseph points out that "Israelite women who act like foreigners should also be regarded as dangerous" and that "in the Hebrew Bible, a woman is only considered good if her sexuality is controlled." Joseph, "Is Dinah Rape?" 35.

kind of offense was considered property damage that resulted in a heavy economic loss because it decreased her chances of finding a suitable marriage partner. In this sense, the offender violated the social order by taking someone else's property.[94] This should not blur the fact that Dinah is the victim in this scheme.

IV

THIS IS NOT A CONCLUSION, RATHER A SHORT PAUSE

This paper aims to explore the narrative in Gen 34 by looking at the legal materials. The above evidence shows that the story of Dinah is much more complex than what a simplistic reading conveys for several reasons. First, the usage of the Hebrew verbs לקח, שׁכב, and ענה in and of themselves does not imply rape; however, how the narrator used them directly points to that idea. Second, the legal materials establish that Shechem's actions were unlawful, and his behavior violates the ANE's social norms. Finally, the law does not consider women to be actual victims; instead, the passage suggests that male guardians were the real victims because they endured a significant financial loss.

In addition to the above, Gen 34 shows that premarital intercourse was considered an illicit sexual act, and the offense was further aggravated if it was forcible sex. From a juridical point of view, Dinah's defilement is exclusively considered a violation against her male guardians, for which they could seek monetary remuneration. It is also true that one cannot definitively say what happened to Dinah or what might have constituted rape in ancient times, but she is still a victim-

[94] I agree with Fuchs who argues that the rape laws and the sexual violence narratives "refer to rape as an institution" which is "based on a male honor code and on male financial and legal interest." These laws do not bring true justice to the victim-woman; rather, they focus on her male guardians as victims. In Fuchs' option, by shifting the focus from the violated woman to the male guardians, "the text 'proves' that the law is just and valid." Fuchs, "The Biblical Sister," 216.

survivor. Like many other victims, we should not minimize, deny, or blame Dinah for what she went through. The sexual assault that she experienced is not less horrifying than what Tamar (2 Sam 13) or the *Pîlegeš* woman (Judg 19) experienced, respectively. As a victim of sexual violence, Dinah deserves to have her story heard rather than be silenced.

V

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Project Summary OTSEM 2022-Kiel

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Project Working Title:

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: A Reading of The Cuneiform and Biblical Laws in Narratives Materials (Genesis, Judges, and 2 Samuel)

Project Summary:

My research project examines the sexual and gender-based narratives found in the Hebrew Bible (HB) and its relation to the cuneiform and biblical legal corpora. The criteria used here are biblical texts that show direct evidence where sexual violence has been exercised, not as a sidenote but rather as the narrative's main theme. The focus is on narratives that fit the category of forcible intercourse: a) completed male-to-female (Gen 34; Judg 19; 2 Sam 13); b) completed female-to-male (Gen 19:30–38); c) attempt male-to-male (Gen 19:1–29); and d) attempt female-to-male (Gen 39). It also analyzes the biblical laws concerning sexual behaviors (Exod 22:16–17; Lev 18:20; 19:20–22; 20:10; Num 5:11–31; Deut 22) in juxtaposition with the cuneiform laws (LU § 6–8; LL § 33; LE §§ 26–28; 31; LH §§ 129–30; 154–56; HL §§ 189–91; 197–98; MAL §§ 12; 15–16; 23; 55–56), while discussing the absence of divine justice for victims of sexual violence. The most intriguing feature among these materials is that a single sexual act out of wedlock has the effect of creating a web of violence.

The governing question of my project is: how do we interpret the connection between the cuneiform and the biblical legal corpora in relation to the sexual and gender-based violence in biblical narratives, and how do these materials speak to one another? These materials use sexual violence as an event precipitating conflict between members of one family/community over another, which demonstrates the social upheavals of ancient Israel. Therefore, the present research examines narratives that fit the category of forcible intercourse and its relations to the cuneiform and biblical legislations. For this reason, I will employ several exegetical methods: narrative criticism, biblical intertextuality, and gender criticism.[1] Each of these methods will shed different light on our task.

The research will open with an introduction that seeks to provide the state of my project, its setting, and its significant features. It will also introduce the thesis, research objectives, research

[1] Other methods, like textual criticism and historical criticism, would be applied whenever necessary to help evaluate the texts under consideration.

questions, and a review of scholarship that focuses on works that seek to give an account for the interpretation of sexual violence narratives. The first chapter will discuss how the legal materials inform our reading of sexual violence narratives and why the lawgivers framed their legislations in such a way to perpetuate gender-based violence. From the second to sixth chapters, I will analyze specific exemplary sexual and gender-based violence narratives—i.e., the accounts of Lot, Dinah, Joseph, the *Pîlegeš*, and Tamar, and their relation to the legal materials.[2] The seventh chapter will examine what opportunities of divine justice, or lack thereof, exist for victims of sexual violence. The research project culminates in a conclusion, which will summarize the findings and light the path for future research.

The paper for the 2022-Kiel OTSEM conference is part of the discussion of the third chapter. Its main idea is to see how the reading of the legal corpora inform our interpretation of the Dinah's and Shechem's encounter. Hence, the paper is part of an ongoing research, and maybe not be the final version in my project.

Preliminary Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1: THE ANE & MOSAIC LAWS CONCERNING SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

CHAPTER 2: Gen 19

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CHAPTER 6: 2 Sam 13

CHAPTER 7: SEX, VIOLENCE, AND DIVINE JUSTICE

CONCLUSION

* I have chosen to analyze each biblical passage as they appear in their canonical order.

[2] The following narratives will be treated as individual chapters, as they appear in biblical history. However, later I will see if there is an interdependence between these materials, and if some of them could be grouped together.

A Necessary Violence:
A proposal on why stoning is the preferred method of capital punishment in the biblical law codes.

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OTSEM 2022 Conference
University of Kiel
2-4 September 2022

Introduction

Stoning is the most commonly prescribed form of capital punishment in the Pentateuchal legal collections. It appears in the Covenant Code, Deuteronomic Code and the law collections of the Priestly tradition, and is applied to a wide variety of crimes. Stoning is mandated for worshipping other gods (Deut 13:11, 17:5), blasphemy (Lev 24:16), breaking the Sabbath (Num 15:35-36), divination (Lev 20:27), illicit sexual relations (Deut 22:21, 22:24), filial insubordination (Deut 21:21), sacrificing children to Molech (Lev 20:2), and even to punish an ox that has taken human life (Ex 21:28).[1] The breadth of the crimes to which it applies, and the lack of mention of any alternatives except for burning in a small number of cases, suggests that the makers and compilers of the biblical law codes intended stoning to be used as a principal method of capital punishment. This way of taking someone's life strikes our modern sensibilities as violent and cruel, unnecessarily heightening the suffering of someone who must be executed, and as such poses a problem for those seeking to present the Old Testament legal tradition as innovative and humane in the context of its times. Why did the biblical codemakers choose stoning over other, potentially less brutal, methods of capital punishment?

In this study I will propose that stoning emerged as the primary method of capital punishment in the codes due to a convergence of two sets of factors. The first set includes practical considerations dictated by the geographical and social conditions of life in ancient Canaan; the second set is made up of theological factors driven by the spiritual and philosophical views of the communities that produced the biblical codes. The focus of this paper will be specifically on capital punishment methods in the context of pre-exilic Israel, so later developments, as for example the four methods of capital punishment mentioned in the Mishnah,[2] will not be considered. I will refer to the unnamed individuals who created or compiled the laws in the Pentateuchal legal collections— the Covenant Code (Ex 20:22-23:33), Holiness Code (Lev 19-26), Deuteronomic code (Deut 12-26) and Priestly Supplementals in Numbers—as the 'codemakers', the assumptions being that although each code was most likely created and augmented by different individuals in different places and times, these individuals belonged to communities that shared basic socio-religious backgrounds and beliefs (i.e. theological Yahwism, Levite connections, dissent against secular rulers) to justify the idea of referring to them globally as 'the biblical codemakers'.[3]

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[1] See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22: The Anchor Yale Bible.* New York: Doubleday, 2000, p.1732; Timothy Ashley, *Numbers. New International Commentary on the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1993, p.250; Jeffrey Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The JPS Torah Commentary*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996, p.133, 367. All bible verses are from the Jewish Publication Society TANAKH translation.

[2] Cohn Haim Hermann Cohn, "Capital Punishment." *Encyclopedia Judaica. 2nd Edition. Vol 4.* Detroit: Macmillan, 2007: p.446-447.

[3] See for example the works of Richard Elliott Friedman: *Who Wrote the Bible? Revised Edition.* London: Simon and Schuster, 2019; and *The Exodus.* New York: Harper Collins, 2017, especially chapters 3 to 5.

I.

We will begin by listing the possible capital punishment methods available in the ancient Mediterranean world at the time the codes were produced (roughly between 1,000 to 500 BCE), as seen in historical and legal texts that have survived. These will include methods employed in ordinary executions, and not outlandish methods sometimes employed by rulers for political or propaganda purposes, like for example being thrown to wild animals (Daniel 6) and scaphism in Persia, or the brazen bull of Akragas, Sicily. The execution methods are:

- Drowning
- Poisoning
- Enforced starving
- Blood-letting
- Dismemberment (including beheading and flaying)
- Hanging (including impalement and crucifixion)
- Burning
- Strangulation
- Stoning

The first step involves excluding those methods that were too impractical to be used widely in ancient Canaan. One important factor to keep into consideration is that both biblical codes and narrative texts in the Old Testament indicate that executions were meant to be carried out as soon as possible following crimes or convictions (Gen 38:24; Lev 24:10-23; Num 15:32-36; Deut 17:5, 22:20-21; Jos 7:20-25). Execution methods therefore had to be easily available to all the communities envisioned to be part of the Israelite commonwealth by the biblical codemakers.[4]

1. Drowning

Drowning is an execution method that in principle is more humane than stoning, and that was practiced in Babylonia (Code of Hammurabi 108, 129, 133b).[5] It was, however, impractical in the Canaanite lands inhabited by the Israelite tribes. Water was, then as now, scarce in the area, and far too valuable a commodity to pollute it, either physically or ritually, with the byproducts of executions. There are also, apart from the Jordan, no great rivers as in Mesopotamia, and one would have to travel a considerable time to the edge of the land inhabited by the Israelites to find the Dead Sea, the Sea of Kinneret, or the Mediterranean Sea. All these factors made executions by drowning impossible to be performed at the community level expediently.

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[4] Speedy executions were also crucial in view of the lack of prisons in most communities. See Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27: The Anchor Yale Bible.* New York: Doubleday, 2001, p.2110: "Prisons were seldom used for punishment in the ancient Near East. They existed for debtors and slaves, on the estates of kings and landowners. They were at most nonexistent in small countries and tribal groups", i.e. places like Israel. See also Baruch Levine (*Numbers*, p.399), and Raymond Westbrook ("Punishments and Crimes," p.555).

[5] Martha Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. 2nd ed.* Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1997, p.101, 105, 106.

2. Poisoning

Poisoning is another humane method which was famously employed in Socrates' execution in Athens in 399 BCE and that later was widely used by the Romans, but it was a highly impractical method of execution in ancient Israel. Death by poisoning requires both the materials needed to produce poison and the knowledge to manufacture it, making it too specialized to be available to everyone at all times, which also explain its absence as a punishment from all available legal collections recovered from Ancient Mesopotamia. The later history of executions by poisoning of highly placed individuals in Greece and Rome does confirm that it remained a method reserved for, and available to, social elites.

3. Enforced Starving

Enforced starving, sometimes in the form of immurement ('in-murus', i.e. walling in) was practiced as an execution method by the Romans to punish Vestal virgins who had broken their vows of chastity, but this method was neither practiced nor practical in ancient Israel. Enforced starving requires imprisonment, which did not exist as a punishment in the ancient Fertile Crescent lands.[6] The alternative method of sending someone to die of starvation in the desert or wilderness (*midbar*) is also unlikely to have been contemplated by the biblical codemakers in view of the salvific action associated with the wilderness. Consider the narrative of Hagar and Ishmael, who were practically sent to their deaths with limited provisions and survived (Gen 21:8-21), or Elijah in the wilderness (1Kgs 17:2-6; 19:3-8). Even considering divine action, these stories indicate that the wilderness was not considered a place of death in Israelite thinking. Indeed, consider Israel's Exodus from Egypt into the wilderness of Sinai as the wellspring of this thinking.

4. Bloodletting

The second round of elimination involves excluding execution methods that could not be performed in ancient Israel due to ritual prohibitions and taboos held by the codemarkers' communities. These prohibitions were either explicitly stated in the biblical codes themselves, or were implicit consequences of theological principles that were important to the codemakers. The first method to be excluded is blood-letting, or the opening up of one's veins, often practiced in Greece and Rome as a form of self-execution by elites. Although there is no evidence that this form of execution was practiced for routine executions in the Fertile Crescent, its use in ancient Israel would have been proscribed in any case by the strong taboos concerning blood and the lifeforce it contains. These taboos are principally driven by the prohibitions in Genesis 9:4, Leviticus 17:10-14 and Deuteronomy 12:23-25 but also find vivid expression in Gen 4:10—"Hark! Your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground!"—and Numbers 35:33—"You shall not pollute the land in which you live; for blood pollutes the land."[7]

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[6] Herodotus records two instances in the *Histories* of victims being buried alive in ancient Persia (Book VII. 114) but both of these were performed for ritualistic/religious motives, not as executions for crimes. See also footnote 4.

[7] Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers. The JPS Torah Commentary*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1990, p.126.

5. Dismemberment

The next two methods to be excluded comprise practices that the codemakers believed robbed the human body of the dignity with which it was endowed by its creator. This principle has its theological wellspring in the Genesis texts describing humans beings as created in God's image (1:27) and infused with God's spirit breath (*ruach*) (Gen 2:7), but also in the Noahide covenantal texts affirming the inviolability of the human body from bloodshed (Gen 9:5-6). The concept of the dignity of the human body is also implied in the Deuteronomy 25:1-3 injunction limiting flogging to 40 lashes, a regulation which Bernard Levinson says has no parallel in Mesopotamian law where floggings could reach up to 100 lashes: "The rationale for the restriction [in Israel] is an extrajudicial notion of human dignity."[8] The fact that all these texts come from different Pentateuchal traditions—P (Gen 1:27, 9:5-6), J (Gen 2:7), and D (Deut 25:3)—suggests that the dignity of the human body was a primary concern of all the codemarkers' communities.

Further evidence for this concept can be seen in how different Pentateuchal traditions seem to condemn the idea of bodily mutilation. Exodus 21:26-27 condemns the mutilation of a slave, by destroying an eye or knocking out a tooth. Leviticus 19:28 orders "You shall not make gashes in your flesh for the dead, or incise any marks on yourselves," an idea that is also expressed in Deuteronomy 14:1 (Cf. Lev 21:5).[9] One could make the case that these laws are driven by separate individual motivations: the respect owed to a slave as a creation of God, and a prohibition to behave as the Canaanites who abused their bodies as part of pagan rituals.[10] However, when we look at these texts globally together with the Genesis texts on the sanctity of human life, it feels logical to think that the codemakers believed in a notion that the human body must not be damaged or dishonored.[11] I believe that this concern made dismemberment methods of execution like beheading—cutting off the very body part where God infused his *ruach*—completely unacceptable.

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[8] Bernard Levinson, "Deuteronomy". *The Jewish Study Bible.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999: p.356-450.422. See also Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, p.230.

[9] One must acknowledge here the one instance of mutilation punishment sanctioned in the biblical codes, the one found in Deuteronomy 25:11-12 concerning cutting the hand of a woman who interferes in her husband's fight with another man by grabbing the other man's privates to debilitate him. This is a law which Bernard Levinson called difficult to rationalize as it does not fit in any recognizable penal pattern seen in the Bible (*Deuteronomy*, p.423), while Richard E. Friedman described it as an extremely rare punishment that is not part of standard punishment in biblical law (Richard Elliott Friedman and Shawna Dolansky, *The Bible Now.* Oxford: Oxford University, 2011, p.143). This is not the place to engage a discussion on what might have motivated such a law (see some helpful summaries in Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, p.234, and in Peter Craigie, *Deuteronomy. New International Commentary on the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1976, p.315-316). My feeling is that, just like the method of burning discussed further on, this law might be a holdover from Israel's prehistory when certain sexually-related crimes performed by women were considered particularly abhorrent.

[10] A.D. Mayes (*Deuteronomy. New Century Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1981, p.238) and John Hartley (*Leviticus. Word Biblical Commentary*. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1992, p.231) point to Jer 16:6; 41:5; 47:5 and 48:37 as evidence that these mourning rituals were practiced in Israel as late as Jeremiah's time. See also Martin Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1966, p.54-58.

[11] The aversion to body disfigurement is especially prominent in Priestly theology. See for example Leviticus 21:16-23 where priests whose bodies bear any disfigurement by birth or accident affecting eyes, limbs, skin, bones, genitals or stature are banned from offering sacrifices (though they are still entitled to remain priests). Cf. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, p.136.

6. Hanging

The idea that the human body, as the image of God, should not be dishonored must also have naturally led the codemakers to reject hanging—which seems to have been practiced in Babylon (Code of Hammurabi 21),[12]—and other similar execution methods like impalement and crucifixion. A general aversion to this kind of practices is specifically stated in Deuteronomy 21:22-23: "If a man is guilty of a capital offense and is put to death, and you impale him on a stake [or 'hung him on a tree'], you must not let his corpse remain on the stake overnight, but must bury him the same day. For an impaled body is an affront to God: you shall not defile the land that YHWH your God is giving you to possess." Most scholars agree that this verse does not describe an execution method but the practice of exposing an already executed body as a warning[13], though the message remains the same: if impalement is necessary, this humiliation must not last past sunset, 'for an impaled body is an affront to God'.[14] That the affront is caused by the defilement to a *human body*, as opposed to defilement of a covenanted Israelite, is made clear by the application of this rule in Joshua 8:29 and 10:26-27, when Joshua orders the King of Ai and the five Amorite kings to be taken down at sunset from the trees on which their dead bodies are hung, and to receive burial. The hanging of a dead body for any prolonged period of time would also cause carrion to feed on the carcass, potentially spreading the dead body's impurity over a larger area, therefore explaining the last clause in the Deuteronomy passage concerning defilement of the land.[15] For all these reasons, hanging would have been rejected as a capital punishment method by the biblical codemakers, not only as a reflection of theological beliefs on the sanctity of the human body, but also as a general expression of revulsion towards the practice shared by Israelite society: it cannot be a coincidence that, outside the biblical codes, hanging is also not present in the narratives as a death method practiced by Israel.[16]

7. Burning

Execution by burning constitutes a special case as it is the only method besides stoning that is prescribed for specific crimes in the biblical codes.[17] Two instances appear in Leviticus, both concerning crimes of sexual immorality: a polygamous marriage of a man with a mother and her daughter (Lev 20:14), and the case of a priest's daughter who engages in harlotry (Lev 21:9). The association of burning with a particular type of sexual

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[12] Roth, *Law Collections*, p.85, though it is not completely clear that the word 'hanging' is used in this specific law in the original text.

[13] Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, p.305; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, p.285; Tigay *Deuteronomy*, p.198.

[14] See, however, an alternative explanation of this verse offered by Jeffrey Tigay, based on the ambiguous meaning of the words *kilelat elohim* in the original text (*Deuteronomy*, p.198).

[15] Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, p.415. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, p.198. Cf. also Ezekiel 39:12.

[16] The only instance of hanging as a way of dying in the narratives is found in 2 Sam 17:23 where Ahithophel commits suicide.

[17] Execution by the sword is sometimes also described as a third execution method in the biblical codes (see for example Westbrook, "Punishments and Crimes," p.555; and J. Greenberg, "Crimes and Punishments," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. *Vol. I, A-D.* Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962, p.741,) due to the passage in Deuteronomy 13:15-16 ordering to put to the sword all inhabitants of a town that has apostatized against YHWH. I would argue, however, that this passage concerns more the practice of *cherem* against people who have become enemies of Israel. It should not, therefore, be lumped with execution methods prescribed for criminal acts by individual Israelites.

immorality cannot be accidental since the only other instance of execution by burning in the narratives also involves a sexual crime. In Genesis 38 when Tamar is accused of having become pregnant through harlotry it is immediately ordered that she be brought out and burned to death (Gen 38:24). The mention of this story in the ancestral narrative points to the possibility that this particular method of execution originated in Israel's prehistory to punish a type of sexual immorality that was particularly abhorrent to the community[18], which is perhaps why the method was retained exactly for those sexual crimes the codemakers' communities found most ritually unclean.[19]

It is important to note that burning, besides extinguishing life, also performs a purifying function,[20] as for example the purifying action of ritual sacrifices in Leviticus 1-7, or YHWH's direct actions to purify his sanctuary by killing Nadab and Abihu with fire (Lev 10: 1-2; Cf. Num 16:35). This is particularly relevant in the case of the daughter of a priest who has been rendered impure by her harlotry: Leviticus 21:9 expressly clarifies that "she disgraces her father," who therefore finds himself unable to fulfill his ritual and religious duties in the sanctuary.[21] In any case, whatever the genesis of its association with sexual crimes, in the context of this paper the very fact that execution by burning seemed to be reserved for these particular crimes is accordingly also the reason why it was not chosen as a *main* method of execution for all capital crimes, and, therefore, this method can be eliminated from our initial list.[22]

8. Strangulation

We are now left with two methods of execution on the list: strangulation and stoning. Both are methods that do not require special settings or instruments, and could therefore be carried out quickly in every community in Canaan. Both methods also do not seem to contradict specific taboos or laws in the biblical codes, but there is evidence that the notion of strangulation was distasteful to the ancient Israelites. To start with, we must consider negative evidence in the fact that strangulation as a way of dying is not found in any biblical narrative in the Old Testament. Compare this with stoning which appears synchronically in Ex 8:21, 17:4 and 19:13 before the giving of the law at Sinai, and which continues to be mentioned as a killing method in narratives in the entire Bible until the letters of Paul (Num 14:10; Josh 7:25; 1 Sam 30:6; 1 Kings 12:18 (2 Chr 10:18); 2 Chr 24:21;

[18] It is interesting to note that the only instance of burning executions in the Mesopotamian codes, Law 110 in the Code of Hammurabi, involves a *naditu*/*ugbabtu* priestess selling or consuming beer, and so also implies some kind of religious defilement (Roth, *Law Collections*, p.101).

[19] Hartley believes that these two offenses were punished by stoning and that the text rather instructed to subsequently burn the bodies as a way to deny proper burial (*Leviticus*, p.339). Jacob Milgrom, however, refutes this based on inner biblical interpretation as well as early exegesis (*Leviticus 17-22*, p.1751). I tend to concur with Milgrom, especially in view of the story of Tamar.

[20] Philip Budd, *Leviticus. New Century Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996, p.295.

[21] Jacob Milgrom points out that the daughter's act of harlotry does not in itself disqualifies the priest from serving in the sanctuary, but that the disgrace brought upon him would nevertheless lead him to stay away from the his priestly duties (*Leviticus 17-22*, p.1810).

[22] It should also be pointed out that there are practical considerations making it difficult for burning to be chosen as a main method of execution: the wood and combustibles needed for the execution were, and still are, too scarce in many parts of Canaan to make it workable for all communities.

Lk 20:6; John 8:7, 10:31-33; Acts 5:26, 7:58-59, 14:5, 19; 2 Cor 11:25).[23] Additionally, the notion of strangulation has particularly negative connotations in the only two passages where it appears in the Old Testament, in the form of the verb *chanaq*:[24] Nahum 2:13, where it is used in a simile to describe the Assyrians' bloodthirsty pillaging;[25] and Job 7:15, where it is used by Job to describe an extreme form of death preferable to what he is experiencing at God's hand.[26] This common distaste for the practice of strangulation was most likely the primary reason why the biblical codemakers ignored it while legislating capital punishment.[27]

II.

We are therefore left at the end of this elimination exercise with stoning as the only execution method for capital crimes that passed the tests of practicality and religious mores. Its simplicity, quickness and the fact that it could be practiced by everyone were undoubtedly major factors in establishing it as a traditional method of execution in ancient Israel, even before it was legislated in the biblical codes. I do not believe, however, that simple practicalities and tradition were the only reasons why the biblical codemakers specifically made it their execution method of choice. I believe that the communities who produced the biblical codes were driven in almost everything by religious and theological concerns, and that the laws that they produced were shaped by those concerns. Their laws were, to paraphrase J.J. Finkelstein, statements reflecting primary religious principles,[28] therefore we must also seek the answer to our primary query in theology. I will propose four reasons why the codemakers favored stoning over other execution methods. Each reason is based on a theological principle, and each principle is either shared or complementary with other reasons and principles cited, with all of them reflecting overall theological views contained in the biblical law codes.

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[23] The use of stones as a common and effective killing tool is also emphasized by the story of David and Goliath, (1 Sam 17:49). David Tashio Tsumura, while commenting on 1 Sam 30:6, (*The First Book of Samuel. New International Commentary on the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007, p.638) also draws attention to the practice of stoning outside the Fertile Crescent by referring to *The Iliad* 3:57, where Hector reproves Paris by saying "by now they would have given you a coat of stone for all the harm that you have done," calling it a euphemism for stoning. (translation by Martin Hammond, 1987, p.42)

[24] F. Brown, F, S. Driver, and C Briggs. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon.* Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1906, seventh printing—January 2003, p.338.

[25] See Coggins, R.J., and S. Paul Re'emi. *Israel Among the Nations : a Commentary on the Books of Nahum and Obadiah.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1985, p.45.

[26] See HH Rowley, *Job. New Century Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1980, p.68. The only other place where the verb *chanaq* is used is 2 Sam 17:23 (*Brown-Driver-Briggs*, p.338), the previously mentioned case of Ahithophel's suicide, where it is assumed to describe his self-strangulation by hanging.

[27] It must be acknowledged at this point that strangulation was one of the four execution methods later allowed in the Mishnah, together with stoning, burning and decapitation by sword. As previously stated, however, this paper only focuses on execution methods legislated and practiced in pre-exilic Israel.

[28] J.J. Finkelstein, "The Ox That Gored." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 71, no. 2 (1981): p.3-35, 42, 45.

1. Avoiding defilement by blood

The first reason why stoning was preferred concerns ritual purity. Both the Priestly tradition and Deuteronomic tradition expressed strong taboos about contact with blood, based on the theological belief that life (*nephesh*) resides in it (Lev 17:11; Deut 12:23). Coming into contact with blood, for example by ingesting it (Lev 17:12-14; Deut 12:16; 15:23) or through menstruation/childbirth (Lev 15:19, 25; Lev 12:2), defiled a person. It was therefore highly desirable that any execution method ending a life, and so likely producing an outflow of blood as the life (*nephesh*) drained from the person, did not defile the executioners.[29] The practice of stoning provided enough distance between executioners and victim to prevent direct contact with any possible blood spilled.[30] The fact that, when detailed instructions were provided, stoning was ordered to take place outside the main area of habitation (Lev 24:13; Num 15:35; Deut 17:5. Cf. 1 Kgs 21:13) also suggests the idea of preventing blood from coming into contact with habitable soil and so accidentally defiling other members of the community (Cf. Num 35:33).[31] Stoning was therefore a ritually acceptable option with which to carry out an execution, especially considering how other bloodless options like strangulation and hanging were unacceptable for different reasons as previously described.

2. Circumscription of lynching

The second reason stems directly from one of the most important theological principles held by the codemakers: the sanctity of life. This principle, which can be said to have its synchronic genesis in Gen 9:6, is the source of some of the most distinctive aspects of biblical law, the ones concerning the value of human life. These aspects include the large numbers of laws defining murder and its prosecution;[32] the ban on financial and material compensation for willful murder;[33] and the inferior value of property over human life.[34] These laws, making up a large part of the legal corpora, indicate that the sanctity of human life as God's gift (Gen 1:27; 2:7) was so spiritually significant to the codemakers that, in the words of Nahum Sarna, "bloodshed was the consummate offence, one viewed with unspeakable horror."[35] It was therefore imperative to prevent people from committing

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[29] N.H. Snaith suggested the possibility that stoning was considered a bloodless way of ending a life (*Leviticus and Numbers.* London: Nelson, 1967, p.253), but Philipp Budd doubted that bloodletting could be avoided during the actual performance of a stoning (*Leviticus*, p.337). I would agree with Budd that in practice stoning will inevitably lead to a certain amount of blood flowing from the body.

[30] William Propp, *Exodus 19-40: The Anchor Yale Bible*. New York, NY: Doubleday, 2006, p.234.

[31] Another major reason, of course, why executions took place outside the main habitable area was to prevent a dead body defiling the community, as well as the sanctuary by its proximity. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, p.2113; Mordechai Coogan, *1 Kings: The Anchor Yale Bible.* New York: Doubleday, 2000, p.480.

[32] Ex 20:13; 21:12-14; 21:20; 21:2-32; 22:2-3; Lev 24:17, 21-22; Num 35:6-15, 26-28; 35:16-19; 35:20-21; 35:22-25; 35:30; 35:31; 35:33; Deut 5:17; 17:6; 19:4-6; 19:11-13; 21:1-9.

[33] Num 35:31. See Anthony Phillips, "Another Look at Murder," (1976), in *Essays on Biblical Law.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, p.69; Moshe Greenberg, "Some Postulates of Biblical Criminal Law," (1960), in *Studies in the Bible and Jewish Thought.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995, p.32.

[34] Greenberg, ibid; Nahum Sarna, *Exploring Exodus: The Heritage of Biblical Israel*. New York: Schocken, 1986, p.178.

[35] Sarna, ibid, p.180.

bloodshed, not only by formally making individual murder illegal, but also by restraining spontaneous incidents of mass violence like lynching, a practice that the philosopher of violence Rene Girard described as one of the most primitive instincts of human communities, based on a shared intense desire to eliminate a perceived evil.[36] Girard points out that stoning was the main method by which lynching was carried out in the ancient Mediterranean world, and biblical texts confirms that it was used in such a way in ancient Israel (Ex 17:4; Num 14:10; 1 Sam 30:6; 1 Kgs 12:18).[37] I propose that one of the reasons why stoning was chosen as a main method of capital punishment by the codemakers was to limit its spontaneous use in communities by regulating it, assigning it for certain crimes, and placing it under official oversight to prevent the primitive, unrestrained taking of human life. To quote again J.J. Finkelstein, legislation on stoning was "the modulation of an otherwise uncontrolled and spontaneous lynching process into a solemn, ritualized execution carried out under formal judicial authority."[38] Whether or not this attempt was successful is not relevant to our discussion (and biblical texts from 1 Kgs 12:18 to Acts 7:57-58 show that spontaneous lynching did continue to be practiced into and past the pre-exilic age). What is relevant is that, in essence, the choice of stoning to execute capital punishment was not an endorsement to use violence against human life, but rather was a way to prevent it.

3. Preventing the establishment of a single executioner post

Another way in which the principle of the sanctity of life favored the adoption of stoning concerns its communal nature and the conundrum brought on by capital punishment, i.e. the paradox of punishing the taking of life by taking a life. That the codemakers were aware of this conundrum can be seen by the previously mentioned large number of laws defining what murder is. Much effort is spent in the codes defining clear intentionality (Ex 21:12-14; Num 35:16-21; Deut 19:11-13), spurious accusations (Num 35:30; Deut 17:6) and protecting accidental killers (Num 35:9-15; Num 35:22-25; Deut 19:4-6). The common motivation behind all these laws seems to have been to ensure that only those who were proven to have committed the terrible crime of murder willingly should be punished for it, because the punishment for it was equally terrible. In the words of Baruch Levine, "the taking of human life, though pursuant to just laws, was a horrible act."[39] Given the consistency with which the sanctity of life was treated throughout the biblical codes,[40] I believe it is possible that one of the reasons why stoning was chosen as a principal method of capital punishment was because it eliminated the need for a single executioner. Methods like strangulation, hanging and beheading would have necessitated the appointment of one or two single individuals who would have specialized through experience in carrying out executions in a community. The notion of charging a single individual with the power of taking human life would have appalled the codemakers' communities since it equated

[36] René Girard, "The First Stone." *Renascence* 52, no. 1 (1999): p.11-14.
[37] J. Greenberg, "Crimes and Punishments," p.447; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, p.133; Cohn, "Capital Punishment," p.445.
[38] Finkelstein, "The Ox That Gored," p.27.
[39] Baruch Levine, *Numbers 1-20: The Anchor Yale Bible.* New York: Doubleday, 1993, p.400.
[40] Gen 1:26, 2:7; Ex 21:28; Lev 17:10-14; Num 35:31; Deut 12:23-25. See also Sarna, *Exodus,* p.178-179; Greenberg, "Some Postulates," p.31-32; Anthony Phillips, "Respect for Life in the Old Testament," (1983) in *Essays on Biblical Law,* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002, p.139-147.

humans with God in his dominion over human life.[41] It also made the executioner commit the same deed committed by the murderer because of the paradox brought on by capital punishment, and saddled the executioner with an unbearable burden of moral responsibility.[42]

Stoning solved all these problems by diluting the awful responsibility for taking life across the entire community, so that no *single* individual could be made to usurp God's role or feel individually responsible for the taking of human life. Richard Hiers has pointed out that this aspect of stoning is not unique as it bears similarities to the modern idea of dispersing moral responsibility during executions by dividing tasks between multiple parties, as for example using firing squads.[43] Some might point out that the idea of a group of people not being responsible for taking life as individuals is a psychological or academic self-delusion since the reality remains that, as a joined community, individuals do in fact take life away together during a stoning execution. However these objections would be misguided, for a communal execution method does contributes to upholding the sanctity of life by avoiding the establishment of an executioner position, for such a position would magnify the paradox of punishing an individual who takes a life by having another individual taking a life. Communal capital punishment in essence is a very clever way of proving that two wrongs do not make a right.

4. Communal atonement of special crimes

The final theological reason why stoning was chosen as main method of execution rests on the specific crimes for which it is prescribed in the text. It is important to note that, although stoning is the most commonly mandated method of execution in the biblical codes, it is specifically mentioned only 10 times among the 35 death penalties listed within the codes. Two death penalties, as we have seen, mandate burning (Lev 20:14; 21:9), and it is generally accepted that murder, legislated four times (Ex 21:12-14; Lev 24:17-22; Num 35:16-21; Deut 19:11-12), was not punished by the community at large but was instead executed privately by the avenger of blood, a kin of the murdered victim to whom the community gave authority to carry out killing retribution.[44] The remaining 19 death sentences are silent on how the capital punishment should be carried out, most of them limiting themselves to simply saying 'he shall be put to death' (ex. Ex 21:15; Lev 20:13, 15), or 'he shall die' (ex. Ex 22:18; Deut 18:20). Some scholars have proposed that in these cases

[41] The role of executioner for the crimes sentenced by stoning is different from the role of the avenger of blood for the crimes of murder. See next section and footnote 44.

[42] It is important to point out here that this responsibility related to the taking of human life in general, not to taking the life of innocent persons. In the case of wrongful executions responsibility fell upon the persons who had acted as chief witnesses against the criminal, and who started the execution by casting the first stones. See Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, p.225, 250-251.

[43] Richard Hiers, "The Death Penalty and Due Process in Biblical Law." *University of Detroit Mercy Law Review* 81, no. 5 (2004): p.751–843. Hiers made this suggestion based on the work of Peter L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective* (1963), p.160-61, as quoted by Hiers.

[44] This was the established practice to punish murderers which the codemakers seem to have accepted and not legislated against, though they severely limited its application by restricting the number of cases that could be defined as murder, as previously mentioned. I am aware that this is a case where the paradox of capital punishment is authorized—an individual taking the life of an individual who has taken a life—and I would gladly explore as well as try to reconcile this contradiction. However, due to the strict focus of this paper on stoning, this is not the appropriate place where to do this.

stoning should be assumed to be the default method of execution[45], and I would agree, especially when you consider the nature of the crimes for which it is prescribed. If we examine the 19 death sentences in the text without a method of execution attached to it, we will see that all of them have associations with the exiting ten death sentences prescribing stoning. Everything can be grouped under seven categories:

Apostasy:
Stoning prescription: worshipping other gods (Deut 13:11, 17:5)
Death sentences without method: sacrificing to other gods (Ex 22:19)

Blasphemy:
Stoning prescription: blasphemy (Lev 24:16)
Death sentences without method: Prophets speaking falsely in God's name (Deut 18:20)

Sacred Ritual Violation:
Stoning prescription: breaking the Sabbath (Num 15:35-36)
Death sentences without method: breaking the Sabbath (Ex 31:14-15; 35:2); unauthorized approach to tabernacle (Num 1:51); unauthorized approach to sanctuary (Num 3:10; 18:7)

Divination and Magic:
Stoning prescription: divination and mediums (Lev 20:27)
Death sentences without method: sorceresses (Ex 22:17)

Illicit sexual relations:
Stoning prescription: sleeping with a betrothed virgin (Deut 22:21, 22:24)
Death sentences without method: adultery (Lev 20:10); incest (Lev 20:11-12); adultery (Deut 22:22); rape (Deut 22:25-26)

Insubordination against authority:
Stoning prescription: the rebellious son (Deut 21:18-21); the ox that has taken human life (Ex 21:28) [46]
Death sentences without method: striking parents (Ex 21:15); cursing parents (Ex 21:17); kidnapping (Ex 21:16; Deut 24:7);[47] cursing parents (Lev 20:9); contempt for judges (Deut 17:12)

Acts considered against nature:
Stoning prescription: sacrificing children to Molech (Lev 20:2);

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[45] Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, p.1733; Cohn, "Capital Punishment," p445; James Hyatt, *Exodus. New Century Bible Commentary.* London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 1980 (1971), p.231; Anthony Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law: a New Approach to the Decalogue*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970, p.24

[46] J.J. Finkelstein specifically noted in his landmark study "The Ox That Gored" (p.28) that by taking a human life the ox had "objectively committed a de facto insurrection against the hierarchic order established by Creation."

[47] The inclusion of kidnapping in this category is tenuous. It is based on the idea that kidnapping a man in order to deprive him of freedom by selling him into slavery is a rebellion against the rightful order in a community.

Death sentences without method: bestiality (Ex 22:18); homosexual acts (Lev 20:13); bestiality (Lev 20:15)

What do these categories have in common? When examining all the crimes that mandated stoning Bernard Levinson proposed that they were reserved for those acts that violated the community's fundamental values or sources of authority. [48] Jeffrey Tigay agrees that stoning was used for crimes that challenged God's authority or proper human authority, being "high treason against God or society.[49] Jacob Milgrom[50] and Baruch Schwartz[51] theorized that these offenses belonged to a particular class that polluted the divine sanctuary and/or the land, driving God's presence and protection away from Israel, while J.J. Finkelstein proposed that stoning offenses both struck at the moral and religious fibers of the community and against the cosmic order.[52] To these explanations I would add that the crimes in the first four categories were *direct* offenses against God. Those in the last three categories involve acts that can bring division and instability in the community (adultery, rebellion and deviancy), but are also *indirect* offenses against God as they break rules he is said to have set. In any case, in all these proposed explanations the offenses are not only crimes affecting individual victims, but also global offenses affecting the entire community and its environment. As Gordon Wenham explained, the guilt for these offenses rests upon the entire land and its inhabitants, as shown for example by the rite commanded to atone for an unsolved murder in Deut 21:1-9.[53] The entire community becomes tainted by the individual offense, and the crimes, being also divine infractions, endanger the community's relationship with God. This sense of spiritual pollution and cosmic misalignment is encapsulated in the refrain used every time that stoning is called for in the Deuteronomic code: "Thus you will sweep out evil from your midst" (13:6; 17:7; 21:21; 22:21; 22:24).[54] That the pollution was cosmic in nature, affecting the entire human community, is also suggested by the episode of the blasphemer in Lev 24:10-16 where it is made clear that the offense has equal weight whether it is carried out by Israelites or by strangers.[55]

This was the most important theological function that stoning performed as a communal punishment. Through the existing social expression of revulsion carried over from lynching, stoning let the community express its total opposition to these divine infractions; the fact that the punishment was carried out (literally) by human hand allowed the community to join God in the condemnation of the crime; and its communal nature acted as a mirror remedy to eliminate the communal pollution that had affected everybody: each member who participated in the stoning also purged himself of the individual spiritual pollution that had been brought upon him by the criminal,[56] contributing to the mending of

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[48] Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, p.396.
[49] Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, p.133.
[50] Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: The Anchor Yale Bible.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009, p.260; *Leviticus 23-27*, p.1422.
[51] Baruch Schwartz, "Leviticus," *The Jewish Study Bible.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p.211-280.
[52] Finkelstein, "The Ox That Gored," p.28.
[53] Gordon Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus. New International Commentary on the Old Testament.* London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979, p.283.
[54] Cf. Levinson, *Deuteronomy,* p.396; and Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law,* p.11-12, 23-24.
[55] Baruch Levine, *Leviticus: The JPS Torah Commentary*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989, p.167.
[56] It is unclear whether women took part in stoning executions. Phillips, quoting Deut 21:21 and 22:21, believes they did not (*Criminal Law*, p.25)

the relationship between God and community that had been damaged by the sinner. In essence, therefore, the particular offenses for which stoning is prescribed in the biblical codes serve as symbols and signposts for the crimes that had the most damaging spiritual effect on the community. The existing practice of stoning was the most appropriate method of capital punishment for these spiritual crimes as it enabled global cleansing, provided communal atonement, and acted as a distinct deterrent against these particular offenses.[57] Of all the reasons presented in this paper, this might be the primary one explaining why the biblical codemakers prescribed it as a main method of capital punishment.

[57] Cf. Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, p.225.

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PROVISIONAL PROJECT SUMMARY

FIELD OF STUDY:

My chosen field of study in my Ph.D. is **biblical law**. It is a field in which I wish to specialize because of two reasons. Firstly, it is a field that combines several of my existing interests: common law, the Bible, and the theological/philosophical foundation on which biblical law is thought to rest. Secondly, I have a particular interest in teaching and explaining biblical law to the public at large, particularly to an audience in the United States where biblical law has been frequently misunderstood by the public at large, and misused by the legal establishment to support legal notions of justice whose origins are independent of the bible.

My secondary field of interest in biblical studies is source criticism related to the Pentateuch, centered on the Documentary Hypothesis. I am particularly interested in using the Documentary Hypothesis as a way to understand the different religious, social and historical traditions that produced the three legal codes contained in the Pentateuch, and in doing so I tend to follow scholarship, predominant mostly in the United States and Israel, that dates most of P to before the exile.

PROJECT SUMMARY

My chosen field of research in biblical law concerns the death penalty, another subject in which I have a deep interest as an opponent of capital punishment. My project, currently in the process of being refined before my Ph.D. upgrade, will bring all the aforementioned fields and interests together by focusing on **the development of death penalty laws in the three Pentateuchal legal collections** (Covenant Code, Holiness Code, and Deuteronomic Code). My research is meant to proceed along the following lines:

PART I: CHRONOLOGY

- Division of the death penalty laws in the Pentateuch between the three Documentary Hypothesis sources which contain them (E, P, D).

- Using both classic and recent research on Documentary Hypothesis sources dating, to adapt a chronological framework on the development of each source tradition, particularly to understand the historical and theological background of each source.

- Research and propose a development of death penalty laws in each of the three Documentary Hypothesis legal codes, producing a tentative chronology starting from the first foundational laws in E, to further developments in capital punishment legislation in P and D.

PART II: ANALYSIS

Using the research produced above, I propose to investigate common patterns and individualities in the development of death penalty laws in each source tradition. For example, even at this preliminary stage in the project the following areas warrant investigations:

- **Death penalty laws that are present in each code:** those for murder and for dishonouring parents, highlighting areas that must have been important across all three traditions.

- **Death penalty laws that are unique to each code**, highlighting concerns particular to each source tradition: sexual crimes and incest in the Holiness Code; ritual and worship violations in the non-H Priestly material; apostasy and insubordination to rightful authorities in D.

- **Death penalty case studies warranting particular attention:**
    1. Kidnapping, found in the Covenant Code and Deuteronomic Code but not in the Holiness Code.
    2. Witchcraft, found in the Covenant Code and Holiness Code, but not in the Deuteronomic Code.
    3. The development of sexual crimes deserving capital punishment: from a complete absence in the Covenant Code, to emphasis on incest in the Holiness Code, to focus on the sexual activity of virgins/betrothed in the Deuteronomic Code.

- Finally, I propose to also investigate the particular methods of capital punishment adopted in the Bible: stoning, burning and the avenger of blood. Do these methods and their relation to particular crimes reveal any additional insights into the historical background/theological beliefs held by the traditions that produced each code? Do they reveal shared concerns among all three codes, or individual concerns for each code?

METHODOLOGY

Besides the tools described above, other methodology tools will include the following:

- Use of scholarship on the development of biblical Hebrew to support a pre-exilic dating of P and the Holiness Code.
- Comparison of biblical law with other Mesopotamian codes, as well as some research on whether Egyptian law traditions had any influence on the development of the biblical codes.
- Use of scholarship on Canaanite civilization to understand any possible local influence on the development of the codes.
- Use of historical, anthropological and sociology scholarship to understand the background of capital punishment in the ancient Mediterranean world.

More or other tools will be added to this list as my Ph.D. upgrade proposal is finalized in the next two months.

Where the *rûah* Blows: Isaiah 40:6-8 and Its Structural Function in the Prologue of Deutero-Isaiah

Scott Bickle

Word Count: 4535

Abstract:
This paper explores the function of Isaiah 40:6-8 in the prologue of Deutero-Isaiah (40:1-11) through a structural semiotic exegesis. The analysis concludes that Isaiah 40:6-8 introduces the concerns and skeptical attitude of Jacob-Israel (the collective people) given their exilic existence, and YHWH's desire to reconcile with them. Isaiah 40:6-8 becomes a microcosm of the skepticism of Jacob-Israel and YHWH's determination of restoration and reconciliation which is introduced here in vv.6-8. This initial encounter of these opposing viewpoints in 40:6-8 is met and resolved throughout in the wider narrative of Deutero-Isaiah.

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1. Introduction

Hebrew Bible scholarship has often referred to Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 40-55) as a type of dramatic text, or "drama", which evokes in the mind of the reader images of exile and reconciliation playing out the return to a functioning relationship between YHWH, his people, and their land.[1] Annemarieke van der Woude in her article *'Hearing Voices While Reading': Isaiah 40-55 as a Drama*, convincingly continues the work of previous scholars and concludes that the text of Isaiah 40-55 is a "reading drama", a type of text which is not meant to be performed like traditional dramas, but is purposefully crafted toward the reader.[2] If we accept the basic premise that the text of Deutero-Isaiah offers a wider narrative describing the process of reconciliation between national deity and nation, then the question arises as to how the prologue of the "drama" functions as a successful introduction to the story.

Reading Isaiah 40:1-11 as a narrative, the realisation that the story functions well without vv. 6-8 quickly becomes apparent. In the prologue, YHWH offers comfort and words of reconciliation to his people and the personified Jerusalem (vv. 1-2), and a road is prepared for YHWH's arrival (vv. 3-4), which culminates in the arrival of YHWH confirmed by "all flesh" (*i.e.*, all people) viewing the *kābôd* of YHWH (the tangible sign of his presence). The narrative continues in vv. 9-11 with Zion and Jerusalem announcing this arrival of YHWH to the cities of Judah, who are

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[1] See for example: John Herbert Eaton, *Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah* (London: SPCK, 1979); Helmut Utzschneider, *Michas Reise in Die Zeit: Studien Zum Drama Als Genre Der Prophetischen Literatur Des Alten Testaments*, SBS 180 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1999); John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, ed. Bruce M. Metzger, David Allan Hubbard, and Glenn W. Barker, Revised ed., WBC 25 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2021); Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55*, ed. Peter Machinist, trans. Margaret Kohl, Hermeneia--a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001); C. Conroy, "Reflections on some recent studies of second Isaiah," in *Palabra, prodigio, poesía: in memoriam P. Luis Alonso Schökel, S. J*, ed. Vicente Collado Bertomeu and Luis Alonso Schökel, Analecta Biblica 151 (Roma Jávea: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2003), 145–60; John G. F. Wilks, "The Prophet as Incompetent Dramatist," *VT* 53.4 (2003): 530–43; cf. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, "Isaiah 40-55: A Judahite Reading Drama," in *Daughter Zion: Her Portrait, Her Response*, SBLAIL 13 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 58, who notes the general trend and follows van der Woude.

[2] Annemarieke van der Woude, "'Hearing Voices While Reading': Isaiah 40-55 as a Drama," in *One Text, a Thousand Methods: Studies in Memory of Sjef van Tilborg*, ed. Sjef van Tilborg, Ulrich Berges, and Patrick Chatelion Counet, Biblical Interpretation Series 71 (Boston: Brill, 2005), 170–71.

encouraged to view YHWH's arrival shepherding his flock (the exiles). In fact, from a narrative perspective, the story seems interrupted by vv. 6-8. Still, these verses are still present in the text, and therefore must serve a purpose in the narrative of 40:1-11. This paper is then focused on offering a solution to the narrative interruption of Isaiah 40:6-8 arguing that it serves an important structural role in the narrative.

In my first OTSEM paper in London 2019, my respondent Martti Nissinen memorably asked me, "Where's the beef?" regarding the purpose of the paper I had presented. To avoid history repeating itself, I will offer a clear avenue of inquiry: How do verses 6-8 in Isaiah 40:1-11, function from a structural semiotic exegesis approach? This paper will: offer a translation of the text, begin to broach the concept of semiotics, introduce Deutero-Isaiah and its prologue of chapter 40:1-11, identify the main actants in both, offer a narrative programme model, and finally, explore the structural function of vv. 6-8 as it pertains to the wider text of both Deutero-Isaiah and its prologue.

This paper is adapted from a larger chapter on Isaiah 40:1-11. That chapter, and the wider project, employ a structural semiotic exegesis to the theophanic texts of the book of Isaiah (6:1-13, 35:1-10, 40:1-11, 60:1-22 and 66:1-24) where the lexeme *kābôd* (commonly translated as glory) is employed as part of YHWH's theophany.[3] My dissertation is focused on these texts where *kābôd* functions as a sign for YHWH's presence, and seeks to decode these texts to understand how YHWH's theophanic presence is used in the narrative to illicit meaning. I will introduce the necessary elements of this method when encountered in the paper.

[3] The method as applicable to any text is originally proposed by: Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Structural Semantics: An Attempt at a Method*, trans. Daniele McDowell, Ronald Schleifer, and Alan Velie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); cf. Daniel Patte, *The Religious Dimensions of Biblical Texts: Greimas's Structural Semiotics and Biblical Exegesis*, Semeia Studies (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) for the adaptation to the biblical text which this project follows.

2. Translation: Isaiah 40:1-11

1 "Comfort, comfort my people," says your God. 2 "Speak to the heart[4] of Jerusalem, and call to her that her service is completed, because her punishment is accepted,[5] for she has received from the hand of YHWH double for all her sins."

3 A voice cries, "In the wilderness prepare the way of YHWH; make straight in the desert a highway for our God! 4 Every valley will be lifted up, and every mountain and hill will be made low; and the steep ground will be level, and the rough places plain. 5 And the *kābôd* of YHWH will be revealed, and all flesh will see it together," for the mouth of YHWH has spoken.

6 A voice says, "Cry out!" And I said,[6] "What do I cry out? All flesh is grass, and all its *hesed*[7] is like a flower of the field. 7 The grass withers and the flower droops

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[4] *BDB*, 524, suggests the meaning of the phrase דבר על לב "speak into the heart (comfortably)."; The idiom throughout its attestations in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 34:3; 50:21; Judg. 19:3; 1Sam. 1:13; 2Sam 19:8; Hos. 2:16; Ruth 2:13; 2Chr. 30:22; 32:6), means to persuade someone to change their perception of something or someone, so, Fischer, "Die Redewendung דבר על לב im AT," 250; cf. Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 99-100, follows Fischer.

[5] The *niphal* used here reads נרצה (is accepted), and is often used as denoting acceptable sacrifices, so, *BDB,* 953; cf. Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 43; Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 79.

[6] There is a variant reading here regarding the first- or third-person. Codex- L attests the third-person and reads וְאָמַר (and he said), while 1QIsa[a], the Septuagint, and the Vulgate attest the first-person and respectively read ואומרה, καὶ εἶπα, *et dixi* (and I said). The issue is handled by most commentors as a form-critical one and whether the text is reflecting a conversation between the heavenly host in a divine council scene or whether it is the implied prophet or personified Zion answering YHWH/the council. This will be addressed later, but for now, Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55 I*, 81, and Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion,* 14, aptly note in Isa. 41:9 the Codex-L Masoretic pointing of the same form וְאֹמַר with 1QIsa[a] reading the same form it attests in 40:6: ואומרה. The speech introduction in 1QIsa[a], the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, all agree in person and number with the proceeding question respectively reading מה אקרא, Τί βοήσω, *quid clamabo* (what do I cry out?). With 1QIsa[a] being the more significant witness and displaying consistency between 40:6 and 41:9 it should be followed here. Codex-L most likely reflects a Masoretic pointing issue, and therefore the reading in 1QIsa[a], the Septuagint and Vulgate is preferred.

[7] The Septuagint reads δόξα ἀνθρώπου (glory of man) for 1QIsa[a] and Codex-L which read חסדו/חסדיו (it's *hesed*). Oswalt, *Isaiah 40-66*, 44, and Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-45*, 178, suggest the Septuagint renders the meaning from reading the term mistakenly as הדר (glory). van der Vorm-Croughs, *Old Greek*, 61, suggests that the Septuagint scribe here has made a clarifying edit. Either way, this seems to be a copying/translation issue or an editorial decision in the Septuagint and therefore 1QIsa and Codex-L are preferred as attesting the more original reading.

when the *ruah* of YHWH[8] blows on it; surely the people are grass." 8 "The grass withers and the flower droops,[9] but the word of our God will stand forever."

9 Upon a high mountain, go on up you bearing good news O' Zion, exult your voice in strength, you bearing good news O' Jerusalem. Exult! Do not fear! Say to the cities of Judah, 10 "Behold! *Adonai* YHWH comes with strength,[10] and his arm rules for him; behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him." 11 He will tend his flock like a shepherd; in his arms he will gather the lambs; he will carry them in his bosom and lead those who are nursing.

3. The Structural Semiotic Exegetical Approach

Semiotics, simply defined, is the study of signs and symbols.[11] The use of signs is highly contextual, as any sign to be properly interpreted requires the sender and receiver of that sign (or code) to operate under the same cultural and linguistic assumptions (a semantic universe) for any communication through signs to be successful.[12] For example, while there are some universal signs such as raising one's hand with their palm facing the individual to halt someone's progression that nearly all people can decipher, there are infinitely more culturally specific signs which need

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[8] 1QIsa[a] substitutes יהוה with four dots reading יייי. This is a common practice in Qumran texts to avoid writing out the divine name and does not alter the understanding of the passage or its translation, cf. Kutscher, *Language*, 556.

[9] The Septuagint does not attest verse 7b-8a, and this is most likely a haplography issue. This is especially likely since 1QIsa[a] added the same text: נשבה בוא הכן חציר העם יבש חציל נבל ציץ ודבר אלוהינו כי רוח ייי, in the margins and superscripted suggesting it too omitted the lines before correcting the error, cf. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah, 40-55*, 178; Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 80. These omissions are understandable, since the first lines of both verses 7a and 8a are identical: יבש חציר נבל ציץ, and a copying error could easily be made. Therefore, though it is the longer reading, the text of 1QIsa[a] and Codex-L are preferred. [*n.b.* the spelling of חציל in 1QIsa[a] is clearly an orthographical oversight].

[10] Codex-L has an adjectival form בחזק (as a strong one) for 1QIsa[a] which has a nominal form בחוזק (in strength). It is difficult to determine the more original reading here, and both still denote YHWH's arrival with military prowess. We follow 1QIsa[a] as the more significant witness.

[11] See: Robert A. Yelle, *Semiotics of Religion: Signs of the Sacred in History*, Bloomsbury Advances in Semiotics (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 1, "Semiotics is the discipline devoted to the systematic study of signs, symbols, and communication; it overlaps in its method and subject most directly with linguistics and rhetoric."

[12] Patte, *Religious Dimensions*, 64, "Note that as cultural paradigmatic systems, codes are known by both the author and the intended readers. One can even say that the author uses codes with the presupposition that the intended readers will readily recognize and decode them."

to be learned to become intelligible. An example of this is if I were to ask someone to "sauce me" a particular item. They, like my reader, would be rightly bewildered. However, understanding the cultural code employed, the request becomes comprehensible. To "sauce" something in a Canadian context refers to a type of pass in hockey where the puck leaves the ice and floats through the air like a flying saucer and lands neatly on the receivers stick. So, a Canadian versed in the semantic universe that is hockey nomenclature, would know it meant I wanted someone to pass me that particular item, rather than cover it in hollandaise sauce.

This process of signification (semiosis) in this project is conceptualised through a Sender–>Receiver relationship.[13] I have borrowed the terms Model Author and Model Reader from Umberto Eco's *The Role of the Reader*, to properly contextualise and decode the text and the signs deployed in our chosen texts.[14] The Model Author is the hypothetical producer of a text where they have employed a communicative code for a Model Reader that they assume has the ability to interpret and thus decode effectively.[15] The text used by Our Model Author and Model Reader is conceived of in an advanced literary form, meaning a text which is as close to the so-called "original text" at the theoretical end of its redactional process.[16]

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[13] Cf. Patte, *Religious Dimensions*, 55–57.

[14] Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts*, Hutchinson University Library (London: Hutchinson, 1981).

[15] I use the terms from Eco to avoid the much more cumbersome terms used by Greimas (which operate with the same understanding) of the *enunciator* and *enunciatee*, cf. Patte, *Religious Dimensions*, 141.

[16] Cf. Martti Nissinen, "The Historical Dilemma of Prophetic Studies," in *Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah*, ed. Hans M. Barstad and Reinhard Gregor Kratz, BZAW 388 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 103–20; and Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 341, who cautions, "the 'biblical text' is an abstract unit that is not found in any one single source" ; also: Ronald Hendel, "What Is a Biblical Book?," in *From Author to Copyist: Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (Penn State University Press, 2021), 296-97, who notes the semiotic relationship between the 19 fragments of Genesis at Qumran. "Each of them differs in some details of notation from others, yet each of them is an authentic copy of the literary work Genesis."

3.1. Context in Isaiah

Isaiah 40:1-11 is the so-called prologue of Deutero-Isaiah,[17] a new section of the book of Isaiah with an overarching motif declaring the end of YHWH's judgment.[18] The message of Deutero-Isaiah proclaims YHWH as the mighty God of Israel who has come to redeem his people, and to restore them from judgment, while dealing with their enemies who might oppose his will with impunity.[19] In light of the Babylonian invasion, and subsequent exilic condition of the deportees to Babylon, Mills rightly notes the rhetoric has a two-fold purpose: "to reassure the people who have been deported that their cause is not lost, and to re-contextualise the ancestral deity in a setting of national disaster."[20]

This reassurance is highlighted both in Isaiah 40:1-11 and Deutero-Isaiah through the divine word. This is evident in Isaiah 40:1-11, "The divine word piles up imperatives: *comfort/speak/cry/make-clear/make-straight/get-up/do not be afraid/speak."*[21] So too, the veracity of YHWH's statements is prevalent throughout Deutero-Isaiah, and is bookended in the prologue in 40:1,2,5,8 and in the epilogue in 52:3,4,5,6.[22] It is

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[17] Christopher R. North, *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL-LV* (Oxford: OUP, 1964), 71; Carroll Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah*, Investigationes Scientificae in Res Biblicas 43 (Romae: E Pontifico Institito Biblico, 1970), 177, follows North.

[18] R. N. Whybray, *The Second Isaiah*, ed. Roger N. Whybray, Reprint., Old Testament Guides 1 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1983), 45, argues, "Deutero-Isaiah's central message is neatly summarised" in 40:1-8; cf. Mary E. Mills, *Images of God in the Old Testament* (London: Cassell, 1998), 60; A. Joseph Everson, "A Bitter Memory: Isaiah's Commission in Isaiah 6:1-13," in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, ed. A. Joseph Everson and Hyun Chul Paul Kim, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 4 (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 71.

[19] B. Y. Scott, "The Relation of Isaiah, Chapter 35, to Deutero-Isaiah," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 52.3 (1936): 178–91; Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 10–11, 30; R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1975), 30–34; Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 47–48; Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55 I*, 49–57; also: Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson, The Preacher's Library (London: SCM Press, 1962), 177–95, understands the overview of Deutero-Isaiah as an eschatological new-Exodus. While the Exodus motif appears, the greater outlook of DI is focused on the notion that exile has ended and judgment has ceased; John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1968), LVII, who argues that Israel is only saved in order to fulfill their mission from YHWH as light to the nations.

[20] Mills, *Images of God*, 60.

[21] Arthur Van Seters, "Isaiah 40:1-11," *Int* 35.4 (1981): 402.

[22] Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 179, notes that it is not just the word, but the creative word of YHWH that is prevalent in Deutero-Isaiah.

YHWH's speech which dominates the material in Deutero-Isaiah.[23] It is mainly directed at or concerned with two major actants: Jacob-Israel and Zion-Jerusalem. An actant is defined as a character whose actions in the text cause change or progress the plot.[24] Semiotic structural analysis would contend that the inclusion of this repeated trope indicates that the intention of the Model Author is to stress this point to a Model Reader in need of assurances that the word of YHWH is still valid, and his concern for these actants has not faltered.

Isaiah 40:1-11 is well-trodden ground which scholars and religious communities have been assessing for millennia. There are several issues which have particularly encouraged such focus –beyond its New Testament application– namely, the ambiguous nature of the text. This is well beyond the scope of the paper, but it is important to at least mention it here.

Who speaks to whom, and where the voices of the text are located has been interpreted and re-interpreted since at least the formation of the Septuagint.[25] The text records the imperative masculine plural commands of YHWH: נחמו נחמו (comfort, comfort; v. 1), דברו (speak; v. 2) and וקראו (cry-out; v. 2). A further unidentified voice gives masculine plural commands to alter the wilderness: פנו (prepare; v. 3) and desert: ישרו (make straight; v. 3), and describes the alteration of the terrain (v. 4). The commands and speech in the first four verses are addressed to an unclarified group. Then in verse 6, an unidentified voice commands (imperative singular) someone: קרא

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[23] Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM, 1979), 326; Yehoshua Gitay, *Prophecy and Persuasion: A Study of Isaiah 40-48*, FThL 14 (Bonn: Lingustica Biblica, 1981), 8–9; Patricia K. Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*, SBL Dissertation Series 161 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 74–76; Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 6; Øystein Lund, *Way Metaphors and Way Topics in Isaiah 40-55*, FAT 28 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 97.

[24] Cf. Algirdas Julien Greimas and Joseph Courtés, *Semiotics and Language: An Analytical Dictionary*, trans. Larry Crist et al., Advances in Semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 5.

[25] See David J.A. Clines, "The Many Voices of Isaiah 40," in *Let Us Go up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H.G.M. Williamson on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. H.G.M. Williamson, Iain W. Provan, and Mark J. Boda, VTSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 113-26, for a helpful discussion of speakers; cf. Timothy H. Lim, "The Idealization of Ptolemaic Kingship in the Legend of the Origins of the Septuagint," in *Times of Transition: Judea in the Early Hellenistic Period*, ed. Sylvie Honigman, Christophe Nihan, and Oded Lipschits, Mosaics: Studies on Ancient Israel 1 (University Park: Eisenbrauns, 2021), 231–39, for an up-to-date view on the nature of the LXX translation and its legend.

(cry-out). An unidentified person answers. The answering voice is a first-person singular voice attested in 1QIsa[a]: ואומרה, the Septuagint: καὶ εἶπα, and Vulgate, while in Code-L it is a third-person singular voice: וְאָמַר.[26]

The text-critical issue of whether the response is told in the first- or third-person can be resolved by following the more significant witness of 1QIsa[a], as well as noting the likelihood of Codex-L reflecting a pointing issue given the same consonantal forms for both sources are found in 41:9: וְאֹמַר, where Codex-L is pointed to reflect the first-person.[27] 1QIsa[a] could be read as a female response in a singular participle, "and she said" which would make either Zion or a prophetess the one who complains, however, this would be the only witness to attest such a reading.[28] It is further debated whether this response includes the following remarks until the end of v. 8, or whether the commanding voice in v. 6 responds either in v. 7 or v. 8.

In verse 9, a feminine singular imperative voice then commands either personified Zion and Jerusalem[29] or their female heralds of good news,[30] with four imperatives: עלי (go up), הרימי בכח קולך (lift up your voice in strength), הרימי (lift up), אמרי (say), in the process of announcing YHWH's arrival: הנה אלהיהם (behold your God!).

This ambiguous sequence of text has led to a variety of proposals regarding the identity of the various speakers. The main interpretations are that a group of priests (linked to the Septuagint translation where the priests are addressed explicitly in v. 2), a group of prophets, either Isaiah's disciples or otherwise, or the Divine Council[31]

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[26] Clines, "Many Voices," 114.

[27] See note 6 above.

[28] Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion*, 15; cf. Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66*, 23.

[29] Peter D. Quinn-Miscall, *Reading Isaiah: Poetry and Vision* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 186.

[30] Frederik Poulsen, *Representing Zion: Judgement and Salvation in the Old Testament.* (Hoboken: Routledge, 2015), 25.

[31] The Divine council scene setting has had many proponents and remained relatively unchallenged until recently. Those arguing for such an interpretation include: Frank Moore Cross, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," *JNES* 12.4 (1953): 275, argues that Isaiah 40:1-8 is set in the divine courtroom scene and reflects "an oracle type (Gattung) which may be described as divine directives to angelic

are responsible for the plural imperatives, while an individual from those respective groups is responsible for the command in v. 6.[32]

What the text does give us at least is a direction to follow. YHWH's words identified through the personalised speech markers: יאמר אלהיכם (says your God; v. 1), פי יהוה דבר (the mouth of YHWH has spoken; v. 5), and דבר־אלהינו יקום לעולם (the word of our God will stand forever; v. 8), indicate that the message is from YHWH.

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heralds, or the closely related category, the divine proclamation delivered by a herald"; Edwin C. Kingsbury, "The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh," *JBL* 83.3 (1964): 283–84; George A. F. Knight, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Theological Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* (New York: Abingdon, 1965), 19-34, takes the notion so much for granted that he fails to introduce it; Norman C. Habel, "Form and Significance of the Call Narratives," *ZAW* 77.3 (1965): 314-16, notes the call narrative is in the foreground here with the divine council scene from Isaiah 6 is reflected as well; Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 179, follows Cross; R. N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah xl 13-14: A Study of the Sources of the Theology of Deutero-Isaiah*, Society for Old Testament Study Monographs 1 (Cambridge: CUP, 1971), 82-83, follows Cross, and argues that the lack of discussion in the council shows the final stage of thought regarding the heavenly council whose function now is to simply fulfill the divine commands; James Limburg, "Exposition of Isaiah 40:1-11," *Interpretation* 29.4 (1975): 407, follows Cross; Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 70, notes the divine council scene has been "lost" ; Christopher R. Seitz, "The Divine Council: Temporal Transition and New Prophecy in the Book of Isaiah," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109.2 (1990): 229-247, amends the work of Cross by noting the council scene argument is in effect in Isaiah 40:1-11, but understands the echoes of the Isa. 6 commission found in it function to highlight the narrative recommissioning of the prophet involving a new message; John F. A. Sawyer, *Prophecy and the Biblical Prophets*, Rev. ed., Oxford Bible Series (Oxford: OUP, 1993), 85, notes the council scene and says it, "is a repeat of the vision in chapter 6"; Sean McEvenue, "Who Was Second Isaiah?," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken*, ed. Wim Beuken, J. van Ruiten, and M. Vervenne, BETL 132 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 217, argues that while the call mirrors Isaiah 6 and 1 Kings 22, this is the call of a female prophet here in Isaiah 40; John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah: Chapters 40-66*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 53, understands the genre as reflecting an "expansion and adaptation of the single Isaiah's original call"; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville: John Knox, 2001), 295-7, follows Seitz; Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 56-57, follows Habel; Goldingay and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55 I*, 58-9, follow Seitz and Melugin seeing a renewed commissioning of the prophet; Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge; New York: CUP, 2009), 166; Saul M. Olyan, "Is Isaiah 40–55 Really Monotheistic?," *JANER* 12.2 (2012): 193–94 follows Cross, Seitz, Sommer, Childs, etc; Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 40-66*, FOTL 19 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 46-7, understands a mixed genre including a "vocation account" (agreeing with Seitz about the intertextual link with Isa. 6 and the renewed prophetic commission) as well as an "instruction" and a "prophetic announcement of salvation."

[32] Avraham Gileadi, *The Literary Message of Isaiah* (New York: Hebraeus Press, 1994), 81, notes that this would be the only time a prophet hears multiple voices without an accompanying vision of the heavenly realm. cf. Isa. 6:1-11; Ezek.1:1-28; 10:1-22; Dan. 816; 10-21. This, however, assumes that the text of Isaiah 40:1-11 reflects multiple speakers rather than one voice speaking on YHWH's behalf or the voice of YHWH himself. Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion*, 17, leans towards group of prophets, but also suggests the paralleled first-person formulation in Zech. 3:5 solves the issues, and notes the Zech. 3:5 case is a glimpse into the heavenly council.

Whether it be a divine or human mediator, the message is clearly one from YHWH to the people (v. 1), and to Zion-Jerusalem (v. 2 and v. 9).[33] Until now in the book of Isaiah, the "I" has been the character Isaiah, and semiotically this identity will suffice until we explore vv. 6-8 more closely.[34]

3.2. Jacob-Israel and Zion-Jerusalem

The connection between the people (Jacob-Israel) and personified Zion in Deutero-Isaiah is significant. Jacob-Israel features heavily in the first section of chapters 40-48, while Zion features in the second of chapters 49-55. Still, neither are absent from either section, and their fates are deeply intertwined.[35]

When it comes to Jacob-Israel, their special designation through the lexemes עבדי (my servant; 41:8-9; 42:19; 43:10; 44:1-2; 48:20) and בחר (chosen; 41:8-9; 42:19;

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[33] Van Seters, "Isaiah 40:1-11," 402; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 19A (New Haven: YUP, 2009), 180; Poulsen, *Representing Zion*, 146, follows Blenkinsopp; cf. M. Görg, "Revision von Schöpfung Und Geschichte: Auf Dem Wege Zu Einer Stukturbestmmung von Jes 40,1-8(11)," in *Ich Bewirke Das Heil Und Schaffe Das Unheil (Jesaja 45,7): Studien Zur Botschaft Der Propheten, FS L. Ruppert*, ed. Friedrich Diedrich and Bernd Willems, FzB 88 (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1998), 31; and Quinn-Miscall, *Reading Isaiah*, 186, who, while acknowledging it is a group speaking given the plural imperatives, notes it is the prophetic office and not the identity of the prophet emphasised here.

[34] Cf. Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen, "Isaiah's Roles: The Unity of a Bible Book from the Perspective of the Sender-Role," in *One Text, a Thousand Methods: Studies in Memory of Sjef van Tilborg*, ed. Sjef van Tilborg, Ulrich Berges, and Patrick Chatelion Counet, Biblical Interpretation Series v. 71 (Boston: Brill, 2005), 122; Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 91.

[35] Cf. Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 59, who has the same divisions as the latter scholars cited here, but considers the two sections to be about Cyrus (40-48) and Zion-Jerusalem (49-55); Rémi Lack, *La Symbolique Du Livre d'Isaïe: Essay Sur l'image Littéraire Comme Élément de Structuration*, Analecta Biblica: Investigationes Scientificae in Res Biblicas 59 (Romae: E Pontifico Institito Biblico, 1973), 82, 103–15; Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*, BZAW 141 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1976), 148; H.-J. Hermisson, "Einheit Und Komplexität Deuterojesajas: Probleme Der Redaktionsgeschichte von Jes 40-55," in *The Book of Isaiah*, BETL 81 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 303–5; J. Gerald Janzen, "On the Moral Nature of God's Power: Yahweh and the Sea in Job and Deutero-Isaiah," *CBQ* 56.3 (1994): 469; Mark E. Biddle, "Lady Zion's Alter Egos: Isaiah 47:1-15 and 57:6-13 as Structural Counterparts," in *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney, JSOTSup 214 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 126; Ulrich Berges, "Zion and the Kingship of YHWH in Isaiah 40-55," in *"Enlarge the Site of Your Tent": The City as Unifying Theme in Isaiah*, ed. Archibald L.H.M. van Wieringen and Annemarieke van der Woude, OTS 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 97, notes, "In the German speaking exegesis the different emphasis on Jakob in Isa. 40-48 and on Zion in 49-55 tends to be worked out in redaction-critical model(s) in which Jacob represents God's people walking under the guidance of Yhwh and in which Zion embodies the perspective of reaching the final destiny"; see for example: Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 310, 327; Ulrich Berges, *The Book of Isaiah: Its Composition and Final Form*, Hebrew Bible Monographs 46 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2012), 48; Poulsen, *Representing Zion*, 29, follows Blenkinsopp and Berges.

43:10,20; 44:1-2; 45:4) repeat throughout Deutero-Isaiah. They are also identified by YHWH through the lexeme עמי (my people; 43:20; 47:6), as the people in exile (42:24; 43:28; 46:3; 48:20; 49:5-6) and through the keyword גאל (redeemed; 43:1; 44:22-23; 48:20), an important term indicating the end of exile, closely linked to YHWH as their redeemer through the verbal form of the lexeme גאל (43:14; 44:6, 24; 47:4; 49:7).[36]

Interestingly, the focus of redemption in the prologue of 40:1-11 is aimed at both Zion and the exiles.[37] Likewise, the epilogue of Deutero-Isaiah declares the mission of comforting Zion complete as her children have returned (52:7-10).[38] Even the mission of Cyrus intertwines both actants fates. The redemption of the place benefits the people as noted in Isa. 44:26-28 where YHWH designates Cyrus' role: יִשְׁלֵם רֹעִי וְכָל־חֶפְצִי (he is my shepherd, and he will fulfill all of my purpose; v. 28). This includes Jerusalem being inhabited (v. 27), the cities of Judah being rebuilt (v.27), and Jerusalem and the temple being rebuilt (v. 28). However, Cyrus' anointing and mission is still explicitly: לְמַעַן עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחִירִי (For the sake of my servant Jacob, Israel my chosen; 45:4).

The personification of Zion is a complex issue which needs clarification for our discussion. I acknowledge that the amount of literature on this issue is immense. Still, we can attempt to find some grounding for our own discussion here. Zion-Jerusalem is the personified city of YHWH in Isaiah 40:1-11.[39] The two terms stand in parallel to

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[36] Cf. A.R. Johnson, "The Primary Meaning of √גאל," in *Congress Volume Copenhagen 1953*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 76–77; Stuhlmueller, *Creative Redemption*, 99–130; Helmer Ringgren, "גאל," *TDOT* 2: 354.

[37] As opposed to: Berges, "Zion and the Kingship of YHWH," 97-98, who argues the exiles are of secondary concern here.

[38] van der Woude, "Isaiah 40-55 as a Drama," 166; John Goldingay, *The Message of Isaiah 40-55: A Literary-Theological Commentary* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 21.

[39] See as example only: George A. F. Knight, *Isaiah 40-55: Servant Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 15, proposes that Zion represents the people and Jerusalem represents the city (except when spoken of in the plural which refers to exiles); Elaine R. Follis, "The Holy City as Daughter," in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, ed. Elaine R. Follis, JSOTS 40 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 173-84, contends that daughter Zion represents the intertwined relationship of place and people that intimates identity; also: Odil Hannes Steck, *Gottesknecht Und Zion. Gesammelte Aufsätze Zu Deuterojesaja*, FAT 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 127, but with the further delineation that the relationship between people and city is analogous to that of Zion and God, related but not identical; H.-J. Hermisson, "Der

one another here as elsewhere in the book of Isaiah (cf. 2:3; 4:3-4; 30:19; 31:9; 33:20; 41:27; 51:16-17; 52:1, 8-9; 62:1; 64:10; 66:7-11) and should be taken as analogous.[40] The personified city is described in our narrative of 40:1-11 as having the ability to hear (vv. 2,9), possessing a heart (v. 2), and having the ability to speak and to see (vv. 9-10). Steck offers an intriguing suggestion regarding the portrayal of Zion specifically in Lamentations, Deutero-Isaiah, and Ezekiel 16. He argues in these places there is a shift from Zion functioning solely as a city and dwelling of YHWH to a personified city, since personification is not found in pre-exilic texts regarding Zion.[41] In those texts, Zion is simply the holy mountain and habitation of YHWH. Steck's conclusion is that the city is personified in these instances to reflect Zion's status as lacking YHWH and the exiles. In line with ANE thought, the city offers its people protection and prosperity, just as YHWH's presence offers protection and prosperity to the city. When these relationships cease to function, it is reflected in Deutero-Isaiah, Lamentations, and Ezekiel 16 through personification of the widowed and childless Zion, bereft of husband and children.[42]

Frau Zion," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken*, ed. Wim Beuken, J. van Ruiten, and M. Vervenne, BETL 132 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 27, notes the city is the reflection of the state of the people in exile; Ulrich Berges, "Personification and Prophetic Voices of Zion in Isaiah and Beyond," in *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist-Papers Read at the Eleventh Joint Meeting of The Society for Old Testament Study and Het OudTestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland En België*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, OT Studiën d. 45, ed. Harry Van Rooy and Marc Vervenne (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 58-59, follows Hermission in recognition of the inseparability of "Jerusalem and its people, Zion and her children"; Jim W. Adams, *The Performative Nature and Function of Isaiah 40-55*, LHBOTS 448 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 113, contends that the term either represents the city or its inhabitants, with the latter option being evident here; Tiemeyer, *For the Comfort of Zion*, 265, argues that, "Zion-Jerusalem refers to the earthly city of Jerusalem and its population, and that the texts that speak to her address current issues among the population of Jerusalem."

[40] Barry G. Webb, "Zion in Transformation: A Literary Approach to Isaiah," in *The Bible in Three Dimensions: Essays in Celebration of Forty Years of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield*, ed. David J. A. Clines, Stephen E. Fowl, and Stanley E. Porter (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 68.

[41] Odil Hannes Steck, "Zion Als Gelände Und Gestalt: Überlegungen Zur Wahrnehmung Jerusalems Als Stadt Und Frau Im Alten Testament Hartmut Gese Zum 60. Geburtstag," *Zeitschrift Für Theologie Und Kirche* 86.3 (1989): 261–81 cf. the Zion Psalms 9, 48, etc., where Zion is clearly the holy mountain as place only.

[42] Following: Urs Winter, *Frau Und Göttin: Exegetische Und Ikonographische Studien Zum Weiblichen Gottesbild Im Alten Israel Und in Dessen Umwelt*, OBO 53 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983),

This makes good sense, but is not without difficulties. Steck acknowledges the numerous instances where personification of the city does not play a role, and the phenomenon is, "only encountered in a narrow textual area."[43] Further, there is considerable focus on the city's sin in the personification texts of Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Ezekiel 16, but only briefly referenced in ch. 40:1-2 in Deutero-Isaiah. Conversely, Zion's guilt is denied in 51:17ff, and in fact, the city is shown to suffer for the wanton deeds of her children as an innocent casualty in 50:1.[44]

Still, the premise of unique *personification* is intriguing and is lent further support given the *persona* of the collective people in the exilic/post-exilic texts of Isaiah. These actants are interconnected and are the focus of YHWH's narrative quest! That Zion-Jerusalem is closely connected to עמי (my people) in the prologue (40:1) and epilogue of 52:7-10 (cf. 51:16) actually supports this idea further, as both texts speak of the issue as resolved through the term נחמ (comfort), which is, the return of YHWH and the people to Zion.[45]

To summarize our actants, in Deutero-Isaiah YHWH is the main speaker, addressing the concerns of Jacob-Israel and Zion-Jerusalem. These are the three main characters of Deutero-Isaiah and the story which plays out is the reunion of YHWH and the people (Jacob-Israel) to Zion. A structural semiotic exegesis approach

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632–35, 639; Steck, "Zion Als Gelände Und Gestalt," 275, further notes that the personified city cannot be thought of as a goddess to answer this personification issue, as is the case with her ANE counterparts. She is neither on par with YHWH as his wife, nor is their marriage consummated as would be expected of a city god and goddess; on further connections between Lamentations and Deutero-Isaiah see for example: Norman K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, SBT 14 (London: SCM, 1954); Norman W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: The Growth of a Symbol," in *Verbannung Und Heimkehr: Beiträge Zur Geschichte Und Theologie Israels Im 6. Und 5. Jahrhundert: Wilhelm Rudolph Zum 70. Geburtstage/Dargebracht von Kollegen, Freunden Und Schülern*, ed. Arnulf Kuschke (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1961), 235–52; Alan L. Mintz, *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Tod Linafelt, "Surviving Lamentations," *HBT* 17 (1995): 45–61; Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things*, 125-32,155-71,187-93,214-26,233-41; Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66*, Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 127–30; Shalom M. Paul, *The Book of Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 57–59.

[43] Steck, "Zion Als Gelände Und Gestalt," 278 (translation mine).

[44] Steck, "Zion Als Gelände Und Gestalt," 277.

[45] In 51:16 Zion is identified with the exiled people in the masculine! so: John F. A. Sawyer, "Daughter of Zion and Servant of the Lord in Isaiah: A Comparison," *JSOT* 14.44 (1989): 101.

confirms this through the analysis of what is called a narrative programme: the overall trajectory of a text, that is, a quest that needs to be fulfilled.[46] This background is essential in helping us understand our text as we now turn to it.

3.3. Narrative Programme(s)

The narrative programme is understood through the actantial model where the features of sender, object, receiver, subject, helper and opponent make up the framework of the model. A narrative programme will not always have a clear sender, helpers, or opponents and thus the basic makeup of a narrative programme is related to the subject, object, receiver relationship.[47]

It should be noted that the text of Isaiah 40:1-11 is not considered historical narrative (stories that recall, or are presented in a way that mimics historical events), but it is in its own way 'narrative.' This means that it tells 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.[48] Powell defines narrative as, "any work of literature that tells a story."[49] The 'narrative' assessed in this paper then tells a story of YHWH's reunion with the exiles and personified Zion.

The narrative programmes of both Deutero-Isaiah and the prologue of 40:1-11 are analogous: the quest is for YHWH and the exiles to return to Zion.[50] These

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[46] A narrative programme is the overall plot progression towards its completed aims, so: Greimas and Courtés, *Semiotics and Language*, 245-6, for wider project context, the narrative quest of YHWH and the narrative programme of the texts I explore to this point in my research always coincide with one another. This is unsurprising given the nature of the texts but is still worth noting for theological considerations.

[47] Patte, *Religious Dimensions*, 57.

[48] Cf. Patricia Dutcher-Walls, *Jezebel: Portraits of a Queen*, Interfaces (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2004), 1–2; Keith Bodner, *After the Invasion: A Reading of Jeremiah 40-44* (Oxford: OUP, 2015), 5–6.

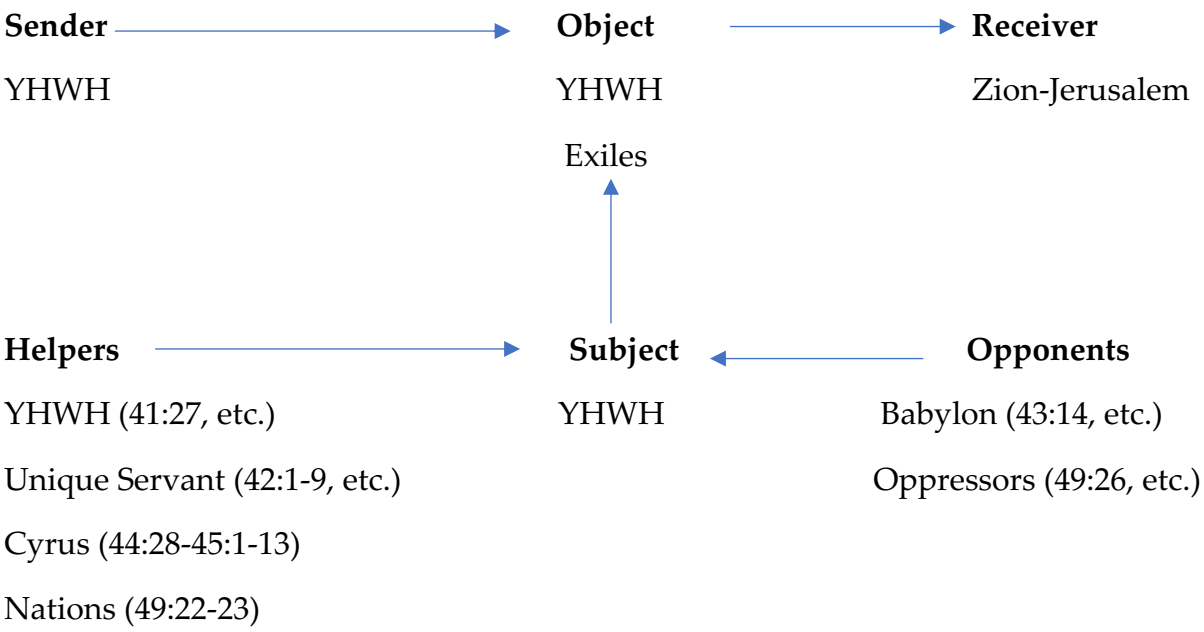
[49] Mark Allan Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 23.

[50] See for example: Umberto Cassuto, "On the Formal and Stylistic Relationship Between Deutero-Isaiah and Other Biblical Writers," in *Biblical and Oriental Studies I*, trans. Israel Abrahams, Publications of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, at the Hebrew University, 1973), 141; Odil Hannes Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 Als Redaktionelle Brücke Zwischen Dem Ersten Und Dem Zweiten Jesaja*, Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 121 (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1985); Gary Stansell, "The Nations' Journey to Zion: Pilgrimage and Tribute as Metaphor in the Book of Isaiah," in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 4 (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 233–55.

narrative programmes are displayed through the following diagram of the "actantial model" found in the chart below.[51]

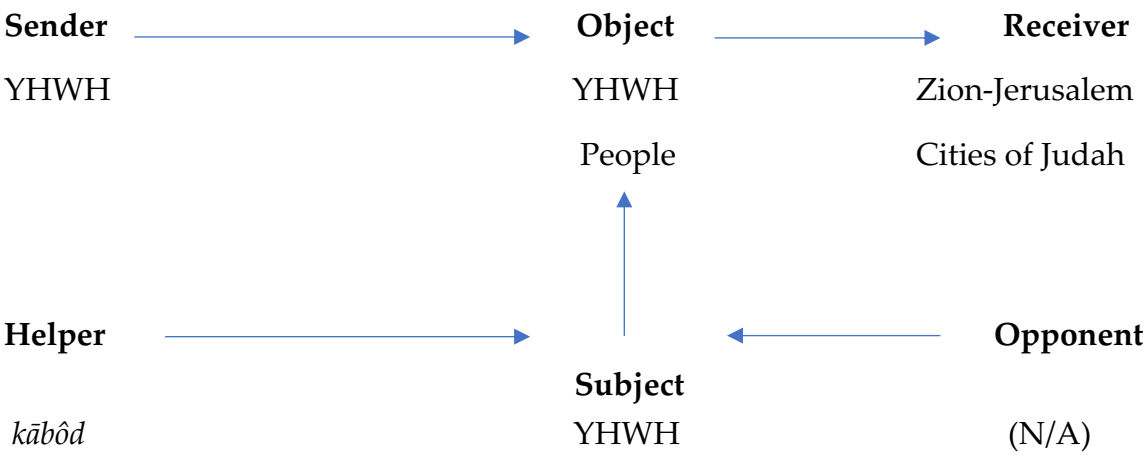
First, in Deutero-Isaiah, the actantial model positions are filled accordingly: YHWH sends the subjects (himself, the exiles/Jacob-Israel) on a quest with the objects (YHWH and Jacob-Israel) to the receiver (Zion-Jerusalem). YHWH is his own helper (41:27) but is also aided by the unique servant (42:1-7), Cyrus (44:28-45:13), and the nations (49:22-23). YHWH is opposed by Babylon (43:14) and those oppressing Zion (49:26), who seek to stop this quest. In the narrative of 40:1-11 YHWH sends himself (vv. 3-5,9-11) and the exiles (vv. 10-11) to Zion and the cities of Judah (vv. 9-11). He does this through the power of his *kābôd* (v. 5). In fact, the outworking of these comparable narrative programmes may illuminate our text in 40:6-8. The actantial models for each programme are found in their respective schematics below:

Narrative Programme: Deutero-Isaiah



[51] See: Greimas and Courtés, *Semiotics and Language*, 6.

Narrative Programme: Isaiah 40:1-11



4. Isaiah 40:6-8

We have already discussed that the narrative of Isaiah 40:1-11 functions well without vv. 6-8, and the fulfillment of the narrative programme does not need this section in order to be completed.[52] In fact, the story seems interrupted by vv. 6-8. How then does this section become reconciled from a structural semiotic approach? It is likely that only a specific rhetorical interest can be behind such an interruption of the narrative's flow.

The text of vv. 6-8 records a dialogue. The dialogue itself reflects two actants: The voice representing YHWH and the character Isaiah. Semiotics asserts that opposition (or difference) is the foundation on which meaning takes place.[53] The oppositions of actants (or the way they relate to one another/themselves) in Isaiah 40:6-8 can be related in terms of *knowing*, or a transformation regarding knowledge (known as a modality).[54] Isaiah wonders aloud about the state and fate of the grass, and is opposed to the commanding voice who has the knowledge that while the reality of the grass is as the prophet stated, the word of God stands forever. Is this simply a

[52] See introduction.
[53] Greimas and Courtés, *Semiotics and Language*, 220.
[54] Modality is the process of modifying a predicate (or what causes an action to take place), so: Greimas and Courtés, *Semiotics and Language*, 193–94.

generic philosophical commentary on the state of humanity,[55] or does this exchange serve a deeper purpose in the narrative?[56]

Given the narrative programmes discussed earlier, as well as the connection between the people and Zion-Jerusalem, I would like to propose that the character Isaiah speaks here as intercessor on behalf of Jacob-Israel: the people as the collective servant of YHWH.[57]

4.1. "All Flesh is Grass…"

In verse 6, the character Isaiah equates all flesh with grass. Some scholars note the parallel of כל־בשׂר (all-flesh) here with that in v. 5 who view the advent of YHWH.[58] However, the כל־בשׂר (all-flesh) of v. 6 is now further designated with the definite article: -ה. This addition of the article seems to narrow specificity towards a select group of "all flesh." Coupled with the identification of the actant העם (the people) in verse 7, and the fact that these are the words of the prophet, it is evident that the concern is with the people of God (*i.e.,* Jacob-Israel) rather than all humanity as in v. 5. This is especially true given the use of the term כל־בשׂר (all-flesh) elsewhere in Isaiah to describe YHWH's renown among to the nations (cf. 49:26).[59] Further, the definite article on the lexeme בשׂר (flesh) elsewhere in the Hebrew bible functions in the same

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[55] Cf. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*; Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 57; also Sawyer, *Prophecy*, 46, who calls 40:6-8 a, "view of transient and ineffectual human nature."

[56] There are a number of lexical links between 40:6-8 and Psalm 103 so: North, *Second Isaiah*, 78; cf. David J.A. Clines, "The Parallelism of Greater Precision," in *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, ed. Elaine R. Follis, JSOTS 40 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 80–81; H.G.M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 196; N.P. Bratsiotis, "בשׂר," *TDOT 2*: 329; and Konrad R. Schaefer, *Psalms*, ed. David W. Cotter, Berit Olam (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2001), 255; however, most scholars concede that Psalm 103 is post-exilic and thus reflects Isaiah 40 rather than influencing it so: Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60-150: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 873; Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, WBC 21 (Waco: Thomas Nelson, 1983), 20–21; Klaus Seybold, *Die Psalmen*, HAT 1/15 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 402; and Marjo Christina Annette Korpel, "Second Isaiah's Coping with the Religious Crisis: Reading Isaiah 40 and 55," in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times*, ed. Bob Becking and Marjo Christina Annette Korpel, OST 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 94, who follows Kraus, Allen and Seybold.

[57] Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 613.

[58] Edward Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah II* (Dublin: Brown and Nolan, 1943), 8; Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 57; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 183.

[59] Bratsiotis, *TDOT 2*: 319.

clarifying manner, employed to identify specific meat or flesh.[60] It seems likely that given the concern for the people here, this reflects the voice of the people (Jacob-Israel).[61] In fact, in 40:27 Jacob-Israel places a similar complaint to YHWH, that their suffering goes unnoticed (cf. Zion's complaint in 49:14).[62]

The character Isaiah equates the grass and all its חסד (translated in English most often as beauty or loving-kindness)[63] with the flowers of the field (v. 6) which wither under the רוח (wind/breath/spirit) of YHWH (v. 7). The lexeme חסד is a disputed one with a long history of research.[64] It is safe to say that it always involves a close relationship between family, close-friends, or, YHWH and his people.[65] Behaving well in a relationship where the term חסד is employed is indicative of a level of fidelity – a mutual exchange of good faith.[66] YHWH is always the one offering חסד to the people and, "this divine activity is characterized by permanence and reliability."[67]

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[60] Cf. Pharaoh's vision of the thin cows eating the flesh of the fat cows (Gen. 41:4), for eating the Passover lamb (Ex. 12:8, 46; Deut. 16:4) the meat pots in Egypt (16:3), the boiled meat of Aaron's ordination offering (Lev. 8:31), describing a sacrifice (Lev. 9:11; Judg. 6:19-21; 1 Sam. 2:13), the quail meat sent by YHWH to Israel in the wilderness (Num. 11:33). It is also used to describe a cleanliness issue in Levitical law (13:3,15-16), and the prohibition of eating blood which is the life of flesh (Lev. 17:11). Interestingly, the only other instance of כל־בשׂר with definite article prefaced by כל (all) is found along with רוח in Gen. 7:15: "And they went with Noah into the ark, two and two מכל־הבשׂר (of all flesh) in which was the רוח (breath) of life." The possible connection to the Genesis passage might be playing on the idea of YHWH's provision. Afterall, the רוח of YHWH is upon his unique servant in 42:1, upon Zion 61:1, upon Jacob's descendants in 44:3 and *in* Jacob and his offspring *forever* in 59:21.

[61] Cf. Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 95.

[62] James D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 35, 40-66* (London: Epworth, 1967), 51, notes hear a national hesitancy on YHWH's plan for it; cf. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40-55*, 84.

[63] *BDB*: 338.

[64] See for example the seminal work of: Nelson Glueck, *Das Wort Hesed im Alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als Menschlice Verhaltungsweise in Profaner Und Religiöser Bedeutung* (Naumburg a.d.S.: Lippert, 1927); as well as: Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, *The Meaning of Hesed in the Hebrew Bible: A New Inquiry*, HSM (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 1978); and Gordon R. Clark, *The Word Hesed in the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 157 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993).

[65] A. Jepsen, "Gnade Und Barmherzigkeit Im AT," *KuD* 7 (1961): 261–71.

[66] Jepsen, "Gnade Und Barmherzigkeit Im AT," 266.

[67] Hans-Jürgen Zobel, "חסד," *TDOT 5:* 57; opposing Glueck, *Das Wort Hesed*, 56–59; and H. J. Stoebe, "Die Beudeutung Des Wortes Häsäd Im AT," *VT* 2 (1952): 250–51; cf. Jepsen, "Gnade Und Barmherzigkeit Im AT," 268-9, who fervently denies the conclusions of Glueck and Stoebe, and understands passages like Hosea 4:1 backed by 10:12; 12:7; Mic. 6:8; Zech. 7:9 as proof that it is human to human חסד referred to.

Correspondingly, the חסד of YHWH in the prophets is tied to his favourable actions towards the people and their redemption.[68] The general consensus of scholars regarding the term חסד in Isaiah 40:6-7 is that the status of the people of God is opposed to the reliability of the word of YHWH.[69] The grass (Jacob-Israel) withers in exile, and its חסד (reliability)[70] to act favourably towards one another is likewise diminished under the רוח of YHWH.[71] If the metaphor functions on multiple levels, then the complaint would also be in line with Jacob-Israel's view that YHWH's desire to act favourably towards them has dried up as well (cf. 40:27-28).[72]

4.2. "When the ruah blows…"

The concern for the grass in chapter 40 betrays the Model Author's underlying concern for the veracity of YHWH's word, a theme already encountered earlier in the narrative.[73] The term רוח (wind/breath/spirit) is deliberately employed in the text becoming the crux of a wordplay.[74] First, the term רוח here used in a negative sense references YHWH's previous judgment.[75] The concept of the רוח of YHWH has important Ancient Near Eastern connotations. Deities in the ANE harness the wind as

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[68] Zobel, *TDOT 5*: 56–58.

[69] Claus Westermann, *Isaiah: 40-66*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker, OTL (London: Bloomsbury, 1969), 41–42; Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 51; Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66*, 23–24; Oswalt, *Isaiah: 40-66*, 53–54; Childs, *Isaiah*, 300; Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 85.

[70] N. H. Snaith, "The Exegesis of Isaiah 40:5-6," *ET* 52.10 (1941): 394–96 offers a translation of: "steadfastness, durability, reliability"; Whybray, *Isaiah 40-66*, 51, follows Snaith and suggests it refers to the power of the Babylonian empire here; Korpel, "Second Isaiah's Coping with the Religious Crisis," 94, follows Snaith and Whybray and translates it "faithfulness"; similarly Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah 40-66*, WBC (Louisville: John Knox, 1998), 18, translates "constancy."

[71] As opposed to the general goodness of humanity withering away suggested by Clark, *The Word Hesed in the Hebrew Bible*, 195; Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 98, follows Clark.

[72] Cf. for example: Patricia K. Tull, "Persistent Vegetative States: People as Plants and Plants as People in Isaiah," in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, ed. A. Joseph Everson and Hyun Chul Paul Kim, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 4 (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 17–34, amongst others for the importance of horticulture as an image of exile and return.

[73] McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, 18–19; cf. Roy F. Melugin, "The Servant, God's Call, and the Structure of Isaiah 40-48," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1991 Seminar Papers*, SBLSP 30, 1991, 24, who notes the concern in the text of the "word and its efficacy"; also: Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 59; Lund, *Way Metaphors*, 97; and: Berges, *Book of Isaiah*, 361, who all explicitly note it of vv. 6-8.

[74] Cf. Francis Landy, "Spectrality in the Prologue to Deutero-Isaiah," in *The Desert Will Bloom: Poetic Visions in Isaiah*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 4 (Atlanta: SBL, 2009), 347.

[75] Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 95.

a weapon for battle, and use the evil wind as a tool of judgment.[76] The former is found in Marduk's battle against Tiamat in the *Enuma Elish*, where Marduk first uses the wind (described as his net) as a weapon to harness Tiamat:

> Then he made a net to enclose Tiamat within,
> He deployed the four winds that none of her might escape:
> South Wind, North Wind, East Wind, West Wind.
>
> (Tablet IV: 41-43)[77]

Marduk then uses the evil wind to cleave open her chest so he can shoot her with an arrow and defeat her:

> The Lord spread out his net, encircled her,
> The ill wind he had held behind him he released in her face.
> Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow,
> He thrust the ill wind so she could not close her lips.
> The raging winds bloated her belly,
> Her insides were stopped up, she gaped her mouth wide.
> He shot off the arrow; it broke open her belly,
> It cut to her innards, it pierced the heart.
> (Tablet IV: 95-102)

The latter example of judgment can be seen in the *Lament for Ur*, where Enlil takes away the positive winds and sends evil winds to destroy the city:

> Enlil called the storm
> –the people mourn–
> winds of abundance he took away from the land,
> –the people mourn–
> deputed evil winds,
> –the people mourn–
> (Lines 173-76)[78]

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[76] H. J. Fabry, "רוח," *TDOT 13*: 368–71; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible*, Biblica et Orientalia 44 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993), 56–57.

[77] All *Enuma Elish* text from: William W Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, *The Context of Scripture*, ed. William W Hallo and K. Lawson Younger (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[78] Text from: Thorkild Jacobsen, ed., *The Harps That Once--: Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven: YUP, 1987), 458.

Likewise, in the Hebrew bible, YHWH uses רוח as a weapon against the sea in *Chaoskampf* material where YHWH does battle against the forces of chaos (Psa. 18:16; Nah. 1:3-4; cf. Ex. 14:21; 15:8,10) as well as against human opponents like Assyria (Isa. 30:28).[79] YHWH also uses רוח as a tool of judgment against his own people, most notably for our passage's context in Isaiah 27:8 (cf. Jer. 13:24; 18:17; of Elam: Jer. 49:36; Hos. 8:7; 13:15).[80]

The response of the voice speaking on behalf of YHWH highlights the other side of the wordplay. YHWH has sent his רוח to judge in the past, but the breath carrying YHWH's word: כי פי יהוה דבר (for the mouth of YHWH has spoken), to the grass is one of restoration. Indeed, a famous example of this is Ezekiel 37:1-14 where YHWH's רוח brings the valley of dry bones to life, again in the context of exilic redemption![81]

The Model Author draws on the semantic range of the term רוח as a tool of destruction and judgment that the Model Reader would understand in the complaint of 40:6b-7, but counterbalances this with the steadfast word of YHWH promising comfort in vv. 1-2, and his presence in verse 5: the fulfillment of the narrative programme.[82] The Model Author thus signals to the Model Reader that the narrative quest of YHWH is not in doubt. In fact, there is the unusual instance of no real opposition figure to YHWH's quest. The Model Author clearly intends for the Model

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[79] See further: Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: HUP, 1973); Eric Nels Ortlund, *Theophany and Chaoskampf: The Interpretation of Theophanic Imagery in the Baal Epic, Isaiah, and the Twelve*, GUS 5 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2010).

[80] Cf. James R. Linville, "Of an Imagination All Compact: The Garden, the Forest, and the Wasteland as the Apple of the Prophetic Poet's Eye," in *Poets, Prophets, and Texts in Play: Studies in Biblical Poetry and Prophecy in Honour of Francis Landy*, ed. Francis Landy and Ehud Ben Zvi, LHBOTS 597 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 7, who also includes Isaiah 32 in his understanding of רוח as a destructive force.

[81] Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1970), 510; Ashley S. Crane, *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36-39*, VTSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 105, follows.

[82] Robert Luyster, "Wind and Water: Cosmogonic Symbolism in the Old Testament," *ZAW* 93.1 (1981): 5; Mark J. Boda, "'Uttering Precious Rather than Worthless Words': Divine Patience and Impatience with Lament in Isaiah and Jeremiah," in *Why?... How Long? Studies on Voice(s) of Lamentation Rooted in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, ed. LeAnn Snow Flesher, Carol J. Dempsey, and Mark J. Boda, LHBOTS 552 (New York: T&T Clark, 2014), 86.

Reader to understand that the success of YHWH's quest is assured. Therefore Zion-Jerusalem can bear good news to the cities of Judah in vv. 9-11, "behold YHWH and his flock!"[83]

5. Conclusion

To conclude, this paper has argued that verses 6-8 play an integral role in the narrative of the prologue to Deutero-Isaiah, Isa. 40:1-11. The concerns of Jacob-Israel for YHWH's desire to renew them, and their skepticism towards the chances for success of YHWH's quest of redemption and reconciliation, is a microcosm of the whole narrative of Deutero-Isaiah. The key elements of the whole text and the "drama" that will be played out are introduced here and fulfilled throughout Deutero-Isaiah. Through the wider narrative programme and this dialogue of vv. 6-8, the Model Author expects the Model Reader to understand that the word of YHWH is indeed for good towards all flesh, and is proven to stand forever.

[83] Berges, "Zion and the Kingship of YHWH," 105, notes that YHWH's greatest hurdle in DI is "the stubborn unbelief of his own people…Their unbelief is not directed against Yhwh's power to break the Babylonian dominion but against his promise to guarantee a new future for Zion and Israel. Therefore, Yhwh makes it very clear that neither his salvation in Zion will tarry nor his glory for Israel" (Isa. 46:13).

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Paper and project Summary OTSEM 2022
Scott Bickle

My dissertation explores theophany in the book of Isaiah, namely in chapters 6:1-13; 35:1-10; 40:1-11; 60:1-22; 66:1-24. The project seeks to understand the function of YHWH's manifestation in the production of meaning in the texts. Though YHWH's presence is signified through viewing his *kābôd*, the words, deeds, and other descriptions of his character move beyond this initial visual confirmation.

The method utilised in this project is a structural semiotic exegesis from A.J. Greimas': *Structural Semantics*. Semiotics, simply defined, is the study of signs and symbols. The use of signs is highly contextual, as any sign to be properly interpreted requires the sender and receiver of the sign to operate under the same cultural and linguistic assumptions (a semantic universe) for any communication through signs to be successful. This process is conceptualised through a Sender to a Receiver or an enunciator to an enunciatee relationship. For this dissertation, I have borrowed the terms Model Author and Model Reader (from Umberto Eco's *The Role of the Reader*) to properly contextualise and decode the text and the signs deployed in our chosen texts. The Model Author is the hypothetical producer of a text where they have employed a communicative code for a Model Reader that they assume has the ability to interpret and thus decode effectively. The text used by our Model Author and Model Reader is conceived of in an advanced literary form, meaning the text at the theoretical end of the redaction process.

This paper is adapted from a thesis chapter on Isaiah 40:1-11. It offers a structural semiotic exegetical explanation regarding the function of vv. 6-8 in the prologue of Deutero-Isaiah. The paper shows two of the three main stages of the approach as it engages with key actants (YHWH and Jacob-Israel) and the narrative programme(s) of the immediate text of Isaiah 40:1-11 and Deutero-Isaiah: YHWH's quest to return himself and the exiles to the land otherwise known as the *Heimkehr* motif. Both actants and narrative programmes are important elements in the meaning-

making process of a text, and this paper specifically explores a segment of the text which does not seem to fit the narrative programme and concludes that it shows an important dialogue between YHWH and the people in exile which offers the skepticism of the people regarding their current exilic tradition, and the promises of YHWH which are critical themes in the wider narrative of Deutero-Isaiah. It also explores the process of communication under the wider understanding of the project regarding the Model Author and the Model Reader. This concept assumes the intelligible nature of this communicative process whereby the Model Reader is able to "decode" the semantic layers within the code. The use of this methodology analysing *how* a text communicates meaning results in the conclusion that vv. 6-8 indeed belong in the prologue of Deutero-Isaiah as they introduce these critical themes. The paper therefore shows the type of analytical process applied to the wider chapter and thesis and the value of this method in decoding a text.

This paper concludes that Isaiah 40:6-8 introduces the concerns and skeptical attitude of Jacob-Israel (the collective people) given their exilic existence, and YHWH's desire to reconcile with them. Isaiah 40:6-8 becomes a microcosm of the skepticism of Jacob-Israel and YHWH's determination of restoration and reconciliation which is introduced here in vv.6-8. This initial encounter of these opposing viewpoints in 40:6-8 is met and resolved throughout in the wider narrative of Deutero-Isaiah.

For the Love of the Jews: The Book of Esther as Emotioned Literacy

Esther Brownsmith, OTSEM 2022

ABSTRACT:

In *Loving Fanfiction*, Brit Kelley defines "emotioned literacy" as "embodied-emotional practices that are situated in time, space/place, and social relationships." (135) Emotioned literacy recognizes the entanglement of our writing with our individual embodiment, and it highlights a certain type of writing, of which fan fiction is but one example, that both stems from and appeals to states of emotion. The biblical book of Esther provides a key ancient example of emotioned literacy. Emerging from the experience of diaspora, it channels the emotional realities of its author into fiction; in turn, it uses techniques like hyperbole, peripety, and irony to elicit emotion from its readers. Even the fact that the book is named for its female protagonist, not her male counterpart Mordecai, may reflect the ways that emotioned literacy is associated with the instinctive and the feminine.

As these observations indicate, the exploration of emotioned literacy draws upon affect theory, gender theory, and close literary analysis. This paper will engage with all these realms, including a careful reading of moments in the book of Esther where emotions become palpable. Elsewhere in their book, Kelly says that "this view of emotion allows room for agency, for resistance, and for transformativity" (150) — all critical elements of the book of Esther. Thus, although we may lack direct knowledge about the book's author, we can gain insight into the goals and motivations of the book of Esther by reading it as emotioned literature.

PREFACE:

I would welcome any responses to the contents of my paper, but I am especially interested in engaging with the following questions:

- Is it useful to compare scripture with modern “bad literature” like fan fiction and pornography, or are they fundamentally doing different things?

- The ever-present question of historicization: how much is it realistic to extrapolate about the past using the analogy of the present? And do I go too far in doing so?

- I refrain from speculating too much about the author of Esther, other than that they were a diaspora Jew. Should I go further in speculating about their gender and geography? Conversely, am I being unrealistic by even considering the possibility that they were female?

- Would deeper textual engagement support my argument better? Are there any specific places where you wish I had gone deeper?

- I don’t engage much in this article with other scholars who have applied affect theory to biblical studies (though I have read them). Would it benefit from more background and comparison with existing work?

Thank you in advance!

I had a Queen Esther doll on my shelf as a child. I did not play with her very often. Although my biblically literate parents had named me "Esther," I felt I had little in common with a heroine who came to power because of her beauty and meekly followed her cousin's directions. But when the show Star Trek: Voyager premiered on television in 1995, I found a heroine who was more to my tastes: B'Elanna Torres. B'Elanna was tough, smart, and ideologically passionate, the chief engineer of the starship Voyager. In the nascent online communities that would eventually become the Internet, I discovered a group of people who wrote fan fiction—new stories about B'Elanna and the other characters of the show — and before long, I joined them. I wrote tales about B'Elanna's emotional struggles and her relationships with other characters: sometimes silly, sometimes serious, but always born out of passionate love for the characters I depicted. I wrote as a gift to my fellow fans, and I wrote as an outlet for my own emotions. Love—for B'Elanna, for the show, for my community of fellow fans—permeated my creative activity.

I have begun my paper today with this autoethnographic reflection for two reasons. First, the fields of affect studies and fan fiction studies are both outspoken about the scholar's need to position herself in relation to her research, recognizing that the crystal-clear "objectivity" of modern scholarship was always a hegemony-reinforcing illusion. I am therefore acknowledging my roots in both biblical narrative and fan fiction from a young age; these are subjects about which I cannot be "objective." Second, my story illustrates some basic characteristics of fan fiction. Among other things, it is rooted in passion for the source text—albeit a passion that often mingles with deep frustration—and it is a social practice, an economy of gifts given between author-readers, who are usually women or non-binary people.[1] To reduce it to a particular derivative genre of text creation, as some ancient

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1. Cf. https://public.tableau.com/app/profile/fansplaining/viz/TheFansplainingShippingSurveyResults/SurveyDemographicsGenderandSexuality for a recent survey, but this is the widely accepted consensus since the 1990s.

scholars do, captures some of its literary features, but it also bypasses the emotional realities that accompany fan fiction in the modern world.[2]

Last year, Brit Kelley published *Loving Fanfiction: Exploring the Role of Emotion in Online Fandoms*. Intending the book as a contribution to both fan studies and affect studies, Kelley centers their discussion around the idea of "emotioned literacy." They explain:

> Fan works are not just emotional but emotioned. They shape and are shaped by capturing and celebrating daily emotional experiences. Emotional literacy is situated, in time, space, and social relationships. It is influenced by previous texts, people, encounters, and experiences gained through lifelong learning. It is an ongoing process. Emotioned literacy, as a term, is meant to reflect the agency of literary practices, and the importance of mind and body in all learning and working.[3]

My goal here is to apply this insightful term to the book of Esther, which is decidedly emotioned. It elicits a merry-go-round of emotional responses from readers, and it derives from a conflux of emotions: toward the experience of diaspora, toward women, toward empire, and, most of all, toward Jews and Judaism. It is, in Brit's words, "situated, in time, space, and social relationships."

In order to reach this goal, I will make a series of points. The first has to do with the relevance of this approach: *is* the book of Esther fan fiction, and are the tools of fan fiction analysis useful here? (These are of course not the same question.) Next, I will summarize Kelley's findings and show what they have to do with the literary features of the book of Esther: how does it both *elicit* and *embody* emotion, and specifically emotion around the identity of Jewishness? In what ways is it an *emotionally sticky object*? I will conclude with some thoughts on the limitations of this method, its future possibilities, and my hopes for a

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2. Cf. Wilson, "Fan Fiction and Premodern Literature," for a discussion of the different models that scholars tend to use when applying fan fiction to premodern texts. As an example of one of the most widely read articles introducing fan fiction studies to ancient scholars, which focused predominantly on "hypertextual" literary practices, cf. Larsen, "Fan Fiction and Early Christian Apocrypha."

3. Kelley, *Loving Fanfiction*, 11.

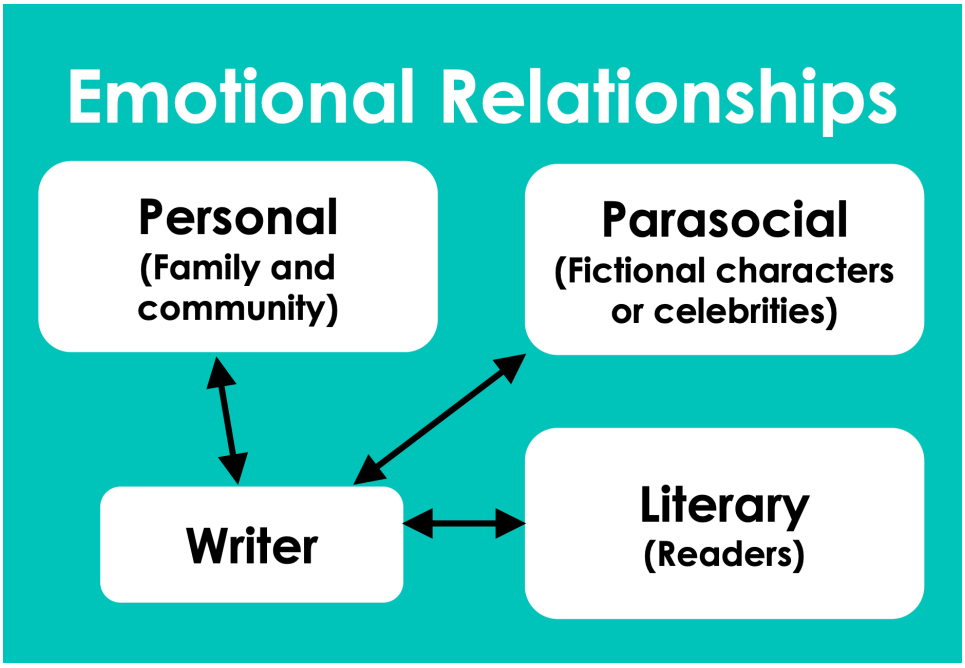
continuing dialogue. In the process, I hope to demonstrate how reading Esther as emotioned literacy illuminates aspects of the text that traditional analysis might not.

In my OTSEM paper last year, I discussed queerness in the book of Esther. Citing a number of examples of queerness in the text, I argued that the book's resemblance to fan fiction helps to explain these traits on two levels: first, because fan fiction is an inherently queer practice, and second, because Ishtar (the character transformed into Queen Esther) is herself a profoundly queer character. Reading that paper is not necessary to understand this paper, but they both derive from a common hypothesis: that fan fiction is a useful lens through which to read the book of Esther. (I am currently developing this hypothesis into a full monograph that uses fan fiction theory to explore various questions and peculiarities of the biblical book.) Because this approach to reading Esther is central to the application of Brit Kelley's arguments, I will briefly summarize it here — but if you'd like more detail on the issue, please be in touch.

The book of Esther tells a story that takes the Mesopotamian characters of Ishtar and Marduk and reimagines them as the Jewish characters Esther and Mordecai: the same names, the same beautiful queen and her brave cousin, but a new setting in the literary genre of the "Jew in the Foreign Court" tale. In modern fan fiction terms, this would make the book of Esther an "Alternate Universe" story that combines familiar characters with fresh surroundings. Like fan fiction, the book takes a playful and subversive attitude toward its source literature, sometimes veering into outright parody. Like fan fiction, the book is about satisfying desires: the desire for something "more and other," a story that uses familiar names and settings but makes them into something enticingly new. Like fan fiction, the book is concerned with gender and queerness, using them as tools to subvert expectations and tell a pleasurable tale. And like fan fiction, the book emulates its "canon" of biblical texts like the

Joseph story, while incorporating characteristics, like the absence of God, that keep it distinct from that canon. Thus, despite the vast gap of time between the writing of Esther and the modern fan fiction phenomenon, I would argue that the numerous parallels between the two as literature make fan fiction a useful lens with which to examine the book.

If we are reading Esther as fan fiction, then, Brit Kelley's new monograph is highly relevant to its interpretation. In *Loving Fanfiction*, Kelley examines fan fiction as a process of "emotioned literacy": a textual practice embedded in emotion and bodily feelings. Emotioned literacy stems from rich and layered emotions: the emotional bonds to family and community, the emotions of intense parasocial relationships to fictional characters or celebrities, the emotional connections between a writer and her eager readers. For instance, Kelley describes how one fan fiction writer's relationship with her source text is "doubly emotioned," combining her own love for WWE wrestlers with the fannish wrestling passion she learned from her father and brothers.[4]



4. Kelley, *Loving Fanfiction*, 133.

In particular, this love expresses itself in that writer's use of so-called "Mary Sue" characters, original female characters who parallel the author herself. By seeding her stories with these characters, the author can create narratives that center strong, sexually confident Filipina women—women like herself, living in the storyworld she loves. In other words, **she writes about a fusion of herself and the object of her love: the author's bodily identity finds positive expression through emotioned literacy**. At the end of their discussion of this writer, Kelley summarizes that her "emotions here aren't simple 'feelings,' but rather a system of meaning making. Those emotions are part of a complex system of literary practices."[5] Then they quote Laura Micchiche: "To speak of emotion as performative is to foreground the idea that emotions are enacted and embodied in the social world."[6] Emotioned literacy is a way of *performing emotion* through the practice of writing, thereby *reifying* that emotion; in other words, it is performative in both senses of the word.

Although Kelley does not cite him, this concept resonates strongly with Michael Millner's *Fever Reading: Affect and Reading Badly in the Early American Public Sphere.* In order to understand "reading badly" — both in the sense of "bad" literature and "bad" reading practices, as seen with texts like pornography and religious tracts — Millner relies on William Reddy's concept of "emotives," or verbalized emotions. An emotive translates, evaluates, and navigates the emotions that bring it about. Therefore, "reading reading through the emotive lens allows us to think about how reading is diagnostic, testing, operational, and navigating of the environment it represents and participates in."[7] Millner maintains his argument throughout that the emotive practice of reading badly is actually a crucial process in which readers negotiate and explore various demands, including bodily

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5. Kelley, *Loving Fanfiction*, 150.
6. Micchiche, *Doing Emotion*, 1, quoted by Kelley, *Loving Fanfiction*, 150.
7. Millner, *Fever Reading*, 22.

desires and the depersonalizing abstraction of the modern sphere. (He even mentions fan fiction briefly in his conclusion as an example of modern "reading badly.") Therefore, we might offer "emotive reading" as a counterpart to "emotioned literacy"; both terms emphasize the complex process of negotiation and embodiment involved in texts often dismissed as "bad." The main difference is that Millner focuses on the consumption of these texts, where Kelley focuses on their production.

Here, I also want to mention a concept that Kelley discusses only briefly[8]: the idea of emotions as *stickiness*, which they borrow from Sara Ahmed. Ahmed explains that "emotions can move through the movement or circulation of objects. Such objects become sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension."[9] Stickiness is an appropriately tangible metaphor for the way that emotions become associated with objects and "travel" through those objects from one person to another. Moreover, love is one of the most sticky emotions in fan fiction writing; the love invested by an author as she crafts a story then sticks to that story as it encounters readers, who perform that love through positive reviews and recommendations to fellow fans. I will return to this metaphor at the end.

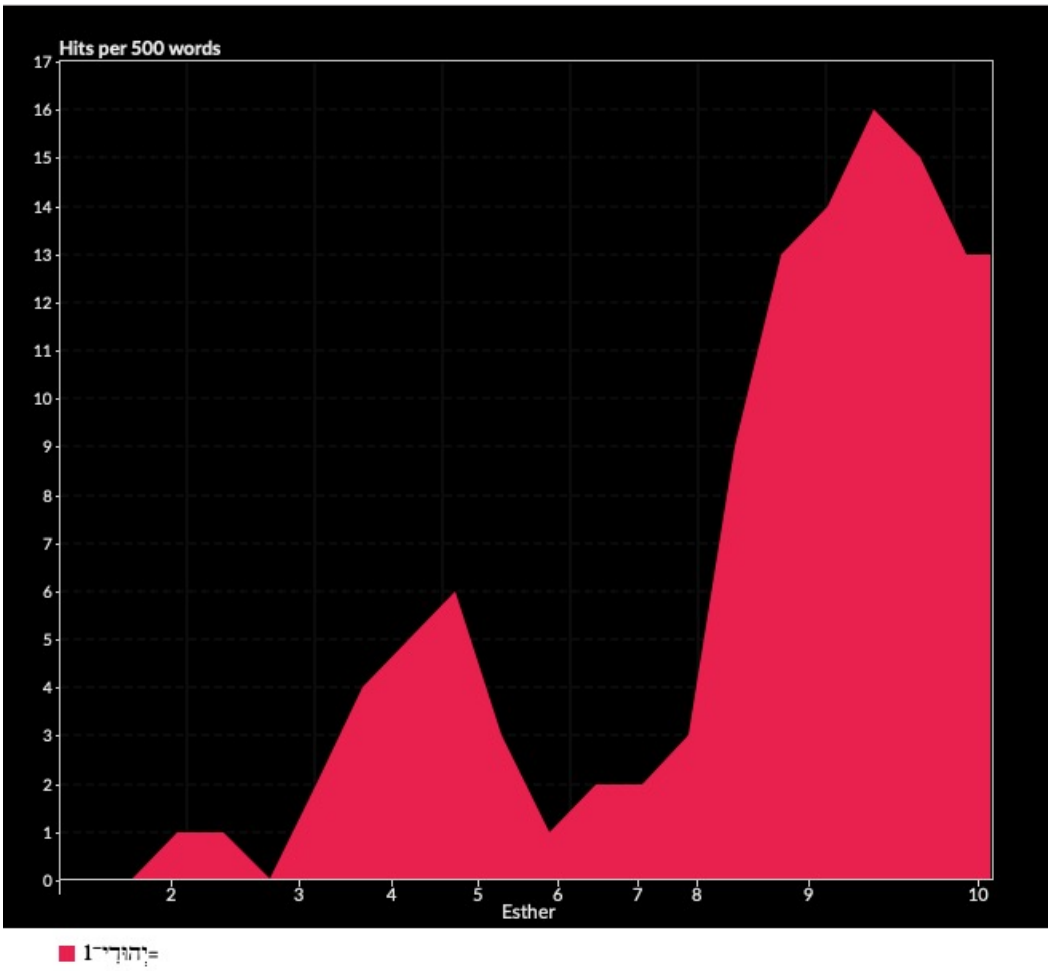
With that, I turn now to the text of Esther. Due to limited space today, I will focus on two examples of how Esther functions as emotioned literacy: one broad-scale, and one quite intimate. My first study stems from my observation, while exploring the final chapters of Esther, that the word "Jew" (יְהוּדִי) appeared remarkably often — virtually every verse at some points. So I made a graph of how often it appeared — the frequency of "Jew," whether singular or plural[10] — and this was what resulted:

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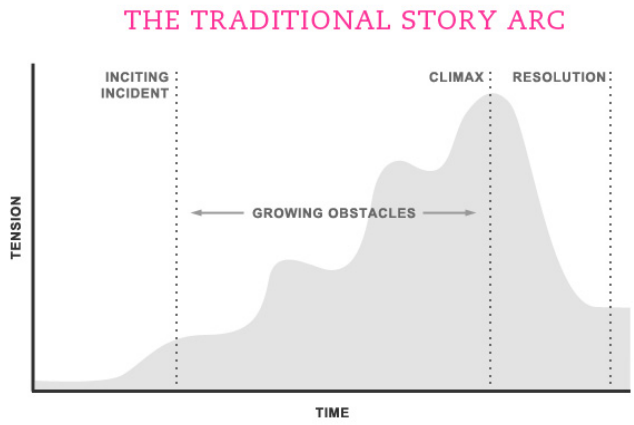
8. Kelley, *Loving Fanfiction*, 184.

9. Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 11.

10. This graph is a search in Accordance for "יְהוּדִי"; I also searched for "יהד" as a root, but there were only two more instances, both of them in preexisting "peaks" of the graph.



The appearances increase throughout the book, forming three ascending "peaks," with a final descending slope at the end. I found this graph remarkably reminiscent of another graph that I'd seen elsewhere: the graph of narrative tension in a good story. There are plenty of graphs like this online; this is one that I found:[11]



11. https://writing.stackexchange.com/questions/47099/is-it-uncompelling-to-continue-the-story-with-lower-stakes (https://i.stack.imgur.com/1zT5W.jpg). CF also: http://larpwright.efatland.com/?p=472 and https://www.screenwritersutopia.com/article/0efa6b1e

The tension starts near zero as we introduce the characters, then rises with an inciting incident. As new obstacles appear for the protagonists, tension rises and falls in relative "waves," reaching an eventual narrative climax. After the climax comes the denouement, to use Aristotle's language from the *Art of Poetry*[12], in which the final plot threads are woven into a resolution. All these elements are clearly evident when we map the mentions of Jews in Esther.

That said, there are some issues with my visual comparison. For instance, the central scenes that many scholars regard as the dramatic climax of the book — the pivot-points of Esther's appearance before Ahasuerus, the king's sleeplessness and Mordecai's reward, and Esther's dinner party denouncement of Haman[13] — are represented on this graph by a relative trough, whereas the graph's peak is what many would call the denouement; Haman has been defeated and the victory of Esther and Mordecai is certain.

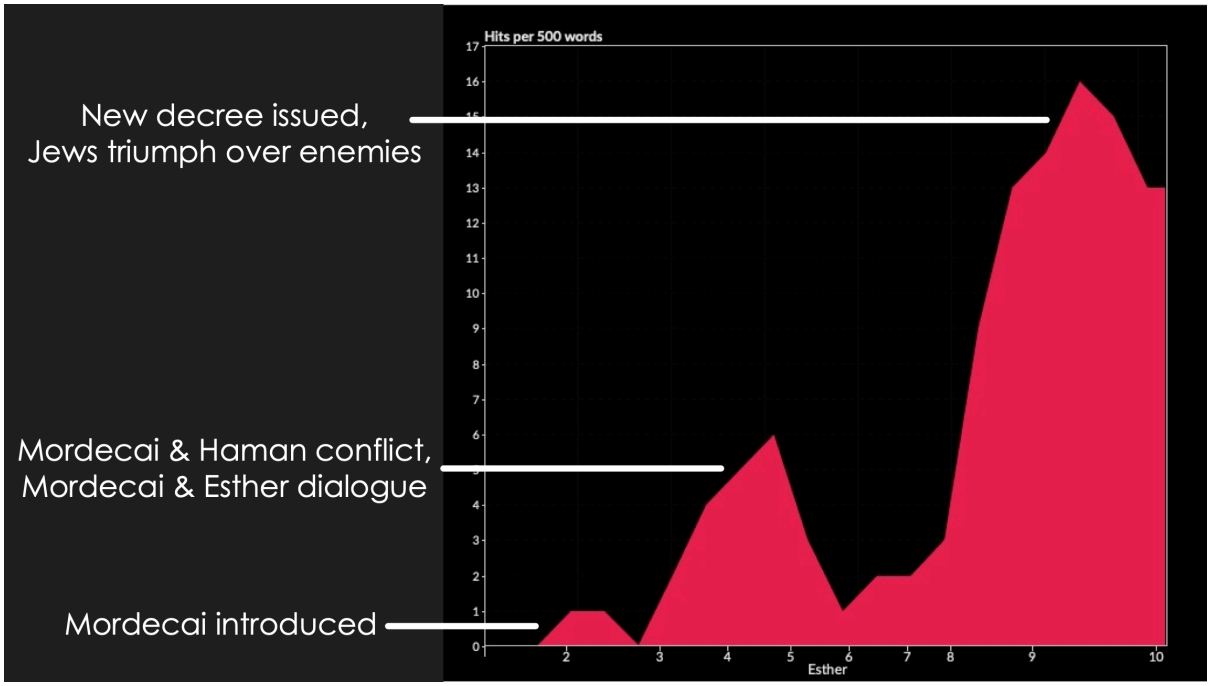
Thus, instead of proposing yet another narrative division of the text, I would argue that these peaks represent those moments when the story's scope and stakes *broaden* to include all Jews, not just Esther and Mordecai — and "all Jews," of course, also includes the writer and the readers. The first small peak is when Mordecai is introduced as a Jew, establishing the story's relevance to its audience. The second peak is really two scenes: Mordecai's conflict with Haman, and Mordecai's impassioned dialogue with Esther — both of them about the impacts of Mordecai's decree on Jews as a whole. And the final peak comprises chapters 8 and 9, in which the new decree is issued and the Jews triumph over

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12. http://www.authorama.com/the-poetics-19.html

13. Scholarly consensus is that Esther has a broadly chiastic or concentric structure, and that the climax or pivot occurs in the center of the book, usually in chapter 5 (Esther's appearance before the king) or 6 (Mordecai's ride through the city). Cf. the discussion in Levenson, *Esther* (5-10), Dorothy, Fox, etc.

their enemies. Last comes the denouement — the final short chapter of Esther, which mentions the Jews only once in its discussion of Mordecai's kindness to them.



What this graph shows, then, is that the book of Esther is not necessarily a symmetric chiasm of reversal, as claimed by many;[14] it is a rags-to-riches story, to use the story arc term popularized by Kurt Vonnegut, in which the central character's fortunes start low and end high[15]—*if* by "central character," we mean the Jewish people. Now, whether they are actually a technical character is a question for a narratologist, which I am not; my point here is simply to show that the emotional investment of the story, which starts low and peaks in the penultimate chapters, is centered around love for the Jews.[16] The author cares passionately

14. Cf. Tomasino ("Interpreting Esther from the Inside Out") for a recent review of these efforts, e.g. Yahuda Radday, Michael V. Fox, Sandra Beth Berg, and Jon D. Levenson. The argument that comes closest to my view is the recent book by Else K. Holt, which argues that "the pivot or turning point of the plot is not one single point but the sequence of narratives in Esther 4, 5, and 6, which all relate a radical shift. These chapters present a chain of incidents that lead to the ultimate solution and release of suspense in Esther 9." (*Narrative and Other Readings in the Book of Esther*, 26).

15. Cf. https://arxiv.org/abs/1606.07772

16. "Bakhtin for one insists that what the carnivalesque literature puts in motion is less a given individual or a social character than an idea or truth itself. In Esther, it is clear that the fate of the diasporic Jews is at stake, a social reality here idealized in its anonymity and self-

about the fortunes of the Jewish people — and expects the readers to care, too. The emotional investment around Jewishness is bodily and personal. And while other scholars, such as Andre Lacoque, have already pointed out "the story's emphasis on the Jewish people and their fate,"[17] this graph provides concrete evidence of that emotional investment.

My second piece of evidence shifts from a broad-scale overview of the story to an example of one specific scene: chapter 4, one of the "narrative peaks" of my prior chart, in which Esther and Mordecai discuss how Esther can save the Jewish people.

We start with a standard sequence of actions in the Bible: responding to Haman's decree, Mordecai tears his clothes and puts on sackcloth and ashes (4:1). But then he does something that is entirely unparalleled in standard "sackcloth and ashes" narrative texts:[18] he "goes throughout the city, wailing a great and bitter wail." This twice-used verbal root, זעק, has strong auditory connotations; it is a verbal cry, "loud and bitter," and in combination with the visceral substances of sackcloth and ashes, it evokes a tangible, palpable, full-body mourning, concretely *situated* in the space of the citadel.

But in the scene that follows, that palpability is heavily mediated. Esther and Mordecai engage in an impassioned conversation, but they never actually see each other; every message is communicated back and forth by Hathach, a eunuch who serves Esther. Nevertheless, their communications are physically embodied; Esther sends Mordecai new clothing, and in response, Mordecai sends back a written copy of Haman's decree. Esther counters by referring to her absence of physical contact with the king, and when Mordecai convinces her to act anyway, she instructs him and all the Jews of the city to fast for three

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inclusiveness." Lacoque, *Esther Regina*, 129-130.

17. Lacoque, *Esther Regina*, 21.

18. Though cf. Ezek 27:29-30.

days in preparation — once again a bodily action, whether or not there was implicit prayer accompanying it. In short, Mordecai and Esther are participating in this conversation from a fully embodied perspective, even as they speak to each other from entirely different spaces.

Returning to *Fever Reading*, Millner borrows Michael Warner's work on public spheres to describe pornographic literature as an **antinomy**, a tension between two conflicting states. He notes that in obscene literature, "readers are repeatedly addressed as abstract and embodied";[19] they are unconnected to the author and subjects of the texts, yet their bodily reactions are overtly evoked with sexual language. I quote Millner at length because of its relevance:

> [O]bscene texts allowed their readers — indeed, even taught their readers — to participate in a modern public sphere while simultaneously navigating its alienating demands for self-abstraction and their own desires for an intimacy associated with embodiment and affect. An approach that focuses on navigation and evaluation through emotion seems necessary to the development not only of a better understanding of obscene literature and the antebellum public sphere, but also of a better understanding of our modern public sensorium.[20]

Though the book of Esther is far from obscene literature, and the concept of the abstract public sphere was not present in the same way at its writing, I see a parallel "navigation and evaluation through emotion" at work in this passage.

In short, in chapter 4, Esther and Mordecai are two Jews, bound by kinship, investing their full identities and bodies into their communication, despite the distance between them. The exact same could be said of the author and readers of the text of Esther, albeit with a broader definition of kinship. The author has created a book redolent with sound and sight, taste and touch, and done so as a gift to readers that they would never meet. In other words, the antinomic interaction between Esther and Mordecai enables readers to reflect on their

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19. Millner, *Fever Reading*, 89.
20. Ibid, 95.

own relationship with the text, with their Jewish identity, and with their own ethical obligations to their people, balanced between distance and embodiment.

With the mention of a gift economy, I again return to Kelley and the model of fan fiction. I mentioned earlier that a key difference between Kelley and Millner's studies is that Millner focuses on past texts and their impact on readers, while Kelley examines present texts and their authors, who can be interviewed and examined in depth. With this distinction, we see one of the key potential benefits of applying fan fiction studies to ancient texts: the ability to establish similarities between modern and ancient transformative texts, and therefore to hypothesize similarities in the processes that resulted in those texts, bringing in qualitative and quantitative ethnographic data that is simply unavailable for ancient authors.

In this particular case, the comparison with fan fiction gives us a possible motive for why the ancient Jewish author would choose to write a Jewish story whose central characters are borrowed from Mesopotamian culture. The authors that Kelley examines are engaged in emotioned literacy: the process of writing that stems from their emotional and bodily identity, including their deep love for the source material. But as fan fiction scholars have said from the beginning, love is not the only emotion that fuels fan fiction authorship. For instance, Henry Jenkins described the dueling emotions of "fascination" and "frustration," noting that frustration is what often fuels authors to go in and write a new text, instead of simply rereading an old one. Those fan authors thus become "active participants in the construction and circulation of textual meanings."[21]

The author of Esther was similarly using familiar building blocks to construct and circulate meaning. The corpus of Mesopotamian literature about Ishtar and Marduk was broad and pervasive; just as Israelite biblical texts reimagined Canaanite myths, like the triumph over the chaotic sea, so does Esther reimagine the myths of its social sphere. To use

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21. Jenkins, *Textual Poachers*, 24.

Jenkins' terms, "fascination" encouraged the author to integrate the familiar characters, while "frustration" pushed them to rewrite the characters as Jewish exemplars. For just as the fan author I mentioned earlier wrote about a Filipina protagonist like herself, so did the author of Esther project their own embodiment into the text through characters like Esther and Mordecai.

(Incidentally, I have been using "they" as a gender-neutral pronoun for the author of Esther. Unlike scholars like Hillel Millgram, I do not think that the centrality of a female character indicates that a woman was clearly its author. But when I look at the book's nuanced depiction of female characters,[22] and consider the comparison with modern fan fiction, a predominantly female-written genre, I am also unwilling to dismiss the possibility entirely. We simply do not have enough evidence either way.)

As I move toward my conclusion, I will note that this discussion has barely even grazed the question of method: the literary features that the author used in order to invite the reader into the emotional world of the text. By using techniques like hyperbole, peripety, and irony, in combination with a sensual evocation of physical embodiment, the author invites the reader to become emotionally entangled with the story that they tell. From the absurdly high number of Persian provinces in the first verse to the pathos-filled pleading of the defeated Haman, the book invites its readers on an emotional roller coaster, full of glorious highs and nail-biting lows. Kenneth Craig's *Reading Esther: A Case for the Literary Carnivalesque* discusses many of these features as he examines Esther through the lens of Bakhtin's carnival, which highlights the presence of elements like dramatic extremes and sudden reversals. These elements invite emotional responses from readers, encouraging them to join the author in affective solidarity about the dire plight and ultimate triumph of the Jewish

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22. Nuanced, of course, does not mean "positive." Cf. Dunbar, *Trafficking Hadassah*, for an argument that the treatment of women in the narrative moves it into the genre of "horror."

people. My observation does not stem from highbrow criticism; just as Millner argues about 19th-century pornography, these literary techniques are not merely "cheap tricks" to ensnare unwitting readers through an appeal to the so-called "lower" instincts. Rather, they are an authorial choice to invite readers, through their negotiation of the antinomy of embodiment and distance, to reconsider their own personal identities as Diaspora Jews.

Let me make this point explicit: Diaspora Judaism was characterized by a tension between the earlier scriptural canon,[23] which elevated the Jerusalem Temple as a central concern, and the undeniable physical reality of that Temple's absence. With its repeated tension between evoked physical *presence* and communication across *distance*, the book of Esther allowed its writer and readers to negotiate this antinomy and model a practice of faithfulness to their identity.[24]

Now, I mentioned "stickiness" earlier, and I return to it as the final point I want to make today. As I mentioned, in Ahmed's language, "sticky" objects are "saturated with affect"; they have feelings projected onto them and imbued into them, and those feelings rub off on those who encounter the object. I would argue that the book of Esther functions as one such emotionally sticky object. As I have argued, its author writes from an embodied, personal perspective, such that their Jewish identity is imbricated with the story they tell. (Whether or not the author was female, I also see an empathy for women as part of this narrative imbrication.[25]) In turn, one can only imagine its original readers as they delighted in a tale about Ishtar and Marduk standing up for Jewish identity and flourishing. But one

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23. I use the term "canon" here in a loose sense of "the abstract library of texts considered sacred or authoritative for Jewish readers," and not with the implication that there was a concrete, fixed, universally shared canon at this point in history. Cf. Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity*, etc.

24. Cf. Lacoque: "the consciousness of space has been sharpened by the Jewish diasporic experience of having been transplanted to foreign countries." *Esther Regina*, 24.

25. "Clearly, Esther belongs to a strain of carnival literature that promotes rather than scorns women." Lacoque, *Esther Regina*, 123.

does not have to imagine very hard, given the rich literary and cultural heritage of Purim, which has inspired riotous celebrations for at least two millennia. From the Talmudic injunction to drink heavily to modern-day Purim Spiels parodying the musical Hamilton, the book of Esther has invited its readers to engage in embodied action, immersing themselves in the feelings of celebration and Jewish pride. Although this later reception is not the focus of my scholarship, I do think that it stands as a testament to just how powerfully the book's author made it "sticky" with their own feelings of love for the Jewish people.

Another piece of evidence for the book's "stickiness" is its title. Esther is one of only two books in the Bible named after women, and this choice was not self-evident; Esther herself does not even appear in the first or final chapters. (Even 2 Maccabees 15:36, our earliest evidence of Purim, calls the holiday "Mordecai's Day.") Yet Talmudic and early Christian authors alike, even when they questioned the book's canonicity, still called it Esther; as Gregory Goswell notes, "The identical naming of the book in the Hebrew (אסתר), Greek (Ἐσθήρ), and Latin (Hester or Ester) canonical traditions highlights the heroine Esther rather than dividing the attention between Esther and Mordecai."[26] Nevertheless, scholars have been largely uninterested in the reasons behind this naming tradition. Goswell suggests that the name is apt "given the book's puncturing of male pride,"[27] but it is the pride of Haman (and, to a lesser extent, Ahasuerus) that is mocked, not Mordecai; why should he not share the title?

An affective analysis, colored by fan fiction theory, offers a different proposal. As I have previously mentioned, fan fiction is a gendered practice, written and read largely by women in the modern era, and deeply interested in examining and often subverting gender norms. But Kelley notes an additional gendered element:

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26. Goswell, "The Main Character of the Book of Esther," 200.
27. Ibid.

> [T]he stance of the fan, let alone the practice of fanfiction, has long been a feminized one ... fans are seen as *fans* (short for *fanatic*) in part because of their perceived overly *bodily*, overly *desirous*, and *under-objective* stance in relation to the source text. In short, fanfiction is writing that is unsanctioned precisely *because* it deals with the *bodily*, with *desire*, with the feminine.[28]

Whether or not the author of Esther was actually a woman, their writing was in a broad sense "women's writing," associated with feminine elements of desire and corporeality.[29] This sticky emotional resonance clung to the book and encouraged later writers to think of it as the book of *Esther*, not Mordecai.

Now to conclude. There is a great deal of work still to be done on applying fan fiction theory to ancient texts like the book of Esther; this is a field in its nascency. But as I hope my paper has shown, the application of fan fiction theory, such as that presented in Kelley's book, can lead biblical scholarship in new and generative directions. In this particular case, it has allowed us to illuminate a narrative trajectory in the book, centered around its reflection of the author's Jewishness; it has pointed out the antinomy between embodiment and distance that helped make chapter 4 so resonant to its Jewish readers; and it has offered an explanation for the book's feminine name. The author of Esther was engaged in emotioned literacy, just like the fan fiction authors that Kelley examines, and our

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28. Kelley, *Loving Fanfiction*, 25, emphasis author's.

29. Although Kelley is discussing gendered associations in the modern world, these same broad associations were certainly present in biblical times. For instance, Françoise Mirguet summarizes ("The Study of Emotions," 575):

> Judeo-Hellenistic texts clearly map emotions according to gender. Philo's model is the most comprehensive. Gender, in his view, is a continuum ranging from a perfect and active masculinity to an imperfect and passive femininity. Philo uses gender to structure other hierarchical notions that display a similar spectrum: virtues (*Flight* 51) are associated with masculinity; unformed and passive matter (*QG* 3.3), senses, emotions/passions (πάθη), and pleasure (*Worse* 28; *Alleg. Interp*. 2.74; 3.68) are all associated with femininity. ... Flavius Josephus also links women to emotional intensity and enslavement to passions (*Ant*. 15.219; *War* 1.59; 7.339). Pseudepigrapha depict women as more vulnerable to their desires and bodily impulses, either explicitly (T. Reu. 5:3) or implicitly (4 Macc 14:11; 16:2).

knowledge of those modern authors can grant us more insight into the motivations and authorial decisions of the ancient author.

Of course, no one method of biblical exegesis can or should stand on its own; the applications of fan fiction theory and affect theory have their limits. Text criticism, literary criticism, and detailed philological close reading all help to establish the text world that fan fiction theory examines. At the same time, fan fiction theory can open new doorways into the text. Multiple scholars have suggested that the Hebrew word הפך, which appears twice in the niphal in Esther, encapsulates the book's theme: "it was turned upside down."[30] Yet the word does *not* appear in the middle chapters of the book, but rather at 9:1 and 9:22 — the precise peak of my graph of the frequency of "Jew." By reading the text as fan fiction, as emotioned literacy, and as an embodied expression of the author's own Jewishness, we can see that the positioning of these pivotal verbs is no coincidence. It signifies, rather, that the author's emotional investment is ultimately with the Jewish people, and that it is only with *their* reversal of fortune that the story can conclude satisfyingly. When we consider that Esther and Mordecai are ultimately Mesopotamian characters, transplanted to a Jewish "Alternate Universe," this narrative decision makes even more sense. Just as the fan fiction author discussed above wrote about WWE wrestlers, but centered her story's emotional journey on her inserted Filipina protagonist, so was the author of Esther most deeply invested in the entity that represented their own embodied self.

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30. E.g. Winitzer, "The Reversal of Fortune Theme," 174-175.

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Esther Brownsmith
OTSEM Summary, 2022
Paper: “For the Love of the Jews: The Book of Esther as Emotioned Literacy”

My paper is an excerpt from my upcoming monograph, *Queen of the Alternate Universe: Reading the Book of Esther as Fan Fiction*. In the book, I make the argument that the biblical characters of Esther and Mordecai are based on the characters of Ishtar and Marduk, and that fan fiction studies is therefore a fruitful lens for analyzing the biblical text. I introduce the common fan fiction trope of the “Alternate Universe” (AU), in which favorite characters are transplanted into a different setting and plot, as an explanation for the differences between known Ishtar myths and the book of Esther. While this project began as a single paper, I found that the fan fiction lens opened up numerous new questions and conversations around the book of Esther: for instance, how does the fan fiction idea of “canon” interact with contemporary conversations about the ancient imagined library? How is queerness entwined with the book’s goals? How can notions of hybridity and subversion explain the complex relationship between the book of Esther and other biblical texts? Different chapters will address these diverse subjects.

This particular excerpt comes from a chapter in which I engage affect theory as it interacts with fan studies and the book of Esther. I focus primarily on Brit Kelley’s *Loving Fanfiction*, with additional comparisons to Michael Millner’s *Fever Reading*, in order to argue that the book of Esther stems from “emotioned literacy,” a mode of writing invested with the author’s bodily identity and passions, and one that draws on and evokes readers’ own feelings and identities. To illustrate my argument, I make an observation about the book’s mentions of the word “Jew,” and I reflect on the dialogue in chapter 4.

I am still planning out the remainder of the chapter on Esther and affect theory, and I would particularly welcome feedback in that direction. One direction I could go is to examine how the book’s lavish descriptions, roller coaster plot, and dramatic revelations

evoke emotions from the reader; there is some good recent work on clothing in the book that could contribute to this. Another direction would be to delve more fully into my observation in this paper—the antinomic balance in diaspora Judaism between evoked presence and an absent Temple—and explore how both of those work in diaspora Judaism more broadly, in order to elucidate the importance of affective writing in the book itself. Or are there other aspects of my paper that would be stronger if I gave them an extended discussion?

I welcome feedback on any aspect of my paper and my broader project. This section of the book attempts to draw together not two but three very diverse fields—biblical studies, fan fiction studies, and affect theory—and while I believe that they have some very fruitful room for interaction, I am also aware of the dangers of such cross-disciplinary work: that my engagement with one or more fields will seem superficial or inadequate, and that the wide gaps between academic fields will make my comparisons less than persuasive. I am also always concerned about my meta-argument (that fan fiction is a useful lens for reading Esther); in this instance, I do think that reading the text as fan fiction helps to illuminate its affective aspects more strongly than affect theory alone would do, but perhaps that argument could be stronger. I'm looking forward to the conversation.

Thank you for taking the time to read and consider my paper.

***Agent, Action, Objects,* and *Result*: An Analytical Model for Studying Ritual Blood Manipulation in Hebrew Bible Texts**

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1. Preface

I would like the focal points of discussion during the session to be centered around: 1. How can we distinguish between highly essential ritual actions and ritual actions that are less essential within an overall ritual (cf., the question of action hierarchies in rituals)? 2. By analyzing Lev 4:27-31 according to the analytical model, two ritual agents are identified, that is, the priest and the unintentional sinner bringing the sin offering. However, could YHWH be regarded as a ritual agent on the same terms as the priest and the unintentional sinner as well? 3. As presented below, analyzing Lev 4:27-31 according to the analytical model raises the question why blood is placed on the horns of the altar; is there any meaning or symbolism attached to the horns explaining why blood is placed on them, or is the blood manipulation on the horns a practical and pragmatic solution? Could it be that 'ritual place' is the answer to this question? 4. Are there any other (possibly supplemental) analytical approaches that I could employ and that my project could benefit from?

2. Introduction

Blood plays a crucial role in the Hebrew Bible and in Hebrew Bible (HB) rituals. In recent decades, rituals in the HB have received much attention, including rituals in which blood is manipulated on different persons and objects. However, consensus has not yet been reached on the meaning and function of blood rituals in the HB, and the present PhD project is a continuation of recent studies on the topic. The aim of the study is to examine the ritual *efficacy* of blood in selected HB ritual texts, and I will apply ritual theory to the HB texts in order to show how ritual actions are expected to be efficacious and to show how they are interpreted as having meanings and functions by the writers of the texts. The anthropology of blood in the HB will supplement this since concepts of blood in the HB play an important role in the ritual process by substantiating ritual efficacy. The research questions in the study are as follows: 1. Why is blood – and not spit, water, semen, urine, or milk – used as a ritual ingredient in the selected HB texts (what are the meanings)? 2. How is blood used in a ritual manner, and what is the efficacy of blood when in contact with the sanctuary and its objects

(what are the functions)? In my study, I will compare different forms of blood rituals in the HB and analyse how blood as a ritual ingredient functions in various selected texts.

In my project, I have selected five HB ritual texts in which blood is used as a ritual ingredient. The HB ritual texts are selected based on two criteria: 1. The text should display a detailed blood manipulation which is found in the priestly writing in Leviticus and in the Book of Ezekiel. 2. The text should describe a blood manipulation on the sanctuary and its objects, because these elements indicate points of access to the deity. Based on these criteria, the sin/purification offering, e.g., the חַטָּאת-offering, in Leviticus 4, Leviticus 8, Leviticus 16, and Ezekiel 43 will be a part of the empiric basis of this study. The manipulation of blood on a temporary altar at the foot of Mount Sinai in Exodus 24 will also be studied in this project. This ritual text will be a test case, since the blood application in Exodus 24 is not a part of a חַטָּאת-offering, leading to the question if this ritual action has another purpose than the other four selected texts.

Analyzing rituals gives rise to the following question: How can we 'open up' the rituals to see what is inside of them? In this paper, I will present an analytical model that will help me to pose the right questions to the ritual texts leading me to answers that will open the ritual texts. The analytical model is utilized in order to map the ritual and identify the different elements within a ritual. This project focuses on a certain ritual element i.e. blood and its function and therefore, focus is on ritual efficacy. 'Efficacy' is a key notion in my project and should be commented on. Efficacy refers to the *ability* and *possibility* of an action to produce an amount of desired effect. The classic scholar of history of religion and ritual theory, Jørgen Podemann Sørensen, provides us with a ritual definition that emphasizes the efficacy of ritual actions; Podemann Sørensen's ritual definition highlights that ritual is a category of action that is performed in order to achieve something, a category of action that does not leave the world unchanged. In Podemann's own words: "A ritual is designed and performed on the assumption that once it is accomplished, the world is not quite what it would have been without the ritual" (Podemann Sørensen 1993, 18). This is what Podemann calls ritual *efficacy* (ibid., 20). Using cognitive studies to explain how efficacy is ascribed to ritual action, the Danish scholar of religion Jesper Sørensen also elucidate the aspect of ritual efficacy.[1] According to Sørensen, at least one of the elements within a ritual must be ascribed with magical agency, that is, a special quality which is a necessary condition for the ritual to be regarded as efficacious (Sørensen 2007, 65).

[1] Sørensen also employs the classic paradigm of ritual theory by referring to the anthropological work of Catherine Humphrey and James Laidlaw (Humphrey & Laidlaw 1994) and Sørensen succeeds in combining cognitive studies of religion with a more classic paradigm.

However, before we can determine which ritual elements that are ascribed with magical agency thus ensuring the efficacy of the ritual, the different ritual elements must be identified. The mapping of a ritual according to the analytical model will help me to identify the different ritual elements within a ritual, and this mapping will show that blood is a ritual element in the selected HB ritual texts. The next step will be to study if magical agency is ascribed to blood and if so, how magical agency is ascribed to this ritual element. Thus, the analytical model helps me to identify blood as a ritual element which is a prerequisite for studying the efficacy of blood.

In this paper, I will firstly present the ritual theory that my analytical model is based on, and I will then proceed by presenting the analytical model and the questions it poses to the ritual texts. Secondly, I will analyze a Hebrew Bible (HB) ritual text, that is, the sin offering for the individual in Leviticus 4:27-31, in the light of the analytical model. Lastly, I will present two further questions to the ritual text which the analytical model gives rise to.

3. Presentation of the Analytical Model

Rituals, whether they are a very complex or very simple, contain certain components or elements, and this paragraph will outline four components of focus that will guide my reading and study of selected HB ritual texts. The four components comprise an analytical model I have developed with my material in mind, that is, HB ritual texts in which blood is used as a ritual ingredient, and this model will help me to pose the right questions to the ritual texts. I partially base my analytical model on the ritual theories of Ronald L. Grimes and Jesper Sørensen and adapt the model, so it matches what I am going to study.

Analyzing and theorizing ritual, Grimes distinguishes between seven ritual elements (or he 'carves up the sacrificial bird' as he puts it himself; Grimes 2013, 236) that may be present in a ritual. These seven elements are: Ritual *Actions* (e.g., slaughtering, adorning a picture of a goddess with flowers and incense), Ritual *Actors* (e.g., a shaman, a priest), Ritual *Places* (e.g., temples, churches), Ritual *Times* (e.g., religious festivals), Ritual *Objects* (e.g., incense, icons, magical stones), Ritual *Languages* (e.g., the Trinitarian formula in the Christian baptism ritual, prayer), and Ritual *Groups* (Hindus, Christians, Muslims; Grimes 2013, 231-294). A ritual does not necessarily entail all seven elements, for example a ritual can be performed without uttering any words, and as it will be elaborated in the following, I only focus on four components in my analysis of the HB ritual texts.

Jesper Sørensen also – more or less – identifies these seven elements or components in a ritual (Sørensen 2007, 65-75). According to Sørensen, these components can be ascribed with magical agency which ensures that the ritual is regarded as being efficacious. Before I elaborate on the ascription of magical agency to ritual elements, it is important to present Sørensen' definition of magic. In Sørensen's definition of the term there is a strong focus on efficacy: "Magic is about *changing the state or essence of persons, objects, acts and events through certain special and non-trivial kinds of actions with opaque causal mediation*" (Sørensen's italicization; Sørensen 2007, 32). Thus, magic is about changing the world through ritual actions which means that according to this understanding, magic and rituals are not two separate categories, but 'magical' is a certain quality of some ritual actions. Rituals can have this quality to a higher or lower degree depended on how much the ritual concerned focuses on efficacy. The concept 'magical rituals' is then understood as a subcategory of the main category 'rituals', and magical rituals are thus a certain type of rituals emphasizing the aspect of efficacy. As mentioned, the ascription of magical agency to (at least) one of the ritual components ensures that a ritual is regarded as efficacious. For example, when a child is baptised, the ritual action must be performed by an ordained priest if the ritual actions should be regarded as being efficacious (ibid., 65). Thus, since an ordained priest (among other things) is a necessary element for the ritual to have an effect, the priest (as a ritual agent) is ascribed with magical agency.

The three components of ritual agents, ritual actions, and ritual objects presented both by Grimes and Sørensen are present in the HB ritual texts that I focus on and therefore, these three components will guide my focus when reading the HB ritual texts. Since my project focuses on ritual efficacy – that is, the ritual is expected to prompt something by the ritual participants – I also include the element of the result of the ritual in my analytical model by asking what result the ritual text itself ascribes to the ritual. In this regard, it is important to distinguish between 'efficacy' and 'result': Efficacy refers to the *etic* perspective on ritual actions, that is, when we are looking at the rituals from the outside, whereas result refers to the *emic* perspective, that is, what does the text itself say about what is the result of the ritual performance. Thus, efficacy relates to my project in general, and result relates to the analytical model.

In my study of the five selected HB texts, I will focus on the four components in the ritual text by asking the following questions:

- Who are the *agents* performing the ritual actions (and who is performing what)?

- Which (animate/inanimate) *objects* are used in the ritual?

- Which *actions* are performed in the ritual?

- Which *result* does the text ascribe to the ritual?

Posing the abovementioned four questions to the HB ritual texts should lead to answers that will 'open up' the rituals. In other words, this analytical model will help me to map the ritual and identify the different ritual elements which is a prerequisite for studying which ritual elements that are ascribed with magical agency. In the following, I will utilise the model in my analysis of the sin offering for the individual in Leviticus 4:27-31. The ritual components will be indicated by separate colors (as shown above) in the analysis.

4. The Analytical Model Demonstrated on the Sin Offering for the Individual (Leviticus 4:27-31)

In this paragraph, I will present the Hebrew text and translate it verse by verse. After each verse, I will identify the different ritual components in the text and categorise them according to the abovementioned four components, that is, whether the component is an agent, action, object, or the result of the performed ritual. The categorisation will be indicated by the four colors as indicated above. In the end, I will summarise my findings. However, I will firstly present the context and structure of Lev 4:27-31.

Lev 4:27-31 is a part of the Pentateuch with its narrative of the ancestral origins of Israel in Genesis and the narrative of the salvation from Egypt, the journey in the wilderness, and the reception of the law at Mount Sinai narrated in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. In Leviticus, we find laws, mostly concerning the cult, and the book can be divided into four parts: The ritual law complex in Lev 1-7, the inauguration of the cult in Lev 8-10, the purity laws in Lev 11-16, and the Holiness Source in Lev 17-27 (Milgrom 2000, vii). The sin offering for the individual is a part of the ritual law complex in Lev 1-7 describing five different rituals in the Israelite cult: the burnt offering (עֹלָה) in chapter 1, the grain offering (מִנְחָה) in chapter 2, the well-being offering (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים) in chapter 3, the sin offering (חַטָּאת) in chapter 4, and the guilt offering (אָשָׁם) in chapter 5. In Lev 6-7, further instructions are given on the five rituals. Lev 4 outlines ritual procedures for (unintentional) violation

of YHWH's commandment by the anointed priest (vv. 3-12), the whole congregation of Israel (vv. 13-21), a chieftain (vv. 22-26) or an individual (vv. 27-35).[2]

In Lev 4:27-31, it is prescribed how a common person from the Israelite community shall bring a female kid from the goats without blemish as a sin offering to the Tent of Meeting when he/she has sinned unintentionally or has become aware of committed sin. It should be noted that there is good reason to assume that the ritual has been performed by both men and women, since women in other cases were required to bring offerings to the sanctuary (cf., the sin offering of the new mother in Lev 12). After bringing the goat to the sanctuary, the unintentional sinner lays his/her hands on the head of the goat and slaughter the goat inside the precinct of the sanctuary. The handling of the goat is then passed to the priest who takes some of the blood from the goat with his finger and puts it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering. The remaining of the blood is poured out at the base of the altar. Afterwards, the priest removes the fat from the carcass of the goat and burns it upon the altar of burnt offering. The text states that transformation of fat into smoke is 'a pleasing aroma to YHWH'. In the end, it is stated in the text that the result of the preceding ritual actions is atonement and forgiveness.[3]

In the following, I will analyse Lev 4:27-31 according to the analytical model presented above.

v. 27

וְאִם־נֶ֣פֶשׁ אַחַ֔ת תֶּחֱטָ֖ה בִּשְׁגָגָ֑ה מֵעַ֣ם הָאָ֔רֶץ בַּעֲשֹׂתָ֕הּ אַחַ֖ת מִמִּצְוֹ֣ת יְהוָ֑ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר לֹא־תֵעָשֶׂ֖ינָה וְאָשֵֽׁם

"And if a person of the ordinary people sins unintentionally in doing any one of the things that by YHWH's commandments ought not to be done, and he is guilty,"

In verse 27, we identify the first ritual component, that is, a person of the ordinary people that have sinned unintentionally (indicated by the blue color). The unintentional sinner is a ritual agent since he/she is performing the actions in v. 28.

[2] Contrary to Lev 1-3, Lev 4 (and Lev 5) mentions the occasion(s) for the offering. Lev 1-3 can be regarded as occasional offerings.

[3] In that respect, I follow Christian Eberhart's understanding of כִּפֶּר as referring both to the blood manipulation and the burning of the fat; both ritual actions are required in order to accomplish atonement (Eberhart 2002, 261-263).

v. 28

אוֹ הוֹדַע אֵלָיו חַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא וְהֵבִיא קָרְבָּנוֹ שְׂעִירַת עִזִּים תְּמִימָה נְקֵבָה עַל־חַטָּאתוֹ אֲשֶׁר חָטָא

"Or the sin he has committed becomes known to him, he shall bring as his offering a female kid from the goats without blemish for his sin that he has committed."

Again, we identify a ritual agent in v. 28, that is, the person who is become known with his sin (indicated by the blue color). Another ritual component can be identified in this verse: a female goat without blemish (indicated by the red color). The female goat is a ritual object since it is handled by the ritual agents, that is, the female goat is not an active agent. However, the female goat is a requisite for the following ritual actions.

v. 29

וְסָמַךְ אֶת־יָדוֹ עַל רֹאשׁ הַחַטָּאת וְשָׁחַט אֶת־הַחַטָּאת בִּמְקוֹם הָעֹלָה

"He shall lay his hand on the head of the sin offering and slaughter the sin offering at the place of the burnt offering."

In v. 29, the ritual component of action is detected by the two ritual actions, the laying on of hand on the head of the sin offering and the slaughtering of the sin offering (indicated by the green color).[4] The subjects for the two ritual actions are the agents identified in v. 27 and 28, that is, the unintentional sinner or the person which has become aware of his/her sin.

v. 30

וְלָקַח הַכֹּהֵן מִדָּמָהּ בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ וְנָתַן עַל־קַרְנֹת מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה וְאֶת־כָּל־דָּמָהּ יִשְׁפֹּךְ אֶל־יְסוֹד הַמִּזְבֵּחַ

[4] It is worth noticing the shift of terms in v. 28 and v. 29. In v. 28, קָרְבָּן is used to designate the offering whereas in v. 29, the technical term חַטָּאת is used.

"And the priest shall take some of its blood with his finger and put it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering and he shall pour the remaining of its blood at the base of the altar."

A new ritual agent is introduced in v. 30, that is the priest (indicated by the blue color). The priest now takes over regarding the performance of the following ritual actions: taking (some of the blood) with his finger, putting (blood) on the horns of altar of burnt offering, and pouring (the rest of the blood) out at the base of the altar (indicated by the green color). Additionally, we can also identify new ritual objects: blood and the altar with its horns and base (indicated by the red color).

v. 31

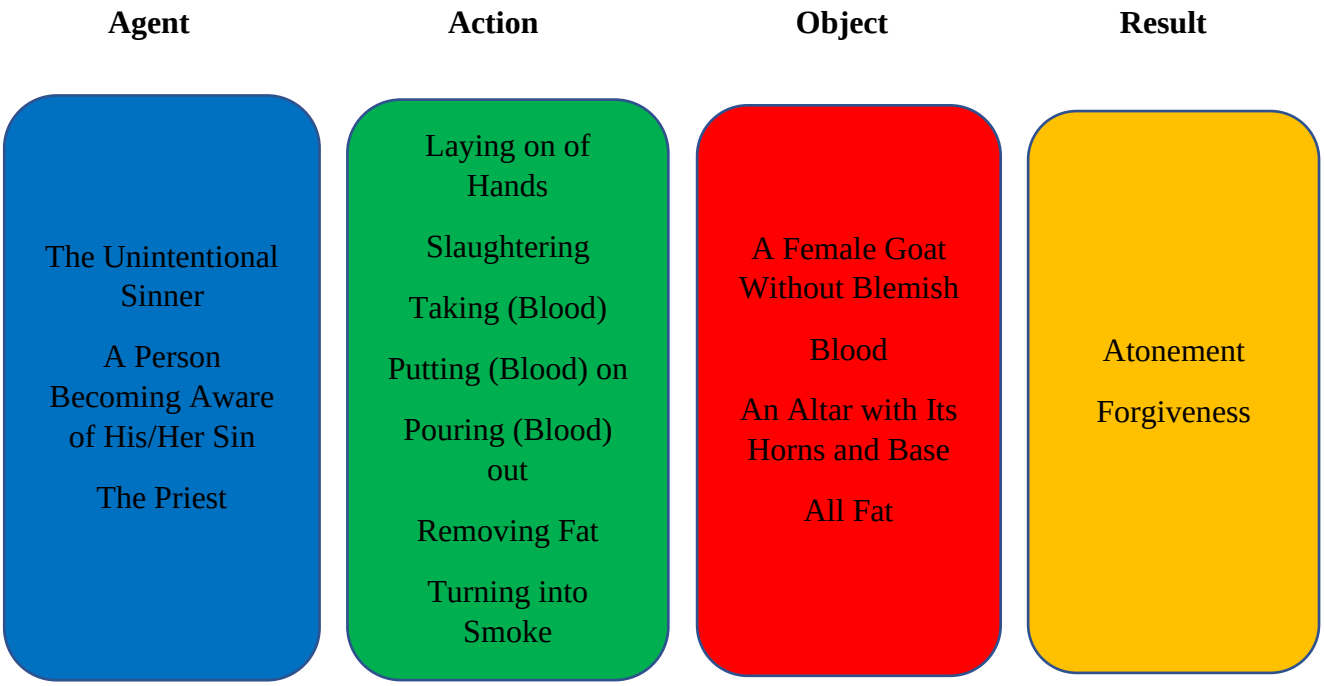
וְאֶת־כָּל־חֶלְבָּהּ יָסִיר כַּאֲשֶׁר הוּסַר חֵלֶב מֵעַל זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים וְהִקְטִיר הַכֹּהֵן הַמִּזְבֵּחָה לְרֵיחַ נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה וְכִפֶּר עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן וְנִסְלַח לוֹ

"And he shall remove all its fat as the fat is removed from the sacrifice of the peace offering, and the priest shall turn it into smoke on the altar as a pleasing aroma to YHWH. Thus, the priest shall make atonement for him, and it shall be forgiven him."

In the last verse of the sin offering for the individual, we identify the priest again as the ritual agent. The priest is performing the ritual actions of removing all the fat (as it is removed from the sacrifice of peace offering) and turning the fat into smoke (indicated by the green color). Then, in v. 31 we are introduced to a new ritual object, that is, all the fat, together with the altar already mentioned (indicated by the red color). Lastly, the result that the text itself explicitly ascribes to the ritual actions is stated: the ritual results in atonement and forgiveness (indicated by the yellow color).[5]

[5] In my thesis, I will follow William K. Gilders translation of כִּפֶּר, that is, 'to effect removal' which gives me the possibility of nuancing what is removed (Gilders 2004, 28-29). However, since this is not the place for a discussion on that topic, I will use the commonly known term 'atonement'.

Reading Leviticus 4:27-31 in the light of the analytical model and the questions it poses to the ritual texts helps us to identify the ritual agents, the ritual actions, the ritual objects, and the result of the ritual (see the following illustration).



5. Further Questions Prompted by the Analytical Model

Reading the blood ritual texts in the light of the four components above gives rise to further questions, that is, the question of action hierarchies in rituals and the potency of the horns of the altar.[6] I will first discuss the question of action hierarchies in rituals and afterwards turn to the question of the potency of the horns of the alar.

When studying ritual texts, some ritual actions intuitively catch our attention more than others within an overall ritual sequence. We can take the example of the baptism ritual in the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Denmark: Prior to the actual baptism action, that is, the three-times pouring of water over the head of the child, water is poured into the baptismal font. The pouring of water into the baptismal font is a prerequisite for the baptismal element of pouring water over the head can take place; it facilitates the baptism ritual. However, somehow, we intuitively understand that the latter

[6] I recognise that other questions than the two abovementioned may arise. However, since my project focuses on blood as a ritual ingredient, I choose to discuss those questions relating to blood.

action is more important than the first; the pouring of water over a child's head is ascribed with more efficacy than the pouring of water into the font. The pouring of water into the baptismal font is a necessity for the baptism to take place, but *intuitively*, we know that it is not a decisive action regarding the efficacy of the ritual; some of the following actions are more decisive. Thus, the action of pouring water over a child's head leaps out at us whereas the pouring of water into the baptismal font do not receive much of our attention and the question is if we can discern hierarchically between actions within an overall ritual sequence; that is, are some ritual actions more essential than others with regard to the efficacy of the ritual and if so, how do we distinguish?

In his book *The Craft of Ritual Studies*, Ronald L. Grimes (Grimes 2013) shortly touches upon the subject. As mentioned previously, Grimes outlines seven ritual elements and one of them is 'Ritual Actions'. In his considerations on ritual actions, Grimes mentions the facilitating and preparatory aspect of some ritual actions. Additionally, he urges the researcher to ask, if some ritual actions are more essential than others (Grimes 2013, 237). Thus, Grimes indirectly points out that there seems to be a hierarchy among ritual actions and that some actions are more important or essential for the efficacy of the ritual than other ritual actions. However, Grimes does not mention if one can put up criteria for discerning essential ritual actions from 'merely' facilitating ritual actions.[7] Jesper Sørensen implies somehow the same perspective as Grimes – that some ritual actions are more essential than others – by saying the following: "The efficacious sequence of action is often not the same as the ritual structure taken as a whole. It might only be a subsection of the ritual action believed to contain the actual efficacy, whereas other parts will have other ritual functions" (Sørensen 2007b, 68).[8] This points to that a subsection of a ritual sequence could be regarded as more essential than other subsections because of the efficacy that is ascribed to it.

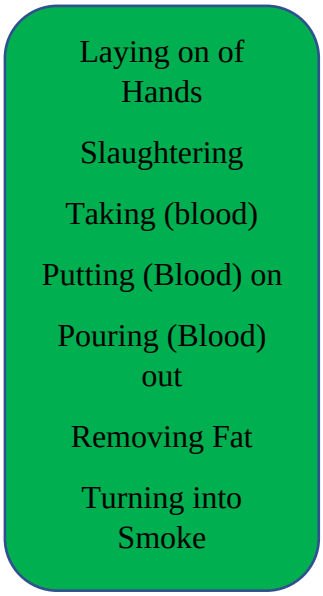
I have not been able to find any ritual theory relating to the question of action hierarchies in rituals and how to put up to criteria for distinguishing between facilitating and essential ritual actions. As mentioned above, Grimes and Sørensen tentatively touch upon the subject but make no conclusion on how to distinguish between essential ritual actions and ritual actions that are less essential. When reading the HB blood ritual texts, I sense that some ritual actions are more essential than others. However, without any theory putting up criteria for discerning, the intuition of the interpreter is

[7] It is worth noting that Grimes – like Podemann Sørensen – states that rituals are meant to prompt something: "… enacting a ritual can set things in motion. Its gestures and postures are designed to achieve something. Their aim is not merely to entertain but rather to effect …" (Grimes 2013, 243).
[8] For example, some ritual actions could have the function of preparing or staging the ritual.

brought into play in this thesis when trying to distinguish between highly essential ritual actions with efficacy and ritual actions that are less essential and may only serve to facilitate the performance of the ritual without having any efficacy in itself.

Studying Leviticus 4:27-31, we could ask if all the ritual actions identified in this HB ritual text (see the illustration below) are equally important or essential in relation to the efficacy of the ritual.

Action



For example, the female kid is slaughtered, but is this ritual action as important or essential as putting blood on the horns of the altar or could the slaughtering 'just' be a facilitating action that releases the blood for the subsequent blood manipulation on the altar. Additionally, one could ask if the two kinds of blood manipulation, that is, putting blood on the horns of the altar and pouring out blood at the base of the altar, are equally important or essential regarding ritual efficacy. Pouring out blood at the base of the altar could be seen as an act of disposal by which the remaining blood that is not putted on the horns of the altar is removed. Thus, identifying the different ritual actions in Leviticus 4:27-31 raises the question of action hierarchies: are some ritual actions more important or essential than other in relation to ritual efficacy?

The second question that arises when we study Leviticus 4:27-31 in the light of the analytical model relates to the action of putting blood on the horns of the altar. The question is why blood placed on the horns of the altar and if there is any potency attached to the horns explaining why blood is placed on them. However, the ritual action of placing blood on the horns of the altar could be a practical, pragmatic solution since the altar's platform is used for burning for example fat (cf., Leviticus 4:31). This is only preliminary considerations, and the subject will be studied and elaborated more thoroughly in my projet.

Both questions relate to weighing between what is a pragmatic and practical solution on the one hand, and what is a symbolic and important action on the other hand. As mentioned, pouring out blood at the base of the altar could be a practical solution by which the remaining blood is disposed of. If this is the case, no symbolic meaning is attached to the ritual action. Putting blood on the horns of the altar could be of symbolic importance if the horns are ascribed with potency. However, it could be that pragmatism determines where blood is placed.

6. Summary

The analytical model presented in this paper helps me to map the selected HB ritual texts by focusing on four ritual components: *Agent*, *Action*, *Object*, and *Result*. When we analyse Leviticus 4:27-31 according to the analytical model and the questions it poses to the text,

- the unintentional sinner, the person in knowledge of her/his sin, and the priest are identified as *ritual agents*
- laying on of hands, slaughtering, taking blood, putting on blood, pouring out blood, removing fat and turning it into smoke are identified as *ritual actions*
- a female goat and its blood and fat and an altar with its horns and base are identified as *ritual objects*,
- atonement and forgiveness are identified as the *result* of the ritual.

In addition, the mapping of the ritual text by utilising the analytical model gives rise to further questions to the ritual text, that is, the question of action hierarchies in rituals – are some ritual actions more essential or important than others in relation to ritual efficacy – and the question of the potency

of the horns – is there any symbolic meaning ascribed to the horns or is the blood manipulation on the horns a pragmatic and practical solution.

Thus, the analytical model presented in this paper helps me to identify the different ritual elements in a ritual by posing the right questions to the texts. Additionally, the analytical model gives rise to further questions to the ritual texts. The mapping of the ritual elements within the HB blood rituals is a prerequisite for identifying which ritual elements that are ascribed with magical agency. Thus, the next step for me will be to study which ritual elements including blood that are ascribed with magical agency and how magical agency is ascribed to blood and how this ensures the efficacy of the ritual.

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Project Title

The Efficacy of Blood: A Ritualistic Analysis of the Function of Blood in Selected Hebrew Bible Texts *by Anja Smedstrup Christensen, The Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo (asc@teologi.dk)*

Project Summary

Blood plays a crucial role in the Hebrew Bible and in Hebrew Bible (HB) rituals. In recent decades, rituals in the HB have received much attention, including rituals in which blood is manipulated on different persons and objects. However, consensus has not yet been reached on the meaning and function of blood rituals in the HB, and the present PhD project is a continuation of recent studies on the topic. The aim of the study is to examine the ritual *efficacy* of blood in the Hebrew Bible, and the study will be conducted by investigating the meanings and functions of selected blood rituals in the HB. The theoretical framework of this study is based on the ritual theories of Jørgen Podemann Sørensen and Jesper since these theories focus on ritual efficacy. The perspective of ritual theory will be supplemented by an anthropological perspective since concepts of blood in the HB play an important role in the ritual process by substantiating ritual efficacy. The questions in the study will be as follows: 1. Why is blood – and not spit, water, semen, urine, or milk – used as a ritual ingredient in the selected HB texts (what are the meanings)? 2. How is blood used in a ritual manner, and what is the efficacy of blood when in contact with the sanctuary and its objects (what are the functions)? In my study, I will compare different forms of blood rituals in the HB and analyze how blood as a ritual ingredient functions in various selected texts.

The HB ritual texts in focus are selected based on two criteria: 1. The text should display a detailed blood manipulation which is found in the priestly writing in Leviticus and in the Book of Ezekiel. 2. The text should describe a blood manipulation on the sanctuary and its objects, because they indicate points of access to the deity. I will study if contact with divine objects is crucial to the efficacy of the rituals. Based on these criteria, the sin/purification offering, e.g., the *ḥaṭṭāʾt*-offering, in Leviticus 4, Leviticus 8, Leviticus 16, and Ezekiel 43 will be a part of the empiric basis of this study. The manipulation of blood on a temporary altar at the foot of Mount Sinai in Exodus 24 will also be studied in this project. This ritual text will be a test case, since the blood application in Exodus 24 is not a part of a *ḥaṭṭāʾt*-offering, leading to the question if this ritual action has another purpose than the other four selected texts.

The theoretical framework of the thesis is ritual theory based on the works of Jørgen Podemann-Sørensen and Jesper Sørensen. Podemann Sørensen's theory of *ritual efficacy* will show how ritual actions are expected to be efficacious, and Jesper Sørensen's theory based on cognitive studies gives insight into how ritual actions are interpreted by the writers of the texts as having meanings and functions. In the cognitive process, concepts of blood in the HB may play an important role in the ritual process by substantiating ritual efficacy. Thus, the anthropological perspective on blood in the HB will be brought into conversation with ritual theory with the goal of understanding how conceptions of blood in the HB are related to ritual actions.

The analytical model presented in this paper is placed in chapter 4 in my PhD thesis and the model is in continuation of the ritual theory presented in chapter 3 (see the preliminary table of contents below). The analytical model is also a lead up to chapter 5 and the following four chapters in which I analyse the HB ritual texts. The five selected ritual texts will be studied separately in three steps. The first step of the process is a textual analysis. In this section, I will also study ancient Near East (ANE) blood ritual texts to gain insight on the HB rituals. In the second step, the anthropological material from the HB and the ANE will be brought into play to be used as background information to the HB blood rituals and thus give them an anthropological contextualisation. In the third step, ritual theory is applicated on the texts. It is within this step, the analytical model presented in my paper will be utilised in the studying and reading of the ritual texts, and the model will open up and help me to pose the right questions to the HB ritual texts.

Preliminary table of Contents

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The attestation of Lam1 in 4QLam and its implications for the history of composition of the Book of Lamentations – Paper for OTSEM 2022

1 Preface: Focal points of discussion

- How can the readings of the manuscript be evaluated textually and theologically in comparison with important reference variables? Where are the original features of 4QLam?
- What influences can be derived from the variant readings attested in 4QLam for the overall composition of the book of Lamentations regarding fragment 2?
- How is the manuscript's overall relevance to be determined: Is it a valuable textual witness or a formal-content error production?
- In what ways are inter- and intratextual[1] analyses in *general* help- and purposeful for determining textual compositional as well as redactional correlations?
- What kind of *general* methodological approaches can be made when faced with textual material damages?

2 Introduction: The book of Lamentations in the context of Qumran

As a basis of investigation, the following combination is taken: The book of Lam, primarily its first chapter, functions as the thematic object. This is illuminated from the perspective of Qumran (reading perspective object). The focus of the textual analysis is on 4QLam, for the investigation of which the literary counterpart biblical Lam 1 is consulted after the attestation in the Masoretic text (MT), because text-critical examinations of Lam are under the spell of MT.[2] Basically, however, "MT cannot simply be equated with the original text of Lamentations."[3] The degree of deviation, however, and the conclusions to be drawn for the chapter and overall structure will be examined in the following on

[1] The latter terminology is understood according to PARRY: "There are numerous key words, phrases, themes, and images that recur throughout the book which serve to weave it together" (Parry, 2010, 17). Intratexts describe literary reference spaces in a delimited book, while intertexts refer to connections within the entire canonized Old Testament textual corpus. In order to sensitize for a problem awareness in dealing with the terminology, it should be pointed out that as a premise for intratextuality the closedness of the book area must be clearly clarified.
[2] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2000, 127.
[3] KOTZÉ, 2017, 359.

the basis of the writings from the caves of Khirbet Qumrān (خربة قمران), namely the fragments entitled 4QLam. Etymologically, this is the manuscript name synonymous with the manuscript number 4Q111, which was initially assigned: the object of investigation is the 111th object discovered in Cave 4, which could be assigned to the book of Lamentations in the further course. In September 1952, Bedouins stumbled upon this site in the Wadi Qumran, uncovering fragments in rock walls as well as in the foothills of the marl plateau only 70 m next to the ruins.[4] Since it contained 75% of the total Qumran finds,[5] Cave 4 has advanced as the "Goldader von Qumran"[6] to become the most famous site within the settlement, heralding a new phase of manuscript discovery. One problem emerges with regard to the overall finds: Despite the diverse wealth of writings, the poor state of preservation leads to considerable difficulties in the assignment and translation of the individual fragments.[7] How material damage and missing fragments affect the textual inventory will become clear, as will the determination of its "somewhat variant version of the [Lamentations] book [chapter one]."[8]

4QLam contains 193 words, fully or partly preserved, in three columns, sc. single fragments, which primarily contain parts of Lam 1: Col. I shows eleven lines with remnants of 1:1a$^{\beta}$-6, Col. II excerpts of verses 1:6-10 also with eleven lines, and Col. III offers parts of verses 1:10-18a in ten lines. Verses 18b-22 are not attested, and even the existing correspondences to MT are often only partially attested. 4QLam thus confirms BERNER's general evaluation of Qumran manuscripts: The basic problem in interpreting does not arise at the level of interpretation, but already through their extremely poor state of preservation.[9] The object has a fourth fragment with an extremely small textual inventory of ten letters[10] to Lam 2:5 which are in line with MT. Interestingly, a fifth two-line text fragment can be discovered on the complete recording B-280204[11] belonging to 4QLam, which was probably initially attributed to the corpus as a fragment to Lam 4:14, but there are justified doubts.[12] In addition, CROSS also points to three further fragments of small text, which are visible in the 1960 photocopy for the entire corpus on B-284668,[13] but which obviously could not be given a concrete attribution and consequently do not appear further in the research literature.

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[4] Cf. STÖCKL BEN EZRA, 2016, 16.
[5] A tabular overview of the manuscripts dated by palaeography confirms the exceptional quantity status: In cave 4 single fragments of 142 biblical and 485 parabiblical manuscripts were found (cf. WEBSTER, 2002, 369). The ratio of caves 3 and 5, from which the other Lam fragments originate, is 3:12 and 7:18, respectively.
[6] SCHICK/BETZ/CROSS, 1996, 26.
[7] Cf. IAA, 2022a.
[8] ABEGG JR. ET.AL., 1999, 622.
[9] Cf. BERNER, 2006, 330.
[10] Further on, the terms consonant and letter are differentiated to indicate with the latter terminology that at least one vowel letter (sc. *matres lectionis*) is present.
[11] Cf. IAA, 2022j. In the following, the nomenclature is based on the numbering of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA, רשות העתיקות).
[12] The problem is precisely summarized by NEBE, who offers his own translation for the fragment, which measures approx. 2.5x2cm, and concludes that no Lam text is present (cf. NEBE, 1994, 313). It should be added to his argumentation that an affiliation to 5QLam^{a} Fragment 1 II (as a correspondence to Lam 4:14 MT) can be excluded on the basis of a comparison.
[13] Cf. CROSS, 2000, 231; s. IAA, 2022i.

In the three columns, the average line spacing measures 7 mm and the letter height 3.5 mm.[14] It is striking that the text stock is arranged in prosaic form, so that the alphabetical acrostics do not stand out externally. This is partly different in the other Lam fragments from Qumran: 3QLam places each verse on a new line (see B-299014).[15] ABEGG JR. ET. AL. suggest economic reasons for the choice of typeface: "the need to save space!"[16] A total of four Qumran fragments have been found on Lam: In addition to the above-mentioned data on 4QLam, 3QLam (3Q3) provides a copy on Lam 1:10-12[17] and 3:53-62. Another 25 individual fragments are divided between remains of two scrolls: 5QLam^{a} (5Q6) on Lam 4:5-8,11-16,19-22 as well as 5:1-13. 16-17 and 5QLam^{b} (5Q7) on Lam 4,17-20. In general, it can be stated that the orthographic variants and content-related differences of the individual manuscripts to MT are quantitatively manageable: The degree of overall deviation can thus be classified as rather small.[18] This relativization is at the same time the specific feature of 4QLam: it stands out, on the one hand, due to its quantitative size as the "most extensive manuscript"[19] and, on the other hand, due to its strongly fluctuating attestation of Lam 1, in which a number of content-related exciting shifts in emphasis become apparent. Thus KOENEN concludes: "4QLam [...] offers the most interesting manuscript".[20] SCHÄFER also concludes with a comparative look that 3QLam and 5QLam$^{a.b}$ do not contribute anything to the textual criticism of the MT, partly because the amount of preserved text is too small, partly because they are too close to MT.[21]

Nevertheless, a tension exists for 4QLam, characterized by a duality of high esteem ("a very important textual representative of Lamentations")[22] and polemical relativization. The latter is justified formally on material basis and content-wise on the basis of interpretative-smoothing readings. However, the discursive discussion will show whether 4QLam is de facto a "Billigproduktion".[23]

3 Material consideration of 4QLam

The object originally had a brown or beige leather colour and an uneven texture made on a leather of inferior quality.[24] The palaeographic[25] determination shows an early Herodian manuscript ("late-first century BCE").[26] The font characteristically corresponds to a semi-cursive type of "'vulgar semi-formal'

[14] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2006, 243.
[15] Cf. KOENEN, 2015; s. IAA, 2022c.g.
[16] ABEGG JR. ET. AL., 1999, 622.
[17] There is an overlap here with Col. II.III, so 3QLam is considered at that point.
[18] Cf. KOENEN, 2015.
[19] SALTERS, 2014, 23.
[20] KOENEN, 2013, 27; cf. KOENEN, 2015; LANGE, 2009, 491.
[21] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2000, 146.
[22] KOTZÉ, 2017, 360.
[23] LANGE, 2009, 491.
[24] Cf. LANGE, 2009, 491.
[25] For an explanation of the palaeographic methodology and its chronological determination, cf. WEBSTER, 2002, 351-363.
[26] ABEGG JR. ET.AL., 1999, 623.

Herodian [script]."[27] It is striking that the following letters have a very similar typeface and are therefore difficult to determine unambiguously: י and ה, ו and ר, ח and א. Thus, in the text-critical apparatus of the BHQ, SCHÄFER sometimes expresses the option to deviate from the transcribed DJD text.[28] In terms of research history, the question is explosive whether the manuscript originated directly in the context of a Qumran scribal school (TOV) or reached Cave 4 from another part of Palestine (CROSS): According to TOV, 4QLam stands in a series of 166 other biblical and parabiblical scrolls that are representatives of the "Qumran scribal practice"[29] and are characterized morphologically primarily by scriptio plena in pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The consequently frequent occurrence of *matres lectionis* (vowel letters) to facilitate reading is evident in various text-saved passages of 4QLam, especially with respect to the words כיא ,כול, and לוא, each of which are triple-occupied. Chronologically, the plene variant is partly attested quite early, from about 1000 BC. However, the rule of thumb is that the scriptio defectiva primarily present in the MT is "closer to the assumed original orthography of the biblical books."[30] Critically, CROSS' camp notes that the writings classified by TOV as Qumranian prove a plurality of scribal practices at the time of the Second Temple and that, in contrast, only one Qumran scribal school can be assumed. In addition, there are discrepancies in dating issues, since some of the manuscripts mentioned by TOV were produced before the Qumran settlement could be proven.[31] However, based on the orthographic-morphological parallels, it can be stated that "The possibility that 4QLam was copied by the scribes of the Qumran community [...] cannot be rejected out of hand."[32]

Material loss, triggered in particular by worms causing holes, has led to the formation of individual fragments and torn sections of text. In addition, there is further material damage in the form of textual gaps, so that the overall condition of the fragments can be described as "wrinkled and shrunken condition".[33] As a result, larger as well as smaller parts in all three columns require reconstruction, for which the DJD provides suggestions based on the MT wording. It remains to be critically noted that in the case of larger text gaps, it is not possible to verify whether these or entirely different readings were present.[34]

An own examination shows the following **balance**: The manuscript has a total number of 1048 letters, of which 428 are reconstructed. In percentage terms, the distribution is thus 40.84 (~41)% hypothetical and 59.16 (~59)% secured text inventory (*Figure 1*). Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the above-

[27] CROSS, 2000, 229; also LANGE, 2009, 491. For a detailed description of the script features, such as the pronounced length of the ל, cf. CROSS, 1995, 174-77.
[28] For example, concerning Lam 4:14, cf. SCHÄFER, 2020, 132*f.
[29] TOV, 2004, 263. For morphological examples cf. TOV, 2004, 263-68.
[30] TOV, 1992, 222; cf. KRAUSE, 2012, 10.
[31] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 24 and BAR-ILAN, 2000, 996f.
[32] KOTZÉ, 2013, 25.
[33] ABEGG JR. ET.AL., 1999, 229.
[34] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 65.

mentioned qualitatively inferior state of preservation is to be verified. In favour of a differentiation, it appears interesting to look at the individual columns I-III (*Figure 2*).

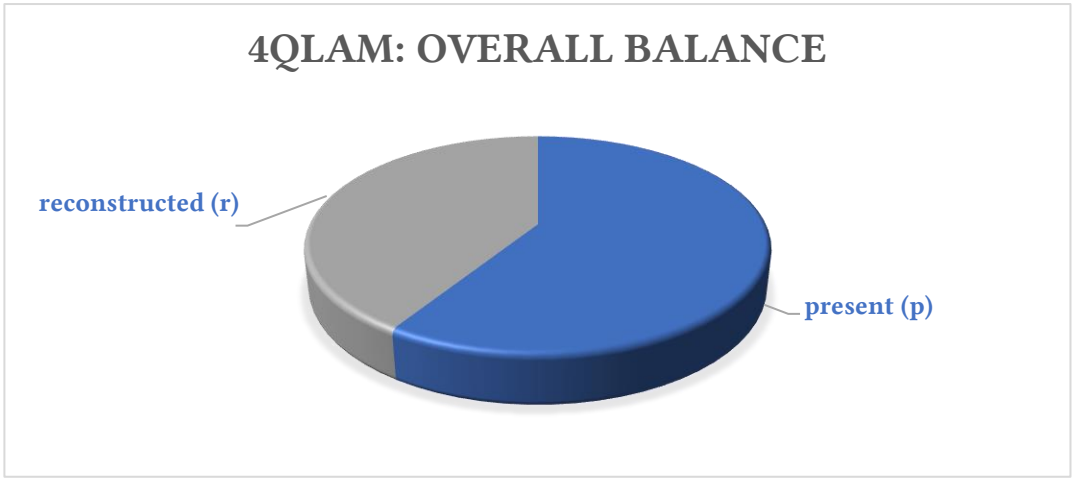


Figure 1 Overall Balance

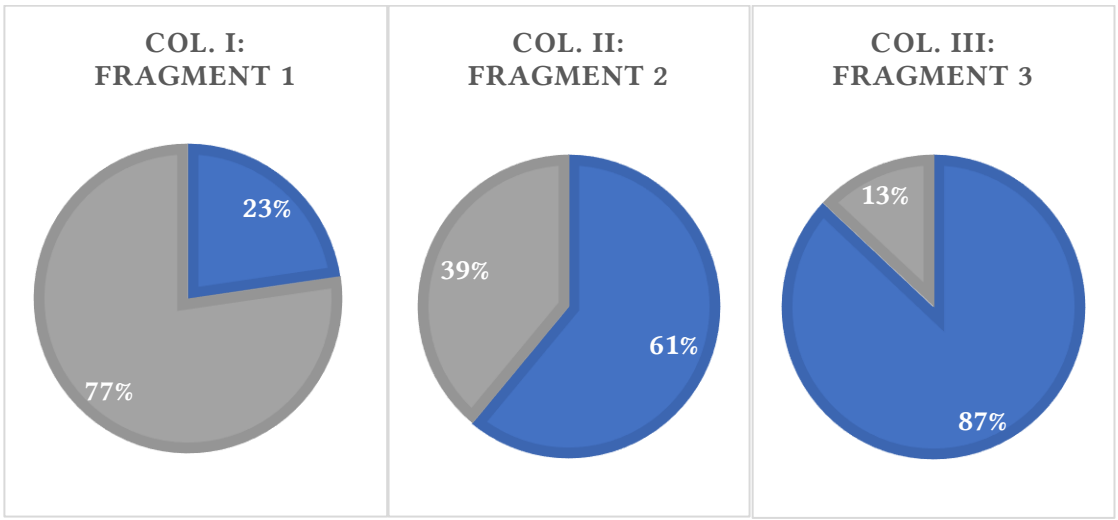


Figure 2 Individual Balance

The **result** of the graphic illustration shows: The textual attestation rises significantly with increasing Col. numbering, so that one can speak of a growing textual certainty: The increase in secured text inventory from Col. I to II is 38 %P[35] and from Col. II to III 26 %P. The result is corroborated by a listing of orthographic differences between MT and 4QLam in the DJD recording: Six entries are listed there for Col. I, three of which are based on purely hypothetical reconstruction work. For Col. II, there are five entries, of which one is based on subsequent textual reconstruction, and for Col. III, there are 18 cases, of which none is based on unverifiable reconstruction.[36]

[35] KOTZÉ sums up analogously: „the sheet containing Col. II was discovered in a better condition than the part on which Col. I was written" (KOTZÉ, 2013, 38).
[36] Cf. CROSS, 2000, 230.

4 Case Study of Col. II (Fragment 2): Lam 1,6b-10

Fragment 2 has a stock of 179 occupied letters, which have been arranged on a column width of 9 cm. This is still evident for the first five lines with a total height of 4.5 cm. From line 6 on, due to a major material damage, primarily reconstructed text stock has to be used (dimensions: approx. 2 cm wide and 4 cm high).[37] Considering the reconstructions, the total number of letters is 292. The percentage of secured text stock is thus 61.3% (~61%), because 113 letters are hypothetical. It is noticeable that a left margin is evident next to the top and bottom[38] margins, revealing seams in the leather. Looking at B-281138 confirms that the column was originally sewn to the following one.[39]

4.1 Prolegomenon: On the procedure for fragment examinations

The analytical study is based on the following intermediate steps: Firstly, the existing text inventory is tabulated in a descriptive approach (4.2). The transliteration presents parts of the text reconstructed due to textual damage in square brackets. For this purpose, the fourth column shows which letter portion per column is to be regarded as secured (p) and which hypothetical, sc. with textual caution (r). For a clear presentation, the existing textual stock is printed in **bold**. If there are deliberate omissions compared to MT, sc. not explicable by material damage, these are marked with red dots in square brackets. The number of dots corresponds to the number of missing letters. In order to generate a vivid estimation of the degree of deviations of the text inventory, the Qumran-specific readings are marked in red. In addition, the lines are each assigned to the corresponding MT verse. If the acrostic consonant appears in round brackets, the verse correspondence applies only to reconstructed text stock, sc. letters that cannot be clearly determined. A blue coloured column functions as an evaluation for each fragment line in case of deviations from the reference size (MT).

Consequently, variants of the textually and theologically striking passages, that are relevant for the message content, are negotiated (4.3), in order to answer the guiding question: *How can the readings be evaluated text- and theology-historically in comparison with important reference variables*? The text-critical relevance is already indicated proleptically in the text inventory by means of the sign ✤ (see BHQ). However, if the differentiated reading does not show any change in content compared to MT, a short reasoned decision is already brought about in the evaluation line. Methodically, the approach of KOTZÉ is to be followed: "The evidence from the ancient translations that support either the readings in the Qumran manuscripts or the MT are [...] presented".[40] The basic assumption is that these are "valuable witnesses to the textual development"[41] that complement 4QLam in illustrating the emergence of the Lam composition.

[37] Cf. CROSS, 1983, 133 and SCHÄFER, 2006, 242f.
[38] This is not shown on the IAA photographs, but is assumed in the literature (cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 23).
[39] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2006, 243; KOTZÉ, 2013, 23. For the IAA-photography see appendix.
[40] KOTZÉ, 2013, 21.
[41] KOTZÉ, 2017, 359.

4.2 Textual Findings

line	*MT verse*	*transliteration*	*relation (p:r)*	*translation*
1	ו(6)	[ה]יו שריה כאילים לוא֗ לוא מצא ומרעה	26:01	[be]come have their chiefs like deer, not, not he has got and pasture
The negation particle appears twice in plenary description and the personal ending for 3rd m. Pl. (ו) is drawn as a prefix to the following accusative object. ✤[1]				
2	ו(6)	[ו]ילכו בלי כוח לפני רודף	27:01	they went ahead powerlessly before the pursuer.
	ז(7)	[.....] זכורה יהוה		Please remember, JHWH,
In v. 6c, the changed letter (י instead of א) is not a negation particle with a prepositional prefix, but a synonymous adverb. Since the parallel מבלי from v. 4 is not attested in Col. I and v. 6a is hardly secure, a contextual explanation would constitute an argumentum e silentio. Most plausibly, it can be decided with Cross *and* Kotzé *that 4QLam preserved the older reading, since בלא is linguistically younger. א can be explained either as a deliberate morphological modernization or hypothetically as a spelling mistake ("misreading bly as blw").*[42]				
In v. 7a, there is an inserted ו that can be explained as an emphatic alternative to the Tiberian vocalization. [43] *In addition, the concise change of subject, YHWH instead of Jerusalem, is conspicuous, as is the absence of MT 7a$^{\beta}$.* ✤[2]				
3	ז(7)	[כו]ל מכאובנו אשר היו מימי קדם בנפל	25:02	of [al]l our pain, which has been there since the days of old, when there fell
In v. 7b, a change in the root word and the pronominal suffix is evident with the object. ✤[3]				
4	ז(7)	[עמ]ה ביד צר ואין עוזר[.....] צריה שחקו על	23:02	their [people] into the hand of the enemy and there was no helper, their opponents laughed at
The suffixed preposition לה and the imperative ראוה are absent; a suffix 3rd f. Sg. is added. ✤[4]				

[42] Cross, 1983, 139; cf. Kotzé, 2013, 39-41.
[43] Cf. Cross, 2000, 233.

5	(7)ז	[כו]**ל משברי**ה	24:02	[al]l her broken things.
	(8)ח	**חטוא חטאה ירושלי**ם **על**		Jerusalem has sinned grievously, so[...]
In v. 7c it may be a dittography of the preceding preposition על *or the above reconstructed constituent. In either case, 4QLam exhibits an expansion. In addition, there is a root change due to the reading* רי *instead of* ת. ✤[5]				
In v. 8a$^{\alpha}$ an infinitivus absolutus (instead of the nominal object in the MT) is placed before the finite verb form of the figura etymologica. This can be explained grammatically as lectio facilior and shows no difference in content, since the pragmatics in each case is an emphasis on the qualitative gravity of Jerusalem's sins.[44] The sin theme as a justification of divine wrath is intratextually present in v. 14 as well as in Lam 2:14; 3:42; 4:6.13 and 5:7 and can therefore be evaluated as one of the song-networking "Schlüsselmotive".[45] For the subject a plenary description is to be noted.[46]				
6	(8)ח	[כן]**לנוד[.] היתה**ׄ[כו]ל [מכב]**דׄיׄהׄ הזׄיׄלׄו[.] כי**א **ראו**	23:07	[that] she has become a fugitive, [al]all her [worshippers] despise, for they have seen
V. 8a$^{\beta}$.b has an altered root without a 3rd f. Sg. suffix in the prepositional expression, a lack of suffixation of the predicate compared to MT and a plenary spelling typical of Qumran. ✤[6]				
7	(8)ח	[ע]**רׄותה גם**[היאה נאנחה ותשב **אׄחׄורׄ**]	10:14	her [na]kedness, so [she sighs and turns] backwards.
8	(9)ט	**טמאתה בש**[וליה לוא זכרה אחריתה ותרד]	07:21	Her uncleanness (clings) to [the hem of her garment, not having thought of her end and fallen]
9	(9)ט	[פ]**לאות ואין** [מנחם לה ראה יהוה את עניי]	08:20	[ter]ribly (deep) and there is not [a comforter for her. Behold, YHWH, my misery]
V. 9b has a feminine rather than masculine form, probably for the noun of the root פלא*, which can be interpreted as an assimilation to the usual genus. Since the word is not entirely preserved, the exact determination remains uncertain. In terms of content, an adverbial accusative may be consulted, explicating*				

[44] Cf. KOENEN, 2015, 8; KOTZÉ, 2013, 53.
[45] WITTE, 2016, 477.
[46] This is left out of KOTZÉ's transliteration (see KOTZÉ, 2013, 27), but appears in CROSS, 2000, 232 and NEBE, 1994, 314.

the mode of the action.[47] *The sentence-linking copula attested in addition to MT is also documented in Peschitta (S) and Targum (T), but can be classified as a syntactic lectio facilior and thus, like the deviant genus, as a younger reading.*[48]				
10	(9)ט	[כי] **הגדיל**[אויב	05:19	because] powerful has become [(the) enemy.
	(10) (י)	ידו פרש צר על כול[		His hand the opponent has stretched out over all
11	(10)י	[מחמ]ד֯יה כיא ראתה גוים באו מקדשה[	01:24	her precious]things [so she saw: peoples entered her sanctuary].

Table 1 Col. II

4.3 Text-critical and text-historical problems

✤[1] (v. 6c$^{\alpha}$)

Col. II points out already at the beginning: "Ancient scribes were not as accurate as the present-day printing press [...]. In verse 6 the copyist of 4QLam appears to have fallen asleep".[49] De facto in part b$^{\beta}$, 4QLam presents a reading that is not further attested (G/LXX, P, and Vulgata (V) read with MT). Due to the dittography of לוא and an incorrect separation of the following two words, which turns the necessary plural form (see subject שריה) into a 3rd m. Sg. and places ו as copula before the accusative object, a nonsensical text results. [50] The reason for the copyist's confusion is that the consonant space was obviously not clearly marked.[51] The differences to MT are to be regarded entirely as scribal errors and thus as recent readings.

✤[2] (v. 7a$^{\alpha}$)

For the first time, a substantive difference from MT can be noted in 4QLam, which revolutionizes the sentence pragmatic: The predicate is interpreted as adhortative m. sg. due to its correspondence with the new subject, which reinforces the regular imperative due to the significant ending from Qamäs-ה. The resulting polite request[52] expresses "modality (desire, wish or command) on the speaker's part."[53] In terms of content, this is the decisive turning point of the narration, since instead of a continued description of the status of Jerusalem, there is a direct address to God. Moreover, it is striking that "it

[47] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 60f.
[48] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2020, 57 (BHQ).
[49] ABEGG JR. ET.AL., 1999, 624.
[50] Cf. KOENEN, 2013, 27.
[51] Cf. TOV, 1992, 252-56.
[52] NEEF, 2021, 95.
[53] FASSBERG, 2013, 467. In the Qumran literature, the cohortative is distinguished by its position at the beginning of the sentence (see Col. II, line 2).

is the narrator, not personified Jerusalem, who beseeches YHWH to take his (and his community's) plight to heart".[54] At the beginning of the stanza, this represents the suffering collective in the 1st com. Pl., while in the following the narrator again reports observantly about the fate of Jerusalem. In contrast, a break in the speaker role of the MT is not to be noted until v. 9. Because of the two possible verb interpretations, the decision hinges largely on the nominal reference word, which presumably has undergone a change because of the verbal ambiguity. The following arguments supposedly point to an older reading attested in 4QLam: יהוה can be interpreted as lectio difficilior and Jerusalem as assimilation to the successor verse because of the surrounding context (vv. 6.8).[55] But the problem is not "easily explained",[56] since in all other textual witnesses (G/LXX, V, S and T) Jerusalem appears in a commemorative action. Thus, KOTZÉ argues for the assumption of a conjecture and thus of a non-preserved text, which creative scribes would have interpreted in the two traditional directions (MT vs. 4QLam). His conclusion is that "neither 4QLam nor the MT preserves the original wording of the opening clauses of Lam 1:7."[57] However, the following facts speak for the text-historical order MT → 4QLam: The invocation of God marks a specific formal scheme that is intratextually identically attested in Lam 5:1: זכר יהוה. In that context, the phrase is likewise found in connection with the collective perspective 1st com. Pl. (see following colon in 1:7a Q). In addition, intertextual parallels can be pointed out in Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:44,22,31 as well as Ps 132:1 and 137:7. Since the question of the respective theology of a reading comes to the fore in the text-critical study,[58] the request for God's זכר-action is considered in more detail: It finds about 30 evidences in the Qumran corpus and, as a counterpart to the anthropologically related memory, expresses God's active participation in history and also asks his intervention in human lives.[59]

Moreover, it represents a form-historical counterpart to the petition part of the Gattung 'Lament of an individual/Klage eines Einzelnen', which is characterized by imperatives.[60] Thus, the root functions in a middle position between pure awareness and active action, since it moves God to become active, sc. taking notice of his people's need.[61] In it lies the foundation for God's intervention to alleviate suffering, so that the present reading forms an indirect intratextual antithesis to the repeatedly mentioned topos of the missing comforter (see vv. 2.9.16f.21). Here, contradiction to the song's internal pragmatics can be uncovered, because Lam 1 does not yet dare to go that far as the wounds are too deep and the experienced distance from God is too great for that.[62] Compared to זכר, the command addressed to God for ראה-action contains clearly less strongly the active-helping moment.[63] Moreover, the root juristically explicates a testimony into which YHWH is called by Jerusalem several times (see

[54] KOTZÉ, 2013, 48.
[55] Cf. CROSS, 2000, 233; SCHÄFER, 2020, 113*f.
[56] CROSS, 2000, 233.
[57] KOTZÉ, 2013, 43.
[58] Cf. LIPPKE, 2020, 11.
[59] Cf. NOVAKOVIC, 2011, Sp. 843.
[60] Cf. WITTE, 2016, 423f.
[61] Cf. JANOWSKI, 2008, 45.
[62] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 143.
[63] Cf. FUHS, 1990, Sp. 235.

vv. 9c.11c.20a; cf. v. 12). The turn to a trust in God's active action is fleshed out in Lam 3, whose dogmatic-style statements on the nature of God (see vv. 22f.25.31-33) express: "Yahweh [...] is a God of mercy".[64] Another argument against an old age of the 4QLam reading is that the remaining imperatives (vv. 9c.11c) are structurally placed at the end of each stanza and appear in the voice of the personified city. However, there is more than a contradiction in 4QLam, for with the inclusion of vv. 9.11, a deliberate accentuation can be detected: "a scribe's ploy to make the narrator the focus."[65]

✤[3] (v. 7b)

Firstly, it should be noted that the particular object depends on the interpretation of the verb form as well as the corresponding subject. CROSS proposes to classify both readings as corrupt and to assume, according to a conjecture, מרודיה as the template (Vorlage), which justifies both readings.[66] The other non-Hebrew textual witnesses support the MT and CROSS' hypothesis is based largely on a confusion of letters, which are, however, "too dissimilar to have been mistakenly interchanged by a scribe."[67] Since a conjecture per se is to be applied as ultima ratio of textual criticism and MT represents the *lectio difficilior* in the present context,[68] a rejection is not necessarily necessary, but rather a literary critical discussion. Rather, with KOTZÉ and SCHÄFER, it must be assumed that 4QLam represents a deliberate change of the MT, which, as a recourse to the intratextual use in v. 12b and the evidence in v. 18, must be evaluated as an alignment with the common vocabulary[69]and thus *lectio facilior.*[70] In any case, it is to be argued with KOENEN, to evaluate the pronominal suffix of the 1st com. Pl. as an unintentional letter confusion with ה.[71]

✤[4] (v. 7c.d$^{\alpha}$)

Banally, the *lectio brevior potior* rule of thumb could be applied to both omissions in 4QLam. However, the situation is more difficult, since in the context rather a phenomenon of *aberratio oculi,* sc. parablepsis is included: the presence of the same word ending in ה (homoioteleuton)[72] and the morphological congruence of י and ו are indications that the scribe of the manuscript jumped directly to צריה. Syntactically, the shorter text can be explained as a simplification, and in terms of content, the structural feature ראה deliberately placed in vv. 7-11 is thus omitted without logical justification.[73] MT is to be classified as an older reading. This is also evident in terms of content, since according to 4QLam the temporal clause expressing simultaneity in v. 7c$^{\alpha}$ is directly related to the judgmental

[64] SALTERS, 2014, 29.
[65] KOTZÉ, 2013, 48.
[66] Cf. CROSS, 2000, 233.
[67] KOTZÉ, 2013, 47.
[68] Cf. FISCHER, 2009, 201.
[69] Cf. FISCHER, 2009, 210.
[70] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 47f.; SCHÄFER, 2020, 114*.
[71] Cf. KOENEN, 2015, 8.
[72] Cf. FISCHER, 2009, 207f.
[73] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2006, 247.

laughter of the opponents: "their gloating occurred at the same time as a foe captured (or killed) her people and there was no helper."[74] It should be considered whether the suffix 3. f. Sg. in ראוה represents a more recent reading, since G/LXX does not attest to it. However, this finding can be interpreted as an omission due to the context there: In the immediate context, the αὐτῇ belonging to the participle βοηθῶν is found before the blank and the αὐτῆς referring to the opponents is found afterwards. Either an unintentional change due to *aberratio oculi* or a deliberate reaccentuation took place, which served to simplify the text. Regarding צריה in 4QLam, it can be noted that this Jerusalem-related determination of the adversaries finds an analogy in G/LXX and P. In contrast, there is an expression without suffixed reference in V and MT. The latter can be evaluated as *lectio difficilior*, although it must be conceded that with reference to precedents it is also possible to assume a letter confusion between מ and ה.[75] Nevertheless, with CROSS 4QLam can most likely be explained as an assimilation to the context (vv. 6.8).[76]

✤[5] (v. 7d$^{\beta}$)

An assessment of whether the first passage is dittography or a Q-proper reading (כול) is complicated by the careless character of the handwriting.[77] In any case, the reading can be classified as younger, as the latter possibility shows "the tendency for kōl to multiply in transmission."[78] The MT משבתה is a hapax legomenon expressing the reference point of conquest as a punctual event.[79] As a verbal noun of the root שבת, it marks a climax of grief and hopelessness: the cessation of all splendour, the absence of protection and the destruction of livelihoods describe a status of Jerusalem that is tantamount to mortal annihilation.[80] Even if hapaxlegomena per se are to be considered older, since more difficile, readings,[81] this can be formally inferred by the identical morphology of י and ו also from the Q version משבריה (pual participle m. pl. with suffix 3rd f. sg.). Content-wise, the root שבר uses vivid imagery to emphasize the physical destruction of the city ('its ruins'), while MT denotes existence. It should be noted: Both readings can be classified as contextually congruent.[82] However, CROSS assumes that probably י was read as the left part of ת in the sense of a letter confusion.[83] Since both directions are conceivable, a look at other textual witnesses is helpful: 4QLam is supported by S, which otherwise strictly follows MT. Thetically, therefore, it can be assumed that its original proves an older reading at the present place, before the interchange occurred. KOTZÉ aptly surmises: "The scribal error must have occurred very early in the transmission history",[84] because G, V and T read with MT. 4QLam,

[74] KOTZÉ, 2013, 49.
[75] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 49f., who argues for a 4QLam reading to be preferred.
[76] Cf. CROSS, 2000, 233.
[77] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2006, 247.
[78] CROSS, 2000, 233.
[79] Cf. GESENIUS, 2013, 749.
[80] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 108.
[81] Cf. FISCHER, 2009, 210.
[82] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 51 and 2011, 605.
[83] Cf. CROSS, 2000, 233.
[84] KOTZÉ, 2013, 51.

moreover, is to be regarded as an older reading, since שבר represents an intratextual recourse to Lam 2:11, the emotionally charged account of the city's fate.

✤[6] (V. 8a)

Already MT is problematic, since the plenary description is a hapax legomenon. A defective case gives the alternative of reading the noun as נדה, the terminus technicus for female menstruation as well as the name for general abhorrence.[85] A connection to the female personification of the city in terms of menstrual impurity presents the following problem: Since Jerusalem is responsible for the disaster herself,[86] no automatic cyclical change to the city's purity can be assumed. Thus, the semantics of the defective case miss the propositional content. We must assume a plenary description that continues the motif of judgmentally laughing opponents from v. 7d in the present part (v. 8a): לנידה היתה expresses this transformation to the negative. Morphologically, it can be concluded with CROSS that MT can be explained from the 4QLam variant masculine noun derived from the root נוד:[87] The ה is to be understood as dittography or *aberratio occuli* of the directly following predicate (3rd f. sg.) and the י as typical letter confusion with ו.[88] Moreover, MT may have been formed as an assimilation to v. 17. However, ILAN suspects that 4QLam represents the more recent reading, since, in addition to v. 13.17, there is a case of evidence that the manuscript converts feminine forms into masculine ones under gender-specific considerations.[89] Since the root נוד attested in 4QLam has an ambiguity-heavy semantic spectrum (sway, flee, shake, et. al.),[90] there is an openness to meaning. This can be understood in terms of G/LXX and V as meaning that a sin-induced instability of the city hits the textual pragmatic.[91] This is also indicated by the intratext Lam 4:15 and the internal link to the parallel result in part c (turning away), the wandering deer (v. 6) as well as a congruence to the motif of the pursuer in v 3. 4QLam thus offers the older reading, since it represents the *lectio brevior* and the ambiguous MT-variant, classified by KOTZÉ as corrupt, can be derived from it.[92] It should be noted that under the condition of a MT plenary description, due to the semantic richness of the Q-version, a textual agreement of both textual witnesses would also be possible (sense direction: mockery). However, נוד interprets the gesture of shaking the head as an act of assistance, causally connected with נחם,[93] which is diametrically opposed to the textual pragmatics of Lam 1.

[85] Cf. GESENIUS, 2013, 784f.; FREVEL, 2017, 109f.
[86] Cf. FREVEL, 2017,110.
[87] The participle m. sg. Qal is vocalized with *Qamäs*, so that ו cannot be interpreted as *matris lectionis* (cf. GESENIUS, 2013, 790).
[88] CROSS, 2000, 233.
[89] Cf. ILAN, 2008, 9.
[90] Cf. GESENIUS, 2013, 790f.
[91] Cf. KOTZÉ, 2013, 57f.
[92] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2017, 364.
[93] Cf. GESENIUS, 2013, 791.

The suffix to the predicate הזילו is unattested only in 4QLam and therefore cannot be explained as a spelling mistake. Rather, MT et. al. can be classified as *lectio facilior et longior*, which may have completed an assimilation to the final ה of the object ערותה. This term, in the context of the female personification of Zion, refers specifically to her pubic area. As a synonym for illegitimate as well as morally offensive sexual intercourse, it metaphorically explicates a serious misconduct of the city here. She is punished with an act of partial public exposure and thus defenselessness, the highest degree of embarrassment imaginable, amounting to total diminution of status and injury to honor.[94] Moreover, the high vulnerability of Jerusalem is expressed: the conquest of the city was an exposing humiliation for her, in which those who previously honoured and respected her (sc. the political allies) shamelessly abandoned her. Thus, the friends-to-enemies motif of v. 2c is continued.

4.4 Intermediate result

Fragment 2 shows a mixture of comparatively uncomplicated, unintentional transcription errors, interpretative additions or omissions that simplify the textual context, as well as readings that can be classified as older (see vv. 6a.7d.8a). The original trait is the focus of the narrator and thus the shift in perspective away from the personified city, which, according to Lam 1, is, however, de facto the intended foil for identification.[95] The manuscript shows: "the pain of the narrator is indissolubly connected to what happened to Jerusalem and her inhabitants."[96] Thus, there is an exemplary advocate for the collective who at the same time instigates a turning of the status quo (see זכר). That 4QLam goes beyond the textual pragmatics of Lam 1 and strengthens intratextual references to Lam 3, has become explicit. This suggests that textual alternatives feed on developments in the history of theology. With this conclusion, it is evident that the explanations are already on the level of redactional history.[97] Moreover, old times with positive connotations (s. v. 7b$^{\alpha}$) are completely omitted. Despite the evident differences, which culminate in the changed speaker and addressee direction of v. 7a$^{\alpha}$, the common feature of both text versions is to give "a portrayal of the enemy's Schadenfreude at the collapse of Jerusalem."[98] Hypothetically, it should be considered with KOTZÉ whether the change of speaker in v. 9c, which is conspicuous in MT, did not occur there because of the documented shift of focus in 4QLam. The assumption seems possible, though speculative in view of the strong material damage, especially from line 8 on. After all, "it is a pity that only the word הגדיל survived in 4QLam,"[99] since this verbum is compatible with both options. Critically, WASHBURN concludes about fragment 2: the "profusion of unique and clearly erroneous readings makes textual value questionable."[100] It can be countered that the variants to be classified as older readings do not

[94] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 111.
[95] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 42.
[96] KOTZÉ, 2013, 52.
[97] Cf. BECKER, 2015, 9.
[98] KOTZÉ, 2013, 52.
[99] KOTZÉ, 2013, 63.
[100] WASHBURN, 2003, 133.

necessarily originate from the pen of the copyist, but could have already existed in a Hebrew original that differed from MT.

5 Implications for the history of composition of the Book of Lamentations

The Qumran manuscript shows an accentuated turn towards the inner view of an exemplary sufferer, which results from the genera used: "the masoretic text is more female gendered than 4QLam".[101] The city itself becomes present in 4QLam only as an object of coverage. The focused prayer shows strong allusions to the אני הגבר (Lam 3:1) and could take it up as a foil for identification. The actant schema is extended in 4QLam by the introduction of a collective (Col. II, line 3; s. also Col. III, line 5), which functions analogously to the we-voice of the penitential prayer (Bußgebet) that appears (in synchronous reading direction) from Lam 3:40 on. Uniformity is postulated for this: While the collective passages in Lam 3-5 are not entirely the same or composed as a text, there does seem to be a common perspective, the theme of repentance (3:40; 5:21).[102] Thus, using the narratological method, several similarities can be shown between the manuscript and the structure of Lam 3.

Already the MT has exemplarily exhibited a link between Lam 1:7 and 3:19, albeit an oppositional one: the commemoration of the personified city of misery and homelessness described in the first song shows a further development in the third poem, which is based on a reflection of this very action: לענה וראש initiates a turn that is realized from 3:21 onward in the fact that the prayerful person actively opposes his depression:[103] the trust in God's saving action. The identical objects of the זכר-action create an antithetical relationship that was deliberately built into the composition of Lam: A text allusion could hardly be clearer.[104] In 4QLam, Lam 3 (MT) is present as a template on the word level and in terms of textual pragmatics:[105] The hidden confidence that even Lam 1 still has despite the dark mood of God's remoteness,[106] appears heightened.

Specifically, 4QLam relativizes the stereotype of a מנחם immanent in Lam 1 (MT) (vv. 2.9.16f.21) by formulating the transition to God's active action inherent in the root זכר imperatively (Col. II, l. 1), thus setting the initiation for a reversal of the sorrowful, desolate status quo. This is also shown materialistically, since the Q textual variant has only one secure textual evidence for the comforter motif. The 4QLam reading highlighted as younger in 1:7 may have been incorporated into the context of Lam 1 as a colouring inspired by the sapiential current present in Lam 3. With 4QLam, moreover, a linkage occurs to the intervention appeal to God present in 5:21.[107]

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[101] ILAN, 2008, 9.
[102] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 26f.
[103] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 222.
[104] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 222.
[105] A reversed relationship (Lam 3 recurs to 4QLam) is compositionally improbable, since Qumran merely has echoes that are present in song 3 as its own core character.
[106] Cf. FREVEL, 2017, 123.
[107] ASSIS argues for a „close connection between […] chaps. 1 and 5“in general (ASSIS, 2009, 328).

The literary pressure to introduce the above-mentioned changes in perspectivity (narratologically as well as in content) already in Lam 1 and thus to strengthen its textual-pragmatic-contentual connection, especially to the third song, can be interpreted as a change in the compositional history. From the implications, the following thetic reconstruction is possible: 4QLam proves a variant of song 1 that recurs to Lam 3, which can be explained mainly by editorial activity. This may have been done after the basic composition Lam 1f.4 was updated by song 3 with the aim of forming a content-related prolepsis on the chapter 3 and integrating its approach of wisdom-based edification literature into the existing exposition for purposes of emphasis and re-accentuation. In the process of canonization, possibly earlier, the composition was finally formed into the central structure found in the canon. A second variant of Lam 1, attested by the MT, does not show these editorial adaptations and song-linking ties. Thus, it is possible to conclude that there was a hypothetical template from which MT and 4QLam developed parallel to each other in the two directions.

6 Conclusion: Securing results and outlook

A tense duality characterizes the manuscript: On the one hand, 4QLam offers various typographical errors, which allow the conclusion to assume no carefully crafted text version.[108] The tension between these unintentional textual changes and the deliberate differences based on cognitive performance weighs heavily, as both poles cannot easily be thought together. The latter are to be classified as "deliberate scribal changes"[109] and document a successive textual change in the transmission process, which proves that the scribes still obtained a certain creative freedom.[110] The value of the manuscript lies in testifying to a process of reflection characterized by interpretive simplifications of an older reading. The aim of the writing of 4QLam thus presumably is to make the text of Lam more understandable for study purposes,[111] which is also evidenced by the fact that the qualitatively deficient parts of the text point to a non-official-public use of the transcript.

Overall, it can be assumed that it was probably the non-existent original of the 4QLam manuscript that brought about the reflective changes. This was presumably available for copying in the context of a writer's school, so that the object is product and witness of a student copyist's work, in the context of which the known carelessness errors probably arose.[112]

Still essential for manuscript evaluation are such readings, which could be classified as older "original and unique readings"[113] (Col. II, l. 5f). In addition, some corrupt MT readings are missing in 4QLam,

[108] Cf. KOENEN, 2013, 27.
[109] KOTZÉ, 2017, 359.
[110] Cf. KOENEN, 2013, 28.
[111] Cf. LANGE, 2009, 491; cf. SCHÄFER, 2006, 243.
[112] The assumption is supported by SCHÄFER in the context of his comments on v. 7 (cf. SCHÄFER, 2020, 114*). However, this hypothesis is not considered for the manuscript per se, but the lack of care of the copy is mentioned several times as a reason for not accepting its readings, which are de facto presented as lectio difficilior (cf. SCHÄFER, 2020, 116*f.).
[113] KOTZÉ, 2017, 360.

so that an own Hebrew text template seems very likely. From this, the conclusion can be drawn that the relatively homogeneous textual tradition of Lam is thus the result of a subsequent unification.[114] This is an essential insight that could only be gained through the findings of Lam-Qumran: Previously, the text of Lam seemed to have been transmitted uniformly both in the Masoretic manuscripts and in the versions.[115]

Consequently, the overall relevance of the manuscript is to be evaluated: The results allow the conclusion that 4QLam is far from being banally classified as a formal-content error production. Rather, the majority of deliberate and sometimes creative deviations from MT as well as other non-Hebrew textual witnesses have shown that 4QLam offers valuable evidence for the genesis and composition of the book of Lamentations. Admittedly, however, its stock of passages classified as older readings is manageable, and its de facto attested textual stock is quantitatively small or partially inconclusive due to vehement material damage. Consequently, it must be concluded that 4QLam is a valuable textual witness for a subsection of Lam 1, namely vv. 6c.7d.8a. However, the elative at "a very important textual representative of Lamentations"[116] is rather euphemistic to justify and is omitted in the assessment at the conclusion of this study. Likewise, it was discursively shown that just not sweepingly in each case the longer version of MT is to be regarded as a secondary text extension.[117] 4QLam implies more clearly than MT the trust that exists in rudiments of Lam 1: God, even if He seems distant, is there.[118]

[114] Cf. LANGE, 2009, 493.
[115] Cf. LANGE, 2009, 492; cf. also KOENEN, 2013, 28.
[116] KOTZÉ, 2017, 360.
[117] Cf. SCHÄFER, 2000, 146.
[118] Cf. Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Norddeutschland, 2020, 37.

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IAA. (2022g). *Plates 648, 745* [Fragment Photocopy]. The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-299014

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8 Appendix

8.1 Fragment 2 (Col. II)



Figure 3 Fragment 2 (Col. II: based on IAA, 2022e; further processing by LD)

8.2 Search results for Fragment 2[119]

	line	*MT equivalent (verse)*	*MT reading*	*4QLam reading*
Col. II	1	6 (ו)	II	
			I	
	2	6 (ו)		I בלי
	2	7 (ז)	I	
			II	
	3	7 (ז)	II	
	4	7 (ז)	II	
	5	7 (ז)	I	I משבריה
		8 (ה)	II	
	6	8 (ה)		II הֹוֵֽילוּ לנוד
	9	9 (ט)	I	
			I	
results			**15**	**4**

[119] For the sake of a vivid overall picture, the text-critical and text-historical decisions made in 4.3 are divided into the categories of purely orthographic differences (1: grey) and textual differences based on a changed morphological textual finding (2: blue). In addition, they are assigned to the respective referring text versions. Regarding omissions or additions compared to MT, each passage is evaluated as one case.

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Project Summary for OTSEM 2022

Working Title: The attestation of Lam1 in 4QLam and its implications for the history of composition of the Book of Lamentations

Head Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Christoph Berner, CAU

Second (and Third) Supervisor: still to be determined

The project aims at a systematic analysis of the Qumran fragment 4QLam (4Q111) and a comparison with other main textual sources of biblical Lam, especially MT and LXX/G. The starting point of the analyses is a material reconstruction based on the digital data provided by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA, רשות העתיקות). As a sideline, the other Lam fragments found in the caves of Khirbet Qumran, namely 3QLam (3Q3), 5QLama (5Q6), and 5QLamb (5Q7), will also be taken into consideration in order to evaluate the specifics and textual overlaps of 4QLam.

Based on the reconstruction, the textual characteristics of each column (I-III) will be explored by comparing them with MT and the other relevant non-Hebrew ancient versions. The study aims at clarifying the original traits of 4QLam and at illuminating the potential implications of the text-critical and text-historical variants for the development of theological concepts. The main point of interest lies in making observations on the composition of the Book of Lamentations as a whole. In that process the correlations between the transmitted textual basis of MT Lam and 4QLam can be revealed. The assumption is that there is shared template (Vorlage) that both versions have taken usage of and developed it into different directions. Proof for that will be found while gaining inter- as well as intratextual search results when examining linking linguistic and metaphorical key words.

The paper for the OTSEM 2022 conference will introduce into the general subject of the project: Alongside material descriptions and quantitative studies, the explanations mainly deal with the analysis of fragment 2. This second column contains an increased textual certainty when compared to the prior column I. By applying a redaction critical approach, it will be asked if and to what extent the textual variants may be indicative of larger compositional developments. In this context, special attention will be paid to the interplay with Lam 3, a fundamental relation point when categorizing the Qumran-specific readings. As a conclusion, 4QLam's overall relevance will be examined.

For that, a justified evaluation is made that puts the two following extremes in dialogue, but does not remove their tension: 4QLam is on the one hand a formal-content error production and on the other hand a valuable textual witness. A subsequent task is to shed light on the setting of the manuscript's creation. Some well-founded indications in that field suggest a school of writing, which needs to be weighed up.

Additionally, in the process of the described project it shall be analysed in how far 4QLam shows outstanding qualities of an independent textual witness when related to MT and other text evidences.

An advancing approach leads into the consideration of the receptionist Qumran lament compositions 4Q179 ($4Q^{Apocr}$Lam A), 4Q445, and 4Q501. These do not contain verbatim citations of Lam, but are of commentating character. Thus, they can be made subject for the examinations of intertextual allusions, that have not yet been conducted.

Preface

The (early) title is obviously much broader than the paper, which now covers only some of the verses, and also the focus has changed a bit from what I initially imagined, so that it is now less about names and titles, and more generally about renderings that affect the Greek message concerning Cyrus in Isaiah 45:1-8.

This paper is meant to become one of several chapters of my dissertation where I examine passages from OG Isaiah 40-48 to find out how the Persian king Cyrus is presented in translation. This chapter deals with one of the core passages, the second passage in which he is mentioned by name; Isaiah 45:1-7/8.

I would be very grateful for all kinds of feedback! However, I would be very interested in feedback on my discussions of the interpretation of specific Greek renderings such as κρατεῖν τῆς δεξίας, καλεῖν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, προσδέχεσθαι etc. Are my readings are relevant/convincing? I would also like to have feedback on how much I engage the Hebrew texts in my discussions (do I do too much of it; too little?). Finally, I find that I struggle with finding out how to combine - in one chapter - sections where I discuss lots of details, with sections where I have more "summary-like" observations and almost start paraphrazing the Greek text. If you have some comments or thoughts on this, I would appreciate it.

1. The Lord God and Cyrus: Names, titles and characterizations in OG Isaiah 45:1-8

1.1. This chapter in context [1]

In Isaiah 44:28, Cyrus's name was mentioned for the first time in Isaiah, in a passage which was examined in the previous chapter. There Cyrus was only briefly addressed among cities, Jerusalem and the abyss. However, when his name occurs again already in the next verse, 45:1, it is used to mark him as the recipient of a divine oracle which continues until verse 7 in Hebrew,[2] and until verse 8 in OG it includes verse 8.[3]

1. In my master's thesis I studied the OG translation of Is 45:1-7. Solvår Ask Isene, *Creation in Translation: A Descriptive Study Og Og Isaiah 45:1-7 Applying a Descriptive Translation Studies Approach* (Oslo: MF, 2019). This chapter builds and expands upon the work of that thesis.

2. Cf. for instance Fokkelmann, "The Cyrus Oracle (Isaiah 44,24-45,7) From the Perspectives of Syntax,

1.2. Delimitation of the Greek passage

The passage opens in verse 1 with a messenger formula, "this is what the Lord says ... ," while a formula "said the Lord" at the end of verse 13 marks the end of the passage.[4] In addition to these formulaic markers, present in both Hebrew and Greek, the passage is framed by references to Cyrus: his name is used in verse 1, while in verse 13 he is referred to by the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος. In OG, these thirteen verses are divided into two main parts: the first part (verses 1-8) is the Lord's message to Cyrus, and will be studied in this chapter, while the second part is a message to those who question the Lord's choice to use Cyrus for his purposes (verses 9-13), and will be saved for the next chapter. In Hebrew, particularly in 1QIsaa, it is perhaps natural to see verse 8 as a separate unit.

The scribal divisions mainly confirm these textual divisions: the original scribes of the Greek codices A, B, Q and ℵ, as well as the scribes of MT, 1QIsa[a] and 1QIsa[b], all made a paragraph marker before verse 1 and then before 8,[5] as well as before verse 14.[6] Only 4QIsa[c] seems not to have any marker/open space before verse 8. The scribe of A uses ekthesis more often than the other scribes and uniquely has ekthesis at the beginning of verse 2 where the proper address to Cyrus starts. The other scribes, with the possible exception of the scribe of 4QIsa[c], read verses 1-7 as an entire unit and place a break before verse 8. The inclusion of verse 8 in the present chapter is therefore based on the wording of OG verse 8b, which adapts the syntax so that it connects the final statement here with what has been said about both Cyrus and the Lord in the preceding verses.

Versification and Structure," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem a.m. Beuken*, ed. Vervenne Ruiten J. Van, M. (Leuven: Leuven university Press, Peeters, 1997), 316.

3. Few LXX scholars have been interested in this passage. However, Ekblad reads 45:1-10 as a unit (he writes 44:1-10, but the context shows that he clearly means to refer to 45:1-10), Eugene Robert Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 81.

4. Oswalt, too, sees (MT) 45:1-13 as a unit, John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 40-66* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 197-2011.

5. Moreover, while MT has ס both before and after 8, thus setting the verse completely apart, Marchalianus has ekthesis before 8c, which starts on a new page. Here 8c with the statement "I am the one who created you" is read as an integral part of what follows, namely verses 9-13. See http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2125/0581.

6. However, the sense division before verse 14 in 1QIsab has been reconstructed by the editors.

1.3. Establishing the text of OG

With one exception, Rahlfs and Ziegler present the same text for this passage[7]: in verse 4 Rahlfs has *τῷ ὀνόματί σου*, while Ziegler has *τῷ ὀνόματί μου*. Ziegler's reading might explain the alternative reading *τῷ ὀνόματί σου* chosen by Ralhfs; which probably is a correction towards MT, and which is attested by Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.[8] Thus in 4b I follow the Göttingen Septuagint in reading *τῷ ὀνόματί μου*, accepting the text of the GS as it is for this passage.

1.4. Structure of OG Isaiah 45:1-8

Introduction to the message

Verse 1a: Presentation of the speaker

[1]Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς

Verse 1aβ-b: The Lord's own introduction to the passage

Initial presentation of Cyrus (1aβ)

τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ,

οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς

Future effects and actions on peoples, kings, and cities (1b)

ἐπακοῦσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη, καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω,

ἀνοίξω ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ θύρας, καὶ πόλεις οὐ συγκλεισθήσονται

The Lord's message to Cyrus

Verses 2-6: The Lord's future actions for Cyrus and Cyrus's ignorance

Future actions for Cyrus (v.2-3a)

[2]Ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθέν σου πορεύσομαι καὶ ὄρη ὁμαλιῶ,

θύρας χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συγκλάσω

[3]καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι,

Cyrus will know who the Lord is (3b)

ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς

ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου, θεὸς Ισραηλ.

The Lord's future calling of Cyrus (v.4a)

---

7. Disregarding their different spellings of ἐστι(ν) in verse 6.

8. Only MT has preserved a pronoun here, for 1Qa lacks the pronominal suffix although the rest of the verse is preserved, and 1Qb and 4Qc (??) lacks this part of the verse.

[4]ἕνεκεν Ιακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου καὶ Ισραηλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου

ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ προσδέξομαί σε,

Cyrus's lacking knowledge about who the Lord is (v.4b-5)

σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνως με

[5]ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός,

καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεις με,

The world will know who the Lord is (v.6)

[6] ἵνα γνῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν

ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν ἐμοῦ·

ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι.

Verse 7: Declaration of who the Lord is

The Lord as the creator of non-material conditions (7a)

[7]ἐγὼ ὁ κατασκευάσας φῶς καὶ ποιήσας σκότος,

ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά·

The Lord as the one making all this (7b)

ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα.

<u>The Lord's concluding words to Cyrus</u>

Verse 8a: The Lord's commands concerning cosmic response

[8] εὐφρανθήτω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν,

καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ῥανάτωσαν δικαιοσύνην·

ἀνατειλάτω ἡ γῆ ἔλεος

καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀνατειλάτω ἅμα·

Verse 8b: Final declaration of who the Lord is

ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κτίσας σε.

1.5. Texts and translations

1.5.1. 1QIsaa with translation

כוה אמר יהוה למשיחו לכרש אשר החזקתי בימינו

לרד לפניו גואים ומתני מלכים אפתח

לפתוח לפניו דלתות ושערים לוא יסגרו

אני לפניכה אלך והררים יאושר

דלתות נחושה אשבור ובריחי ברזל אגדע

ונתתי לכה אוצרות חושך ומטמוני מסתרים
למען עבדי יעקוב ישראל בחירי
ואקרא לכה ובשמ הכ֑נכה ולוא ידעתני
אני יהוה ואין עוד זולתי ואין אלוהים
אאזרכה ולוא ידעתני
למען ידעו ממזרח שמש וממערב כיא אפס בלעדי
אני יהוה ואין עוד
יוצר אור ובורה חושך עושה טוב ובורה רע
אני יהוה עושה כול אלה
הריעו שמים ממעלה ושחקים ייזל צדק
האמר לארץ ויפרח ישע וצדקה תצמיח

This is what YHWH said
to his anointed one, to Cyrus, "whose right hand I have grasped
to drive back peoples before him and I will open the hips of kings;
to open doors before him, and gates will not be closed."
"I myself will go before you, and he will level mountains,
I will crush doors of bronze, and cut through bars of iron,
and give you treasuries of darkness and hidden treasures for the sake of my servant Jacob, Israel, my chosen one
and I will call you and by name I appoint you, although you do not know me
I am YHWH, and there is nobody else apart from me, and there are no gods,
I will gird you, although you do not know me.
– in order that they will know from the rising of the sun and to the west
that nothing besides me; I am YHWH, and there is nobody else
who forms light and creates darkness, who makes good and creates evil,
I am YHWH, who does all of this."
Heavens and clouds shall shout from above, and justice shall trickle;
the one who says to the earth, (and makes salvation spring up):
"you shall make justice burst forth!"

1.5.2. MT with translation

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה
לִמְשִׁיחוֹ לְכוֹרֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־הֶחֱזַקְתִּי בִימִינוֹ

לְרַד־לְפָנָיו גּוֹיִם וּמָתְנֵי מְלָכִים אֲפַתֵּחַ
לִפְתֹּחַ לְפָנָיו דְּלָתַיִם וּשְׁעָרִים לֹא יִסָּגֵרוּ
אֲנִי לְפָנֶיךָ אֵלֵךְ וַהֲדוּרִים אוֹשִׁר
דַּלְתוֹת נְחוּשָׁה אֲשַׁבֵּר וּבְרִיחֵי בַרְזֶל אָגַדֵּעַ
וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ אוֹצְרוֹת חֹשֶׁךְ וּמַטְמֻנֵי מִסְתָּרִים

לְמַעַן תֵּדַע כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה הַקּוֹרֵא בְשִׁמְךָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
לְמַעַן עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחִירִי
וָאֶקְרָא לְךָ בִשְׁמֶךָ אֲכַנְּךָ וְלֹא יְדַעְתָּנִי
אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין עוֹד זוּלָתִי אֵין אֱלֹהִים
אֲאַזֶּרְךָ וְלֹא יְדַעְתָּנִי
לְמַעַן יֵדְעוּ מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ וּמִמַּעֲרָבָה כִּי אֶפֶס בִּלְעָדָי
אֲנִי יְהוָה וָאֵין עוֹד
יוֹצֵר אוֹר וּבוֹרֵא חֹשֶׁךְ עֹשֶׂה שָׁלוֹם וּבוֹרֵא רָע
אֲנִי יְהוָה עֹשֶׂה כָל־אֵלֶּה
הַרְעִיפוּ שָׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל וּשְׁחָקִים יִזְלוּ צֶדֶק
תִּפְתַּח־אֶרֶץ וְיִפְרוּ יֶשַׁע וּצְדָקָה תַּצְמִיחַ יַחַד
אֲנִי יְהוָה בְּרָאתִיו

This is what YHWH said
to his anointed one, to Cyrus, “whose right hand I have grasped
to drive back peoples before him and I will open the hips of kings;
to open doors before him, and gates will not be closed.”
“I myself will go before you, and level mountains (?)
I will crush doors of bronze, and cut through bars of iron,
and give you treasuries of darkness and hidden treasures
so that you will know that I, YHWH,
am the one who calls your name, the God of Israel
for the sake of my servant Jacob and Israel, my chosen one.
And I will call out to you by your name and give you a name of honour, although you do not know me.
I am YHWH, and there is nobody else, apart from me there are no gods,
I will gird you, although you do not know me,
in order that they will know from the rising of the sun and to the west

that nothing besides me; I am YHWH, and there is nobody else
who forms light and creates darkness, who makes peace and creates misery
I am YHWH, who does all of this."
Heavens shall make it drip from above and clouds trickle justice,
the earth shall open and bring forth salvation, and justice will burst forth at the same time:
I , YHWH, created him.

1.5.3. OG with translation

Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς
τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς
ἐπακοῦσαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἔθνη καὶ ἰσχὺν βασιλέων διαρρήξω,
ἀνοίξω ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ θύρας, καὶ πόλεις οὐ συγκλεισθήσονται
Ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθέν σου πορεύσομαι καὶ ὄρη ὁμαλιῶ
θύρας χαλκᾶς συντρίψω καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συγκλάσω
καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινούς, ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι
ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου θεὸς Ισραηλ
ἕνεκεν Ιακωβ τοῦ παιδός μου καὶ Ισραηλ τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ μου,
ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ προσδέξομαί σε, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνως με
ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι πλὴν ἐμοῦ θεός,
καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεις με
ἵνα γνῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν ἐμοῦ
ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι
ἐγὼ ὁ κατασκευάσας φῶς καὶ ποιήσας σκότος ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά
ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα
εὐφρανθήτω ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄνωθεν καὶ αἱ νεφέλαι ῥανάτωσαν δικαιοσύνην
ἀνατειλάτω ἡ γῆ ἔλεος καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἀνατειλάτω ἅμα
ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κτίσας σε.

This is what the Lord God, says:
"To my anointed one, Cyrus, whose right hand I have taken control of
so that people will listen before him and I will crush the strength of kings
I will open doors before him, and cities will not be enclosed."
"I myself will go before you, and level mountains,
I will shatter doors of bronze, and smash bars of iron,

and I will give you dark treasuries; hidden and unseen ones I will open for you
so that you will know that I, the Lord God, am the one who calls your name, the god of Israel.
For the sake of Jacob, my servant, and Israel my chosen one,
I will call you by my name and wait for you, although you haven't learnt to know me
-that I am the Lord God, and there is, still, no god except me, and you did not know me,
in order that those from the rising of the sun and those from the west will know
that there is nothing except me, I am the Lord God, and there is no other.
I am the one who established light and made darkness, who makes peace and creates misery,
I am the Lord God, who does all of this.
Heaven shall rejoice anew, and the clouds trickle justice;
the earth shall make mercy rise, and make justice rise at the same time
— I am the Lord, the one who created you."

2. The Lord God and Cyrus

2.1. The Lord's own introduction (verse 1)

2.1.1. The speaker and the addressee

The passage opens with a presentation of both the Lord and Cyrus - the two central characters in these verses. In the preceding chapters, the Lord has been referred to by a number of additional titles, but here he is simply presented as κύριος ὁ θεὸς, "the Lord God." This has been called his "full name" in OG Isaiah,[9] an observation which coheres with what is stated in 42:8:

> ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, τοῦτό μου ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα.[10]
>
> I am the Lord God, this is my name.

The addressee, Cyrus, is presented most thoroughly, and in OG it is done entirely by the Lord, for in OG, the Lord God himself pronounces the title,[11] χριστός μου, "my anointed," while in Hebrew it is made as a third person statement, משיחו, "his anointed." The change from "his"

9. Ken M. Penner, *Isaiah* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 576.

10. Here OG seems to reflect MT with its (...) אֲנִי יְהוָה הִוא שְׁמִי, "I [am] YHWH, this is my name (...) rather than 1Qa with אני יהוה הואה ושמי וכבודי לאחר לוא אתן, "I, YHWH, [am] he, and my name (and my glory I will not give to another)."

11. OG thus contradicts Fokkelman's comment about (MT) verse 1a: he says that there could not a first person reference in this part of the verse because of the formulaic character of the messenger formula. Fokkelmann, "The Cyrus Oracle," 314, fn. 19. Notice also that Vulgate to has "my anointed" here.

to "my" might be accidental, given the graphic similarity of Hebrew letters waw and yod.[12] Nevertheless, the first person pronoun might have been introduced to produce a logically more coherent text.[13] With the pronoun μου, the presentation of Cyrus as χριστός μου, Κύρος, "my anointed, Cyrus," coheres with the first person verb ἐκράτησα, "I have taken control," and other first person statements that follow.[14] Such adaptation of personal pronouns occurs elsewhere in this passage (verses 4b and 8b), and is a well documented feature of OG Isaiah.[15]

When משיח is rendered by the standard equivalent χριστός,[16] Cyrus is presented as the Lord's anointed in OG, just as in the Hebrew witnesses. This is not self-evident. First, this translator's technique allowed for freedom in lexical choice, including the freedom to adapt geographical names and designations for peoples, turning תרשיש, "Tarshish," into Καρχηδών, "Karthage," (23:1), and פלשתים "Philistines" into Ἕλλήνες, "Hellenes," (9:11). This means that in light of the transaltor's technique, the name or the title might have been changed. But even if the letter of Barnabas reproduces it as ... χριστῷ μου κυρίῳ, replacing the name Κύρος with the similar Greek word, κύριος, "Lord,"[17] the OG reading is unambiguosly χριστῷ μου κύρῳ, retaining both the title and the name Cyrus. Second, in 44:28, the theologically significant title רעי, "my shepherd," was rendered as φρονεῖν, "to think." This implies that a transparent rendering of משיח, which is perhaps even more charged with ideological baggage, could not be taken for granted. When both the title "the Lord's anointed" and Cyrus's name is preserved in translation, it is significant for the overall interpretation of OG Isaiah's presenta-

12. The *Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallell Text*, Version 1.3 interprets μου as caused by a waw/yod confusion, as earlier interpreters have done, too. Fischer thinks it is an inner-Hebrew misreading of waw/yod, but adds the question whether the Greek originally read αυτου in stead of μου. Johann Fischer, *In Welcher Schrift Lag Das Buch Isaias Den Lxx Vor? Eine Textkritische Studie* (Giessen: Verlag vonTöpelmann, 1930), 57. Such a misreading might have happened already in the Vorlage, or in the process of translation.

13. Cristopher R. North has observed a lack of coherence in the Hebrew of verse 1, noting that one would expect either "to his anointed prince … whose right hand he grasps," or "to my anointed prince … whose right hand I grasp." Cristopher R. North, *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters Xl-Lv* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 148, esp. footnote 44..

14. Munnich too, explains the first person pronoun in light of this verb, and sees it as similar to what happens in Psalm superscriptions, which moves directly from the superscription τῷ Δαυιδ to the actual message. Olivier Munnich, "Le Messianisme À La Lumière Des Livres Prophétiques De La Bible Grecque," in *The Septuagint and Messianism*, ed. M.A. Knibb (Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 2006), 342.

15. According to David A. Baer, one of the characteristics of OG Isaiah is the presence of first and second person forms where the Hebrew has the third person. This he calls "personalization." David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home Translation and Theology in Lxx Isaiah 56-66* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001). For other examles, see for instance 11:16, from "his people (MT/1Qa) to "my people" in OG. Or 48:19: from "his name" (MT/1Qa) to "your name" in OG Is.

tion of Cyrus.

2.1.2. The Lord God's grip on Cyrus's right hand

Having declared Cyrus as his anointed one, the Lord continues to present Cyrus to his audience[18] as the one οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς "whose right hand I have taken control over."

The verb is חזק (hiphil) is commonly used about seizing/grasping.[19] Here חזק is rendered by κρατεῖν, which according to BDAG has "exercise of power" as its primary meaning, and which is used to express both conquest and rule. Examples of such usage are easily found in the LXX: In Deut 2:34 it is used about victory in war.

> καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν [לכד, qal] πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ ἐξωλεθρεύσαμεν πᾶσαν πόλιν ἑξῆς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν.
> and we conquered all the cities and we utterly destroyed each city in turn – and their women and their children.

When king Artaxerxes is introduced in OG Esther 1:1, the essential information is that "he ruled over [ἐκράτησεν][20] one hundred and twenty seven lands from India." And 1 and 2 Maccabees contain several examples of this verb with connotations to rule and power, such as the statement about Alexander the Great in 1 Macc 1:2: ἐκράτησεν ὀχυρωμάτων καὶ ἔσφαξεν βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, "he conquerred strongholds and slaughtered kings of the earth."[21] Such examples throws the presentation of Cyrus as οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς, into relief.

For although חזק is often used about grasping or taking hold of, including people's hands, this is apparently not the case with κρατεῖν. GELS marks the definition "to lay hold of, grasp" as possibly not attested prior to the LXX, and according to TDNT, κρατεῖν is not used with χεῖρος, "hand" (genitive), apart from the LXX and NT.[22] This latter statement needs to be

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16. The adjective מָשִׁיחַ is used 38 times in MT (according to Accordance), The equivalent χρίστος is always used, with the following exceptions (here Rahlfs has been checked, not the GS): Lev 4:3, passive participle of χρίειν, OG Dan 9.25 (a minus), OG/Theodotion Daniel 9:26: χρίσμα.

17. For further comments on this rendering and similar patristic exegesis, see Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen Zur Septuaginta Des Buches Isaias* (Münster i.W.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), 100.

18. Oswalt points out how the oracle not actually is meant for Cyrus, but addresses "despairing Israelites."Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, 200. And Koole says God "talks over Cyrus' shoulder to Israel" Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah, Part 3, Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48* (Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing Company, 1997), 429.

19. The thing (or person) grasped commonly preceded by the preposition בְּ, as here.

20. Rendering מלך, qal, participle.

21. See for instance 1 Macc 10:52 ἐκράτησα τῆς ἀρχῆς 14:6: καὶ ἐπλάτυνεν τὰ ὅρια τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκράτησεν τῆς χώρας, "And he extended the borders for his nation and took control of the territory." (LES2); 1 Macc 15:9 κρατήσωμεν τῆς βασιλεία ἡμῶν "Now when we are appointed over our kingdom ..." (LES2), and examples from 2 Macc include 2 Macc 4:10 τῆς ἀρχῆς κρατήσας, "and he took possession of the office," (LES2), 14:2 κεκρατηκέναι τῆς χῶρας "having taken possission of the territory...," (LES2) etc.

somewhat modified, for there is an earlier example of κρατεῖν used with χεῖρος; in Herodotus's *Histories*.

> Σπαργαπίσης ... δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἑωυτόν.
>
> Spargapises … asked Cyrus to be freed from his bonds; and this was granted him; but as soon as he was freed and had the use of his hands, he did away with himself. [23]

But although κρατεῖν is used with τῶν χειρῶν as a complement, the verb still retains the meaning related to power; Spargapises hardly used his newly gained freedom to "grasp" his own hands and then kill himself, κρατεῖν τῶν χειρῶν rather seems to imply that he gained control over his own hands.

There are however, some examples from the classical period where κρατεῖν is used with for instance τῶν ὅπλων, "the weapons" (genitive), where a meaning "grasp" could suggest itself. Especially an example from Sophocles's *Philoctetes*, resembles LXX-usage: δεξίαν πρότεινε χεῖρα, καὶ κρατεῖ τῶν σῶν ὅπλων,[24] "Stretch out your right hand and grasp (?)/take control of (?) your weapons." [25]

Looking at the Ptolemaic papyri, which are roughly contemporary with the translation of the LXX, κρατεῖν usually functions as a technical term for ownership of, or the right to use, agricultural land and houses. This terminology is found in both official documents[26] and private letters concerning the distribution of inheritance.[27] There is, however, one possible example of κρατεῖν meaning "take" or "grasp" with an accusative object, "cheeses,"[28] but no examples with "(right) hand." (However, according to Robert Helbing, κρατεῖν is used with meanings related to holding on to, grasping and seizing are common in the Hellenistic period.[29])

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22. Wilhelm Michaelis, Κράτος *(Θεοκρατία),* Κρατέω, Κραταιός, Κραταιόω, Κοσμοκράτωρ, Παντοκράτωρ (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1964), 911.

23. Herodotus, *Herodotus, with an English Translation by A. D. Godley*, ed. A. D. Godley (Medford, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).

24. Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 1292.

25. Also ἐπείδε τῶν ὅπλων ἐκράτησεν, "then they grasped (?)/took control of(?) the weapons." Thucydides, *Historiae*, 3.47.3.

26. It is often even abbreviated to κρ.

27. Sb 37267 (letter from 184 BCE).

28. P. Cair Zen 1 59063: … κρατει τυρους κυ[θνίους]... τειλαι ..."take Kythnian cheeses ... send (?)"

29. Robert Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax Der Verba Bei Den Septuaginta. Ein Beitrag Zur Hebraismenfrage Und Zur Syntax Der* Κοινή (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928), 120-21. I was made aware of this resource through Hauspie's lexicon. A main concern for Helbing is to map the use of the Greek cases and the Semitic influence, his thus maps the usage of both genitive and accusative with this verb and how it develops, as well as

Turning to LXX renderings, it should be noted that when חזק (often hiphil) is used about taking hold of concrete physical object or bodypart, it is usually translated as κρατεῖν and ἐπιλαμβάνειν.[30] On the one hand, in Is 51:18, the translator opts for ἀντιλαμβάνειν, which can be used both for giving a helping hand - as well as for grasping. On the other hand, the translator chooses κρατεῖν for חזק (hiphil) concerning Jacob/Israel's (right) hand in both 41:13 and 42:6. Moreover, in 41:13 this "taking control over" Jacob's hand is found in a message of comfort.[31] These observations suggest that OG Isaiah does not express a particularly hard handling of Cyrus's right hand, but deals with Cyrus's and Jacob's hands in the same way.

But even if the Lord will "take control of" the hand of Jacob/Israel, too, it should be remembered that Jacob is already the Lord's own παῖς, "servant,"(42:1) and δούλος, "slave," (49:3), and thus it is only to be expected that the Lord can control him.[32] Thus, even in light of the parallels with Jacob/Israel, the element of power or control does not disappear; it remains clear that the Lord, not Cyrus, is not the one in control. Thus κρατεῖν is surprisingly fitting in this context: it adds to the image of Cyrus as a tool in the Lord's hand, an image which is already present in the Hebrew.

2.1.3. Presenting the purpose and the Lord's future acts for Cyrus

According to OG, the purpose behind the Lord's controlling Cyrus is that peoples shall ἐπακούσαι ἐμπροσθὲν αὐτοῦ, "listen/obey before him." This is surprising, considering the Hebrew wording, לרד לפניו גואים "to drive back peoples before him." It is unclear whether the Hebrew verb רד, derives from the root רדה, "rule," or רדד, "conquer"/"drive back" Since רדד

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seeing how it corresponds to Hebrew objects introduced by בְּ - or not introduced by a preposition.

30. κρατεῖν with genitive is used when the object is someone's hand (Gen 19:16), throat (1 Kingd 17:35), right hand (Is 41:13; 42:6, 45:1), (the hem of) a garment (1 Kingd 15:27; 2 Kingd 1:11), a stick (2 Kingd 3:29), a dog's tail (Prov 26:17), and weapon and shield (OG Psalms 34:2). The accusative is also used with this verb for a torch (Judges B, 7:20), somebody's head (2 Kingdoms 2:16), a bow and hunting spear (Jer 6:23), arrows (2 Esdras 14:17), and spears (2 Esdras 14:21). Ἐπιλαμβάνειν is also commonly used in similar contexts: With genitive: for a snake's tail (Ex 4:4), testicles (Deut 25:11), the horns of the alter (3 kKingdoms 1:50), feet (4 Kingdoms 4:27), hand (Jer 31.32; Zech 14:13), (the hem of) a garment (4 Kingdoms 2:12; Zech 8:23). (There are also examples where it is used with an accusative). Other verbs are also used, but not as often, for instance λαμβάνειν, ἐγκρατεῖν, and in OG Isaiah, ἀντιλαμβάνειν.

31. Compare also OG Psalms 72:23, where the psalmist in Greek says καὶ ἐγὼ διὰ παντὸς μετὰ σοῦ, ἐκράτησας τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, [אָחַזְתָּ בְּיַד יְמִינִי]"and I am always with you, you have taken control of my right hand," as an expression of confidence.

32. Cf. the technical terms κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν, which in the Ptolemaic period is used for the sale of land (see for instance BGU 4 1129) or houses (see for instance BGU 4 1131), and which is also used in a sales contract concerning a female slave, where the buyer gets the right to κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν αὐτήν. (BGU 4 1059), although this papyri is a little later, from 30 BCE-14 CE.

is only used three times in the HB,[33] the translator probably interpreted רד as רדה, which is found elsewhere in Isaiah, and is rendered variously as κυριεύειν, "to be master of," (14:2), παίειν, "strike,"[34] (14:6), and as (βασιλεῖς) ἐκστήσειν, "drive (kings) out of their senses,"(41:2). With the choice of ἐπακούειν, in OG "peoples" must be the subject of the infinitive, thus "for people to obey before him." In Hebrew, on the other hand, "peoples" must be the object of לרד; thus "to drive back peoples before him." The Greek rendering might possibly be an ameliorating rendering, reserving harsh treatment for kings, not peoples.

The rest of OG verse 1 relates things that the Lord God will do for Cyrus now that he has the control over Cyrus's right hand.[35] In OG the Lord God claims that he will "crush the strength of kings,"[36] and here he himself will open doors for Cyrus, while in Hebrew it was expressed by an infinitive. This adds to the image of the Lord as actively engaged "before" Cyrus. The claim that the Lord will open doors for Cyrus, is mirrored by the statement that cities[37] will not be enclosed, which is expressed through the verb συνκλείειν, which can be used in the context of warfare, for people locking themselves in, or being locked up,[38] in a city under attack.[39]

2.1.4. Conclusion to verse 1

With this introduction, the scene is set for the Lord to adress Cyrus directly in the verses to follow. So far, the OG presentation of Cyrus is a bit ambiguous: Cyrus is the Lord's anointed, which means that he has been appointed by the Lord for a mission, but its specifics have not been thematized in this oracle, and will not be until verse 13. What has become clear, is that

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33. In Isaiah, רדד is used only here. In 1 Kings 6:32 it is rendered as καταβαίνειν "to go down," and thus interpreted as ירד, "go down." In Psalms 144:2 it is rendered as ὑποτάσσειν, "to subject."

34. This appears to be influenced by the use of the Hebrew verb נכה, hiphil, rendered as πατάσσεῖν in the first half of the verse.

35. This is somewhat different from the Hebrew where verse 1 contains further elaborations of the Lord's purposes: the Hebrew moves between infinitive clauses and clauses with finite verbs: "I have grasped … to subjugate … I will open … to open … they will not be closed," so that in Hebrew, also the effects on kings, doors and gates belong to the purpose of grasping Cyrus's hand.

36. This seems to be a non-figurative rendering of a Hebrew metaphor "to open the hips," which probably refers disarming a warrier by loosening his belt and removing his sword. Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 433.

37. In Hebrew it is gates, שׁערים that will not be closed.

38. συναγομένων δὲ τῷ λιμῷ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει συγκεκλεισμένων ἀνδρῶν "When the Carchedonians were pressed by the famine, because of the multitude of the men who had been shut up in the city ..." Polybius Hist 1.18.7. T. Büttner-Wobst, Polybii historiae, vols. 1-4, Leipzig: Teubner, 1:1905; 2:1889; 3:1893; 4:1904 (repr. 1:1962; 2-3:1965; 4:1967): 1:1-361; 2:1-380; 3:1-430; 4:1-512. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?0543:001:40467

39. Thus it sometimes occurs together with the verb πολιορκεῖν, "to besiege." νικήσαντες δὲ μάχῃ τοὺς Μυκηναίους καὶ συγκλείσαντες ἐντὸς τειχῶν ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν. "And having defeated the Mycheneans in

the Lord holds Cyrus' right hand, with the implication that when Cyrus rules, he is himself being ruled by the Lord, who will not only break the strength of kings, but will also open doors before him, so that there will be no need for sieges.

2.2. The Lord's future actions for Cyrus (verses 2-3)

When from verse 2, the Lord speaks directly to Cyrus, he continues by fleshing out what he will do for Cyrus (verses 2-3a), and offers an initial presentation of his purpose: Cyrus shall understand who is calling him is (v.3b). The Lord's calling of Cyrus, the theme of knowing the Lord, and questions of the Lord's identity are all introduced in verse 3, and these themes will dominate the rest of the passage, whether in Hebrew or Greek.

The Lord will remove hindrances for Cyrus by levelling mountains and breaking through fortified doors and bars. Thus he will give him access to hidden treasuries. While θησαυρός can be used for both treasures and treasuries, with the Greek plus ανοίξω σοι,"(hidden and unseen) I will open for you,"[40] the image in Greek is seems to be that of the Lord opening hidden and unseen treasuries, not treasures. With this Greek plus the Lord's generosity is stated twice; he both gives and opens treasuries for Cyrus, and these two statements form a chiasm in Greek.

The message to Cyrus reveals layers of motivations behind the Lord's deeds for Cyrus, and the first reason relates to Cyrus himself: the Lord's violent and generous acts are performed for Cyrus to know who is summoning him (3b), and he presents himself by his name; κύριος ὁ θεός, in terms of his relation to Cyrus; "the one calling your name," and in terms of his relation to Israel; "the God of Israel."

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battle and locked (them) in within walls, they besieged the city." Diodorus Sichilus's *Histories*, 11.65.3. K.T. Fischer (post I. Bekker & L. Dindorf) and F. Vogel, Diodori bibliotheca historica, 5 vols., 3rd edn., Leipzig: Teubner, 1:1888; 2:1890; 3:1893; 4-5:1906 (repr. 1964): 1:1-533; 2:1-461; 3:1-497; 4:1-426; 5:1-336. Retrieved from: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?0060:001:1284086.

40. Based on the style of Second Isaiah and the preceding parallellisms, Seeligman thinks the Vorlage contained such a clause, which was lost in MT. Isaac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 209. Goldingay and Payne, instead labels it "expansionist translation,"John Goldingay, and David Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55, Volume Ii* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2006), 23. with reference to Ziegler, who suggests that it migth be connected to verse 1. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 74.

2.3. The Lord's future calling of Cyrus (verse 4a)

2.3.1. Call you "with" my name and "wait" for you?

Verse 4a focuses on the Lord's future calling of Cyrus and its motivation – it is done for the sake of Israel/Jacob. This is the second mention of the Lord's calling of Cyrus, and 1QIsa[a], MT and OG disagree on two points. According to MT, the Lord says "and I will call you by your name [בְּשִׁמְךָ] give you a name of honour [אֲכַנְּךָ]." According to 1QIsa[a] he says, "and I will call you and by name [ובשמ] to appoint you [הכ֫נכה]," while in OG he states: "I will call you in/by my name [τῷ ὀνόματί μου] and wait for you [προσδέξομαι σε]."[41]

The wording of 1QIsa[a] ("and by name") implies that name in question is Cyrus's own name, while MT is explicit about it ("your name"), OG instead has "my name." It is not immediately clear what kind of action καλέσω σε refers to when it is further modified by τῷ ὀνόματί μου. When καλεῖν has "name" as one of its complements it usually means to give someone a name; thus "to name," or to use a name or nickname for someone – but then the accusative, not the dative case, is used. The closest parallell to the rendering here, is from Josephus and concerns levirate marriage.[42] In this later text, Josephus writes that a child should be called τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος ὀνόματι, that is; he will be called by his diseased and childless uncle's name to inherit him. If interpreted along theses lines, verse 4a means that Cyrus will be named/called by the Lord's own name. But the verb καλεῖν can also be used for summoning or inviting someone. If this is the meaning of the verb here, the dative τῷ ὀνόματί μου might be interpreted as an instrumental dative; the Lord's name is being used as the Lord invites Cyrus. This resembles how the Lord's name, in the dative case, is used in as a complement of ὀμνύειν "to swear," in Is 19:18.

The second verb of verse 4a might shed light on how καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου should be interpreted. OG has προσδέχεσθαι, which can mean "accept," (cf. this verse in LES2

41. It is probable that MT's "I will call (to) you by your name" lies behind the other two renderings here. This version of the sentence, with both ואקרא לך בשמך "call you by your name" almost has a superflous mention of "you", and in 1QIsa[a] the second "your" was probably omitted to avoid redundancy. In OG, however this message has been further adapted, since now it is not Cyrus's name, but the Lord's own name which is used; ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου, "I will call you in/by my name."

42. Josephus, *Antiquities* 4.254 (Logos...) ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκείνου γαμείτω καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν γενόμενον τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καλέσας ὀνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον· "let his brother marry her; and let him call the son that is born to him by his brother's name, and educate him as the heir of his inheritance."

and Penner), or "receive" (cf. NETS). It can further be used for admitting someone into the presence of a king.[43] This is a possible interpretation here, since καλεῖν might imply an invitation, thus "I invite you in my name and admit you into my presence." I however suggest that it should be rendered as "wait for,"[44] as I will explain below. I will however first look at the connection between the Hebrew and the Greek here. Where OG has προσδέχεσθαι, MT has a very rare word, כנה piel, "to give someone a name of honour," (HALOT). In contrast, 1QIsa[a] has the common verb כון (hiphil), "appoint."[45]

It is difficult to find a semantic connection between προσδέχεσθαι and either of these Hebrew verbs. Προσδέχεσθαι never renders כנה elsewhere in the LXX, which is not surprising, since כנה is rare in Biblical Hebrew, being found only twice in Job[46] and twice in Isaiah.[47] When used in Is 44:5, it is left untranslated, and in 45:4 there seems to be "no formal /semantic path"[48] between these words. Together this suggests that the translator did not know what כנה meant, and replaced it with a word of his own choice,[49] namely προσδέχεσθαι.[50] In addition to 42:1 and 45:4, προσδέχεσθαι is used in two other Isaiah passages; 28:10 and 55:12. In both these verses, προσδέχεσθαι is used although there is no verb in Hebrew.[51] These two verses thus illustrate that the translator sometimes used προσδέχεσθαι very freely.

I suggest that in 45:4, the translator chooses προσδέχεσθαι to express expectation or awaiting, based on his interpreteation of the immediate context: (1) He could hardly know the

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43. Xenophon, for instance, uses προσδέχεσθαι about Cyrus admitting people to come see him. *Cyropaedia* 7.5.37 and *Historia Hellenica* 1.5.9. Examples taken from LSJ, προσδέχομαι, II.

44. Originally προσδέχεσθαι was only used for expectation and waiting, According to LSJ, this is the only sense of προσδέχεσθαι in Homer. As for instance about expecting (or not expecting) an attack Cf. Hereodotus Hist., 3.146.3, ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδέν. "Charileos let out (?), having opened the gates, while the Persians were not expecting any of this." Herodotus, "Herodotus, with an English Translation by A. D. Godley" (Medford, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920).

45. The yod indicating that this is a hiphil form of כון, is a suparlinear addition. This suggests that the Vorlage looked like MT, and that the scribe added the yod as he started to reflect on what kind of verb this might be.

46. Job 32:21-22.

47. It is also used in Ben Sira.

48. "Unless there is some formal/semantic linke between Vorlage and rendering, the versional phrase cannot usefully count as either literal or free translation: it cannot count as translation at all." James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 287.

49. This is implied by Ziegler's suggestion, too.

50. However, Ottley thinks the translator read the Hebrew verb as לקח,which is rendered by προσδέχεσθαι in Ps 6:9 and Ex 22:10. Richard R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus) (Critical Apparatus)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 319. Ziegler instead suggests that the

meaning of the rare Hebrew verb, but decided to replace it with an appopriate Greek word of his own choice. (2) On two other occasions in OG Isaiah, προσδέχεσθαι is added without any license from the Hebrew. (3) At least in one of these cases (28:10), προσδέχεσθαι expresses expectation or waiting. (4) When used together with καλεῖν, which can be used for summoning or invitation, the meanings "welcome" and "wait for" appear contextually better than "accept." I therefore read 4a along the lines of "For the sake of Jacob ... I will summon you in my name, and wait for you." It thus appears that the Lord will thus summon Cyrus and await his response, although Cyrus has not yet learnt to know him (4b).

2.4. What Cyrus needs to know about the Lord (4b-7)

2.4.1. What Cyrus does not know: who the Lord is

Verse 4b contributes a new development in the Lord's message, and this is signalled through the choice of the particle δέ, rather than καί, for Hebrew ו.[52] The new development is the fact that Cyrus does not know the Lord, in spite of all the Lord has stated that he will do for him, including summoning him in his own name.

This first statement that Cyrus does not know the Lord (4b), is followed by the first person declaration in verse 5, which in both Hebrew and Greek declares to Cyrus who the Lord is, namely the only God.[53] In OG, this core statement does not function as an independent sentence, but is introduced by a ὅτι, which thereby connects it as a further comment to

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choice of προσδέχομαί was influenced by 42:1, since Ισραελ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου is mentioned in both verses. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 159. In 42:1 προσδέχεσθαι renders רצה, "to take pleasure in," which is a rather common choice for רצה among the Septuagint translators (in Hos 8:13, Amos 5:22, Mic 6:7, Mal 1:8, 10, 13, Ezechiel 20:40, 41; 43:27, and in 2 Chron 36:21.)

51. However, MT-LXX Parallell suggests that the translator might have read the consonants לצו in 28:10 as a form of רצה. The Hebrew is indeed obscure: כי צו לצו צו לצו קו לקו קו לקו "For [it is] precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line." The translator probably had to create his own meaning, the result being: θλίψιν ἐπὶ θλίψιν προσδέχου ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι,"Expect hardship upon hardship, hope upon hope." In 55:12, too, προσδέχεσθαι is used where there is no Hebrew verb, it replaces לפניכם. Ottley refers to this as "expanding" the preposition. Ottley, *Isaiah According to the Lxx, Vol. 2*. ההרים והגבעות יפצחו לפניכם רנה "The mountains and the hills before you shall burst into song," (NRSV). τὰ γὰρ ὄρη καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ ἐξαλοῦνται προσδεχόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἐν χαρᾷ, "for the mountains and the hills will leap, while they ***wait for you (?)*** with joy." Here, both "wait for" and "receive" are contextually appropriate meanings, as the hills are described as skittling while they wait for – or welcome (Ottley, LES2, NETS) those going out.

52. For δέ as a marker of new developments, see Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 2010), 31.

53. For comments on this Hebrew statement, its connection to the call of Moses and its wider usage as a formula

the immediately preceding σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνως με.

In Hebrew, but not in OG, there is a verse 5b, which continues to tell of what the Lord does or will do for Cyrus: אאזרך, "I will gird you." In Hebrew this functions as a contrast to 1b, where the Lord stated that he would "ungird" kings,[54] creating a contrast between how the Lord deals with Cyrus, who will be girded, and thus prepared for war – and with other kings, who are stripped of their weapons. But without the mention of girding Cyrus in OG, there is no such contrast in OG.

There are various possible reasons for the non-mention of girding in OG. When the girding of Cyrus is omitted, the structure of the passage becomes tidier, with verses 2-4 focusing on the Lord's actions for Cyrus, and verse 5-7 on the Lord's identity. The omission might also be accidental.[55] However, an ideological motivation for the minus cannot be excluded,[56] especially when comparing with the beginning of chapter 42. In 42:6 there are several thematic and verbal connections with 45:2-6; calling, declaration of the Lord's name/identity; taking control of someone's hand. In OG 45:5, which is undoubtedly about Cyrus, the message "I will gird you," is left out in, while in the beginning of chapter 42, Jacob/Israel (v.1) is explicitly said to have been strenghtened by the Lord (v.6), although the Hebrew neither mentions names, nor strenghtening, in this passage. These connections and contrasts between the Greek and Hebrew texts of chapter 42 and 45 raise questions about how the translator conceived of the relationship between Jacob/Israel and Cyrus, and needs to be examined in a separate chapter.

Without verse 5b in OG, there is no further mention of anything the Lord will do for Cyrus after verse 4. Here the divine declaration "that I am Lord the God, and there are – still – no other gods" is framed by references to Cyrus's ignorance. This framing creates a rhetorical effect which is absent from the Hebrew, drawing attention to the theologically significant statement being enveloped this way.

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in the exilic and post-exilic period, and its rhetorical function in this passage, see Graham S. Ogden, "Moses and Cyrus: Literary Affinities Between Hte Priestly Presentation of Moses in Exodus Vi-Vii and the Cyrus Song in Isaiah Xliv 24–Xlv 13," *Vetus Testamentum* Vol. 28, Issue 2 (1978), 198-99.

54. Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 439.

55. This is van der Vorm-Croughs opinion, Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses* (Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 475.

56. For instance, Goldingay and Payne suggests it was omitted to avoit anthropomorphism, Goldingay, and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55*, 26.

2.4.2. Purpose: Widespread recognition of the Lord (6-7)

The focus on knowing the Lord continues in verse 6. In OG the purpose-clause ἵνα γνῶσιν … seems to connect to the statement "I will call you in my name and wait for you,"[57]from verse 4a, although separated from it by verse 4b-5. Thus, in OG, the Lord will summon Cyrus and wait for him (4aβ), in order that people in widespread areas will recognize the Lord as the only God (verse 6), the one who has made light and darkness, and is responsible for both peace and misery (verse 7).[58]

The creation of peace and misery might relate to Cyrus's role,[59] but the verse is primarily about the Lord, who presents himself as the one creator, in both the natural world and in history. That this is his claim, is made even clearer in OG where the participles are preceded by the personal pronoun ἐγώ, "I," which are only implied in Hebrew.

2.5. The conclusion: "I am the Lord – who created you"

Verse 8a orders heaven and earth to respond with joy, justice and mercy (v.8a), before concluding with a final "I am" statement, where the Lord declares to be "the one who created you" (v. 8b).

As observed already, scribes[60] and scholars have interepreted vers 8 as separate from the Cyrus-oracle. Since it turns from addressing Cyrus, to giving commands meant for heaven and earth, this is not surprising. Westermann saw it as one of several "eschatological hymns" in Second Isaiah,[61] and these hymns can be seen as structural devices dividing Isaiah 40-55, either as conclusions to passages or as transitionary elements between passages.[62] But although MT marks verse 8 as a separate unit, there are connections between 8b and the Cyrus oracle in MT: It is yet another clause introduced by אני יהוה "I (am) YHWH" in addition to

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57. While in Hebrew it is seems to give the pupose of the preceding "I will gird you."

58. With the translation ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά, OG follows a text like MT, which has עשה שלום ובורא רע, "making peace, creating misery," while 1QIsa[a] replaces שלום "peace," with טוב, "good."

59. This already goes for the Hebrew. Koole sees this as referring to the defeat of Cyrus's and Israel's enemies. Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 442.

60. Cf. section ... above concerning scribal divisions in ancient manuscripts.

61. I rely on Koole for this observation. The other eschatological hymns are found in 42:10-13; 44:23; 48:20f; 49:13; 52:9-12; 54:1-13, Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 15.

62. Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 15. Kratz calls it a "Zwischenstück."Reihard Gregor Kratz, *Kyros Im Deuterojesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen Zu Entstehung Und Theologie Von Jes 40-55* (Tübingen: J.C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1991), 76.

those in 3b, 5a, 6b, and 7b, and the verb ברא, "to create," is repeated from verse 7, where it is used twice.

In OG verse 8b there are even more, and clearer, connections to verses 5-7. Like MT, OG repeats a creation verb, *κτίζειν*, from verse 7. In OG verse 8b, the translator does not mirror the first person form of the verb in MT; but renders it as a substantival participle, *ὁ κτίσας*, bringing it in line with the participles of verse 7. With this adaptation, the parallels with verse 7 become more striking:

> *ἐγὼ ὁ κατασκευάσας φῶς καὶ ποιήσας σκότος,*
> *ὁ ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά·*
> *ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα* (v.7) **…**
> *ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κτίσας σε* (v.8b)
> I am the one who prepared light made darkness,
> who makes peace and creates misery.
> I am the Lord God who does all of this. (v.7)…
> I am the Lord who created you (v.8b)

As a nominal sentence, verse 8b further becomes one of several nominal sentences where the Lord declares "I am ..."; such statements have already been found in verses 3b, 5a, 6b and 7b, mirrorring the connection between verse 8b and these verses which is also found in MT. Moreover, the name/title *κύριος* is supplied with a substantival participle in apposition, as in *ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου* (verse 3b), and *ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα* (verse 7b). These parallels connects verse 8 firmly with the Cyrus oracle, and with the adaptation of the final word from a third person to a second person pronoun, it connects verse 8 to all these second person singular pronouns and verbs in verses 2, 3, 4 and 5. A scribal confusion of waw and final kaf seems unlikely, and the change from third to second person here appears deliberate, especially as it continues the series of second person forms used throughout verses 2-5.

> *Ἐγὼ ἔμπροσθέν σου πορεύσομαι (...) καὶ δώσω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους ἀοράτους ἀνοίξω σοι, ἵνα γνῷς ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ καλῶν τὸ ὄνομά σου, (...) ἐγὼ καλέσω σε τῷ ὀνόματί μου καὶ προσδέξομαί σε, σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔγνως με (...) καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεις με, (...) ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ κτίσας σε.*

In light of the repeated second person address to Cyrus throughout these verses, σε in verse 8b must refer to Cyrus. In Hebrew verse 8 lacks a particular addressee,[63] and thus seems to sit between 1-7, which address Cyrus, and 9-13, which address those who object to the choice of

63. Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 40-66* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2016), 122.

Cyrus.[64] In OG, on the other hand, verse 8 addresses Cyrus,[65] which makes the heavenly and eartly rejoicing of verse 8a rejoicing over Cyrus.[66]

This is, however, rather a clarification of MT than a re-interpretation. Although the pronominal suffix ו on בראתיו is usually rendered as "it"[67]in English translations, it seems likely that the translator interpreted the Hebrew בראתיו as "I created him," and read it as a reference to Cyrus.[68] If this is correct, it makes sense that he adapted the pronoun making reference to Cyrus cohere with all the preceding second person forms used to address him.

3. Preliminary conclusions and questions to be pursued further

In this chapter I have studied the Greek rendering of Isaiah 45:1-8, to find out how Cyrus is presented in this central passage. Most attention has been paid to non-transparent and surprising renderings, and I have tried to examine these from a perspective of multicausality, being open to various explanations for the Greek renderings.

The most interesting findings are from verses 1 and 8; the introduction and conclusion to the passage. Concerning the Lord's very first words χριστῷ μου, "my anointed," where the Hebrew has "his" anointed, in the end, the most important observation is the fact that in either case, Cyrus is presented as the Lord's anointed, which also it sheds light on with the rendering in 44:28 where he seemed to be "rejected" as the Lord's shepherd (2.1.1). The rendering κρατεῖν τῆς δεξίας was examined, to find out how this Greek verb with connotations to power and rule should be interpreted in this context, and what this might do to the portrayal of Cyrus. Here it was found that there might be an additional element of power or control in

64. Kratz calls it a "Zwischenstück." Kratz, *Kyros Im Deuterojesaja-Buch*, 76.

65. Le Moigne also reads it as a reference to Cyrus. Philippe Le Moigne, ""C'est Moi Quie Établis La Lumière Et Fis L'obscurité, Qui Fais Lapaix Et Fonde Les Malheurs": Théologie Du Choix Des Thèmes Verbaux Des Participes (Présent Vs Aoriste) Se Rapportant À Dieu, Dans La Septante D'ésaïe," in *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*, ed. Arie Van der Kooij, van der Meer, Michaël N. (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 83.

66. As also Le Moigne has pointed out. Le Moigne, ""C'est Moi"," 83-84.

67. The following have "it": NRSV, RSV, NASB, NKJV, JPS; NLT has "them", the Message has "all this" However - Douay Rheims Bible, translated from Vulgate in 1609, has "him." Vulgate also has "him". For commenaries who have "it": North, *The Second Isaiah*, 47., Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, 199.,Sweeney, *Isaiah 40-66*, 125., Goldingay, and Payne, *Isaiah 40-55*, 29; Koole, *Isaiah 40-48*, 444.

68. Cf. for instance Baltzer, who points out the parallels with the preceding verses and, asks whether the pronominal suffix is meant as a reference to Cyrus, and translates "it/him."Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55,* trans. Margaret Kohl (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 221, 227-230.

comparison with the Hebrew verb (2.1.2): despite the Lord's wonderful and generous acts for Cyrus, Cyrus is controlled by him.

Change from third (or second) to first person forms (as in "my anointed") also recur throughout the passage, and particularly the renderings in verse 4 and 8 have been discussed. In the case of verse 4a, the change of pronoun, from "your name" to "my name," was done together with a free choice of a verb; the examination led to the suggestion that the Greek expresses that the Lord will summon Cyrus, using his own divine name, and wait for Cyrus's response. This might imply that the Lord not only does things "before" Cyrus, but that he also expects/demands something from him.

It was finally shown that the changes to second person forms in verse 8b, as well as the turning of the verbal sentence into a nominal sentence declaring the Lord's identity once again, are significant, as they connect verse 8 to the preceding verses, and thus make the cosmic rejoicing of verse 8a rejoicing over is the Lord's works for Cyrus. Moreover, the Lord and Cyrus are defined in relation to each other: The Lord is not only the one who has created-light and darkness, peace and misery (cf. verse 7), but is the one who created Cyrus; a statement which now concludes the oracle.

This is a work in progress, and the relationship between stylistic and potentially ideological motivations between the Greek renderings in particular, is something that will need to be further illuminated as I continue the study of other passages.

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Isene: Summary of the PhD. project "Not 'my shepherd'? The reception and re-presentation of the Persian king Cyrus in OG Isaiah"

My project is a study of how the Persian king Cyrus, founder of the Achaemenid Empire, is handled in the Old Greek (OG) translation of Isaiah.

How is the Persian king Cyrus received in OG Isaiah? And how can OG Isaiah's portrayal of Cyrus be interpreted? Since OG Isaiah is a translation, this portrayal will contrasted with the portrayal emerging from the Hebrew Isaiah witness(es).

The main part of my dissertation will consist of chapters where I study Isaiah passages (from chapters 40-48) dealing with Cyrus. as well as a chapter where I study cohesion and coherence in these chapters as a whole. I read the chosen passages from OG Isaiah in relation to the ancient Hebrew texts, primarily 1QIsa[a] and MT.[1] I examine how these Greek passages relate to the Hebrew, on the levels of lexical choice, morphology, syntax as well as on the level of the structure of entire passages. I explore less transparent Greek renderings from a perspective of multicausality, trying to illuminate potential causes for a given rendering.[2]

I further examine how these passages functions as Greek discourse, paying attention to how passages are delimited and structured, as well as to the use of rhetorical devices.[3] I study both lexical choices and grammatical structures, particularly in light of postclassical Greek in the Ptolemaic period. To understand renderings in OG Isaiah in light of contemporary postclassical Greek, I look at how given words are used in classical and postclassical authors, as well as in documentary Ptolemaic papyri.

All the "Cyrus-passages" of chapters 40-48 will be studied this way. This will give impression of how the translator works,[4] and present the slightly different messages that emerge from this passages, passages which at least in MT deal with Cyrus. When I have studied the chosen passages, I will turn to chapters 40-48 as a whole, to see whether the observations from the Cyrus-passages concerning the translator's tendencies also hold for larger stretches of text. Based on my research so

1. I also use the other Isaiah scrolls from Qumran when possible.

2. I investigate potential confusions of consonants /roots, rearrangements of consonants, different segmentation of the text etc. These are reasons relating to the Hebrew Vorlage and Hebrew language. I also examine the renderings from the perspective of Greek, examining what the syntax and semantics might mean, paying careful attention to what the translator does elsewhere in OG Isaiah, as well as other usage of the same phraseology in other Greek texts. In this way I try to understand what the translator might have intended to communicate.

3. Attention to rhetorical devices has not been so prominent in my research so far, but what I have found in terms of the translator's attention to stylistic features of the text, suggests that I should pay more attention to such features of the text from now on.

4. Giving an indication of the translational "norms" guiding his work, his translation technique.

far, I will particularly be looking for signs of increased coherence[5] and cohesion[6] in these chapters as a whole.

The texts that will be studied in depth are: 41:1-7 and 21-29; 44:24-28; 45:1-8; 45:9-13; 46:8-11; and 48:12-16. These are chosen as the core group of verses that biblical scholars agree on labelling as "Cyrus-passages."

This chapter deals with the second passage in which Cyrus is mentioned by name.

5. How the text hangs logically together, how it is easy to follow the train of thought.
6. How conjunctions and discourse markers are used to make the text hang together formally.

Isaiah 11:2–3a and the "Sevenfold Spirit" in Early Christian Discourse and Its Jewish Precedents

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Introductory note for the OTSEM-conference: This is very much a "paper in progress", and part of the early stages of my doctoral research about perceptions of the divine spirit in the Book of Isaiah and its early reception history in Jewish and Christian writings (see the project summary). Therefore, it is more of an exploration than it is arguing for a clear and specific thesis. And as you will see, it is not yet finished. In what will here be presented, I focus on interpretations of Isa 11:2–3a in second century Christian writings, namely those of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, and Tertullian. The plan is to then continue with the Jewish precedents for the interpretations found, and to study how they relate to one another.

All constructive criticism and suggestions on how to further strengthen, ameliorate and develop this research are most welcome! But I will especially appreciate if the discussions focus on the following points:

1. Suggestions on how to strengthen the unique contribution of this paper.
2. Suggestions on how to proceed in the unfinished second part of this paper.
3. Is there any important research done that I should engage with but seem unaware of?

Thank you very much! //Simon

1. Introduction

In early Christian pre-Nicene texts, Isa 11:2–3a is mostly referenced in different Christological discourses as demonstrating that the spirit of God descended on Christ, and the attributes of the spirit are often interpreted as charismatic gifts/powers – connected both to the old prophets of the Jewish Scriptures, and to the phenomenon of χαρίσματα in the Church. We can also see how this text, and the concept of the "sevenfold spirit," is used in more personified and/or "angelomorphic" perceptions of the divine spirit.

In the Hebrew text (MT), the focus lies on the empowerment of the future messianic (Davidic) king with the royal qualities necessary to rule as YHWH wants, in righteous judgement and peace. The spirit of YHWH, functioning as an extension of YHWH's own being and executing his will as he's relating to "human beings, nature, and… the nation," is the source of the king's virtues, and keeps the king in "constant subjection to God in the fear of Yahweh," who is the true king of Israel.[1] The passage has clear connections with royal psalms (especially Ps 72), 1 Sam 16 (where the spirit comes on David to rest permanently on him), and the wisdom tradition (attested by the use of עֵצָה).[2] In the Christian interpretations of the second century, Isa 11:2–3a has come to be associated with another set of biblical texts, such as Joel 2:28ff. (LXX 3:1ff.); Ps 68:18 (LXX 67:19), and – beginning with Justin Martyr (as far as we know) – it is even used to argue for the cessation of prophecy (and the powers of the spirit) among the Jewish people.

[1] Ma, Wonsuk, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 271, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, 16, 26, 29, 37, 38.
[2] Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes,* 34, 37, 39; Ringgren, Helmer, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, SBT 18, London: SCM Press, 1956, 31–32.

The first part of this paper consists of a survey of these second century Christian interpretations of Isa 11:2–3a, in which we among other things will see the above mentioned moves to interpretations of the "spirits" of Isa 11:2–3a as charismatic gifts/powers, the cessation of these powers of the spirit among the Jewish people (along with their continuation in the Church), and personified and/or angelomorphic perceptions of the divine spirit. It is the assumption in this study that these interpretations has come about as a result of both "Christian innovations" (often Christologically motivated) and reworkings of inherited Jewish/Jewish-Christian interpretations and speculations, as well as Greco-Roman influences. The question is of course: how much of each, and in what ways? The aim of this study is to try to answer one part of this question, namely how much and in what ways these interpretations are dependent upon, rooted in, and developments of already existing early Jewish interpretations. In the second part of this paper [not yet written], I will therefore look into Jewish precedents to the interpretations studied in part one, along with surveying the reception and interpretation of Isa 11:2–3a in Jewish writings from the Second Temple period (i.e. Qumran-literature; the Apocrypha of the Hebrew Bible; *Psalms of Solomon*; Philo; and *1 Enoch*).

[Let me here just give a brief preview of the discussion of possible Jewish precedents to these interpretations, which will be properly studied and discussed in part two:

John R. Levison has successfully demonstrated the existence of angelic, or angelomorphic, perceptions of the divine spirit in early Judaism, starting already in the Hebrew Bible itself;[3] and suggests that the identification of the angel of God's presence in the exodus-narrative with the holy spirit in Isa 63:7–14 (and Hagg 2:4–5) constitutes an important precedent to Christian pneumatology, "long before the heyday of Greco-Roman mysticism and longer still before the emergence of Christianity."[4] The tradition about the sevenfold spirit of Isa 11:2–3a resting on the Messiah is strong in early Christian thought, and although "the use of this verse [i.e. Isa 11:2] to support the notion of the *seven-fold* spirit resting on the Messiah is generally absent both in the apocalyptic writings of the Second Temple era, and in rabbinic literature,"[5] Jewish angelological speculations about seven first-created supreme beings probably lies in the background of this tradition.[6] It is also clear that the LXX-translation of Isa 11:2–3a, with seven attributes connected to the spirit of God (via the integration of v. 3a and translation of והריחו as derived from רוּחַ instead of רֵיחַ)[7] instead of three pairs (as in MT), is central to these ideas and interpretations. The often assumed idea that cessation of prophecy after the prophets of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi is a Jewish view (based on *b. Sot.* 48b),[8] is contested by Levison, claiming that "[t]he era that gave birth to Judaism was, then, an era… when more, not

[3] Levison, John R., "The Angelic Spirit in Early Judaism," *SBL Seminar Papers* 34, 1995, 464–493.
[4] Levison, John R., *The Holy Spirit Before Christianity*, Waco: Baylor University Press, 2019. (Quote from page 4.)
[5] Bucur, Bogdan G., "Exegesis of Isaiah 11.2 in Aphrahat the Persian Sage," *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality,* vol. 2, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias, London: t & t clark, 2009, 189–190.
[6] Speculations that in turn could be based on e.g. Ez 9:2–3; Tob 12:15; *1 En* 20; 90:21; *Test. Levi*. 7:4–8:3; *2 En* 19:6; *Jub* 2:2; 15:27… etc. (See: Bucur, Bogdan G., *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses*, Supplement to Vigilae Christianae 95, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009, 39 (n. 145).)
[7] Shifman, Arie, "'A Scent' of the Spirit: Exegesis of an Enigmatic Verse (Isaiah 11:3)," *JBL 131*, no. 2, 2012, 242.
[8] E.g. Aune, David E., "Charismatic Exegesis in Early Judaism," *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 14, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Craig A. Evans, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993, 128. In *b. Sot*. 48b we can read: "As the Sages taught in a *baraita* (*Tosefta* 13:3): From the time when Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi died the Divine Spirit departed from the Jewish people, as these three were considered to be the last prophets."

less, attention was accorded the holy spirit…"[9] My suspicion though, is that the answer to this specific question must be nuanced, and that different views must have existed within Judaism.]

2. Isaiah 11:2–3a and the Divine Spirit in Second Century Christian Writers

In the following, we will look at the reception and interpretation of Isaiah 11:2–3a as pertinent to different perceptions of the divine spirit in early Christian texts during the second century, namely those of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, and Tertullian.

2.1 Justin Martyr

Justin Martyr quotes or alludes to Isa 11:2–3a (LXX) in two passages, and both are found in the *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 160 CE). The table below compares the wording of the one quote and the two allusions found in these passages with the Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX Rahlfs') texts of Isa 11:2–3a:

MT Isa 11:2–3a	LXX Isa 11:2–3a	*Dial* 39:2	*Dial* 87:2 (≈ LXX)	*Dial* 87:4
וְנָחָה	καὶ ἀναπαύσεται	ὁ μὲν γὰρ λαμβάνει	Καὶ ἀναπαύσεται	
עָלָיו	ἐπ᾽αὐτὸν		ἐπ᾽αὐτὸν	**Σοφίας** μὲν γὰρ
רוּחַ יְהוָה	πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ,		πνεῦμα θεοῦ,	πνεῦμα Σολομὼν
רוּחַ חָכְמָה	πνεῦμα **σοφίας**		πνεῦμα **σοφίας**	ἔσχε, **συνέσεως** δὲ
וּבִינָה	καὶ **συνέσεως**,	**συνέσεως** πνεῦμα,	καὶ **συνέσεως**,	καὶ **βουλῆς** Δανιήλ,
רוּחַ עֵצָה	πνεῦμα **βουλῆς**	ὁ δὲ **βουλῆς**,	πνεῦμα **βουλῆς**	**ἰσχύος** δὲ καὶ
וּגְבוּרָה	καὶ **ἰσχύος**,	ὁ δὲ **ἰσχύος**,	καὶ **ἰσχύος**,	**εὐσεβείας** Μωσῆς,
רוּחַ דַּעַת	πνεῦμα **γνώσεως**	ὁ δὲ ἰάσεως,	πνεῦμα **γνώσεως**	καὶ Ἠλίας **φόβου**
וְיִרְאַת יְהוָה׃	καὶ **εὐσεβείας**·	ὁ δὲ προγνώσεως,	καὶ **εὐσεβείας**·	**[θεοῦ]**, καὶ
וַהֲרִיחוֹ	ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν	ὁ δὲ διδασκαλίας,	καὶ ἐμπλήσει αὐτὸν	**γνώσεως** Ἡσαΐας
בְּיִרְאַת יְהוָה	πνεῦμα **φόβου θεοῦ**	ὁ δὲ **φόβου θεοῦ**	πνεῦμα **φόβου θεοῦ**	

(1) *Dial* 39 contains an allusion to Isa 11:2 in a context in which Justin speaks about charismatic gifts being given to people becoming disciples of Christ. Of the seven gifts (δόματα) mentioned, four correspond to the ones found in Isa 11:2–3a (LXX); the other three – healing, foreknowledge, and teaching – alludes to passages like 1 Cor 12:8–10, 28; Eph 4:11 (πρόγνωσις is probably being used as a functional synonym to προφητεία).[10] The fact that there are exactly seven gifts listed, even though the two lists of gifts/attributes do not match entirely, further strengthens the connection to Isa 11:2–3a (LXX). After Trypho has objected that Justin is "beside himself" talking in this way (39:3), Justin goes on, intending to show that the giving of these gifts (after the ascension of Christ into heaven) was indeed prophesied in the Scriptures, quoting Ps 68:18 (cf. Eph 4:8). He also includes himself, with a "we", in a group of people that have received gifts from Christ and prove from the words of the prophets that "you", that is, the

[9] Full quote: "The era that gave birth to Judaism was, then, an era of spiritual dynamism, during which pinpricks in Israel's scriptures burst into life. It was an era when more, not less, attention was accorded the holy spirit within, when the fiery inebriation of ecstasy took hold, when authors legitimated their modes of scriptural interpretation by appealing to the presence of the spirit within, when an entire community could be filled with the spirit." (Levison, John R., *Filled with the Spirit*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009, 221.)

[10] Stanton, Graham N., "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen C. Barton, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004, 332.

Jews that do not believe in Jesus, are without understanding (39:5).

(2) In *Dial* 87, Trypho quotes Isa 11:1–3 and asks why Christ needed these powers if he already existed as God. Justin replies that Christ didn't need these powers as though he lacked them, but that they reached their end or limit (πέρας) with him, as they rested (ἀνάπαυσιν) permanently on him. This, in Justin's dispensational way of thinking, also means that prophecy ceased among the Jews with the advent of Christ (87:3, 5). The old Jewish prophets – who are held in very high esteem by Justin – each had one or two of these seven "powers from God" (87:4; see the table above), but Christ had them all; and now they are instead distributed "by the grace of the power of that spirit" (ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκείνου) to those believing in him (87:5). Justin then supports his argument first by quoting Scripture (Ps 68:18; Joel 2:28); and second, with a reference to present experiences of χαρίσματα ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ θεοῦ among Christians, both "women and men" (88:1). Coming back to his main point, he then again states that Christ didn't lack the powers enumerated by Isaiah (88:1); Christ had power already when born (88:2), and just as he didn't get baptized because he himself needed to, the holy spirit didn't come "fluttering down" on him for his own sake – but for the sake of humankind (88:3–4, 8). Clearly, Justin locates the fulfilment of Isa 11:2 ("And the spirit of God will rest on him…") at the holy spirit's descent on Christ at the Jordan river.

These two passages of Justin's are in many ways very similar: (1) In both the attributes of the spirit of God in Isa 11:2–3a are interpreted as charismatic powers/gifts: on the prophets in the Hebrew Bible, in part (one or two each); on Christ, in their fullness; and through Christ, after his ascension, dispersed on Christians as various χαρίσματα; (2) The cessation of prophecy (and the powers of the spirit) among the Jewish people is more clearly stated in ch. 87–88, but is also implicit in ch. 39: the unbelieving Jews are without understanding, and at work in them is – not "the holy spirit of prophecy" (*Dial* 56:5), but – "the evil and deceitful spirit, the serpent." Justin is the first Christian writer to argue for a cessation of the Spirit from Judaism;[11] or in the words of Graham N. Stanton:

> Justin rarely goes further than his Christian predecessors [in his understanding of the Spirit]. […] In one important respect, however, Justin goes his own way. His double claim that among the Jewish people prophecy ceased with the coming of Christ and that the gifts of the Spirit were evident only among Christian believers strikes a chill note.[12]

Jews that are "leaving the way of deceit" and become "disciples to the name of his [God's] Christ" – which, according to Justin happens daily – do on the other hand receive gifts (39:2); and he likens these Jesus-believing Jews to the seven thousand Israelites in the days of Elijah that did not bow their knees to Baal.[13] All of this is in line with Justin's conviction that Christians are the true Israel (*Dial* 11:5; 123; 135:3; cf. Gal 6:16).[14]

The ways in which Justin support his claims are also strikingly similar in the two accounts: (3) The giving of gifts by Christ after his ascent into heaven is seen as a fulfilment of

[11] Hughes, Kyle R., "The Spirit Speaks: Pneumatological Innovation in the Scriptural Exegesis of Justin and Tertullian," *Vigilae Christianae* 69, Leiden: Brill, 2015, 481.
[12] Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 334.
[13] Justin quotes portions of 1 King 19:10, 14, 18; but his text is actually closer to the wording of Rom 11:3–4. (Williams, A. Lukyn, *Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho: Translation, Introduction, and Notes*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930, 77 (note 1).)
[14] Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 334.

Ps 68:18 (LXX 67:19); so in both 39:4 and 87:6. But when quoting this verse, Justin's wording is much closer to the quotation from the Psalm *in Eph 4:8* than to both the Hebrew and the Septuagint, as seen in the following table (differences highlighted in bold font):

MT	LXX (Rahlfs')	Eph 4:8	*Dial* 39:4	*Dial* 87:6
עָלִיתָ לַמָּרוֹם שָׁבִיתָ שֶּׁבִי לָקַחְתָּ מַתָּנוֹת בָּאָדָם	**ἀνέβης** εἰς ὕψος, ᾐχμαλώτευ**σας** αἰχμαλωσίαν, **ἔλαβες** δόματα **ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ**	**ἀναβὰς** εἰς ὕψος ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, **ἔδωκεν** δόματα **τοῖς ἀνθρώποις**.	**Ἀνέβη** εἰς ὕψος, ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, **ἔδωκε** δόματα **τοῖς ἀνθρώποις**.	**Ἀνέβη** εἰς ὕψος, ᾐχμαλώτευσεν αἰχμαλωσίαν, **ἔδωκε** δόματα **τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων**.

Observing this, Oskar Skarsaune concludes that Justin here most probably depends on Paul.[15] Stanton agrees, and thinks it quite clear that Justin depends on 1 Corinthians, and definitely on the letter to the Ephesians.[16] In 88:6, this quote is immediately followed by a quotation of Joel 2:28 (LXX 3:1) which by the wording seems to stem from a source in which the versions in Joel 3:1 (LXX) and Acts 2:17–18 is combined, perhaps a Christian *testimonia*-source.[17] Whatever the source, it is clear that for Justin, the "powers" of Isa 11:2–3a are immediately associated with Ps 68:18//Eph 4:8; 1 Cor 12:8–10; and the promise of the outpouring of the spirit of God in Joel 2:28, with a focus on prophecy. It is also quite clear that this interpretation does not originate with Justin himself, but is part of a tradition he has received.

The second way Justin supports his claims is (4) to relate to his own experiences of the charismatic powers/gifts in the Church: he himself has received gifts (39:4–5), and states that "among us can be seen women and men having gifts from the spirit of God" (88:1). Also in other places in the *Dialogue*, Justin refers to experience: e.g. in the story of his conversion, when he says that "a fire was kindled" (πῦρ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνήφθη) in his soul (*Dial* 8:1) – a clear parallel to the "fire kindled in the Jordan" (πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ) when Jesus was baptized and "the holy spirit fluttered down on him" (*Dial* 88:3). Considering this together with the fact that Justin thinks of "having been baptised in holy spirit" as one mark of a Christian (*Dial* 29:1; cf. 14:1),[18] it is plausible to conclude that the fire kindled in his soul is a reference to the spirit.

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[15] Skarsaune, Oskar, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, SupNT 56, Leiden: Brill, 1987, 100.

[16] Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 332.

[17] "The phrase 'after these things' is closer to Joel 3.1, LXX, than to Acts 2.17, but the addition of 'my' points to use of the version of Joel cited in Acts 2.17-18." (Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 332.) "The strange feature about this text is that it combines Joel 3:1a καιγε (?) with Joel 3:2 = Acts 2:18. I do not know how to explain this. Is the mixed text due to Justin himself? If he had taken the care to look up the text in his exemplar of the Twelve Prophets, and besides had Peter's introduction in Acts 2:16 before his eyes (τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ), why should he be content with the vague introduction καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρα προφητεία εἴρηται? This rather sounds like the introductory formula before a 'testimony' text. Perhaps the first part of the text is not really taken from a καιγε version of the Twelve Prophets, but composed by someone who had direct access to the Hebrew text. The text might be the work of someone condensing the Acts testimony into a much shorter and tighter text, concentrating on the gift of prophecy. In any case, I find it most likely that the Joel testimony in Acts 2 was transmitted to Justin via an intermediary source." (Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy*, 122–123.)

[18] "Elsewhere Justin emphasizes that baptism with the Holy Spirit is the initiatory rite for Christian believers; they have no need of 'that other baptism (i.e. circumcision]' (*Dial*. 29.1; cf. 14.1)." (Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 324; see also 325.)

Apart from this being evidence for the continuation of charismatic phenomena in the second century (at least in parts of the Church), we should also not too quickly bypass the influence these experiences could have on Justin's hermeneutic when trying to understand his "charismatic" interpretations of the "spirit-texts" from the Hebrew Bible (or, actually, the Greek versions of it). His "conversion involves a radical change from a 'philosophy' based on intellectual and rational argument to a 'Christian philosophy' grounded in his personal experience of the writings of the prophets and 'the Saviour's words'."[19] He is convinced that the Christian beliefs he has inherited, and the "Christian experiences" he and others have, are rooted in, predicted by, fulfilments of, and the correct way to understand and apply the Jewish Scriptures (especially the prophets). This is indeed what he's trying to convince Trypho of.

When wanting to connect the charismatic gifts of 1 Cor 12:8–10, 28; Eph 4:11, and his own experiences, with a passage in the Jewish Scriptures, Justin cannot find a list of "gifts" like the ones in 1 Cor 12 or Eph 4, *but* he can use the list of attributes ascribed to the spirit of God in Isa 11. This is as close as he gets, and that with a text that already happens to be understood by Christians as a prophecy about Jesus being anointed by the spirit of God at the Jordan river.

Many scholars have described Justin's pneumatology as "confused,"[20] partly due to the fact that there's no clear distinction between the Logos and the Spirit in his theologizing. In *1 Apol* 33:4–6, when commenting on Luke 1:35, Justin reduces the πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύται ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι (in Luke) to δύναμις θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτήν, and comments: "It is wrong, therefore, to understand the spirit and the power of God as anything else than the Logos, who is also the first-born of God… and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive." The Logos and the prophetic (holy) spirit also seem to share the same function when it comes to prophetic inspiration (e.g. *1 Apol* 33:9; 38:1; *Dial* 7:1; 25:1; 49:2; 58:4), which could be explained as the result of a combination of an inherited tradition (with triadic formulations) in which the spirit is seen as the agent speaking through the Scriptures with an "all-encompassing Logos-theology."[21] We should be careful though, not to judge Justin – and other second century writers – by fourth century standards and agendas.[22] Stanton emphasizes the "'triadic' statements" in the *First Apology* and argues that Justin does differentiate between Christ/the Logos and the Spirit (e.g. in *1 Apol* 13:3 where he writes that the Son is "holding second place" [after the true God] and "the prophetic spirit [is] third in rank"),[23] but that there's a "lack of precision concerning the role of the Spirit." He concludes: "When one considers all the references to the Spirit in the *Apology*, traditional triadic formulations are more prominent than the apparent confusion bet-

[19] Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 324.
[20] Bucur, Bogdan G., "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity: Justin, the Martyr and Philosopher," *The Journal of Religion* 88, no. 2, 2008, 195; Hughes, "The Spirit Speaks", 470.
[21] Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, ix, 140; Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 331.
[22] "Justin Martyr has often been chided for his alleged failure to set out clear and coherent teaching on the Spirit. […] All too often, however, discussion of the teaching on the Spirit of this outstanding second-century Christian philosopher and martyr has been dominated by forth-century rather than second-century agendas. Is Justin's theology binitarian? Does Justin understand the Spirit in personal terms? Does Justin conceive the relationship between Father, Son, and Spirit in triadic or embryonic trinitarian ways?" (Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 321.)
[23] A statement that is problematic in other ways, i.e. due to its clear subordinationism, something that Stanton downplays. (Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 330.

ween the Spirit and the Logos."[24]

Another "possible answer" to the alleged confusion – with a direct bearing on Justin's interpretation of Isa 11:2–3a – is presented by Bogdan G. Bucur in the form of so-called angelomorphic pneumatology,[25] "furnished by Justin's use of πνεῦμα and πνεύματα for the intermediate beings—angels and demons."[26] According to this view, "the Logos and the Spirit are, for Justin, the same reality, which presents itself in a complex and paradoxical relation of simultaneous unity and multiplicity, and with definite angelomorphic traits."[27] This does not mean, however, that Bucur thinks that Justin "completely identifies πνεῦμα and λόγος," but rather that "Justin uses πνεῦμα as a designation of the Logos, independently of any references to the third hypostasis."[28] He sees in Justin's writings a "quasi-trinitarian structure," consisting of "the Father, the Son/Spirit, and the angelomorphic Spirit."[29] Starting with the antithetic parallelism pointed out by José Pablo Martín between the "powers" (δυνάμεις) connected with the divine spirit and those connected with evil and deceitful spirits (in *Dial* 7:1–3; 30:2; 35:2; 39:6; 76:6; 82:3; 93:1), and Erwin R. Goodenough's observation that "all the powers and demons, even the evil ones, were to Justin also πνεύματα,"[30] Bucur goes on to argue that, for Justin, the "powers" connected to Christ "are, at the same time, certain angelic beings (*Dial*. 85) and the seven 'powers of the Spirit' referred to in Isaiah 11 (*Dial*. 87)."[31] Christ, the κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων (*Dial* 36:2, 5; 85:1, 4) – himself called an "angel [of God]" (e.g. *Dial* 34:2; 127:4) – is the bearer of the "powers of the spirit" of Isa 11:2–3a (*Dial* 87:2, 3). This is not to say that Justin views Christ and/or the divine spirit as actual (created) angels, but Bucur suggests that he "uses angelic imagery to convey his teaching about the Holy Spirit" (therefore, angelo*morphic* pneumatology); it's an "adaptation of earlier Jewish and Christian angelological speculations," a "reworking [of] early Jewish and Christian speculations on the seven supreme angelic powers" by someone who is "well aquainted [sic] with the Christian trinitarian profession of faith."[32]

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[24] Stanton, "The Spirit in the Writings of Justin Martyr," 329–331.

[25] Bucur has taken up the challenge posed by John R. Levison in the conclusion of his article "The Angelic Spirit in Early Judaism" (*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 34, 1995) to consider interpretations of the spirit as an angelic being in discussions about the spirit of God in early Christianity, and written about "angelomorphic pneumatology" in Clement of Alexandria and other Early Christian Witnesses (e.g. the Book of Revelation, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Justin Martyr, and Aphrahat the Persian Sage); see Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*; Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity"; Bucur, Bogdan G., "The Son of God and the Angelomorphic Holy Spirit: A Rereading of the *Shepherd's* Christology," *ZNW* 98:1–2, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007, 120–142. Bucur prefers the term "angelomorphic pneumatology" over Levison's "Angelic Spirit," because "it signals the use of angelic *characteristics* in descriptions of God or humans, while not necessarily implying that either are angels *stricto sensu*. Neither 'angelomorphic christology' nor 'angelomorphic pneumatology' implies the identification of Christ or the Holy Spirit with 'angels.'" (Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, xxvi.) Throughout his works Bucur uses the definition set forth by Crispin Fletcher-Louis: "wherever there are signs that an individual or community possesses specifically angelic characteristics or status, though for whom identity cannot be reduced to that of an angel." (Fletcher-Louis, Crispin, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT 2/94, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997, 14–15; Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, xxvi.)

[26] Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 196.

[27] Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 205.

[28] Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 196.

[29] Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 208.

[30] Martín, José Pablo, *El Espíritu Santo en los origenes del Christianismo: Estudio sobre I Clemente, Ignacio, II Clemente y Justino Martir*, Zürich: PAS Verlag, 1971, 313–315; Goodenough, Erwin R., *The Theology of Justin Martyr*, Jena: Frommannsche Buchhandlung, 1923, 196; Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 196.

[31] Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 205 (see also 201).

[32] Bucur, "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 207, 208.

Reading the aforementioned *1 Apol* 13:3 (the Son having the "second place" after the Father, and the prophetic spirit being "third in rank") together with the problematic/enigmatic passage of *1 Apol* 6:2, where Justin states that Christians worship and venerate "him [the Father], and the Son who came from him and taught us these things and the host of the other good angels that escort him and are being made like him, and the prophetic spirit,"[33] within the interpretative framework of Bucur's angelomorphic pneumatology, it seems that the following picture of the "quasi-trinitarian structure" in Justin's thought is what emerges:

	The Father (the One God)	
Level of unity:	The Son/Logos ↔	The Spirit
Level of multiplicity:	A host of good angels / the "powers" of the "Lord of powers" ↔	The seven powers of the (holy, prophetic) spirit (Isa 11:2–3a)

It is still not entirely clear what to make of Justin's thoughts about the spirit of God, or how to sort out when he is actually speaking about the (holy) prophetic spirit (the "third in rank" and distinguished from the Son/Logos) and when he simply uses πνεῦμα-language for the Logos, or whether his talk about the seven powers of the spirit properly should be thought of as an expression of "angel" *pneumatology* or "pneuma" *angelology*.[34] Perhaps it is best to just say that in Justin's writings we can find both inherited triadic formulations, a strong Logos-theology (which explains the functional overlap between the λόγος and πνεῦμα of God, and the tendencies towards binitarianism),[35] and reworkings of early Jewish-Christian angelological speculations (which explains the connection between the seven "gifts" of the spirit in Isa 11:2–3a [LXX] and the "powers" [δυνάμεις]). His use of the term δύναμις/δυνάμεις for both the spirit and the Logos of God (*1 Apol* 33:6; *Dial* 87:3–4) is what makes these connections and transitions possible, and it seems the shift between singular and plural in *Dial* 88:1 comes naturally, indicating that the "[one Power and the seven Powers of the Spirit are] the same reality, which is at the same time one and sevenfold; the one power is the fullness, which contains all seven powers and brings them to unity."[36] This would fit well within a Logos-theology in which the Logos-Spirit is the agent/mediator between the utterly transcendent, One God, and creation/humanity/prophets, acting via a multiplicity of angelic messengers on the latter;[37] a theology that

[33] Bucur's own translation ("The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity," 197–198), of the Greek: ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνόν τε καὶ τὸν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνεῦμα τε τὸ προφητικὸν [σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν] …

[34] Here I borrow the terms from Bucur's discussion about similar "tricky questions" from the writings of Clement of Alexandria. Bucur writes about what Clement writes: "… the expression 'heptad of the spirit' refers to the Holy Spirit. The question is to decide whether 'holy spirit' is a designation for the seven angels of the Face, or 'seven protoctists' is a designation for the Holy Spirit. In other words, 'angel' pneumatology or 'pneuma' angelology?" (*Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, 60.)

[35] Anthony Briggmann argues that Justin confuses the functions of the Logos and the Spirit although distinguishing between them in identity (but sometimes he even fails at that, e.g. in *1 Apol* 33:6 and *Dial* 87–88), and that the "direct cause of the lack of clarity in Justin's approach to the Spirit stems from a conflict between a binitarian tendency and a Trinitarian confession." (Briggmann, Anthony, *Irenaeus of Lyons and the Theology of the Holy Spirit*, Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 31.)

[36] Oeyen, Christian, "Die Lehr der göttlichen Kräfte bei Justin," *Studia Patristica* 11:2, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972, 220; here via the translation in Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 28.

[37] A similar thought can be found in Clement of Alexandria, studied in detail by Bucur: "Clement of Alexandria identifies the Face of God mentioned in Matt 18:10 with Christ, the Logos; quite naturally, then, he identifies the πρόσωπον of Matt 18:10 with the χαρακτήρ of Heb 1:3 and the εἰκών of Col 1:15 [*Strom*. 7.58.3–6; *Exc*. 19.4]. As for the 'angels ever contemplating the Face of God' in Matt 18:10, they are the 'thrones' of Col 1:16, and 'the seven eyes of the Lord' of Rev 5:6 and Zech 3:9; 4:10 [*Strom*. 5.6.35; *Ecl*. 57.1; *Exc*. 10]. All of these passages become, for Clement, descriptions of the seven πρωτόκτιστοι, or seven 'first-born princes of the

tends to push the spirit to the side and place/identify *the* spirit – somewhat fluidly – simultaneously with the one Logos and the seven powers.

2.2 Irenaeus of Lyon

While binitarian tendencies and "Spirit Christology" (the use of spirit-language for Christ, e.g. the pre-existing and/or exalted Christ/the Logos) can be viewed as the two sides of one coin in Justin's theologizing, Anthony Briggmann convincingly argues that this is not the case with Irenaeus of Lyons. While both the Word and the holy spirit is said to have been speaking with and through patriarchs and prophets (e.g. *AH* III 6:5; 10:3; 11:8; 16:3; 21:4; *Prf* 2; 24; 30; 34; 40; 42; 49; 67; 73), and spirit-language is being used to "refer to the divine component of Jesus Christ" (in *AH* III 10:2; V 1:2; *Prf* 71),[38] Briggmann shows that Irenaeus never identifies the Holy Spirit as the pre-existing Christ:

> It is not enough to show that Irenaeus describes the Word as Spirit or identifies the divinity of Jesus as Spirit, because the ambiguity of the term 'Spirit' means it is theologically accurate, though perhaps problematic in this particular context, to refer to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as Spirit. According to this usage, 'Spirit' refers to what God is, the immaterial divine 'stuff' that is common to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 'God is Spirit' according to John 4:24. […] … by labeling the divine component of Jesus as Spirit, he is simply stating that Jesus is divine.[39]

For the purposes of this paper, two works of Irenaeus require our attention: *Against Heresies* (book III), and the *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* (*Prf*).[40] In these two works there are in total four references to Isa 11:2–3a:

(1) In *AH* III 9:3 Irenaeus argues that it was not "Christ" that descended upon Jesus as a dove at his baptism in the Jordan river (*contra* what some of the heretics claim), but the spirit of God. The main purpose of this passage is to "safeguard the unity of Jesus Christ;"[41] i.e. Jesus and Christ are the same, the Word of God and Saviour of all, who became man and was "anointed by the Spirit of the Father" (*unctus est a Patre Spiritu*) and thus "made Jesus Christ." Irenaeus quotes Isa 11:1–4a (after the sevenfold pattern in LXX) to demonstrate that it

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angels (πρωτόγονοι ἀγγέλων ἄρχοντες), who have the greatest power." [*Strom*. 6.16.142–143.] The seven *protoctists*, however, also carry a definite pneumatological content, since Clement identifies them not only with the first created angels, but also with the 'seven spirits resting on the rod that springs from the root of Jesse' (Isa 11:1–3, LXX) and 'the heptad of the Spirit.' [*Strom*. 5.6.35; *Paed*. 3.12.87.]" (Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, 68.) "Prophecy occurs when the Logos moves the first rank of the *protoctists*, and this movement is transmitted from one level of the angelic hierarchy down to the next. The lowest angelic rank, which is the closest to the human world, transmits the 'movement' to the prophet. Through a sort of telescoping effect, the first mover—the Logos—is simultaneously far removed from the effect of prophecy and immediately present." (Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, 53.)

[38] Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 190. But Briggmann fails to mention *AH* III 10:2 as one of the passages in which "Spirit Christology" occurs.

[39] Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 182–183.

[40] Unfortunately, none of these works have survived completely in the Greek original. *Against Heresies* (c. 180 CE) is known in its entirety only via a later Latin translation (date disputed: c. 200 or 400 CE); and *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, previously totally lost, is now known through a Armenian translation found in 1904 (since this finding also contains Armenian versions of parts of *Against Heresies*, and scholars have been able to compare the Armenian and Latin versions side by side, the conclusion can be drawn that the Armenian version follows the Greek text very closely). (Robinson, Armitage, *St Irenaeus: The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching: Translated from the Armenian with Introduction and Notes*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1920, 4–6.)

[41] Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 65.

was indeed the spirit of God that descended on Jesus, and then Isa 61:1 to give the reason for this. Then he writes:

> For inasmuch as the Word of God was man from the root of Jesse, and son of Abraham, in this respect did the Spirit of God rest upon Him, and anoint Him to preach the Gospel to the lowly. But inasmuch as He was God, He did not judge according to glory, nor reprove after the manner of speech. […] Therefore did the Spirit of God descend upon Him, [the Spirit] of Him who had promised by the prophets that He would anoint Him, so that we, receiving from the abundance of His unction, might be saved.

The points Irenaeus is making here are: first, that the Spirit that descended on Jesus is the spirit of the same God who made the promises (the "God of the Hebrew Scriptures" so to say); second, it was the humanity of Jesus that was anointed by the Spirit to preach the Gospel; in his divinity he had no need for the Spirit's anointing.[42]

(2) In *AH* III 17:1, Irenaeus repeats the argument in 9:3: it wasn't "Christ" that descended upon Jesus, but the spirit of God, as "declared by Isaiah." He then, again, quotes Isa 11:2 and Isa 61:1, but in shorter versions (only the first parts of the verses), and also adds lines from Matt 10:20; 28:19; and Joel 2:28–29 (LXX 3:1–2). Unlike Justin, he doesn't focus on charismatic gifts or powers (although prophesying is mentioned in the allusion to the promise in Joel), but on other aspects of the Spirit's work: working the will of the Father in human beings and renewing them from old habits into the newness of Christ (17:1); bringing the nations, as first-fruits to God, into life and unity; and join us to God (17:2). Then he gives two metaphors about the Spirit, both having something to do with the importance of water/liquid: (a) Just as a lump of dough cannot be formed of dry wheat but needs "fluid matter" to become a unified loaf, thus we can't be made one in Christ without the "water from heaven"; (b) Just as dry earth cannot bring forth fruit without "moisture", so we – like dry trees – cannot bear fruit without the "voluntary rain from above." Then, in 17:3, Irenaeus typologically interprets the story about Gideon and the fleece (Judg 6:36–40) as a prophecy about how the people of Israel (the fleece) first had the Holy Spirit (the dew), but now no longer (here he inserts a quote from Isa 5:6), when it instead is "diffused throughout all the earth, 'the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of God.'" Thus, he here finishes quoting the verse he only started to quote in 17:1 ("And the Spirit of God shall rest upon him"), exactly where he left off. Now the Spirit is conferred to the Church; and Irenaeus gives three reasons for why we need the "dew of God": to not be consumed by fire (i.e. escape judgment); to not be rendered unfruitful, and so that we have an advocate (and not only an accuser). At the end of 17:3, Irenaeus combines three parables from the canonical Gospels to talk about the work of the Holy Spirit (the advocate/paraclete):

> … an Advocate, the Lord commending to the Holy Spirit His own man (*suum hominem*), who had fallen among thieves, whom He Himself showed mercy and bound up his wounds, giving two royal denarii; so that we, receiving by the Spirit the image and superscription of the Father and the Son, might cause the denarius entrusted to us to be fruitful and remitting it to the Lord.

First, the Holy Spirit is likened to the innkeeper in the parable of the good Samaritan, to whom Jesus entrusts fallen humanity (which he has shown mercy etc.) and gives two denarii (providing for his people); then, via the denarii to the parable of paying taxes to Caesar, the Spirit is said to be the one transforming (saved) humanity into the image of the Father and the Son (two

[42] Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 62.

denarii instead of one facilitating the mention of them both and not just "God"). Finally, and connecting back to the metaphor about dry trees and fruit-bearing, the Spirit is the one causing the denarius entrusted to us to increase.

In this passage, Irenaeus talks much about the importance and work of the Holy Spirit in believers (that is, the Church), but apart from quoting Isa 11:2–3a (in two parts) he doesn't do anything with it; there's no expounding or further mention of the different attributes of the spirit here being listed. Clear though, is that he throughout the passage talks about one and the same spirit – the holy spirit of God, who descended on Jesus, unified the Church, works in believers, and was prophesied about in the prophetic Scriptures.

(3) In *Prf* 9–10, Irenaeus speaks about the celestial worship of God the Father, the almighty creator of all things. He starts by stating the existence of seven heavens, populated by powers, angels and archangels; these heavens, then, correspond to the Spirit's "seven forms of service" (his "manifold" workings) that rested on Christ and are reckoned by Isaiah:

> "The Spirit of God," he says, "shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the Spirit of counsel and of might, and of godliness; the Spirit of the fear of God shall fill him." Now the heaven which is first from above, and encompasses the rest, is (that of) wisdom; and the second from it, of understanding; and the third, of counsel; and the fourth, reckoned from above, (that is) of might; and the fifth, of knowledge; and the sixth, of godliness; and the seventh, this firmament of ours, is full of the fear of that Spirit which gives light to the heavens.[43]

A sevenfold division of the heavens is "very common" in both rabbinical and apocalyptic writings.[44] According to Armitage Robinson, it seems that Irenaeus is acquainted with the *Ascension of Isaiah*;[45] and in *AH* I 5:2, Irenaeus refers to a Valentinian teaching about the seven heavens being angels (but he doesn't refute the seven heavens themselves, as we also see above). Irenaeus own connection of the heavens with the Spirit's sevenfold operation is just as strange though, and he proceeds without any further explanation. Another peculiar thing about Irenaeus' account of the heavens is that the first heaven – and not the seventh – is the highest one.[46] Also the seven-branched menorah is, for Justin, a "pattern of the heavens." As in Justin,

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[43] I here follow Armitage Robinson's translation, with some slight modifications. As the observant reader will see, the phrase "the Spirit of knowledge" is missing in the quote above; this is most likely only a mistake by oversight, since knowledge appears as a designation of the fifth heaven right after the quote, and he quotes the verse correctly in all other instances (*AH* III 9:3; 17:3; *Prf* 59).

[44] Thackeray, Henry St. John, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought,* London: Macmillan and Co., 1900, 173.

[45] Robinson, Armitage, "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Justin and Irenaeus", *St Irenaeus: The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching: Translated from the Armenian with Introduction and Notes*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, New York: The MacMillan Co., 1920, 41–43.

[46] A hundred years later, a similar account occurs in Victorinus *De Fabrica Mundi* 7–8, where the seven spirits of Isa 11:2–3a are connected to the seven heavens, and the first heaven is the highest: "… for I find that the Lord's eyes are seven. […] … there are seven spirits. Their names are the spirits which abode on the Christ of God, as was intimated in Isaiah the prophet […] And there rests upon Him the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of wisdom [probably "knowledge."] and of piety, and the spirit of God's fear hath filled Him. Therefore the highest heaven is the heaven of wisdom; the second, of understanding; the third, of counsel; the fourth, of might; the fifth, of knowledge; the sixth, of piety; the seventh, of God's fear. From this, therefore, the thunders bellow, the lightnings are kindled, the fires are heaped together; fiery darts appear, stars gleam, the anxiety caused by the dreadful comet is aroused. Sometimes it happens that the sun and moon approach one another, and cause those more than frightful

we can see the Spirit being connected to both unity and multiplicity. A much discussed passage follows in *Prf* 10, where Irenaeus writes:

> Now this God is glorified by His Word who is His Son continually, and by the Holy Spirit who is the Wisdom of the Father of all: and the power(s) of these, of the Word and Wisdom, which are called Cherubim and Seraphim, with unceasing voices glorify God; and every created thing that is in the heavens offers glory to God the Father of all. He by His Word has created the whole world, and in the world are the angels…

Emmanuel Lanne, followed by Jean Daniélou and others, interpreted the "power(s)" here as the Word and Spirit/Wisdom, and thus also identified the Word and the Spirit with the Cherubim and Seraphim, leading to an angelomorphic interpretation of this text.[47] This interpretation, though, is built on "unfounded grammatical alterations"[48] which "scholars of Armenian have found precarious at best."[49] More convincing is the reading in which this text envisions "a celestial liturgy in which the Son and the Spirit are accompanied by the angelic host in the glorification of the Father."[50] The mentioning of the Cherubim and Seraphim in this context, however, indicates that Irenaeus here appropriates – and corrects – an imagery found earlier in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and later in Origen: namely, one in which the cherubim/seraphim in the throne-vision of Isa 6 corresponds to the angelomorphic Son and Spirit.[51]

The last thing to note concerning this passage is the identification of the Spirit with the Wisdom of the Father, also stated earlier with utmost clarity and strongly connected to the activity of creating (see *Prf* 5).[52] The spirit of God is not, then, only the "spirit of wisdom *and…*," with wisdom as one of seven attributes of the Spirit (as the text from Isa 11:2–3a suggests); but also fully identified with the personification of Wisdom known from the Jewish Sapiential literature.

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appearances, radiating with light in the field of their aspect. But the author of the whole creation is Jesus. His name is the Word…"

[47] Lanne, Emmanuel, "Cherubim et Seraphim: Essai d'Interprétation du Chapitre X de la Démonstration de Saint Irénée", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 43, 1955, 524–535; Daniélou, Jean, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea 1, trans./ed. John Baker, London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1964, 138–140.

[48] Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 200–201.

[49] Darrell, Hannah D., "Isaiah's Vision in the Ascension of Isaiah and the Early Church," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 50, no. 1, 1999, 96.

[50] Briggmann, *Irenaeus of Lyons*, 201.

[51] "In the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, the prophet gazes upon a triad composed of 'the glorious one' or 'the Father of the Lord,' whose glory it is impossible to behold, and his two attendants, the Lord Jesus and the angel of the Holy Spirit (*Asc. Isa.* 10.2–6). Obviously, the 'Father' corresponds to the enthroned Lord in Isaiah 6:1, while the angelomorphic Son and Spirit, referred to earlier (*Mar. Asc. Isa.* 9) as 'the angel of the Logos' and 'the angel of the Holy Spirit,' correspond to the two seraphim. […] Origen (*princ.* 1.3.4; *Hom*. *Isa.* 1.2), by contrast [to Irenaeus], will invoke the authority of a 'Hebrew teacher' in support of his identification of the two seraphim with the Son and the Spirit." (Bucur, Bogdan G., "Scholarship in the Old Testament Roots of Trinitarian Theology: Blind Spots and Blurred Vision," *The Bible and Early Trinitarian Theology*, ed. Christopher A. Beeley and Mark E. Weedman, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2018, 38.)

[52] "Thus there is shown forth One God, the Father, not made, invisible, creator of all things; above whom there is no other God, and after whom there is no other God. And, since God is rational, therefore by (the) Word He created the things that were made; and God is Spirit, and by (the) Spirit He adorned all things: as also the prophet says: By the word of the Lord were the heavens established, and by his spirit all their power [Ps 33:6]. Since then the Word establishes, that is to say, gives body and grants the reality of being, and the Spirit gives order and form to the diversity of the powers; rightly and fittingly is the Word called the Son, and the Spirit the Wisdom of God." (*Prf* 5.)

(4) In *Prf* 59, Isa 11:1–10 is quoted. Here it is being used in similar way as in *AH* III 9:3: Jesus – as a human – was from the root of Jesse, and "Jesse was the descendant of Abraham, and the father of David"; and as God he was able to "judge without respect of persons and partiality." Not much more is said about the Spirit here.

2.3 Tertullian

In Tertullian's work, we find five passages with relevance to this present study. [And this is how far I've come, the rest just being notes.]

(1) *De Corona*, ch. 15:
   a. "For Christ Jesus has made us even kings to God and His Father. What have you in common with the flower which is to die? You have a flower in the Branch of Jesse, upon which the grace of the Divine Spirit in all its fullness rested—a flower undefiled, unfading, everlasting…"

(2) *Adv. Ivd.* ch. 9:
   a. The rod = Mary. Mary must have been by the line on David.
   b. The flower = Christ. On him shall the Spirit of God rest… "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of discernment and piety, the spirit of counsel and truth; the spirit of God's fear shall fill Him."
   c. To no one else was "the universal aggregation of spiritual credentials appropriate, except to Christ".
   d. He was predicted by the prophets and destined to come out of Jesse's race.
   e. Then quoting Isa 53 and Isa 42; Israel's faith compared to the "bruised reed" – and the Gentiles "momentary glow" to the "burning flax" (He made it shine more).
   f. Christ distinguished by a twofold operation – that of preaching and that of power.

(3) *Adv. Marc.* III, ch. 17:
   a. In Christ dwelt the fullness of the Spirit – therefore he is the rod of Jesse.
   b. Upon whom rested the "spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of piety, and of the fear of the Lord."
   c. On no other man would the "diversity of spiritual proofs" so suitably apply.
   d. He's likened to a flower for the Spirit's grace.
   e. Stem of Jesse – connected with his descent through Mary.
   f. Then quoting Isa 53 and Isa 42.

(4) *Adv. Marc.* V, ch. 8:
   a. Talking about spiritual gifts. Promised by the Creator, through Christ. The bestowal of gifts not the work of any other god than Him who made the promise.
   b. Prophecy from Isaiah, quoting Isa 11:1–2a + comment: "After which he enumerates the special gifts of the same" + Isa 11:2b–3a: "The spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of religion. And with the fear of the Lord shall the Spirit fill Him."
   c. In Christ the whole substantia of the Spirit would rest. NOT as a "subsequent acquisition" to Him (who was always, even before his incarnation, the Spirit of

God); this was not about Christ to obtain the Spirit of his God. But the "entire operation of the Spirit of grace" should rest upon him – it should cease and come to an end. And we see this, after this time the Spirit of the Creator never breathed among them (the Jews). From Judah was taken away the "wise man, and the cunning artificer, and the counsellor, and the prophet" = the law and the prophets were until John.

d. When Christ returned to heaven, the spiritual gifts were sent. Quoting Ps 68//Eph 4.
e. This fulfilled the promise on Joel 2:28.
f. The Creator promised the gift of the HS – Christ is the dispenser of spiritual gifts.
g. Comparison of the "Spirit's specific graces" as described by the apostle (Paul) and as promised by the prophet Isaiah – comparing 1 Cor 12:8–10 with Isa 11:2–3a:
    i. Word of wisdom = spirit of wisdom.
    ii. Word of knowledge = spirit of understanding and counsel.
    iii. Faith = spirit of religion and the fear of the Lord.
    iv. Gifts of healing and working of miracles = spirit of might.
    v. Prophecy, discerning of spirits, diverse kinds of tongues and interpretation of tongues = spirit of knowledge.
h. The apostle agreeing with the prophet: One Spirit – and in interpreting his special graces.
i. One Lord of the human body and of the Holy Spirit.
j. The Creator confirming the gift of tongues in the law.
k. True prophets:
    i. Not speaking by human sense, but with the Spirit of God.
    ii. Predicting things to come, having made manifest the secrets of the heart.
    iii. Producing a psalm, a vision, a prayer – in the Spirit, in an ecstasy = a rapture, when an interpretation of tongues…
    iv. "Now all these signs (of spiritual gifts) are forthcoming from my side without any difficulty…"
    v. Similar sayings about prophets in Marc 5:15: the grace and power of the Spirit and the prophets: to foretell the future, reveal secrets of the heart, explain mysteries. (Marc 5:15).

(5) *Adv. Marc.* V, ch. 17:

a. Going through Ephesians… sealed with his Holy Spirit of promise… What promise? → The one made by Joel (2:28).
b. The Spirit and the Gospel found in Christ (who was foretrusted, because foretold).
c. Christ = the king of glory (Ps 24).
d. From Christ is besought the "spirit of wisdom… " at whose disposal is "enumerated that sevenfold distribution of the spirit of grace by Isaiah" + he will grant the enlightenment of the eyes of the understanding (ref. to Eph 1). + quote from Isa ("And who is blind, but my servants"). Then back to Eph 1 ("the riches (of the glory) of His inheritance…" etc.) – this is part of "his gift".

e. The Spirit speaking to the Father about the Son (“Thou hast put all things under His feet”).

Project Summary, Simon Johansson (Åbo Akademi University)

Working title: Isaiah 11:2–3a and the "Sevenfold Spirit" in Early Christian Discourse and Its Jewish Precedents.
Head Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Antti Laato, Åbo Akademi University.
Second Supervisor: Dr. Sven-Olav Back, Åbo Akademi University.

This project is part of my doctoral research about perceptions of the divine spirit (spirit of God /YHWH, holy spirit etc.) in the Book of Isaiah and its early history of reception in Jewish and Christian contexts. (The research, in turn, is being part of a larger project: *Isaiah between Judeo-Christian Borderlines*, focusing on the relationship between the early Christian interpretation of the Book of Isaiah and the reception history of the same in early Judaism.)

The basic idea is to follow and study the reception and interpretation of "*rûaḥ*-texts" from the Book of Isaiah up until the late second century CE/very early third century CE; study the relation between different interpretations (especially comparing Jewish and Christian ones), and how the interpretations of these texts interplay with the perceptions of the divine spirit surrounding them. The aim of the research is to contribute to increased knowledge and new perspectives on the way in which the Hebrew Bible and Jewish interpretations play an important role in the formation of early Christian pneumatological thought. In early Christian, pre-Nicene, writings, especially during the second century, when the "doctrine of the spirit" still is fluid, different perceptions of the divine spirit are expressed and developed in a "polemical dialogue" with Jewish thoughts and interpretations; even though the polemical tone is sometimes very strong, the Christian interpretations depend to a large extent upon Jewish ones (so, e.g., in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*). In this "dialogue," texts from the Book of Isaiah play an important role.

The present (unfinished) paper is a case study focusing on the reception and interpretation of Isa 11:2–3a, and has as its starting point the writings of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons and Tertullian in the second century. The aim of the paper is to first survey the use and interpretation of Isa 11:2–3a of these writers, in relation to their perceptions of the spirit; and, then, to do the same with Jewish Second Temple period writings that references Isa 11:2–3a in order to study the relationship between them and see in what ways the Christian interpretations (of Isa 11:2–3a) and perceptions (of the spirit) depend on and/or develop the Jewish ones. These texts will include Qumran-literature, The *Wisdom of Ben Sirach*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, Philo, and *1 Enoch*. I draw *inter alia* on the previous work of John R. Levison about the spirit in the Hebrew Bible and the "Angelic Spirit" in early Judaism, and Bogdan G. Bucur's work on "angelomorphic pneumatology" in early Christian writings.

This is the first stage of my research, which will continue to include other case studies – such as the reception and interpretation of Isa 42:1–4; and 61:1ff. – and research on perceptions of the *rûaḥ* of YHWH/God in the Book of Isaiah (and its different parts) as related to the rest of the Hebrew Bible.

The poetic profile of the Greek translator of the book of Job: thematic-formal units

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Preface:
I would like the focal points of the discussion to be: (1) are the stages of analysis easy to follow?; (2) does it seem justifiable to use strophe theories (for thematic-formal units) in the Greek text to find some answers to textual and redaction-critical problems of the Hebrew text? (3) I am also open to suggestions on ways to format the comparison between Greek and Hebrew + their translations in a reader-friendly way.

Kristin Klaus (University of Tartu)

Thematic-formal units in the Old Greek Job speeches

1 Introduction

Units in Hebrew poetry and specifically in the book of Job

It is generally maintained that (Biblical) Hebrew poems divide into smaller units. These units are usually called strophes, stanzas, cantos, or more neutrally literary units. It is common to divide these units into smaller ones, traditionally called strophes or sub-strophes.

Some say that these units should be, in the limits of one poem, of similar or equal length (for example, van der Lugt 1995: 33 and Fokkelman 2012: 7). Others again say that the most important thing is the sense unit (for example, Skehan 1971: 98 and Watson 1986: 163, but also Fokkelman 2012: 10) that is formally backed up by different rhetorical techniques and markers, including a certain length of the unit. Wilfred Watson (1986: 160, 162) has taken up this problem in his *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*, where he simply states that "stanzas can be regular, but need not be" and that the notion of regularity is based on classical Greek poetry.

Thus, to divide a poem into units, it is first necessary to note all the passages where the subject changes. Jan Fokkelman (2012: 7) is sure that the poet began a new strophe or train of thought after two or three verses (mainly two or three bicola). These would be the smaller units within bigger units of sense. Throughout his *The Book of Job in Form: A Literary Translation with Commentary*, he has managed to show that the speeches in the book of Job fit into this pattern where the train of thought changes after two or three bicola (a strophe) and bigger units of sense (stanzas) form from one or more strophes. Pieter van der Lugt before him did this same type of strict thematic-formal division in his *Rhetorical Criticism and the Poetry of the Book of Job* (1995) and *Cantos and Strophes in Biblical Hebrew Poetry: with special reference to the First Book of the Psalter* (2006 and the following parts in later years). Fokkelman and van der Lugt mainly inspire the methodology used in this chapter. Van der Lugt, in his *Rhetorical Criticism* and elsewhere, has given extremely detailed overviews of the history of dividing Job into units, which will not be reproduced here.

Units in Greek poetry and specifically the Old Greek translation of Job

Dividing longer forms of poetry into smaller units is not a very active research topic among scholars of Ancient Greek literature and poetry.

Christopher Faraone, among very few, has delved into this topic, specifically regarding elegiac poetry. He has written several relevant articles. However, his 2008 monograph remains the most comprehensive.

His "stanza" is

> "a formal unit of verse, which is recurrently identical in length and metrical structure, and which constitutes a division of a poem that corresponds to the paragraph in prose. The analogy to the prose paragraph, in particular, captures one essential feature of the elegiac stanza that is not necessarily shared by the stanzas of the lyric genres of Greek poetry: the regular coincidence between the end of an elegiac stanza and the end of a sentence." (Faraone 2008: 9)

To demarcate stanzas, he considers thematic unity and rhetorical and poetic devices, keywords, and repetition that bring harmony or closure to a specific unit (Faraone 2008: 16, 18, 22).

As far as I know, the Greek text of the book of Job has not been subject to unit[1] analysis.

Marieke Dhont did analyse rhetorical features in units of several cola in her monograph; however, there is no actual definition of these "units". She does mention that there are "literary units" in the book of Job but leaves it at that. (Dhont 2018: 261) Sometimes, she does say that a particular rhetorical feature helps bring together verses into a unit (for example, pp. 266, 283, and 294).

In the NETS translation of the book of Job, Claude Cox admits that "[t]he translator was responsible for dividing the text into small segments according to sense" however, the example is given of a word-division difference within the level of two cola not a larger "segment". The translation itself is divided into units mostly based on the NRSV translation and not independently. (Cox 2009: 668, 670)

Aims and Methodology

The main aim of this paper is to see whether the Old Greek text of the book of Job could be divided into thematic-formal units[2] in the way that the Hebrew text can be. If it can be, then the secondary aims are to see whether the thematic-formal units in the Greek and Hebrew texts are the same (start and begin in the same passages) and whether, in Greek, they are formally (poetically and rhetorically) more or less coherent and smooth than in Hebrew.

Since analysing the whole of Job this way is not feasible, I have chosen a selection of speeches to analyse poetically and rhetorically: 4–5, 8, 19, 21, 29–31, 38–39, and 40–41. This selection

[1] or strophe, stanza, canto, etc.

[2] At this stage of work, I have opted to use a neutral and descriptive term instead of the classic "strophe", "stanza", or "canto"; however, the terminology is open to changes at a different stage.

covers speeches where there are fewer text-critical problems and no asterisked material (4–5 and 8), speeches where there are some asterisked passages (19), and speeches with a lot of asterisked passages (21, 29–31, 38–39, 40–41). Speeches with many asterisked passages are of more interest since, obviously, in them, the thematic-formal units cannot be the same as in the Hebrew text. In what follows, I will show a detailed analysis of one thematic-formal unit from some of the speeches I have studied thus far, namely Job 4–5, 8, and 38–39.

In this paper, I will compare the units of Hebrew and Old Greek Job. What will not be under consideration at this moment are redactional layers of the book of Job, meaning the underlying assumption is that the *Vorlage* that the Greek translator used is more or less similar to the Masoretic Text[3]. My divisions of the units, based on the Old Greek text, under closer analysis are compared with those of van der Lugt, based on the Masoretic Text[4]; however, all analysis of the contents is my own. In my thesis, before the analysis, I show several other divisions by scholars (Georg Fohrer, Samuel Terrien, Norman Habel, John Hartley, Pieter van der Lugt, John Gray, Jan Fokkelman, Urmas Nõmmik, and Markus Witte)[5]. These divisions are from different decades and schools, showing various ways to divide the text into units (for example, concentrating more on the theme of the units or, on the contrary, more on the form). However, it needs to be said that all these other divisions are of the Hebrew text of the book of Job! As far as I know, no attempt has been made to apply this line of analysis to the Greek text of Job. Due to space limitations in this paper, I will only compare my divisions with those of Pieter van der Lugt.

For the comparison and analysis, I have identified where sense units begin and end in the Old Greek text of Job; where possible, I have divided bigger sense units into smaller thematic units[6]. However, where either or both thematic and formal aspects are not so uniform, I have, at the moment, until I have weighed all other possible options, opted for more extended units. After this, I try to find formal aspects of the text to confirm that these units are indeed separate from the rest. Of particular interest are different markers – whether these are special discourse and transition markers (like particles or adverbs) or poetic and rhetoric techniques used in the frames of the thematic units. Thus, the term I use for these units is a neutral ‘thematic-formal

[3] Text- and redaction critical concerns will be taken up in chapter 3 of the thesis, building on the results gathered from the current chapter.

[4] This is because the methodology I have chosen to delimit units is inspired by his and Fokkelman’s; his divisions also match mine quite often, and thus it is more convenient to show the Hebrew and Greek texts together. However, discrepancies do occur, and when they do, I have chosen the shortest possible sub-unit to lengthen the Hebrew side into a comparable unit (van der Lugt’s strophes, if needed, otherwise canticles and cantos).

[5] Their numeration and terminology are kept.

[6] At this stage, I am not using the canto/canticle/strophe or stanza/sub-stanza/strophe system familiar from van der Lugt’s or Fokkelman’s work. Every unit is marked separately, even if it is a part of a bigger thematic block.

units'. The aim is to see the role formal aspects, especially markers, play in these thematic units, meaning – if the primary way to divide units is by themes, then how are formal elements related to them? Additionally, these thematic and formal elements are compared with their Hebrew counterparts.

In the analysis of a specific unit, lexical repetitions are **bolded**, parallelistic structures are *italicised*, transition markers are <u>underlined</u> in the Hebrew and Greek text, and a bolded horizontal line separates units. In the Hebrew text, according to Pieter van der Lugt, when a canticle is divided into strophes, they are distinguished by background colour. The Hebrew text is according to the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, and the Greek text is according to Ziegler's Göttingen edition. The English translations are the NRSVUE for Hebrew[7] and the NETS for Greek. These translations are not always suitable for showing poetic techniques in translations and thus are modified where necessary to show, for example, repetitions or very distinct structures.

[7] Upon comparisons of different translations, I decided that the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition suited the best for this analysis. There is also a tradition of using NRSV among scholars.

2 Job 4–5

Job 4–5 contains the first speech of Eliphaz (Eliphas Ἐλιφάς) in the Greek translation), starting the first cycle of speeches (chapters 4–14) after Job's initial lament (chapter 3).

I would divide this speech into 14 thematic-formal units (four in Job 4 plus ten in Job 5):

(4:1)

I. *Addressing and reproaching Job* (4:2–6, ten cola = five bicola)
II. *The pure do not perish, an example of the perishing of lions and dragons* (4:7–12b, twelve cola = six bicola)
III. *Report of a vision* (4:12c–16, ten cola = monocolon + three bicola + tricolon)
IV. *The auditory part of the vision* (4:17–21, eleven cola = two bicola + tricolon + two bicola)
V. *An exhortation and consolation – the foolish will not survive* (5:1–3, six cola = three bicola)
VI. *A prophecy for the foolish* (5:4–5, five cola = bicolon + tricolon)
VII. *Man is born into hardship* (5:6–7, four cola = two bicola)
VIII. *Beseeching the Lord who does wondrous things* (5:8–10, six cola = three bicola)
IX. *(Beseeching the Lord) who punishes the crafty* (5:11–13, six cola = three bicola)
X. *A prophecy for the crafty* (5:14–16, six cola = three bicola)
XI. *The Lord gives deliverance* (5:17–19, six cola = three bicola)
XII. *The troubles that the Lord delivers from* (5:20–23, seven cola = three bicola + monocolon)
XIII. *Assurance that Job will be prosperous again* (5:24–26, six cola = three bicola)
XIV. *Concluding remarks* (5:27, three cola = tricolon).

Pieter van der Lugt studies these speeches separately and divides Job 4 into two large cantos, which divide into four canticles, and into eight strophes: (4:1), I.1 (4:2–4 + 4:5–6), I.2 (4:7–9 + 4:10–11), II.1 (4:12–14 + 4:15–16), and II.2 (4:17–19 + 4:20–21). He divides Job 5 into three cantos and a concluding strophe; each canto is divided into two canticles, each having one or three strophes: I.1 (5:1 + 5:2–3 + 5:4–5), I.2 (5:6–7), II.1 (5:8 + 5:9–11 + 5:12–14), II.2 (5:15–16), III.1 (5:17 + 5:18–20 + 5:21–23), III.2 (5:24–26), B (5:27). (van der Lugt 1995: 61, 70–71) Our divisions match in many places generally, although he has opted to divide the speech into smaller units than I have. Discrepancies are at 4:11–12 and between 5:12–21.

2.1 Some formal notes on the units

Units I and II end with synonymous cognates, namely, unit I has ἡ κακία (‘innocence’) in its last colo,n and unit II has οὐθὲν ... κακὸν (‘nothing bad’) in its last colon. On the contrary, unit XI ends with κακόν (‘harm’). This repetition of the root does not reflect the Hebrew and is thus independent.

Unit II and IV both have the same word in their first colon, namely καθαρὸς (‘pure’). This, again, does not reflect the Hebrew and is independent.

Units I and VII begin with ἐν κόπῳ and κόπος (‘in distress’ and ‘distress, hardship’). Again, this repetition is independent of the Hebrew text.

2.2 An example: unit II (4:7–12b)

In Hebrew, according to Pieter van der Lugt, a thematic-formal unit forms from 4:7–11, after which a new unit begins. In the Greek text, however, 4:12 is a tricolon, out of which the first two cola, in my opinion, are a conclusion to the unit, and the last one begins a new unit. Thus, the thematic unit in Greek is more complete, having an introduction and a conclusion, while Hebrew only has an opening.

		Hebrew text according to Pieter van der Lugt[8] (canticle I.2 and the first strophe of canticle II.1)		Greek text according to Kristin Klaus (unit II and the beginning of unit III)
4:7	I.2	***אבד*** *<u>זכר־נא מי</u> הוא נקי*	II	*<u>μνήσθητι οὖν</u> <u>τίς</u> καθαρὸς ὢν* ***ἀπώλετο***
		ואיפה ישרים נכחדו:		*ἢ πότε* ***ἀληθινοὶ*** *ὁλόρριζοι* ***ἀπώλοντο.***
4:8		כאשר ראיתי חרשי און		καθ᾽ ὃν τρόπον εἶδον τοὺς ἀροτριῶντας τὰ ἄτοπα,
		וזרעי עמל יקצרהו:		οἱ δὲ σπείροντες αὐτὰ ὀδύνας θεριοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς.
4:9		*מנשמת אלוה* ***יאבדו***		*ἀπὸ προστάγματος κυρίου* ***ἀπολοῦνται,***
		ומרוח אפו יכלו:		*ἀπὸ δὲ πνεύματος ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀφανισθήσονται.*
4:10		*שאגת אריה וקול שחל*		*σθένος* ***λέοντος,*** *φωνὴ δὲ* ***λεαίνης,***
		ושני כפירים נתעו:		*γαυρίαμα δὲ δρακόντων ἐσβέσθη·*
4:11		ליש **אבד** מבלי־טרף		μυρμηκολέων **ὤλετο** παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βοράν,
		ובני לביא יתפרדו:		σκύμνοι δὲ **λεόντων** ἔλιπον ἀλλήλους.
4:12	II.1	ואלי דבר יגנב		εἰ δέ τι ῥῆμα **ἀληθινὸν** ἐγεγόνει ἐν λόγοις σου,
		ותקח אזני שמץ מנהו:		οὐθὲν ἄν σοι τούτων κακὸν ἀπήντησεν.
			III	πότερον οὐ δέξεταί μου τὸ οὖς ἐξαίσια παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ;
4:13		בשעפים מחזינות לילה		φόβος δὲ καὶ ἠχὼ νυκτερινή,

[8] Pieter van der Lugt sees one bicolon as one line; however, due to formatting limitations and the fact that I have chosen to analyse one colon of the Greek text as one line, I have also split the Hebrew bicola into different lines.

	בנפל תרדמה על־אנשים:	ἐπιπίπτων φόβος ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους,
4:14	פחד קראני ורעדה	φρίκη μοι συνήντησεν καὶ τρόμος
	ורב עצמותי הפחיד:	καὶ μεγάλως μου τὰ ὀστᾶ συνέσεισεν,

		NRSVUE translation		NETS translation
4:7	I.2	Think now, who that was innocent ever perished?	II	Think now, who, being pure, perished,
		Or where were the upright cut off?		or when did the true perish root and all?
4:8		As I have seen, those who plow iniquity		For instance, I saw those who plow wrongs,
		and sow trouble reap the same.		and those who sow them reap torments for themselves.
4:9		By the breath of God they perish		By the command of the Lord they will perish,
		and by the blast of his anger they are consumed.		and by the breath of his anger they will disappear.
4:10		The roar of the lion, the voice of the fierce lion,		The strength of the lion and the voice of the lioness
		and the teeth of the young lions are broken.		and the pride of dragons was extinguished;
4:11		The strong lion perishes for lack of prey,		the ant lion perished for lack of food,
		and the whelps of the lioness are scattered.		and lions' whelps abandoned one another.
4:12	II.1	Now a word came stealing to me;		But if there had been anything truthful in your words,
		my ear received the whisper of it.		nothing bad in them would have met you.
			III	Will my ear not receive remarkable things from him?
4:13		Amid thoughts from visions of the night,		Now there was awe and a ringing sound in the night–
		when deep sleep falls on mortals,		an awe falling on mortals;
4:14		dread came upon me, and trembling,		then shuddering fell upon me, and a trembling,
		which made all my bones shake.		and my bones shook mightily.

Framing features

Parallelistic structures. Unit II begins with symmetry in 4:7ab (xAB/xA´B´), reflecting the symmetry in the Hebrew text.

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. The unit begins with the vocalic repetition of stressed ο and ω in 4:7ab (καθαρὸς **ὢ**ν ἀπ**ώ**λετο/π**ό**τε … ὁλ**ό**ρριζοι ἀπ**ώ**λοντο). In Hebrew, every bicolon from 4:7 to 4:12 ends with the vowel וֹ.

Unit II is framed by a repetition of ἀληθινοὶ/ἀληθινὸν in 4:7b/12a (no repetition in Hebrew), and the beginning is marked by the end-repetition of ἀπώλετο/ἀπώλοντο in 4:7ab (no repetition in Hebrew).

Transition markers. Unit II begins with an imperative and interrogative in both the Greek and Hebrew texts (μνήσθητι οὖν τίς in Greek and זכר־נא מי in Hebrew in 4:7a) and ends with a conclusive conditional sentence in Greek (εἰ δέ in 4:12a).

Vocabulary. At the beginning of the unit, 4:7b, the translator has used a very rare ὁλόρριζος (adjective, 'with the entire root'), which appears only once before the 3rd century BCE and twice during the 3rd century BCE[9] – once in Job and once in Proverbs (cf. also Mangin 2005: 476, 546).

Poetic features in the unit as a whole

Parallelistic structures. Besides the symmetry that marks the beginning of the unit, there is a symmetry in 4:9 (ABC/A´B´C´), which reflects the symmetry in the Hebrew text and a semi-symmetric sentence in 4:10 (AA´/A´B), which reflects the same symmetry in the Hebrew text.

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. Besides the end-repetition of ἀπώλετο/ἀπώλοντο in 4:7ab, this word is also repeated in 4:9a (ἀπολοῦνται, repetition also present in Hebrew) and the root is repeated in 4:11a (ὤλετο, reflects the repetition in the Hebrew text). In 4:10/11b, there is the repetition of λέοντος ... λεαίνης/λεόντων which does not reflect the Hebrew where numerous synonyms for 'lion' are used.

Vocabulary. Besides the very rare adjective at the beginning of the unit, the translator has also used the following rare or relatively rare words. In 4:8a, ἀροτριάω (verb, 'to plough') which occurs four times before the 3rd century BCE and seventeen times during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (twice in Job, cf. also Mangin 2005: 498). In 10b, γαυρίαμα (noun, 'arrogance; exultation') which occurs five times during the 3rd century BCE (twice in Job) but not before that; it is also considered to be literary Koine (Mangin 2005: 502). And in 11a, μυρμηκολέων (noun, 'ant-lion ?') which occurs only once BCE, here in Job.

There is also some vocabulary that is considered poetic. In 4:10a, the noun σθένος is poetic (Mangin 2005: 564). In 11a, the verb ὄλλυμι ('to perish'), according to Mangin (2005: 546) and LSJ, is poetic.

[9] Statistics according to the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database.

2.4 Conclusions about Job 4–5

I divided this speech into 14 thematic-formal units, out of which I showed one (unit II, 4:7–12b) more closely in the analysis above.

The exemplary thematic-formal unit is structurally more complete than its Hebrew counterpart, exhibiting an introduction and a conclusion. The Greek unit has more lexical repetitions than the Hebrew unit. The Greek translator has also used quite a lot of rare and poetic vocabulary in the unit, making it more marked.

Different poetic and rhetorical elements of the speech as a whole were analysed previously. Job 4–5 divides pretty well into units of similar length, especially Job 4 (dividing into five units of 10–12 cola; while Job 5 divides into 10 units, most of which are 4–7 cola in length).

Out of 14 units in the speech[10], either or both the beginning and end are marked with a parallelistic structure in eight units (two are completely framed), marked with lexical repetitions in six units (three are framed), and marked with sound repetitions in 10 units (four are framed), marked with similes in one unit, marked with transition markers in 11 units (two are framed), marked with a monocolon/tricolon in four units, and framed with synonyms or semantically related words in four units.

All in all, this speech exhibits various poetic and rhetorical techniques throughout its thematic-formal units, including entirely independently from the Hebrew.

[10] The data comes from chapter 2 of my thesis, which cannot be replicated here due to space limitations.

3 Job 8

Job 8 contains Bildad's (or Baldad's (Βαλδάδ) in the Greek) first speech in the first cycle of speeches (chapter 4–14), after Job's first reply to Eliphaz.

I would divide this speech into six thematic-formal units:

(8:1)

I. *Reproaching Job for complaining* (8:2–4, six cola = three bicola)
II. *Exhorting Job to pray to God for restoration* (8:5–7, five cola = monocolon + two bicola)
III. *Exhorting Job to ask ancestors for their teachings* (8:8–10, six cola = three bicola)
IV. *An example from nature – plants do not grow without water* (8:11–12, four cola = two bicola)
V. *The impious shall not survive without God* (8:13–19, fourteen cola = seven bicola)
VI. *God rewards the blameless people* (8:20–22, six cola = three bicola).

Van der Lugt (1995: 102) divides this speech into four cantos, the first three having two strophes each and the last one having one strophe: (8:1), I (8:2–4 + 8:5–7), II (8:8–10 + 8:11–13), III (8:14–16 + 8:17–19), and IV (8:20–22). Our divisions match, except between 8:12–14.

3.1 Some formal notes on the units

The first and last unit of the speech have the word στόμα ('mouth'), namely τοῦ στόματος σου in 8:2b ('your mouth'; פיך in Hebrew), and ἀληθινῶν δὲ στόμα in 8:21a ('the mouths of the sincere'; פיך, 'your mouth' in Hebrew).

3.2 An example: unit III (8:8–10)

Job 8:8–10 is seen as a complete unit by everyone but Habel and Witte. There are no significant differences between the Hebrew source and the Greek translation.

	Hebrew text according to Pieter van der Lugt (first strophe of canto II)	Greek text, according to Kristin Klaus (thematic-formal unit III)
8:8	**כי**־שאל־נא לדר רישון	*ἐπερώτησον γὰρ* ***γενεὰν*** *πρώτην,*
	וכונן לחקר אבותם:	*ἐξιχνίασον δὲ κατὰ* ***γένος*** *πατέρων·*
8:9	**כי**־תמול אנחנו ולא נדע	χθιζοὶ ***γάρ ἐσμεν*** καὶ οὐκ οἴδαμεν,
	כי צל ימינו עלי־ארץ:	σκιὰ ***γάρ ἐστιν*** ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ βίος.

8:10	הלא־הם יורוך יאמרו לך ומלבם יוצאו מלים:	ἢ οὐχ οὗτοί σε διδάξουσιν καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσιν καὶ ἐκ καρδίας ἐξάξουσιν ῥήματα;
	NRSVUE translation	NETS translation
8:8	For inquire now of bygone generations	For inquire of an earlier generation,
	and consider what their ancestors have found,	and trace it out through a line of ancestors;
8:9	for we are but of yesterday, and we know nothing,	for we are of yesterday and we know nothing,
	for our days on earth are but a shadow.	for our life is a shadow on the earth.
8:10	Will they not teach you and tell you	Will they not teach you and declare
	and utter words out of their understanding?	and bring forth words from the heart?

Framing features

Parallelistic structures. The unit begins with a symmetry in 8:8ab (AB/A´B´), which does not reflect the Hebrew, and is thus an independent effect added by the translator.

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. Unit III begins with several sound repetitions in 8:8ab. Both cola begin with words starting with ε and end with words beginning with π (**ἐ**περώτησον ... **π**ρώτην/**ἐ**ξιχνίασον ... **π**ατέρων·). The middle words of these cola start with γ, κ: **γ**ὰρ **γ**ενεὰν/**κ**ατὰ **γ**ένος. The first colon also has a syllabic repetition of -ρώτη- (ἐπε**ρώτη**σον and π**ρώτη**ν). The last bicolon of the unit has a syllabic repetition of -άξουσιν in 8:10ab (διδ**άξουσιν** / ἐξ**άξουσιν**). In Hebrew, the unit ends with a very noticeable repetition of the consonants מ and ל.

This bicolon also has a repetition of cognates: γενεὰν/γένος (does not reflect the Hebrew).

Vocabulary. The translator has used a relatively rare and new (meaning it is first attested in the Septuagint, cf. Mangin 2005: 517) verb in 8:8b, namely ἐξιχνιάζω (verb, 'to track out'), which occurs 16 times in the 3rd century BCE.

Transition markers. Unit III begins with imperatives (ἐπερώτησον in 8:8a and ἐξιχνίασον in 8:8b); these reflect the Hebrew text.

Poetic features in the unit as a whole

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. There is a phrase repetition of γάρ ἐσμεν/γάρ ἐστιν in 8:9ab, partly reflecting the repetition in Hebrew (כי) where the copula is missing.

3.4 Conclusions about Job 8

I divided the speech into six thematic-formal units and showed the analysis of one of them above. Unit III (8:8–10) displayed a parallelistic structure, one rare word, a lexical repetition, and a transition marker in the beginning, and is framed by sound repetitions. Overall the unit had one lexical repetition. Thus, compared to the exemplary unit in Job 4–5, it is more modest in its use of poetic and rhetorical techniques.

Different poetic and rhetorical techniques in the speech as a whole were analysed previously. The speech divides into units pretty uniform in length, five out of six units being four to six cola, and one being fourteen cola in length.

Out of six units, either or both the beginning and end are marked with a parallelistic structure in three units, marked with lexical repetitions in four units (two are framed), marked with sound repetitions in all six units (four are framed), marked with transition markers in all six units (two are framed), and marked with a monocolon in one unit.

All in all, the speech has more transition markers than the previous one (considering the length of the speeches overall) but is less marked with parallelistic structures and lexical repetitions.

4 Job 38–39

Job 38–39 contains God's first speech or first reply to Job.

In the Greek text, there are many inconsistencies in this speech, and I would divide it into 16 thematic-formal units (10 plus six[11]):

(38:1)

I. *Preparation for questioning* (38:2–3, four cola = two bicola)
II. *Creation of the earth and stars* (38:4–7, eight cola = four bicola)
III. *Creation of the sea* (38:8–11, eight cola = four bicola)
IV. *Unit of mixed contents (the morning light, creation of man, removing the light from the ungodly)* (38:12–15, eight cola = four bicola)
V. *The recesses of the world* (38:16–23, sixteen cola = eight bicola)
VI. *Origins of different states of water* (38:24–30[12], ten cola = five bicola)
VII. *Creation of stars (constellations) and astrology* (38:31–33[13], four cola = two bicola)
VIII. *Commanding clouds and thunder* (38:34–35, four cola = two bicola)
IX. *Women's skills* (38:36, two cola = bicolon)
X. *Clouds, the uniting of the sky to earth* (38:37–38, four cola = two bicola)
XI. *Feeding and protecting lions, dragons, and ravens* (38:39–41, seven cola = two bicola + tricolon)
XII. *Helping pregnant deer* (39:1–3[14], four cola = two bicola)
XIII. *Freeing the wild ass* (39:5–7[15], five cola = bicolon + monocolon + bicolon)
XIV. *The unicorn as a beast of burden* (39:9–12, eight cola = four bicola)[16]
XV. *The war horse* (39:19–25, thirteen cola = four bicola + monocolon + two bicola)
XVI. *The birds of prey* (39:26–30[17], seven cola = two bicola + monocolon + bicolon).

Van der Lugt studies these speeches separately: Job 38 (38:2–38) and Job 38:39–39:30. He divides the first speech into an introductory strophe and three cantos, which are divided into two or three canticles, each having two strophes: (38:1), A (38:2–3), I.1 (38:4–5 + 38:6–7), I.2 (38:8–9 + 38:10–11), I.3 (38:12–13 + 38:14–15), II.1 (38:16–18 + 38:19–21), II.2 (38:22–24

[11] Ten units in Job 38:2–38 and six units in 38:39–39:30.
[12] 38:26–27 are asterisked.
[13] 38:32 is asterisked. There are differences between the Vulgate and the Hebrew in this verse.
[14] 39:1a, 3b–4 are asterisked. There are differences between the Vulgate and the Hebrew in 39:3b and 4a.
[15] 39:6b, 8 are asterisked.
[16] 39:13–18, the ostrich section, is asterisked. There are some differences between the Peshitta/the Vulgate and the Hebrew in this section.
[17] 39:28, 29b are asterisked. There is a plus in the Vulgate in 39:28.

+ 38:25–27), III.1 (38:28–30 + 38:31–32), III.2 (38:33–35 + 38:36–38). He divides the second speech into three cantos, the first one itself divided into two sub-cantos with two canticles. The second canto is divided into two canticles. The canticles and the third canto are divided into one to three strophes: I.1.1 (38:39–41), I.1.2 (39:1–2 + 39:3–4), I.2.1 (39:5–6 + 39:7–8), I.2.2 (39:9–10 + 39:11–12), II.1 (39:13–15 + 39:16–18), II.2 (39:19–20 + 39:21–23 + 39:24–25), and III (39:26–28 + 29–30). (van der Lugt 1995: 362–363, 377–378) For the most part, our divisions match, at least on the strophe and canticle level.

4.1 Some formal notes on the units

Unit III and IV both end with the verb *συντρίβω* (lit. 'to rub together', but in 38:15b 'to crush'). This repetition is independent of the Hebrew text.

4.2 An example: unit VI (38:24–30)

In the Hebrew text, most scholars start the unit at 38:22; however, I would consider it with the previous unit. Although passages 22–23 concern states of water, like the next unit, they do not deal with their sources or ways but instead show them as kept somewhere far, thus belonging, in my opinion, to the recesses of the world. But indeed, this is a personal feeling, as dividing the speech into thematic units is often very subjective.

		Hebrew text according to Pieter van der Lugt (canticle II.2 and first strophe of canticle III.1)		Greek text, according to Kristin Klaus (unit VI)
38:22	II.2	*הבאת אל־אצרות שלג*		ἦλθες δὲ ἐπὶ θησαυροὺς χιόνος,
		ואצרות ברד תראה׃		θησαυροὺς δὲ χαλάζης ἑόρακας.
38:23		אשר־חשכתי לעת־צר		ἀπόκειται δέ σοι εἰς ὥραν ἐχθρῶν,
		ליום קרב ומלחמה׃		εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμων καὶ μάχης.
38:24		אי־זה **הדרך** יחלק אור	VI	*<u>πόθεν δὲ</u>* ***ἐκπορεύεται πάχνη***
		יפץ קדים **עלי־ארץ**׃		*ἢ διασκεδάννυται νότος εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽* ***οὐρανόν;***
38:25		*מי־פלג לשטף תעלה*		*τίς δὲ ἡτοίμασεν ὑετῷ λάβρῳ ῥύσιν,*
		ודרך *לחזיז קלות׃*		*ὁδὸν δὲ κυδοιμῶν*
38:26		*להמטיר* ***על־ארץ לא־איש***		※τοῦ ὑετίσαι ἐπὶ γῆν οὗ οὐκ ἀνήρ
		מדבר ***לא־אדם בו׃***		※ἔρημον οὗ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἄνθρωπος ἐν αὐτῇ
38:27		להשביע שאה ומשאה		※τοῦ χορτάσαι ἄβατον καὶ ἀοίκητον
		ולהצמיח מצא דשא׃		※καὶ τοῦ ἐκβλαστῆσαι ἔξοδον χλόης[18]
38:28	III.1	היש־למטר אב		***τίς ἐστιν ὑετοῦ*** *πατήρ;*

[18] The minus is absent in the Vulgate, Targum, or Peshitta (Mosul edition).

	או מי־הוליד אגלי־טל:	***τίς δέ ἐστιν*** *ὁ τετοκὼς βώλους δρόσου;*
38:29	*מבטן מי יצא הקרח*	*ἐκ γαστρὸς δὲ τίνος* ***ἐκπορεύεται*** *ὁ κρύσταλλος;*
	וכפר שמים מי ***ילדו:***	***πάχνην*** *δὲ ἐν* ***οὐρανῷ*** *τίς* ***τέτοκεν,***
38:30	*כאבן מים יתחבאו*	ἢ καταβαίνει ὥσπερ ὕδωρ ῥέον;
	ופני תהום יתלכדו:	πρόσωπον δὲ ἀβύσσου τίς **ἔπηξεν**;

		NRSVUE translation		NETS translation
38:22	II.2	Have you entered the storehouses of the snow,		And have you gone to the storehouses of the snow,
		or have you seen the storehouses of the hail,		and have you seen the storehouses of the hail?
38:23		which I have reserved for the time of trouble,		But it is at your disposal for a time of enemies,
		or the day of battle and war?		for a day of war and battle.
38:24		What is the way to the place where the light is distributed	VI	And from where does the hoarfrost come,
		or where the east wind is scattered upon the earth?		or from where is the south wind dispersed to what is under heaven?
38:25		Who has cut a channel for the torrents of rain		And who prepared a course for the driving rain
		and a way for the thunderbolt,		and a way for the tumults?
38:26		to bring rain on a land where no one lives,		※to bring rain on land, where there is no man,
		on the desert, which is empty of human life,		※wilderness, where there is no human in it,
38:27		to satisfy the waste and desolate land,		※to feed the untrodden and uninhabited
		and to make the ground put forth grass?		※and to cause it to grow an effusion of greenery
38:28	III.1	Has the rain a father,		Who is the rain's father?
		or who has fathered the drops of dew?		And who is it that has given birth to the dew's nuggets?
38:29		From whose womb did the ice come forth,		And from whose womb does the ice come forth?
		and who has given birth to the hoarfrost of heaven?		And who has given birth to freezing rain in heaven
38:30		The waters become hard like stone,		that descends like flowing water?
		and the face of the deep is frozen.		And who froze the face of the deep?

Framing features

Parallelistic structures. Unit VI begins with a partial symmetry in 38:24ab (ABC/B´C´D), where in Hebrew, there is a very partial chiasmus (? ABCD/C´D´B´).

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. The unit begins with consonantal and syllabic repetition of π, πο in 38:24a (**πό**θεν δὲ ἐκ**πο**ρεύεται **π**άχνη), and the last bicolon 30ab also repeats π, β (κατα**β**αίνει ὥσ**π**ερ / **π**ρόσω**π**ον δὲ ἀ**β**ύσσου ... ἔ**π**ηξεν).

The last bicolon of the unit has a simile (ὥσπερ ὕδωρ ῥέον, Hebrew has a comparison with a different word: כאבן 'like stone'), which could strengthen the frame.

Vocabulary. Unit VI begins and ends with cognates: 24a πάχνη (< πήγνυμι, 'to freeze') - 30b ἔπηξεν (πήγνυμι). Hebrew does not have repetition or cognates here.

Transition markers. Unit VI begins with an interrogative in 38:24a (πόθεν δὲ in the Greek translation and אי־זה in Hebrew, although not at the beginning of a unit by van der Lugt's division).

Poetic features in the unit as a whole

Parallelistic structures. Besides the symmetry that marks the beginning of the unit, there is also a partial chiasmus in 38:25ab (ABCD/D´C´), which reflects the partial chiasmus in Hebrew (ABCD/D´C´); a partial chiasmus in 28ab (ABC/A´C´B´), which does not reflect the Hebrew; and a partial chiasmus also in 29ab (ABC/C´A´D´B´), which reflects the partial chiasmus in Hebrew (ABC/C´A´B´).

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. There are some lexical and phrasal repetitions throughout the unit: 38:24a/29a ἐκπορεύεται (no repetition in Hebrew), 24a/29b πάχνη/πάχνην (no repetition in Hebrew), 24b/29b εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν/ἐν οὐρανῷ (no repetition in Hebrew since even in Greek these actually mean the opposites: earth/land and heaven). 25a/28a ὑετῷ/ὑετοῦ (no repetition in Hebrew), 28ab τίς ἐστιν/ τίς δέ ἐστιν (no repetition in Hebrew), 28b/29b ὁ τετοκὼς/τέτοκεν (reflects the repetition of הוליד and ילדו in Hebrew).

In Hebrew, there is a noticeable repetition of ש in 38:27, which is the end of a canticle according to van der Lugt (להשביע שאה ומשאה ולהצמיח מצא דשא:). In 38:28, which is the beginning of the next canticle according to van der Lugt, there is the repetition of ל (או מי־הוליד היש־למטר אב אגלי־טל:).

Vocabulary. The translator has used a rare word in this unit, namely 38:25b κυδοιμός (noun, 'tumult'), which occurs twelve times before the 3rd century BCE and altogether eleven times during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE; this word is also considered poetic (Mangin 2005: 539).

4.3 Conclusions about Job 38–39

I divided Job 38–39 into 16 thematic-formal units. The analysis of one of them, unit VI (38:24–30), is shown above. The unit's frame is marked with a parallelistic structure, sound repetitions, a simile, transition markers, and other lexical means. Overall, the unit exhibits other parallelistic structures, lexical repetitions, and a rare and poetic word.

The units in the speech are of uneven length.

The poetic and rhetorical techniques in the speech overall were analysed in the previous chapter. Out of 16 thematic-formal units, the beginning and/or end are marked with parallelistic structures in eight units (two are framed), marked with lexical repetitions in only four units (one is framed), and marked with sound repetitions in 13 units (two are framed), marked with similes in three units, marked with transition markers in eight units (one is framed), marked with a monocolon/tricolon in four units, and marked with other lexical means in two units.

All in all, the speech does not display poetic and rhetorical techniques as evenly as some others. Despite this, most of the units are marked with sound repetitions and half of the units with parallelistic structures and transition markers.

5 Conclusion

From the analysis, it is visible that the speeches in the Greek translation of Job can indeed be divided into smaller units, more specifically, into thematic-formal units. In my selection (Job 4–5, 8, 19, 21, 29–31, 38–39, and 40–41), there were no speeches that could not be divided into thematic-formal units.

The speeches studied[19] were all quite different in structure, some consisting of uniform units, and others were divided into very uneven length units. Job 4–5 and 40 showed consistency in unit length, while Job 8, 29, 38, and 41 showed more regularity than irregularity. Syllable counts in the speeches under analysis revealed that it is not a reliable way to distinguish units for the Old Greek translation of Job.

Since the speeches in the Old Greek of Job could be divided into thematic-formal units, like the Hebrew speeches, the next mission was to find out whether the units start and begin in the same passages in both languages. This, however, turned out to be a difficult question to solve since there are so many options of divisions of the Hebrew text to choose from. Most if not all of these divisions are also subjective – every scholar has their own ways of division, the notion of understanding the themes, and respect for the Hebrew text we have before us (the Masoretic Text). My division of the speeches in the Old Greek of Job is also subjective, depending on my understanding of the text and the differences that the translator has created. Due to this, there is no clear answer to this problem. There are some speeches where some units were exactly the same as in the Hebrew text, and there were speeches where it was hard to find similarities between different divisions. Out of the units that I took a closer look at, some matched with Pieter van der Lugt's divisions, namely unit III of Job 8 (8:8–10), unit I of Job 19 (19:2–5), unit III of Job 21 (21:16–18), and unit IX of Job 40–41 (41:10–13).

The formal aspects that mark the beginning or end of the thematic units (thus forming thematic-formal units) were analysed. It was found that sound repetition is the most common framing technique (appearing in 63 out of 77 units). Following were transition markers (in 53 units out of 77), lexical repetitions and monocola/tricola (in 34 units), parallelistic structures (in 30 units), other lexical means (in 14 units), and finally similes (in 9 units).

For a clearer picture of the similarities and differences, one exemplary unit was chosen from each speech, and its poetic and rhetorical analysis was shown. The techniques covered were unit length, parallelistic structures, sound and lexical repetitions, similes, transition markers, vocabulary (unified and thematic vocabulary, rare and poetic words, or synonyms and

[19] Although the analysis of three speeches was shown in this paper, the conclusions cover all studied speeches.

antonyms), and the role of monocola and tricola in the structure of the units. These were compared with the Hebrew source text.

Every thematic unit under closer analysis also had at least one formal aspect supporting the division between different units. All of these units were more marked in Greek when compared with the Hebrew source text, especially with lexical and sound repetitions. This might not be true in all speeches in the Old Greek translation of the book of Job, but in these speeches, the translator definitely had their own stylistic concerns when dealing with units of sense. Just changing the topic was not enough, and in addition to the unit markers present in the Hebrew text, the translator added their own independently.

The next step in the analysis is to concentrate on passages and units with text- and redaction-critical problems to see whether the translator evened out these in the Greek text. An example of units like these would be unit II in Job 4–5, where there are thematic differences in the Greek and Hebrew texts, and the Greek translator smoothed out the abrupt transition into another unit.

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Project summary

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"Significance of the Style of the Old Greek Job in Textual Criticism" (Supervisor: Urmas Nõmmik, University of Tartu)

In my PhD project, titled "Significance of the Style of the Old Greek Job in Textual Criticism", I have undertaken to study the poetic style of the Old Greek translation of the book of Job and the significance of its poetic style in textual and redaction criticism of the Hebrew text.

The project falls into four bigger stages of analysis: (1) the broader poetic style of the translation; (2) the broader poetic style of select speeches in the book of Job; (3) the possibilities of dividing the speeches (assumed to be poetic in style) into thematic-formal units (also called strophes or stanzas, etc.); and (4) the significance of the poetic style, especially the style of thematic-formal units, for both textual and redaction criticism of the Hebrew text.

The first stage, the analysis of the broader poetic style of the translation, is mainly quantitative in nature. This entails identifying standard poetic techniques like lexical and sound repetitions, parallelistic structures, similes, and rare and poetic vocabulary used by the translator. In this stage, a comparison with the Hebrew source is not made.[1]

The second stage, the broader poetic style of select speeches in the book of Job, is an extension of the first stage. A closer look is taken on the same poetic techniques mentioned above; however, now on the level of single speeches – Job 4–5, 8, 19, 21, 29–31, 38–39, 40–41. In this stage, some comparison with Hebrew is made, where possible and reasonable, within the constraints of the thesis.

The third stage is analysing the possibilities of dividing the speeches, which are assumed to be poetic in style, into thematic-formal units. Here, the Hebrew source is also taken into account. The thematic-formal units that can be delimited in the Old Greek translation are compared with the Hebrew source. Differences in delimitation arise due to asterisked parts, pluses and minuses, and sometimes completely different meanings in the Old Greek text. The analysis focuses on the stylisation of these thematic-formal units in the Old Greek text. The main questions to be answered in this stage are: did the translator see the same thematic units in the text as the Hebrew "author"? Did the translator make the units more or less stylised than in the

[1] A lot of work regarding the translation's style on the micro-level has already been done by Marieke Dhont in her 2018 monograph "Style and Context of Old Greek Job".

source text? Are the units more coherent and uniform in Hebrew or Greek (or did the translator replicate them exactly)?

The fourth stage is to find if and how the findings on the poetic style of the Old Greek translation can help us with textual and redaction criticism of the Hebrew text. For example, can the differences in unit delimitation bring some insights into some stage of the development of the Hebrew Job?

The paper presented in the meeting is a shortened version of stage three of the analysis, i.e. analysing the possibilities of dividing the speeches. Due to space limitations, only speeches 4–5, 8, and 38–39 are discussed.

Verification in legal and historical texts: a link between Ancient Near Eastern, Old Testament, and Greek historiography and its implications for ancient hermeneutics

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Preface:

In my last papers presented to OTSEM I presented examples of metatextual verification notes in The Old Testament (2019) and Ancient Near Eastern historical texts (2021), that show that there is in fact evidence that the question of verifiability and empirical evidence in historical texts is neither a purely modern academic endeavor nor a misreading of ancient ideas on genre or fictionality.

What I have been trying to explain so far is the scarcity of verification notes and in this paper, I present the lexical and conceptual links to legal texts as a solution. Thus, I am happy to discuss the ways of ancient verification in historical text in general, especially with those who have not been able to read my previous contributions, but would like to focus on

- Are there more links between legal and historical verification known, perhaps from different ancient languages?
- Is my idea that these are simply the expression of common ancient epistemology tenable, or should a deliberate borrowing be considered?
- How important are the hermeneutic implications for the discussion about historiography, especially with regard to our Greek sources?
- I am very cautious regarding the actual relationship of the authors to the past and instead focus on the intended perception by the audience – are there reasons to be more optimistic such verification notes tell us about the "historical thinking" of their authors?
- What are more refined ways to describe the development of metatextual verification from Near Eastern text via the Old Testament and up to Herodotus?

1 Context, questions, goals[1]

The question about the historicity of the Old Testament text is as old as critical scholarship and is still virulent today.[2] A related but separate question is the one about the historiographic character of the Hebrew texts.[3] Both questions have in common that they usually consider the Hebrew texts intellectually far removed from the earlier Mesopotamian material and the Greek historiographers, especially Herodotus, as intellectual revolution compared to the earlier Hebrew texts.[4] What is usually not investigated but rather surmised from the model, general stance, or philosophy of the respective approach is the attitude the texts have towards the past. My naïve question towards the Old Testament narrative texts is thus: "Is this supposed to be true?" By "true" I mean what has been called "empirische Trifftigkeit"[5] in German and "evidence relatedness"[6] in English, i. e., the claim to be a factual account. To check this, we can ask further with H. Cancik, since when the truth of a historic or mythic past was explicitly

[1] Abbreviations follow the Reallexikon der Assyriologie (RLA). Abbreviations not found there follow the Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete (IATG).
[2] Wilson (2018); Kratz (2015a, 18–25); Kratz (2015b, 7–11); Huber (2010, 145–64); Blum (2005, 66–80); Reventlow (2001, 157–66); Smend (1991, 83–92)
[3] For the relatedness of the two questions see Wilson (2018, 34–35). The debate about historiography also revolves around definition issues, just cf. the varying concepts of Römer (2019, 55); Grabbe (2017, 7); Rofé (2016, 440); Barstad (2012, 36–37); Beeson (2007, 4); Millard (1994, 38); van Seters (1983, 1–3); Pecirkova (1976, 12); Cancik (1976, 1–9). For an analysis of the definition-struggle in OT and ANE scholarship cf. Edelman (2000).
[4] E. g. Grabbe (2017, 7–13); Pioske (2015, 22–36); Blum (2005, 66–78); Grayson (1975, 1); Rad (1944, 1–3).
[5] Rüsen (1989, 82).
[6] Becking (2012, 21).

disputed.[7] We can then show that Mesopotamian, Anatolian, Persian and Egyptian kings as well as Old Testament scribes could at least *imagine* scenarios in which their stories about the past were in fact questioned.
The task now is to find reasons why these notes in which texts are verified against skepticism exist but are so rare, why they are relatively common in the Old Testament compared to the earlier material, and how they can be compared to the later Greek material. In this paper, I want to provide further evidence for a link between historical and legal verification methods and thereby show that it is likely that the question of truth and falsehood and empirical verifiability in historical texts derives from the legal world.

2 Verifying a narrative in historical and legal texts in cuneiform literature

Most Ancient Near Eastern inscriptions of rulers, annals, and chronicles do not employ any specific means to verify what the text tells. This lack may be due to the autobiographic nature of many of these texts, which has an implicit claim to veracity. It may be due to the fact that a text authorized or even formulated by a king does of course not need any verification. Sometimes it is even claimed that there is no ancient distinction between fiction and non-fiction.[8] The more interesting it is that from time-to-time kings did feel the need to explicitly claim that what they tell about themselves and their exploits is true. These rare occasions need explanation, and this is best done by looking for lexical and conceptual parallels of such truth claims elsewhere. In the following, I will give, for reasons of brevity, only the most striking examples from cuneiform literature, but point to others in the footnotes.

2.1 Sumerian examples

In the Neo-Sumerian hymns of king Sulgi[9] (21st-20th cent. BC) we find a longer explicit truth claim:[10]

> From a hymn of Sulgi (orig. -20th cent. BC; Sulgi B, 318-327):
>
> A word that is from my song, whatever is written there, by An, Enlil, and Inana, it is no lie (lul), it is true (gen). And nobody will say under oath that until this day there was in my inscription a city not destroyed, a wall, that I did not build, a land, that I did not make tremble like a reed fence, a praiseworthy deed that I did not accomplish. Why would a singer put it in a song? In wisdom is the precious of an eternal name. A lie, that is not the truth, why would you write that down? [11]

The Sumerian word for "true" and "truth" is the base gen with the basic meaning "to be firm". Its antonym lul can designate a variety of undesirable character traits, but when used to designate words or the act of speaking it usually means "false", "falsehood", "treacherous", etc.

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[7] "Seit wann wird in den europäischen Kulturen die Wahrheit einer Aussage über einen Sachverhalt der mythischen oder historischen Zeit explizit behauptet oder bestritten?"(Cancik (1970, 7).).
[8] Blum (2005, 66–78). Also Thompson (1999, 5); Brettler (1995, 11–12); Carreira (1987, 43). According to M. Barstad the biblical texts are even „pre-logical" (Barstad (2012, 12)).
[9] Older reading Šulgi; for the reading sul instead of šul cf. Mittermayer (2006, 174 nr. 438).
[10] For better readability, longer quotations from non-biblical sources are found in the footnotes and only the translations are given in the main text.
Another example of Šulgi is found in Sulgi E 51-52.
[11] [318] (…) enim en$_3$-du ĝa$_2$-kam a-na mu-ši-ĝal$_2$-la [319] an [d]en-lil$_2$ [d]utu [d]inana lul ba-ra-na ḫe$_2$-ge-en [320] u$_3$ nam-erim$_2$-e lu$_2$ na-an-ga-am$_3$-me [321] u$_4$ ne-e mu-sar-ra-ĝu$_{10}$-a [322] iri nu-mu-un-gul-la bad$_3$ nu-mu-un-sig$_{10}$-ga-ĝu$_{10}$ [323] kur gi-sig-gen$_7$ nu-mu-un-dub$_2$-ba-ĝu$_{10}$ [324] ar$_2$ zag li-bi$_2$-til-til-la-ĝu$_{10}$ [325] a-na-gen$_7$-nam nar-e en$_3$-du-a mu-ši-ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$-a [326] nig$_2$-umun$_2$-a saĝ-kal mu da-ri$_2$-kam [327] niĝ$_2$-lul niĝ$_2$-gen$_6$-na nu-me-a sar-re-bi a-na-gen$_7$-nam

The basic meaning of gen "to be firm" is used also to mean "legitimate", e. g. in the name lugal-gen-na (Sargon). However, the scenario that Sulgi envisions in the first example points to a rather profane meaning of "true" as in "factual"[12]. Someone may declare under oath that what Sulgi claims to have done he did not do.
This meaning of gen is well attested in Neo-Sumerian trial protocols:

> Neo-Sumerian trial protocol (21st cent. BC; BM 113035=NG 2.48):
>
> Ur-Šagana bought Abī-ṭāb from Zuge for 2/3 of a silver shekel. He was bought in the presence of E'alubi and Lugal-imzu in the year "Šašrum (was destroyed)". Later his father said: "He has not bought him". But it [the purchase] was confirmed (ba-gen-ø) in presence of the governor. Ur-Šagana has returned him to his hand. Closed case of the inhabitants of A'ebarra in the year in which king Amar-Su'ena destroyed Urbilum.[13]

The meaning of ba-ge-en (ba-gen-ø) here clearly is "to confirm" or "verify": It is used to establish the fact that Ur-Šagana indeed did buy the slave, while the slave's father said the purchase didn't happen (nu-(n)-sa-ø).[14] Conversely, in Neo-Sumerian contracts and trials means of verification must be provided, such as witnesses and or oaths, either by said witnesses or the parties.[15] Such an oath (nam-erim$_2$) is also found in the very same passage of King Sulgi's hymn. It is the usual term for oaths in Neo-Sumerian litigation.[16]
King Sulgi also points to the idea that writing something down usually means its true (niĝlul niĝgena=ø nu-i-me-ø=a=ak sar=ed=be==ø anagen==ø=am; "of a lie that is not the truth, its writing is like what?"). The earliest attestations for using documents as evidence in a legal case stem from the Neo-Sumerian period.[17] Thus, Sulgi's way of asserting that his claims about the past are true coincides with the ways of asserting claims about the past, i. e. if and how a purchase, a crime or whatever is in question has happened, in contemporary legal contexts.
Another Sumerian example is found in an Old Babylonian hymn of king Išme-Dagān:[18]

> From a hymn of Išme-Dagan of Isin (18th cent. BC; Išme-Dagan Z$_A$, 5-9):
>
> My mighty steles that I made…. That I [brought in] for Enlil, whatever I wrote down in terms of great hymns, the great songs which I put on them: They are surely not old songs. They are indeed my songs.[19]

Išme-Dagān fears that his song could be deemed an "old song" (šir$_3$ libir) and not his own hymn (en$_3$-du-ĝu$_{10}$). Kings could usurp inscriptions of their predecessors.[20] In almost all ancient Near Eastern corpora of historical inscriptions, we find curses against later rulers putting their names

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[12] This meaning is often found when gen and lul qualify speech, cf. Lämmerhirt (2010, 116-123-143.277-284.310-383).
[13] 1 *a-bi$_2$*-du$_{10}$ 2 2/3 gin ku$_3$-še$_3$ 3 zu -ge-še$_3$ 4 ur-^{d}šagana-ke$_4$ 5 in-ši-sa$_{10}$ 6 igi e-a-lu-bi-še$_3$ 7 igi lugal-im-zu-še$_3$ 8 mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki}-ta ba-sa$_{10}$ 9 eger-ra ab-ba-ne$_2$ nu-sa$_{10}$ bi-du$_{11}$ 10 igi ensi$_2$-ka-še$_3$ 11 ba-ge-en 12 ur- ^{d}šagana-ke$_4$ 13 sag šu-na ba-an-ge$_4$ 14 di-til-la dumu a-e-bar-ra 15 mu ^{d}amar- ^{d}en+zu-na lugal-e ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki} mu-ḫul
[14] More good examples are NG 2.30, 1-9, in which a claim is deemed false due to lack of witnesses (nu-un-da-ge-ša) and NG 2.62, 1-12, in which we find a relatively long description of the case: Through testimony, the contrary to the accusation is established (gen). See also the attestations and translations in Falkenstein (1957, 69.114–115).
[15] Cf. the concordance in Falkenstein (1957, 144–45).
[16] Sallaberger (2008, 159–68); Edzard (1975, 82–92).
[17] E. g. NG 2.41, 4', cf. Westbrook (2003a, 194–97).
[18] Another note is found in Išme-Dagan V, 23-34. For our Sumerian examples and their possible Old Akkadian predecessors cf. Ludwig (1990, 57–63) and Haayer (1983).
[19] 5 ^{urudu}na-ru$_2$-a maḫ mu-dim$_2$-ma-ĝa$_2$ [ ] 6 ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra mu-na-ni-i[n] 7 en$_3$-du gal-gal a-na bi$_2$-sar-ra 8 šir$_3$ gal-gal en-na bi$_2$-si$_{12}$-ga 9 šir$_3$ libir ba-ra-na en$_3$-du-ĝu$_{10}$ ḫe$_2$-a
[20] Radner (2005, 253.260-61) There is a historical inscription of Šarkallišarri that is identical to the word to one of Narām-Sîn, except for the royal name (Gelb and Kienast (1990, 86–87). The Elamite king Šutruk-Naḫḫunte I stole Babylonian inscriptions from Babylon and put his own inscriptions on them (EKI 23-25).

into an inscription that is not theirs.[21] We also know of downright ancient forgeries of royal inscriptions, such as the cruciform monument and the famine stela from Ptolemaic Egypt.[22] This fear of forgery and exchanging names has, again, a parallel in contemporary legal texts. Old Babylonian legal texts drop most of Neo-Sumerian legal formulas, so we have to make do with an Akkadian example:

> From an Old Babylonian trial protocol (Old Babylonian period; CT 2.47, 1-14):
>
> Concerning a third of a sar of cultivated land of the cloister, which is next to the house of Lamassu: Bēltum had transferred the house of her father Bušē from Amat-Sîn, daughter of Supapum, to the daughter of Sîn-Eribam, her own daughter. Nidnuša and Sîn-Apili, the children of Iddinunim then sued the daughter of Sîn-Erinam and claimed: "Amat-Sîn has transferred nothing to you and has not written a tablet for you. When she died, you wrote it yourself (*attīma tašṭurī*)."[23]

Here we can see how a document is used to prove a past action from which legal claims to property result. These claims are in return disputed by disputing the authenticity of the source document. Exchanging a name in a document or forging documents or seals seems to have been a common enough problem that the edict of Old Babylonian king *Ammi-ṣaduqa* makes mention of this.[24]

2.2 Akkadian examples

The earliest explicit claims to truth in historical texts of Mesopotamia are found in the Old Akkadian Inscriptions of Rīmuš and Maništušu and their respective Old Babylonian copies:

> From an inscription of Rīmuš from Old Babylonian Sammeltafeln (orig. 23rd cent. BC; RIME 2.1.2.6, 78-83):[25]
>
> I swear by Šamaš and Ilaba: (These are) No lies (*surrātum*) – it is actually true (*kinīš*).[26]

> From a statue and stela inscription of Maništušu (23rd cent. BC; RIME 2.1.3.1, 47-52):
>
> I swear by Šamaš and Ilaba: (These are) No lies (*surrātum*) – it is actually true (*kinīš*).[27]

The Old Akkadian examples use the root *wmʾ*, "to swear", to designate the oath as well as the root *srr* for "false" and *kwn/kūn* for "true". Just as lul and gen, these roots have very broad semantics, the basic meaning of *kwn* being "to be firm". Unfortunately, the Old Akkadian legal terminology that came down to us is mainly held in Sumerian. Here we find the lexical

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[21] E. g. RIME 2.1.2.4 (Old Akkadian); RIME 2.13.06.06 (Neo-Sumerian); RIMA 2.0.101.38: 39-46 (Neo Assyrian); CHLI 1.1 §49-70.73/331-350.385-400 (Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician); CTU A 12-08, 31-42 (Urartean); EKI 45, §12-14/vi, 1-13 (Middle Elamite); KAI 309, 10-13 (Old Aramaic).

[22] Both of which contain verification notes, cf. the editions of Al-Rawi and George (1994, 139–48) and Lichtheim in CoS I, 134 (1.53).

[23] [1] *a-na* 1/3 sar e_2 du_3-a *ša ga-gi-im* [2] *ša* da e_2 *la-ma-si*$_2$ [3] [f]*be-el-tum* e_2 *a-bi* bu-še-e! *pa-ni-a-tim* [4] *ša* geme$_2$-[d]utu dumu munus *su-pa-pu-u*[*m*] [5] *a-na* dumu-munus 30-*e-ri-ba-am* [6] dumu-munus-a-ni *id-di-nu* [7] [m]ni-id-nu-ša u_3 [d]utu-*a-pi*$_2$-*li* [8] dumu-me!(munus) *id-di-nu-nim* [9] *a-na* dumu-munus 30-*e-ri-ba-am* [10] *ir-gu-mu-u*$_2$-*ma um-ma šu-nu-u*$_2$-*ma* [11] *mi-im-ma* geme$_2$-[d]utu e_2 *u*$_2$-*ul id-di-na-ki* [12] u_3 *tup-pa-am u*$_2$-*ul iš-ṭu*$_2$-*ra-ki-im* [13] *i-na mi-tu-ti-ša-a-ma* [14] *at-ti-i-ma ta-aš-ṭu*$_2$-*ri*

[24] Edict of Ammiṣaduqa §5-7; for the phenomenon of forging documents in Old Babylonian ties cf. also Badamchi (2016, 6–23).

[25] Identical notes are found in two more inscriptions of Rīmuš: RIME 2.1.2.7, 37-42 and RIME 2.1.2.8, 29-31. Another one is found in an Inscription of Narām-Sîn (RIME 2.1.4.2 vii, 28-viii,1.viii, 4-15). From the inscriptions of Sargon and Šarkallišarri, none have come down to us.

[26] [78] [d]utu [79] u_3 [80] *il*$_3$-*a-ba*$_4$ [81] *u*$_2$-*ma*$_2$ [82] *la su*$_2$-*ra-tum*$_8$ [83] *lu ki*$_2$-*ni-iš*$_2$-*ma*

[27] [47] [d]utu [48] u_3 [49] *il*$_3$-*a-ba*$_4$ [50] *u*$_2$-*ma*$_2$ [51] *la su*$_2$-*ra-tum*$_8$ [52] *lu ki*$_2$-*ni-iš*$_2$-*ma*

equivalent to *kwn*, gen, as in the later Neo-Sumerian texts and we can just assume that the meaning is the same.[28]
When qualifying speech or text from the Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian periods on, however, it tends to mean "true" as in "factual": […] *ātammaru kīniš adbub*; "[Everything] that I saw I reported truthfully." (KAR 130 vs. 19). Words can be deemed *lā kitti*, "not true", if their content is qualified as *yânu*, "there is not" (EA 1,81; cf. Hebr. אין). The question *kittû/kittûni*, "is it *kittu*?", can be used parallel to *ibaššî*, "does it exist?" (ABL 1367 vs. 1): In legal context it regularely means ",bestätigen' oder ,garantieren'."[29]. The antonym *srr* can designate wrongful oaths as well as fraudulent tablets and seals.[30]
What is found in the Old Akkadian legal documents and letters, however, are assertory and promissory oaths by the deities Šamaš and Ilaba. The people promise to do or assert to have done a certain thing using the root *wmʾ* are.[31] We can thus be reasonably certain that the oaths in the inscriptions also make claims to veracity rather than legitimacy.
After the Old Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian examples, verification notes do not seem to appear in historical inscriptions of Mesopotamia until the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods:

> From Sennacherib's canal inscription at Bavian/Ḫinnis (7th cent. BC; RINAP 3/2.223, 23-26):[32]
>
> A future ruler among the kings, my children, who searches with his heart but cannot(?) turn it to believe it (*qiāpu*) and (says) by himself thusly: "With only that few men he (supposedly) dug this canal?" By Aššur, my great God I swear that I dug this canal with (only) these men and that I dug it in one year and three months and that … and that I finished it and completed its excavations."[33]

> From a stela inscription of Šamaš-rēša-uṣur, governor of Suḫū, from Babylon (Neo-Babylonian period; RIMB 2 S.0.1001.1 v,3-6):[34]
>
> Whoever in the future comes forth shall ask the elders of his land thusly: "Is it true (*kittû*) that Šamaš-rēša-uṣur, governor of Suḫu, established the bees of honey in the land of Suḫu?"[35]

For Sennacherib's use of the root *qyp/qīp* see footnote 23. Sennacherib imagines a later ruler to doubt his achievement, just as Sulgi did. The answer is an assertory oath: Sennacherib swears that he has indeed done what he has claimed to have done. The assertory oath with *tmʾ* and an elliptic apodosis is a common way of self-cursing in case you did not (*lā*) do, what you claim

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[28] For litigation terminology of the 3rd millennium cf. Wilcke (2003b, 152–55, 2003a, 42-48).
[29] Lämmerhirt (2010, 143) ("to confirm" or "to guarantee"). See also the examples in Lämmerhirt (2010, 310–13). That is also apparent in words such lu_2 (inim)-ge-na/*mukinnu*, "witness", or lu_2 $ša_3$ ge-na/*qīpu*, "trustworthy person" (Lämmerhirt (2010, 116–23)).
[30] E.g. AKT 1.63, 8-12; AKT 3.14, 15-17; BIN 4.206, 10-15; RIMA 0.33.1, 46-52 (Old Assyrian); MDP 24.393, 9-12; CT 46.45, iii, 4 (Old Babylonian). For the legal terminology of the early 2nd millennium cf. Veenhof (2003, 441–47); Westbrook (2003b, 369–72); Otto (1998, 264–76); Dombradi (1996, 72-105).
[31] e. g. FAOS 19.Ad 3,9; Gir 19,29; Gir 37,5'; CUSAS 27.194, 7; ZA 108, 001-005, 10. Instead of √*wmʾ* the later common √*tmʾ* is also found: e. g. CUSAS 27.193, iii, 2; 194, 32; 195, 32; 196, 16; MVN 7.67, 4; MAD 1.135, 12'; OAIC 51, 3'. The roots are sometimes used interchangeably (e. g. CUSAS 27.194).
[32] Another Neo Assyrian example with a very similar formulation is found in Sennacherib's inscription RINAP 3/2.155, vs. 20-24.
[33] 23 ⌜nun *ar-ku-u₂*⌝ *i-na* lugal^{meš}*-ni* 24 dumu^{meš}*-ia ša it-ti lib₃-bi uš-tam-mu-ma a-na qa-a-pi la tur-ru* ⌜*i*⌝-[*tam-maʾ*] *a-*⌜*ki*⌝*-i* ⌜*i*⌝*-na* [$ša_3$ʾ] lu_2-eren^{meš} *an-nu-ti e-ṣu-ti* 25 id_2 *šu-a-tu* u_2*-šaḫ-ri ni-iš* ^{d}*aš-šur* diĝir-*ia* gal [*at-ta-ma-a*] *šum-ma ina* $ša_3$ lu_2-[eren]⌜^{meš}⌝ *an-nu-ti* id_2 *šu-a-tu la aḫ-ru-u* 26 u_3 *i-na* mu-an-na 3 iti *la* u_2*-qat-tu-u₂ ši-pir-ša₂* ⌜*la*⌝ […] *ig-gam-ru-u₂* u_2*-qat-tu-u₂ ḫi-ru-sa*
[34] More Neo Babylonian examples are found in other Suḫu-inscriptions (e. g. RIMB 2 S.0.1002.1, 46-49; RIMB S.0.1001.4, A 5-6.; RIMB S.0.1001.2, vs. 1'-7'), in the Imgur-Enlil inscription of Nabopolassar (SANER 3 C32 iii, 11-15) and the pseudepigraphic cruciform monument of Maništušū (Al-Rawi and George (1994, 139–48))
[35] 3 *man-nu ar₂-ku-u₂ ša₂* e_{11}*-ma* 4 *ši-bu-ut* kur*-šu₂ liš-al um-ma kit-tu-u₂ ša₂* ^{md}utu-saĝ-pab 5 ^{lu2}gar ^{kur}*su-ḫi ḫa-bu-be₂-e-ti ša₂* lal_3 *ina* ^{kur}*su-ḫi* 6 u_2*-še-la-a*

to have done in Neo-Assyrian trial records and other legal texts.[36] Just as in Sennacherib's inscription such oaths are necessary when a claim is disputed.
The Neo-Babylonian example from the governor of Suḫu operates with a comparable scenario: A later person questions the veracity of his claims to have introduced honeybees. The question *kittû*, "is it *kittu*?" can be used parallel to *ibaššî,* "does it exist" (s. above), and questions not the legitimacy but the truth of what he has done. This is also shown by the fact that Šamaš-rēša-uṣur appeals to witnesses. Interestingly, this group of witnesses, called the "elders of the land" (*šībūt*$^{(u)}$ *māti*) cannot only testify due to their age (they were already there when it happened), but the elders are an important institution in the Neo-Babylonian legal world. They are already attested in Early Dynastic, Neo-Sumerian, and Old Babylonian texts,[37] and between the 7th and 4th c. BC they can be part or even representative of the regional assembly (*puḫur māti*) and thus they are usually called *šībūtu ša* PN.[38] They can be referees, local investigators, witnesses, or local courts.[39]

2.3 Hittite examples

Historical texts in Hittite are rather rare, the preferred language for inscriptions being hieroglyphic Luwian and annals being a niche genre. There are still a few verification notes to be found, two of which are especially insightful:

> From the extensive annals of Muršili II (13th c. BC; KUB 14.17 rev.iii, 22-24+KUB 26.79 rev.ii, 17-21):[40]
>
> And the city of Ura, which was the first border fortress of the land of Azzi, was in a difficult place to get to. Who will hear these tablets of my ….: He shall send (someone)! And the city Ura, the city in question [he shall see. How] it is built … [text followed by a lacuna].[41]

> From a fragment of Šuppiluliyama about the conquests of Tudḫaliya IV (13th-12th cent. BC; CTH 121/KBo 12.38, ii, 4'-16'):
>
> This statue did not my father Tudḫaliya make, but I, Šuppiluliyama, great king, king of Ḫatti, son of Tudḫaliya, great king, grandson of Ḫattušili, great king, and great-grandson of Muršili, great king, made it. And just as my father Tudḫaliya was a true (*ašant-*) great king, so I wrote down true (*ašant-*) manly deeds. And just as I have not forgotten anything, so I have not omitted anything.[42]

The first example expects the reader to send (*uwiya-*) someone to look (*auš-*) how (*maḫḫan*) the awesome fortifications of the city Azzi are built and thereby verify the greatness of Muršili's conquest. The sending of messengers to verify a claim is found in Hittite royal texts such as

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[36] E. g. SAAS 5.55, 1-7; 56, 1-8. Cf. also Faist (2020, 159–72); Radner (2003, 891). Fort he broader Neo-Assyrian legal terminology cf. Faist (2020, 127–209, 2011); Radner (2003); Jas (1996).
[37] E. g. NG 2.89, 7-13; 101, 9-12; VAB 5.265, 4; 268, 13, cf. Wilcke (2003b, 148); Falkenstein (1956, 72–80) and already Schorr (1913, 336–58).
[38] Oelsner, Wells, and Wunsch (2003, 919); Dandamaev (1982, 38–40).
[39] For the Neo-Babylonian trial terminology cf. Oelsner, Wells, and Wunsch (2003, 921–25) and Holtz (2009, 223–66).
[40] For the reconstructions s. Götze (1933, 98–99) and van den Hout (2020, 147 note 27).
[41] 22 *nu* IRI*u-ra-aš ku-iš* IRI-*an* [*ŠA* KUR] IRI*a-az-zi ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-iš a-u₂-ri-iš e-eš-ta na-aš-kan₂ na-ak-ki-i pe₂-e-di* 23 [*a-ša*]*-an-za nu ku-iš ke-e* DUP.PA$^{HI.A}$ [x x x]-*IA iš-ta-ma-aš-zi nu u-ia-ad-du* 24 *nu a-ši* IRI*u-ra-an* IRI-*an* [*a-uš-du ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-na-aš u₂*]*-e-da-an-za e-eš-ta*
[42] 4' *ki-i-ma-za* ALAN [*A-BU-IA*] 5' m*Tu-ud-ḫa-li-ia-aš U*[*L* DU_3*-at*] 6' *u₂-uq-qa-at* mKU_3.GA.TU[L_2*-aš* LUGAL.GAL] 7' LUGAL KUR *Ḫat-ti* DUMU m*Tu-du-ḫa*[*-li-ia*] 8' LUGAL.GAL DUMU.DUMU-*ŠU₂ ŠA* m*Ḫa-at-t*[*u-ši-li*] 9' LUGAL.GAL *U₃* DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-*ŠU₂ ŠA* m*Mur-ši-*[*li?*] ⌜LUGAL.GAL⌝10' *i-ia-nu-un* 11' *nu* ⌜*A*⌝*-BU-IA* m*Tu-ud-ḫa-li-ya-aš* 12' LUGAL.GAL GIM-[*a*]*n a-ša-an-za* LUGAL-*uš* 13' *e-eš-ta* ⌜*nu-kan₂*⌝ *QAT-TAM-MA a-ša-an-da* 14' LU_2*-na-tar*$^{HI.A}$ ⌜*an-da*⌝*-an gul-šu-un* 15' *wa-ak-ši-ia-nu-nu-un ku-it ul* 16' EGIR-*an-ma-kan₂ tar-na-aḫ-ḫu-un*

vassal treaties and the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma. This usually happens to obtain certainty in a political or legal matter. Tudḫaliya IV e. g. sends out (*uwiya*-) a man to look at (*auš*-) an inscription in a sanctuary of the storm god and check, how (*maḫḫan*) access to a certain rock sanctuary is handled (StBoT Bh 1, i, 99-101.). The man is sent because Tudḫaliyas great grandfather Šuppiluliuma set rules of access to this sanctuary that differed from the inscription (StBoT Bh 1, i, 91-ii, 3). Another example is Muršili's father Šuppiluliuma, who sends an envoy to Egypt to check whether the offer of the Egyptian queen to marry the great king's son is true or a ruse (CTH 40 VII, iii, 17-29).

Šuppiluliyama on the other hand straight up says that what he wrote is true, *ašant*-, lit. "being". A Hittite protocol from Ugarit neatly shows that it is also used in a legal context and that it can simply mean that what is stated actually took place:

> From a Hittite legal protocol from Ugarit (13th cent. BC; RS 17.109, 1-12):
>
> Thus (said) the governor: Attalliš, the tax-collector took from me 800 sheqels of silver for safekeeping. And when they were received, Pallariya was present, too." We asked Pallariya concerning this matter. He said: "The matter is true (*ašant*-)". And if the governor, Attalliš, and Pallariyaš will step forth, the case will be finished.[43]

The testimony of a witness here serves to verify a claim about a past action, in this case entrusting money. *Ašant*- is a participle of the verb *eš-/aš*-, "to be", and thus the semantics seem to be very similar to *kittu* and *bašû* as opposed to *yânu* in Akkadian. In Šuppiluliyamas inscription we find the claim that what he said is *ašant*- next to the type of assertation that H. Cancik called "Wortlautformel"[44] and a claim comparable to Sulgi's, that the statue carrying the inscription is his and not his father's.

While Hittite trial documents are rare, it is the king's prerogative to check whether a matter is true in Hittite vassal treaties. Thus, if a vassal reports treachery or preparations for rebellion, the king will act if the matter turns out to be *ašant*- (CTH 76, §10, 15-22 (*mān memiaš ašānz(a);* „if the matter is true").

There are a lot more examples (for details check the respective footnotes), and the same links can be observed between Egyptian biographies, royal inscriptions, and Egyptian legal texts.[45] Our examples come from three different languages and a variety of periods. But they all have in common that they claim the veracity of the stories in question and show clear lexical and conceptual parallels between truth claims in royal texts and verification methods in the contemporary legal corpora.

These parallels between legal texts and the verification notes in historical texts help understand why they appear in inscriptions in the first place. In a legal situation such as a trial, the veracity of conflicting versions of the past (who did what, where, etc.) is of utmost importance. Not because there was an intrinsic value to it but because these versions found legal and thus often material and social claims which must be methodically regulated for a functioning society. It is where we expect to find oaths, witnesses, and other forms of documentation.

It is thus understandable that in a royal inscription the methods for verifying claims are the same since these seem to be the agreed-upon ways of proving something in ancient society. But also

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[43] 1 *UM-MA* ^{lu2}*za-ak-ki-in-ni* [2] ^{m}*at-tal-li-iš-wa-mu* ^{lu2}*MA-KI-IS-SU* [3] 8 ME GIN_2 KU_3.BABBAR *ḫar-ta* [4] *da-at-ta-ma-at ku-wa-pi*$_2$ [5] *nu* ^{m}*pal-la-ri-ya-aš-ša ar-ta-at* [6] *nu* ^{m}*pal-la-ri-ya-an ke-e-da-ni* [7] *me-mi-ni pu-nu-uš-šu-u-en* [8] [*nu*] *me-mi-iš-ta a-ša-an-za-wa-ra-aš me-mi-aš* [9] *nu ma-a-an* ^{lu2}*za-ak-ki-in-ni-iš* [10] ^{m}*at-tal-li-iš* ^{m}*pal-la-ri-ya-aš-ša* [11] *an-da a-ra-an-zi* [12] *nu* DI-*eš-šar ze-en-na-ta-ri*

[44] Cancik (1970, 9).

[45] The link between truth claims in Egyptian autobiographies and legal texts was already observed by Coulon (1997, 125).

the scarcity of such verification notes in historical texts is best explained by a comparison with legal texts. Just as there is no need to dispute a legal claim and its underlying narratives unless you can gain something, there is even less reason to doubt another story of the past unless you want to dispute claims derived from it. We know, however, that Sulgi's hymns were supposed to be performed in the cult (Sulgi B, 358-373), that Neo-Assyrian inscriptions ask successors to respect them and perform oiling rituals on them, and that the survival of one's name through the ages by writing inscriptions was a major concern for ancient near eastern rulers.[46] If you are dependent on the benevolent reception of your royal peers or even your people (we know that some inscriptions were distributed among a broader audience such as Dareios' Behistun inscription that has its own verification note), you better make sure you are believed. The rarity of verification claims shows that this seems to have been an issue not for everyone but apparently for rulers making very unusual claims ((first) conquering of a large Mesopotamian empire, such as the Old Akkadian kings and Sulgi, very quick earthwork, such as Sennacherib or beekeeping, such as Šamaš-rēša-uṣur). In some examples such as in the Imgur-Enlil inscription of Nabopolassar and the Behistun Inscription of Dareios, dynastic legitimacy may also have played into it.[47]
This will now help us to understand the Old Testament verification notes.

3 The Old Testament verifying notes and Northwest-Semitic legal procedure

Since the books of the Old Testament are, with a few exceptions, not written from the first person but a third person perspective, there are no oaths, the most common way of assuring the veracity in cuneiform sources. Yet we find roughly 60 instances of documentation via objects, ethnic groups, place names, or cultural practice by the use of the phrase עד היום הזה,[48] and about 50 source citations.[49] In most cases, they serve as physical or documentary evidence for their texts or their respective stories.[50]
Especially the pointing out of stone structures can serve as an illustrative example of how verification in the Old Testament works and is related to contemporary legal concepts:

1 Sam 6:18: ועכברי הזהב מספר כל ערי פלשתים לחמשת הסרנים מעיר מבצר ועד כפר הפרזי ועד אבל הגדולה אשר הניחו עליה את ארון יהוה עד היום הזה בשדה יהושע בית השמשי

[46] Radner (2005, 90–101).
[47] Nabopolassar calls himself "son of a nobody", Dareios was likely a usurper.
[48] Gen 19:37.38; 22:14; 26:33; 32:33; 35:20; 47:26; Dtn 2:22; 3:14; 10:8; 34:6; Jos 4:9; 5:9; 6:25; 7:26a.b; 8:28.29; 9:27; 10:27; 13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10; Jdg 1:21.26; 6:24; 10:4; 15:19; 18:12; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18; 9:9; 27:6; 30:25; 2 Sam 4:3; 6:8; 18:18; 1 Kgs 8:8; 9:13.21; 10:12; 12:19; 2 Kgs 2:22; 8:22; 10:27; 14:7; 16:6; 17:23.34.41; Ezek 20:29; 1 Chr 4:41; 4:43; 5:26; 13:11; 2 Chr 5:9; 8:8; 10:19; 20:26 21:10; 35:25.
[49] Num 21:14 (Book of the wars of YHWH); Jos 10:13; 2 Sam1:18; 3 Kgdm 8:53 (Book of Jashar); 1 Kgs 11:41 (Book of the days of Solomon); 1 Kgs 14:29; 15:7; 15:23; 22:46; 2 Kgs 8:23; 12:20; 14:18; 15:6; 15:36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17; 21:25; 23:28; 24:5 (Book of the matters of the days of the kings of Judah); 1 Kgs 14:19; 15:31; 16:5.20.27; 22:39; 2 Kgs 1:18; 10:34; 13:8; 13:12; 14:15.28; 15:11.15.21.26.31 (Book of the matters of the days of the kings of Israel); Esth 10:2 (Book of the matters of the days of the kings of Media and Persia); 1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 16:11; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 35:27; 36:8 (Book of the Kings of Juda/Israel); 1 Chr 29:29; 2 Chr 9:29; 12:15; 13:22; 24:27; 26:22; 32:32; 33:19 (various prophetic sources); 2 Chr 35:25 (Lamentations).
[50] This is the result of a larger part of my dissertation, but with regard to the formula עד היום הזה it has already often been mentioned in passing that this is in fact not an etiological element but a "testimony formula" (Hubbard, JR. (2001, 7)), cf. also Aderhold (2009, 201 note 19); van Dyk (1990, 33); Childs (1963, 281).

> And the golden mice are according to the number of all the Philistine cities of the five lords, from fortified places to unwalled cities. And the great stone on which the ark of JHWH rested is witness. Until this day it is on the field of Joshua from Bet-Shemesh.

That a stone is a witness to a thing is not restricted to this verse but here it appears together with the "testimony formula" עד היום הזה. Stone pillars usually mark a place of remembrance (e. g. Gen 35:20; 2 Sam 18:18), but sometimes this remembrance is of a specific legal nature:

> ויקרא לו לבן יגר שהדותא ויעקב קרא לו גלעד :Gen 31:47

> And Laban called it Jigar-Sahudotah and Jakob called it Gal-Ed.

> ויאמר יהושע אל כל העם הנה האבן הזאת תהיה בנו לעדה כי היא שמעה את כל אמרי יהוה אשר דבר עמנו :Jos 24:27
> והיתה בכם לעדה פן תכחשון באלהיכם

> And Joshua spoke to the entire people: Behold, this stone shall be a witness (עדה) against us. Because he has heard all the words of JHWH, which I spoke to you. And he will be a witness against you lest you deceive your god.

The name for the stone pillar, "stone (heap) of testimony", in Aramaic and Hebrew respectively, derives from the fact that they called it a witness (עד) for their agreement (Josh 24:1-26). It is a visual reminder, but the thing to be remembered is not in itself important, but because it is the ground for a continuous legal agreement. In the future, one can point to this stone to point out its legal significance.

The same idea is found in Joshua 24. The passage shows that the idea of a lasting testimony becomes relevant when the past is the foundation for legal claims. In fact, A. Taggar-Cohen has shown that the entire chapter of Josh 24 shows parallels to Aramaic contracts from Elephantine.[51] The stone has the same function as the people who were present as well as the book in which Joshua writes the covenant.

Not only objects but also texts can work as proof:

> ויתר דברי יורם וכל אשר עשה הלוא הם כתובים על ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה :2 Kgs 8:29

> And the rest of the deeds of Joram and all that he did – behold it is written in the book of the matters of the days of the kings of Judah.

> וכל מעשה תקפו וגבורתו ופרשת גדלת מרדכי אשר גדלו המלך הלוא הם כתובים על ספר דברי הימים :Esth 10:2
> למלכי מדי ופרס
> And every deed of his power and might and the entirety of the greatness of Mordechai, how the king made him his great one, they are written in the book of the matters of the days of the kings of Media and Persia.

These source citations have a variety of functions: marking its text as an excerpt, producing a continuous intertextual relation with its source, and creating a "(re)united monarchy"[52]. But they are not mere cross-references but use their source as a proof text. The examples of Near Eastern and biblical historical texts referring to other texts to legitimate certain claims are numerous, the most intriguing example here is Esth 6:1-8 in comparison to Esth 10:2: The Persian king cannot sleep and reads the "book of the memories of the matters of the days" (ספר הזכרנות דברי הימים), which sounds very similar to the one in Esth 10:2. The king reads the story of Mordechai and what he did for the king (which was written down into the book in Esth 2:23) and based on this sources he decides to honor him, who was about to be executed. Not only does this show how a historical text can be used as a source, but it also provides the scenario in which it would play a role, namely if legal claims and real-world situations rest on narratives in the text.

[51] Taggar-Cohen (2005, 35–42).
[52] Leuchter (2010, 127). See also Kratz (2000, 164–65).

This idea of witnessing and proof texts is not specifically biblical, but common West Semitic legal practice. The word עד does not appear in the Hebrew texts of the iron age, but the process of witnessing does:

> From the letter on the Yabne-Yam-Ostracon (7th cent. BC; KAI 200, 1-12):
>
> My lord, the *sar*, shall hear the word of his servant: Your servant is a harvester. Your servant was harvesting in Ḫaṣar-Asma and finished his work. Then he stored (the grain) some days before the end (of harvest). When your servant had finished his work some days ago and had stored it, then came *hwšʿyhw,* son of *šby*, and took the garment of your servant. When I had finished the harvest, on that day he took the garment of your servant. And all my brothers will testify for me, who harvested with me in the heat of the sun. My brothers will testify (יענו) for me, truly I am without guilt.[53]

The word ענה, "to stand up for, to testify", that is used here is found in biblical passages together with עד, e. g. in Ex 20:16. Testimony is usually given by people, as is obvious in the letter. Since in verses like 1 Sam 6:18 or 2 Kgs 10:27, there is a significant time distance between story and writer, individual people cannot be pointed out as witnesses. We do have biblical verses that also speak of objects as legal evidence such as Ex 22:9-12 and the idea that a stone pillar can be a witness can be understood to be a biblical adaption of the concept of boundary steles, etc.

Besides oral testimony by witnesses, we find also references to documents in Northwest-Semitic legal texts:

> From an Akkadian trial protocol from Ugarit (13. Cent. BC; RS 16.245=PRU 3, S. 94/PRU 3 pl. lxxii):[54]
>
> From this day on: In the presence of Niqmepa, son of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit: Iatanu und Šanantu [made legal claims concerning?] a field, and [the king] decided the case in favor of Šanantu because of her tablet and [her witnesses]. And the king has given a tab[let] to Šanantu. Nobody will tak[e it away] from her hand or from the hand of her children.

Just as royal annals are not legal texts, the majority of the narrative books of the Old Testament are not legal material. In fact, the legal texts of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy do neither cite sources nor point to remaining evidence. And again, the testimony formula and source citations are, with the exception of the book of Kings and Chronicles, used only sporadically. But the lexical and conceptual parallels to Northwest Semitic legal traditions show where the idea of verifying a story about the past came from, and when it was necessary.

From the Cuneiform material we already surmised that verification notes are only necessary when there is a real or perceived chance of someone disputing a story. And the reason for that is usually not academic, but because the story makes specific claims in the present. We can assume the same for the Old Testament texts. When it is claimed that the poles of the arc are in the temple in Jerusalem "to this day" (1 Kgs 8:8), it provides the temple with a visible relic that proves it is the continuation of the Sinai sanctuary. On the other hand, if there are latrines "to this day" where the temple of Baal in Samaria stood, it makes clear what to think of that temple (2 Kgs 10:27).

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[53] 1 ישמע אדני·השר 2 את דבר עבדה·עבדכ 3 קצר·היה·עבדכ·בח4צר אסמ·ויקצר עבדכ 5 ויכל ואסמ כיממ·לפני שב6ת כאשר כל [ע]בדכ את קצר וא7סמ כיממ ויבא·הושעיהו בנ שב8י·ויקח·את בגד עבדכ כאשר כלת 9 את קצרי זה ימם לקח·את בגד עבדכ 10 וכל אחי·יענו לי·הקצרמ אתי בחמ 11 השמש אחי·יענו לי·אמנ נקתי·מא12[שמ]

[54] 1 *iš-tu* u4 1-*kam an-ni*-[*i-im*] 2 *a-na pa-ni* m*niq2-me-pa* [dumu *niq2-ma*-dim] 3 lugal iri*u-ga-r*[*i-it*] 4 m[*ia-t*]*a-nu u*[3 f*ša-na-an-tu*] 5 [*aš-šum*] a-ša3 [x x x] Lacuna 1' Zeichenreste 2' *u3 ip-r*[*u*]-*u*[*s* lugal] 3' *di-na* f*ša-n*[*a-an-ti*] 4' *a-na pi2-i ṭup*-[*pi2-ša*] 5' *u3 a-na pi2-i* [lu2-mešigi-*ša*] 6' *u3 it-ta-din* lugal *ṭu*[*p-pa*] 7' *a-na* f*ša-na-an-ti* 8' *ma-am-ma-an u2-ul i-l*[*aq*]-*q*[*i3-šu*] 9' *iš-tu* šu-*ti* f*ša-na-an-ti* 10' *u3* šu-*ti* dumu-meš-*ši*

The important reconstructions *ṭup*-[*pi2-ša*] *u3 a-na pi2-i* [lu2-mešigi-*ša*] are secured by parallels such as RS 16.356 (PRU 3.71) and the Ugaritic-Akkadian legal formula, cf. also van Soldt (2010, 119–21). The damaged example was chosen because it contains both witnesses and reference to tablets. Aramaic examples for documentary proof can be found in AO 25.341; Edition Fales (1986, no. 58) (Assyria, 7th cent. BCE) and TADAE B5.1 (Elephantine, 5th cent. BCE).

The best explanation for the peculiar metatextual notes in the Old Testament that deal with the veracity of the text by providing visible or textual proof is therefore that they either know of or anticipate traditions that deviate from their own narratives or opposition to those narratives because they make very particular claims about Israelite identity, the cult of JHWH, the Tora of Moses and the land of Israel. It is also of importance that the legal texts, the prophetic texts, and wisdom texts do not have any metatextual verification note and thus either were either of a different authority or were read differently than the historical books.

4 Herodotus' verification notes and Greek law

Finally, we can turn to Greek historiography and specifically, Herodotus. In the discussions about ancient historical hermeneutics, historiography, and historical thought Herodotus' Histories are usually deemed a watershed work, which goes back to the verdict of Cicero.[55] The reasons for the high esteem of his work usually either is because of the perceived accuracy or the auctorial accountability or his method.

Especially the latter two are valid observations, but of importance to us are the specific mechanics of his auctorial accountability and historical method. In fact, Herodotus uses metatextual verification notes very similar to those in the Old Testament:

> Hdt 2.13:[56]
>
> The priests told me also this about the land (Egypt), which is a strong piece of evidence to me: namely that during the kingship of Moiris the river flooded Egypt up to Memphis as soon as it had at least eight cubits of flood water.
>
> Hdt 4.12:
>
> And still now there is in the Scythian land a Cimmerian wall and a Cimmerian passage, but there is also the name Cimmeria given to a land and there is a Bosporus that is called "the Cimmerian".[57]

The first example is part of Herodotus' excursus about the Nile flood and his own theory about the river is bolstered by what he has allegedly been told by Egyptian priests. Just as in this instance, Herodotus' sources are mostly oral, but he does quote texts from time to time to prove a point, especially Homer (e. g. Hdt 4.29 cit. Hom. Od. 4.85). The second example is one of many in which he points to witnesses, monuments, and place names (but also to relics such as cult objects, cultural phenomena, and ethnic groups, in short, all those long-living elements from the past we find together with עד היום הזה in the Old Testament (cf. e. g. Hdt 1.57; 2.13; 4.12; 8,.120 with Gen 26:33; Josh 4:9; 6:25; 1 Sam 30:25; 1 Kgs 8:8).

Other than the cuneiform examples, Herodotus does not use oaths, however, even though the first-person perspective would easily allow him to do so. These metatextual references to evidence are abundant in Herodotus' work and the systematic deliberation on the truth or untruth is what makes the Histories stand out from earlier texts rather than the mere fact we know the author by name. This deliberation on truth is often linked to these specific notes, and also the author calls these relics, monuments, etc. τεκμήριον or τεκμήρια (evidence, proof), μαρτύριον (testimony) or μάρτυς (witness) or uses the according verbs τεκμαίρομαι or μαρτυρέω. On the basis of such evidence, Herodotus is able to judge (κρίνειν) or deliberately decide (ὦς (ἐ)μοι δοκεῖ) how a thing was or was not or to abstain from a final judgment.

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[55] Cic. de leg. 1.5; Cic. de orat. 1.51-53.

[56] ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τόδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος … .

[57] καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήια Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρῇ οὔνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος

Again, we can see that the words as well as the concepts used to verify a story in a historical text are the same as in contemporary legal texts:

> From the great inscription of Gortyn (500-450 BC; ICret IV 72, i, 16-20.vi, 46-55):
>
> But if they argue in front of court about a slave and each one claims that he was his property, he (the judge) shall judge (δικάδδεν) according to the witness (κατὰ τὸν μαίτυρα), if a witness testifies. But if (there is testimony) for both or neither, the judge shall decide (κρίνεν) under oath (ὀμνύντα).[58]

> Antip. Chor. 6.30-31:
>
> For wherever someone should explain in word a matter but has no witnesses, someone could say that these words were lacking witnesses. But wherever he has witnesses but cannot show evidence that agrees with the witnesses, someone could say the same, if he wished to do so.
>
> I on the other hand present (ἀποφαίνω) to you reasonable words, and witnesses (μάρτυρας) that agree (ὁμολογοῦντας) with the words, and facts, that support the witnesses and evidence (τεκμήρια) that results from these facts, and in addition to that two very great and weighty (arguments), namely that these (opponents) here are convicted by themselves and by me, but that I am proven innocent by these and by myself.[59]

The first example is from the Gortyn Code from Crete, one of the oldest examples of Greek law, that already contains the idea of witnesses and judging (δικάδδεν or κρίνεν) according to testimony.[60] μαρτύριον, μάρτυς, and τεκμήρια are the most important pillars of archaic and classical Greek trials, next to oaths.[61]

This is shown in the second example from the classical Orator Antiphon on how the truth of a matter in court should be established via witnesses and evidence. These concepts also appear later in philosophical reflections on politics and law, such as in Aristotle's *Republic* in which he theorizes about litigation, that what Herodotus does is not substantially different from what Aristotle calls "non-artistic proofs" in trials, i. e. proofs that are not brought forth via rhetoric.[62]

These examples can be supplemented by further parallels: There mere title of Herodotus' work, ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις, "presentation of inquiry", has links to Greek legal concepts. The ἵστωρ originally seems to have been a local umpire, judge, or investigator rather than a Historian.[63] Herodotus' aim to point out the αἰτίη, cause, of the strife between Greeks and Persians is similar to those who seek the αἰτία, cause (as in "guilt") in a legal procedure. Herodotus' very common phrase ὧς (ἔ)μοι δοκεῖ designates a deliberate decision, and the formulation δοκεῖ + Dat. is one of the most common ways of introducing policy and legal decisions in Greek poleis.[64]

It is possible to proliferate the examples further, but this will suffice. It is clear that the link between verification in historical and in legal texts in terms of lexicon, scenarios, and concepts

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[58] αἰ δέ κ ἀνπὶ δώλωι μωλίωντι πωνιόντες Fὸν Fεκάτερος ἦμεν, αἰ μέν κα μαῖτυς ἀποπωνῆι, κατὰ τὸν μαίτυρα δικάδδεν, αἰ δέ κ ἢ ἀνποτέροις ἀποπωνίοντι ἢ μηδατέρωι, τὸν δικαστὰν ὀμνύντα κρίνεν.[58]

[59] ὅπου μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τις διδάσκοι περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων, μάρτυρας δὲ μὴ παρέχοιτο, μαρτύρων ἄν τις τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐνδεεῖς φαίη εἶναι: ὅπου δὲ μάρτυρας μὲν παρέχοιτο, τεκμήρια δὲ αὖ τοῖς μαρτυροῦσιν ὅμοια μὴ ἀποφαίνοι, ταὐτὰ ἄν τις ἔχοι εἰπεῖν, εἰ βούλοιτο.
ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοὺς τε λόγους ὑμῖν εἰκότας ἀποφαίνω, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς μάρτυρας ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τοῖς μάρτυσι τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τεκμήρια ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις δύο τὼ μεγίστω καὶ ἰσχυροτάτω, τούτους μὲν αὐτούς τε ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐξελεγχομένους καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπό τε τούτων καὶ ὑπὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀπολυόμενον:

[60] Cammack (2020, 22). For a contextualization of the Gortyn Code in the legal history of the Eastern Mediterranean cf. Gagarin (2008, 145–75); Hagedorn (2001, 221–28).

[61] Scheibelreiter (2020, 98–100).

[62] Scheibelreiter (2020, 83); Thür (2005, 146).

[63] E. g. Hom. Il. 23.473; cf. Gagarin (2005, 83.86).

[64] Cammack (2020, 21–22) For the early Greek law more broadly cf. Gagarin (2005, 82–90).

is also visible in early Greek historiography. In that matter, Herodotus' work qualifies rather as a continuation of early practices than a revolution.

5 The ramifications

It has been shown that the methods of proving a narrative are remarkably similar in Ancient Near Eastern Inscriptions of different languages and periods, in the Old Testament historical books, and Herodotus: They all apply their contemporary principles of legal verification to non-legal narratives. This may be not too much of a surprise: Human brains work much the same everywhere and it is understandable that when applying a verification note to narrative text you'd fall back on agreed-upon ideas and concepts.

The more interesting aspect is why you would do so in the first place. The deciding link seems to be that the narratives about the past produce claims in the present. In the royal inscriptions, these can be very personal, such as a claim to fame for a specific deed, the reverence by later rulers, cultic privileges, etc.

The Old Testament prefers different verification notes, mainly references to archaeological remains, objects, and textual sources. The perspective is also not personal, but anonymous and thus the verification aims less on personal achievements but rather the verification of certain collective claims: Jerusalem as the one sanctuary, Juda and Benjamin as the representatives of Israel, territorial possessions, and specific theological concepts. Since these compare relatively often in the Old Testament compared to the ancient near Eastern text, we can assume a rising concern for possible dispute about the contents of certain books. Since there are no verification notes in the Prophets, the legal portions of the Tora, and wisdom literature, this may hint toward different genre perceptions and authority.

Lastly, it is interesting that Herodotus uses very similar verification notes to the Old Testament ones. Yet they appear even more frequently and are specifically reflected upon: The novum in Herodotus' work are historical adiaphora: Not all evidence is, according to himself, to be trusted and some things need not be decided. This differs from the earlier examples: The cuneiform and Hebrew texts all are fully assertive and there is no instance in which they claim that something else they say but do not specifically verify was less true. The verification works preemptively in case the text is disputed. Herodotus on the other hand incorporates the dispute into his own work.

If we debate the historiographic status of Old Testament literature, it may be sensible to start with the discussion of ancient hermeneutics. And while we can say only little about the actual relationship of the ancient authors to the past, we can clearly see that they wanted their readers to read their texts as factual accounts – at least in the instances where they make this explicit. Greek historiography is thus better understood as a development, refinement, and new application of very old concepts that root in common empiric epistemology as visible in legal texts. In the Old Testament, on the other hand, we should abstain from premature divisions into literature, history, and theology or presuppositions about "ancient" thinking as opposed to modern.

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Title: *Will the real early Judaism please stand up: What is 'Apocalypticism'?*

Abstract:

The paper discusses the place of apocalyptic ideas within early Judaism and the way it is perceived and presented in modern research. There has been a colossal development within the field of research in the past century with regards to our perception of the phenomenon of apocalypticism. While we agree to abandon the older notion of a social-literary phenomenon, a notion based upon our discovery, or recognition, of the genre of apocalypses, there is still confusion as to what role the apocalyptic ideas had within the constitution of early Judaism and how prevalent the 'apocalyptic worldview' was. By revisiting the sources the case can be made that the apocalyptic ideas, which manifest themselves most pointedly in the apocalypses, were not just a feature of certain branches of early Judaism, nor should they be described as 'widespread' ideas within early Judaism. Rather, early Judaism, regarded as one religio-historical phenomenon, simply was an apocalyptic religion. And the branches of Judaism which did not incorporate the apocalyptic ideas as part of their theological thinking should be regarded as the exceptions.

Preface: *Focal points for the discussion*

- Can we ever reach a common understanding of the meaning of terms such as 'apocalypticism' and 'apocalyptic'?
- Is it meaningful to talk about 'apocalyptic literature' when non-apocalyptic literature also exhibit apocalypticism, or the apocalyptic worldview? (It is not, I argue.)
- Do my working definitions of 'eschatology' and 'dualism' make sense?
- Does my paper and methodology make sense? Are the lists and categories useful?
- Am I beating a dead horse when I say that early Judaism = 'apocalypticism' (in general)?

Will the real early Judaism please stand up: What is 'Apocalypticism'?

In the Gospel of Mark a scene plays out in the Jerusalem temple complex where some of the Saduccees approach Jesus and pose him a question concerning the resurrection of the dead. At this point in the story we are informed by the narrator that the Sadducees "say that there is no resurrection" (Mark 12:18).[1] Jesus tells them that they are lost since they "know neither the scriptures nor the power of God", but surprisingly the scripture which Jesus then brings forth is Ex 3:6 and not Dan 12 or any other of the places from the Old Testament that we usually associate with the notion of the resurrection of the dead, such as Is 26:19. It is not clear what Jesus means by this, but what is clear is that the author of Mark, writing in the first century, thought of the Sadducees as being unique among the main Jewish groups precisely in that they did not believe in the resurrection. The same characteristic about the Sadducees is repeated by the authors of the Gospel of Matthew and Luke-Acts (Matt 22:23; Luke 20:27; Acts 23:8). The early Christians, of course, would be especially concerned with the idea of the resurrection, and as is well known the picture painted by the four Christian evangelists of Jewish society at the time of Jesus is heavily slanted and hardly a reliable historical representation on its own. However, it does witness to the understanding among Christians in the first century that their fellow Jews in general were expecting a resurrection of the dead, and the Sadducees were an exception.[2] Was that the case?

Until the modern era of Christian history the picture painted by the evangelists has been taken for truth by Western scholars, that practically all Jews shared in the same fundamentally basic hopes of the resurrection and judgement day and messianism as the Christians did, the ideas of 'apocalypticism', but this view was changed somewhat in the 1800's with new sources coming to light for Western scholarship. Our understanding of early Judaism has been modified continually during the past two centuries as scholarship has also turned away from an older more Christianity-centered focus, and early Judaism is now regarded as the multi-faceted historical phenomenon that it was. An important point which has been made in all of this is that all Jews in general did not adhere to those exact same basic theological ideas which the Christian literature so confidently ascribes to them. At the same time, however, part of the discourse within modern scholarship on apocalypticism might also be characterized by having an over-correction with regards to this point. Early Judaism was certainly many-faceted, but the basic ideas of apocalypticism certainly seem to have been an important and dominant element within Judaism. Perhaps even a mainstream feature. Or indeed, a defining feature?

If we survey and analyse the literature from the centuries of the formation of early Judaism, and if we find that the majority of extant sources in fact witnesses to an apocalyptic theological understanding akin to (but not the same as) the Christian set of basic apocalyptic ideas, should this not give space to yet further considerations on our fundamental understanding of early 'apocalypticism' and early Judaism? This paper does not present a thorough analysis of the literature, but it does present an overview as a cursory survey of the literature which adds weight to the hypothesis that the literature in general supports the notion that early Judaism – in general – might be regarded as simply being 'apocalypticism'. In which case our terminology within this subject matter will always remain confusing until we decide on new terms or a new way to understand the basic issues.

[1] All translations in this paper are my own.

[2] I will regard early Christianity in this paper as a part of the religio-historical phenomenon 'early Judaism'.

Apocalypticism in modern research

We know very little about the Sadducees, but Josephus and the Rabbinic literature also provide us with information. While the Rabbinic sources are mostly concerned with the difference in the views on purity between the Sadducees and the Pharisees we can read in *Abot R. Nat.* A 5 that it was the issue of resurrection which made the founder of the Sadducees, Zadok (3rd c. BCE), brake with the teachings of Anitgonus of Soco, the supposed first scholar of the Pharisees. Josephus confirms that the Sadducees did not believe in the resurrection of the dead since they did not believe in the immortality of the soul nor the notion of punishment and reward after death (JW 2:165) and also that they believed the human soul perished along with the body upon death (Ant 18:16).

We do not know exactly when, where or how the idea of the general resurrection of the dead and the notion of punishment and reward in the afterlife came to be a doctrine among Jews, and looking at Jesus' argument in the scene in the temple complex, where he brings forth Ex 3:6 as a kind of scriptural basis for the resurrection, one might excuse the Sadducees for not being overly convinced. Certainly, the idea of eternal life for humans is one of the first ideas that we meet in the Bible when Adam and Eve are thrown out of the garden and a spiritual guard is installed to protect the Tree of Life. But the notions of the resurrection and an afterlife that were rejected by the Sadducees of course belong to the Jewish phenomenon of apocalypticism. These are key concepts within the so-called apocalyptic worldview.

The modern discourse in scholarship on apocalypticism began in the 19th century and was mainly born out of the desire to understand the particular and 'strange' New Testament text, the Book of Revelation, or, the Apocalypse of John.[3] The first time the term 'apocalyptic' is used as a technical term is by the German scholar Friedrich Lücke in his introduction to the Apocalypse of John, published in 1832.[4] Lücke spends some 130 pages on his treatment of what he terms 'apocalyptic literature' ("Apokalyptische Litteratur") and so he coins the term "Apokalyptik". Lücke writes his book in a period in the 19th century where new Jewish and Christian texts from antiquity for the first time are coming to the attention of Western scholarship. Newly 'discovered' documents such as 1 Enoch now formed the literary context that would help to better understand the peculiar Apocalypse of John, and several other 'apocalypses' had come to light.

The influx of new sources into Western scholarship in this period expanded our understanding of early Judaism and Christianity dramatically, but it has been a gradual development, and many important historical questions still remain unanswered. Judging by the confusion within scholarship concerning terminology it seems indeed that we have yet to reach a real consensus as to what kind of phenomenon we are dealing with at all as we speak about 'apocalypticism'. A movement can be traced from the early scholars up until today and one notion from earlier scholarship that has now been abandoned is that apocalypticism was a phenomenon thriving within certain marginal social groups among the Jews, and that the texts, the apocalypses, were the products of such small and unknown radical doomsday sects.

[3] For a recent and more thorough recap of the development within scholarship on apocalypticism see John J. Collins, "What Is Apocalyptic Literature?," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (ed. J. J. Collins; online edn, Oxford Academic, 2014), 1-16.

[4] Lücke, Friedrich, *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes und in die gesammte apokalyptiche Litteratur* (Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1832).

This attempt to connect the apocalypses with fringe social groupings has been abandoned not least because we now have many more options of how to understand these texts. Rather than just taking the dramatic visionary presentations at face value as being hot-headed and alarming warnings about the imminent end of the world, or as being actual visions by a prophetic seer put into writing more or less unstructured and unmediated, we are now sensitive to the fact that these texts contain more sophisticated theological teachings and literary structures than meets the eye and that they each have an underlying agenda which characterizes this type of literature as a whole. The apocalypses are normally characterised as crisis literature with the understanding that they functioned as a response to some particular social (and theological) crisis, but this response is certainly also an intellectually sophisticated literary maneuvre and typically also highly integrated with equally sophisticated theological deliberations.

The main focus in modern scholarship from the beginning were on the new apocalypses themselves, that is, the texts which most resemble the Apocalypse of John from which the genre also derives its name, such as 1 Enoch or 4 Ezra. In many other sources, however, there are passages and elements that also resemble the contents of the Apocalypse of John, and eventually the term 'apocalyptic eschatology' came into use.[5] This was a way to accommodate the fact that the phenomenon could not be regarded as a purely literary one. It is not merely the genre, but it is the whole underlying theological framework within these documents which can be understood as 'apocalyptic', even though there might only be one passage in a text that clearly resembles the visionary literature of the apocalypses. As such we are seeing in the literature a set of ideas and theological notions concerning the world's fate and constitution which determines the whole outlook of these works, and it was termed 'apocalyptic eschatology'.

The reason that scholars today for the most part have abandoned the use of the term 'apocalyptic eschatology' for this worldview is that the texts themselves which exhibit this worldview do not always include eschatological elements at all, and instead the expression 'apocalyptic worldview' is now the more common term. There is, however, still confusion around terminology when it comes to differentiate between the texts on the one hand and the worldview on the other. Thus, the term 'apocalypticism' can be used both to designate the literature itself and the worldview.

To sum up, there was an early understanding of the apocalypses as being their own peculiar works, so different from other ancient works that they were treated as an isolated group of writings within the early Jewish and Christian literature, and with this understanding they were connected to hypothetical, and equally isolated, social groups. But as more sources came to light and with a broadened understanding of the texts themselves researchers came to be aware that the apocalypses were not merely representative of certain marginal minority Jews (and Christians), because they had something central in common with other ancient works, and this was the underlying 'apocalyptic worldview'. Along with the added focus on the fact that early Judaism was not at all equal to the early Christian portrayal, gradually the perspective has also been broadened so that we can now view the apocalyptic worldview in its own right as one major element in early Judaism, at least in the later period from the first century BCE and forward. One result of this development within modern research was that the historical Jesus came to be viewed in the early 20th century more as a child of his time in his capacity as a 'doomsday

[5] For example John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death," *CBQ* 36:1 (1974): 21-43; , Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalypse, Genre" and "Apocalypticism" in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplement Volume* (ed. Keith Crim; Nashville: Abingdon, 1976), 27-34.

prophet', rather than the perception of Jesus within Liberal Theology which emphasised him more as a 'mundane' moral philosopher or a wisdom teacher. This shift is interesting because it is symptomatic for some of the most important questions that have been posed with regards to the actual nature and advent of 'apocalypticism'. Is it a child of the prophetic tradition or rather a child of the wisdom tradition? Or is that question not even a valid way to investigate it?

The main realisation in the context of this paper, however, has been that apocalypticism as a broader phenomenon, and not just in the form presented by the Christian sources, simply was all the rage within Judaism in these centuries. So much so, apparantly, that at least by the first century CE the Sadducees could be regarded as an exception to the rule. They did not share in the apocalyptic worldview like most of their contemporaries. Apocalypticism was in fact a big element in the formation of Judaism. But how big of an element?

What is the apocalyptic worldview?

We only have the sources that have been preserved, and for a large part our sources have been handed down through the hands of Christians. So if we want to try to answer the above question concerning Judaism as a whole by looking at the literature, we must keep in mind that the Christians throughout history presumably for the most part would select those texts, Jewish as well as Christian texts, which could in some way align with their own theological outlook. Our extant sources from antiquity, therefore, will not automatically be representative of the broader spectrum of Jewish theological thinking of the period, but with that in mind we can try to delineate an overall picture of how prevalent the apocalyptic worldview was among the Jews in the formative centuries of early Judaism by looking at the written testimonies left from this era.

Before we turn to the survey of the sources we have to define more precisely what we are looking for. I define the apocalyptic worldview for this purpose as a 'theology' which is structured by two main factors, one temporal and one spatial, in this case eschatology and dualism respectively. By 'theology' I mean an overall understanding of how the world as God's creation is organized and what its purpose is, and this understanding is in one way or another based upon the revelations believed to be contained in the writings of scripture. Theology, in other words, is in this context a worlview, or a certain, structured understanding of reality. In the theology of the apocalyptic worldview the determining factors, then, are eschatology and dualism, and so these are the markers I will look for in a text to determine whether it exhibits the apocalyptic worldview.

Eschatology I define here as the understanding that at some point in time God will in some way or another act to initiate a sweeping change to the fundamental order of creation in such a way that *disobedience to God* among humans as well as spiritual beings will never again be an issue that God will have to address. Here I also take any notion concerning punishment and reward in the afterlife as a marker of eschatology.

Dualism I define here as a heightened awareness of, attention to, or preoccupation with the *dichotomy of the spiritual and non-spiritual realms*. This typically includes various accompanying 'sub-dichotomies' such as flesh-spirit, corruptible-incorruptible, death-life, impure-pure, profane-holy, earthly-heavenly, or final-eternal. Importantly, connected to this spatial/material dichotomy of the apocalyptic dualism is *an ethical dichotomy* of good-evil.

A category of 'apocalyptic literature'?

Here we must make mention of a recent, important contribution to the discussion about 'apocalyptic literature' is *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* from 2014 and edited by John J. Collins.[6] In this volume a number of the top scholars of today have selected texts from among the ancient sources to fall into the category of 'apocalyptic literature', and these texts are then treated and discussed as a way to shed light unto the various aspects of this body of literature. In the introductory article Collins discusses the conflicting views concerning the use of the terminology within modern scholarship and the adjective 'apocalyptic' as a useful term to designate this category of literature. He chooses to define 'apocalyptic literature' as an expansion of the category of the genre of apocalypses: "Other material [besides the apocalypses] may be called "apocalyptic" insofar as it bears some resemblance to the core features of the genre apocalypse."[7] This means that literature which exhibits, propounds or presupposes the apocalyptic worldview in some form or another may well not be regarded as 'apocalyptic literature', only in so far as it "bears some resemblance to the core features of the genre apocalypse." But as he points out:

> It is still not uncommon to find "apocalyptic" treated as "a theological concept" in which the thought of Jesus or Paul takes precedence over the literary apocalypses (e.g., Sturm 1989: 37. Sturm regards much of the noncanonical apocalyptic literature as "abstruse and fantastic"). That way only confusion lies.[8]

He is certainly right about the confusion. But is it also not confusing to separate a category of 'apocalyptic literature', as Collins does, while a large part of all the other literature is likewise characterized by the exact 'theological concept' of the apocalyptic worldview? Even though all this other literature does not "bear some resemblance to the core features of the genre of apocalypse" it still exhibits the apocalyptic worldview and thus might naturally be considered literature of apocalypticism. Collins himself in the introductory abstract uses the term "apocalypticism" as a term for the apocalyptic worldview:

> Apocalypticism, the worldview characteristic of apocalypses, can also be found in works that are not formally apocalypses. It is characterized by the belief that human life is largely shaped by supernatural forces, and bounded by the expectation of a final judgment, including the judgment of the dead.[9]

His statement here that apocalypticism, i.e. the apocalyptic worldview, "can also be found in works that are not formally apocalypses" is quite the understatement. It seems to me that we might rather view it the other way around: There are works among the ancient sources where the apocalyptic worldview can *not* be found.

[6] John J. Collins, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature* (Online edn, Oxford Academic, 2014).
[7] Collins, "What Is Apocalyptic Literature?," 6.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid, 1.

Categorizing the sources

Below I will list the literature that I have surveyed and make a catious attempt to estimate how prevalent the apocalyptic worldview is in our extant sources based upon the lists provided here (and based upon the further analysis of the list which is not included in this paper). The listing below is not exhaustive, but it includes the main works of our extant sources from the formative period of early Judaism. The works have been reviewed by looking for clear signs in the texts that point to at least on of the two above elements defined above – eschatology and dualism – and I have categorized the literature into works that either does or does not witness to the apocalyptic worldview as well as works where we cannot decide. In order to display my methodology for the examination of the texts we will initially look at selected examples for each category.

List of works that decidedly witness to the apocalyptic worldview

Example: Wisdom of Solomon

The Wisdom of Solomon, or The Book of Wisdom, shows clear references to elements that constitute the apocalyptic worldview. First and foremost much of the first part of the work consists in teachings about the afterlife. The author sets up the ungodly as the ones who think that God will save the pious righteous man in his hour of distress and death. This seems to reflect the thinking found in e.g. the Book of Sirach (see below) as "they reason with themselves unrightly and say: 'Short and painful is our life, and there is no healing in a human's death, and noone has been known to return from Hades'" (Wisd 2:1). This line of thinking is countered in the Book of Wisdom with the teaching that one's death does not constitute one's standing with God. Instead "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and not torture will touch it. In the eyes of the unwise they seem to have died, but … their [the righteous'] hope is full of immortality" (Wisd 3:1-4). The dualism is also expressed in Wisdom, e.g. with the notion of the Devil, "but through the jealousy of the Devil death entered the world, and those who belong to his lot test him" (Wisd 2:24).

Other works in this category:

The entire corpus of Christian writings
Works from the Dead Sea Scrolls – both sectarian and non-sectarian
Early Rabbinic literature
The works of Philo
Book of Daniel
1 Enoch (every book in 1 Enoch)
2 Enoch
4 Ezra
Syriac Baruch
Psalms of Solomon
4 Macc

Book of Jubilees
Sibylline Oracles
3 Baruch
4 Baruch
Ascension of Isaiah
Assumption of Moses
Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs
The 'primary Adam literature' (including *The Life of Adam and Eve*)
Pseudo-Philo
Lives of the Prophets
Joseph and Asenath
Apocalypse of Abraham
Treatise of Shem
Apocryphon of Ezekiel
Apocalypse of Zephania
Apocalypse of Adam

List of works where it can not be decided

Example 1: The Book of Tobit

In the Book of Tobit the angel Raphael informs that he is one of seven special angels who can stand before the glory of God (12:15). The naming and functions of the angels is known especially from apocalypticism, but not exclusively. And a couple of verses in Tobit point to a possible eschatological outlook. In 13:2 we hear that "He [God] brings down to Hades, and he leads up", and even though this has a parallel in the Book of Wisdom where it refers to the resurrection (16:13), here it is likely nothing more than a poetic expression which means the same thing as expressed elsewhere in Tobit, that God saves from near-death, e.i. 12:9 "For almsgiving saves from death … Those who give alms and do justice will have a full life-span". The same notion is expressed in 14:10, "Akihar gave alms and was saved from the deathly trap which he [Nadab] had set up for him." The very same notion is found in the Book of Sirach (29:12). The author of Tobit might have had an eschatological understanding of reality, but it seems unlikely that he would never bring it up, and we do not find any expressed dualism.

Example 2: The Book of Sirach

Sirach does not seem to have any clear signs of eschatology. Some verses perhaps indicate that there will be punishment or reward in the afterlife, but it is more likely that they do not, since many other verses point to the understanding that it is one's death itself which is a possible punishment, and that salvation from death in life-threatening situations, or perhaps a merciful death, is then the reward for the pious: "For it is easy for the Lord on the day of death to repay a human according to his ways. An hour of misery makes one forget the delights, and a human's deeds are revealed by the ending of his life. Deem nobody blessed

before his death, and by his offspring a man will be known" (Sir 11:26-28). The phrase "an hour of misery" seems to indicate that a painful death is the punishment that will make all of life's delights void.

A verse such as Sir 10:11 might decide it, "because in death a human inherits maggots and vermin [θηρία] and worms". Yet, due to the poetic phrasing of the wisdom tradition it makes it difficult to interpret in a sure manne. In Sir 35:24 we hear that God "repays the human according to his deeds and repays the works of humans according to their intentions", and in 18:20 we hear, "Scrutinize yourself before judgement comes, and in the hour of the visitation [ἐπισκοπῆς] you will find atonement". The concept of God's visitation is used in other literature as a designation for judgement day (e.g. 4 Ezra 5:56) or for the individual judgement after death (e.g. Wisd 3:7). But here it likely refers simply to the hour of one's death. Elsewhere in Sirach talks about life-threatening moments that can go either way as being 'the day/time of distress [θλίψεώς]', such as Sir 2:11, "For the Lord is compassionate and merciful, and he forgives sin and saves in the time of distress [ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεώς]", or Sir 3:15, "In the day of your distress it [alms to your father] will be remembered in your favor, like frost in good weather your sins will melt away". This focus on the moment of death is also emphasised in verses such as 9:11-12, "Do not envy the glory of sinners, because you do not know what their destruction will be. Do not delight in the delights of the ungodly, for until Hades they are not justified."

As with the author of Tobit, it would seem strange that the author of Sirach would not emphasise the afterlife, if he believed that there would be one, and Sirach does not exhibit an expressed dualism either. He seems rather to have the understanding that one's death, or salvation from death, constitutes one's reward or punishment.

Other works in this category:

Prayer of Manasseh
3 Macc
Ps 151
Song of the three children
Susanna and the Elders
Bel and the Dragon

List of works that witness to a theological frame different from the apocalyptic worldview

Example: 1 Maccabees

The First Book of Maccabees does not include any signs of dualism or eschatology. On account of the genre, historiography, we might not expect any treatment of 'apocalyptic' matters, but if the author shared in the apocalyptic worldview, we should expect at least some subtle signs since the work is dealing with the history of 'Israel'. We find no indications anywhere and we can thus conclude that this work witnesses to a theological outlook that is not the apocalyptic worldview.

Other works in this category:

Judith
Book of Baruch
Letter of Jeremiah
Greek Book of Ezra
Additions to Esther
Letter of Aristeas

Conclusion and deliberations

It is immediately clear that by far the majority of the extant literature falls into the first category of works that clearly witness to the apocalyptic worldview. The lists are not exhaustive, but they include the main body of all the literature, including various larger groups of literature.[10] In so far as a closer examination of these lists (a study not included in this paper) can confirm the picture given here by the sheer number of titles distributed into the first category – i.e. that among our extant sources there is indeed a relatively large majority of works witnessing to the apocalyptic worldview, especially as we move towards the later period around the first century CE – then this observation can help to better visualise how dominant the apocalyptic worldview is among our extant sources. To what extent it can be a basis in itself for critical judgements concerning the nature of 'early Judaism' as a socio-historical phenomenon is of course a separate question that needs to moderate any conclusions. The fact remains, however, that these are the main sources that we have, and together with the historical portrayal indicated by Josephus and other historiographical works (including the Christian narratives) it may be reasonable to use this review of the literature as one argument for the thesis that apocalypticism should not be viewed as merely an element within early Jewish thinking, but rather that the apocalyptic worldview was so prevalent that it should be regarded as a main *characteristic* of 'early Judaism'.

When the concept of 'theology' is understood as a complete frame of reality, or a worldview (and this can be one of many ways to speak about 'theology'), there seems to have been a development in the formative centuries of early Judaism where Jewish theology, in general, can be said to have gradually morphed into the apocalyptic worldview. When we use the only terminology available in modern scholarship today to speak about 'apocalyptic' literature it therefore remains confusing, since the terms such as 'apocalyptic' used for apocalyptic literature indicates that all other literature does not exhibit the apocalyptic worldview or any connection with apocalypticism, which is decidedly not the case. In fact it seems that most of the literature does exactly that. What sets Collins' 'apocalyptic literature' apart from other literature may well be its connection to the apocalypses (in so far as it "bears some resemblance" to that genre), but perhaps it is rather the visionary or revelatory element, instead of the element of 'apocalypticism', that should determine the name for that category of literature?

[10] The whole group of literature from the Dead Sea Scrolls I have not reviewed, but I have listed "Works" from the Dead Sea Scrolls under the first category, since the literature in general is characterised by the apocalyptic worldview. Of course there are works from this group that belong in the other two categories as well.

The apocalypses was the point of entry for modern schorlarly discourse about the whole phenomenon of apocalypticism, but we have since come to agree that these particular texts constitute only one smaller, literary, aspect of this larger phenomenon. Most texts could reasonably be described as 'apocalyptic' in so far as they directly or indirectly propound the apocalyptic worldview and witness to the historical phenomenon of apocalypticism. The apocalypses themselves may have been influential to some degree or another, of course, in helping to shape push the development of theological thinking towards the apocalyptic worldview, but they are first and foremost a representation of the ideological development itself. The development towards the situation by the first century CE, where the Sadducees could be regarded as the ones who did not adhere to apocalypticism.

In other words, it remains confusing, if we maintain a focus on the apocalypses as our central starting point to treat any subject concerning the phenomenon of apocalypticism and use the adjective 'apocalyptic' only for texts and passages which resemble the apocalypses. Early Judaism itself, understood as constituted by the dominant religious groups, might to a large degree justifiably be characterized simply as 'apocalyptic', and this has very little to do with the actual apocalypses themselves. There is every reason to keep the scholarly discussion alive concerning terminology and concerning our general understanding of the phenomenon of apocalypticism and the apocalyptic worldview.

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Project summary

My project, *God's Authority and Human Obedience in Apocalyptic Literature and the Testament Genre*, examines the obligations and demands for humans that are directly and indrectly placed upon the intended audience in the apocalyptic literature in general and the Testament genre in particular, and how the concept of authority is used in this context. As such the project aims more broadly to shed new light on what can be termed the apocalyptic worldview as well as apocalypticism in general. In order to set the frame for this investigation a main part of the dissertation will include a discussion about our modern understanding of early apocalypticism in general and the problematic nature of the technical terms as we use them in modern research. My OTSEM paper will contribute to this part of my project as the paper explores the extend to which we may regard early apocalypticism simply as 'early Judaism' and the apocalyptic worldview as the default theological frame of thinking within Judaism in general throughout its formative period.

In my PhD project early apocalypticism is treated as a broad historical phenomenon that emerged within Judaism in the centuries around the turn of the era and as the phenomenon which has delivered to us the concepts of the end of the world and judgement day and the notions about the cosmic conflict between powerful and invisible spiritual forces. Among these fascinating notions which constitute the apocalyptic worldview are also the ideas which concern the human role and fate within this reality. As God's special creation the humans are fundamentally understood to be his grateful and obedient servants under his supreme authority, but also understood to exist simultaneously in the spiritual and in the non-spiritual realm and to be the objects of a contest between the spiritual forces of good and evil. The fundamental question that I want to ask in my project is: What are the demands and tasks and obligations within the apocalyptic worldview for the humans to fulfill their role as obedient servants in God's cosmos?

In order to examine apocalypticism, its worldview and its literary expressions as a broader phenomenon the project will look in a synchronic fashion at selected texts from the whole period from the 3rd century BCE to the 1st century CE. This includes texts from among the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha as well as the canonical Book of Daniel, but also texts from the larger collection of Jewish-like writings which are, literarily, perhaps the most extensive example from this period of an apocalyptic worldview, the New Testament. A more narrow focus for the project's examination of the main question about the demands of human obedience in apocalyptic literature is the various texts that can be grouped loosely into the Testament genre. These texts are very much concerned with autority in various ways as they typically include strong exhortations aimed (indirectly) at the receivers of the text while also upholding and painting an apocalyptic worldview. Part of the examination of the question with regards to the texts from the Testament genre will consist in regarding those texts within the broader context of the apocalyptic literature of early Judaism.

The dissertation will consist of two main parts. The first main part is a broader discussion about apocalypticism as a religious and as a literary phenomenon and the various discourses on the subject within modern scholarship. This main part will also discuss authority and obedience as theological concepts and the concept of authority more generally as it is appropriated in various ways by the writers of the apocalyptic literature. The second main part of the dissertation is the examination of the sources. They will be systematically investigated for all the instances where they mention or otherwise express the notion that there are certain obligations or demands to fulfill for the humans in order to be obedient towards God. The two basic questions for all these

instances are: What are the concrete demands? And how does the author go about to communicate these demands?

The project and its investigation in its whole aim to answer such questions about the apocalyptic literature as: What are the concrete demands of humans for obedience to God? How are these demands conveyed through the texts? How are the demand for obedience staged or framed in relation to the concept of authority? How much focus is there in general on the demand for obedience to God in this literature, and are there certain contexts that enhances that focus? To what degree are humans even expected to be able to live up to the demands? How does the motif of obedience in this literature differ from the same motif in the canonical prophetic litarature or the wisdom literature? In other words, what is it that is demanded from the intended audience in this literature and what is at stake in the apocalyptic frame of thinking?

From sacrifice to plunder: Animals and associated humans in the warfare of 1 Samuel

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Introduction

1 Samuel is (amongst other things) a book about power. It narrates the power struggle between Saul and David: the hasty ascension and inopportune fall of the former in tandem with the heroic rise of the latter.[1] This power struggle has a social dimension, as both men lead troops in warfare, asserting their group's authority over rivals. As we have seen elsewhere, these inter-human dynamics are entangled with an inter-species dynamic, as animals[2] are exploited within the power play. This chapter will trace this complex web of power, analysing the intersecting power dynamics between Saul and David, between groups of people, between humans and nonhumans. Like in other chapters, I will focus on the animals who pervade the text, yet have typically been ignored by scholarship.

This chapter has two main aims. First, I will show how contrasting practices of animal exploitation – namely sacrifice and plunder – are integral to the shifting power dynamics between Saul and David. Saul's early reign is framed and punctuated by sacrifices: during his battles with the Ammonites (11:14-15), Philistines (13:9, 14:31-35), and Amalekites (15:15, 21). As is well known, it is unlawful sacrifices that cause his rejection as king (13:13-14; 15:22-23). David, by contrast, plunders livestock: while at Keilah (23:5), Ziklag (27:9), and the Amalekite camp (30:20). Rather than killing animals in service of Yahweh, he takes them for personal gain, solidifying his power base.

Second, I will analyse how certain humans become victims of these same practices. Sacrifice and plunder provide performative apparatuses that can be applied to different groups of disenfranchised others. Thus, in climactic scenes detailing battles with the Amalekites, Saul's rejection is marked by the sacrifice of a foreign king (15:32-33), and David's rise to power culminates with the plunder of women and children (30:2-3, 18-19). In this way, the species differential becomes intertwined with differentials of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, gender, and age.

The chapter will follow the literary trajectory of the text, examining Saul's sacrifices of animals (§1a) and of the foreign king (§1b), before turning to David's plunder of animals (§2a) and of women and children (§2b). We will see the integral place of animals within the social

[1] 1 Samuel 16 – 2 Samuel 5 is often known as the "History of David's Rise" (seminally Rost, 1926; see overview of scholarship in Dietrich, 2007: 240-250), sometimes considered to be an apologetic document written to vindicate David's reign (seminally, Lemche, 1979; McCarter, 1980b; more extensively Halpern, 2001; McKenzie, 2000). Other scholars have instead considered the section as a history of Saul's demise (e.g., Exum, 1992: 16–44).

[2] I use the term "animal" to refer specifically to nonhuman animals. This term is, of course, problematic if claimed as a discrete category in opposition to "human" (for humans are also animals), but it is employed for lack of viable English alternatives.

matrix of the text, observing power dynamics that are at once intersectional and interspecies. *[Note for OTSEM: §1a and §2a have been omitted for the sake of the wordcount]*

1. (Hum)animal sacrifice in the narratives of Saul's rise and rejection

1(a) Animal sacrifice in Saul's rise and rejection

This section analyses the animal sacrifices involved in the accounts of Saul's warfare: 11:12-15, 13:8-9, and 14:31-35. It has been omitted for the sake of the wordcount.

1(b) The climactic sacrifice: Species, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status in 1 Samuel 15

The climactic scene leading to Saul's demise also revolves around sacrifice. In 1 Samuel 15, Yahweh commands Saul to utterly destroy the Amalekites (15:1-3). Saul strikes Amalek, but spares their king and some livestock (15:4-10), taking the latter to Gilgal for sacrifice (15:15, 21). This proves a fatal error. Samuel condemns Saul for disobedience (15:19, 22-23) and completes the Amalekite massacre himself by conducting his own slaughter at Gilgal – of the foreign king, Agag (15:33). Like in previous chapters, sacrifice becomes a key battleground in the power-play between Saul and Samuel. But this chapter also depicts a more complex set of intersecting relationships. The power dynamics between humans and animals (which make sacrifice possible and permissible) are entangled with power dynamics, not only between king and prophet, but also between Israelites and Amalekites, and between elites and commoners.

In this section, I will show how these categories of species, ethnicity, and social status are mutually constructed. This construction means that some societal dividing lines are reified while others are dissolved. The foreign elite is divided off from other humans, but is drawn close to animals, such that his sacrifice becomes conceptually permissible.

The construction of categories

1 Samuel 15 constructs ethnic and species categories in a particular way. As products of the human mind, all categorisations are artificial constructions.[3] When we categorise, we select certain features from our vast overflow of sensory data and use these features to organise our

[3] This goes against older views of naturally occurring categories defined by necessary and sufficient conditions. Seminally, Lakoff 1987.

reality in ways we deem salient and meaningful (disregarding countless other possibilities). Categories that are socially useful become entrenched – and thus naturalised – in our collective consciousness. Species and ethnicity, for example, have proven helpful ways to organise the world, so we rarely question them. We imagine such categories to be stable and firmly bounded. Additionally, our categories are not neutral: we imbue them with value structures and social roles.

Species and ethnicity categories (with their attendant values and roles) are as constructed as any others. While taxonomies of species may seem to occur objectively in nature, biological categories are not in fact discrete, bounded, or stable; neither their boundaries nor their criteria for inclusion are clearly defined.[4] What's more, these scientific categories do not wholly correspond with the ways people actually classify their faunal worlds.[5] Diverse alternative schemata are employed within traditional ecological knowledges, whose epistemic (and political) significance is increasingly recognised.[6] Ancient Israelites used various classification systems.[7] 1 Samuel 15 focalises classes of domestic animal. God merismatically commands the destruction of four animal types, each with a distinctive role in Levantine society (15:3): the head of cattle (שׁוֹר), sheep/goat (שֶׂה), camel (גָּמָל), and donkey (חֲמוֹר), used for their ploughing, dairying, transport, and haulage respectively.[8] Note already the mismatch with our classifications: sheep and goats are encompassed by a single term while we require two. Similarly, the "head of cattle" refers to bovines which we commonly separate into ox (e.g., Deut 22:10) and cow (e.g., Exod 34:19). When Saul spares the animals, new terminology is used (15:9, 14, 15, 21): flocks (צאן) and herds (בָּקָר). The shift means that, linguistically speaking, Saul does not straightforwardly disobey God.[9] Further, his focus is cultic rather than economic, for flocks and herds (but not camels or donkeys) could be sacrificed.

If species categories are constructed, so are ethnic categories.[10] 1 Samuel is concerned to negotiate Israelite ethnicity, an anxiety perhaps attested here by the repeated mentions of "Israel" (15:1, 2, 6, 17, 26, 27, 29, 30, 35). The book narrates the fractious shift from tribal confederacy to unified nation, in which inner-ethnic tensions emerge, especially between the pro-Saulide northern tribes and the pro-Davidide southerners. The events of 1 Samuel 15 are led by Saul but take place in the south,[11] implicating both groups. Thus, Saul musters 200,000 foot-soldiers (15:4) – whose (northern) Israelite ethnicity is presumably so obvious as to forego

[4] Lakoff, 1987: 185–195.
[5] Atran, 1993.
[6] Berkes, 1999; Inglis, 1993.
[7] For examples, see Whitekettle, 2001, 2002.
[8] See Borowski, 1998 for the roles of these and other species. These animals correspond to those in the account of the Amalekite attack in Judg 6:4-5 (cf. also 1 Sam 22:17-19).
[9] So Gilmour, 2022: 93.
[10] Rainey, 2018: 21–24 analyses how the psychological principles and practices of category formation apply to ethnic groups. The constructed nature of ethnicity is increasingly stressed in scholarship; see overview in Miller, 2008: esp. 172-174.
[11] Most scholars agree on a southern location based on the accepted territory of the Amalekites (associated with Edom; Gen 36:15-16), and on the place names in the story: Telaim/Telem (1 Sam 15:4; cf. Josh 15:24); Havilah and Shur (1 Sam 15:7; cf. Gen 25:18); and Egypt (1 Sam 15:7). Edelman (1986), though, argues for a northern location.

specification (cf. 13:2, 6; 14:22, 24) – and 12,000 "men of Judah" – whose separate tribal affiliation causes unease around their inclusion in the ethnic group, and whose smaller numbers reduce their potential power of dissent (15:4). Solidifying these groups' communal identity is part of the task of ethnicity construction that Samuel undertakes.

In contrast with "Israel" is "Amalek". Again, this is not a stable or bounded category. Indeed, there are Kenites[12] in "the midst of the Amalekite" (תוך עמלקי; 15:6), whose presence is noted by neither Samuel nor Yahweh; the groups are treated as functional equivalents based on territorial affiliation. Furthermore, though this story assumes complete annihilation of the Amalekites (15:7-9, 15, 20), subsequent chapters attest their ongoing presence (1 Sam 27:8; 30:1-20; 2 Sam 1:1-16; 8:12; cf. also 1 Sam 14:47-48).[13] The Amalekites of chapter 15 do not monopolise the Amalekite identity.

The criteria which define ethnic groupings are not obvious. Though biblical texts starkly separate Israelites from other south Levantine peoples, their material cultures and genetic heritage suggest deep commonalities.[14] Ethnic criteria are in flux over space and time, never reducible to a necessary and sufficient set. Ethnicity is dynamic and malleable, only ever adjudicated in the context of intramural and extramural social negotiations.

One prominent strategy of ethnic self-definition is communal myth-making. Shared history, ancestry, and territorial origins are recursively narrated so as to be canonised within the group's collective consciousness.[15] Foundational for Israelite identity was the memory of the Exodus. In 1 Samuel 15, the weight of this narrative is brought to bear in Samuel's truncated citation of "what Amalek did to Israel in opposing[16] him on the way when he came up from Egypt" (15:2).[17] Such historic animosity can be powerful for present identity,[18] even if (as is likely within the compositional context here[19]), the enemy nation has ceased to be a real threat. Ethnicity emerges particularly through discourse and practices at the boundaries: how to distinguish "us" from "them"?[20] Establishing and maintaining these boundaries becomes a

[12] The Kenites were a Midianite people, whose presence amongst the Amalekites might be attested by Judg 1:16 (based on an emendation of העם to העמלקי; so LXX, Vulg; Gordon, 1986: 143). They may be favourably viewed for their association with Jethro, Moses' father-in-law (Judg 1:16; 4:11) and Jael, slayor of Sisera (Judges 4-5). David will later give them a gift of spoil from Amalek (1 Sam 30:29). Fensham (1964) proposes that a covenantal relationship existed between the Kenites and Israelites.

[13] Several scholars argue that the author of 1 Sam 15 knew these other Amalekite traditions when they were composing their work (Auld, 2012; Campbell, 2003: 153; Dietrich, 2007: 217; Kugler, 2021: 11).

[14] See the scholars surveyed in Miller, 2008: 186–189.

[15] See Bloch-Smith, 2003: 403; Miller, 2008: 175; Rainey, 2018: 4–5.

[16] The Hebrew here is שׂם, which usually means "put". The existence of a specialised usage of this term for military opposition is suggested by 1 Kgs 20:12.

[17] This event is narrated more fully in Exod 17:8-16 and Deut 25:17-19. The direction of dependency between these texts is disputed. Arguing for the priority of 1 Sam 15 are Gilmour, 2022: 94; Kugler, 2021; Stern, 2020: 165. Arguing for the priority of the Pentateuchal references are Edelman, 1986: 74–75; Vang, 2020; Yonick, 1971: 41.

[18] Kugler, 2021: 13–14.

[19] The compositional context of this passage is disputed. Several scholars believe that the basic form of the text is monarchic (Bettenzoli, 1986: 236), perhaps part of the "prophetic record" (Campbell, 2003: 157–158; Hutton, 2009: 369; McCarter, 1980a: 18–21). Others date it later, either to the exilic period (e.g., as part of DtrP; Veijola, 1977: 102) or post-exile (Yonick, 1971: 50). Complicating matters, most of these scholars recognise that the chapter may have undergone several layers of redaction before reaching its present form.

[20] Seminally, Barth, 1998; followed by Brett, 1996: 13; Miller, 2008: 172–173; Sadler, 2005: 9.

strategy to secure and solidify the in-group. In 1 Samuel 15, hatred of the Amalekites binds insiders with shared affect against detested outsiders.[21] Both ethnicities (though constructions) are reified and ontologised, now the prime determinants of life and death.

Categories of species and ethnicity are not only constructed; they are co-constructed.[22] The Israelites are referred to as "the people" (עם; 15:1, 4, 8, 9, 15, 21, 24, 30). This restricts Israelite ethnicity to the human community and human community to the Israelite ethnicity. Furthermore, "the people" does not encompass all Israelite humans (excluding animals), but only soldiers (excluding diverse others). This terminological specification betrays ideological assumptions with political ramifications. True inclusion in the group is restricted to able-bodied males of fighting age, i.e., those who wield societal power. To borrow from the theorist Sylvia Wynter, one specific genre of human "overrepresents itself as though it were the human itself".[23] Other demographics, such as women and children, are left out, not truly "the people". It is little surprise that elsewhere they are conceptually and physically placed alongside nonhuman animals and taken as the booty from war (see §2b below).

If true Israelite ethnicity is restrictive, Amalekite ethnicity is expansive. Ethnicity becomes a super-ordinate categorisation, over and above gender, age, and even species, encompassing merisms "from man to woman, from babe to suckling, from ox to sheep, from camel to donkey" (15:3). In contemporary Western discourse, domestic animals are not usually ascribed ethnic status. However, other discourses may configure and negotiate the intersection of species and ethnicity in different ways. In Levantine society, domestic animals may have been "ethnicised" by their place within kinship structures. They were cohabitants of Levantine houses and co-labourers within households, their statuses akin to those of servants, women, or children.[24] 1 Samuel 15 creates a totalised ethnic category, in which internal groupings seep together, and previously existing differentials of function and value begin to blur. All recede towards the "lowest common denominator", with Amalekite men conceptualised as equivalent to their women, children, and animals. This totalised and value-laden conceptualisation grounds the command of *herem* (חרם), total destruction (1 Sam 15:3).

Saul accepts "Amalekite" as a cross-species category, but constructs a new internal dividing line. He distinguishes between the "good" (טוב) and the "despised"/ "rejected" (מאס/בזה; 15:9),[25] intending to spare the former. The "good" encompasses "Agag and the best of the flocks and herds and fattened animals and rams". This categorisation cuts across species

[21] Hatred of outsiders remains powerful into later tradition. The epitome of anti-Jewish sentiment, Haman, is connected to the Amalekite king, described as an "Agagite" (e.g. Est 3:1)

[22] Cf. Kim, 2015: esp. 15-16, who discusses the co-constructedness of race and species categories in the contemporary world.

[23] Wynter, 2003: 260.

[24] On non-human animals as kin, see Millar, 2022: 16–19.

[25] Scholars almost universally accept these meanings, though the MT is difficult. The forms are נִמְבְּזָה and נָמֵס, both of which I interpret as niphal participles. The expected morphology of the former would be נִבְזָה. The additional mem might be explained by the scribe accidentally starting to write נָמֵס (so Driver, 1913: 124) or as an inserted glide to ease pronunciation (so Tsumura, 1999: 408). The expected form of the latter would be נִמְאֶסֶת. The aleph has apparently quiesced and the grammatical gender changed to masculine (see Driver, 1913: 124; McCarter, 1980a: 262).

boundaries and is inflected with social class, for the "best" are those humans and livestock who exist in wealth and prosperity – human kings and fattened beasts.

The new categorisation may also relate to Saul's interpretation of *herem*. On the one hand, *herem* totalises ethnic categories, commanding complete destruction. But on the other, it does not always require indiscriminate treatment of enemies. The king is sometimes given special attention (Josh 10:28, 36-43; 11:10-18). When Saul takes Agag alive (חי תפש; 1 Sam 15:8), he follows the precedent of Joshua, who takes alive the king of Ai (חי תפש; Josh 8:23). In *herem*, domestic animals are sometimes slain (Deut 13:15; 20:16-17; Josh 6:21), sometimes taken (Deut 2:35; 3:7; 8:27; Josh 11:4). Though the explicit command is to kill the livestock here (1 Sam 15:3b), Saul may consider sacrifice a legitimate mode of fulfilment (15:13, 15).[26]

Indeed, *herem* may be closely related to sacrifice,[27] the burnable bodies of animals and abhorrent bodies of foreigners colliding in a shared zone of destruction. This does not exhaust its possible meanings,[28] but it is a prominent implication in many texts: when a first-born animal is *herem*, its fat is burned on the altar (Num 18:14-17); when an idolatrous city is *herem*, its spoil is a whole burnt offering (כליל; Deut 13:16-17); when God makes the nations *herem*, he gives them for slaughter, a great sacrifice in Bozrah (Isa 34:2, 6). Saul may thus be genuine in his belief that he has "upheld the word of Yahweh" (1 Sam 15:13) by retaining sacrificial beasts.[29] His planned post-battle sacrifice may provide a ritualised animal enactment of the Amalekite slaughter, the bodies of men, women, and children transposed onto the bodies of sheep and oxen. The ethnic line is reified, the species line dissolved.

Categories of species and ethnicity, then, are interdependent socio-cultural constructions. In 1 Samuel 15, Israelite ethnicity is restricted to an idealised set (male, able-bodied humans), while Amalekite ethnicity encompasses diverse humans and domestic animals. This totalising category is useful to ground the wholesale command of destruction, and permits an internal differentiation cutting across species lines. As we will see, it also permits a slippage between human and animal, directing the fate of the Amalekite king.

Animalising Agag

When Saul captures the Amalekite king, his intentions are not clear. Samuel, though, is decisive: he puts Agag to death. He frames this in judicial terms, invoking the principle of *lex*

[26] So Milgrom, 2001: 2419–2421. Scholars disagree about whether Saul genuinely intends to sacrifice the animals (so Gilmour, 2022: 93–94; Gunn, 1980: 71) or not (so Gordon, 1986: 57; Sternberg, 1985: 506–511).

[27] See Gangloff, 2004: 18–19; Janzen, 2004: 164–176; Niditch, 1995: 28–55; Tatlock, 2006: 166–174; Wiley, 2005. For counterarguments, see Nelson, 1997: 48; Stern, 2020: 173–174.

[28] There is some dispute about the meaning(s) of *herem*, though most translate as "devote to destruction" or similar. Its meaning is often differentiated into *herem* in wartime (as here) and *herem* in peacetime (e.g., Lev 27:28; Ezek 44:28). These are roughly equivalent to mandatory and voluntary *herem* (Park, 2007: 7–52), verbal and noun forms (Versluis, 2016), and D and P sources (Stern, 2020, e.g. 125-126). Niditch (1995) separates *herem* into models of sacrifice, justice, and purification. However, it is unlikely that they can be separate so neatly; rather, there is overlap in conceptualisation (Wiley, 2005: 70).

[29] Monroe (2007) argues that the cultic ceremony is an essential part of the ritualised schema of *herem*, as attested in biblical texts, the Mesha stele, and Sabean inscription RES 3945. The imagery of the post-war victory feast is embedded in post-exilic biblical prophecy (see Niditch, 1995: 37–40).

talionis (15:33). However, as discussed below, this is more than a straightforward execution; it is akin to animal sacrifice. Indeed, the scene takes place at the cultic site of Gilgal, and the slaughter is enacted "before Yahweh" (לפני יהוה). This connects it to the series of fateful sacrifices which have shaped Saul's reign (11:15; 13:8-14; 14:32-35; see above). Though several scholars have recognised Agag's execution as animal sacrifice,[30] few have explored the implications of this. Below, I will suggest that it reveals the interdependence of animality, ethnicity, and social class. Agag's status as foreign king causes his animalisation, shapes its contours, and scripts its communicative message. Furthermore, the act's sacrificial nature is instrumental in smoothing the transition of power away from Saul.

Animalising foreign rulers was a known post-war practice in ancient West Asia. Inscriptional and pictorial records (especially from Neo-Assyria) attest to the widespread practice of mutilating enemy elites after the battle,[31] violently removing their skin, eyes, hands, feet, phalluses, and heads.[32] While the public display of severed heads served to identify the victims,[33] other modes of bodily disarticulation rendered them unidentifiable. When Samuel "hacks to pieces" Agag's body,[34] Agag is reduced to flesh, and may no longer be recognisable as an individual, an elite, or even a human. To borrow Micah's words, he is "chopped up like meat in a pot, like flesh in a cauldron" (Mic 3:3).

More explicit modes of animalisation also occur.[35] The accustomed techniques of animal treatment provide a performative apparatus to apply to the king. Sometimes in ancient West Asian post-battle depictions, kings are treated like live animals, controlled by yokes or nose ropes,[36] dressed in animal skins,[37] or tied up alongside bears, dogs, and pigs.[38] Other times, they are slaughtered like animals. Ashurbanipal, for example, describes the treatment of Danānu and his associates.[39] Dunānu's deputy is flayed. This was apparently a widespread

[30] So Auld, 2012: 179; Meyer, 2018: 78; Milgrom, 2001: 2420; Tatlock, 2011: 42, 2020: 307; Yonick, 1971: 47. For counterarguments, see Stern, 2020: 175.
[31] Bagg, 2016; Minunno, 2008; for biblical mutilations, see Lemon, 2014; Lemos, 2006; Niditch, 2014; Olyan, 2016.
[32] In the books of Samuel: Goliath, Saul, Ish-bosheth, and Sheba lose their heads (1 Sam 17:51; 31:8-13; 2 Sam 4:5-12; 20:21-2); the Israelites their eyes and beards (1 Sam 11:2; 2 Sam 10:4-5); the Philistines their foreskins (1 Sam 18:25-27); and Rechab and Baanah their hands and feet (2 Sam 4:5-12).
[33] Minunno, 2008: 248; Olyan, 2016: 127.
[34] The meaning of this phrase, וישסף, is poorly understood. Elsewhere I have argued that it may have connotations of disarticulation and sacrifice; see further below.
[35] See Dolce, 2014: 245–247; Pongratz-Leisten, 2001: 207–209; Rainey, 2018: 54–95.
[36] See inscriptions from Sargon of Akkad (Dolce, 2014: 247, n.39); Tiglath-Pileser I (RIMA 2, A.0.87.2.25-27, cited in Dolce, 2014: 248); and Sennacherib (Pongratz-Leisten, 2001: 196). See also iconographic depictions from the Akkadian Empire or Isin-Larsa period (Dolce, 2014: 265); Sargon II (Botta and Flandin, 1849: pl.118; reproduced in Bagg, 2016: 66); and Esarhaddon (Börker-Klähn, 1982 , no.219; reproduced in Bagg, 2016: 66).
[37] Sargon the Great boasts of dressing up the prince of Tukriš in an animal skin (Pongratz-Leisten, 2001: 154–155)
[38] See inscriptions from Esarhaddon (RINAP 4:18,1, iii.41-42, cited in Trimm, 2017: 357); and Assurbanipal (RINAP 5, nr.11, viii.10-14, 25-29, cited in Trimm, 2017: 359; RINAP 5, nr.11, ix.103-114).
[39] RINAP 5 Nr.3, vi. 71-78 (p.73) = Nr.4, vi.77-86 (p.95) = Nr.6, vii.29'-38' = Nr.7, vvi.21-30 =Nr.8, vii.54'-12''.

practice,[40] which may be copied from the treatment of animal carcasses.[41] One text makes the animal connection explicit: "I stripped off [Šama'gamni's] skin like the skin of a sheep".[42] Dunānu's brothers have their flesh chopped up and sent throughout the lands, just as Saul chops and distributes oxen as a message to Israel (1 Sam 11:7-8; cf. Judg 11:29). Dunānu himself is "laid on a slaughtering block and slaughtered like a lamb".[43] This is not just a simile, but utilises the realia and techniques of actual ovine slaughter.

As we have seen, Agag is categorised alongside domestic animals as their functional equivalent (15:9). The parallelism suggests the conceptual correspondence of Agag with "the fat ones" (השמנים)[44] and the well-fed rams (הכרים),[45] fatty animals being particularly significant in a sacrificial context (15:22, cf. 2 Sam 6:13; 1 Kgs 1:9, 19, 25; 4:23). The suggestion of animal fatness may be present in the poorly-understood term מעדנת, which describes Agag's movements towards Samuel. Elsewhere, I have argued that it is best translated "well-fatted" or "luxuriant", tapping into the common semantic field of the root עדן.[46] The masculine form מעדנים refers to delicacies eaten by elites (Lam 4:5) and is connected to the fattiness of the king's food (Gen 49:20). The verbal form עדן (hithpael) is collated with the verb "to become fat" (וישמינו ויתעדנו; Neh 9:25), and the related noun עדנים parallels "fatness" (דשן; Ps 36:9[8]). The foreigner is enlarged and animalised as he walks "well-fatted" to the prophet.[47] We might also observe a structural and thematic parallel with 1 Samuel 28. In both chapters, Samuel pronounces Saul's rejection based on his sin at Amalek (15:17-19, 22-29; 28:24), and both chapters end with a slaughter, Agag paralleling the stall-fed calf (עגל מרבק; 28:24) whose life has been a pampered pre-cursor to its inevitable sacrifice.

Fattened animal bodies are the "best" (מיטב; 15:9) of their kind for their sacrificial potential and as signifiers of wealth. But transposing this value judgment onto fattened human bodies is problematic. Agag's classification amongst the "best" seems ironic, given his imminent execution. Indeed, his fattening may make subtle judgment on the self-indulgence

[40] See examples of textual inscriptions from Ashur-Dan II (RIMA 2, 98.1, 39-41 [pp.133f]); Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, 101.1,I, 89-92. 93. 110 [pp.199, 201]); Sennacherib (RINAP 3/1 Nr. 17, iv, 82-86 [p.136]); and Ashurbanipal (RINAP 5 Nr. 17, iv, 82-86 [= Nr.7, ii.44''-49'' = Nr.11, i.134b-ii.4]; Nr.8, x 1'-2'a [= Nr.7, ix. 1'12']; Nr. 11, x.1-5). See also images from Sargon II (Botta and Flandin, pl.120), Sennacherib (BM124908, 124909) and Ashurbanipal (BM124802a).

[41] De Backer, 2009: 28.

[42] A text from Ninurta-kudurra-usur, governor of Suhu (RIMB 2:296-297)

[43] The imagery of slaughtering people like lambs is also attested in inscriptions from Ashur-Nirari V (Lemos, 2006: 237), Sennacherib (Bleibtreu, 1991: 60), and Ashurbanipal (RINAP 5 Nr. 9, ii.75-iii.5 [= Nr.11, iii.50-69]).

[44] The MT here has והמשנים, presumably from משנה "double, second", but this makes little sense. I accept the emendation to השמנים "the fat ones", attested by some Hebrew mss and Syr/Targ. The mistake could easily have arisen through metathesis of מ and ש (Driver, 1913: 124; Tsumura, 1999: 407).

[45] Whenever this term is used elsewhere for an animal, it is in an elite context (2 Kgs 3:4; Jer 51:40; Ezek 27:21; Am 6:4) and/or is explicitly connected with fatness (חלב Dt 32:14; דשן חלב Isa 34:6; מריאים Ezek 39:18). Welton (2020: 163) translates the term as "well fed lambs".

[46] The alternatives are to assume corruption here, either from an otherwise unattested lexeme מעדנית "totteringly" or from a derivation of ענד "to bind", hence "chains" (cf. Job 38:31). See further Millar [article in progress].

[47] Fatness, foreignness, and animality are commonly connected. See Luciano and Chen's (2015: 184) reflections on a photograph by Laura Aguilar, in which the artist's "fat, brown, queer" body "enters the very nonhuman fold where some would place her, effectively displacing the centrality of the human itself".

of elite lifestyles. Samuel has already warned of "the king like the nations" who will satisfy himself at the expense of the poor, with a surfeit of "perfumers, cooks, and bakers" (1 Sam 8:13). Equally, Eli's condemned sons fatten themselves on the choice parts of the offering (1 Sam 2:29), and the wicked Nabal holds the feast of a king (25:36) – in contrast to the heroism of the fasting soldier (1 Sam 14:24; 2 Sam 11:11; 23:13-17). Agag's fattening also taps into the xenophobic trope of the foreigner with an aberrant body, like the overlarge Goliath (1 Sam 17:4). We might also compare Moabite king Eglon (Judges 3:12-23), who is animalised by his very name (which relates to the Hebrew word for "calf"; עגל), is depicted as "very fat" (using a word usually reserved for fattened animals; בריא), and suffers an ejection of "dung" at his death (with terminology for animal excrement; פרשדנה[48]).

Agag's body and slaughter may communicate a grotesque dehumanisation, invoking feelings of distaste and disgust. And these feelings may reverberate beyond his physical body to his social body. The king is the representative and highest epitome of the nation; if even he is animalised, how much more the average Amalekite man, woman, or child? If he – who should be master and shepherd – has been subdued and domesticated, how much more they? Dehumanisation is a powerful technique of Othering, commonly used against foreigners[49] and in service of colonial conquest.[50] The habitual treatment of and discourse around nonhuman species creates a category – "animal" – whose members are considered less worthy of moral concern.[51] This category is reified, yet has porous boundaries, such that humans can be caught within its scope, conceptualised and treated as beasts. Wielding the category against humans delegitimises them as objects of moral concern, justifies their harmful treatment, and reduces the probability of empathy. It provides not just conceptual tools, but physical practices to subdue the animalised.[52] One such practice is sacrifice.

As noted above, animal sacrifice was normative in ancient West Asia. Where human sacrifice also occurred, it was typically in the same manner and archaeological contexts,[53] suggesting it borrowed from the better-established practice. The rituals seem conceptual equivalents, different in degree but not in kind,[54] blurring the ontological divide between "human" and "animal";[55] thus Micah parallels the sacrifice of calves, rams, and firstborn sons (Mic 6:6-7). Though condemned by several biblical texts (e.g. Lev 18:21), human sacrifice may

[48] This Hebrew term is a hapax which can be interpreted in various ways. With many commentators, I take it as equivalent to פרש, "dung" (Exod 29:14; Lev 4:11, 8:17, 16:27; Num 19:5; Mal 2:3).
[49] See Boisseron, 2018; Jackson, 2020; Kim, 2015.
[50] See discussions of postcolonial theorists in Curry, 2019: 46–48.
[51] Wolfe, 2003: 7–8.
[52] Spiegel, 1988.
[53] Recht, 2019. For human sacrifice in ancient West Asia and other cultures, see Carrasco, 2013; Newton, 1996; Recht, 2019.
[54] Recht (2019: 79) concludes that "Conceptually, [human sacrifice] does not differ significantly from animal sacrifice, other than humans possibly being perceived as of higher value".
[55] Of course, this line is already blurred by sacrifice if we assume that the animal victim somehow acts as a substitute for the human (e.g., Klawans, 2001: 140–149; McClymond, 2011: 327–328; Porter et al., 2012: 5–6). Stone (2016) discusses the blurring of this line in relation to the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter (Judges 11)

sometimes have been considered a legitimate Yahwistic ritual (Exod 22:28).[56] Agag is thus taken to the sacrificial site of Gilgal and killed "before Yahweh" (cf. 11:15; 13:8-14). The lexeme to describe the slaughter – ויְשַׁסֵּף – is a hapax. It is likely a variant from the root שׁסע,[57] which elsewhere refers to tearing up animals (Judg 14:6), sometimes in a sacrificial context (Lev 1:17).[58]

The broader literary context – in which the pivotal moments of Saul's reign have been marked by sacrifice – primes readers to recognise sacrifice here. Likewise, chapter 15 establishes the expectation that sacrifice will occur (15:15, 21). Yet Samuel's actions are striking: he denounces Saul's attempted livestock sacrifice, whilst sacrificing Agag himself. What accounts for this inconsistency?[59] Perhaps the difference in practitioner: Samuel was given no commands by God; thus his sacrifice is not disobedient. Or perhaps the difference in victim: while animal sacrifice might lead to the communal distribution of meat,[60] human sacrifice ensures complete devotion to the deity. Furthermore, the foreign king has a unique role in representing the nation. His total destruction may amount to theirs, symbolising and enacting the fulfilment of *herem*.



Fig. 1. A stela from Memphis from the reign of Tuthmosis IV. The king slays a Libyan enemy before Ptah. Image from Petrie, 1909: pl.7. Discussion in Schulman, 1988: 10–12.

Agag's sacrifice corresponds to ritual post-war practice attested elsewhere. Ashurbanipal depicts himself cutting off the head of the king of Elam, giving it as an offering, libating wine over it, and presenting sacrifices alongside it.[61] A well-established Egyptian motif (see fig. 1; also attested in an ivory from Samaria) shows the victorious king slaying his foreign counterpart before a god, which has

[56] See Levenson, 1993; Tatlock, 2006. Tatlock distinguishes between the sacrifice of insiders (Israelite children) and outsiders (foreigners), arguing that from the exilic period, the former practice receded and the latter gained prominence (e.g., 164-165).

[57] Most scholars follow this interpretation. An alternative is to take the form as an incorrectly vocalised residual shafel from סוף "bring to an end" (e.g., Thierry, 1963: 88).

[58] This sense of dismemberment for sacrifice is attested in the versions. LXX has the σφάζω, which usually translates שׁחט" to slaughter" (an animal), and sometimes זבח "to sacrifice". Targ uses פּשׁח, "to break, tear" (Sokoloff, 2002) and similarly Pesh has *pšḥ* "to tear, rend asunder" (Payne Smith, 1903), which is particularly used of dismembering animals (Pesh Judg 14:6; 1 Sam 11:7), including for sacrifice (Pesh Ex 29:17; 1 Kgs 18:23, 33). Vulg has *in frusta concidit* "cut in pieces", a phrase usually referring to preparing an animal for sacrifice (Vulg Exod 29:17; Lev 1:6, 8:20, 9:13).

[59] The apparent inconsistency here may not in fact be a problem, but fits with this chapter's depiction of the deity. Yahweh does not change his mind (15:29), but changes his mind about Saul's kingship (15:11, 25) (see Johnson, 2019). He does not delight in sacrifice (15:22), but is appeased by the sacrifice of Agag (15:33).

[60] Niditch (2014: 193–194) speculates about Saul's motives in retaining animals for sacrifice: "Why not use captured animals for food protein and to enhance his own status, for power derives from the capacity to provide and distribute meat".

[61] These events are repeated in Ashurbanipal's Prism B (see May, 2022: 473), in the epigraphs to tablets (see May, 2022: 473), and in the carved reliefs of Ashurbanipal's North Palace (see May, 2022: 483–484; Nadali, 2013: 89).

been interpreted as representing the actual "ceremonial sacrifice" that customarily took place after battle.[62]

If we understand Agag's death as a sacrifice, we can better understand its symbolic power within the literary trajectory of Saul's rise and fall (as detailed above). Cross-culturally, human sacrifice may replace or supplement animal sacrifice in moments of crisis and extreme circumstance.[63] Exceptional measures are needed to avert impending harm or recover from chaos. Here, as the deity (15:33), elders (15:30), and people look on, social and cosmic order might be reconfigured, the powerful affect of the performance enhanced by its human victim.[64] The indecipherable sounds of sheep and oxen (15:14) become the pathos-filled words of a man (15:32b). The alien flesh of livestock becomes the all-too-familiar body of a human victim, in whom the audience can see themselves and by whom they are reminded of their own animality. As explained above, overseeing sacrifice can assert one's authority and smooth transitions of power. By 1 Samuel 15, the people may be ripe for a reconfiguration in leadership. Saul "fears" (15:24) the people and is anxious that Samuel "honours" him before them (15:30). Samuel does not, rather proclaiming his own power. He will soon use this authority to sanction David's leadership – a shift effected once more through sacrifice (16:2-3).

Agag's animalisation has thus delegitimised the foreign king as an object of moral concern, and provided a performative script for his slaughter: sacrifice. This script plays within the larger drama of Saul's rise and fall, culminating a series of sacrifices as the final climactic slaughter to pronounce Saul's impending fate.

2. (Hum)animal plunder in the narratives of David's rise

2(a) Animal plunder in David's rise

This section analyses the plunder of animals in the accounts of David's warfare, focussing on 23:5 and 27:9 in their literary contexts. It has been omitted for the sake of the wordcount.

[62] Schulman 1988: 41–49; cf. Recht, 2019: 173. For the Samarian ivory, see Keel and Uehlinger 2010: 298–299.
[63] Bremmer, 2007: 6.
[64] Carrasco, 2013.

2(b) The climactic plunder: Species, gender, and age in 1 Samuel 30

The final account of plunder occurs in 1 Samuel 30. The Amalekites raid several localities, including David's city of Ziklag, taking the inhabitants captive (30:1-2). David and his men chase down the raiders (30:9-17) and take the extensive spoil for themselves and for their allies (30:18-30). 1 Samuel 30 has striking connections with 1 Samuel 15, examined above.[65] In both chapters, the king almost exterminates the Amalekites: Saul sparing Agag (15:9), David letting 400 men escape (30:17). Both chapters focalise the taking of livestock: Saul for sacrifice (15:15, 21), David for personal gain (30:20). And in both, a practice previously reserved for animals is inflicted on humans: there the foreign king was sacrificed; here women and children are plundered. Despite these similarities, the assessments of the monarchs are opposed: Saul is condemned and rejected, while David is celebrated and promoted.[66]

This section will consider this final story of plunder, analysing how the power dynamics established by species intersect with those of gender and age. It will follow the logical progression of the practice: livestock and humans are plundered and driven away, before being distributed, forced to labour, and perhaps killed. It will further show how this (hum)animal plunder contributes to David's rise to power.

Plundered and driven away

In ancient West Asian warfare, plunder did not just comprise material goods and livestock – it included humans (especially women and children).[67] This is evidenced linguistically, textually, and pictorially. The referential scope of terms for "spoil" (such as Akkadian *šalālu* and its cognate Hebrew שׁלל) encompasses the non-sentient and sentient, the non-human and human.[68] Equally, the plunder lists which memorialise and celebrate kings' victories place these different plunder types together, as though conceptually equivalent.[69] Thus, Assyrian king Sennacherib boasts of his conquest of Judean cities: "I drove out (of them) 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, big and small cattle beyond counting, and considered (them) booty".[70] He furnished his South-West Palace with images of these campaigns, portraying captive humans, animals, and goods travelling together (fig. 2). Biblical texts paint a similar picture. Thus Deuteronomy 20:14 commands that "the women

[65] For the literary connections between the chapters, see Bodner, 2009: 315; Edelman, 1991: 264–265; Firth, 2007: 75–78.
[66] Gunn (1980: 111) notes that "The arbitrary disparity in God's treatment of the two figures is nowhere made more manifest than here at the very culmination of the story".
[67] On women as plunder, see Clancier, 2015: 27–29; Rey, 2016: 47–48. On children as plunder, see Riley, 2018: e.g., 219, 381.
[68] Elgavish, 2002: 242.
[69] On Egyptian New Kingdom plunder lists, see el Magd, 2018.
[70] ANET, 288.

and the little ones, the livestock, and everything else in the city, all its spoil, you shall take as plunder for yourselves" (cf. Num 31:7-12).[71]



Fig. 2. Nineveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXVI, panels 8-9. After being conquered by Assyria, Judean people and livestock are deported from Lachish. British Museum, photographs by the author.

In 1 Samuel 30, not only animals (30:20) but women and children (30:1-6) are captured – or rather, taken as spoil. Their categorisation as plunder is evident in the fighters' suggestion that their compatriots receive nothing "from the spoil" (מהשלל) "except" (בי אם) their wives and sons (30:22). Equally, the spoil has been "rescued" (נצל; 30:22), an action typically performed on humans, creating a strange tension of a personalising verb and objectifying noun. Though the focus is on the families of David's men, the implicit scope of the spoil is probably broader. There may have been other inhabitants of Ziklag, also taken by the Amalekites. Perhaps there were men there who had not fought with David, because they were elderly, disabled, or non-Davidides.[72] Thus, the LXX refers to the Amalekites taking "everyone" (πάντα) in the city, "men and women" (ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα; 30:2).[73] The logic of the text further

[71] See further Person, 2014: 235–236. Other verses where humans are classes as "spoil" (שלל) include Judg 5:30; Isa 10:2; Zech 2:13.

[72] This depends partly on whether the previous inhabitants of Ziklag were killed/expelled from the city when it was given to David as a fiefdom, or whether they continued to dwell there. Klein (2008: 281) speculates, because these men are not mentioned among the booty, that they were killed in the Amalekite attack. However, this ignores the explicit note that the Amalekites "did not kill anyone" (לא המיתו איש; 30:2)

[73] Followed by McCarter, 1980a: 431.

suggests captives from other localities. The Amalekites have raided widely in "the Negeb of the Cherethites", "the Negeb of Caleb", "the land of the Philistines", and "the land of Judah" (30:14, 16).[74] In ancient West Asia, it was more common to take captives than to slaughter populations, such that David's adoption of the latter strategy requires special explanation (27:11). David discovers an Egyptian boy, slave to an Amalekite, probably taken in a raid of this kind (30:11-15).[75]

What's more, humans might also be included in the category of מקנה, "property/livestock" (30:20, MT).[76] Verse 19 delineates the content of the plunder which David recovers, specifically highlighting "sons and daughters" and expansively encompassing "all which [the Amalekites] had taken". This plunder seems the only plausible referent for the deictic particle in the subsequent phrase: "that property/livestock" (המקנה ההוא; v.20).[77] מקנה, from the root קנה "to buy", refers most basically to salable goods (thus Jacob can speak of the purchased field – מקנה השדה – bought from the Hittites [Gen 49:32]). Usually, though, it specifies livestock (many times). Here, the shared category of plundered goods allows for slippage in the term, permitting humans as well as animals. This is similar to the מקנה of Job, which includes thousands of domestic animals and a large human workforce (עבדה רבה; Job 1:3). In fact, it seems that animals may be *excluded* in 1 Samuel 30, for the מקנה is distinguished from "all the flocks and the herds", which are taken as David's personal property (30:20). Human prisoners of war, including sons and daughters, are conceptualised and treated like livestock, soon to be "driven" (נהג) to Ziklag (see further below).

The lumping together of different groups as spoil has its ideological basis in the social structures of ancient Levantine households and societies. The patriarch – the economically-solvent, native, adult male – may have agency and power in social, political, and legal realms, and thus is ascribed a base level of personhood. Others within his household – women, children, slaves, and livestock – diverge from this ideal, lack the mechanisms to exercise their agency, and thus may achieve personhood only partially, variably, and precariously.[78] As we saw above, in 1 Samuel 15, only soldiers were classed as "the people" (העם). Household relationships are marked by regimes of domination and subordination, which regulate the bodies and daily experiences of the non-patriarchal members.[79] These regimes, of course, do not negate the possibility of loving relationships,[80] and they are complex and internally differentiated: women are subordinate to their husbands but dominant over their children;

[74] On the identification of these places, see McCarter, 1980a: 435.
[75] So Bodner, 2009: 312.
[76] There is some textual uncertainty around MT here. Instead of MT's "that livestock" (המקנה ההוא), LXX has simply "spoils" (σκῦλον). The Vulgate (followed by Driver, 1913: 224; McCarter, 1980a: 432) lacks the phrase "that property" entirely. Some scholars emend the text such that "that livestock" refers back to the "flocks and herds" mentioned earlier in the verse (Alter, 1999: 187; Firth, 2020: 302; Hertzberg, 1964: 225).
[77] This is suggested, though not accepted, by McCarter, 1980a: 432. Those scholars who think it only refers to animals (e.g., Bodner, 2009: 313) ignore this deictic force.
[78] Lemos, 2018: e.g., 90; Thistlethwaite, 1993: 62.
[79] Lemos, 2018: *passim*.
[80] See Millar, 2022: 16–19.

slaves are subordinate to their masters but dominant over their livestock. Nonetheless, the co-subordination of these groups to the patriarch places them into a common zone of precarity. Domesticated beings (human and animal) are classed together in opposition to the patriarch[81] – or here, in opposition to the plundering soldier. The latter's total domination over subordinate bodies performs his hegemonic masculinity. In other warfare contexts, this domination is enacted through violence;[82] here it is tinged with the valour of "rescuing" (נצל) helpless subjects.[83]

This rescue, of course, amounts to the transfer of plundered people and animals from one master to another. The reciprocal nature of the encounter is indicated by the repetition of key terminology, connecting the Amalekites' plunder and David's reclamation: "drive and go" (וינהגו וילכו; 30:2, 22). The term "drive", נהג, is conventionally used for driving livestock (as in 30:20).[84] Here, it is used for women and children, serving to animalise them,[85] placing the conquering males in a position of total and physical domination over tamed subordinates, and suggesting a set of corporeal practices for controlled deportation. Neo-Assyrian war reliefs depict prisoners of war and captive livestock being driven together, sometimes in mutually supportive roles (e.g., children riding on beasts of burden; boys leading livestock; see fig 2. above).[86] Ironically, in 1 Samuel 30, while driving away human and animal spoil marks the Amalekites' victory, it also leads to their defeat. A large party of children and livestock cannot move fast (cf. Gen 33:12-14), permitting David to "overtake" and "rescue" (30:8).[87]

As they leave the Amalekite camp, David's men enact a curated display, in which certain plundered beings – flocks and herds – are driven before the rest (30:20).[88] The procession of plunder is a powerful performance. Roman victors were often escorted by slaves and captive animals in their triumphant re-entry to their cities.[89] Assyrians memorialised this practice in their palace reliefs, capturing something of its powerful visuality (though not its viscerality, nor its sounds and smells). Such performances instil the message of conquest in the captives, the soldiers, and any onlookers. They provide psychological closure from the battle, emphasise the extent of the victory, and display the power of the military leader. In 1 Samuel 30, the narrative explains the semiotics of the procession through a pithy performed speech: "this is David's spoil" (זה שלל דוד; 30:20). The ceding of animal bodies to David symbolises the people's restored confidence in him after his earlier crisis of leadership (30:6).[90] By accepting the spoil,

[81] Person, 2014: 136.
[82] Washington (1998) examines the discursive construction of the masculine subject through gendered violence in the Deuteronomic laws of warfare.
[83] Similarly, in ancient West Asian textual and pictorial depictions of warfare, the physical safety of women and children is a prevalent motif to indicate the beneficence of the ruler. Clancier, 2015: 24; Riley, 2018: 381–382.
[84] This term is used for driving livestock in Gen 31:18, Exod 3:1, 1 Sam 23:5, 2 Sam 6:3, 2 Kgs 4:24, 9:20, Isa 11:6, Ps 80:2, Job 24:3, 1 Chron 13:7.
[85] Cf. Auld, 2012: 342.
[86] Riley, 2018: 404–405.
[87] Firth, 2020: 306.
[88] Cf. the successive droves of animals which are processed towards Esau, preceding and effecting his reconciliation with Jacob (Gen 32:13-21).
[89] Östenberg, 2014.
[90] So Edelman, 1991: 273; Firth, 2020: 308; Hertzberg, 1964: 228–229.

David acts like a triumphant king,[91] for kings in ancient West Asia were prime beneficiaries of (hum)animal spoil.[92]

Distributed, forced to labour, killed

After the battle in 1 Samuel 30, the plunder is distributed to incrementally broader circles. The bodies of human and animal war victims are used to negotiate political power and allegiance. Spoil is given first to David as the triumphant leader (30:20). It is then distributed to his 400 fighters and (more controversially) his 200 baggage-keepers (30:22-25). We might note similarity here to Numbers 31, where spoil (including domestic animals and virgin girls) is offered to soldiers and the broader congregation (Num 31:27). This fits with ancient West Asian custom. Soldiers were often permitted to retain some plunder, to reward them for their service and ensure their continued loyalty.[93] David's distribution also provides him an opportunity to pronounce a kingly statue: "like the portion of he who goes down to war, so the portion of he who stays with the baggage" (30:24).[94] David here has the semblance of the gracious and generous ruler, but those who commend his egalitarianism[95] forget that he is likely distributing sentient beings.

Subsequently, plunder is given to the elders of Judah (30:26) and surrounding peoples (30:27-31), following an ancient West Asian strategy to promote allegiance.[96] The recipients inhabit the Negev region, where the Amalekites had raided.[97] Thus, some suggest that David is enacting justice by returning plunder to its original owners.[98] However, there are no precise matches between the places raided and the places rewarded, and nothing suggests David's concern for the spoil's origins. Rather, David is building his power base by forging alliances through human and animal gifts.[99] It is telling that the list ends with Hebron, where David will soon be crowned as king (2 Sam 5:1-5).

The location and manner of distribution depends in part on the type of plunder. Some of David's fighters object that the baggage-keepers should receive no spoil except to reclaim the central members of their own households – their wives and sons (אישׁ את־אשׁתו ואת־בניו; 30:22). They are not offered their servants or livestock, who are more peripheral kin. Equally, they appear not to be offered their daughters. Though most interpreters translate בניו as "children" here, it is notable that the male term "sons" is used. Elsewhere in the scene, "sons" is always paired with its female counterpart (30:3, 6, 19), so the absence of "daughters" is

[91] So Klein, 2008: 283.
[92] Trimm (2017) describes the king's acquisition of plunder in Egypt (318), early Mesopotamia (327), and Assyria (334). Cf. also Elgavish, 2002: 260.
[93] See Elgavish, 2002: 261–265. Trimm (2017) describes this practice in Egypt (320); Hatti (325); early Mesopotamia (330); and Assyria (336).
[94] Edelman (1991: 227) calls David's law-making and booty distribution a "'usurpation' of royal prerogatives".
[95] Brueggemann, 1990: 204-205.
[96] See Elgavish, 2002: 255; Trimm, 2017: 330.
[97] See McCarter, 1980a: 436 on the identification of these cities
[98] Bodner, 2009: 315; Edelman, 1991: 276; Elgavish, 2002: 264–265; Firth, 2020: 309.
[99] Brueggemann, 1990: 205; Hertzberg, 1964: 226; McCarter, 1980a: 437.

conspicuous. Unlike wives and sons, who were not typically exchanged out of the kinship group (except in extreme cases like debt slavery), daughters were often given and taken in patriarchal negotiations, often accompanied by their servants and animals.[100] Perhaps David's 400 men feel licensed in taking them for themselves.

This highlights the centrality of age and sex in the distribution. Consistently across cultures, young women and girls have been valuable prizes of war.[101] In biblical texts, the virgin status of the young female prisoner is especially sought after (Num 31:17-18; Judg 21:12). In the books of Samuel, the sexual politics of giving and taking women is instrumental in David's rise to power.[102] Once, this is depicted in animal terms: the ewe lamb of Nathan's parable (2 Samuel 12:1-4) figures most obviously Bathsheba, and more broadly David's other women.[103] In 1 Samuel 30, David's wives are twice mentioned (30:5, 18), reminding readers that they too were taken – Ahinoam from Jezreel (where the Philistines are now encamped [29:1, 11]), and Abigail from Carmel, widow of a Calebite (whose territory the Amalekites have raided [30:14]). The circumstances around Abigail's marriage particularly exemplify David's practice. David had planned to kill all the Carmelite males (25:22), presumably taking for himself the women and abundant domestic animals (25:2) on the estate.[104]

Once distributed, the captive humans and animals would be exploited for their labour.[105] Across ancient West Asia, such prisoners and livestock were conscripted for forced labour projects (e.g., 2 Sam 12:26-31).[106] Thus plundered slaves and cattle laboured together at the opening of the quarries of Maâsara, as depicted in an Egyptian inscription.[107] Alternatively, they might serve individual victors. Thus, an Egyptian boy is enslaved by an Amelkite. Left to starve in the desert, he is apparently not ascribed the full personhood that might prompt compassion from his master (30:13).[108] Equally, 400 camels are employed as Amalekite service animals (30:17), perhaps having been raided from elsewhere (cf. 27:9)

Human and animal captives are often subjected to broadly similar types of labour, for example entailing the physical exploitation of their bodies for agricultural production. There are, however, important differences depending on the species, sex, age, and status of the captive.[109] Females – both animals and humans – were often kept alive to be exploited for their sexual labour. The reproductive capacity of female livestock was harnessed to produce

[100] Stone, 2019: 26–29.
[101] Gaca, 2016: e.g., 175; Rey, 2016: 44.
[102] Linafelt, 1992.
[103] Millar, 2022: 13–15.
[104] Several scholars suggest that David acquires Nabal's estate upon the latter's death; e.g., Levenson, 1978: 24–28; McKenzie, 2000: 99.
[105] Edelman (1991: 263–264) and Hertzberg (1964: 227) note that the plundered people in 1 Sam 30 would be used or sold as slaves.
[106] Trimm (2017) notes examples from Assyria (340) and Moab (345).
[107] ANET 234.
[108] Cf. Bodner, 2009: 312; Hertzberg, 1964: 227. On the loss of personhood experienced by slaves in ancient Israel, see Lemos, 2018: 99–131.
[109] Commenting on children as prisoners of war in ancient West Asia, Riley (2018: 219) notes the differences between girls (given as tribute) and boys (taken as hostages); between elites (relatively safe) and commoners (in existential danger).

offspring and related feminised protein products[110] (i.e., milk). Though not explicitly mentioned here, the martial rape of women and girls was a common part of ancient West Asian battle practice (as indeed in many cultures in human history), and is sanctioned in biblical texts (e.g., Deut 21:10-14).[111] The ravaging of female bodies performs in microcosm the ravaging defeat of the nation; the control of their reproductive capacity usurps that nation's right to self-generation.

Male humans and animals, on the other hand, were often killed. Commonly, soldiers were either slaughtered in the heat of battle or executed subsequently to prevent uprisings.[112] Male livestock had no dairying potential and thus were killed for meat.[113] When David and his men find the Amalekites, the latter are "eating, drinking, and celebrating festivities by means of/because of all the great spoil" (אכלים ושתים וחגגים בכל השלל הגדול). The term חגג "celebrating festivities" elsewhere occurs in religious contexts, referring to holding pilgrim feasts. It probably suggests a level of religiosity to the Amalekites' celebrations, as they thank their god for their victory.[114] Such sacral feasts likely involved the sacrifice of (primarily male) livestock and, as we have seen, sacrifice was a common part of post-war victory celebrations in ancient West Asia. This might be indicated grammatically if the preposition ב is taken to indicate the means by which they ate and celebrated: "by means of the great spoil".[115] They eat their (likely male) animal plunder, consuming its flesh to mark their victory. David will soon take the remaining livestock, distributing it to allied cities. In one of these cities – Hebron – he will establish himself, winning over erstwhile rivals through the hospitality of feasting (2 Sam 3:20); that is, through animal flesh.

Those captured in warfare may thus be plundered, driven away, distributed, forced into labour, and/or killed . This script can apply to humans and nonhuman animals alike. The fates of these groups are entangled, yet may vary in correlative ways, depending upon factors like age and sex. The plundering of livestock, women, children, and others in 1 Samuel 30 marks David's climactic battle, in which he asserts his authority over these disempowered groups. This signifies his dominance to rival males, and provides a tool to form alliances, thus solidifying his power base.

Conclusion

This chapter had two main aims. The first was to show how nonhuman animals are exploited in the warfare accounts of 1 Samuel, specifically through the practices of sacrifice and plunder.

[110] This terminology from Adams, 2000: 21.
[111] Gaca, 2016; Lemos, 2018: 65; Thistlethwaite, 1993: 65, 69; Uusimäki, 2022: 9.
[112] Trimm (2017) cites examples of males being exterminated after battles in Egypt (379) and early Mesopotamia (383-5).
[113] For discussion of the culling of young male livestock in ancient Israel, see Sasson, 2014: 39–42.
[114] So Edelman, 1991: 269. Others suggest it is a general term for revelry; Bodner, 2009: 313; McCarter, 1980a: 435.
[115] Edelman, 1991: 269.

In the sacralised warfare of Saul, the slaughter, manipulation, and burning of animal bodies become pivotal in establishing his leadership, in negotiating the matrix of authority with Samuel, and in catalysing his demise. By contrast, in David's pragmatic warfare, livestock is plundered for economic gain and to forge alliances as David rises to prominence. In both cases, nonhuman animals are instrumental in structuring and negotiating the leaders' shifts in authority.

The second aim was to show how these practices entail a complex intersecting web of interspecies power dynamics. The narrative trajectories of Saul's sacrifices and David's plunder each culminate with a climactic scene in which certain humans become victims of these practices. The hierarchy of species intersects with those of ethnicity and socioeconomic status as the Amalekite king is animalised; it intersects with those of gender and age as women and children are taken as spoil. The accustomed techniques of animal exploitation provide a repertoire of psychological justifications, social scripts, and physical practices that can apply to any sentient outgroup. As we move next into 2 Samuel, we will see further examples of these complex intersections.

Abbreviations

ANET	Pritchard JB (1969) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. Third Edition with Supplement*. Princeton University Press.
BM	British Museum. Images available at www.britishmuseum.org
RIMA 2	Grayson AK (1991) *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millenium BC I (1114-859 BC).* The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, Vol. 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
RIMB	Frame G (1995) *Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 B.C.)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Babylonian Periods, Vol. 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
RINAP 3/1	Grayson AK and Novotny JR (2012) *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, Ind: Eisenbrauns.
RINAP 4	Leichty E (2011) *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC).* The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
RINAP 5	Novotny J and Jeffers J (2018) *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC), and Sîn-Šarra-Iškun (626-612 BC)*. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, Volume 5/1. University Part, MD: Eisenbrauns.

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Animals and Power in the Books of Samuel

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Summary. In my postdoc project, I examine nonhuman animals in the books of Samuel. Specifically, I analyse the place of these animals within the societal power matrices depicted in the text. I use the framework of intersectionality to understand how the power dynamics between humans and nonhuman animals are entangled with other power dynamics, such as those between men and women, Israelites and foreigners, rich and poor.

Theoretical framework. Intersectionality is a well-established analytic framework which recognises that all lives and societies are shaped by multiple axes of identity and difference, interacting in complex ways to produce hierarchies of privilege and oppression (e.g. race, gender, class, [dis]ability, sexuality). Especially due to the work of vegetarian ecofeminists (e.g. Adams and Donovan, 1995) and historians of human/animal slavery (e.g. Spiegel, 1988), another comparable axis has emerged within scholarly discourse: species. Humans have evolved together with companion species (Haraway, 2008), and these species carry social, cultural, economic and ideological weight. Historically and in the present day, the multiple media which ensure human domination over animals bear striking resemblance to those which have ensured, e.g., male domination over female, and white over black. What is more, these power dynamics are entangled, interdependent, and mutually generative. For example, the "domestication" of animals went hand in hand with the "domestication" of other humans as slaves and wives. Even the simple ascription "human" is already circumscribed within dominant discourse to refer to only a small subset of the species. Non-white, -male, -heterosexual, and -able-bodied Others have throughout history been ascribed varying degrees of animality.

Specific topics. My project asks "How does 'species' intersect with other axes of privilege with the books of Samuel?". It considers the privileges of age, gender, ability, socio-economic status, and ethnicity. For example, within the Israelite kinship system, the intersection of species and *age* is evident, as the hierarchical kin structure included both children and non-human animals in its lower ranks. The early chapters of 1 Samuel show how their lives might intertwine: a young child and young bull are mutually offered to God (1 Sam 1); Eli's sons are condemned for their treatment of animal bodies (1 Sam 2); Kish's care for his donkeys is pitted against his care for his son (e.g. 1 Sam 9:19, 10:1). To this familial matrix are later added concerns about *gender.* The prophet Nathan describes a poor man's young lamb, which grows up with his children like a daughter to him, but is ultimately killed and eaten (2 Sam 12:1–6). It transpires that this lamb – the edible animal Other – is a figure for Bathsheba – the sexualised female Other. This ideology of consumption is however deconstructed, as the narrative invokes an ethic of animal and female care.

Age and species may also intertwine with *masculinity*. David's youth and girlishness are signalled by his care of the sheep (and consequent inability to fight the Philistines; 1 Sam 16:11, 19; 17:28). David, however, reverses the significance of shepherding: it entails killing lions and

bears, and thus reveals masculine strength (17:34–37, cf. 2 Sam 23:20). These creatures later become symbols of hegemonic masculinity: true men are strong like lions (2 Sam 1:12, 17:10) and enraged like bears (2 Sam 17:8). The dynamics of masculinity are interlocked with the dynamics of *disability* in the accounts of Mephibosheth and Absalom. These stories both employ equids at their pivotal moments (2 Sam 18-19). Mephibosheth is the compromised, disabled male, forlorn on a domestic donkey; Absalom is the hegemonic, able-bodied male, proud on a royal steed. But while Mephibosheth's companion animal helps him overcome physical impairments, Absalom's leads him to his ultimate disabling and death.

Non-human animals also play a significant role in descriptions of *socio-economic status*. High status is signalled by possession of extravagant numbers of horses (1 Sam 13:5; 2 Sam 8:4, 10:18) and pastoral animals (1 Sam 25:2). Such animals are in fact cast alongside human slaves (1 Sam 8:10–18). Both were markers and generators of wealth, honour, and power for the elite, and the systems of subjugation for human and non-human labourers copied one another, worked together, and reinforced each other's ideology. Finally, non-human animals are prevalent in the text's ideological battles over *ethnicity*. As David taunts Goliath, the latter's Philistine ethnicity is inflected with animality and he is cast out of human society. He will be slain like a lion or bear (1 Sam 17:34–37), with his body given over to the birds and the beasts (17:43, 46). In the battle of 1 Sam 15, the Amalekite ethnicity encompasses both humans and animals, yet is internally differentiated by status. Well-fed animals and elite humans are classed together, such that the Amalekite king can be treated like livestock and sacrificed before Yhwh.

OTSEM paper. The chapter I present for OTSEM expands on this last point, *viz*. the construction of animality, ethnicity, and status in the Amalekite account of 1 Sam 15. It connects this with the later Amalekite account of 1 Sam 30. This story revolves around the plunder of livestock, women and children, thus bringing in concerns of gender and age. I'm happy to discuss whatever issues emerge; however, here are some areas where I would appreciate input.

- In the paper, I discuss 1 Sam 30 in relation to species, gender, and age. However, issues of ethnicity and socio-economic status are equally important to the text. David has defected to the Philistines and leads a group of disaffected, low-status men. How do these factors play within the power matrix?
- I have not discussed in detail the dating and compositional context of my key texts. How might these issues impact on my reading?
- In my analysis, I have incorporated wider theoretical, historical, biblical, and ancient West Asian resources. Is this legitimate, or does this go beyond what can plausibly illuminate the text? Is there genuine exegetical gain from this sort of reading?

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Orthographic Variation in Common Nouns in Manuscripts of the Book of Isaiah – a Statistical Analysis

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Introduction

In this research I investigate the orthography of Biblical Hebrew, particularly that of the book of Isaiah in the Masoretic Text (MT) and the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS). From various perspectives Hebrew orthography is worth studying. It has relevance for the study of the general history of the language, but orthographical variation may also have relevance for its social history, and here and there one can even observe the individual characteristics of scribes.

This is certainly not the first study on this topic, so why is there a need for more research on it? Many studies in the past have dealt with orthography broadly, in the sense that they describe a variety of features. Often, this leads to cherry picking of the data. Only a few clear examples are described, or only one or two manuscripts are studied, e.g., the Codex Leningradensis or the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]). However, for a good understanding of the orthographic variation in Hebrew, it is best to comprehensively compare many manuscripts, to see how words are spelled differently in similar and different environments.

The approach of this research is to investigate the variation of one specific spelling feature in different manuscripts of Isaiah. This feature is the presence or absence of a vowel letter in the last syllable of common nouns with more than one syllable, but the vowel letter is not the final letter of the word. Some examples are מקום/מקם and שלום/שלם with the vowel letter waw, ברית/ברת and חנית/חנת with the vowel letter yod, and צואר/צור with the vowel letter aleph.

The research question is: How is the spelling of the last syllable of common nouns in manuscripts of the book of Isaiah conditioned? In other words, which rules or patterns did scribes apply, consciously or unconsciously?

In his monograph *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible*, James Barr argues that there is an affix effect. This means that if a prefix or suffix is attached to a word, it is more likely that the word is spelled defectively. In this paper, I argue that this is an important effect, at least for the data under consideration, but that the effect is a bit more subtle than Barr argued. Also, it has a different strength in different manuscripts.

Literature Review

Spelling and the history of Biblical Hebrew

The history of Hebrew orthography in antiquity is characterized by a generally increasing use of vowel letters. There is not much manuscript evidence available from the 10th century BCE, but related texts in Phoenician from that century exhibit almost completely defective spelling[1]. The main Hebrew evidence from the 10th century is the Gezer calendar, which is a short text, but it shows no likely evidence of the use of vowel letters[2]. In the 9th century, the Moabite Mesha stele shows use of vowel letters at the end of words, just like the Hebrew Siloam inscription, which can be dated to the late 8th century[3]. Later, vowels were added in non-final positions. The Siloam inscriptions shows cases of defective spelling rare in the MT, e.g., אש instead of the Masoretic איש.

In the MT, this increase of the use of vowel letters is visible as well. Various scholars observe

[1] Tov, 2011, 184. For the text with commentary: Aḥituv, 2008, 252–256.

[2] Tov, 2011, 184. For the text with commentary: Aḥituv, 2008, 389–418.

[3] Tov, 2011, 185. On the orthography of the inscriptions, see also Sáenz-Badillos, 1993, 66; Andersen and Forbes, 2013.

a higher concentration of vowel letters in the certainly late books (Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, all written in Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH))[4]. A typical example is the spelling of the name David, for which there is a strong contrast between the books written in Early Biblical Hebrew (the EBH books, largely the Torah and the Former Prophets) and the books written in LBH. The EBH spelling is דוד, the LBH spelling is דויד, the latter with the vowel letter י [5]. It is important to note that the MT rarely is consistent in spelling, not even within single books[6]. This is why Tov prefers to speak of scribal practice instead of a scribal system[7].

Among others, Freedman sees the variation in the use of a vowel letter in the name David as a way to date biblical books[8]. Even though he notes that "there must have been a tendency to normalize spelling throughout books"[9], he thinks the dominant spelling of a book is preserved in the MT. This makes it possible for him to date books on the basis of the spelling of the name David in which the word occurs even only once, such as Proverbs and the Song of Songs[10]. He considers the mixed use in Ezekiel as a sign of transitional language[11], with which Rooker agrees[12]. Hornkohl sees the use of the full spelling of the name Jacob (יעקוב) as a late phenomenon in the book of Jeremiah, even though this spelling is absent in the core LBH books in the MT[13]. According to him, the lateness of the spelling is confirmed by its use in non-Masoretic and post-biblical sources.

Orthography of the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls

According to Reymond, there is a tendency in the DSS to have a fuller orthography than the MT, but just like in the MT, there is a lack of consistency in the use of vowel letters[14]. He puts this increased use of vowel letters in the context of the overall increased use of vowel letters throughout the history of the Hebrew language, but he remarks that this increase is not a linear process[15].

A notorious case of a manuscript with clearly fuller orthography than the MT is the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]), which has a tendency to oscillate substantially between defective and full spelling[16]. The language and text of the manuscript is described in depth by Kutscher (1974).

A main problem in the history of the research on 1QIsa[a] is that of the two halves of the manuscript. At the end of column 27 of the manuscript there are some empty lines, which may be an indication that the manuscript consists of two distinct parts[17]. Further, it is remarkable that the second half of the manuscript generally has a fuller orthography than the first half[18]. For some this led to the conclusion that the scroll must have been written by two scribes[19], even though the handwriting of both halves is very similar at first sight[20]. A recent publication by Popovic has argued convincingly on

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[4] E.g., Sáenz-Badillos, 1993, 116. A comprehensive statistical diachronic approach is chosen by Forbes and Andersen, 2012, and Andersen and Forbes, 1986, e.g., pp 326–328.
[5] Hurvitz, 2014, 88–91.
[6] E.g., Tov, 2015, 37; Tov, 2021, 331.
[7] Tov, 2015, 37.
[8] Freedman, 1983, 93.
[9] Freedman, 1983, 94.
[10] Freedman, 1983, 101.
[11] Freedman, 1983, 95. Ezekiel has defective spelling in three cases (34:24 and 37:24, 25) and full spelling in one case (34:23).
[12] Rooker, 1990, 71.
[13] Hornkohl, 2013, 73.
[14] Reymond, 2014, 35. See also Qimron, 1986, 18.
[15] Reymond, 2014, 38, fn. 70.
[16] Reymond, 2014, 35.
[17] This can be inspected in a high-quality image of the scroll: http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/isaiah.
[18] Lange, 2009, 259.
[19] Tov, 2015, 368.
[20] This is why Kutscher (1974, 564–566) thought that the scroll was written by one person who decided to writer fuller in the second half of the scroll. Abegg agrees with Kutscher in Ulrich, Flint and Abegg, 2010, 40.

the basis of an AI-based study of the handwriting that the two halves differ significantly[21].

According to Tov, 1QIsa[a] is an example of a scroll that exhibits the Qumran Scribal Practice[22]. This practice is characterized by various scribal, morphological and orthographical peculiarities. The orthography is characterized by an abundance of full writing[23]. Another Isaiah scroll written with Qumran Scribal Practice is 4Q57 (4QIsa[c])[24].

This tendency of a fuller spelling is not visible in all the DSS. On the contrary, in his work on the DSS manuscripts of the book of Isaiah, Van der Kooij remarks that 1Q8 is generally more defective than the MT, but its participles are written more plene[25]. Similar remarks are made by Lange[26].

According to Schniedewind, Qumran Hebrew (QH) is an antilanguage, which cultivates "linguistic idiosyncrasies in order to enhance group identity"[27]. The goal of using non-standard language is to distinguish the group from mainstream society, and the yaḥad community, as Schniedewind calls the group to which the scribes and authors of the sectarian DSS belong, is a typical example of such a group.

Barr, The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible

A comprehensive, non-diachronic overview of many features related to spelling variation is *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (1989) by James Barr. He deals with the spelling of various verb forms, plural markers (ים and ות), nouns and adjectives, yod before suffixes, numerals, the negation לא, the particle את with pronominal suffix, and personal names and place names. In various places, he indicates that dating texts based on spelling is problematic. We have inscriptions from biblical times with spellings that are very rare or non-existent in the MT, therefore

> "it is likely that few parts, or no parts, of the Hebrew Bible, as they lie before us in the Masoretic text, stand in the spelling as in they were first written, or in which their final redaction took place."[28]

This leads to the conclusion that "it may well be vain to attempt to date books, or portions of books, on the basis of the spelling that they contain. A book, or a portion of a book, that in itself is early, may have been all the more thoroughly revised and thus appear in spelling of a 'late' type"[29].

The affix effect is another important effect[30]. It means that a prefix or suffix attached to a word makes the word more likely to be spelled defectively. A prefix can be the definite article or a preposition, and a suffix can be a plural or construct marker or a pronominal suffix. Barr gives some examples in section I.10: עולם, קדוש, and גדול. These words exhibit different tendencies. In the MT, עולם is always written fully when it is alone, but if it is prefixed with ל, מן, or ה, it is written frequently without ו [31]. The adjective גדול in the MT occurs nearly exclusively with full spelling when without article. In the MT Torah, the spelling with the article is more often defective (19 defective cases against 9 cases with ו), but outside of the Torah, it occurs exclusively as הגדול [32]. קדוש follows a different pattern. With the article it always has full spelling (4x), but without the article there is a

[21] Popovic et al., 2021.
[22] See Tov, 2018, for an in-depth treatment of Qumran Scribal Practice.
[23] For specific features, see Tov, 2018, appendix 9.
[24] Tov, 2018, 265.
[25] Van der Kooij, 1978, 77.
[26] Lange, 2009, 264.
[27] Schniedewind, 2013, 178.
[28] Barr, 1989, 20.
[29] Barr, 1989, 20.
[30] Barr, 1989, 25.
[31] Barr, 1989, 27.
[32] Barr, 1989, 29–30.

mixture of full and defective spelling[33]. Barr observes, however, that the affix effect is not equally strong among all words, therefore he recommends should study the distribution for all words, and also take into account whether words are in the absolute or construct state[34].

Related to the affix effect is the apparent tendency to avoid vowel letters in two consecutive syllables. Barr refers to the examples of the plurals of נביא and צדיק, given by Gesenius/Kautzsch and Bergsträsser who point out that these are generally spelled נבאים and צדקים. This "tendency", however, has no empirical basis, according to Barr. For both words, there is a strong preference for the double plene spelling in the MT, but a shorter spelling occurs here and there. Barr sees these and related cases as examples where the affix effect is visible[35].

Reflection

The title of the Barr's book (*The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible*) and the title of a book on the same topic by Andersen and Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*, suggest that they are dealing with the Hebrew Bible in general, but in reality, they only study the MT. Of course, they explain why they only investigate the MT, but in Tov's opinion, the Hebrew Bible does not consist of the MT only, but the MT, the SP and the biblical DSS together form the Hebrew Bible, so for a description of the orthography of the Hebrew Bible, it is important to include other manuscripts[36]. Most of the examples that are given by Barr are based on the Torah. However, it may very well be the case that some of the phenomena described by him occur mostly in the Torah, and not outside of it.

The examples given by Barr show that the effects described do not always occur with the same strength. Tov even wonders whether the phenomena of block spelling and rapid alternation exist at all as part of a system, because in a world without uniform spelling, certain forms of spelling simply cluster here and there[37]. However, he agrees with Barr that there seems to be an affix effect in Biblical Hebrew[38], and he also indicates that we do not know very much yet about how the use of vowel letters is conditioned[39]. I agree with this remark. On the basis of previous studies, it is clear that various factors play a role in the use of vowel letters, both in and outside of the MT, but so far, the affix effect has not been investigated systematically after Barr's work.

Approach

As has become clear in the literature review, Biblical Hebrew orthography is a complex topic: many different features can be studied, with a wide variety of representations, and different ways in which the use of vowel letters can be conditioned. Therefore, I have chosen to study just one feature in one biblical book. This feature is the use of a vowel letter in the last syllable of common nouns. These nouns have to consist of more than one syllable, and the word should not end on a vowel letter. Examples are ראשית, אגמון, שלום, and אליל.

The biblical book in focus is the book of Isaiah, for the simple reason that this is the biblical book of which there are 22 manuscripts among the DSS. Most of these are in a very fragmented state, but there is enough material to get an impression of orthographic variation between different manuscripts. In the analysis I will include the MT and the DSS manuscripts of Isaiah.

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[33] Barr, 1989, 27–28.
[34] Barr, 1989, 31.
[35] Barr, 1989, 25–26. See also Reymond, 2014, 38.
[36] Tov, 2021, 329.
[37] "…It would therefore be difficult to ascribe these features to an overall design. The phenomena recognized by Barr resemble individual features of playful spelling rather than a system. In a world in which there were no spelling norms, scribes vacillated between some variant spellings by clustering them in groups, inconsistently, but still with some design". Tov, 2011, 194, n. 15.
[38] Tov, 2021, 334.
[39] Tov, 2021, 330.

The lexemes under consideration should show orthographic variation somewhere in the MT or the biblical DSS. So, a word consisting of multiple syllables that is always written defectively is not taken into consideration. In the present analysis, only orthographic variation in the last syllable of the lexeme will be studied, so variation in the first syllable or in the plural marker will not be studied, even though that could be interesting.

In the analysis, I focus on formal characteristics, which means, on things that are visible in the text. Andersen and Forbes have studied the relationship between the stress in a word and its relationship to the use of vowel letters, but I prefer to start from things that can easily be observed in the text. In this approach, I follow Barr[40].

All these restrictions are designed to get a clearer image of how orthographic variation in Biblical Hebrew is conditioned. Barr's approach was to investigate many features in one manuscript, I start with one feature in multiple manuscripts. If it is possible to get a clearer view on the feature under investigation, it might be possible to expand this approach to more features.

In this study, the focus will be on the affix effect, which I will treat as two different effects: a prefix effect and a suffix effect. I will measure the strength of these effects for all the relevant words together in the different manuscripts of the book of Isaiah, as far as a manuscript contains enough relevant data to say anything meaningful about it. After that, I will present case studies of six different lexemes that occur in different frequencies in the book of Isaiah and that showcase different patterns.

The affix effect is a typical case of trying to find conditioning of the use of vowel letters on the word level. This is a choice, but other choices could have been made. However, various scholars suggest the word level as a good place to look for the conditioning of the use of vowel letters in BH[41], and the explorations of Barr indicate that that is a fruitful way to go.

The research has an explorative character. With a number of analyses and visualizations I try to gain insight into patterns in the data. The analysis does not contain a multivariate statistical analysis yet. This study is a work in progress, and I hope to include such an analysis in the near future.

Data preparation

For this research, I use data from two publicly available datasets. One contains the text of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* with annotations[42], and the other dataset contains the text of the Dead Sea Scrolls with annotations[43]. From these datasets I extracted all the common nouns of which there is at least one attestation of a vowel letter in the last syllable and at least one attestation without a vowel letter in the last syllable. Both attestations should occur in biblical texts. There is no requirement that both variants occur in one manuscript, there is no manuscript that has an a priori higher value than any other manuscript. From these words, I made a csv file containing all the relevant words, with information about their lexemes, vowel letter pattern, prefixes and suffixes, place where it is found in the Bible (book, chapter, verse), and in which manuscript it occurs. Finally, only the words occurring

[40] Andersen and Forbes, 1986, on the contrary focus on the stress in words as a confounder for the use of vowel letters. The stress in a word is related to the use of suffixes, because the suffix lowers the stress on the root, Andersen and Forbes, 1986, 220.

[41] Of course, Barr's affix effect is a word level effect, but it is also suggested by Andersen and Forbes, 1986, 217, and by De Joode, 2020, and De Joode and Speelman, 2020. The latter papers suggest a conditioning on the lexical level, which clearly is the start of a more sophisticated approach.

[42] See: https://github.com/etcbc.nl/bhsa. The name of the dataset is *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia Amstelodamensis* (BHSA). The addition *Amstelodamensis* refers to the digital form and the annotations. This dataset has been in development since 1977 and is maintained by the Eep Talstra Center for Bible and Computer (ETCBC) of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. This dataset is a dataset in so-called Text-Fabric, see Roorda, 2018.

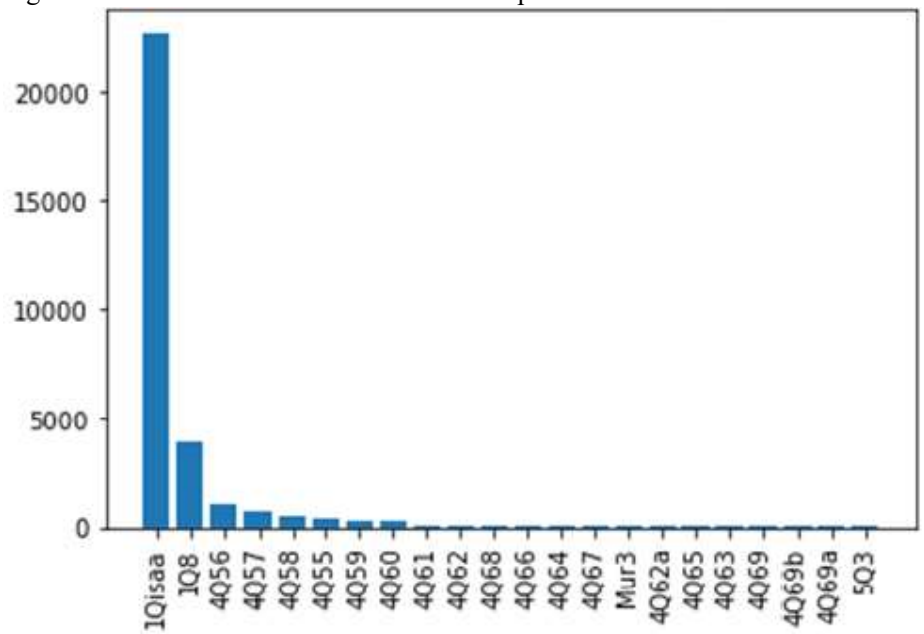
[43] See https://github.com/etcbc.nl/dss. This is also a Text-Fabric dataset.

in the book of Isaiah were selected[44].

From the dataset, some lexemes were removed manually[45]. In the csv file, and in the scripts in general, I use a transcription system that is called the ETCBC transcription. This is used instead of the Hebrew script because in general it is easier to work with text that has a left to right direction.

The book of Isaiah is found in 22 manuscripts in the DSS, but not every manuscript is well preserved. The Great Isaiah Scroll is more or less complete, but the other manuscripts are heavily damaged. Figure 1 shows the word counts in the remains of each manuscript.

Figure 1. Word counts in DSS Isaiah manuscripts.



It is clear that of most manuscripts, only small fragments remain. Therefore, their relevance is limited, but what remains is important and interesting. To get a better insight in the text of the Isaiah manuscripts, I have prepared and published an HTML file in which the text of all the verses of the book of Isaiah in the DSS manuscripts and the text of the BHSA conveniently are shown synoptically[46]. The file does not make only the text visible; it also indicates supra-linear corrections and shows which letters are difficult to read by use of different shades of grey.

Data analysis

In this section I explore the dataset so as to get a general impression of the distribution of words with and without vowel letter in the last syllable in manuscripts of the book of Isaiah. The dataset consists of 1319 tokens. Self-evidently, the lexemes have strongly varying frequencies in the dataset,

[44] The dataset will be published in the GitHub repo https://github.com/MartijnNaaijer/dss_isaiah. It is not uploaded yet, but the repo will be filled in the course of the summer of 2022.

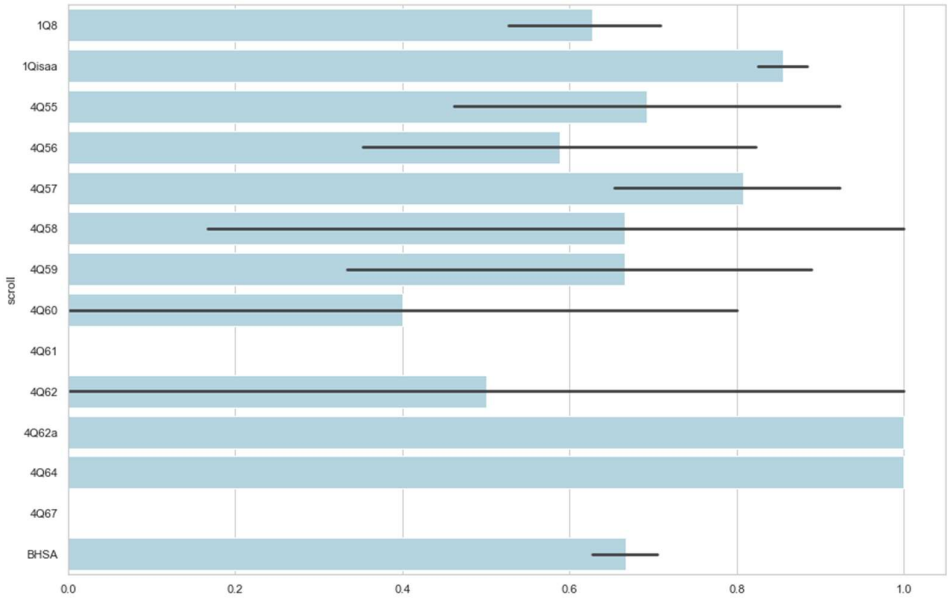
[45] Among these are cases of very exceptional spellings. An example is מלך, which is more or less always spelled without extra letters, but there is the exceptional case in the MT in 2 Samuel 11:1, which reads המלאכים. This is the only case of an alternative spelling of מלך, and on the basis of the consonants, it could very well be a case of the word מלאך ("messenger"). Therefore, מלך has been removed from the dataset. The idea of the analysis is not to collect exceptional cases, but to analyze patterns.

[46] The file can be freely downloaded from the repo parallel_isaiah_manuscripts at the GitHub organization DT-UCPH (Digital Theologians of the University of Copenhagen):
https://htmlpreview.github.io/?https://github.com/DT-UCPH/parallel_isaiah_manuscripts/blob/main/isa_manuscripts.html

comparable with the counts in figure 1. Some manuscripts do not contain any relevant words. If we count the frequency of lexemes in the dataset, there is strong variation as well. The two most frequent lexemes are כבוד (94x) and שלום (74x), but most lexemes have low frequencies. In total, the dataset contains words of 159 different lexemes. In the whole dataset, the probability of finding a vowel letter in the last syllable of a word is 0.76, so 76% of the words have a vowel letter in the last syllable, irrespective of the scroll or lexeme. This means that 24% of the words are written defectively. In the words with full spelling, the letter ו is the most frequent, but י and א (the latter rarely) also occur, and here and there, there are words with a double vowel letter (e.g., בראוש in Isaiah 55:13, 1QIsa[a]).

There is substantial variation in the probability of full spelling between the different manuscripts. This is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2. Probability of full spelling of words in Isaiah manuscripts.



The horizontal axis shows the probability of a word being written with a vowel letter in a specific manuscript, irrespective of the lexeme or other conditions. The individual bars have a black line through them, which is the confidence interval. This confidence interval indicates how reliable a result is. A wider interval indicates that the result is less reliable, e.g. in the case of 4Q62, the probability is 0.5, but the confidence interval stretches from 0 to 1, which means that the value 0.5 is not very meaningful. The same is true for the scrolls with the values 0 and 1 without error bar. This value is based on only one word, which is not representative of the whole book of Isaiah. However, there are scrolls with more data, and the ones with the highest probability are 1QIsa[a] and 4Q57. This is not a surprise, 1QIsa[a] is well known for its full spelling, and 4Q57 is described by Tov as being written with the same Qumran Scribal Practice as 1QIsa[a][47]. These manuscripts have a probability of full spelling for a word that is higher than 0.8. For the other manuscripts, the probability is lower. For the MT, this probability is below 0.7 (in the figures the name of the dataset is used: BHSA).

Affix effect: suffixes

Now we have a general impression of the overall probability of having the full spelling of words in

[47] Tov, 2018, 265.

different manuscripts, it is time to move on to see what the probability of full and defective spelling is with and without a suffix. For this, only manuscripts with at least 10 words are included in the dataset.

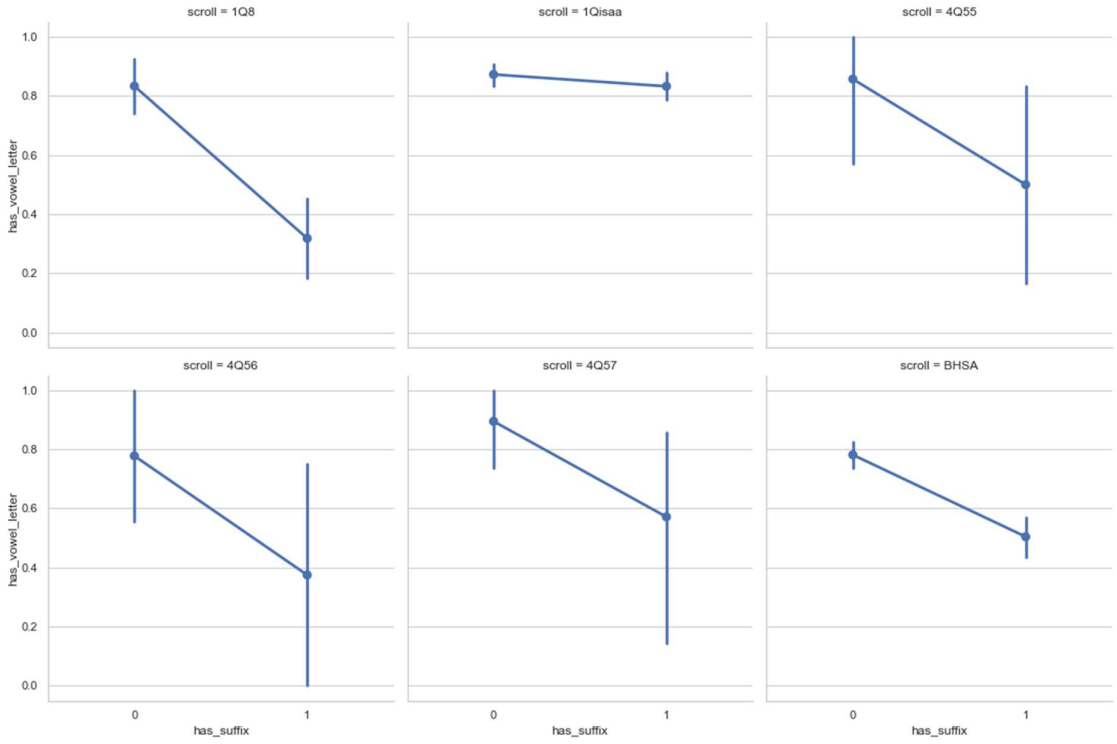
Before going to the results, let me illustrate how the results are calculated with a simple example. The following table shows the data for a fictitious manuscript.

lexeme	has_suffix	has_vowel_letter
A	1	0
A	0	1
A	1	1
B	0	1
B	0	0

In this manuscript, there are 5 tokens of two lexemes, A and B. Three tokens have a vowel letter, and two have a suffix. That suffix and the vowel letter are not further specified. The only thing that is relevant is whether there is a suffix and a vowel letter or not. Of the two words with a suffix, one has a vowel letter, so the probability that a word with a suffix has a vowel letter is 0.5. There are three words without a suffix, two of which have a vowel letter, so for words without a suffix, the probability of having a vowel letter is 2/3 = 0.67.

The result for the Isaiah manuscripts is shown in figure 3.

Figure 3. Probability of full spelling of nouns with and without suffix in manuscripts of Isaiah.



This figure shows the results for six different manuscripts. On the horizontal axis one sees the absence (0) or presence (1) of a suffix on a word, and on the vertical axis, one sees the probability of having full spelling for any word in that manuscript. So, interestingly, in 1QIsa[a] there is hardly any difference in the probability of full spelling, with or without a pronominal suffix. Under both conditions this probability is above 0.8. This situation is different for the MT and 1Q8. In these manuscripts, there is a clear difference: words with a pronominal suffix have a substantially lower probability of being written with full spelling (this is apparent from the very slanting line). At first glance, it looks like the

effect is stronger in 1Q8 than in the MT, but 1Q8 has a wider error bar for the condition with a pronominal suffix, so that is not entirely clear from this analysis. In this figure, the error bar for the condition with a pronominal suffix is wider in every manuscript, simply because there are more words with a suffix than without one.

There are some subtleties here if we dive a bit deeper into the data. The suffix effect is not or hardly visible in 1QIsa[a], and some suffixes occur in this dataset only in 1QIsa[a]. These are the long pronominal suffixes כמה, מה, and המה. These are typical for Qumran Scribal Practice. Nearly all the words with these suffixes are spelled with a vowel letter (e.g., אדונכמה (36:12), נסיכיהמה (41:29) in 1QIsa[a]), so it might seem that the suffix effect does not account for these suffixes. It is, however more likely that the effect is not present because the scribe prefers full spelling in general, whether there is a suffix or not.

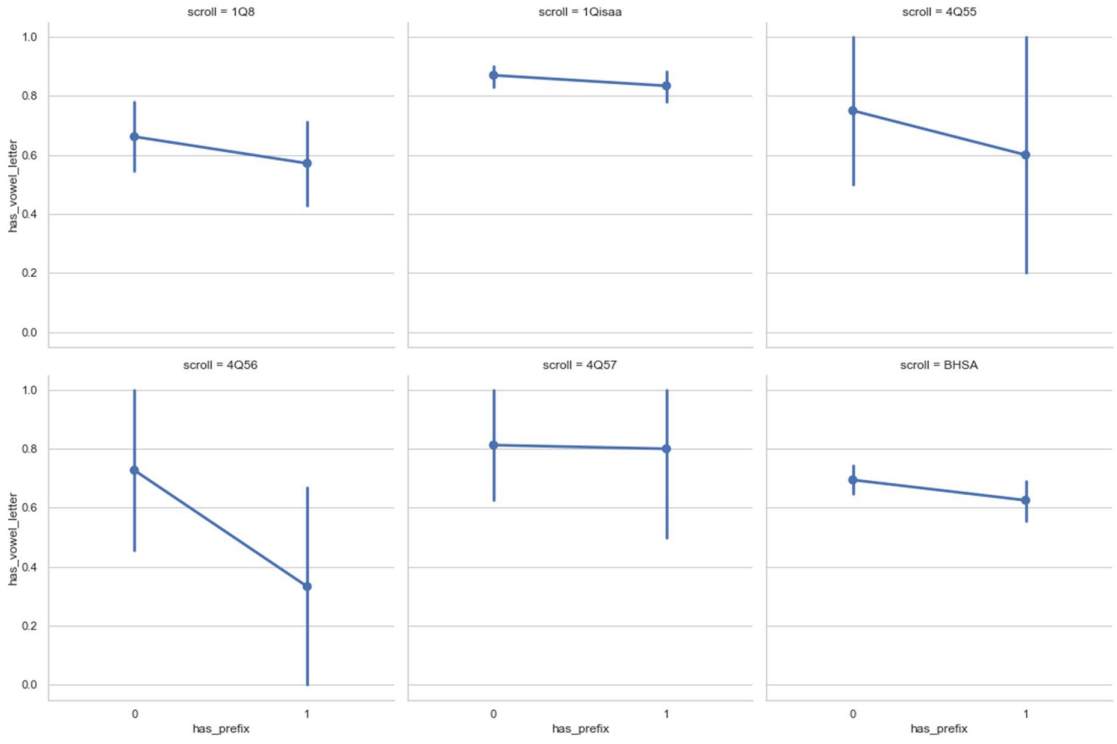
The other manuscripts each show a tendency of a suffix effect, but the error bars are too wide to draw any conclusions here.

Often, linguists are looking for rules in language. There is no strict rule in the use of vowel letters in relation to the use of suffixes, but there are clear tendencies. This is an indication that a statistical approach is the most useful way to describe the data.

Affix effect: prefixes

There are various prefixes in the dataset, consisting of the article ה, the conjunction ו, and various prepositions, and combinations of them (וה, וב, etc.). All these are taken together, just like with the suffixes above, resulting in a column "has prefix", having the values 0 (no prefix) and 1 (has a prefix). The calculations are done in the same way as for the suffixes. The results are shown in figure 4.

Figure 4. Probability of full spelling of nouns with and without prefix in manuscripts of Isaiah.



The general tendency is the same as with the suffixes, which is towards more defective spelling with a prefix, but there is also an important difference. The effect is much weaker, which means that the difference in the probability with and without a prefix is relatively small.

I even doubt that the prefix effect can be found in this dataset at all. Barr observed the effect in the MT Torah for גדול + ה where this combination is spelled predominantly defectively. Outside of the Torah in the MT, there is no trace of defective spelling of this combination. In Isaiah, for instance, it is spelled twice with vowel letter (36:4 and 36:13), and it remains unclear to what extent it exists at all in the MT outside of the Torah. Here and there it may be visible in the book of Isaiah, אוצר "treasure"[48] is spelled defectively in MT Isaiah in 2:7 and 39:2, both times with a prefixed preposition, and it is spelled with vowel letter in 30:6, 33:6, and 45:3, without prefix. It is also spelled with vowel letter and prefixed ב in 39:4, so this is an exception to a possible prefix effect. It is interesting that the latter is spelled defectively in 1Q8, even though the last part of the word is only partly readable. This may be an indication that there is a possible prefix effect in MT Isaiah and 1Q8, just like the suffix effect that was described above, but on the basis of one word one can draw no firm conclusions, and on the basis of the results shown in figure 6, the evidence is weak.

Analysis of selected lexemes in Isaiah manuscripts

The general impression is that the explorative analysis is very helpful and clearly suggests that the affix effect, as described by Barr and others, is a real effect, at least for suffixes. In this section I will take a closer look at some of the relevant lexemes in manuscripts of Isaiah and compare their use of vowel letters in order to better see how choices are made by individual scribes. The lexemes are: מעוז "fort", זרוע "arm", שלום "peace", רצון "pleasure", לשון "language", and גאון "height".

זרוע, "arm"

The word זרוע, "arm", occurs 17 times in the MT. Table 1 shows all the cases in the book of Isaiah in the MT and the DSS manuscripts. Possible prefixes and suffixes are also shown, and in the MT, a word which is connected with זרוע with a maqqef is shown as well. The same shades of grey as in the HTML file mentioned above are used in this column to indicate difficult readings, see e.g., the first case in verse 51:5 in 1Q8. Here, the start of the word has disappeared and the ר is difficult to read. Also, the supra-linear א is shown in 52:10 in 4Q57.

Table 1. זרוע "arm" in the book of Isaiah.

Verse	MT	1QIsa[a]	1Q8	4Q57	4Q59
9:19	בשר־זרעו	זרועו			זרעיו
17:5	וזרעו	וזרעו			
30:30	זרועו	זרועו			
33:2	זרעם	זרעם			
40:10	וזרעו	וזרועו			
40:11	בזרעו	בזרועו			
44:12	בזרוע	בזרוע			
48:14	וזרעו	זרועו			
51:5	וזרעי	וזרועו	--רועי		
51:5	ואל־זרעי	זרועו	זרעי		
51:9	זרוע	זרוע			
52:10	את־זרוע	זרוע	זרוע	זרוע[א]	
53:1	וזרוע	וזרוע	וזרוע		
59:16	זרעו	זרועו			

[48] Does not occur in the dataset used in this research because its vowel letter occurs in the first syllable, and not in the last one.

62:8	ובזרוע	ובזרוע			
63:5	זרעי	זרועי	זרעי		
63:12	זרוע	זרוע			

In the MT, זרוע is spelled defectively if the word has a suffix, and it is spelled with a vowel letter, if the word does not have a suffix. This pattern is visible in 16 cases, but there is one case of full spelling with a pronominal suffix, namely in 30:30. There are various cases of זרוע with a prefixed preposition or conjunction, but these do not seem to correlate with a change in spelling.

1QIsa[a] shows full spelling under all circumstances, but there are two exceptions: It has defective spelling in 17:5 and 33:2 where both cases have a pronominal suffix.

1Q8 has the same pattern as the MT where the word is readable, with the exception of the first attestation in 51:5. As far as can be observed, the word seems to have both a pronominal suffix and vowel letter.

4Q57 has a supra-linear correction, the form with א can also be found in the MT in Jeremiah 32:21 and Job 31:22.

4Q59 has the pattern of the short spelling with suffix in 9:19.

מעוז "fort"

Table 2. מעוז "fort" in the book of Isaiah.

Verse	MT	1QIsa[a]	1Q8	4Q55	4Q56
17:9	מעזו	מעוזו			מעז־
17:10	מעזך	מעוזך			
23:4	מעוז	מעוז	מעו־	מעוז	
23:14	מעזכן	מעוזך			
25:4	מעוז	מעוז	מעוז		
25:4	מעוז	מעוז			
27:5	במעוזי	במעוזי			
30:2	במעוז	במעוז			
30:3	מעוז	מעוז			

מעוז occurs 9 times in MT Isaiah. Three times, the spelling is defective, and in each of these cases, a pronominal suffix is attached to the word. The full spelling is used six times, and in five cases there is no pronominal suffix. The exception is the case in 27:5, indicated in red. The prefix ב is found in 27:5 and 30:2, but no prefix effect is observable for this prefix with this lexeme, because both cases are spelled with vowel letter.

All the cases found in the MT have a parallel in 1QIsa[a], with nearly identical pronominal suffixes and prefixes. However, all these cases are spelled with vowel letter ו. The cases that are readable in the other manuscripts (25:4 in 1Q8 and 23:4 in 4Q55) show full spelling without prefixes and suffixes.

שלום "peace"

Table 3. שלום "peace" in the book of Isaiah.

Verse	MT	1QIsa[a]	1Q8	4Q56	4Q57	4Q58
9:5	שר־שלום	השלום				
9:6	ולשלום	ולשלום			ולשלום	
26:3	שלום	שלום	־לום			
26:3	שלום	שלום	שלום			

26:12	שלום	שלום		שלום		
27:5	שלום	שלום				
27:5	שלום	שלום				
32:17	שלום	לשלום				
32:18	שלום	שלום				
33:7	שלום	שלום				
38:17	לשלום	לשלום				
39:8	שלום	שלום	־לום			
41:3	שלום	שלום	שלום			
45:7	שלום					
48:18	שלומך	שלומכה	שלמך			שלמך
48:22	שלום	שלום	שלום			
52:7	שלום	שלום				
53:5	שלומנו	שלומנו	שלמנו			
54:10	שלומי	שלומי				
54:13	שלום	שלום				
55:12	ובשלום	ובשלום	ובשלום			
57:2	שלום	שלום	שלום			
57:19	שלום	שלום	שלום			
57:19	שלום		־לום			
57:21	שלום	שלום				שלום
59:8	שלום	שלום	שלום			
60:17	שלום	שלום	שלום			
66:12	שלום	שלום	שלום			

The MT has a consistently full spelling of שלום in the book of Isaiah. Here and there it occurs with a prefixed preposition, and in 48:18 and 53:5 it has a pronominal suffix. The same full spelling is visible in 1QIsa[a].

It becomes interesting when we look at 1Q8. It has the same pronominal suffixes as the MT in 48:18 and 53:5, but the spelling is defective here, just like in 4Q58 in 48:18. The prefix in 1Q8 55:12 has full spelling. So, it looks like 1Q8 has a suffix effect here where the MT has a full spelling for שלום under all conditions.

רצון "pleasure"

Table 4. רצון "pleasure" in the book of Isaiah.

Verse	MT	1QIsa[a]	1Q8	4Q62[a]
49:8	רצון	רצון		
56:7	לרצון	לרצון	לרצון	לרצון
58:5	רצון	רצון	רצון	
60:7	על־רצון	לרצון	רצון	
60:10	וברצוני	וברצוני	וברצני	
61:2	שנת־רצון	רצון	רצון	

רצון is always spelled with a vowel letter in the MT, just like in 1QIsa[a]. In contrast to the MT, 1Q8 shows a suffix effect in 60:10. Again, the prefixed prepositions do not seem to have an effect on the spelling.

לשון “language/tongue”

Table 5. לשון “language” in the book of Isaiah.

Verse	MT	1QIsa[a]	1Q8	4Q56	4Q57
3:8	כי־לשונם	לשונם			
5:24	לשון	לשון		לשון	
11:15	לשון	לשון			
28:11	ובלשון	ובלשון			
30:27	ולשונו	ולשונו			
32:4	ולשון	ולשון			
33:19	לשון	לשון			
35:6	לשון	לשון			
41:17	לשונם	לשונמה	לשונם		
45:23	כל־לשון	לשון			
50:4	לשון	לשון			
54:17	וכל־לשון				לשון
57:4	לשון	לשון			
59:3	לשונכם	לשונכמה	לשונכם		
66:18	והלשנות	והלשונות	והלשנות		

לשון is nearly always spelled fully with or without pronominal suffixes or prefixes in all the manuscripts. The only time it is spelled defectively is in 66:18. This could be a case where there is an avoidance of vowel letters in two consecutive syllables. The same is visible in 1Q8: There is full spelling with a pronominal suffix, but defective spelling with the feminine plural marker.

1QIsa[a] has full spelling without exceptions, and 4Q56 and 4Q57 have full spelling without any presence of prefixes and suffixes.

גאון “height”

Table 6. גאון “height” in the book of Isaiah.

Verse	MT	1QIsa[a]	1Q8	4Q56	4Q57	4Q59
2:10	גאנו			גאונו		
2:19	גאונו	גאונו				
2:21	גאונו	גאונו				
4:2	לגאון	לגאון				
13:11	גאון	גאון				
13:19	גאון	גאון				
14:11	גאונך	גאונך				־אונך
16:6	גאון־מואב	גאון				
16:6	וגאונו	וגאונו				
23:9	גאון	גאון				
24:14	בגאון	בגאון			בגאון	
60:15	לגאון	לגאון	לגאון			

In the MT, גאון is nearly always spelled with vowel letter, with or without prefixes or suffixes. The only exception is 2:10, which has short spelling with a pronominal suffix. In 1QIsa[a], the spelling is always full. The case in 2:10 is lacking because this verse is absent from 1QIsa[a]. 4Q56 has full spelling in 2:10, and the other manuscripts have full spelling with prefixes and suffixes.

In the nouns that I have looked at, there seems to be no prefix effect. In none of the manuscripts, the presence of a prefix seems to affect the use of vowel letters. In the MT and 1Q8, the pronominal suffix effect is clearly visible in זרוע and מעוז. In שלום and רצון, the MT has full spelling, but 1Q8 shows the pronominal suffix effect. This is interesting, because the texts of the MT and 1Q8 are very much alike. It looks like MT chooses to treat these words as ones that need to be spelled always fully. לשון and גאון are spelled fully in the MT, with some minor exceptions. The overall impression is that 1Q8 has a stronger tendency to follow the pronominal suffix effect than MT Isaiah, even though it is not used consistently either in 1Q8.

1QIsa[a] shows the tendency of using full spelling in general, which is no surprise. Here and there, the prefix effect is visible (זרוע), and this happens in the first half of the book, which is well known as the half that is slightly more defective than the second half. Again, with limited evidence it is difficult to draw strong conclusions, but it is remarkable that 1QIsa[a] shows the pronominal suffix effect. 4Q57 generally also has full spelling, but there is not enough data in the given examples to draw any conclusions, just like for the other manuscripts.

Conclusions

The goal of this research is to explore how the use of vowel letters in certain nouns is conditioned in manuscripts of the book of Isaiah, with a focus on the affix effect, which I have treated here as two different effects: a prefix effect and a suffix effect. The suffix effect is when a word is spelled defectively with a suffix attached to it.

The results show that the suffix effect is a strong effect for the selected nouns in the MT and 1Q8, and as far as can be observed in the overall statistical analysis and the case studies, this effect is strongest in 1Q8. In 1QIsa[a], the suffix effect is absent and it generally has full spelling, with or without suffixes attached to a word. In the other, more fragmented manuscripts, the results are less clear. Here and there words have defective spelling with a suffix attached, so some tendencies are visible, but there are not enough cases to say anything about it with any certainty on the basis of the present data and results.

The prefix effect is a much weaker effect in this analysis, and the question is whether there is any effect at all, with the given data. Both the statistical analysis and the case studies show at most some weak tendencies, even in the MT and 1Q8.

The different results for the prefix and suffix effect show that it is important to treat them as two effects, and not just as one affix effect, as Barr did.

The research only investigated the book of Isaiah, but if one compares the results with those of Barr, it shows that it is important that biblical books be treated separately. Barr noticed an effect of an attached prefix to words in the MT Torah, but in the MT of Isaiah this effect is absent. Also, it is crucial that different manuscripts of a single book are studied separately. The text of 1Q8 is generally considered to be closely related to that of the MT, but there are some interesting differences in the way the suffix effect is visible.

Only a very specific instance of vowel letter variation was studied here, but the advantage of this approach is that it is much clearer than in broader studies under what circumstances there is variation in the use of vowel letters at a given position.

If it is true that there is a suffix effect, this may have influence on research on diachrony of Biblical Hebrew. There are different tendencies in the spelling in different manuscripts. There is a suffix effect, but this is more visible for some lexemes than for others, and it also varies between manuscripts.

In future research, I plan to perform a more sophisticated, so-called multivariate analysis, in which the factors described above are taken into account. That analysis will also take into account that the suffix effect seems to vary among different lexemes as the case studies have shown.

Also, it would be interesting to expand the study of orthography to other features. In this research, only a very specific group of nouns was studied. It would be interesting to broaden the study of orthography to include verbs, adjectives, and other nouns. Furthermore, it is important to include other manuscripts, e.g., the Samaritan Pentateuch and other texts from the Masoretic tradition.

Orthography is often seen as only small features that behave “consistently inconsistent”. In my opinion, however, a closer look at orthographic variation can reveal many interesting patterns, which is a way to get closer to both the history of the language and the personal choices of the scribes.

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Project Summary

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The project on which I am working is called “Artificial Intelligence and Ancient Hebrew Texts”. This two-year postdoc project at the University of Copenhagen is a collaboration of the Faculty of Theology (PI1: Martin Ehrensvärd) and the Department of Computer Science (PI2: Anders Søgaard). It is funded by the DataLab, which is an organization of the university that wants to stimulate interdisciplinary data research.

In the past 2 decades there has been an intense debate going on in the field of Biblical Hebrew Studies on whether or not it is possible to date biblical texts of unknown date (e.g. Jonah, Ruth, Psalms) on the basis of their language. According to some it is possible to do so using the Masoretic Text alone. For them, the Masoretic Text is a reliable source for the text of the biblical books, because its text has been transmitted conservatively. Also, they argue that language is the most objective criterion for dating biblical texts, because language is used (partly) unconsciously. Others are skeptical about this approach. They think that the text of the Hebrew Bible has had a complex history, which should be taken into account if one wants to date biblical texts or books.

The goal of my project is to make new steps in this problem by integrating historical linguistics and textual criticism, using a range of quantitative methods, based on unsupervised learning. The idea of such an approach is to find structure or groups in a dataset without previous knowledge, so there are no predefined groups. In traditional studies, books are often grouped a-priori, e.g. the language of the books known for sure to be late (Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles) is contrasted with that of the books traditionally held to be early (the Torah and the Former Prophets). In my approach, the linguistic relationships between biblical texts should result from the analysis.

In the project, I want to balance large scale and small-scale analyses. Traditional Hebrew linguistics generally works on a small scale: distinct linguistic structures (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) are studied case by case. With such an approach it is difficult to get a general impression of the data. With a quantitative large-scale analysis, the opposite is the case: one has a good general impression of the data, but it is difficult to see how such an analysis relates to the language data. Therefore, complex data models are often called black box models, because it is not so clear what exactly they explain in the data.

The present paper is part of a sub-project on Hebrew orthography. The advantage of studying orthography is that it is present everywhere in a text, so there is a certain abundance of data. In the paper, I discuss the orthography of a limited number of common nouns in an explorative way. It is part of ongoing research, and larger group of nouns and also adjectives will be analyzed soon. Also, a more extensive statistical analysis will follow in subsequent research.

OTSEM ABSTRACT

Eye-paints in the Hebrew Bible: Looking for Meaning

Compared to other cosmetic products, eye-paints are mentioned comparatively infrequently in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kgs 9:30; Ezek 23:40; Jer 4:30; Isa 3:16). Yet, perhaps as a result of the striking, stylised depictions of individuals with kohl-rimmed eyes in the artworks from ancient Egypt and the ancient Near East and the prominence of the figure of Jezebel in the popular imagination, studies on the history and social anthropology of cosmetics seem to devote a disproportionate amount of space to biblical discussions of the significance of eye-paints. These eye-paints are seen as a necessarily feminine coded item of dress which are used exclusively for beautification and by extension seductive purposes. Yet, this is belied by both artefactual and comparative evidence throughout the ancient Near East and the eastern Mediterranean. The complex messages communicated by eye-paints and the culturally significant import of eye-paint can only fully be understood when contextualised against this historical backdrop. This paper argues that, while eye-paints are linked to stigmatized sexual behaviour in the Hebrew Bible, they also have a constellation of other associations including death; the underworld; mourning; return to life; fertility and protection.

Cosmetic pigments have been used to enhance the body throughout the ancient Near East and the eastern Mediterranean from the very earliest times.[1] In studies of cosmetics outside the field of biblical studies, the descriptions of eye-paints have received an inordinate amount of attention. However, compared to other cosmetic products, eye-paints are mentioned comparatively infrequently in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kgs 9:30; Ezek 23:40; Jer 4:30; Isa 3:16).[2] Yet, perhaps as a result of the striking, stylised depictions of individuals with kohl-rimmed eyes in the artworks from ancient Egypt and the ancient Near East (Gansell 2013: 402–3), studies on the history and social anthropology of cosmetics seem to devote a disproportionate amount of space to biblical discussions of the significance of eye-paints. More concerningly, they frequently go on to extrapolate from these texts to make sweeping claims about the history of cosmetic use more broadly. Indeed, Jer 4:30 is often cited as a source-text for the moralising discourse against the use of cosmetics. For instance, the social-anthropologist Robert Brain writes:

> What was the reason for this stubborn prejudice against the body arts? …Since Biblical times the painted faces have been an affront to morals (in the case of women) or to our ideas of masculinity (if men paint). Jeremiah 4:30 associates paint with

[1] In the southern Levant, the use of pigments dates back to the palaeolithic period; mortars with ochre traces have been discovered in the Upper Palaeolithic layer (Ebeling and Rowan 2004: 109). Although impossible to determine with any certainty, this ochre may have been used as a cosmetic (Squitieri 2017a: 74).

[2] Whether it is eye-paints that are being discussed in Isa 3:16 is somewhat controversial. The term ומשקרת is an hapax term which is either translated as ‘painted eyes’ (Gradwohl 1963: 22, 83–84) or as a type of look such as ‘glancing wantonly’ (ESV, KJV, NRSV); ‘wanton eyes’ (JPS); or ‘flirting with their eyes’ (NIV). These translations draw on the root סקר which can mean ‘to look at’ or ‘to observe’ or alternatively ‘to colour red’ in Midrashic Hebrew and Aramaic (HALOT III: 1350; Jastrow 1021; DJBA 829); and the substantive סקרא which refers to a red coloured facial make-up (HALOT III:1350). There are several detractors to this position. See for example, Brenner who argues that we cannot conflate שקר with סקר which are semantically distinct (Brenner 1982: 152). For an overview of the different positions see Williamson’s commentary (2006: 274–5).

> whores…Ever since, Puritan attitudes have coexisted with an invincible urge to paint and transform God's works. Even the free and easy Greeks had a stern attitude to face painting (Brain 1979: 11).

This sentiment is reiterated by Anthony Synott in his overview of the history of arguments against the use of make-up:

> Jeremiah (4:30) condemned make-up and beautification long ago…Make-up is fun, says Avon; but Jeremiah says it is in vain. The difference epitomizes not only different attitudes towards the face and the body, but also different philosophies of life: fun or the service of God; and the two alternatives are seen, at least by Jeremiah, as mutually exclusive. This negative attitude persisted in Christendom… (Synnott 1990: 64-5).

The figure of Jezebel, somewhat unsurprisingly, also seems to have captured the popular imagination and is often discussed since '…most people have heard of the infamous Queen Jezebel of the Old Testament – probably the original "painted lady"' (Wykes-Joyce 1961: 7; cf. also Corson 1989: 31). The import of Wykes-Joyce's assertion seems to be that since time immemorial cosmetics have been the preserve of the dangerous, femme fatale. This assumption is often replicated in archaeological studies, for instance, Avraham Faust and Adi Ehrlich argue that the kohl sticks and perfume that were recovered at Khirbet er-Rasm combined with the lack of general evidence at the site for 'typical feminine activities' suggest that there were prostitutes at the site (Faust and Erlich 2011: 224).[3] Whilst eye-paints and cosmetics can be used for beautification, I demonstrate in the following that the significance of cosmetics expands far beyond female beautification and sexuality and by focusing exclusively on these aspects we lose sight of a far more nuanced and complex picture. I begin by offering a brief survey of the archaeological evidence. I then explore 2 Kgs 9:30 as a case-

[3] In his review of the volume, Eric Lapp rightly challenges this assumption that eye-paint was necessarily gendered and points out that eye-paints may well have had medical or pharmaceutical functions such as to treat eye disorders, prevent eye infections and dryness. Lapp suggests that men and children may also have applied kohl to their eyes (Lapp 2014: 239).

study of how reading beyond the assumptions that eye-paints are inherent associated with femme fatale figures allows to explore fresh interpretative possibilities.

Artefactual Evidence

Several containers including cylindrical tubes and rectangular boxes with tubular holes, along with accompanying spatulas for extracting the contents are often identified as 'kohl containers' and 'kohl sticks'. It is impossible to determine the contents of these containers with any certainty; indeed their identification as kohl containers is usually based on formal considerations rather than residue analysis. Indeed, Andrea Squiteri points out that these containers may have held spices rather than cosmetics (Squitieri 2017a: 84). However, analysis of the residue in an example of this type of container unearthed in Tomb 216 at Lachish demonstrated that the container held manganese dioxide, an ingredient used in kohl (Sparks 1996: 59 n.36). This suggests that the identification and association of this form of container with kohl is credible.[4] Oscar Muscarella argues that kohl boxes likely derived from

[4] Lucas surveyed the analyses of various different scholars of the contents of Egyptian kohl. He notes that approximately 37 cases of 58 samples contained galena which equates to roughly 64%. The others included carbonate of lead (2%); black oxide of copper (1%); brown ochre (5%); magnetic oxide or iron (1%), oxide of manganese (6%); sulphide of antimony (1%); malachite (4%); and chrysocolla, a green-blue ore of copper (1%) which he argues debunks the widely held belief that Egyptian kohl contained antimony or an antimony compound. He attributes this misconception to the Romans who used an antimony compound called by Pliny *stimmi* and *stibi* (Lucas 1930: 42–3). More recently, samples taken from Pharaonic kohl pots from the Middle or New Kingdom (2040–1070 BCE) were analysed using a number of different chemical techniques and were revealed to contain lead-based compounds, two of which were most likely galena (Hardy et al. 2006). Similar analysis on residue taken from a Late Bronze Age kohl box unearthed at Tepebağ Höyük, in modern day Turkey, showed that the mixture contained high concentrations of lead sulphide (Şahin 2020). It is likely that Babylonian eye-paints were also lead based given that the term used for the 'small spoon' which is used to apply

Egyptian models and began to be produced during the Late Bronze Age in Syro-Palestinian regions (Muscarella 1995: 5). Although some examples of these eye-paint containers do occur at Gezer, Megiddo, Hazor, Jericho and Lachish in the Late Bronze Age (Sparks 1996: 57), these containers are comparatively sparse in the contemporary Syro-Palestinian archaeological record (Sparks 1996: 59). The kohl boxes and kohl sticks seem to have grown in popularity, however, throughout the Iron Age and into the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Numerous kohl sticks have been found in the Iron II period. These are small sticks with a spoon at one end and a spatula applicator at the other end (Novacek 2011: 95). Several kohl sticks have been discovered at Megiddo dating to the Iron II period (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl.85). Further Iron II kohl sticks were discovered at Tell En-Nasbeh (NEAEHL III:1101) and an incised bone kohl tube was unearthed at Tell Deir ‘Alla, also dating to the Iron II period (NEAEHL I: 341). The popularity of the kohl stick appears to have continued into the Persian and Hellenistic periods. In particular, the kohl tubes discovered in Persian period graves sometimes with the kohl stick applicators still in situ represent a distinct category of worked bone in the period (Wapnish et al. 2011). These are decorated with a wide variety of different incisions including lattice, chevron, herringbone and dog-tooth patterns (Wapnish et al. 2011). In addition to these bone kohl tubes and sticks, bronze appears to have been a popular medium; a collection of bronze kohl sticks dating to the Persian period were uncovered in a tomb at Atlit Israel (Stern 1982). Kohl sticks were also discovered in the Persian period tombs at Mazar alongside fibulae, needles and beads (NEAEHL III: 991; [d] Excavators suggested that the kohl sticks are found alongside grave good assemblages typically associated with women which may imply that the kohl sticks were also used by

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the cosmetic is known in Akkadian as *itqurtum ša abārim* literally means ‘the small spoon of lead’ (Stol 1989: 166; Wasserman 2015: 608).

women, although sexing skeletons based on grave goods is always a somewhat problematic endeavour, as the excavators themselves acknowledge (Yassine 1984: 10). Tell el-Far'ah, Tomb 650 represents a further examples of kohl containers discovered as part of grave goods which date to the Persian period (NEAEHL II:444).

As well as bone and bronze kohl sticks, kohl sticks made of glass began to emerge in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East during the sixth-fourth centuries BCE. In particular, workshops in northwest Iran and Mesopotamia in the late fifth and fourth centuries BCE, seem to have produced distinctive rod-formed kohl tubes made from a dark translucent glass and decorated with opaque glass threads in zigzag designs (Freestone et al. 2011; Barag 1975). Later still, the excavation of the Second Temple period tombs at Ein-Gedi unearthed two complete wooden kohl tubes which contained the remains of the cosmetic product, one with a wooden stopper and the remainder of another tube, (Liphschitz 1998: 83; Hadas et al. 1994: 5) as well as a bronze kohl stick (Hadas et al. 1994: 3).[5] A further wooden kohl container has also been discovered at Masada (Liphschitz 1998: 84). The greyish substance in the two wooden kohl tubes and on the bronze kohl stick from Ein-Gedi was analysed and contained a high percentage of lead (60-80%), plaster (c.30%) and traces of sulphur (Hadas et al. 1994: 5), which is not wholly dissimilar to the studies performed on Egyptian samples of kohl.

[5] There is some debate as to the significance of the species of wood out of which these tubes were made. According to Gideon Hadas, the kohl tubes were made from boxwood which is not endemic to Israel. Hadas suggests that the cosmetic items were therefore imported either from Asia Minor or Greece (Hadas et al. 1994: 5). However, Nili Lipschitz argues that only one of the kohl containers is made from boxwood the others are made from a variety of fig tree (*Ficus sycomorus)* and a breed of Acacia (*Acacia raddiana*) both of which seem to have grown in Israel (Liphschitz 1998: 83-4).

In addition to the kohl containers and kohl sticks, another type of artefact which is frequently discussed in relation to the prevalence and use of eye-paints in ancient Israel and Judah is the saucer-shaped objects (Thompson 1972: 148) which are variously referred to in archaeological reports and secondary literature as palettes (Macalister 1912 II:273–4); cosmetic mortars (Searight, Reade, and Finkel 2008: 82); and cosmetic palettes (Albright 1941: 80–1; Thompson 1972; Ben-Ami, Sandhaus, and Kuper-Blau 2012: 580). Although the wide variety of nomenclature reflects a degree of uncertainty about the exact purpose of these objects, the majority opinion is that they were used for mixing cosmetics or possibly also medicines (Fischer 2014: 535). Peter Fischer suggests that these palettes may have had a double function and could be used as lids on containers but could be removed and turned upside down for the grinding and mixing of cosmetics (Fischer 2014: 537).

Examples made from glass, faience, flint, alabaster and marble have all been discovered but the majority of examples are made of limestone (Thompson 1972: 148; Barag 1982). Roughly 140 of these palettes have been published, and of these examples, the majority come from Iron Age IIB–C contexts although palettes have also been found in Iron IIA as well as the Persian period contexts (Squitieri 2017: 4–5). The majority of these palettes are distributed through Israel and Judah (Squitieri 2017:4–5). Most of the palettes were unearthed in urban contexts either in ordinary houses or open spaces While a smaller number have also been found in tombs (Squitieri 2017a: 177). Judging from associated grave goods, these palettes do not seem to be prestige goods and appear to be both widespread and non-elite (Squitieri 2017a: 177) and were likely used by both genders (Fischer 2014: 537). Like many of the cosmetic products discussed, the spread of finds seems to suggest that the expansion of both mobility and trade during the *pax assyriaca* seems to have led to an increased spread and movement of stone vessels like these palettes (Squitieri 2017a: 139).

The palettes have a number of different typological differences and can broadly be sorted into categories based on their decoration: plain rim; incised geometric decoration; drilled-dot decoration; or a combination of the two (Squitieri 2017a: 59). The decorative motifs on these palettes are sometimes embellished with inlay or coloured pigment. For example, the Tell Beit Mirsim palette has blue inlay on one of the dots, the palettes found at Gezer and Tell Rehov have blue and green colour traces arranged alternately and two palettes from Tell Abu Kharaz show blue and lilac traces in the dots (Squitieri 2017a: 59). There is a great deal of debate as to whether this colouring is a decorative element or whether the pigments represent staining from the cosmetics themselves (Fischer 2014: 537). In particular, Andrea Squitieri questions why, if these palettes were used for preparing cosmetic pigments, the pigments would be kept in the decoration rather than the central depression. Squitieri notes that of the 30 examples he studied personally, none bore signs of pigmentation stains in this central depression (Squitieri 2017a: 59). Consequently, the identification of these palettes as a surface on which to grind or mix cosmetics remains uncertain.

Nevertheless, Laura Quick argues that the drilled-dot decorations on the rims of these palettes may reflect stylized eyes and may have had an apotropaic function (Quick 2021: 177–8). There is a wealth of evidence that attests to the use of apotropaic amulets in ancient Israel and Judah. As Stavrakopoulou notes (Stavrakopoulou 2013: 544), the Hebrew Bible alludes to amulets which are both worn on the body as well as displayed at thresholds to the home, including windows and doors (Exod 12:7, 13, 22–27; 2 8:36–38; 3 9:30–31; Josh 2:18–21; 6:22–25; Isa 3:18–21; 2 Macc 12:40; cf. Prov 6:21). Pertinently, amulets shaped like eyes or featuring an eye-like decorative motif, such as the example discovered in the Akhzib dating to c.8th–7th century BCE (Quick 2021: 128), proliferate in the archaeological

record.[6] Moreover, drawing on anthropological studies of modern Evil Eye practices as well as evidence from ancient Mesopotamia and the eastern Mediterranean, John Elliott, argues that apotropaic properties were ascribed to the colour blue (Elliott 2015: 152). Although Quick's interpretation cannot be proved decisively or conclusively, it is plausible that the circular, eye-like decorations on the cosmetic palettes, some of which seem to have been painted various hues of blue, had an apotropaic function.

Indeed, this association with cosmetic containers and apotropaicism extends beyond the Israelite and Judahite cosmetic palette type.[7] For example, a stone cosmetic container from ancient Samʾal dating to the latter half of the ninth century BCE bears a very early example of the Aramaic magico-medical incantations which became popular in antiquity.[8] The box is made from steatite or chloride and is rectangular in shape. It has six holes drilled into its top side, in which traces of pigment were found.[9] Numerous geographically and morphologically proximate comparanda have been discovered at Çatal Höyük.[10] The

[6] For numerous other Iron II examples of eye amulets discovered in Israel and Palestine see detailed catalogues in Herrmann (1994; 2002).

[7] Although not associated with kohl, note also the two *lamassu* decorating the pyxis depicted in the garden scene of Assurbanipal from the palace reliefs in Nineveh. As Pauline Albenda argues, these *lamassu* may have had an apotropaic function (Albenda 1976: 63–4). This iconographic representation of a pyxis may also point to the connection between cosmetics and apotropaicism in Assyria.

[8] For a detailed discussion of these incantations and the Aramaic magic bowls see Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro (2013).

[9] Personal communication with Madadh Richey ahead of the publication of 'The Incantation of RḤM son of ŠDNN', in J.D. Schloen and V.R. Herrmann (eds), Sam'al 1. (Chicago).

[10] Eighty-two cosmetic items were collected from the site, including thirty-one kohl containers, twenty-two lids, sixteen boxes, six sticks, five spoons, one mirror and one cosmetic table. These kohl containers were decorated

functional designation of these boxes as ‘kohl boxes’ is based on their formal features rather than analysis of the deposits inside the containers (Pucci 2019: 235). It is typically argued that bone sticks were inserted into cylindrical cavities to extract the colour so that it could be applied to the eyes (Pucci 2019: 236).

However, what is unique to the example unearthed at Samʾal is that an earlier design on the obverse surface has been effaced with short, vertical incisions to make way for an inscription that describes the seizure of a threatening creature called the ‘devourer’.[11] The incantation also identifies the owner as ‘Rahim son of Shadadan’. Quick argues that ‘[e]ye paint applied to the eyes from containers incised with schematic eyes or inscribed with incantations and spells may have functioned apotropaically to protect the wearer from the evil eye’ (Quick 2021: 179).

In addition to the artefactual evidence, there is also some iconographic evidence which may point to the use of eye-paints. The faces of a bearded man and a non-bearded figure who may be a woman or a youth were uncovered at Tel Dan and were likely originally attached to some form of a stand (Pakman 2003). These date to the ninth century BCE and were made using layers of clay. The faces were burnished red While the hair on the head, beard eyebrows and eyelashes were painted black (Pakman 2003). Laura Quick suggests that the black-rimmed eyes may be an artistic representation of the use of kohl, while the red

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with geometric patterns including wavy lines between bands, concentric arches, zigzags and rosettes (Pucci 2019: 236).

[11] The erasure of the earlier design has been very thorough but there is one very fragmentary set of incisions that seems to have survived the attempted total erasure of the obverse. It intersects the last two lines of the inscription, which are written over it but it remains difficult to determine what the figure is. The excavators suggest that it is some form of therimorphic quadruped, but are unable to determine much more (Personal communication with Madadh Richey).

pigment may represent cosmetics used to colour the skin (Quick 2021a: 157). While there are always questions about the extent to which stylized artistic representations of the human form can be taken as evidence of lived and embodied practices, the Tel Dan faces nevertheless depict a beauty standard to which it is not unreasonable to assume that individuals might have aspired. Given the artefactual and comparative evidence, it seems plausible that ancient Israelites and Judahites may have sought to embody and recreate this dark-eyed beauty ideal through the use of eye-paints and other cosmetics. Crucially, the inscription bearing a male name, Rahim son of Shadadan, and the stylised eyes of the bearded male suggest that it is possible that eye-paints were worn by both men and women.

Jezebel's Evil Eye

The image of Jezebel at the window haunts biblical scholarship. Judith McKinlay perhaps puts it best:

> The image stays in my mind, the final glimpse of Jezebel, standing at her window, her eyes painted, her hair so carefully arranged, a woman fit for the gaze of the world (2 Kgs 9:30), only to lie shattered a mere five verses later, a scattered skull, feet and the palms of her hands all that will remain of her (2 Kgs 9:35). Those of us who read biblical texts have become used to deaths…but a death, an ending, like this still has the power to jolt (McKinlay 2002: 305).

2 Kgs 9:30–7 has a certain voyeuristic allure and the motif of Jezebel's beautification and subsequent violent death would not be misplaced in a modern horror film.[12] The presentation of the gaze, gender performance and use of cosmetics in this passage undoubtedly reflects a hostility on the part of the biblical narrator(s) and redactor(s). This episode reflects the '…dramatic Deuteronomistic attempt to erase and replace this final regal view of Jezebel as queen—they break her, stomp on her, cut her up, feed her to the dogs, and turn her into dung. In the literature, the image of the majestically attired, perfectly made-up and coiffured queen

[12] For a discussion of the sex-horror confluence in modern horror films see Jones (2018).

is overlaid and replaced with a disgusting snapshot of besmeared excrement on the ground' (Park, Pilarski, and Reid 2019: 129). Nevertheless, there is a certain macabre glee in the secondary literature concerning Jezebel. In particular, Jezebel's use of eye-paint is frequently described as a perverse foreshadowing of her grisly end, often in graphic language. For instance, David Hoffeditz and Gary Yates summarise Jezebel's ultimate demise as: 'Jezebel paints her eyes; Jehu has the palace walls painted with her blood' (Hoffeditz and Yates 2005: 211). Similarly, Deborah Appler argues that 'the term פוך…is a foreign word that means 'to pulverize' in the Syriac. Jezebel's very body is soon to be pulverized when she is trampled by horses before becoming food for dogs' (Appler 1999: 64).

According to this paradigm, Jezebel's use of eye-paint visibly communicates her alterity on her body. It is this difference for which Jezebel is ultimately punished with death. There is, however, a diverse range of opinions as to which element of alterity the eye-paint signals. A number of commentators highlight the point that cosmetics are connected to expressions of sexuality outside the bounds of social acceptability. Jezebel is understood as an evil seductress, undoubtedly encouraged by the hostility of the biblical narrator towards the character.[13] According to this paradigm, Jezebel's use of kohl is read as an attempt to seduce Jehu (Parker 1978; Barré 1988; Kalmanofsky 2017: 107).[14] Amy Kalmanofsky compares Jezebel's application of cosmetics in preparation of her meeting with Jehu to personified Zion using eye-paint to prepare herself to meet the invaders in Jer 4:30-1 (Kalmanofsky 2017: 107). Similarly, Bradley Crowell notes that 'while the application of kohl to outline the eyes was common, especially among royalty and upper-class women,

[13] An overview of some of these less charitable readings of Jezebel is provided by Pippin (1995).

[14] This is by no means a modern phenomenon. Ancient Christian interpreters, such as Ephrem the Syrian, argue that, by painting her eyes and putting on her queenly finery, Jezebel is trying to replicate the outcome of the story of Adonijah (1 Kgs 2:17). See discussion in Conti (2008: 186).

other biblical texts that refer to kohl criticize its use as preparations for seduction and even the act of adultery (cf. Jer 4:30; Ezek 23:40)' (Crowell 2013: 12–3). Indeed, Peter Leithart goes so far as to describe Jezebel painting her eyes 'as if to welcome a John' (Leithart 2006: 221). The import of this is that the use of eye-paint is inherently associated with preparation for illicit sexual acts. In the context of Jezebel, the use of eye-paints is read as yet another instance of her 'seductive influence that served her so well in carrying out her evil designs' (Hoffeditz and Yates 2005: 213).

A second, interconnected approach is to view Jezebel's use of eye-paints as associated with her foreignness. Some commentators argue that looking out a window is a 'common ancient Near Eastern image for a prostitute' (Hoffeditz and Yates 2005: 212). A similar argument is put forward by Peter Ackroyd who argues the use of this 'woman at the window' motif is used 'to represent the goddess as a sacred prostitute' and Jezebel is, therefore 'being presented, and rejected, as the goddess herself' (Ackroyd 1993: 258). Thus, in depicting Jezebel as using eye-paints she is not only sexually promiscuous but also aligned with a foreign goddess.[15] Other interpretations which connect Jezebel with foreign goddess figures suggest that she is akin to the woman whom Aphrodite turns to stone for heaping scorn on the funeral procession of her rejected suitor as it passes beneath her window (Beach 1993: 100; Appler 1999: 65). In a similar vein, Susan Ackerman argues that Jezebel was a worshipper of Asherah (Ackerman 2003: 461) and may even have acted as a 'human representative, even surrogate, of Asherah' (Ackerman 1993: 400). Similarly, Judith McKinlay argues that Jezebel

[15] The connection of sexual promiscuity with religious apostasy is a common biblical trope. Indeed, as Sharon Moughtin-Mumby (2008: 108) points out, it is so prevalent we often find '"prostitution" defined as "apostasy" in lexicons'. For instance, '1. Be or act as a harlot…metaphorically of a land given to harlotry' (BDB: 275); 'to be unfaithful in a relationship with God' (HALOT I: 275); 'wore after, i.e. seek for illicit sex, in ref. to worship of foreign gods' (DCH III: 121).

has Hathor-styled hair and consequently 'the destruction of Jezebel may also have been presented as a shattering of the goddess Hathor/Asherah herself' (McKinlay 2004: 88).

Michael Moore connects Jezebel with another foreign goddess: Anat. Moore argues that 2 Kings 9–10 is a parody of KTU 1.3 (Moore 2003).[16] In particular, Moore compares Jezebel adorning herself and using פוך to Anat's use of *anhbm* which he claims she applies to her eyes (Moore 2003: 106) but there is no explicit textual basis for this.[17] According to this reading, Jezebel's use of cosmetics aligns her with a foreign goddess and her ultimate destruction and triumph of Jehu is a triumph for YHWH worship over the temptation of foreign goddesses. Julie Faith Parker also notes distinct overlaps and similarities between Anat and Jezebel. For Parker, Jezebel, like Anat, is '…a woman who is also a warrior. She

[16] A number of parallels have also been noted between KTU 1.3 and the Deborah-Jael narrative (Dempster 1978; Craigie 1978; Taylor 1982; Tamber-Rosenau 2018:42–53). These studies often point to the similarities or possible allusions to Ugaritic goddesses such as Anat and Athart and posit that the purpose of such heavy feminine presence in both the prose and poetic accounts of Israel's deliverance in Judges 4-5 is to emphasize subversively that YHWH and Deborah-Jael are the 'real thing' in comparison to the Canaanite's divine warriors Baal and Anat.

[17] See Nick Wyatt's translation 'the perfumes of seven tamarisks, the odour of coriander and murex' (2002: 72). As Wyatt argues, it is 'hard to imagine that the *odour* of murex (dead) was pleasant! It is better constructed, as here, with the tamarisk and coriander in parallel as sources of scent, and the murex following as a source of coloration' (2002: 72, n.16). This description of Anat using murex is repeated a number of times in the Ugaritic corpus (KTU 1.3.ii.4, iii.1-2, iv.45-6; KTU 1.7.R.15-17, 1.7.V.35-7). After the battle, Anat also washes her hands and body and then reapplies the murex (KTU 1.3.ii.38–41). Much like the debate surrounding Jezebel's use of cosmetics, some commentators view Anat's use of henna and murex as a trick to increase her sexual allure and so confuse her opponents into under estimating her. However, as Caryn Tamber-Rosenau argues, 'we can better interpret this as a pre-battle ritual unconnected to sex. Just as we would not interpret the application of "war paint" by male warriors as an attempt to beautify oneself for sexual purposes, we should not assume that Anat's paint and perfume are evidence of her sexual nature' (Tamber-Rosenau 2018: 50).

wants to be ready for the impending threat and presents her strongest self' (Parker 2015: 183). Neither Anat nor Jezebel's use of cosmetics '…appear to be a gesture of female subservience but an act of warrior readiness' (Parker 2015: 186). Indeed, Deryn Guest argues that the comparison between Jezebel and Anat's gender performance is used to 'reinforce the image of female masculinity' (Guest 2016: 73–5).

This brings us to the third aspect of Jezebel's alterity which her use of eye-paints is sometimes believed to communicate: her non-conformist gender performance. Several different scholars highlight Jezebel's adoption and performance of traits coded as masculine (Guest 2016; Lipka 2019; Quine 2020: 416; Hare 2018: 262–5, 270). Throughout the biblical narratives concerned with Jezebel we see her display strength; leadership ability; act with agency; demonstrate a capacity for violence and display a preference for the company of men, all of which are elsewhere coded as distinctively masculine traits.[18] In this context, Jezebel's use of eye-paint is sometimes read as an act of defiance so that she appears 'self-reliant and proud' (Hens-Piazza 2006: 292); the eye-paint she uses is likened to '…war paint as she takes control of her emotions and faces her final battle' (Gaines 1999: 78).

This is contrasted by those, such as Bradley Crowell who argue that Jezebel uses her eye-paints to 'perform femininity' as a 'necessary masquerade' (Crowell 2013). However, even when the use of eye-paints is read as a feminine act of deportment, this is still read as an attempt to juxtapose her outward, female appearance with her adoption of masculine roles. As Judith McKinlay posits, male authors and redactors chose to emphasize Jezebel's feminine make-up to undermine an otherwise powerful figure 'such a powerful and assertive woman deserves what is coming to her…The writer wants us to understand that while this is indeed a woman in all the feminine senses, this is one who has not acted her part as woman in

[18] For a detailed analysis of these traits see Hilary Lipka's work (2019: 142–3).

Israel, and women who do not behave like women – according to the narrator's gender construction – must fall from their place' (McKinlay 2002: 307). Whether read as masculine war-paint or feminine seduction, Jezebel's use of eye-paint is read as an example of non-conformist and, to the biblical author(s) and redactor(s), unacceptable gender performance. The ultimate message of her use of eye-paints is that '…women who transgress gender norms…[by]…getting involved in areas that should belong exclusively to men, will not be tolerated, and will meet a similar fate' (Lipka 2019: 141).

Jezebel's use of eye-paint in 2 Kgs 9:35 defies neat categorisation. This is perhaps unsurprising, eye-paints and other cosmetics are 'multivalent and carry many meanings for both agents and observers, they are continually under renegotiation and reappropriation…Like all practices their meanings emerge through their strategic employment' (Eilberg-Schwartz 1995: 10). Nevertheless, despite the diverse range of interpretations and varied conclusions, what unites all of these explanations is that Jezebel's use of eye-paint is a physical manifestation of her alterity on multiple axes of her identity. Thus, Jezebel's eye-paints are read as indicative of her identity as 'a common whore, a witch, a sacred prostitute, a regal queen, a foreign temptress and a goddess….In one light she assumes the posture of a beckoning temptress, and in another, a devouring goddess' (Park, Pilarski, and Reid 2019: 131). At the heart of all of these interpretations is the question:

> …why would the Deuteronomist, who is virulently anti-Jezebel, create an image of dignity and strength? It seems contradictory to imagine that he permits, at the end, some admiration of her royal display. Given the painted eyes do not have a good press elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Jer 4:30; Ezek 23:40), it is more convincing to understand Jezebel's actions in terms of deliberate Deuteronomistic criticism (Guest 2016: 71).

However, by focusing on the role of cosmetics and eye-pains in seduction and questions of gender roles and identity, other possible connotations of Jezebel's use of eye-paints have been missed. As Anne Létourneau points out, make-up in the ancient Near East often served

a magico-religious purpose (Létourneau 2014: 199).[19] In particular, in relation to 2 Kings 9:30, Francesca Stavrakopoulou argues that:

> It is also likely that cosmetics – particularly eye make-up – could function apotropaically. Cross-cultural ethnographies and other anthropological studies suggest that, along with amulets, incantations and gestures, the application of make-up around the eyes could serve both to protect the wearer from the evil eye and to prevent those with the power of the eye from inflicting harm upon others (Stavrakopoulou 2013: 545).[20]

Jezebel is both the one watching out of the window as well as the woman observed at the window, 'performing the politics of visibility, in which the transaction of the gaze, emphasized by her kohled eyes is presented both as a cultural commodity and as a vehicle of potential social conflict' (Stavrakopoulou 2013: 543). Thus, '[b]y painting her eyes, Jezebel manifests and communicates a culturally coded statement about the gaze of the other, as an anxiety-inducing phenomenon' (Quick 2021a: 179). For both Stavrakopoulou and Quick, this anxiety induced-phenomenon is couched in terms of the evil eye (Stavrakopoulou 2013: 543–7; Quick 2021a: 175–80). Indeed, given that eating human flesh is related to 'the sphere of the belief in the evil eye' (Wazana 2007: 700) both in the biblical text (Deut 28:54, 56; Qoh 4:4–8) and Ugaritic incantations (Wazana 2007: 694–696), even the fate of Jezebel's body (2 Kgs 9:10, 36) has a certain macabre resonance with the collection of evil eye complex. Whether Jezebel's use of eye-paints is an attempt to evoke the evil-eye against Jehu or to

[19] Létourneau goes on to conclude that Jezebel's cosmetic acts in 2 Kgs 9:30 not only represent seduction but also express her political and religious alterity on her body (Létourneau 2014: 209–10).

[20] The belief that the application of eye-paint can protect the wearer from the evil eye is recorded in a number of different cultures including in South India, Yemen, Afghanistan and across the Middle East (Keosaian et al. 2019: 2; Al-Akily, Bamashmus, and El-Gorafi 2019: 481; McMichael and Stoff 2018: 265).

protect herself from his gaze, she is ultimately unsuccessful, as Jehu seems to look past her and avoid directly engaging her gaze (2 Kgs 9:32).

It is possible to extend the work of Quick and Stavrakopoulou by exploring the associations eye-paints have with stories about descent and return from the underworld in other ancient Near Eastern texts. For instance, in ancient Egypt eye-paints and specifically, kohl were believed to be 'a required component for the dead's judgement and rebirth' (Hartwig 2004: 90). The dead were believed to purify themselves, apply myrrh, dress in white and then apply eye-paint before being allowed to enter the Hall of Judgement (Hartwig 2004: 90; Manniche 1999: 136–7). It seems that we are judged in death, as we are in life, by what we wear and how we appear. In one Assyrian ritual (LKA 79:10–13), goat is dispatched as a substitute for a human patient only once its eyes have been painted so that the human patient can be restored (Scurlock 2010: 38). Similarly, in the Sumerian story of Enki and Ninhursag, the fox anoints himself, loosens out his fur and paints kohl around his eyes in order to prepare for his death, specifically to go as a substitute for Enki to Ereškigal, the name of the underworld and its eponymous goddess (Katz 2008; Scurlock 2010: 38). Crucially, the fox expects to be returned to life, as promised by Enki (Scurlock 2010: 38). In each of these cases, eye-paint is associated not only with death and mortal peril but also with restoration to life and rebirth.[21]

[21] A further, albeit perhaps more equivocal example occurs in a rather enigmatic passage in Inanna and Šukaletuda. Here, Enki instructs a raven to mix kohl, oil, and water into a trench for leeks as well as to parts of a date palm in order to bring the garden to life. Volk contends that the raven uses this kohl mixed with oil and water on the garden as part of a fertility ritual to prepare the soil for planting and argues that this is an example of a medical-therapeutic uses of eye-paints (Volk 1995: 149). Building on this, Mařik suggests that kohl is associated with fertility in Inana and Šukaletuda and is used as form of sympathetic magic because of its associations with Inanna and Dumuzi and seduction (Mařík 2003: 155–7). It is possible, therefore, that these

Perhaps most strikingly, there are several parallels between Jezebel's use of dress and cosmetics and those used by Inanna in the Sumerian myth The Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld. In the myth, Inanna, the Queen of Heaven, decides to usurp her sister Ereškigal the Queen of the Netherworld. Inanna applies kohl to her eyes called 'Let a man come, let him come' (Lapinkivi 2010: 60) along with other finery and items of dress before her descent into the Netherworld (lines 16–25).[22] At each of the seven gates Inanna must pass through to enter the Netherworld, she is forced to remove an item of her clothing until she is naked before Ereškigal and the judges. Thus, much as Jezebel enters a liminal space dressed in her finery and wearing eye-paint to face mortal peril, so too Inanna dresses in her regalia and applies eye-paint before she passes through the space between life and death. Inanna must pass through physical indicators of her liminality — namely the seven gates — to reach the Netherworld just as Jezebel is thrown from the window to her death.[23]

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life-giving properties of eye-paints operate within the same semantic sphere as beautification and seduction. Hartwig makes a similar argument in relation to the kohl pot as a popular motif in Theban tomb wall paintings: the kohl pot is '…related to sexuality, and thus represent the necessary preliminaries for the union of the husband and the wife, which would result in their rebirth in the hereafter' (Hartwig 2004: 90).

[22] See discussion of the interface between clothing, nudity and illness in the Sumerian and Akkadian descriptions of Inanna's and Ishtar's descent into the underworld in Quick's monograph on dress (2020: 9–10).

[23] There are also a number of parallels here between this narrative and Esth 5:11. Anyone who enters the king's inner court without being called is put to death (Esth 4:11). Nevertheless, Esther dresses herself in her queenly finery (Esth 5:1) and passes over this threshold (Esth 5:11). Thus, like Inanna and Jezebel, Esther dresses herself in her queenly finery and passes through a liminal space while confronted with the possibility of death. This similarity is perhaps unsurprising. A number of other similarities between Jezebel and Esther have been pointed out by Helena Zlotnick (2001) who argues that the story of Esther and Ahasuerus should be read as a rehabilitation of the narrative of Jezebel and Ahab.

Interestingly, although Inanna is forced to remove one aspect of her clothing at each gate until she is ultimately naked, the removal of her eye-paint is never explicitly mentioned. Despite its complete absence from the texts, most commentators usually assume that it has been removed. As Pirjo Lapivinki puts it: 'the Sumerian myth does not describe at which point Inanna loses her wig and mascara' (Lapinkivi 2010: 60).[24] Yet, there is no textual basis for this. Indeed, the items which Inanna does not remove, her eye-paint and the 'locks (of hair) she fixed upon her forehead' (Kramer 1951: 2), are the same as those which Jezebel applies when applies her kohl and makes good her head (2 Kgs 9:30). Given Inanna's careful planning and preparation for her escape from the Netherworld (lines 30–71) before her descent and the association of eye-paints with restoration of life and death substitutions, it is possible that not only did Inanna not remove her eye-paint but that it is, in part, this which aided her in the execution of her escape. Arguably, Inanna's use of eye-paints allows her to navigate successfully not only her descent to the Netherworld but also her return and substitution.

Indeed, the eye and the transaction of the gaze is a focal point of the myth and are closely connected with death. When Ereškigal confronts the naked Inanna we are told 'she fastened the eye upon her, the eye of death, Spoke the word against her, the word of wrath, Uttered the cry against her, the cry of guilt' (Kramer 1951: 8) at which point Inanna is turned into a corpse and hung from a nail (lines 164–8). On returning to the land of the living,

[24] There is some disagreement between the different versions of the Sumerian myth as to the order of the garments (Lapinkivi 2010: 60). The later Akkadian version is much shorter and does not include a description of Ishtar dressing for the underworld. As a result, she is not described as applying eye-paint or preparing her hair. The Akkadian version also reflects a slightly different order of the removal of items of dress. For a discussion of the differences between the Akkadian and Sumerian versions account of the removal of dress see Lapinkivi (2010: 60–1).

Inanna seeks out Dumuzi her consort and, upon finding him dressed in finery rather than mourning her death, she sends him as a substitute for her to the Netherworld (lines 332–380). In order to do this, 'she fastened the eye upon him, the eye of death, Spoke the word against him the word of wrath, uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt: '"As for him, carry him off"' (Kramer 1951: 14). It seems significant, therefore, that Inanna paints her eyes (line 25) before her descent to the Netherworld and does not remove the eye-paint for the rest of the narrative. It is subsequently Inanna's gaze that dispatches Dumuzi to the Netherworld.

Thus, much as Inanna uses her eye-paints first to enter and then to escape the Netherworld and then to condemn Dumuzi as part of a substitution ritual, Jezebel's use of eye-paints perhaps reflects her attempt to confront Jehu and escape the clutches of her imminent death. In many ways, Jezebel has succeeded in descending to the Netherworld and returning. Jezebel, with her kohl-ringed eyes, lives on in the imagination of readers and enjoys a vibrant afterlife in scholarly literature.

Conclusions

It is undeniable that eye-paints are sometimes used as part of female seduction in the Hebrew Bible. In Jer 4:30 the Daughter of Zion applies eye-paint explicitly in order to beautify herself, while in Ezek 23:40 Oholibah prepares for her male lovers by applying her eye-paint. It is usually assumed that the death of these figures is a consequence of the use of cosmetics; the good-time girl gets her comeuppance. It is usually assumed that the death of these figures is a consequence of the use of cosmetics; the good-time girl gets her comeuppance. A frankly troubling causal relationship is therefore either tacitly or explicitly constructed between the use of eye-paints and the brutalisation of these female figures. However, it is hardly a novel observation that the culture which gave rise to the Hebrew Bible does not cohere with our own standards of gender equality. While it is possible that the biblical author(s) and

redactor(s) wished to portray Jezebel with her kohl-rimmed eyes as a foreign, non-conforming, seductress, to focus exclusively on this aspect we are blinkered to other interpretative avenues and resonances of eye-paints.

The archaeological, iconographic and epigraphic evidence discussed above shows, eye-paints were likely used by men as well as women. This suggests that eye-paints were not inherently associated with femme fatale figures. Moreover, a body of ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian texts seem to point to the use of eye-paints in descent to and return from the underworld, substitution rituals and rebirth in the afterlife. This, along with the artefactual evidence, suggests that eye-paints may have had an apotropaic function, possibly born out of a complex of beliefs surrounding the power of the gaze and the evil eye.

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My doctoral project aims to present a comprehensive study of the varying functions of cosmetics in the Hebrew Bible and the archaeological record of Israel and Judah. I have identified two essential properties for a product to be cosmetic. Firstly, they must be temporary or removable as this is the difference between cosmetic pigments used to colour the eyes, cheeks or complexion and permanent uses of colour such as tattooing. Secondly, cosmetics alter properties of the body such as skin colour or scent. This stands in contrast to items of clothing or jewellery which are better described as an ornament or embellishment to the body underneath. I therefore define cosmetics as any removable or temporary product which are applied to any part of the human body with the intention of altering the perception of a property of that body.

I argue that it is only by contextualising the use of cosmetics against the whole processes of production, distribution and consumption, that we can fully understand their significance. I draw on archaeobotanical, artefactual, iconographic and epigraphic evidence in order to attempt to identify these processes which imbue cosmetics with meaning. This complex network of meaning is crucial for unpicking the significance of the descriptions of cosmetics in the Hebrew Bible. When explored through this lens, we are able to avoid resorting to stale assumptions that cosmetics in the Hebrew Bible are exclusively the preserve of the seductive femme fatale.

I have structured my thesis so that it opens with an introduction and methodology followed by four chapters each devoted to a different cosmetic product. There is a chapter on the cosmetic use of oil; another on the role perfume plays; a third on the significance of eye-paints; and a fourth on colorants applied to change the complexion of the skin and/or hair. The distinctions I have made between these four cosmetic products are, by their nature, artificial. The categories are not as distinct or clear-cut as the structure of these chapters might suggest. For instance, malachite was mixed with oil to form a paste used as eye-paint (Jacob 2011: 56). This represents a cosmetic use of oil, it is an eye-paint and it is a colorant which is applied to the body. Nevertheless, I have chosen to use this structure as each of these products affect the body in a slightly different way and interact with the senses in a unique manner. Archaeological, inscriptional and socio-scientific evidence external to the Hebrew Bible indicates that cosmetics were used more frequently than the Hebrew Bible itself might suggest (Jacob 2011; Dayagi-Mendels 1989; King and Stager 2001: 280–5; Quick 2019a: 356–7). Indeed, as Quick and Philip King and Lawrence Stager note (Quick 2019a: 360; King and Stager 2001: 281), women's use of eye paints in particular, but also perfumes and oils are frequently associated with prostitution and moral corruption (Isa 3:16-24; Jer 4:30; Ezek 16:15-18; 23:40-42; Amos 6:6; Eccl 7:1; Prov 6:25). Thus, one of the aims of this study is to reconstruct the likely reality of cosmetic practices in ancient Israel and Judah. It is anticipated that the historical reality may in places differ from the anti-cosmetic rhetoric and the portrayal of those who wear cosmetics as Othered.

The evidence we have of cosmetic practices in the ancient world reflects a widespread, culturally diffuse phenomenon that resists being pinned down. Although any models of cultural influence are highly speculative and to some extent unreconstructible, we do know that there were connections between Israel and its other ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean neighbours through imperialism, diplomacy and trade. There were points of historical contact between these different cultures and their cosmetic practices and instances of cultural contact and cosmetics can be traced through the trade routes and tributes used to purchase and gift cosmetic items. For example, we know that kohl is often described as coming from Elam and was also given as tribute by Hezekiah to Sennacherib (Kramer 1977: 65; OIP 2 34:42). Similarly, products such as frankincense and myrrh came from Somalia and Southern Arabia (Lucas 1930: 49; King and Stager 2001: 280; Manniche 1999: 26). Something which the Hebrew Bible itself acknowledges in Jer 6:20. These demonstrable points of contact between cultures, form a basis from which to compare cultures within the same historical stream. As such, I cautiously use comparative evidence drawn from the ancient Near East and Mediterranean to help to reconstruct in order to construct a likely historical reality.

The poetic profile of the Greek translator of the book of Job: thematic-formal units

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Preface:
I would like the focal points of the discussion to be: (1) are the stages of analysis easy to follow?; (2) does it seem justifiable to use strophe theories (for thematic-formal units) in the Greek text to find some answers to textual and redaction-critical problems of the Hebrew text? (3) I am also open to suggestions on ways to format the comparison between Greek and Hebrew + their translations in a reader-friendly way.

Kristin Klaus (University of Tartu)

Thematic-formal units in the Old Greek Job speeches

1 Introduction

Units in Hebrew poetry and specifically in the book of Job

It is generally maintained that (Biblical) Hebrew poems divide into smaller units. These units are usually called strophes, stanzas, cantos, or more neutrally literary units. It is common to divide these units into smaller ones, traditionally called strophes or sub-strophes.

Some say that these units should be, in the limits of one poem, of similar or equal length (for example, van der Lugt 1995: 33 and Fokkelman 2012: 7). Others again say that the most important thing is the sense unit (for example, Skehan 1971: 98 and Watson 1986: 163, but also Fokkelman 2012: 10) that is formally backed up by different rhetorical techniques and markers, including a certain length of the unit. Wilfred Watson (1986: 160, 162) has taken up this problem in his *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*, where he simply states that "stanzas can be regular, but need not be" and that the notion of regularity is based on classical Greek poetry.

Thus, to divide a poem into units, it is first necessary to note all the passages where the subject changes. Jan Fokkelman (2012: 7) is sure that the poet began a new strophe or train of thought after two or three verses (mainly two or three bicola). These would be the smaller units within bigger units of sense. Throughout his *The Book of Job in Form: A Literary Translation with Commentary*, he has managed to show that the speeches in the book of Job fit into this pattern where the train of thought changes after two or three bicola (a strophe) and bigger units of sense (stanzas) form from one or more strophes. Pieter van der Lugt before him did this same type of strict thematic-formal division in his *Rhetorical Criticism and the Poetry of the Book of Job* (1995) and *Cantos and Strophes in Biblical Hebrew Poetry: with special reference to the First Book of the Psalter* (2006 and the following parts in later years). Fokkelman and van der Lugt mainly inspire the methodology used in this chapter. Van der Lugt, in his *Rhetorical Criticism* and elsewhere, has given extremely detailed overviews of the history of dividing Job into units, which will not be reproduced here.

Units in Greek poetry and specifically the Old Greek translation of Job

Dividing longer forms of poetry into smaller units is not a very active research topic among scholars of Ancient Greek literature and poetry.

Christopher Faraone, among very few, has delved into this topic, specifically regarding elegiac poetry. He has written several relevant articles. However, his 2008 monograph remains the most comprehensive.

His "stanza" is

> "a formal unit of verse, which is recurrently identical in length and metrical structure, and which constitutes a division of a poem that corresponds to the paragraph in prose. The analogy to the prose paragraph, in particular, captures one essential feature of the elegiac stanza that is not necessarily shared by the stanzas of the lyric genres of Greek poetry: the regular coincidence between the end of an elegiac stanza and the end of a sentence." (Faraone 2008: 9)

To demarcate stanzas, he considers thematic unity and rhetorical and poetic devices, keywords, and repetition that bring harmony or closure to a specific unit (Faraone 2008: 16, 18, 22).

As far as I know, the Greek text of the book of Job has not been subject to unit[1] analysis.

Marieke Dhont did analyse rhetorical features in units of several cola in her monograph; however, there is no actual definition of these "units". She does mention that there are "literary units" in the book of Job but leaves it at that. (Dhont 2018: 261) Sometimes, she does say that a particular rhetorical feature helps bring together verses into a unit (for example, pp. 266, 283, and 294).

In the NETS translation of the book of Job, Claude Cox admits that "[t]he translator was responsible for dividing the text into small segments according to sense" however, the example is given of a word-division difference within the level of two cola not a larger "segment". The translation itself is divided into units mostly based on the NRSV translation and not independently. (Cox 2009: 668, 670)

Aims and Methodology

The main aim of this paper is to see whether the Old Greek text of the book of Job could be divided into thematic-formal units[2] in the way that the Hebrew text can be. If it can be, then the secondary aims are to see whether the thematic-formal units in the Greek and Hebrew texts are the same (start and begin in the same passages) and whether, in Greek, they are formally (poetically and rhetorically) more or less coherent and smooth than in Hebrew.

Since analysing the whole of Job this way is not feasible, I have chosen a selection of speeches to analyse poetically and rhetorically: 4–5, 8, 19, 21, 29–31, 38–39, and 40–41. This selection

[1] or strophe, stanza, canto, etc.

[2] At this stage of work, I have opted to use a neutral and descriptive term instead of the classic "strophe", "stanza", or "canto"; however, the terminology is open to changes at a different stage.

covers speeches where there are fewer text-critical problems and no asterisked material (4–5 and 8), speeches where there are some asterisked passages (19), and speeches with a lot of asterisked passages (21, 29–31, 38–39, 40–41). Speeches with many asterisked passages are of more interest since, obviously, in them, the thematic-formal units cannot be the same as in the Hebrew text. In what follows, I will show a detailed analysis of one thematic-formal unit from some of the speeches I have studied thus far, namely Job 4–5, 8, and 38–39.

In this paper, I will compare the units of Hebrew and Old Greek Job. What will not be under consideration at this moment are redactional layers of the book of Job, meaning the underlying assumption is that the *Vorlage* that the Greek translator used is more or less similar to the Masoretic Text[3]. My divisions of the units, based on the Old Greek text, under closer analysis are compared with those of van der Lugt, based on the Masoretic Text[4]; however, all analysis of the contents is my own. In my thesis, before the analysis, I show several other divisions by scholars (Georg Fohrer, Samuel Terrien, Norman Habel, John Hartley, Pieter van der Lugt, John Gray, Jan Fokkelman, Urmas Nõmmik, and Markus Witte)[5]. These divisions are from different decades and schools, showing various ways to divide the text into units (for example, concentrating more on the theme of the units or, on the contrary, more on the form). However, it needs to be said that all these other divisions are of the Hebrew text of the book of Job! As far as I know, no attempt has been made to apply this line of analysis to the Greek text of Job. Due to space limitations in this paper, I will only compare my divisions with those of Pieter van der Lugt.

For the comparison and analysis, I have identified where sense units begin and end in the Old Greek text of Job; where possible, I have divided bigger sense units into smaller thematic units[6]. However, where either or both thematic and formal aspects are not so uniform, I have, at the moment, until I have weighed all other possible options, opted for more extended units. After this, I try to find formal aspects of the text to confirm that these units are indeed separate from the rest. Of particular interest are different markers – whether these are special discourse and transition markers (like particles or adverbs) or poetic and rhetoric techniques used in the frames of the thematic units. Thus, the term I use for these units is a neutral ‘thematic-formal

[3] Text- and redaction critical concerns will be taken up in chapter 3 of the thesis, building on the results gathered from the current chapter.

[4] This is because the methodology I have chosen to delimit units is inspired by his and Fokkelman’s; his divisions also match mine quite often, and thus it is more convenient to show the Hebrew and Greek texts together. However, discrepancies do occur, and when they do, I have chosen the shortest possible sub-unit to lengthen the Hebrew side into a comparable unit (van der Lugt’s strophes, if needed, otherwise canticles and cantos).

[5] Their numeration and terminology are kept.

[6] At this stage, I am not using the canto/canticle/strophe or stanza/sub-stanza/strophe system familiar from van der Lugt’s or Fokkelman’s work. Every unit is marked separately, even if it is a part of a bigger thematic block.

units'. The aim is to see the role formal aspects, especially markers, play in these thematic units, meaning – if the primary way to divide units is by themes, then how are formal elements related to them? Additionally, these thematic and formal elements are compared with their Hebrew counterparts.

In the analysis of a specific unit, lexical repetitions are **bolded**, parallelistic structures are *italicised*, transition markers are <u>underlined</u> in the Hebrew and Greek text, and a bolded horizontal line separates units. In the Hebrew text, according to Pieter van der Lugt, when a canticle is divided into strophes, they are distinguished by background colour. The Hebrew text is according to the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, and the Greek text is according to Ziegler's Göttingen edition. The English translations are the NRSVUE for Hebrew[7] and the NETS for Greek. These translations are not always suitable for showing poetic techniques in translations and thus are modified where necessary to show, for example, repetitions or very distinct structures.

[7] Upon comparisons of different translations, I decided that the New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition suited the best for this analysis. There is also a tradition of using NRSV among scholars.

2 Job 4–5

Job 4–5 contains the first speech of Eliphaz (Eliphas Ἐλιφάς) in the Greek translation), starting the first cycle of speeches (chapters 4–14) after Job's initial lament (chapter 3).

I would divide this speech into 14 thematic-formal units (four in Job 4 plus ten in Job 5):

(4:1)

I. *Addressing and reproaching Job* (4:2–6, ten cola = five bicola)
II. *The pure do not perish, an example of the perishing of lions and dragons* (4:7–12b, twelve cola = six bicola)
III. *Report of a vision* (4:12c–16, ten cola = monocolon + three bicola + tricolon)
IV. *The auditory part of the vision* (4:17–21, eleven cola = two bicola + tricolon + two bicola)
V. *An exhortation and consolation – the foolish will not survive* (5:1–3, six cola = three bicola)
VI. *A prophecy for the foolish* (5:4–5, five cola = bicolon + tricolon)
VII. *Man is born into hardship* (5:6–7, four cola = two bicola)
VIII. *Beseeching the Lord who does wondrous things* (5:8–10, six cola = three bicola)
IX. *(Beseeching the Lord) who punishes the crafty* (5:11–13, six cola = three bicola)
X. *A prophecy for the crafty* (5:14–16, six cola = three bicola)
XI. *The Lord gives deliverance* (5:17–19, six cola = three bicola)
XII. *The troubles that the Lord delivers from* (5:20–23, seven cola = three bicola + monocolon)
XIII. *Assurance that Job will be prosperous again* (5:24–26, six cola = three bicola)
XIV. *Concluding remarks* (5:27, three cola = tricolon).

Pieter van der Lugt studies these speeches separately and divides Job 4 into two large cantos, which divide into four canticles, and into eight strophes: (4:1), I.1 (4:2–4 + 4:5–6), I.2 (4:7–9 + 4:10–11), II.1 (4:12–14 + 4:15–16), and II.2 (4:17–19 + 4:20–21). He divides Job 5 into three cantos and a concluding strophe; each canto is divided into two canticles, each having one or three strophes: I.1 (5:1 + 5:2–3 + 5:4–5), I.2 (5:6–7), II.1 (5:8 + 5:9–11 + 5:12–14), II.2 (5:15–16), III.1 (5:17 + 5:18–20 + 5:21–23), III.2 (5:24–26), B (5:27). (van der Lugt 1995: 61, 70–71) Our divisions match in many places generally, although he has opted to divide the speech into smaller units than I have. Discrepancies are at 4:11–12 and between 5:12–21.

2.1 Some formal notes on the units

Units I and II end with synonymous cognates, namely, unit I has ἡ κακία (‘innocence’) in its last colo,n and unit II has οὐθὲν ... κακὸν (‘nothing bad’) in its last colon. On the contrary, unit XI ends with κακόν (‘harm’). This repetition of the root does not reflect the Hebrew and is thus independent.

Unit II and IV both have the same word in their first colon, namely καθαρὸς (‘pure’). This, again, does not reflect the Hebrew and is independent.

Units I and VII begin with ἐν κόπῳ and κόπος (‘in distress’ and ‘distress, hardship’). Again, this repetition is independent of the Hebrew text.

2.2 An example: unit II (4:7–12b)

In Hebrew, according to Pieter van der Lugt, a thematic-formal unit forms from 4:7–11, after which a new unit begins. In the Greek text, however, 4:12 is a tricolon, out of which the first two cola, in my opinion, are a conclusion to the unit, and the last one begins a new unit. Thus, the thematic unit in Greek is more complete, having an introduction and a conclusion, while Hebrew only has an opening.

		Hebrew text according to Pieter van der Lugt[8] (canticle I.2 and the first strophe of canticle II.1)		Greek text according to Kristin Klaus (unit II and the beginning of unit III)
4:7	I.2	***אבד*** *<u>זכר־נא מי</u> הוא נקי*	II	*<u>μνήσθητι οὖν</u> <u>τίς</u> καθαρὸς ὢν* ***ἀπώλετο***
		ואיפה ישרים נכחדו:		*ἢ πότε* ***ἀληθινοὶ*** *ὁλόρριζοι* ***ἀπώλοντο.***
4:8		כאשר ראיתי חרשי און		καθ᾽ ὃν τρόπον εἶδον τοὺς ἀροτριῶντας τὰ ἄτοπα,
		וזרעי עמל יקצרהו:		οἱ δὲ σπείροντες αὐτὰ ὀδύνας θεριοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς.
4:9		*מנשמת אלוה* ***יאבדו***		*ἀπὸ προστάγματος κυρίου* ***ἀπολοῦνται,***
		ומרוח אפו יכלו:		*ἀπὸ δὲ πνεύματος ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ ἀφανισθήσονται.*
4:10		*שאגת אריה וקול שחל*		*σθένος* ***λέοντος,*** *φωνὴ δὲ* ***λεαίνης,***
		ושני כפירים נתעו:		*γαυρίαμα δὲ δρακόντων ἐσβέσθη·*
4:11		ליש **אבד** מבלי־טרף		μυρμηκολέων **ὤλετο** παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βοράν,
		ובני לביא יתפרדו:		σκύμνοι δὲ **λεόντων** ἔλιπον ἀλλήλους.
4:12	II.1	ואלי דבר יגנב		εἰ δέ τι ῥῆμα **ἀληθινὸν** ἐγεγόνει ἐν λόγοις σου,
		ותקח אזני שמץ מנהו:		οὐθὲν ἄν σοι τούτων κακὸν ἀπήντησεν.
			III	πότερον οὐ δέξεταί μου τὸ οὖς ἐξαίσια παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ;
4:13		בשעפים מחזינות לילה		φόβος δὲ καὶ ἠχὼ νυκτερινή,

[8] Pieter van der Lugt sees one bicolon as one line; however, due to formatting limitations and the fact that I have chosen to analyse one colon of the Greek text as one line, I have also split the Hebrew bicola into different lines.

	בנפל תרדמה על־אנשים:	ἐπιπίπτων φόβος ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπους,
4:14	פחד קראני ורעדה	φρίκη μοι συνήντησεν καὶ τρόμος
	ורב עצמותי הפחיד:	καὶ μεγάλως μου τὰ ὀστᾶ συνέσεισεν,

		NRSVUE translation		NETS translation
4:7	I.2	Think now, who that was innocent ever perished?	II	Think now, who, being pure, perished,
		Or where were the upright cut off?		or when did the true perish root and all?
4:8		As I have seen, those who plow iniquity		For instance, I saw those who plow wrongs,
		and sow trouble reap the same.		and those who sow them reap torments for themselves.
4:9		By the breath of God they perish		By the command of the Lord they will perish,
		and by the blast of his anger they are consumed.		and by the breath of his anger they will disappear.
4:10		The roar of the lion, the voice of the fierce lion,		The strength of the lion and the voice of the lioness
		and the teeth of the young lions are broken.		and the pride of dragons was extinguished;
4:11		The strong lion perishes for lack of prey,		the ant lion perished for lack of food,
		and the whelps of the lioness are scattered.		and lions' whelps abandoned one another.
4:12	II.1	Now a word came stealing to me;		But if there had been anything truthful in your words,
		my ear received the whisper of it.		nothing bad in them would have met you.
			III	Will my ear not receive remarkable things from him?
4:13		Amid thoughts from visions of the night,		Now there was awe and a ringing sound in the night–
		when deep sleep falls on mortals,		an awe falling on mortals;
4:14		dread came upon me, and trembling,		then shuddering fell upon me, and a trembling,
		which made all my bones shake.		and my bones shook mightily.

Framing features

Parallelistic structures. Unit II begins with symmetry in 4:7ab (xAB/xA´B´), reflecting the symmetry in the Hebrew text.

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. The unit begins with the vocalic repetition of stressed ο and ω in 4:7ab (καθαρὸς **ὢ**ν ἀπ**ώ**λετο/π**ό**τε … ὁλ**ό**ρριζοι ἀπ**ώ**λοντο). In Hebrew, every bicolon from 4:7 to 4:12 ends with the vowel וֹ.

Unit II is framed by a repetition of ἀληθινοὶ/ἀληθινὸν in 4:7b/12a (no repetition in Hebrew), and the beginning is marked by the end-repetition of ἀπώλετο/ἀπώλοντο in 4:7ab (no repetition in Hebrew).

Transition markers. Unit II begins with an imperative and interrogative in both the Greek and Hebrew texts (μνήσθητι οὖν τίς in Greek and זכר־נא מי in Hebrew in 4:7a) and ends with a conclusive conditional sentence in Greek (εἰ δέ in 4:12a).

Vocabulary. At the beginning of the unit, 4:7b, the translator has used a very rare ὁλόρριζος (adjective, 'with the entire root'), which appears only once before the 3rd century BCE and twice during the 3rd century BCE[9] – once in Job and once in Proverbs (cf. also Mangin 2005: 476, 546).

Poetic features in the unit as a whole

Parallelistic structures. Besides the symmetry that marks the beginning of the unit, there is a symmetry in 4:9 (ABC/A´B´C´), which reflects the symmetry in the Hebrew text and a semi-symmetric sentence in 4:10 (AA´/A´B), which reflects the same symmetry in the Hebrew text.

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. Besides the end-repetition of ἀπώλετο/ἀπώλοντο in 4:7ab, this word is also repeated in 4:9a (ἀπολοῦνται, repetition also present in Hebrew) and the root is repeated in 4:11a (ὤλετο, reflects the repetition in the Hebrew text). In 4:10/11b, there is the repetition of λέοντος ... λεαίνης/λεόντων which does not reflect the Hebrew where numerous synonyms for 'lion' are used.

Vocabulary. Besides the very rare adjective at the beginning of the unit, the translator has also used the following rare or relatively rare words. In 4:8a, ἀροτριάω (verb, 'to plough') which occurs four times before the 3rd century BCE and seventeen times during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (twice in Job, cf. also Mangin 2005: 498). In 10b, γαυρίαμα (noun, 'arrogance; exultation') which occurs five times during the 3rd century BCE (twice in Job) but not before that; it is also considered to be literary Koine (Mangin 2005: 502). And in 11a, μυρμηκολέων (noun, 'ant-lion ?') which occurs only once BCE, here in Job.

There is also some vocabulary that is considered poetic. In 4:10a, the noun σθένος is poetic (Mangin 2005: 564). In 11a, the verb ὄλλυμι ('to perish'), according to Mangin (2005: 546) and LSJ, is poetic.

[9] Statistics according to the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database.

2.4 Conclusions about Job 4–5

I divided this speech into 14 thematic-formal units, out of which I showed one (unit II, 4:7–12b) more closely in the analysis above.

The exemplary thematic-formal unit is structurally more complete than its Hebrew counterpart, exhibiting an introduction and a conclusion. The Greek unit has more lexical repetitions than the Hebrew unit. The Greek translator has also used quite a lot of rare and poetic vocabulary in the unit, making it more marked.

Different poetic and rhetorical elements of the speech as a whole were analysed previously. Job 4–5 divides pretty well into units of similar length, especially Job 4 (dividing into five units of 10–12 cola; while Job 5 divides into 10 units, most of which are 4–7 cola in length).

Out of 14 units in the speech[10], either or both the beginning and end are marked with a parallelistic structure in eight units (two are completely framed), marked with lexical repetitions in six units (three are framed), and marked with sound repetitions in 10 units (four are framed), marked with similes in one unit, marked with transition markers in 11 units (two are framed), marked with a monocolon/tricolon in four units, and framed with synonyms or semantically related words in four units.

All in all, this speech exhibits various poetic and rhetorical techniques throughout its thematic-formal units, including entirely independently from the Hebrew.

[10] The data comes from chapter 2 of my thesis, which cannot be replicated here due to space limitations.

3 Job 8

Job 8 contains Bildad's (or Baldad's (Βαλδάδ) in the Greek) first speech in the first cycle of speeches (chapter 4–14), after Job's first reply to Eliphaz.

I would divide this speech into six thematic-formal units:

(8:1)

I. *Reproaching Job for complaining* (8:2–4, six cola = three bicola)
II. *Exhorting Job to pray to God for restoration* (8:5–7, five cola = monocolon + two bicola)
III. *Exhorting Job to ask ancestors for their teachings* (8:8–10, six cola = three bicola)
IV. *An example from nature – plants do not grow without water* (8:11–12, four cola = two bicola)
V. *The impious shall not survive without God* (8:13–19, fourteen cola = seven bicola)
VI. *God rewards the blameless people* (8:20–22, six cola = three bicola).

Van der Lugt (1995: 102) divides this speech into four cantos, the first three having two strophes each and the last one having one strophe: (8:1), I (8:2–4 + 8:5–7), II (8:8–10 + 8:11–13), III (8:14–16 + 8:17–19), and IV (8:20–22). Our divisions match, except between 8:12–14.

3.1 Some formal notes on the units

The first and last unit of the speech have the word στόμα ('mouth'), namely τοῦ στόματος σου in 8:2b ('your mouth'; פיך in Hebrew), and ἀληθινῶν δὲ στόμα in 8:21a ('the mouths of the sincere'; פיך, 'your mouth' in Hebrew).

3.2 An example: unit III (8:8–10)

Job 8:8–10 is seen as a complete unit by everyone but Habel and Witte. There are no significant differences between the Hebrew source and the Greek translation.

	Hebrew text according to Pieter van der Lugt (first strophe of canto II)	Greek text, according to Kristin Klaus (thematic-formal unit III)
8:8	**כי**־שאל־נא לדר רישון	*ἐπερώτησον γὰρ* ***γενεὰν*** *πρώτην,*
	וכונן לחקר אבותם:	*ἐξιχνίασον δὲ κατὰ* ***γένος*** *πατέρων·*
8:9	**כי**־תמול אנחנו ולא נדע	χθιζοὶ ***γάρ ἐσμεν*** καὶ οὐκ οἴδαμεν,
	כי צל ימינו עלי־ארץ:	σκιὰ ***γάρ ἐστιν*** ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ βίος.

8:10	הלא־הם יורוך יאמרו לך ומלבם יוצאו מלים:	ἢ οὐχ οὗτοί σε διδάξουσιν καὶ ἀναγγελοῦσιν καὶ ἐκ καρδίας ἐξάξουσιν ῥήματα;
	NRSVUE translation	NETS translation
8:8	For inquire now of bygone generations	For inquire of an earlier generation,
	and consider what their ancestors have found,	and trace it out through a line of ancestors;
8:9	for we are but of yesterday, and we know nothing,	for we are of yesterday and we know nothing,
	for our days on earth are but a shadow.	for our life is a shadow on the earth.
8:10	Will they not teach you and tell you	Will they not teach you and declare
	and utter words out of their understanding?	and bring forth words from the heart?

Framing features

Parallelistic structures. The unit begins with a symmetry in 8:8ab (AB/A´B´), which does not reflect the Hebrew, and is thus an independent effect added by the translator.

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. Unit III begins with several sound repetitions in 8:8ab. Both cola begin with words starting with ε and end with words beginning with π (**ἐ**περώτησον ... **π**ρώτην/**ἐ**ξιχνίασον ... **π**ατέρων·). The middle words of these cola start with γ, κ: **γ**ὰρ **γ**ενεὰν/**κ**ατὰ **γ**ένος. The first colon also has a syllabic repetition of -ρώτη- (ἐπε**ρώτη**σον and π**ρώτη**ν). The last bicolon of the unit has a syllabic repetition of -άξουσιν in 8:10ab (διδ**άξουσιν** / ἐξ**άξουσιν**). In Hebrew, the unit ends with a very noticeable repetition of the consonants מ and ל.

This bicolon also has a repetition of cognates: γενεὰν/γένος (does not reflect the Hebrew).

Vocabulary. The translator has used a relatively rare and new (meaning it is first attested in the Septuagint, cf. Mangin 2005: 517) verb in 8:8b, namely ἐξιχνιάζω (verb, 'to track out'), which occurs 16 times in the 3rd century BCE.

Transition markers. Unit III begins with imperatives (ἐπερώτησον in 8:8a and ἐξιχνίασον in 8:8b); these reflect the Hebrew text.

Poetic features in the unit as a whole

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. There is a phrase repetition of γάρ ἐσμεν/γάρ ἐστιν in 8:9ab, partly reflecting the repetition in Hebrew (כי) where the copula is missing.

3.4 Conclusions about Job 8

I divided the speech into six thematic-formal units and showed the analysis of one of them above. Unit III (8:8–10) displayed a parallelistic structure, one rare word, a lexical repetition, and a transition marker in the beginning, and is framed by sound repetitions. Overall the unit had one lexical repetition. Thus, compared to the exemplary unit in Job 4–5, it is more modest in its use of poetic and rhetorical techniques.

Different poetic and rhetorical techniques in the speech as a whole were analysed previously. The speech divides into units pretty uniform in length, five out of six units being four to six cola, and one being fourteen cola in length.

Out of six units, either or both the beginning and end are marked with a parallelistic structure in three units, marked with lexical repetitions in four units (two are framed), marked with sound repetitions in all six units (four are framed), marked with transition markers in all six units (two are framed), and marked with a monocolon in one unit.

All in all, the speech has more transition markers than the previous one (considering the length of the speeches overall) but is less marked with parallelistic structures and lexical repetitions.

4 Job 38–39

Job 38–39 contains God's first speech or first reply to Job.

In the Greek text, there are many inconsistencies in this speech, and I would divide it into 16 thematic-formal units (10 plus six[11]):

(38:1)

I. *Preparation for questioning* (38:2–3, four cola = two bicola)
II. *Creation of the earth and stars* (38:4–7, eight cola = four bicola)
III. *Creation of the sea* (38:8–11, eight cola = four bicola)
IV. *Unit of mixed contents (the morning light, creation of man, removing the light from the ungodly)* (38:12–15, eight cola = four bicola)
V. *The recesses of the world* (38:16–23, sixteen cola = eight bicola)
VI. *Origins of different states of water* (38:24–30[12], ten cola = five bicola)
VII. *Creation of stars (constellations) and astrology* (38:31–33[13], four cola = two bicola)
VIII. *Commanding clouds and thunder* (38:34–35, four cola = two bicola)
IX. *Women's skills* (38:36, two cola = bicolon)
X. *Clouds, the uniting of the sky to earth* (38:37–38, four cola = two bicola)
XI. *Feeding and protecting lions, dragons, and ravens* (38:39–41, seven cola = two bicola + tricolon)
XII. *Helping pregnant deer* (39:1–3[14], four cola = two bicola)
XIII. *Freeing the wild ass* (39:5–7[15], five cola = bicolon + monocolon + bicolon)
XIV. *The unicorn as a beast of burden* (39:9–12, eight cola = four bicola)[16]
XV. *The war horse* (39:19–25, thirteen cola = four bicola + monocolon + two bicola)
XVI. *The birds of prey* (39:26–30[17], seven cola = two bicola + monocolon + bicolon).

Van der Lugt studies these speeches separately: Job 38 (38:2–38) and Job 38:39–39:30. He divides the first speech into an introductory strophe and three cantos, which are divided into two or three canticles, each having two strophes: (38:1), A (38:2–3), I.1 (38:4–5 + 38:6–7), I.2 (38:8–9 + 38:10–11), I.3 (38:12–13 + 38:14–15), II.1 (38:16–18 + 38:19–21), II.2 (38:22–24

[11] Ten units in Job 38:2–38 and six units in 38:39–39:30.
[12] 38:26–27 are asterisked.
[13] 38:32 is asterisked. There are differences between the Vulgate and the Hebrew in this verse.
[14] 39:1a, 3b–4 are asterisked. There are differences between the Vulgate and the Hebrew in 39:3b and 4a.
[15] 39:6b, 8 are asterisked.
[16] 39:13–18, the ostrich section, is asterisked. There are some differences between the Peshitta/the Vulgate and the Hebrew in this section.
[17] 39:28, 29b are asterisked. There is a plus in the Vulgate in 39:28.

+ 38:25–27), III.1 (38:28–30 + 38:31–32), III.2 (38:33–35 + 38:36–38). He divides the second speech into three cantos, the first one itself divided into two sub-cantos with two canticles. The second canto is divided into two canticles. The canticles and the third canto are divided into one to three strophes: I.1.1 (38:39–41), I.1.2 (39:1–2 + 39:3–4), I.2.1 (39:5–6 + 39:7–8), I.2.2 (39:9–10 + 39:11–12), II.1 (39:13–15 + 39:16–18), II.2 (39:19–20 + 39:21–23 + 39:24–25), and III (39:26–28 + 29–30). (van der Lugt 1995: 362–363, 377–378) For the most part, our divisions match, at least on the strophe and canticle level.

4.1 Some formal notes on the units

Unit III and IV both end with the verb *συντρίβω* (lit. 'to rub together', but in 38:15b 'to crush'). This repetition is independent of the Hebrew text.

4.2 An example: unit VI (38:24–30)

In the Hebrew text, most scholars start the unit at 38:22; however, I would consider it with the previous unit. Although passages 22–23 concern states of water, like the next unit, they do not deal with their sources or ways but instead show them as kept somewhere far, thus belonging, in my opinion, to the recesses of the world. But indeed, this is a personal feeling, as dividing the speech into thematic units is often very subjective.

		Hebrew text according to Pieter van der Lugt (canticle II.2 and first strophe of canticle III.1)		Greek text, according to Kristin Klaus (unit VI)
38:22	II.2	*הבאת אל־אצרות שלג*		ἦλθες δὲ ἐπὶ θησαυροὺς χιόνος,
		ואצרות ברד תראה׃		θησαυροὺς δὲ χαλάζης ἑόρακας.
38:23		אשר־חשכתי לעת־צר		ἀπόκειται δέ σοι εἰς ὥραν ἐχθρῶν,
		ליום קרב ומלחמה׃		εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμων καὶ μάχης.
38:24		אי־זה **הדרך** יחלק אור	VI	*<u>πόθεν δὲ</u>* ***ἐκπορεύεται πάχνη***
		יפץ קדים **עלי־ארץ**׃		*ἢ διασκεδάννυται νότος εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽* ***οὐρανόν;***
38:25		*מי־פלג לשטף תעלה*		*τίς δὲ ἡτοίμασεν ὑετῷ λάβρῳ ῥύσιν,*
		ודרך *לחזיז קלות׃*		*ὁδὸν δὲ κυδοιμῶν*
38:26		*להמטיר* ***על־ארץ לא־איש***		※τοῦ ὑετίσαι ἐπὶ γῆν οὗ οὐκ ἀνήρ
		מדבר ***לא־אדם בו׃***		※ἔρημον οὗ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἄνθρωπος ἐν αὐτῇ
38:27		להשביע שאה ומשאה		※τοῦ χορτάσαι ἄβατον καὶ ἀοίκητον
		ולהצמיח מצא דשא׃		※καὶ τοῦ ἐκβλαστῆσαι ἔξοδον χλόης[18]
38:28	III.1	היש־למטר אב		***τίς ἐστιν ὑετοῦ*** *πατήρ;*

[18] The minus is absent in the Vulgate, Targum, or Peshitta (Mosul edition).

	או מי־הוליד אגלי־טל:	***τίς δέ ἐστιν*** *ὁ τετοκὼς βώλους δρόσου;*
38:29	*מבטן מי יצא הקרח*	*ἐκ γαστρὸς δὲ τίνος* ***ἐκπορεύεται*** *ὁ κρύσταλλος;*
	וכפר שמים מי ***ילדו:***	***πάχνην*** *δὲ ἐν* ***οὐρανῷ*** *τίς* ***τέτοκεν,***
38:30	*כאבן מים יתחבאו*	ἢ καταβαίνει ὥσπερ ὕδωρ ῥέον;
	ופני תהום יתלכדו:	πρόσωπον δὲ ἀβύσσου τίς **ἔπηξεν**;

		NRSVUE translation		NETS translation
38:22	II.2	Have you entered the storehouses of the snow,		And have you gone to the storehouses of the snow,
		or have you seen the storehouses of the hail,		and have you seen the storehouses of the hail?
38:23		which I have reserved for the time of trouble,		But it is at your disposal for a time of enemies,
		or the day of battle and war?		for a day of war and battle.
38:24		What is the way to the place where the light is distributed	VI	And from where does the hoarfrost come,
		or where the east wind is scattered upon the earth?		or from where is the south wind dispersed to what is under heaven?
38:25		Who has cut a channel for the torrents of rain		And who prepared a course for the driving rain
		and a way for the thunderbolt,		and a way for the tumults?
38:26		to bring rain on a land where no one lives,		※to bring rain on land, where there is no man,
		on the desert, which is empty of human life,		※wilderness, where there is no human in it,
38:27		to satisfy the waste and desolate land,		※to feed the untrodden and uninhabited
		and to make the ground put forth grass?		※and to cause it to grow an effusion of greenery
38:28	III.1	Has the rain a father,		Who is the rain's father?
		or who has fathered the drops of dew?		And who is it that has given birth to the dew's nuggets?
38:29		From whose womb did the ice come forth,		And from whose womb does the ice come forth?
		and who has given birth to the hoarfrost of heaven?		And who has given birth to freezing rain in heaven
38:30		The waters become hard like stone,		that descends like flowing water?
		and the face of the deep is frozen.		And who froze the face of the deep?

Framing features

Parallelistic structures. Unit VI begins with a partial symmetry in 38:24ab (ABC/B´C´D), where in Hebrew, there is a very partial chiasmus (? ABCD/C´D´B´).

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. The unit begins with consonantal and syllabic repetition of π, πο in 38:24a (**πό**θεν δὲ ἐκ**πο**ρεύεται **π**άχνη), and the last bicolon 30ab also repeats π, β (κατα**β**αίνει ὥσ**π**ερ / **π**ρόσω**π**ον δὲ ἀ**β**ύσσου ... ἔ**π**ηξεν).

The last bicolon of the unit has a simile (ὥσπερ ὕδωρ ῥέον, Hebrew has a comparison with a different word: כאבן 'like stone'), which could strengthen the frame.

Vocabulary. Unit VI begins and ends with cognates: 24a πάχνη (< πήγνυμι, 'to freeze') - 30b ἔπηξεν (πήγνυμι). Hebrew does not have repetition or cognates here.

Transition markers. Unit VI begins with an interrogative in 38:24a (πόθεν δὲ in the Greek translation and אי־זה in Hebrew, although not at the beginning of a unit by van der Lugt's division).

Poetic features in the unit as a whole

Parallelistic structures. Besides the symmetry that marks the beginning of the unit, there is also a partial chiasmus in 38:25ab (ABCD/D´C´), which reflects the partial chiasmus in Hebrew (ABCD/D´C´); a partial chiasmus in 28ab (ABC/A´C´B´), which does not reflect the Hebrew; and a partial chiasmus also in 29ab (ABC/C´A´D´B´), which reflects the partial chiasmus in Hebrew (ABC/C´A´B´).

Repetitions and other poetic techniques. There are some lexical and phrasal repetitions throughout the unit: 38:24a/29a ἐκπορεύεται (no repetition in Hebrew), 24a/29b πάχνη/πάχνην (no repetition in Hebrew), 24b/29b εἰς τὴν ὑπ᾽ οὐρανόν/ἐν οὐρανῷ (no repetition in Hebrew since even in Greek these actually mean the opposites: earth/land and heaven). 25a/28a ὑετῷ/ὑετοῦ (no repetition in Hebrew), 28ab τίς ἐστιν/ τίς δέ ἐστιν (no repetition in Hebrew), 28b/29b ὁ τετοκὼς/τέτοκεν (reflects the repetition of הוליד and ילדו in Hebrew).

In Hebrew, there is a noticeable repetition of ש in 38:27, which is the end of a canticle according to van der Lugt (להשביע שאה ומשאה ולהצמיח מצא דשא:). In 38:28, which is the beginning of the next canticle according to van der Lugt, there is the repetition of ל (או מי־הוליד היש־למטר אב אגלי־טל:).

Vocabulary. The translator has used a rare word in this unit, namely 38:25b κυδοιμός (noun, 'tumult'), which occurs twelve times before the 3rd century BCE and altogether eleven times during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE; this word is also considered poetic (Mangin 2005: 539).

4.3 Conclusions about Job 38–39

I divided Job 38–39 into 16 thematic-formal units. The analysis of one of them, unit VI (38:24–30), is shown above. The unit's frame is marked with a parallelistic structure, sound repetitions, a simile, transition markers, and other lexical means. Overall, the unit exhibits other parallelistic structures, lexical repetitions, and a rare and poetic word.

The units in the speech are of uneven length.

The poetic and rhetorical techniques in the speech overall were analysed in the previous chapter. Out of 16 thematic-formal units, the beginning and/or end are marked with parallelistic structures in eight units (two are framed), marked with lexical repetitions in only four units (one is framed), and marked with sound repetitions in 13 units (two are framed), marked with similes in three units, marked with transition markers in eight units (one is framed), marked with a monocolon/tricolon in four units, and marked with other lexical means in two units.

All in all, the speech does not display poetic and rhetorical techniques as evenly as some others. Despite this, most of the units are marked with sound repetitions and half of the units with parallelistic structures and transition markers.

5 Conclusion

From the analysis, it is visible that the speeches in the Greek translation of Job can indeed be divided into smaller units, more specifically, into thematic-formal units. In my selection (Job 4–5, 8, 19, 21, 29–31, 38–39, and 40–41), there were no speeches that could not be divided into thematic-formal units.

The speeches studied[19] were all quite different in structure, some consisting of uniform units, and others were divided into very uneven length units. Job 4–5 and 40 showed consistency in unit length, while Job 8, 29, 38, and 41 showed more regularity than irregularity. Syllable counts in the speeches under analysis revealed that it is not a reliable way to distinguish units for the Old Greek translation of Job.

Since the speeches in the Old Greek of Job could be divided into thematic-formal units, like the Hebrew speeches, the next mission was to find out whether the units start and begin in the same passages in both languages. This, however, turned out to be a difficult question to solve since there are so many options of divisions of the Hebrew text to choose from. Most if not all of these divisions are also subjective – every scholar has their own ways of division, the notion of understanding the themes, and respect for the Hebrew text we have before us (the Masoretic Text). My division of the speeches in the Old Greek of Job is also subjective, depending on my understanding of the text and the differences that the translator has created. Due to this, there is no clear answer to this problem. There are some speeches where some units were exactly the same as in the Hebrew text, and there were speeches where it was hard to find similarities between different divisions. Out of the units that I took a closer look at, some matched with Pieter van der Lugt's divisions, namely unit III of Job 8 (8:8–10), unit I of Job 19 (19:2–5), unit III of Job 21 (21:16–18), and unit IX of Job 40–41 (41:10–13).

The formal aspects that mark the beginning or end of the thematic units (thus forming thematic-formal units) were analysed. It was found that sound repetition is the most common framing technique (appearing in 63 out of 77 units). Following were transition markers (in 53 units out of 77), lexical repetitions and monocola/tricola (in 34 units), parallelistic structures (in 30 units), other lexical means (in 14 units), and finally similes (in 9 units).

For a clearer picture of the similarities and differences, one exemplary unit was chosen from each speech, and its poetic and rhetorical analysis was shown. The techniques covered were unit length, parallelistic structures, sound and lexical repetitions, similes, transition markers, vocabulary (unified and thematic vocabulary, rare and poetic words, or synonyms and

[19] Although the analysis of three speeches was shown in this paper, the conclusions cover all studied speeches.

antonyms), and the role of monocola and tricola in the structure of the units. These were compared with the Hebrew source text.

Every thematic unit under closer analysis also had at least one formal aspect supporting the division between different units. All of these units were more marked in Greek when compared with the Hebrew source text, especially with lexical and sound repetitions. This might not be true in all speeches in the Old Greek translation of the book of Job, but in these speeches, the translator definitely had their own stylistic concerns when dealing with units of sense. Just changing the topic was not enough, and in addition to the unit markers present in the Hebrew text, the translator added their own independently.

The next step in the analysis is to concentrate on passages and units with text- and redaction-critical problems to see whether the translator evened out these in the Greek text. An example of units like these would be unit II in Job 4–5, where there are thematic differences in the Greek and Hebrew texts, and the Greek translator smoothed out the abrupt transition into another unit.

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