Antiochus III in Judean Memory

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The place given to Antiochus III's first edict for Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* 12.138–44) in the historiography of Hellenistic period Judea and Judaism and that of the Maccabean revolt and the Hasmonean state is exceptional. This edict, in which the king exempts some Judeans from taxes, provides for their temple, and allows them to follow their customs, is regarded as the beginning of Seleucid involvement in Judean affairs as well as the acknowledgement of local Judean political and religious autonomy, in the form of a Jerusalem-centered theocracy. Consequently, the edict stands at the center of discussions on and models of the relationship between the Seleucid empire and local communities, its deterioration during the Maccabean revolt, and reformulation in the Hasmonean political project. However, due to its internal Seleucid nature, it seems to reinforce a top-down model of imperial rule in the early Seleucid period, whereby local agency played little role and where the Seleucid empire was hardly felt by Judeans who kept their political and religious autonomy. Whereas it is true that second-century BCE Judean sources are fairly silent about the reign of Antiochus III, they still tell us of the local effects of his edict.

In this paper, I examine how this crucial episode in Judean history was dealt with in second-century BCE Judean sources, and the sociopolitical and religious roles they assign to it. I will begin by surveying the possible references to Antiochus's benefactions in the books of Ben Sira, 1 and 2 Maccabees, and expose the Judean agents and groups with which they are associated. By analyzing these local reflections on Seleucid royal authority, beginning early in the second century BCE, I reveal some of the social forces and ideologies at play in Judea that, on one hand, preserved memory of benefactions, and on the other, sought to obscure their main agents: the granting king and the local negotiants. I will conclude with the implications of these insights on our understanding of the composition of Hasmonean historiography and the social structure of Judea under early Hasmonean hegemony.

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Introduction

Seleucid rule over Judea began with a heartfelt encounter between Antiochus III and the Judeans, who welcomed the king into Jerusalem and assisted in defeating the remaining Ptolemaic garrison. Or so we are told by Josephus, who goes on to say that this is why Antiochus wrote to his governors and friends, including to the governor of Koile Syria and Phoinike, Ptolemaios, son of Thraseas, telling them of the Judeans' kindness towards him and his decision to return the favor and provide them with gifts. The historian then quotes one of these letters—a royal edict that exempts some Judeans from taxes, provides for their temple, and allows them to follow their customs. *Antiquities* 12.138–44 thus preserves an internal Seleucid document, which only provides a limited view into Judean society in the second century BCE and speaks only of the Judeans as an *ethnos* whose *Gerousia* came out to greet the king.

The absence of Judean interlocutors from the letter does not mean, however, that they did not exist. On the contrary, documentary evidence from the Hellenistic world confirms that when kings wrote to their officials with orders on benefactions—or *philanthropa*—they also wrote to their recipients, declaring it and acknowledging local agents.[2] Moreover, the last decades of scholarship on Hellenistic, and Seleucid kingship in particular, have demonstrated

[1] This is a work in progress towards publication as a journal article. All comments are welcome. Please do not distribute.

[2] E.g., SEG 39.183: . . you shall put it right within three years, and shall immediately cut down material for the synoecism of the city, and bring it from the forests in Taranza, as Zeuxis determines. We release you from the additional one-twentieth tax for the government, and we have ordained that the gymnasium that you formerly used shall be restored to you; and we have written concerning everything to Zeuxis and Ktesikles. Metrodoros and his associates will report to you concerning these matters. Farewell. Year 99, 5th day of Xandikos . The whole process is managed by Zeuxis, the Sardians are a party to it. 213 BCE. See Eckhardt 2016. On philanthropa basilika more generally, see Bringmann 1993.

that royal benefactions were discursive means that simultaneously constructed royal power and its local acceptance. As such they were the result of negotiations with elite interlocutors on the terms of their inclusion within the imperial system.[3]

In royal documents, benefactions appear as the result of local agency, namely, negotiations and advocacy by local elite representatives, and usually include the king's address to the community.[4] For example, in a letter to the *boule* and *demos* of Erythrae,[5] Antiochus II, having received the gifts and honors delivered by the city's envoys,[6] and convinced by their speech of the city's continuous goodwill towards his house,[7] exempts the city from taxes,[8] and offers to consider any other *philanthropa* they might ask for.[9] Antiochus concludes by encouraging the Erythraeans to remember those through which they have benefited—namely, himself and their envoys, whom he goes on to praise.[10]

This was not an unusual request: local interlocutors who managed to gain royal favor by acting on behalf of the community at court were honored locally.[11] For example, one Aristolochos was honored by Seleukia-in-Pieria for his voluntary and earnest services before Antiochus III and Seleucus IV at the latter's request.[12] Receiving benefactions was, like granting them, part of a discursive claim that embedded imperial power in local agents and established them as royal interlocutors. Securing royal favor thus could become an arena of

[3] E.g., Ma 1999; Chrubasik 2016.
[4] See Chrubasik 2017; Ceccarelli 2017; 2018.
[5] RC 15=OGIS 223=Austin 170.
[6] L. 2: Θαρσύνων καὶ Πυθῆς καὶ Βοττᾶς οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσ- βευταὶ τό τε ψήφισμα ἀπέδωκαν ἡμῖν καθ' ὃ ἐψηφίσασθε τὰς τιμάς, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἀνήνεγκαν ὃν ἐστεφανώ-σατε ἡμᾶς [...].
[7] Ll. 5-7: καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπολογισάμενοι περί τε τῆς εὐνοίας ἣν διὰ παντὸς εἰσχήκατε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκίαν.
[8] Ll. 26–28: τήν τε αὐτονομίαν ὑμῖν συνδιατηρήσομεν καὶ ἀφορο-[λογ]ήτους εἶναι συγχωροῦμεν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἁπάντων καὶ [τῶν εἰς] τὰ Γαλατικὰ συναγομένων.
[9] L. 29: ὑπάρξει δέ ὑμῖν και ἡ [..... και εά]ν τι ἄλλο φιλάνθρωπον ἡ ἡμεῖς επινοήσωμεν ἡ [υμεῖς ἀξιώσητ]ε.
[10] L. 34: ὑφ' ὧν ε]ὐεργέτησθε μνημονεύσειν ἀξίως. Ll. 36–38: οἱ] πρεσβευταί, οὓς διά τε τὰ ἄλ- [λα ἃ ἔπραξαν ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ δ]ιὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἣν ἐποιοῦν- [το περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῶι δήμωι].
[11] See, for instance, Egetenmeier 2021.
[12] RC 45=IGLSyr 3,2.1183 ll. 9-10: συνεμβαίνον-τος ἀπαρακλητῶς, 13–14: ἣν [προ]σηνέγκατο σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως.

social competition, given it was a marker of social prominence through immediate relations with the king.

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In what follows, I examine how this crucial episode in Judean history was dealt with in second-century Judean sources, and the sociopolitical and religious roles they assign to it. I will begin by surveying the possible references to Antiochus's benefactions and expose the Judean agents and groups with which they are associated. By analyzing these local reflections on Seleucid royal authority, beginning early in the second century BCE, I reveal some of the social forces and ideologies at play in Judea that, on one hand, preserved memory of the benefaction, and on the other, sought to obscure its main agents: the granting king and the local negotiants. I will conclude with the implications of these insights on our understanding of the

[13] E.g., Hengel 1974, 1:26, 28, 64, 78, 97, 133.
[14] E.g., Portier-Young 2011, 55–77; Van Maaren 2022, 45–63.
[15] Cf. Haubold 2017.

composition of Hasmonean historiography and the social structure of Judea under early Hasmonean hegemony.

Ben Sira

Scholars agree that the earliest possible Judean evidence for Antiochus's decree is found in ben Sira's poetic depiction of the high priest Simon II in the so-called "Praise of the Ancestors" in ben Sira 44–50.[16] These chapters form the penultimate part of a wisdom and instruction composition attributed to Yeshua ben Sira. They survey Judean exemplary figures and conclude in ben Sira 50:1–28 with a lengthy praise in honor of the high priest Simon son of Yohanan, who served between 219–196 BCE.[17] Simon is first introduced in ben Sira 50:1, which in the original Hebrew version attested in the Cairo genizah reads as follows:

גדול אחיו ותפארת עמו / שמעון בן יוחנן הכהן:

אשר בדורו נפקד הבית / ובימיו חזק היכל:

"Great among his brothers (גדול אחיו) and the glory of his people is Simon, son of Yohanan, the priest; in whose time [as high priest] the house was inspected (נפקד הבית); and in his days, the temple was strengthened (חזק היכל)."[18]

This introduction is then followed, in vv. 2–28, by a detailed portrayal of Simon's service at the temple. The attention paid to Simon's tenure has long been considered evidence that ben Sira was acquainted with this high priest and composed the praise either towards the end of Simon's tenure or as a eulogy soon after Simon's death.[19] The poem in ben Sira 50:1–28, and the book of ben Sira as a whole seem to predate the accession of Antiochus IV, given that the

[16] See Mulder 2003.
[17] Skehan and Di Lella 1987, 550; Mulder 2003, 352.
[18] Sir 50:1.
[19] Skehan and Di Lella 1987, 8–10; Askin 2018, 365.

depiction of Simon's tenure does not foreshadow in any way the conflicts of the 170s and 160s in which two of Simon's sons—Onias III and Jason—were embroiled. We can therefore imagine that ben Sira probably wrote his praise of Simon shortly after Antiochus III took Jerusalem, when the memory of the royal benefactions and the local leaders involved was still fresh.[20]

The reference to building works in ben Sira 50:1 has long been considered to create a significant parallel with *Antiquities* 12.141 where Antiochus III orders that the work on the temple and its porticoes should be finished and the necessary building materials should be exempt from taxes. Victor Tcherikover and Martin Hengel even wondered if Simon himself might have been in charge of the negotiations with Antiochus III to secure these restorations of the temple and the city under royal auspices.[21] However, a closer look at both ben Sira 50:1 and the wording of the decree in *Antiquities* 12 suggests that the high priest may not have played such an active role in negotiating with Antiochus III as Tcherikover and Hengel assume.

First, ben Sira does not claim that Simon was active in restoring the temple. By using the passive verbs *niphal* (נפקד) and *pual* (חזק),[22] ben Sira assigns to Simon only a passive role in the building works, with Simon neither leading the restoration nor providing for it. The inspection and strengthening of the temple are simply said by Ben Sira to have happened *during* Simon's time and to mark the high point of his career (בדורו; בימיו). Second, Antiochus's letter to Ptolemaios preserved in *Antiquities* 12.138–144 makes no reference to the Judean high priest as either a negotiating party or beneficiary of the decree. Section 142 mentions the *Gerousia*, alongside the priesthood (ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς) and temple scribes and singers as groups eligible for tax exemption. Of course, the high priest would almost certainly have been one of

[20] E.g., Skehan and Di Lella 1987, 9.
[21] Tcherikover 1959, 80; Hengel 1974, 1:25–26.
[22] I read following Segal 1958, 340. Cf. Mulder 2003, 104.

the priests (οἱ ἱερεῖς) of Jerusalem.[23] But the absence of any explicit reference to the high priest in Antiochus's letter suggests that this figure was not particularly noteworthy from the Seleucids' perspective but was simply considered one among several priests in the city.[24]

This evidence suggests, in turn, that we should not assume that ben Sira 50:1 reveals the political authority of the high priest or his importance in the negotiations with Antiochus III. Rather, this verse should be considered evidence of how Antiochus's conquest and the benefits it brought for Jerusalem shaped the way the high priesthood was conceptualized by later Judean authors. Put differently: ben Sira 50:1 should be seen as a local attempt to employ the memory of royal interaction and benefactions to authorize Simon and invest him with an elite status. Importantly, this attempt to elevate Simon was not anchored in a claim that he *secured* the actual benefactions from Antiochus III. It rather resides in the claim that these important benefits for the temple took place during the office of a particular high priest (Simon) and are thus linked to the high priestly office. The reference to the temple renovation thus marks Simon's term in office as a time of order, and Simon himself as a righteous priestly ruler.

Hence, even though ben Sir 50:1 does not explicitly refer to Antiochus III or the decree issued in favor of the city and temple, the reference to temple works that almost certainly took place as a result of his conquest effectively positions Simon as the local representative of royal benefactions, and thus as a distinguished local leader. The fact that the temple restoration becomes intrinsically linked to Simon's tenure thus demonstrates the ideological force of appropriating the results of royal edicts and embedding them in a local authority. In turn, ben Sira 50:1 also reveals how Seleucid involvement with temple works began to shape the way Judeans viewed and evaluated successful high priesthoods in the years following the conquest of Jerusalem.

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[23] See Jos. Ant.12.142: ἀπολυέσθω δ' ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἱεροψάλται ὧν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς τελοῦσιν καὶ τοῦ στεφανιτικοῦ φόρου καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

[24] On Ptolemaios and his role in Ptolemaic and Seleucid over the Southern Levant, see Chrubasik 2019.

Ben Sira admits that Simon's role was only a passive one during the negotiations with Antiochus III. Curiously, however, when we look at later textual witnesses to ben Sira 50:1, we observe that Simon soon acquired a much more active role in securing the temple renovations. In the 130s, ben Sira's grandson, now in Egypt, produced a Greek translation of his grandfather's work that may attest to changes in how Antiochus's edict was remembered in later Jewish conceptions.[25] In Greek ben Sira 50:1–2, Simon is now portrayed as the active builder: "In his life *he* repaired (ὑπέρραψεν) the house, and in his days, *he* strengthened (ἐστερέωσεν) the temple." The result is that Simon is given a decisive role in executing royal benefactions originating in Antiochus's edict and assumes a leading position in Judea. In the Greek, then, the high priest Simon comes to resemble traditional ancient Near Eastern and Biblical builder kings who rebuild temples and restore order. The fact that the grandson's translation can be dated to the 130s may even suggest that this more active portrait of Simon's restoration may have been remodeled after the activities of the Hasmoneans in Jerusalem. Steven Weitzman and Sylvie Honigman have expertly shown how temple restoration serves as a narrative pattern in support of Hasmonean dynastic discourse and ideology.[26] The later representation of Simon as a builder-priest may be participating in this discourse. It thus provides with a model of a Jerusalemite priest who supposedly interacted with foreign kings and cared for his temple.

Second Maccabees

The second surviving piece of evidence appears in 2 Maccabees' account of the conflict between Simon's two sons, Onias and Jason. The date and provenance of 2 Maccabees are matters of considerable debate. According to 2 Maccabees 2:23, the book is an epitome of a

[25] On the dating, see Skehan and Di Lella 1987, 8.
[26] Weitzman 2004; Honigman 2014.

longer history by the otherwise unknown Jason of Cyrene. It is admittedly very difficult to know when and where this epitome was crafted, but a letter prefixed to the narrative indicates that the book was sent in 123 BCE (188 SE) by the authorities in Jerusalem under the Hasmonean dynast Hyrkanos to Jews living in Egypt to support the celebration of the festival of Hannukah (see 2 Macc 1:9–18).[27] This evidence therefore suggests that 2 Maccabees was soon understood by the Hasmoneans to contain a message that was broadly consistent with their dynastic claims, even if we cannot be sure that the book was, in fact, written by them.

Second Maccabees 4 recounts how Jason deposed his brother, the righteous high priest Onias, and assumed the high priesthood by promising the Seleucid king Antiochus IV large sums of money. The narrator then goes on to say, in verse 11,

> when the king agreed and he [meaning Jason] took control of the office [of the high priest], he immediately brought his kinsmen to the Greek style. **And the existing royal benefactions (φιλάνθρωπα βασιλικὰ) to the Judeans—[which were established] through Ioannes (διὰ Ιωάννου), the father of Eupolemos, who went on the embassy to the Romans regarding friendship and alliance—he set aside and destroyed the *politea's* statutes and made new lawless customs**.

With this, a period of chaos began in Judea, which culminated in persecutions at the command of Antiochus IV and a revolt led by Judas Maccabee and his brothers. The elimination of the past royal benefactions, or *philanthropa basilika*, therefore becomes a pivotal point in the narrative of 2 Maccabees and its portrayal of both the loss of local order and its subsequent restoration by Judas.

Scholars agree that the royal benefactions that Jason "rejected" in 2 Maccabees 4:11 were probably the stipulations of Antiochus's letter to Ptolemaios.[28] The mention of the figure

[27] For discussion, see Schwartz 2008, 3–15.
[28] E.g., Schwartz 2008, 220.

of Ioannes is key to this theory. According to 2 Maccabees 4:11, a certain man named "Ioannes, father of Eupolemos" was the local agent who established the benefactions that were abolished by the wicked Jason. Neither Ioannes nor his son Eupolemos feature elsewhere in the book of 2 Maccabees. However, 1 Maccabees 8:17 does mention "Eupolemos the son of Ioannes" of the priestly family HaKotz (Εὐπόλεμον υἱὸν Ιωάννου τοῦ Ακκως), as having been sent by Judas to Rome in 161 BCE. This mention of Eupolemos suggests that the diplomatic activities of his father, Ioannes, would have taken place in the beginning of the second century BCE, thus putting us squarely in the time of Antiochus III's conquest of Jerusalem.[29]

Hence, not only is 2 Maccabees 4:11 the only second-century source where the benefactions of Antiochus III are referred to directly—even using the technical Hellenistic term, *philanthropa basilika*. It also creates a new association between the benefactions and a specific local agent in Jerusalem, namely Ioannes father of Eupolemos. Moreover, the superfluous mention of Ioannes' status as the father of Eupolemos hints that this verse does more than simply create a contrast between the chaos brought about by Jason and the order that was previously secured by the diplomat Ioannes. It arguably serves to ensure that the figure of Eupolemos appears in the narrative of 2 Maccabees somehow, precisely because he would go on to play an important role in establishing Judas's authority with imperial powers.[30] According to 1 Maccabees 8, Eupolemos's mission to Rome took place after Nikanor's defeat: that is, after the pivotal battle that closes the book of 2 Maccabees. Given that the book of 2 Maccabees concludes its story with this episode, the diplomatic mission of Eupolemos seems to have fallen outside the book's chronological scope. It is the reference to Ioannes, the father of Eupolemos, at 2 Macc 4:11, that ensures that this important mission does not go totally unmentioned and subtly figures in the book. Indeed, this blatant attempt to ensure that Eupolemos gets a mention

[29] E.g., Schwartz 2022, 289.
[30] On the role that the relations with Rome play in Hasmonean ideology, see Zollschan 2004; Coşkun 2018; Berthelot 2022.

via the reference to his father in 2 Maccabees 4:11 has led scholars such as Hengel and Daniel Schwartz to go as far as to suggest that the author of 2 Maccabees may have known Euploemos personally.[31]

Still in Josephus's time Eupolemos was remembered as having held a prominent position in Hasmonean ranks. The historian claims, in *Antiquities* 12.415, that Judas chose him from among his *philoi*.[32] Importantly, it is this group of *philoi* that, 1 Maccabees 9:28–31 states,[33] played the crucial role of electing Jonathan as their ruler (*archon*) and leader (*hegemon*) after Judas' death—roles that the Seleucid kings then recognized (e.g., by Balas 1 Macc 10:20, 65). These *philoi* then are not just Judas' supporters and co-combatants but are seen as part of the early Hasmonean state apparatus, which already casts Judas as a local dynast. The fact that Eupolemos was understood by Josephus as belonging to the highest echelons of Hasmonean power testifies to the force of him having been commemorated in 1 and 2 Maccabees as such a key diplomatic agent—a role that he effectively inherits from his father, who already paved the way during the negotiations with Antiochus. The significance of Eupolemos only grows when we consider the widespread scholarly theory that Eupolemos son of Ioannes should probably be identified with the historian Eupolemos, whose history of the kings of Judea is fragmentarily preserved by Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica*.[34] Among the extant fragments of this work is a fictive letter exchange between king David and the kings of Egypt and Syria (Frg. 2=Praep. ev. 9.30.1–34.18), which, as Anthony Keddie has cogently shown, provides a validating precedent for Hasmonean diplomatic activity under Jonathan (1 Macc 10:57–60),[35] and thus affirms Eupolemos's location within Hasmonean circles.

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[31] E.g., Hengel 1978, 97; Schwartz 2008, 221.

[32] Ant. 12:415: πέμψας οὖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων Εὐπόλεμον τὸν Ἰωάννου υἱὸν καὶ Ἰάσονα τὸν Ἐλεαζάρου παρεκάλει δὶ αὐτῶν συμμάχους εἶναι καὶ φίλους, καὶ Δημητρίῳ γράψαι, ὅπως μὴ πολεμῇ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.

[33] 1 Macc 9:28–31: οἱ φίλοι Ἰούδου [...] ὧν οὖν σὲ ᾑρετισάμεθα σήμερον τοῦ εἶναι ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἡμῖν εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγούμενον. Cf. Jos.Ant.13.5 where they are called *etairoi*, also a court title.

[34] See Sørensen 2015.

[35] Keddie 2013.

Where does this evidence lead us? I propose that, like ben Sira, the author of 2 Maccabees sought to activate the memory of royal benefactions, again omitting the name of the king who granted them and leaving only the local Judean representative. Unlike ben Sira, however, 2 Maccabees focuses not on how the benefactions elevated the high priest, but rather their role as the crowning achievement of a Judean whose son would go on to play an important role in early Hasmonean dynastic politics. By mentioning Ioannes and Eupolemos, the author of 2 Maccabees 4:11 establishes a link between the local actors and models of leadership that were associated with the early decades of Seleucid rule in Judea with the diplomatic efforts that took place under Judas. Both ben Sira and 2 Maccabees therefore show how references to the benefactions, however fleeting, could be mobilized to bolster local Judean authorities. In both accounts, association with past benefactions was a means of assuming local authority, but in the case of the literary representation of Ioannes and Eupolemos it directly related to the service and the interaction between imperial and local rulers. This evidence, and its inclusion in 2 Maccabees, may also point to the ideological integration of local leadership and authority figures, whose claim for imperial recognition preceded that of the Hasmoneans, within the Hasmonean court, as long as these were subservient to Hasmonean authority.

First Maccabees

The seeming proximity between Eupolemos and the Hasmoneans is somewhat surprising given the fact that the text most closely associated with the Hasmonean court, namely, 1 Maccabees does not mention him in association with Antiochus's benefactions—a fact that is even more surprising when we consider that, unlike 2 Maccabees, the historical narrative of 1 Maccabees begins before the Seleucid conquest.

Written in the 110s at the court of Hyrkanos,[36] 1 Maccabees opens with a survey of Hellenistic history from Alexander to Antiochus IV that glosses over the reign of Antiochus III in favor of a seeming continuum from Alexander's Persian inheritance, through his successors, to the accession of Antiochus IV, which brought with it the beginning of troubles in Judea. From Alexander to Antiochus, groups were able to maintain their separation under the empire, when each lived in its land and had its customs and rulers, who were, in turn, subject to the king and paid him tribute. Everything changed with the rise of Antiochus IV, who allowed Judean lawless men to set a treaty with the surrounding nations.[37] These lawless men received an audience with the king, who gave them the authority to build a gymnasium and overturn local Judean distinctions by following other customs.[38] Antiochus IV then supported them with a decree that called all his kingdom to become one people.[39]

We do not hear of the origins of the state of Judean separation mentioned in 1 Maccabees 1:11. What is clear, however, is that the author of 1 Maccabees 1 links its abolition with the building of a gymnasium.[40] This reference to a gymnasium creates a curious echo with 2 Maccabees 4:11 and its reference to Jason's rejection of the *philanthropa basilika*, which is also paired with the building of the gymnasium that is mentioned in vv. 9 and 12. First Maccabees 13:36–42 then identifies the resolution of the crisis that began with the lawless men—that is, lifting the bondage or yoke to the nations—with the *Hasmoneans* securing royal concessions and recognition—like those granted by Antiochus III, namely tax exemptions and recognition of local practices.

[36] On the date and location of 1 Macc, see Schwartz 2022, 7–8.
[37] 1 Macc 1:11: Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐξῆλθον ἐξ Ισραηλ υἱοὶ παράνομοι καὶ ἀνέπεισαν πολλοὺς λέγοντες Πορευθῶμεν καὶ διαθώμεθα διαθήκην μετὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλῳ ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐχωρίσθημεν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν, εὗρεν ἡμᾶς κακὰ πολλά.
[38] 1 Macc 1:15: καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας καὶ ἐζευγίσθησαν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
[39] 1 Macc 11:42: ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ἕκαστον τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ.
[40] 1 Macc 1:14–15.

It is thus clear that for the author of 1 Maccabees, securing royal benefactions, in the form of political recognition and material rewards, did not lose social currency but was now understood according to the foremost authority of the Hasmoneans. Throughout the narrative anyone else accessing the king is condemned as lawless. This is the case in the beginning of the narrative, where the lawless are basically portrayed as following the rules of Hellenistic diplomacy in appealing to the king and receiving local authority (1 Macc 1:13), or later when other Judeans try to petition to Alexander Balas (10:61–64). Moreover, any royal benefactions to the Judeans that are not anchored in Hasmonean authority and mediation are not regarded as credible, as is the case with the generous promises made by Demetrios I, who failed to recognize Jonathan as a side in their negotiation (1 Macc 10:25–45; refusal 46) as opposed to Balas who first engaged him as a friend (10:18–20). So, it seems that in this dynastic history, which spans three generation, from Mattathias, through Judas, Jonathan and Simon, to Hyrkanos the possibilities of being associated with royal benefactions are narrowed down to the Hasmonean dynasts alone. They are depicted as having their own officials and even delegate authority to ambassadors, but, importantly, the narrative reaches its peak in 1 Maccabees 14 when the community acknowledges Simon as its exclusive royal power broker.

Conclusion

The conclude, being an agent of royal benefactions was a source of local power. *Philanthropa* decrees did not only establish and formalize relations between kings and communities but also created imperial interlocutors that held the exclusive position of having access to the king and could go on to become local powerholders. The public, discursive nature of these royal communications fostered acceptance for both imperial and local authorities that consequently became entangled.

Soon after Koila Syria came under Seleucid rule, and the Judeans received royal benefactions from Antiochus III, the competition for recognition as imperial mediators began. Already in the 190s, ben Sira, a contemporary of Antiochus III, used the works on the temple supported by the Seleucid king to present his patron's tenure—the high priest Simon II—as an idyllic time under a builder-king and thus contend for high priestly authority. Two generations later, this presentation was bolstered by making Simon the actual builder of Jerusalem, perhaps as a response to Hasmonean achievements.

Composed at about the same time as the Greek translation of ben Sira, the two Hasmonean dynastic narratives—1 and 2 Maccabees—simultaneously ignore and employ Antiochus's benefactions for inner-Judean negotiations.

Second Maccabees is suspicious of wicked imperial interlocutors. It contains the only clear reference to Antiochus's benefactions and even identifies the local agent who secured them—Ioannes, father of Eupolemos, but without mentioning the king who gave them. This reference looks to the narrative's present and the author's close contemporaries by linking these benefactions to Eupolemos, another Judean ambassador. The question of whether Ioannes was indeed the one who negotiated with Antiochus III, perhaps through Ptolemaios, the governor of Koile Syria, cannot be answered. However, what matters is that the Antiochus decree became an instrument in an elite competition under the Hasmoneans that promoted an ideology of service and the integration of local elites in Hasmonean state power.

First Maccabees is also wary of royal mediators and presents access to the king as the initial cause for unrest in Judea. The royal authority granted to lawless men brought about Antiochus's unifying edict and the forsaking of the holy covenant. As a result, benefactions and mediation come to characterize exclusive Hasmonean local power, as they emerge as the only effective guarantors of royal favor.

Second Maccabees' focus on Judas and the early phases of Hasmonean history, as opposed to the more centralized rule of his brothers and nephew, seems to have allowed space for non-Hasmonean elites within the Hasmonean narrative. By claiming descent from Ioannes, who secured the *philanthropa basilika* that the Hasmoneans sought to protect, elite agents like Eupolemos could argue for their inclusion within the local Hasmonean court, being descendants of families who had a long record of carrying out diplomatic missions. As with ben Sira's Simon II, association with past benefactions was means of assuming local authority that was not limited to king-like powers. In the case of the literary representation of Ioannes and Eupolemos it related to court service and the interaction between imperial and local rulers. The fact that, among other things, 2 Maccabees does not explicitly mention the Antiochus edict, which 1 Maccabees did not regard as a meaningful turning point, that it anchors this claim for authority in the generation of Ioannes (and hence also Mattathias, the Hasmonean patriarch), and that it highlights the importance of the ruler having the right kind advisors, all suggest that the narrative revolving around the *philanthropa basilika* was directed towards the Hasmonean court in the hope of being integrated into it, perhaps while subjecting the members of the old *Gerousia* to Hasmonean authority—like the histories of Judas and Eupolemos were integrated.

This inquiry into the local reception of the Antiochus edict and its place within Hasmonean ideology has several implications. Firstly, it sheds light on the possible afterlives of documentary evidence in antiquity. If edicts and proclamations like those quoted by Josephus were kept in the Jerusalem temple archive or displayed, they also had to be adapted according to changing dynastic concerns that sometimes excluded other, perhaps traditional powerbrokers. This is perhaps why we remain with the Seleucid correspondence that does not acknowledge any Judean negotiant. Secondly, we saw that Hasmonean dynastic ideology was not monolithic and had a place for non-dynastic elite agents. This may open new avenues of exploring, for example, the martyr narratives in 2 Maccabees and the groups they might

represent in relation to the Hasmonean court. Exploring how groups that at first seem unrelated to the Hasmoneans interacted with royal authority and demonstrated local agency may further our understanding of how Judeans responded to, and perhaps were integrated in, emerging Hasmonean hegemony. Finally, this investigation in the shifting memory of Antiochus's decree broadens our understanding of the Hasmonean dynasty and how it established its power by copying imperial patterns and creating a miniature empire with its own court where the local rulers delegated authority to their elite servants and could perhaps themselves grant benefactions.

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Brief Project Summary:

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"Midian and Jabesh-Gilead: Telling the Story of Exilic Trauma through Virginal Women's Silence"

I defended my dissertation entitled "The Sin of Gibeah?: Reading Judges 19 and Hosea 9-10 in the Context of Migration and Trauma" in December 2021. While the past year has been working on a monograph that is in proof stage with Lexington Press on the interplay of Speech Act Theory and Trauma Hermeneutics in various Hebrew Bible narratives (2024), revising my dissertation for publication has been part of next steps for my personal research trajectory, as Oxford University Press has expressed interest in an expansion. This said, beginning to explore the texts that follow Judges 19, those being 20 and 21, have continued to open up possibilities that not only build upon my dissertation, but greatly improve what has already been done. Given the nature of many dissertations, this was unsurprising, but nonetheless exciting.

Explicitly, this specific paper will be part of that expansion, in that the repetition of stories with key differences depending on generation and ideological goals are of great importance to both. Beyond simple examples of "composite character" in redaction critical schools, I argue that these differences are not just a matter of which school and/or scribe wrote these stories, but a matter of how trauma is playing out in their own bodies and communities. While Genesis will not play a large role, nor will Hosea, in this paper, both of which will become necessary to discuss in my dissertation revision, Numbers 25/31 has been extremely beneficial in directing my research on a much broader scale than initially imagined.

I have arrived to Copenhagen to join the team for "Divergent Views of Diaspora in Ancient Judaism" alongside Frederik Poulsen, the lead, and Kacper Ziemba, a fellow postdoc, about a month ago at this time. Our work will be mapping out different diasporic consciousness' in the books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah, and the Joseph Story in Genesis 37-50. Using a specific framework from K.D. Butler, four basic themes will be analyzed in all, those being:

(1) The origins and conditions of the Jewish diasporas in Egypt, Babylon, and Persia: reasons for relocation, circumstances in the hostlands, assessments of the existence of diasporas.
(2) Relationships with Jerusalem and Judah (Yehud): conditions in the homeland, involvement in homeland affairs, types of contact, the issue of return, conditions for actual returnees.
(3) Relationship with the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian hosts: conditions in the hostlands, images of the hostlands, level of cooperation, degree of assimilation or cultural isolation.
(4) Interrelationships with and within the diaspora communities in Egypt, Babylon, and Persia: social dynamics, strategies for preserving group identity, contact across borders.

Four sub-projects will involve generational consciousness, return, interaction with host authorities, and religion, which, given the nature of diaspora, are interrelated and bleed into and onto one another.

This paper is more closely related to my previous projects, however, my previous background and understanding of symbolic, exilic storytellings that the paper opens with as well as for

continuing discussions on how women, and sex, in particular, are viewed in antiquity through an exilic lens will be of great importance to the project Divergent Views of Diaspora. Working on these tellings and re-tellings, especially as it pertains to the divisions of insider/outsider languaging, in the context of women's bodies as vehicle, will be foundational for further study.

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Midian and Jabesh-Gilead: Telling the Story of Exilic Trauma through Virginal Women's Silence

Interestingly placed next to discussions about oaths and vows, two "battles" occur where all of the men as well as women who have had sex with men are killed in Midian and Jabesh-Gilead (Numbers 31/Judges 21), however, with special note to leave the young women who have not had sex with a man behind for either themselves or for those in Benjamin who now need a wife. Given instructions from Deuteronomy 21:10-14, we receive more clarity about what would become of these virgin women, both from "inside" and "outside" of what may constitute "Israel," but we also never hear from these women about what actually occurs to them in the aftermath.

What does it mean to survive and live in the aftermath of the murder of your family, the kidnapping and capture of oneself, and rape? May it be that these stories, with only slight differences, tell a much larger, symbolic story of a generational history of exile? The text would have us assume not only their submission, but also, their proverbial narratival death; yet, to collapse their experience into a fate that must lead to annihilation as even the Septuagint calls the Midianite virgins "chattel," only allows for one dimension of pain possible. Giving back voice to these unhappy stories requires imagining the many potential outcomes from such trauma and even considering that these victims may not respond the way we want them to means great polyvocality that resists the savior complex pervasive in feminist interpretations in a text that has no vocality for these girls at all.

Preface/Focal Points:
Symbolization through female bodies to depict horrific national disasters, the complicated ethics of doing so from a trauma lens, and the ethics of speaking *for* or *on behalf of* silenced peoples. Feminist biblical scholarship.

Introduction
For a "fun" read this summer, I picked up the book *On the Inconvenience of Other People* by Lauren Berlant, obviously assuming the book would be about something entirely different than it actually *is* about. Berlant details what it means to be inconvenienced by others, or as she defines it, "the affective sense of the familiar friction of being in the world." She continues to remind us, aptly, that "the important thing is that we are inescapably in relation with other beings and the world and are continuously adjusting to them."[1] The rest of the book discusses major aspects of inconvenience, in that certain bodies are deemed more or less inconvenient than others,[2] and

[1] Lauren Berlant, *On the Inconvenience of Other People* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2022), 2.
[2] "Just because we are in the same room does not mean that we belong to the room or to each other," ibid, 10. "The friction of co-presence." Or, as I describe this phenomenon in my own terms in *Biblical Interpretation Reading List,* Brill Publishing, Pre-Proof: "the fantasy that we are somehow in control of or freed from what occurs when other people act or have acted. We are forever interconnected, in disturbance."

also, that there are many things in the "world" that we have been forced to adjust to, to become attached to, to receive as normative that which is not justice. Berlant's text ends with a coda, on receiving the inconvenient that which is *unbearable,* in which she describes them in our current context as being "so pervasive that they often remain incidents rather than growing into transformational events,"[3] by which she goes on to use examples of rape and murder. And yet, "to call a thing unbearable is to admit that it must be borne."[4] It is from here the paper will introduce unfortunately timeless unbearable things, beginning with the rape/murders of Cozbi in Numbers 25 and the Unnamed Concubine of Judges 19 that divulge into perpetuated violence in Numbers 31 and Judges 21.

To begin, a thorough comparison between the texts of Numbers 31 and Judges 21 is in order; not only in these battle's beginnings starting with the violation of a singular woman in both Numbers 25 and Judges 19, but also, in that claiming their divergences are telling of different historical and ideological settings. Through the thread of historicity, the paper will hypothesize that these stories of violated, silenced, virginal women could be seen as readings of one another to depict the larger story of Israel in exile and further colonization. While this reading can sanitize and/or whitewash the horror of the literal readings of these texts, hiding the pains of marginalized women with no textual or actual agency, a trauma-informed perspective that advocates for polyvocality and critical empathic unsettlement will *loosen* our previous grasps amidst many valid ethical arguments for what it could mean to imagine in the gap. In concluding, this paper will argue alongside Katharine Doob Sakenfeld that while it seems there are differences between our age and that found in these ancient texts, "it is important that this sense of distance not deceive the reader, for the correspondences to the situation of modern women and men continue to be very great indeed."[5] Could we replace the silence with something different with something that does not save the text from itself; could we replace the lack of agency with something that honors the agency of those who have suffered? The re-imagining of this space will continue to implement Berlant's work, because in the words of Berlant, "when it comes to living in proximity, there is no such thing as passivity."[6]

Comparative Analysis of Numbers 31 and Judges 21

As was already mentioned, while Numbers 31 and Judges 21 have great parallelism, this parallelism begins in stories that come before them, in both Numbers 25 and Judges 19 respectively.

[3] Berlant, *On the Inconvenience,* 151.
[4] Ibid, 152.
[5] Katharine Doob Sakenfeld, "Numbers," in *Women's Bible Commentary,* edited by Carol Newsom, Sharon Ringe, and Jacqueline Lapsley (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 81.
[6] Berlant, *On the Inconvenience,* 9.

Numbers 25 starts with an episode of Israelite men *zonah*-ing[7] with the Daughters of Moab—these daughters having had invited them, hospitably,[8] to worship their god, Baal of Peor. YHWH becomes angry, and orders Moses to kill the leaders of the people in order to atone. Moses then delegates this to the judges of the people,[9] to kill those who have worshipped Baal of Peor. It is here the narrative turns, again, most likely being a redaction of some sort in order to form the justification for Numbers 31. Now we have a Midianite woman that is brought into the fold by one of the Israelite men,[10] while they were weeping due what we assume is the plague that we find out about at the end of this short episode. We do not know if this plague was brought on because of what occurred in the first five verses or not, but nonetheless, Phineas sees this and immediately goes after these two and pierces both of them, specifically piercing the woman through what is either her belly, her womb, or, her vagina.[11] Atonement occurs and the plague stops. Previously unnamed characters become named, as we find that the man's name was Zimri of Simeon, and the Midianite woman was Cozbi.[12] Phineas is celebrated and rewarded for this act.

Comparing, then, Numbers 25 to Judges 19, we note the few, yet present, similarities. Judges 19 starts with a concubine who *zonahs,*[13] and leaves her husband, a Levite, for her Father's house.

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[7] The ambiguity here could mean that the men had sex with these women, *or,* it was simply an act of idolatry. *Zonah* has a range of meaning, which will continue to be discussed alongside Judges 19. Jione Havea also asks in this section given what occurs in Numbers 31, "The sparing of the Midianite virgins raises a question concerning the worshipful Moabite woman with whom the Israelites whored at the beginning of Num. 25. Were they not virgins? Was their virginity the reason why the Israelite men were slaughtered instead of them? And does this mean that they were victims in and of the numbing story of Israel?" 67. And yet, as Baruch Levine discusses: "there is no indication that the sacrificial rites to which the Moabite (and Midianite) women brought their Israelite men actually involved sexual activity," *Numbers 21-36* (New York: Doubleday Publishing, 2000), 296.

[8] See Jione Havea, "Numbing Numbers: Land and People in the Wilderness," in *The Postcolonial Commentary on the Old Testament,* Hemchand Gossai ed. (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 66. She references Wil Gafney and Nasili Vaka'uta as well.

[9] Which becomes interestingly ironic in the following verses given that Moses' father-in-law, a Midianite, Jethro, is the one who suggested the appointing of these judges (Exodus 18:13).

[10] To return to, a note on innocence: "They did not sneak in, and they did not appear to think anything was wrong with their coming together," 66: Jione Havea, "Numbing Numbers."

[11] Rhiannon Graybill argues that it is her vagina that is pierced, "The Hebrew word is used only here and in Deuteronomy 18:3, where it refers to a portion of the sacrificed animal's body to be given to the priests. It refers to a portion of the lower abdomen — translated, variously, as "belly," "stomach," "womb," or "sexual organs." The sexual implications of this sort of penetration are clear." See footnote 6 in "'Long Since Murdered': Cozbi, *The Kreutzer Sonata,* and the Limits of Narrating Sexual Violence," in *Narrating Rape,* edited by Rhiannon Graybill, Juliana Claassens, and Christl Maier, (SCM Press: London, 2024), pre-proof.

[12] As Rhiannon Graybill notes, "It is only in death that the female character is granted subjectivity—after it is possible for her to be a subject." See above.

[13] According to the law in Deuteronomy 22, this infidelity should be punished. Is she waiting to be stoned at the door of her father's house? To make mention as well of Cheryl Exum's work, in that if she was to leave her spouse in a patriarchal society, that is seen as unfaithful: "a woman who asserts her sexual autonomy by leaving her husband—and whether or not she remains with him is a sexual issue—is guilty of sexual misconduct." *Fragmented Women: Feminist (Sub)Versions of Biblical Narratives* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 179. See full discussion on *zonah* and the *pilegesh* of Judges 19 in Alexiana Fry, "The Sin of Gibeah?: Reading Judges 19 and Hosea 9-10 in the Context of Migration and Trauma," PhD diss., (University of Stellenbosh, 2021), 136-140. (Is she "innocent"? And the problems with that question as well will be discussed in tandem with Num. 31 and Judg. 21 later in the paper.)

The Levite goes to speak to her heart,[14] to bring her back, from her Father's house in Ephraim. After five days of a power struggle between the Father and the Levite, the Levite seems to win out, taking his concubine with him. After a side comment about *not* staying in a town where there are no Israelites,[15] although night is coming quickly, they arrive in Gibeah of Benjamin, where they wait too long for hospitality until a migrant living in Gibeah offers his home. Wicked men of Gibeah ask *to know* the Levite, which is responded by an offering up of not only the host's virginal daughter,[16] but also, the Levite's concubine. The Levite seizes his concubine and sends her out to the wicked men, who abuse her throughout the night, and at daybreak her hands are seen resting on the threshold of the door. The Levite with imperative force tells the concubine to get up, and when she does not, he hoists her onto his donkey, brings her to his home, and dismembers[17] her into twelve pieces which are sent to the twelve tribes of Israel.[18] The Levite, as will be seen in the following chapter before he disappears from the narrative entirely, is not to blame.

In summary, to compare these two prologues, we have two stories that begin with ambiguous *zonah*-ing, the bodies of women violated and murdered either with explicit or implicit sexual connotations,[19] the women as scapegoats,[20] and the need for resolution. In fact, these stories become justification for what happens next. Unbearable, indeed.

But like any good, long story, they are not without interlude. Between Numbers 25-31, and Judges 19-21, there is inter-story. As mentioned in the abstract, vows and oaths are discussed in Numbers 30, while Judges 20 is a literal carrying out of vows and oaths, perhaps in the most negative of fashion as is customary of the book of Judges as a whole.[21] Finally, we arrive in our specific chapters of analysis: Numbers 31 and Judges 21.

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[14] Whenever this occurs in a text, it's not good. See Susanne Scholz, "What 'Really' Happened to Dinah, A Feminist Analysis of Genesis 34," *lectio difficilior* 2 (2001): http://www.lectio.unibe.ch/01_2/s.htm. It is not lost on me the parallels in Genesis to these narratives as well, of which I will continue to write about in another place.

[15] Alexiana Fry, "Whom Shall I Fear? The Irony of Affective Politics in Judges 19," in *Journal for Interdisciplinary Biblical Studies* 5 (1), July 10, 2023: https://doi.org/10.17613/8zz7-gz51

[16] Alexiana Fry, "The 'Lucky' Victim: Current Rape Narratives and the Virgin Daughter of Judges 19," Helen Paynter and Michael Spalione, eds., *Global Perspectives on Bible and Violence* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2023), 106-115.

[17] Another interesting parallel here can be found in Numbers 25:4-5, in that Robert Polzin, "HWQY^{C} and Covenantal Institutions in Early Israel", *The Harvard Theological Review* 62 (2), 1969: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1509328, thinks these leaders were to be dismembered.

[18] See also Alexiana Fry, *Trauma Talks in the Hebrew Bible: Speech Act Theory and Trauma Hermeneutics* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Press, 2024).

[19] See Helena Zlotnick Sivan, "The Rape of Cozbi (Numbers XXV)," *Vestus Testamentum* 51 (1), January 2001: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1585567.

[20] Cheryl Exum, "Feminist Criticism: Whose Interests are Being Served?", Gale Yee ed., *Judges & Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies* (Minneapolis, Fortress Press, 2007), 86. "…attention to the gender politics of Judges enables us to expose the phenomenon of scapegoating women for what it is: a strategy patriarchy uses to avoid facing and having to deal with its own violent legacy." Also Lauren A.S. Monroe, "Phinehas' Zeal and the Death of Cozbi: Unearthing a Human Scapegoat Tradition in Numbers 25:1-18," *Vestus Testamentum* 62 (2), 2012: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41583732.

[21] Calum Carmichael, *The Book of Numbers: A Critique of Genesis* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 147-149; Carmichael is the reason behind seeing the complete intertextual allusions between not only Genesis and Numbers, but also enveloping Judges—see comparison of Genesis 31:32, 35:9-20 with these as well. This will not be fully unpacked in this paper, but in an expanded version of my dissertation.

Numbers 31 picks up where Numbers 25:16-18 left off, in avenging the people of Israel by completely destroying Midian, with Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest (31:6). They do so, bringing "booty" back, plundering and burning everything with fire. Moses becomes angry, saying "have you let every female live? (Num. 31:15)" Continuing on, Moses adds, "Even when it was them who made the Israelites act against Yahweh so that a plague came against Yahweh's community? (31:16)" Now, all the men among the little ones as well as women who has had sex with a man must also be killed. *But the young girls*[22] *who have not known man keep alive for yourselves* (31:17-18). What finishes here is a continuation of purity rituals for these men who have made themselves unclean, and within the list of animals are listed the 32,000 persons counted. Numbers continues on.[23]

Judges 20, with the blessing of a familiar Phineas the son of Eleazar the priest (20:28), after the sham trial[24] and two losses in battle against Benjamin, has Israel finally defeating Benjamin until they are a mere 600 men due to their stance with the men of Gibeah. The men then regret their vows to not allow their daughters to marry into this tribe, as they are concerned with repopulating the tribe of Benjamin (21:1-7). Behold! Jabesh-Gilead never came to the assembly when summoned with the dismembered body part of the concubine, so they *herem* the inhabitants, saving the young virgins to bring to Shiloh to the Benjaminites as an offering of peace (21:11-14). The women, are in fact, not enough. To rectify the lack of women as brides for Benjamin, they concoct another plan to "snatch" wives from Shiloh that would create a loophole in the vow/oath for the husbands and brothers of these girls (21:19-23). This is done, and the narrative ends with all going back to their inheritance.

In summary, to compare these two stories,[25] Phineas, the son of Eleazar the priest, leads Israel into bloodbaths, that involve killing most everyone except for virginal girls that are assumed to

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[22] Of another note, while the following footnote states I am using Feldman's *The Consuming Fire,* I have a specific translation issue in verse 18, where she translates the young girls as women. There are ideological reasons to do so, but that is not the Hebrew. Verse eighteen is literally the children among the girls/women, thus, young girls. See also footnote 39 in M. I. Rey's "Reexamination of the Foreign Female Captive: Deuteronomy 21:10-14 as a Case of Genocidal Rape," *Journal for Feminist Studies in Religion* 32 (1), Spring 2016: https://doi.org/10.2979/jfemistudreli.32.1.04. What *is* perhaps more telling is what happens in this gap with the Hebrew language, in that verse 18 details them as young girls who have not known a man, but in numbering them among the plunder in Numbers 31:35, they are now *women, nasim.*

[23] Here I am using Liane Feldman's translation of Priestly materials in her latest monograph, *The Consuming Fire: The Complete Priestly Source, from Creation to the Promised Land* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2023), 230-1. However, I want to make a note that on page 230, footnote 39, to discuss why there is such a gap between chapter 25 and 31 before acting, she writes that "the answer is rather simple: when it comes to warfare in the priestly narrative, there is continual concern for the protection of women and children. If the Israelites had gone to war immediately in Numbers 25, their women and children would have been in danger. By progressing several stages on their journey before launching this attack, Moses has ensured they are safe while the soldiers carry out their campaign." I appreciate the specific pronoun "their" in the second sentence, because women and children of foreign status are very clearly not protected in these instances, and in fact, their genocide occurs in the priestly narrative. This footnote is a bit damning, as well as the protection of the overarching horror of the narrative as mentioned in the previous footnote in this paper.

[24] For why this is a terrible account of "justice," see Sarah Schwartz, "Law and Order in Judges 19-21," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 35 (1), December 2021: https://janes.scholasticahq.com/article/32972-law-and-order-in-judges-19-21.

[25] Baruch Levine sees a direct correlation between Numbers 31:13-20 in Judges 21:10-11, 13-14, 16, *Numbers 21-36,* 297.

then become brides to those who have conquered them, as a way to close the account of a singular woman's violation. In essence: not only does violence beget violence, but in the acute work of Gayle Rubin on the "exchange of women" in kinship systems, "social relations between men and the reconfiguration of those relationships are mediated by the taking and giving of women."[26] As Graybill adds in this negotiation of bodies, particularly, of women's bodies, "this negotiation takes the form of extreme violence."[27]

And yet, as one hears, there are also *many* differences between the stories; although I have given a broad brush of general comparisons, there are key distinctions. Interrelation seems obvious, but interrelated *how?* In taking a small step back by doing historical critical scholarship of these passages, as well as introducing the concept of trauma hermeneutics, this paper will continue to parse the interrelation via exile through the silent suffering and pain of the virgin daughters left.

The Trauma of Exile: Symbolization and Retelling/Repurposed Stories

For starters, as many, if not all biblical texts are written with what many composite character, that being "made up of multiple different compositions written by multiple authors."[28] This is a basic point in scholarship, and yet, one that must be emphasized here in recognizing the similarities *and* differences of these different texts.

Numbers 25 and 31 are largely agreed upon to be from a "priestly" source; Sakenfeld writes that while there is "disagreement about details," these writings come from a "group of Jerusalemite priests who had been exiled to the city of Babylon."[29] Of course, these writings will continue to be edited through exile and into "post"-exile, but even these edits will be done under the thumb of empire in colonization, what may be better deemed as "persistent"-exile.[30] And yet, one wonders what the priests thought of said traumatic events, or if they perceived them as traumatic at all; in considering these histories held in bodies, in tandem with the more optimistic concerns of writing the "foundation of Israelite religious practice,"[31] we may begin to parse out a story within these stories.

Judges 19 through 21 are largely agreed upon to be from a "Deuteronomistic" source, in part, due to its inclusion in the so-called Deuteronomistic history. And yet, these specific chapters, like many when using the documentary hypothesis, are a constant source of argument.[32]

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[26] Susan Niditch, "'The Traffic in Women'": Exchange, Ritual Sacrifice, and War," Saul M. Olyan editor, *Ritual Violence in the Hebrew Bible: New Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 115-6. C.F. Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy of Sex," Rayna Reiter editor, *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

[27] Graybill, "'Long Since Murdered': Cozbi, *The Kreutzer Sonata,* and the Limits of Narrating Sexual Violence," in *Narrating Rape,* edited by Rhiannon Graybill, Juliana Claassens, and Christl Maier, (SCM Press: London, 2024), pre-proof.

[28] Feldman, *The Consuming Fire,* 3.

[29] Sakenfeld, "Numbers," in *Women's Bible Commentary,* 79.

[30] This is taken and adapted from Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2001), 103.

[31] Feldman, *The Consuming Fire,* 15.

[32] I believe the text reflects Deutero concerns, yet, comes from a later dating that may be classified as priestly. Cynthia Edenburg in her work, *Dismembering the Whole: Composition and Purpose of Judges 19-21* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), sees this as a later dated text based on the Hebrew, and argues for such. My own concerns with dating

Deuteronomistic history seems to be more concerned with what Mark Brett writes "reflects a classical model of nation-building: a violent territorial claim, assertions of sovereignty, and exhortations of national unity.."[33] and yet, is a bit more pessimistic in that the pattern of the people is disobedience to the covenant they made with YHWH. And yet, if one were to attempt to mark out a historical time period of these writings, even from the earliest conceptions some scholars demarcate at seventh and sixth century BCE, we have more traumatic events—with the potential of this grand beginning being Josiah's reform, and moving throughout the fall of Israel, Judah, and into exile.

Different traumatic events, and yet, similar traumas to our priestly text; their concerns and contexts are different, thus so, the texts.[34] What is interesting, then, is the interplay of these two texts with one another given their potential historical backgrounds. Further: to consider their differences as a way in which we see how these different groups understood what was happening to them by using a story they've always told with particular changes to help them cope, better yet, survive.

Key trauma researcher Judith Herman identifies three stages for "recovery"[35] for those facing trauma and its effects: "establishment of safety, remembrance and mourning, and reconnection with ordinary life."[36] If one does not move through or integrate their trauma, not only will the effects of said trauma be continuously disruptive, but it is more likely to become intergenerational trauma, passed down to their children and children's children.[37] A favorite line that helps to encapsulate what is needed in this alchemy is from Juliana Claassens, one of the main trauma hermeneutic researchers in biblical studies: "trauma victims need trauma narratives in order to become trauma survivors."[38]

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for the text follow a more neo-documentarian approach, and in my thesis, I argue for a more in-between authorship that reflects what may have been occurring for the nation as it were. In summary: showing that the texts reflect trauma is my main work, regardless of said specific trauma.

[33] Mark Brett, *Political Trauma and Healing: Biblical Ethics for a Postcolonial World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 78.

[34] And once more to consider: if Judges 19 is almost verbatim of Genesis 19 with some distinct differences, how then are these authors both reading Genesis 19 and changing them? Is Genesis 19 the source text? Once more, reading Callum Carmichael's work for Numbers and my own for Judges makes a new argument.

[35] This word is contested in circles involving survivors. See Karen O'Donnell and Katie Cross, "Traumatised People are Not Your Mission Field," in *The Shiloh Project,* April 1, 2021: https://www.shilohproject.blog/traumatised-people-are-not-your-mission-field/.

[36] Judith Herman, M.D., *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence—From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror,* 153.

[37] "What cannot be talked about can also not be put to rest; and if it is not, the wounds continue to fester from generation to generation." Bruno Bettelheim, "Afterword," in *I Didn't Say Goodbye,* Claudine Vegh (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1984), 166. Yael Daneli, *International Handbook of Multigenerational Legacies of Trauma* (New York: Plenum Press, 2010), 5: calls it "osmosis." In collectivities, it may become an ethnic marker: Vamik Volkan, *Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism* (New York: Basic Books, 1998), 45. Of note in biblical studies, even more specificially, the Deuteronomistic narrative, David Janzen, *The Violent Gift: Trauma's Subversion of the Deuteronomistic History's Narrative* (London: T&T Clark, 2013), 25: "The literary manifestations of trauma in the works of second and third generation descendants of trauma survivors are just like those in the works of the survivors themselves."

[38] Juliana Claassens, *Writing and Reading to Survive: Biblical and Contemporary Trauma Narratives in Conversation,* 2.

How this looks in collectivities often involves struggle over representation. Jeffery Alexander in his work on collective trauma writes, "in the course of this struggle, meanings can be changed, sometimes in drastic ways."[39] Similarly, Ron Eyerman writes on how collective traumas can, "entirely destroy a collective or at the very least demand a re-narration of the myths and beliefs which ground that collective."[40] While trauma can seem to be the ultimate leveler, power is often involved in the shaping of these collective stories, meaning that while collectives have agreed upon stories, there are also other stories amidst those; often stories that preserve power are those that are privileged, even among those who have all felt the aftershocks of the traumatic event.[41] Consider this in light of those who were able to *write* these stories down.[42]

Often times, dealing with the traumatic is too difficult, to un-safe to work-through, especially when those spaces are continuously filled with the lack of safety and there seems to be no end in sight. And yet, there is narration. Using symbolization, then, can become a way in which trauma survivors are able to create distance and yet come to terms with what has occurred and may still be occurring.[43] Folklore is most often exactly this: using local contexts, genres that are recognizable, and as Susan Niditch adds in her work on *Folklore and the Hebrew Bible,* "symbols are made into easily identifiable and interpretable categories."[44] My own work on Judges 19 arrives at a conclusion that many already had, in that a new generation took from Genesis 19, the proverbial folk tale, and re-narrated for a new situation, that being exile: the body of the *pilegesh* becomes the body of Israel, raped through war and dismembered into diaspora, and due to the internal strife, can become a self-blaming narrative and a warning for later generations due to what occurred.[45] If my hypothesis proves true in this instance, Numbers 25 could be read somewhat similarly, and yet, entirely differently; Numbers 25 becomes the story of resisting continued colonization, in swiftly destroying that which is both among us and not of us, embodied in the relations of Zimri and Cozbi, so that "we" can be in the promised land—something which they had failed to do previously in our exile as embodied by the failed

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[39] Jeffery Alexander, *Trauma: A Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 118.

[40] Ron Eyerman, "Social Theory and Trauma," *Acta Sociologica* 56(1) (2013), 49. See also his comments: "Bearing witness to catastrophe can be done in a literary mode, as fact or fiction…Reading social theory in light of trauma theory is to find meaning in what otherwise look like exaggeration, fragmentation, or obvious inconsistency," 50.

[41] Kalí Tal, *Worlds of Hurt: Reading the Literatures of Trauma* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 7: The speech of survivors, then, is highly politicized. If 'telling it like it was' threatens the status quo, powerful political, economic, and social forces will pressure survivors to either keep their silence or to revise their stories. If the survivor community is a marginal one, their voices will be drowned out by those with the influence and resources to silence them, and to trumpet a revised version of their trauma."

[42] Considering this from Eric Trinka in light of migration studies and biblical studies: "We can also relate findings from studies on migration in times of war, wherein we see that some persons might capitalize on times of political instability and violence to change their own situation, even by migrating to the central territory of the invading power," "Getting Our Bearings: Reflections on Methods for the Study of Migration and Exile," SBL Annual Meeting 2022, Denver, 9.

[43] Richard Lasky, "Introduction," in *Symbolization and Desymbolization: Essays in Honor of Norbert Freedman* (New York: Other Press, 2002). Ronald Granofsky, *The Trauma Novel: Contemporary Symbolic Depictions of Collective Disaster* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 6-7.

[44] Susan Niditch, *Folklore and the Hebrew Bible* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1993), 28-29.

[45] Fry, "The Sin of Gibeah?" Alice Keefe, *A Woman's Body and the Social Body in Hosea* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 175. See Keefe's other work where she argues similarly, in particular, "Rapes of Women/Wars of Men," *Semeia* 61 (1993): If, by chance, Alice Keefe is correct in that the women's body often represents the social body, and in even these stories filled with rape and violence, it "signifies the violation of the cohesion and the continuity of the social body."

generation, and of Moses himself in the passage.[46] And yet, ambiguity teems the passage, leaving often more questions than answers. Do the hypotheses hold up given what follows in both Judges 20-21 and Numbers 31?

Katherine Southwood uses an anthropological term, "marriage by capture," to encapsulate what happens in the chapter of Judges 21. While T.M. Lemos has done an excellent job at giving correction to some of the issues found in Southwood's monograph, more specifically, in the necessity of changing this term to "bridewealth," Southwood's final analysis given this anthropological work is of great importance.[47] Southwood's discusses how these behaviors come to take place in cultures where there is "an emphasis on virginity prior to marriage, the connection between virginity and male honor, the existence of a bride-price, male dominated regulation of marriages, and the significance of ethnicity and endogamy within such systems of marriage."[48] In discussion with how women's bodies function as "symbolic border guards of ethnic identity,"[49] she sees this text written at a later period in time, perhaps around the time of Ezra-Nehemiah, in arguing *against* what occurs in the text. Benjamin then comes to represent those who stayed in Israel during exile, not the sons of the *golah,* the Babylonian exiles:

> "…the authors or editors of Judges 19–21 illustrate the dire consequences and injustices of allowing compromises to be made by inventing ways to circumvent the oath against intermarriage… Rather than portraying a "happy ending" for all involved, the text instead acts as a powerful piece of social criticism portraying the problems associated with the lack of rigorous insistence about what constitutes Israelite identity and about the exclusion of those, even those internal to Israel, who threaten such identities. It is a text of no compromises. In the eyes of those responsible for the text, this ongoing tension is significant as a means of illustrating to readers and listeners that any compromising by extending boundaries and including those who do not truly act as Israelites may result in unity, but unity at the cost of supposedly (in the eyes of the group who self-ascribe the title 'Israel') authentic, legitimate claims to Israelite identity. Compassion on such symbolic out-groups through their inclusion within Israel results in Israel's replicating the behaviour of such groups to the extent that the Levite's wife's rape is answered not by justice, but with marriage by capture (Southwood, 226-8)."

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[46] Given the dating, this would be a bit of a both/and story, in that they were telling of their escape from "Egypt," and movement into "their land," which is an attempt at history but is really their current story. Numbers 26 marks the new generations' movements, as the old is seen to have completely passed due to the plague in Numbers 25, interestingly enough. See Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers,* xiii.

[47] T.M. Lemos, "Marriage by Capture in the Book of Judges: An Anthropological Approach, Katherine Southwood," in *Review of Biblical Literature* 03/2020: https://www.academia.edu/39737347/Review_of_Katherine_E_Southwood_Marriage_by_Capture_in_the_Book_of_Judges_An_Anthropological_Approach. Lemos adds, "For example, Southwood's rather enthusiastic defense of J. F. McLennan, who coined the term "marriage by capture," was unexpected. McLennan—whose name is repeatedly misspelled in the book (e.g., 64, 68, 70, 255, 267)—was an evolutionist, and his evolutionistic scheme of the development of marital forms has been clearly debunked. In line with his evolutionism, his work was also heavily marked by the racism of the nineteenth century." The review also includes a helpful resource in directing to E.E. Evans-Pritchard's "bridewealth."

[48] Katherine Southwood, *Marriage By Capture in the Book of Judges: An Anthropological Approach* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 146.

[49] Ibid, 132.

Interestingly, what occurs in Numbers 31 is quite similar to Judges 21,[50] although Southwood writes that is definitively *not* her conception of marriage-by-capture, "since the women are not captured for marriage but are already war captives."[51] She locates the difference in that these foreign women, while being virgins, are essentially "ethnicity-less beings who only gain an ethnicity once marked by sexual activity with a man from one or another of the groups."[52] Many others have repeated this notion,[53] Milgrom offers up the notion that the text must have been "early" due to justifying the intermarriage, both in that they were allowed to take Midianite wives because Moses had, and that Ezra-Nehemiah strictly prohibited it.[54] And yet, adjusting to see the text of Numbers 31 as *also* using symbolization, given that the five Midianite kings are not kings, but cities, "toponyms on an itinerary through North Arabia and Transjordan, most likely a Nabataenan trade route that was in use during the Achaemenid Period,"[55] what would then one make of the foreign virgin girls?

Dora Rudo Mbuwayesango writes on the book of Numbers as "part of the *imperial* narrative constructing Israelite travels from Sinai to the promised land of Canaan," noting the layers of imperial ideology in the text both in underscoring the gendered nature as well as "anti-conquest" ideologies, or better known as how texts written in this manner are to make themselves seem innocent.[56] In understanding these ideologies at play in numbers, they comment, "the virgins are symbolically representative of the virgin lands,"[57] but this is *not* to understand that the lands were actually virgin, but that we as readers should understand them as such because "they" are the proverbial good guys. Similarly to how too many find justification for "just-war," as can

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[50] Baruch Levine, *Numbers 21-36:* "The thematic association with Judges 21:1-12, a late passage in the Book of Judges, suggests that during parts of the Achaemenid period animosity against neighboring people was intense. This reality may also serve to explain the similarly severe tone of the Jericho episode...Gibeonite...both of which are late biblical accounts with strong priestly overtones. The stark irony that Israelite fighters who had just engaged in the methodic slaying of women and male children, not to speak of enemy combatants, were being admonished to purify themselves ritually cannot be overlooked for what it tells us of the hierarchy of values that obtained among the priestly writers who gave us these texts. How different was their mentality from that of other priestly writers, those of Genesis, for instance, who most often depicted the Patriarchs as men who sought to live in peace with the Canaanites," 58-9.

[51] Ibid, 144.

[52] Southwood, *Marriage by Capture,* 145.

[53] Calum Carmichael writes, "When Israel incorporates into its camp the virginal Midianite girls who are spared death, these women will doubtless enter into marriages with Israelite men. The reasoning is, presumably, that in mating with them there will be an increase in numbers of Israelite offspring," 156, *The Book of Numbers: A Critique of Genesis.* Jione Havea writes on this as well, thankfully in the negative, "The Midianite virgins were spared because they had not been penetrated and defiled with the seeds of Midianite men. They were spared because they were sexualized," 67. Susan Niditch, "'The Traffic in Women':" Only those women who have not yet known a man can be transformed from them to us, can provide acceptable wombs for Israelite seed. Issues of legitimacy are not explicitly raised, and the taking of enemy girls is, of course, not an act of exchange between men, but as in Deuteronomy 21, the taking of women effects the taking of men's power," 119.

[54] Milgrom, *Numbers,* 491. I disagree with the dating of such, but it is a nice thought.

[55] Baruch Levine, *Numbers 21-36,* 57. Cites the work of E.A. Knauf.

[56] Dora Rudo Mbuwayesango, "Numbers," Hemchand Gossai editor, *Postcolonial Commentary and the Old Testament* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 70. Italics added. Notice here: "Although it is true that women and men did not experience imperialism in the same way, the representation and characterization of women in male imperial narratives are strategies used to articulate male interests. Women's actual contribution to the imperial venture are often hidden and female labor is disavowed. The land is feminized and women are used symbolically as border markers."

[57] Ibid, 85.

even be found in the passages this paper highlights, or pass-over the women in the text, so too is this aspect of foreign-ness to be conceived as quickly whitewashed. M. I. Rey, in their work on the foreign female captive as portrayed in Deuteronomy 21:10-14, notes how often commentators see this as a benevolent text, and takes great pains to show in detail how in actuality, "this captive does not merely assimilate and become an Israelite primary wife but is actually marginalized under one of the most oppressive marriage regulations because of her foreign status."[58] These women, nay, young girls, are not blank slates by which the semen of the male Israelite then penetrates her being into a new, transformed ethnic creation—they are sex slaves. The land was not empty, but in order to preserve power, a narrative is needed. A narrative is always needed.

What if the text of Judges 19-21 was not necessarily one that damned those who stayed in the land after war and exile, but is a text that shows how *all* Israel acted as "Canaan;" one cannot only implicate Benjamin in the text. And if the text of Judges 19-21 can show for us in clear view "colonial mimicry," as Diandra Chretain Erickson depicts for us in their work, how much more so the texts of Numbers 25 and 31, where the Israelites are very much so dominating the enemy in a way that had perhaps so brutally happened to themselves?[59] Is this, instead, a revenge fantasy?[60] If Judges 19-21 is about the inter-tribal dissolution or disintegration, is Numbers 25 and 31 about actual somatic and psychological suffering in counter-embodying the space of oppressor?[61] Are they both warning texts against Othering? I confess, I do not know what to do with the horror of these texts, including attempting to save these texts and their authors.

Coming back, then, to trauma narratives, one wrestles with the use of women's bodies to depict larger stories of horror, one wrestles with the silence that is left amidst all of the justifications for violence in both ancient and modern storyteller alike. Regardless if these are "real" historical occurrences or fictional does not necessarily change how one should be active in condoning these behaviors, even if these arguments are to be thrown out as "anachronistic," or even if they are to be helpful for trauma survivors. How does one reconcile?

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[58] M.I. Rey, "Reexamination of the Foreign Female Captive: Deuteronomy 21:10-14 as a Case of Genocidal Rape," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 32 (1), Spring 2016: https://doi.org/10.2979/jfemistudreli.32.1.04, 53.

[59] Diandra Erickson, "Judges," Hemchand Gossai editor, *Postcolonial Commentary and the Old Testament* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 124: "Due to colonial mimicry and the simultaneous attraction and repulsion that create ambivalence, the oppressed group resides in a dissonant space where they simultaneously perpetuate and reject imperialism."

[60] Herman writes in *Trauma and Recovery,* "The revenge fantasy is often a mirror image of the traumatic memory, in which the roles of perpetrator and victim are reversed," 189. But they increase torment for those who have been victimized.

[61] Is this the cosmic reversal of the rape of Daughter Zion? "Daughter Zion is mourned as a formerly beautiful woman, now raped and abandoned by the enemy," Pamela Gordon and Harold C. Washington, "Rape as Military Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible," Athalya Brenner editor, *Feminist Companion to the Latter Prophets* (London: Bloomsbury, 1995), 315. See also this description in M.I. Rey, "Reexamination," 51: "In metaphor, the victim is described as suffering from affliction (Lam. 1:9), from sexual abuse and humiliation. The raped virgin girl has fallen (Amos 5:2) and suffers from fractures to her body (Lam. 2:13), crushing blows (Jer. 14:17), and severe (open?) wounds (Jer. 14:17). Her rape is described as violence (Jer. 13:22). As Isaiah 41:1b states, she can no longer be called tender and delicate. The city of Jerusalem, personified as a virgin girl (Lam. 2:13), is no longer regarded as the perfection of beauty (Lam 2:15). The sexual violence she suffered cannot be healed (Lam. 2:13). This is the vocabulary used to describe the sexual assault experienced by females during war."

In her work on stories and migration, Christine Hong writes on the many "dissonances" that can happen between generations with these stories told, in that "the dissonance produced by stories challenges the way we hold onto interpretative and experiential particularity and lifts them up to nuance and enrich the stories we tell across places and generations."[62] While the stories we see here are clearly talking to or from one another, dissonances in and of themselves, what *is* of current interest is what could be found in the dissonance of *silence*. From this space, we analyze the ethical concerns that come from the feminist tendency to fill silences, and if there is another story still to be found from those who have been consistently silent this entire time.

Ethical Concerns in Narratival Gaps and The Trauma of Womanhood

It is women's bodies that are exchangeable, sacrificed and scapegoat, mediators for relations between men.[63] As a feminist critical scholar, part of the work is simply to acknowledge that this is happening, simply because it is taken as normative and unavoidable in traditional scholarship. In so doing, many of us attempt to reclaim these texts, to read against these grains, and to point out that these bodies have voices. Phyllis Trible as feminist mother of the field advocated for "telling sad stories," in order that, perhaps, people would shift and change:

> "If art imitates life, scripture likewise reflects it in both holiness and horror. Reflections themselves neither mandate nor manufacture change; yet by enabling insight, they may inspire repentance. In other words, sad stories may yield new beginnings (Trible, 2)."

Graybill, a new feminist mother of the field, standing on the shoulders of Trible, is now helping many of us to see some of the problematic, while well intentioned, issues in reading sympathetically. In part, because while we are grieving these bodies, we are *using* their bodies; "interpreting *in sympathy with* or *on behalf of* can also mean speaking *in place of*."[64] The salvific "scripts" we offer in hopes that someone will hear the silenced women's voice often becomes what we wish they would say.[65] We must find some sort of way to push against further colonization in the text.

Michelle Balaev, narrative trauma theorist, writes on ways in which we can decolonize our own trauma theories to be less hegemonic and more culturally based. In so doing, she pushes against

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[62] Christine Hong, "Storied People: The Intergenerational Power of Story in the Lives of Immigrants," in Afe Adogame, Ramundo Barreto, and Wanderley Pereira de Rosa editors, *Migration and Public Discourse in World Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2019), 148-9. She sees three distinctions: (1) Creative liminal dissonance (actively re-negotiated between generational transmission—alternate meanings mapped over the stories of the first generation- can be visibly present but not to the detriment of the story itself, inculcates a deeper understanding of self and community between generations); (2) Dissonance produced through silence/modulated disclosure pain too great to share, there was a before and an after, no reference to the in-between; (3) Dissonance between what is directly transmitted by the community and the stories produced by colonial and dominant culture perspectives (what narrative do we claim?)

[63] Further, Rubin adds, "'Exchange of women' is a shorthand for expressing that the social relations of a kinship system specify that men have certain rights in their female kin, and women do not have the same rights either to themselves or to their male kin." And to be clear, this is not borne equally amongst women, and must be deduced from an intersectional lens.

In this sense, the exchange of women is a profound perception of a system in which women do not have full rights to themselves," 177.

[64] Rhiannon Graybill, *Texts After Terror: Rape, Sexual Violence & The Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 147.

[65] Ibid, 167.

the ways in which we view silence in trauma narratives as unprocessed, or as a neurobiological issue in which trauma is blocking the memory because of its severity. A memoir called *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jacobs writes about their abuse and rape by the one who enslaved her, and yet, they withhold the explicit account. In this instance, Balaev argues that not only is this "use of silence…a strategy to maintain agency, authorship, and control over the experience," but also, "by withholding an explicit account, the writer creates greater suspense and repulsion because it allows the reader to imagine her or his own worst fears of abuse and violation."[66] Silence instead becomes rhetorical, and grants agency when the subject had none. Our own rush to fill this silence becomes another act of objectification. And yet, we are still invited in to *imagine,* creating a polyvocality in time as these "narrative ellipses… convey the assorted meanings of trauma in fiction."[67] This, in some degree, is what Graybill means by *imagining an after.*

In a twist of Alice Bach's work on Judges 21 and her reading of the women of Shiloh alongside rape accounts of the Muslim women in Bosnia, where she argues for the reader to "inhabit the gap, the silence, and through the power of imagination break the silence of the women of Shiloh," we wholeheartedly say, "yes *and.*"[68] The silence itself *is* the invitation for readers to imagine, and the women of Shiloh's silence does not have to be totalizing nor taken away from them. Rey writes, "by focusing on the material effects of war as described in the testimonies of women and offering a comparative history that includes the Hebrew Bible among these texts we can illuminate the lives of women under captivity."[69]

Re-Imagining Deaths: Found in the Present, Found in the Ellipses

We return, then, to Berlant, having read and now, invited to imagine, the unbearable. Berlant argues for a positionality of life-affirming nature in a world full of loss as "being in life without wanting the world,"[70] recognizing that what is currently occurring (or in our instance, has *not stopped occurring*) is inadequate, needs transformation, and acknowledgement of the desire for something else. To symbolize this, she offers up "living in ellipsis."

> "Elliptical life then emerges in the place where what's known meets what's unknowable and what goes without saying meets what fails to reach meaning. Whether or not a sentence shaped by its ellipsis insists on what is already known, lapses into failure, or follows multiple tracks, it always sets off speculation and interrupts realism… indeed the ellipsis can be cast as the dissociative diacritical mark that is rhetorically rendered as a falling apart of meaning and connection. But its collapse also releases affective potentiality into the very process of lapsing: the loss of the narrative line into component parts; the scatter as a call to connect the dots differently, or not, to devote them to play… How do we stay in life without reproducing what's diminishing in it? (Berlant, 124-6)"

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[66] Michelle Balaev, "Trends in Literary Trauma Theory," *Mosaic* 41/2 (June 2008): https://www.jstor.org/stable/44029500, 157-8.
[67] Ibid, 159.
[68] Alice Bach, "Rereading the Body Politic: Women and Violence in Judges 21," *Biblical Interpretation* 6/1 (1998): https://doi.org/10.1163/156851598X00200, 17. Chillingly, finishes this thought by adding, "To leave them in silence is gynocide."
[69] M.I. Rey, "A Comparative Analysis of Captives and the Ethics of their Retelling(s)," *Catholic Biblical Association Conference* 2023, online.
[70] Berlant, *On the Inconvenience,* 124.

The ellipsis becomes "a resource for thinking about what to do with a life that is defined by what is out of joint with it."[71] And, as her coda is defined by women's rapes and murders, these events become and provide "a central ellipsis," and yet, this ellipsis cannot be skipped over or filled in.[72]

It is, then, to be with these stories and bodies in a new way. Imagine, then with me, what it may mean to add ellipsis in the silence of the captive virgin girls, and to live out of joint with a world that makes their objectification possible. May this imaginative practice break you as it has me, as we live in a world that deserves to be disturbed, and has yet to be.[73]

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[71] Berlant, *On the Inconvenience,* 126.

[72] Ibid, 153.

[73] Berlant, *On the Inconvenience,* 171: "When the object breaks into you there's no erasing it, which is what I've been long arguing about trauma. Instead there's relating to it, using it, genre flailing about it, making it do things apart from the force of its first effects. There's staying in proximity and thinking about what else the atmosphere can do. When I say a book breaks me, this is what I mean: I am changed by it, startled and thrilled that something has become unbound in me. I become the loosened object, in proximity to an uncomfortable enigma but not a fate."

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OTSEM Project Summary

The present paper represents my first, written thoughts on how imagery from Isaiah functions in *Aseneth.* In Isaiah, the reoccurring imagery of personified, womanly Zion and Jerusalem, the social categories of daughter and orphan, along with the evolving discourse about foreign nations, contribute to the prophetic book's varied theological and ethical message(s). In *Aseneth*, these ideas root the City of Refuge's status and role in the prophetic tradition of Israel, and their association with the City of Refuge displaces the geographic centrality of Jerusalem in the community's identity.

As a reflection on the role of Isaian imagery in *Aseneth*, this paper is the foundation of several projects. The first is a study of how women were able to access revelation or divine knowledge in Early Jewish Literature. In this study, the connected ideas of goddesses, women, cities, land, and stability/immobility associate women with the divine in various ways, thus facilitating their acquisition of heavenly knowledge. The abstract I submitted to OTSEM describe this idea generally. This paper on *Aseneth* and Isaiah is the first step in conceptualising the connections between urban space and women's revelatory experiences in other Second Temple sources. The project will also situate these Jewish depictions of localised women's revelation within a broader Mediterranean context, comparing this imagery with its role in contemporary Greek works. I briefly discuss the project's next steps in this paper's conclusion.

The second project to which this paper contributes is a comparative study of gendered access to heavenly knowledge in 1 Enoch and *Aseneth*. The different gendering of these stories' protagonists presents an opportunity to compare where and how men and women could access the divine and its wisdom. Enoch ascends to the heavens, where he sees myriad wonders; Aseneth stays home and is visited by an angelic being who brings heavenly mysteries to her. Understanding the role of Isaiah in *Aseneth* is an important justification for comparing these two sources because 1 Enoch also incorporates eschatological imagery from Isaiah. Within *Aseneth*, this study establishes the heroine's urbanisation, her transformation into the City of Refuge, as central to her revelatory experiences and abilities. It is because of her epiphanic encounter with the angelic being that Aseneth becomes the City of Refuge, and it is because the City of Refuge is like Zion/Jerusalem that it is itself a new location of

revelation and epiphanic encounter. In other words, in *Aseneth*, references to Isaiah make it possible for the heavens to descend to earth, bringing the mysteries with them.

These two projects are part of my research on travel, education, and gender as postdoctoral fellow at *An Intersectional Analysis of Ancient Jewish Travel Narratives* (ANINAN; ERC-2020-STG).

(Ec)Static Woman: The Relocating of Revelation and Divine Mercy in *Aseneth*

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Preface

This paper is an analysis of the reception of the overlapping concepts of city, feminine social roles, and revelation in Second Temple Jewish literature. More specifically, it is an exploration of the importance of the Book of Isaiah for understanding the symbolism and theological role of the City of Refuge in *Aseneth*.

My paper is a first reflection on this subject, and so for the discussion, I welcome general feedback on methodology and content, and recommendations for secondary literature (especially on Zion/Jerusalem in Isaiah). I am particularly keen to receive bibliographic recommendations on the worship of city goddesses in the ancient world, the role of location or spatiality in divine encounter (in the Ancient Near East, Hellenistic Greece and Kingdoms), discussions of intertextual and comparative methodologies, and primary source references for women's revelatory experiences, although any sources pertinent to this project are appreciated.

A specific point of discussion is on the terminology I use to discuss the City of Refuge as a place of revelation. In the paper, I use language like shift, dislocate, relocate, and transpose. This language, to me, suggests that the City of Refuge replaces Zion. It is difficult to maintain that this is what happens in *Aseneth*, because the narrative is set in Genesis and there no explicit references to Zion/Jerusalem. Suggestions for language to discuss the interaction between the City of Refuge and Zion would be appreciated.

1 Introduction

Aseneth, daughter of Pentephres and wife of Joseph, is mentioned three times in Genesis (Gen 41:45, 50; and 46:20). Though Joseph's marriage to a foreign woman, daughter of an Egyptian priest, apparently solicited little response in the initial redaction of Genesis, her idolatry and ethnic otherness later caused concern, and sources preserve various explanations for this union.[1] One such explanation, the Hellenistic Jewish novel *Aseneth*, expands the three references in Genesis into an elaborate, twenty-nine-chapter narrative of

[1] For a discussion of rabbinic sources, see Victor Aptowizer, "Asenath, the Wife of Joseph: A Haggadic Literary-Historical Study," *HUCA* 1.1924 (1924): 239–306; Angela Standhartinger references papyri fragments who connect Aseneth to Thekla in "Intersections of Gender, Status, Ethnos and Religion in Joseph and Aseneth," in *Early Jewish Writings*, ed. Eileen Schuller and Marie-Theresa Wacker (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 69–87.

romance, family drama, and political intrigue.[2] The first part of this novel is the romance of Aseneth and Joseph (1-21): she, an arrogant, idolatrous Egyptian noble woman, succumbs to Joseph's charms, rejects idolatry, and embraces the God of Joseph. After a week of fasting and praying, Aseneth encounters a heavenly being called the Anthropos, who confirms her acceptance by God, announces her marriage to Joseph, and renames her City of Refuge. Following this epiphany, she and Joseph wed. The second part of the story is one of family conflict (22-29). The son of Pharaoh, jealous of the bond between Pharaoh and Joseph, and covetous of beautiful Aseneth, plays on old fraternal insecurities among Jacob's sons. He convinces Bilhah and Zilpah's sons to help him abduct Aseneth, and murder Joseph and Pharaoh. Thanks to God's direct intervention and Leah and Rachel's sons, this plot is foiled, Joseph becomes interim ruler of Egypt, and Aseneth and Joseph live happily ever after.

Though the narrative setting and framework rely on and allude to moments in the Joseph story, many scenes and themes in *Aseneth* more explicitly parallel those found in the prophetic books and the psalms than Genesis.[3] These works inform the heroine's characterisation and the importance of repentance, shelter, and mercy throughout the novel.[4] Scholars have argued for the use of psalter language in Aseneth's prayers, and allusions to Ezekiel and Isaiah's personified Zion/Jerusalem in the description of the City of Refuge.[5] The image of *Aseneth* resulting from these detailed studies is of a source deeply connected with earlier Jewish literary traditions, but in which earlier motifs have been adapted to a new purpose.

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[2] I follow Kraemer and Ahearne-Kroll in calling this story *Aseneth*, rather than the title dictated by the *SBL Handbook of Style*. Italics differentiate the title (*Aseneth*) from the character (Aseneth). Ross Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph. A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3; Patricia D. Ahearne-Kroll, *Aseneth of Egypt: The Composition of a Jewish Narrative* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2020), 1. For a discussion of *Aseneth* as a novel, see Patricia D. Ahearne-Kroll, "Joseph and Aseneth and Jewish Identity in Greco-Roman Egypt," (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2005).
[3] Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 22. Examples of references to the Joseph story are Potiphar's wife (Gen 39:7-20), Joseph's interpretation of dreams (Gen 40:8-22; 41:16-32), and Joseph's regency over Egypt (Gen 41:40-57). For further discussion of how *Aseneth* incorporates Joseph's story, see Ahearne-Kroll's commentary in "Joseph and Aseneth," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, ed. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel, and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 2525–89. On use of the Septuagint in *Aseneth*, see Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 22-29; Christoph Burchard, *Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth: Überlieferung—Ortsbestimmung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1965); Gerhard Delling, "Einwirkungen der Sprache der Septuaginta in 'Joseph und Aseneth,'" *JSJ* 9.2 (1978): 29–56; Daniela Scialabba, "The Vocabulary of Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth and in the Acts of the Apostles," in *Die Septuaginta - Text, Wirkung, Rezeption. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Kraus und Siegfried Kreuzer*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, WUNT 325 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 504–14.
[4] Anathea Portier-Young, "Sweet Mercy Metropolis: Interpreting Aseneth's Honeycomb," *JSP* 14.2 (2005), 133–57.
[5] See note 3 above.

In this paper, I explore one aspect of this interplay between acknowledging earlier and important traditions and adapting them to a new purpose. Specifically, I argue that the imagery of personified Zion/Jerusalem in Isaiah is used in *Aseneth* to portray the City of Refuge as a new location of divine encounter and revelation. The city of God is shifted from Zion to Heliopolis. In displacing divine encounter from Zion to the City of Refuge, the direction of movement between God and humanity shifts. People are no longer required to go to the mountain; the mountain comes to them. Consequently, *Aseneth* is an important source for reimagining and legitimising diasporic Jewish life, as intimacy with the God of Jacob is no longer geographically bound to Jerusalem but is possible wherever the City of Refuge roams.

My study uses Fink's reconstructed *Aseneth* text and LXX Isaiah.[6] In analysing these texts, I operate under the following working assumptions: (1) *Aseneth* was composed in Greek,[7] (2) by a Jewish writer,[8] (3) and was likely written in the first century BCE, possibly in Egypt.[9] (4) Despite questions of composition, I assume *Aseneth*'s narrative integrity and analyse all twenty-nine chapters inclusively.[10] As a Greek source, the language and imagery of *Aseneth* demonstrate knowledge of and reliance on the Septuagint.[11] This supports

[6] Fink's 2008 critical edition is a lighted modified version of Burchard's 2003 text. Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth. Kritisch Herausgegeben (mit Unterstützung von Carsten Burfeind und Uta Barbara Fink)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Uta Barbara Fink, *Joseph und Aseneth. Revision des griechischen Textes und Edition der zweiten lateinischen Übersetzung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008). Due to their incorporation of all know textual witnesses, the resultant text is of a composite nature. The text does not reflect any individual tradition, or a text that would have been known to an ancient audience. Their editions and commentaries remain valuable academic contributions. I am aware of the limiting effect this has on any conclusions drawn about how the Zion-imagery operates in *Aseneth*. Next steps in this project include a more nuanced analysis of *Aseneth*'s varying textual traditions. English translations of *Aseneth* are from Ahearne-Kroll, "Joseph and Aseneth."

[7] This stance is almost uncontested in *Aseneth* scholarship, although Nicholas Elder has suggested bilingual, oral transmission prior to redaction: "On Transcription and Oral Transmission in Aseneth: A Study of the Narrative's Conception," *JSJ* 47 (2016): 119–42.

[8] Jill Hicks-Keeton, "Aseneth between Judaism and Christianity: Reframing the Debate," *JSJ* 49, no. 2 (2018): 189–222. On authorship and *Aseneth*, see Ross Kraemer, "Women's Authorship of Jewish and Christian Literature in the Greco-Roman Period," in *"Women Like This". New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1991), 221–42.

[9] Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth*, 27-35; Ahearne-Kroll, *Aseneth of Egypt*, 187-209.

[10] For summaries of these working theories, see Angela Standhartinger, "Recent Scholarship on Joseph and Aseneth (1988-2013)," *CurBR* 12, no. 3 (2014): 353–406. For the most recent developments, see the introductions in Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth*; and Ahearne-Kroll *Aseneth of Egypt*.

[11] For further discussion of *Aseneth* and the Septuagint: Kirsten Marie Hartvigsen, *Aseneth's Transformation* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018); Ahearne-Kroll, "Joseph and Aseneth and Jewish Identity," 176. Daniel Gurtner discusses problematic comparisons: *Introducing the Pseudepigrapha of Second Temple Judaism. Message, Context, and Significance* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2020), 308. Kraemer makes a good case that any of the old Greek translations of the Hebrew sources could have been used, there is no reason to exclusively consider the Septuagint: *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 249-50.

comparison between *Aseneth* and LXX Isaiah.[12] (6) I treat Isaiah inclusively, because all three sections predate *Aseneth* and were included in the Greek translation.

I proceed in two stages. First, I demonstrate that Isaiah provides context for all the aspects of characterisation and plot in *Aseneth* that are traditionally explained by comparison with multiple sources. Second, I explore the importance of Zion in Isaiah and how it is incorporated into and altered in *Aseneth*. I conclude this paper with a consideration of the spatial significance of displacing Zion in connection to human travel.

Epiphany or divine encounter is a reoccurring motif in *Aseneth.* Previously, I have argued that the narrative timing of epiphanies marks Aseneth's transition from mortal outsider to the family of Israel, to an insider with an elevated, even angelic status; she moves from being a witness of epiphany to being its source or cause, a *locus epiphaniae*.[13] Moreover, Aseneth's epiphany of the heavenly being (called the *Anthropos*) mirrors the prophetic call narratives of earlier Jewish works.[14] As City of Refuge, Aseneth speaks with God-given authority and is an epiphanic being. These two points undergird my analysis here, as I attempt to demonstrate how the imagery from Isaiah throughout *Aseneth* relocates revelation and divine encounter from Zion to the City of Refuge.

2 *Aseneth* and Isaiah

In investigating metaphor and motif in *Aseneth*, scholars typically use multiple sources simultaneously. This comparative method has the advantage of illustrating the wide-spread or potent nature of certain imagery, like the metaphor of marriage between God and Israel, wherein sexuality infidelity takes on an equivalence to idolatry.[15] In this paper, I compare *Aseneth* to LXX Isaiah only.[16] In limiting the study to a single hypertext, I

[12] LXX Isaiah text from Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: id est, Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. (Stuttgart: Privilegierte württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935); English translation from Moisés Silva, "Esaias," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Cary: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2007), 824-75. For discussion of Greek Isaiah, its manuscripts and translations, see Mirjam Van Der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014).
[13] R. Gillian Glass, "Aseneth's Epiphanies," *JSJ* 53 (2022): 32–68. The same argument, but with attention to the manuscripts' variations appears in my dissertation: "A Daughter of Hebrews and Hellenes. Epiphany in *Aseneth* and Contemporary Ancient Greek Literature" (Ph.D. Diss., The University of British Columbia, 2022), 64-118.
[14] Though a woman, Aseneth is more rightly called a prophet than a prophetess, as her call is absent the fertility-centric messages of women's encounters with angels in earlier Jewish sources. See Glass, "A Daughter of Hebrews and Hellenes," 130-45.
[15] Athalya Brenner, "Pornoprophetics Revisited: Some Additional Reflections," *JSOT* 21.70 (996): 63–86.
[16] In comparing exclusively with Isaiah, I am not denying the possibility that Ezekiel, the psalms, or other sources were influential in the writing of *Aseneth*. I am endeavouring to mindfully reflect on how we choose intertexts for comparative work, and what assumptions about narrative or textual authority—ancient and modern—need to be considered in making comparative decisions. While a metaphor or motif may be common in the biblical sources, not all comparisons are equally helpful. Deciding which hypertexts are most appropriate

demonstrate that Isaiah, whose influence can been seen across the apocrypha and pseudepigraph,[17] is a sufficient source for certain motifs in *Aseneth*.[18] It is because of how this imagery operates in Isaiah that the author of *Aseneth* can utilise them to reimagine the boundaries between the house of Israel and foreigners.

This first analysis considers three aspects of Aseneth's journey from foreigner to family member, and their similarities to Isaiah: (1) the description of an arrogant daughter, (2) the importance of recognising wrongdoing and repenting, and (3) the intercommunal dynamics of a chosen people and foreigner nations.

2.1 Proud and Haughty Daughters

Language of familial connections permeates *Aseneth*. The heroine is presented as a daughter throughout the narrative, even after she is married. Aseneth's status as daughter plays a significant part in the rhetorical strategy used to transition her from outsider to insider, as she moves from daughter of Pentephres (1:5) to daughter of God (21:4), and then to daughter-in-law of Jacob (22:8).[19] Moreover, her characterisation as a daughter is associated with both her behaviours deemed appropriate and, more importantly, inappropriate in the narrative. As this section will demonstrate, there are parallels in how the personification of Zion as daughter functions in Isaiah.

To begin with the heroine's introduction, Aseneth is presented as Pentephres's daughter before she is named. In 1:4, the reader learns that Pentephres has a daughter, who is a beautiful *parthenos* (Καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ θυγάτηρ παρθένος). The next verse begins by physically comparing this *parthenos* to the daughters of the Hebrews (ταῖς θυγατράσι τῶν Ἑβραίων), to whom she bears more resemblance than the daughters of the Egyptians (τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων; 1:5). Only at the very end of 1:5 does the story name the heroine. This double emphasis on daughterhood, first as biological kinship between Aseneth and Pentephres, and

is notability difficult in a situation where no direct citation is made. This is the case of *Aseneth*, whose terminology, syntax, and imagery can be found across Genesis, Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the psalms. Cf. Delling, "Einwirkungen der Sprache."

[17] Michael Knibb, "Isaianic Traditions in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, vol. 2 of *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah*, ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 633-650.

[18] Lexical and thematic similarities between Isaiah and numerous psalms make it possible to compare *Aseneth* with either. The relationship between Isaiah and the psalms, however, is difficult to determine. With regards to the Hebrew texts, it is difficult to determine the directionality of influence due to issues of dating (cf. Ulrich Berges, "Isaiah 55–66 and the Psalms: Shared Viewpoints, Literary Similarities, and Neighboring Authors," *JBL* 141.2 (2022): 277–99). As the redaction of *Aseneth* indicates an awareness of LXX, but not MT, this question is less pressing, but no less important. Even though a sixty-six-chapter version of Isaiah existed by the time of the LXX translation, the question of influences between it and the psalms is important.

[19] Nathan Hays, "Orphanhood and Parenthood in Joseph and Aseneth," *JSP* 27.1 (2017): 25–46.

then as group marker for the daughters of the Hebrews or Egyptians, indicates the centrality of families ties in the rhetorical strategy of the narrative.[20]

In Isaiah, Zion's first appearance is also as a daughter. In 1:8, the prophet predicts the abandonment of Daughter Zion. The immediate use of the familial metaphor provides clarity for the connection between the city and the god, in addition to creating empathy with a rejected, defenceless child. OVer the entirety of Isaiah, Zion continues to be personified as a daughter. Though Aseneth is not a daughter with whom one is invited to empathise initially, both Aseneth and Zion are first introduced using kinship language as a means of situating them in the social networks of their respective narrative frameworks.[21]

Aseneth's initial characterisation is negative, and her behaviour is further shown to be inappropriate because she is a daughter. When we meet her, Aseneth is said to "to disdain and despise (ἐξουθενοῦσα καὶ καταπτύουσα) every man, and she [is] boastful and arrogant (ἀλαζὼν καὶ ὑπερήφανος) before everyone" (As. 2:1). Making matters worse, when her father declares his intent to marry her to Joseph, Aseneth responds "boldly and with arrogance and anger" (θρασέως καὶ μετὰ ἀλαζονείας καὶ ὀργῆς ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ), causing Pentephres to be ashamed (ᾐδέσθη) because of his daughter (As. 4:12). Aseneth's poor comportment as daughter implicates her broader family system.

Arrogant daughters are present in Isaiah as well. A feminine collective personification of the people, the daughters of Zion are beautiful women whose pride causes their downfall early in the prophetic book (Isa. 3:16-22). It is precisely "because the daughters of Sion were lifted up and walked with an uplifted neck and with a wink of the eyes," that God "will bring low the ruling daughters of Zion" (3:16-17). Though *Aseneth* does not describe posture, the heroine's incorrigible filial behaviours parallel those of the daughters in the earlier source.

There is more than a similarity of daughterly temperaments between daughters of Zion and Pentephres. The daughters of Zion wear garments with purple (τὰ περιπόρφυρα καὶ τὰ μεσοπόρφυρα), fine linens in blue and scarlet sewn with gold thread (τὰ βύσσινα καὶ τὰ ὑακίνθινα καὶ τὰ κόκκινα καὶ τὴν βύσσον σὺν χρυσίῳ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ συγκαθυφασμένα), necklaces (τὸ κάθεμα), bracelets and armlets (τοὺς χλιδῶνας καὶ τὰ ψέλια), and bangles, rings and earrings (τὰ περιδέξια καὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια) (Isa. 3:18-23). *Aseneth* imbues

[20] The expression "daughter of the Hebrews" is a known phrase from the biblical sources, rendering the Hebrew *banot* or *bnei* (daughters or sons of). Its repetition in *Aseneth* is what marks it as distinctive. The comparison between the daughters of the Hebrews and the Egyptians is the only explicitly ethnic language in *Aseneth.* (Standhartinger, "Intersections," 82).

[21] Ancient societies included "invisible" members, like gods, angels, demons, ancestors, and more. Sarah Iles Johnston, *The Story of Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

the heroine's outfits with great significance,[22] and when embarrassing her father, Aseneth wears items similar to those in Isaiah 3:18-22: a fine linen robe of violet interwoven with gold (στολὴν βυσσίνην ἐξ ὑακίνθου χρυσοϋφῆ), a golden girdle (ζώνην χρυσῆν), bracelets (ψέλια), golden trousers (ἀναξυρίδας χρυσᾶς), highly priced jewelry and precious stones (κόσμον πολύτιμον καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς) around her neck, a tiara (τιάραν) and a diadem (διάδημα) (As. 3:6).[23] Aseneth's first costume therefore associates her with Zion's arrogant daughters.[24]

The similarities of sartorial significance continue in how these items are used to indicate the loss of social status, the chastisement of those who overstep. To punish the daughters of Zion, God takes "away the glory of their attire and their adornments" (Isa. 3:17); in preparing to fast and repent, Aseneth removes and disposes of her finery, throws it out a window along with her idols, and instead wears a black robe with sack around her waist (As. 10:9-10, 16).[25] Where beautiful clothes and fine jewellery marks material wealth, their association with misplaced pride results in their loss for the daughters in both stories.

The initial and repeated personification of Zion as daughter, and the specific imagery of the beautiful but arrogant daughters of Zion in Isaiah provide *Aseneth* with all the emotional, social, and material imagery necessary to characterise the heroine. Aseneth's pride, boastfulness, and conspicuous display of wealth draw on the prophetic criticism of exactly these things. Aseneth's redemption, as we will see in the next sub-section, also stems from an association with Isaiah.

2.2 Recognition of Wrongdoing, Threats, and Repentance

Not only does comparison with Isaiah contextualise Aseneth's initial characterisation, but it also explains how the heroine is able to obtain acceptance by God, Joseph, and his family. In *Aseneth,* those who transgress must recognise and name their wrongdoing, and

[22] Meredith J. C. Warren, "A Robe like Lightning: Clothing Changes and Identification in Joseph and Aseneth," in *Dressing Judeans and Christians in Antiquity*, ed. by K. Upson-Saia, Carly Daniel-Hughes, and Alicia J. Batten (London: Ashgate, 2014), 137–53.
[23] Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 27.
[24] Aseneth's clothes are also compared to descriptions of temple items and priestly garments. This is an extension of the temple imagery that scholars see in the description of Aseneth's chambers (e.g., Kraemer, "The Book of Aseneth," 866; Hartvigsen, *Aseneth's Transformation*, 94). While possible, the comparison between Aseneth's clothes in 3:6 and the daughters of Zion's garments in Isa. 3:18-22 seems to me to be more appropriate, as the imagery of wealth and pride leading to social disgrace is more apt. Furthermore, Aseneth wears jewellery with graven images and the names of the Egyptian gods. Associations of idolatry with the Jerusalem temple seem implausible.
[25] Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 28.

voluntarily repent to gain divine mercy.[26] The consequences meted out to unrepentant wrongdoers are dire. Each of these ideas (and their associated language or imagery) finds their antecedent in Isaiah. To illustrate this point, I first lay out Aseneth's road to divine mercy, then consider Isaian parallels.

As already discussed, Aseneth is initially proud, boastful, and disdainful. Two events cause the heroine to acknowledge her errors. The first is when she lays eyes on Joseph (As. 6:1-8).The second is Joseph's rejection of Aseneth's advances when she tries to welcome him into the house with a kiss (As. 8:5-7). In both moments, Aseneth is painfully struck (κατενύγη ἰσχυρῶς) by her experiences of Joseph—his epiphanic appearance and his rejection (As. 6:1; 8:8).[27] But, because Joseph is gentle, merciful, and God-fearing (πραὺς καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν: As. 8:8), he blesses Aseneth, asking God to renew her (8:9).

In addition to the initial wounding of these moments, Aseneth responds with verbal acknowledgements of her wrongdoings and takes action to prevent further missteps. In her prayer immediately after seeing Joseph, Aseneth's first step towards repentance is to recognise that she has "spoken slanderous words… in ignorance" (λελάληκα ἐγὼ… ῥήματα πονηρὰ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ: As. 6:7). At this point, she does not yet know what to do or how to change, as her twice unanswered question "where will I flee and hide?" indicates (As. 6:5, 6).

Aseneth's now knows which ritual acts caused affront and seeks to alter her situation. In his rejection and blessing of her, Joseph criticises idolatry and those who partake of the ritual offers to idols (As. 8:5), and invokes the God of Israel as source of renewal and regeneration (As. 8:9). After Joseph's blessing, Aseneth changes her mind about her veneration of the idols (καὶ μετενόει ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆς: As. 9:2).[28] She smashes and

[26] Portier-Young makes this point about repentance as determining factory in the receipt of mercy in her article "Sweet Mercy Metropolis," 137.

[27] The verb κατενύγη (κατανύσσω) in As. 6:1 is the same reaction Isaiah has to his vision of God (κατανένυγμαι: Isa. 6:5). A seraph then touches a coal to Isaiah's mouth (Isa 6:6), purifying his mouth and marking his authoritative speech as prophet. The honeycomb scene in *Aseneth* exhibits clear parallels. This further supports my earlier claims that Aseneth's vision of Joseph is an epiphany.

[28] Aseneth's repeated acknowledgement of her ignorant and wicked words make it impossible to see her actions as anything but repentance. Contra Malka Simkovich, who asserts that Aseneth is only associated with repentance, but does not actually repent because the text does not explicitly say that she does. *The Making of Jewish Universalism: From Exile to Alexandria* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2017), 88 n. 34. This comment misses 9:2, where the text reads "and [Aseneth] began to repent (and turn away from) her gods" (καὶ μετενόει ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆς). Whether one interprets μετανοέω to mean "to repent" or the more literal "to change one's mind," Aseneth is clearly said to be engaging in this behaviour. Moreover, the absence of (other) explicit commentary does not erase narrative action, nor illustrate an absence thereof; rather the author shows Aseneth enacting repentance rather than saying it happened without providing evidence. Simkovich wants to see in *Aseneth* a version of Jewish universalism which does not require the foreigner to be granted covenantal or ethnic insider-status, which necessitates that Egyptian Aseneth not be fully repentant, and therefore not fully included in the house of Jacob. Considering the complex interplay of ethnic, classist, gendered, and familial language in

defenestrates her idols (As. 10:12), dresses in black robes and sackcloth (As. 10:9, 14), and fasts and cries for seven days (10:15-17). After this period of self-abasement, she makes a series of prayers, two silently to herself, and one out loud to God. And, this time, Aseneth knows in whom she can seek refuge: "I will turn toward [God] (ἐπιστρέψω), and I will flee to Him for refuge (καταφεύξομαι), confess (ἐξομολογήσομαι) to Him all my sins, and <utter> (ἐκχεῶ) my petition before Him." (As. 11:11). Having physically distanced herself from her former life, Aseneth is now able to create proximity with the God of Joseph through prayer.

An important part of Aseneth's prayers is her ability to name her transgressions. In her second soliloquy, Aseneth succinctly summarises her misdeeds: "Spare me, O Lord, because I sinned (ἥμαρτον) before you many times; I acted lawlessly (ἠνόμησα) and committed sacrilege (ἠσέβησα), and I have spoken slanderous and unspeakable (words) (λελάληκα πονηρὰ καὶ ἄρρητα) before you" (As. 12:4). Aseneth confesses that she "was once pompous (σοβαρὰ), arrogant (ὑπερήφανος), and thriving in my wealth (εὐθηνοῦσα ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ μου)" (As. 12:5). This prayer includes more and less frequent ideas in *Aseneth*, and I draw attention to two. The first, the power of speech and the danger of wicked words, is a leitmotif of the heroine's thoughts and prayers—it is her primary charge against herself (6:7, 7; 12:4; 13:13; 21:19).[29] The second is, however, a unique accusation: lawlessness. A story set in Genesis, Aseneth lives in a world that is pre-Sinaitic covenant, and the language of law (νόμος) and covenant (διαθήκη) are absent from the text.[30] That Aseneth should thus accuse herself of lawlessness (ἠνόμησα) is a surprise, and a unique reference to law in the story. Below, I offer a comparison with Isaiah which, I suggest, explains this charge.

Aseneth's acts and words of repentance are successful. On the morning of the eighth day, a star rises in the east, signaling God's acceptance (As. 14:1). The Anthropos arrives immediately after and confirms Aseneth's newfound inclusion: he has heard her words, seen her humiliation, and written her name in the book of life (As. 15: 2-3). Implicitly, the Anthropos affirms the efficacy of everything Aseneth has done: recognise and label her transgressions, reject the attitudes and behaviours associated with those transgressions, and

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Aseneth's transformation, this is a possible argument, though difficult to support based on Simkovich's use of the text. For a cogent and succinct discussion of this topic, cf. Kirsten Marie Hartvigsen, "The Complexity of Aseneth's Transformation," in *The Complexity of Conversion: Intersectional Perspectives on Religious Change in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. by Valérie Nicolet and Marianne Kartzow (Sheffield: Equinox, 2021), 185–211.

[29] Wicked words return in later chapters when the Son of Pharaoh slanders Joseph and lies to the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah (23:6, 10-13; 24:7).

[30] While scholars typically do not consider Deuteronomy to have exerted a particularly significant influence in the redaction of *Aseneth*, Hicks-Keeton argues that use of Deuteronomic covenantal language transforms the titular heroine into a mythic mother figure who mediates access to Israel's God for all peoples. Cf. "Executing Boundaries," in *Arguing with Aseneth*, 67-91.

turn to the God of Israel who is the only true and living god, a source of mercy and compassion (As. 11:10).

The process of recognition, repentance, and mercy Aseneth uses to detach herself from the Egyptian idols and to attach herself to the God of Joseph echoes important aspects of Isaian discourse on transgression, repentance, and God's vengeance or mercy. I now consider these elements in Isaiah.

Transgression is regularly framed as lawlessness, unjust (wicked) speech, and impiety in Isaiah. In the opening chapter, God announces that he will "remove [from Zion] all the lawless and humble all who are arrogant" (ἀφελῶ πάντας ἀνόμους ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω: 1:25). Later when Israel acknowledges their own transgressions, they state that their wrongdoings were acts of lawlessness (ἀνομίαι), impiety (ἠσεβήσαμεν), lying (ἐψευσάμεθα), and unjust/unrighteous speech (ἐλαλήσαμεν ἄδικα) (Isa 59:12-13). The association of lies and unjust/unrighteous speech with impiety and lawlessness emphasises the ways in which the wicked entangle others in their acts.[31] Aseneth's confessions mirror these transgressions (As. 12:5).

It is important that, in Isa 59:12-13, Israel declares their own transgression. Two chapters earlier, God announced "And I will declare my righteousness and your evils, which will not help you," (Isa 57:12) suggesting that mercy is impossible without repentance, which can only begin with recognising one's transgressions oneself.

With repentance, however, God's mercy is possible. God is Israel and Zion's saviour, and source of salvation and refuge (e.g., Isa 26:1; 47:17; 62:11); all mercy comes from God (e.g., Isa 49:15; 56:1) and cannot be granted elsewhere.

Aseneth's repentance mirrors content and themes in Isaiah. She voluntarily confesses her transgression and seeks refuge in only God. The transgressions to which Aseneth admits even line up with those in Isaiah: lawlessness, sacrilege, and evil speech.

So far, the discussion of transgression and repentance in *Aseneth* and Isaiah has been about successfully attaining divine mercy. But what if Aseneth had failed in her petition? What of those in Isaiah who feel God's wrath? Here, too, imagery from Isaiah appears in *Aseneth*, although it is attributed to foreign gods who would do the heroine harm, not God who is her refuge.

In her pleas for God's protection, Aseneth paints a terrifying picture of the violent retribution the Egyptian gods would inflict upon her. Because she has destroyed her

[31] Berges, "Isaiah 55–66 and the Psalms," 289.

household idols, Aseneth's family has rejected her (e.g., As. 11:3; 12:5); she is orphaned, abandoned, and incredibly vulnerable.[32] Hunted by the old lion who is the father of the Egyptian idols (As. 12:9),[33] Aseneth fears that, should the lion catch her, he will "tear [her] in pieces, and throw [her] into the flame of the fire (εἰς τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πυρός) —and the fire will throw [her] into the storm squall (εἰς τὴν καταιγίδα), and the squall (will) envelop me in darkness (ἐν σκότει) and <will cast> me into the depth of the sea (εἰς τὸν βυθὸν τῆς θαλάσσης), and the large sea monster from of old will swallow me" (As. 12:11). Evocative of the primordial struggle between sky and sea, order and chaos, Aseneth's fears have been compared to the Jonah, Revelation, and several psalms.[34] In dialogue with Isaiah, I suggest that the imagery of Aseneth's anxieties connects her prayers to the prophetic book's depiction of God's vengeance.

Throughout Isaiah, natural metaphors vividly describe those who resist God and God's vengeance. Three examples illustrate the terrifying imagery of judgement wrought, and mercy denied. In chapter 5, the nations "rush like lions (ὡς λέοντες)" (Isa 5:29), and in response God roars "like the sound of a surging sea" (βοήσει… ὡς φωνὴ θαλάσσης κυμαινούσης: Isa 5:30). When they look for land, the nations see only harsh darkness (σκότος σκληρὸν: Isa 5:30). In Isa 28:17, divine judgement is a tempest which will not leave those who trusted in falsehood unscathed (ὅτι οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ὑμᾶς καταιγίς). Later, God descends to earth in fire and storm: "For see, the Lord will come like fire (ὡς πῦρ), and his chariots like

[32] In truth, Aseneth's family never rejects her. Her parents desired her union with Joseph before she did (4:7). Because the dramatic language is a fiction within a fiction, scholars have proposed interpretations ranging from literary and rhetorical to socio-historical. Burchard associates Aseneth's laments with ideas of abandonment in the psalms, like LXX Ps. 27 ("Joseph and Aseneth," 218, n. o). Howard C. Kee and Randall Chesnutt see Aseneth's anxieties as echoes of the real-life challenges proselytes faced (Kee, "Socio-Religious Setting and Aims of 'Joseph and Aseneth'," in *SBLSP* 10, ed. George W. MacRae (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976), 183-92; Chesnutt, *From Death to Life: Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 115-6, 166-8); Edith Humphrey, extending Kee and Chesnutt's interpretations, sees this language as a potential way to connect *Aseneth* and a historical community (*Joseph and Aseneth*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 52). Nathan Hays recently offered a cogent and convincing analysis of orphanhood and parenthood in *Aseneth* as a rhetorical strategy to create proximity with God and God's chosen people. In Aseneth's soliloquies, these social categories distance her from the environment in which she learned transgressive behaviours and facilitate her shift towards the Living God. She begins as a daughter of an idolatrous priest, becomes an abandoned orphan, and then turns to the fatherly, protective God of Israel. The kinship language used to present the Egyptian lion and the idols as a father and children (12:9-11) does two important things: (1) it transposes Aseneth's transformation into a cosmic struggle between the families of good and evil, and (2) it displaces biological kinship in favour of figurative kinship (kinship with God) (Hays, "Orphanhood and Parenthood."). There are parallels to be drawn between *Aseneth* and Isaiah on the topic of biological and figurative kinship. In Isaiah, kinship with God becomes equivalent to, or even more important than kinship with Abraham (Berges, "Isaiah 55-66 and the Psalms," 285). Further consideration of this subject, however, will have to wait.

[33] As. 12:9: Ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ λέων ὁ ἄγριος ὁ παλαιὸς καταδιώκει με, διότι αὐτός ἐστι πατὴρ τῶν θεῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κἀγὼ μεμίσηκα αὐτούς, διότι τέκνα τοῦ λέοντός εἰσι καὶ ἔρριψα πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀπώλεσα αὐτούς.

[34] Burchard, "Joseph and Aseneth," 222 n. j2, k2, l2, and n2.

a tempest (ὡς καταιγὶς), to render vengeance with wrath and repudiation with a flame of fire (ἐν φλογὶ πυρός)" (Isa 66:15). The overall effect of the imagery is the integration of God's rule into the very fabric of the natural world: God's judgement, and its consequent vengeance or mercy, are a part of the world's natural phenomena.

In *Aseneth*, these same images appear, but they have been adjusted to suit a new context. Aseneth knows that God may be violent towards her. He could strike her in anger or discipline her with whips, but he would as soon heal her, for he is only wrathful towards transgression (11:18). God's violence is followed by reconciliation and pardon for those who repent (11:8).

Mostly, the terrors of the natural world are associated with the Egyptian gods and their wrath in Aseneth's soliloquies. The other is depicted in both *Aseneth* and Isaiah as a lion (As. 12:9-10; Isa 5:29), but otherwise Aseneth's fears—flames and fire, tempest, darkness, and the sea—transfer phenomena associated with God in Isaiah to the foreign deities. This adaptation has the advantage of maintaining a connection with Isaiah, using familiar imagery of godly punishment, while softening the figure of God. Aseneth, who aligns herself with the wicked in her soliloquies, fears the very real punishments of those who defy God, and uses recognisable imagery of God's vengeance to express the consequences of a failed petition.

2.3 A Chosen People and Foreigner Nations

The final element of shared imagery to consider between *Aseneth* and Isaiah is the dynamic between insiders and outsiders, or the Chosen People and the (foreign) Nations. In both, individuals and nations can join Israel, and may even play a vital role in (re)establishing the community. Zion as city and mountain is important to this discussion, but I leave discussion of this feature for analysis in this paper's next section.

Across the sections of Proto-, Deutero-, and Trito-Isaiah, there is a transition from a more particularist theology to a more universalistic one.[35] The resident alien will be added to Jacob and Israel and will dwell alongside them (Isa 14:1).[36] In Proto- and parts of Deutero-Isaiah, the foreigner is naturalized—they live with Israel, but are not a part of it; the coming of Cyrus at the end of Deutero-Isaiah shifts the discourse in Trito-Isaiah, where there is a universaliation of the worship of Israel's God.[37] The eunuch and the aliens who cling to the

[35] Simkovich, *The Making of Jewish Universalism*, 41.
[36] In LXX Isaiah, the Hebrew *ger* (resident alien) was transliterated as ὁ γιώρας, rather than translated. Though not a Greek word, it means something similar. NETS, 835, n. b.
[37] Simkovich, *The Making of Jewish Universalism*, 40.

Lord are explicitly included, and given everlasting names (Isa 56:5-6).[38] Provided they keep God's sabbaths and hold God's covenant, the outsider can be included in Israel.

Cyrus's role in Isaiah is an important, though under-considered, precursor for Aseneth. In studies of Second Temple Jewish messianism, Cyrus holds a particular place, as he is a unique example of a non-Israelite to be called the anointed of God (in LXX 45:1 οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ). This is not a sign that Cyrus joins Israel through conversion, but does demonstrate that, should it be necessary, God will choose someone outside Israel to enact his divine plan.[39] The outsider may be vital to identity (re)formation.

Aseneth plays with perspective to question who the outsider is and what qualifies that status. Initially, outsiders are those who are literally shut out when the gates to the courtyard are closed (As. 5:6).[40] Tim Whitmarsh shows the focal shifts in chapters 5 to 8 which cause the reader to see Aseneth, not from her perspective as insider in her own home, but from Joseph's perspective, as a foreigner and likely hostile woman.[41] Even though Pentephres attempts to convince his guest that he, Joseph, and Aseneth are like, even calling them brother and sister (7:7-8:4), Joseph's view prevails.[42] The reader understands that Aseneth is an outsider.

Like the foreigner in Isaiah, Aseneth can transcend the social boundaries she encounters and join the house of Jacob. Over the course of the novel, Aseneth's repentance and epiphanies result in her acceptance by Joseph, her inclusion in Jacob's family, and her new name and dispensation as City of Refuge. Whether or not Aseneth's journey is meant to inspire real-world integration of foreigners into Israel is difficult to discern.[43] What is apparent, is that the repeated epiphanic motif, the extended angelic encounter, and God's later intervention to save Aseneth illustrate the heroine's status as one chosen by God. Like Cyrus,

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[38] The names are certainly given to the eunuchs, but the aliens may also receive them. Simkovich, *The Making of Jewish Universalism*, 28-9.
[39] In Isaiah, Cyrus marks an end to David monarchy, though not to the priestly order established by David. Joshua Scott, "Second Temple Jewish Messianism as Social Political Discourse," (Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 2022), 58.
[40] As. 5:6 "Joseph entered the courtyard and the gates of the courtyard were closed. Every man and woman (who was) strange remained outside of the courtyard because the guards of the gates drew in and shut the doors (of the gates), and all strangers were shut out." (Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἰωσὴφ εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ πύλαι τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ ἀλλότριοι ἔμειναν ἔξω τῆς αὐλῆς, διότι οἱ φύλακες τῶν πυλῶν ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ ἔκλεισαν τὰς θύρας καὶ ἐξεκλείσθησαν πάντες ἀλλότριοι.)
[41] Tim Whitmarsh, "Joseph et Aséneth: érotisme et religion," in *Les hommes et les dieux dans l'ancien roman: Actes du colloque des tours, 22-24 octobre 2009*, ed. B. Pouderon and C. Bost-Pouderon (Lyon: Maison de l'orient et de la Méditerranée — Jean Pouilloux, 2012), 237–52.
[42] Whitmarsh, "Joseph et Aséneth," 240.
[43] Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth*, 56.

Aseneth is a foreigner aristocrat who features in God's plans for Israel. Aseneth is even "anointed (χρισθήσῃ) with blessed oil of incorruption" (15:5), although it is pushing the comparison too far to say that she is a messianic figure.[44]

In this first section, I have shown that Isaiah provides a precursor or literary model for a host of themes and imagery in *Aseneth*. The purpose of this comparative analysis was to provide support for a deeper reader of how the City of Refuge adapts the specific imagery of Zion/Jerusalem to a new purpose. If we allow for more points of connection between *Aseneth* and Isaiah on subjects like familial language and the eschatological significance of repentance, then, I suggest, we can reconsider just how radical the City of Refuge's meditation of God's mercy really is.

3 Zion/Jerusalem and the City of Refuge

This section considers spatial significance, or location, in divine encounter. In the previous section, I illustrated overlapping ideas about how one repeats and the inclusion of foreigners in Israel between Isaiah and *Aseneth*. This comparison deliberately excluded location in order to emphasize other aspects of parallelism. In turning now to a discussion of Zion and the City of Refuge, I will argue that, in *Aseneth*, the mediation of eschatological judgement results in a relocation of revelation from Zion to Heliopolis. To support this claim, I first lay out significant features of Zion in Isaiah. Then, I review the role of City of Refuge in Aseneth. Finally, I show how the directionality of movement shifts from Isaiah to Aseneth.

3.1 The Importance of Zion in Isaiah

In Isaiah, Zion is one mechanism by which the texts' authors shift the communal boundaries between insiders and outsiders.[45] Across the sections of Proto-, Deutero-, and Trito-Isaiah, there is a transition from a more particularist theology to a more universalistic one.[46] Zion's status as daughter, mother-city, refuge, and salvation are at the heart of this

[44] The Anthropos tells Aseneth, "You will eat the blessed bread of life and drink a blessed cup of immortality, and you will be anointed with the blessed oil of incorruption" (καὶ φάγεσαι ἄρτον εὐλογημένον ζωῆς καὶ πίεσαι ποτήριον εὐλογημένον ἀθανασίας καὶ χρισθήσῃ χρίσματι εὐλογημένῳ ἀφθαρσίας: 15:5). The meal formula in *Aseneth* features prominently in debates about whether this source is Jewish or Christian. (e.g., Randall D. Chesnutt, "Perceptions of Oil in Early Judaism and the Meal Formula in Joseph and Aseneth," *JSP* 14.2 (2005): 113–32.) John J. Collins considers apocalyptic or messianic imagery *Aseneth*. "Joseph and Aseneth: Jewish or Christian?" *JSP* 14.2 (2005): 97–112. But, because Collins considers apocalypticism to be a literary genre, and *Aseneth* does not fit the generic definition, he discourages further analysis of the subject.

[45] Another rhetorical strategy is in the use of messianic discourse. Cf. Scott's discussion of messianism as discursive means of redrawing boundaries in Isaiah "Second Temple Jewish Messianism," 37-131.

[46] Simkovich, *The Making of Jewish Universalism* 41.

redrawing of boundaries, which fits well with early Jewish literature. Zion, who as a "female figure is a metaphor that interrelates a space, a human collective, and a deity," becomes a sight of universalistic inclusion of Israel and the nations.[47] For the purposes of this paper, three of Zion's features in Isaiah must be born in mind.

First is the intimacy of Zion and God's relationship. God personally chooses, founds, and protects this city (e.g., Isa 14:32; 28:16; 51:16; 59:20). Zion is the dwelling of God, the location from which God rules—"the Lord will reign in Sion and in Ierousalem" (βασιλεύσει κύριος ἐν Σιων καὶ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ: Isa 24:23; also 41:27). Zion is a central location for encountering the divine, and the mountain is a spatial mediator in the relationship between the people of Israel and God.

Second, Zion is the location to which all peoples, Israel and the nations, shall travel to encounter God. It is on Zion that God's house is to be found (Isa 2:2), to Zion that God commands "draw near, nations!" (Isa 34:1), and on Zion that God will hold a feast for the nations (Isa 56:7). Zion thus mediates the relationship between not only God and Israel, but God and all peoples.[48]

Finally, Isaiah presents Zion as a location from which revelation proceeds. Revelation does not stay at Zion but travels away from the mountain: "Out of Sion shall go forth (ἐξελεύσεται) a law (νόμος), and a word of the Lord (λόγος κυρίου) from Ierousalem" (Isa 2:3). As mountain upon which God dwells, this is logical. A narrow definition of *nomos* (or the Hebrew *torah*) as "law" or as the collection of works in the Pentateuch, prophetic books, and writings, would lead to the conclusion that Zion replaces Sinai as the locus of covenantal lawgiving.[49] It is equally, if not more, likely that the *nomos* given at Zion is indicative of ongoing revelation, meant to elevate the already pervasive imagery of this mountain as a place of ingathering and judgement (e.g., Isa 33:5—"God who dwells in lofty places is holy; Sion is filled with judgment and righteousness").[50] The future tense of ἐξέρχομαι (ἐξελεύσεται) supports this interpretation of continued revelation.

3.2 The City of Refuge as a New Zion

[47] Christl M. Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion: Gender, Space, and the Sacred in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008), 217.
[48] Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth*, 59.
[49] Berges states as much, and claims that various psalms infer this same idea. "Isiah 55-66 and the Psalms," 283.
[50] On *torah* or *nomos* as continuing revelation in Ben Sira see Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 6, 12-14, and chapter 3; see Elisa Uusimäki, "'Happy Is the Person to Whom She Has Been Given': The Continuum of Wisdom and Torah in '4QSapiential Admonitions B' (4Q185) and '4QBeatitudes' (4Q525)," *Revue de Qumrân* 26.3 (103) (2014): 345–59, for a similar meaning of *torah* in 4Q525.

The description of Aseneth as City of Refuge undoubtedly draws on personifications of Zion and Jerusalem, as previous scholarships has demonstrated. Scholars have always noted references to the prophetic books and psalms in *Aseneth*.[51] Like Zion, the City of Refuge and her walls are established by God (As. 19:8), God rules in and over the City of Refuge (As. 19:5, 8), and God personally intervenes as saviour of the assaulted City of Refuge (As. 27:11). There is, in fact, so much overlapping imagery that Kirsten Marie Hartvigsen writes that it is metaphorically accurate to state that "Aseneth is Jerusalem/Zion."[52] I draw attention to five specific conclusions about the City of Refuge and her connection to other early Jewish works. After presenting these points in this section (3.2), I extend their implications in the next section (3.3) with regards to how the woman-city metaphors operate between *Aseneth* and Isaiah, and how the differences between metaphors shift the locus of God's mercy away from Zion and into the Jewish diaspora.

One of the first studies to demonstrate not only allusions to biblical sources, but their use as building blocks in *Aseneth*'s thematic and narrative structure was Ross Kraemer's *When Aseneth Met Joseph.* In her wide-ranging study of *Aseneth*'s literary connections, Kraemer demonstrates the work's integration of metaphors like personified city as virgin, daughter, and mother, and repentance and refuge from Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Psalms, among others.[53] The result is a creatively constructed narrative which is different from, though firmly rooted in earlier, culturally significant texts.[54] Kraemer's work is still foundational to any analysis of *Aseneth*.

Another significant study is Anathea Portier-Young's analysis of Aseneth's role as earthly mediator of God's mercy.[55] She concludes that *Aseneth* blends two distinct biblical concepts of refuge: the Cities of Refuge for homicides (Deut 19; Num 35:11-14; Josh 20:7-8), and Zion as refuge for repentant Israel and Judah (Jer LXX 27:4-5), and the nations (Zech 2:15; Isa 54:15). Because Aseneth-City of Refuge shelters her repentant brothers-in-law after their attempted murder of her, the mercy denied to murderers in Deuteronomy and Numbers

[51] For example, Philonenko, *Joseph et Aséneth*, 29-30, 139-45, and 165-73.
[52] Hartvigsen, *Aseneth's Transformation*, 108.
[53] Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 22-29.
[54] *Aseneth* is sometimes called rewritten Bible or Scripture (e.g., Susan Docherty, "Joseph and Aseneth: Rewritten Bible or Narrative Expansion?" *JSJ* 35.1 (2004): 27–48.). This is, as Kraemer and Zahn note, a misnomer. *Aseneth* draws inspiration from the three references to the eponymous heroine in Genesis (Gen 41:45, 50; and 46:20), and uses the Joseph story as its setting, but it is not an adaptation or edited version of a pre-attested story. Moreover, one cannot presume the existence of a "Bible" (the canonicity of texts and/or sources) during the Second Temple Period. (Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph*, 19-20; Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 192.) Genre debates continue; see Standhartinger, "Recent Scholarship," 375-80.
[55] Portier-Young, "Sweet Mercy Metropolis," 133–57.

is granted, and *Aseneth* "redefines the City of Refuge so that whether mercy is granted depends not on the nature of the sin, but on the sinner's willingness to repent."[56]

Jill Hicks-Keeton focuses on the maternal imagery of the City of Refuge. Connecting the word metropolis (μητρόπολις) in *Aseneth* 16:16 and Isaiah 1:26, Hicks-Keeton concludes that Aseneth "is a proleptic mediator of God's eschatological renewal of (repentant) humans, both Jew and gentile."[57] Hicks-Keeton's conclusions about Aseneth's eschatological role are convincing. Her discussion of Aseneth as City of Refuge is part of her emphasis on Aseneth's characterisation as mythic mother figure, which leads Hicks-Keeton to argue that the title of mother-city and Aseneth's maternal role towards Israel are defining features of the heroine's characterisation. While each mention of Aseneth in Genesis is as a mother of Manasseh and Ephraim, and she is said to be a metropolis, this novel does not otherwise amplify the heroine's maternity.[58] So while important, Aseneth's maternal status is only so useful for understanding the City of Refuge's significance.

Collectively, Kraemer, Portier-Young, and Hicks-Keeton's important studies make it possible to say make the following three statements about the City of Refuge. In *Aseneth*, (1) the concepts of woman, daughter, mother, city, refuge, mercy, and divine action connect the City of Refuge with earlier Jewish sources, of which Isaiah is the most important in this study. These connections (2) demonstrate a recognition by *Aseneth*'s author of the authority or significance of these earlier works, but (3) the recombining or re-imaging of these disparate elemenates in *Aseneth* transforms the imagery itself into something new and not entirely akin to the imagery of Isaiah. To these three statements, I add the observations of two more scholars.

An important, if frequently unmentioned, difference between these metaphors must be clarified. Standhartinger comments that Aseneth's renaming depersonalises (*entpersonalisiert*) the heroine: she goes from woman (Aseneth) to place (City of Refuge).[59] Picking up on this observation, Hartvigsen proposes that the allusions to Zion/Jerusalem in *Aseneth* function "in [an] opposite manner to the personified cities that are mentioned in the LXX and the Hebrew Bible," resulting in Aseneth being "depersonalised."[60] It is on this idea of depersonalised Aseneth and the opposite metaphorical movement that I now expand.

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[56] Portier-Young, "Sweet Mercy Metropolis," 137.
[57] Hicks-Keeton, *Arguing with Aseneth*, 57.
[58] The births of both sons are unceremoniously mentioned in 21:9.
[59] Angela Standhartinger, "Weisheit in Joseph und Aseneth und den paulinischen Briefen," *NTS* 47.4 (2001): 482–501, here 488: "Die Figur Aseneth wird an dieser Stelle entpersonalisiert, sie selbst wird zur beschützenden Stadt."
[60] Hartvigsen, *Aseneth's Transformation*, 68.

3.3 Displacing Zion

Standhartinger and Hartvigsen's conclusions that Aseneth's renaming "depersonalises" her is a step towards understanding how the title City of Refuge operates, yet it does not go far enough. In this final sub-section of my paper, I show that the urbanisation of Aseneth results in a change in the mobility required for revelation.

Throughout the following discussion, I use urbanisation and urbanised to discuss Aseneth's changed status, for she is renamed City of Refuge (15:7) and descriptions mention her walls, pillars, and other spatial features (e.g., 15:7; 17:6; 19:8; 22:13). This language emphasis the spatial aspect of the woman-city metaphor, rather than the human. Both the human and the spatial are present in all the metaphor's uses, but the emphasis or weight of the components differ.

Rather than an embodied city, Aseneth is an urbanised body.[61] Personification emphasises relationship and emotion. It acts as a vehicle for imagining how God, his chosen people, and their important locations interact.[62] Urbanisation emphasises space, geography, and topography. This metaphor acts as vehicle for imagining where something (or someone) is to be found and what the significance of that location is. It is this distinct, I content, which makes Aseneth's new role as City of Refuge so important: she localises revelation and divine mercy in Egypt.

As a result of the City of Refuge taking on Zion's role as earthly mediator of eschatological mercy, the directionality of movement and where divine encounter occurs change. In *Aseneth*, the heroine goes out, into the world. She leaves the safety of her walled household to travel to the fields of her inheritance (As. 26:1). It is on her journey that her brothers-in-law attack her (As. 26:5,7), that God miraculously saves her (As. 27:11-28:1), and that she acts as refuge to the repentant Dan and Gad (As. 28:2-17). Unlike in Isaiah, where the obligation of movement is always of Israel or the nations to travel to Zion (e.g., Isa 2:2; 25:5-7; 55:5; 56:7), in *Aseneth* the mobile City of Refuge moves outward, towards those who, admittedly, plot evil, but who are also willing to repent. Revelation and mercy come to the people, not the other way around.

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[61] Hartvigsen, for example, calls Aseneth "an embodiment of Jerusalem/Zion." *Aseneth's Transformation*, 81.
[62] The (often) violent metaphor of divine-husband and erring-human-wife is pervasive in the prophetic works. Related metaphors are of sex work and prostitution, and familial bonds (father, mother, son, daughter, etc.). Cf. Athalya Brenner, "Pornoprophetics Revisited: Some Additional Reflections." *JSOT* 21.70 (1996): 63–86.

This relocation of God's mercy and revelation is particularly potent in a story set in Egypt. Egypt is a quintessential space of otherness and danger in early Jewish imagination. It is a powerful message to displace the locus of divine encounter, revelation, and refuge from Zion, and to situate it in this foreign land through the City of Refuge.

4 Conclusion

Through this paper, I have endeavoured to do two things. The first was to reconsider the methodology of comparative work and reception studies. Rather than comparing *Aseneth* to multiple sources, I used only Isaiah as a hypertext for contextualising imagery in this Jewish novel. This Isaian backdrop built up to the paper's second aim, which was to argue that the reorganisation of imagery associated with Zion as personified city into the urbanised-woman City of Refuge results in a (re)location of God's revelation and mercy into a new geographic context. When the people cannot move towards the mountain, the mountain moves out towards the people.

PhD Synopsis: ΠΝΕΥΜΑ in the Septuagint (Tyler Horton)

My project is a lexicographical analysis of πνεῦμα in the translated LXX. I came to this work from an interest in NT pneumatology, where I noticed that many scholars wanted to use the LXX to show how ideas about 'spirit' developed but no one had done the lexical work that would allow solid conclusions to be made. The project is therefore more technical (in a linguistic sense) than philosophical. The goal is to gather the lexical data in these texts and to use this to develop insights about the semantic description of πνεῦμα in the LXX and in the Postclassical period more broadly. This description will contribute to our developing understanding of the cultural posture of Hellenistic Jews, the relation of the LXX to the HB, the methodological debates in LXX studies, as well as to the development of the concepts associated with 'spirit' in early Judaism.

My understanding is that the semantics of words are best described when we collect data as though a structural-linguistic approach is correct but evaluate that data as though it is not. Thus, the core of my methodology is to gather as much syntagmatic data relating to πνεῦμα as each instance of it in LXX texts provides. Primary attention is given to the Greek as a discrete, functional text and information stemming from its relation to the HB is brought in as auxiliary input. The patterns emerging from this data allow for consideration of the paradigmatic relations of πνεῦμα and the resulting semantic description is informed by cognitive approaches.

My OTSEM paper is the first attempt at writing up dissertation material. The interaction of πνεῦμα and water was chosen to create a bounded set of texts which span as wide a range of my material as possible. This paper will not itself become a chapter, but the material will be divided amongst different chapters (such as the verbs used with πνεῦμα, conceptual metaphors of πνεῦμα, the relation of πνεῦμα to the HB).

Preface

I would especially invite discussion on the following points:

- interpretations of particular texts; am I reading these uses of πνεῦμα right?
- is it relevant to compare these non-translated Greek texts (esp. the Hippocratic and Aristotelian texts) with the LXX? On page 2 I give a brief note about my justification for doing so, does it work?
- the στερεόω example, starting on page 4, became particularly interesting to me; what do you make of the reading I suggest?
- I'm trying to avoid the question of materiality and metaphorical language for this paper, is it necessary to face them for even this discussion?
- what do you make of my conclusions about the semantics of πνεῦμα here? I was trying to keep the conclusions to what emerges about πνεῦμα in relation to water, but it is difficult.
- do you agree with my conclusion that this material suggests that the HB and LXX were much closer than is often thought? Which factors are relevant for that discussion of translation proximity (conceptualizations? linguistic structures?) and how can they be measured? How do you encounter the posturing of the HB and LXX in your work?

1. Introduction

Where πνεῦμα appears in the LXX, it is almost always translating רוּחַ. Such is the case in the first instance of both words, where the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים that "swept over the waters" (NRSV) in Gen 1:2 is translated as the πνεῦμα θεοῦ. The רוּחַ-πνεῦμα pairing has been classed as a default rendering in the LXX and few studies have been in a position to advance beyond an elementary relationship between these two words.[1] However, as words do not find their way into texts like pebbles dropped carelessly in the sand, they cannot be understood by plucking them out for isolated inspection. Every word sits in a web of interactions to other words[2] and to a dynamic set of culturally induced conceptualizations. The semantic contours of πνεῦμα in the LXX cannot be properly described without taking these relationships into account.

This paper takes up the interface of water of πνεῦμα in the LXX as a means to better understand the semantics of πνεῦμα through a fuller exploration of the word within the networks which give it meaning. Pairing πνεῦμα and water for investigation is, in a way, simply following the lead of the LXX itself. The text describes their interaction within its first few lines, as a narration of one of the very first things to have ever happened in this

[1] For example, the LXX section of the *TDNT* entry on πνεῦμα gives extended coverage to *Wisdom of Solomon*, but otherwise is little more than an unadorned list of translation equivalents; Baumgärtel and Bieder, "πνεῦμα," *TDNT* 6:367-372. John Bertone argued that with regard to πνεῦμα, the LXX warrants no special attention because the translations are "fairly consistent" (*Law of the Spirit*, 41). Compare Edwards (*Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 106-120), which is a real advance regarding πνεῦμα in the LXX but is limited by the particular focus of his project so that his main concern is still only the divergences in the common translation pattern.

[2] … in the text, in the full lexicon of the language, and in this case, in the text it is translating.

world. It is also appropriate to consider πνεῦμα alongside water because the LXX is an Egyptian text to some degree and, as Philo notes, the Egyptians "paid a specially high homage to water."[3] Wind and water are frequent associates, even cosmological accomplices, in many traditions and this is also very much the case in the LXX.[4]

Water and πνεῦμα are thus paradigmatic partners in several ways. First, as was just noted, they go together as a conventional pairing. Like peanut butter and jelly, like academics and past-due deadlines, when you encounter πνεῦμα, there is a fair chance that you will meet water nearby in a text. Secondly, πνεῦμα and water can be paradigmatically related in a linguistic sense. A set of shared features between these entities allows for fruitful comparison between them but this investigation will broaden beyond ὕδωρ to also include things like rain, wine, and moisture more generally.[5] Investigating πνεῦμα in relationship to water broadens our range so that we can give more attention to the linguistic settings and conceptual networks of the word, rather than viewing it in isolation.

The corpus that I have in mind by the designation LXX is essentially the works contained in its modern printed editions, with primary attention given to the translated texts.[6] Translation adds an element of intricacy to approaching these texts and a number of (at times contentious) debates have grown up in this soil.[7] My approach emerges from an understanding that the inevitable dependency of these translations on their source texts does not result in a subservience which undermines their status as functionally discrete texts.[8] This entails that the first task in LXX lexicography is to approach LXX texts as texts, with the critical syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships between words remaining intact and operative.[9]

Understanding the semantics of πνεῦμα in the LXX involves consideration of several sets of relations. Besides the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of πνεῦμα within the LXX, the relationship of πνεῦμα to what it translates from the source texts[10] and its relationship to other Greek texts are essential. With πνεῦμα, these latter texts tend to be

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[3] Philo, *Moses* 1.98 (Colson, LCL 298). Also see Wyatt, *Space and Time*, 82-95; Oestigaard, *The Religious Nile*, 298-300, 388-89; Hibbs, *Mendes Maze*.

[4] See Luyster, "Wind and Water."

[5] The question of the degree of metaphorical language, especially important in other discussions (e.g., Rabens, *The Holy Spirit*), is left aside here. In this paper, the term *conceptualization* is used to refer broadly to the way that an entity is presented without further defining degrees of physical and figurative language.

[6] Rahlfs and Hanhart, *Septuaginta*.

[7] On discussions of the LXX as a translation see Maurais, *Characterizing Old Greek Deuteronomy*, 49-100; on LXX lexicography see Ross, *Postclassical Greek*, 17-62.

[8] See Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*; this view was especially developed throughout the works of James Aitken.

[9] See Hoey, "Words and Their Neighbours."

[10] The fact that LXX texts are translations is often treated as a problem for lexicography, but it can also be viewed as an advantage. In the LXX, and all other translations for that matter, the lexicographer is offered an additional layer of information. Here, the investigator can work from the cautious assumption that part of what was in the minds of the creators of the LXX was the source texts, as represented in our case by the Masoretic text tradition.[10] Thus, the lexicographer has more to work with than with texts which were composed. They not only know that *these* Greek words were chosen, but also that they were chosen with *those* Hebrew/Aramaic words as one motivating factor. This by no means solves all difficulties about the relationship between the source and target texts, but the possibility of this as a benefit for LXX lexicography tends to be obscured in the fog arising from current disputes.

medical works or technical treatises, such as those of Hippocrates and Aristotle. Their use here is not a suggestion that the LXX translators were familiar with these texts, or that they were working with the technical concepts and distinctions present in them. Rather, it is to recognise that statements about πνεῦμα from the Hippocratic and Aristotelian corpuses built their elaborate frameworks on common conceptualizations of πνεῦμα. As studies which indicate that the LXX was an active participant in the Hellenistic literary world increase, so does the imperative to contextualize the LXX within the Postclassical linguistic and cultural matrix.[11] The arrangement of these three relations is crucial. The internal linguistic relations of πνεῦμα are primary and form the heart of the investigation. The other two sets of external relations, to the source text and contemporary texts, are supplementary and are interwoven to complement the first.

2. Collocations Without πνεῦμα and Water Interacting[12]

The translation of רוּחַ by πνεῦμα in the LXX often collocates πνεῦμα and water without the two entities directly interacting with one another. Most examples involve water-related weather terms. For example, in 3 Kgdms 18:45, the sky grows dark with clouds and πνεῦμα, and ἐγένετο ὑετὸς μέγας ("there was a great downpour").[13] Another set of collocations involve body-of-water terms which set the location where πνεῦμα appears. So, in Ezek 27:26, merchant ships went out ἐν ὕδατι πολλῷ ("in many waters") and τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ νότου συνέτριψέν σε ἐν καρδίᾳ θαλάσσης ("the south wind shattered you in the heart of the sea").[14]

Several other collocations of πνεῦμα and water involve an association with vitality.[15] In Judg 15:19, Samson is exhausted and fainting away from thirst. After God opens a stream of water from which Samson drinks, ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνέψυξεν ("his spirit returned in him, and he revived").[16] Water is necessary for human vitality and its provision here allows for Samson's recovery, which is presented through the return of his πνεῦμα. Although this return would involve Samson 'catching his breath,' we should see that something more essentially related to vitality is also denoted.[17]

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[11] Recent works in this vein include Ross, *Postclassical Greek* and Fresch, *Discourse Markers*. The soon to be released special edition of *JSJ* (2023), on the Septuagint within Postclassical Greek, edited by James Aitken and Marieke Dhont, deserves mention as well.

[12] LXX texts are quoted from the Göttingen editions where available and otherwise from Ralphs (1979). Hebrew texts are from *BHS* (1990). Translations are my own unless otherwise noted and glosses are selected primarily from *CGL* and *HALOT*. The online database Thesaurus Linguae Graecae was used to search for collocations (with a ten-word proximity boundary) and to access scholia (with the full reference info in the bibliography). Papyri and inscription searches were conducted at papyri.info and epigraphy.packhum.org.

[13] Other examples are κρύσταλλος ("ice," Ps 148:7-8), ὑετός ("downpour," 3 Kgdms 18:45; 4 Kgdms 3:17; Ezek 13:11), βίαιον ὕδωρ ("powerful water," Wis 13:2), χάλαζα ("hail," Ps 148:7-8), and χειμάρρους ("winter flood," 4 Kgdms 3:17).

[14] Also ἄβυσσος ("bottomless" depth of water; Ps 148:7-8) and θάλασσα ("sea"; Num 11:31).

[15] In Gen 6:17, this collocation is perhaps mostly incidental with reference to the interaction of πνεῦμα and water. Another example is Isa 44:3, which is discussed below.

[16] The B text has καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔζησεν.

[17] Drinking water is not part of catching your breath; also compare, e.g., Gen 6:17; 1 Kgdms 30:12; Isa 33:11.

These collocations show that πνεῦμα is a typical participant in weather phenomena and a component of human vitality. Next, we move to passages in which πνεῦμα and water interact.

3. Direct Interactions of πνεῦμα and Water

Where πνεῦμα and water interact in the LXX, it is always the former acting upon the latter. Most of these references involve πνεῦμα pushing water in one way or another, with the paradigmatic example in the biblical narrative found in the Song of Moses.[18]

> Göttingen: καὶ διὰ πνεύματος τοῦ θυμοῦ σου διέστη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπάγη ὡσεὶ τεῖχος τὰ ὕδατα, ἐπάγη τὰ κύματα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης.... ἀπέστειλας τὸ πνεῦμά σου, ἐκάλυψεν αὐτοὺς θάλασσα, ἔδυσαν ὡσεὶ μόλιβος ἐν ὕδατι σφοδρῷ.
>
> LES: And by the blast of your wrath the water parted; the waters became solid like a wall; the swollen waves congealed in the midst of the sea…. You sent forth your wind, the sea covered them; they sank like lead in the water.

In the first instance, it is the πνεῦμα of God's θυμός ("strength, passion, anger") and more simply God's πνεῦμα in the second. The water is pushed apart (διίστημι) and set firm (πήγνυμι)[19] by this πνεῦμα before the sea falls back upon the Egyptians.[20] A πνεῦμα can also create waves[21] or melt snow and ice, so that waters begin to flow.[22]

In all these cases, the πνεῦμα is translating רוּחַ, belongs to God or is sent by God, and results is water being pushed in some way. In Ps 23:6 (MT 33:6), πνεῦμα and water appear to directly interact, but perhaps in a slightly different manner.

> Göttingen: τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν
>
> LES: By the word of the Lord the heavens were made firm, and by the spirit of his mouth, all their power.

Here, the word of the Lord and the πνεῦμα of his mouth are in a parallel construction as the agents by which the heavens and their power were "made firm" (στερεόω). There is an association with water, in part because the following verse goes on to say that God gathers the waters of the sea in a pouch and sets the abyss in storehouses, but the use of the verb στερεόω implies a further πνεῦμα-water interaction.

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[18] The phrase from Gen 1:2 where the πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὑδατος belongs in this section, but is unfortunately too demanding to attempt to explicate in this paper.

[19] Perhaps "freeze;" e.g., Xenophon, *Anab.* 7.4.3.

[20] Quite similar is 2 Kgdms 22:16 where the bottom of the sea is revealed because of the πνοῆς πνεύματος θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ ("breath of the wind of his anger") and Gen 8:1. In Exod 14:21, the רוּחַ which splits the sea is translated by ἄνεμος, but I do not yet have a strong enough sense of the relation of πνεῦμα and ἄνεμος to posit a reason why.

[21] Ps 106:25; Jon 1:4; perhaps Isa 11:15.

[22] Ps 147:6-7.

The verb στερεόω appears infrequently in Greek literature and is used for substances becoming harder or firmer.[23] The hardening denoted often involves moisture in entities so that the verb designates something like 'drying out.' Diodorus Siculus' account of the origin of the world (*Bib. hist.* 1.7) uses στερεόω in this sense and presents πνεῦμα as a contributing agent. In the beginning, that which was θολερὸν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὑγρῶν συγκρίσεως ("muddy with a mixture of liquid") sank to the regions below. This material was then ἀεὶ μᾶλλον στερεουμένην ὑπὸ τε τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων ("ever made more firm by the fire around the sun and the winds..."). The origin of animal life is narrated along the same lines in this text and in the Hippocratic corpus.[24] Another example of στερεόω for "drying out" is found in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, dated to the 2nd or 3rd cen. CE. A woman writes, ἐὰν αἱ ὁδοὶ στερεωθ[ῶσι] εὐθέως ἀπελεύσομαι πρὸς τὸν γεωργόν σου ("if the roads become firm, I will go immediately to your farmer...", P.Oxy 33.2680). The situation is surely that the firmness of the roads is dependent on their drying out.[25]

The verb στερεόω is also used for liquids directly undergoing this process of being made firm. The Hippocratic corpus uses στερεόω for several fluids, including that which πέσσει καὶ στερεοῖ ("ripens and hardens") to become fruit on plants.[26]Aristotle's discussion of the properties of semen shows that στερεόω denotes a liquid losing its fluid properties. The puzzle he raises, is that semen is expected to harden when cooled (ἔδει οὖν ψυχόμενον στερεοῦσθαι) but instead becomes as water (ὥσπερ ὕδωρ; *Gen. an.* 735.b.2-4). For this discussion, it is interesting to note that the reason given for this peculiar property is that semen contains πνεῦμα, which makes liquids thicker but dissipates once it leaves the body (735.b.10-736.1.2).[27]

Coming back to Ps 32:6, στερεόω denotes what the λόγος and πνεῦμα do to the heavens and their power, but this verb has a much more specified denotation than עשׂה ("make, create"), which is usually translated by ποιέω. With the correlation between the voice of God and creation, the Psalm makes a clear allusion to Gen 1.[28] The verb στερεόω in Ps 32:6 may

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[23] For example: horse hooves: Xenophon, *Eq.* 4.3-4; bones: Hippocrates, *Epid*. 2.3.17; human bodies: Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.8.8; Hippocrates, *Vict.* 2.64; Theocritus, *Id.* 22.48.

[24] *Bib. hist.* 1.7.4; Hippocrates, *Regimens* 1.9, where the human development is described as a fluid (ὑγρός) being nourished in the womb by food (σῖτος) and πνεῦμα as it ξηραίνεται καὶ στερεοῦται ("is dried up and made firm"). Also, Aristotle, *Plants* 822.1.7, for a similar process with plants and [*Probl.*] 966.b.9. Compare Philo, *Moses* 2.119 where he says that both earth and water are necessary for life to be formed.

[25] It may also be that the cognate adjective, στερεός, was used for dried out, firm land. A collection of Ptolemaic papyri, particularly from the Nile adjacent town of Pathyris, refer to quantities of land as πήχεις στερεοῦ (BGU 3.994, M.Chr. 233, P.Grenf. 1.25, P.Lond. 3.880; outside of Pathyris is P.Adler 1). Such land was used for farming (P.Coll.Youtie 1.22, SB 8.9699) and could even be classed as νειλοβρόχος (inundated by the Nile, P.Dar. 14). However, LSJ suggests that this collocation may be understood in line with the use of στερεός in mathematical/geometric texts so that it means something like "standard" or "square" cubits of land.

[26] See *Morb.* 4.22.23-26 for φλέγμα ("phlegm"); *Epid.* 6.2.25, where this substance moves through veins (φλέψ) and is composed of, or contains, both bile and blood (χολωδέστερόν τε καὶ ἐναιμότερον); *Nature of the Child* 11, which collocates στερεόω with the cognate verb of πέψις, which Aristotle used in *Plants* as a descriptor of the process denoted by this verb.

[27] Compare Plutarch, *Mor*. 692.a, where the melting of snow is attributed to its loss of πνεῦμα; also Aristotle, [*Aud.*] 801.a.11-21, where πνεῦμα itself is thickened by coming into contact with moisture.

[28] Although the πνεῦμα of God is positioned as a participant in the creation commands here, where in Genesis, its action upon the waters precedes the first "let there be" (Gen 1:2-3).

itself be another allusion, even though it is not used in Gen 1. The cognate noun, στερέωμα ("solid body"), is the entity by which God separates the water above from the waters below, which means that there are waters 'in' the heavens (Gen 1:6-8).[29] If the heavens are understood as 'watery' (as also in Gen 7-8; Ps 103:3 and 148:4), their formation may be conceptualized as liquid thickening or hardening with πνεῦμα as a contributing agent here in Ps 32.

There are other uses of στερεόω where what is made firm does not have an apparent liquid element[30] and where it denotes fortifying or establishing buildings and walls.[31] This sense seems to be the way to read several passages where στερεόω is used for God making firm the heavens,[32] but the hardening-of-the-waters reading has several further factors to commend it. First, there are other LXX passages which appear to use στερεόω for the heavens with this sense that includes "drying out."[33] Secondly, the biblical tradition pictures the waters becoming solid in the Exodus narrative.[34] In Exod 15:8, the waters are said to solidify (πήγνυμι) and Philo uses the cognate noun, πῆξις ("coagulation"), to describe the state of the waves.[35] Thus, Ps 32:6 could well have used στερεόω for עשׂה in line with the notion of 'heavenly waters' and the Exodus tradition.

If στερεόω is used in Ps 32:6 with this sense of the watery heavens being solidified by the πνεῦμα of God, it would add a further element to the interactions of πνεῦμα and water in

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[29] Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 20 and Arnold, *Genesis*, 41.

[30] Many of these are figurative extensions; the objects made firm include a political or military position (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 15.57.2 and 18.23.2), a battle (1 Macc 10:50), judgement (Sir 3:2), a heart (1 Kgdms 2:1), and a famine (Jer 52:6).

[31] See 1 Kgdms 6:18 and 1 Macc 9:62; for non-LXX examples, there are several scholia which use στερεόω in this sense as a gloss: where Odysseus uses willows to make a fence on his raft (φράσσω) against the waves (*Od.* 5.56), for ἱδρύω ("set up, found") where it denotes the establishment of temples and altars for Heracles (Aelius Aristides, *Pan.* 50), and alongside τειχίζω ("to fortify") for πυργόω ("to fortify with walls") in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1004.

[32] This sense of "fortify" may be the vest fit in both Isa 45:12 and 48:13 as the instrument God uses is his hand and both passages include martial elements of God calling and commanding. Also consider that the πνεῦμα in Ps 32:6 is not connected directly to the heavens but to their δύναμις ("power, force," compare Polybius, *Hist.* 5.65.11) as it translates צָבָא ("troops"), which is often used for heavenly bodies (e.g., Deut 4:19, Dan 8:10). This verb is also used for the earth in Ps 74:4, 92:1, 135:6, Isa 42:5, and 44:24.

[33] In Hos 13:4, God is described as στερεῶν οὐρανόν ("making firm the heaven") but the phrase is part of an "uncharacteristic expansion" for the LXX Minor Prophets which can be traced to 4QXII^{c} (Dines, "Minor Prophets," 441), so that στερεόω appears to be translating בצר ("make inaccessible"). This verb appears twice in the HB (Isa 22:10, Jer 51:53), where in both cases it refers to fortifying a city, and in both cases is translated by words built on ὀχυρ-, which denotes fortification. The fact that στερεόω is used when the object is the heavens suggests a different conceptualization from these other entities. The second text, Isa 51:6 says that the sky ὡς καπνὸς ἐστερεώθη ("was made firm, as smoke"). The source text appears to say something quite different (that the heavens will melt or vanish, מלח, as smoke) but the destruction of the heavens is the clear referent. It could be that στερεόω here denotes the demise of the sky through it drying out (with the association with smoke related to fire or the dryness of 'smoked' items?). Job 37:18 may also be relevant as στερεόω is used in translating תִּרְקִיעַ עִמּוֹ לִשְׁחָקִים ("Can you, like him, spread out the skies," NRSV), but there is no reference to the sky or heavens in this LXX text.

[34] Although this Psalm is more focused on creation, the Exodus narrative may be evoked by Ps 32:7 where the waters of the sea are gathered in a sack and the deep is set in storehouses.

[35] *Mos*. 2.253. Note that Exod 15:8 uses πήγνυμι twice where the HB has both נצב ("stand") and קפא ("congeal, thicken"). The repetition may be a poetic touch, but the effect is also to increase reference to the waters hardening in the LXX.

the LXX. In any case, these interactions show that πνεῦμα applies force which moves or holds back water, which is also what it does in other Greek literature.[36]

4. Πνεῦμα with Liquid Figures and Properties

Beyond the fact that πνεῦμα and water often appear together and interact, the LXX also describes πνεῦμα in 'liquid' terms, just as the HB does with רוּחַ. In some passages, fluids are used as an image for what πνεῦμα is like and in others, constructions which are used for liquids are used of πνεῦμα. This is not to say that πνεῦμα was considered a liquid itself, only that it was conceptualized with properties that also belong to liquids.

4.1. Passages where Liquids are a Figure for πνεῦμα

As we saw with Samson in Judg 15:19, water is essential for vitality and this quality is used in the LXX as a figure for πνεῦμα. In Isa 44:3, the promise of God to set his πνεῦμα on his people is paralleled by the promise to give water to the thirsty.

> Göttingen: …ὅτι ἐγὼ δώσω ὕδωρ ἐν δίψει τοῖς πορευμένοις ἐν ἀνύδρῳ, ἐπιθήσω τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου καὶ τὰς εὐλογίας μου ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα σου
>
> LES: …because I will provide water in thirst on those who walk in a waterless place; I will put my spirit upon your seed and my blessing upon your children

The revival of the thirsty with water is a picture of God setting his πνεῦμα and his blessings on the people. Rather than πνεῦμα being a marker of vitality (as in Judg 15), here it is an essential enabler of it alongside water. The following verse says that those upon whom the πνεῦμα of God is set will ἀνατελοῦσιν ὡσεὶ χόρτος ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδατος καὶ ὡς ἰτέα ἐπὶ παραρρέον ("spring up as grass in the midst of water and as a willow by flowing water"). As water enables the flourishing of plant life, the πνεῦμα of God will prosper his people.[37]

Water is used figuratively in relation to πνεῦμα as an enabler of vitality, but its more destructive powers are also invoked. In Isa 30:28, the effects of πνεῦμα are pictured by the violent capacity of water.

> Göttingen: καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ὡς ὑδωρ ἐν φάραγγι σῦρον ἥξει ἕως τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ διαιρεθήσεται τοῦ ἔθνη ταράξαι ἐπὶ πλανήσει ματαίᾳ, καὶ διώξεται αὐτοὺς πλάνησις καὶ λήψεται αὐτοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν.
>
> LES: And his breath, like sweeping water in a ravine, will come up to the neck and will split to trouble nations at pointless wandering; and wandering will pursue them, and it will take hold of them to their face.

This is part of an oracle of impending judgement which opened with the approach of τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ("the name of the Lord") in anger and wrath and now switches to his πνεῦμα. The main action of this πνεῦμα will be to disturb the nations and its coming is pictured as water in two ways. First, the force of πνεῦμα is pictured by a current which floods through a ravine. The LXX strengthens the imagery here with the addition of the location in a ravine and an

[36] E.g., Polybius, *Hist.* 11.29.10.

[37] The result of πνεῦμα upon them is not exactly specified, but appears to be quite a full-orbed concept; see Goldingay, *Isaiah*, 253.

additional verb, ἥκω.[38] The point of the image is that the πνεῦμα of God will rise inescapably against them in the manner of water rising to rush irresistibly through a narrow channel.[39]

A second layer of water imagery for πνεῦμα occurs only in the LXX. The HB moves to a different image while the Greek, which is somewhat opaque, carries the water imagery through to the end.[40] After rushing through the ravine, the πνεῦμα of God is divided (διαιρέω).[41] Diodorus Siculus similarly describes a fertile area around a temple which is well-irrigated because, from a river πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ ὕδατος διαιρουμένου ("many parts of the water are divided") throughout the plain (*Bib. hist.* 5.43). As water has this tendency to spread into many streams, the πνεῦμα of God will be dispersed to trouble (ταράσσω) the nations and to drive them (πλανάω) wherever they may run. It is a picture of pursuit as πλάνησις ("wandering") will rush after (διώκω) and seize (λαμβάνω) them, leaving the nations swept away and drifting aimlessly.[42] These elements of water imagery likely also invoke the conception of πνεῦμα-as-wind which blows ships about on the sea.

In Isa 30.28, the behaviour of πνεῦμα is likened to that of water. Both entities can seize and carry other things away and both are dispersed when not contained by narrower structures.

The previous two examples show how the semantic contours of πνεῦμα clearly overlap with several features of water, but there are other fluids to consider. In Job 32:18-20, fermenting wine is offered as a picture of human-internal πνεῦμα. Elihu is eager for his chance to speak, he is πλήρης ῥημάτων ("full of words") and expresses the severity of his condition by entwining several images:

> Göttingen: …ὀλέκει γὰρ με τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς γαστρός. ἡ δὲ γαστήρ μου ὥσπερ ἀσκὸς γλεύκους ζέων δεδεμένος ἢ ὥσπερ φυσητὴρ χαλκέως ἐρρηγώς.
>
> LES: …for the spirit of my belly destroys me. And my belly is like a wineskin of new wine, boiling and bound up, or like the bellows of a metalworker laboring.

[38] The HB only has כְּנַחַל שׁוֹטֵף עַד-צַוָּאר ("as a river flooding up to the neck").

[39] Σύρω is used for irresistible forces pulling or dragging something away, often with water as the agent (Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 15.19.1; Strabo, *Geogr.* 3.2.8; Isa 28:2, where it again expands the imagery beyond the HB). Herodotus also uses σύρω for 'sweeping' military victories (*Hist.* 5.81).

[40] יְחֵצֶּה לַהֲנָפָה גוֹיִם בְּנָפַת שָׁוְא ("to sift the nations with the sieve of destruction," NRSV).

[41] While in the HB, the verb "divide" (חצה) describes what God will do to the nations, the Greek has πνεῦμα as the subject of ἥκω, διαιρέω, and πλανάω.

[42] Both πλανάω and πλάνησις, present in Isa 30:28 for the result of the πνεῦμα coming against them, are used in Greek literature for ships drifting waywardly at sea (e.g., Thucydides, *Hist.* 8.42). Further, σύρω and πλανάω are collated by Plutarch (*Mor.* 498.c) for a man who is "whirled about and made giddy" by fortune (Hembold, LCL 337).

The state of being full of words is described as the πνεῦμα of his belly destroying him.[43] Elihu describes a rather upset stomach,[44] but the verb he uses (ὀλέκω) is recognisable from the epic tradition[45] and he seems to be creating something like the modern idiom of 'bursting to say something.' This feeling is then further characterized with the image of new wine in a wineskin and a metalworker's bellows.

With the image of new wine, the LXX has two participles (ζέων δεδεμένος) which present the same picture as the HB (fermenting wine expanding a skin), but without representing its exact linguistic structure.[46] The image of the bellows is not in the HB and, similarly to Is 30:28, represents an expansion of the imagery in the Greek text. Both the wineskin and the bellows present pictures of internal pressure through the capacity of animal skins to be inflated.[47] The picture pressure continues as the remedy is release: I will speak, he says, ἵνα ἀναπαύσωμαι ἀνοίξας τὰ χείλη ("so that I may rest by opening my lips").

Elihu's description of the πνεῦμα inside him coheres with Greco-Roman conceptions where πνεῦμα is understood to have an expansive or escaping tendency, and here that is pictured by a liquid.[48] Like πνεῦμα, fermenting wine was understood to expand and this propensity to swell that is the feature of new wine being applied to the πνεῦμα τῆς γαστός.[49] In previous examples, the features that allowed רוּחַ to be compared with water were shared by πνεῦμα and in Job 32 they can both aptly be set alongside wine. Water does not share the inherent expansive property of wine, but both רוּחַ and πνεῦμα do. In fact, there are several statements to the effect that it is the nature water to be still. Polybius states that ἡ μὲν ἰδία

[43] We should not limit this complaint to indigestion, but we must also refrain from a wholesale renovation of ancient human interiority on modern psychologizing terms by erasing the physical element entirely. Michael Clarke advises us not to be too precise in determining whether this sort of language is physical *or* figurative with the reminder that "we have not sorted these things out perfectly ourselves; the mind-body problem has by no means been fully solved" (*Flesh and Spirit*, 107).

[44] Galen (*Loc. Aff.* 3.10; 2nd cen. CE) discusses the γαστήρ being full of πνεῦμα from the works of Diocles (3rd cen. BCE); Aristophanes the Grammarian (*Epitome of Aristotle* 2.403; 3rd cen BCE) describes the release of τῆς γαστρὸς πνεῦμα; stomach pain and πνεῦμα are also associated at LXX Job 15:2; a scholion on Aritophanes, *Plut*. 1132 explains the ὀδύνη ("pain") in Hermes' belly as caused by πνεῦμα pressuring the ἔντερα ("guts, bowels").

[45] In the LXX, ὀλέκω appears only in Job (10:16, 17:1); Homer uses it mostly in the *Iliad* (13x with 2 more in *Od.*); Aeschylus uses it once and Sophocles twice; there are single instances in the *Homeric Hymns*, Empedocles, and Theocritus; Apollonius has it twice in his *Argonautica* and there are three uses in the *Sibylline Oracles*.

[46] It has two phrases with finite verbs: "…like wine that has no vent; like new wineskins, it is ready to burst," NRSV. These differences are in line with the characteristics of LXX Job as a "complex translation" that does not exhibit concern for "strict segmentation, quantitative representation, or lexical consistency" (Dhont, *Style and Context*, 28).

[47] It is difficult to be certain what the φυσητήρ ("bellows") would exactly have looked like but there is enough evidence to be safe in assuming that it was something akin to the accordion-style bellows that are still in use today; see Forbes, *Ancient Technology*, 115-120; Sherwood, et al., *Greek and Roman Technology,* 229-30 and 240-41 for several ancient sources. Although LSJ translates ῥήγνυμι as "laboring," it seems better to take it as "burst" (as does NETS; s.v. CGL). The shift from the pressure filled wineskin to the burst bellows may reflect the fact that Elihu is now speaking and so the built-up words are bursting out.

[48] See texts in the discussion of Prov 15:4 below.

[49] Aristotle refers to wine as πνευματῶδης (*Somn. vig.* 3) and so likely attributes this quality of fermenting wine to πνεῦμα within it; Galen attributed the quality of πληρότης to both wine and πνεῦμα (*Diff. Puls.* 8.678) and considered the cause of φυσώδης ("gaseousness") akin to the boiling (ζέω) of new wine (*De crisibus* 9.595.13); also *In Hipp. de Vict.* 15.638.16.

φύσις ἐστὶν ἀβλαβὴς τοῖς χρωμένοις καὶ στάσιμος ("the sea is by its own nature harmless to those who voyage on it and quiet," *Hist.* 11.29.10).[50] It is only when τὰ πνεύματα fall on it with violence (βίᾳ) that it is unsettled and dangerous. Likewise, for Philo φύσει...παντὸς ὕδατος ἠρεμίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαχόντος ("in the nature of all water is stillness, obtaining from itself," *Cher.* 38) and it is again laid to the account of πνεῦμα that it becomes something more forceful. The distinction between these entities becomes even clearer when we notice that water does expand when it takes on πνεῦμα. The cognate noun (ζέσις) for the verb that Elihu uses to describe the new wine "boiling" (ζέω) is defined by Aristotle as πνευματουμένου τοῦ ὑγροῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ ("the liquid being pneumatized by heat") and thus expanding (*Resp.* 479.b).[51]

Although πνεῦμα displays several elements of liquid-ontology in this passage, the semantic overlap between water and πνεῦμα does not include the inherent characteristic of expansion, or force more generally. As we saw in Isa 30:28, water can be used as a picture of the force of πνεῦμα, but this is intrinsic to πνεῦμα in a way that cannot be extended to water.

4.2. Passages where πνεῦμα Fills People

Fluids can be used as figures for πνεῦμα because the two entities are understood to behave in a similar manner. This section looks at the LXX texts where πνεῦμα is described as a filling entity; there are seven of these, all translate רוּחַ, and they always describe a person being filled.[52] In all cases but one, the verb used is ἐμπίμπλημι and πνεῦμα has a series of modifiers which depict a capacity or disposition. So, in Exod 31:3, God says, καὶ ἐνέπλησα αὐτὸν (Βεσελεήλ) πνεῦμα θεῖον σοφίας ("and I filled him with a divine spirit of wisdom").[53] The exception is Prov 15:4 where the verb is πίμπλημι and there are no added modifiers so that the person is simply filled with πνεῦμα.

Positioning πνεῦμα as an entity which fills suggests that it is conceptualized similarly to water. In Greek literature, the entities which do the filling denoted by πίμπλημι and ἐμπίμπλημι are primarily associated with liquidity but there are non-fluid filling agents as well.[54] In the LXX, πίμπλημι is frequently used for liquids in contrast to ἐμπίμπλημι, but that need not require that filling with πνεῦμα is being distanced from a liquid ontology in the

[50] Walbank and Habicht, LCL 159. Also note the interaction of wine and water in Aristotle, [*Probl.*] 873.b.25-37.

[51] Anaxagoras (ca. 6-5th cen. BCE) has a parallel conception about water expanding with πνεῦμα ([*Probl.*] 914.b.10-915.a.25).

[52] This leaves Wis 1:7 aside, as not part of the translated LXX: ὅτι πνεῦμα κυρίου πεπλήρωκεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, "because the spirit of the Lord has filled the world."

[53] The same phrase appears in Exod 35:31. Other examples are Exod 28:3, Deut 34:9, Isa 11:3, Sir 39:6, and Sir 48:12 (where rather than a named capacity or disposition it is πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, with reference to Elijah but probably refers to a transfer of certain capacities).

[54] E.g., Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.93.22, 3.6.10 (which also includes πλήρης οἴνου); Theophrastus, *Caus. plant.* 3.6.2. That which fills can also be solid entities or more abstract concepts, e.g., Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.10.12: a hill was filled τῶν ἱππέων ("with horses"); Polybius, *Hist.* 5.52.12-13: the camp was filled θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ("uproar and confusion"). In the LXX, see Exod 16:12 and 4 Kgdms 9:24.

LXX.[55] These two verbs are used quite similarly in general[56] and the choice to use ἐμπίμπλημι with πνεῦμα filling a person is probably more related to its use with the sense of a receptacle being filled all the way up.[57]

While there is nothing about using πίμπλημι and ἐμπίμπλημι that unequivocally necessitates that πνεῦμα is conceptualized with liquid-like properties, it appears to be the most secure inference. Further, in Sir 39:6 an association with fluidity is apparent for the ἐμπίμπλημι + πνεῦμα construction because the result is described in liquid terms. Here, the one that God fills with πνεύματι συνέσεως ("a spirit of understanding") will ἀνομβρήσει ῥήματα σοφίας αὐτοῦ ("gush up words of his wisdom"). The verb ἀνομβρέω is quite rare, with the only instance possibly preceding the LXX being a scholion on the *Iliad*.[58] The verb refers to water flowing up out of a fountain of some kind and so Philo, who stands out for using ἀνομβρέω more frequently than any other, nearly always uses it with πηγή ("spring").[59] In the LXX it is used only two other times, both likewise in Ben Sira, with both also referring to words coming forth.[60]

A liquid connotation emerges because a person full of πνεῦμα finds themselves gushing forth like a spring. This imagery fits within a broader conceptualization of πνεῦμα and should remind us of Elihu in Job 32:18-20. Something that is full of πνεῦμα is an entity about to gush forth and this fact helps us understand the statement in Prov 15:4. This is the one passage in the LXX where πίμπλημι is used with πνεῦμα and where πνεῦμα has no modifiers.

Ralphs: ἴασις γλώσσης δένδρον ζωῆς, ὁ δὲ συντηρῶν αὐτὴν πλησθήσεται πνεύματος

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[55] On the one hand, πίμπλημι is used 116x and there are physical (Gen 21:19; 24:16; Exod 2:16, Josh 9:13; I Kgdms 16:19; 3 Kgdms 18:35, 4 Kgdms 3:17, 20; 4:6; Isa 15:9) and more figurative uses (4 Kgdms 21:16; 24:4; Song 5:2; Zech 9:15; Jer 19:4). On the other, ἐμπίμπλημι is 145x but there are far fewer possible examples with liquids: Prov 30:16; Eccl 1:7; Job 33:24 (if μυελός, "marrow," is conceptualized as a liquid); Sir 47:14 (figurative); Amos 4:8; Isa 66:11; Jer 26:10 (figurative).

[56] Compare entries in CGL. In the LXX, note Exod 40:35 and Num 14:21 (δόξα κυρίου is filling); Lev 9:17 and Exod 28:3 (hands are filled).

[57] Delling, "πίμπλημι," *TDNT* 6:128. It thus appears to also be commonly used to mean something like "to be satisfied" (as in Prov 15:20: ᾅδης καὶ ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐμπίμπλανται, "Hades and destruction are not satisfied...") and is collated with verbs like ἐσθίω ("eat"): e.g., Xenophon, *Symp.* 4.37.4 as well as Deut 6:11; 32:15; Ruth 2:14; 1 Esd 3:3; Psa 77:29, Prov 27:20, Hos 4:10. This seems to be the sense where ἐμπίμπλημι appears to be used with liquids in the LXX, see fn 55. Because πίμπλημι is the unmarked word for "fill" (Julia Sturm, "πίμπλημι and πίμπρημι," 2), it is interesting that the majority of cases in the LXX use the prefixed ἐμπίμπλημι, especially as the element of the verbal prefix is not represented in the source texts (in the Exod examples it translates מלא ("fill"); in Deut, it is the adjective מָלֵא ("full"); in Isa the relationship to the source text is unclear; in the Sir examples the source text is too fragmentary in both places).

[58] On *Il.* 9.433, where Phoenix bursting into tears (δάκρυ᾽ ἀναπρήσας) is described as ἀνομβρήσας in several comments. The form without the preverb, ὀμβρέω, only appears a few times before the LXX and only of rain falling: Hesiod, *Op*. 415; Lycophron, *Alex.* 79; Apollonius, *Argon*. 3.1399.

[59] E.g., *Leg*. 1.34.7; 3.12.5; *Worse* 44 where it is again words; *Flight* 193 where it is human passions, *Decalogue* 16 with reference to the provision of water in the wilderness; *QG* 1.3 with reference to the Genesis creation accounts. Philo uses ἀνομβρέω 12x and ὀμβρέω 28x and he seems to have an affinity for the image of a πηγή ("spring"), a word which he uses 211x; e.g., *Flight* 198. His frequent use of these terms could be tied to his Egyptian location (consider the use of ὄμβρος in Egypt in relation to irrigation in P.Cairo.Zen. 3; P.Tebt. 1.61, 72, 74, 75; 3.1.768; 3.2.826) or to the importance of God bringing up water from the ground in biblical narratives (e.g., Gen 2:6, 7:11; Exod 17; Num 20; Judg 15:19).

[60] Sir 18:29 and 50:27. Neither of the two verbs appear in papyri or inscriptions.

LES: The healing of a tongue is a tree of life, and the one who preserves it will be filled with πνεῦμα.

Besides the second stich diverging significantly from the source text,[61] the fact that πίμπλημι + πνεῦμα has only one precedent before the LXX and no parallel within it, has meant that commentators have been puzzled.[62] However, filling can be said to be one of the characteristic activities of πνεῦμα and there are several conceptually overlapping phrases which fill out the picture.[63] An entity which is full of πνεῦμα tends to be something which is brimming with vitality. Plutarch describes Alexander's horse Bucephalas as πληρούμενον θυμοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ("full of passion and πνεῦμα," *Alex.* 6.6). The horse is lively almost to the point of being unrideable, but Alexander sees battle potential in this rearing and snorting animal.[64] In medical texts, a person full of πνεῦμα is as they should be,[65] but something full of πνεῦμα is also about to diffuse. In the Aristotelean corpus, the expulsions of sex and sneezing are explained as body parts filling with πνεῦμα and then releasing it.[66] Further, the reason why we feel the desperate need to stop holding our breath is not so much that we need to take in oxygen, as it is that we need to release the πνεῦμα that we are holding in.[67]

The filling with πνεῦμα in Prov 15:4 works with both associations. On the one hand, vitality is present in the parallel between reference to the tree of life and being full of πνεῦμα. On the other hand, the gushing forth materializes in that this person is about to speak these healing words.[68] The act of speaking and πνεῦμα are often related, and flowing water is also used as a picture of speaking.[69] To be full of πνεῦμα is to be full of vigor and about to 'burst,' and what comes forth tends to flow like water.

4.3. Passages Where πνεῦμα Pours

Besides filling, another action carried out by πνεῦμα in the LXX (and רוּחַ in the HB) which is characteristic of water is that of pouring. As with filling, the primary association for things which are poured appears to be liquids in Greek literature, but this is not exclusive.

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[61] While it is a positive phrase in the LXX, in the HB it provides a negative contrast (וְסֶלֶף בָּהּ שֶׁבֶר בְּרוּחַ "but perverseness in it breaks the spirit," NRSV).

[62] d'Hamonville and Dumouchet, *Les Proverbs,* 247. The one prior example of the construction is Hippocrates, *Nat. peur.* 1.5 where the γονή ("seed") in the womb takes in πνεῦμα as the mother breathes.

[63] Besides ἐμπίμπλημι + πνεῦμα, consider πληρόω + πνεῦμα (Hippocrates, *Morb.* 4.26), πλήρης + πνεύματος (Aristotle, *Gen. an.* 744.a.3), and πνευματώδης (CGL only lists its usage with voiced consonants, Plato, *Crat.* 427.a, but also see Aristotle, [*Probl.*] 879.b).

[64] Also note Aeschylus, *Sept.* 464. Physiological descriptions reflect this association with vitality and build on a common conception that πνεῦμα is essential to the proper working of the body and so any number of ailments and diseases can be explained in terms of it being blocked up (e.g., Theophrastus, *Frag*. 9.25 in Wimmer, *Theophrasti*; Lewis and Leith, "Ideas of Pneuma," 93-129.

[65] Hippocrates, *De arte* 10; Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 666.a; the caveat is that the Pneumatist school of medics worked with a different framework; on which, Coughlin and Lewis, "Pneumatics School."

[66] [*Probl.*] 879.a.18; 192.b.24.

[67] [*Probl.*] 866.b.11; 960.b.9.

[68] Taking the ἴασις γλώσσης as a metonymy for the words which are spoken.

[69] For the former, Sir 39:6, Psa 32:5 and 147:7; for the latter see Philo, *Dreams* 2.238.

There are three instances in the LXX where ἐκχέω + πνεῦμα is used.[70] In Joel 2:28-29 (MT 3:1-2), the same phrase is repeated, saying that God will "pour out" ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ("from my spirit"), first upon all flesh and then upon their male and female slaves. The use of preposition ἀπό stands out because, while the Masoretic vocalization tradition reads את as the direct object marker (אֶת-רוּחִי), the LXX translators appear to have read the preposition אֵת ("out of, from"). Here, ἀπό would denote the source from which the pouring takes place, perhaps picturing the πνεῦμα of God as a spring or a body of water.[71] In Zech 12:10, it is again God pouring out upon people, but it is πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ οἰκτιρμοῦ ("a spirit of grace and compassion"). In both Zechariah and Joel, ἐκχέω translates שׁפך ("pour") and the result is a capacity (prophesy in Joel) or disposition (mourning in Zechariah).[72]

While πνεῦμα is thus presented as a poured-out entity in the LXX, in Isaiah, the few instances of Hebrew verbs of pouring with רוּחַ are translated without denotations of pouring in Greek.

Isa 29:10: נסך ("pour out") → ποτίζω ("give to drink")

Isa 32:15: ערה (niph., "be poured out") → ἐπέρχομαι ("come upon")

Isa 44:3: יצק ("pour out") → ἐπιτίθημι ("place")

The move from pouring out (נסך) to giving to drink (ποτίζω) in Isa 29:10 is less of a divergence and makes sense with associations of drunkenness in the passage,[73] but the other two are more curious. Earlier, Isa 44:3 was noted as one of the places where water serves as a figure for πνεῦμα. In the Hebrew passage, יצק is used for the pouring out of מַיִם ("water") and of רוּחַ, thus implying a shared conceptualization as entities which can both be poured out. In the LXX, the provision of water and πνεῦμα are denoted by different verbs (δίδωμι and ἐπιτίθημι respectively), which could be taken as a move away from seeing πνεῦμα as something which can pour and from seeing it as akin to water. However, variation and an increased degree of independence from the source text are typical of LXX Isaiah[74] and the pattern with pouring verbs does not seem to be connected to the conceptualizations of 'spirit' in particular.[75] Further, the constructions ἐπιτίθημι + πνεῦμα and ἐπέρχομαι + πνεῦμα do not

[70] Ps 10:6 may also be related as it lists πνεῦμα καταιγίδος ("wind of gale") in the ποτήριον ("cup") appointed for sinners.

[71] E.g., Philo, *Flaccus* 9: καθάπερ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀπαύστως ἐξεχειτο ("as from a spring unceasingly pouring") or Exod 4:9: λήμψῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκχεεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρόν ("you will take from the water of the river and pour it out upon the ground"). Also consider Num 11:17 and 25, taking from (ἀπό) the πνεῦμα that is upon Moses and giving it to others, although there are no verbs of pouring.

[72] The preposition ἐπί is used for עַל in these passages and probably pictures 'soaking' more than 'filling.' Although ἐκχέω + ἐπί is not common, χέω + ἐπί is; e.g., Homer, *Il.* 3.260; Apollonius, *Argon.* 1.517; Hos 4:2.

[73] With κατάνυξις translating תַּרְדֵּמָה; compare LXX Ps 59:6 (60:3).

[74] Ngunga and Schaper, "Isaiah," 457.

[75] The verbs נסך and ערה (niph.) are never translated with Greek verbs of pouring (Isa 30:1; 40:19; 44:10; 53:12) and 44:3 is the only instance of יצק in Isaiah. The verb שׁפך is used 4x and is translated with ἐκχέω twice (Isa 57:6 and 59:7; compare 37:33 and 42:25). The only other instance of שָׁפַךְ + רוּחַ in the HB is Ezek 39:39, which is translated by ἐκχέω + θυμός.

appear earlier than the LXX and it may be that their use in the LXX Pentateuch motivates their use in Isaiah.[76]

Neither χέω + πνεῦμα or ἐκχέω + πνεῦμα appear commonly in Greek literature, but both do occur. In an epigram attributed to either Simonides or Baccylides, πνεῦμα is described as χέων ("pouring") through a musical instrument (*The Greek Anthology* 13.28). We also find constructions with πνεῦμα pouring in medical texts[77] and in the Hellenistic scholia. For the latter, Homer's description of Dolon's head mixing with the dust (*Il.* 10.457) is explained as πνεῦμα making it as far as his mouth and, having filled the space as he was about to speak, it ἐξεχύθη τῇ τμήσει τῆς κεφαλῆς ("is poured out through the wound in his head"). Especially significant is that the figure that the commentator uses to explain how this works is the way that water pours out (ἐκχεῖται) of a pipe that has been cut.[78] Not only is πνεῦμα here described as "pouring out," this action is also understood by direct analogy with the properties and behaviour of water. Thus, as was the case for רוּחַ in the HB, πνεῦμα is presented in the LXX and other Greek literature as an entity which pours, as water does.

4.4. Passages where πνεῦμα is a Drink

An additional way that πνεῦμα is conceptualized on 'liquid' terms in the LXX is that it is presented as something which people drink, in three passages. In Pss. Sol. 8:14 and Isa 19:14, the verb κεράννυμι ("mix"), which appears frequently for mixing drinks,[79] is used for the preparation of a πνεῦμα πλανήσεως ("spirit of wandering"). In Isa 29:10, it is a πνεύματι κατανύξεως ("spirit of stupor") and ποτίζω ("to give to drink") the verb used.[80]

As with most of the other examples in this paper, these phrases are quite close to the source texts,[81] but in this case, parallel constructions in other Greek literature are much harder to come by. There are instances where πνεῦμα gets mixed, but none are related to drinking.[82] Further, collocations with other drinking terms appear only in the biblical traditions.[83] However, wine and πνεῦμα are associated with one another, as was noted earlier

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[76] See Num 11:17 and 25, where ἐπιτίθημι translates שׂים and נתן; Num 5:14 and 30, where ἐπέρχομαι translates עבר.

[77] Hippocrates, *Breaths*, 8 and *Nature of Bones*, 4 (where πνεῦμα is not the agent of χέω but is still understood as pouring). Erasistratus (3 cen. BCE) describes πνεῦμα as being poured out of a wound (ἐκχυθῇ κατὰ τὴν τρῶσιν).

[78] Erbse, *Scholia Graeca*.

[79] E.g., Homer, *Od.* 3.390; Apollonius, *Argon*. 1.516; Plutarch, *Arist.* 21.6.

[80] The same verb is used in the second stich of Pss. Sol. 8:14: ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ποτήριον οἴνου ἀκράτου εἰς μέθην ("he gave them to drink a cup of unmixed wine for drunkenness"). In Mic 2:11, a πνεῦμα sets up (ἵστημι) a lie which ἐστάλαξέν σοι εἰς οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα ("dripped for you as wine and an intoxicating drink," LES). This is related to the other examples, but it does not appear to be the πνεῦμα itself which is pictured as being drunk. The πνεῦμα that leads the people astray (πλανάω) in Hos 4:12 could also be considered but does not have any direct drinking associations.

[81] In Isa 19:14, the HB has יְהוָה מָסַךְ בְּקִרְבָּהּ רוּחַ עִוְעִים ("The LORD has mixed in her midst a spirit of confusion") and in 29:10 it is כִּי-נָסַךְ עֲלֵיכֶם יְהוָה רוּחַ תִּרְדֵּמָה ("for the LORD has poured out upon you a spirit of slumber").

[82] In Euripides, *Bacch.* 127, πνεῦμα is mixed with the dance as they play pipes; Plutarch, *Is. Os.* has πνεῦμα and water mixing and *Mor.* 721.e.9. has two kinds of πνεῦμα mixing.

[83] There are no relevant pre-LXX collocations for ποτίζω, σταλάσσω, μέθυσμα, μέθυ, μέθη, κατάνυξις, κραιπαλόαω, πότος, ποτήριον, or κρατήρ.

in relation to the fermentation process, and there is good reason to see that these LXX passages fit well within broader conceptualizations of πνεῦμα. On the one hand, πνεῦμα is understood to be an intoxicating agent. The Aristotelian corpus describes wine carrying πνεῦμα to the head and τὸν κάρπον καὶ τὴν κραιπάην ποιεί ("causing stupor and drunkenness").[84] On the other hand, πνεῦμα can enter the body through ingestion,[85] a picture which is very similar to these LXX passages.

5. Conclusion

Several conclusions about the semantics of πνεῦμα in the LXX emerge from this investigation. First, is that πνεῦμα can denote what appears, from our perspective, to be a wide range of entities. In some instances, the referent is the weather phenomenon that we would call wind, but it can also be a human-internal constituent which enables vitality, or a divinely sent bringer of judgement, among other things. Alongside the fact that a variety of entities (from our perspective) are referred to, is the fact that a wide variety of entities are affected by πνεῦμα. In the LXX passages examined here, we saw πνεῦμα interacting with water, boats, and a range of human aspects (vitality, prophesy, emotion, relations). There is also a variety of modifiers attached to πνεῦμα (e.g., θεοῦ; τοῦ νότου; αὐτοῦ; τοῦ θυμοῦ σου; τῆς γαστρός; θεῖον σοφίας...), but this, paradoxically, allows us to see a significant level of consistency with the use of πνεῦμα. This paper did not distinguish between the apparent variety of πνεύματα which appear in the LXX, but what stands out is that they were presented with essentially the same characterizations.

Second, πνεῦμα is an entity which exerts force upon others. This is clear from the physical interaction between πνεῦμα and water but is present in some way with every instance presented here. In Isa 44:3, the effects of πνεῦμα are blessing and flourishing and in Isa 30:28 it is judgement, and in both cases it acts like water. When πνεῦμα fills a person, or is poured out upon them, it creates some sort of 'outflow' or outcome, whether that be specialized activities (Exod 31:3), prophesy (Joel 3:1-2), a disposition to look to God (Zech 12:10), or a stream of words (Job 32:18-20; Sir 39:6; Prov 15:4). With regard to force, one way that πνεῦμα appears to differ from water is that force is distinctly inherent to πνεῦμα.

Third, πνεῦμα is conceptualized as behaving similarly to water, especially with reference to its interaction with boundaries and containers and with reference to its movements. Again, this is not to say that πνεῦμα is conceptualized as being a liquid, only that its 'physicality' is described in similar terms to a liquid. This insight may help us to set πνεῦμα against another of its paradigmatic partners, ψυχή ("soul"). While ψυχή appears in several compounds with size words (e.g., ὀλιγόψυχος and μεγαλόψυχος), πνεῦμα does not. Note then, that whereas in Mic 2:7 the רוּחַ of God is "shortened" (קצר), in the LXX the length

[84] [*Probl.*] 873.b.13; Plutarch, *Mor.* 734.3 discusses how eating fresh produce ἔτι καὶ σφριγῶντες πολὺ πνεῦμα γεννῶσιν ἐν τῷ σώματι ("also still brimming with vigour, generates much πνεῦμα in the body") for it is not only wine which ζεῖν καὶ ἀγαναχτεῖν ("boils and seethes"). This πνεῦμα then causes problems for people's dreams in the autumn.

[85] Hippocrates, *Breaths* 7 where the πνεῦμα that enters the body during eating and drinking then causes other issues; also Plutarch, *Mor.* 698.c has a discussion of the ἐπιγλωσσίς ("epiglottis") with a similar description.

descriptor is left behind so that the πνεῦμα of God is "provoked" (παροργίζω). Different conceptualizations license a different set of conceptual metaphors, and further research along these lines will allow further description of the semantic contours of πνεῦμα.

The primary aim of this paper was to shed further light on the semantic boundaries of πνεῦμα, but there is another implication for how we posture the Greek and Hebrew materials in the biblical tradition. Although we work in the aftermath of James Barr's criticism of the *TDNT*, the skeleton of the Humboldtean framework on which Kittel and company built remains in the closet.[86] For Wilhelm von Humboldt, language was not merely a representation of ideas but becomes "the expression of the consciousness of its speakers."[87] In his framing, national character has a formative influence on language and thus his language theory has a significant racialist aspect so that languages exhibit a "one-to-one correspondence with specific mentalities and national characters." [88]

This schema sets the expectation that there will be a conceptual chasm yawning dangerously between the Greek translators and their Semitic source texts. However, in the case of the interactions of water and πνεῦμα, the rift does not materialize. As the LXX translators faced the interactions of water and רוּחַ in the HB, they do not appear to have encountered significant tension by using πνεῦμα. In this material, the LXX translators present πνεῦμα doing all the things that רוּחַ did in relation to water, put πνεῦμα into the metaphorical constructions describing רוּחַ, and describe πνεῦμα as possessing the same properties that רוּחַ has.

Of course, it could be argued that the concurrence between the LXX and HB in relation to πνεῦμα and water represents an assimilation of Hebrew meanings into Greek words.[89] In this case the 'greekness' of the LXX would be compromised and the correspondence between the HB and LXX would be the artificial creation of an idiosyncratic text. Against that argument stands the array of constructions and conceptualizations from Greek literature presented here which parallel and complement statements from the LXX. The LXX, in its presentation of πνεῦμα and water, stands in congruence with both the HB and the conceptualizations found in Greek literature. For all its proximity to its Semitic source texts, the passages concerning πνεῦμα and water in the LXX fit well within the broader range of Greek literature.[90]

Consider the case of στερεόω in Ps 32:6. There is no way to say definitively that this verb was chosen as a reflection (conscious or not) of the conceptualizations of the origins of

[86] See Hill, *Greek Words*, 1-14, for an attempt to push back against Barr and Lambert, "Refreshing Philology," for an attempt at carrying Barr's trajectory forward.

[87] Grossman, "Linguistic Ideology," 29.

[88] Grossman, "Linguistic Ideology," 34-37. This also allowed for languages to be placed in hierarchical relationship to one another, with relative position based on factors like the level of inflection and perceived degrees of purity. Greek was considered the highest and 'mixed' languages like Yiddish were considered low (31).

[89] As in Richardson, "ΠΝΕΥΜΑ," 107: "LXX uses πνεῦμα to represent *ruach* in all these passages, thus investing πνεῦμα with all these various meanings." Also, Isaacs, *Concept of Spirit*, 14-16 and 143.

[90] Edwards notes that the "semantic range of πνεῦμα, however, renders it a remarkably appropriate term with which to translate רוּחַ" (*Realized Eschatology*, 110).

the world in Greek literature. But it is important to recognize that it could have been.[91] What does it say that you could build the picture of the primaeval process of earth, and the life it supports, drying out and hardening (στερεόω) on statements from the Greek translations of the HB? It tells us that the LXX translators did not face a yawning conceptual chasm in crossing from their source texts to their Greek translations, at least in this instance.

Our characterizations of the LXX must grapple with the question of relative translation distance. Much is made of translation as an impossible and traitorous task, but the size of the gap between source and target text can vary greatly.[92] Consider Gilbert Murray's comments in the preface to Ingram Bywater's translation of Aristotle's *On the Art of Poetry*. Murray notes that while on "an average page of French of German philosophy nearly all the nouns can be translated directly into exact equivalents in English," the situation faced by the modern translator of Aristotle is much less favourable. When we come into conversation with the ancient Greek, we find that we lack a "common stock of ideas" so that "(s)carcely one in ten of the nouns on the first few pages of the *Poetics* has an exact English equivalent."[93] What this investigation of πνεῦμα and water suggests, is that the task faced by the LXX translators was more like the former situation than the latter.

We should consider how much the gap between the source and target text has been exaggerated for the LXX translators by modern scholarship. On the one hand, we often work with the assumption that the task of translation was for them as it is for us. This is where Murray's comments are particularly helpful in reminding us about relative translation distance. There appears to be a much greater distance between us and either of them (the HB and LXX), than there is between them and them. The size of the gap that we assume the LXX translators needed to bridge is, on the other hand, artificially extended as the Humboldtean bones rattle in our closets. There is a tendency, well explicated by Edward W. Said, to posture the European tradition as the intimate heir of the Greco-Roman world as set against what is classed as 'Oriental.'[94] In this framework, the Greek translators of the LXX belong with 'us' to stand at some great distance from the 'them' to whom we credit the formation of the HB. However, what this study shows is that the essential tension lies not between the Hebrew רוּחַ and the Greek πνεῦμα, but between both of them and us. For the material covered here, a disjunction between the so-called Semitic and Greek minds seems more of a modern intrusion than a naturally occurring feature of the landscape.

Such considerations significantly temper the picture of the "almost impossible job" that the LXX translators are supposed to have faced.[95] We should consider that the relative translation distance was much shorter for them than it is for us when we go to translate the

[91] Compare Philo, *Creation* 131, where the earth is held together by a combination of water, which keeps it from drying out, and πνεῦμα.

[92] Eco, *Experiences in Translation*, ix.

[93] Murray, "Preface," 5-6. In particular, he points out difficulties with ποιητής, εὐδαιμονία, πρᾶξις/πράσσω, ἁμαρτία, μῦθος, and καθάρσις.

[94] Said, *Orientalism*. For example: "Read almost any page by Renan on Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, or proto-Semitic and you read a fact of power, by which the Orientalist philologist's authority summons out of the library at will examples of man's speech, and ranges them there surrounded by a suave European prose that points out defects, virtues, barbarisms, and shortcoming in the language, the people, and the civilizations" (142).

[95] Tov, "Septuagint Translation of Genesis," 505.

HB, LXX, or Aristotle into modern English. This recognition reminds us of the significant gap that lies between the modern lexicographer and the ancient text, but it also suggests that the LXX sits in an advantageous position to offer help.[96] James Aitken was well aware of this situation and his conclusions regarding the 'fatness' of Eglon in the Hebrew text apply: "One problem for us is the inadequacy of the glosses in dictionaries to convey the nuances of the Hebrew and we can easily misunderstand words that have a different cultural signification than our own. The Septuagint was more sensitive to this problem, and can be our guide."[97]

[96] For a helpful treatment of this gap, see Lambert, "Refreshing Philology," esp. 346-348 and fn 66.
[97] Aitken, "Fat Eglon," 151.

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project summary for Otsem 2023

JEWS AND GODS IN ANTIQUITY

The aim of my dissertation is to deepen our understanding and offer an updated version of ancient Judaism, its relationship with polytheism, and Jewish identities. This study continues the discussion about Hellenism and Judaism, and more widely the nature and diversity of Judaism. Using especially non-literary sources I get a glimpse of the actual lived religion of the days.

In this dissertation, I first observe the appearance of "other" gods, in other words polytheism in ancient Judaism, and then attempt to understand and explain the overall situation behind this phenomenon. To be able to discuss Jewish material we must first define Judaism and our ways to recognise it. Hence, I do some terminological and onomastic research to improve the toolset. Having an understanding of the Jews and Judaism in Antiquity I move to analysing the polytheistic material, which is mostly epigraphic. I use literary sources to complement the view, finally also rabbinic material. As a conclusion I propose an updated view of ancient Jews and their relationship to gods.

By polytheism in Judaism, I mean ideas or actions committed by Jews that include other gods than the God, El/YHWH. I understand polytheism and monotheism as a spectre where henotheism and monolatry are in between, and in this dissertation, I'm interested in features that are not strictly monotheistic – i.e., the very most of the spectre. In this material at least one other god is apparent in Jewish context.

During Antiquity the religious field went through remarkable changes with the rise of monotheistic ideas, which can also be seen in Judaism. In this study I show that in ancient Judaism there was still a clear polytheistic overtone that is, however, notably different from the earlier forms of Judaism. Henotheism and monolatry in Judaism before Antiquity have been studied, but as stated, the situation changed and understanding the relationship between Judaism and polytheism in Antiquity requires more attention. I track these changes and analyse them and the reality in between: how and why Judaism changed in Antiquity, what kind of relationship Judaism had with the polytheistic atmosphere around and inside of it, and how and why Judaism changed in late Antiquity with the rise of the rabbis.

I aim to find out what the phenomenon is truly about and how people reacted to it, also considering its roots in the ancient Israelite religion – also in Egypt – and the possible continua. Behind all this there is the question

why: why some of the ancient Jews seem to have committed polytheistic deeds? By combining different sources and fields of study diversely, I attempt to give a comprehensive answer to the question. This dissertation is about studying the so-called grey zone of Judaism and one of my aims is to find out whether we are truly talking about a minority of the minority or a more common phenomenon, maybe even the everyday Judaism of Antiquity. When it comes to identities, I want to understand how polytheism, Jewish law and Jewish identity fit together.

My research questions are what, how, why, where and when: what kind of possible polytheism there is in Judaism to be observed, how does it appear, why does it exist, and what kind of temporal and local developments can be traced? Identities are at the centre of the topic: how different Jewish identities and polytheism match and how did Jews react to it? Discussion on Jewish practices is also relevant: how do Jewish laws and texts fit together with polytheism? Finally, I discuss consequences of the phenomenon and the decrease of polytheism from Judaism.

My primary material consists of archaeological, epigraphical and papyrological material because there are no literary sources that would answer my research questions exhaustively. Onomastic material is included as well, it appears in the mentioned sources. This material is ancient inscriptions, for example funerary and manumissions, papyri, like letters and official documents, and pictures, such as wall paintings and mosaics. This is the material where polytheism appears in Jewish context.

I answer the research questions by analysing data from this primary material. I observe what gods appear, in what context and what kind of temporal and local trends there may be. I also notice what kind of polytheism there is not. Because my hypothesis is that influence of the environment is a central factor in the phenomenon, I compare Jewish material to the other material of the region. Finally, I evaluate how common the phenomenon – or phenomena – was.

Additionally, I use other sources to complement the picture of the primary material. This additional material consists of ancient literary sources, administrative documents and texts from outside the time and place of Antiquity, for example works of Josephus and Philon, and the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine. I use this material to deepen the understanding of my primary material, and with it I attempt to explain why polytheistic action happened and how did people react. The pictures different sources create are notably different, hence making it essential to apply sources diversely – they complete pictures given by each other and describe the phenomenon from different angles.

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JEWS AND GODS IN ANTIQUITY: SOME NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the beginning there were gods. Then there were high gods and God. Some gods were tricky: they might ask people to do things that might anger other gods. Angering gods would not end well, as all Greeks and Romans knew – and Israelites and Judeans as well. Imagine one god telling people to only follow his rules. Outs, that would be hard and dangerous. Remember what happened in Troy? What would people do? Some would follow the orders of this god. Some would attempt to find a somewhat safe path between the wills of gods, a compromise. Some would follow someone else's example, like that of their father or some other authority, leaving the solving of the problem to others. Probably some would not know or care. There's still a next level: imagine this god forbidding the worship of all other gods. Those who follow this rule would rely only on him having angered all the other gods, and their only hope would be to follow his rules properly, hoping for active protection. The compromisers would keep the favour of the other gods but anger the one god a bit, which has examples in the Bible (worshipping other gods was a problem from the beginning). Those who follow people would place their fate to the hands of people. Those not knowing or caring would live on the edge putting their fate to the hands of the Fates. The situation changed with the rise of monotheistic ideas; if there was only one god, there would not be any wrath of other gods. Zero risk, all gain following that one god, truly a good deal. The change took time and had many phases and of course the final question would be, who is the one god, for there were and are many candidates. After Antiquity, Christianity and rabbis having risen, the situation was as monotheistic as ever. This timeline makes Antiquity the last struggle, the era when ideas crashed, new were born and many died. The result is history: the decrease of gods. In this paper, I attempt an overlook of the relationship between Jews and gods in Antiquity before this decrease, using only epigraphic material, excluding the question of the nature of El/YHWH. Baal is excluded as well because there is no epigraphic evidence of him and Jews from Antiquity. Chronologically, Antiquity dates to the middle and the end of Early Judaism, which is one of the frameworks of this discussion.

Gods and the people

The history of Jewish henotheism is of course long and complex. The decalogue has its commandment and people are scorned for worshipping wrong gods, both as groups and individuals, like Aron, king Solomo, and many Israelites in general. Jeffrey H. Tigay gives a good overview of the many gods -situation in the Israelite religion before Antiquity concluding that a small portion of the people were polytheists causing a reaction in the textual sources.[1] The chosen people did not have a choice but to follow the orders, but later, Judaism becoming a universal phenomenon,[2] both apostasy and conversion became possible. I find this matter of choice the most interesting for our topic: if people choose to follow certain rules, how do they do it? Furthermore, if they follow Judaism, what do they think they are following? Are they strict followers of the rules or of people or maybe compromisers? Probably at least not not-knowers or not-carers, having themselves chosen this path. Finally, what are the rules, the Law? I would not like to use the terms polytheism and monotheism, henotheism being a form of polytheism, for as one of our wonderful teachers pointed out, one does not exist without the other and in Antiquity monotheism was yet to come, hence making it problematic to call the religious situation polytheistic. However, for this topic, one of the main questions is how the Jews, who committed "polytheistic" acts, understood their relationship to Judaism and the other gods. Did they think they obeyed the Law? Did they feel there was some contradiction between the Law and their actions? How did they feel about intolerant henotheism, or did they face it at all? Unfortunately, thinking and feeling leave very little evidence. The literary sources do not suffice to answer this question, which leads us to epigraphic, papyrological and archaeological material. Those record acts of this kind but do not explain them. The plan for my whole thesis is to collect all this material and see what it reveals about the situation, then interpret it with the help of literary sources, and finally attempt a reading of the many gods -situation Jews had in Antiquity.

Ergo, Jews, gods and Antiquity. Antiquity is the easiest of these to understand. It is an era, that has spatial and temporal limits: in the eastern regions it begins from Alexander and ends to the fall of the Roman empire. For the many gods -situation the limits of Antiquity are not crucial nor fruitful, because most of the material dates around 3rd cent. BCE – 3rd cent. CE and because there are at least some continua from the earlier times, like the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, to name one example. Observing continua and changes in the situation is part of the analysis, and building walls to the borders would only hinder visibility. Gods, for their part, are

[1] Jeffrey H. Tigay 1986, You shall have no other gods : Israelite religion in the light of Hebrew inscriptions. The conclusion on p. 39.

[2] I refer to Daniel Schwartz's dichotomy of Judeans, the adherents of the God who are connected to Judea, and Jews, the adherents of universal Judaism, which is not tied to any place. Daniel Schwartz 2014, *Judeans and Jews: four faces of dichotomy in ancient Jewish history.* The whole work focuses on this question, but if you only wish to see one page, 86 would be a good one.

tricky to define, as every theologist must know, but in Antiquity we can avoid that problem by calling gods anything that could be described as deus / θεός or that had a cult of its own. [3] Finally, there is the question of Jews. Who is a Jew and who has the right to decide that? This is the most important question of the topic, for to be able to study the ideas and actions of Jews one needs to define Jewishness and Judaism and the methods to recognise it – only after that collecting material is possible. Here the limits and the grey zones are the most interesting parts.

In the Jewish inscription corpora, the principles of recognition are uniform. A person is recognised as Jewish based on (1) use of Hebrew or Aramaic, (2) symbols, (3) names, (4) terminology and phrases, (5) direct mention, (6) resemblance of other known Jewish texts or (7) place and (8) date.[4] I have chosen my own material following these methods and in the analysis I discuss the Jewishness in each case more thoroughly. However, before accepting these methods I would like to question them and make some notions.

Again, who has the right to decide who is a Jew and who is not? What about in Antiquity? Besides, if people defined themselves as Jewish, what did they mean by that and why did they consider themselves Jewish? When defining one's religion from the retrospect we must be aware of the possible differences in meaning. An example: if one calls themself Jewish that's what they are – for we have no way to prove otherwise – but their idea of Judaism might be remarkably different from ours, say this person may never have seen a synagogue and might make dedications for different gods but they might also have a Jewish parent and some knowledge about Moses. In many cases we are inevitably and blindly dependent on ancient definitions without completely understanding them, knowing that most likely there was no "the definition".

Real life is complicated. The idea of Jewishness has changed over time, and we need to be aware of that. Unfortunately, our means to understand what an ancient person meant by it are poor and we just need to live with that. There was no "official" definition for a Jew. That is why I suggest that we take a wide definition and attempt to understand different forms of Judaism instead of defining it very strictly and thus ignoring the so-called grey area and all other colours of Judaism. To understand the reality that is the most fruitful approach. Of course, it would be theoretically possible to form a modern definition of Judaism that does not take into account ancient ideas, but practically that would not work, for as noted above, it's very common to recognise something Jewish because it tells that it is Jewish. The ancient idea – or maybe rather ancient ideas – of Judaism is always present in our modern recognition, which we need to be aware.

[3] This definition is clearly not perfect. First, also during Antiquity people did discuss who is a god and who is not, for example in the case of Amphiaraos. Second, it does not solve the problem of angels, demons, spirits, overall creatures that are sometimes mentioned and that are neither people nor "traditional" gods. Third, there are semi gods, deified rulers and heroes, who can be understood in many ways.

[4] IJudO I p. V; IJudO II pp. 10—21; IJudO III p. V; JIWE I p. IX; JIWE II follows JIWE I (JIWE II, p. iX), and JIGRE p. X—XI.

Now to the big question: what is ancient Judaism? Ideally, I would like to define it as a religion that has certain practises, repeating the classic views of Judaism. Thus, I would emphasize that it's about thoughts and deeds, what ideas a person has and what they do, what kind of social contacts they have with other Jews. For emblematic characteristics I would mention Torah, biblical texts in general, the Temple, laws, feasts, Jahvistic features, symbols and descendance. I might also go through some history of Judaism, talk about the monarchies of Israel and Judah, ethnical qualities of this religion, and then diaspora, universal Judaism and finally rabbis, composition of texts. Defining boundaries of Judaism would be, in the end, a matter of opinion and highly questionable, but there feels to be certain coherence that people share; we all kind of know what we are talking about. A shared idea of Judaism also existed in Antiquity, both among Jews and the gentile, although it might have been different from our modern idea, and there may have been, in fact, several ideas. I suppose most of the readers now wish to disagree with this "ideal definition" I just gave, for example by discussing the problem of "biblical" texts, the content of the Law or the nature of religion, but before that I would like to bring up one more point: that definition I just gave does not work.

That kind of ideal definition does not work because practically ideas and deeds do not leave us much anything to study. Another example: imagine there is Marcus. He lives in a Roman city, has a job, goes to the local synagogue every now and then, spends sabbath and celebrates feasts, comes from a Jewish family and knows something about the laws and biblical texts. He is as Jewish as anyone. Then he dies and what is left of him is an inscription saying "Marcus". If that inscription has for example a menorah on it, we would recognise him as a Jew, otherwise not. That's why in practise we do not use the ideal definition of Judaism but instead we have other means to recognise it. Let us discuss those then and see what is it that those means can give us. Again, the principles are: (1) use of Hebrew or Aramaic, (2) symbols, (3) names, (4) terminology and phrases, (5) direct mention, (6) resemblance of other known Jewish texts or (7) place and (8) date.

Most of the time non-literary texts do not reveal us much about people's ideas of gods, their theological stand. Gods are mentioned but very shortly, which means that we only get a small glimpse of the actual situation. That makes study of religion complicated for religions are all about gods. In literary texts we have more and longer mentions so the glimpse is wider, but the question is, the glimpse of whose reality – whose ideas do the literary texts represent? Thus, what we practically have is for example information that this person calls themself Jewish and does a dedication to a Greek god, and any further analysis requires remarkable care and caution.

In terminology we have mentions of synagogues and titles related to them, which tells us something about the social contacts of the person. Additionally, thanks to the place and date we might know if there was a Jewish community. Other than that, we have no idea how close or distant they were with other Jews. Sometimes we also have citations or references to the Bible which tells us that it was of some importance,

with its Jahvistic material. Jahvistic mentions, on the other hand, are notably rare in Antiquity, presumably because of the banning of the name and the fall of the Hebrew language. Jews also had their own exclusive phrases which reveals that there was coherence within the community, just like their own symbols do. Using Hebrew or Aramaic tells us that the language was known at least a bit, but also that they wanted to use it, it had a meaning.

If we follow these principles to recognise Jews, who are the Jews we have? They are people who call themselves Jews, have exclusively Jewish names or use exclusively Jewish symbols, of whom some seem to know biblical texts, but most do not mention them, some have connection to a Jewish community, some are buried in a Jewish burial area, some know at least a word of Hebrew.[5] Symbols are much stressed even though in real life a person should not have to use for example a menorah to be Jewish – and in the other hand using a menorah should not alone make anyone a Jew. What we do not know about them is if they followed the Law or even thought or cared about it, celebrated feasts, spent sabbath, what did they think about biblical texts and how well did they know them or how did they feel about them or what kind of relationship did they have with the Temple. Usually, we also do not know much about their family background. Fulfilling one of these principles is enough to be recognised as a Jew.

This is the reality. The Jews we have and the Jews we would like to have are not the same, but we have to work with what we have. What I suggest is that we are aware and open about the problems without falling into complete scepticism and desperation. Afterall, the principles do have good points as well and there is reason to believe that the people we recognise using them actually are Jews. The problem is rather all the people that we fail to recognise, which I believe is the most of them. As a conclusion this is the definition of Judaism that I am using: an ancient person is Jewish if they themselves or someone else says so, if they seem to be a member of a Jewish synagogue, chose to use Hebrew, Jewish symbols, terminology or phrases, have been given a Jewish name, or if they were in a Jewish place when it was Jewish, i.e. in a Jewish burial area. Fulfilling one of these criteria is enough for a person to be recognised as Jewish, but the more criteria they meet, the more certain their Jewishness is. This definition includes a variety of people with a variety of identities, and it does not reveal their theological stand, but these people still seem to take part on that something that I have called the shared idea of Judaism. Hence, I argue, we have good reason to call this a Judaism of Antiquity. An expert of Jewish identities, Tessa Rajak, has proposed that study should be directed to different kinds of unclearly or possibly Jewish material.[6] She speaks especially about Roman catacombs, but the subject is relevant also to other fields and text types, altogether to whole Judaism. I highly agree with

[5] I.e. the word “shalom”, which is not as itself a religious statement.
[6] Rajak 1994, 445.

her: Judaism was much more than just the clear and ideal, which resemble the later forms of Judaism, but not necessarily the early and especially ancient forms we discuss here.

Having discussed what Jewishness is, I would also like to ask what it is not. If a person is Jewish, is it possible for them to do something that would decrease their Jewishness? I have already stated that the number of the criteria met affects how one's Jewishness is understood. Thus, we actually understand one's Jewishness in a scale from very probable to very unlikely. Since Jews were a minority, the beginning point is "unlikely" and fulfilling criteria moves the pointer towards "very probable". To go back to our example person, Marcus, if his epitaph only said "Marcus" his Jewishness would be unlikely, with a menorah it would be likely and with a menorah and a shalom it would be very probable. Is there something that would move the pointer back towards "very unlikely"? My answer is no. As stated, Judaism should be understood through Jews and hence what they do is part of a Judaism of the day. For example, Jewish laws and practices are in the core of our understanding of Jewishness, but the understanding, exact content and meaning of those remain unclear. Thus, if our Marcus does not spend the Sabbath, has a picture of himself on the stone or has never heard of the patriarchs, that would only indicate that his Jewishness is different from some other Judaism and not decrease his Jewishness. To summarise, I would like to suggest that we only use positive criteria of Jewishness, those that prove one's Jewishness more likely.

There is one more point I wish to raise, that of the difference between ideal and practical. We could make an ideal definition of a Jew: what do they do and what not, how do they think and how not. Yet in real life, what one is supposed to do and what they actually do is often not the same. The ideals of visionaries, puritans or priests is different from the actions of the masses.[7] That is why I find it more interesting to understand ancient Judaism primarily based on what Jews did and only secondarily on what it ideally was. Understanding the possible ideal or ideals prescribed by some authorities is of great importance, naturally, since it explains possible pressures laid on people, but even so, I would like to emphasize the meaning of people over the meaning of ideals for understanding a religion. Hence, here is another definition of ancient Judaism: Judaism was the Jewish things that Jews did. The next question is, what is it then that they did, and this paper and my future thesis are part of the answer. As a final notion before moving to the material I would like to point out that speaking of Judaism or Judaisms as "isms", at least somewhat coherent ideological systems, is likely in many cases an overestimation. As Jonathan Z. Smith argued, religion is a scholarly concept.[8] However, Daniel Schwartz does have a point noting that even if a person was not aware of different religions, it does not mean they did not have one – and Diaspora Jews were aware of the religion of their own and that of the gentile.[9] I think these are both true: people did not follow concepts, instead they lived their religion. Their view and

[7] Goodenough vol. 1, 1957, 64.
[8] Smith 1982, XI.
[9] Schwartz 2014, 101.

awareness of the system certainly did vary between individuals, having on the other hand for example priests and rabbis, on the other hand illiterate shepherds or brick makers from Fayum or Dalmatia. Having introduced some of the problems of the topic, I now finally move to the inscriptions. These are just a few examples to show you what kind of material we are talking about.

Moskhos

I begin the material with one intriguing case, that of Moskhos son of Moskhos, which also allows us to discuss one of the biggest terminological questions. The inscription is known as IJudO I Ach 45. It was written in Greek, found in the Amphiareion of Oropus, fairly nearby Athens, and it dates to 300—250 BCE. The text has two parts: the first documents a manumission and the second a dedication. The upper part of the stele is lost leaving us only the end of the manumission document, but the dedication part is whole.

In the photo, which I took in autumn 2018, you can see the Amphiareion.



The whole text reads as follows:

[---------- ἐφ’ ὧι τε]

Μόσχον Φρ[υνίδαι παραμένειν ἐνιαυ-]

τὸν καὶ εἶναι ἐλεύθερον μη[θενὶ μηθ]έν

προσήκοντα· ἐάν δέ τι πάθηι Φρυνίδας

πρὸ τοῦ τὸγ χρόνον διεξελθεῖν ἐλεύθερο[ς] 5

ἀπίτω Μόσχος οὗ ἄν αὐτὸς βούληται·

τύχηι ἀγαθῆι. μάρτυρες· Ἀθηνόδωρος

Μνασικῶντος Ὠρώπιος, Βίοττος Εὐδίκου

Ἀθηναῖος, Χαρῖνος Ἀντιχάρμου Ἀθηναῖος,

Ἀθηνάδης Ἐπιγόνου Ὠρώπιος, Ἵππων Αἰσχύ- 10

λου Ὠρώπιος. Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος

ἐνύπνιον ἰδὼν προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ

Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας καθ’ ἃ συνέταξε

ὁ Ἀμφιάραος καὶ ἡ Ὑγιεία ἐν στήληι γράψαντα

ἀναθεῖναι πρὸς τῶι βωμῶι. 15

IJudO editors give this translation: *…under which Moschus is to serve Phrynidas(?) for a year(?), and to be free, dependent on no-one. If anything happens to Phrynidas before the time (of the paramone) elapses, let Moschus go free wherever he wishes. For good fortune. Witnesses: Athenodorus (son) of Mnasikon of Oropus, Biottus (son) of Eudicus of Athens, Charinus (son) of Anticharmus of Athens, Athenades (son) of Epigonus of Oropus, Hippon (son) of Aeschylus of Oropos. Moschos (son) of Moschos, a Jew, (set this up), having seen a dream with the god Aphiaraus and Hygieia commanding (him), in accordance with what Amphiaraus and Hygieia ordered, to write it on a stele and set it up by the altar.*

In this text, a person describes the religious experience he had: a god, Amphiaraos, appeared to him in his sleep with Hygieia, who is not mentioned to be a god but who traditionally is, and they gave him orders. The orders were to make a stele telling about the dream and the orders, and to place it near the altar, which presumably means the Amphiareion, where the stone was found – not *in situ*, though. We do not know what the manumission had to do with this. In short, Moskhos describes gods talking to him. For our topic the interesting part is that Moskhos calls himself Ἰουδαῖος. The text is very special: it is the only manumission document from the Amphiareion, [10] the only Jewish inscription from Oropos, the only ancient inscription describing a Jew having an incubation,[11] and an openly polytheistic Jewish inscription, which describes a religious experience. It is also the earliest Greek inscription using the word Ἰουδαῖος. [12] The text being highly unique, it is hard to compare with anything else, which makes the reading challenging.

This takes us to the term Ἰουδαῖος and its meaning[13] – it is the mere thing pointing to Judaism in the text. Ἰουδαῖος is the Greek word for Jewish, but it also means Judean, which does not necessarily equal Jewish. Because of the multiple meanings, the term must always be interpreted in the context, which in the case of inscriptions is usually very concise, and which makes the reading debateable, as in this case. Cohen takes Moskhos for a Judean rather than a Jew, although he sees a strong connection between the two and thinks it

[10] IJudO I p. 178.
[11] IJudO I p. 179 and Panayotov 2004, 183.
[12] Cohen 1999, 96.
[13] A lot has been written about this and I have as well, but the paper is not yet published. We do not have space to go through the whole discussion here but if you have any comments, they would be much appreciated!

inappropriate for even a Judean to talk about this kind of experiences with Greek gods.[14] Leipziger, Gruen, Gibson and Schürer, on the other hand, think that Moskhos was a Jew.[15] Personally I agree with the latter ones: Ἰουδαῖος is the word for Jews and the geographical use is rare. If no Greek gods were not mentioned in the text, there would be no discussion about Moskhos' Jewishness. As stated, I do not find negative indicators fruitful for the study of Judaism, for the actions Jews do are part of it, not against it. Instead of judging Moskhos not a Jew or a bad Jew because of his experience, I find it more interesting to try to understand what happened, how common something like this was and how people reacted to it.

Earlier, I shortly mentioned choice, and I would like to return to that thought. Not all Jews had Ἰουδαῖος after their name and the use of it is at least to some point voluntary. Moskhos chose to express himself being a Jew.[16] Rachel Mairs discusses the diversity and contextuality of identities in Jewish context in Egypt, which could be applied to Moskhos as well: doing something very Greek might have raised a need to make known his own special situation.[17] Apparently, a Jew who wanted to make known his Jewishness could make a dedication to Greek gods. Only Greek gods are mentioned in the text and there is no reason to interpret them as anything else.

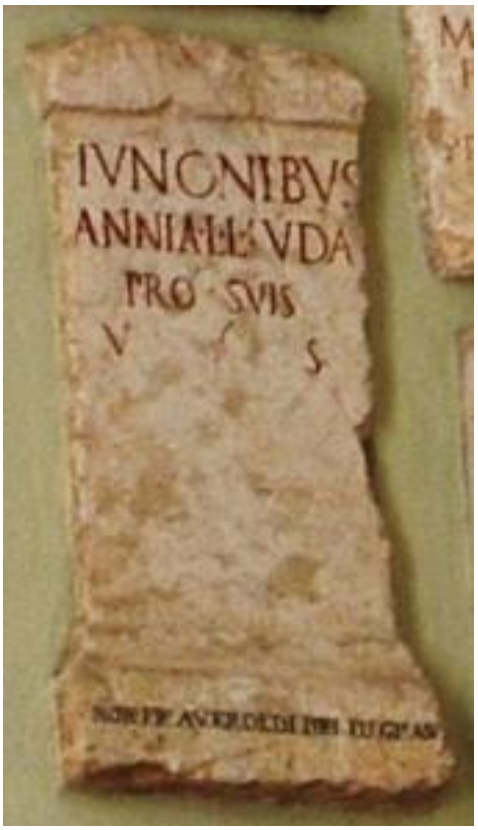
There is a lot more to say about this text[18] but I would like to show you two more inscriptions, so we need to move on. Let me just briefly make two more points. First of all, I wish to emphasize that Moskhos is indeed describing a religious experience. That is ultimately rare: usually inscriptions record actions without further explaining them, for example Moskhos could just have made a dedication to the gods without mentioning the dream, saying something like "to the gods, Moskhos". Mentioning the dream and his Jewishness are both choices. Second, other Jewish manumission documents mention Greek gods as well, but in a rather formulaic manner and without any religious experiences.[19] Unfortunately, the upper part of the stele being lost, we do not know if any gods were employed in Moskhos' manumission.

Annia

In addition to dedications, there are interesting votive and thanksgiving inscriptions. As an example, I would like to give Annia, for this text has not got as much attention as it deserves. The inscription, written in Latin

[14] Cohen 1999, 97—98.
[15] Leipziger 2021, 16; Gruen 2016, 123; Gibson 1991, 67 and Schürer 1973, 65.
[16] Noy and Sorek discuss the use of marks of Jewishness. They argue that using Jewish symbols and words mean that the author has consciously wanted to express his Jewishness. Noy, Sorek 2007, 1.
[17] Mairs 2013, 25.
[18] I have written more about it and the other examples of this paper in my master's thesis, open access here: https://helda.helsinki.fi/items/b35ee1ef-5413-4406-85ac-ee7bdf3b3a20. Only available in Finnish. This text is naturally also part of my dissertation, but no publications are out yet.
[19] These texts are from Delphoi (IJudO I Ach 42 – 44) and Bosporus (IJudO I BS 20 and 22).

and dating to the 2nd cent. CE, is called CIL V 4221. It was found from Brixia, modern Brescia, fairly nearby Milan, Northern Italy, the original exact location unknown. In the text, the feature pointing to Judaism is a term from the same word family as Ἰουδαῖος. It is now located in the local archaeological museum in the Capitol area, and I took the photo there in spring 2023.



The text reads as follows:

Iunonibus
Annia L(ucii) l(iberta) Iuda
pro suis
v(otum) s(olvit)

In English: *to Iunones, Annia, a freedwoman of Lucius,* Iuda*, on behalf of her own (people), fulfilled her vow.*

Iunones are local deities of whom we do not know much. Obviously, they are connected to Iuno, and the name is always in plural. Supposedly but not certainly they are feminine. The word *Iuda* is a rare Latin variant of the place name Iudaea / Iudea or possibly a rare, simplified variant of the adjective *Iudaeus*, in feminine Iudaea, meaning Jewish. The first i is slightly damaged a fraction crossing it, yet still readable.

Annia's Jewishness divides opinions. Jean-Baptiste Frey thinks that *Iuda* means her having been a Jewess, but the fact that she made a votive to non-Jewish gods makes her an apostate.[20] Noy agrees, in his opinion Annia cannot be Jewish, because of the deities, even though the male name Iudas is Jewish.[21] Here I must point out, that this logic causes circular reasoning: if Judaism is defined as monotheistic, it is not possible to study its polytheistic features, because people committing polytheistic deed would not be recognised as Jews. Furthermore, as stated, I do not find negative indicators of Jewishness fruitful.

Tessa Rajak, on the other hand, takes *Iuda* as a clear sign of Annia's Jewishness, and does not consider *Iunones* to reduce that.[22] Kraemer, too, thinks that Annia was a Jewess, but in her opinion, she was a convert, this polytheistic deed being a remnant of her non-Jewish background.[23] According to Heikki Solin, Annia's Jewishness is very unclear, because it is only based on one word, which he suggests, might be misspelled

[20] Frey 1975, 576.
[21] JIWE I p. 19.
[22] Rajak 1992, 348.
[23] Kraemer 1989, 42.

Iulia.[24] Gregori agrees with him.[25] I myself agree with Rajak: there is one indicator of Annia's Jewishness, which makes her Jewishness probable – surely not certain, but this level of probability is normal when it comes to inscriptions. I do not find it credible that *Iuda* was meant to be *Iulia* or anything else, for the letters are clear, there are no marks of corrections, and Annia herself ordered the text – why would she accept a misspelling like that? As for her background, I would say that there is no indicator of her being a convert nor apostate. This idea of the influence of one's background to the polytheistic features in Jewish context is, however, very interesting. Unfortunately, the scarcity of evidence only allows us to hypothesize; sometimes names of relatives are mentioned but a name cannot prove anyone not-Jewish, only Jewish.

As for other somewhat similar inscriptions, in the Paneion in El-Kanais, southern Egypt, there are also four thanksgiving inscriptions, written in Greek and dating to the 2nd – 1st cent. BCE.[26]

Arsinoe

Funerary is the most common type of all inscriptions, Jewish or not, and they are often found in bunches, for example from a catacomb. Death has many aspects and there was and still is a great amount of mythology, beliefs and practises involved. In funerary context, it seems that Jews gained especially lot of influence of different kind. As the third example, I have chosen Arsinoe's funerary inscription, called JIGRE 38 and written in Doric dialect, from Leontopolis (tell El-Yehoudieh), Northern Egypt, east of Delta. Unfortunately, the dating is wide, from mid-2nd cent. BCE to the early 2nd cent. CE. Hence, we do not even know if it is from the 2nd Temple period.

The text reads as follows:

στάλα μανύτειρα. – τίς ἐν |κυαναυγῆι τύμβωι |
κεῖσαι; καῖ πάτραν καὶ γενέ|την ἔνεπε. – |
Ἀρσινόα, κούρα δ'Ἀλίνης καὶ Θηδοσίοιο, ||
φαμιστὰ δ'Ὀνίου γᾶ τρο|φὸς ἀμετέρα. – |
ποσσαέτης δ'ὤλισθας ὑ|πὸ σκοτόεν κλίμα Λάθας; – | 5
ἰκοσέτης γοερὸν χῶρον || ἔβην νεκύων. – |
ξευγίσθης δὲ γάμους; – ξεύχθην. – κατελίνπανες αὐ|τῷ
τέκνον; – ἄτεκνος ἔ|βαν εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους. – |
ἴη σοὶ κούφα χθὼν ἁ φθ||ιμένοιο φυλάκτωρ. – |

[24] Solin 1983, 743.
[25] Gregori 1990, 308.
[26] JIGRE 121—124.

καὶ σοί, ξεῖνε, φέροι καρπὸν |ἀπὸ σταχύων. | 10
(ἔτους) ις’ Παῦνι κα’.

JIGRE editors give this translation: *The stele bears witness. – “Who are you that lie in the dark tomb? Tell me your country and your father.” “Arsinoe, daughter of Aline and Theodosius, and the land which nourished us is called the land of Onias.” “How old were you when you slipped down into the shadowy region of Lethe?” “At twenty years old I went to the mournful place of the dead.” “Were you joined in marriage?” “I was.” “Did you leave him a child?” “Childless I went to the house of Hades.” “May the earth, the guardian of the dead, be light upon you.” “And for you, stranger, may it bear fruitful crops.” In the 16th year, Payni 21.*

The text is considered to be Jewish because of its location in the Jewish burial area in Leontopolis, and because Onias is mentioned. [27] Leontopolis is the second largest source of Jewish (funerary) inscriptions: 78 have been found from there, whereas about 600 from the largest source, Rome. [28] Not a single menorah nor lulab nor a sign of Hebrew nor Aramaic have been found from there. [29] According to David Noy, the local Jews did not feel it was necessary to make difference between themselves and the other population, not at least in a funerary context, which may have been due to the burial area being Jewish.[30]

The land of Onias, Ὀνίου γᾶ, is a curious thing in Jewish history and requires some attention. The temple of Onias was another Jewish temple in a military colony, founded by Onias IV, the son of the High Priest Onias III, after his father being assassinated by Hellenizers, during the rule of Ptolemy IV Philometor.[31] The nature of this new temple has been debated: was there a movement of Jews who abandoned the Jerusalem Temple[32] or was it just another Jewish community[33]? At least Jerusalem did not actively object the temple of Onias[34] and there was correspondence between the two.[35] Under debate is also, whether the notably Hellenistic nature of the funerary inscriptions in Leontopolis has a connection with the two temples -situation or not – Pieter Van der Horst thinks they are connected.[36] Personally, I do not find it necessary to explain the Hellenistic features with the history of temple of Onias. There are local features and different trends all over the Diaspora, not to mention different religious and ideological opinions. The Jewry in Leontopolis lived in a polytheistic atmosphere together with the rest of the population, gaining influence from the surroundings – and giving it too, but that is off-topic here. Most of the funerary inscriptions of this type are from

[27] JIGRE p. 91. Pieter Van der Horst agrees (van der Horst 1994, 131).
[28] Noy 1994, 162.
[29] Noy 1994, 165—166.
[30] Noy 1994, 182.
[31] In C.P. Jud. I the editor, Victor A. Tcherikover, gives a good overview of the events, starting from pages 2 and 20.
[32] Hayward 1982, 432, 443.
[33] Gruen 2016, 373—374, 380—381.
[34] Noy 1994, 166.
[35] Schürer 1973, 145—147.
[36] Van der Horst 1994, 129—130.

Leontopolis[37], which indicates a local trend and permissive ambience. There is also one inscription of this type from Rome[38] and one from Beth She'arim[39] (Palestine, near Haifa), suggesting that the trend has been accepted at least to some point also outside Leontopolis. However, using underworld or Hades vocabulary is not common in Jewish burials, which, on the other hand, indicates that it was generally not considered appropriate or acceptable.

As for gods, both Lethe and Hades are mentioned in the text. These are Greek gods, now employed to express Jewish ideas.[40] We do not know who composed the text, but the question is, why did Jews choose this text exactly – for aesthetic reasons, perhaps, religious motives being hard to understand.[41] Hades has a lexical connection to Jewish texts, because of which it might not had been considered inappropriate.[42] Pieter van der Horst, for his part, sees Hades as a symbol of death and a literary *topos* instead of a sign of paganism[43], and that it has lost its religious-mythological meaning in Jewish context.[44] He also notes that there is no known conceptual nor lexical explanation for mentioning Lethe, which makes him consider the text very "pagan" but still Jewish.[45] If Hades and Lethe are indeed interpreted as expressing Jewish ideas, the following questions are, what was the Jewish idea that needed to be expressed employing Greek gods in a polytheistic manner, who felt the need and what did other Jews think about it.

I suggest that "paganism", here in other words cultural-religious Graeco-Romanness, is not to be seen as an opposite of Judaism, for people have multiple and complex identities, but as overlapping parts of one's self, that both influence each other. The way I see it, Hades and Lethe are Greek gods no matter the deceased's Jewishness, and the choice to employ these gods for Jewish context tells something about the situation they had. An interesting question is, what happens when identities crash because of some rules, religious or other, as illustrated at the beginning of this paper. This logic applies, of course, not only to Arsinoe's case, but to Moskhos' and Annia's as well.

[37] JIGRE 31, 33, 34, 38, 39.
[38] JIGRE 141.
[39] BS 127.
[40] Goodenough 1953, 102; Van der Horst 1994, 130 and Gruen 2016, 40, 131.
[41] JIGRE p. 92.
[42] In the Septuagint the translators used Ἅδης to express death, as the she'ol שאול , hence making Hades also a Jewish thing. JIGRE p. 63; BS p. 103—104 and Van der Horst 1991, 151—152.
[43] Van der Horst, 1991, 48, 115.
[44] Van der Horst 1994, 136.
[45] Van der Horst 1994, 131—132.

“Conclusions”

This was only a short overview of the problems and materials of the topic. The definition and recognition of Jews and Judaism is in the very heart of it, especially the grey areas, which we have seen also in the given examples. The Jewishness of the people can and should always be questioned, for it improves our understanding of Judaism – besides, in what kind of text one’s Jewishness is absolutely certain? In some literary documents, I would say, whereas the non-literary ones reveal us quite little about the people. I find it interesting to try to understand different shades and forms Judaism had along with some “mainstreams”, even though it is actually hard to define, what those mainstreams even were. Another key element is the diversity of one’s identities, and how they function in different contexts and conflict situations.

The few examples in this paper are enough to prove that some Jews did have relationship with other gods than the Jewish God, and that for some reason they wanted to commit deeds involving them. Why did they do that and how did they understand their Jewishness is not yet clear to me. Another important question is, how common was it: was this an everyday Judaism of Antiquity? Moreover, should it be understood as one phenomenon, or perhaps rather as several local anomalies? Finally, who were these people? In the given examples ex-slaves are overrepresented because of a statistic bias (I only had space for so many examples and did not choose them by people’s social status) and no conclusions should be drawn from that, even though many Jews (and other people as well) in Antiquity were indeed slaves. However, were these people or their parents converts or apostates? Were they educated high class exposed to assimilation?

In addition to the epigraphic material, there are papyri, paintings, mosaics and onomastic material that need to be taken into account. Before having collected and analysed the whole material, it is too early to give any more conclusions, specific or general. As the finishing thought I would like to bring up literary sources once more: how do they describe the phenomenon? I find the books of Maccabees, that report tumult and internal struggle, very interesting, but also hard to interpret for they are vague about religious or ideological questions. We also have mentions of different schools of Judaism and some understanding of different status’ people had within the communities, which might explain some differences in thought and practise. Contemporaries commented the phenomenon surprisingly little, which seems strange given how profound the question of polytheism feels from the retrospect. Maybe it is the retrospect that causes us trouble; the people did not seem to have any problem.

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Corpora

BS ”*Beth She'arim vol. II: the greek inscriptions”*, eds. M. Schwabe, B. Lifshitz, Massada Press, 1974.

CIL V ”Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum V: Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae. Pars I: Inscriptiones regionis Italiae decimae”, ed. T. Mommsen, Berolini: apud G. Reimerum 1872.

IJudO I ”Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis I: Eastern Europe”, eds. D. Noy, A. Panayotov, H. Bloedhorn, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 101, Mohr Siebeck, 2004.

JIGRE ”Jewish Inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman Egypt”, eds. W. Horbury, D. Noy, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ambiguity of Responsibility in Genesis 3:9-13: A Character Analysis

This paper conducts a concise literary analysis of the characters in Genesis 3:9-13, referred to as the "trial narrative" of Genesis 2 – 3. It focuses on the man, the woman, the serpent, and the deity, and their responses during the courtroom-like interrogation after the couple's rebellion of eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

The analysis highlights the deity's dual perspective, referred to as the *leading plot* (acting as protector) and the *shadow plot* (orchestrating the rebellion). The man blames both the woman and the deity, avoiding responsibility for his actions. The woman shifts the blame onto the serpent, portraying it as deceptive, despite it speaking the truth. The serpent remains silent during the interrogation, leaving its identity and motivations ambiguous. Throughout the scene, the deity avoids taking responsibility for being the creator of both the circumstances and characters necessary for the rebellion to take place.

In conclusion, this analysis emphasizes the ambiguity of responsibility among the characters in Genesis 3:9-13. The deity's avoidance of accountability and the serpent's mysterious silence raises questions about their roles and motivations. This paper suggests that this ambiguity extends to the rationale behind the subsequent punishments and curses in Genesis 3:14-19. Overall, this analysis sheds light on the complex dynamics and interpretations within the narrative, leaving room for further exploration and understanding.

Summary of Project

In recent history, feminist and womanist biblical scholars have been highlighting the ways by which the Bible has played a role in the systemic oppression of women. Within these disciplines, many scholars have sought to engage with the biblical understanding of gender, gender hierarchy, and gender roles to either condemn or condone the treatment of women within the Bible. Consequently, the character Eve has become the subject of rigorous scholarly attention, especially her actions within the Genesis 2 – 3 'Fall of Man' story. Accordingly, there now exists a substantial selection of feminist and womanist scholarly readings of Genesis 2 – 3.

Yet, whereas the Genesis 2 – 3 'Fall of Man' story has received much scholarly attention regarding its relationship with other ancient Wester Asian (aWA) texts, the Genesis 3:14-19 curses have not. Therefore, my PhD project will be to provide a cross-cultural comparison of the Genesis 3:14-19 curse narrative with other aWA myths and to assess the impact of a comparative relationship upon the feminist and womanist interpretations of Genesis 3:14 -19. This would be to advance the aetiological understanding of the Genesis 3:14-19 curses that currently predominates scholarship.

If a relationship between Genesis 3:14-19 and other aWA myths is established, it would significantly affect the current feminist and womanist interpretation of this passage. If a relationship can be established, then this would impact and extend the aetiological understanding of the curses. Genesis 3:14-19 would not just be an aetiological addition, giving theological explanation to arbitrary phenomena, it would be an aetiologically based rebuttal or reaction to encroaching outside narratives of curses and creation.

In order to complete a thorough analysis of the Genesis 3:14-19 punishments and curses, an understanding and assessment of the preceding Genesis 3:9-13 "trial" pericope is

crucial. Not only because of the structural and narratological implications. But also, a thorough understanding of how responsibility and blame are ascribed in the “trial” will impact the understanding of how each character in Genesis 2 – 3 is punished.

Preface: Possible focus points for discussion

- The deity's response to being implicated as a responsible part in the man and woman's rebellion.
- Implications of a *shadow plot* upon the understanding the Genesis 3:14-19 curses and punishments
- Implications of this reading of Genesis 3:9-13 for the reader, especially a reader of faith, if the deity id portrayed a misleading the couple, orchestrating the rebellion, and avoiding responsibility/allowing the serpent to be used a scapegoat.
- Possible identities of the serpent. Where did the serpent come from and what could it represent?

Ambiguity of Responsibility in Genesis 3:9-13: A Character Analysis

Introduction

The following will be a literary analysis of the characters of the man, the woman, the serpent, and the deity in Genesis 3:9-13 commonly known as the "trial narrative" of Genesis 2 – 3. This work will analyse each character and their actions, as well as go on to suggest implications of each character analysis on an interpretation of Genesis 3:9-13.

Overview of the Pericope

Genesis 3:9-13 depicts the interrogation of the man, woman, and serpent by the deity within the garden. The prior narrative has illustrated the events which lead to the man and the woman consuming the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, an act prohibited by the deity in Genesis 2:17.[1] Subsequently, Genesis 3:9-13 portrays all the characteristics of a courtroom interrogation, with the deity as the judge and jury.[2] Consequently, Genesis 3:9-13 is inextricably connected to Genesis 3:14-19.[3]

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[1] Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis: In the Bible Commentary for Preaching and Teaching* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2010), pp.40, 49-50.

[2] Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *The Eden Narrative: A Literary and Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 2 – 3* (University Park, PN: Penn State University Press, 2007), p. 25.

[3] Some scholars argue that this connection is further highlighted through the literary structure of a chiasmus. The proposed form of the chiastic structure would be as follows: Gen. 3:9-12 depicts the interrogation of the man, v. 13 the interrogation of the woman, and v. 14-15 depicts the curse of the serpent, v. 16 the punishment of the woman, and vv. 17-19 the punishment to the man. This would place the serpent's sentencing by the deity at the centre of the chiastic composition and, thus, highlight the serpent's central role in the preceding narrative, for more on this see Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1 – 17* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2006), p. 196. Conversely, Mettinger, argues that Genesis 3:9 – 19 is and *inclusio* rather than chiasmus. Mettinger's suggested structure for this *inclusio* would be identical to the suggested structure for a chiasmus, with the sentence to the serpent being its central point, see Mettinger, p. 25. For further proposals of the overall structure and unit delimitation of Genesis 3:8-19 see, Marjo C. A. Korpel "Paragraphing of Song 1:1 – 2:8 in Ancient and Modern Traditions," in *Textual Boundaries in the Bible: Their Impact on Interpretation*, ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Paul Sanders, Pericope 9, ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Paul Sanders (Leuven: Peeters, 2017); Wilfred G. E. Watson, "Unit Delimitation in the Old Testament: An Appraisal" in *Method in Unit Delimitation* eds. Marjo C. A. Korpel, Joseph Oesch, and Stanley E. Porter (Boston, MA: Brill, 2007); Roy Leslie Heller, "Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellations: An Analysis of Clause Function in Biblical Hebrew Prose" (Boston, MA: BRILL, 2004).

Nevertheless, the trial pericope of Genesis 3:9-13 stands alone from the punishments and curses which follow it. This pericope also signifies a significant change in tone and aspect within Genesis 3. Within this pericope we see the return of the deity, the first speech from the man, and possible evidence of both a leading and a shadow plot with the narrative. As such, the following will be an analysis of each character with the pericope and their actions.

The Deity

The first line in our pericope depicts the return of the deity into the narrative. Thus far in Genesis 3 the deity has been markedly absent.[4] Some scholars, most prominently Karalina Matskevich, have argued for the presence of two different narrative strands or plots, which appear distinctly and run throughout the Genesis 2 – 3 story.[5] These two narrative strands are the *leading plot* and the *shadow plot,* and they are intended to show the two contradictory perspectives of the deity.[6] The *leading plot* is what could be considered the classical, or most forefront, plot of the narrative which consists of the deity forbidding the consumption of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Thus, the serpent then undermines that prohibition, deceives the woman, who then in turn rebels against the deity's command and ultimately tempts, and causes, the man to also rebel. Matskevich argues that, in this *leading plot*, knowledge of good and evil is seen as an "anti-value," something which will lead to the certain death of the man and woman.[7] Therefore, in the *leading plot,* the deity acts as a protector, with the prohibition being an act of safeguarding and protecting the lives of the man and the woman. Conversely,

[4] Joel S. Burnett, "The Question of Divine Absence in Israelite and West Semitic Religion,' *CBQ* 67 (2005), p. 215.

[5] Danna Nolan Fewell and David M. Gunn, *Gender, Power, and Promise: The subject of the Bible's First Story* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1992).

[6] Matskevich, p.44.

[7] Matskevich, pp. 44 – 45.

the perspective of the deity which is depicted in the *shadow plot* is more shrewd and more subversive.

The *shadow plot*, in contrast to the *leading plot*, describes the deity's instrumentation of the man and woman's rebellion. The deity creates all the necessary conditions and characters for the rebellion to take place,[8] places the deadly forbidden knowledge within the grasp of the humans and creates all living beings including the serpent. The motivation for the deity's orchestration of this is nuanced, but perhaps the deity had to orchestrate this rebellion in order, narratologically, to get the man and the woman out of the garden and plant them into the 'real' world so that the rest of the Genesis plot, and human history, may begin.[9]

One may observe further evidence of this *shadow plot*, or its potential exposure, in the Genesis 3:9-13 trial pericope. As the deity questions the man, and then the woman both characters shift blame from themselves and onto another. The man blames both the woman and the deity for his actions, and the woman blames the serpent.[10] However, the deity does not question all three characters who were involved in the rebellion. Instead, the deity breaks the pattern of deflection and blame-shifting and directly sentences the serpent without interrogation. This leaves the reader in the position to wonder what the serpent's response in interrogation may have been and the deity's motives for the serpent's curse.[11] Some have argued that the serpent is not questioned in order to portray the serpent as a speechless animal and thus an inferior being, or even as a rejection of serpent imagery.[12] However, perhaps more

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[8] Francis Landy, "Two Versions of Paradise" in *Paradoxes of Promise: Identity and Difference in the Song of Songs* 2nd end. (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), p. 188; Fewell and Gunn, pp. 29 – 30.

[9] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 32 – 33.

[10] Westermann, *Genesis 1 – 11* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994), pp. 256 – 259, 266 – 268; Hamilton, p. 196.

[11] Matskevich, p. 53.

[12] Most significantly Mieke Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 126. However, Umberto Cassuto also argues for this interpretation of the omission of the serpent's interrogation but suggesting that the rationale is a consistency

convincingly, others have proposed that the deity's motivation for not interrogating the serpent is to conceal the deity's own involvement in the man and woman's rebellion.[13] The most notable proponents of this position are Fewell and Gunn who suggest that the omission of the serpent's interrogation is, in part, so the deity can avoid the logical response from the serpent; "why did you put this tree in the garden?'" As such, the deity evades a second accusation of blame by refusing to let the serpent speak.[14] Moreover, by not questioning the serpent the deity is also able to ensure that the serpent does not expose the *shadow plot*, and thus, the deity can avoid acknowledging their role in orchestrating the events of Genesis 2 – 3.[15] As will be further discussed below in the analysis of the man, it is interesting that in the verses following Gen.3:9-13, expressly the punishment to the man in Gen. 3:17-19, the deity specifically punishes the man for heeding the voice of the woman.[16] It is unclear whether the deity does this because the deity believes the woman is more responsible for the rebellion, and that she was the instigator of the action. Or, whether the deity is mocking the man, by alluding to the man's lack of responsibility for his actions.[17] If we take this premise to be true, then one could also see an echoing between the man's refusal to admit responsibility for his actions and the deity's action to avoid the question of responsibility by keeping the serpent silent.[18] Both characters seem willing to let another take responsibility for their actions. Consequently, if the deity is indeed mocking the man, this creates a double standard, the man is mocked for his lack of

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with the Torah's rejection mythological serpent imagery. See, Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on Genesis I: From Adam to Noah* trans. by Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), pp. 158 – 159.

[13] See, Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[14] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[15] Matskevich, p. 47; Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[16] Westermann, pp. 256 – 259, 266 – 268; Hamilton, pp. 195 – 197.

[17] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler, p. 36; Hamilton, p. 196; Matskevich, p. 47.

[18] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

responsibility for his actions, but the deity avoids all responsibility for creating all of the necessary conditions and characters for the rebellion to take place.[19]

As will be further discussed below, the deity's first question to the man "Where are you?" seems to have both a spatial and a relational feature to it and seems rhetorical in the way in which it highlights the change in relationship between the man and the deity. The deity's question suggests that the man now exists as an autonomous being outside of the deity.[20] That the man can now choose to not be seen if he wishes, he is no longer a passive participant in the relationship.[21] Once the man chooses to identify himself to the deity and informs the deity that he is aware he is naked, the deity continues the interrogation. Now conscious of the man's newfound self-awareness, the deity becomes concerned with who told the man of his nakedness. Considering that within the narrative no one informs the man of his nakedness, we could interpret the deity's question more figuratively. We can presume that the deity is more concerned with *how* the man became aware of his nakedness.[22] Nevertheless, the deity does not wait for the man to answer, it seems the deity knows the answer already. Now the deity moves immediately onto the most pressing question in the interrogation and perhaps points to the deity's motives in the narrative.

Indeed, the deity immediately questions the man on whether he has eaten from the Tree of Knowledge. Matskevich argues that in this question we are presented with another side of the deity's character. The deity's words "Have you eaten of the tree which I commanded you not to?" alludes back to the deity's prohibition in Genesis 2:16-17, but in doing so the reader

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[19] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 32 – 33.

[20] Mieke Bal, "Sexuality, Sin, and Sorrow: The Emergence of the Female Character" in *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of the Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 87.

[21] Burnett, p. 215.

[22] Matskevich, p. 47.

is presented with the realisation that the deity's threat of death if the fruit were to be consumed is not true, or at least the man still stands alive in front of the deity.[23] However, although initially there does seem to be a stark disparity between what the deity pronounced would happen, and what has happened, there is no grammatical or syntactical reason why the verb תָּמוּת, in Genesis 2:17, would explicitly imply that the death from consuming the fruit would be immediate.[24] As such, the deity has not altogether lied to the couple. Yet, Matskevich's point holds when we observe that the only direct consequence of the consumption of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge has been the couple's awareness of their nakedness. Rather, the death that the couple now, or will, experience is not a direct result of the consumption of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, but rather a result of the deity removing the couple's access to the Tree of Life (cf. Genesis 3:22).[25] The deity's reasoning for this is that couple have become like them, knowing good and evil. As such, the couple does not die after consuming the fruit because the fruit itself causes death, but instead, it appears that the couple will now die because the deity does not want the couple to be like them.[26] Therefore, the deity removes the couple's access to the fruit of the Tree of Life, and the last unique aspect the deity has, immortality. More confusingly, alongside death, the couple are also punished with the Genesis 3:14-19 punishments and curses.[27] Not only that but the serpent and ground also receive cruse from the deity as a result of the couple consuming the fruit. These punishments and curses are not only inconsistent with what the deity said would happen if the couple consumed the fruit of the

[23] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 32 – 33; Matskevich, p. 47.

[24] James L. Kugel, *The Bible As t Was* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 67 – 72.

[25] Westermann, pp. 256 – 259, 266 – 268; Hamilton, pp. 195 – 197; cf. Matskevich, pp. 47 – 49.

[26] Bal, "Sexuality," p. 125.

[27] Fewell and Gunn, p. 35.

Tree of Knowledge, but they are also disproportionate and non-correlative to the rebellion of the couple.[28]

The Man

The man's portion of this pericope begins with the deity searching for him, and seemingly only him as implied by the deity's question אַיֶּכָּה, which appears in the masculine singular form "Where are you?" In this question from the deity, we witness a distinct shift in the relationship between the man and the deity. The deity now addresses the man as a self-determining subject, capable of, not only a response but also the ability to act outside of the deity's knowledge and will. This is a marked change from the man's characterisation up until this point, which has been strikingly passive.[29] As such, the deity's question of "Where are you?" seems to have both a spatial, relational, and rhetorical aspect to it which highlights the change in relationship, the separation of the deity and the man.[30]

The man's response to the deity corresponds syntactically with the couple's realisation of nakedness in Genesis 3:7, but now the reader is drawn away from the combined point of view of the couple to the sole perspective of the man.[31] Much like the deity's question "Where are you?" signifies a separation between the man and the deity, the man's response also highlights this newfound separation.[32] Where in verse 7 עֵירֻמִּם suggested the exposure of the sexual

[28] A full discussion on the relationship of Genesis 3:14-19 with the surrounding Genesis 3 text, and Genesis 2 and 4 can be found in Westermann, pp. 256 – 259, 266 - 268; Willy Schottroff, *Der Altisraelitische Fluchspruch* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: WMANT 30, 1969), pp. 89 – 91, 142 – 147.

[29] Matskevich, p.46.

[30] Burnett, p. 215.

[31] Cf. Phyllis Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, PN: Fortress Press, 2005), pp. 118 – 119; Matskevich, p. 47.

[32] Burnett, pp. 215 – 216.

distinctions between male and female, here עֵירֹם may suggest that the man has become aware of a separation between himself and the deity.[33] This could be further implied by the fact that man seems to only become afraid of his nakedness when the deity is searching for him.[34] The man seems to be fearful of being regarded as naked, rather than fearing his own awareness of his nakedness.[35] In both instances, the man feels compelled to hide his nakedness from the other, and in both cases hiding from the other, the man now has the autonomy to decide how much of himself can be regarded by the other. In this sense, the man has gained autonomy and self-determination. The knowledge of his nakedness has empowered the man to be able to decide what, and how much, of himself is to be seen by another, an attribute which is markedly different from his general passivity within the narrative so far.[36] Indeed, the man's response to the deity, and the deity's retort, is the only evidence we have of any speech between the man and the woman in the earlier narrative of Genesis 2 – 3.

In his response, the man casts blame both the deity and the woman for his own actions.[37] In doing so the man also draws a parallel between the deity and the woman. The man blames the woman because she "gave" him the fruit to consume, and the man blames the deity because the deity "gave" the woman to the man.[38] The man does not accept responsibility for accepting and receiving both the woman and the fruit, perhaps he views himself as a passive participant in both instances. Nevertheless, within the following Genesis 3:14-19 punishments, the deity does not simply punish the man for eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, but the deity

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[33] Matskevich, p. 47.

[34] Matskevich, p. 46; cf. Trible, p. 118.

[35] Cf. Trible, p. 118.

[36] Matskevich, pp. 47 – 48.

[37] Jean M. Higgins, "The Myth of Eve: The Temptress" in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44.4 (December, 1976), pp. 644 – 645.

[38] Matskevich, p. 48.

explicitly punishes the man because he has listened to the woman (cf. Genesis 3:17).[39] As such, this assessment of the man's response sheds some light on the following curses and punishments. It is unclear whether this comment from the deity suggests that the deity portions more responsibility on the woman for telling the man to also eat the fruit, inferring that she took a leading role in the rebellion.[40] Conversely, perhaps the deity's punishment of the man also mocks the man for his refusal to take responsibility for his actions. Of course, it is also significant that the man also blames the deity for his rebellion, implying that if the deity had not given the woman to the man, then the man would not have been led to rebel. In a way, the man narrates the *shadow plot* out loud to the deity, by implying that in some way the deity orchestrated the events that lead to the man's rebellion.[41] Nonetheless, the deity does not punish the man for blaming the deity themself and exposing the *shadow plot*. Rather the deity seems to ignore this accusation altogether. Perhaps this is because the deity does not want to acknowledge that there is a similarity between the man's refusal to take responsibility for his rebellion and the deity's refusal to acknowledge responsibility for the *shadow plot*.[42]

The Woman

Despite being the major protagonist in the narrative up until this point, the woman takes a back seat role in Genesis 3:9-13. In fact, she only appears in v. 13 of this pericope, and only to answer the deity's direct question.[43] Could this invisibility be the first sign of the

[39] Kristen E. Kvam, Linda Schearing, Valerie H. Ziegler, *Eve and Adam* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), p. 36; Hamilton, p. 196; Matskevich, p. 47.

[40] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler, p. 36.

[41] Matskevich, pp. 48 – 49.

[42] David Jobling, "The Myth and its Limits in Genesis 2.4b-3.24" in *The Sense of Biblical Narrative: Structural Analyses in the Hebrew Bible, II* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1986), p. 30; Fewell Gunn, pp. 33 – 34; Matskevich, p. 47.

[43] Matskevich, pp. 47 – 48.

consequences of her rebellion? Or is this the role she has always played in the presence of the deity? Suggesting that what we have seen in the Genesis 2 – 3 narrative leading up to this interrogation, was the woman stepping out of her role as a passive participant and entering a state of independence and autonomy, exhibiting the first instance of theologising in not only the biblical narrative, but the world? Or is she treated as an invisible subject now because she has fulfilled her function for the deity and the *shadow plot*?[44] She has brought forth the necessary events for the couple to exit the garden and enter the 'real' world where the rest of human history can begin.[45] Unlike the serpent who is completely silent in this interrogation, the woman takes a much quieter role than in the previous narrative. Consequently, the two main protagonists in the previous narrative are now much lesser characters. Whilst the deity, who in the previous verses was nowhere to be found,[46] is now the major speaker, and the man, who took a markedly passive role in the previous events, is the first addressed and the second most frequent speaker in the interrogation. Perhaps the Genesis 2:4b-3:8 events show the result of what happens when both the deity's and the man's authority are subverted; what happens when the deity's words are questioned, and the woman leads the man.[47]

It first must be noted that the woman was not present to hear the deity's command in Genesis 2:16-17, we must presume that either the man informed the woman of the deity's prohibition or that the woman was informed of it another way. Nevertheless, she does know of the prohibition as she references it in her conversation with the serpent in Genesis 3:3. As such, in her actions she knowingly defies the deity's command.[48] In her response to the deity's

[44] Bal, "Sexuality," p. 125.

[45] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[46] Burnett, p. 215.

[47] Matskevich, p. 62.

[48] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler, pp. 34 – 36.

interrogation, much like the man, the woman also shifts blame from herself and onto the serpent and consequently does not take responsibility for her actions.[49] In contrast to the man, however, the deity does not punish the woman for heeding the words of another. Additionally, in her response to the deity's question the woman characterises the serpent's actions as deception, הִשִּׁיאַנִי. This not only shifts responsibility from herself but portrays her actions as unintentional, or at least minimises them, and portrays the serpent's actions as malicious and calculated. This is a curious characterisation because the serpent, regardless of motivation, tells the woman the truth.[50] The serpent informs the woman that she will not die upon consuming the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, but in fact, she will become like the deity knowing good and evil.[51] This is confirmed as the truth by the deity's own admission in Genesis 3:22. Moreover, as we have discussed above, although death does eventually come to the couple once they are excluded from the garden, this is not directly because they have eaten the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, but rather because the deity removes them from the garden and thus removes them from access the fruit of the Tree of Life (Genesis 3:22).[52] As such, the serpent's actions were not deceiving the woman, but rather to expose the deity's jealous desire to be unique and the deity's ulterior motives in the *shadow plot*.[53] However, unlike the man, the woman does not go even further, and casts blame on the deity, suggesting the deity holds some responsibility for their rebellion.[54] If she chose to follow the pattern the man took, perhaps the woman would say "The serpent, who you created and placed here, deceived me…".

[49] Jobling, p. 30; Fewell and Gunn, p. 33.

[50] Matskevich, pp. 47 – 48.

[51] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[52] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler, pp. 35 – 36.

[53] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 35.

[54] Matskevich, pp. 47 – 48.

The Serpent

The serpent's only mention in the trial narrative is in the response of the woman in her interrogation where she attempts to deflect the deity's questioning and avoid taking responsibility for her actions.[55] As discussed above, the woman tells the deity that the serpent deceived her. Which as argued above is not correct.[56] The serpent informs the woman that she will not die upon consuming the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, rather she will become like the deity knowing good and evil.[57] This is confirmed as the truth by the deity's own admission in Genesis 3:22.[58] As such, the serpent's actions were not deceiving the woman, but rather to expose the deity's jealous desire to be unique and the deity's ulterior motives in the *shadow plot*.[59] However, before the serpent can answer any interrogation by the deity the deity halts the interrogation and immediately curses the serpent instead, silencing the serpent.

Matskevich argues that the serpent's silence is a crucial and intentional turning point for the narrative. She suggests that, as a result of the shifting of blame witnessed in both the man's and woman's interrogation, the deity breaks this pattern of deflection and blame shifting and directly sentences the serpent without interrogation. This leaves the reader in the position to wonder what the serpent's response in interrogation may have been and the deity's motives for the serpent's curse.[60] We are, therefore, left to discern the meaning of the deity's accusation against the serpent, כִּי עָשִׂיתָ זֹּאת in Genesis 3:14, for ourselves. After all, we are not informed of any commands to which the serpent must adhere, nor are we told whether the serpent also

[55] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler, p. 34.

[56] Matskevich, pp. 47 – 48.

[57] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[58] Kvam, Schearing, Ziegler, pp. 35 – 36.

[59] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 35.

[60] Matskevich, p. 53.

eats from the Tree of Knowledge. The only action the serpent takes is to question the words of the deity, an action that is not prohibited. As such, the motive of the serpent's curse remains unknown and the reason for the deity's displeasure with the serpent is unclear. Some have suggested that the deity's motivation for cursing the serpent has been left out either to conceal the deity's involvement in the couple's rebellion.[61] Conversely, others have suggested that the omission is to depict the serpent as a speechless animal and thus an inferior being.[62] The most notable proponents of this position are Fewell and Gunn who suggest that the omission of the serpent's interrogation is, in part, so the deity can avoid the logical response from the serpent; 'why did you put this tree in the garden?' As such, the deity eludes a second accusation of blame for the situation by refusing to let the serpent speak.[63] In doing so, the serpent is unable to expose the *shadow plot* within the narrative, and thus the deity can avoid acknowledging their role in orchestrating the events of Genesis 2 – 3.

We, the reader, are left wondering about the identity and the motivations of the serpent. Is the serpent a villainous character, who lured and tricked the couple away from the ideal life the deity had created for them, or is the serpent a hero character who tried to warn the couple of the deity's true character? Alternatively, perhaps the serpent is neither a hero nor villain, perhaps the serpent exists solely as a catalyst and scapegoat for the deity's *shadow plot*, an innocent victim of the deity's subversive, but perhaps necessary, plans. Perhaps the serpent must be the scapegoat for the *shadow plot* because the idea of the deity being responsible for the man and woman's rebellion is unbearable.[64]

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[61] See, Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[62] Most significantly Mieke Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 126. However, Umberto Cassuto also argues for this interpretation of the omission of the serpent's interrogation but suggesting that the rationale is a consistency with the Torah's rejection mythological serpent imagery. See, Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on Genesis I: From Adam to Noah* trans. by Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1961), pp. 158 – 159.

[63] Fewell and Gunn, pp. 33 – 34.

[64] Jobling, p. 30; Fewell and Gunn, p. 33.

Conclusion

The above has been a literary analysis of the characters of the man, the woman, the serpent, and the deity in Genesis 3:9 – 13 commonly known as the "trial narrative." This work has analysed each character and their actions, as well as going on to suggest implications of each character analysis on an interpretation of Genesis 3:9 – 13. As a result of this analysis, this has seen evidence in support of what Matskevich has called the *shadow plot* of Genesis 2:4b – 3:22. It has been shown that throughout the trial narrative blame is passed from party to party and that none of the characters a have been safe from accusations of fault and blame. However, it has also been seen that in each of these cases, blame has fallen solely upon the man, woman, and serpent, and the deity has avoided any admission of responsibility in the rebellion. This is despite the deity's unique position as the creator and curator of all of the necessary conditions and characters for the rebellion to take place. As such, the reader has been left questioning not only the character of the deity but also the identity of the serpent. Consequently, it can be argued that if the responsibility for the rebellion is as ambiguous as Genesis 3:9-13 portrays then the rationale behind the proceeding Genesis 3:14-19 is also drawn into question. Perhaps their rationale is entwined with the deity's motivations in the *shadow plot.*

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Isaiah and the Spirit in Early Jewish and Christian Reception

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Head supervisor: Prof. Antti Laato, Åbo Akademi University
Title of paper (OTSEM 2023): "The Angelomorphic Lady-Spirit of Wisdom in the *Wisdom of Solomon*"

My doctoral research is 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. This research is part of a larger project: *Isaiah between Judeo-Christian Borderlines*, which is financed by the Polin Institute and the Academy of Finland, and focuses on the relationship between the early Christian interpretation of the Book of Isaiah and the reception history of the same in early Judaism; the hypothesis is that the early Christian interpretations are rooted in and developments of Jewish interpretations, and the starting point is Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, in which texts from the Book of Isaiah play an important role.

The basic idea in my project is to follow and study the reception – use and interpretation – of "*rûaḥ*-texts" from the Book of Isaiah up until the late second century CE/very early third century CE; study the relationship between different interpretations (Jewish and Christian), 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 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*).

In the process of this project, much research has come to be focused on Isa 11:2–3a and its reception; this is one of the most quoted or alluded to passage from the Book of Isaiah in patristic writings (only surpassed by Isa 61:1), and central for understanding the early Christian concept of the "sevenfold spirit." Interestingly, this passage has been interpreted as both relating to *charismatic gifts/powers*, and to *personified* and/or *angelomorphic* perceptions of the divine spirit. The following case studies are/will be part of the project:

- The Reception of Isaiah 11:2–3a and Perceptions of the Divine Spirit in Three Second Century Christian Writers: Justin Martyr, Irenaeus of Lyons, and Tertullian.
- The Reception of Isaiah 11:2–3a and the "Seven Spirits of God" in the Book of Revelation.
- The Jewish Background to Early Christian Pneumatology/Perceptions of the Spirit, and the Jewish Reception of Isaiah 11:2–3a in the Second Temple Period.

The present paper, "The Angelomorphic Lady-Spirit of Wisdom in the *Wisdom of Solomon*," is part of the research on the early Jewish reception of Isa 11:2; 63:9–14, and early Jewish pneumatology as background for early Christian pneumatology. It is also part of another project, *Women Figures of the Hebrew Bible as Paragons in the Gospel of Luke and their Reception in Judaism and Christianity*, but for that project I will expand the paper to include a section on the Lukan *corpus* and its connection to the *Wisdom of Solomon* and its pneumatology.

Preface for the OTSEM 2023 Conference in Lund

Dear reader(s) of this paper,

All constructive criticism and suggestions on how to further strengthen, ameliorate and develop this research paper are most welcome. I will, however, especially appreciate discussions relating to the following points:

1. The argumentation for the main thesis of the paper, i.e. the "angelomorphic features" of Lady Wisdom/the divine spirit of wisdom.
2. Clarifications regarding methodology.
3. Important research that I seem unaware of.

Thank you very much!

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2023-08-05

The Angelomorphic Lady-Spirit of Wisdom in the *Wisdom of Solomon*

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1. Introduction

Readers of the Hebrew Bible are familiar with both: (1) the concept of the *spirit of wisdom* (רוּחַ חָכְמָה, Ex 28:3; Deut 34:9; Isa 11:2) – commonly interpreted as either a designation for the Spirit of God or a human disposition (instilled by God but possible to cultivate); and: (2) the metaphorical *personification of wisdom* as a female figure, the so called Lady Wisdom, in the wisdom literature (e.g. Prov 8–9; Job 28; cf. Sir 24). These two are, however, not brought together in an explicit way until the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, an apocryphal writing from the first century BCE,[1] identifies them with each other: the spirit of wisdom *is* the personified Lady Wisdom, which in turn is described as both an "extension" of the divine personality[2] and – as I will argue – an angelomorphic being.

Scholars have written about "the angelic spirit" and "angelomorphic pneumatology" in both early Jewish and early Christian texts and traditions. John R. Levison have looked at possible perceptions of the divine spirit as an "angelic being" in the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, Qumran texts and other Jewish texts.[3] He has also explored the identification of the "Angel of God's presence" with the divine holy spirit in the retelling of the exodus-story in Isa 63:7–14, to propose that Jewish pneumatology in many ways is a precursor to early Christian pneumatology.[4] Bogdan G. Bucur, in turn, explores the "angelomorphic pneumatology" of Clement of Alexandria and other early Christian writers.[5] The present article adds to this research by looking at the "angelomorphisms" of the personified "Spirit-Wisdom" in the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

1.1 The term "angelomorphic"

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

[1] Different dates have been suggested for the *Wisdom of Solomon*: some as late as during the reign of Caligula (37–41 CE), others as early as the middle of the second century BCE; but most commentators nowadays seem to place it sometime during the first century BCE (Reider, Joseph, *The Book of Wisdom: An English Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957, 12–13; Edwards, Matthew, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology in the Book of Wisdom*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012, 17, 24–27).

[2] The terminology of "extension of… personality" is borrowed from Johnson, Aubrey, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Idea of God*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1942.

[3] Other Jewish texts such as Judith, Assumptions of Moses, Baruch, and Philo's and Josephus' writings. (Levison, John R., "The Angelic Spirit in Early Judaism," *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers* 34, 1995, 464–493.)

[4] Levison, John R., *The Holy Spirit Before Christianity*, Waco: Baylor University Press, 2019.

[5] Bucur has written about angelomorphic pneumatology in e.g. the Book of Revelation, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the writings of Justin Martyr, and the writings of the Syriac sage Aphrahat. Bucur, Bogdan G., *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christinanae 95, Leiden: Brill, 2009; Bucur, Bogdan G., "The Angelic Spirit in Early Christianity: Justin, the Martyr and Philosopher," *The Journal of Religion* 88, no. 2, 2008, 190–208; 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.

not necessarily implying that either are angels *stricto sensu*."[6] "Angelomorphic" was first used by Jean Daniélou in relation to early christology, when emphasizing the influence of Jewish angelology on early Christian theology,[7] but has in recent years increasingly also been used to describe pre-Nicene perceptions of the Holy Spirit.[8] The definition of "angelomorphic" used in Bucur's work was set forth by Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis: "we propose its use *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*."[9]

The use of "angelomorphic" in describing early *Christian* pneumatologies has, however, been challenged by Justin J. Lee.[10] His primary argument is that "the theological assumptions in its original usage for the person of Christ do not apply in the same way for the person of the Holy Spirit."[11] By this he means that when Christ is described in angelic language, it is still clear that he is in fact not an angel (and above the angels); but when it comes to the Spirit, its "identity is more easily conflated or confused with angelic beings."[12] I argue, though, that "angelomorphic" is a preferred and fitting term, for the following reasons: (1) "Angelomorphic" leaves more room for ambivalence in regard to the identity of the spirit in question than "angelic," not less; (2) The language of "angelomorphic" (whether in christology or pneumatology) goes back to attempts to describe how theophanies with the "Angel of YHWH" in the Hebrew Bible[13] – just as ambivalent in regard to the identity of the Angel – have been used to try to understand and explain Christ and the Spirit, with roots in earlier Jewish reasoning. In addition, when looking at the "spirit of wisdom"/the divine spirit in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, a *Jewish*, pre-Christian, work, it is clear that its identity cannot simply "be reduced to that of an angel."

2. Wisdom and Spirit in the Wisdom of Solomon

Of special interest in this paper is the unique relationship between πνεῦμα and σοφία, and the identification of Lady Wisdom with the "spirit of wisdom," that is exhibited in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. In this section we will first look at the personification of wisdom as a female figure (2.1), then more closely examine the relationship between πνεῦμα and σοφία and their identification (2.2), and finally, study the angelomorphic features of this "Lady-Spirit of wisdom" in the book (2.3).

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[6] Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, xxvi.

[7] "These then are the strictly Jewish Christian conceptions of angelomorphic Christology, those which have been borrowed from the angelology of later Judaism, and in which Christ and the Holy Spirit are represented in their eternal nature, and not simply in their mission, by means of the imagery of various angelic beings." (Daniélou, Jean, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, trans. John A. Baker, London: Darton, Longman & Todd Ltd, 1964, 146.)

[8] Lee, Justin J., "Origen and 'Angelomorphic Pneumatology,'" *Vigilae Christianae 74*, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 394–395.

[9] Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T., *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT 2/94, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997, 14–15.

[10] Lee, "Origen and 'Angelomorphic Pneumatology,'" 394–410.

[11] Lee, "Origen and 'Angelomorphic Pneumatology,'" 395.

[12] Lee, "Origen and 'Angelomorphic Pneumatology,'" 398–399. He continues: "there is not the same consensus that the Holy Spirit is distinct or different from them [i.e., angelic beings]."

[13] E.g. Ex 3:1–6 (cf. Acts 7:30, 35); 23:20–22; Jos 5:13–15; Judg 2:1–4; 6:11–24. See also Heiser, Michael S., *The Unseen Realm: Recovering the Supernatural Worldview of the Bible*, Bellingham: Lexham Press, 2015, 141–148.

2.1 Lady Wisdom

As in the *Book of Proverbs* and the *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, the wisdom of God is personified as a woman in the *Wisdom of Solomon*.[14] The figure of Wisdom is very central to the book, especially in chapters 6–10. These chapters can be structured in the following, chiastic, way – with the description of Wisdom and "her spirit" in the center:

- A call to seek Wisdom, which is available to all who love her (6:12–21);
- Introduction to a speech about "what wisdom is and how she came to be" (6:22–25);
    - Solomon, a mortal human being, prayed to God and was given the "spirit of wisdom," more valuable than riches and power (7:1–14; cf. 1 King 3);
        - God gave Solomon knowledge about the world by Wisdom (7:15–22a);
            - Description of Wisdom and the "spirit in her" (7:22b–8:1);
        - Solomon expresses his love for Wisdom and the benefits of "living with" her (8:2–21a);
    - Solomon's prayer for wisdom (8:21b–9:18);
- Review of the biblical history (Gen–Ex 15); Wisdom acts as saviour (10:1–11:1).

The "feminine representation" of Wisdom goes beyond the mere fact that the word "wisdom" – σοφία in Greek, חָכְמָה in Hebrew – in both these languages are grammatically feminine, and extends into the realm of metaphor: Wisdom is described as a mother (γενέτις; 7:12), and as a beautiful bride whom the author (under the identity of Solomon) claims to love (8:2) and – metaphorically – wanting to marry (8:9). The author even comes close to speaking about Lady Wisdom as the wife of God: she lives with God (8:2, cf. 8:9, συμβίωσις is used in both verses), and shares his throne of glory (9:4, 10).[15] Many commentators point out that there are similarities between the portrayal of Lady Wisdom in the *Wisdom of Solomon* and the Egyptian goddess Isis.[16] But, as Paul S. Fiddes notes:

> the author is careful to define the relationship between Wisdom and Yahweh as a subordinate one: Wisdom is not allowed to become an independent goddess, but remains clearly a

[14] A good definition of "personification" is provided by Joseph R. Dodson: "The attribution of human traits to an inanimate object, abstract idea or impersonal being which is used with action verbs most commonly employed to describe the action of a person. It can be given a voice and be casual, general or representative." (Dodson, Joseph R., *The 'Powers' of Personification: Rhetorical Purpose in the* Book of Wisdom *and the Letter to the Romans*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008, 40.) In the case of Lady Wisdom, the personification is representative: "Rather than serving as a mere comparison to a person, this personification [the representative] actually represents an attribute, passion or part of a person or suprahuman power and is ontologically the same as or part of that being." (Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification*, 32.)

[15] τὴν τῶν σῶν θρόνων πάρεδρον σοφίαν (9:4); ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης σου πέμψον αὐτήν (9:10).

[16] E.g. Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 41, 69 (n34); Glicksman, Andrew T., *Widsom of Solomon 10: A Jewish Hellenistic Reinterpretations of Early Israelite History Through Sapiental Lenses*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011, 104–106 ("In addition to various biblical traditions, in his day Pseudo-Solomon most likely encountered intense devotion to the Egyptian goddess Isis, who was greatly revered by the Greeks and Romans and whose cult was most popular in the Mediterranean world between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D. [...] Isis was often portrayed as the goddess of wisdom, truth, and immortality; the savior in times of trouble; the guide and protector of sailors and travelers; the healer and wonderworker. Many of these same Isis themes are attributed to Lady Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon. Pseudo-Solomon wanted to show that it was the figure of Lady Wisdom, and not Isis, who was the true source of knowledge and protector of the Jews." (p. 104); Gore-Jones, Lydia, "*Sofia* and *Nomos* in the Wisdom of Solomon," *Between Wisdom and Torah: Discourses on Wisdom and Law in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Jiseong James Kwon and Seth Bledsoe, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2023, 134–135; Reese, James M., *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences*, Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970, 46–50.

> personification of God's wisdom. Much of this poetic imagery, simply intended to enhance the sense of communion with Wisdom, is taken up by the Gnostic movement and turned into a literal ontology.[17]

There are many ways in which the figure of Lady Wisdom is more developed in the *Wisdom of Solomon* than in earlier Jewish sapiential literature. She has, among other things, been given a "cosmic dimension (as the world soul) […], and a historical dimension (as God's agent in Israel's history)."[18]

One particularly interesting development is the salvific role of Lady Wisdom in this book: Wisdom leads to "a[n eternal] kingdom" (6:20–21), immortality (6:17–21; 8:13, 17), and friendship with God (7:14, 27).[19] In 9:18, it is explicitly stated that people were "saved by wisdom," and the following chapter gives numerous examples of this from the biblical history: she saved the first man (Adam) from his transgression (10:1), in contrast to Cain who perished because he turned his back on her (10:3); she saved the righteous Noah through the ark (10:4); she led Jacob when he fled from his brother, let him see the "kingdom of God" and made him a rich man (10:10–11); she followed Joseph in the dungeon, never abandoned him, exposed his opponent as liars and gave him eternal glory (10:13–14); she saved the holy people (the Israelites) from their oppressors, brought them through the waters of the Red Sea and drowned their enemies (10:15–19). Basically, Lady Wisdom is taking over God's role in these stories; she is the saviour.

2.2 Wisdom and Spirit

The language of πνεῦμα in the *Wisdom of Solomon* is used, with connotations to Stoic concepts of the same,[20] to describe both personified wisdom/Lady Wisdom (e.g. 1:6; 7:22ff.), the human soul (e.g. 15:11), and the "ordering element of the cosmos" (e.g. 1:7; cf. 7:22ff.).[21] Of these, the first and the last are closely connected (or even identified with each other)[22] – Lady Wisdom is God's agent in ordering the world in a rational and moral way,[23] and she does so as an "all-pervading πνεῦμα" (7:24).

The author speaks about the *spirit of wisdom* (7:7), the *spirit in wisdom* (7:22), and of *wisdom as spirit* (1:6); see the table below. The latter two ways of speaking about wisdom and spirit are not found in the Hebrew Bible; in Prov 1:23, Wisdom promises to pour out her spirit (אַבִּיעָה לָכֶם רוּחִי) on those who turn away from ignorance to her, but nowhere is wisdom identified with spirit. In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, however, wisdom *is* a "human-loving spirit" (1:6) who will not enter deceitful souls nor dwell in bodies involved with sin (1:4). This close

[17] Fiddes, Paul S., "Wisdom and the Spirit: The Loss and Re-making of a Relationship," *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 41:2, 2014, 160.
[18] Harrington, Daniel J., *Invitation to the Apocrypha*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999, 78.
[19] Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification*, 107, 110.
[20] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 61, 68, 83, 243.
[21] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 19, 70, 88.
[22] An identification between the two seems very plausible when reading the text at face value, but some scholars point out that there are ambiguities; e.g.: "No explanation is given for the simultaneous universal presence of *pneuma* and unfailing absence of any holy and disciplined *pneuma* (of which we assume Sophia is one)." (Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 88.) Edwards, however, also provides a possible solution to this: namely that one could make a distinction between "physical permeation" and "relational dwelling."
[23] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 70, 75.

connection, and even identification, between σοφία and πνεῦμα, is what will now be further explored.

7:7	*spirit of wisdom*	ἐπεκαλεσάμην, καὶ ἦλθέν μοι πνεῦμα σοφίας
7:22	*spirit in wisdom*	ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ [i.e. σοφία] πνεῦμα…
1:6	*wisdom as spirit*	φιλάνθρωπον γὰρ πνεῦμα σοφία

For the sake of presentation, the texts that are relevant for exploring the relationship between σοφία and πνεῦμα in the *Wisdom of Solomon* will here be studied under broadly these three categories. As will be seen, however, these categories overlap to a very large degree, and the conclusion is that, conceptually, they speak of the same thing.

2.2.1 The Spirit of *Wisdom*

First, the more conventional language about the "spirit of wisdom." In chapter 7, in a series of first person statements clearly intended to refer to king Solomon, we read in verse 7:

> Therefore, I prayed, and understanding was given me; I called, and (the) **spirit of wisdom** came to me (διὰ τοῦτο εὐξάμην, καὶ φρόνησις ἐδόθη μοι· ἐπεκαλεσάμην, καὶ ἦλθέν μοι **πνεῦμα σοφίας**).

This language is recognizable from the Hebrew Bible: the רוּחַ חָכְמָה וּבִינָה in Isa 11:2; the רוּחַ חָכְמָה filling the skilful men in Ex 28:3 (later identified with the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים, in Ex 31:3); the רוּחַ חָכְמָה filling Joshua, because Moses had laid his hands on him (Deut 34:9). There are also clear connections between spirit and wisdom in the stories about Joseph (e.g. Gen 41:37–39) and Daniel (Dan 5:11, 14). The implication in all these cases, including Wisd 7:7, is that this wisdom is a gift from God, even though it can be cultivated and seems to correspond to some disposition in the people receiving it.[24] Also in Wisd 9:17, wisdom is a gift from God, parallel to the sending of "your [God's] holy spirit from high."

2.2.2 The Spirit in *Wisdom*

Second, there is said to be a spirit "in her," i.e. in personified Lady Wisdom (7:22); this spirit is then described with many different terms:

> There is **in her a spirit** [ἔστιν γὰρ **ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα**] that is intelligent, holy, unique, manifold, subtle, mobile, clear, unpolluted, distinct, invulnerable, loving the good, keen, irresistible, beneficent, humane, steadfast, sure, free from anxiety, all-powerful, overseeing all, and penetrating through all spirits that are intelligent, pure, and altogether subtle. For wisdom is more mobile than any motion; because of her pureness she pervades and penetrates all things. For she is a breath of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty; therefore nothing defiled gains entrance into her. For she is a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness. Although she is but one, she can do all things, and while remaining in herself, she renews all things; in every generation she passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God, and prophets; for God loves nothing so much as the person who lives with wisdom. She is more beautiful than the sun, and excels every constellation of the stars. Compared with the light she is found to be superior, for it is succeeded by the night, but against wisdom evil does

[24] The line between the human spirit or life-breath and the divine and/or charismatic spirit is often somewhat blurry in the Hebrew Bible (Levison, John R., *Filled with the Spirit*, Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009).

> not prevail. She reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the other, and she orders all things well. (Wisd 7:22–8:1, NRSV)

The Stoic influence on this text can, according to F.W. Dillistone, "hardly be questioned. Words applied by Stoic authors to the Soul of the World are here applied to Wisdom."[25] Fiddes, however, makes the following more nuanced point when commenting on the text:

> The language of emanation is clearly indebted to Greek philosophy, but it is unlikely to be a direct reproduction of a whole system. It is more likely to be making its own original commentary, in partly Greek terms, upon the Hebrew tradition of personifications of attributes of Yahweh, or what one Old Testament scholar has called 'extensions of the divine personality' such as Word, Spirit and–notably here–Wisdom, along with veilings of the divine glory in 'masks' such as the cloud and the Angel of the Lord.[26]

As a personification of God's wisdom, and an emanation (ἀπόρροια) of his glory, Wisdom and the spirit "in her" shares many of the divine qualities: she/it is holy, all-powerful (παντοδύναμος), overseeing all (πανεπίσκοπος), can do all things, reaches everything (διατείνει δὲ ἀπὸ πέρατος ἐπὶ πέρας), and orders/governs all things well.[27] The language of emanation suggests that Wisdom, rather than being a "mere creation," is actually thought of as a "manifestation of God."[28] The whole passage (Wisd 7:15–8:1) begins by stating that God is the one who gives knowledge: "he himself is the guide even of wisdom and the corrector of the wise" (7:15b); "he himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that exist" (7:17a). Then follows a list of things in the cosmos that the author ("Solomon") has been given knowledge about (7:17b–21), concluding – right before the above quoted verses – with the following remark: "for wisdom, the fashioner of all things, taught me" (7:21b/22a).[29] Wisdom is thus acting as an agent on behalf of God himself, and functions as a link between the transcendent God and human beings; this happens by means of spirit: "for (γὰρ) there is in her a spirit..."

Fiddes argues that it is precisely this language of πνεῦμα that makes the connection between the transcendent and immanent qualities of God's wisdom possible: "spirit" can bridge the gap between the transcendence and "superiority" of Lady Wisdom (her divine wisdom and perspective being superior to human wisdom) and her availability to every human being (e.g. Wisd 6:12–16).[30] Fiddes concludes:

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[25] Dillistone, F.W., "Wisdom, Word, and Spirit: Revelation in the Wisdom Literature," *Interpret.* 2 (3), 1948, 280.

[26] Fiddes, "Wisdom and the Spirit", 157.

[27] Some of the words ascribed to Wisdom in this text (Wisd 7:22–8:1) are also used to speak of Christ in the New Testament: μονογενής ("unique"; cf. John 1:18); ἀπαύγασμα ("reflection"; cf. Heb 1:3); εἰκών ("image"; cf. Col 1:15). (Dillistone, "Wisdom, Word, and Spirit," 280.) This brings us to comparisons with thoughts about the Logos and "Spirit Christology" in early Christian writings. Often, the distinction between Logos and Spirit is not at all clear (Bucur, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*, 75). Justin Martyr comments on Luke 1:35: "It is wrong, therefore, to understand 'the Spirit and the power of God' as anything else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God" (*Apol* 1:33:6). Clement of Alexandria writes: "the Spirit is the power of the Word" (Paed 2:2:20). Bucur concludes that the Spirit and the Logos are not identical in the thought of Clement of Alexandria, but that the Spirit is "the dynamic aspect of the Logos," and he goes on to say that this πνεῦμα "manifests itself in the work of angelic spirits." The parallel is obvious: in the *Wisdom of Solomon,* there's a πνεῦμα in Wisdom; in Clement's *Paidagogos*, πνεῦμα is the power of the Logos.

[28] Reider, *The Book of Wisdom*, 36.

[29] ἡ γὰρ πάντων τεχνῖτις ἐδίδαξέν με σοφία.

[30] "The first advantage of this identification is that the image of Spirit can vividly express a two-fold quality of Wisdom which has been developing in Israelite wisdom thinking, a mode of transcendence and immanence. On the one hand the figure of Lady Wisdom stands "over against" the world in a transcendental way as a divine wisdom which is superior to any human wisdom. […] On the other hand, this Wisdom who stands over against

> Wisdom is depicted in a two-fold way as *permeating* all as well as *observing* all. In one and the same phrase she is said to be "all-surveying" and "permeating all spirits" (7:23). The term "permeation" belongs to the language of Spirit, and in her pervading presence in the world Wisdom resembles the Stoic world-soul. But unlike the Stoic world-soul this pervading aspect is set off against a personified "Spirit of Wisdom" who is "with God" and can be sent "from God" (7:8, 9:17). […] Spirit, like Wisdom, is both transcendent and immanent.[31]

2.2.3 Wisdom as *Spirit*

Third, explicit identification of Lady Wisdom with the "spirit of wisdom." This identification is quite clear already in the text previously studied (7:22–8:1), where the author in verse 24 naturally shifts from describing the "spirit in wisdom" to describing wisdom; the descriptions are obviously about the same thing, with many parallels – as the table below demonstrates:

The "spirit in wisdom"	*Wisdom*
"mobile," εὐκίνητον (7:22)	"more mobile than any motion," πάσης γὰρ κινήσεως κινητικώτερον (7:24)
"pure," καθαρῶν (7:23)	"her pureness," τὴν καθαρότητα (7:24)
"penetrating through all spirits…," διὰ πάντων χωροῦν πνευμάτων (7:23)	"pervades and penetrates all things," διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων (7:24)
being "spirit," πνεῦμα (7:22)	being a "breath of God's power," ἀτμὶς γάρ ἐστιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως (7:25)
"unique" and "manifold," μονογενές, πολυμερές (7:22)	she is "one" but "can do all things," μία δὲ οὖσα πάντα δύναται (7:27)

The main focus of this section, however, will be on Wisd 1:3–8, where wisdom is said to *be* a spirit (1:6), and where many different terms that are of interest for this study are found in close proximity:

Wisd 1:3–8:	*English translation (NRSV):*	*Parallels to other verses:*
3 σκολιοὶ γὰρ λογισμοὶ χωρίζουσιν ἀπὸ **θεοῦ**, δοκιμαζομένη τε ἡ δύναμις ἐλέγχει τοὺς ἄφρονας.	**3** For perverse thoughts separate people from **God**, and when his power is tested, it exposes the foolish;	
4 ὅτι εἰς κακότεχνον ψυχὴν οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται **σοφία** οὐδὲ κατοικήσει ἐν σώματι κατάχρεῳ ἁμαρτίας.	**4** because **wisdom** will not enter a deceitful soul, or dwell in a body enslaved to sin.	but she will enter sanctified souls (7:27)
5 **ἅγιον** γὰρ **πνεῦμα παιδείας** φεύξεται δόλον καὶ ἀπαναστήσεται ἀπὸ λογισμῶν ἀσυνέτων καὶ ἐλεγχθήσεται ἐπελθούσης ἀδικίας.	**5** For **a holy and disciplined spirit** will flee from deceit, and will leave foolish thoughts behind, and will be ashamed at the approach of unrighteousness.	"your holy spirit from high" (9:17) = the divine spirit, and parallel to wisdom
6 **φιλάνθρωπον** γὰρ **πνεῦμα σοφία** καὶ οὐκ ἀθῳώσει βλάσφημον ἀπὸ χειλέων αὐτοῦ·	**6** For **wisdom is a kindly spirit**, but will not free blasphemers from the guilt of their words;	φιλάνθρωπον – just as the "spirit in wisdom" (7:23)[32]

the world with her superior oversight is always available, close to every human being, calling people to communion with her…" (Fiddes, "Wisdom and Spirit," 152, 153.)

[31] Fiddes, "Wisdom and the Spirit," 154.

[32] Also the righteous (humans) should be φιλάνθρωπος (Wisd 12:19).

ὅτι τῶν νεφρῶν αὐτοῦ μάρτυς **ὁ θεὸς** καὶ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος ἀληθὴς καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἀκουστής. **7** ὅτι **πνεῦμα κυρίου** πεπλήρωκεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὸ συνέχον τὰ πάντα γνῶσιν ἔχει φωνῆς. **8** διὰ τοῦτο φθεγγόμενος ἄδικα οὐδεὶς μὴ λάθῃ, οὐδὲ μὴ παροδεύσῃ αὐτὸν ἐλέγχουσα ἡ δίκη.	because **God** is witness of their inmost feelings, and a true observer of their hearts, and a hearer of their tongues. **7** Because **the spirit of the Lord** has filled the world, and that which holds all things together knows what is said, **8** therefore those who utter unrighteous things will not escape notice, and justice, when it punishes, will not pass them by.	wisdom (also) reaches the whole world (8:1)

It is not entirely clear whether the three mentions of πνεῦμα in this passage are referring to the same πνεῦμα – so that the ἅγιον… πνεῦμα παιδείας in 1:5 is the same spirit as the πνεῦμα σοφία in 1:6 and the πνεῦμα κυρίου in 1:7, i.e. the divine spirit – or if there is a distinction between them in the mind of the author.

The close connection between the spirit that wisdom is and the spirit of the Lord, however, suggests identification between the two, and most commentators seem to agree.[33] We have already seen that (Lady) Wisdom shares in many of the divine attributes, is described as a "breath [ἀτμὶς] of the power of God" (7:25), and that she is "penetrating through all spirits that are intelligent, pure…" etc. (7:23), which indicates that she is different – and on a higher level – than all other spirits. Just as the πνεῦμα κυρίου has "filled the world" (1:7), wisdom "reaches mightily from one end [of the earth] to the other" (8:1); just as God's "immortal spirit is in all things" (τὸ γὰρ ἄφθαρτόν σου πνεῦμα ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν; 12:1), wisdom "pervades and penetrates all things" (διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων; 7:24) and "orders all things well" (διοικεῖ τὰ πάντα χρηστῶς; 8:1). "That which holds all things together" (τὸ συνέχον τὰ πάντα; 1:7) – a Stoic phrase connected to the concept of the all-pervading πνεῦμα (the world-soul)[34] – is most certainly a reference to the divine spirit of wisdom.[35]

In this passage, as we have seen in other places, wisdom functions as a link between God and human beings: perverse thoughts and foolishness separate people from *God*, because (ὅτι) *wisdom* will not enter deceitful souls. But it is also *through wisdom* that God gets knowledge about humans – and especially the wicked are under observation: God is a witness of "their inmost feelings" and "their hearts," *because* (ὅτι) his spirit fills the world, and "that which hold all things together," i.e. wisdom, "knows what is said" (1:6b–7). Presumably, it is also through wisdom "a report of their words will come to the Lord" (1:9b).

Harder to determine is the identity of the ἅγιον πνεῦμα παιδείας in 1:5. Is this also referring to the divine spirit of wisdom, or is it describing a human disposition – in which case πνεῦμα

[33] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 102; Fiddes, "Wisdom and the Spirit," 151; Reider, *The Book of Wisdom*, 51; Winston, David, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1979, 34, 100; Wright, Addison G., "Wisdom," *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Roland E. Murphy, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1968, 558, 559.

[34] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 68, 83.

[35] This also indicates that the "spirit of wisdom," according to the *Wisdom of Solomon*, is not merely one of many "emanations" or aspects of the divine/the divine spirit (cf. Isa 11:2). The spirit that wisdom is, is the spirit of God in its fullness.

here denotes the human soul?[36] The term "holy spirit" is used for the divine spirit in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX (Ps 51:13; Isa 63:10, 11), but can also refer to the human spirit/ soul in intertestamental Jewish writings: e.g. CD 5:11 ("they have corrupted their holy spirit"); Sus 45[37] ("God stirred up the holy spirit of a young lad named Daniel").

(1) If describing a human disposition, the implication is that wisdom comes to the person with a a ἅγιον πνεῦμα παιδείας in contrast to not coming to – or even fleeing from – a κακότεχνον ψυχὴν (1:4). Verse 5 then stands as a contrast to verse 4, and a parallel reference would be found in 7:27, where wisdom is said to enter into sanctified souls (εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα) to make them "friends of God, and prophets."

(2) If another reference to the divine spirit of wisdom, verses 5–6a is instead a "double parallel" (with two consecutive γὰρ-clauses)[38] to verse 4, all of which describe the same spirit. Parallel references would be found in 7:22, where the spirit in wisdom is said to be holy (ἅγιον), and in 9:17, where "holy spirit" is parallel to "wisdom" and clearly refers to the divine spirit: "Who has learned you counsel, unless you have given wisdom and sent your holy spirit from on high?"[39] This position is further strengthened by the close connection between wisdom and παιδεία (instruction, discipline) in the book as a whole (3:11; 6:17; 7:14);[40] God, through the figure of Wisdom, is "depicted as humankind's educator."[41]

I find the latter reading more convincing, but in either case, wisdom – later personified as Lady Wisdom – is identified with the spirit of God in the *Wisdom of Solomon*.

2.3 The Angelomorphic Lady-Spirit of Wisdom

What I will argue in this section is that the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* not only brings together the traditions of the divine spirit of wisdom and personified (Lady) Wisdom from the Jewish Scriptures, but also connects this "Lady-Spirit of Wisdom" with the Angel of the Lord-tradition[42] found in the same Scriptures.

Wisdom is never explicitly said to be an angel or any kind of angelic being, and as πνεῦμα, she is "all-pervading" (7:24) – an attribute that doesn't seem to align well with typical angelomorphic traits. However, unlike the Stoic world-soul, wisdom is personified and spoken of as

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[36] These different options are also reflected in different translations of the *Wisdom of Solomon* 1:5a: "For a holy and disciplined spirit will flee from deceit" (NRSV); "For the holy spirit of discipline shuns deceit" (NCB); "the holy spirit of instruction shuns deceit" (JB); "Nej, tuktens helige ande undflyr falskheten" (Sv. 1917); "Nej, fostrans helige ande skyr svek" (Sv. Bibel 2000); "For a holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit" (Reider, 1957); "For the holy spirit of discipline will flee deceit" (KJV).

[37] *Kaige*-Theodotion.

[38] According to *The Complete Word Study Dictionary: New Testament*, "*Gár* is often found in two consecutive clauses where the same idea is expressed twice, that is, affirmatively and negatively or generally and specifically" (p. 357).

[39] Βουλὴν δέ σου τίς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ σὺ ἔδωκας σοφίαν καὶ ἔπεμψας τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἀπὸ ὑψίστων;

[40] The word παιδεία occurs six times in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (1:5; 2:12; 3:11; 6:17 [twice]; 7:14), and in at least four of these it's closely connected to wisdom. If 1:5 is indeed referring to the divine spirit of wisdom, we can make that five.

[41] Zurawski, Jason M., "God as Pedagogue," *Handbuch zur Septuaginta LXX.H vol. 6: Die Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der Septuaginta*, ed. Martin Meiser and Florian Wilk, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2022, 120.

[42] See note 13.

being able to "enter" or "pass into" souls (1:4; 7:27), "dwell in" bodies (1:4), "flee from" deceit (1:5), "come to" someone (7:7), be "given" and "sent" from God (8:21; 9:10, 17) etc. As already established, "Spirit, like Wisdom, is both transcendent and immanent,"[43] and as a personification of God's wisdom, Lady Wisdom can take on angelomorphic features.

In the following, we will look at some motifs and passages in the *Wisdom of Solomon* that suggests that Lady Wisdom is indeed (partly) described as an angelomorphic being.

2.3.1 Angelomorphic motifs

Earlier research has identified some common themes/motifs as "characteristic of, and significant for, Jewish angelology as a whole."[44] The two main motifs that are appearing together with angelic activity, according to Annette H. M. Evans, are the *throne* of God (being surrounded by angelic beings) and *fire/sun/light*.[45]

(1) The word throne (θρόνος) is used seven times in the *Wisdom of Solomon*: three times in the plural (5:23; 6:21; 7:8), referring to the thrones and power of human rulers (over which wisdom is to be preferred; 7:8); four times in the singular, of which one is referring to the rule of David (9:12), and the other three to the personified Wisdom and Word/Logos of God: Wisdom sits by God's throne (9:4), can be sent from God's throne (9:10); and the Word – clearly depicted as an angel – "leaped from heaven, from the royal throne" (18:15). (On the identification between Wisdom and the Word here, see 2.3.3.)

(2) Fire, sun and light (including stars and flames) occur many times throughout the book. Often they refer to natural phenomena and/or the elements,[46] of which wisdom, however, gives knowledge (7:17–22). But at several times, they are closely connected to wisdom: wisdom is better than light (7:19) and a reflection of "eternal light" (7:26); wisdom is more beautiful than the sun and the stars, and superior to the light (7:29); she "became… a starry flame in the night" for the Israelites (10:17). The pillar of fire given to the Israelites is also mentioned in 18:3, equated with "a harmless sun," and referenced together with the "imperishable light of the law" in the world (18:4). In 5:6, the "light of righteousness" is mentioned, parallel to the sun; and given all of the above, this is probably also a reference to wisdom.

Thus we see that the two main motifs characteristic of Jewish angelology is present in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and that they are occurring together with personified Wisdom. Wisdom

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[43] Fiddes, "Wisdom and the Spirit," 154.

[44] Evans, Annette H.M., *The Development of Jewish Ideas of Angels: Egyptian and Hellenistic Connections ca. 600 BCE to ca. 200 CE*, Dissertation Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, March 2007, 262. These motifs are: throne, sun/fire, "streams of fire from the wheels," *ophanim, galgal, cherubim, hashmal,* "do not turn." (All being present in Ez chs. 1 and 10.) See also Mach, Michael, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 34, Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.

[45] Evans, *The Development of Jewish Ideas of Angels*, 262.
Also in the Letter to the Hebrews in the New Testament, we can see a connection between flames/fire and angels: "Of the angels [τοὺς ἀγγέλους] he says, 'He makes his angels [τοὺς ἀγγέλους] winds [or spirits, πνεύματα], and his ministers [τοὺς λειτουργοὺς] a flame of fire." The quote is from Ps 104:4, which in the Hebrew (MT) has מַלְאָכָיו רוּחוֹת and מְשָׁרְתָיו אֵשׁ לֹהֵט. The text in the Letter to the Hebrews follows the LXX quite close.

[46] Wisd 2:4; 7:19, 29; 13:2; 16:16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 27, 28; 17:5, 6; 19:20.

is present at the throne of God, and is depicted as a sun, a bright light, and a flaming fire. This shows that Wisdom is described with the use of "angelic characteristics" and imagery.

2.3.2 Wisdom taking on the role of the Angel of the Lord (Wisd 10:15–21)

The connection between Lady Wisdom and the Angel of the Lord-tradition is most clearly seen in the end of chapter 10, where Lady Wisdom is the saving agent of God in the retelling of the exodus-story – and takes on the role of the Angel of the Lord. Chapter 10 is portraying the general statement in 9:18 about people being saved by wisdom.[47] The text uses σοφία and αὕτη interchangeably, as "matching pairs,"[48] and is built on seven pairs of contrast: Adam and Cain, Noah and the flooded earth… etc.[49] The last of these pairs is Israel/Moses *versus* Egypt/ Pharaoh (10:15–21), and this is our passage of interest in this section.

Lady Wisdom is the central figure in this passage: she was the one delivering the Israelites (10:15); she "guided" the "holy people" (10:17), "brought them over the Red Sea" and "led them" (10:18); she was also the one drowning their enemies (10:19), etc. As a spirit, she could enter the soul of Moses and performed through him signs and wonders (10:16). Wisdom is also said to have become for them "a shelter… by day, and a starry flame through the night" (10:17);[50] this is clearly a reference to the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night that led the Israelites in Ex 13:21–22; 14:19–20, 24; 40:34–38. In Exodus, these pillars of cloud and fire are closely related to the presence and glory of God,[51] and also to the figure called the Angel of God/YHWH.

Six times in Exodus an angel is mentioned: the "angel of YHWH" (3:2), when YHWH/YHWH's angel reveals himself to Moses in the burning bush; the "angel of God" (14:19), who is said to have walked before the Israelites on their way out of Egypt but now turned around and moved in behind them – together with the pillar of cloud – to stand between them and their enemies; "an angel" (23:20), who is sent by God to go before the people and guard them; "my angel" (23:23), referring to the same angel as in 23:20; "my angel" (32:34) and "an angel" (33:2), who shall go before the people. Presumably, it's the same angel/messenger all along, even in 3:2. This angel is hard to distinguish from YHWH's own person and presence, at the same time as it is functioning as a mediator between YHWH and the people (including Moses). The people is commanded by God to "pay careful attention to him [the angel] and obey his voice; do not rebel against him, for he will not pardon your transgression, for my name is in him." (23:21). Also in Num 20:16, this angel is mentioned: "[YHWH…] sent an angel and brought us out of Egypt."

In Isa 63:7–14, the exodus is remembered: God "became their [his people Israel's] Saviour," and "the angel of his presence [מלאך פניו] saved them" (63:8b, 9). However, the consonantal text can be read in different ways, as can be seen in the table below. The *Qere*-reading, with לוֹ instead of לֹא in v. 9, makes it unambivalent that the "angel of [God's] presence" was indeed

[47] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 48.
[48] Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 45.
[49] The seven pairs are: Adam and Cain (v. 1–3), Noah and the flooded earth (v. 4), Abraham and the confused nations (v. 5), Lot and his wife/the five cities (v. 6–9), Jacob and Esau/Laban (v. 10–12), Joseph and Potiphar's wife (v. 13–14), Israel/Moses and the Egyptians/Pharaoh (v. 15–21). (Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology*, 45.)
[50] καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς σκέπην ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς φλόγα ἄστρων τὴν νύκτα.
[51] God often reveals himself, at the same time as hiding himself, in/through clouds (e.g. Ex 19:9; 34:5; 40:34).

God's agent in saving the people, but the LXX-translation makes it clear that other readings existed.

	Isa 63:9a	*English translation:*
Kethib:	בְּכָל־צָרָתָם **לֹא צַר** וּמַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעָם	In all their affliction [there was] no affliction, and the angel of his presence saved them
Alt. reading of consonantal text	בְּכָל־צָרָתָם **לֹא צַר** וּמַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעָם	In all their affliction, neither messenger nor angel [but] he himself saved them[52]
Qere:	בְּכָל־צָרָתָם **לוֹ** צָר וּמַלְאַךְ פָּנָיו הוֹשִׁיעָם	In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the angel of his presence saved them
1QIsa[a]:	בכול צרתמה **לוא** צר ומלאכ פניו הושיעמה	[Same as "*Kethib*-readings" above.]
LXX:	ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως. **οὐ** πρέσβυς **οὐδὲ** ἄγγελος, **ἀλλ'** αὐτὸς κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτοὺς	... from all [their] suffering. [It was] no ambassador nor angel, but the Lord himself [that] saved them

In light of the Exodus-text, the reading(s) in which the angel is the subject is to be preferred, and the expression "the angel of his presence" be understood as a combination of the angel and the presence (פנים/פנה; e.g. Ex 33:14) that both are said to be following the Israelites in Exodus.[53] And regarding the *Kethib-Qere* in this verse, one possibility pointed out by H.S. Nyberg should be taken into account: sometimes the emphatic particle לָ was written as a separate word (instead of prefixed) as לה or לא, which the Masoretes could have misinterpreted as לוֹ or לֹא.[54] The LXX-translation requires צר to be read as צָר (shorter form of צִיר: messenger/envoy) instead of צָר (affliction), and the addition of an ἀλλά in the Greek.[55] Even though we can safely assume that the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* have read the LXX, it can't be ruled out that he also had access to a Hebrew text; in fact, this is quite probable.

Philo of Alexandria, roughly a contemporary to the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, makes a connection between the pillar of cloud-and-fire and an angelic messenger in *Vita Mosis* 1:

> or *a cloud, fashioned into the form of a vast pillar*, went before the multitude by day, giving forth a light *like that of the sun*, but by night it displayed *a fiery blaze*, in order that the Hebrews might not wander on their journey, but might follow the guidance of their leader along the road, without any deviation. *Perhaps, indeed, this was one of the ministers of the mighty King, an unseen messenger, a guide of the way enveloped in this cloud*, whom it was not lawful for men to behold with the eyes of the body. (*Vita Mosis* 1:166, my emphasis.)[56]

In the verses that follow in Isa 63, three mentions are made to the divine spirit:

> In all their affliction he was afflicted, and ***the angel of his presence*** saved them; in his love and in his pity he redeemed them; he lifted them up and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled and ***grieved his Holy Spirit***; therefore he turned to be their enemy, and himself fought against them. Then he remembered the days of old, of Moses and his people.

[52] Preferred by, e.g.: Ma, Wonsuk, *Until the Spirit Comes: The Spirit of God in the Book of Isaiah*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplementary Series 271, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999, 127.
[53] Levison, "The Angelic Spirit," 470–471.
[54] Nyberg, H. S., *Hebreisk grammatik*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952, 53 (§28 d).
[55] Levison, "The Angelic Spirit," 476.
[56] Translation by Yonge, Charles Duke, *The Works of Philo Judaeus*, London: H.G. Bohn, 1854–1890.

> Where is he who brought them up out of the sea with the shepherds of his flock? Where is he who put in the midst of them ***his Holy Spirit***, who caused his glorious arm to go at the right hand of Moses, who divided the waters before them to make for himself an everlasting name, who led them through the depths? Like a horse in the desert, they did not stumble. Like livestock that go down into the valley, ***the Spirit of the LORD gave them rest***. So you led your people, to make for yourself a glorious name. (Isa 63:9–14; ESV, my emphasis).

Two times "his holy spirit" (רוּחַ קָדְשׁוֹ) is mentioned (63:10, 11), and then the "spirit of YHWH" (רוּחַ יְהוָה) in 63:14; clearly this refers to the same spirit. C.A. Briggs and Levison argues that this divine spirit is also to be equated with the angel of God's presence in v. 9.[57] Just as the people are commanded to not rebel (אַל־תַּמֵּר) against the angel of God going before them in Ex 23:20–21, here in Isa 63:10 they are said to have rebelled (מָרוּ) against the holy spirit; the word מָרָה/מָרַר connecting them.[58] Wonsuk Ma and Andrew Perry disagree with this identification of the Spirit with the angel, but their argumentation is not as convincing as Levison's.[59]

Despite the translation of Isa 63:9 in the LXX, with its polemic against the thought that God saved the people by an angelic agent, the LXX still – just a few verses later – speaks of the Spirit in a way that opens the door for angelomorphic interpretation.

Isa 63:14 (MT)	*English translation:*	*Isa 63:14 (LXX)*	*English translation:*
כַּבְּהֵמָה בַּבִּקְעָה תֵּרֵד רוּחַ יְהוָה תְּנִיחֶנּוּ	Like livestock that go down into the valley, the Spirit of YHWH gave them rest	καὶ ὡς κτήνη διὰ πεδίου, κατέβη πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου καὶ ὡδήγησεν αὐτούς	And like livestock through a plain, the Spirit came down from the Lord and guided them

In the LXX, it is the spirit, not the livestock, that go down/descend; and the spirit is a πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου, not just πνεῦμα κυρίου, which would be a more straightforward translation of רוּחַ יהוה. This, according to Levison, "signals an independent רוח," a spirit that *descended* from God to *lead* the people, which "evokes images of the pillar of cloud."[60]

In Wisd 10:15–21, the personified (Lady) Wisdom is performing all the functions of the Angel of God and the pillar of cloud-and-fire (the presence and glory of God) in Exodus, and the functions of the angel of God's presence, identified with the holy spirit of YHWH, in Isaiah 63 – and some more.

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[57] Briggs, C. A., "The use of *Ruach* in the Old Testament," *JBL* 19, 1990, 132–145; Levison, "The Angelic Spirit," 470–471; Levison, *The Holy Spirit Before Christianity*, 47–54.

[58] "The occurrence of this verb in an exodus context comprises an allusion to Exod 23:21, in which God urges Israel not to rebel against the angel which leads them: אל־תמר בו. The holy spirit of Isa 63:10 is, therefore, the angel of Exod 23:21 and, concomitantly, the angel of presence of Isa 63:9." (Levison, "The Angelic Spirit," 471.)

[59] Wonsuk Ma states that "[t]he holy spirit is not identified with the angel"; this conclusion is primarily based on how Ma has chosen to translate Isa 63:9a ("Neither envoy nor messenger—he himself saved them"), but no arguments are given for this choice. (Ma, *Until the Spirit Comes*, 127.)
Andrew Perry connects Isa 63:10 with Ps 78:40 ("How often they rebelled [מרה] against him in the wilderness and grieved him in the desert") and Ps 106:32–33 ("They angered him at the waters of Meribah, and it went ill with Moses on their account, for they made his spirit bitter [מרה], and he spoke rashly with his lips"), and concludes that "his holy spirit" in Isa 63:10 "should be equated with what was put within Moses, what was shared with God, and what was grieved in both" (Perry, Andrew, "Angelomorphic Pneumatology in Luke-Acts," research prepared in 2004 as part of doctoral work on Lukan Pneumatology, https://www.academia.edu/55461820/Angelomorphic_Pneumatology_in_Luke_Acts).

[60] Levison, "The Angelic Spirit," 476.

2.3.3 The Word and the Destroyer (Wisd 18:15–16, 25)

As already briefly mentioned (in 2.3.1), there is also personification of the Word/Logos in the *Wisdom of Solomon*. This is most clearly seen in the retelling of the death of the firstborn of Egypt in chapter 18, where we read the following:

> your all-powerful word [ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος] leaped from heaven, from the royal throne, into the midst of the land that was doomed, a stern warrior carrying the sharp sword of your authentic command, and stood and filled all things with death, and touched heaven while standing on the earth. (Wisd 18:15–16, NRSV)[61]

In Exodus 12, God first says that he himself will pass through Egypt and kill the firstborn (Ex 12:12), but then, in Ex 12:23, it says that YHWH will "not allow the destroyer [הַמַּשְׁחִית] to enter your houses [the Israelites] to strike you."[62] There is no mention of an angel here, but the same word, הַמַּשְׁחִית, is used in 2 Sam 24:16 and 1 Chron 21:15 for the "angel of destruction" (מַלְאַךְ הַמַּשְׁחִית); and the description of the personified Word in Wisd 18:15–16 is very similar to the angel in 1 Chron 21:15–16: e.g. having a sword, standing between heaven and earth. Ps 78:49 suggests that God "let loose" on the Egyptians a whole "company of destroying angels" (מִשְׁלַחַת מַלְאֲכֵי רָעִים).[63]

The author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* clearly depicts the "destroyer" of Ex 12:23 as an angelic being, and identifies this being with the Word/Logos of God. Later, in Wisd 18:25, when referring to the plague sent by God in Num 16:46–50, he explicitly speaks of "the destroyer" (ὁ ὀλεθρεύων), using the same word as in LXX Ex 12:23 (τὸν ὀλεθρεύοντα).

Now the question is whether the personified Wisdom and the personified Word/Logos should be identified with each other or not. David Winston argues convincingly that they are the same, and most commentators seem to agree.[64] There is a parallel between the two in Wisd 9:1–2: "[O God…] who have made all things by your word, and by your wisdom have formed humankind…" (ὁ ποιήσας τὰ πάντα ἐν λόγῳ σου καὶ τῇ σοφίᾳ σου κατασκευάσας ἄνθρωπον). This taken together with passages that imply that Wisdom was part of the creation of the world (6:22; 7:22; 8:6; 9:9), and is identical with the divine mind (1:7; 7:17–22; 8:4, 8; 9:8, 11, 17), leads to the conclusion that Wisdom and the Word are the same in the mind of the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*. Both proceed from the throne of God (9:4, 10; 18:15).

2.3.4 Jacob's "arduous contest" (Wisd 10:12)

Finally, we can note the connection between Lady Wisdom and the "arduous contest" of Jacob the patriarch in Wisd 10:12: "in his arduous contest [or struggle/conflict] she gave him the victory [or: she judged for him, i.e. in his favour; ἀγῶνα ἰσχυρὸν ἐβράβευσεν αὐτῷ], so that he might learn that godliness is more powerful than anything else." This is a reference to

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[61] ὁ παντοδύναμός σου λόγος ἀπ᾽ οὐρανῶν ἐκ θρόνων βασιλείων ἀπότομος πολεμιστὴς εἰς μέσον τῆς ὀλεθρίας ἥλατο γῆς ξίφος ὀξὺ τὴν ἀνυπόκριτον ἐπιταγήν σου φέρων καὶ στὰς ἐπλήρωσεν τὰ πάντα θανάτου καὶ οὐρανοῦ μὲν ἥπτετο, βεβήκει δ ἐπὶ γῆς.

[62] Armin Schmitt thinks that the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* combines these two verses (Ex 12:12, 23) and lets the Word/Logos take the role of the "destroyer." (Schmitt, Armin, *Das Buch der Weisheit*, Würzburg: Verlag, 1989, 78.)

[63] No doubt, there is a lot of speculation about angels of death and destruction in Jewish sources during the Second Temple Period. See e.g., Jub 49:2–6. (Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification*, 85 n13.)

[64] Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 38–40; Dodson, *The 'Powers' of Personification*, 87; Engel, Helmut, *Das Buch der Weisheit*, Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1998, 283.

Jacob's struggle at Jabbok (Gen 32:22–32), in which the identity of the man wrestling with him is ambiguous: first it is "a man" (אִישׁ; v. 24); then Jacob is told that he has "striven with God and with men" (שָׂרִיתָ עִם־אֱלֹהִים וְעִים־אֲנָשִׁים; v. 28); and, in the end, Jacob says that he has "seen God face to face [רָאִיתִי אֱלֹהִים פָּנִים אֶל־פָּנִים], and yet my life has been delivered" (v. 30). According to the prophet Hosea, Jacob struggled both with God and with *an angel* (Hos 12:4–5). Although it is not clear, in Wisd 10:12, whether Jacob actually wrestled with Wisdom or if she only acted as judge in this struggle (indeed an interesting thought in and of itself), this reference could be interpreted as an "angelomorphic hint," in light of the text in Hosea.

3. Conclusions

The author of the *Wisdom of Solomon* brings together three different traditions from the Jewish Scriptures – the divine "spirit of wisdom," the personified (Lady) Wisdom, and the Angel of the Lord – and lets them converge in one figure. This "Lady-Spirit of Wisdom" is a πνεῦμα reminiscent of the Stoic world-soul, and Philo's "all-penetrating Divine Logos,"[65] but is clearly both personified and "angelomorphized." She is as the same time the divine spirit and the angelic presence that led the Israelites out of Egypt and through the desert. And more than that: through her, people in the present can enjoy friendship with God and immortality.

[65] Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, 38.

Jeroboams Israel — A Black Box of Historical Research

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Jeroboam ben Joash (Jeroboam II.) is a rather enigmatic character in the history of Ancient Israel: Though undoubtedly the longest-reigning monarch of the Iron Age territorial state, the OT treats him in no more than seven verses (2 Kgs. 14:23-29), at least three-and-a-half of which are highly formulaistic. On the other hand, his reign (ca. 787-747 BCE) falls squarely into the Iron Age IIB—arguably not only the most well-excavated and well-documented phase of Iron Age Israel but also one of distinct stability and prosperity, as demonstrated e. g. by sites like Megiddo, Dan, Hazor, and Beth-Shean. Yet, there is a certain gap in historical knowledge: Rather much has been written about Jehu's revolution and the early days of the Jehuide dynasty (partly because of the prominent inscription from Tell Dan). Likewise, the period of turmoil beginning with the coup against Jeroboam's son and successor Zechariah (2 Kgs. 15:8-12) and coming to an end only with the fall of Samaria at the hand of the Assyrians some twenty-five years later has drawn much scholarly attention. Jeroboam's own forty-one year reign, however, still remains somewhat obscure, and it is for that reason I have decided to call it a *black box:* We know what came before, we know what happend thereafter—but it seems that what was in between still remains in the dark.

Thus, my PhD project is essentially an historical study on roughly the first half of the eighth century BCE. And while that sounds rather straightforward, some preconditions should in fact be considered that would sharpen the focus of my study. These result on one hand from some general deliberations on the nature of historical research in OT studies and on the other hand from a survey of the existing scholarly literature.

A) Methodical considerations

Three aspects bear upon any historical study of Ancient Israel today: the *fragmentation of history,* the *problems of archaeological chronology,* and the *general assessment of Israel's importance,* specifically in comparison to Judah.

First, there is the irrevocable insight that history is much more than events and individuals. Instead, it needs to be thought of in the terms introduced by the so-called *Annales School* in France roughly a hundred years ago already, i. e. as *long duration* (the history of natural circumstances such as landscape, climate, and the like), *medium duration* (the history of human collectivity, e. g. economy, technology, law, or religion) and only then the *short duration* that is the world of events and individuals.

Second, there is the debate over the date and duration of several Late Bronze and Iron Age historical periods that became known in the 1990s and 2000s as *Conventional Chronology* vs. *Low Chronology* (the latter most prominently advocated by Israel Finkelstein). And while Jeroboam's reign falls undisputedly into the Iron IIB, it does still make a difference whether the Iron IIA-B transition should coincide with his ascension (as Finkelstein argues) or be dated to the reign of his great-grandfather Jehu (as the CC holds).

Third, it is now universally agreed upon that, contrary to the biblical portrait, it was in fact Israel, not Judah, that dominated Central Palestine from the beginning and throughout the whole of their coexistence, i. e. the Iron Age IIA/B. Therefore, the apparent prosperity under Jeroboam's rule should not be regarded as an anomaly in an otherwise linear process of steady decline—as the Deuteronomists and the prophets would have us believe—but must be explained as an organic delevopment well within the general scope of Iron Age history.

B) The testimony of the existing scholarly literature

Studies on Jeroboam's life and times have always been scarce—right until the 2000s there are only four monographs and the proverbial handful of articles to be considered. Also, these clearly underline the aformentioned need to include the world beyond the events into one's concept of history. Only from the 2010s onwards a renewed interest in the history of the Jehuite dynasty and Jeroboam in particular has arisen: Since it is accepted in general that his was a time of stability and prosperity, there now seems to be a marked tendency to date cultural devolpments or achievements that cannot be clearly placed otherwise into this very period of time. Most notably, it has been proposed in recent years to locate the beginning of the production of literary texts in the narrower sense—royal traditions, the Jacob Cyle, the core of the 'Book of Saviours', a first Israelite historical work, or even the Exodus tradition—, at his court. Thus, the term *black box* applies now in yet another different sense: Is it with good reasons that particular developments are ascribed to Jeroboam's times, or is it rather a makeshift solution that depends entirely on the generally favourable assessment of his rule?

C) Historical research on Israel in the Iron IIB

Approaching history from the material side, then, there are three types of sources that need to be analysed: i) archaeological excavations, ii) epigraphic evidence, and iii) the biblical texts.

Regarding i) the major excavated sites, several questions need to be addressed:

- Is it possible to delineate the geographical extent of Jeroboam's dominion—while bearing in mind that clearly defined borders in the modern sense did not exist in the Iron Age?
- Is there a way to assess whether any building activity can with reasonable certainty be ascribed to Jeroboam's rule? Or do we have to content ourselves with knowing that certain strata (e. g. Megiddo IVA, Dan II, Beth-Shean P-7) correspond to the later Jehuite dynasty in general?
- What influence do differing preliminary decisions regarding the relative chronology have upon the interpretation of the archaeological record? And are the different argumentations methodologically sound or is there a danger of circular reasoning somewhere?
- Are there any clues as to possible links between the different levels of history (see above) within this relatively brief time span? Or is Jeroboam's reign, as prosperous as it might have been, really somewhat insignificant in the perspective of medium and/or long duration?

Likewise, ii) the epigraphic evidence poses at least two major questions:

- Which inscriptions can be securely dated to Jeroboam's reign? There are certainly the well-known Samaria Ostraca, there's the so-called Seal of Shema—but what about, for instance, the inscriptions at Kuntillet ʿAğrud?
- What do these primary sources tell us, not only on a factual level about the events and circumstances of their production but also with a view to the cultural history of writing and literacy in Central Palestine?

Finally, there are several biblical texts to be considered, primarily those that mention Jeroboam by name (2 Kgs. 14:23-29; Am. 1:1; 7:9-17; Hos. 1:1; 1 Chr. 5:17).

- To what extent can these be traced back to primary sources from the Iron Age IIB?
- What other fields of exegesis (e. g. textual criticism, redaction history, or tradition history) do they touch upon? Are those perspectives enlightening for the study of the Iron Age?

Jeroboams Israel — A Black Box of Historical Research

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Jeroboam ben Joash, scholarly dubbed Jeroboam II.[1], is a rather mysterious character in the history of ancient Israel: Though undoubtedly the longest-reigning monarch of the Iron Age territorial state, the Old Testament treats him in no more than seven verses (2 Kgs 14:23-29), at least three-and-a-half of which are highly formulaistic. On the other hand, his reign (ca. 787-747 BCE) falls squarely into the Iron Age IIB—arguably not only the most well-excavated and well-documented phase of Iron Age Israel[2] but also one of distinct stability and prosperity, as demonstrated for example by the architectural features of cities like Megiddo IVA, Hazor VII-VI and Beth-Shean P-7 as well as the extensive evidence for cultural, economic, and political relations to the surronding states and population groups. Yet, despite all historical and archaeological knowledge about the early phase of the Jehuide dynasty (e. g. the wars against Hazael of Damascus) and about it's end and aftermath (the period of turmoil, the renewed Assyrian interventions in the Southern Levant and the eventual demise of the Israelite kingdom), the 41-year episode of Jeroboam's reign remains curiously obscure. It is for that reason I decided to call it a *black box:* We know what came before, we know what happend thereafter—but what was in between remains essentially in the dark.

This paper is essentially a summary of my doctoral dissertation and seeks a) to aquaint readers with the relevant literature in order to clarify the starting point of my project, b) to explain the theoretical background upon which my research questions were developed, c) to summarize briefly some avenues explored in the main body of my study as well as the results, and d) to outline the focus of my presentation at the OTSEM meeting which corresponds basically to the scope of my final chapter.

A) The starting point: Scholarly research on Jeroboam II.

Scholarly research on Jeroboam and his time has always been scarce. Right up until the 2000s, there are only four major publications with a corresponding title and focus (Vogelstein 1945; Odendaal 1950; Thomas 1999; Bolen 2002) as well as the proverbial handful of articles[3] that need to be considered. I shall briefly highlight some key aspects:

Two of the monographs follow a particular agenda that renders them unsuitable as a starting point for further research: Vogelstein's thesis (by its scope more of an essay) is merely an exemplification of his own reconstruction of ancient Israel and Judah's royal chronology that he'd published in the previous year. Thomas, on the other hand, calls his approach 'social-scientific analysis', but in truth he just applies a theoretical framework based upon the works of authors such as Bruce J. Malina, Norman K. Gottwald, and John H. Kautsky to his sources and then claims his 'findings' as support for his theories.

Next, there is a striking similarity between the works of Odendaal and Bolen despite their fifty-year gap: Both conduct what one would call historical research in the most classic sense, i. e. an

[1] For convenience, I usually omit the patronym or ordinal unless absolutely necessary, e. g. to distinguish explicitly from Jeroboam ben Nebat/Jeroboam I.

[2] Steiner 2014, 677: „The Iron II Period may easily be the most extensively excavated and intensively researched era of the Levant, especially in the southern part of the region, but it is not the best understood period under investigation."

[3] Haran 1967; Yeivin 1971; Briend 1981; Lipiński 1991; Naʾaman 1993. They all focus on very narrow aspects regarding either Jeroboam as the historical person or the textual and material evidence and thus will not be discussed her in any detail.

analysis and interpretation of the relevant textual (that is, essentially: biblical) and archaeological sources (as they were known to them at the time). Yet, despite decades of discoveries and research in between, their results are almost interchangeable. On one hand, this should come as no surprise, given that their research questions are almost identical to one another's.[4] On the other hand, their conclusions do not differ significally from anything that can be found in any one of the major *Histories of Ancient Israel* from the 19th and 20th century[5]—and indeed even the very recent textbook by Christian Frevel[6] does not offer anything substantially new (and in fact treats Jeroboam in no more than a paragraph of seven lines). Since, however, there has been a wealth of archaeological discoveries from Iron Age Palestine in the late 20th and 21st century (see above), it is evident to me that this observation points not so much to a material as rather to a formal, that is: a methodological problem. We shall revisit this in a moment.

It should be stressed that in most recent times there has been a shift in scholarly attention: Beginning with the works of Shuichi Hasegawa and Jonathan M. Robker (both published in 2012) there is by now a renewed interest in the history of the Jehuide dynasty which ruled Israel from Jehu's coup d'état against the Omrides (cf. 2 Kgs. 9-10) up until the death of Jeroboam's son and successor Zechariah in the uprising of the usurper Shallum (2 Kgs. 15:8-12). Since the latter event apparently ushered in a period of massive political instability, the Jehuides were, after the Omrides, the second and last stable dynasty on the Northern Kingdom's throne before its downfall at the hand of the Assyrians another twenty-five years later—a fact that partly explains this renewed attention, but there is more to it. We shall have a look at the nature—aims and methodology, that is—of some of the most recent publications:
Hasegawa's monograph, again, is another case of straightforward research on political history. In contrast to Bolen, however, two main differences should be noted: first, that he makes thorough use of all relevant Aramaean and Assyrian epigraphical sources[7], and second, that he rejects the formal and material primacy of the biblical texts to which Bolen rather firmly adheres[8], and instead weighs all sources fairly on their own merit.
Robker's study, finally, opens up a different path: Though he, too, drafts a political history of the Jehuides and to this end examines, of course, not only the biblical texts but also all pertinent Assyrian and Levantine epigraphical sources, he does so with a different objective—intending to establish the hypothesis of a coherent written 'Israel Source' beneath the later text of 1-2 Kgs, composed at Jeroboam's court for the purpose of advocating the legitimacy of Jehu's rise to power and underlining his dynasty's claim to the throne. Thus, his focus is really upon a crucial, yet still highly obscure turning point in the history of Western Palestine: the moment when writing

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[4] Indeed, their questions are largely identical to, e. g., Ewald 1864 or Harper and Beacher 1888.

[5] Klostermann 1896; Kittel 1909; Bright 1960; Noth [10]1986; Donner 1984/86, to name just a few.

[6] Frevel 2016, 2nd ed. 2018—by its scope and depth a very likely candidate for being *the* classic textbook in German for the foreseeable future (the other being Niemann and Knauf 2021).

[7] Cf. Hasegawa 2012, 35-51, 52-65, 88-106, 115-122, 134-140 (out of a total of 150 pages). Bolen, on the other hand, is apparently aware of, for example, the Tell Dan Inscription (frequently citing Biran and Naveh 1993) but completely disregards it in his analysis (treating, in fact, only the Samaria ostraca more extensively; cf. Bolen 2002, 224-255). Also, his access to archaeological publications seems limited—e. g., although Hazor alone among all the Israelite cities receives its own chapter (Bolen 2002, 138-160), Bolen makes no use of *Hazor V* (Ben-Tor and Bonfil 1997).

[8] 'Formal' meaning to treat the biblical texts first and foremost, 'material' meaning to interpret everthing in the light of the story they tell—an approach that M. Weippert (mainly with regards to the Iron Age and its biblical reflection) has justly labled 'sub-deuteronomistic' (Weippert 1993, 73).

as a cultural technique transcended the dimension of its immediate practical application (e. g. writing letters or recording taxes) and the political and socio-cultural potential of materializing a specific concept of history into the form of longer written texts was discovered. Consequently, following this view and placing said watershed at Jeroboam's court suddenly makes his reign the long-sought-after bridge over the gap between two observations, namely: a) the evidence for native writing and literacy in Central Palestine already in the 9th or even 10th century[9], and b) the rather undisputed assumption that the production and compilation of longer literary texts in Judah began as early as the time of Hezekiah but only after Israel's downfall—and that it was by no means without precursors, building not only upon oral transmissions but quite possibly even material texts inherited from the perished neighbour[10].

It comes, then, as no great surprise that this avenue has been explored further in recent years. Israel Finkelstein, in particular, has argued in several papers that quite a few important narratives do actually possess a literary core that was first put into writing in Israel during Jeroboam's reign, i. e. the Jacob cycle, the 'Book of Saviours' in Judges, the royal traditions of Saul, Jeroboam ben Nebat, and Jehu, as well as even the Exodus story.[11] Likewise, scholars such as Thomas Römer, Nadav Naʾaman, and Omer Sergi have published studies that support his view, adding texts from the David tradition in 2 Sam 10-15* to the list.[12] There is, however, a *caveat* to this approach: First, Finkelstein's conclusions are mainly based upon his reconstruction of Israel's territorial expansion in the Iron Age IIA-B, i. e. from pre-Omridic times to the mid-8th century BCE[13], and to a much lesser extent upon exegetical considerations regarding the texts in question and their literary horizon(s). His method, thus, is much more tradition criticism than anything else and the important question if there really is a plausible transmission process from any possible early Israelite stages to the later Judahite text compilations receives regrettable little attention. And second, there have been objections against both the exegetical implications of placing the early layers of said texts at the mid-8th century BCE as well as from an epigraphical viewpoint against the assumption of such an extent of literary productivity at that time.[14]

Thus, recent studies seem to confirm that Jeroboam's reign was indeed the heyday of Iron Age Israel—that is, with the hypothesis of extensive literary productivity at his court, it seems that for the first time there is more light shed upon this generic assumption. Is it possible, then, to follow this trajectory and elucidate this period even further? Or is that, in turn, a futile exercise because there is not enough material evidence that can be dated with enough certainty to allow a reliable assessment of these few decades within Iron IIB? To approach an answer, we should now first turn to some general preconditions regarding historical research on Iron Age II in Palestine.

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[9] See for example Rollston 2010; Lemaire 2015; Burlingame 2019.

[10] Cf. Schniedewind 2004; Carr 2005, 2011; Fleming 2012, amongst others, for both the seed and continuation of the canonization process that would much later result in the Hebrew Bible.

[11] Finkelstein and Römer 2014; Finkelstein and Lipschits 2017; Finkelstein 2017a; 2017b; 2019.

[12] Römer 2017; Naʾaman 2017; Sergi 2017. Also concerned with Jeroboam's time are Knauf 2017, Kleiman 2017, and Grabbe 2017 but their studies don't bear as much upon the greater picture and thus will not be discussed here in detail.

[13] Finkelstein 2011 (with earlier literature); 2020a; 2020b; Finkelstein, Koch, and Lipschits 2012.

[14] Naʾaman 2020, but for the material aspect cf. also Richelle 2016 who, from an epigraphical point of view, in contrary thinks it both possible and plausible that there existed a certain amount of Hebrew literature as early as the Iron IIA (or even Iron I).

B) Methodical considerations regarding historical research

Three aspects need to be taken into account when studying the history of Iron Age Palestine, one of general nature and two specific to the so-called History of Israel. These are i) the *fragmentation of history,* ii) the problems of *archaeological chronology,* and iii) the general assessment of *Israel's importance* in relation to the southern neighbour Judah.

i) The fragmentation of history

It is a truth universally acknowledged that 'history'—both in the sense of the past and its study—today is much more than events and 'great personalities'. Following the terminology introduced by the so-called *Annales school* from the late 1920s onwards, we should instead speak of history in terms of three distinct levels: First, the *longue durée* that comprises natural circumstances and processes changing and developing only in very slow rhythms. It is therefore primarily subject to the natural sciences such as geology, botany, biology, and the like. Second, the *moyenne durée* or the world of human collectivity, i. e. dimensions such as societal forms of organisation, economy, the history of religion, technological progress of all sorts, settlement history, or legal history. These are subject to what's generally called the social sciences[15] and humanities. Only on the third level, then, do the events take place—this is the short duration or *histoire événementielle* as the *Annales* called it. This aspect of history has for far too lang drawn most of the attention—so, too, in Biblical Archaeology and the History of Israel—but for some decades now the paradigm has shifted and today it is undoubtedly the medium and long duration that most archaeological and historical research focuses upon (cf. Nieman and Knauf 2021).

This observation bears two points upon the study of Jeroboam's Israel: For one thing, the significance of a mere forty-years within the grand scheme of things is called into question, i. e. what difference does it really make who sat upon the throne in Samaria when studying aspects of the long and/or medium duration?[16] Or are there, on the other hand, indeed connections between the different levels of history that can be plausibly linked back to the history of events?

And second, now that history has irreversibly shattered into all these different aspects—is there ever a chance of putting it back together into one coherent perspective? Is the attempt even advisable? The latter, then, is really a meta-historical question that the most recent *Histories of Ancient Israel* tread warily around but it is one that will eventually need to be discussed.[17]

ii) The problems of archaeological chronolgy

The debate over the internal differentiation and correlation of several Late Bronze and Iron Age cultural periods in the Southern Levant—scholarly known since the 1990s as *Low Chronology* (LC) vs. *High* or *Conventional Chronology* (HC/CC)—is a widely discussed conundrum of historical research which doesn't need to be repeated here in full.[18] Suffice it to say, that the main

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[15] A term that is not without problems as there is, in fact, an ongoing debate over the adequate term with which to summarize the *moyenne durée:* is it *culture* or *society?* I have opted for the former and take *cultural history* to be the applicable term, but others might choose differently.

[16] Cf. Helga Weippert's classical dictum (my translation): „Kings come and kings go, but cooking pots remain." (Weippert 1988, 352.)

[17] Cf. the remarks in Pietsch 2018 on Frevel 2016.

[18] See for example Sharon 2014, 58-61; Frevel 2018, 34-37. For the technological progress in dating methods cf. e. g. Vieweger 2012, 189-206; Porat et al. 2012; Stillinger et al. 2016.

protagonists, Israel Finkelstein and Amihai Mazar, have somewhat bridged their gap since the latter introduced his so-called *Modified Conventional Chronology* (MCC) in 2005. Yet, there still remains some disagreement and amongst that is the Iron IIA-B transition: When it is dated with the MCC to around 830 BCE, then it should be associated with roughly the last third of Jehu's reign. Jeroboam's rule would then simply correspond to the later half of the Iron IIB which would, in turn, make it almost impossible to distinguish it's beginning within the archaeological record. Should, however, the shift in material culture have occured as late as around 800 BCE or even sometime in the first two decades of the 8th century, as Finkelstein has recently suggested[19], then it would be associated much closer with Jeroboam's ascension to the throne and would thus rekindle the debate on whether a link can be established here between at least the levels of medium and short duration.

Finally, the following aspects should also be noted: Firstly, the whole quest for a comprehensive chronology rests on somewhat shaky grounds since in many cases the local stratigraphy alone is still highly disputed, especially where only older publications are available. Secondly, the field is somewhat divided: With Megiddo, one of the biggest and most well-published excavations of recent decades is in the hands of the LC advocates. The CC/MCC followers, on the other hand, usually refer to Mazar's excavations in Rehov and Beth-Shean—likewise two major Iron Age sites excavated extensively in the past. And thirdly, the acceptance of the LC in itself is still very much a matter of perspective, as Finkelstein tends to present it as unanimously received and agreed upon whereas, e. g., William G. Dever has only recently made quite the effort to reject it as methodically flawed and merely an outsider's view.[20]

Thus, approaching Jeroboam's Israel via the archaeological record is a delicate endeavour and can only be tackled by carefully untangling the different arguments, unearthing their cross-relations as well as their dissent, and weighing up their merits.

iii) The general assessment of Israel in relation to Judah

As already mentioned, recent decades have seen a massive shift in the assessment of Iron Age Israel's historical importance, especially in comparison to Judah. Free from the overwhelming claims of the biblical texts[21], historical research has unequivocally asserted that it was in fact Israel, not Judah, that was the dominating power in Central Palestine for most of the Iron II (that is, as long as no bigger fish came along, such as Hazael of Damascus or even the Assyrians). Thus, Jeroboam's reign can no longer be seen as the curious exception to an otherwise rather linear process of continuous decline as the prophets (esp. Hosea and Amos) and the Deuteronomists would have us think. Instead, the apparent prosperity of his times should be regarded as rooting rather organically in earlier developments—though at present it remains unclear whether their origins should be sought with the Omrides or a few decades earlier.

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[19] Finkelstein and Piasetzky 2010a, 381f.; 2010b, 382; 2011, 50f. and Fig. 2; Finkelstein 2014, 15f.

[20] Cf. Dever 2017, 259-263, 383-390 *contra* e. g. Finkelstein 2014, 15-18.

[21] For a thorough presentation of this process that began with the elimination of the Patriarchal Age, continued with the deconstruction of the Golden Era of David and Solomon, and is closely associated with the keywords of *Biblical minimalism* vs. *maximalism* cf. Moore and Kelle 2011.

C) Research on Jeroboam's Israel

It remains now to summarize briefly some avenues that I have explored over the course of writing my thesis and to present some general results and conclusions.

i) The absolute dates of Jeroboam's reign

The royal chronology of Israel and Judah which forms the framework of 1-2 Kings has always fascinated scholars because of its explicit claim to historicity (the continuous referral to the ספר דברי הימים למלכי יהודה bzw. למלכי ישראל) on one hand and its apparent inconsistencies on the other. Upon examination of the methodical and material aspects, however, it can be shown that there is no sufficient evidence to warrant the assumption of a co-regency between Jeroboam and his father Joash, but that Jeroboam's death can with sufficient certainty be dated to somewhere between 748-746 which would, in turn, put his ascension to between 788 and 786 BCE.[22]

ii) The territorial extent of Jeroboam's kingdom

As opposed to the temporal aspect, the spatial dimension of Jeroboam's dominion is more difficult to assess. This is, of course, due to the fact that explicitly defined borders in the modern sense did not exist in the Iron Age (which, in turn, renders the term 'territorial state' somewhat problematic). It is therefore necessary to think rather in terms of 'border zones', i. e. topographically more or less clearly delineated regions that all neighbouring powers tended to lay claim upon, such as the Gilead in Transjordan, the Upper Galilee and the Northern Jordan Valley, or the Bethel Plateau. Their material culture clearly shows the changing and overlapping influences of the respective adjacent regions, and although the evidence still doesn't allow for a clear definition of territorial affilitation with this or that polity (in part, e. g., because to this day there is no clear way to distinguish Aramaean material culture), at least some patterns begin to emerge over time: To the north and northwest, several major cities exhibit evidence of large-scale building activities with common elements such as the use of finely crafted limestone ashlar masonry, renewed or strengthened fortifications, architectural structures that should be interpreted as public buildings, and massive city gates. Also, their ceramic assemblages show marked interrelations, especially the use of a distinct type of storage vessel (the so-called 'Hippo Storage Jars') and the high-quality ceramics known as Samaria Ware.

In the northeast, however, the area closest to Damascus, the Aramaeans seem to have retained some control throughout the Iron IIB: Et-Tell on the northern shore of Lake Kinneret was apparently conquered and rebuilt by Hazael in the mid-9th century and the corresponding Stratum V was not destroyed until the Assyrian conquest some 120 years later, so it's mostly assumed that the city remained in Aramaean hands. Tall Zirāʿa on the southeastern shore of Lake Kinneret, on the other hand, is a more complicated case: While the city layout and architecture exhibits traits common to cities in both Cis- and Transjordan, the ceramic assemblage is closest to Transjordan sites such as Tell er-Rumeith and Tell Abu al-Kharaz.

Regarding the east, then, unfortunately only very few larger sites have been discovered and excavated, so the extent of Israelite control over the biblical Gilead is hard to assess from this point of view. A notable exemption is the aforementioned Tell er-Rumeith which shows clear signs of destruction and rebuilding, with a ceramic assemblage that ties Stratum VI/VIB closely to the 8th-century Israelite city of Beth-Shean P-7. Thus, there is reliable evidence that Israel expanded into central Transjordan sometime in the early eighth century BCE.

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[22] The recent thorough study by Kristin Weingart (2020) is not concerned with absolute dates and thus does not contradict my conclusions.

Looking to the South, then, there is no way to identify a border between Israel and Judah in the Iron Age with any reasonable certainty. Regarding Bethel—which is famously associated with the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs. 12:29; Am 7:13, and many more) but whose Iron Age IIB-C ceramic assemblage is closely tied to major Judahite sites such as Lachish, Tell es-Sebaʿ, and Arad—there are far too many methodical problems involved to draw any reliable conclusions regarding this matter.[23] There is, however, Kuntillet ʿAğrud in the Negev, halfway between Eilat and Gaza: This small site, consisting only of two buildings, is famous for its enigmatic ensemble of drawings and inscriptions which is still widely discussed and will probably never be definitely understood. It should be noted, however, that there is an abundance of evidence for the presence of Israelites at this place. Therefore, since Israel was obviously powerful enough to pursue political and/or economical interests this far south without any concern for Judahite sensitivities, it seems rather safe to conclude that the southern neighbour was either a close ally (as the Judahites would probably have put it) or should even be regarded as some kind of vassal state (certainly from the Israelite perspective).

Also, on a side note, this perspective sheds some light on how different levels of territorial orientation would sometimes overlap one another: In the case of Dothan, for example, it appears the city was always oriented towards the Central Highlands rather than the valley, no matter that on a larger scale the Valley of Dothan itself has always been a transitional region between the Sharon plain, the Central Highland road, and the Jezreel valley.[24]

iii) Distinguishing ‘Jeroboamite’ strata in the archaeological record?
The attempt to work out whether any strata can definitely be associated with Jeroboam’s reign is met with two major obstacles:
First, there is the problem of deficiencies in the archaeological literature. In the case of Samaria, for example, the original excavators employed both an unsual technique (the so-called ‘strip system’) as well as a particular system of dating floors and strata (devised by Kathleen M. Kenyon) that from today’s view leaves many questions and uncertainties. Even the thorough re-evaluation by Ron E. Tappy in the 1990s was not able so satisfyingly resolve most issues around the architecture. Thus, one of the most important sites cannot serve as a reliable anchor. The same holds famously true for Gezer which otherwise would have been essential for discussing circumstances in the south.
Secondly, in many other cases, the association with Jeroboam is based more on historical considerations than on purely archaeological observations. This, of course, is true to a certain degree for every interpretation of archaeological finds, but it complicates things when it happens with crucial sites such as Megiddo, Dan or Jezreel.
This paragraph can thus be kept short: In many instances there are plausible scenarios in which Jeroboam could have been involved, e. g. the construction of Building 338 in Megiddo, of the monumental structure at Dan (which was probably not a temple but served administrative purposes), or of Stratum V at Hazor (which is a re-organisation of Stratum VI). However: Ascribing any of them to this particular king, specifically, has always got to rely on a good degree of historical interpretation and cannot be done on purely archaeological grounds.

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[23] See Lipschits 2017 for a thorough discussion of the methodical aspects.

[24] Master et al. 2005, 7-14.

iv) The text of 2 Kgs. 14:23-29 and other biblical references

The text of 2 Kgs. 14:23-29 has recently been re-evalated by E. A. Knauf.[25] Nevertheless, some questions still remain concerning the textual history of said verses within the whole framework of Kings—especially when taking into account the Greek witnesses: the recension known as *kaige*-text (LXX^{B} or Codex Vaticanus) and the so-called Antiochene recension (ANT, formerly known as Lucianic recension). Interestingly enough, for example, in 2 Kgs. 14:23 it is actually the tradition preserved in Targum Jonathan that provides the clue to solving the respective riddles.

Regarding the association of Jeroboam with prophetic texts and/or traditions (2 Kgs 14:25; Am 7:9.11; Hos 1:1), then, it is at least possible to show that there is enough extra-biblical evidence to assume an original *Sitz im Leben* of a prophetic figure such as Jonah ben Amittai at Jeroboam's court who would have provided an *Heilsorakel* to the king. Any deliberation as to how such a piece of tradition would have found its way into the text of Kings, however, must remain pure speculation. The same holds true for the references to Jeroboam in Am and Hos which, first and foremost, point to the complicated redaction history of those two prophetic books. The reference in 1 Chr. 5:17, finally, is best explained as a scribal speculation as to possible 'historical' sources in the process of the composition of this part of Chronicles.

v) The personal name Jeroboam

The personal name *yrbʿm* is usually overlooked when studying the eighth century BCE, but is really a veritable primary source for Iron Age history. It is documented not only in the OT but also epigraphically on a list from Ugarit, on the famous Seal of Shema from Megiddo, and on several Samaritan coins from Persian times. The linguistic analysis shows that it is in fact a theophoric name, the origin of which should be sought in the realm of personal or familial piety and which would originally have meant something like 'God has proven himself to be great' (the linguistically and pragmatically closest parallel being ירבעל). In any case, this personal name proves to be constructed completely in accordance with all known rules of Northwest Semitic anthroponomy, with a specific tendency towards both Northern Palestine and the onomasticon of the late 1st millenium BCE.

D) A *black box* of historical research?

This survey of issues associated with the reign of Jeroboam II in the first half of the 8th century BCE has shown that it is almost impossible to draw any more specific conclusions regarding the *history of events* of his life and times. It has, on the other hand, made it very clear that there is a wide range of issues on the level of medium and long duration that are touched upon by this very brief period in time. The question should, therefore, be:

a) Is it really appropriate to label Jeroboam's time as a black box of historical research—or shouldn't it rather be called a *prism?* That is, doesn't it rather make the wide range of issues in historical study visible that still needs to be addressed by scholarly research?

b) Are there any conclusions to be drawn from the study of this brief period in time as to the intial question whether it is, in fact, possible to reassemble the study of the three different major levels of history into one comprehensive perspective? Is there a meta-historical perspective for the so-called *History of Ancient Israel* and, if so, does the study of Jeroboam II's reign provide any clues as to what that might be?

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[25] Knauf 2017.

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OTSEM 2023 Summary: SARA JÄRLEMYR, Lund University

"Why do I see Them Terrified?"

The *Gibbôr* in the Prophetic Oracles

This paper is part of my Phd-project which is centered around a shaming trope where men are compared to women in order to shame them, present both in Neo-Assyrian and Hittite treaty texts and in some of the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible.[1] I am doing a comparative study, with material from NA empire, some Hittite and Babylonian texts and chosen texts from the HB.

It seems that the ancient concept of calling a man "woman" to say that he is weak and/or a coward is an immutable metaphor which perhaps needs no further explanation.[2]
In this metaphor the *associated commonplace* is that women are weak, cowardly and belong in the context of their own home. Male warriors, however, are (or aim to be) the opposite of women: Strong, courageous, free, potent and when required to—violent. It seems that the texts that share this shaming trope almost exclusive belong to the realm of warfare.
My aim is not to apply today's values on ancient texts. My aim is to better understand how the world of the Hebrew Bible and the extra biblical material of the ANE interconnect and how they don't. The history and tradition of the phenomena that is this metaphor, if you will.
I am interested in the language surrounding these types of insults, as well as the terminology, the context and the form. The HB is quite sparse in comparison to the ANE-material, but are they sharing terminology?

Therefore, masculinity and war are two important factors of the trope and, finding and defining a "military masculinity" is an important part of the theoretical framework. My paper today combines theory and exegesis and will act as a base-layer and background to the shaming-trope. This text will be paralleled with ANE examples of military masculinity.

Since the shaming trope where military men are feminized or emasculated is found in the prophetic oracles, the prophetic message and what it tells us about masculinity, war, women, and YHWH, is of great interest to me. I found that investigating the title *gibbôr,* generally

[1] In my project I mainly look at the following verses in the HB: Isa 3:12, 19:16, Jer 50:37, 51:30, Nah 3:13 and 2 Sam 3:29, I also look at Neo-Assyrian and Hittite treaty-curses where this shaming trope is common.
[2] Indeed, when reading Delbert R. Hillers book from 1964 he writes "the use of 'woman' as a simile for 'weakness, cowardice' is a natural one (male readers will agree).". Hillers, 1964, p. 67.

translated as “hero” or “warrior,” helped me to follow different shifts in power and status in relation to the different nations mentioned.

The *gibbôr*, when on your side is a recipe for success, according to the prophetic message, but when they are unable, removed, drunk or vulnerable — disaster awaits. The people of Judah never get to have the powerful *gibbôrîm* on their side, they always belong to enemy nations, or their own heroes are not to be counted on. YHWH, on the other hand, is always on the side of the winners whether it is together with Judah or with their enemies.

Preface

Lund, July 2023:

This paper is part of my Phd-project and will be presented at the OTSEM meeting in Lund 2023.

Some might have noticed that the sub-title of this paper has changed a little in the process (from the title given in the schedule), and as you can imagine so has also the scope of this text. However, the theme is still the same.

Some focal points for the discussion could be what you think about the section about the *gibbôr*, is my categorization redundant or does it help to get an overview? Is there something missing from the paper? Is everything understandable? Advice for moving forward?

I am aware of that the references are not in order and that the bibliography is missing, this, as you can imagine, is still a draft. Still, I look forward to getting your feedback on my paper.

"Why do I see Them Terrified?"

The *Gibbôr* in the Prophetic Oracles

1. Introduction

My interest in military masculinity is to do with the well-known shaming trope where men call other men women to shame them. As I have argued elsewhere, this trope in the HB is anchored in language about warfare and masculinity or lack thereof. Therefore, I became interested in if there is a "military masculinity" and if so, how it is portrayed, within the HB. I have previously focused on the military man, king David, and now we shall look at the prophetic literature, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah. I have noted both similarities and differences in these literary strata, but in both I argue that there is an elevated interest in martial matters. The view on ideal masculinity in the texts will act as a sort of base layer when analyzing the military trash-talk-metaphor where men call other men women.

The following text is an attempt at an overview of a prophetic military masculinity. I argue that the use of the title *gibbôr* is central to the military masculinity in Isaiah and Jeremiah. To follow the term *gibbôr* is a fruitful way to approach the military man. In the case of the prophets the use of this term helps to follow the shift in perspective in the placement of power and masculinity.

Historically, the ideal masculinities has changed over time and this is also true for the books of the HB. In the HB the ideals change depending on the socio-cultural context in which they are written and of course also depending on genre, message, and the purpose of the text. I will argue that military masculinity was synonymous with the hegemonic masculinity, at least in the texts dealt with in this paper (what the reality of an ordinary man was, we will probably never fully understand). Beginning with Joshua and Judges, it peaks within the narratives about David in the Books of Samuel.[1] King David, I argued elsewhere, is the embodiment of military masculinity, and that David's success in war is dependent on YHWH—his protection and help. Altogether, David and Israel's successful conquests and then (alleged) empire helps support the hegemonic masculinity and make the David narrative into an interesting dialogue partner when we now turn to the prophetic writings. So, let us take a look at how the oracles in Isaiah and Jeremiah speak of military men and their God. Here, as we shall see, they use the military masculinity as a rhetorical tool to get their message across, a message which describes the dynamics between enemies.

[1] The narrative about David reaches from 1 Sam 16-1 Kings 2.

2. The Prophetic Message and Military Masculinity

Most studies regarding the prophets and masculinity have focused on the prophet's character and how the prophet's character performs masculinity.[2] I want to focus on their message, how they speak of YHWH, men, and women in relation to military activity. I will mostly limit my study to Isaiah and Jeremiah and their oracles against Judah and the nations, however parallel texts will be taken into consideration. I will also follow the use of the title *gibbôr* (hero/warrior), and how this it's used to rhetorically shift power and status between nations. But first, let's begin with how the enemy is portrayed within the prophetic oracles.

2.1 The Enemy Image

I already mentioned that the military masculinity is a means to describe who is powerful/masculine and who is without power/lacks masculinity, in the prophetic oracles this power-play can be seen throughout, and especially in relation to the enemies of Judah or YHWH. Therefore, it is interesting to discuss the different tools that are often used when describing an enemy.

An attribute of the prophetic oracles is the diverse and recurring language about the enemy. The metaphorical language creates an *enemy image* of which Eidevall has written in his monograph *Prophecy and Propaganda: Images of Enemies in the Book of Isaiah.* He lists two characteristics that makes an enemy image: 1) Negative stereotypes, 2) The thought of a perceived threat (as opposed to an objective existence of a "real" one). Enemies are thought of as what *we are not.*[3] The enemy image can be state propaganda which serves to create a stronger identity within a state or people, the metaphor is especially useful in the propagandistic creation of the enemy image, Eidevall argues. The enemy image, when used as propaganda, has some peculiarities according to Eidevall, which he summarizes in two concepts. The first is a *distortion* in power, either the enemy is pictured as superior or inferior (both morally and in strength/numbers etc.). The second concept is *dehumanization* sometimes by use of animal imagery (cf. for example Isa 7:18) or in general depicted as subhuman. Sometimes connected to the dehumanization of the enemy a *demonization* can be used in order to make the battle more heroic since downplaying the enemy into an animal can take away some of the dignity and skill of a warrior in battle.[4] The use of animal imagery does not always mean that it is meant to be dehumanizing, it can also be used in a positive manner,[5] what needs to

[2] See for example: Graybill, Rhiannon *Are We Not Men? Unstable Masculinities in the Hebrew Prophets.* Clines, "He-Prophets" and others.
[3] Eidevall, Göran *Prophecy and Propaganda: Images of Enemies in the Book of Isaiah.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009. P. 3-4.
[4] Eidevall, *Prophecy and Propaganda.* P. 5-6.
[5] For example: YHWH is described as a lion: Hos 10:11, and an eagle in Deut 32:11, YHWH describes himself as a lion, leopard and a bear in Hos 13:7-8.

be taken into consideration is the context. Foreman writes of animal metaphors in Jeremiah and he concludes that there is no inherently positive or negative connotations associated with the animals used in the metaphors, the same animal can be used to describe different entities and in different ways.[6] In a dehumanizing way, Jer 2:23-24 uses both a female dromedary and a donkey in a section where Israel is described as a whore (*znh* v. 20), both work within the metaphor to emphasize Israel's promiscuity.[7] Even though Israel isn't considered the primary enemy, in the oracles they are treated as an enemy of YHWH.

Regarding promiscuity, in the infamous metaphorization in Ezekiel with the young women who are accused of illicit sex with foreign lovers (ch. 23) the conquered's perspective (Samaria and Jerusalem) is described. Here, Ezekiel lets himself and his people be emasculated in a crude expression of their shame and humiliation. The people are likened not only to women, but to prostitutes. Their lovers are powerful foreign men, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Babylonians.[8] Thus, in Ezekiel, the enemy is portrayed as handsome and irresistible.[9] The strong and superior enemy also appears in Isaiah and Jeremiah, although, not as crudely put. The metaphor in Ezekiel displays both a distortion of power and a dehumanization of Judah.

Shaming the enemy, is not an uncommon rhetorical tool in the oracles. Although, Isaiah takes it one step further when he wears (or not) the shame of Egypt and Ethiopia when he walks barefoot and with bare buttocks for three years, just as, according to the prophecy they will walk when Assyria conquer them.[10] It could be argued that Isaiah subjected himself to the nakedness, and even if YHWH is considered the director of this performance act where Isaiah portrays the gloomy future of Egypt and Ethiopia he does subject himself to shame in order to make a point. Or one could argue that Isaiah, too, is subjugated by YHWH, whose pedagogical desire to prove a point

[6] He exemplifies with the lion who is both aggressive and cries in distress in 51:38. An exception is the monster/dragon (*tannîn* cf. Jer 51:34 where King Nebuchadrezzar is the monster) which is never used as a metaphor for YHWH or his people. Possibly due to the mythological connotations. Foreman, *Animal Metaphors* P. 249-50.
[7] Thirteen different animals are used as metaphors for Israel in the book of Jeremiah: sheep, lamb, goat, horse, female camel, wild donkey, leopard, calf, lion, stork, turtledove, and swift. And a common way of using animal metaphors is to show how the people of Israel have turned away from YHWH and cannot return, cf. Isaiah's plant-based imagery where the plants can regenerate, an attribute which is not shared by animals, therefore, there is less hope in Jeremiah's metaphors. Foreman, Benjamin A. *Animal Metaphors and the People of Israel in the Book of Jeremiah* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen (2011). P. 249 and 254.
[8] Lemos, Tracy M. "The Emasculation of Exile: Hypermasculinity and Femininization in the Book of Ezekiel" pp. 377-394 in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts.* Eds. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritchel Ames, Jacob L. Wright. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2011). Esp. p. 378-379.
[9] Ibid, 390.
[10] Isa 20:5, David's men also endure this treatment by the Ammonites (2 Sam 10:1-5), their garments are cut of at the middle of their hips, revealing their buttocks, and half their beards are shaven. Following this "the men were greatly ashamed." It is not the male or female naked body that is shameful in itself, or a given cause for humiliation—naked bodies can also be a positive sight in the HB. As always, the context determines how the nakedness is perceived. David's men are clearly humiliated by the enemy, whom they initially thought of as friends.

forces the prophet to transgress the integrity of most people. The naked male body is the direct opposite of the hegemonic military masculinity, at least when involuntarily revealed. In the context of war, both male and female nakedness are connected with failure and vulnerability, the humiliation in being conquered and/or dominated. This is a consequence both genders risk if faced with defeat in battle, both risk being stripped naked, rape, mutilation and/or death. In language describing defeat or being conquered by the enemy, the loser is often feminized. The conqueror is male the conquered is feminine. A play with the dichotomy between the subjugated feminine, and the powerful masculine. However, a loss of masculinity can be just as effective when wanting to underline the failure of an enemy, as we shall see in the next section of this paper.

Why then, does so much of the oracles center around the enemy? It was probably not to incite the army, or to encourage excessive violence. Rather, there came a need to theologically explain the events that occurred, the outcome of which did not end up in favour for the people of Judah. This was probably only a literary phenomenon, although hard to prove since our sources are sparse. In the NA empire where more administrative documents are preserved, the dehemanization or demonization of the enemy was restricted to the literary discourse and are absent from the administrative documents found.[11]

The enemy, whether perceived or real, is an important part of the oracles in Isaiah and Jeremiah. Often, the dramaturgy in the prophetic oracles is at first a threat of an emerging enemy which demands immediate action from the people of Judah—there is a sense of urgency, even though the outcome seems inevitable. Later on, the action is relocated to a distance where the active agents are part of other countries armies and Judah will either enjoy the success or suffer the loss of the battle, but the battle is not actively their own. A central character in the looming battles of the oracles is of course the warrior—or the *gibbôr*. As we shall see below, winning or loosing all depends on the capability and access to the *gibbôr*.

2.2 The *Gibbôr*

As in the David story the title *gibbôr* is especially important when it comes to military masculinity, the *gibbôr* is often translated as "warrior," "military hero," or just "hero." It is probably not a coincidence that apart from 1 Chronicles—2 Samuel and Jeremiah use *gibbôr* the most (16 times each, in 1 Chron the use is almost doubled with 30 times, however, 20 of them are in relation to

[11] Artemov, Nikita "Demonization of enemies in Mesopotamian literature: A case study in verbal imagery" in *Text and Image: Proceedings of the 61e Recontre Assyriologique Internationale, Geneva and Bern, 22-26 June 2015* eds. Pascal Attinger, Antoine Cavigneaux, Catherine Mittermayer, Mirko Novàk and Alexander Ahrens, Patrick M. Michel, Grégoire Nicolet, Susanne Rutishauser, Alexander E. Sollee, Claudia E. Suter, Johanna Tudeau. (Peeters: Leuven 2018). Pp. 33-42. Esp. p. 34.

David's *gibbôrîm*). Sometimes it is used together with *ʾîš milḥāmâ* (lit. "war man" often translated as soldier) but mostly on its own. I will summarize the use of *gibbôr* in the HB by seeing different recurring motifs:

1) The courageous hero

2) the vulnerable hero

3) the drunk/unable/removed hero

4) the divine hero

2.2.1 The courageous hero

The majority of times *gibbôr* or the plural *gibbôrîm* is used falls under the first category. Both in the Pentateuch, the narrative books, and in wisdom texts almost all of them are used in this way, there are a few exceptions in the Books of Samuel and Kings where fallen or removed heroes are spoken of (like in 2 Sam 1:19-27 where David laments the fallen heroes Jonathan and Saul, or in 2 Kings 24:14-16 where those taken into exile are recounted, both of which can fit under category three, but they are still portrayed as the courageous heroes of the first category). And once in the Pentateuch YHWH, is called a *gibbôr* (Deut 10:17), which will be discussed further elsewhere. Not just the own, but also those who are considered enemies can also have powerful *gibbôrîm,* for example in the epic battle of the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:13 and 23) and David's adversary Goliath is described as a *gibbôr* in 1 Sam 17:51. It is also frequently used in the prophetic oracles. The idealistic view of the *gibbôr* can be seen in Zech. 10:7:

> Then the people of Ephraim shall become like warriors, and
> their hearts shall be as glad as with wine.
> Their children shall see it and rejoice, their hearts shall exult
> in the Lord. (Zech. 10:7).

YHWH is also a keen summoner of the courageous *gibbôrîm,* mustering a powerful army from afar. In Isa 13:3-6 we read:

> 3. I myself have commanded my consecrated ones, have
> summoned my warriors (*gibbôrê*), my proudly exulting ones, to
> execute my anger.
> 4. Listen, a tumult on the mountains, as of great multitude!
> Listen, an uproar of kingdoms, of nations gathering together!
> The Lord of hosts is mustering an army for battle.

> 5. They come from a distant land, from the end of the heavens, the Lord and the weapons of his indignation, to destroy the whole earth.
> 6. Wail, for the day of the Lord is near; it will come like destruction from the Almighty!

The almost mythological army of *gibbôrîm* works for YHWH as weapons of his indignation to execute his anger. In Isaiah 13 the army is aimed at Babylonia, but other times aimed at Judah which we will return to later in this paper.

2.2.2 The Vulnerable Hero

This category is especially interesting, although rarely found, it defies expectations of the heroic *gibbôr*. Unlike category three where the *gibbôr* is removed or in other ways unable, the vulnerable hero is described as panic-stricken, terrified, or crying, seemingly, in the midst of battle. Why then are the martial men at the top of the hegemonic masculinity ladder portrayed as weak and afraid? To answer this we need to take a closer look at the texts.

The metaphors dealt with below all share the military language, many of them use feminizing language in the vicinity of the vulnerable hero and some of them dehumanize by using animal or naturistic language.[12] The simile where the soldiers' hearts are "like the heart of a woman in labor" will be discussed here in short, and the metaphor with the child-birth-motif will also be dealt with at length elsewhere.

In Jeremiah 46:5-6, quoted in the title of this paper, Egypt is terrified, and their warriors who are beaten down have fled in haste. In verse 6 an interesting motif of the "stumbling warrior" is found, a motif also found it in Jer 46:12 where warrior has stumbled against warrior and in Nah 2:5 where the officers stumble.[13]

Later in Jer 46:10:a we see that the real combatants are Egypt and YHWH, not, as could be expected, the Babylonian army and Egypt. "They day of the Lord" is a day of retribution against Egypt where the Lord of hosts holds a sacrifice, the battle becomes a scene of ritual slaughter by YHWH, a sacrifice from which there is no way of healing (cf. Isa 34:6 and Zeph 1:7).[14] YHWH

[12] Jer 46:8 Egypt is like a river, 46:11 virgin daughter Egypt, 51:33 daughter Babylon, 51:27 locusts etc.
[13] The people will stumble because YHWH has put rocks in their path in Jer 6:21. The arrogant will stumble in Jer 50:32, the wicked in Zeph 1:3. Cf also Isa 5:27 where no one shall fall and stumble, no one is weary or tired as a recipe for success.
[14] Carroll, 765.

stands as the winner and Judah has not taken part in the battle.[15] In verse 11 Egypt is feminized and called "virgin daughter Egypt," and then verse 12 reads:

> The nations have heard of your shame, and the earth is full of your cry; for warrior (*gibbôr*) has stumbled against warrior; both have fallen together. (Jer 46:12)

There is shame in loosing a battle and having incapable warriors, which also shows that there are many similarities between the vulnerable warrior of vv. 5-6 and the unable hero that is also feminized in this section.

In Jer 51:32 the Babylonian soldiers (***wĕanšê hammilḥāmâ***) are in panic, paralleled with *gibbôrê* in v. 30. This text is part of a larger oracle against Babylonia beginning in 51:1(-33). Babylonia is the enemy and its defeat is celebrated in the poetic form again and again throughout ch 50-51. The common thought that YHWH was behind the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 588/7 is not shared by the authors/editors of ch 50-51.[16] In Jer 51:30 the Babylonian soldiers (*gibbôrê*) are being compared to women, passively sitting in their strongholds and in verse 33 "daughter Babylon" is compared to a threshing floor being stomped.[17] Thus, the feminine language is frequent in this section, and the warriors are passive, like women, confused (v. 31), and in panic. And the whole of Babylon is like a threshing floor, waiting to be stomped.

So far, we have discussed the vulnerable warriors of Egypt and Babylonia, now let us move on to discuss the Judahite/Israelite vulnerable warrior. And with them, we can begin to see that the enmity of YHWH is a vital part of the vulnerable hero-motif. In Amos 2:16, in a dystopic vision, the mighty (*gibbôr*) shall "flee away naked in that day", and Zeph 1:14 reads as follows:

> The great day of the Lord is near, near and hastening fast; the sound of the day of the Lord is bitter, the warrior [*gibbôr*] cries aloud there. (Zeph 1:14)

[15] Carroll, "Jeremiah", p. 764.
[16] Carroll, 842.
[17] Carroll discusses possible sexual overtones related to rape and pillage, partly because Babylon is identified as female but also to the agricultural reference to threshing and stomping (cf Job 31:10). Carroll, 841.

The Day of the Lord is also found in Jer 46, as already discussed. When the warriors are afraid—YHWH is the enemy, and for the people of Judah the threat of YHWH is most poignant when "the day of the Lord" is nigh.[18]

As I mentioned above the "childbirth-trope" is also relevant when looking for the vulnerable warrior. Two similar texts in Jeremiah, Jer 48:41 and 49:22, is of main interest in this context. In these quite similar texts, the warriors are from Moab and Edom respectively.

> For thus says the Lord:
> Look, he shall swoop like an eagle,
> and spread his wings against Moab;
> the towns shall be taken
> and the strongholds seized.
> The hearts of the warriors (*gibbôrê)* of Moab, on that day,
> shall be like the heart of a woman in labor.
> (Jer 48:41)

> Look, he shall mount up and swoop down like an eagle,
> and spread his wings against Bozrah,
> and the heart of the warriors (*gibbôrê)* of Edom in that day
> shall be like the heart of a woman in labor.
> (Jer 49:22)

Even though these texts do not provide any words describing emotions, the childbirth-trope regularly mentions anguish, pain, and crying.[19] Crying alone does not necessarily equal a loss of masculinity, but in this context, it does imply vulnerability. That their hearts are like "the heart of a woman in labor" in the midst of battle does imply that they are unable to defend themselves.[20]

Above we asked the question of why the otherwise powerful and strong men were suddenly vulnerable and weak. The answer is that YHWH is one step above them in the masculinity-contest, and when faced with YHWH as the enemy everyone, including the most masculine "tremble with fear." There is a theological point to be made by the author of course, that YHWH is the most

[18] Even if Amos 2:1 ff. share theme and language with the other texts, "They day of the Lord" is not mentioned until ch. 5 in Amos. Chapter 2 also refers to Israel, not Judah.
[19] Cf. Jer 4:31, 6:24, 22:23, and Isa 13:7-8, 21:3, 26:17. YHWH cries out like a woman in labor in Isa 42:13-14.
[20] In my Phd-project the childbirth-motif will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

powerful warrior and that all should be in awe of him, regardless of if you belong to the people of Judah or a neighboring nation.

2.2.3 The unable/removed/drunk hero

As already mentioned, category three is used both in a narrative context where circumstances are told, for instance a warrior/hero dies or is displaced in exile, or it is used in prophetic speech where it can function as a wish with derogatory undertones. We find most of category 3 in Jeremiah as well, and a few in Isaiah and Ezekiel.[21]

> …for a destroyer has come against her, against Babylon;
> her warriors [*gibbôr*] are taken, their bows are broken;
> for the Lord is a God of recompense, he will repay in
> full. I will make her officials and her sages drunk, also
> her governors, her deputies, and her warriors [*gibbôr*],
> they shall sleep a perpetual sleep and never wake, says
> the King, whose name is the Lord of hosts.
>
> (Jer 51:56-57)

The *gibbôr* seems to have a special relationship to wine. We can see a connection between a *gibbôr* and wine and the negative consequences it can have in Ps 78:65, Isa 5:22, Jer 51:57 and Zach 10:7. A more general negative attitude is found in Eccl 9:11, Jer 9:22, Prov 16:32, and 21:22, saying that the strength of the *gibbôr* is not as impressive as knowing YHWH, being patient, and wise. In the Chroniclers version of the David story, regarded by most as post-exilic or even Second Temple literature just as Ecclesiastes mentioned above. In the Chronicles, the *gibbôrîm* are influential and successful also outside the realm of warfare. They are gathered by David together with the most powerful in 1 Chron 28:1, and they are there when Solomon is chosen as the new king in 1 Chron 29:24. Roland Boer argues that the scribal masculinity challenges the hegemonic masculinity in the Chronicles, he describes David's men (the *gibbôrîm*) as comical machismos who flex their muscles all the way through Chronicles, "wielding swords and spears as though they were prophetic penises."[22] An example of this is when the dumbly obedient men risk their lives as they cross enemy lines in order to get their master (David) a mug of water because he was thirsty, water that he

[21] Jer 46:5-6, 12, 51:30, 51:56-57. Isa 3:2, 5:22, 21:17. Ezek 32:21, 39:18, 39:20. Also in Amos 2:14, Obad 9, the [*'îš milḥāmâ*] in Jer 50:30, and in the Song of Hannah in 1 Sam 2:4

[22] Boer, Roland "Of Fine Wine, Incense and Spices: Unstable Masculine Hegemony of the Books of Cronicles" p. 24.

doesn't even accept because it would be like drinking the blood of his men.[23] Boer also highlights what he calls David and Solomon's camp interest in interior design, the detailed "shopping-lists" with regard to the temple listing lamp-stands, tables, bowls, all adorned in gold, silver or precious stones. These and other stories[24] show the writers true matter of the heart: the temple and correct observance of the cult.[25] This last conclusion, that the authors were preoccupied with the temple and cult, I believe to be correct, but to argue that the alleged interest in interior design makes David and Solomon camp, is probably a bit of an anachronism. The two different views on the *gibbôrîm* in the Chronicles, the influential and the comical, can of course exist side by side, but it is also a possibility that in the post-exilic literature the *gibbôrîm,* and with them the military masculinity, at least partly gave way for a more peaceful and intellectual masculinity—at least from what the authors chose to convey. I can agree with Boer on that there was a post-exilic challenger regarding the hegemonic masculinity where, at least by the scribes themselves, a more peaceful masculinity was promoted.[26] This can also be linked to the negative attitude against the *gibbôrîm* described above, which certainly seems to be more of a prominent theme in post-exilic literature.

The unable hero can often be seen in the vicinity of the vulnerable hero, as mentioned above. Obad 9 says "your warriors shall be shattered," the bows are broken or few (Isa 21:17, Jer 51:56), they are unable, beaten down, or have given up (Amos 2:14, Jer 46:5, Jer 51:30). Often of course, this is YHWH's doing, he deprives his adversaries of their most powerful weapon—their *gibbôrîm.*

2.2.3.1 The *gibbôr* and Judah

Coincidently, the unable/removed/drunk hero discussed above often belongs to Judah, according to the oracles. The Judahite military men are removed or in other ways made unable, while YHWH instigates an army from afar. The resistance Juda has to offer, we are told by the text, is not in relation to the looming threat of YHWH and his army. The *gibbôr* becomes almost a symbol for either the means of defeat or the means of success. Depending on the accused or against whom the oracle is aimed the people in question should often fear the enemy *gibbôrîm* whom YHWH has instigated against them, or their own *gibbôrîm* are weak and unable to fight and therefore they do not stand a chance. Hence, the *gibbôr*, when applied to peoples, is almost always used in a negative way from a Judahite perspective, they are either strong enemies and should be feared, or they are

[23] 1 Chron 11:17-19. Ibid.
[24] See: 2 Chron. 20:1-17 where the Israelite army is told to sing and praise YHWH when faced with the enemy.
[25] Ibid. 25
[26] That the hegemonic masculinity was challenged, or that an alternative masculinity gained ground in the post exilic literature has been spotted by many, cf. the wisdom-driven masculinity of Proverbs, the scribal masculinity of Daniel among others. Wilson "Biblical Masculinity Studies" p. 10 and Charles DiPalma, Brian "Scribal Masculinity and the Court Tales of Daniel" pp. 229-251 both found in *Hebrew Masculinities Anew* ed. Creanga.

weakened and unable to do their job. Later in the prophetic books, especially in Jeremiah,[27] the *gibbôrîm* much like the message of the oracles themselves are at first a danger to Judah and later on they are a danger to Babylonia (or Moab, Edom or Egypt… or others) as the message of the prophet changes from doom to hope. When the exile finally strikes, the focus shifts from Judah and their failures to the anticipated defeat of Babylonia. As we discussed earlier the vulnerable *gibbôr* appears only in relation to YHWH as the enemy in order to emphasize his power.

When reading Jeremiah, it becomes clear that the military masculinity is pretty much always someone else's in relation to the intended audience in Judah, or later on the people of Judah in exile. In the beginning of the book, YHWH is summoning an army from the north which he is instigating against Judah (Jer 4:16b, 4:27, 5:15-17, 6:1b, 6:22-23, 8:16-17). The threat of destruction is the enemy army with its *gibbôrîm;* sometimes YHWH is the force behind the plot and sometimes he is an active warrior. In Judah, however, people are acting like fools (Jer 4:22, 5:4, 5:21), women (Jer 4:31, 6:24b, 13:21-22) or children (Jer 4:22), or their own *gibbôrîm* are drunk or in other ways unable to defend their country. They are told to flee for safety and go into the fortified cities (Jer 4:5-6). The people are in fact inadequate warriors (Jer 12:5). The people of Judah and their own *gibbôrîm* are feminized or emasculated with a rhetoric distortion of power, to make the enemy look even more awe-inspiring.

In Isaiah we see in the beginning that YHWH is about to create anarchy in Judah, the *gibbôr* and the *ʾîš milḥāmâ* (Isa 3:2) are gone because YHWH has moved them, the support of the society—food, as well as the aforementioned military men are gone (judge, prophet, diviner, elder, captains, noble men, counselor, skillful magician and expert enchanter are also mentioned as removed—more powerful men). Children remain as their rulers (Isa 3:4) all because of the people's own failure to do the will of YHWH. Isaiah introduces children as the antithesis of the *gibbôrîm* and the others who are displaced, the children are portrayed as unfit leaders. Later Judah's own *gibbôrîm* are only heroes in drinking wine (Isa 5:22). We see the same motif as in Jeremiah where YHWH is actively sabotaging Judah's future by taking away their own military and instigating enemy warriors against them.

Then in ch. 13 it is, Babylonia who is the enemy. YHWH summons his *gibbôrîm* to go out against Babylonia to execute his anger, YHWH *ṣĕbāʾôt* is mustering an army for battle (Isa 13:3-4).[28] The

[27] This can also be seen in Isaiah even if it is not as chronologically organized.

[28] In an article Clines suggests the translation of YHWH *ṣĕbaʾôt* as "YHWH, the Lord of fighting men." He also says that the most common name for YHWH is the "God of fighting men." And he connects this to a divine warrior …"for the divine male is above all the fighter and the killer."(Clines, David J.A. "He-Prophets: Masculinity as a Problem for the Hebrew Prophets and their Interpreters" pp. 311-330 in *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible*

Babylonians will answer with dismay and anguish like a woman in labor (Isa 13:8).[29] They will lose the bows of their *gibbôrîm* (Isa 21:17). The language feminizing Babylonia's *gibbôrim* is not the same as we have seen in Jeremiah, in Isa 47:1-3 the "virgin daughter Babylon" is exposed in her nakedness and her "shame shall be seen," consequently, Isaiah's graphic language takes it one step further.

In both Isaiah and Jeremiah, we can see that slowly the message becomes a different one, and eventually it is Babylonia and other nations who are told to fear a mighty army, revenge is nigh. The same motif is visible though, Babylonia's warriors are unable to fight, they turn into women and their bows are broken, while the awaited enemy comes with supreme force and courage. The military masculinity has now moved from Babylonia to Persia and Babylonia is now feminized or emasculated. It is noteworthy that it is (almost?[30]) never Judah who are powerful and masculine,

in Memory of Robert Carroll eds. Alastair G. Hunter and Philip R. Davies. London: Sheffield academic Press (2002). Esp. p. 313 and 317.). The exact meaning of the divine epithet *ṣĕbā'ôt* has been discussed by many, and Clines' translation follows the etymology of the word *ṣāba* which as a noun is often translated as army or army unit and which is related to the Akkadian verb meaning "go into battle."(TDOT Ringgren ##Sida##) The word *ṣĕbā'ôt,* however, is used somewhat differently, Zobel concludes that the term probably originates from the temple in Shiloh, because of its connection to Elkanah, and the prayer of Hannah (in 1 Sam 1:3 and 11), and that it is possibly of Canaanite origin. Mettinger agrees and traces it further to the *'ēl* tradition and suggests that an original form of the name could have been *'ēl ṣĕbā'ôt* (Mettinger, Tryggve N.D. "*ṣĕbā'ôt"* in Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible, eds. Karel Van Der Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. Van Der Horst. Pp. 920-924. Esp. p. 921). In the Shiloh temple *ṣĕbā'ôt* became connected to the ark. The ark was highly associated with war where it was used as a representation of the divine. The connection with the ark followed to the Jerusalem temple where it eventually was disengaged with the ark and its meaning shifted slightly to implicate a connection to the royal majesty and omnipotence of YHWH rather than the strong link to war. Mettinger calls this the Zion-Zebaoth theology. This shift had occurred by the time of the post-exilic prophets in Yehud. Jeremiah is the most frequent user of the divine epithet with his 82 occurrences, more than half is found in a fixed formula such as "thus says YHWH *ṣĕbā'ôt*". Out of a total of 285 times, 82 is found in Jeremiah, 56 in Proto-Isaiah, 53 in Zechariah, 24 in Malaki, 15 in Psalms, 14 in Haggai, 9 in Amos, 6 in 2 Samuel, 6 in Deutero-Isaiah, 5 in 1 Samuel, 5 in 1 Kings, 5 in 1 Chronicles, 2 in Nahum, 2 in Zephaniah, 1 in Hosea, 1 in Micah and 1 in Habakkuk. Notably there is no mention in Genesis-Judges or in Ezekiel, Trito-Isaiah, Ezra, Nehemiah or Daniel. Zobel draws the conclusion that the books with close connection to the DtrH seem to avoid the epithet, possibly because of its Canaanite origins? TDOT, Zobel. ##SIDA##. Apart from the NRSV "Lord of hosts"-translation and the suggestion given by Clines, different translations has been offered: Commander of the stars/the angelic council/angelic hosts, YHWH (is) armies, the ruler of all the power of the world, and many more. Mettinger suggests "Yahweh of *ṣĕbā'ôt"* like "Yahweh of Samaria" and other placenames. Admittedly, this does not resolve the ambiguity of how to translate *ṣĕbā'ôt.* Mettinger sees that military overtones are frequent when *ṣĕbā'ôt* is used (1 Sam 4:4, Isa 10:23, 13:13, 14:24-27,19:16, 22:5, 24:21-23, Jer 32:18, 50:25, Nah 2:14, 3:5, Ps 24:8-10, 46:8-12 and 59:6). However, this is not exclusively the case as it can also have quite peaceful connotations. Mettinger ##Sida##

[29] According to Eidevall Isa 13:1-22 describes Babylonia as "the epitome of evil" and the home of the sinners of the world (cf. v. 9). However, at the same time there are elements of the text which he interprets as atypical enemy images, mentions of raped women and murdered infants (v. 16) would evoke empathy rather than gloat or malignant expectation. He suggests a mirroring of what the Judaic people experienced when they were besieged and taken away into exile in 587 BCE. Eidevall, *Prophecy and Propaganda*, p. 111-112.

[30] One could ask what nationality the leader in Isaiah ch. 9; the Immanuel prophecy has, it promises a leader who is at the same time to be called an *'ēl gibbôr* (mighty god) and a *śar šālôm* (prince of peace). The identity of the awaited leader is a question that has puzzled scholars for a long time, the text could be describing a Judahite person which could mean a Judahite *gibbôr* and mighty military man. A new David. It is interesting that at least temporarily the message could be that Judah will be saved by a Judahite hero.

and even though Judah is now in favour in the eyes of YHWH he is always on the side of the most powerful. The Judahite men are not in focus, rather the fight has relocated to take place between others, but the dynamic of powerful—vulnerable/unable/feminine stays the same. The prophetic message is addressed to a Judahite audience, and the vilification of the enemy has propagandistic overtones, both in the distortion of power and the rich metaphoric language. Also, both the military masculinity and power/status change in the distance.

2.2.4 ##YHWH as the ultimate *gibbôr*##
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3. Conclusion

Before we move towards a conclusion, I will summarize what the prophetic message says about military masculinity. That both the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah cover the time before, during and after the exile is agreed by most. Therefore, we can follow the shift in message from the inevitable disaster that is the exile, to the emerging message of hope with the help of a savior or a great army from a distant country. At the beginning, the Judahite strong men are either removed or unable to do their job whilst YHWH instigates a powerful army from afar. The disaster happens where the powerful are removed into exile in Babylonia, and slowly the message changes into the hope of a saving grace. Babylonia is now envisioned to become helpless, afraid, and unable to resist the powerful army that YHWH has once again summoned but this time in order to free the people of Judah. Through all this, the *gibbôrîm,* when powerful, are the means of success, the *gibbôrîm,* when weakened are a reason for forfeit. This conspicuous powerplay is probably an oversimplification from the authors point of view and the message of propagandistic nature. However, when following the shift in where the powerful *gibbôrîm* are, we can also see where the ideal military masculinity is best performed and where the anti-*gibbôrîm,* the feminized or emasculated opposite of the powerful, are located. That the texts try to explain and make sense of disasters by theologizing matters is why YHWH seem to switch teams regularly, and also why Judah sometimes is the enemy and sometimes on the side of the winners.

YHWH's honour is always intact, at least this is the message that the prophet chose to mediate. Exile and failure are, in line with the prophetic message at large, explained by shortcomings of the people and not YHWH's. When put against each other, even the most courageous ones of the people of Judah, the *gibbôrîm,* are vulnerable and afraid, obviously, no one stands a chance against the constantly supreme and mighty YHWH.

Project Summary Saimi Kautonen

The aim of the research is to examine the functions and roles of stepped pools in their particular archaeological contexts, both in household and public settings. I approach the stepped pools as ancient water collectors/pools and contextualize them within research on other ancient water installations (e.g., cisterns, fountains) found in the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., Klingborg 2018, Richard 2012). The usage of stepped pools as ritual purification baths has implications for our view of early Jewish identities and communities, and as such my study can have significant influences on Jewish studies and biblical studies.

In the southern Levant, approximately 850 stepped pools from the Hasmonean and Roman periods (c.100BCE–c.200CE) have been uncovered through archaeological research (Adler 2011). My definition for stepped pools is a stone-built or rock-cut plastered structure with one step or more and with the possibility to contain water. These pools are commonly interpreted as *miqva'ot*, Jewish ritual purification baths. In rabbinic Judaism, a *miqveh* (pl.*miqva'ot*) is used as a pool for immersion and purification even Hebrew word *miqveh mayim* is literally "the gathering of water." Therefore, in order to avoid pre-assumptions of ritual usage, I use the term "stepped pools" when speaking the actual structures and their material remains to avoid possible anachronistic usage of the term *miqveh*.

Previous research and scientific Impact

Modern scholarship of the stepped pools and ancient *miqva'ot* began in the 1960s during the excavations of Masada by Yigael Yadin and rabbi Muntzberg, who were the first to identify stepped pools as ancient *miqva'ot*. Afterwards, all excavated stepped pools are identified as ritual baths in publications. The interpretation of miqva'ot are based also on written sources from c. 100BCE – c. 200CE and rabbinic texts. There are only two book-length studies about stepped pools and ritual baths, both written in Hebrew (Reich 2013, Adler 2011).

There is no complete research about stepped pools without the purity practice interpretation as a leading focus. Before making this kind of generalizations about phenomena in material culture, the archaeological material should be first studied in more detail within its particular context and in terms of technical-hydraulic workings – from rainfall and generated runoff, to collection and storage, to use and eventual discard. One particularly novel perspective for research is to examine how climate changes may have influenced the introduction, usage, and eventual abandonment of stepped pools. When utilized of paleoclimatic data it is possible to illustrate that Early Roman period was one of the wettest periods in the last millennia

Questions about changes of water levels in the stepped pools, and possible needs to fill these pools during the dry seasons are extremely important to incorporate in my own research on the role of stepped pools in household contexts and daily life. The project of which I am part of has shown that it is probable that, especially rain fed, pools went empty during the dry season and people needed to decide how they used their limited amount of water in contrast to more colder and rainy years when sufficiency of water was enough also for ritual activities. Sufficiency of water raises many practical questions about purification practices in the dry season, for example associated to feasts and other events that, in our understanding, requires purification practices.

Work plan and methods

My project is interdisciplinary in nature and it is built four sections, the areas that I am focusing beginning from regional (macro) to individual (micro) level. All sections requires different approaches and methods. The first three parts of research are based on archaeological data and different perspectives, the fourth is to concentrate on the texts and ritual purity practices during the periods, and the methodological issues of interpreting material culture with written sources.

The groundwork of my research is to examine regional differences regarding the amount of the pools, their date, their size, etc. I will use GIS for analyzing the spatial data of all pools to see regional distribution of quantity, different contexts and date of usage. The second (2) part focuses on distinct communities and explores in more detail particular excavated sites. In the third (3) chapter my focus is on a household/ building level. In this stage, I will examine some of the stepped pools specific (size/capacity, date, different usages, water sources, plaster layers etc.) and its connections to surrounding context. The analyses of accessibility of the pools in private and public spaces illustrates roles of the pools in buildings and spaces. When analyzing aspects of different spaces I will use methodological frameworks from Penelope Allison (1997, 2013) and Chad Spiegel (2012).

The fourth (4) phase of the research is to collect all the written sources that has been used in previous research to argue that the stepped pools were used for ritual purposes and study the texts using methods found in biblical studies. Based on previous research, the written material consists of ritual bathing related texts of purity laws in Hebrew Bible, Dead Sea scrolls, rabbinic texts and texts that describe Jewish purity practices. Many of these sources have already been collected by other scholars (notably Lawrence 2006 and Miller 2015), which forms a good basis for my research. In addition, I will study closer some individual terms that are relevant for this research example *immersion, purification* and *impure* by exploring their semantic field in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, and examine if there have different meanings or connotations.

STEPPED POOLS IN THE ROMAN PALESTINE

The aim of the research is to examine the functions and roles of stepped pools in their particular archaeological contexts, both in household and public settings. I approach the stepped pools as ancient water collectors/pools and contextualize them within research on other ancient water installations (e.g., cisterns, fountains) found in the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., Klingborg 2018, Richard 2012). The usage of stepped pools as ritual purification baths has implications for our view of early Jewish identities and communities, and as such my study can have significant influences on Jewish studies and biblical studies.

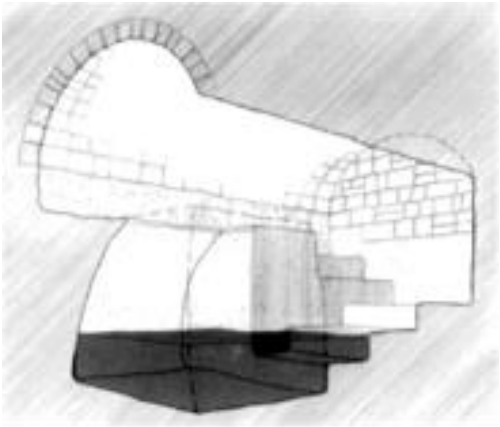


Figure 1, Stepped pool L85.3228, Western Summit Sepphoris. (Meyers et al., 2018).

In the southern Levant, approximately 850 stepped pools from the Hasmonean and Roman periods (c.100BCE–c.200CE) have been uncovered through archaeological research (Adler 2011). Most stepped pools are uncovered in Israel, but a few are also found in the Palestinian Territories, Jordan, and southern Lebanon. Stepped pools are stone-built or rock-cut plastered structures with one step or more and with the possibility to contain water. Stepped pools are commonly interpreted as *miqva'ot*, Jewish ritual purification baths. In rabbinic Judaism, a *miqveh* (pl.*miqva'ot*) is used as a pool for immersion and purification. These structures are called also ritual baths, ancient *miqva'ot*, purpose-built ritual immersion pool

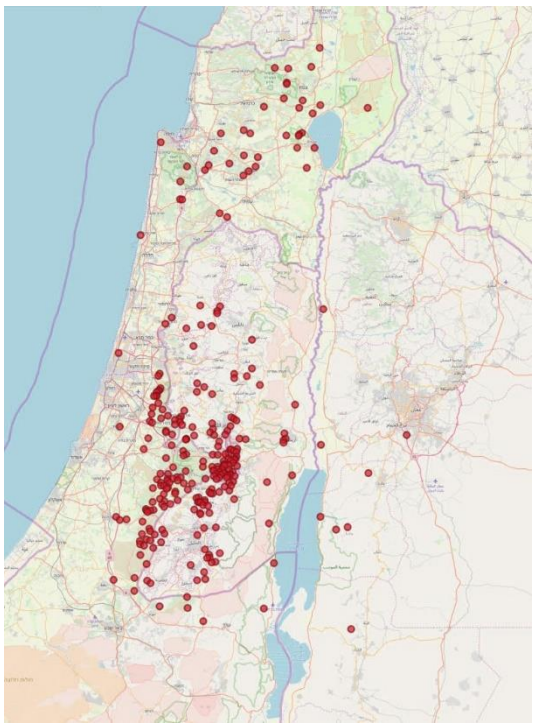


Figure 2, Distribution map of Stepped pools (Data from Adler 2011).

(Fatkin 2019) and purification baths based on relatively late texts of Mishnah and later rabbinic texts. The Hebrew word *miqveh mayim* is literally "the gathering of water." Therefore, in order to avoid pre-assumptions of ritual usage, I use the term "stepped pools" when speaking about the actual structures and their material remains to avoid possible anachronistic usage of the term *miqveh*.

Modern scholarship of the stepped pools and ancient *miqva'ot* began in the 1960s during the excavations of Masada by Yigael Yadin and rabbi Muntzberg, who were the first to identify stepped pools as ancient *miqva'ot*. Afterwards, all excavated stepped pools are identified as ritual baths in publications. The interpretation of miqva'ot are based also on written sources from c. 100BCE – c. 200CE and rabbinic texts. There are only two book-length studies about stepped pools and ritual baths, both written in Hebrew. Ronny Reich laid the groundwork for the study of stepped pools in his 1990-dissertation (pub. updated 2013), in which he examined over 300 stepped pools and argued for their usage as ritual purification baths. Adler (2011) has continued this work and displayed 850 stepped pool as *miqva'ot* or possible *miqva'ot*. Surveys and examinations of the stepped pools have been based on the view of Jewish ritual purity practices (Reich 2013; Adler 2011; Miller 2015; Meyers et al. 2018).

Research History

Research on the history of stepped pools and ancient *miqva'ot* [1] in the Southern Levant began in the 1960s during the excavation of Masada, led by Yigael Yadin from 1963 to 1965. During these excavations, a pool was discovered, and shortly thereafter, Rabbi David Muntzberg, a specialist in laws regarding the *miqveh*, and other Hasidic rabbis visited Masada and identified the stepped pool as an ancient *miqveh*.[2], based on their expertise. This marked the beginning of a shift in the interpretation of stepped pools in the region, with subsequent excavations identifying them as ritual baths in publications. The interpretation of miqva'ot is primarily based on written sources dating to around 100 BCE to 200 CE, as well as later rabbinic texts.[3]

Excavations in Masada were a major national project that had a lot of publicity and media attention. Masada was a well-known fortress of Herod and later occupied by Zealot's who got defeated by Romans. Especially battle between zealots and romans and the siege of Masada has been of interest of historians and it became a part of cultural heritage of modern Israel. And Yigael Yadin became national hero because his military and archaeological careers. No one can doubt his influence to fields of archaeology and national history in Israel and Palestine. In the case of stepped pools and ancient miqva'ot his interpretation established the ground for the study.

The history of interpretation of the stepped pools in the Southern Levant has greatly impacted the level of analysis these structures have received. Before the excavations in Masada (1963–1965),

[1] (pl. מקוואות) מקוו lit. "gathering of water", in the modern tradition it is used for built water installation for purification practise.
[2] Yadin 1966.
[3] CD, m. Miqv, P.Oxy 840

stepped pools around the southern Levant were interpreted as cisterns or water reservoirs.[4] Under the influence of a visiting rabbi Muntzberg, the lead Masada excavator interpreted these structures as ancient *miqva'ot* which completely changed the analysis of stepped pools going forward. Subsequent excavations in Jerusalem continued this interpretation and it became the established analysis. Before these interpretations, there had not been discussion of these pools in relation to purification practices. Although the rabbi identified the Masada pools as *miqva'ot*, there were no prior rabbinic sources upon which to base this identification. Use of Talmudic sources is never unproblematic,[5] and the case of the *miqva'ot* is no exception. The rabbinic sources were compiled after the period in which the majority of the stepped pools were in primary use. Furthermore, the term *miqva'ot* does not refer to any specific structure.[6] Because of the problematic history of analysis, the structures themselves have not been studied in their own right, but have been used as a proxy for Jewish identity during the Roman period. In this dissertation, I therefore focus on analyzing these stepped, plastered pools according to their construction, primary and secondary uses, before proceeding to consider their (social) function.

There are only two book-length studies about stepped pools and ritual baths, both written in Hebrew. Ronny Reich laid the groundwork for the study of stepped pools in his 1990-dissertation (pub. updated 2003), in which he examined over 549 stepped pools and argued for their usage as ritual purification baths.[7] Y. Adler (2011) continued this work and displayed 850 stepped pools as *miqva'ot* or "possible *miqva'ot*." Surveys and examinations of the stepped pools have been based on the view of Jewish ritual purity practices.[8] Upon these interpretations, Second Temple and early Judaism scholars have based several farther reaching conclusions about the nature of Judaism (Regev 2000), the widespread practice of purity laws (Sanders 1995), presence of Pharisees (Strange), etc.

Hundreds of structures in southern Levant have been identified as Jewish purification baths or *miqva'ot* dating to the early Roman period (ca.100 BCE – 100 CE). R. Reich (2003) was the first to compile a catalogue of these structures in his unpublished 1990 dissertation. Reich's catalogue was comprised of 459 pools that he argued should be positively identified as *miqva'ot* according to Talmudic sources in addition to the archaeological data. Shortly thereafter, Y. Adler (2011) used

[4] Bliss & Macalister, 1902. Multiple stepped pools from Tell Sandahannah (Maresha) and Tel Zakariya have been interpreted as *cisterns*. Also, De Vaux used terms *cisterns* or *reservoirs* in his field notes, Humbert & Chambon, 2003.
[5] Miller 2018, 33–38.
[6] Miller 2018, 33.
[7] Reich 2013
[8] Aviam 2004; Reich 2013; Adler 2011; Miller 2015; Meyers et al.2018

similar methods of identifying *miqva'ot* but also included structures that might possibly have been *miqva'ot* in addition to those positively identified by Reich—coming up with a new total of 854 pools. These totals could be exponentially increased if one was to include all plastered pools and cisterns from the period, however all pools identified as *miqva'ot* are marked by both plaster *and* steps which is why these other plastered pools (like reservoirs or cisterns) are not under consideration here.

The first appearance of these stepped pools occurs at Herodium and Jericho during the Hasmonean period and experience a sharp decline within the early Roman period, during which the pools already attest secondary usage. According to the archaeological data, the distribution of pools primarily falls between 50 BCE and 100 CE. The design and layout of these pools varies considerably. The only linking features of these pools are the presence of one or more steps, the presence of plaster,[9] and their location in the Southern Levant. Otherwise, these pools are attested as: rectangular pits inside a vaulted room with a three-platform stepped entrance (House Unit I, Sepphoris), or rounded pits hewn into the bedrock with a single case of narrow stairs (L1293, Gamla), or part of a larger bathing complex with either steps as wide as the pool itself (Upper City – Herodian Quarter, Jerusalem) or narrow steps to large and deep "swimming pool". (Herodian palace, Jericho).

Ritual purity – texts and practises

Ritual purity in the ancient Judaism is widely researched topic among scholars from various fields. Mostly because many purity related ritual, law or command is mentioned in the writings in Hebrew bible, New Testament, Dead Sea Scrolls, Rabbinic texts and other ancient sources.[10] In my research I will concentrate mainly the texts that are used for arguing the usage of stepped pools in the previous research.

One of the challenges of this project is to find a methodologically sustainable solution for using both texts and material culture. With fragmentary sources from archaeological data and texts, it is not possible to build complete image of practices in the past. I will follow John Moreland's (2001) idea that textual documents and archaeological material should not be treated just as evidence of our idea of past. The goal of my research is to examine archaeological materials first

[9] WRITE SOMETHING HERE Migdal

[10] Based on previous research, the written material consists of ritual bathing related texts of purity laws in Hebrew Bible (Lev. 11–15; Num 19), washing in preparation for prayer (Jdt. 12:7–9), rules for immersion and demand for use "living water" in Dead Sea scrolls (CD X:10–13, 4Q213 I:i 6–10; 11QT XLV 15–17), tractates from Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmud (e.g. m. Miqw, t. Kifshutah, t. Miqva'ot, Sifre Numbers) and texts that describe Jewish purity practices (P. Oxy 849, Jos. Bell 2.161). Many of these sources have already been collected by other scholars (notably Lawrence 2006 and Miller 2015).

using their own methods and approaches, and then read the texts critically using the methods of exegetics. My aim is also to understand textual material in its historical contexts without making it solely a witness of historical archaeology.

FROM BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO IDENTITY POLITICS

(Short chapter of history of archaeology in Palestine.)

According to Katharina Galor the history of Archaeology in Palestine can be divided for four historical frameworks. Starting from *Colonialist Archaeology* (1850-1948), then phase of *Natinalistic (Neo Colonial) Archeaology* (1948-1667) and followed by *Archaeology and occupation* (1967-1996) until to present phase the *Archaeology of Occupation.*[11] The history of Southern Levant and especially our studies and interpretations about it are never unconnected with the more recent history and politics. Especially in the geographical area that are occupied now modern Israel and Palestine. Same archaeological datasets and textual sources can be used to strengthen many different theories and views of daily life in 2000 years ago.

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[11] Galor 2017, 5.

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Project summary:

The Literary Growth and Composition of Zion Theology within Psalms 46-48

(working title)

Ronja Koch, University of Kiel

My dissertation project has changed since the last OTSEM meeting. Previously, I wanted to write a semantic analysis of the verb root מוט, looking at both biblical and parabiblical texts. However, through many good conversations - especially at OTSEM - and through my work on Psalm 46 in the context of semantic analysis, I found a new topic which is now the basis of my dissertation.

In my doctoral project, I examine Psalms 46-48 linguistically, literary-critically and motif-historically to determine if and how literary growth and literary references have taken place within the texts themselves and through their composition as a smaller collection. In doing so, I pay attention to the different motifs that are particular to and contained in each of the Psalms. One focus of this study is to look at how motifs grew and were further interpreted in relation to literary composition.

The aim of the dissertation is to show a) within a smaller collection how psalter composition or at least psalm group growth might have taken place and b) how theology was produced through the deliberate composition of texts with literary references, in the example of Psalm 46-48 it is the productive shaping of Zion theology within the texts and in their references to each other.

In order to uncover these literary references, the dissertation first examines the three psalms individually in terms of language, literary criticism and motif history. The aim is to reveal literary growth and content-related peculiarities and commonalities in each case. In a further step, the literary relationships of the three psalms to each other will be examined. This will then culminate in a redaction-historical description of the growth of the collection. The aim here is to show how Zion theology is constructed, modelled and modified through the composition and redaction of the texts. A brief outlook on the embedding in the first Korah collection then concludes the analysis. Methodologically, the work is based on the historical-critical methodological steps, with a special focus on literary criticism, tradition criticism and redactional criticism.

My OTSEM-paper is part of the analysis on Psalm 46 and an excerpt from my chapter on the studies of the Psalm. In my dissertation, the linguistic analysis is preceded by a very detailed

textual criticism. Building on the research from the paper, the motif-historical analysis of Psalm 46 will follow in the dissertation. Similar to the analysis of Psalm 46, the investigations of Psalm 47 and 48 will also be structured. These individual linguistic and literary-critical analyses will then form the basis for the compositional and redaction-historical considerations within the collection Psalms 46-48. Accordingly, with this paper, an elementary cornerstone of my new dissertation is presented at OTSEM, which is why I am particularly pleased about constructive feedback.

From *Chaoskampf* to World Peace

Linguistic, content-related and structural observations on Psalm 46 and its motifs

Ronja Koch, University of Kiel

Focal points of discussion

- Are my linguistic observations convincing? Have I missed some linguistic characteristics that are crucial for the literary-critical stratification?
- Can you follow my literary-critical stratification?
- Is my interpretation of the addition of verse 11 convincing?
- Do you agree with the literary references I postulated between the two parts of the psalm (vv. 2-8 and 9.12)?

1. Introduction

Psalm 46 is one of the more popular psalms. It is often interpreted as a Psalm of Zion,[1] which it certainly is in its present literary form and position within the Psalter. My thesis, however, is that it only became a Psalm of Zion through literary growth and through its positioning in the triad of Psalms 46-48. Literary growth can be seen within the psalm, but also through references among the psalms in their literary context. In this paper, I focus on the linguistic characteristics and the literary growth that can be discerned within Psalm 46. This investigation will be the basis for further study of the Psalm collection Psalms 46-48. Based on the linguistic analysis and synchronic content analysis, I will conclude the paper with a proposal for a literary critical stratification of Psalm 46.

2. Translation of Psalm 46

1 In relation to the choir master. In relation to the Korahites. In a girl's way. A song.

2 Elohim is for us refuge and strength. As assistance in distress, we have experienced him powerfully.

3 That is why we are not afraid,
when he changes land
and when mountains totter in the heart of the seas.

4 They roar, they foam, his waters.
Mountains tremble at his majesty. Sela.

[1] Cf. Weber, Werkbuch Psalmen, p. 213; Kraus, Psalmen (BK XV), p. 495; Körting, Zion in den Psalmen, p. 179ff.; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 81; Brueggemann/Bellinger, Psalms (NCBC), p. 216.

5 A river: its streams gladden the city of Elohim,
the holiest dwelling of Eljon.
6 Elohim is in its midst. It will not be moved.
Elohim helps it with the approach of the morning.
7 Nations have roared, kingdoms have tottered.
He has raised his voice: Land trembles.
8 YHWH Zebaoth is with us.
A castle of protection for us is the God of Jacob. Sela.

9 Go, see the works of YHWH that he has set:
Dismay on earth.
10 He has put an end to wars until the end of the earth.
He breaks a bow and shatters a spear.
He burns piles in the fire.
11 "Stop and realise that I am Elohim.
I triumph over the nations,
I triumph over the earth."
12 YHWH Zebaoth is with us.
A castle of protection for us is the God of Jacob. Sela.

3. Linguistic observations

Ps 46 is a twelve-verse text. Verse 1, however, is initially not to be considered for the linguistic observations of the text, since this verse is the heading of the psalm, which provides information about the compositional contexts of the Psalter. Thus, for the analysis of the linguistic peculiarities, the corpus of verses 2-12 is considered. In these verses, 13 PC forms, five SC forms, four imperatives, two infinitives and one participle are found. Verses 8 and 12 are nominal clause constructions, verses 2 and 6 begin with an introductory nominal clause. Verse 12 is a repetition of verse 8. Often these two verses are interpreted as a refrain.[2] However, it is only through the repetition in verse 12 that verse 8 becomes a refrain.[3] By describing the two

[2] Cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 189; Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 451; Oeming/Vette, Buch der Psalmen. Psalmen 42-89 (NSK.AT 13,2), p. 35; Kraus, Psalmen (BK XV), p. 495; Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 343; Folger, Understanding, p. 35; McFadyen, Messages of the psalms, p. 100.
[3] Böhler points out in his commentary that the verses "exakt gleich lauten, aber sie teilen das Gedicht in ungleiche Teile und sind an je ihrer Stelle trotz identischen Wortlauts innerhalb der Gedankenentwicklung nicht exakt gleichbedeutend: V 8 ist das Bekenntnis Israels; V 12 entwickelt sich zum Bekenntnis auch der Völker", id.,

verses as refrain, it is suggested that verse 8 was deliberately composed as such for the psalm. Therefore, we should refrain from describing verses 8 and 12 as refrains, even though the psalm in its final form has this feature.

Thus, the psalm is first divided into two parts from its own structure[4] - whether this is also the case in terms of content and language need to be analysed.[5] The divine names אלהים, עליון and יהוה are used. The thematic word fields are "protection", "chaos" and "war". A detailed analysis of each verse will show the linguistic characteristics of Psalm 46. In a second step, the findings will be used to make a literary-critical proposal of the psalm.

Verse 2 is constructed as a bicolon:

אלהים לנו מחסה ועז
עזרה בצרות נמצא מאד

The first colon is a nominal clause, the second colon is a compound nominal clause. Through the use of the 1st c. Pl. (once as suffix, once as PC Qal) and the terms מחסה ועז and עזרה בצרות

Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 837. This observation of content is very precise and yet speaks rather for a resumption of verse 8 in verse 12.

[4] Cf. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 837; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 44; Janowski, Wohnung, p. 42ff; Ego, Wasser, p. 363ff; Tsumura, Structure, p. 29ff; Hitzig, Psalmen, historisch-kritisch untersucht, p. 257; De Wette, Commentar über die Psalmen, p. 276.

[5] There are various attempts to divide the psalm into three parts, up to the point where it is suggested that the so-called refrain verse 8 should already be entered after verse 4, cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 189; Weber, Werkbuch Psalmen, p. 213; Oeming/Vette, Buch der Psalmen. Psalm 42-89 (NSK.AT 13,2), pp. 35f.; Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), pp. 450f.; Kraus, Psalmen (BK XV), p. 495, Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 343; Buttenweiser, The Psalms, p. 513f; Folger, Understanding, pp. 35; Baethgen, Psalmen übersetzt, p. 133; Kittel, Psalmen, p. 164; Hupfeld, Psalms, p. 635; Duhm, Psalms explained, pp. 131f; Olshausen, Psalmen (KEH 14), p. 205; Wellhausen, Book of Psalms: Critical Edition, p. 84; Schmidt, Psalmen, p. 88; Delitzsch, Psalmen, p. 346; Weiser, Pslamen (ATD), p. 248; Briggs/Briggs, Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), p. 395. These supplementary considerations can sometimes seem very adventurous, for example, when a break line between 4 and 5 is assumed, where the text might have been damaged, cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 189. However, this intervention in the text must be regarded as unnecessary, since there is no textual evidence whatsoever for this tripartite division with a refrain after verse 4 and these considerations are highly speculative. Buttenweiser even goes so far as to simply add the verse without comment directly after verse 4, cf. id., The Psalms, pp. 513f. He merely briefly points out that according to scholarly findings this must be done this way, cf. ibid., p. 516.
Oeming also proposes a tripartite division, but arranges it differently with a break after verse 4. According to him, the psalm has a clear tripartite division which he sees as follows: 1st verses 2-6, 2nd verses 7-8 and 3rd verses 9.-12. Oeming establishes this by reference to content and temporal characteristics, cf. id./Vette, Buch der Psalmen. Psalm 42-89 (NSK.AT 13,2), p. 35. Craigie divides the psalm into a tripartite structure (verses 2-4; 5-8 and 9-12) on the basis of the triple Selah, cf. id., Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 343. This is possible, but the use of the Selah is also sometimes unclear in its meaning.
Körting also divides the psalm into three parts, but points out that the text does not have to be changed for this. She sees a justification for a division into three parts in terms of content, cf. id., Zion in den Psalmen, pp. 180f. She notes, however, that verses 2-8 are very much related to each other (especially through the use of common motifs), while the third stanza (verses 9-12) clearly stands out from the preceding verses. This observation is very convincing, which is why the present analysis assumes, on the basis of the same observations, a rough division into two parts of the psalm, whereby the first, larger complex can certainly be divided into two further stanzas according to Körting. Likewise, her observation of a division of the second complex into two parts in terms of content is to be followed, cf. ibid., p. 181.

the verse has a chiastic structure. The terms describe Elohim's protective function for the we-group of the psalm. This is indicated in the introductory hemistich by לנו: Elohim is *for us* - that is, not for all, but for an exclusive group - this protection.

With verse 3, the protective function of Elohim for the we-group is unfolded. This is marked by the introductory conjunction על כן in verse 3. Verse 3 follows on directly from verse 2 through the use of the conjunction and the continuation of the 1st c. Pl. directly after verse 2.[6] Its contents seem to be a logical derivation of the introductory conjunction:

על כן לא נירא בהמיר ארץ

ובמוט הרים בלב ימים

Elohim protects the we-group of the psalm from the forces of nature. The verbs מור and מוט are theme-giving. Both verbs appear as infinitives with the preposition ב. Thus, verse 3 has a bicolon structure: the first colon consists of the introductory על כן לא נירא, followed by the first infinitive construction, which gives the occasion of protection due to natural forces. The second colon then begins with the second infinitive construction, followed by the adverbial clause בלב ימים. Verse 2 is thus chiastic in structure and composed in the same parallelist style as the rest of the verses in the first section of the psalm. A special feature lies in the beginning of the verse: the infinitive constructions are both dependent on the introductory על כן לא נירא.

Nature is the setting of the verse.[7] ארץ, הרים and ימים create a scenic image, the environment has not yet been domesticated by man. This setting is still predominant in verse 4. It is not until verses 5 and 6 that the contrasting setting of the city is opened up, which is expanded by political dimensions in verse 7. These settings then disappear in verses 9-11, which are more concerned with cosmological dimensions of the earth as a whole. The image of a landscape setting is thus contrasted with the city in verses 5-6, softened as early as verse 7 and lost altogether in the second part of the psalm.

Special attention should be paid to the description of the forces of nature: the construction of infinitives with the preposition ב and the following noun. בהמיר ארץ contains an ambiguity of interpretation that is central to the understanding of the psalm. The infinitive Hifil has to be interpreted transitively according to its semantics. Thus, ארץ is the object of המיר. The subject is not mentioned, the only conceivable one would be אלהים from verse 2, who causes the country to be changed.[8] *To change the land* means that the solid land mass changes its constitution; the

[6] Cf. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 837.
[7] Cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 48.
[8] Cf. with the same interpretation Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 836; Olshausen, Psalmen (KEH 14), p. 205; Hirsch, Psalmen übersetzt, p. 254.

inhabitable land sinks back into the primeval chaos of prehistory and becomes that from which it was created. It is easy to imagine that אלהים as a divine authority is the agent of this process. A deity alone would have the power and ability to bring about this interchanging. Nevertheless, the psalm uses motifs of natural forces. However, they are subject to the power of אלהים.

If one interprets מור intransitively, however, ארץ is to be regarded as the subject.[9] This interpretation opens up a parallelism with the second infinitive construction. Here, the infinitive Qal carries הרים as the subject. The tottering of the hills is a motif that also appears in Isa 54:10. However, an interpretation of אלהים as subject is not so far-fetched, since it is also his waters (verse 4) and his majesty (verse 4) that are spoken of in Psalm 46. אלהים is a powerful deity who both has a strong influence on and can bring about the forces of nature and can guarantee protection and security for the we-group at the same time. The dualism of devastation and protection of divine power is expressed in verse 3. In addition, the use of the terms המיר and הרים creates an onomatopoeic play on words, which is typical of the language of the first section of Psalm 46 due to its linguistic beauty and striking style.

The formulation בלב ימים as a place specification is also very conspicuous and can be found besides this example in Ezek 27:4.25-27; 28:2.8.[10] By this phrase the depth of the sea is expressed. In addition to the two verbs as forces of nature, this opens up the theme of *water*. The interpretation of בלב is somewhat open. This could mean both a place and a direction.[11] ב indicates a place with "in" and can also mean "into" together with verbs of movement.[12] A comparison with the same formulation in Ezek 27:26f. shows this difference very clearly:

26 במים רבים הביאוך השטים אתך רוח הקדים שברך בלב ימים

Those who rowed for you brought you into wide waters. The east wind broke you in the heart of the seas.

27 הונך ועזבוניך מערבך מלחיך וחבליך מחזיקי בדקך וערבי מערבך וכל אנשי מלחמתך אשר בך ובכל קהלך אשר בתוכך יפלו בלב ימים ביום מפלתך

Your wealth and your goods, your merchandise, your seamen and your sailors, the repairers of your damage and the merchants of your merchandise, and all the men of

[9] Cf. Wellhausen, Book of Psalms: Critical Edition, p. 84; Delitzsch, Psalmen, p. 346; Hupfeld, Psalmen, p. 636; Baethgen, Psalmen übersetzt, p. 133. Baethgen, however, interprets מור not intransitively but transitively and adds "their place" as an object. ארץ thus remains the subject of מור.

[10] Ex 15:8; Prov 23:34 and 30:19 also contain this phrase, but with ים in singular. The direct comparison is therefore the evidence in Ezek 27 and 28.

[11] For the locational interpretation cf. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 836; Duhm, Psalmen erklärt, p. 131; De Wette, Commentar über die Psalmen, p. 277; Hitzig, Psalmen, historisch-kritisch untersucht, p. 636. 636. For directional interpretation cf. Delitzsch, Psalmen, p. 346; Hupfeld, Psalmen, p. 636; Briggs/Briggs, Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), p. 397.

[12] Cf. Joüon/Muaoka, Grammar of Biblical Hebrew, § 133c; Waltke/O'Connor, Hebrew Syntax, 11.2.5 b.

war who are with you and with all your crew in your midst, they fall into the heart of the seas in the day of your fall.

While in Ezek 27:26 בלב ימים functions as a place indication, the same wording in the following verse is a direction indication. This is because נפל is a verb of movement and thus forces this interpretation. However, מוט in Ps 46:3 is not a verb of movement. Therefore, an interpretation of בלב ימים as a place indication is preferable in Ps 46:3 - it becomes clear that the motif refers to a sea setting.

The themes of *water* and *the forces of nature* are continued in verse 4, which ties in directly with the water theme:

יהמו יחמרו מימיו

ירעשו הרים בגאותו סלה

In terms of content, the verse is still connected to על כן לא נירא from verse 3, even though it is no longer syntactically dependent on it.[13] The verse is composed chiastic to verse 3: here the mighty waters are in the foreground at the beginning, the power of the deity concludes the end of the verse.

The verse structure is in two parts. The first part of verse 4 comprises a two-part statement about the waters of the sea.[14] The suffix of the 3rd m. Sg. does not, however, refer to ימים from verse 3, as often interpreted,[15] but to the introductory אלהים from verse 2. The water is subordinate to אלהים according to the syntactic logic of the psalm. The verbs also continue the theme from verse 3. PC forms are used, clearly expressing the action of the restlessness of the waters.[16] The closeness of sound in the pronunciation of both verb groups is striking. Through the sound of the verbs, the linguistic image of the force of nature is underlined in an almost onomatopoeic way. The second part of the verse summarises the previously unfolded situation. The root רעשׁ in the PC is used to describe the instability of the earth or parts of the earth's soil (in this case the mountains). Thus, it semantically takes up the verbs from verse 3. The suffix 3rd m. Sg. of בגאותו also refers to אלהים from verse 2, since it is about his power and majesty.[17]

[13] Differently Delitzsch, Psalms, p. 346.
[14] Here, you can see the word play between ימים and מים.
[15] Cf. Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 448; Hupfeld, Psalmen, p. 637; Hitzig, Psalmen, historisch-kritisch untersucht, p. 258; Duhm, Psalmen erklärt, p. 131; Delitzsch, Psalmen, p. 346; De Wette, Commentar über die Psalmen, pp. 277; Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 1-50 (NEB), p. 286; Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 836; Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 189; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 38f; Baethgen, Psalmen übersetzt, p. 134.
[16] However, we are not talking about a personification of the waters here, since these are indeed verbs that describe the movement and behaviour of water. It is precisely not a "raging" in the anthropomorphic sense that is expressed, but the unrestraint of the water masses. On the thesis of personification, cf. Goldingay, Psalms 42-49, p. 100.
[17] Cf. Olshausen, Psalmen (KEH 14), p. 205, also in reference to the waters.

In a way, this creates a link back to the statement of protection. This verse is followed by סלה, which marks the first section of the text.

In verse 5, a new theme is opened in connection with and at the same time in contrast to the theme complex in verses 3 and 4.[18] Verse 5 has a two-part structure:

נהר פלגיו ישמחו עיר אלהים

קדש משכני עליון

This and the following verse 6 deal with the city of Elohim. The water theme from verses 3 and 4 is taken up and contrasted in the first part of the verse.[19] A new theme is opened with נהר and the subsequent execution פלגיו ישמחו עיר אלהים.[20] It is the streams of a river that delight the city of Elohim, expressed with a PC form. נהר interrupts the reading flow of the powers of chaos. The verse is a compound nominal clause. It forms a syntactic break and at the same time a bridging element between the natural forces of verses 3 and 4 and the joy-giving power of verse 5.[21] With the term alone, one can certainly also think of a raging, wild stream that has the same characteristics as the wild water before. נהר is usually used to describe large rivers such as the Nile or the Euphrates.[22] However, this stream becomes the life-giving element of the city of Elohim. Through this contrast, the motif "water" not only has a chaotic nature, but also something pleasing and life-giving. The second verse section characterises the city of Elohim as the holiest dwelling place of Eljon. Here a superlative is expressed by the construct nexus, which is in apposition to the city of Elohim.[23] מִשְׁכָּן appears 20 times in the plural in the MT, but

[18] Cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 49; Grund, Eine Festung, p. 63; Hitzig, Psalms, historisch-kritisch untersucht, p. 258; De Wette, Commentar über die Psalmen, p. 278; Rogerson, Psalms 1-50 (CBC), p. 220; Brueggemann/Bellinger, Psalms (NCBC), p. 217.

[19] Cf. Weber, Werkbuch Psalmen, p. 213; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, pp. 49f.; Goldingay, Psalms 42-89, p. 100. Lichtenstein states that in contrast to the chaos waters, the reference is now to "domesticated" waters, presumably following Gerstenberger, Psalms Part I, p. 192.

[20] Cf. Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 1-50 (NEB), p. 287.
Briggs/Briggs still move נהר into the fourth line and then refer the suffix from בגאותו to נהר, cf. id., Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), pp. 395 and 397. However, this conversion is neither necessary in terms of content nor syntax and is therefore also rejected as an interpretation possibility for Psalm 46.

[21] Seybold interprets it differently, for whom נהר is a syntactically isolated term. Seybold undertakes various considerations of rearrangement in order to harmonise the text, cf. id, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 190. Seybold originally locates the psalm in Dan and tries to clarify this with the water topic of verse 5, cf. id, p. 190f.; also Goldingay, Psalms 42-89, p. 101. Indeed, the topic of the threatening as well as the pleasing waters is not necessarily suitable for Jerusalem, but a local reference cannot be clearly discerned from the images of the psalm. It should be noted, however, that the images are very unlikely and inappropriate for Jerusalem as a historical city. Buttenweiser refers נהר syntactically to the God of Jacob, whom he previously finds as a referent in the refrain he added after verse 4, and translates "He is a river", cf. id., The Psalms, pp. 513 and 516. This interpretation must be rejected, however, since even in his construction the syntax hardly allows for such a translation.

[22] Likewise, the rivers of paradise are called that way. No river of Israel is called נהר, which shows that it must mean a significantly larger river than the geography of Israel/Palestine allows. Cf. Snijders, Art. נהר nāhār, ThWAT V, col. 283f.

[23] Cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 50.

only twice in the masculine plural form. The only other instance of this plural form is found in Ezek 25:4: [24]

לכן הנני נתנך לבני קדם למורשה וישבו טירותיהם בך ונתנו משכניהם

Therefore, behold, I give thee for a possession unto the sons of the east, and they shall pitch their tents in thee, and they shall take their dwellings in thee. They, they shall eat thy fruits, and the very same they shall drink thy milk.

In this passage, however, it is about the dwellings of the sons of the east, no longer about the dwellings of a deity. In these two verses, the word is used as a group plural.[25] Michel states that the plural on -īm has to be understood as a group plural, that on -ōt as a plural composed of individual ones.[26] Accordingly, the plural formation in Ps 46:5 has to be understood as meaning that the city of Elohim is a dwelling out of the heap of the dwellings of Eljon. These dwellings cannot be counted individually, but they are many - the city of Elohim, on the other hand, is unique and the holiest of these dwellings. Thus, Eljon has many dwellings, innumerable dwellings, whereas the Elohim of the we-group has this one city in which he is present.

Verse 6 continues the theme of Elohim's presence in the city and its importance for the stability of his city:

אלהים בקרבה בל תמוט

יעזרה אלהים לפנות בקר

The verse is also divided into two parts. In the first hemistich, consisting of a nominal clause and a negated verbal clause, the nature of the city is expressed. By using the root מוט, a direct reference to the theme in v. 3 is made. The negation of the root marks the city as particularly stable. The second hemistich is a verbal clause that describes Elohim's importance for the city in a parallelism to the first part of the verse. The adverbial clause לפנות בקר characterises Elohim's help in a special way. This adverbial clause is found only one other time in MT, Ex 14:27, when Moses parts the sea.[27] Even though the literal phrase appears only one other time in Ex 14:27, the motif of help in the morning is a fairly established image.[28]

[24] Cf. Buttenweiser, The Psalms, p. 516. Spieckermann points out that Ps 46:5 is the only evidence for the masculine plural of מִשְׁכָּן, cf. id., Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 449. Unfortunately, he does not discuss the evidence in Ezek 25:4, which is why it remains unclear how Spieckermann would interpret this evidence. First of all, it can be assumed that there is also a masculine plural of מִשְׁכָּן in Ezek 25:4.

[25] Cf. Michel, Hebräische Syntax 1, p. 47; Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 836; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 50; Janowski, Wohnung, p. 44.

[26] Cf. Michel, Hebräische Syntax 1, p. 45.

[27] Cf. Goldingay, Psalms 42-89, p. 102.

[28] Cf. Janowski, Rettunggewißheit, p. 2ff.

Verse 7 contrasts with the security and stability described in verses 5 and 6:

המו גוים מטו ממלכות

נתן בקולו תמוג ארץ

The verse is divided into two hemistiches, a clear bicolon structure emerges. The first hemistich consists of two verbal clauses, both beginning with a 3rd m. Pl. SC Qal. The SC forms at this point, however, do not express anteriority, but rather the state of the setting as background information to what is said in the following of the verse.[29] It is interesting, however, that PC forms are used in the description of the natural chaos in verse 4. This natural chaos of verse 4 is punctual, happening at a certain point of time, it can be felt and experienced in a very specific moment. In contrast, the chaos of nations and kingdoms in verse 7 seems to be more of an ongoing moment that is observable by the we-group over a certain period of time.[30]

In this verse, too, the root מוט is used, moreover, the root המה from verse 4 is also taken up again. This creates a link to the chaotic descriptions of verses 3 and 4.[31] The use of מוט, however, also draws a direct contrast to the negated verb form in verse 6. In verse 7, the roots are not used for natural forces, but refer to social structures.[32] Thus, with the change of subject in v. 7a, the world of the psalm is expanded to include the level of human social systems.

The second hemistich also consists of two verbal clauses, the first with a 3rd m. Sg. SC Qal, while the other begins with a 2nd f. Sg. PC Qal. In v. 7b, too, there is another change of subject: the subject is not named, but it is the Elohim of the previous verses who is now acting. The word field of instability is supplemented in this hemistich by the root מוג in relation to the subject ארץ. The verb forms various references to themes already mentioned. Due to its strong reference to water and water waves, the use of the lexeme creates a direct reference to verses 3-4, but also 5. Thus, it incorporates the dualistic water metaphor and symbolism. Furthermore, it relates to the verbs at the beginning of the verse, as nuances of these roots can also be found in its semantics. Within its own verse, it also has the connotation of trembling in awe or surrendering, as it parallels the instabilities of nations and kingdoms – מוג usually means trembling in the face of divine power in these contexts. The preceding phrase נתן בקולו expresses

[29] Cf. Buttenweiser, The Psalms, p. 517.

[30] Cf. Körting, Zion in den Psalmen, p. 183. Körting speaks of the "historical background" which, however, remains undefined in the psalm. This paraphrase captures the described situation of verse 7 quite well.
Lichtenstein, on the other hand, speaks of a sequence of actions, id., Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 51f. With Körting, however, I would speak here less of temporal than of aspectual implications of the verb forms: It is about the experience of chaos, which in nature is very punctual, but in the space of nations and kingdoms is felt to be continuous.
This is interpreted even differently by Delitzsch, Psalmen, p. 347, who reads the SC forms as hypothetical assumptions, so that in the case of the situation of v. 7a, verse part b is to be expected.

[31] Cf. Hitzig, Psalmen, historisch-kritisch untersucht, p. 259.

[32] Cf. Rogerson, Psalms 1-50 (CBC), p. 220.

this divine power as theophany[33] and forms an arc to the בגאותו mentioned in verse 4. In both verses, it remains open to whom exactly the suffix 3. m. Sg. refers to, this must be deduced from the preceding context. In verse 7 - as already in verse 4 - Elohim is to be assumed as the reference.[34] The preceding ב in בקולו syntactically underlines the description of theophany as Bet instrumentale, whereby the voice is not only the object of the theophany, but also the instrument of the appearance.[35]

Verse 8 marks a break in the developing theme. The verse is constructed in a chiastic bicolon structure in parallelism:[36]

יהוה צבאות עמנו
משגב-לנו אלהי יעקב סלה

In this verse, the 1. c. Pl. of verses 2 and 3 reappears. In addition, the protective motif from verse 2 is taken up again, which had occurred once more in verses 5 and 6 in relation to the city of Elohim. Thus, a similar chiasmus as in verse 2 appears, except that now the characterisation of the deity is begun. The protective attributes of Elohim from verse 2 are supplemented in verse 8 by the term משגב. The terms used to designate the deity in this verse are new. Whereas previously the psalm spoke four times of Elohim and once of Eljon, now the terminology changes. The terms יהוה צבאות and אלהי יעקב are used to define the deity in more detail.[37] The combination of the names YHWH Zebaoth and God of Jacob is unique in the entire Old Testament in Psalm 46.[38]

YHWH as God's name reappears in verse 9:

לכו חזו מפעלות יהוה אשר שם שמות בארץ

This verse does not have the usual parallelistic structure of the preceding verses. In addition, a different speech perspective is introduced here. The imperatives in the plural address an unspecified "you". It is unclear who the addressees of the infinitives are.[39] The construct nexus מפעלות יהוה is further defined by the following אשר-sentence.[40] מפעלות appears only three times

[33] Cf. Weber, Werkbuch Psalmen, p. 213, Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 452.
[34] Cf. Hupfeld, Psalms, p. 640.
[35] Cf. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 836. Goldingay particularly emphasises the ambiguity of this phrase, since it can also mean thunder, cf. id., Psalms 42-89, p. 103.
[36] Cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 191; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 46.
[37] Cf. Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 452.
[38] Cf. ibid.
[39] Cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 53.
[40] Hitzig, on the other hand, refers the relative particle אשר to YHWH alone and translates it as "who has practised amazing things on earth", id., Psalms. S. 259f. However, it is syntactically more correct to refer the אשר-phrase to the preceding construct nexus.

in the texts of the Old Testament, besides Ps 46:9 also in Ps 66:5 and Prov 8:22. Thus in all three references the works of YHWH are meant. שמות is only used in the plural in this verse. All the other 38 instances are found in the singular. Ps 46:9 and 66:5 show a strong similarity in content,[41] cf. Ps 66:5:

לכו וראו מפעלות אלהים נורא עלילה על בני אדם

Go and behold the works of God; fearful are the deeds above man.

It is also noticeable that according to the Masoretic punctuation, ארץ is written with an article (the article can be seen as the consonant ה before ארץ in verse 10). This marks a difference to the previous verses (3 and 7), in which ארץ is used without an article according to the Masoretic text.

The use of ארץ with article is also visible in the following verse 10 without punctuation. Verse 10 introduces a new topic to the psalm, divine intervention in wars:

משבית מלחמות עד קצה הארץ

קשת ישבר וקצץ חנית

עגלות ישרף באש

The verse has a tricolon structure and is unusually long in relation to the other verses. The verse begins with a participle that refers to the preceding verse 9.[42] The parallelistic structure of the first part of the psalm is still missing in this verse. The first hemistich describes YHWH (read following verse 9) as a universal warlord. This characterisation is filled with content in the following two hemistiches by saying how destruction of implements of war will end the battles. The pairing of the distance weapons only occurs in Ps 46:10. עגלות denotes the trucks that were used for transport in wars and for deportation. In the enumeration to depict the termination of wars, this does not use the vocabulary of an immediate close combat, but terms that describe a longer, planned act of war. Two PC forms and one SC consecutive are used to describe the destruction.

With verse 11, a change of subject takes place. Like verse 9, this verse starts with two imperatives, but this time it seems to be the deity itself speaking, whereas before it was spoken in the voice of the we-group in the psalm:

הרפו ודעו כי אנכי אלהים

ארום בגוים ארום בארץ

[41] Cf. Hupfeld, Psalms, p. 640.
[42] A hymnal participle would be conceivable, cf. Gerstenberger, Psalms Part I, p. 194.

The verse consists of two hemistiches, i.e. it has a bicolon structure. The first hemistich begins with two imperatives in the plural. This is followed by כי אנכי אלהים, a nominal sentence.[43] The wording is strongly reminiscent of the knowledge formula in the Book of Exodus, e.g. Ex 6:7, or in Ezekiel. The second hemistich continues thematically: in two PC-statements of the 1st c. Singular, the universal power of the Elohim is expressed. The use of the two terms גוים and ארץ establishes a direct reference to v. 7. Moreover, with these two terms, v. 11 also takes up the cosmological dimensions of the first part of the psalm: nature, represented by (the) earth, from verses 3-4 and the world of nations from verse 7. Furthermore, another reference to v. 7 is made through the content filling of an implied speech of God in v. 7b - the formulation in v. 7b certainly has a semantic openness that can be interpreted and explicated in one direction with v. 11 as a speech of God.[44] This speech of God appears quite abruptly in Psalm 46 in its present form. It lacks any introductory formula that marks a clear subject and a clear addressee of the speech.[45]

Verse 12 is a *Wiederaufnahme* of verse 8:

יהוה צבאות עמנו

משגב לנו אלהי יעקב סלה

Thus, the two verses form a frame around the section of verses 9-11.

The use of the articles, verbs and word fields is striking. The nouns ארץ and גוים occur both in the section of verses 2-7 and in the section of verses 9-11. In verses 2-7, however, a definite article is never used, not with any noun, whereas in verses 9-11, according to the Masoretic reading (and in v. 10 also clearly visible through the consonant inventory), the nouns ארץ and גוים always appear with articles. This is a linguistic break that definitely has consequences for the understanding of the verses (e.g. earth as land vs. the earth as cosmos).[46]

The psalm begins in v. 2 with a construction of a nominal clause and a compound nominal clause. In verses 3-6, with the exception of two infinitives, PC forms dominate the verbal structure of the text. Then in v. 7 comes a string of three SC forms, which finally concludes

[43] Cf. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 837; Michel, Hebräische Syntax 2, p. 98.

[44] Cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 56, who elaborates on this "explication of content" and thus sees an inner-textual reference between these two verses. This reference is certainly there, even if it could only be of a secondary nature. Cf. also Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 1-50 (NEB), pp. 288f.

[45] Cf. ibid.

[46] Lichtenstein understands the use of the article in relation to ארץ somewhat differently: he assumes that indefinite ארץ is an "independent (personal) quantity", while determinate ארץ is used as a "place name", id, Middle of the City of God, p. 60. However, the analysis has shown that the article before ארץ rather signals the shift of semantics from land to cosmos.

with a PC form. V. 8 interrupts this paragraph and is again a construction of nominal clauses (and so is v. 12). The section of verses 9-11 is very mixed in verbal structure (imperatives, SC and PC forms, participle). Strikingly, in verses 9 and 11 imperatives are used.
Verses 2 and 8/12 make use of terms from the word fields "protection" and "strength". In verses 3-7, chaos terminology dominates, interrupted by statements of confidence in verses 5 and 6.[47] Verses 9 and 11 find terms describing the violence of a deity. Verse 10 has its own terminology from the word field "war".

4. Content observations

4.1. Psalm 46 read synchronously

First, the structure of the content and its development within the psalm will be considered. The aim is to understand the psalm in its present form. In doing so, possible further developments of motifs and breaks will also be identified. Together with the linguistic observations, a literary-critical stratification is then undertaken. Verse 1 will also be ignored for this consideration. However, this verse will be of particular relevance for considerations of the composition of psalms and the Psalter.
Psalm 46 is spoken at the beginning from the perspective of a we-group[48] and begins with a confession of trust in the protection of a deity.[49] This protection is characterised by preserving action in the face of chaotic and threatening forces of nature (verses 3-4), social uncertainties (verse 7) and war (verses 9-10).[50] The expressions of trust by the we-group (verses 2.8.12) frame the content.[51] The city of Elohim is characterised as the place where this protection and support is particularly felt (verse 5). The repeated expression of trust in the same wording (verses 8 and 12) divides the psalm into two sections on a formal level. The interplay between confidence in assistance and description of threats is structured as follows:
Verse 2 starts with a basic premise.[52] Elohim is related to a group calling itself "we", whereupon a parallelism characterises this relationship. In the two hemistiches, vocabulary of power and

[47] Cf. Körting, Zion in den Psalmen, p. 181f.
[48] Cf. Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 451; Kraus, Psalmen (BK XV), p. 496.
[49] Cf. Deissler, Psalmen 42-89, p. 23; Rogerson, Psalms 1-50 (CBC), p. 218; Briggs/Briggs, Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), p. 393; Gerstenberger, Psalms Part I, p. 191; Brueggemann/Bellinger, Psalms (NCBC), p. 217.
[50] Cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 189; Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 451.
[51] Cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 62.
[52] According to Gerstenberger, verse 3 is also to be added to this introductory basic premise, cf. id., Psalms Part I, p. 192. He justifies his assumption with the change to a descriptive linguistic style in verse 4. For this reason, he also divides the psalm between verse 3 and verse 4, so that verses 2-3 and 4-7 each produce a unity of content, cf. ibid. p. 194, In fact, the confessional style of verses 2 and 3 belong together, but this is rather to be read as a transition to the descriptive main part.

strength describes Elohim as the protector of the we-group. As a consequence, verse 3aα indicates that the we-group of the psalm need not fear.[53] Verses 3aβ-4a then include descriptions for the occasion of possible danger: mighty waters and the instability of earth and mountains are described here.[54] These descriptions have echoes of the *Chaoskampf* motif.[55] Verse 4b then draws a first conclusion: the instability happens in view of the sublimity of the Elohim. Here a dualism is opened up which is continued in the following verses 5-6 - it is the Elohim who equally grants protection as long as one belongs to him, but who can also provide instability and devastation and chaos. Elohim is universal ruler over both maxims. Verses 5 and 6, in contrast to verses 3aβ-4a, describe his protection: joy-bringing water flows in the city of Elohim, it is the holiest dwelling place of Eljon, and Elohim is in the midst of it, so that its stability is assured.[56] This statement of verses 5 and 6 suggests two things: Eljon has more than one dwelling place, that is, more than one place of being, while the city spoken of in Psalm 46 belongs decidedly to Elohim. He is in it and he provides protection through his presence on the spot. Verse 7a again contrasts with verses 5-6, taking up the chaos theme from verses 3aβ-4a and extending it to the socio-political sphere. The verse reports political unrest that could certainly be a threat to the City of Elohim, but will not be - here the use of the verb מוט in verses 6 and 7 clarifies this contrast.[57] However, there is no mention of a storm of nations in verse 7a.[58] A play on words with verbs ties verse 7a directly back to verses 3aβ-4a, so that a parenthesis is formed around verses 5-6, which are central to the first section. Verse 7b, by analogy with verse 4b, is once again a declaration of Elohim's power in contrast to the declarations of protection from verse 2, thus showing an absolute antithesis between the protection of the we-group and the thoroughly threatening and fearsome power of Elohim. The root מוג functions as a summary of the threats and chaos powers mentioned so far, of which the we-group need not be afraid.

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[53] Cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 190; Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 451; Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 344.

[54] This setting is associated by some commentators with the experience of an earthquake, cf. Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19); Kraus, Psalmen (BK XV), p. 498; Rogerson, Psalms 1-50 (CBC), pp. 219; Briggs/Briggs, Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), p. 394; Brueggemann/Bellinger, Psalms (NCBC), p. 217. Briggs/Briggs even locate this earthquake and the geographical features of the psalm: it is said to be set at the foot of Mount Carmel. That the region of the southern Levant was and is plagued by earthquakes is beyond doubt. However, it is not the experience of a particular earthquake that must be in the background here, but rather the *Chaoskampf* motif, which may have had its origin in such experiences, cf. Dahood, Psalms 1-50 (AncB), p. 279.

[55] Cf. Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), p. 189; Weber, Werkbuch Psalmen, p. 213; Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 343; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, pp. 70f.; Deissler, Psalmen 42-89, pp. 23, Schmidt, Psalmen, p. 89; Delitzsch, Psalms, p. 346; Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 1-50 (NEB), p. 287; Weiser, Psalms (ATD), p. 248; Dahood, Psalms 1-50 (AncB), p. 279; Gerstenberger, Psalms Part I, p. 192.

[56] Cf. Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 344.

[57] Cf. ibid.

[58] This is interpreted differently by Kraus, Psalmen (BK XV), p. 499; Weiser, Psalmen (ATD), p. 249f.
In his interpretation of verse 7 as a storm of nations, Kraus refers to many other biblical passages that describe a so-called "storm of nations on Zion", cf. id., Psalms (BK XV), p. 499. However, verse 7 can only be interpreted as such a storm of nations in the light of the latter verses. Taken by itself, the verse first describes political unrest.

Next, verse 8 resolves who this Elohim is: YHWH Zeboath, the God of Jacob. Verse 8 is a further declaration of protection and trust by the we-group, following verse 2.[59] Moreover, this section is framed by the introductory אלהים in verse 2 and by the mention of אלהי יעקב at the end of verse 8.[60] This brings the first section of the psalm to its climax.

Verse 9 then opens in a syntactically new way with two imperatives to an unknown you-group. Thus, the we-group is now joined by a separate you-group in the synchronic textual logic. The psalm opens with a call from a particular perspective of an inner circle of prayers to a universal character of the textual statements.[61]

The invitation is to behold the works of YHWH. In a relative clause, the dualism of protection and threat is taken up: It is not only מפעלות, but also the שמות that comes from YHWH. This fits to the dualistic power of Elohim in the first part of the psalm. The relative clause also forms a syntactical innovation in the psalm. Verse 10 follows directly on verse 9 by reporting YHWH's deeds. The verse is about the ending of wars and the destruction of war equipment. Verse 11 then addresses a you-group with two imperatives (which does not need to be the you-group of v. 9). It seems as if the deity YHWH himself is speaking in his effort to end the wars and to call upon humanity to lay down their belligerence and recognise him as the Elohim who triumphs over nations and earth anyway.[62] What verse 8 evoked through its parallelism with verse 2 is now clearly expressed here on a synchronic textual level: the Elohim spoken of is YHWH. The concept of nations seems to be somewhat antithetical in verse 11 compared to verse 7. If they were social outcast compared to the we-group in verse 7, they are now called upon to recognise YHWH as triumphant over all nations. This could be due to the end of the wars in verses 9-10, but it may also be a break in the content of the world view. Almost anticlimactically, the statement of trust from verse 8 is then repeated verbatim in verse 12 (thus turning the verse into a reciprocal verse), with which the psalm ends.

Following these linguistic and contextual observations, this structure can be assumed for Ps 46:

V. 1	Psalm heading	
V. 2-7	Part I: Cosmological Power of Elohim	
	V. 2	Elohim's power and strength
	V. 3-4	Chaotic threats to nature (*Chaoskampf*)
	V. 5+6	The City of Elohim as a place of protection

[59] Cf. Spieckermann, Psalmen 1-49 (ATD), p. 451; Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 837.
[60] Cf. Weber, Werkbuch Psalmen, p. 214. This framing is also replicated by the resumption of verse 8 in verse 12.
[61] Cf. Kelly, Study in Imagery, p. 305.
[62] Cf. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 838; Briggs/Briggs, Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), p. 396; Goldingay, Psalms 42-89, p. 106.

	V. 7a	Chaotic socio-political threats
	V. 7b	Elohim’s power and strength
V. 8	Trust in YHWH of hosts, the God of Jacob	
V. 9-11	Part II: Universal Cosmological Power of YHWH	
	V. 9	Praise of YHWH's deeds of power
	V. 10	Definition of YHWH's power as universal war god
	V. 11	Call to knowledge (reference back part I) and call to praise
V. 12	Repetition v. 8: Trust in YHWH of hosts, the God of Jacob	

4.2. Psalm 46 read diachronically: Literary Critical Reflections

In the observations of content on the synchronic level, it has already become clear that the first part, verses 2-8, and the second part, verses 9-12, are different from each other in terms of content, although they refer to each other.[63] These references in terms of content, in combination with some linguistic observations, may be indications of literary growth.[64] This literary growth may have occurred in the course of a changing theology or the process of Psalm collection and Psalter composition.

Verses 2-8 are a coherent composition. They share common semantic fields: water, instability/chaos and protection. According to the Masoretic reading, no article is placed before ארץ in these verses. Semantically, this rather means "land, earth" as a visible solid in contrast to water.[65] Moreover, the tetragram is not used (apart from verse 8), but four times אלהים and once עליון is mentioned. Verses 2-8 are constructed in parallelism. They describe the speech situation of the we-group from verse 2. This we-group is taken up again in verse 8, which brings this first section to a coherent end.

[63] Folger, on the other hand, postulates for Psalm 46 that the text is very difficult to understand as a whole because of its disparate elements, cf. Folger, Understanding, p. 35. In his opinion, the elements do not relate to each other. However, the analysis so far has shown that this is not the case. Folger assumes two different structures that overlap (with verse 7 still being the connecting element), cf. id., p. 36 f. However, he moves on a synchronic level of observation of the text. Diachronically, it is rather to be assumed that verse 7 (with reference also to verses 5-6) serves precisely as a reference point for the second Psalm section of verses 9-11 and that the second section is a continuation of the first section, as will be shown in the following.

[64] A literary unity is often postulated for Psalm 46, cf. e.g. Böhler, Psalmen 1-50 (HThKAT), p. 838; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 75ff. Lichtenstein, however, admits that he can certainly make something of the thesis of verse 10 as an addition, pursues this thesis briefly with a few remarks for the theological implications and, with a view to the universal character of v. 10, concludes that it originally belonged to Psalm 46 and that the psalm is thus unitary.
Based on the linguistic and content-related observations, however, a uniformity cannot be assumed, as will be shown in the following.

[65] This is read differently by Seybold, Psalmen (HAT 1/15), who understands ארץ as "world" in the whole of Psalm 46, cf. id., p. 191.

Verses 9-12, on the other hand, behave differently syntactically and semantically. The previously known word and motif clusters can no longer be found, syntactically the parallelism has been lost, and instead relative clauses (verse 9), sentence connections by participles and unusually long verses (verse 10) as well as imperatives appear (verses 9 and 11). According to the Masoretic reading, ארץ now appears with an article - and thus the semantics changes to a cosmological understanding of the earth as a "world"[66]. The article also appears with גוים in verse 11 and the tetragram is mentioned in verse 9. The topic of the complex is the ending of wars in the world. This, of course, in the context of the preceding verses 5 and 6, alludes to the pilgrimage of the nations to Zion.[67] Specifically, verses 9 to 10 refer in their statements to verse 7, but without taking up its vocabulary. Verse 10 refers to verse 9 through the introductory participle and develops it further. It refers to a you-group that is distinct from the we-group - also a change in content compared to verses 2-8. Verse 11 is distinct from this, in which the deity now speaks and addresses the people (it is unclear exactly which group) and identifies himself as the true Elohim with a request for knowledge and a demonstration of power. Although this verse also begins, like verse 9, with two imperatives, its content is once again different from the subject matter of verses 9-10. With גוים and ארץ, the cosmic dimensions from verses 2-7 are taken up, especially verses 4b and 7, the verses of the theophany descriptions.[68] Verse 12 is identical to verse 8 and can be interpreted as *Wiederaufnahme* and thus construction of a refrain.

Following all these observations, the following stratification can be identified as a literary-critical proposal:

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לַמְנַצֵּחַ לִבְנֵי־קֹרַח עַל־עֲלָמוֹת שִׁיר׃

2 אֱלֹהִים לָנוּ מַחֲסֶה וָעֹז עֶזְרָה בְצָרוֹת נִמְצָא מְאֹד׃

3 עַל־כֵּן לֹא־נִירָא בְּהָמִיר אֶרֶץ וּבְמוֹט הָרִים בְּלֵב יַמִּים׃

4 יֶהֱמְיּוּ יֶחְמְרוּ מֵימָיו יִרְעֲשׁוּ־הָרִים בְּגַאֲוָתוֹ סֶלָה׃

5 נָהָר פְּלָגָיו יְשַׂמְּחוּ עִיר־אֱלֹהִים קְדֹשׁ מִשְׁכְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן׃

6 אֱלֹהִים בְּקִרְבָּהּ בַּל־תִּמּוֹט יַעְזְרֶהָ אֱלֹהִים לִפְנוֹת בֹּקֶר׃

7 הָמּוּ גוֹיִם מָטוּ מַמְלָכוֹת נָתַן בְּקוֹלוֹ תָּמּוּג אָרֶץ׃

8 יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עִמָּנוּ מִשְׂגָּב־לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֶלָה׃

[66] This is in contrast to ארץ in the first part of the psalm. Now the earth is no longer meant as a contrast to the water, but *the* earth as the space of divine agency. The article before the peoples also changes the semantics slightly to specific peoples, though this is of less consequence from the change from land to earth as cosmos.

[67] Therefore, in the overall view, Kittel clearly interprets the complex of verses 5-8 as the end-time storm of nations against Zion, cf. id., Psalmen, pp. 166f. However, he sees the strong reference of verse 10 to verses 5-7 without being able to interpret this as a subsequent interpretation of the text, cf. ibid. p. 167f.

[68] There is a strong link between the two parts of the psalms through the use of the two terms. See also Craigie, Psalms 1-50 (WBC 19), p. 343, on the linking of the psalm parts by means of conceptual references in Psalm 46.

9 לְכוּ־חֲזוּ מִפְעֲלוֹת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־שָׂם שַׁמּוֹת בָּאָרֶץ׃
10 מַשְׁבִּית מִלְחָמוֹת עַד־קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ קֶשֶׁת יְשַׁבֵּר וְקִצֵּץ חֲנִית עֲגָלוֹת יִשְׂרֹף בָּאֵשׁ׃
11 הַרְפּוּ וְדְעוּ כִּי־אָנֹכִי אֱלֹהִים אָרוּם בַּגּוֹיִם בָּאָרֶץ׃
12 יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת עִמָּנוּ מִשְׂגָּב־לָנוּ אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב סֶלָה׃

Verses 2-8 form the basic layer of the psalm. They were supplemented by verses 9-10 and 12. Verse 11 was then added to this second complex. Lastly, the heading in verse 1 was added. In the following, a possible motivation for the outlined growth of the text is presented.

On a structural level, verses 2-8 form a unit, since the construction of verses 2-7 requires a conclusion, which is now found in verse 8 that forms an inclusion with the opening statement of verse 2. At the same time, however, verses 2-7 show a set of distinct features which might point to the fact that we are dealing with an older fragment taken up by the composer of the psalm who added verse 8 as a new conclusion.[69] Reasons for this assumption are provided by the absence of the tetragram, the lack of articles, the self-contained motif complexes and word fields as well as the description of a city of God permeated with water, which is considered the holiest of several dwellings, in verses 2-7. These motifs point to a world of imagination, which is also conceivable independently of the Zion theology. On the other hand, verses 2-7 offer good points of contact for Zion theology: a city of God, waters reminiscent of a paradisiacal Jerusalem,[70] protection within the city in contrast to raging forces of chaos from outside. Thus, it can be assumed that the psalm appeared in its first literary form of an early psalm collection with verse 8, in which verses 2-7 are pointed to YHWH Zebaoth, the God of Jacob.

The addition of verses 9-10 put an end to this openness to some extent.[71] The *Fortschreibung* of the psalm through these verses makes the first part of the psalm appear in a Zion-theological light. Only in the style of verses 9-10 does verse 7 become an allusion to an attack on Zion.[72] In verses 9-10, allusions to the storm of nations on Zion can be heard and YHWH as the sovereign who puts an end to all wars gains more divine contour. The City of Elohim of verses 5-6 is also more clearly interpreted as Zion/Jerusalem through these additions. In addition, the

[69] Uehlinger/Grandy also see an independent layer in verses 2-7, which according to them, however, also contained verses 10b-c and 11, cf. id., Toben des Meeres, p. 380ff. On the basis of the following arguments, a separate text fragment is to be assumed in verses 2-7. Verses 10bc.11 have no original connection to verses 2-7, but are extensions and continuations of the text stock. In its literary form, Psalm 46 would hardly have existed in a collection without verse 8.

[70] Cf. Kittel, Psalmen, p. 167; Delitzsch, Psalms, p. 346.

[71] It is also discussed whether verse 10 or verse 10b is an addition to verse 9, cf. Körting, Zion in den Psalmen, p. 181; Spieckermann, Stadtgott, p. 25; Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, pp. 75ff.; Hossfeld/Zenger, Psalmen 1-50 (NEB), p. 285; Briggs/Briggs, Critical and Exegetical Commentary (ICC), pp. 396f. Körting attributes this to the different images of God, since she assumes that the peace motif was added later, id., Zion in den Psalmen, p. 184. However, the image of God seems to be unified in verses 9-10, since it is about a mighty God who ends wars and brings world peace (by all means also through acts of violence, if necessary).

[72] Cf. De Wette, Commentar über die Psalmen, p. 276.

verses are no longer conceived in the parallelistic structure of the first part and show some syntactical innovations. It is conceivable that these verses were added together with verse 12 as a *Wiederaufnahme* of verse 8 to help bring the psalm to a conclusion once again.

Verse 11 then clarifies the openness of verses 2-7 entirely through the divine speech. Through this statement in the context of verses 9-10, it cannot be read otherwise (on a synchronic level) than to recognise YHWH as the Elohim of verses 2-7. Psalm 46 thus clearly becomes a psalm about YHWH, whereas before it still held a certain openness. That is why verse 11 - apart from the heading in verse 1, which was probably added later - is to be read as the last addition to Psalm 46.[73] In verse 11, both parts of the psalm are tied together and the YHWH of verses 9-10 is explicitly identified with the Elohim of verses 2-7.

5. Conclusion

Thus, a four-stage textual growth emerges on a literary level:

- At first, the psalm comprised verses 2-8, although verses 2-7 may contain an older textual fragment.
- Verses 9-10.12 were added to these verses, interpreting the events in verse 7 as a storm of nations and the City of Elohim from verses 5-6 as Zion.
- Verse 11 was added to point the openness of the psalm specifically to YHWH.
- Verse 1 was added as the heading of the psalm, possibly in the course of a compilation as a collection (Korah Psalms).

The linguistic characteristics of the psalm clearly divide the text into two parts (verses 2-8 and 9-12). The linguistic and motivic *Wiederaufnahmen* and references clearly point to a literary growth of the text. Through this growth, verses 2-7 have been given a theological nuance that creates Psalm 46 as a Psalm of Zion that is identity-forming for Old Testament theology and the image of Zion. Further examination of the connections of Psalm 46 to the following psalms 47 and 48 will show how this literary growth occurred in the context of a collection and composition of psalms. However, this will be the subject of a future paper.

Thank you very much for reading!

[73] However, verse 11 is also read as a logical execution of the raising of voices in v. 7b, cf. Lichtenstein, Mitte der Gottesstadt, p. 52; Uehlinger/Grandy, Toben des Meeres, p. 385f. The turn in v. 7b, however, rather depicts a theophany accompanied by thunder. The accompaniment of the theophany by thunder, which is interpreted as the voice of God, is not unusual, cf. Dahood, Psalms 1-50 (AncB), p. 281. Nevertheless, the formulation in v. 7b naturally offers a point of contact for the entry of the call to knowledge in the style of a literal speech of God as shown in v. 11.

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Abstract – Stefan Marinus Kristensen

Title:
Exhortation and Obedience in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

Abstract:

The paper presents some considerations on the notion of an evil spiritual leader within the apocalyptic worldview, and together with considerations on the literary form of the 'farewell address' an argument is presented that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs can be seen as a more integrated text than how scholarship traditionally regards it. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is a notoriously difficult text to interpret exegetically due to its murky compositional history. One feature of the text stands out as a possible indicator of how the document represents at least two very distinct compositional layers. Apart from the several Christian interpolations the text is characterized by two different kinds of material: An exhortational 'base text' modelled after the literary form of a farewell speech and almost without any eschatological focus, but including the evil spiritual figure of Beliar, and then the prophetic and eschatological passages which appear to stand in contrast with regards to focus and terminology. By highlighting how farewell addresses in general, and Gen 49 in particular, may include both exhortational and prophetic parts, together with certain considerations regarding the notion of a spiritual figure of evil within the apocalyptic worldview, the paper proposes that this can indicate that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is a more integrated text than what modern scholarship suggests.

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 in the Testament literature 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 notion of an evil spiritual ruler within an apocalyptic worldview and in connection with a central text which shares in the literary traits that characterize the Testament literature, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

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 priviliged, 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?

OTSEM 2023, Lund
Marcel Krusche, Post-Doc, University of Hamburg

Project Summary

Working Title:
Wisdom Comes before a Fall: Limits, Boundary Transgressions, and Dangers of Human Wisdom in Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Perspectives

Wisdom (חכמה and synonyms) in the context of the Old Testament is regularly associated with a positive and beneficial quality that is worth striving for. However, some texts in the Old Testament attest a critical attitude towards human wisdom or (supposedly) wise people. Especially striking is the close connection and the fine line between wisdom and hubris. Since hubris is often considered fatal ("pride comes before a fall"), wisdom does not always prevent from a fall but can even contribute to a fall. The aim of my post-doc project is to analyze these texts and their conceptions of wisdom and to better understand what makes wisdom an ambivalent or potentially dangerous issue in the view of the texts. In other words: what is wrong about wisdom?

The main part of the study starts with an analysis of the so-called Verse Account on Nabonidus, a Babylonian diatribe against the last Neo-Babylonian king, within the context of Mesopotamian tradition history and cultural history. This broader context also sheds light on the Old Testament texts analyzed next, which predominantly stem from the oracles against the nations (Isa 10:5–15; Ezek 28:1–10, 11–19; Isa 47), but also the fatal acquisition of the "knowledge of good and bad" in Gen 2–3 is treated. Several smaller passages dealing with the perishing of the wisdom of the wise (Isa 19:11–14; 29:14; 44:25; Jer 49:7; Ob 8; Job 5:12–14) or with being wise in one's own eyes (Isa 5:21; Jer 8:7–9; 9:22–23; Prov 3:5–8; 26:5, 12, 16; 28:11) are considered as well. Meanwhile, the exegetical part of the project is almost finished, but the synthesis of the individual exegetical chapters is still to be accomplished.

The methodology is mainly based on historical-critical exegesis. Particular consideration is paid to the analysis of rhetoric and pragmatics on the one hand and to the ancient Near Eastern backgrounds on the other hand.

The present paper stems from the chapter on Gen 2–3, where I treat the meaning of the "knowledge of good and bad," the question of the evaluation of the humans' striving for that knowledge (hubris or not?) as well as the cleverness of the serpent and what it implies for the question what kind of being the serpent is. This latter aspect, the wisdom of the serpent, is the focus of my paper. Since the serpent's cleverness turns out to be fatal for both the humans and the serpent itself, it fits perfectly with the scope of my project.

OTSEM 2023, Lund
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The Wisdom of the Serpent in Genesis 3

Focal points of discussion:

- Is the methodological approach to combine a narratological analysis with an investigation into the tradition history of the serpent sound?
- Are the narrative gaps identified in section 2 convincing? Are there even more?
- Is it convincing to connect the serpent with the Seven Sages *(akpallū)* and with Prometheus in terms of tradition history (section 3)?
- Is it convincing to interpret the serpent as a numinous being that has access to the divine sphere in the beginning but finally loses that access after its offense?

Although the Eden narrative in Gen 2–3 does not use derivatives of the root חכ״ם, three terms occur that belong to the semantic field of wisdom: (1) the root יד״ע, in connection with the object טוב ורע and the tree whose fruit effects this ability (Gen 2:9, 17; 3:5, 22). (2) In 3:6, the tree is associated with the verb שכ״ל hiph., which is often used in the context of wisdom and is related to understanding and insight. (3) Not only the tree and – in consequence of eating from it – the human couple are associated with wisdom, but also the serpent: by being called ערום "cunning, clever, shrewd," it is attributed with a cognitive quality as well.

The focus in the research history on Gen 2–3 was more on the question what the "knowledge of good and evil (or: bad)" exactly means (which has even filled whole books[1]) and how the humans' striving for that quality must be evaluated. At least the consequences of its acquisition (impairment of life and banishment from the garden) make it appear a quite ambivalent achievement. But the cognitive quality of the serpent includes a negative facet as well, in that the serpent gives the human couple the crucial impulse to transgress the divine prohibition and is thus jointly responsible for the consequences thereof (cf. the curses to the serpent in 3:14–15). Therefore, the wisdom of the serpent deserves a more detailed consideration.

After a brief diachronic contextualization (section 1), I will combine especially a narratological analysis of Gen 3 (sections 2, 4, and 5) with an investigation in terms of tradition and motif history, including cross-cultural comparisons (section 3). The two methodological approaches will mutually enrich and complement each other and together will shed new light on the wisdom of the serpent.

[1] Cf. French, Interpretation.

1. Diachronic contextualization

Within the scope of this paper, it is not possible to discuss extensively the literary history of the Eden narrative and present all the arguments. However, at least the results of my analysis may be presented since they are partly presupposed in the following analysis of the wisdom of the serpent. They can be summarized as follows:

(1) In contrast to many scholars, I am not convinced that the tree of life motif (Gen 2:9bα; 3:22, 24) is a secondary addition to the narrative. Even though some tensions can be observed as regards the tree of life, the tree is well integrated into the end of the narrative and can be counted, albeit with some reservation, to the original inventory of the garden.

(2) However, Gen 2–3 is probably not a unified text. Despite the rejection by most recent scholars (since about the year 2000), I distinguish, following parts of the older research (with some adjustments), between an anthropogonic narrative as the basic layer (Gen 2:4b–7, 9a, 18–24) and the garden episode as a *Fortschreibung* (2:8, 9b, 16–17, 25; 3:1–24).[2]

(3) The extended narrative in Gen 2–3* does, on the one hand, not presuppose the priestly creation account in Gen 1. On the other hand, it was probably embedded in a larger non-priestly account of the primeval history, since it is related conceptually, lexically, and stylistically to other narratives and genealogies in Gen 4–11* (like Gen 4*; 5:29; 9:20–27*; 11:1–9*).

(4) The dating of Gen 2–3* is very difficult. To my mind, the tendency for a late dating in the more recent research is not very convincing.[3] With all due caution I consider a late pre-exilic origin of Gen 2–3* at least possible. The general plot of (a version of) the Eden narrative is presupposed in Ezek 28:11–19*; in post-exilic texts, several allusions to Gen 2–3* can be identified;[4] iconographically, the motifs of the sacred tree and the serpent (in the form of a winged or wingless uraeus, see below) – especially in their combination – were common in Palestine especially in the 9th and 8th centuries;[5] and Gen 3:22 presupposes a polytheistic worldview (without criticizing it).

Consequently, the serpent in Gen 3 is not to be separated from the tree of life motif but is part of a Fortschreibung to an original anthropogonic narrative. It can be under-

[2] Another *Fortschreibung* is the paradise geography in 2:10–14 (with 2:15 as a narrative transition).

[3] Cf. the objections in Bührer, Anfang, 290–354.

[4] Possible candidates are: Isa 51:3; 65:25; Joel 2:3; Ezek 31; Ps 103:14; 104:14, 29; Job 10:9; 34:15; Prov 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; 15:4; Song 7:11; Eccl 3:20; 12:7 et al. Even though a literary dependence on Gen 2–3 cannot be proven compellingly, the conclusion of Otto, Paradieserzählung, 174 that Gen 2–3 has no reception history within the Hebrew Bible is anything but mandatory.

[5] Cf. Hartenstein, Beobachtungen, 283–284. On the winged uraeus cf. Keel, Geschichte I, 386–389.

stood within the framework of the pre-exilic history of religion, and the consequences of the "fall" effected by the serpent play a role in the subsequent narratives of Gen 4–11*.

2. Narrative Gaps

In terms of narratology, Gen 2–3 contains numerous narrative gaps. It is striking that several of these narrative gaps concern the serpent.[6] The following questions are either not answered by the narrator or answered ambiguously:

(1) The appearance of the serpent as a new protagonist of the plot in 3:1 takes place immediately and without a narrative preparation (aside from the general report of the creation of the animals in 2:19). This arouses the question of its origin.

(2) In almost all exegetical interpretations of 3:1, one can read as a virtually self-evident remark that the serpent belongs to the "animals of the field" (חית השדה) and is classified as a creature of Yhwh (אשר עשה יהוה אלהים), which excludes any numinous or demonic character. In the research literature, this is sometimes even emphasized with a certain vehemence.[7] However, in terms of grammar, this conclusion is in fact not as self-

[6] Further narrative gaps of the narrative are: Why does Yhwh-God plant the tree of knowledge at all, if he absolutely wants to prevent the consumption of its fruits? What would have happened if the human couple had at first eaten from the tree of life (which is allowed according to 2:16 but must absolutely be prevented according to 3:22)? How was the prohibition against eating from the tree communicated to the woman (who knows about the permission in 3:2–3 and the prohibition in 2:16–17, but inaccurately renders the prohibition in particular)?

[7] This may be illustrated by the following exemplary quotes. Westermann, Genesis 1–11, 323–324, 326 derives from 3:1b: "With the relative clause 'which Yahweh God had made,' the serpent is expressly called a creature of God [...]. That the serpent is a creature of God is thus expressly said by J in 3:1. [...] If J had really meant by the serpent the embodiment of a power hostile to Yahweh or a conception hostile to Yahweh, then he could not have said in the same breath that Yahweh had created it. [...] In the relative clause, the narrator expressly emphasizes that with the serpent the circle of participants is not extended beyond what has been narrated so far" (note the triple "expressly"; in German: "Mit dem Relativsatz ‚die Jahwe Gott gemacht hatte', wird die Schlange ausdrücklich als Geschöpf Gottes bezeichnet […]. Daß die Schlange Geschöpf Gottes ist, wird also von J in 3 1 ausdrücklich gesagt. […] Hätte J mit der Schlange wirklich die Verkörperung einer Jahwe feindlichen Macht oder einer Jahwe feindlichen Vorstellung gemeint, dann hätte er nicht im gleichen Atemzug sagen können, Jahwe habe sie erschaffen. […] In dem Relativsatz betont der Erzähler ausdrücklich, daß mit der Schlange der Kreis der Beteiligten über das bisher Erzählte hinaus nicht erweitert ist"). According to Soggin, Genesis, 79, the text "makes a point of excluding all supernatural elements with regard to the serpent: it is neither a deity nor a demon" ("legt Wert darauf, alle übernatürlichen Elemente in bezug auf die Schlange auszuschließen: sie ist weder eine Gottheit noch ein Dämon"); Soggin identifies in the texts an "insistence on the 'ordinary' character of the serpent as an animal [...]; it is as if the text said: the serpent is not what you think it is, it is rather a creature like all the others, except for the cleverness" ("Beharren auf den ‚gewöhnlichen' Charakter der Schlange als Tier […]; es ist, als sagte der Text: die Schlange ist nicht, was ihr denkt, sie ist vielmehr ein Geschöpf wie alle anderen, abgesehen von der Schlauheit", ibid.). "The animal has been almost completely demythicized, apart from the language" ("Das Tier ist beinahe völlig entmythisiert worden, abgesehen von der Sprache"; op. cit., 81). Similarly Gerhards, Conditio, 218: "The serpent is introduced in 3:1a as the most clever animal that God has created. Thus, it is not fundamentally distinct from the other creatures, thus no higher being, no divine, demonic, or even diabolic power" ("Die Schlange wird in 3,1a als das klügste Tier eingeführt, das Gott geschaffen hat. Sie ist also nicht grundsätzlich von den anderen Geschöpfen unterschieden, also kein höheres Wesen, keine göttliche, dämonische oder gar diabolische Macht"). With 3:1, "any numinous character is expressly denied to her" ("wird ihr jeglicher numinose Charakter ausdrücklich abgesprochen"; op. cit., 219). In the narrative, it is "strongly […] emphasized that the serpent is an ordinary creature

evident as often supposed. First of all, the serpent is merely *related* to the animals created by Yhwh (back reference to 2:18–19) by a comparative מן and *elevated* from them in terms of its cleverness.[8] This does *not* necessarily imply that it is also part of that group ("cleverer than the *other* animals").[9]

In fact, formulations with a comparative מן + כל + collective noun often imply that the compared one is part of the collective from which he or she is elevated (i.e., Exod 18:11: כי גדול יהוה מכל האלהים "that Yhwh is greater than all [other] gods").[10] But the comparison of Gen 37:3 and 37:4, for instance, demonstrates that this is not necessarily so:

וישראל אהב את יוסף מכל בניו "But Israel loved Joseph more *than all his (other) sons"* (37,3).
כי אתו אהב אביהם מכל אחיו "… that their father loved him more *than all his brothers"* (37,4).

In the first case, Joseph is included in the collective he is compared to, but not in the second case.[11] The formulation would be clearer if an article was attached to the adjective and thus got superlative meaning (והנחש היה הערום מכל חית השדה* "but the serpent was the most clever one of all the animals of the field").[12] A similar wording as in 3:1 in found in 3:14, but there it is expanded by another comparative entity: ארור אתה מכל הבהמה ומכל חית השדה. While it is imaginable that the serpent belongs to the (wild) animals of the field (חית השדה), it scarcely counts as בהמה, that is, as belonging to the domestic animals.[13] Therefore, it cannot be included in the compared collective entity.

It follows that the formulation in 3:1 is ambiguous and leaves open whether the serpent is a creature of Yhwh. As in 3:14, it is related to the "beasts of the field" and associated with them, but not necessarily identified as a specimen of this collective. That it is a very "ordinary" animal like any other, as is often emphasized, cannot be safely deduced from the wording and syntax of 3:1.

[and] merely an ordinary animal" ("sehr […] betont, dass die Schlange ein gewöhnliches Geschöpf [und] nur ein gewöhnliches Tier ist"; ibid.). – At the very least, it will have to be said that one can imagine considerably more explicit and stronger emphases on the creatureliness of the serpent than one finds in 3:1a.

[8] A comparative מן has primarily the function to express a difference, that is, to state a distinctive feature of an entity A in comparison to an entity B (cf. Joüon/Muraoka, Grammar, § 141 g–h). By this, it is not yet stated how the entities A and B relate to each other in other respects.

[9] Among the very few scholars who note the ambiguity of Gen 3:1a is Kapelrud, You Shall, 57–58. Stordalen, Echoes, 238 n. 116 rejects this by arguing that "[n]umerous examples of מכל in biblical Hebrew imply otherwise." But this is only partially true, as is demonstrated in the following.

[10] Cf. also Exod 33:16; Num 12:3; Deut 7:14; 1 Kings 5:11; Ps 135:5.

[11] Cf. also 2 Sam 19:8; 1 Kings 16:33.

[12] Thus in the Septuagint (ὸ δὲ ὅφις ἦν φρονιμώτατος πάντων τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). Possibly, this is due to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, in which an additional ה has crept into the text. The Samaritan Pentateuch, however, agrees with MT against the Septuagint.

[13] Against Schottroff, Fluchspruch, 58–68 and other scholars, the formula ארור מן in 3:14 has no excommunicative meaning, but has in fact comparative meaning (cf. the formula ברוך מן in Deut 7:14; 33:24; cf. also Judg 5:24). This does not mean that all animals are cursed, but only that the serpent is distinguished from the other animals by its being cursed, and thus occupies a special position in relation to them. Cf. also Jacob, Genesis, 113; Wenham, Genesis 1–15, 78–79; Seebaß, Genesis I, 125.

(3) It is not explained why the serpent is able to speak (3:1–5). This competence, too, sets it apart from the (other) animals.

(4) The cleverness of the serpent manifests – besides the gift of a skillful and manipulative conversation (see below) – in the advanced knowledge it has vis-a-vis the human couple. By stating that God "knows" about the true consequences of eating the fruit (כי ידע אלהים, 3:5), it claims to know what God knows. The progress of the narrative, i.e., the occurrence of the opening of the eyes (3:7), the actual absence of the death penalty, and Yhwh's statement about the effected appropriation of the knowledge of good and bad and the godlikeness in this respect (3:22), proves the serpent right.[14] So it has a share in the divine knowledge and insight into exclusive divine secrets.[15] However, the narrative does not give any information about the origin of this knowledge.

(5) Further narrative gaps result from the comparison with narrative details and formulations that concern other protagonists of the narrative. The apportionments of blame to other persons in 3:12–13 are phrased largely parallelly:

(3,12)	ויאמר האדם	האשה	<u>אשר נתתה עמדי</u>	הוא נתנה לי מן העץ	ואכל
(3,13)	ותאמר האשה	הנחש		השיאני	ואכל

The main syntactical difference is that 3:13 lacks a more concrete determination of the instigator by means of a relative clause (for instance by *אשר עשית "that you made" or the like). Even though, for the sake of syntactic parallelism, it would have been appropriate to provide further information about the serpent, the narrator refrains from doing so and thus once again keeps the origin of the serpent secret.

(6) Yhwh-God takes the blaming of the man on the woman in 3:12 as an occasion to interrogate the woman as well. Both figures provide explanations for their acts. But Yhwh-God does *not* take the blaming of the woman on the serpent as an occasion to interrogate the serpent as well – although the serpent is able to speak and would be able to give explanations. Thereby, the narrator refrains from disclosing the motivation of the serpent.

(7) Furthermore, the difference in the wordings of the curse addressed to the serpent (3:14) and the man (3:17) is striking:

(3,14)	כי	עשית זאת	ארור אתה
(3,17)	כי	שמעת לקול אשתך ותאכל מן העץ אשר צויתיך לאמר לא תאכל ממנו	ארורה האדמה בעבורך

Apart from the different references of the curse (directed to the addressed person or to an external entity, respectively), the כי phrase which justifies the second curse contains a precise determination of the man's act (3:17), whereas in 3:14 the serpent is rather

[14] Against Moberly, Serpent, 1–27; Kiefer, Gut, 161–164, 168–169.
[15] Cf. Gunkel, Genesis, 15.

nebulously accused of having "done *this* (זאת)." Although the deixis זאת is likely to refer back primarily to השיאני "she has deceived me" (3:13), the narrator does not put a concrete definition of the crime into the mouth of the divine speaker. Thus, it is not specified which transgression the serpent was guilty of exactly.

(8) The announcement of punishment in 3:14 suggests that the lifestyle of the serpent (locomotion by means of creeping and nourishment from dust) are consequence of its transgression. At least the former is a commonly observable empirical fact.[16] However, the narrative gives no information on the serpent's locomotion and nourishment prior to its transgression.

The abundance of narrative gaps and ambiguities leads me to the suspicion they do not result from coincidence but are part of the narrative strategy. Hence, my first thesis is: *the (authorial) narrator deliberately refrains from providing unambiguity to the origin, the nature, and the act of the serpent. He does this not out of disinterest in the serpent,*[17] *but in order to make it appear all the more strongly as a shady, mysterious, and enigmatic figure.*[18]

3. Tradition History of the Serpent

This raises the question of what cultural background knowledge the first recipients possessed in order to fill these narrative gaps. The narratological analysis must therefore be complemented by an investigation of the history of tradition and motifs of the serpent.

The term נחש "snake, serpent" is the most general Hebrew generic term for serpentine animals und comprises various – venomous and non-venomous – species of snakes. The shady, mysterious, and enigmatic character of the serpent can be underpinned by its ancient Near Eastern history of tradition and motifs. Its venom makes it a deadly threat, not least because its appearance often happens suddenly and unexpectedly (cf. the narratively unprepared appearance of the serpent in 3:1!), and the serpent belongs – in connection with its chthonic character (crawling on the ground) – to the sphere of death. Therefore, it is often associated with demons.[19] Its appearance means doom, which is also shown by the fact that in *Šumma ālu,* a Mesopotamian series of terrestrial omens, the serpent plays a prominent role, and this doom is to be banned magically by Nam-

[16] The statement that the serpent eats dust is biologically incorrect but could be based on the observation that the serpent seeks out prey living in the soil and surrounds them with its saliva so that dust sticks to its mouth (Frey-Anthes, Art. Schlange, 3.1.2).

[17] This is, however, sometimes assumed, for example by Seebaß, Genesis I, 124.

[18] Von Rad, Das erste Buch Mose, 62 describes the mysterious and enigmatic character as follows: "Throughout the narrative, this antagonist of man remains in an elusive incognito and enigmatic" ("Durch die ganze Geschichte hindurch bleibt dieser Gegenspieler des Menschen in einem schwer definierbaren Incognito und unenträtselt"). According to Kiefer, Gut, 212, an "aura of the mysterious and uncanny" ("Aura des Rätselhaften und Unheimlichen") surrounds the snake.

[19] Pientka-Hinz, Art. Schlange, 213.

burbi rituals.[20] Besides, however, the serpent also has positive aspects. Due to its ability to shed its skin, it appears as the epitome of vitality, regeneration, and immortality; and healing power is also attributed to it. In addition, the serpent is endowed with wisdom and knowledge. The herb of rejuvenation, which the serpent steals from Gilgamesh in the Gilgamesh epic (thus, similar to Gen 3, obstructing him the possibility of eternal life), not only leads to the immediate skinning of the serpent (Gilg XI 305–307), but the knowledge of this herb is also presented shortly before as the "secret of the gods" *(pirištu ša ilī)* (Gilg XI 281f.). In Hebrew, there is a connection between the verb נח״ש pi. and divination ("to divine, to tell fortunes"), even though it is disputed whether the verb is a derivative from the primary noun נחש "serpent, snake."[21] Due to its positive connotations, it is connected with the divine sphere: deities can be depicted serpent-shaped or with serpents as accompanying animals; serpents can be venerated as deities (ophiolatry); and according to Egyptian ideas, the *bas* of all gods dwell in serpents.[22] All in all – even beyond the Egyptian image of the serpent – the following is true: "In its dazzling ambiguity the serpent surpasses every other animal of Egyptian mythology. [...] The image of the serpent embodies a symbolic content whose depth and ambiguity know no bounds."[23] This alone makes it unlikely that the serpent in Gen 3 represents merely an "ordinary" animal.

Further information is provided by the iconographic representations of serpents. Above I mentioned the narrative gap that it is unclear how the serpent moved before 3:14. While later art historical reception of Gen 3 has sometimes depicted the serpent standing upright on two legs, the ancient iconographic evidence brings into view two other possibilities of how the author of Gen 3 might have envisioned the serpent. On the one hand, uraeus snakes were depicted in a position with almost the entire body reared up; on the other hand, they appear as winged hybrid creatures (with two or four wings). These motifs, originating from Egyptian iconography, are also widely attested in Palestine in the 1st millennium BCE (especially in the 9th/8th century).[24] Among the winged uraeus snakes are probably also the six-winged seraphs of Isa 6:2–7,[25] which there belong to the equipment of the divine throne sphere. Winged uraeus snakes are thus locat-

[20] On the role of serpents in Mesopotamian Omens and incantations cf. Pientka-Hinz, Art. Schlange, 212–213.

[21] This is supported by Frey-Anthes, Art. Schlange, 3.1.1., but contested by Fabry, Art. נחש, 357.

[22] On divine associations in Mesopotamia cf. Pientka-Hinz, Art. Schlange, 214–216; on Egypt cf. Störk, Art. Schlange, 649.

[23] Hornung, Bedeutung, 81 ("An schillernder Vieldeutigkeit übertrifft die Schlange jedes andere Tier der ägyptischen Mythologie. […] Im Bild der Schlange verkörpert sich ein Symbolgehalt, dessen Tiefe und dessen Vieldeutigkeit keine Grenzen kennen").

[24] On some iconographic evidence of winged uraeus snakes cf. Keel, Geschichte I, 385–390.

[25] Cf. Keel, Geschichte I, 389–390 (with references to literature and discussion of alternative interpretations).

ed in the divine realm, and erect uraeus snakes also function in Egyptian iconography as symbols of protection and power for deities and kings. Uraeus snakes are also occasionally encountered in conjunction with representations of (sacred) trees,[26] further supporting their relationship to the serpent of Gen 3. Overall, the iconography of the serpent thus further reinforces the impression that the serpent of Gen 3, not crawling on the ground, is a being of numinous character.

It can be asked whether there might be more behind the punishment that the serpent must crawl on its belly (3:14) than just an etiological explanation of the serpents' mode of locomotion. In the case of the other punitive provisions, it can be observed that they are somehow related to the transgression of the respective protagonist. The serpent has seduced the woman, so her relationship with the woman is disturbed (3:15). The woman, with the knowledge of good and bad, has gained the ability to procreate, so her childbearing is met with hardship (3:16). The woman has enticed her husband to eat, so her relationship with him is disturbed (3:16). The latter is guilty of having eaten the forbidden fruit, so his eating is met with toil (3:17–19). So why must the serpent crawl on the ground? Could it be that the serpent (perhaps winged until then) is thus denied access to the divine sphere from which it has "stolen" divine secret knowledge by insidiously passing it on to humans?[27]

The figure of the serpent in Gen 3 has, as far as is known from the available sources, no direct religious-historical archetypes in this form. However, in Mesopotamian mythology there is a (in some respects) comparable group of mythical hybrid beings with numinous and at the same time partly ambivalent character: the *apkallū*, the antediluvian sages.

The Babylonian-Hellenistic historian Berossos tells in his *Babyloniaka* about a certain Oannes,[28] who rose from the Erythraean Sea (= Persian Gulf) in antediluvian times, and describes him as a hybrid of fish and man. He is the transmitter of culture and civilization to the humans in the form of writing, sciences, handicraft, city and temple building, laws, land surveying, and agriculture. Further six hybrid beings followed Oannes on the

[26] Cf. Hartenstein, Beobachtungen, 283–285 (with iconographic material: op. cit., 293).

[27] Certain similarities can be found in the event reported by Uta-napishti in Gilg XI. In a cunning way the wisdom god Ea undermines the plan of the gods to destroy mankind by a flood, which was kept secret by oath, by communicating with Uta-napishti through a reed wall and warning him of the flood (Gilg XI 19–47). After the flood hero actually survives the catastrophe, contrary to Enlil's plan, and the latter confronts the gods, Ea defends himself by saying that he "did not reveal the secret of the great gods *(pirištu ilī rabûti)*," but only communicated the divine secret to Uta-napishti indirectly through a dream vision (Gilg XI 196–197). The fate of the recipient of the divine secret in Gilg XI is then contrary to Gen 3: while Uta-napishti and his wife are raised to gods and receive immortality, the primeval human couple of Gen 3 is precisely denied divinity and immortality (compare Gilg XI 203–204 with Gen 3:22!).

[28] On Oannes in the description of Berossos und his prehistory in Mesopotamian tradition, cf. Streck, Art. Oannes, 1–3; Fechner, Search, 253–257.

same way and further explained his expositions. The report of Berossos stands in the tradition of the seven mythical sages *(apkallū)* of the cuneiform tradition.[29] As a fish-man, Oannes, identified with the sage Adapa, is associated with Ea, the god of wisdom and the subterranean freshwater ocean. With the portrayal of Oannes as the transmitter of cultural and civilizational knowledge to humankind, Berossos particularly draws on Adapa/Adaba traditions from ancient Babylonian times.[30] As semi-divine beings, the Seven Sages as a whole are characterized by divine secret knowledge. In iconographic sources they are often presented as human-animal hybrid beings, namely a human in fish garb, a winged raptor-man, or as a winged anthropomorphic figure, and all three types are depicted several times in association with a "sacred tree."[31] While the *apkallū* have a predominantly positive connotation, they are sporadically associated with a certain ambivalence: in the *Maqlû* series, for example, they appear in two incantations as harmful demonic spirits that must be magically banished.[32] In the background, there is a secondary demonization of these semi-divine intermediate beings.[33] Finally, in the Adaba/Adapa myth, the primeval sage comes into conflict with the sky god An/Anu after he commits the sacrilege of breaking the wings of the south wind[34] and is summoned to heaven for a report.

As a primeval being in possession of divine secret knowledge, communicating it to humans, thereby making them at least indirectly capable of culture and civilization (by means of the "knowledge of good and bad"), associated with a sacred tree, possibly imagined as a hybrid being, characterized by ambivalence, and coming into conflict with a deity as a result of a sacrilegious crime, the serpent of Gen 3 shares several similarities with the *apkallū* as depicted in Berossos, the cuneiform tradition, and the iconographic tradition. This does not mean that the *apkallū* (being very multifaceted on their own in their tradition history!) are the immediate model for the serpent. However, the serpent is, in the broader sense, part of a cross-cultural tradition of mythical intermediary beings that imparted divine wisdom to humans in prehistoric times.[35]

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[29] On the "seven sages" in the cuneiform tradition, cf. Fechner, Art. Weiser, 48–50 (with references to further literature); ead., Search.

[30] Cf. Fechner, Search, 256–257, 336–346.

[31] On the iconography of the *apkallū*, see Dalley, Art. Apkallu, 1–7; Fechner, Art. Weiser, 49–50; ead., Search, 150–244. The "sacred tree" is above all associated with the sun god (cf. ibid.).

[32] Maqlû III 61–76 und VI 85–97 (edited in Abusch, Ceremony).

[33] On the *apkallū* in the *Maqlû* series and the explanation of its negative facets attested there, see Fechner, Search, 297–313. Fechner also refers to an amulet chain ritual in which the amulet stones are intended, among other things, "to solve(?) the 'offense' *(arnu)* of the sage(s) *(apkallu)* and so that it does not come near an *apkallu"* (op. cit, 295–296); however, the text is poorly preserved and provides little information about the context of the ritual.

[34] On the evaluation of this act as a "sacrilegious crime," see Fechner, Search, 414, 416 (et al.).

[35] Adapa, who particularly stands out among the *apkallū,* has been related in the history of research on Gen 2–3 primarily to Adam or the first human couple (cf. Callender, Adam, 75-84; Izre'el, Adapa, 126–128; Mettinger, Eden, 99–109; Fechner, Search, 467–468, and others). It cannot be denied that similarities can

The figure of Prometheus from Greek mythology can also be added to such a cross-cultural tradition. If one takes the oldest extant depiction in Hesiod's *Theogony* (around 700 BCE) as a basis and also includes the later history of the mythical plot,[36] the following similarities between Prometheus and the serpent emerge:[37] (1) *A cunning numinous being imparts to humans, against the divine will, something that was withheld from them by the divine party.* The clever Prometheus, son of the Titan Iapetos, succeeds in deceiving Zeus by a trick. When Zeus then deprives humans of fire, Prometheus secretly steals the fire from him and brings it to the humans. (2) *This gift results in cultural-civilizational progress for humans.* In the case of Prometheus, fire enables people, for example, to prepare food, to forge, and to perform sacrificial rites. In the drama *The Bound Prometheus* by (Pseudo-)Aeschylus, this aspect is taken even further by elevating Prometheus to the status of the great teacher of humankind, who taught it all the arts (including, for example, astronomy, agriculture, medicine, mining). (3) *In return, humans receive a divine punishment in the form of impairment of life.* In the Prometheus myth, it is Pandora's proverbial box that brings all kinds of calamity and hardship to humans. In Hesiod's *Works and Days* these impairments of life are specified in more detail: arduous work, sickness, suffering, gloomy sorrows, etc.[38] (4) *The numinous being receives a divine punishment for his deed.* Zeus ties Prometheus to a pillar and sends an eagle every day to eat his liver, which always grows back.

At the same time, the essential differences are to be pointed out as well: unlike Prometheus, the serpent appears less in the role of the pioneer of the interests of humankind against the deity, but in that of the seducer, who deceives not only the deity, but also the humans with its cunning.[39] While in the Greek myth Prometheus is the central actor of the plot and the humans remain quite passive as (profiteers and) sufferers of the conflict between Zeus and Prometheus, in Gen 3 the human couple actively transgresses a divine prohibition by the inducement of the serpent and thus makes themselves guilty towards Yhwh-God.

The remarks on the tradition history of the serpent lead me to my second thesis: *The serpent is to be understood as a mythical and numinous being associated with the divine sphere. It has access to divine secret knowledge, which it passes on to the humans against*

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be found here as well. But for the figure of the serpent, whose relation to Adapa and the *apkallū* has, to my knowledge, not found any attention so far, a comparison with them is at least as instructive.

[36] On the history of the myth of Prometheus (with the focus on the place of origin of the stolen fire) see von Alvensleben, Himmel, 409–456 (with references to further literature).

[37] Kiefer, Gut, 191, however, concludes with regard to Gen 3: "The Prometheus motif is sought [...] in vain" ("Das Prometheus-Motiv sucht man [...] vergeblich").

[38] Gertz, Das erste Buch Mose, 133–134 also relates the impairments of life in Gen 3 to Pandora's box in the Prometheus myth.

[39] Cf. Soggin, Genesis, 85.

the divine will. For this transgression, it is punished and henceforth expelled from the divine sphere.

4. The Wisdom of the Serpent in Gen 3

Back to the literary design of Gen 3. The narrator explicitly characterizes the serpent as ערום (3:1), which can be translated here with "cunning," "clever," or "shrewd."[40] This adjective was not least chosen here in favor of the wordplay with ערום "naked" in 2:25. Human beings whose acting is described with the root ע״ר II (as a noun, verb, or adjective) know how to gain advantages for themselves and/or to cause harm to others through clever plans and cunning actions with deceptive and insidious intentions (cf. Exod 21:14; Josh 9:4; 1 Sam 23:22; Ps 83:4). In the occurrences of the root in the book of Proverbs, however, the deceptive intention is missing; there ע״ר has a purely positive connotation. The serpent in Gen 3 can hardly be denied a cunning action and a deceitful intention; nevertheless, ערום is probably not connotated exclusively negatively here, but has an ambivalent character. "By choosing the ambiguous term *ʿārûm* to describe the serpent, J calls attention to the dubious nature of the serpent's intelligence."[41] The semantic ambiguity of ערום thus complements even further the list of ambiguities and narrative gaps concerning the serpent presented above.

The serpent's cleverness manifests in three respects. Firstly, it is – like the humans and Yhwh-God – able to speak. Secondly, it shows a high competence in terms of conversational skills and the art of persuasion.[42] The rhetorical cleverness of the serpent has often been praised in research literature: its conversation with the woman is a "masterpiece of fine psychological nuances"[43] in that it "distorts words with incredible cleverness and thereby acts seductively."[44] It is already clever that it chooses the woman as its conversation partner, who has apparently only learned the divine regulations on the consumption of fruits (2:16–17) at second hand.[45] At first, it asks a seemingly innocent question, which is also ambiguously formulated (3:1b).[46] By drawing attention to the

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[40] The root ע״ר is used in the Hebrew Bible as an adjective (ערום), as a verb, and as a noun (ערמה). All three lexemes occur in the book of Proverbs with a positive connotation ("prudent" or "to be prudent" or "prudence," respectively), but outside of it they are often used negatively and include (insidious) cunning and craftiness (cf. Exod 21:14; Josh 9:4; 1 Sam 23:22; Ps 83:4; Job 5:12–13; 15:5).

[41] Niehr, Art. ערם, 363. Cf. also Moberly, Serpent, 24–25.

[42] Cf. also 2 Sam 14, where the wisdom of the "wise woman" (אשה חכמה) from Tekoa manifests in a clever way of conversation vis-à-vis the higher-ranking King David (on this aspect cf. Schücking-Jungblut, Macht, 135–137; Dietrich, 2Sam 9–14, 400–402.411).

[43] Von Rad, Das erste Buch Mose, 62 ("Meisterwerk feiner psychologischer Abtönungen").

[44] Fischer, Genesis 1–11, 232 ("mit unglaublicher Geschicklichkeit Worte verdreht und damit verführt").

[45] Cf. Soggin, Genesis, 82; Gerhards, Conditio, 223.

[46] The negation particle לא can either negate only the word כל ("not from all [but only from some] trees you may eat") or the verb in combination with the following word כל ("from all the trees you must not eat" = "from no tree you may eat"). Cf. also Jacob, Genesis, 103; Fischer, Genesis 1–11, 231; Carr, Genesis 1–11,

prohibition, it arouses suspicion of Yhwh-God's generous provision of food (2:16) and, by the ambiguous wording of the question, forces the woman to provide clarification. Its first success is that the woman's rendering of the permission and especially of the prohibition is inaccurate (3:2–3).[47] In its second speech (3:4–5), the serpent dispels the woman's fears about the fatal outcome of eating the fruit and positively puts in its place a promise about the beneficial consequences of eating it. With mentioning the opening of the eyes it makes the woman curious about something new; with the prospect of godlikeness through knowledge it awakens the longing for an increase of one's own abilities and for an overcoming of the difference in status between humans and God. At the same time, it stirs up distrust in the actual intention of the divine prohibition: not out of care, but in order to withhold something good from humans and to keep them small, God has issued the prohibition.[48] In doing so, it adopts the syntax of the divine prohibition *(figura etymologica* of מו״ת and the phrase כי ביום אכלך/-כם ממנו) and thus gives its own speech the coloring of the divine speech. Its attempt at persuasion succeeds: all of a sudden the tree of knowledge acquires a high attractiveness, which the human couple cannot resist (3:6).

Thirdly, the cleverness of the serpent manifests in its exclusive participation in divine knowledge (see above). This distinguishes it not only from the (other) animals (3:1), but also from the human couple. Its promise in 3:4–5 is not an empty one but is rooted in actually advanced knowledge.

In 3:14–15, the serpent is rebuked ("because you have done this") and cursed for its actions; it has thus been guilty of a serious offense. As shown above, the specific crime is not explicitly formulated, but must be inferred from the context. Three aspects of its actions play a role in the culpability of the act. First, the woman accuses her of having "deceived" her (נש״א hiph., 3:13). Even more precisely, the verb can be translated as "to mislead someone by generating false hopes."[49] This raises the question of what the deception and generation of false hopes consists in. It should first be noted, however, that this

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119 et al. On the frequent occurrence of ambiguity in the combination of כל + לא see Joüon/Muraoka, Grammar, 571 § 160 k.

[47] In the rendering of the permission, especially the כל from 2:16 is omitted and thus the divine generosity is diminished. In the rendering of the prohibition from 2:17, on the one hand, the prohibition against touching is added and thus the prohibition against eating is made stricter; on the other hand, the threat of the death penalty is toned down to a warning against a fatal consequence (פן תמתון). Moreover, the identification of the "tree in the middle of the garden" (העץ אשר בתוך הגן) is unclear. Does the woman think that eating from the tree of life would also be forbidden (cf. Schmid, Unteilbarkeit, 32)? Or has it completely disappeared from her field of vision? Or did she not know about the tree of life at all? For discussion, see Heard, Tree, 80–86.

[48] Cf. also Gerhards, Conditio, 224–225.

[49] On the semantics of נש״א cf. Ringgren, Art. נשא I, 53–55. In light of 3:22, however, Ringgren's interpretation of 3:18 is difficult: "The serpent deceived the first two human beings into thinking that if they ate from the tree of knowledge, they would become like God; it turns out, however, that this hope was completely false" (op. cit., 54).

fact is not formulated by the narrator or by Yhwh-God, but the accusation is found in the cited speech of the woman. At this time she does not yet know anything about her luck that the death penalty is not executed and the serpent is actually right with it; the reproach of the generation of false hopes ("It isn't true: 'You must certainly die'!") is based partly on the incomplete knowledge state of the woman. Nevertheless, there is truth in this accusation insofar as the serpent communicated only half the truth[50] and concealed the negative consequences of the violation of the prohibition. Thus, the serpent deceived by giving only one-sided information about the consequences of eating the fruit.[51] The second fault of the serpent is the disclosure of exclusive divine knowledge to unauthorized persons. The serpent communicates to the woman secrets about the tree of knowledge that Yhwh-God withheld from humans and that were not intended for them.[52] Thirdly and finally, the serpent uses its cleverness in the form of its ability to speak, its persuasion and its participation in the divine knowledge to induce the first human beings to transgress the divine prohibition and to obtain an ability that was not intended for them. Altogether the serpent deceives both Yhwh-God and the human beings with its cleverness and disturbs their relationship to each other.

The third thesis is as follows: *The narrative depiction of the serpent reinforces its dubious and ambivalent character. This comes to the fore especially in its explicit characterization with the ambiguous term* ערום *"cunning, clever, shrewd" and in the description of the deceptive use of its cleverness.*

5. Fatal Wisdom

Thesis No. 4 is: *In the end, the serpent is, despite and because of its cleverness, the biggest loser in the narrative.* It is the only one that does not get the chance to explain itself. It is the first addressee of an announcement of punishment. All three protagonists receive a punishment from Yhwh-God, but in two respects the lot of the serpent weighs heavier than the lot of the humans: on the one hand, the serpent is directly cursed (ארור אתה, 3:14), while the woman is not cursed, and in the case of the man, only the ground for his sake, but not he himself is cursed (ארורה האדמה בעבורך, 3:17). On the other hand, in addition to all the impairments of life, the humans carry off a gain with the knowledge of good and bad, so that the expulsion from paradise turns out to be ambivalent for them. In contrast, the serpent does not receive any positive compensation for the impairments

[50] On the half-truths of the serpent cf. also von Rad, Das erste Buch Mose, 63–64.

[51] In this respect, Schüle, Prolog, 167, goes a bit too far when he writes: "Whatever the serpent actually intends, it does not deceive man with a word" ("Was auch immer die Schlange eigentlich bezweckt, sie betrügt den Menschen mit keinem Wort").

[52] In the Mesopotamian knowledge tradition, too, it is considered sacrilege if divine secret knowledge is passed on to the uninformed and unauthorized.

of life, but experiences only disadvantages.[53] The use of its cleverness to deceive thereby Yhwh-God and the humans was in no way worthwhile for the serpent itself.

The connection of wisdom and fall does not only concern the fate of the human couple, but also that of the serpent. It uses its superhuman cleverness against the intentions of Yhwh-God in such a way that it becomes fatal not only for the humans but also for the serpent itself.

6. Conclusion

Whereas Gen 3 has a critical perspective on human cognitive qualities, that is, on the acquired "knowledge of good and bad," and depicts them as thoroughly ambivalent, including both advantages and fatal disadvantages, the cognitive qualities of the serpent appear as even more critical and fatal. The mysterious and enigmatic character of the serpent is highlighted by several narrative gaps and ambiguities, which can, however, be filled by the cultural background knowledge of the contemporary readers of the narrative. The serpent is a kind of intermediate being with numinous character and participates in divine secret knowledge. However, because it passes on this secret knowledge to the human couple and seduces them by subtlety and rhetorical skill against the divine will to transgress the prohibition, it is banished from the divine sphere and punished. The narrative uses the example of the serpent to illustrate the potential danger of knowledge and cleverness.

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[53] Therefore, the conclusion of Soggin, Genesis, 91 is incomprehensible to me: "Actually, the serpent, as the ultimate cause of all evil, gets off relatively better than all the others" ("Eigentlich kommt die Schlange als letzte Ursache allen Übels verhältnismäßig besser davon als alle anderen").

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The concept of time in Isa 24-27 - Time is not a timeless matter

Abstract:

The so-called Isaiah-Apocalypse deals implicitly with the understanding of time. In this late prophetical text, the day of Jhwh is described in a nearly apocalyptical way as an event, that will occur in the near future. Within the Old Testament or at least within the book of Isaiah, this text provides insights into the development of the concept of time and future. In contrast to the Hebrew language (perfectum propheticum), our modern languages are characterized by the clear differentiation between past, present and future. Thus, the perspective on „Time“ is shaped by the contemporary language, governance, and zeitgeist. This cultural impact induces hermeneutical challenges during the process of translation and needs to be considered. While approaching the concept of time and future in the OT, the poststructuralist method of deconstruction, developed by Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler (amongst others), could provide a new perspective. Jaques Derrida deconstructs the normative assumptions of time. This critique of the modern understanding of time may help to solve the hermeneutical problem of understanding an alien concept of time without transferring the inadequate assumptions of linearity and a straight cut between present and future.

Keywords: Future (Isa), Hebrew Grammar, Philosophy of Language

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The so called Isaiah-Apocalypse deals implicitly with the understanding of time. In this late prophetical text, the Day of Jhwh is described in a nearly apocalyptical way as an event, that will occur in the near future. Within the Old Testament or at least within the book of Isaiah, this text provides insights in the development of the concept of time and future. In contrast to the Hebrew language (perfectum propheticum), our modern languages are characterized by the clear differentiation between Past, Present and Future. Thus, the perspective on „Time“ is shaped by the contemporary language, governance, and zeitgeist. This cultural impact induces hermeneutical challenges during the process of translation and needs to be considered. While approaching the concept of time and future in the OT, the poststructuralist method of deconstruction, developed by Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler (amongst others), could provide a new perspective. Jacques Derrida deconstructs the normative assumptions of time. This criticism of the modern understanding of time may help to solve the hermeneutical problem of understanding an alien concept of time without transferring the inadequate assumptions of linearity and a straight cut between present and future.

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Future perspectives in Isa 24

Time is not a timeless matter. Instead, it is important to mention the cultural impact on the understanding of time. The concept of time and future in the Old Testament differs from our modern one. While reading and translating texts from alien contexts, the own perspective influences the interpretation of the text. Regarding the research about time in the OT, Lang mentions:

> “The ’arrow‘ view of time has become such an obvious element of the modern mind that even critical biblical scholarship has tended to overlook the Biblical’s cyclical notion of time and history.“[1]

Going further with this criticism, language forms thoughts and perceptions. Hence, the problem arises that the translation process is shaped by the translator’s mother tongue. That means that it cannot be avoided to transfer the verbal system of the German language when translating from Hebrew

[1] Lang, Bernhard. "God and Time: An Essay on the Bible’s Cyclical View of History." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 35, 2 (2021), 313.

into German. The verbs in German have an implication of past, present, or future. This differentiation differs from the Hebrew verbal aspects.[2]

We have to deal with these hermeneutical problems of translating when analyzing texts from another historical and cultural context. The perspective of poststructuralist philosophy as a perspective of cultural hermeneutics may help to develop a method for the deconstruction of the own cultural background. Completely removing one's own subjective perspective is an unreachable aim. However, it is desirable to decrease the impact of modern assumptions on the exegesis by being aware of the culturally shaped subjectivity is desirable.

The genre and the date of origin of the so-called Isaiah-Apocalypse is often heavily disputed. The chapters are part of the prophetical literature, but the question arises wether it has an apocalyptical note. However, there is no consensus on the definition of prophetical and apocalyptical literature. This uncertainty influences the interpretation of time and future. Most of the time, the text is categorized as a prophetical text including motifs (f.ex. the Day of Jhwh) that later occur in apocalyptical texts.[3] Tilly defines the characteristics of apocalyptic literature as following: forms and contents from prophetical texts were adapted and transferred into a new context thereby giving them a new function. The most important difference is the perspective on the end. Prophetical texts expect the salvation through Jhwh's intervention within history. Opposite to that, apocalyptical texts wait for the end of history after which Jhwh intervenes.[4]

Wildberger uses the characteristics of the apocalyptic genre from Koch[5] and concludes that Isa 24-27 is not an apocalyptic text. Barker suggests to categorize Isa 24-27 as "proapocalytic"[6] or "early apocalyptic."[7] The characteristic of this definition is to have "some recognizable though not comprehensive features of other, later genres."[8] Barker criticizes the term Isaiah-Apocalypse because of the false associations it invokes. Barker and Tilly argue similar, but time-wise choose different

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[2] cf. Krause, Martin. *Hebräisch. Biblisch-Hebräische Unterrichtsgrammatik. Teil 1.* 5 ed. Berlin 2020, 130: The Hebrew verbs are attributed to Qal (active), Nif'al (passive/reflexive), Pi'el (resultative, factitive, sukzessive), Pu'al (passive of the Pi'el), Hitpa'el (reflexive), Hif'il (causative), Hå/uf'al (passive of the Hif'il).

[3] cf. Barker, William D. "Isaiah's Kingship Polemic: An Exegetical Study in Isaiah 24 - 27." *Forschungen Zum Alten Testament / 2,* 70 (2014), 8.

[4] Tilly, Michael. *Apokalyptik*. Tübingen/Basel 2012, 20.

[5] cf. Wildberger, Hans. "Jesaja." *BKAT* 10, 2, 3 (2003), 909: "Große Redezyklen, seelische Erschütterungen des Apokalyptikers, paränetische Reden, Pseudonymität, symbolreiche und mythische Bilder, Kompositionscharakter. Für 24-27 scheint am ehesten das letztgenannte Indiz zutreffen."

[6] Barker, 8.

[7] Barker, 8

[8] Barker, 8.

directions. In opposite to Tilly, Barker looks from the apocalyptic genre backwards to the prophetical genre. Through this perspective, he points out preliminary apocalyptical characteristics in prophetical texts. In stark contrast to that, Tilly sees prophetical texts as a genre from which the apocalyptical genre emerged. Thus, both agree on not calling Isa 24-27 an apocalyptical text, but vary regarding the methods on how to differentiate between prophetical and apocalyptical literature.

In Isa 24, a chaotic situation is described which will occur in the future. The chapter deals with the coming event and the consequences for the inhabitants, the city, the nature, and the earth. The variation of the verb forms in the Hebrew text leads to the question whether different levels of time are described. During the first twelve verses, the qatal form is dominant, the yiqtol form appears for the first time in verse thirteen. The beginning of the chapter offers different approaches of translation. The translations for הִנֵּה and the interpretation of verbal time implications differ from another. In some translations, the participle is translated with the present tense, in other translations it is interpreted as a prediction of the future.

Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia:

הִנֵּה יְהוָה בּוֹקֵק הָאָרֶץ וּבוֹלְקָהּ וְעִוָּה פָּנֶיהָ וְהֵפִיץ יֹשְׁבֶיהָ׃

New Revised Standard Version:
Now the Lord is about to lay waste the earth and make it desolate, and he will twist its surface and scatter its inhabitants.
English Standard Version:
Behold, the Lord will empty the earth and make it desolate, and he will twist its surface and scatter its inhabitants.
Elberfelder Bibel:
Siehe, der HERR entleert die Erde und verheert sie und kehrt ihre Oberfläche um und zerstreut ihre Bewohner.
Schlachter 2000:
Siehe, der HERR wird das Land entvölkern und verwüsten, er wird sein Angesicht entstellen und seine Bewohner zerstreuen.
Segond 21:
Voici que l'Eternel saccage la terre et y sème la dévastation; il bouleverse sa surface et disperse ses habitants.
La bible du Semeur:
Oui, l'Eternel va dévaster la terre, il va la ravager, en bouleverser la surface; il en dispersera les habitants.
Bibelen 2011 Bokmål:
Se, Herren herjer jorden og legger den øde, fordreier ansiktet på den og sprer dem som bor der.

הִנֵּה is translated with the imperative form of *to behold* in every aforementioned language (English, German, French, and Norwegian). However, alternatives were found in English and in French. The *New Revised Standard Version* translates with *now*, providing an additional aspect of time. *La bible*

du Semeur interprets the הִנֵּה as an enhancement and affirms the following sentence with *oui*. Thus, giving no addition in regard to time categories but rather confirming that the described event will actually come. The *Segond 21* uses *voici*, which is an adverb. *Voici* is a contracted form of the imperative of *voir* (to see) and the adverb *ci*, rendering the demanding character inherent.

The first verse is constructed with a participle that generally does not have a temporal meaning.[9] Even if there is no differentiation between a past participle and a present participle, Beuken translates בּוֹקֵק in present tense and argues that participles generally have a present meaning in prophetic literature.[10] However, other translations use the future tense to translate the participle of the first verse. Many German translations, for example the *Elberfelder Bibel*, the *Zürcher Bibel,* and the *Lutherbibel 2017,* use the present tense, but the *Schlachter 2000* bible translates in future tense. The English versions also interpret the participle in different ways: the *English Standard Version* constructs the sentence in the future tense (*will*), the *New Revised Standard Version* uses the present tense, but shows with the *is about*-phrase that the coming event has not started yet. On the formal level, the present tense is used, but according to the content, a short time is left until the coming event begins. The rarely cited German translation *Neues Leben* constructs the sentence in a similar way with *im Begriff zu sein*, the equivalent to *is about to*. The French translators also use both options, the *Segond 21* translates in present tense, *La bible du Semeur* uses the futur composé for the first and the second participle, then an infinitive, and for the last participle the futur simple. *La bible du Semeur* distinguishes the first part of the sentence from the second part by using different forms of the future tense. The futur composé is also called the futur proche. Therefore, the first two participles are interpreted as statements about the close future and the futur simple of the second part implies an action taking place far into the future. The Norwegian bible also uses the present tense.

The comparison between the different translations and languages shows the complexity of the decisions made during the translation process. Even the verbal systems of the European languages differ from each other. An example is the French futur composé not having an equivalent in German. Other variants, for example the phrase with *is about/im Begriff zu sein*, occurs in both English and German. Probably, this is the outcome of the aim to stay close to the Hebrew original.

Normally, the participle has a durative meaning and adapts the time interval of the other verbs in the text. In combination with הִנֵּה and a first communis singular, the participle functions as a futurum

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[9] cf. Gesenius, Wilhelm, Emil Kautzsch, und Gotthelf Bergsträsser. *Hebräische Grammatik*. rpt. ed. Leipzig 1909/Leipzig 1918/29. Darmstadt 1985, 371: The participle has not inherent time aspect, but rather a context derived.

[10] cf. Beuken, Willem A. M. Jesaja 13-27. *HThK.AT* jesa, 2 (2007), 315.

instans and speaks about an immediately impending event.[11] Obermayer categorizes the participle in verse 1 as a futurum instans. Stemming from the combination of a futurum instans followed by weqatal forms, he interprets the pronounced event as not yet started, but in the close future.[12]

In Isa 24,1, the participle is combined with הִנֵּה. However, the first communis singular is missing and the conditions of a futurum instans are not fully achieved. The comparing analyses of the time implications in the first verse show paradigmatically how ambiguous the concept of the future in Isa 24-27 is.

Beuken subdivides Isa 24 regarding to the verb forms and on the changes between monologue and dialogue. The first section goes from verse 1 to verse 3. In verse 3 occurs a figura ethymoligica, which manifests the predictions. The prediction is authorized by Jhwh himself, so the כִּי sentence emphasized the certainty that the prediction will take place.[13]

Snoek argues similiar to Beuken, examining the time implications in Isa 26,7-21 with the help of "Time-Designators."[14] Transferring this method of analyses to Isa 24 would mean to search for similar terms in Isa 24. "After many days" describes the duration between getting locked up and the day the prisoners are made responsible for their shortcomings.

Snoek examines that there are only "few reference points for determining which parts of the verse refer to the present or the future"[15] in Isa 26. The lack of clear information about time leads Snoek to work with the verb forms. He differentiates them by using the following categories: the yiqtol forms are understood as present tense, the qatal forms indicates the past, the weqatal forms are translated in the present tense.[16] Snoek aims to highlight the "(dis)continuity between the present and future."[17] Even if he shows sensibility for the difference between the Latin verb classifications and the Hebrew verbs by using the term *qatal form* instead of *perfect,* his analysis is biased by the requirement to define the time structure of the text by transferring the time implications of the Latin

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[11] cf. Gesenius, 374f.

[12] cf. Obermayer, Bernd. "Göttliche Gewalt Im Buch Jesaja: Untersuchung Zur Semantik Und Literarischen Funktion Eines Theologisch Herausfordernden Aspekts Im Gottesbild." *Bonner Biblische Beiträge* 170 (2014), 166: "Die Verbtempora (zweifaches futurum instans [part.+הנה] mit anschließenden we-qatal-Formen) verweisen auf ein unmittelbar bevorstehendes Geschehen."

[13] cf. Beuken, 321.

[14] Snoek, Jan. "(Dis)continuity between Present and Future in Isaiah 26:7-21." in: F. Postma/K. Spronk/E. Talstra. "The New Things. Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy. Festschrift for Henk Leene." *Amsterdamse Cahiers Voor Exegese Van De Bijbel En Zijn Tradities / Supplement Series 3* (2002): 211-218, 212.

[15] Snoek, 212.

[16] cf. Snoek, 212.

[17] Snoek, 212.

verb classifications to the Hebrew verbal system. However, Snoek admits according to Isa 26,20:

> "Although this part of the verse is in yiqtol form, it will be clear that these words are spoken by somebody who in the future looks back on the past, while that past is still future to 'My people'. In other words: in Isaiah 26:7-18,20 the current eon does not appear to be limited to the present, but involves - within certain limits - the past and the future."[18]

Beuken and Snoek are both working with the assumption of clear time classifications. However, the Hebrew verbs do not have distinct temporal meanings. Instead, there is a plurality, the meaning is dependent on syntax and context.[19] The qatal form is used to speak about actual existing events, it does not matter if the event is concluded in the past, if it is ongoing, or if a future event is seen as already existing.[20] The yiqtol form characterizes an event which is ongoing, in progress, or occurs for the first time. The described event could also be coming only eventually.[21]

During the first twelve verses the qatal form is dominant. Wildberger categorizes Isa 24,1 as a proclamation of the court ("Gerichtsankündigung"[22]), spoken by the author himself. The term הִנֵּה causes this interpretation. The proclamation of the court is authorized by the Jahwe phrase in verse 3.[23] Therefore, Wildberger categorizes the first verse in regard to Isa 24,3b-6 and to the first word (הִנֵּה), disregarding other aspects of verse 1.

Similar to Beuken, Wildberger does not translate in the future tense until verse 13.[24] However, he interprets the participles, following the הִנֵּה, as statements about the future. In contrast to the genre "Stadtlieder"[25] (city songs) where the participles are followed by verbs in the past tense, these parti-

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[18] Snoek, 215.

[19] cf. Gesenius, 123.

[20] cf. Gesenius, 319f.: "Das Perfectum dient zum Ausdruck von Handlungen, Ereignissen oder Zuständen, die der Redende als *faktisch vorliegende* hinstellen will, mögen sie nun einer endgültig abgeschlossenen Vergangenheit angehören oder noch und die Gegenwart hineinragen oder, obwohl noch zukünftig, als schon vorliegend gedacht werden."

[21] cf. Gesenius, 324: "Das *Imperfectum* stellt im Gegensatz zum Perfectum solche Handlungen, Ereignisse oder Zustände dar, die sich dem Redenden in irgend einem Zeitpunkt als noch andauernde oder im Vollzug begriffene oder auch als neu eintretende bemerkbar machen."

[22] Wildberger, 915. cf. also Blenkinsopp, Joseph. "Isaiah 1 - 39. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary." *The Anchor Bible* 19 (2000), 351: Isa 24,1 seems to have a "familiarity with Nahum's vision of the destruction of Niniveh (see especially Nah 2:3[2], 10-11[9-10]), and the social leveling set out in 24:2 seems to have been suggested by a reading of His 4:9, identical with the first of the six paired opposites." cf. regarding the reference to Nah 2 also Kilian, Rudolf. "Jesaja." *Die neue Echter-Bibel. Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung* 32 (1994), 142. cf. also Fohrer, Georg. "Das Buch Jesaja." *Zürcher Bibelkommentare* 19, 2, 3 (1991), 4.

[23] cf. Wildberger, 915f.

[24] cf. Wildberger, 913.

[25] Wildberger, 917: Probably, he meant the laments about the city.

ciples are followed by weqatal forms.[26] His translation is close to the *New Revised Standard Version.*[27] The translation in the present tense has a future sense, implying that the pronounced event is coming soon.

Besides the *New Revised Standard Version*, Blenkinsopp also translates the beginning of Isa 24 as following: "Observe, Yahve is about to lay waste the earth […]."[28] Unlike Wildberger, Blenkinsopp understands Isa 24,1-3 as "a self-contained unit introduced in a typically Isaian manner (cv. 10:33; 19:1; 22:17; 30:27) and rounded off with an inclusion, a prophetic communication formula identifying the origin of what precedes rather than what follows."[29] Based probably on this statement, Blenkinsopp translates וְהָיָה in verse 2 in a future tense: "Then it will be the same for priest as for people […]."[30] Therefore, the different structuring of the chapter and the variation on the referencing to Jhwh (verse 3) influence the temporal understanding of the verb forms.

Fohrer divides Isa 24 into a prophetical prediction of the eschatological court (verse 1-3; 16b-20), and into a lament and hymn (verse 4-16a).[31] As well as Blenkinsopp, Fohrer sees Isa 24,1-3 as self-contained. Nevertheless, he translates the part in present tense. He also interprets הִנֵּה in combination with the participles as a sign that the beginning of the eschatological court is close and that Jhwh intervenes shortly/will soon intervene (?).[32]

Jeremias examines the temporal meaning of a participle by comparing Isa 13,6 and Isa 13,9. In verse 6, the day of Jhwh is announced by using the term יָבוֹא, in verse 9 בָּא occurs instead. Jeremias interprets the yiqtol form in a future sense and the participle as closer to the present. The use of the participle shows that the plagues from which the inhabitants of the land/the earth (?) are already suffering are caused by the approach of the Day of Jhwh. The change from the yiqtol to the qotel form is interpreted as an increase regarding the closeness of the day of Jhwh.[33]

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[26] cf. Wildberger, 917: "Daß die Ereignisse noch in der Zukunft liegen, ist dadurch gesichert, daß die Partizipien mit dem perf. cons. fortgeführt werden (es wird also nicht wie bei den ‚Stadtliedern' in die Vergangenheit zurückgeschaut)."

[27] cf. Wildberger, 917: Wildberger adds the following interpretation to his translation in the present tense: "Jahwe ist daran, das Weltgericht in Gang zu setzen."

[28] Blenkinsopp, 349.

[29] Blenkinsopp, 350.

[30] Blenkinsopp, 349.

[31] cf. Fohrer, 3.

[32] cf. Fohrer, 4.

[33] cf. Jeremias, Jörg. "Der "Tag Jahwes" in Jes 13 Und Joel 2." in: "Schriftauslegung in Der Schrift Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag." *BZAW* 300 (2000): 129-138, 136.

Biases in translation process

The different verb translations affect the understanding of future by organizing the verbs regarding the differentiation between past, present, and future. This variability shows the power of translation and interpretation. Judith Butler understands speaking as an act of performance. Speaking and writing always implies action and dynamics of power.[34] The Hebrew verb system challenges translations, having no equivalent within the modern languages.

Adding the hermeneutical problem that translations are shaped by the translator's mother tongue, the question arises as to what specific characteristics the own language has, and what impact these characteristics have on the understanding of other languages. Concerning a translation from Hebrew into German, a linguistic understanding of the German language is as necessary as of the Hebrew language.

The qatal form is normally translated as a perfect but could also be translated in present tense (eg. in prophetical literature). This phenomenon is called perfectum propheticum, which highlights the certainty of the speaker or writer of the occurrence of a pronounced event. German contains a similar phenomenon: the future tense II, which is a grammatical combination of the future and the past tense. As an example, the German future tense of the verb *lesen* (to read) is *ich werde lesen* (I will read/I am going to read). The German perfect would be *ich habe gelesen* (I have read). The future II is built by combining these two forms, resulting in *ich werde gelesen haben* (I will have read). The difference between the two future tenses is the perspective. Future I describes an event that will happen in the future, spoken from the perspective of the present. Future II adds an additional perspective: The subject speaks from a hypothetical point in time in the far future looking back to the announced action, which takes places between the present and said hypothetical moment in tine. The speaker looks retrospectively on a future event. This transfer to a later moment and the retrospective view emphasize the certainty of the speaker of knowing exactly how the event will happen, sharing a similarity with the perfectum propheticum. However, this similarity only applies to the speakers intention and is not based on grammatical congruence.

The translations of Isa 24,1 demonstrate how different the speaker's point of view is interpreted. The future meaning implies a point in the present from which the statement is made. However, the translation in the present tense is ambiguous. The reader knows that the described event takes place in the future, because it has not happened yet. In German, a future event can be stated in present tense combined with an additional temporal specification: *Morgen koche ich* (Tomorrow I am coo-

[34] Judith Butler discusses philosophy of language explicitly in: Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performative*. New York 1997.

king). Without the temporal information "tomorrow," nobody would know that the sentence is about the future. Even if the participle in Isa 24,1 is understood as present tense, it is a statement about a future event. The question arises whether the Hebrew has clear signs when a future meaning is to be expressed. For example, the perfectum propheticum and the futurum instans are phenomena which are based on assumptions about text-inherent time markers, again originating from the hermeneutical bias of translation.

Hermeneutical challenges: Context and historical background

Besides Cohelet 3, the books of the OT share the epistemic presumptions about time only implicitly. The concept of time, or more precisely the concept of future, always has a theological implication in the OT and in Near Eastern Texts, Gretler states.[35] She analyzes the concept of time in wisdom literature in Cohelet and apocalyptic literature in Daniel. The specialty of these more recent texts in the OT is the reflective view, in contrast to time being mentioned in a concrete and not in an abstract way in older texts.[36]

The concept of time varies within the OT based on the different centuries in which the texts were written. Even if there was an agreement on a definition of time regarding one text, this would not be applicable for texts from other centuries. Thus, the historical background is important to consider.

Wildberger lists the different dating of Isa 24-27 and concludes that the text is not written as one complex, but rather extrapolated by many single steps. The dating of the different parts is dependent on the question about the identity of the city. The dating varies between 587 (Jerusalem, conquered by Nebukadnezar), 485 (Babel, conquered by Xerxes), 331 (Babel, conquered by Alexander), and 146 (Karthago, conquered by Scipio Aemilianus). There are a lot of other suggestions leading Wildberger to the conclusion that the eschatological aspects complicate the gathering of information about the historical situation the text was written in.[37] Even if the identity of the city is not explicit, Wildberger argues that the text is incorporated in a historical situation.[38]

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[35] cf. Gretler, Trix. *Zeit Und Stunde: Theologische Zeitkonzepte Zwischen Erfahrung Und Ideologie in Den Büchern Kohelet Und Daniel*. Zürich 2004: "Ein solches Zeitkonzept resp. Die in Texten beschriebene Vorstellung von zeitlichen Abläufen und deren Verknüpfungen ist kulturrelativ und dient im Wesentlichen der Organisation resp. der Orientierung des Menschen in seiner Umwelt. In biblischen Texten und im gesamten Alten Orient (AO) wird ein Weltbild zudem aus religiöser Perspektive beschrieben, wodurch auch ein Zeitkonzept nicht ohne theologische Auswirkungen bleiben kann." (15f.)

[36] cf. Gretler, 18.

[37] cf. Wildberger, 906.

[38] cf. Wildberger, 906: "Denn ‚jenseits aller bislang verlaufenen Geschichte' liegt die Botschaft dieser Stücke nicht. Richtig ist aber, daß solche Verkündigung leicht auf neue Situationen bezogen werden kann und das Moment des Zeitlos-Typischen wichtiger wird als der konkrete Bezug in seiner Einmaligkeit."

While there is no agreement on the dating of Isa 24-27, the categorization as “a unified text from the late period“[39] is commonly agreed on.

Noticing, that Isa 24-27 is dated in different epochs, the Seleucid era may be interesting. Paul Kosmin postulates that a new calendar system and the change of dating during the Seleucid era brought up a new understanding of time. In opposition to the centuries under Assyrian and Babylonian rule, the Seleucids counted independently from the reign of a king. Kosmin examines that as long as the duration of reign set a limit of an era it is not possible to speak concretely about the future. Nobody is able to speak about the beginning and the end of a future era, because it is not known which king will reign and when. Therefore, it is only possible to speak about the future in an abstract way, but there is no term for *in ten years* (Who knows which king is going to rule in ten years?). Kosmin concludes that the counting system of the Seleucids gave them the opportunity to speak about the future in the same way as the past and the present, it was “the opening of a thinkable future:“[40]

> “The regularized directionality of the Seleucid Era gave future time the same texture as the present and the recent past, accessing a previously unreached chronographic extension.“[41]

This new possibility of planning probably has an impact on the concept of future in more recent texts of the OT. One thesis could be that the aspect of linearity increases through the developments during the Seleucid era. The new perspective on future as a time about which it is possible to speak in form of a concrete date enables to see the future in continuity to the past. Even if it is not known what exactly is going to happen, the calendar system brings up a standardization and creates the feeling of unity. Kosmin analyses how the change of the calendar system affects the perspective on future in general and the planning reliability in particular.

Thus, the perspective on the future changed during the reign of the Seleucids. Even if in the end, the Seleucid era is not the correct reference for Isa 24-27, Kosmin’s research demonstrates how a concept of future could change unplanned through a cultural development.

Therefore, concepts of time are culturally shaped. Polaski operates with Foucault’s discourse theory for examining the impact of socio-cultural discourses on biblical texts.

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[39] Becker, Uwe. "Isaiah 24-27 and Intertextuality." in: Reinhard Gregor Kratz/Joachim Schaper. "Imperial Visions: The Prophet and the Book of Isaiah in an Age of Empires." *Forschungen Zur Religion Und Literatur Des Alten Und Neuen Testaments* 277 (2020): 129-140, 134.

[40] Kosmin, Paul J. *Time and its Adversaries in the Seleucid Empire.* Harvard 2022, 25.

[41] Kosmin, 25.

> "For my purposes, Foucault raises the question of what 'rules of formation' were present in early Second Temple discourse which made possible the appearance of the ברית עולם in the Isaiah-Apocalypse, and how such rules were implicated in power relations."[42]

Therefore, Kosmin's research may provide information about the historical background of the time concept in Isa 24 and may help to solve the hermeneutical problem of understanding the discourse about future in former times.

Hermeneutical challenges: Variability of meanings

Statements about time and future in the OT are always conclusions of interpretative text analyses.[43] Therefore, concepts of time are dependent on the context from which they derived. The same word is used in different contexts and can have slightly different meanings every time it is used. The implications of words could be understood as parts of a puzzle. One part is not necessarily connected with every other part, but all parts of the puzzle belong together. A word should not be cut out of one sentence nor could be put into another sentence without an impact on a word's meaning. Butler affirms Derrida's rejection of harsh definitions and acknowledges that speaking or writing is always an act of quoting the former applications of the same word. Judith Butler reinforces Derrida's aspect of *iterability* in her book "Exciteable Speech. A Politics of the Performative." Butler argues that a word does not a have a timeless meaning, but instead develops the meaning according to the applied context. It is important to mention that this does not imply an arbitrariness. The interpretation of a word is always shaped by the different meanings of other, previous contexts. Thus, a word has a biography, a *historicity* which is implicated, not understood as an ontological constant, but rather as a constant process. For example, עלום, could have different meanings. Often it does not mean eternity in our modern understanding. However, with Jhwh as subject, עלום can have the meaning of a never ending durance.[44]

In Isa 24, the ברית עולם is a good example for the complexity of the intertextual references. By comparing the different contexts in which a word occurs, the plurality and the change of a word's meaning can be examined. One reference is the tale of the flood in Gen 6. Both texts describe the return of the chaos into the well-ordered creation of Jhwh and do not hesitate to make the humans responsible for the bad situation. Jhwh only reacts on the already existing chaos. However, Beuken mentions many different references and includes them all in his work. By referencing ברית עולם in other

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[42] Polaski, 60.

[43] cf. Gretler, 18.

[44] cf. Preuß, Horst D. Art. "עוֹלָם" in: *ThWAT* 5: 1143-1159.

contexts, Beuken does not only numerate further applications, but shifts the perspective to the future kingdom of Jhwh. The events of the past are leading the future path.[45]

Polaski examines the intertextual references of the ברית עולם and points out "the variety of covenants, eternal and otherwise, which were 'in play' during the time of the formation of the Isaiah-Apocalpyse."[46]

Polaski defines intertextuality as following:

> "Intertextuality, so defined, takes a whole culture as its subject; texts are locations where the institutions, norms, conventions and other texts which make up a culture collide."[47]

Intertextual analyses lay their focus on the contexts in which a term was applied before. The references point out the plurality of meaning and may help to examine the complexity of the term's contextual use. This method acknowledges a word not having one distinct definition. Instead, the plurality of a words subtextual meanings is highlighted. By analyzing with an intertextual perspective, the definition of a word is not reduced to the meaning of one text reference.

By comparing the text references, the biography of a word is examined. In regard to Derrida and Butler, *historicity* and *iterability* are seen as the conditions of language. Thus, an intertextual method may be a way for bringing poststructuralist philosophy in dialog with exegetical methods. However, the perspective on the intertextual references is influenced by the assumptions of the words meaning or by the power of the main reference's interpretation.

Another aspect of Butlers language philosophy regarding the power of interpretation is *performative speech*. To understand the category *apocalyptic literature* as *performative speech,* highlights the term being based on an agreement about a range of meanings,[48] even if the exact definitions may vary. The term is not only descriptive, but it forms the interpretation of texts in a performative manner by categorizing them into being part of this genre or not.

In Isa 24,1, the earth is pillaged and defiled by Jhwh, caused by the failures of the inhabitants. The well-known phrase: כא אמר יהוה in verse 3 manifests the fate of the earth. Even if it is not distinct, whether the Jhwh word should be understood in a descriptive or a performative manner, this prophetical term points out Jhwh's involvement. Demonstrated by the first verse where Jhwh is set as

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[45] cf. Beuken, 323f: "Somit verweist er [der ewige Bund] nicht ausschließlich auf die Vergangenheit, sondern nimmt auch, gewiss in einer Prophetie über die Etablierung der Herrschaft JHWHs auf Erden, die Zukunft in den Blick."

[46] Polaski, Donald C. "Reflections On a Mosaic Covenant: The Eternal Covenant (Isaiah 24.5) and Intertextuality." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 23, 77 (1998): 55-73, 60.

[47] Polaski, 59.

[48] Brokoff, Jürgen. *Apokalyptik in Antike Und Aufklärung*. Paderborn 2004, 107.

the subject to the verb "to desolate." The curse in verse 6 is mentioned as a consequence resulting from breaking the law, adding to the argument of Jhwh's words not only being descriptive. Beuken argues against a performative reading, because of the specific characteristics of a curse: being summoned by a God, but then becoming self-contained.[49] Therefore, Jhwh could be understood as the source of the curse without controlling the ongoing development. The question arises if the first sentence describes how Jhwh sets up the curse. If so, it would be an act of performative speech. Similar to the first creation story in Gen 1, where Jhwh creates through speaking, Jhwh now acts through speaking. However, in opposite to the creation story, Isa 24 describes how the earth is destroyed. The chaos returns, which was first brought in a state deemed good. However, the statement about Jhwh's good creation is not transferred and reversed on the destruction of the earth, implying a transitory state.

Déconstruction and *Différance*

The translations of Isa 24 differ regarding the structuring of their chapters into present and future parts. Intertextual references of words including time aspects demonstrate their various meanings. While translating, the challenge arises to avoid transferring the time concept of the own mother tongue to the Hebrew without any reflection. Moreover, the transfer of a words prior meaning into another (historical) context should be seriously considered by acknowledging the aspect of *iterability*.

The deconstruction of the own normative perspective makes it possible to learn something new about other cultures and ways of living. The necessity to deconstruct the own normative thinking arises through examining communication problems. The philosophical systems theory developed by Luhmann understands communication in general or specifically the process of learning as a contact between two systems. The system seeking to learn must be open for getting in contact with the other system. The outside information brings chaos into the well-functioning system which is forced to create a new order by working with the input.[50] If the communication situation is transferred to a hermeneutical context, the reader corresponds with the text, both are understood as a system. One system needs to be irritated by the other system to learn something new. If the reader meets the text by transferring their own normative narratives, the reader communicates with their

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[49] Beuken, 324: "In der altorientalischen Wahrnehmung von Tat und Folge, Schuld und Buße, ist der Fluch eine Macht, die zwar auf Geheiß der Götter tätig wird, aber selbstständig operiert."

[50] cf. Kossatz, Lydia. "Zeichen Im System: Eine ästhetische Poimenik in Systemtheoretischer Und Semiotischer Perspektive." *Praktische Theologie Im Wissenschaftsdiskurs* 20 (2017), 297ff.

own assumptions. Thus, the reader stays in their hermeneutical circle. To learn something new, the reader must acknowledge the distance between their own perspectives and the ones presented by the text. If the reader's system approves to be irritated by the text's system, something new can be learned by integrating new information into the own thinking. The process of accepting irritations of the own normative thinking is a crucial part of the systems theory.

First, the reader needs to acknowledge that they do not instantly know what the text's message. The second step may be to get to know the presumptions of our modern thinking which are not obvious as long as we are part of the system. To deconstruct a system we are participating in is quite difficult. However, if we want to read the texts of the Old Testament to learn something new about their cultural background, we need to develop methods of how to be open to irritations.

Regarding the concept of time and future, the aspects of Hebrew verb forms can function as irritations to the own language. The German verbal system is based on the Latin one that works with time classification. My first language being German, my thinking is shaped by the differentiation between past, present, and future. Therefore, my translation is automatically biased regarding the time implications of verbal systems in other languages. To acknowledge the subjectivity of one's own perspective and the differences between the languages, the philosophy of Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler may help to solve hermeneutical problems. Jacques Derrida emphasizes the aspect of "différance,"[51] a term he invented for describing the importance of acknowledging the difference between the Self and the Other. The *différance* hinders full understanding of the other and could be transferred to the difference between a text and its reader.

Derrida looks at a text from a perspective of deconstruction. The method of deconstruction has its roots in an identity crisis, McCance states. Derrida has a mixed-up identity with "Jewish, Maghrebian (he was a native of northwestern Africa), and French (Algeria was at the time a province or colony of France)"[52] parts. He sees a connection between the "dislocation" of the identity, a term that includes aspects of identity, and the "'disjointedness' of time and of history."[53] Derrida has an "understanding of identity identification as constituted out of, and including, difference."[54]

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[51] McCance, Dawne. *Derrida on Religion: Thinker of Differance*. Equinox 2009, 10.

[52] McCance, 10.

[53] McCance, 10.

[54] McCance, 10.

Derrida's approach is "to foreground a differential movement that is already at work in the text, even if it has been masked."[55] Through the process of deconstruction, Derrida does not invent or add something external, but rather works with the already existing tendencies of inconsistency. His "task is a transformative one, that of releasing heterogeneity where it has not been acknowledged before, he complicates questions of authorship and of the origin and ownership of ideas."[56]

The process of deconstruction could be split into two parts: a destroying and a constructing one.[57] Probably, Stegmaier emphasizes this splitting based on his comparison between Derrida and Lacan. Lacan lays his focus on the relationship between two communicating persons and understands every form of getting in touch with each other as a process in which one person objectifies the other by reducing that person to the kind of person they perceive. In the next moment, the second person is doing something the first person did not expect. The first person is irritated, the perception of the person must be changed, the new experience with the person must be adapted. Even the process of getting to know the Self happens through gradual objectification.[58] Therefore, a process of communication is working with parts of reducing another person to one part of the Self and with parts of being irritated and changing the own perspective on the other person.[59] Construction and deconstruction of the other person are both parts of a communication process, proximity and distance are working alternately together. This link to Lacan may help to understand the process of deconstructing a text. Derrida himself described "deconstruction as a mode of inheriting tradition."[60] It is a process of showing other interpretations of a text, it is a "constituting and re-constituting of binary

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55 McCance, 16.

56 McCance, 16.

57 cf.: Stegmaier, Werner. "Die Zeit und die Schrift. Berührungen zwischen Levinas und Derrida." *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Philosophie* 21.1 (1996): 3-24, 10: "Einen Text aus eigensinnigen Zeichen kann man sich wiederum nur so verständlich machen, daß man mit seinen eigenen Zeichen in ihn eintritt, die ebenfalls ihren Eigensinn mitbringen. So bildet man im Lesen eines Textes Eigensinn durch Eigensinn fort, in einem Prozeß, den man nur begrenzt beherrscht. Man verfügt nicht über den Sinn des Textes, man kann ihn nur auf seine Weise verschieben. Doch wenn das so ist, kann und muß man es zur Tugend und zur Methode machen, zur Methode, einen Text bewußt zu destruieren, indem man ihn rekonstruiert, oder, in einem Wort, ihn zu 'dekonstruieren'."

58 cf. Lewis, Michael. *Derrida and Lacan: Another Writing.* Edinburgh 2008, 188: "The subjective point of view of the image we see cannot be incorporated into our vision of the mirror since this takes it solely as an *object*: we can never see the *place* from which we *look*. The eyes in the mirror appear the same as ours, but what they lack, what the mirror cannot differentiate, is the position, the subjective position of the *real* looker." Cf. also: Butler, Judith. *Die Macht der Gewaltlosigkeit. Über das Ethische im Politischen*, Berlin 2020, 50. 59f.

59 cf. Lewis, 162: "Lacan indicates the impossibility of a single signifier that would represent the whole signifier with his formula, 'S(A barred)'. 'S(A barred), the signifier of the Other insofar as the Other himself in the final analysis can only be formalised, be made significant as himself marked by the signifier, in other words in so far as it imposes on us the renunciation of any metalanguage' (SIX: 21/3/62). This at the same time signifies the impossibility of the signifier's ever forming a perfect whole."

60 McCance, 19.

oppositions“[61] causing the hermeneutical inversion of the interpretation. To call deconstruction a “method“ is not the term Derrida provides. Maybe “perspective“ is more accurate, but both descriptions let “deconstruction“ seem to be a system which could be applied to other contexts. In opposition, deconstruction is dependent on the context in which it occurs. There is not one definition about how deconstruction works in general. This is a challenge while referencing Derrida, there is no instruction for combining deconstruction and exegetical methods. However, Derrida talks and writes not only implicitly about deconstruction by doing it, but “describes deconstruction by saying what it is not.“[62] The term *déconstruction* is rooted in Heidegger’s term “Destruktion,“[63] but Derrida’s *déconstruction* implies a more productive aspect and not only “a negative reduction.“[64] Therefore, *déconstruction* is rather a transformation of existing structures than a process of destroying, it “happens *from within* living systems.“[65]

The presumption of being open for irritations during an act of communication is an option for interpreting the fact that the transformation process occurs inside the system instead of being added from outside. The systems theory agrees on the fact that a system wants to stay the same. If it accepts irritation, it tries to solve the chaos to develop a new form of a closed system.[66] Derrida’s view on deconstruction as an inherent process of a system could be understood as denying effects from outside the system. In contrast, it could also be interpreted as being open to effects from outside and including them into the own system by repeating them and by changing the own structures bringing the effect to work.

The systems theory argues on the basis of the tendency to stay static, a system could reject irritations from outside.[67] However, the rejection is an interaction, too. Thus, a system is in constant contact with other systems. The motivation for change comes from outside but needs to be increased inside the system itself. Derrida argues that a system is never being closed but always open and in a process of change. Does this mean that the option of not being irritated does not really exist? In opposition, this could also mean understanding systems as always interacting with each other. The de-

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[61] McCance, 21.

[62] McCance, 21.

[63] McCance, 22.

[64] McCance, 22.

[65] McCance, 22.

[66] cf. Kossatz, 417ff.

[67] cf. Kossatz, 415.

velopment, understood as construction, deconstruction, and new construction is constantly going on. There is no point of stagnation.

Déconstruction is not understood as a second step, as a method that brings plurality into unity. Instead, the existence of unity is denied. According to language, this means that a symbol/a sign is not able to replace "the thing itself."[68] A sign always differs from what it represents. However, Derrida tries to avoid ontological terms, discernible by his use of quotation marks for the word "primordial."[69] *Différance* is not a kind of analysis, being applied to preliminary methods. Instead, even a sign is not imaginable without *différance*. According to the avoidance of ontological or metaphysical thinking of a signs *différance*, a notion of time can be perceived.

> "Differance is 'before' then, but not according to a before/after concept of time, and not according to a model that would separate 'time' from 'space,' differance as temporizing ('to differ' as 'to delay' or 'to detour') from differance as spacing (the interval or distance im plied in alterity or dissimilarity)."[70]

Not only according to a sign but also according to a text, Derrida emphasizes the complexity of reading processes. Derrida does not only understand a text in the common sense, but has a wider perspective. Reading a text means to get in touch, providing a relation in which the subject and the object are influencing each other. In Derrida's view, this process of reading is a "play"[71] in which writing is a part of reading. By calling the interpretation "writing," his wider concept of texts becomes visible. The process of writing a text on a piece of paper is the same as the process of reading this paper, because reading implies a form of communication between the reading subject and the written object. The power of interpretation stays the same.

> "In Derrida's work, textuality is always an issue, and this means that the issue of translation is never far away. These two, textuality and translation, are inseparable for him, not only when it is a matter of moving from one language to others (and in Derrida's readings-writings, there are always several languages in play, e. g. Greek, German, French, English), but also when it is a matter of the differences within a given text or tongue."[72]

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[68] McCance, 27.

[69] McCance, 27.

[70] McCance, 28.

[71] McCance, 32.

[72] McCance, 33.

The consultation of Derrida may be helpful for providing an example on how another concept of time could be thought. Derrida criticizes the understanding of time from Aristoteles until Hegel and further develops ideas of Heidegger.[73] Thus, he postulates to deconstruct normative presumptions about time. By deconstructing the linear aspect of our modern concept of time, he widens the perspective. This may help to accept being irritated by diverging concepts of time in the OT.

[73] cf.: Derrida, Jacques, und Peter Engelmann. *Randgänge Der Philosophie*. Wien 1988, 76. "Wir wissen bereits, wenn auch nur in unserem naiven Gebrauch der Rede, was Zeit sein muß und was *Vergangenheit* (*gegone*) oder Zukunft (*meillei*) bedeuten, um auf ihr geringes oder Nicht-Vorhandensein schließen zu können. Vergangenheit und Zukunft werden als verringernde Affizierungen gedacht, welche zu dieser Anwesenheit hinzukommen, von der man weiß, daß sie der Sinn oder das Wesen dessen ist, was (Seiendes) ist."

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The Concept of “Land” in the Psalms

Abstract

In this paper, Psalm 85 is approached from the angle of discovering the meaning of land. The concept of “land” plays an important role in Psalm 85. The words ארצך (v. 2) and ארצנו (vv. 10 , 12) bear the connotation of “land”, meaning the land promised and given to the people of Israel by God himself. The expressions “your land” and “our land” imply that the land remains YHWH’s property, which Israel inherited and which they must preserve and cultivate. This Psalm expresses a strong desire for their land to be restored and for the land to start producing again so that they can become the people of God again.

Keywords: Psalter, Theology of the Old Testament

Project Summary

The Old Testament has many theological topics, such as the covenant, the law, and the temple, etc. However, the land, as the setting of major historical and political events in the Old Testament, is the vehicle for the relationship between God and his people. The land constantly moves back and forth between literal and symbolic meanings. A symbolic sense affirms that land is never simply a geographical place, but always a space charged with social meanings derived from historical experiences.

It will also become clear that "land" in the Old Testament does not only stand for a specific country (Canaan/Egypt...) but for the whole world. The Hebrew Scriptures use different terms for the land in Psalter: ארץ (190 times[1]), אדמה (6times[2]), and נחלה (23 times[3]). ארץ is the more frequent and comprehensive term. It refers to the whole earth (Gen 11, 1), the earth as opposed to heaven (Eccl 5,1). The term also refers to the land in (Ex 8, 12; Deut 11, 25) and especially to the land as a geographical area (2 Sam 24, 8), and as an area with political boundaries (Deut 1, 5).[4] אדמה is connected to its root אדם and reflects the soil from which humanity was taken and to which it is returning. It can be translated as "ground".[5] The use of נחלה is a marker of the land-grabbing traditions in Priestly and Deuteronomy theology.[6] In Deuteronomy, the formula "your God is giving you as your inheritance" (Deut 4, 21, 38; 12, 9; 15, 4; 19, 10; 24, 4; 25, 19; 26, 1) emphasizes the realization of the land promises to the patriarchs. The people can also be seen as an inherited possession, as YHWH's נחלה (Deut 4, 20; 1Sam 10, 1; 2Sam 20, 19; 1Kings 8, 51; Is 19, 25; Jer 10, 16; Ps 28,9) .[7]

This work will be limited to ארץ and נחלה, for both of these two words are

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[1] The word ארץ appears 190 times in total: Ps 2,2, 8, 10; 7,6; 8,2; 10,16, 18; 12, 7; 16, 3; 17, 11; 18, 8; 19, 5;21, 11; 22, 28, 30; 24, 1; 25, 13; 27, 13; 33, 5, 8, 14; 34, 17; 35, 20; 37, 3, 9, 11, 22, 29, 34; 41, 2; 42,7; 44, 4, 26; 45, 17; 46, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11; 47, 3, 8, 10; 48, 3, 11; 50, 1, 4; 52, 7, 57, 6, 12; 58, 3, 12; 59, 14; 60, 4; 61, 3; 63, 2, 10; 65, 6, 10; 66, 1, 4; 67, 3, 5, 7, 8; 68, 9, 33; 69, 35; 71, 20 72, 6, 8, 16 (2 times), 19; 73, 9, 25; 74, 7, 8, 12, 17, 20; 75, 4, 9; 76, 9, 10, 13; 77, 19; 78, 12, 69; 79, 2; 80, 10; 81, 6, 11; 82, 5, 8; 83, 19; 85, 2, 10, 12, 13; 88, 13; 89, 12, 28, 40, 45; 90, 2; 94, 2; 95, 4; 96, 1, 9, 11, 13; 97, 1, 4, 5, 9; 98, 3, 4, 9; 99, 1; 100, 1; 101, 6, 8; 102, 16, 20, 26; 103, 11; 104, 5, 9, 13, 14, 24, 32, 35; 105, 7, 11, 16, 23, 27, 30, 32, 35, 36, 44; 106, 17, 22, 24, 27, 38; 107, 3, 34, 35; 108, 6; 109, 15; 110, 6; 112, 2; 113, 6; 114, 7; 115, 15, 16; 116, 9; 119, 19, 64, 87, 90, 119; 121, 2; 124, 8; 134, 3; 135, 6, 7, 12; 136, 6, 21; 138, 4; 139, 15; 140, 12; 141, 7; 142, 6; 143, 3, 6, 10; 146, 6; 147, 6, 8, 15; 148, 11 (2 times), 13.

[2] אדמה appears 6 times in total : Ps 49, 12; 83, 11; 104, 30; 105, 35; 137, 4; 146, 4.

[3] נחלה appears 23 times in Psalter: Ps 2, 8; 16, 6; 28, 9; 33, 12; 37, 18; 47, 5; 68, 10; 74, 2; 78, 55, 62, 71; 79, 1; 94, 5, 14; 105, 11; 106, 5, 40; 111, 6; 127, 3; 135, 12 (2 times); 136, 21, 22.

[4] Ottosson, „ארץ", In: *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament, Band I*,1973, Stuttgart, 425.

[5] Plöger, J. G., Art. „אדמה", In:*ThWAT Band 1*,1973, Stuttgart, 102.

[6] Wanke, G., Art. „ נחלה", In: *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament (THAT): zwei Bände*, ed. By Jenni, Ernst; Westermann, Claus, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2004, 57.

[7] Wanke, G., „ נחלה", *THAT*, 58.

frequently used. The two words contain diverse meanings, and they also connect with many important theological themes. The focus of this work is on the land as a theological concept (the land as God's gift, the land as God's dwelling place, etc.) that is charged with meaning.

In the Psalms, the land sometimes refers to a concrete, specific land (e.g. Ps 42, 7; 60, 11; 78, 12; 81, 6), but most times it connects to the creation narrative, the Exodus narrative, the Sinai narrative, etc. According to Henri Lefebvre, the land in the Psalms is not only a geographical space, but also a cultural, socio-religious constructed space, i.e. a "representation of space"[8]. Edward Soja updated Henri Lefebvre's concept. According to him, space is created by society and can also be changed by itself.[9] The land in the Psalms is not an evacuated space, but one marked by the relationship between God and his people.

The primary task of the dissertation is to examine the meaning of the land in different Psalms, followed by an attempt to find out how the meaning of the land changes and develops in different Psalms, and finally to examine how the meaning of the land influences Psalm theology.

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[8] Lefebvre's spatial theory consists of three aspects: spatial practices; representations of space; and spaces of representations. Spatial practices is the space of perception, the experience of everyday life. Representations of space is the abstracted, imagined, constructed space. Spaces of representations is the lived space, a space of inhabitants and users. (Maier, Christl M., Daughter Zion, Mother Zion: Gender, Space, and the Sacred in Ancient Israel, Fortress Press, 2008, 11f.)

[9] He distinguishes between three different spaces: perceived space, conceived space and lived space. (Maier, Christl M., Daughter Zion, Mother Zion,13. Berquist und Flanagan, "Ancient Perceptions of Space/Perceptions of Ancient Space", Semeia 87, 1999, 28-30).

The Concept of "Land" in the Psalms

1.Introduction

Psalm 85 is a prayer for God's favour. The psalmist asks God to have mercy, to withdraw his anger, and to revive them. In this psalm, the psalmist begins by thanking God for his kindness to them; then he describes their present wretchedness and asks God to stop his anger and show them his love; and finally, he declares that God will bless them and work out their salvation in righteousness and peace.

In this psalm, the land becomes a silent witness, the land bears witness to how the people who inhabit it have repeatedly sinned against God in the past, and how God has forgiven them. It also bears witness to how the people of the land pray for God's forgiveness and restoration in the present. This land is not only a spatial place, but also a living space, a historical space and a covenantal space, a place of rootedness, a place of commitment, a place of identity.

2. Translation

1. For the choir leader. A Psalm of the sons of Korach.[1]
2. YHWH, favored to **your land,**
   You restored Jacob's fortunes[2].
3. You forgave the iniquity of your people[3] ,

[1] In this Psalm, the construction לבני-קרח, which contains the names with the preposition ל could be translated as "of the sons of Korach".The prepositional ל ("of") in the heading does not indicate authorship but rather the person responsible for performing the psalm in temple worship ('for the Korahites').

[2] The expression of שבות (שבת) is an example of a pun. שבות (Nom. f. sg. cs) comes from *Ketiv* Form and the *Qere* Form is שבית and its meaning is "captives". (Gesenius, Wilhelm, Donne, Herbert (editors), Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament: Gesamtausgabe, Springer, 18th edition, 2013).

[3] A simple explanatory word in the same verse is נשה (Qal, PK, 2.m. sg., "to bear", "to take"). Here the verb

You covered all their sin. Sela[4]
4. You withdrew all your wrath,
You turned from your anger[5] .
5. Restore us, God our Savior,
put away your indignation toward us.
6. Will you forever be angry with us?
Will you draw out your anger generation after generation?
7. Why will you not bring us to life again,
so that your people will rejoice in you?
8. Show us YHWH, your faithfulness,
and grant to us your salvation.
9. I will hear[6] what God-YHWH[7] will speak,
for he will speak (about) peace to his people and his faithful ones,
and they shall not return (to) folly[8].
10. Surely, his salvation is near to those who fear him[9],
so that his[10] glory may dwell in **our land**[11].
11.Steadfast love and faithfulness are met together,
righteousness and peace[12] kissed[13] each other.
12. Faithfulness will sprout from the earth,
as[14] righteousness looks down from heaven.
13. YHWH will indeed give the good thing,
and **our land** will give her yield.
14. Righteousness will go before him,
that he might place his footsteps on the path.[15]

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implies a removal of both the sins and the consequences of sin. Therefore, a translation such as "You have borne the guilt of your people (נשאת)" seems also appropriate. (Gesenius, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, 851.)

[4] The end of this verse is accompanied by a סלה ("Sela"). סלה is a musical sign or a tone sign, but the exact meaning is unknown. It could be understood as a resting point, closing sign; the echo of the word; interlude. According to the context, here is a final sign. (R. Gyllenberg, The Meaning of the Word Sela, In: *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 58, Heft 1-2, 1941, 153-156. cf. Gertz, Jan Christian, Grundinformation Altes Testament: Eine Einführung in Literatur, Religion und Geschichte des Alten Testaments, UTB GmbH; 4th edition, 2010, 408.)

[5] The word מחרון consists of the preposition מן ("from") and of a noun חרון (m.sg. cs., "fervour", "anger", See Gesenius, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, 395.). This construction is connected with a verb which is in the hifil verb form, therefore making the preposition מ an "enclitic מ". (Dahood, Mitchell Joseph, "Enclitic מ and emphatic ל in Psalm 85", Biblica 37, no. 3 ,1956 , 338-340).

[6] The future tense "i will hear" is intended to be cohortative.

[7] BHS has proposed a presumptive emendation for the word האל. The combination האל יהוה ("the God YHWH") is admittedly strange.

[8] See Gesenius, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, 1327-1331.

[9] ליראיו is a participle, it consists of a preposition ל and an active participle (Qal., m. pl. with the ending in 3rd, m., sg.). This construction is translated as a noun.

[10] With the Syriac translation, the suffix 3rd sg. is probably to be added.

[11] This verse contains two ל, one for each colon אך קרות ליראיו ישעו לשכן כבוד בארצנו. The first line with the emphatic particle אך begins. To represent this emphasis, it can be translated: " yet his help is nigh unto the saints". Because of this parallelism, however, the second verb should probably still be understood in the future tense and not in the present tense.

[12] Word order plays an important role in this and the next verse. The noun subjects in vv. 11-12 are examples of thematic frames used to "create a specific frame of reference for the subject of the following sentence". (Seybold, Klaus, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft: Studien zu Sprache und Stil der Psalmen, Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2010, 117.)

[13] "Kiss" means they come and belong together. They seem to enter into a close relationship. See Gesenius, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, 857.

[14] The ו-conjunction connects the two cola in this verse can be interpreted in several ways. Instead of translating the ו with a simple "and", a better interpretation is to translate the ו adverbially in terms of simultaneous time ("like", "as").

[15]The second sentence of v. 14 is a little hairy, as the different ways of rendering it by the translators show. BHS suggests emending וישם (3m.sg.of שים). See Gesenius, Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, 1285. The translation tries to retain MT as far as possible and understands צדק as the subject of the verse, for the popular conjectures there is no sure textual basis (cf. Hans-Joachim Kraus, Psalmen, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament Psalmen 2. Teilband, Neukirchen Kreis Moers, 1978, 754).

v.1 is an introductory verse both in content and grammar. A very distinct series of perfect verbs forms the link between vv. 2-4.[16] Subsequently, the series of perfects is interrupted by two imperatives in v.5. Grammatically these imperatives serve as a transition to the next section, a succession of imperfects. The imperfects in vv. 6-9 are only interrupted by one imperative (*hiphil)* in v.8. The string of imperfects running through v. 9 is broken by the infinitive (*qal)* of v.10. The distinct patterns of the previous sections then fall away in the last section as v.11 contains two perfects, v.12 one imperfect and one perfect (*niphal)*, and vv.13-14 regularizes with ending pattern of imperfect verbs.

An examination of grammatical person in the verb usage also produces structural patterns. After the introduction, the psalm begins with a series of second person verbs (v.2 רצה, שבת; v.3 נשא, כסה; v.4 אסף, שוב). But it is interrupted by the two imperative clauses (שוב with 1. pl. suffix and פרר).[17] Next the string of second person continues through v. 8.[18] Following this chain of second person verbs that fills the entire first half of the psalm, v. 9 commences with the only first person account (שמע) in the psalm. The verb שמע (1.sg.) is then replaced by an uninterrupted sequence of third person phrases that finishes the psalm.

[16] Although the verb tense is consistent throughout this section, one notices several different stems including *qal*, *piel*, and *hiphil*. Consequently no judgment can be made based upon the varying stems.

[17] The nature of imperative verbs carries a second person idea; however, for the purposes of this analysis the imperative form will be separated from the second person verb forms.

[18] Man should note that this pattern is broken by a 3mp imperfect verb near the end of v.7 and the imperative beginning v.8.

The result of the above analysis allows for the following structure:

v.1	Introduction		
vv.2-4	Perfect	2 nd Person	Past
v.5	Transition		
vv.6-9	Imperfect	vv. 6-8 2nd Person	Present
		v. 9a 1st Person	
		vv.9b-14 3rd Person	Future
V.10	Transition		
Vv.11-14	(Perfect/Imperfect)		

Based on the above analysis, the linear structure of this psalm can be deduced: vv.2-4 looks back into the past. The Psalmist uses 6 perfects (v.2 רצה, שבת; v.3 נשא, כסה; v.4 אסף, שוב) as a remembrance of former events to describes God's actions; then the Psalmist urges that the same mercy be granted to the present situations (vv.5-8); in the end the psalmist anticipates a new future (vv.9-14).

3. Structure

There are two main parts to this psalm, the prayer for full restoration of life and blessing (vv. 2-8), and the affirmation that God's saving work is near (vv. 9-14). These two divisions are supported by the second person addresses to God in vv. 2-8 and the third person accounts in vv.9-14. The

first part can be further divided into the record of the past (vv. 2-4) and the petition (vv. 5-8).[19]

The first stanza (vv.2-4) derives its special linguistic profile from the sequence of forms in the suffix conjugation, each in the first position, describing YHWH's actions.[20] The second stanza (vv.5-8) is contrasted commencing with two imperatives and followed by a series of interrogative particles in the prefix form denoting questions.[21] The last strophe (vv.9-14) describes a vision of a restored world through a series of verbal clauses.

Verse 1 Introduction

I. Verses 2-4 God's actions of forgiveness in the past

V.2-3 God forgave people's sin

V.4 God removed his anger

II. verses 5-8 Petitions for God's forgiveness now

V.5-6 Asking God to turn away from his wrath

V.7-8 Asking God to revive his people

III. Verse 9 -14 Vision of a world restored

V.9-10 The promise of salvation and peace

V. 11-14 The hope of a new vision

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[19] Zenger, Erich, Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, HThK: Psalms 51-100, 528.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Zenger, Erich, Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, HThK: Psalms 51-100, 529.

4. The Land in Psalm 85

ארץ occurs four times in this Psalm.[22] The concept of "land" in relation to salvation plays an important role in Psalm 85. ארץ with the 2nd person singular suffix (v. 2 ארצך) and with the 1st person plural suffix (vv. 10, 12 ארצנו) bear the connotation of "land", meaning the land promised and given to the people of Israel by God himself. The expression of "your land" and "our land" imply that the land remains YHWH's property, which Israel inherited and which they should preserve and cultivate.

4.1) v.2 ארצך "your Land".

The psalmist does not use the personal pronoun "we/us" in this passage (vv.2-4). He seems to refer to the recipient of God's action as if he were not part of it ("your land", "Jacob", "your people").[23]

The psalmist acknowledges God's grace to forgive and restore his people (v.2). v. 3 gets to the heart of the matter, the reason for the restoration: God forgave the sin of his people (v.3). By removing the sin, God also restrained his anger. vv.2-3 are connected with the parallel phrase "your land" and "your people".

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Verse	Suffix of ארץ	Verbal form	Subject
v.2 רצת יהוה ארצך	2.m. Sg.	Perfect, 2nd m.sg	YHWH
v.10 לשכן כבוד בארצנו	1.c.Pl	Infinitive Construcutus	YHWH
v.12 אמת מארץ תצמח	Prep. מן	Pefrekt 3.f.Sg.	אמת
v.13 וארצנו תתן יבולה	1.c.Pl	Imperfect 3.f.sg	ארץ

The structure of the expression of "your Land" and "Jacob's fortune" is Synonymous parallelism. The restoration is for "your land" and also for Jacob's fortune (v. 2).[24] "Jacob"[25] is understood as the nation, and it is also used for the restored nation in passages such as Isaiah 40,27; 41,14;21 and 42, 24.[26] The statement that God has restored the nation's fortunes is also reflected in the praise of Psalm 126,1.

ארצך ("your land") is understood as JHWH's Land for the subject of this vers is JHWH. ארצך is a confession that only JHWH owns the land, the people only have the right to live in the land. The land is not a permanent unconditional gift but one that is dependent on the people's obedience[27] (cf. Isa 3.1-15; Hos 10, 1-6).

4.2) v.10 בארצנו "in our Land"

The predicates in v.10 are atemporal[28], and it describes a factual situation. The announcement ("Surely, his salvation is near to those who

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[24] Seybold, Studien zu Sprache und Stil der Psalmen, 125.

[25] The designation "Jacob" for Israel in the post-exilic period carries, according to G. Wanke it is a theological rather than a political connotation (Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten in ihrem Traditionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang. BZAW 97. Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelman, 1966, 57). He is of the opinion that the occurrence of this term in Psalm 85,2 is one of the examples in the Psalms where it refers to "das aus dem Exil hervorgegangene Israel, das sich später um Jerusalem als eine Kultgemeinde sammelte." The parallel combination of "land" and "Jacob" in this verse refers to the close relationship between the two, a relationship in which they are almost mutually identified with each other.

[26] Ibid.

[27] The Land is one of the element of the covenant (Gen 12,7 17,4-8; Exo 20,12; Deut 5,16, 28,8,11; Jos 24,13) . The promise of Land connects with the central covenantal experience of Israel that to speak of the land is to speak in terms of Israel's unique relationship with YHWH."Yahweh designates Israel as Yahweh's covenant partner, so that Israel is, from the outset, obligated to respond to and meet Yahweh's expectations. As covenant partner of Yahweh, Israel is a people defined by obedience." Brueggemann, Walter, Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy, Fortress Press, 2012, 417. Israels right to the land is contingent on obedience to God. According to Exodus 24,6-8, Moses retells God's words and followed by a bloody rite (cf. Gen 15). In v.7 the answer of the people indicates that the people willing to be God's holy people and to live a holy life. Dohmen, Christoph, Exodus 19-40 (HThKAT), Verlag Herder, 2004, 205.

[28] ליראיר is a participle in this verse can translate "people, who fear of God". לשכן is an infinitive form.

fear him, so that his[29] glory may dwell in our land") reveals what awaits those who fear God is his salvation. It is a promise of deliverance from oppression and an end to God's wrath because of their sins. It is not a distant promise, but an immediate reality.

The prerequisite of "Glory dwell in our land" is fear of God. In Dtn-Dtr Literature "fear of God" express a faithful commitment to God (Deu. 10,12).[30] Fear of God is no longer an emotion but a stable attitude of faithfulness to the covenant.[31] The expression of " those who fear God" is a typical expression in Psalter, it refers to the community who worship God.[32]

In Psalm 57, 6 and 12 "Let your glory be over all the earth" (כבודך על כל הארץ), ארץ and שמעים appear in pairs, and ארץ is not land, but earth (Ps. 108,6; 72,19).[33] Another same expression שכן כביד is in Exodus 24,16, but there JHWH's glory settled upon Mount Sinai and כביד is understood as a blazing fire, enveloped in a cloud.[34] The cloud is part of God's theophany. Only Moses, who can see God face to face, on the other hand, for the Israelites, God reveals himself only veiled by clouds.[35] From the persperctive of divine authority, שכן can be

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[29] According to the Syriac translation, the suffix 3rd sg. is probably to be added, "his glory".
[30] Biddle, Mark E.; Jenni, Ernst; Westermann,Claus (ed.), Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament (TLOT), Hendrickson , 2004, 746.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Biddle, Mark E.; Jenni, Ernst; Westermann,Claus (ed.), TLOT, 747.
[33] Corinna Körting, "Utopie und Wirklichkeit im Lande Jhwhs: Eine Analyse von Psalm 85",In: F*romme und Frevler: Studien zu Psalmen und Weisheit,* Mohr Siebeck, 2020, 151.
[34] Weinfeld, M., "כביד", In: *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament Band IV*, ed. By G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, Heinz-Josef Fabry, 1984, 32.
[35] Ibid.

understood as a form of manifestation of YHWH himself.[36] "(His) glory may dwell in our land" refers to the manifested presence of God in the land. From the mount Sinai to the land it shows the dynamics of the divine dwelling. Psalm 85 states that the glory of God is the presence of God that can be experienced in the land, precisely in our land, it can be experienced by the people of God with rejoice.[37]

4.3) v.12 and v.13

V. 10	ישעו			
כבות	שכן	בארצנו		Prerequisite
V.11	חסד	אמת		
	צדיק	שלום		
V.12	אמת		מארץ	
	צדיק		משמים	
V.13	הטוב			
	יבולה		ארצנו	
V.14	צדיק			

The rest of the Psalm (vv. 11-14) revolves around the theme of good (טוב) and fertility as a result of the revival given by God. This vision is described as an intimate interaction between the personifications of כבוד (glory) , חסד (steadfast love), אמת (truth/righteousness), צדק (justice) and שלום (peace). The same expression is also found in Psalms 89,15 ("צדק ומשפט מכון כסאך, חסד ואמת יקדמו פניך"), it also expresses the concept of righteousness as the throne of God (cf. Job 8,6; 29,14) .

[36] Görg, M., "שכן", In : *ThWATBand VII*, 1344.
[37] Zenger, Erich, Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, HThK: Psalms 51-100, 532.

V. 12 provides the key to understanding the character relationships in v 11. אמת (v.12) describes what happens on earth and צדק describes what happens in heaven. The first noun in each colon (חסד and אמת) refers to an object in heaven and the second noun in each colon (צדק and שלום) references an attribute on the earth (v.11). אמת springs from the earth; it can have the sense of people's faithfulness (cf. Is. 58:8-9). If אמת in v.11 represents the human side of things and צדק in v.11 represents the divine side, then the first personifications (צדיק/חסד) in each colon of v.11 are divine representations and the second personifications (שלום/אמת) are earthly representations.[38] Each of the pairings is complementary, neither opposites nor exclusively divine representatives. Thus it portrays the attributes of God in the heavens and upon the earth meeting in an intimate way as God once again renews relationship and bring produce to the land and giving what is good. If God's anger was a response to Israel's sin, then when Israel repented God's response was deliverance based on his faithful love. Truth and love are now partners not adversaries[39], so they are the fruit of the atonement, not the means.

מארץ and משמים these two directional pointing words correspond precisely to the encounter of חסד and אמת; צדיק and שלום in verse 11, where the ultimate destination remains our land. Heaven and earth work together to bring good to the land.

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[38] Zenger, Erich, Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, HThK: Psalms 51-100, 526.

[39] In Zenger's opinion, the translation of נשק should be open and can be understood either as " kissing" or as " fighting". Zenger, Erich, Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, HThK: Psalms 51-100,526.

5. The Concepts of Land

5.1 The land as the perceived space[40]

The dynamic in Psalm 85 reflects a struggle towards restoration and maintenance of this three-dimensional (God-people-land) relationship. In this regard the term שוב (return, turn) occurs five times (vv. 2, 4, 5, 7, 9) in the psalm and plays a primary role in expressing the people's yearning for restoration. In v.4 שוב refers to a turn that YHWH has made in himself in the past by turning away from his anger against his people. In v. 9 שוב refers to the possibility of people returning to wickedness again in future. The other three occurrences (vv. 2, 5, 7) express God's acts of restoration of the people's fate and the three-dimensional relationship. All three dimensions of time, namely past, present, and future, are covered by the dynamics of the term שוב. This means the struggles and challenges faced by the people living on the land.

The people's folly of the past to which they should not return is mentioned twice (v.3 and v.8), and this aspect is still a threat in the current situation. The land that does not produce enough supplies for the family and the society at large to live a sustainable life (v. 13) is a

[40] Henri Lefebvre proposed "social space" to be where the relations of production are reproduced and that dialectical contradictions were spatial rather than temporal (Lefebvre, Henri,The Survival of Capitalism: Reproduction of the Relations of Production, Allison & Busby, 1973, 17-19.) According to Lefebvre, Space is constituted:by "spatial practice (reproduced in everyday life)", by the "representation of space(developed cognitively)", by "spaces of representation (symbolisations and ideational spaces)". (Maier, Christl M., Daughter Zion, Mother Zion: Gender, Space, and the Sacred in Ancient Israel, Fortress Press, 2008, 11f.) Edward Soja argus that spaces may not be contained within one social category, so he develops the "Third space" theory, which included first space (perceived space), second space (conceived space) and third space (lived space). The lived space is a real space, the way that people actually live in and experience. The Perceived space is physical built environment, which can be mapped, quantifiably measured and "seen" in the real world. (Maier, Christl M., Daughter Zion, Mother Zion,13. Berquist und Flanagan, "Ancient Perceptions of Space/Perceptions of Ancient Space", Semeia 87, 1999, 28-30).

concern and a threat to the people. The expression וארצנו תתן יבולה (v. 13) occurs elsewhere referring to YHWH giving rain to the land (Deut 28,12) but it can also mean prosperity in general (Deut 30:15; 1 Sam 15:9, cf. Ps 25:13).[41] Even though it is not YHWH who gives harvest, it is the land and furthermore its product fails through man.[42] The God of Israel is responsible for both fertility and barrenness (cf.Gen 26,12).[43] The lack of sustainability of the land relates to God's anger and the removal of his glory from the land.

In the land people experienced God's wrath and likewise God's forgiveness. The land is not a static space but in a dynamic historical and theological space: the land under the sins of people ----the land under God's wrath ---the land under God's restoration.

5.2 "Your Land" as the conceived space

A land is a place where God's glory dwells and it should be holy because YHWH the God of Israel is present in it in a special way and its holiness means that it is to be used exclusively to fulfil the purposes of God. It is God's land and is like no other land. "Therefore the land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine" (Lev. 25,23). The land belongs to God, it implies the divine possession of the land.[44] The land is the

[41] Hoffner, H. A., "יבל", In: *ThWAT Band III*, 1982,393.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Grohmann, Marianne, Furchtbarkeit und Gebrut in den Psalmen, Mohr Siebeck, 2007, 271.
[44] Zimmerli, Grundriß der alttestamentlichen Theologie, 55.

"patrimony of YHWH", and this makes it a"holy land", or YHWH's "personal property". The land belongs to God that is why the land is holy and God's dwelling place.

The concept of "your land" is a new vision for the psalmist. "Your Land" is a land that "Love and faithfulness meet together, righteousness and peace kiss each other. Faithfulness springs forth from the earth, and righteousness looks down from heaven" (v.11-12 ,cf. Ps 89,14). God's powerful rule is based on righteous and justice. These personifications of the divine qualities are the living agents of the work of God, and in the working out of salvation for the people they are all in harmony, restoring the harmony of heaven and earth.

הטוב in this psalm means yield of the land and it also shows the good relationship with God because people receive the forgiveness.[45] It leads to a cosmic restoration of the whole creation.[46] From the opinion of the Psalmist, this is God's vision or plan for the Land.

5.3 "Our Land" as the lived space

From "your land" to "our land" is a process of redefining itself. On the one hand, the brokenness manifests itself in situations such as dispersion from the land, separation from God. On the other hand, God's salvation manifests itself in forgiveness of sin, restoration from exile,

[45] Pray for forgiveness of sins is a request for rain for the land (Jer 3,3). Höver-Johag, "טוב", In:*ThWAT Band III*, 1982, 325.
[46] Zenger, Erich, Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, HThK: Psalms 51-100, 533.

restoration of the land as contained space in which the people live, and restoration of the God human relationship. God's salvation for his people always includes the restoration of the land as well. The close relation between the restoration of the land and the reviving the identity of Israel is conspicuous in this psalm.

"Our Land" lies open and suggests the future and invites action, it also be a threat because of its openness and the fact that one is exposed in the open. The Psalmist converts the geographical space of the land into place where they feel freely, namely "our land". "Our land"s is a construed space based on promises (Deut 2,29;26,3; Jos 5,6) mixed with emotions of hope and fear. Through the life in "our land" the people can experience God's presence and holiness throughout life, through the experience in "our land" the people created their own lived space.

Summary

The psalmist explains three different eras to the congregation in turn: The first paragraph is a review of the past, the second paragraph is a dense instruction to the congregation to examine the present situation, and third paragraph invites the congregation to look to God. The word/topic "land" serves as a bridge between the past, present and future. This Psalm does not leave the people feeling proud of past achievements or frustrated by current failures, but calls them to face the present boldly

by the grace of God.

Psalm 85 is deeply rooted in a very concrete land, the land of God and the people. The land is the sign of the assurance of God’s love for Israel and Israel’s belonging to YHWH. It was therefore a great shock to the Israelites when they lost their land because of their sins, and they found evidence of God's forgiveness and love in their own history, so they were filled with hope that they could return to their land. In losing their land, they also understood the pattern of life that should be expected of those who dwell in God’s land, which is to be holy, to do justice and to be honest so that the land can bear blessings and be a fruitful land. It is a vision of the ideal land. Israel’s way of imagining the future is directly tied to her understanding of her origins. The past, just like the present, is thus a source of hope for Israel. Israel’s hope for the future is, in a sense, a return to her past - only this time it is a past that has been transformed by God’s new action along the timeline of history.

Project summary

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Here is a brief introduction of my Marie Curie project "Rebranding the Patriarchs in Early Judaism: The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls as the Missing Link in Developing Interpretative Traditions" to give you an idea of my current research interests, primary sources, research questions, and main objectives.

The project aims to achieve a new understanding of the developing depiction of patriarchal figures and their agency from the versions of Hebrew Bible to the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Jubilees. The various depictions of patriarchal figures have been noted before but their relationships to each other and their place in the transmission processes and reception of patriarchal traditions at large have not been sufficiently investigated so far. The project will change this by providing a comprehensive analysis of an intentional rebranding of patriarchal figures in mid- to late Second Temple period sources (ca. 300 BCE – 70 CE).

The four research questions which are partly intertwined are:

- What are the characteristic features of different ancient elite societal groups and their agency related to priests, prophets / divinators, wisdom teachers / sages and ancient Near Eastern scribal scholars, and ancestors of note. Here am I also considering their relation to contemporary social structures, when some of these groups had in the traditional sense ceased to exist.
- Which of these aspects relate to the patriarchs in each of the individual sources, and what kind of models for proper behavior are presented by the use of the patriarchs as prototypical and/or exemplary figures?
- What are the connections between the different sources, are they directly literarily dependent, independent representatives of the same overall tradition or a combination of these?
- How does the depiction of the individual patriarchs develop in different sources and over time, and is this rebranding of the patriarchal figures related to the developing occupational models of elite members of the society and their agency?

The results of Rebranding the patriarchs in early Judaism will be significant for future comparative studies dealing with sources, transmission processes, and social structures of the ancient Mediterranean cultural sphere. The study furthermore provides an essential background for analyzing and understanding the development of the patriarchal traditions in later traditions.

My OTSEM paper about travelling patriarchs is not at the very core of my wider project but they share many relevant primary sources and methodological thinking. Patriarchs and their agency are strongly present in both and the task to contextualize the Aramaic Scrolls within the wider textual traditions is shared. But since my OTSEM paper is a bit of sidetrack for me, I plan to rewrite it into a self-standing article this fall.

Between Canaan and Egypt – Travelling Patriarchs in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran

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Preface:

I would like the conversation to focus firstly on the three categories of attitudes towards travelling I present. Are they helpful to approach and examine the sources? Do they fit with the selected passages? Are my categories doing justice to the sources or does the system feel forced and arbitrary? And secondly, I wish to hear your comments and feedforward related to the section about literary styles. Is it worth pursuing as an idea and elaborating with more specific examples?

To help you navigate the referred sources, I have added all the discussed passages both in Aramaic and English at the end of this file.

Introduction to travel in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran

In my talk today, I will present the various depictions of patriarchal figures traveling between lands, mainly Egypt and the land of Canaan, in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran. I will include in today's presentation the most important depictions of patriarchs traveling between lands, starting from Abraham and the beginning of the divine covenant with him and his descendants, and ending in Amram, the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam.

Instead of offering you lengthy and detailed textual analysis, I will concentrate on introducing to you my broader ideas on the topic. In my research, I have first treated each of the Aramaic texts in their own right. However, in order to evaluate whether the Aramaic Scrolls share similar tendencies or marked differences in this respect, I have later compared them to their potential source traditions and to each other. I will today, hence, present how I have currently mapped out and categorized the varying attitudes and strategies displayed in the sources toward proper behavior in various geographical and cultural contexts and its expected consequences. Since I am still pondering some of the individual cases and my broader ideas, I welcome any comments and feedback you might have on either.

Now let's dive into the material itself. As will become clear, the Aramaic Scrolls preserve both explicit and implicit encouragements and warnings concerning behavior when traveling between lands. Such instructions on travel and behavior in foreign contexts, meant for the varying audiences of these texts, are in these Aramaic Scrolls, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Aramaic Levi Document, the Testament of Qahat, and the Visions of Amram, given through the patriarchal characters, their speeches and their behavioral models.

If one reads the patriarchal narratives from Genesis as they stand now, it is evident that patriarchs travel a lot in these stories. A great number of the narratives entail depictions of patriarchs living a nomadic life shepherding their animals and moving with their herds as needed. In Genesis travelling is likewise connected with other important aspects of the patriarchs' lives, like finding a suitable spouse, visiting kin, or burying close relatives to particular locations. The most well-known patriarchal figures related to travelling to foreign lands and cultural contexts in Genesis are probably Abram/Abraham and Joseph. Abraham is first of all depicted as travelling from his father's land Ur to Canaan and later from Canaan to Egypt and back. Joseph's eventful trail also leads him to Egypt and eventually to a highly valued position within this new cultural context. Joseph's travel tale is likewise firmly intertwined with how the people of Israel as a whole became to be in Egypt by telling how Joseph's father and brothers eventually traveled and settled in Egypt as well.

What sets the later literary sources, especially the Aramaic Scrolls and the Book of Jubilees apart from these depictions of travel in Genesis is that they contain much more depictions related to patriarchs traveling between lands and about patriarchal agency in these foreign cultural contexts. Firstly, it is clear from these preserved later interpretative sources that patriarchs travel more than in Genesis, and secondly, the Aramaic Scrolls and Jubilees offer many more details related to what happens during these travels and how it relates to proper behavior in foreign geographical and cultural contexts. It is therefore fair to say that travelling and its implications seem to be more a central phenomenon in these literary sources than in Genesis. It could be that this development can be at least partly explained by the authors' changed social and societal circumstances. These correlations may of course be much more complex, but I would be inclined to at least venture to put forth such a hypothesis as part of the wider conversation related to developing literary traditions.

As always, my thoughts neither exist in a vacuum nor stem only from previous research. Especially the travel narratives related to various patriarchs in Genesis have been extensively studied. When moving on to the depictions of travel in the Aramaic Scrolls, the Genesis Apocryphon particularly has attracted scholarly attention. But at least to my knowledge, the wider overall picture offered by the varying sources on this topic has not yet been properly investigated. There is, therefore, still a need for further research of the texts related to the patriarchs among the Aramaic Scrolls and especially of the attitudes they preserve relating to traveling patriarchs in varying contexts. To offer new insights, one needs to read the texts for both explicit and more implicit references but also to pay attention to more subtle indications sometimes found almost in between the lines, which at best hint toward certain attitudes that other parts of the text may present more clearly.

I will structure the main portion of my presentation based on the following three categories related to attitudes toward travel and living in foreign contexts: first, encouraging and positive attitudes toward travel between lands and or to foreign lands, second, hesitant or ambiguous attitudes toward these, and third, cautionary, or negative attitudes. In what will soon follow, I will present some of the main material related to travelling patriarchs in the Aramaic Scrolls. It is important to note that the order in which I present my notions and analyses here does not reflect any kind of relative dating of the sources, but I will rather move from one patriarchal figure to another according to their sequence in the patriarchal lineage.

After presenting my categorization of the attitudes toward travel between lands and or to foreign lands, I will briefly consider if the chosen literary styles of these Aramaic works relate directly or indirectly to the promoted attitudes. Such literary styles found in the Aramaic scrolls are, for example, direct admonitions and teaching, as well as, using exemplary figures as intentional behavioral models meant to be emulated. My main question then is, does literary style matter when analyzing and understanding the various depictions of traveling patriarchal figures and does a chosen literary style reflect in some manner the degree to which authors have sought to influence their audiences.

Encouraging and positive attitudes (toward travel between lands / to foreign lands)

Let’s start the investigation of the three categories that reflect the attitudes attested in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran with an example of encouraging and positive attitudes toward travel between

lands and to foreign lands. Here I am concentrating on the Aramaic Levi Document. According to Henryk Drawnel's 2004 Brill edition of the text, the relevant material to travel is found at the very end of the work. It should me mentioned that the beginning mentions Abram, Sarai, Levi, Jacob, Joseph, and later genealogies but there is nothing related to travelling at these stages of the work. So, let's focus on the final parts of the Aramaic Levi Document instead, where we have a wisdom poem. This wisdom poem encourages the recipients of the literary work, the descendants of Levi, to go abroad and share their wisdom there. It also uses the Joseph traditions as a positive example of what kind of reception, position, appreciation, and rewards one can expect as a result of traveling to a foreign land and sharing the Levitical wisdom.

An extract from the wisdom poem reads:

> (90) Consider, my sons, Joseph my brother [who] taught scribal craft
>
> and the instruction of wisdom, [to glory, and to greatness, and
>
> to kings on their thrones he was joined. Do not neglect to study wisdom and do not] aban[don] a se[arch for her ways.]
>
> (91) [Whoever teaches wisdo]m (to) a man wh[o] studies [wisdom,
>
> all] his days are l[ong] and hi[s fa]me spreads. Whichever la[nd]
>
> or province he enters, he is a brother or companion in it, [and
>
> he is not] considered a stranger in it, and he is not simil[ar to]
>
> a stranger [in it], and he is not similar in it to a half-bree[d],
>
> for they all give him glory in it; (this is) [be]cause they all desire
>
> to learn from his wisdom.
>
> (92) Hi[s] friends are many, and his well-wishers are great ones.
>
> (93) And they seat him on the throne of glory in order to hear the
>
> words of his wisdom.
>
> ...

After this poem, the Aramaic Levi Document ends with Levi's last words to his descendant, which contain nothing related to travelling.

While travel to foreign lands is only discussed in one section of the preserved Aramaic Levi Document, it can be said that the attitude imparted to the audience is highly positive and encouraging. Nevertheless, it has to be said that the Aramaic Levi Document does not mention any benefits of learning from foreigners, rather only that imparting wisdom to them can have positive consequences. In this rather positive attitude, the Aramaic Levi Document is much closer to the earlier, rather cosmopolitan, priestly traditions in the Hebrew Bible than to slightly later works, like Ezra and Nehemiah that view mingling with foreign lands and foreigners as dangerous. This is once more a clue to the relatively early dating of the Aramaic Levi Document somewhere in the setting of 4th or early 3rd century BCE. Mladen Popovic's project has also radiocarbon dated one of the Qumran manuscripts of the Aramaic Levi Document to the 3rd century BCE, which corroborates with the place of the Aramaic Levi Document among the preserved representatives of the patriarchal tradition.

Hesitant or ambiguous attitudes

Next, I will move on to the category of more hesitant or ambiguous or mixed attitudes, if you will. Under this heading I have placed two works: the Genesis Apocryphon and the Visions of Amram.

The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20) from column 19 onwards relates to Abram. He first, for instance, builds an altar, travels around the promised land where the holy mountain and Hebron are mentioned by name. Then the narrative continues by saying that there is a famine in all land, which forces Abram, Sarai, Hagar, and Lot to travel to Egypt where there was plenty of grain. Next, comes a cryptic divine dream-vision of a cedar and a date-palm tree and its explanation on the very day Abram and Sarai entered Egypt (lines 14-17). I do not have space here to go through the vision in detail, so it is enough to say that compared to what we have in Genesis, in the Genesis Apocryphon this vision containing the plan for survival in Egypt comes from God and the planned deception of traveling as brother and sister rather than as husband and wife does not originate from Abram and his cowardness (lines 17-21). Nonetheless there is a negative vibe related to Abram and Sarai's entry into the land of Egypt since Sarai ends up into the court of the pharaoh and Abram needs to conceal that he is her spouse. The dream vision serves as a warning that life threatening danger is present from the very moment of entering the foreign land.

A bit later in the narrative, however, also some positive aspects to dwelling in Egypt are mentioned (lines 24-27). Under the pretense of Abram being Sarai's brother, Abram is treated well. The Genesis Apocryphon reads here: "They gave 25 [me many gifts.] They as[ked] me [for knowledge] of goodness, wisdom, and righteousness, so I read to them the [Book] of the Words of Enoch." Sharing these positive aspects of Abram's skills and qualities seems to be one sided since the text does not acknowledge that there would be anything for him to learn from the Egyptian "healers, magicians, and wise men" (lines 19 and 20).

Another remarkable notion related to Abram's agency is him praying to God on two occasions, once when Sarai was taken to court by force and God's response was to put a plague on pharaoh's house (column 20 lines 12-21), and the second time to take the curse away which also happened immediately after Abram's prayer. The mechanism and power of Abram's prayer and or the God of Israel is furthermore confessed by Hyrcanus, who went to Abram, asking him to come pray for the king, and to lay hands upon him and cure him—for Hyrcanus had seen him in a dream (lines 21-22). The same plea is said to Abram a bit later again by the pharaoh himself (line 27). This is a very powerful narrative about how the God of Israel acts and that the divine agency is not limited within the borders of the land of Israel / Canaan, but that God operates also in other lands. It is easy to grasp this core message directed to diaspora Jews living under a threat. Because of the plan of Israel's God and Abram's prayers and wisdom, Abram and his family got to enjoy life during the famine. They got to eat much and drink wine at the court of pharaoh of Zoan (column 19 line 27). They were valued in his court and when they left, they were rewarded "with many, many flocks, together with silver and gold" before they "went up from [Egyp]t" until Bethel. (XX 33)

As a whole, the Genesis Apocryphon's preserved description of Abram appears to place more emphasis on travel both within the promised land and outside it than Genesis does. While the attitude toward travel to a foreign land is ambiguous, it seems to contain positive elements lacking in the Genesis narrative. The life-threatening danger to Abram and Sarai in Egypt is the same in both accounts, but the Genesis Apocryphon places much more emphasis on the power of the God of Israel, the wisdom and faithfulness of Abram, and the rewards Abram and his company gain from trusting in God as well as imparting their wisdom and using their skills, like exorcism, for the benefit of the Egyptians.

In Visions of Amram, the most intriguing passage related to travelling, is preserved at the beginning of 4Q544 frag. 1 lines 1-9. The first-person voice here belongs to Amram. He, his wife, and his father Qahat are described to travelling from Egypt to Canaan to build tombs for their ancestries and their legacy. Later in the narrative is it explained that Amram's wife could not travel back to Egypt with in because of wars and they spend 41 years apart. The preserved parallel passage on 4Q545 where two columns have preserved, suggests that this travelling passage would have been located very close to the beginning of the text. I have tentatively placed the Visions of Amram to this category of hesitant or ambiguous attitudes, but conversation about this matter continues with Jesper Høgenhavn and his project titled "Apocalypticism: Manuscripts, Rewriting, and Authority Management" (AMRAM).

Cautionary or negative attitudes

The third and final category relates to cautionary or negative attitudes, which I will now introduce with an example from the Testament of Qahat (4Q542). This work does not contain travel narratives and only a short portion of it has been preserved, but there is something relevant in it for travel because it instructs on proper behavior when living among foreigners and under their influence (frag. 1 column i). The remaining section of the work contains admonitions from Qahat, son of Levi, to his descendants, through whom the promised Levitical line continues, that they should, I quote: "be careful with the inheritance that has been entrusted to you, 5 and which your ancestors have bequeathed to you. Do not give your inheritance away to strangers, nor your inheritance to 6 assimilationists, lest you become low and degraded in their eyes, and they despise you; for then 7 they will be alien to you and become your rulers." Qahat is further depicted as encouraging his descendant to "hold firm to the command of Jacob 8 your ancestor, grasp tightly the judgements of Abraham and the good deeds of Levi and myself, and be holy and pure 9 from all intermingling, holding firm to the truth, walking in integrity and not with a divided heart, 10 but with a pure heart, and with an honest and good spirit." (1i 4-10).

The picture this passage portrays is entirely negative toward foreigners and is therefore in stark contrast with the kind of message that the Aramaic Levi Document narrated with its strong praise related to sharing one's knowledge and wisdom to other nations. It is also more negative toward sharing wisdom or anything else of the Levitical/Israelite heritage with foreigners or people mingling with foreigners than the Genesis Apocryphon. The Testament of Qahat is, thus, much closer to attitudes toward foreign lands and people in works like Ezra and Nehemiah than to the more

cosmopolitan and inclusive attitudes displayed in much of the Persian era material. Similar attitudes are naturally found also in some later works than Ezra/Nehemiah and there are contemporary counterparts to such works as well that continue to encourage more positive views on these matters. This cannot, hence, be used to date the Testament of Qahat more precisely, but it does point to a time where views on the issue were quite polarized.

Does literary style matter?

Now, after introducing you the three categories of attitudes I have used as a way of broadly sorting the material, I wish to move the focus to the aspect of literary style detectable in the Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran. The main literary styles I have detected are (mostly) third person narratives, direct admonitions, and teaching by example. Does the chosen literary style relate directly or indirectly to the promoted attitudes just discussed?

Let's start with the Genesis Apocryphon which is mostly a third person narrative text about Abram who seems to be represented as an exemplary figure who the audience could and should emulate to prosper as well. There are, however, no direct admonitions directed explicitly to the intended audience of the Genesis Apocryphon in order to appeal to them in clear ways or to directly instruct them to act like Abram did in particular instances or circumstances. In the case of the Genesis Apocryphon, it also needs to be factored in that it utilizes a source text much more directly than the other Aramaic Scrolls from Qumran seem to do. Some of the more negative attitudes toward Abram and Sarai's time in Egypt seem to stem from the source text and for one reason or another the author of the Genesis Apocryphon has not completely rewritten such narratives, but rather added new sides to the story that appear to reflect slightly more positive attitudes toward foreign lands and people than Genesis in these instances.

Besides the Aramaic Scrolls form Qumran, I think it makes sense to incorporate other early Jewish sources to the conversation to paint a more profound picture. Let's think about the Book of Jubilees for instance. Here I need say, that even thought I am drawing attention to Jubilees, I am not placing the whole work into any of the categories here. Jubilees is an intriguing mixture or blend of literary styles and offers important clues to the gradually developing interpretations of the patriarchal traditions. In this work, there are, for instance, three farewell speeches placed as address of Abraham

to his descendants just before his death, which serve as instructions for the next and future generations. These speeches are not found in Genesis or the Aramaic Scrolls but fill in apparent gaps in them in relation to Jubilees' interpretation of the narrative. What the author or authors of Jubilees, for example, do in these large plusses to the Genesis narrative is that they make it crystal clear that Abraham's and Jacob's lives overlap. In the sequence of the Genesis narrative Abraham dies before the birth of Jacob. But if one pays attention to the years related by Genesis about their lifespans, it becomes evident that the lives of Abraham and Jacob coincide for some time before Abraham's death and this serves as the backdrop for the main insertions of new material into the Abraham cycle that contain the more direct admonitions by Abraham, lacking in Genesis and the probably in the Genesis Apocryphon (not certain because Abraham cycle is only partly preserved). Some authors, thus, saw fit to mix narrative material and direct admonitions where they could engage their audience more explicitly and directly with their own interpretations and theological agendas.

This case in Jubilees can be compared to the narrative preserved portions of the Genesis Apocryphon and Daniel traditions. These narratives aim to, in my mind, to describe Daniel's and his friends' faith in the foreign lands and to further use these tales as examples of how to operate in foreign contexts in order to persevere in certain key religious practices and to find prosperity. But neither the narrative parts of Daniel nor the preserved portions of the Genesis Apocryphon offer direct admonitions to their audiences about these matters. So, both Abram and Daniel are utilized as exemplary figures and it seems fair to also add Tobit to the same kind of literary mechanism and aims. But what sets Tobit aside from these two works and a bit closer to Jubilees is that what can be found at the end – that is speeches, prayers, and admonitions of Tobit, Tobias, and the angel Raphael – make it explicit to the audience how the preceding narrative should be understood. Even in solely or mainly narrative works there are different ways authors could engage their audience, either leaving more open to interpretation or explicitly providing the correct interpretive framework intended by the authors.

The Aramaic Levi Document and the Testament of Qahat offer instead more clear and direct admonitions and guidance to their audiences. What we have left of these works, and the same seems to hold for most parts of the Visions of Amram, is a lack of narrative material amidst a mix of direct admonitions, prayers, poems, farewell addresses, prophetic visions, and legal instructions. This kind of mixture of literary genres that focuses on more direct addresses, speeches, and interpretations of

events seems to reflect polarized attitudes and clear instructions more easily on matters than the narrative genre can.

Closing remarks

I would argue that comparing the various attitudes related to traveling patriarchs that go to other lands and interact with other people can reveal further clues to the wider scholarly discussion about the relationship between the various Aramaic Scrolls and their provenance. It seems clear that the Aramaic Levi Document preserves the most positive view of how the travelling patriarchs are welcomed and their presence appreciated in Egypt but the other instances in the Genesis Apocryphon and the Visions of Amram are more subtle or indirect whereas the attitudes displayed in the Testament of Qahat seem to directly contradict those in the Aramaic Levi Document. It seems rather unlikely from this respect that the Aramaic Levi Document and the Testament of Qahat would stem from the same writing circle or if they do, there would have been a marked change in their attitudes toward travel and interaction with foreign peoples and cultures. The Genesis Apocryphon is closer to the Aramaic Levi Document than to the Testament of Qahat in this respect, especially as it seems to subtly change the overall message about Abram and Sarai's time in Egypt toward a more positive or at least neutral depiction than its source had.

I hope my presentation offers new avenues to contextualize the Aramaic Scrolls into the constellation of developing interpretative traditions. Tobit and Daniel traditions provide potentially meaningful comparative traditions related to behavior in various geographical and cultural contexts detectable in the Aramaic Scrolls. Out of the Aramaic works discussed in my talk, especially the Testament of Qahat seems to represent similar attitudes than Tobit and Daniel traditions in that they all contain strong encouragements to keep the customs and behavior of your own group always and everywhere. But in Daniel there is an evident positive component, which sets Daniel apart from Tobit and the Testament of Qahat. Daniel emphasizes the positive impacts in one's appreciation and valued status in the foreign court and is therefore not as strict and negative.

Appendix with the referred passages (ADL according to Drawnel's edition, others from the Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library)

A) Extract from the Aramaic Levi Document wisdom poem (ADL 90-93)

(90) חזו בני ליוסף אחי [ד]מאלפא ספר ומוסר חכמה [ליקר ולרבו ולמלכין
על כורסיהון מתחד הוא] אל תמהלו חכמתא למאלף ולארחתה ל[א
[תשב[קו] לב[עא]

(91) [די מאלף חוכמ]ה גבר ד[י] אלף [חכמה כל י]ומוהי א[ריכין]
וסנה ל[ה שמ]עה לכל מא[ת] ומדינה[די] עלל לה אח או חבר
הוי בה [ולא מ]תנכר הוא בה ולא דמ[ה בה]לנכרי ולא דמה בה
לכלא[י]מן די כולהון יהבין לה בה יקר [ב]די כולה צבין למאלף מן
חוכמתה

(92) רחמוה[י] סניאין ושאלי שלמיה רברבין
(93) ועל כורסי ייקר מדוחבין לה בדיל למשמע מילי חוכמתה

(90) Consider, my sons, Joseph my brother [who] taught scribal craft

and the instruction of wisdom, [to glory, and to greatness, and

to kings on their thrones he was joined. Do not neglect to study wisdom and do not] aban[don] a se[arch for her ways.]

(91) [Whoever teaches wisdo]m (to) a man wh[o] studies [wisdom,

all] his days are l[ong] and hi[s fa]me spreads. Whichever la[nd]

or province he enters, he is a brother or companion in it, [and

he is not] considered a stranger in it, and he is not simil[ar to]

a stranger [in it], and he is not similar in it to a half-bree[d],

for they all give him glory in it; (this is) [be]cause they all desire

to learn from his wisdom.

(92) Hi[s] friends are many, and his well-wishers are great ones.

(93) And they seat him on the throne of glory in order to hear the

words of his wisdom.

B) Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 XIX 13-21, 24-27)

13 ○○○[]א כען חלפנא אֹרעֹנא ועלנא לארע בני חם לארע מצרין

14 *vacat* וחלמת אנה אברם חלם בלילה מעלי לאֹרעֹ מֹצֹרָיִן וחזית בחלמי [וה]א
ארז חד ותמרא

15 כחדא צמ[חו] מן שֹרׁ[ש חד] ובני אנוש אתו ובעון למקץ ולמֹעקר ל[א]רזא
ולמֹשֹבֹק תֹמֹרא בלחודיהה

16 ואכליאת תמרתא ואמרת אל תקוצו ל[א]רזא ארי תרינא מן שרש [ח]דׁ
צֹמֹחׁ[נ]א ושביק ארזא בטלל תמרתא

17 ולא [אתקץ] *vacat* ואתֹעירת בליליא מן שנתי ואמרת לשרי אנתתי חלם

18 חלמת [אנה וא]דחל [מן] חֹלמֹאׁ דן ואמרת לי אֹשתעי לי חלמך ואנדע ושרית
לאשתעיא לה חלמא דן

19 [וחוית] ל[ה פשר] חלמא [דן ו]אמ[רת] ○○○ די יבעון למקטלני ולכי למשבק
[ב]רׁם דא כול טבותא

20 [די תעבדין עמי] בכול אֹתֹרׁ די [נהך לה אמרי] עלי די אחי הוא ואחי בטליכי
ותפלטׁ נפשי בדיליכי

21 [יבעון] לאע[ד]יותכי מני ולמקטלני ובכת שרי עֹל מֹלי בליליא דן

24 [אתו] תלתת גברין מן רברבי מצרי[ן] די פרע[ו] צע[ן] על מל[י] ועל אנתתי
והווא יהבין

25 [לי מתנן שגיאן ובעו] ל[י] ל[אודעא] טבתא וחכמתא וקושטא וקרית
קודמיהון ל[כתב] מלי חנוך

26 [] בכפנא די []○○○ ולא ○○○ין למקם עד די ○○○ מלי

27 []ל[]במאכל שגי ובמשתה[]חמרא

28 []○○○[]

13.[ ] Now we had crossed our land and entered the land of the children of Ham, the land of Egypt.

14. *vacat* I, Abram, had a dream the night of my entry into the land of Egypt. In my dream, I saw a cedar tree and a

15. date-palm gro[wing] from [a single] roo[t.] Then people came intending to cut down and uproot the [c]edar, thereby to leave the date-palm by itself.

16. The date-palm, however, objected, and said, ‘Do not cut the [c]edar down, for the two of us grow fr[om] but a [sin]gle root.’ So the cedar was spared because of the date-palm,
17. and was not cut down. *vacat* Then I started from my sleep while it was still night, and said to Sarai, my wife, ‘I have had a
18. dream and no[w] am fearful [because of] it.’ She replied, ‘Tell me your dream so I may understand.’ So I began to explain it to her,
19. and I also [explained its significance.] I said, ‘ [men will come] intending to kill me while sparing you. Notwithstanding, this is the kindness
20. [that you can do for me.] In every [place] where [we shall go, say] concerning me, ‘He is my brother.’ Thus I may live because of you and my life be spared owing to you.
21. [they will attempt] to sepa[ra]te us and to kill me.’ Then Sarai wept at my words that night.

24. [ ] Three men of the princes of Egyp[t came] from Phara[oh] Zoa[n] on account of my words and of my wife. They gave
25. [me many gifts.] They as[ked] me [for knowledge] of goodness, wisdom and righteousness, so I read to them the [Book] of the Words of Enoch.
26. [ ] in the famine that [ ]and not to arise until the words of
27. [ ]with much eating and drinking[ ]wine[ ]

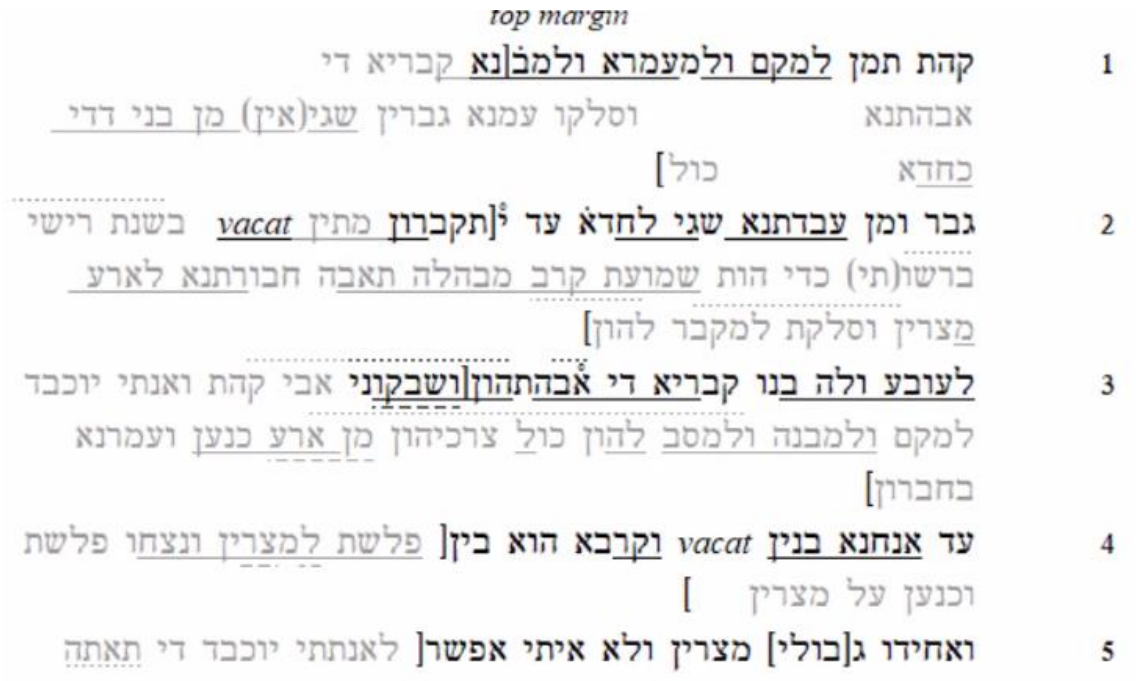
C) Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20 XX 12-28)

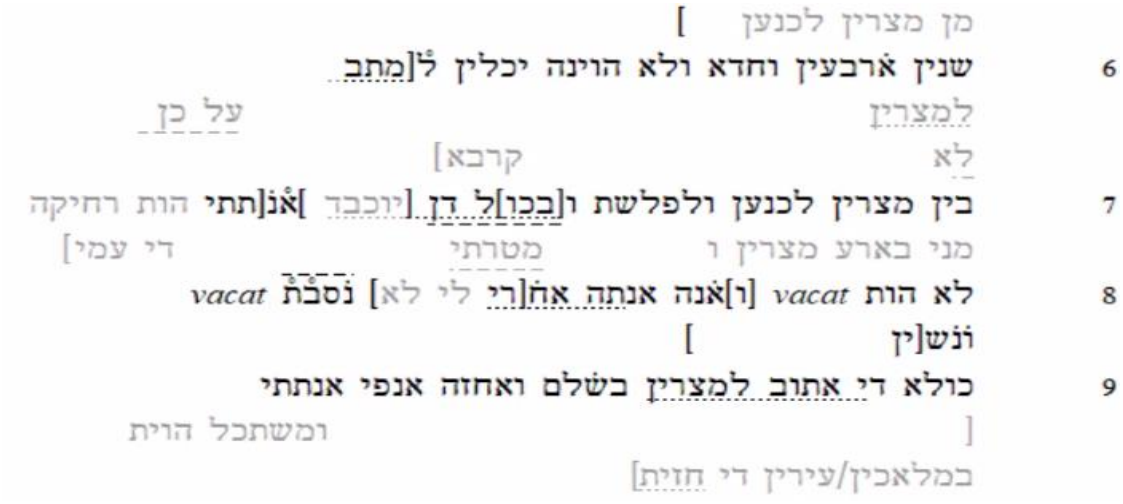
12 בליליא דן צלית ובעית ואתחננת ואמרת באתעצבא ודמעי נחתן בריך אנתה
אל עליון מרי לכול
13 עלמים די אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא ובכול מלכי ארעא אנתה שליט למעבד
בכולהון דין וכען
14 קבלתך מרי על פרעו צען מלך מצרין די דברת אנתתי מני בתוקף עבד לי דין
מנה ואחזי ידך רבתא
15 בה ובכול ביתה ואל ישלט בליליא דן לטמיא אנתתי מני וידעוך מרי די אנתה
מרה לכול מלכי
16 ארעא ובכית וחשית בליליא דן שלח לה אל עליון רוח מכדש למכתשה ולכול
אנש ביתה רוח
17 באישא והואת כתשא לה ולכול אנש ביתה ולא יכל למקרב בהא ואף לא
ידעהא והוא עמה
18 תרתין שנין ולסוף תרתין שנין תקפו וגברו עלוהי מכתשיא ונגדיא ועל כול אנש
ביתה ושלח
19 קרא לכול חַכִּימַ[י] מצרין ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי מצרין הן יכולון לאסָיָותה
מן מכתשה דן ולאנש
20 ביתה וְלָא יְכָלוּ כָּול אַסַיָא ואשפיא וכול חכימיא למקם לאסיותה ארי הוא
רוחא כתש לכולהון
21 וערקו *vacat* באדין אתה עלי חרקנוש ובעא מני די אתה ואצלה על
22 מלכָא וְאסַמוך ידי עלוהי ויחה ארי ב[ח]לם חַזַ[ני] ואמַר לה לוט לא יכוֹל
אברם דדי לצלָיָא על
23 מלכא ושרי אנתתה עמה וכען אזל אמר למלכא וישלח אנתתה מנה לבעלהא
ויצלה עלוהו ויחה
24 וְכַדי שמע חרקנוש מלי לוט אזל אמר למלכא כול מכתשיא ונגדיא *vacat*
25 אלן די מתכתש ומתנגד מרי מלכא בדיל שרי אנתת אברם יָתיבו נה לשרי
לאַבְרם בעלה
26 ויתוך מנכה מַכתַשָא דן ורוח שחליא וקרא [מ]ל[כ]א לי ואמר לי מא עבדתה
לי בדיל [שר]י ותאמר
27 לי די אחתי היא והיא הואת אנתתך ונסבתהא לי לאנתה הא אנתתך דְבָרַה
אזל ועדי לך מן

12. That night I prayed, entreating and seeking mercy. In anguish, tears running down my cheeks, I said, ‘Blessed are You, O God Most High, Eternal
13. Lord, for You are Lord and Master over all. Over all the kings of the earth You are Lord, to work justice among them. And now,
14. I seek redress, O Lord, against the Pharaoh of Zoan, king of Egypt, for my wife has been taken from me by force. Render me a verdict against him, and display Your mighty hand
15. against him and all his house. May he not be empowered this night to defile my wife! Thus they may know You, O my Lord, that You are Lord over all the kings
16. of the earth.’ So I wept and spoke to none. That night God Most High sent a baneful spirit to smite him and every man of his household, an evil

17. spirit that continued to afflict him and every man of his household. Consequently, he was unable to have sexual relations with her; indeed, he did not have intercourse with her even though she was with him
18. two full years. At the end of two years the plagues and afflictions grew yet more severe against him and every man of his household, so he sent messengers
19. calling for all the wise m[en] of Egypt, along with all the magicians and healers of Egypt, thinking that perhaps they could cure him and his household of this pestilence.
20. Yet none of the healers, magicians and wise men were able to cure him; on the contrary, the spirit afflicted all of them, too,
21. so that they fled. *vacat* Then Hyrcanus came to me, asking me to come pray for the
22. king, and to lay hands upon him and cure him—for he had seen[me] in a [dr]eam. But Lot replied, 'My uncle, Abram, is unable to pray for
23. the king while Sarai, his wife, remains with him. Now, go tell the king to send his wife to her husband. Then he will pray for him and he will be cured.'
24. *vacat* When Hyrcanus heard Lot's words, he went and told the king, 'All these smitings and plagues
25. by which my lord the king has been smitten and afflicted are because of Sarai, the wife of Abram! Let him return Sarai to Abram, her husband,
26. and this plague will depart from you, that is, the spirit causing the discharges of pus.' So he called me to himself and asked me, 'What have you done to me because of your wife [Sar]ai? You told
27. me, 'She is my sister,' yet she was actually your wife! I took her as my own wife! Here she is; take her, go, depart from
28. all the provinces of Egypt! But first, pray for me and my house that this evil spirit may be exorcised from us.' So I prayed for him, that blasphemer ...

D) Visions of Amram (4Q544 I 1-9)





1.Kohath there to remain and to live and to build [the tombs of our fathers and many men went up together with us from the sons of our uncle every]
2. man and from our servants, very many, while [the dead were buried. *vacat* In the first year of my authority, when there was a frightening rumour of war, our group returned to the land of Egypt and I went up to bury them]
3. quickly but they had not built tombs of their fathers [and my father Kohath and my wife Jochebed left me to stay and to build and to take to them all their needs from the land of Canaan. And we dwelt in Hebron]
4. while we were building. *vacat* There was war between [Philistia and Egypt and Philistia and Canaan defeated the king of Egypt]
5. and the [borders] of Egypt were closed and it was not possible [for my wife Jochebed to come from Egypt to Canaan during]
6. forty-one years and we were not able to return to Egypt [ ] therefore [war]
7. between Egypt and Canaan and Philistia. [During] this [time] Jochebed [my wi]fe[was far away from me in the land of Egypt for with me]
8. she was not. *vacat* I [did not] take another wife *vacat* [ ] and w[omen]
9. everything, for I would return to Egypt safely and see my wife's face [and I thought about the angels/ Watchers that I had seen]

E) Testament of Qahat (4Q542 1i 1-13)

top margin

1 ואל אלין לכול עלמין ונהר נהירה עליכון ויודענכון שמה רבא

2 ותנדעונה {ותנדעונה} די הוא אלה עלסיה ומרא כול סעבדיא ושליט

3 בכולא למעבד בהון כרעותה ויעבד לכון חדוא ושמחא לבניכון בדרי

4 קוש{ו}ט לעלמין וכען בני אזדהרו בירותתא די משלמא לכון

5 ודי יהבו לכון אבהתכון ואל תתנו ירותתכון לנכראין ואחס{ן לכון}⟨נותכון⟩

6 לכילאין ותהון לשפלו{ת} ולנבלו בעיניהון ויבסרון עליכון דִּי

7 להון תו{ה\ב}⟨ת⟩בין לכון ולהון עליכון ראשין להן אחדו בממר יעקב

8 אבוכון ואתקפו בדיני אברהסוצדקת לוי ודילי והוא קד[י]שׁין ודכין

9 מן כול[ער]ברוב ואחדין בקושטא ואזלין בישירותא {בל}⟨ולא⟩בלבב ולבב

10 להן בלבבְ דכא וברוח קשיטה וטבה ותנתנון לי ביניכון שם טב וחדוא

11 ללוי ושמח⟨א⟩ ליִ[ע]קוב ודיאצ לישחק ותשבוחא לאברהם די נטרתון

12 והילכתון ירותִ[תא]דִּי שבקו לכון אבהתכון קושטא וצדקתא וישירותא

13 ותמימותא ודכִ[ותא וק]ודשא וכהֹ[ו]נתא ככול די פקדת⟨כ⟩ון וככול די

bottom margin

0.[May you receive the blessing of]

1. the greatest of all gods forever, and may he shine his light upon you, and tell you his great name
2. so that you may truly know him. For he is the God of the ages, and Lord of everything that is done, and ruler
3. of all people, doing with them whatever he pleases. May he give you happiness, and to your descendants joy, in the generations of
4. truth forever. And now, my sons, be careful with the inheritance that has been entrusted to you,
5. and which your ancestors have bequeathed to you. Do not give your inheritance away to strangers, nor your inheritance to
6. assimilationists, lest you become low and degraded in their eyes, and they despise you; for then
7. they will be alien to you and and become your rulers. So hold firm to the command of Jacob
8. your ancestor, grasp tightly the judgements of Abraham and the good deeds of Levi and myself, and be holy and pure
9. from all intermingling, holding firm to the truth, walking in integrity and not with a divided heart,
10. but with a pure heart, and with an honest and good spirit. And you will give me a good name among yourselves
11. to Levi, joy to Jacob, celebration to Isaac, and praise to Abraham, because you have kept

12. and passed on the inheritance that your ancestors left you: truth, good deeds, honesty,
13. perfection, purity, holiness, and priesthood, according to everything that I have commanded you and according to everything

PROJECT SUMMARY: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO MOTION VERB COMPLEMENTS IN MASORETIC AND QUMRAN HEBREW

Lucie Perez, University of Copenhagen, doctoral student

Supervision details:

Main Supervisor: Martin EHRENSVÄRD, University of Copenhagen

Co-Supervisor: Martijn NAAIJER, University of Copenhagen

1. Project Introduction

The aim of my research is to gain new insights into the history of the Hebrew language and the transmission of the biblical text by identifying the factors that influence the use of complements with motion verbs in Biblical Hebrew. This study will be conducted on large datasets, using a data science approach and analysing the results with state-of-the-art statistical tools.

There are many ways to express where one is going in Biblical Hebrew. Two English examples are: *I am going to the market* or *John is going home*. In Biblical Hebrew, the destination can be marked by different types of complements: non-prepositional complements (the directive -*he* and the accusative of destination) and prepositional complements. Although the topic has been studied extensively by scholars, there is still no consensus on how the type of complement is conditioned. The variety and the number of motion verbs makes the problem even more complex and interesting.

The biblical text traditionally used by scholars is the *Codex Leningradensis* (11th c. CE), a manuscript of the so-called Masoretic type. Many scholars have studied the language of the Masoretic Text in order to date biblical books linguistically. They usually consider the Masoretic Text to be a reliable source for historical linguistics. However, the biblical corpus is diverse and has been (re)written, compiled and copied by many hands over the centuries, which greatly complicates matters.

In 1946/47, ancient Hebrew scrolls were found in the caves of Qumran, near the Dead Sea. These include biblical and non-biblical texts dated from the 3rd c. BCE to the 1st c. CE, making them a thousand years older than the earliest complete Masoretic manuscripts. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has led to new insights into Biblical Hebrew and the biblical texts, as the scrolls often present different manuscript types to the Masoretic ones.

Since the 2000s, traditional linguistic dating has been challenged by scholars (e.g. Robert Rezetko, Ian Young, Martin Ehrensvärd) who have argued against the reliability of its methods. These scholars state that a new methodology was needed and that all relevant material should be considered, including the Dead Sea Scrolls. The debate is still ongoing. In the last decade, the availability of open-source Biblical Hebrew textual datasets and the development of data science have increased the feasibility of data-driven linguistic studies. But not so many researchers are yet using a data science approach to Biblical Hebrew.

Because of the large number of occurrences of motion verbs in the biblical corpus, studies have examined a limited number of cases. They have often focused on the Masoretic Text, on factive (i.e. actual, as opposed to abstract or subjective) motion, or on one type of complement. As a result, these studies provide only a limited insight into the history and transmission of Biblical Hebrew.

I will study motion verb complements in a comprehensive way, taking into account both prose and poetry, both the Masoretic Text and the Dead Sea Scrolls (biblical and non-biblical), and including factive and fictive (i.e. abstract or subjective) motion. I will also analyse the data using Bayesian statistical models, a method new to Biblical Studies. This is an opportunity to take new methodological steps with new technologies in the field.

Thus, my research question is:

> *How and to what extent does the use of motion verb complements (prepositional and non-prepositional) vary in Biblical and Qumran Hebrew and what are the factors affecting this variation?*

Previous researchers have formulated a number of hypotheses that I will test in my study. One is that the variation between prose and poetry may be due to stylistic choices (Medill, 2020, 362), a hypothesis based on a case study of the Psalms. A broader study of biblical poetry will allow me to test this hypothesis.

Scholars disagree on how much variation there is between Masoretic and Qumran Hebrew (Rezetko & Young, 2014, 180-181; Medill, 2020, 65-66) and how much variation is introduced in the transmission of biblical texts. Based on Medill, I expect to find no significant variation between Masoretic and Qumran Hebrew with respect to motion verb complements, but further research based on more data will show whether or not this hypothesis holds true.

According to the recent research on motion verbs, several syntactic-semantic factors have a strong effect on complement type (Medill, 2020, 85-86). Thus, given that the main difference between factive and fictive motion is a semantic one, I expect to find variation between complements expressing factive and fictive motion.

2. Theoretical foundations (see paper)

The first section of the paper proposed for the OTSEM conference provides the theoretical foundations for this project, with a presentation of the main tools of the project and a literature review.

3. Materials and methods (see paper)

My corpus will consist of two main sources: the Masoretic Text and the Dead Sea Scrolls. I will use open source scholarly datasets of both sources[1]. I will use the Python module Text-Fabric[2], a free and open source software, to preprocess and extract the data. Additional

[1] MT: https://github.com/etcbc/bhsa; DSS: https://github.com/etcbc/dss
[2] https://annotation.github.io/text-fabric/tf

annotations will be done manually, especially regarding different semantic aspects of motion.

The presentation of Bayesian Hierarchical Models and their relevance to my study is presented and developed in the attached paper.

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For further references, see paper.

HOW TO WORK WITH COMPLEX LINGUISTIC DATA: BAYESIAN MODELS APPLIED TO MOTION VERB COMPLEMENTS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

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Abstract

The paper introduces the topic of motion verb complements in Biblical Hebrew through a review of the literature from Austel in 1969 to Medill in 2020. Goals in Biblical Hebrew can be marked with three strategies: the directive *-he*, the accusative of direction (an absence of marking), and various directional prepositions. Scholars agree that many factors influence the choice of goal marking strategy: morphological factors, such as the stem of the goal noun, semantic factors, such as the animacy of the destination, or extra-linguistic factors, such as the diachronic period or dialects (a non-exhaustive list). Motion verb complements is a complex subject because it involves multiple factors as well as the difficulties posed by the nature of the sources for Ancient Hebrew. This paper argues that high-level statistical tools are beneficial to such research, and that Bayesian hierarchical models, which take into account both the variation within books, manuscripts and scrolls as well as the relationships between these groups, are a relevant approach to studying motion verb complements.

Keywords: Biblical Hebrew; Linguistics; Bayesian statistics; Bayesian models; motion verb complements;

HOW TO WORK WITH COMPLEX LINGUISTIC DATA: BAYESIAN MODELS APPLIED TO MOTION VERB COMPLEMENTS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

Introduction

In recent decades, motion verbs in Biblical Hebrew have been an important problem in scholarly literature, related to the history of Biblical Hebrew and the transmission of biblical texts. Motion verbs are complex: they vary in meaning, complement type (accusative of destination, directional preposition or directive-he) and their use varies within the biblical corpus and between manuscripts. The following table illustrates the complement types mentioned above (verb in blue, complement in red, markings and prepositions in **bold**).

Type of complement	Verse	Example	Translation
prepositional	Gen 6:18	וּבָאתָ֖ אֶל־הַתֵּבָֽה	and you shall go into the ark
accusative of direction	Judg 18:18	וְאֵ֙לֶּה֙ בָּ֣אוּ בֵֽית מִיכָ֔ה	and these went into the house of Micah
directive *-he*	Gen 12:11	כַּאֲשֶׁ֥ר הִקְרִ֖יב לָב֣וֹא מִצְרָ֑יְמָה[1]	when he was close to entering Egypt

Until recently, linguistic studies of Biblical Hebrew, including studies of motion verbs, have focused on the Masoretic text or on a small number of occurrences. This is due to various factors, such as the lack of easily searchable databases or research objectives. In the case of motion verbs, the sheer number of occurrences in the biblical corpus has led scholars to focus on either one type of source (often MT), one type of complement, or one type of motion (factive versus fictive motion). However, the accessibility and use of digital databases and statistical software in the study of Biblical Hebrew is increasing. In 2020, Kathryn Medill (2020) published a doctoral dissertation examining all goal constructions with factive (i.e. actual, as opposed to abstract or subjective) motion from the Masoretic prose texts, providing a statistical analysis of some 3000 occurrences of such constructions tagged with over 30 variables. However, the focus on the Masoretic text, on prose and the exclusion of fictive motions narrows the perspective.

During my research project, I will be studying motion verb complements in a comprehensive way, taking into account prose and poetry, the Masoretic text and the Dead Sea Scrolls (biblical and non-biblical), including both factive and fictive (i.e. abstract or subjective) motion. This is no easy task, and the project is still in its infancy. In this paper, I would like to introduce some of the tools and methods that make such research possible. An

[1] Note that *patach* is part of the directive *-he* at the end of מִצְרָ֑יְמָה and should appear in bold.

overview of the tools and scholarship underlying my project is presented in the first section. The difficulties we face in working linguistically with Biblical Hebrew are discussed in a second section. The final section presents a statistical approach that can solve some of the problems of the difficult data of Biblical Hebrew.

1. Linguistic Tools and Theoretical Foundations

In this section, I will first present the practical basis for my study of motion verb complements, namely the annotated database called ETCBC, as well as a display of recent studies that have used it. Secondly, I will summarise the scholarship on motion verb complements from Austel in 1969 to Medill in 2020.

1.1. Main Linguistic Tool: the ETCBC database

The Eep Talstra Centre for Bible and Computer (ETCBC),[2] first known as the Werkgroep Informatica Vrije Universiteit (WIVU), was founded in Amsterdam in 1977 as "a simple concordance and text searching programs to aid the process of biblical interpretation" (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 1). Because "good reading begins with good linguistics" (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 2), it was built as a linguistically annotated database, moving from smaller to larger units. They used programs to automatically parse linguistic units, registering the entire biblical corpus (MT). Today, this open source database contains corpora from several languages, such as Hebrew (with the entire Hebrew Bible, some Dead Sea Scrolls, some epigraphic material, etc.), Syriac or Aramaic (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 2). The different linguistic levels ("word, phrase, clause, sentence, text") carry several linguistic annotations, i.e. syntactic or morphological (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 3). The initial focus of the database is on structure, as "structure must be first fully exploited before advancing to other forms of analysis" (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 3-4), advocating for a "form-to-function" approach as well as a bottom-up approach (i.e. from smaller to larger units, e.g. from words to phrases).

To access the morphological aspect of words, the ETCBC database provides transliterated words with specific annotations for disambiguation, word type and morphemes (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 7). For example, בֶּגֶד (*beged*, garment) and בָּגַד(*bagad*, to cover) are respectively transliterated as BGD/ and BGD[, / encoding nouns while [encodes verbs. Note that בֶּגֶד can have several meanings, garment but also treachery, transliterated respectively as BGD/ and BGD=/ respectively for disambiguation. As of 2014, queries can be made directly from the SHEBANQ website.[3] Queries can be accessed through an identifier, which allows direct reference to a query and direct access to the results for any interested party (Kingham and van Peursen, 2018, 8). While SHEBANQ can handle fairly complex

[2] https://github.com/ETCBC
[3] https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/

queries, researchers can obtain more complex datasets using Text-Fabric, a Python package[4] that allows them to work at a different level, with access to a wide range of tools for data analysis, such as statistics and data visualisation.

The ETCBC database has been used by many researchers to study Biblical Hebrew, a few examples follow. Dyk, Glanz and Oosting have worked on verbal valency (see their publications from 2014 and 2015), a topic related to motion verb complements. Naaijer and Roorda used SHEBANQ queries for their research on the object clause (Naaijer and Roorda, 2016)[5]. Many Ph.D. theses have used the database, including Martijn Naaijer's study of *Syntactic Variation in Clause Structure in Biblical Hebrew* (2020),[6] which demonstrated the contribution of advanced data science and machine learning techniques to the linguistic study of Biblical Hebrew. The ETCBC supports ongoing doctoral research,[7] including Marianne Kaajan's project on *Syntactic Variation in Non-Verbal Phrase Structure in Biblical Hebrew* and Femke Siebesma-Mannens' project on *Verbal Valence in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Syntactic Variation and Linguistic Change*.

1.2. Theoretical Foundations: Motion Verb Complements

1.2.1 Hermann J. Austel, 1969

The first major study of motion verb complements was carried out in 1969 by Austel in his unpublished doctoral thesis. Using the methods available at the time, Austel studied a list of motion verbs and all the spatial complements associated with these verbs, concentrating on the markings of the complements, including only verbs involving a willing movement of the subject (Austel, 1969, 18). Austel investigated in particular: 1) to what extent and under what conditions these markings were interchangeable (Austel, 1969, 2); 2) which variables conditioned the choice of one preposition over another (Austel, 1969, 21).

He divides the complements into two categories (Austel, 1969, xxi): non-prepositional complements or verbal complements (directive -*he* and accusative of direction) and prepositional complements, selecting four prepositions (ל , עַל, אֶל and בְּ). He used the Biblia Hebraica as a source. Regarding the question of variations between manuscripts, he states that "there is every reason to believe that the overall picture is not materially different in the various manuscripts" (Austel, 1969, fn86). According to Austel, the patterns observed "are generally applicable over the whole Bible" and the verb does not affect the complement strategy chosen (Austel, 1969, xxii). He provides a table of probabilities of occurrence without further statistical analysis (Austel, 1969, 305-322).

The non-prepositional complements are usually used with place names (Austel, 1969, 304) and correspond to a general movement to a place. The verbal complement occurs 88% of the time (94% if we exclude Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles) with simple place names in

[4] A package in Python is essentially a toolbox, in the form of many pieces of pre-written code that can be imported and used by any user. Importing packages is fundamental to programming, just as having a toolbox is fundamental to DIY activities.
[5] https://unisapressjournals.co.za/index.php/JSEM/article/view/2566
[6] https://research.vu.nl/en/publications/clause-structure-variation-in-biblical-hebrew-a-quantitative-appr
[7] https://etcbc.nl/ongoing-phd-projects/

general movement. It occurs only 44% of the time in these late books, where the prepositions ל and אֶל are more frequent (Austel, 1969, 324-325). As for the directive -*he*, it is more frequent in the Pentateuch with all the verbs studied, which results from a possible decline in the use of the verbal complement in post-exilic writings and indicates "an early origin of the Pentateuch" (Austel, 1969, 325, 329).

Prepositions usually have a specific meaning. In general, אֶל indicates a general movement towards a goal, a use similar to that of the verbal complement. However, unlike the verbal complement, אֶל is used for all verbs to express a general movement towards a person in 95% of cases. אֶל is also used more often than the verbal complement with common place-nouns, again with a high variability depending on the noun (Austel, 1969, 330-331). The preposition ל carries a datival emphasis which refers to the recipient of an action and is found mainly in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles[8] (Austel, 1969, 335). With common place-nouns it often appears with a noun with a pronominal suffix (79 of the 109 occurrences). It often carries the idea of return (many occurrences with שׁוּב, *shub*) or belonging, recalling the datival aspect of this preposition. With persons, ל always has a datival meaning[9] (Austel, 1969, 336-337). בhas a general meaning of entering or penetrating and is used with all kinds of destinations (Austel, 1969, 339). The preposition עַל is used with all destinations with the general meaning of *on* or *upon* (Austel, 1969, 341). While the literature suggests that אֶל and עַל are interchangeable, Austel finds that עַל is used "in a general sense" in only 10% of its occurrences, and is used interchangeably with אֶל mainly in the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Austel, 1969, 341).

1.2.2. Robert Rezetko and Ian Young, 2014

Rezetko and Young propose a study of the variation in the use of the directive -*he* using variationist analysis. It is generally accepted that the use of the directive -*he* decreased in late Biblical Hebrew compared to early Biblical Hebrew (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 375). They propose a pilot study of the use of the directive -*he* with the verb בּוֹא, *bo'* (Qal stem only) when the destination is a place (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 377), the aim of which is to compare "the frequency of the directive *he* relative to the other variants of the variable 'to come to X place'" (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 385). They identify the possible use of the directive -*he* as well as the alternatives, or variants, found in Biblical Hebrew, such as the use of prepositions (including אֶל, ל, עַד, ב and עַל) or the absence of marking[10] (see Rezetko and Young, 2014, 378, table 9.5). The data contain 752 occurrences from the MT and the DSS (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 379).[11] Directional markings with בּוֹא are more frequent in several biblical sections: the Pentateuch, Samuel-Kings-1 Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the non-synoptic Chronicles and the Dead Sea Scrolls (considered as a single group).

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[8] Austel mentions one occurrence outside this corpus, without further precision.

[9] The two exceptions to this datival meaning, according to Austel, may be an "'irregularity' reflect[ing] the foreign dialect [of Aram-Naharaim]" or due to a usage of הָלַךְ ל to mean "to return to the person or person with whom the subject belongs", similar to שׁוּב ל, Austel, 1969, 337-338.

[10] Or *accusative of direction*.

[11] For the raw data, see their table in Rezetko and Young, 2014, 380-383, Table 9.6. For a graphical visualisation of the data, see Rezetko and Young, 2014, 384.

The distribution of prepositions varies depending on the preposition, and the book considered (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 385). Comparing the percentage of nouns with directive -*he* with the percentage of nouns with other directional strategies (as a group), Rezetko and Young conclude that "there is a statistically insignificant difference between 'early' prose books such as Joshua and Judges on the one hand and 'late' synoptic/non-synoptic Chronicles on the other" (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 390). As Medill (2020, 31) points out, the decision to consider the other marking strategies as a group before the directive -*he* in isolation may give a false impression of the actual distribution of the various markings.[12] Rezetko and Young acknowledge this problem by considering, for example, the case of ל + בוֹא, which is more common in late writings such as the Dead Sea Scrolls (a usage that becomes "nothing more than marginal" when the Dead Sea Scrolls are considered individually) or the non-synoptic Chronicles. (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 390).

Considering the evidence in the Masoretic Text and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the authors comment on the importance of textual fluidity: the two sources agree 64% of the time on the occurrences of the directive -*he* (135 cases out of a total of 212 unrestored occurrences in total in the scrolls), and the scrolls regularly differ from one another (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 392). On the basis of the limited data available on epigraphic Hebrew, the authors question the assumption that the directive -*he* could be used for dating purposes. While it may be the case, given the epigraphic evidence, that the directive -*he* was the basic directional marking with בוֹא, this is not the case in some books considered to be 'early' writings, such as the Book of Samuel. In fact, in over 400 occurrences of בוֹא and הָלַךְ(*halak*, to go up, to ascend), Masoretic Samuel uses the directive -*he* only 3% of the time. This is in contrast to Pentateuch texts such as Masoretic Genesis, which uses the directive -*he* almost 50% of the time with בוֹא (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 394 and 388). The authors conclude: "This highly theoretical discussion [...] casts further doubt on the view that the distribution of linguistic forms in our late manuscripts gives us reliable evidence of the state of the language in earlier periods" (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 394).

1.2.3 Aaron Hornkohl, 2014

In his study of the book of Jeremiah, Horkohl proposes a diachronic analysis of the use of the directive -*he* and of ל with motion verbs.

The use of the directive -*he* seems to have changed over time. For example, while the directive -*he* attached to proper names is standard in "biblical material considered classical", it is rare in late biblical Hebrew, very rare in the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, and disappears in later sources such as the Mishnah (Hornkohl, 2014, 208-209). An alternative (ל + proper name) increases in use in the later sources, especially in Rabbinic Hebrew. While standard uses decrease in frequency, non-standard uses increase "for purposes of

[12] Despite the fact that, as Medill (2020, 31) acknowledges, "there is no corpus in which the directive *he* is the most frequently goal-marking strategy", which is visible in the visualisation offered by Rezetko and Young, 384, Figure 9.8.

archaization", reaching "nearly half of the cases in the DSS", compared to representing 10% of the uses in the classical biblical corpus (Hornkohl, 2014, 207 and 209-10).[13]

The use of ל + motion verb, to indicate a general movement towards a place, increases in the late sources. In the classical corpus, this use is mainly restricted to a few nouns (Hornkohl, 2014, 218-219). In the Latter Prophets, the use seems to extend to other types of destinations, a phenomenon which increases significantly in the late biblical Hebrew books (Hornkohl, 2014, 221). The use of ל with proper nouns is much more common in late biblical books than in the classical corpus, perhaps due to the influence of Aramaic prepositional usage, and may be a feature of late biblical Hebrew. The use of ל with motion verbs is rare in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but becomes frequent in Rabbinic Hebrew (Hornkohl, 2014, 221-224).

1.2.4. Kathryn Medill, 2014

In 2014, Medill studied the directive *-he* in Biblical Hebrew and the effect of some variables on its appearance, comparing it with the accusative of direction and the prepositional complements (Medill, 2014, 4). She found that, unlike the accusative of direction which can express "time, manner and place", and the prepositional complements which have specific meanings, the directive *-he* only means that there is a movement (Medill, 2014, 12-13). Its appearance is limited by the morphological characteristics of the word to which it is attached[14]: if the word in the directional construction already carries a suffix, it does not carry the directive *-he* (Medill, 2014, 14).

Among 14 variables, Medill found three main variables that influenced the presence of the directive *-he* (among eight variables that played a significant role).[15] According to Medill, the most influential variable is the age of the text: the later texts use it 24% of the time, while the earlier texts use it 54% of the time. She proposes two explanations for the shift in the use of the directive *-he*: the contact with other languages (Aramaic and Akkadian) which favoured other types of markings; the shift in the word order in Biblical Hebrew which led to an increase in the use of prepositions (Medill, 2014, 23).

The type of word of the complement seems to influence the type of marking. Scribes, perhaps influenced by the effect of actual suffixes on the use of the directive *-he*, preferred to use other directional strategies with words with suffix-like ending stems, such as מִצְרַיִם, *misraim* (Medill, 2014, 24). The accusative appears in 33% of such constructions (Medill, 2014, 25). There, Medill notes an interaction between two variables: the stem (variable 1) and the stem with a suffix-like ending (variable 2). This could be a case of a confounding factor. The result of the analysis might show that the stem factor has a significant effect, whereas the important factor is actually the suffix-like ending stem.

The textual setting of a complement also seems to affect it: when two directional constructions occur in the same clause, if one is a directive *-he*, then the other is also a directive *-he* (100% of the time). *A contrario*, the directive *-he* occurs only 26,7% of the time

[13] Medill showed that the range of functions of the directive *-he* is actually stable from CBH to LBH and what Hornkohl calls *non-standard* uses might be the increased use of the directive *-he* to mark fictive goals (instead of factive goals). See Medill, 2021.

[14] So only cases where "the *hey* suffix either was or could have been used" (Medill, 2014, 17).

[15] For a complete list of variables and examples of full annotations, see Medill, 2014, 18.

in the same clause as prepositional constructions, and 20% of the time in the same clause as the accusative of direction (Medill, 2014, 24). Similarly, the accusative occurs 80% of the time in a clause with another accusative, compared to 20% of the time in a clause with a different construction (Medill, 2014, 25). This is likely due to the effect of priming: having just used a linguistic feature, it becomes more cognitively available for the next similar one that we write (Medill, 2014, 24-25).

Finally, the use of the prepositions is influenced by similar factors. It somehow fills the gaps for the other constructions (e.g. the later texts use more prepositions, or prepositions are more frequent than the directive *-he* with suffix-like endings, etc., Medill, 2014, 27). Prepositions seem to occur more frequently with the perfect tense and definite nouns, while the directive *-he* is preferred with indefinite nouns and the imperfect tense (Medill, 2014, 27). This effect may be due to "the degree of transitivity" (cf. Medill, 2014, 27-29, 31-32), with both the perfect tense and definiteness being more transitive (and favouring prepositional constructions), while the imperfect tense and indefiniteness are considered less transitive (favouring the directive *-he*).

1.2.5. Kathryn Medill, 2020

In her doctoral thesis, Medill (2020) studied goal constructions in Biblical Hebrew prose. She examined over 3000 goal constructions and analysed the effect of around 30 variables on the goal constructions, using the Masoretic text as her main source. Her aim is to provide new insights into the lives of the scribes by analysing their choices of goal constructions (Medill, 2020, 5). Several factors can influence these choices: the geographical area in which the scribe lives, the linguistic availability related to that area (e.g. dialects), the time in which the scribe lived, his education, his previous linguistic choices in the text, his social environment, or his discourse and literary choices (Medill, 2020, 3-4).

Goal constructions are spatial arguments related to *path* (as opposed to *location*). Other path arguments are *sources* (e.g. the place from which you come) and *trajectories* (e.g. the way by which, the place through which you are going). The *goal* generally refers to the place to which you are going (Medill , 2020, 17-18). Goal construction in Biblical Hebrew can be expressed by three marking strategies: the directive *-he*, or *-he* locale, with prepositional arguments, or with the accusative of direction. Sometimes, multiple goal marking strategies are used together (Medill, 2020, 24). In her review of the literature, Medill states that, in general, the following factors seem to influence goal-marking: "goal animacy, individuation, and complexity, verb aspect and telicity, diachronic corpus; Pentateuchal source; text type; prose versus poetry; and perhaps dialect" (Medill, 2020, 33).

Medill's research is based on *multivariate analysis* supported by "statistical tools such as multinomial logistical regression",[16] which means that she is interested in the analysis of

[16] *Multinomial logistic regression* is used when the dependent variable is categorical, with more than two possible categories, to predict the category to which an observation might belong.
A *categorical variable* is a variable that belongs to a category in a set of categories that are not ordered. Medill's dependent variable is the goal construction, and can fall into one of four categories (or many more if we ungroup the prepositions): accusative of direction, directive *-he*, preposition, preposition + directive *-he*
For a basic introduction to the subject: https://www.statisticshowto.com/multinomial-logistic-regression/

her numerous variables together with the analysis of the relationship between these variables (Medill, 41). Her variables concern various aspects of the goal construction and its environment, such as goal construction (animacy, definiteness, etc.), object, subject, verb, word order, priming and descriptive variables (era, book, etc.).[17] She limits her dataset to goal construction, factive motion and prose in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Medill, 2020, 42-45 and 57-60). She conducts a study of textual fluidity in Samuel in the Masoretic Text and the Dead Sea Scrolls and concludes that the sources (MT and 4QSam) agree 88% of the time regarding goal markings and that "*while the precise morpheme used to mark the goal may vary, the syntax of the GC is stable*" (Medill, 2020, 64, emphasis in original). Variations generally concern the change of prepositions or the switch between the accusative of direction and the directive *-he*. However, "[T]here are no extant cases in which a prepositional strategy varies with a non-prepositional strategy" (Medill, 2020, 64).[18]

Medill's main conclusions are briefly outlined below. Each strategy is correlated with several linguistic factors.[19] For example, the directive *-he* and the accusative of direction are strongly correlated with prototypical motion constructions (an agent is willingly moving towards a goal, Medill, 2020, 388). As for prepositions, they are correlated with, among other things, environments in which other strategies are restricted (Medill, 2020, 386). Although the directive *-he* is restricted by several morphological factors, it is the most frequently used strategy when no restriction applies. Prepositions are not restricted but tend to appear in specific situations (Medill, 2020, 387). Several extra-linguistic factors also seem to influence the strategy chosen: "diachronic corpus, biblical book, Pentateuchal source, dialect, text type, and orality (Medill, 2020, 386).

Why do we see such a variety of goal markings? According to Medill, for aesthetic reasons and the quest for prestige in literary texts. The use of different goal-marking strategies was part of scribal education and the ability to use these strategies was seen as a demonstration of competence and skill, while at the same time emphasising the importance of the texts they were writing (Medill, 2020, 399). Medill illustrates this with the diachronic treatment of the directive *-he*: directive *-he* is "a stereotypical characteristic of CBH writing". As such, the scribes of later texts used this strategy to show continuity between their work and their identity and those of their predecessors (Medill, 2020, 400).

2. Linguistic Data in Biblical Hebrew: A Methodological Challenge

2.1. Textual sources

The first challenge concerns the nature of the sources. Biblical scholars face the problem of the transmission history of the Hebrew Bible: as Medill puts it, "scribes are not automatons" (Medill, 2020, 45). Biblical texts were copied by people with different agendas and skills over the centuries of transmission (Medill, 2020, 46). When it comes to textual

[17] For a complete list of her variables, see Medill, 2020, 73.

[18] It would be interesting to see if the stability of the goal constructions hold when we add more data to such a fluidity study.

[19] For a complete table of the factors correlated with each strategy, see Medill, 2020, 386, table 8.1.

criticism of the Hebrew Bible, scholars agree that all the texts were edited. These texts are viewed as collections of texts, written by multiple authors and edited through a centuries-long transmission process, "'perhaps comparable to the construction of a medieval cathedral' [quoting Hendel]" (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 72). Despite the fragmentary nature of the non-Masoretic textual evidence for the Hebrew Bible, it is clear that several versions of the biblical texts existed, while only a few of these versions were selected and survived through the transmission process (Rezetko and Young, 2014, 74-75).

For linguistic studies, the data is *fuzzy*: the language that we observe is probably not the language of the original authors, and it is uncertain what (and who) this language really represents.[20] This does not mean that we cannot use the data and gain meaningful insights into the history of these texts. It means that we should keep this aspect of the data in mind when studying it and drawing conclusions.

2.2. Complex sources of variations

As previous literature has shown, the variation of goal markings is related to many factors. Some factors may be more difficult to capture than others, because they are not independent from each other. This can cause problems with data analysis, as statistical models generally assume that observations are independent of each other. The problem of data independence depends very much on what we want to study as a population. If we are studying Biblical Hebrew, do we want to learn about ancient Hebrew as a language in general? Do we want to learn about the written language of a particular group of literate men from a specific period? The latter seems to make more sense. But even within a restricted population, we need to be aware of threads running through the whole corpus: recurring literary themes, general religious concerns, intended audience… Within the Biblical Hebrew corpus, observations are clustered in books, or manuscripts and scrolls, some of which are copies or versions of others. Is what we observe in a version of Samuel from the Qumran collections completely independent of what we observed in a Masoretic manuscript of the same text? Hopefully, we will be able to map some relationships between different texts, versions, manuscripts and scrolls with adapted statistical models (see 3.3.2.). Moreover, extra-linguistic factors such as books or sources are not the only factors of data dependence. As we have already seen in Medill's study (Medill, 2014), certain morphological factors can be related to each other and thus affect each other's statistical influence on the results of the analysis. Consequently, the more factors we want to consider, the more complex the analysis becomes.

Other features of the data complicate the approach. In the case of motion verbs, the first variation is in the type of complement: each verb can probably take all types of complement. We observe different distributions of these verbs: for example, while בּוֹא (to come, to go in) appears 1177 times in MT, the second most frequent verb, הָלַךְ, appears only

[20] For an interesting discussion of "What is the Biblical Hebrew Corpus Representative of?", see Medill, 2020, 67-70. She concludes that "The nature of the Biblical Hebrew corpus, them, is a corpus of prestigious texts written by well-educated men, curated in Jerusalem, concerned with the relationship between the Twelve Tribes and their God, and accepted as authoritative at an early enough data for them to become candidates for recopying and preservation." (Medill, 2020, 70).

290 times. Rarer verbs, such as נוס (*nus*, to flee, to escape), may have less than 50 occurrences in total (נוס has 49). The distribution of verbs varies from book to book, as books vary greatly in length and thus in the number of verbs found in each book. In addition, there are many more complex factors that influence goal constructions, such as the genre, era, etc.

3. Bayesian Models: A Relevant Approach for Biblical Hebrew

Bayesian statistics is a branch of statistics that differs from the more classically used branch of frequentist statistics. Bayesian and frequentist methods approach statistics differently: "the frequentist approach assigns probabilities to data, not to hypotheses, whereas the Bayesian approach assigns probabilities to hypotheses." (Fornacon-Wood et al., 1076). In other words, in frequentist statistics we want to say *how probable is the data* if the null hypothesis is true (this is called *null hypothesis testing*), whereas in Bayesian statistics we want to say *how probable it is that a hypothesis is true* given the observed data (taking into account prior knowledge in our evaluation).

3.1 Frequentist statistics

Since frequentist statistics is the most commonly used in research (in general), I will say a few words about this approach in order to compare it later with the Bayesian approach. In a study of motion verb complements in Biblical Hebrew, an example of a null hypothesis might be: the verb (e.g. בּוֹא or הָלַךְ) has no effect on the expression of the motion verb complement. By testing this null hypothesis, we really want to see if we could have observed our data (e.g. variations in the complement with בּוֹא and הָלַךְ) by chance. Working with a null hypothesis requires an alternative hypothesis (which will be taken as true if we can reject the null hypothesis). It would be: the verb (e.g. בּוֹא or הָלַךְ) *has an effect* on the expression of the motion verb complements.

When we test the null hypothesis, we want to see how probable it is that we observed our data if the verb (i.e. our independent variable) has no effect on the expression of the complement (i.e. our dependent variable). If it is very probable that we observed the data by chance, then *we cannot reject the null hypothesis*, and our alternative hypothesis is false. If it is unlikely that we observed the data by chance, then *we can reject the null hypothesis* and consider our alternative hypothesis to be true (i.e. that the verb has an effect on the complement).

3.2. Bayesian statistics: general introduction

In Bayesian statistics, we assess the probability that the hypothesis is correct given the data that we observe (Johnson et al., 2021, 1.1). Simply put, we learn from experience (Van de Schoot at al., 2014, 843). This branch of statistics is based on Bayes' theorem which establishes the relationship between a prior distribution and a posterior distribution, given the likelihood of our hypothesis (derived from the observed data).

The prior, likelihood and posterior distributions are the fundamental elements of Bayesian statistics. (1) The prior is the basis of our analysis. It is based on previous research or background knowledge and on the judgement of the researcher (Van de Schoot et al., 2014, 843). The prior represents the *a priori*[21] probability that our hypothesis is true. (2) The likelihood is based on our observations, so it varies depending on what we observe. (3) The posterior is an updated version of our priors given the data that we observe (i.e. the likelihood, Van de Schoot et al., 844). The posterior represents a new state of knowledge based on what we knew and on what we observed.

Let's say our hypothesis is: the verb has an effect on the chosen complements. (1) First, we need to establish what we know about this, for example from previous studies, and how (un)certain we are about it. This is our prior. (2) We then collect data to test our hypothesis. This data is expressed as the likelihood in the statistical analysis. (3) Combining our prior knowledge with what we have observed gives us our posterior, which helps us decide on our hypothesis.

Bayesian models integrate background knowledge through the prior distribution (which can also integrate the absence of any background knowledge, van de Schoot et al., 2014, 856). This means that if previous research has been done on the topic, we incorporate previous results into our own study. The setting of priors (and the underlying subjectivity associated with them) is a well-known criticism of the Bayesian approach. What if researchers chose unjustified priors that would validate their hypothesis? First, we should remember that the importance of the priors is balanced by the importance of the data. Nevertheless, transparency plays a fundamental role in this issue: "it is absolutely necessary for a serious article based on Basyesian analysis to be transparent with regard to which priors were used and why" (van de Schoot et al., 2014, 857).

3.3. Strengths of Bayesian Approach

3.3.1. Dealing with small samples

The strength of Bayesian models is that they solve the problem of data heterogeneity in a natural way: they produce valid results with small samples (Miočević et al., 2020, 3), because each observation refines our understanding of the studied phenomenon (Miočević et al., 2020, 5-7). Studies have shown that Bayesian models require smaller samples than frequentist models. However, it should be kept in mind that the influence of the prior is greater with very small samples and therefore the prior should be determined with great care (van de Schoot et al., 2014, 856). The updating knowledge aspect of Bayesian statistics is also of fundamental importance when dealing with small samples. With each new study, the reliability of the knowledge is refined. This is not the case with frequentist statistics, which often require large samples to produce statistically significant results (van de Schoot et al., 2014, 856).

3.3.2. Dealing with Grouped Data: hierarchical models

[21] Here *a priori* means before we collect our data.

In general, statistical models assume that each observation in a data set is independent of the others. This is the case, for example, when we toss a coin several times. In the ancient Hebrew corpus, data are grouped into books, manuscripts or scrolls.
We can approach such a dataset in three ways. First, we would take all the occurrences of motion verb complements in the Ancient Hebrew corpus in one oversized group and perform our analysis on this dataset.[22] However, the disadvantage of this approach is that we lose information about the data set, such as the variability within each book, scroll or manuscript. A second approach could be to divide the dataset into many smaller ones, one for each book, manuscript or scroll.[23] One of the major drawbacks of this approach is that we will be faced with a dataset with very few occurrences. We will also lose the ability to find relationships between each group.

Hierarchical models can help with the drawbacks of the previous approaches by providing a "middle ground".[24] These models will assess both the variability within each group (book, manuscript, scroll) and the variability between the groups. In other words, hierarchical models will take into account the uniqueness of each group, while at the same time using each group to analyse the others because they come from the same population.[25] Nicely put, "let's learn from each other while celebrating individuality" (Johnson et al., 2021, 15.4).

Conclusion

The intention of this paper was to introduce the topic of motion verb complements and to give a brief overview of how I intend to study this phenomenon. Because of its complexity and because of the nature of the sources that we are working with, such studies would benefit greatly from the use of high-level statistical models. The Bayesian approach is particularly suited to our sources, as it deals well with small samples. Used with hierarchical models, it allows for a complex multivariate approach, examining the relationships between groups and the uniqueness of each book, manuscript or scroll.

[22] In statistics, this approach is called "complete pooling" (Johnson et al., 2021, 15.1).
[23] This approach is the "no pooling" approach (Johnson et al., 2021, 15.2).
[24] The middle ground between complete pooling and no pooling is "partial pooling" (Johnson et al., 2021, 15.4).
[25] For my study, the population is the complete set of sources that I am working on (to be determined). Each book, manuscript and scroll is a group in itself.

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Research Summary

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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 their 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; LE §§ 26–28; 31; LH §§ 129–30; 154–56; HL §§ 189–91; 197–98; MAL §§ 12; 15–16; 23; 55–56),[1] 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.

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[1] Abbreviation in this paper include:

ANE = Ancient Near East

HB = Hebrew Bible

CC = Covenant Code

H = Holiness Code

DC = Deuteronomy Code

LU = Laws of Ur-Nammu (ca. 2100 B.C.E)

LL = Laws of Lipit-Eštar (ca. 1900 B.C.E.)

LE = Laws of Eshnunna (ca. 1800 B.C.E.)

LH = Laws of Hammurabi (ca. 1750 B.C.E.)

HL = Hittite Laws (ca. 1700 BC B.C.E.)

MAL = Middle Assyrian Laws (ca. 1076 B.C.E.)

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.[2] Each of these methods will shed a 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 questions, and a review of scholarship that focuses on works that seek to give an account of 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 legislation 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* Woman, and Tamar—and their relation to the legal materials.[3] 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.

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

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

[3] 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.

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AN ATTEMPT AT SEXUAL INTERCOURSE: THE CASE OF JOSEPH (GEN 39:1–20)

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(Word count: 6479)

Abstract:

In Gen 39:1–20, we encounter a significant episode in which an Egyptian woman attempts to have intercourse with a young Israelite man. The following paper intends to read the episode of Gen 39 alongside the sexual crime laws prohibiting intercourse between an engaged or married woman with another man who is not the husband or fiancée. The question that guides this paper is how the legal materials inform the reading of the narrative of Gen 39. Therefore, this paper will examine the account in four movements: a) an examination of the plot setting (vv. 1–6); b) an exploration of the sexual harassment in the plot (vv. 7–10, 11–16); c) an evaluation of the accusation against Joseph (vv. 17–20); and finally, d) a consideration of how the legal materials help us read this narrative. The legal codes recognized that any harm against a female figure was considered an attack on the rightsholder's state. However, this is not the same for a young man in a sexual compromise situation. Moreover, no laws undertake the issue of a young man being seduced or forced to have sexual intercourse by a woman.

Keywords: Genesis 39; Joseph; Mrs. Potiphar; Legal Codes; Rightsholder; Sex; Rape; Force Sex; Illicit Sex; Marriage.

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AN ATTEMPT AT SEXUAL INTERCOURSE: THE CASE OF JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S WIFE (GEN 39:1–20)

I

INTRODUCTION

The cycle of Joseph (Gen 37–50) is presented as a novella in the Genesis narrative.[1] Unlike Abraham or Jacob, the biblical narrative does not present an encounter between the Hebrew Deity and Joseph. Instead, the narrator portrays Joseph as having God's wisdom and an extraordinary ability to interpret dreams—which serves as Joseph's good fortune and misfortune. This paper will analyze the narrative in Gen 39 alongside the sexual crime laws. To do this, it will first examine the plot setting (vv. 1–6). It will then move to explore the sexual harassment in the plot (vv. 7–10, 11–16). Afterwards, it will evaluate the accusation against Joseph (vv. 17–20). And finally, it will consider how the legal materials help us read this narrative. Moreover, the sexual assault on Joseph is the catalyst that moves the history of ancient Israel forward while being significant to the formation of ancient Israel's social and political identities.

II

MAKING SENSE OF GEN 39: THE SEXUAL ASSAULT OF JOSEPH

[1] The genre "novella" seems to have been applied to biblical studies after Alfred Hermann's study, *Die dgyptische Konigsnovelle, Leipziger Agyptologische Studien*. Note that the term "novella" is linked to the word "novel." It is understood to be a creative product of an author's imagination, and it is not necessary an account of events or a person's ordeal. In this sense, the novella does not provide an account of what happened, but rather of what happens. W. Lee Humphreys, *Joseph and His Family,* 16 indicates that the novella placed between a novel and a short story. In the biblical text, there seems to be a limited range of novellas or novella-style narratives. For examples: a) the Story of Samson (Judg 13–16); b) the Book of Esther; c) the Book of Ruth; and more especially, d) the Story of Joseph (Gen 37–50). In term of Joseph's story, Gerhard Von Rad, *The Problem of The Hexateuch*, 292 sees the story as "a novel through and through." For him, the material in Joseph's cycle "is in no way associated at any point with genuine local traditions." In a similar vein, George Coats, "Joseph, Son of Jacob," 980 indicates that there is a consensus among scholars that "the Joseph story is a novella."

Joseph's temptation and his experience in general has been discuss broadly among scholars.[2] For instance, both rabbinical and Christian interpretations have recognized Joseph as a righteous man since he resists and thrives the sexual temptation of the Egyptian woman,[3] who exemplifies the foreign woman's negativity as a dangerous seductress.[4] The woman serves as a foil for Joseph since her destructive actions result in a positive transformation of the Hebrew hero. According to Laura E. Donaldson, however, the "homosocial"[5] redistribution in Gen 39 shows a "concern for domestic status rather than irrepressible lust."[6] In her view, the woman's character "rebels against her masculinist origins and uses her sexuality as a weapon to prevent the household's passing from man to man (from Potiphar to Joseph) rather than from man to woman (from Potiphar to Potiphar's wife)."[7] In this regard, the sexual assault (which should not be ruled out) stands at the surfaces of the narrative, while revealing a deeper conflict within Potiphar's household, i.e., a power struggle. As the narrative unfold, the Egyptian woman's sexuality is exposed as a wrong and harmful thing that distorts the social norms of ancient Israel's society. In this regard, the Egyptian woman reversed the phallocentric normative within the account.

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[2] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 73–114 examine the narrative of Gen 39 in regard to how toxic attitudes and prejudices of times past are ingrained in the text and how present social climates continue to fertilize such attitudes and prejudices.

[3] The lack of a proper name for Potiphar's wife can be understood as an indicator that she has some sort of a limited agency within the homosocial structure of the plot. In ancient times, moreover, the custom of identifying a woman by her husband's name points to women's dependent ontological and legal status within diverse social structures. Note that the Egyptian woman does not possess her own body since Potiphar holds her sexual rights. Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 77 points out that the namelessness woman conveys some "measure of disdain." She adds that by the Egyptian woman being a "foreign woman" plays on negative stereotype, which well developed in the HB.

[4] Redford, *The Biblical Story of Joseph,* 104

[5] The term "homosocial" is attributed to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, and it refers to the social bonds between persons of the same sex. For Sedgwick, the term is formed by analogy with "homosexual," but she makes a distention from them. For more see her book tittle: *Between Men English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.*

[6] Donaldson, "Cyborgs, Ciphers, and Sexuality," 90 claims the point that "Genesis 39 narrates a scene of desire in which the affective-social glue bonding Potiphar's wife to Joseph is the lure of domestic status within the household rather than sexual fulfillment."

[7] *Ibid*.

A Handsome Young Man: Is his handsomeness Seductive? (vv. 1–6)

The narrator sets the stage for the story of Joseph to unfold with the statement that the Ishmaelites had brought Joseph to Egypt (v. 1).[8] The verse shows two important features that frames the narrative: a) Joseph is transferred from the Ishmaelites to Potiphar (פוטיפר);[9] and b), Joseph is purchased as a slave. The text indicates that the Egyptian master bought Joseph "from the hand of the Ishmaelites" (מצרי מיד הישמעאלים). The clause "from the hand" (מיד) denotes Joseph moving from one hostile environment to another—i.e., Jacob's family → The Ishmaelites → Potiphar's house. As an object of possession, Joseph is taken, held, moved, and used for the purpose of his masters. Additionally, the verse shows a significant focalization on Joseph's master, which has been widely discussed in scholarly literature. According to Hermann Gunkel, Joseph was first purchased by an unnamed Egyptian.[10] Donald Redford, however, points out that the insertion of Potiphar's name is an "example of a later attempt to 'personalize' the anonymous figure" of Joseph's first master.[11] In this sense, Gunkel suggests that a later redactor combines the account of the unnamed Egyptian with that of Potiphar to create a final version.[12] Note that Joseph's master is never referred to by name beyond v. 1 rather as "The Egyptian" (המצרי) or "His master" (אדניו).[13] Moreover, Potiphar's status as "master" (אדון) in vv. 2, 3, 19 is used in juxtaposition to Joseph's

[8] Römer, "Genesis 39," 50 mentions that the references to the Ishmaelites (Gen 39:1) refers back to Gen 37:8b; Von Rad, *Genesis*, 364 indicates that Gen 39 is a combination of two sources: a) Midianite's recension (Gen 37:8b) belonging to E; and b) the Ishmaelite's recension (Gen 39) belonging to J. However, there is no real evidence to back this position. As I stated earlier, I take the account as part of the non-P material. For a discussion on the transition purpose of the Joseph's story, see Franziska Ede, "The Literary Development of the Joseph Story," 105–119.

[9] Römer, "Genesis 39," 51 points out that the name Potiphar is of Egyptian origin, and it means "he whom Re gives."

[10] Gunkel, *Genesis*, 404

[11] Redford, *The Biblical Story of Joseph*, 136

[12] *Ibid*.

[13] *Cf*. Gen 39:3, 7, 19, 20

status as "slave" (עבד) in vv. 17, 19. Following Gunkel's and Redford's position, I maintain that Potiphar's name is a later addition to the text.

Additionally, the first verse is overloaded with a multiplicity of parenthetical phrases to describe Potiphar, which suggests that we are dealing with different sources.[14] In one source, Potiphar is "an official of Pharaoh" (סריס פרעה), whereas the second he is as "the captain of the guard" (שר הטבחים). These sources were then combined by a later redactor. It is important to emphasize that the Hebrew term סריס is likely a loanword from Akk. *ša-rēš-šarri* or *ša-rēši* ("he who belongs to the king"). However, it is unclear if the term סריס is used to mean an "officer" or more narrowly to mean a "eunuch."[15] Elsewhere in the HB, the term refers to "attendants of women," such as Queen Jezebel (2 Kgs 9:32) and Queen Esther (Esther 4:4). The term is also used twice in connection with Joseph's master (Gen 39:1; 40:7), which seems to be employed to create an open question for the reader to consider: Was Potiphar a eunuch? The answer is unknown since the biblical text is basically silent on this matter. Although the extra-biblical source proposes that Potiphar's status as a eunuch was due to divine punishment.[16] Michael Satlow sustains that Potiphar desired to commit a sexual offense with Joseph,[17] which "led to his pre-emptive emasculation."[18] Though the question of Potiphar's sexual identity is never answered by the

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[14] Römer, "Genesis 39," 52; Redford, *The Biblical Story of Joseph*, 136 indicates that this verse cannot be taken as an integral part of Gen 39.

[15] *TDOT* X, s.v. "סריס," 345 indicates that the term סריס since it might be a loanword from the Akkadian it represents the title of a high court official. In this sense, Loader, *Making Sense of Sex*, 123 explains that term סריס seems to have meant a "royal or governmental official and nothing more." He adds the term came to be used to refer to all kind of servants. Peter-Contesse, "Was Potiphar a Eunuch?" 146 concludes that Potiphar was not a eunuch but rather an important official of Pharaoh; Gunkel, *Genesis*, 404 indicates that the term סריס does not mean here eunuch; Römer, "Genesis 39," 51.

[16] The *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (Gen 39:1) reads, "For he saw that he was handsome, and (he intended) to practice sodomy with him." According to this text, Potiphar tried to assault Joseph sexually; however, the divine agent intervenes and castrates Potiphar on account of Joseph. As being the object of another man's sexual desire, this then "feminizes" Joseph and casts him as the potential victim of sexual assault.

[17] Satlow, *Tasting the Dish*, 207

[18] *Ibid*.

narrator.[19] Moreover, the Hebrew term סריס can be read as Potiphar being an actual "eunuch" or simply a "government official" in Pharoah's court; however, I take the stand that Potiphar was an actual eunuch.[20]

Although Joseph is under the authority of his Egyptian master, the narrator immediately sustains that Joseph enjoys God's favor (vv. 2–3). As a consequence of the divine favor, v. 4 indicates that Joseph found favor in the eyes of Potiphar (וימצא יוסף חן בעיניו), which is a clear reference to Joseph's good virtue as a servant. Moreover, when answering the question that of what made Potiphar like Joseph, some rabbinical traditions suggest that it was because of Joseph's appearance.[21] Though v. 5 suggests that Potiphar liked Joseph because God cause him to prosper (ויברך יהוה את־בית המצרי בגלל יוסף). In this regard, Joseph's prosperity is thus a device used by the narrator to indicate divine providence in both the personal and political life of the young man. The reader is then left with the impression that Potiphar recognized that God was with Joseph and He is his ultimate protector. Therefore, the question that lingers here is why Potiphar really acquires Joseph. It is likely that Joseph was acquired for two reasons: his beauty and for sexual purposes.[22] In this regard, Ron Pierson argues that Joseph is caught in a fertility scheme contrived by Potiphar in collusion with his wife.[23] I agree with Pierson's position and see that Joseph was acquired to sire a child with Potiphar's wife. [24]

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[19] Stiebert, *First-Degree Incest,* 96 indicates that sexual orientation is not a concept explicitly in evidence in the Hebrew Bible.

[20] The word 'eunuch' refers to a castrated male, particularly one entrusted with guarding women. In the case of Potiphar, he has a wife, but it is not clear whether he could have penetrative sex, let alone father children.

[21] See further discussion in Kugel, *In Potiphar's House.*

[22] Tg. Ps.–J. Gen 39:1

[23] For further discussion see: Pirson, "The Twofold Message of Potiphar's Wife," 248–259

[24] Grypeou and Spurling, "Joseph and Potiphar," 325

According to v. 6, Joseph's master did not have to worry about anything but "only with the food he ate" (אם־הלחם אשר־הוא אוכל). This phrase has been read in the rabbinical sources as "a euphemism" to refer to the Egyptian woman (GenR 86:6).[25] In other words, the woman was out of reach. For Gershon Hepner, the refusal to share a meal implies sexual connotations.[26] He indicates that the eating (אוכל) describes Potiphar's refusal to let Joseph share his bread, which seems to be referring to Potiphar's wife (Gen 43:32; Dan 10:3; Prov 30:20).[27] In a similar vein, Danna N. Fewell and David M. Gunn mention that the basic idea of sex and eating are paralleled to each other.[28] They argue that both sex and eating end up being part of the man's domain, which is his prerogative. Moreover, the notion of sex and eating also speaks to the idea that the control of a woman's sexuality is denied to her since the woman is the subordinate subject and the man is the subjugator agent. In this regard, the Egyptian woman is subjugated to her husband/master's domain—i.e., she is Potiphar's possession. I take the phrase above as a clear advice from Potiphar to Joseph to keep his hands away from his wife—which is what the narrative context implies.

It is interesting to mention that Joseph's physical appearance is introduced between Potiphar's wealth and his wife (vv. 6–7),[29] which point to the power struggle in Potiphar's household.[30] According to Gerhard Von Rad, the narrator is much more concerned to draw a rather

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[25] Kugel, *In Potiphar's House,* 74

[26] Hepner, *Legal Friction,* 110

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] Fewell and Gunn, *Gender Power, and Promise,* 36

[29] Donaldson, "Cyborgs, Ciphers, and Sexuality," 91 observes a triangle relationship embedded in Gen 39 in which Potiphar serves as the "mediator," Joseph as the "object," and Potiphar's wife as "subject." She indicates "Potiphar acts as a mediator whose narrative point radiates both toward the desiring subject—his wife—and the desired object—Joseph."

[30] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 74 evaluates the characters roles and argues that the narrative presents Joseph as "the good guy" while Potiphar is presented as "more good than bad," but the wife is portrayed as the bad character of the plot. The beauty of Joseph is widely described in the rabbinical traditions and often compared with important figures of Israel's history. One important observation is that Joseph's beauty is understood in the rabbinical tradition to be inherited either through his mother (Gen 29:17) or his father, see discussion in Kugel, *In Potiphar's House,* 66–93.

sharply defined picture of Joseph, i.e., "the picture of a clever, pleasing, modest, industrious, and handsome young man with whom Yahweh was."[31] In this sense, the narrative portrays Joseph as an archetype character with tremendous virtue—one who is favored by the Hebrew God. At the same time, Joseph is described as a handsome and good-looking man (יפה־תאר ויפה מראה). This description, for example, reflects that of Sarah (Gen 12:11) and Rachel (Gen 29:17).[32] It also shows Joseph's gender ambiguity,[33] which is reinforced before Potiphar's wife attempts to seduce him (vv. 7–10) and then eventually attempts to assault him (vv. 11–16). Further, the notion of beauty often creates problems for biblical characters. According to Amy Kalmanofsky, biblical characters who are described as beautiful are vulnerable due to their appearance.[34] For Johanna Stiebert, however, the element of beauty is used to create sympathy.[35] Stiebert states, "their beauty makes them sympathetic victims."[36] Following Stiebert, I believe that the Hebrew adjective יפה (v. 6b) was employed to make the reader feel sympathy toward Joseph. Similarly, the description of beauty is used to accentuate Joseph's presentation in the narrative while contrasting it with Potiphar's wife's characterization,[37] though her physical appearance is never mentioned.

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[31] Von Rad, *Genesis*, 364

[32] Davis, "Crossed Texts, Cross Sex," 27 notes that the term יפה ("beautiful") is most often reserved for woman. Unlike Davis, Stiebert, *First-Degree Incest,* 96 describes that central characters (both female and male) in the HB are specified as beautiful; for example, David (1 Sam 16:12), Absalom (2 Sam 14:25), Tamar (2 Sam 13:1), and others. In another work, Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 74 explains that Joseph's looks are a sign of his divine favor similar to King David and other men in the HB.

[33] For more on Joseph's gender ambiguity see Cooke, *Trauma Literature and the Joseph Story*, 83–84. She explains that Joseph's identity remains unstable throughout his novella.

[34] Kalmanofsky, *Dangerous Sisters*, 24; Macwilliam, "Ideologies of Male Beauty and the Hebrew Bible," 265–287 see Joseph's appearances as signaling a short-term threat like that of Sarah and Rebecca, which makes vulnerable their respective husbands. However, Kugel, *In Potiphar's House,* 67 suggests the idea that "beauty of body and beauty of mind" (Gen 39:6) alludes to the "biblical hero's mental and spiritual, as well as physical, qualities." He goes on and discusses the different interpretation that the phrase has in the rabbinical literature.

[35] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 80 is aware that not everyone who is vulnerable to sexual assault incites sympathy, for example Dinah (Gen 34) or the virgins of Shiloh (Judg 21).

[36] *Ibid*.

[37] It has been pointed out by Kugel that the description of Joseph's beauty seems out of place and breaks the flow of ideas. He argues that "If the element of Joseph's handsome bearing had to be introduced somewhere (as

The First Attempt: Cast Eyes on Joseph (vv. 7–10)

The significance of Joseph's physical appearance becomes an important device to introduce the Egyptian woman into the scene. The narrator never uses the name of the Egyptian woman, rather she is referred to as either "his master's wife" (אשת־אדניו) or "his wife (את־אשתו). According to Sharon P. Jeansonne, both phrases emphasize "the woman's marital" status with authority over her husband's servants.[38] However, I dissent from Jeansonne and rather argue that it highlights the Egyptian woman's social status as Potiphar's possession, rather than his legal wife.[39] As a result, the woman cannot seek a legitimate union with Joseph. For this reason, she creates an alternative path for her strategy to flourish and thus makes her sexual intention a reality like Lot's entering the cave.[40] Moreover, her actions confront the patriarchal structure with a major conflict in which women who are sexually free are viewed as dangerous (e.g., Eve, Leah, Dinah, etc.).

The character of the Egyptian woman is connected to her lascivious behaviour (v. 7),[41] whose first act is to sexually desire Joseph. This is clearly expressed within the Hebrew phrase ותשא אשת־אדניו את־עיניה אל־יוסף. The phrase highlights her devious intention which is motivated by Joseph's physical appearance (v. 6). In this regard, the narrator creates a negative image of the woman; even before, she has the opportunity to speak, the woman is depicted as aggressive, independent, and a stereotypically sexually potent evil foreign woman. Before this verse, we do

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preparation for Mrs. Potiphar's entreaties), it should have followed, not preceded, the words 'And it came to pass after these things...'" (Kugel, *"The Case Against Joseph,"* 277). In the Testament of the Twelves, the physical beauty of Joseph is a theme that returned again and again. Even more, *Testament of Simeon* 5:1, Simeon indicates that Joseph appearance and goodly looks were because "no wickedness dwelt in him." In this regard, Potiphar or his wife believe that Joseph was a slave because he was too handsome.

[38] Jeansonne, *The Woman of Genesis*, 110

[39] I will return to this later.

[40] See Chapter III.

[41] Sarna, *Genesis*, 273 takes the phrase as indicating that the woman's gaze was more likely to be a "longing lasciviously; Kugel, *In Potiphar's House,* 28–65, esp. 29 notes that the woman's attraction to Joseph is apparently not a strictly private matter.

not know anything about the woman, who she is, or where she comes from, rather as the antagonist of the plot. Similarly, the narrator does not name the woman's sexual desire but his framing point to that fact. Fewell and Gunn suggest that the named sexual desire is what subordinate women to men.[42] Ironically, in a story where the men are passive and compliant, the woman is presented as active and assertive—which seems problematic for a man to control her sexuality.

The Egyptian woman's negative characterization is further amplified when she addresses Joseph, saying: "Lie with me" (v. 7). The Hebrew verb שכבה is used in the imperative of G-stem, it means rather than mutual sexual intercourse a direct command to sleep with her—which seems to come out of nowhere and Joseph's reaction appears not to be inclined to partake in the sexual liaison. Her words can be taken as to literally mean, "You [Joseph] lie with me." This contributes to the idea that the woman and Joseph are not in the same social category—even though Joseph ranks second in power in Potiphar's household. The woman seems to hold authority over his servants. By using this language, the narrator shows that the "woman's passion is intense and lustful."[43] It is worth noticing that the woman's characterization is thus used to strengthen the image of Joseph as a loyal servant, who is morally righteous. Joseph's response is then dignified and substantive. Moreover, the intensity of the plot moves from command and seduction (vv. 7, 11) through refusal (vv. 8–9) to accusation (vv. 14, 18).

From an intertextual reading, the woman's words (v. 7) echo those of Amnon (2 Sam 13:11), where he uses precisely the same language (שכבי עמי).[44] For Robert Alter, these two episodes are correlated in rhetorical terms. He explains that "The brevity of the sexual proposition on the part of Potiphar's wife is a brilliant stylization[…] of the naked lust that impels her, and

[42] Fewell and Gunn, *Gender Power, and Promise,* 36

[43] Jeansonne, *The Woman of Genesis*, 110

[44] I will discuss this in chapter 7.

perhaps also of the peremptory tone she feels she can assume toward her Hebrew slave."[45] Note that this is the first time a character speaks and does so in order to divert the Hebrew hero from his righteous path. Further, when Joseph declines the woman's invitation (vv. 8–9), he repeats, in a similar fashion, the words of the narrator in the earlier verses. For instance, v. 6 mentions that "he had no concern for anything" (ולא־ידע אתו מאומה), meanwhile Joseph replies (v. 8) to the woman saying, "My master has no concern..." (אדני לא־ידע) and adds to his statement the proposition "with me" (אתי). Additionally, the narrator expresses the restriction in v. 6 "only with the food he ate" (כי אם־הלחם אשר־הוא אוכל), which Joseph translates in v. 9 as "only you because you are his wife" (כי אם־אותך באשר את־אשתו).[46] To this, Alter explains, "Joseph's refusal (vv. 8–9) is a voluble outpouring of language, full of repetitions…"[47] Similarly, when the woman repeats her description of the events, the reader is exposed to three versions: a) the narrator's version (vv. 10–12); b) the woman's version to the servants (vv. 14–15); and c) the woman's version to Potiphar (vv. 17–18). Each version has its own intention.

In v. 8, Joseph reminds the Egyptian woman that she is Potiphar's possession and, by doing so, he acknowledges his master's right over her. At the same time, he insists that his main responsibility is towards his master, who has been particularly benevolent towards him. As a loyal servant, Joseph is emphatically protesting against the moral scandal of the woman's proposal.

[45] Alter, *Art of Biblical Narrative*, 73

[46] Scholars have debated on the meaning of the phrase "the food he ate." In the exegesis of medieval rabbis, for example, Rashi takes it as "a euphemistic reference to his wife"; Rashbam understands that it means any kind of food, not just bread; Ibn Ezra takes it as to mean sexual intercourse with Potiphar's wife. For more see: Michael Carasik, *Genesis: The Rubin JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot*, 348. Modern scholars, like von Rad, *Genesis*, 364 takes it to mean "simply that the man worried really about nothing any longer except his own food" or as a reference to Gen 43:32 to imply "ritual separation." In this last point, he argues that only in matters affected that Potiphar's kitchen Joseph was not permit. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 374 recognize that the phrase is a "euphemism for 'his wife' (Prov 30:20); however, he suggests that it is more likely to be an idiom for "his private affairs." Sarna, *Genesis*, 272 links the phrase in v. 6 with that of v. 9 and argues that it refers to Potiphar's wife.

[47] Alter, *Art of Biblical Narrative*, 109

Walter Brueggemann understands that Joseph is a man who lives loyally in relation to his Egyptian master, and who receives "loyalty" from God (v. 21).[48] In addition, the Egyptian woman's request confronts Joseph with two wrongs. To which, Joseph provides three basic reasons for declining her offer: a) abuse of the great trust (v. 6); b) an offense against her husband; and c) a great sin against God. In his view, the woman's invitation would have been a serious breach of Potiphar's trust, a violation of his sexual right, and a sin against his God. As a result, Joseph sees the matter as הרעה הגדלה הזאת ("a great wickedness"), and thus categorically rejects her since she is off-limits.

Since Potiphar was indeed a eunuch, the woman's needs were not satisfied. In this aspect, there is a strong possibility that the woman is longing for motherhood. Kugel comments, "For the good-looking servant would likely prove a temptation to a woman even under normal circumstances, but to Potiphar's wife, unable to have children with her 'eunuch' husband, Joseph's allure might indeed be irresistible."[49] If this is the case, then, the woman like both Lot's daughters (Gen 19:30–38) and Tamar (Gen 38) was longing for motherhood.[50] As a result, the Egyptian woman's behavior demonstrates a desperation to bear a child and thus secure her place within Potiphar's household.[51]

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[48] Brueggemann, *Genesis*, 320.

[49] *Ibid*., 76

[50] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 85 sees a linked between Gen 38 and 39 where a foreign woman (Tamar and Potiphar's wife) practices deception with different intentions. The former to bear two sons to Judah and the latter to practices deception but the sex does not take place. Redford, *The Biblical Story of Joseph,* 18 indicates that Tamar (Gen 38) and Potiphar's wife are marked by contrast. For him, the former is an honorable woman faithful to the interests of her husband, while the latter is adulterous, malevolent, and contemptuous of her husband; Fritsh, "God Was With Him," 23

[51] The idea of bearing children is the core purpose of the woman in the Genesis narrative (Gen 25:21; 30:1, 22–24) and elsewhere (1 Sam 1:19–20). Ilona N. Rashkow, *Taboo or not Taboo*, 35 recognizes that the sexual desires of non-Israelite childless wives such as Potiphar's wife are condemned in the biblical narrative. She adds that the text shows neither sympathy for nor understanding of the woman's sexual needs. In a similar vein, Brenner-Ida, *The Israel Woman,* 112 points out that the female sexual assertiveness in the services of producing a male heir for Israel is acceptable in the HB. In this sense, women (like Lot's daughters, Tamar, and Ruth) are exonerated because they acted out of self-interest in order to secure the social order.

Following the suggestion above, v. 10 indicates that the Egyptian woman's sexual proposal happened "day by day" (יום יום),[52] which shows that she tried on multiple occasions to lie down with Joseph but fails. For this reason, the narrator stresses the woman's adulterous advances to Joseph even after he reminds her of her conjugal relation to his master.[53] I should note that the phrase יום יום implies a daily attempt of the woman to have intercourse with Joseph.[54] Following Susanne Scholz, the clause denotes the psychological pressure in which Joseph was held;[55] however, he still resists the woman's attempts.[56] It is from this point onward that the moral struggle of the story arises, i.e., the issue of adultery/rape—which divides the characters into two opposites: the villain and the hero. Hence, the text reports no immediate response from the Egyptian woman to Joseph's refusal—which seems to foreshadow a more sinister plan ahead.

The Second Attempt: The Garment's Seizure (vv. 11–16)

The narrative moves to recount another attempt of Potiphar's wife to force Joseph into sleeping with her. Before addressing this, v. 11 indicates that Joseph went to the house to do his work (ויבא הביתה לעשות מלאכתו). The *Babylonian Talmud* (Sotah 36b) understand the clause לעשות מלאכתו ("to do his work") as an indicator that Joseph was finally succumbing to the blandishment of Potiphar's wife since the text indicates that "no one was in the house" (ואין איש מאנשי הבית שם בבית).[57] Kugel

[52] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 77 understands the clause as indicating "harassment," while Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 423–424 interprets the clause as it as being "poisonous" conduct and "sexual assault."

[53] Fuchs, *Sexual Politics*, 146

[54] Kugel, "The Case Against Joseph," 273

[55] Scholz, *Sacred Witness,* 166

[56] In Joseph's retelling of the account, *Testament of the Twelves Patriarchs*, he states that Potiphar's wife threatened him with death often. For a full translation see: Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Vol. 1), 812; Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 106 points out that Joseph's actions of resisting the Egyptian woman, even though he is socially inferior, he asserts his masculine autonomy.

[57] Kugel, "The Case Against Joseph," 274 demonstrates that Joseph—if not the instigator—was at least a willing partner. This view is challenged by Joseph's words that he would not breach the trust that Potiphar placed in him or commit adultery, which is a sin against his Hebrew God.

indicates that the woman probably had made up some excuse in order to be left alone at home that day.[58] From the biblical text, however, it is unclear why the house was empty.[59] Verse 11 thus shows that the woman escalates her sexual advancement by ensuring that she is alone in the house with Joseph. Moreover, she takes advantage of the opportunity and thus compromise Joseph in sleeping with her, which seems to be a strategic move in response to his earlier refusal.

In v. 12, the narrator uses the Hebrew verb תפש ("seize," "caught hold") in order to describe the action of the woman, which is directed to take hold of Joseph by force (G-stem imperfect).[60] I should point out that the verb תפש does not imply mutual consent; instead, it is used as a device to mark Potiphar's wife actions directed to sexually harassed Joseph.[61] This is reinforced in the clause שכבה עמי which is used for the second time in connection to the verb תפש and the garment (בגד),[62] which contributes to the idea of a sexual assault. In other words, since the woman's verbal assaults failed to achieve her goal, she turns towards physical aggression.[63] Note that the narrative is carefully framed to show that Joseph is not willing to participate in the sexual act. In this aspect, the text portrays him as the passive subject and the woman as the active agent—resulting in the Egyptian woman's characterization as a sexual aggressive female.[64]

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[58] Kugel, "Joseph and His Brothers," 180–181; Kaminsky, *Reclaiming the Biblical Concept of Election*, 61 suggests that "even the biblical text leaves one wondering whether Joseph, who is in charge of Potiphar's house (v. 4), knew that no servant was in the house on the day Potiphar's wife accosted [Joseph]."

[59] The Midrashic passage in GenR 87:7–11 suggests that it was due to the so-called Festival of the Nile, for further discussion see: Ulmer, *Egyptian Cultural Icons in Midrash*, 91.

[60] Kugel, *In Potiphar's House*, 98 suggests that the Hebrew term בגד is sometimes used for marital unfaithfulness (Jer. 3:7–8, 20; Mal. 2:14); Sarna, Genesis, 274.

[61] Bader, *Sexual Violation in the Hebrew Bible*, 18

[62] BDB, s.v. בגד, 93 indicates that the root בגד denotes treachery and marital infidelity.

[63] Sarna, *Genesis*, 274

[64] Scholz, *Sacred Witness*, 166

Within a phallocentric society, for example, men are valued as "aggressors" while women are seen as "passive."[65] In this sense, the woman as the sexual aggressor reverses all gender normative in Gen 39. In fact, her actions are directed to emasculate Joseph in order to control his sexuality, and thus prevent the power from passing to him. This is precisely reinforced in the act of seizing Joseph by his garment. Furthermore, generally speaking, the Genesis narrative shows that women do not have the privilege of choosing their sexual partners and those who dare to carry out such actions do so for the purpose of procreation, such as Lot's daughters (or Tamar). Regardless of Potiphar's wife's real intention, one thing to point out is that sexual aggression against the male gender seems difficult because males are inclined to be active while females are passive in sexual acts.[66] With this assumption, there are those who claim that women cannot sexually assault a man. However, the Egyptian woman assaults Joseph by force, which is a clear act of sexual violence (Deut 9:17; 22:28; 1 Kings 11:30).[67]

According to v. 13, the Egyptian woman seizes Joseph by his garment, in doing so, she is left with his garment in her hands. The action of seizing the garment involves surprise and violence. Following Wenham, I understand that the woman was working according to a premeditated plan,[68] which seems to be building up from the previous section to here. Kugel indicates, "By using the term *begged*... Scripture wished further to imply something about Joseph's own attitude at this crucial moment with Mrs. Potiphar. She seized him not by his 'garment' but 'in his faithlessness…'"[69] suggesting that Joseph was succumbing to the woman's proposal. Besides this,

[65] Anderson, *Women, Ideology, and Violence*, 21

[66] See further discuses on Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 73–114

[67] Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 376

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] Kugel, *In Potiphar's House*, 98

the text shows that Potiphar's wife senses the danger that the garment puts her in.[70] For this reason, the woman needs to change the perception of the encounter in order to favor her claim. Since the garment is left behind, the Egyptian woman used it as evidence against Joseph and by making witnesses of other slaves in the house—which is a clear requirement of the law in order to bring charges against another individual (Deut 22).[71] Thus, the garment constituted hard evidence that Joseph had tried to seduce her.

Likewise, it is important to note the connection between the narrative of Tamar (2 Sam 13) and Joseph. Both narratives use the element of the garment as a way of showing how each aggressor humiliates their victims. In the Joseph's story, the text shows that Joseph fled (נוס)[72] out from the hands of Potiphar's wife leaving behind his "garment" (v. 12), while Tamar tore her garment, קרעה עליה אשר הפסים וכתנת (2 Sam 13:19)—as a sign of humiliation and a traumatic experience. Unlike Tamar's account, Joseph does not aim to defend himself or accuse the woman. His silence somehow is reproduced by the vulnerability of the male body and the humiliation of running away semi-naked.

The narrative shows that Potiphar's household was in a turmoil. For example, Potiphar is deprived of his masculinity either by natural causes or divine punishment. His masculinity is question by the woman's actions since he cannot control her. This would explain why the woman tries to assert power in his household—since Potiphar is not man enough. The woman then tries to emasculate her husband by being the active sexual agent in the plot. On the other hand, the sexual

[70] Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 424

[71] Carmichael, *Law and Narrative,* 208 discusses the law of Deut 22:12 as the backdrop of Gen 39:7–20; for more on this see chapters I & II.

[72] Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 376 indicates that the term נוס is often used of running away after defeat in battle (Gen 14:10) to escape death (Num 35:6, 11).

attempt against Joseph plays on three critical markers of identity: ethnicity, gender, and class.[73] These marks are amplified by the fact that the narrative deals with two characters who are different in terms of their race, ethnicity, gender, and social class. In this aspect, Rachel Adelman indicates that "the one who embodies power is female and upper-class Egyptian; the powerless one, male and enslaved and ethnically 'other,' repeatedly identified as 'Hebrew' (39:14, 17)."[74] Unlike Joseph's characterization, Potiphar's wife's gender is extremely emphasized in the narrative, but there is no realization of her ethnicity.[75]

In vv. 14–15, Potiphar's wife sets the course to change the telling of the events. First, she changes the perception of having the garment in her hand—which would indicate that the woman removed Joseph's clothing.[76] Second, she voices out that Joseph came with the intention to sexually assault her. Verse 14 reads: "Look, the Hebrew man, who was brought to us, he has insulted us! He came unto me to lie with me" (ראו הביא לנו איש עברי לצחק בנו בא אלי לשכב עמי). By using the prepositions לנו and בנו ("to us"), the woman tries to appeal to the solidary of her servants by flipping the facts, which creates the angry response that she desires.[77] Moreover, Jeansonne observes that the usage of the clauses איש עברי and לצחק בנו is well chosen since both can have negative connotations.[78] For her, the term עברי refers to a person of low social status,[79] while the verb לצחק connotes sexual play.[80] To this, Hamilton suggests that "Joseph was introduced to

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[73] Adelman, "Potiphar and His Wife Desire Joseph," in TheTorah.com, 17 May 2023, https://thetorah.com/article/potiphar-and-his-wife-desire-joseph; For further analysis on the topic of race, ethnicity, class see Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 88–92

[74] *Ibid*.

[75] Levison, "An-Other Woman," 273; Fuchs, *Sexual Politics*, 146 explains that Potiphar's wife is not presented as a powerful monarch, but she still politically superior to Joseph.

[76] *Ibid*., 468

[77] Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative,* 423–427

[78] Jeansonne, *The Woman of Genesis*, 111

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] BDB, s.v. "צחק," 850 points out that the Hebrew term צחק means "to mock," "sport," and "laugh".

Potiphar's family to sport with them, to play games with them."[81] Following Hamilton, I read the clause לצחק בנו as denoting that Joseph was in the knowledge that his purpose of working in Potiphar's house was in order to father a child with the woman.[82] To this point, Pirson argues that Joseph's role is comparable to Hagar, Bilhah, and Zilpah.[83] I agree with this position since I take Potiphar as being a eunuch, and thus in order to produce a heir he needs Joseph's seed. However, since Joseph's fails to fulfill the woman's needs, she accuses him of attempting to sexual assault her.

The Accusation: Charges and Imprisonment (vv. 17–20)

In the second retelling of the events, the Egyptian woman changes the telling in her favor. In v. 17, the reader is told that Potiphar's wife waits until her husband returns in order to tell him what happened when she was alone with Joseph in the house. The woman, for the second time, alters the version she tells her husband and again falsely accuses Joseph of trying to assault her sexually. It is worth pointing out that Potiphar's wife uses the clause איש עברי ("a Hebrew man") when speaking to the other servants.[84] But when retelling the story to Potiphar, she refers to Joseph as Potiphar's slave (עבדך)—which implies that Joseph is viewed differently depending on who is seeing him. When reading this clause, Wenham notes that Joseph moves from being a Hebrew "man" to being a Hebrew "slave."[85] The intention is, from Potiphar's wife, to create a barrier between Joseph and his master in order to stress the gravity of the matter. The clause, moreover,

[81] Hamilton, *Genesis 18–50*, 468

[82] Pirson, "The Twofold Message of Potiphar's Wife," 256

[83] *Ibid*.

[84] Speiser, *Genesis*, 303 asserts that the term עברי ("Hebrew") is applied to Israelites when they speak of themselves to outsiders, or when outsiders refer to them (Gen 39:17; 40:15; 41:12). Von Rad, *Genesis*, 366, however, reads the phrase as an insult from Potiphar's wife toward Joseph.

[85] Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 376

is an insulting expression that lowers Joseph's personhood and further downgrades Joseph's agency to the point of nothingness.

The woman's retelling to Potiphar is carefully elaborated; for example, she informs him that she scared Joseph off by screaming (v. 18) but omits the fact that she was gazing at Joseph (v. 7). In this regard, the woman deliberately shows that Joseph is the one who attempts to assault her. In her statement, she says "Came into me" (בא־אלי), which implies a euphemism for sexual intercourse (Gen 16:2; 30:3; 38:8–9).[86] From here, the image that the Egyptian woman is creating of Joseph is directed to disfigure Potiphar's perception of Joseph. With her words, the woman reminds Potiphar that the Hebrew boy is a mere slave and a foreigner as opposed to her.[87] The woman seems to contrast her position as wife with that of Joseph who is his slave. This is explained when earlier in the narrative the reader is told that Potiphar trusted Joseph, but now the false accusation of his wife shatters into pieces that trust.

This false accusation is loaded with rage and vengeance from someone who wants to harm or destroy another, namely Joseph. In J. Gerald Janzen's observation, he indicates that the woman, for her husband's benefit, shifted the focus on the expression לצחק בי ("insult me").[88] This phrase is used twice in the narrative. In the first instance, the woman uses the first common plural of the preposition בנו (i.e., "us") in order to create empathy. By doing so, she also frames the assault as a collective defilement. On the second occasion, however, she shifted the focus to her (בי) making the matter more personal, and thus stresses the assault as a violation of her husband's sexual right.

[86] BDB, s.v. "בוא," 98

[87] Sarna, *Genesis*, 275 points out that the clause עבדך emphasizes Joseph's slave status. Mathews, *Genesis 11:27–50:26*, 736 observes that by avoiding the personal name of Joseph, the woman exhibits an anti-Semitism (43:1) attack. He further indicates that this is a striking picture of the later enslavement of the Hebrews (Exod 1:8–16).

[88] Janzen, *Genesis 12-50*, 158

To this, Pirson observes that there is a possibility that the phrase has a double meaning.[89] In the words to her husband, there is no reference to Joseph's intention to come and lie or have intercourse (שכב עם) with her. For Pirson, the detail about Joseph's attempt to lie with Potiphar's wife is included only in the words to the servants. The argument is that Potiphar's wife devises a way to accuse Joseph before the servants, and thus presents herself as the victim—i.e., by accusing Joseph of attempted assault and retaining his garment as proof.[90] I agree with Pirson's position since the woman is able to produce witnesses (v. 14), presents the garment as evidence (v. 18), and formally accuses Joseph with her husband (v. 19). This clearly exonerates the woman and thus sealed the accusation against Joseph (Deut 22:23–27) making him guilty.

It seems likely that Potiphar's wife got her revenge by accusing Joseph of attempting to sexually assault her.[91] In this respect, she offers Joseph's garment as proof—which was left in her hand as he fled away from the scene. The garment becomes the proof to identify the ravisher, like in Gen 38 when Tamar says, "I am pregnant by the man who owns these" (i.e., seal, cord, and staff). In this respect, the garment motif functions as a communicative device from neglected women in which the evidence speaks more clearly than a victim's testimony. In my reading, therefore, Potiphar's wife is very versed in the legal requirements and thus produces false evidence to charge Joseph.[92] According to Pirson, Joseph was sent to prison because "he did not do the thing he was intended to do."[93] This might explain why Potiphar reacts with such anger (ויחר אפו) because

[89] Pirson, "The Twofold Message of Potiphar's Wife," 256

[90] *Ibid*., 258–259; Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 76

[91] Speiser, *Genesis*, 304

[92] Pirson, "The Twofold Message of Potiphar's Wife," 258 sustains that Joseph is sent to prison rather his master employs him somewhere else. For him, Joseph is to be a servant in the place in which the king's prisoners were incarcerated.

[93] *Ibid*., 259

his plan was also affected by Joseph's inability to father a child with his wife.[94] To this, Theodore Weinberger proposes that Joseph's crime is not that "he *contemplated* sleeping with Potiphar's wife, but that he *refused to do so.*"[95] His refusal was thus a way to honor his master since the woman is Potiphar's property.[96] In other words, Joseph resist his aggressor by invoking what is right and what is not (vv. 8–9), alluding with this that is a crime against his God. In this sense, he reminds the woman that it will be a great wickedness to proceed with the sexual congress.

In the next section, I will be analyzing the narrative of Gen 39 regarding the adultery/rape charges within the legal materials.

III

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF GEN 39

Although no legal laws are employed in this narrative, a few indicators allude to a legal framework that the later redactor of Gen 39 might have in mind when composing or arranging its final form. These legal materials might have been but not limited to the cuneiform and biblical legislations.[97] As non-P biblical characters, both Joseph and Potiphar's wife are depicted as being aware of the legal materials dealing with the case of adultery/rape. Moreover, this episode arises crucial questions about the nature of the sexual crime whether we are dealing with a case of adultery or

[94] Cotter, *Genesis*, 293 observes that Potiphar becomes enraged, but we are not told the object of his anger. He asks whether Potiphar's anger was with Joseph for the attempted insult, or might he be angry at his wife for corrupting what has been a useful relationship with a trusted retainer.

[95] Weinberger, "And Joseph Slept with Potiphar's Wife," 148 interprets the Gen 39 alongside Gen 38 and thus sees Joseph's character exploring his sexuality.

[96] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 76 indicates that "Potiphar's imprisoning rather than executing Joseph might indicate either his capacity for leniency and mercy, or his believing and wife's trusting Joseph, or mistrusting his fidelity."

[97] LU §§ 6, 8; LH §129; MAL §23; Exod 22:16–17; Lev 19:20; 20:10; Deut 22:22–28; For further analysis of these legal materials see chapters I–II.

sexual assault. In this section, I aim to analyze the legal context that shed light on how to understand the framework of Gen 39.

From a legal standpoint,[98] the closest legislation to this narrative seems to be that of the bondmaid (Lev 19:20).[99] It is worth noticing that there are no legal prescriptions dealing with a male being the victim of a sexual assault from a woman's aggressor. In the biblical world, moreover, in sexual matters, the male is portrayed as the one pursuing, and the woman as the pursued one. In Gen 39, the reverse happens since the one in power (the Egyptian woman) pursues the one who is powerless (Joseph).[100] Legally speaking, the Egyptian woman is bonded to Potiphar, and any man who approached her with the intention of having sexual congress without his knowledge might be liable to the capital offense. The standard punishment for adultery is the death penalty—both for the male and for the female offender. The social order suggests that the body of a betrothed woman belongs to another man, and if invaded by a second man, engenders a communal pollution that disrupts such order. Similarly, when Hebrews and non-Hebrews mixed either by marriage or sex (Gen 34) thus engenders the *status quo* of the community.

[98] Carmichael, *Law, Legend, and Incest*, 93 notes that the prohibitions of mixtures in the Priestly materials arise from the Joseph story. In this sense, he understands that the legislator reviews Gen 39 to make his own legal and ethical points regarding social norms in ancient Israel.

[99] BDB, s.v. "שפח," 1046 indicates that the Hebrew term שפחה means either "maid," "maidservant," or could refer to a "concubine." The term is used to denote someone who has by birth, purchase or otherwise come into temporary slavery. According to *TDOT* 15, s.v. "שפחה," 408 the term שפחה in some instances refers to "an unfree girl, still virginal, whose primary function is to serve the wife." The term is found in the surrogate motherhood narratives of Genesis, which usually is mentioned when the matriarchs are childless (Gen 16:8–9; 31:4) or cannot bear more children (Gen 31:9–10). In other instance (Lev 25:44), when it refers to foreign slave girl the author uses a different word אמה ("handmaid"). Edward J. Bridge, "Female Slave," 19 mentions that both terms אמה and שפחה are used as synonyms or interchanging for Hagar (Gen 16:2–5, 21:10). However, Bridge proposes a distinction between the two terms, for further discussion see, Bridge's article "Female Slave."

[100] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 105 sees the case of Gen 39 as demonstrating that sex and power are "intimately entwined." She argues that the story confirms that the sexual abuse is about abuse of power (physical or social power).

The adultery/rape type scene in Gen 39, as Esther Fuchs points out, "cannot afford to deal with the wife's moral predicament or her victimization."[101] The reason is that it might "interfere with her presentation as both the *means* and the *cause* of the husband-hero's victimization."[102] Fuchs explains, "As her husband's adjunct, the wife not only represents the means through which the hero is blessed but also the means by which he is tested.[103] As mentioned, the woman's accusation causes Potiphar to "burn with anger" (v. 19) and thus imprison Joseph because of his wife's false accusation (v. 20).[104] According to Pirson, Potiphar's wife retelling of the events to the servant implies that she is innocent, and that Joseph tried to assault her.[105] In her retelling (vv. 14–15 and 18), she claims to have voiced out first before Joseph fled, and thus he left the garment beside her (אצלי). This evokes the law of Deut 22:23–27 in which a woman is required to cry out if a man seizes her and attempts to lie with her in the city. If she fails to do so, then the court finds her liable for collusion and punishes her with the death sentence (Deut 22:24).

Interesting enough, Joseph is not sentenced to the death penalty, rather sent to Pharaoh's prison (בית הסהר), which might imply that the case might not be about adultery.[106] For Carmichael, this is due to the fact that the Egyptian woman might be a bondwoman, instead of a free woman because there is no death sentence.[107] He writes,

> "[…] the lawgiver lays out the case depicted in the rule: a freeman is the future husband of the bondwoman, and another freeman gets involved sexually with her before she is given

[101] Fuchs, *Sexual Politics*, 147

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] *Ibid.*

[104] Pirson, "The Twofold Message of Potiphar's Wife," 250

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] Stiebert, "The Wife of Potiphar," 97 indicates that Joseph is punished with imprisonment rather than the death penalty.

[107] Carmichael, *Law, Legend, and Incest*, 110

> her freedom before she becomes the other man's wife. A violation of this legal tie is the offense the rule focuses on. Because she is still a bondwoman, not yet freed from her servitude, the offenders are not given a death sentence."[108]

Because of the idea that the woman is a bondmaid, there is no death punishment for Joseph or the woman for that matter.[109] Since the case might have to do with two bondslaves, as I mentioned above, this brings to the surface the legislation in Lev 19:20 where one reads, "They shall not be put to death because she was not free" (לא יומתו כי־לא חפשה). This legal prescription deals with a sexual encounter with a female slave already betrothed but not yet redeemed or liberated by her master.[110] It is worth noticing that as a bondmaid the woman's owner or her promised husband are except from a penalty of adultery,[111] any other male is subject to such charges.[112]

The sexual encounter with the Egyptian woman brings to light other matters: a) the woman's punishment; b) the husband/owner's compensation; and c) the status of her future husband. Raymond Westbrook, Martin Noth, and others have suggested that the case of Lev 19:20 is not about adultery since there is no formal contract between the master and his slave woman,[113] she is not even a free woman. For this matter, it is possible to suggest that the Egyptian woman is

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[108] *Ibid*., 111

[109] Scholars have debated the reasons why Joseph receive a lighter punishment than the expected one. Von Rad, *Genesis*, 367 indicates that Potiphar actions of sending Joseph to prison is not a punishment rather a change of post in order to save Joseph from the woman. Hamilton, *Genesis 18–50*, 471 sustains that Potiphar's action of incarcerating rather than executing is a sign that he is not totally convinced about the authenticity of his wife's story. He understands that putting Joseph in jail will give Potiphar more time to probe the accuracy of the charges brought against Joseph. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 377 mentions that the imprisonment is somewhat unexpected punishment, because convicted rapists were executed when both parties were free citizens (Deut 22:23–27). For him, this is due to the fact that Potiphar was not convince by his wife.

[110] For an analysis on this prescription see chapter II.

[111] Stewart, "Categories of Sexuality," 40

[112] Wells, "On the Beds of Woman," 151 n. 89 indicates that the law of Lev 19:20 does not apply when the person have a slave status. He suggests that anyone who does not belong to someone else's sexual domain or is not one of the law addressees.

[113] *Ibid.*

also Potiphar's slave, since the Hebrew term אשה ("wife") does not necessarily imply a legal wife (Gen 30:9; Exod 21:4).[114] If this is the case, then Joseph's life (or by means the life of a second male) depended upon the social status of the woman whether she was a free or slave maid. The ANE codes, in some sexual cases, outline that the punishment would depend upon the husband/owner's decision, though the king can overrule the verdict. In MAL §23, for example, the lawgiver presents two scenarios (i.e., adultery and rape) in which he states the matter.[115] The woman would only be liable to the death penalty if she does not accuse the ravisher.

Unlike Lev 19:20, the MAL §23 recommends that if the offended party decided not to punish his wife/slave woman, then the ravisher (or his accomplice) is released from custody without any liability—which means that all charges are dropped. Moreover, there is no connotation of attempted assault in Potiphar's wife's words to her husband, rather one can infer that Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph of attempting to have sexual congress with her without Potiphar's knowledge. Pirson suggests that the "notion of rape" might be implied in Potiphar's reasoning of the retelling.[116] Therefore, the question that arises at this point is whether Gen 39 deals with a case of an attempt at coercive or consensual intercourse. The answer to this question is a complicated one. Potiphar's wife tries several times (vv. 7–10) to convince Joseph to have intercourse with her; however, he refuses her on multiple occasions. As a result, she is moved to devise a plan in order to get her desired object (vv. 11–16). In her final attempt, then the woman uses force (צחק) to subdue Joseph into sleeping with her. It is here that the case turned into a clear-cut act of attempted forceful intercourse. In this aspect, Scholz indicates that the Hebrew term צחק implies a "rape-

[114] Barmash, "The Daughter Sold into Slavery," 66 indicates that the Hebrew term אשה does not necessarily mean primary wife or perhaps any marital status.

[115] For an analysis on this prescription see chapter I.

[116] Pirson, "The Twofold Message of Potiphar's Wife," 251

prone nature of the interaction between husband and wife in the 'endangered ancestress' narratives."[117] For her, the usage of the term in vv. 14 and 17 imply unwanted sexual advancement that may or may not signify rape.[118] In my reading, I see the act of being forceful and thus constitutes a violation of Joseph's sexual prerogative—which results in his emasculation.

IV

CONCLUSION

The narrative is framed within unique elements that helps intensify the tension. It shows a clear-cut favoritism for Joseph as a "righteous" and "trustworthy" man, while depicting Potiphar's wife as a negative temptress, who tries to sexually assault Joseph. Potiphar's character is portrayed as unaware of what is happening in his household. The narrator uses his character in order to link Joseph and the Egyptian woman. Moreover, the narrative possesses a unique legal framework that helps each character to make their own case for either refusing (Joseph) and accusing (the Egyptian woman). For instance, Joseph labels the scene as a violation of both his master's sexual rights over the woman, and a violation of the divine order (v. 9). In response, the woman devises a plan against the Hebrew slave, and in her accusation, the narrator portrays her actions as confirming with several biblical and non-biblical laws (vv. 16–20).

Generally speaking, the HB seems to endorse the idea that sexual assault is most often perpetrated by men against women, rather than women against men. Gen 39, however, demonstrates that men can also be victims of sexual abuse. More precisely, the narrative speaks to the fact that socially empowered women—like Potiphar's wife—are more likely to commit a

[117] For more see: Scholz, *Sacred Witness*, 91–93

[118] *Ibid.*

sexual crime without any liability. While social inferior men—like Joseph—are more likely to be liable for such a sexual crime. Moreover, the narrative shows that sexual violence is, to some degree, a crime of abuse of power rather than a crime against a human subject.

V

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The Performance of Complaint:
A Performance Analysis of Translations of the Psalter.

Throughout millennia, the texts of the Psalter have been read aloud. Many of the stylistic characteristics of the Psalms facilitate oral performance, and features like parallelism, chiasm, repetition, sharp contrasts, and visual imagery therefore connect the oral transmission and use of the texts with the texts of the Hebrew Bible (HB). This oral use of the Psalter continues in various contexts and religious traditions around the world today. Whether it is public readings in services, liturgies, prayers, songs, or study groups it represents an oral performance of biblical texts. However, in many contexts, the texts performed are translations. The oral use of the Psalter is broad and diverse, but are translations adapted for oral use? This paper is a revised version of my PhD-proposal which focuses on features facilitating oral performance in a number of individual laments in the Psalter and modern bible translations of them. The aim of this study is to identify features facilitating oral performance/aural reception in the Hebrew text, and to analyse to what degree they are transferred and transferrable in translation. The exploration of the transferability of oral/aural features will consider orally oriented exegesis as a tool to create orally poignant translations.

Keywords: The Psalter; Psalms of Lament; Form Criticism; Performance Criticism; Translation Theory; Form Criticism.

Preface

Thank you for reading and commenting on my paper! This paper is a revised and updated version on the project-description outlining my PhD-project. It is therefore a broad and short outline and does not include all the theoretical and historical details. I have worked on my PhD for one year now (of four) and welcome any feedback. I would particularly appreciate tips regarding literature I should include.

Thanks again, I look forward to your feedback!
Johanna Rönnlund

The Performance of Complaint:
A Performance Analysis of Translations of the Psalter

Introduction

"How long, O Lord? Will you forget me forever?"
Ps 13:2 [1], NRSV

These paradigmatic words from the thirteenth Psalm have for many in different contexts and times expressed the experience of agonising loneliness in the midst of suffering. Its powerful language has articulated the pain of individuals and communities and placed their experiences within a long tradition of praying in the struggles of life. Throughout millennia, communities have prayed the words of the Psalter orally. Many of the stylistic characteristics of the Psalms facilitate oral performance, and features like parallelism, chiasm, repetition, sharp contrasts, and visual imagery therefore connect the oral transmission and use of the texts with the texts of the Hebrew Bible (HB). The oral use of the Psalter continues today around the world in a variety of ways, both in primarily orally oriented societies and read corporately in various contexts around the world including in the Church of Sweden. Whether it is in public readings in services, liturgies, songs, study groups, or communal prayer, it represents a public oral performance of biblical texts. However, in many contexts, the texts performed are translations. The oral use of Bible translations is broad and diverse, but are translations adapted for oral use and are the oral features of the Hebrew text transferred and transferable in translation? This paper is a revised version of my project description outlining my PhD-project. The project focuses on the oral discourse of biblical Hebrew poetry and contemporary Bible translations in English and Swedish and explores orality-oriented exegesis as a tool in creating orally poignant translations for communal reading, prayer, and liturgy today.

Aim

The aim of this study is to (a) provide insights regarding the oral discourse of the Psalter, with a focus on exemplar lament psalms. Selected texts include Psalm 13 and 88, however additional psalms may be added. Further, this investigation aims to (b) demonstrate how the performative elements of the selected texts are transformed in translation and what is lost or changed in translations; and to (c) contribute to the development of coherent methods for oral exegesis as a tool in Bible translation.

Questions

The scholarly focus on the performance and orality of the biblical texts is growing. Despite the extensive (historical as well as current) oral use of the Psalter, very few studies have focused on the Psalms and even fewer on the individual laments. However, both the stylistics of the Psalms and its use makes the texts deserving for such an analysis. Therefore, this project will investigate:

a) What features of Psalm 13 and 88 are characteristic for oral discourse, and what are the function of those features?
b) To what degree are the oral features of Ps 13 and 88 transferred in the contemporary translations to English and Swedish?
c) To what degree are the oral features of Ps 13 and 88 transferable in translation? This exploration of the transferability of oral features will consider orally oriented exegesis as a tool in Bible translation and investigate in what ways it can provide insights into translation of poetry affected by oral discourse, with special regard to the individual laments of the Psalter. This will provide insights to the scholarly conversation on translation but will also benefit Christian and Jewish communities that use translations in communal reading.

The Relation of the Study to Earlier Research

This project relies on the framework of biblical performance criticism (BPC). Since the 1990s, BPC has developed as an interdisciplinary branch of biblical studies. Within this framework, scholars focus on orality and oral articulation – performance[1] – of biblical texts by utilizing methods from a

[1] David Rhoads argues that the term *performance* illustrates that ancient oral deliveries of the texts were not simply lectures, but colourful performances conducted by trained and skilful individuals. Ernst Wendland, on the other hand, prefers the term *proclamation* which he argues is a neutral term more in line with the religious communication of texts. This study follows the main line of scholarship using the terminology *performance*, however the term includes all public oral articulation of religious texts. James A. Maxey, 'Biblical Performance Criticism and Bible Translation: An Expanding Dialogue', in *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies*, ed. James A. Maxey and Wendland, Ernst R. (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2012), 2–4; Ernst R. Wendland, *Finding and*

variety of methodologies, for example, historical-critical, rhetoric, and literary criticisms, as well as speech act-theory.[2] David Rhodes established the name *biblical performance criticism* in an article from 2006.[3] Since then, scholars have developed numerous studies regarding both the orality of ancient societies and biblical texts, and a book series has been published. This study builds upon Ernst Wendland's work with identifying and translating oral discourse. Wendland's extensive work with translation and orality provides a strong basis for oral exegesis, however it is mostly focused on NT texts.[4] Even though much scholarly attention has been on the NT, both the Dead Sea Scrolls and the HB have received scholarly attention.[5] One example of work focusing on the HB is Robert Miller's work on orality in the ancient Israel, with special regard to the narrative writing.[6] There have also been specific studies on the prophetic literature.[7] A few scholars have focused on the Psalter, for example Melinda Cousin's doctoral work on the Psalms of ascent,[8] and Andreas Schuele, who investigated the oral practice of lamentation in relation to the lament psalms of the HB. His study on the performance of laments has a distinctively different objective and focus than the current project.[9] As previously stated, very few studies exist on the oral discourse of the Psalter, demonstrating the need for increased scholarly attention.

Continuing, this study builds upon theories affirming the extensive and locally varied interface between orality and literacy.[10] This view rejects the dichotomy between oral/written and

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Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language: The Case of the New Testament Epistles (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2008), 54.

[2] Maxey, 'Biblical Performance Criticism and Bible Translation: An Expanding Dialogue', 2–4.

[3] Maxey, 2–3.

[4] Since Wendland's orality oriented work is primarily conducted on the NT some adaptations are required (se Method). Wendland, *Finding and Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language*.

[5] For investigations on the Dead Sea Scrolls see for example Shem Miller's analysis of the media of the Dead Sea Scrolls, where he concludes that: "the Dead Sea Scrolls were not texts frozen in written media; rather, they were dynamic discourses that represented spoken words (speech) heard in shifting contexts of oral performance (reading)." The journal *Dead Sea Discoveries* also had a special issue focusing on performance from a variety of perspectives (see below). Shem Miller, *Dead Sea Media: Orality, Textuality, and Memory in the Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), 37; Shem Miller, '"Sectual" Performance in Rule Texts', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 25, no. 1 (2018): 15–38; 'Dead Sea Discoveries: Special Issue', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 22, no. 3 (2022).

[6] Giles' and Doan's work on the story of Naomi and Ruth is another example of a performance critical analysis of the narrative texts within the HB. Robert D. Miller, *Oral Tradition in Ancient Israel* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2021); Terry Giles and William J. Doan, *The Story of Naomi-The Book of Ruth: From Gender to Politics* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2016).

[7] Jeanette Mathews, *Prophets as Performers: Biblical Performance Criticism and Israel's Prophets* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2020); Jeanette Mathews, 'Translating Habakkuk as a Performance', in *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies*, ed. James A. Maxey and Ernst R. Wendland (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2012), 119–38.

[8] Melinda Cousins, 'Pilgrim Theology: Worldmaking through Enactment of the Psalms of Ascents (Psalms 120-134)' (PhD Dissertation, Charles Sturt University, 2016).

[9] Schuele's study focuses on possible differences between oral lamentations and the lament psalms by investigating 1 Sam 2:1–10, while this study focuses on the oral discourse of the Psalms in the MT. Andreas Shuele, '"Call on Me in the Day of Trouble..." From Oral Lament to Lament Psalms', in *The Interface of Orality and Writing: Speaking, Seeing, Writing in the Shaping of New Genres*, ed. Annette Weissenrieder and Robert B. Coote (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2015), 322–34.

[10] Represented by for example Lourens de Vries. For more reflections, see Lourens de Vries, 'Local Oral-Written Interfaces and the Nature, Transmission, Performance, and Translation of Biblical Texts', in *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies*, ed. James A. Maxey and Ernst R. Wendland (Eugene,

orality/literacy previously assumed in scholarly work,[11] and acknowledges that orality and writing are two overlapping means of communication. The notion of the interface between oral and written assumed in this study enables the identification of features facilitating performance. However, it acknowledges the problems with identifying whether a text was produced in oral or writing based on its stylistic features. The terms "oral discourse" and "oral features" used in this paper does, therefore, not denote a discourse completely separate from writing or only texts produced in oral performance, but rather texts that were produced with an oral articulation/aural reception in mind and features which facilitate that process.

Within BPC, scholars also focus on translation and producing translations for oral performance into contemporary contexts. The BPC-book series includes a volume focusing on translation from a performance perspective, *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance.*[12] This volume contains several theoretical articles outlining the performance critical perspective and theories of translation,[13] as well as several case studies on contemporary translations of both the HB and the NT.[14] James Maxey and Ernst Wendland have also conducted studies on translation of the NT into specific contexts. Maxey considers translation as contextual theology and works with performance oriented contemporary translation to the Vuté people of Cameroon.[15] Examples of Wendland's work on translation appear in is his studies on translations into Tonga and Chewa, including a study on the translation of the Psalms.[16] This study rests on these theoretical outlines

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Oregon: Cascade, 2012), 68–98; Lourens de Vries, 'Views of Orality and the Translation of the Bible', *Translation Studies*, no. 8:2 (2015): 141–55.

[11] A dichotomous view of oral/written and orality/literacy has affected biblical studies in many ways. One example is early form criticism which was based on a sharp distinction between orality and writing as well as a linear progression from orality to literacy. Another influential theory is the Oral-Formulaic theory developed by Milman Parry and Albert Lord. This theory viewed orality and writing as two distinctly different phenomenon with universal traits. It has affected biblical studies in significant ways, including through the notion that it is possible to distinguish whether a text was produced orally or in writing depending on the features present in the text. Hermann Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*, trans. Thomas M. Horner (Fortress Press, 1967); Samuel Byrskog, 'Form Criticism', in *The Dictionary of the Bible and Ancient Media*, ed. Tom Thatcher and et al. (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 142–46; Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); de Vries, 'Views of Orality and the Translation of the Bible'.

[12] James A. Maxey and Ernst R. Wendland, eds., *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2012).

[13] For example Maxey, 'Biblical Performance Criticism and Bible Translation: An Expanding Dialogue'; de Vries, 'Local Oral-Written Interfaces and the Nature, Transmission, Performance, and Translation of Biblical Texts'; Dan Nässelqvist, 'Translating the Aural Gospel: The Use of Sound Analysis in Performance-Oriented Translation', in *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies*, ed. James A. Maxey and Ernst R. Wendland (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2012), 49–67.

[14] Jill Karlik, 'Translation and Performance: Interpreter-Mediated Scriptures in Manjaku', in *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies*, ed. James A. Maxey and Ernst R. Wendland (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2012), 179–216; Mathews, 'Translating Habakkuk as a Performance'; Philip C. Noss, 'Sound and Meaning in the Gbaya Bible: Ideophones, Performance, and Bible Translation', in *Translating Scripture for Sound and Performance: New Directions in Biblical Studies*, ed. James A. Maxey and Ernst R. Wendland (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2012), 99–118.

[15] James A. Maxey, *From Orality to Orality: A New Paradigm for Contextual Translation of the Bible* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade, 2009).

[16] Ernst R. Wendland, 'Oral-Aural Dynamics of the Word: With Special Reference to John 17', *Neotestamentica: Journal of the New Testament Society of South Africa* 26, no. 1 (1992): 19–34; Ernst R. Wendland, *Studies in the*

and various examples of Bible translations with a performance perspective into contemporary contexts, however, the focus on the Psalms and English and Swedish translations involves different target contexts than the majority of studies.

The focus of this study is the poetic texts of the Psalter, and the project therefore builds upon research on biblical Hebrew poetry and the Psalms. The project utilizes Hermann Gunkel's classifications by selecting two exemplar individual laments.[17] Although Gunkel's classifications are not without critique,[18] the majority of scholarship agree upon the extensive oral use of these psalms – making them suitable for performance analysis.[19] Thus, this study rests on the assumption of an oral use of the Psalter but does not seek to investigate in which setting or on what religious occasion the Israelites used the texts. Instead, the focus is on identifying oral features within the texts of the Psalter and analysing their function within the text.

Furthermore, this project builds upon scholarly studies on biblical Hebrew poetry. Specifically, the linguistic work of Adele Berlin and the literary approach of Robert Alter. Berlin's linguistic perspective on parallelism focuses on the micro-structure of the text,[20] and this project will utilize her work to identify and analyse parallelism. Continuing, this project will draw upon Alter's insights into the semantic movement in biblical parallelism. His work highlights the change between parallel lines, arguing that there typically is a movement toward intensification or specification between lines.[21] This study builds upon Alter's insights into the general movement of parallel lines.

As outlined above, scholars have carried out orally oriented studies on the Psalter, but only to a limited degree. This project combines a focus on orality with a focus on the poetic devices of the Psalms, providing a different perspective than previous scholarly work. Further, the focus on orally oriented translation of the Psalms into English and Swedish represents a different target context which will extend the scholarly field. This project will build upon my master's thesis which was a pilot-study that investigated the orality of Swedish Bible translations of Ps 27:1–6 in relation to the

Psalms: Literary-Structural Analysis with Application to Translation (Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2017).

[17] Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction*.

[18] See for example my critique above regarding the problematic distinction between orality and writing in Gunkel's form critical work. Current form critics have also criticized, for example, the speculative nature of Gunkel's work including the identification of oral earlier stages of the text and the assumption that earlier oral forms were short. See for example Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud ben Zvi, 'Introduction', in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 2; Antony F. Campbell S.J., 'Form Criticism's Future', in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids, Michigan/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 23.

[19] See for example Nancy L. deClaisse-Walford, *Introduction to the Psalms: A Song from Ancient Israel* (St. Louis, Missouri: Chalice, 2004), 23–29; Erhard Gerstenberger, 'Non-Temple Psalms: The Cultic Setting Revisited', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 338–49.

[20] Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2007), xvi.

[21] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, Revised Edition (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 1–28.

oral discourse of the Hebrew text.[22] This pilot-study indicated the benefit of engaging an orally oriented exegesis in the translation of the Psalms.

Theoretical framework

The starting point of this project is the framework of BPC. As described above, BPC has a dual perspective. The first (1) is the study of the ancient Israelite and Greek contexts as cultures who used oral performance for transmission of texts and biblical- and extrabiblical documents as witnesses to such performances. This project will utilize this perspective by analysing the texts of the Psalter as oral discourse. The basis for this analysis is the extensive historical and current oral use of the texts. The contexts where the texts developed were primarily orally oriented contexts with low literacy and the primary medium for access to and transmission of the texts were oral performances.[23] The texts were, thus, produced with an oral articulation/aural reception in mind. This has impacted their shaping and the texts, therefore, contain features which facilitate performance.[24] These features include engaging rhetoric (for example imperatives and rhetorical questions), emotional expressions and exclamations, aural and mnemonic features (such as well-known phrases, parallelism, and chiasm), strange grammatical constructions, repetition on all linguistic levels, and intense imagery.[25] The primary aim of the performance oriented analysis it to identify these and other features from oral discourse within the texts and analyse their functions. This analysis both increases the understanding of ancient oral performances of the texts and provides insights into Bible translation today. Given the historical use of the Psalter — as well as the frequency of oral discourse in its texts — exegesis that focuses on orality is a valuable analytic tool.

The second (2) perspective within BPC is translation. With the starting point in the orality of the texts, scholars focus on translation and the development of translations concordant for performance into contemporary contexts.[26] These two perspectives can be described as "translations *of* performance (antiquity) and translations *for* performance (today)."[27] A translation *of* performance

[22] Johanna Rönnlund, 'Översättning Av Oral Poesi: En Analys Av Svenska Bibelöversättningar Av Psalm 27:1–6' (Master's thesis, Stavanger, VID Specialized University, 2021).
[23] The use of oral performance for reading and transmission of biblical texts is indicated by several studies. Catherine Hezser's study on literacy in Jewish contexts in the ancient Roman Palestine indicates the low literacy levels among Jewish communities. This low level of literacy led to oral performances of literature being the default medium for access to texts. Continuing, studies on both the contexts surrounding the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish and Christian communities demonstrate the extensive oral use of texts in these societies. See for example Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, Texte Und Studien Zum Antiken Judentum (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001); Geoffrey Khan, 'Performance in Ancient and Medieval Judaism', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 29, no. 3 (2022): 259–91; David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford University Press, 2005).
[24] Maxey, 'Biblical Performance Criticism and Bible Translation: An Expanding Dialogue', 1–4; Wendland, *Finding and Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language*, 18.
[25] Wendland, *Finding and Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language*, 24–30.
[26] Maxey, 'Biblical Performance Criticism and Bible Translation: An Expanding Dialogue', 1–4.
[27] Maxey, 4.

is a translation that transfers oral features from the source text and provides insights into the orality of the texts and the ancient performances of the texts. Then, a translation *for* performance is a translation that contains oral features which make the text suitable for performance in a contemporary context. As Dan Nässelqvist argues, it is possible to combine these pursuits and to make a translation that transfers oral features from the original text (a translation *of* performance), "and then to find corresponding ways of achieving the same effects that are natural to the host language,"[28] i.e., a translation *for* performance. This project will utilize both perspectives of BPC and, as Nässelqvist outlines, use them to reinforce each other. The first perspective will shed light on the Hebrew text and the orality of contemporary Bible translations, and the second will be employed to develop Bible translations suitable for oral delivery.

Method

The primary method for this project will focus on textual analysis of Hebrew texts and Bible translations. The method is, therefore, predominantly oriented on identifying specific textual features and various poetic devices. However, this project builds upon the foundation of historical-critical research and form criticism, which demonstrates the historical use of the texts. Because of the project's focus on Bible translations, the primary analysis of the biblical texts will be conducted on its canonical form, but the study will address form-critical, textual critical, and redactional critical issues when relevant.

Since this project analyses the individual laments as oral poetry, the method is concerned with both orality and with biblical Hebrew poetry. To identify and analyse features from oral discourse, the project will use Ernst Wendland's accounts of traits facilitating oral performance/aural reception and their functions as a foundation for analysis. The primary focus of his writing is on the orality of NT texts, this project will – when necessitated – make adaptations to his categories to make them suitable for the study of the texts under analysis (as in my master's thesis).[29] Continuing with the poetic analysis, the project will identify parallelism by using linguistic approaches developed for the study of biblical Hebrew poetry. The primary resource is the linguistic model outlined by Adele Berlin. Her work on biblical Hebrew poetry and parallelism provides a framework for identifying and analysing parallelism on all linguistic levels.[30] Parallelism is a common trait in oral discourse,

[28] Nässelqvist, 'Translating the Aural Gospel: The Use of Sound Analysis in Performance-Oriented Translation', 50.
[29] One example of the need for adaptation is regarding "ungrammaticalness," which in Wendland's terminology defines a strange grammatical construction. Strange grammatical constructions must be based on the language under study which in this project is biblical Hebrew. Wendland, *Finding and Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language*, 26; Rönnlund, 'Översättning Av Oral Poesi: En Analys Av Svenska Bibelöversättningar Av Psalm 27:1–6', 22.
[30] As Berlin outlines parallelism moves on all linguistic levels, including semantical, grammatical, and phonological. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*, 1–30.

and Berlin's model therefore functions as a tool to study more analytically one of the most prevalent features in the HB. To provide a greater depth into the semantic analysis of parallelism, the project will utilize Alter's literary approach to analyse change of meaning.[31] His work provides insights into the semantic meaning of close synonyms, which is relevant in analysis and translation of biblical Hebrew poetry.

The project will contain three main steps of analysis. The first step (1) is to analyse the Masoretic text (MT), focusing on the text's oral features and poetic devices. The orally centred exegesis will engage the theories of Wendland and methods of Berlin and Alter. Further, the analysis will include reflections on the Masoretic accent marks, which provide clues to historical performances of the texts. The second step (2) is to analyse the contemporary Bible translations. Through the methods of Wendland, Berlin, and Alter the analysis will identify the oral and poetic features of the texts and compare them to the devices in MT, providing a diachronic as well as a comparative aspect to this project. The analysis of the Swedish translations will be conducted in English and, when needed, the texts will be translated to facilitate the discussion. The third step (3) is to develop example translations of the selected texts. The starting point for the translations will be the model described by Dan Nässelqvist, to create a translation both *of* and *for* performance (see above).[32] Furthermore, the aim of the translations is: a) to the highest extent possible render the Hebrew accurately and understandably in the target language, and b) to the highest extent possible, transfer the features from oral discourse into the target language. The translations will then be compared to the Hebrew text and the contemporary translations in order to examine to what degree and in what ways the oral analysis has provided insights into the translation. This is similar to the method of my master's thesis; however, this project goes beyond my thesis in significant ways. This study analyses psalms of a different genre, further it has a larger scope containing more psalms and translations in both English and Swedish and with more extensive development of theory.

Material for the Future Thesis

The material under analysis consists of three subgroups, the Hebrew text, English translations, and Swedish translations. The primary material for the analysis of the Hebrew text is the MT of Psalm 13 and 88, however additional psalms may be added. These psalms represent individual laments and are suitable for performance analysis for several reasons. As previously stated, the majority of scholarship agree upon the extensive historical use of the individual laments,[33] providing a

[31] Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*.
[32] Nässelqvist, 'Translating the Aural Gospel: The Use of Sound Analysis in Performance-Oriented Translation', 50.
[33] Jerome F.D Creach, 'The Psalms and the Cult', in *Interpreting the Psalms: Issues and Approaches*, ed. David Firth and Philip S. Johnston (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2005), 132–35; deClaisse-Walford, *Introduction to the Psalms: A Song from Ancient Israel*, 23–29.

historical foundation for the analysis. Further, besides the extensive use of parallelism, repetition, and chiasm typical for biblical Hebrew poetry, the individual laments contain emotional language and strong metaphorical imagery which makes them appropriate for oral exegesis. The specific psalms under consideration contain numerous features making them a suitable choice for performance analysis. For example, both psalms contain expressive emotional language, intense visual imagery, extensive repetition on all linguistic levels, dramatic shifts and sharp contrast, and parallelism. These psalms also represent one lament which ends in praise and one which does not, adding another aspect to the analysis.

The selected English translations include *the New Revised Standard Version, the New International Version* and *the New Jewish Publication Society Tanakh*. The Swedish translations consist of *Bibel 2000, Kyrkobibel 1917,* and *Svenska Folkbibeln 2015.* This selection includes both English and Swedish translations that are prevalent within a variety of contexts. The English versions include translations produced in both Christian and Jewish contexts. The Swedish translations include the last two versions accepted for use in the Church of Sweden (Kyrkobibel 1917 and Bibel 2000), making them well known and spread within the Swedish society. The third version (Svenska Folkbibeln 2015) is not accepted for use in the Church of Sweden, but still widely known and read. Further, this selection includes translations produced both before Eugene Nida's ground-breaking work in translation theory in 1969[34] (Kyrkobibel 1917) and after Nida's theory (Bibel 2000, Svenska Folkbibeln 2015), making these an interesting selection for analysis.

Research impacts

The current scholarly conversation on translation issues contains a variety of perspectives,[35] but the issue of orality deserves more scholarly attention. The historical discussion of translation often focused on the notions of formal and functional equivalence. While these discussions are important, this examination will serve as a complement by addressing other criteria of accuracy and functions of the text. By focusing on orality, form, and poetics this project will develop scholarly analysis on an often overlooked aspect of translation and will contribute to the scholarly field of translation theory and the analysis of biblical Hebrew poetry, as well as to contemporary work with translation. The Hebrew texts of the Psalter were created to be performed and abundantly filled with features facilitating oral performance. A translation process that takes these features into account and uses them in ways natural to the target language can create engaging translations for liturgical reading, daily communal prayer, and lectionary readings. Further, it engages the form and artistry of the

[34] Eugene A. Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1969).
[35] See Jacobus A. Naudé, 'An Overview of Recent Developments in Translation Studies with Special Reference to the Implications for Bible Translation', *Acta Theologica: Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation: A South African Perspective* Supplementum 2 (2002): 44–69.

poetic text in a way that complements other approaches to translation. Thus, this examination will not only benefit the scholarly field but also Christian and Jewish communities that regularly read translations of the HB aloud.

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Abstract — Gender, Sexualität und Heiligkeit. Eine literarhistorische und gendersensible Untersuchung von Lev 18 und 20.

Gender, Sexuality, and Holiness. A literary-historical and gender-sensitive study of Lev 18 and 20.

Lev 18:22 and 20:13 are not only historically two verses with high conflict potential - they are also all too often misused in today's debates about homosexuality to support homophobic positions. The same is true of their respective contexts, chapters Lev 18 and 20, in relation to general discussions of Christian sexual ethics. So why do these passages repeatedly suffer such a fate, and how are they to be evaluated from an exegetical perspective? What counter-position, what better reasoned understanding could Old Testament scholarship reasonably bring against such problematic points of view?

Lev 18 and 20 both present a very similar series of commands and prohibitions. Given the variety of topics listed - incest, prohibitions of polygyny with several related women, prohibitions of adultery, prohibitions of intercourse during menstruation, prohibitions of Molech sacrifice, prohibitions of sodomy, prohibitions of divination and necromancy, etc. - the legal sentences seem, on the one hand, to cover the field of sexuality quite exhaustively. On the other hand, however, through their embedding in the Holiness Code, they also extend beyond this. Particularly through their connection through Lev 19, as well as through their framework, these prohibitions receive an additional religious - theological as well as cultic - dimension. With this connection of several fundamental-anthropological themes, it quickly becomes clear why there is such a high potential for conflict regarding these two texts.

In order to adequately address the complexity of the literary findings and the theological and ethical implications associated with them, a novel approach is required. The planned dissertation aims to achieve this by integrating two methodological approaches: the literary-historical analysis and the aspect of 'gender'. Both methods are well-suited to objectively explore the field of tension regarding Lev 18 and 20 due to their scientific nature, but thus far, they have largely enriched the research discourse independently of each other.

The questions that the research project seeks to clarify can thus be stated as follows:

- What assessments of the literary growth of Lev 18 and 20, of their interrelationship with one another, and of the significance of their contextual embedding can be gained from a diachronic analysis that, in accordance with the latest state of research, relates textual and literary history to one another?

- How can the texts be assessed in light of the postmodern category of 'gender'? Can universally applicable parameters for handling gender in the context of Old Testament exegesis be formulated, which can contribute to systematizing and unifying the approach? How should the scope and limits of such an investigative category be determined?

- Can new impulses for today's sexual-ethical debates be gained through a textual investigation that systematically combines literary analysis and 'gender' with regard to Lev 18-20?

Thus, the research project can be located between the following key areas:
Textual and editorial history; the history of theology; social and traditional history of the Old Testament and its environment; gender studies; feminist exegesis; masculinity studies; queer theology.

Abstract — Attempting a Diachronic Analysis of Lev 20:2-6

This article deals with the framework of Lev 20, specifically the verses Lev 20:1-8, 22-27. In addition to a translation and some text-critical considerations concerning those verses, the article discusses the literary growth of the text. The main focus of the study, however, is on vv2-5 and thus the subject of the obscure Molech practice.

Additionally, the article focuses less on the much-discussed question of the meaning of the ominous מלך, but asks – much more in terms of redaction criticism –, why the prohibitions against giving offspring למלך occur precisely in this chapter which otherwise deals with sexual offenses in the remaining legal clauses vv9-21. The parallel evidence in Lev 18:21 that integrates the Molech prohibition directly into the legal corpus with its sexual commandments has often led scholars to assume a close connection between both topics. However, this is not warranted, especially when considering that here Lev 18 is probably inspired by Lev 20.

All in all, this study shows that the topic of giving descendants to Molech must be regarded independently of the theme of sexuality and is to be be read much more in connection with the chapter's framework and thus with the topics of holiness and separation from the other nations. Together with v6 which prohibits divination, the למלך motif seems to form a kind of vice catalog.

Attempting a Diachronic Analysis of Lev 20:2-6

In the Holiness Code, Leviticus 18 and 20 contain a double tradition of several commandments, primarily addressing sexual relationships, including instances of incestuous relationships. Leviticus 18:21[1] and, more notably, Leviticus 20:2-5 and Leviticus 20:6, 27 touch upon two additional themes: the practice of giving offspring to Molech (למלך) and the issue of divination. The section in Leviticus 20:2-5 encompasses diverse penalties pertaining to the giving of descendants to Molech, which create tension within the text, as will be elaborated in the following. Immediately thereafter, a commandment is introduced prohibiting divination and providing a penalty (v6). This content is taken up again at the end of the chapter in verse 27. This paper primarily focuses on two key inquiries: firstly, how can the literary critical perspective evaluate the passage in Leviticus 20:2-6? Secondly, how does the prohibition regarding למלך relate to the rest of the chapter's content? Following a translation as well as text-critical considerations on the verses important for the discussion — the legal corpus vv9-21 will be omitted here —, literary and redactional historical questions will therefore primarily guide the investigation.

Translation

1 And YHWH spoke the following to Moses:

2 And say further to the people of Israel: Whosoever of the house of Israel, and of the stranger that resides in Israel, gives of his seed unto Molech, he shall surely die. The people of the land shall stone him with stone.

3 And I set my face against that man, and I shut him out from among his people; because he has given of his seed unto Molech, so that he defiled my sanctuary, and profaned the name of my holiness.

4 And if the people of the land persist in shutting their eyes to this man, when he gives of his seed to Molech, and do not put him to death,

5 then I will turn my face against that man and his family, and I will exclude him and all those who fornicate after him in order to fornicate after the Molech from the midst of their people.

6 And the person who turns to prophesying spirits of the dead and to spirits of divination to fornicate after them — I set my face against that person and exclude him from the midst of his people.

7 Sanctify yourselves and be holy — for I am YHWH your God.

8 And keep my statutes and do them. I am YHWH who sanctifies you.

[1] It can be presumed that the reference in Leviticus 18:21 was inspired by Leviticus 20, while also considering that in the writing of Lev 20 recourse was had to an original core material found in Leviticus 18, specifically verses 1-16*, 24-30* (omitting vv10, 25, 27-28).

22 And you shall keep all my commandments, and all my statutes of law, and do them; so that the land to which I bring you to settle in may not vomit you out.

23 And walk not according to the commandments of the nation, which I cast out from before you. For all these things have they done, and I was disgusted with them.

24 But unto you have I said, You shall possess their ground, and I will give it unto you to possess it — a land flowing with milk and honey. I am YHWH your God, who has set you apart from the nations.

25 And you shall distinguish between the clean and the unclean beasts, and between the unclean and the clean fowls. And you shall not abhor yourselves by the beasts, and by the fowls, and by all that creep upon the earth, which I have set apart for you to be unclean.

26 And you shall be holy to me, for holy am I, YHWH. And I have set you apart from the nations, so that you are mine.

27 And a man or a woman — if there is a prophesying spirit of the dead or a spirit of divination in them — they must surely die. They shall be stoned with stone. Their blood is on them.

Description of Variants

Although the textual attestation of Lev 20 in its different versions is quite diverse, many variant readings can be easily explained and do not lead to significant changes in meaning. In what follows, only those variants that prove relevant to the textual investigation will be commented on.

v2 In v2, Smr reads the verb form תדבר instead of תאמר. G also seems to render a form of דבר with λαλήσεις.[2] The Vulgate's phrase loqueris must be classified as a possible rendering of both verb forms.[3] In addition, an isolated Hebrew witness offers the reading תדבר לאמר — that is, a combination of both terms. The introduction of the speech in Lev 20 deviates strongly from the usual pattern in the Book of Leviticus[4] — it is therefore obvious to understand the formulation with תאמר as *lectio difficilior*. MT is thus to be given preference. The variation in G and Smr can be explained as an alignment with the other chapter beginnings.

[2] Compare the translation of אמר in Lev 21:1 with λέγω or the other translation of דבר in the speech introductions of the Book of Leviticus with λαλέω.

[3] Cf. e.g. Lev 19:1-2; 20:1; 20:24; 21:1.

[4] Cf. the comments on the introduction to the speech in Lev 20 on p. 7f. On the one hand, instead of the otherwise used verb דבר, a form of אמר is used here, on the other hand, the usually used continuation with ואמרת אליהם is missing.

The reading איש איש in v2 is well attested. Both 11QpaleoLev[a], Smr, V, and S read like MT. G, however, translates uncommonly with ἐάν τις.[5] This could simply be a linguistic smoothing of the Hebrew[6], because basically it shows that v2 is special in its formulation.[7]

Furthermore, unlike G, V, S, T, and MT, Smr and 11QpaleoLev[a] read מבית instead of מבני in v2. The phrase איש איש מבית ישראל otherwise occurs in the MT in Lev 17:3, 8, 10 as well as Lev 22:18[8], the phrase איש איש מבני ישראל besides Lev 20:2 still in Lev 17:13; 18:2. While V here follows for each MT, G always reads τῶν υἱῶν, Smr, however, always reads מבית. It can be assumed that G and Smr have thus each been harmonized in a different way, so that they have no significance with respect to the variant under consideration מבית instead of מבני. The variant in 11QpaleoLev[a] is probably explained by

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[5] In Lev 15:2 G chooses as a translation for איש איש, for example, ἀνδρί ἀνδρί, in Lev 17:3, 8, 10, but also in Lev 18:6 and Lev 20:9 among others ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος, or in Lev 22:4 only ἄνθρωπος. The phrase ἐάν τις, on the other hand, is encountered mostly as a rendering of the Hebrew איש כי (e.g., Lev 19:20; 24:19) or איש אשר (e.g., Lev 20:11-12). However, reconstructing an original איש כי- or איש אשר-sentence behind the variant seems difficult due to linguistic considerations. It would be possible to assume a *Vorlage* that reads only one איש. But to suppose an originally single איש in the G-template remains also unsatisfactory, for in Lev 21:17; 27:31 two other איש מן-phrases are encountered, which there, however, are also translated by G as ἄνθρωπος.
If one not only reckons with a loss of a איש due to homoiarkton, but nevertheless assigns significance to the variant, it could be conjectured that the commandment v2 together with vv4-5 were originally encountered in a different textual context: probably via the addition of vv3, 6 between the formative phase and the oldest Greek-language translation, a separate legal corpus of sorts would then have been formed within Lev 20 on the closely related topics of Molech practice and mantics. By this point, the *Vorlage* of G and proto-MT would have had to have developed together. In a further step, v2 would have undergone a formal revision as the introductory sentence of a legal corpus in proto-MT, probably following Lev 18:6 and Lev 20:9, which introduce the (large) legal corpora of the chapters as איש איש sentences, which in turn would not have found its way into the *Vorlage* of G.

[6] Cf. Wevers, Notes on Leviticus, 314.

[7] Two further observations speak for the presence of stylistic variance: First, behind the translation with ἤ, one would normally expect a או מן in the *Vorlage*, whereas here it seems to serve as a transfer of ומן. Second, it cannot be explained why G translates עם הארץ in v2 with τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, but then in v4 with αὐτόχθονες τῆς γῆς, thus rendering the only two עם הארץ-occurrences of the chapter — and in the entire corpus of H — each differently. Both, τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, which is otherwise attested only in 1Esdras 5:49, and αὐτόχθονες τῆς γῆς, which, besides Lev 20:4, is found only in Exod 12:19. 48; Num 9:14, and there each serves as a translation for אזרח הארץ, it is atypical vocabulary for rendering עם הארץ, which is usually translated as ὁ λαὸς τῆς γῆς. Here, therefore, a linguistically finely versed translator may have been involved-the formulation with αὐτόχθονες, for example, refers back to Lev 19:34, and thus v4 in G anchors the complex more firmly in the Greek tradition of H. Although the possibility of a possibly differently worded *Vorlage* of v4 must be considered, it seems less likely in view of the close connection of vv2, 4 in terms of content.

[8] In addition, Lev 20:2-5 seems to refer to Ezek 14:7-8. There, too, the "house of Israel" is mentioned.

the strong references between vv2-3, 6 and Lev 17[9], where the phrase with מבית is encountered more frequently. Because of these strong references, it seems likely that the older reading is actually preserved in 11QpaleoLev[a]. The מבני in MT would then be conceivable as harmonizing with Lev 20:2aα on the one hand and Lev 18:2 on the other. Furthermore, a text-critical problem is encountered with regard to the stranger in v2: while MT, Smr, 11QpaleoLev[a] as well as 4QLev[e] read the singular גר, G, V, S and TO[N] provide a plural. However, the plural most likely represents a simplification of the more difficult reading[10], which probably found its way into Lev 20 from Lev 17.[11] In light of the overall findings, it is therefore reasonable to assume that MT preserves the more original variant.

vv2-5 Moreover, a text-critical variant is already encountered in v2, which can also be observed in vv3-5: the reading of the MT (למלך) is well attested in all verses[12], but G consequently chooses for the translation of למלך the term ἄρχων/ruler[13], instead of rendering the lexeme, for instance, as a proper name. Taken together, the textual witnesses as a whole suggest an understanding of למלך as a foreign god or cut. However, the (varying) handling of the term למלך by the textual witnesses and especially the divergent translations of the lexeme within G[14] show that already in Hellenistic times there was no concrete knowledge of the original understanding of למלך in this context.

v3 In v3, Smr and 11QpaleoLev[a] read וחלל against MT instead of ולחלל. G also renders וחלל with καὶ βεβηλώσῃ; so does V with *et contaminaverit*, S translates in the same sense. Basically, there are three options to explain the variant: ולחלל could be, first, a spelling mistake due to the multitude of lameds in the word, second, an alignment with the preceding טמא — infinitive in piel — or, third, a grammatical smoothing: unvocalized, חלל could also be read as 3rd Ps. m. Sg. Piel perfect. The most probable explanation

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[9] Here, both כרת-punishment and נפש encounter as the target of this punishment in close linguistic proximity to v6, which in turn is undeniably related to v3. See the discussion on p. 16f.

[10] The correction of the numerus of גר is entirely in G's style, see e.g. Lev 17:8, 10, 13, 15.

[11] Also possible are references back to Lev 19:33-34 or Lev 24:16. With respect to Lev 19, the close textual proximity within the composition speaks in favor of this, with respect to Lev 24:16, especially the motifs of stoning punishment and mot-jumat judgment encountered in both places suggest the assumption of literary dependencies. Probably there are also references to Ezek 14:7-8 (concurrence of the prohibition of idols and כרת-penalty) or Lev 22:18 ((burnt) sacrifice reference).

[12] For v2: Smr, 11QpaleoLeva, α', λ', V; in fragment 4QLev[e] the corresponding text passage is only available in reconstructed form. Cf. Smr, α', Hex, V for v3; Smr, 11QpaleoLev[a], α', Hex, V for v4; Smr, λ', Hex, V for v5.
S as well as T offer transmissions that point to an interpretation of Molech as a foreign cult.

[13] In v5, G transmits a plural. Possibly this takes into account the plural of the persons concerned. The translation of הזנים אחריו with ὁμονοοῦντας certainly tries to elucidate the meant facts.

[14] Cf. 1Kgs 11:5: βασιλεῖ; 2Kgs 23:10; Jer 39:35: τῷ Μολοχ; Lev 18:21; 20:2-5: ἄρχων.

seems to be *lectio corrupta* in the MT.[15] In the translation, והלל was therefore rendered as 3rd Ps. m. Sg. Piel perfect with copula. Another variant in v3 refers to the phrase את שם קדשי. Smr, V, S and T support MT in the reading "name of my holiness." G probably reads a different vocalization by mistake (cf. e.g. Lev 22:2, 32) and thus arrives at the translation τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἡγιασμένων μοι. MT is to be preferred.

v5 In v5 Smr supports the reading ובמשפחתו of MT. 11QpaleoLev[a], on the other hand, has משפחו[וב]. It is probably a haplography (ח-ת). The translation therefore follows MT.

v6 In v6, MT first understands נפש as a feminine noun, as indicated by תפנה and later by ההוא. Then again, MT seems to understand נפש in v6b as a masculine noun when אתו and עמו carry masculine suffixes. MT seems to want to address both sexes by addressing the prohibition to הנפש.[16] Smr, G, V, and S probably offer feminine suffixes each in harmonization with other instances of the expression נפש ההוא. Beyond the text-critical decision, then, the question arises whether these are merely grammatical corrections or whether a change in perception about which sex is more likely to engage in such divination practices has also been reflected here in textual history.

vv7, 26 The variants in v7 seem particularly revealing from a text-critical perspective. While MT reads — supported by Hex, V, S — והתקדשתם, Smr and G omit this phrase.[17] Hartley suggests the presence of haplography.[18] However, if one considers, that Smr and G also continue v7 differently than MT — instead of reading כי אני יהוה אלהיכם, Smr reads כי קדוש אני יהוה אלהיכם, and G translates ὅτι ἅγιος ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν — it seems more likely, that Smr and G each knew a *Vorlage* that differed from the MT in terms of the wording of v7, but maybe read the same as Smr. It seems likely that the template that differed from the MT harmonized v7 with v26[19], so MT is to be preferred.

v23 In v23 the textual witnesses diverge especially with regard to the question of the numerus of הגוי. While MT supported by θ' and hex reads the singular, Smr, G, V, and S

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[15] Sun, Investigation, 227 clearly points out that the syntagm encountered in the MT is analogy-less.

[16] V27 paints a similar picture, but uses explicit mention of both sexes — ואיש או אשה — to do so, and then talks about the perpetrators in the generic masculine plural.

[17] Lev 11:44, which also has a call to self-sanctification, delivered both in G and Smr, rules out the possibility that this deviation is a theologically motivated omission.

[18] Cf. Hartley, Leviticus, 328.

[19] Moreover, this also seems likely when considering three verses that are close in content to v7: both in Lev 11:44; 19:2; 21:8, all three textual traditions - as well as in v26 - read the כי-phrase with קדוש. The formulation of the MT without קדוש in Lev 20:7 thus represents an unusual formulation that had probably been corrected in the assumed *Vorlage* of G and Smr.
G, moreover, probably harmonizingly always adds ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν (אלהיכם) where necessary. In like manner Lev 20:26 is also adapted in G.

provide the plural. הגוים seems more sensible given the plural perspective of v23b, so at first it seems reasonable to classify MT's singular הגוי as *lectio corrupta*. However, if one includes the variants in relation to Lev 18:28 in the considerations[20] — and especially 11QpaleoLev[a], frg. I suggests such a synopsis[21] — it can be assumed that the singular of the MT in v23 is to be preferred and that the variants attesting the plural have been harmonized with the direct context.[22]

v25 Particularly striking in v25 are the variant readings of לטמא, an inf. cons. Piel. Both Smr, G and S read לטמאה. G and S understand לטמאה as a noun. This is probably a simplification of content in alignment with the nominal form in v25aα. For Smr, without vocalization, it is impossible to decide whether לטמאה is meant as a noun or as inf. qual with ל. The latter would be explainable as an approximation to the more common formulation.[23]

v27 In v27, moreover, both Smr and G seem to make changes that align the verse with the preceding commandments: thus Smr changes the כי of the MT to the common formulation with אשׁר, while G adds ἀμφότεροι to the mot-jumat phrase. The bulky formulation of stoning with stone (singular in MT, supported by 4QLev[e]) is resolved by both Smr and G by a plural formulation. MT is to be preferred with respect to all the variants mentioned.

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[20] Regarding Lev 18:28 it can be assumed that the singular, which is read by MT, Smr, S, V and also 11QpaleoLev[a], is the more original text version. The plural, which is only found in G, can be explained as a harmonization with Lev 18:24.

[21] Here we find the following textual sequence: Lev 18:27a (to עשו) + 20:23-24 + 18:27a (from אנשי).

[22] Similarly, v24 can be understood with אדמתם as meaning that the land previously belonged to several nations, if the plural suffix is not read in terms of the individual persons who make up a nation. G seems to understand the frame paraenesis vv22-26 in such a way and to understand the people's sanctity or the resulting distinction of YHWH's people from other nations as important: The insertion of πάντων in v24b can be explained from this interpretation.
The interplay of singular and plural in the MT as an expression of the mutual responsibility of individual and nation also fits logically into the overall perspective of Lev 20, as will become apparent in the further discussion of the chapter.

[23] The formulation with inf. piel and preposition ל is otherwise encountered only in Lev 13:59 and Jer 7:30; 32:34; more frequently, however, the formulation with ל and inf. qal is found, e.g., in Lev 15:32; 18:20, 23; 19:31; 22:8; Ezek 22:3; 44:25.

Literary-historical Implications

The chapter Lev 20 consists of a total of 27 verses. The verses 1-2aα are thereby on a higher level of communication than vv2aβ-27.[24] With vv2aβ-6, a first divine commandment with threat of punishment is encountered in the if-then scheme, as is also typical of the actual legal sentence corpus vv9-21. Verses 7-8, 22ff stand out from the legal sentence corpus because of the parenetic style and the salutations in 2nd Ps. m. Pl.[25] For Lev 20, therefore, the following rough outline is suggested:

vv1-2aα	Speech introduction
vv2aβ-6	Molech and divination
vv7-8	parenetic transition: holiness
vv9-21	Legal sentence corpus
vv22-27	Framing with paraenetic passages and prohibition concerning divination

In the following, the paper will discuss each section in terms of literary criticism. Due to the thematic focus of the article, the legal corpus vv9-21 will be omitted.

vv1-2aα: Introduction of Speech

With vv1-2aα, an introduction of speech is also encountered at the beginning of chapter 20, as is typical of the chapters of the Book of Leviticus. The wording in v1 וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר thereby corresponds to Lev 17:1; 18:1; 19:1, but the commissioning formula v2aα deviates strikingly from the usual wording in several respects.

First, instead of the otherwise used verb דבר[26], a form of אמר is used here[27]; second, the usual continuation[28] with ואמרת אליהם is missing. This, in turn, is probably due to the following further conspicuous feature of this speech introduction: The sentence structure is inverted. The inversion moves the Israelites as addressees to the beginning of the sentence, the verb to the place where the new speech request should follow in parallel to the other chapters. Probably to avoid the clash of two finite verb forms — additionally of the same root — the otherwise usual continuation of the speech introduction is omitted. But why is v2aα designed in inverted form at all? Milgrom points out the peculiarity of the

[24] Cf. Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 221. V1 indicates the speech situation; v2aα precedes the divine word to be passed on in vv2aβ-27 the speech commission.

[25] With v27, a command in the if-then scheme is encountered again at the end of the chapter, but it is treated here first as part of the final frame.

[26] See Lev 17:2; 18:2; 19:2; 21:17; 22:2, 18; 23:2, 10, 24, 34; 25:2.

[27] The only parallel formulation occurs in Lev 21:1aβ.

[28] See Lev 17:2; 18:2; 19:2; 21:1bα; 22:18; 23:2, 10; 25:2. In 21:17 as well as 23:24 for this: לאמר.

inverted introduction[29]: It is one of seven inverted divine speech introductions at all[30] and at the same time the only one of the seven without change of addressee.[31] Karl Elliger sees the reason for the inversion in v2aα in the fact that chapter 20 was originally part of chapter 21.[32] Through the inverted sentence structure, a juxtaposition of the Israelites to the special group of priests was expressed there.[33] Milgrom, on the other hand, suggests a different rationale for the striking design of the speech introduction: The inversion was intended to accommodate the overlapping content of Lev 18.[34] The formulation, which deviates from the usual introductions to chapters, would thus have been chosen intentionally and already in awareness of the duplication of contents following each other with little distance. Neither option seems compelling. A satisfying answer can only be given if the broad horizon of the Holiness Code is also taken into account.[35] For the following discussion, however, the explanation of the inversion is irrelevant, so the question can be left open here. Next, the chapter section Lev 20:2aβ-8 will be considered in more detail.

vv2aβ-8: Molech, divination, and holiness

The uniformity of vv2aβ-5 (and by extension its connection to v6) is a highly contested issue. The vv2, 3 are apparently in tension with each other due to the fact that, on the one hand, the people of the land — i.e., humans — are responsible for carrying out the punishment (stoning) and, on the other hand, YHWH himself carries out the sanction (כרת). This circumstance has often been cited as an argument against the unity of the textual passage.[36] Verses 4f were then said to be another addition that attempted to harmonize between the different statements of the preceding verses.[37]

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[29] Cf. Milgrom, Leviticus 17-22, 1728f.

[30] Exod 30:31; Lev 9:3; 20:2; 24:15; Num 11:18; 18:26; 27:8.

[31] At the same time, the ו preceding אל בני ישראל is striking — there are only five other cases. — Cf. ibid.

[32] Cf. Elliger, Leviticus, 268f; similarly before already Baentsch, Leviticus, 402. Following Elliger also Cholewiński, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 61f.

[33] Cf. Elliger, Leviticus, 268f.

[34] Cf. Milgrom, Leviticus 17-22, 1729.

[35] For example, in Lev 17, which also has many איש איש sentences, an inverted speech prompt is also encountered in v8, in the middle of the chapter. There could be connections here. It would also be possible to consider whether the commandment v2 might originally have been part of Lev 19, and only later was stylized into the opening of a separate, new chapter by the insertion of v1.

[36] As will be shown in the following, it is indeed likely that vv2aβff have grown gradually — but such a literary-critical separation cannot be maintained on a content-related basis alone, as will be explained in the following.

[37] Cf. Baentsch, Leviticus, 402, but also Bertholet, Leviticus, 63.70 as well as Feucht, Untersuchungen, 34f, Noth, dritte Mose, 128 and Kilian, Untersuchung, 66f.
Wellhausen, Composition, 156 excludes only v4 as an addition. Thiel, Erwägungen, 53, on the other hand, states that a large number of revisions can be expected.

In the mid-1960s, Karl Elliger made a completely different judgment about this passage, namely: „Zweifellos ist das Stück 2-5 aus einem Guß und das eigenste Erzeugnis des Verfassers von c 20.“[38] Such an assessment of the text was supported by Alfred Cholewiński's reflections on the section structure.[39] He recognizes the following scheme in vv2aβ-5:

A	**B**	**C**	**B_1**	**A_1**
v2aβ-b	v3a	v3b	v4	v5

Especially due to the striking parallelism of parts A — A1 and B — B1, Cholewiński, like Elliger, comes to the conclusion that vv2aβ-5 have originated from one hand.[40]
However, Klaus Grünwaldt quite rightly interjects at this point that linguistic observations as well as considerations of structure do not yet say anything about literary uniformity.[41] Since the unified authorship of the passage is questionable due to tensions in content[42], an argument for a common origin must also start there and ultimately be convincing on this level.[43] Grünwaldt meets this claim as follows: He first states that the named offense is not a "profanes, sondern ein sakrales Delikt"[44] i.e., the act does not take place purely on the interpersonal level, but just as much or even more on the level between YHWH and man.[45] The threatened double consequence of punishment — on the one hand carried out by humans and on the other hand executed by YHWH himself — is therefore only logical and represents "zwei Seiten einer Medaille"[46]: The fact that God's people turn away from the culprit by carrying out the death penalty is already a sign that YHWH

[38] Elliger, Leviticus, 269. Furthermore, Elliger also argues for understanding v6 as coming from the same author.

[39] Cf. Cholewiński, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 55f, where the structure he recognizes is presented and explained in more detail.

[40] Cf. loc. cit., 57. At the same time, Cholewiński admits that the passage could also be based on a *Vorlage* — cf. loc. cit., 58.

[41] Cf. Grünwaldt, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 48.

[42] Grünwaldt speaks of „sachlichen Argumenten“/factual arguments — Ibid.

[43] Cf. ibid.

[44] Loc. cit., 49.

[45] Cf. ibid.

[46] Ibid.

himself has turned against the culprit.[47] Against this background, vv 4-5 then addressed the sub-case that the people of God had not fulfilled their obligation to punish.[48] Grünwaldt emphasizes that it is especially the family members of the guilty person who are responsible for reporting the misconduct and thus at the same time are in charge of the execution of the punishment, so that in case of non-compliance with this obligation, the divine punishment logically affects them as well.[49] Following Grünwaldt's interpretation, vv2aβ-5 can be read without interference, there being no tensions in the content that would militate against its assessment as coming from the same author.

I would like to add here that the dual dimensions of reference between individual, collective, and YHWH himself are also encountered to some extent in vv7-8: Here, on the one hand, the people are commissioned to sanctify themselves (v7: קדש in hitpael), while on the other hand, YHWH is named as the one who sanctifies his people (v8: קדש in piel). If the implementation of the mandate of self-sanctification now consists in the observance of YHWH's legal statutes (v8), this means first of all that sanctification is realized in the daily life of each individual. However, the command to sanctify is not addressed to an individual, but to the entire people of God.[50] But wherein lies the task of the collective with regard to the observance of commandments? — Only in the responsibility for the enforcement of the regulations, i.e. in the supervision of their observance as well as in the prosecution and punishment of their non-compliance!

Not only each individual is accountable to YHWH for this obligation, but also the people as a whole are bound back to YHWH and his holiness through the criterion of holy living. The vv2aβ-5 elaborate just such a matter en détail.[51] They may thus be understood as a preliminary clarification of what vv7-8 want to say, and as an explanation of how the

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[47] Cf. ibid.
The sanction with כרת can be understood as a kind of "social death“, exiling the culprit from his people. Zimmerli, Eigenart, 10f., for example, interprets it as follows: „Die הכרית-Formel ist eine Bannformel, die ausdrückt, daß ein Mensch aus der Nähe Gottes ausgeschlossen und damit dem Verderben übergeben ist. […] Die einzige Aktivität der Gemeinde, die auf jeden Fall erwartet sein wird, ist auch hier der Ausschluß aus der Mitte der gottesdienstlich Gott nahen Gemeinde. Das Strafgericht draußen dagegen ist Sache Gottes.“ Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 238 comes to a similar conclusion, stating convincingly that the threat of כרת-punishment means a "wie auch immer geartete Entfernung des Delinquenten aus seiner sozialen Gruppe“. Cf. Pekárek, Verbrechen, 154, on the other hand, understands the כרת-punishment as an alternative rewriting of the death penalty, which, however, must be rejected in view of Lev 20:2-3*, where the כרת-sanction is pronounced additively to the death penalty, which is to be executed immanently. So also Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 238, who additionally concludes that thus also the interpretation of the כרת-punishment as "'vorzeitige[r] Tod des Übeltäters'" must be wrong, since the two sanctions cancel each other out. Zimmerli, Eigenart, 18, comes to the same conclusion.

[48] Cf. Grünwaldt, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 48.

[49] Cf. ibid.

[50] In vv7-8 all imperatives occur in 2nd mas. Pl. — following the preceding verses, it can even be considered whether not only God's people but all people of the land are meant here.

[51] How such an interplay between the task of the individual and the collective can take shape is also described in detail, for example, in Deut 13:7-13.

observance of the subsequent regulations in the main legal corpus of Lev 20 is also to take shape in practice. Vv7-8 thus logically connect to vv2aβ-5.[52] To attribute verses 2-8* to one and the same hand, however, would be a hasty judgment at this point. The above-mentioned arguments show a clear connection on the present literary level between vv2aβ-5, 7-8, but they do not rule out the possibility that this same connection may have developed only gradually. Thus, the same authorship remains to be negotiated. However, such a discussion of possible growth within the section vv2-8* must first be preceded by a discussion of v6.

To this end, it is first worth noting three basic observations about v6: a) Lev 20:6aαβ is closely related to Lev 19:31aαβ; b) v6b records the expected consequence for the offense mentioned in both places; and c) the formulation of this punishment is closely related linguistically to the verses preceding it, especially vv3, 5.[53] These observations alone may be considered sufficient for attributing v6 to the same hand or to one of the hands behind vv2aβ-5*; Lev 19:31 would then be understood as a *Vorlage* for v6aαβ. Karl Elliger makes an additional argument for the same authorship in terms of content: Not only the linguistic proximity, "sondern auch der gleiche Gegensatz gegen die Afterkulte"[54] connects v6 with the preceding passage. This reasoning, however, presupposes a certain understanding of למלך for the asessing of the verses, namely as something that is to be assigned to a religious-spiritual sphere.[55] Of course, this is only a vague description of

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[52] Elliger, Leviticus, 269 even arrives at the following conclusion: „Das Verbindungsstück 7f. ist eine echte Brücke zwischen 2-6 und 9-21, d. h. von vornherein im Plan des Verfassers von c 20 gelegen."

[53] Again we encounter the classification of the rejected action as זנה אחר as well as a consequence of punishment consisting in the turning away of YHWH and the eradication from the people. However, v5 uses the root שים instead of נתן as vv3, 6 to formulate the כרת punishment.

[54] Elliger, Leviticus, 269.

[55] These include a wide variety of interpretations put forward in the research discourse, such as the idea of religiously motivated child sacrifices, the understanding of מלך as a sacrificial term, the idea of consecration or purification rites, or the close relationship of למלך to death cults. For a detailed account of the individual interpretive proposals, see the recently published essay Hieke, Verbot.
In this essay and likewise in his Leviticus commentary, Hieke also proposes another possible interpretation for למלך by understanding this expression as a cipher for the surrender of descendants into the service of the occupying power. A thesis that falls outside the religious-spiritual sphere, but in my opinion must be rejected as implausible, since it is highly unlikely that the occupying power(s) should have paid any heed to the writings of the Hebrew Bible. Hieke's proposal that the Molech was introduced as a secret code to criticize service to the foreign king is, therefore, hardly convincing. Furthermore, other biblical evidence, which Hieke himself counts among the "Molech" evidence in the OT, speaks against his thesis when there the practice is rejected because of its reference to other gods/idols (e.g., Deut 12:31; 2Kgs 17:30-33; Jer 19:4-6; Ezek 20:31) or else understood as something defiling or desecrating (e.g., Ps 106:37-38; Ezek 20:26; 23:29).
Another possibility of understanding — that of a prohibition of mixed marriages — has recently been discussed again by Christian Frevel, with special reference to the book of Jubilees — cf. Frevel, Moloch und Mischehen.

what is to be understood by למלך, and yet, in my opinion, this formulation does justice to the facts precisely through this openness. For who or what is originally meant by למלך is a question that cannot be answered definitively on the basis of the current state of knowledge. Therefore, a renewed discussion of the possible interpretations does not seem promising here. Rather, it appears to be more fruitful, to ask in a redactional-historical perspective about the reasons for embedding the Molech theme in Lev 20. Before pursuing this question further, first the section vv22-27 will be examined in a diachronic perspective.

vv22-27: Frame Passage and Divination

In the research discourse, different positions can be identified with regard to the evaluation of the block vv22-27. While there is widespread agreement that v27 is a later addition[56] (and not a simple duplicate of v6[57]) and that vv22-24, 26 can be attributed to a single author, opinions are divided regarding the assessment of v25.

According to some scholars, v25 needs to be seen as an integral part of the passage since it serves as an indispensable connecting piece between v24b and v26.[58] Nihan writes, "the elemination of v. 25 as a later addition raises a problem, since v. 26 could hardly have followed v. 24b"[59], but does not give a reason for this statement. In my opinion, however, vv7-8 show that an original connection between vv24b.26 is quite conceivable and by no means absurd. For here, we find the same theological key phrase like in v8b: אני יהוה מקדשכם. In vv24b, 26, an equally climactic structure is encountered: The motif of holiness is first explicitly linked to that of separation from the nations; v26

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[56] See, e.g., Elliger, Leviticus, 271; Milgrom, Leviticus 17-22, 1761ff; Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 242f or also Nihan, Torah, 458f.

[57] See, e.g., Elliger, Leviticus, 271; Noth, dritte Mose, 126; Kilian, Untersuchungen, 83; Gerstenberger, Leviticus, 274; Nihan, Torah, 459f, n. 249. Milgrom, Leviticus 17-22, 1765 stops at a very cautious judgment: "In sum, it is possible that v. 27 is an appendix." Grünwaldt, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 54, and Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 241, for example, judge otherwise that v27 belongs to the original text. However they also assume that v27 is not a duplicate of v6. The beginning of v27, which explicitly takes both genders into account, already suggests that it should be understood as a later addendum at the end of the chapter, which supplements v6 with another case: While v6 presumably refers to the consultation of a medium, v27 focuses on active divination. Additionally the author of v27 probably already knew the remaining formulations of the legal sentences in vv9-21, as the blood guilt formula in v27 indicates. In my opinion, the end position of v27 suggests the following explanation: In a chiastic manner, vv26-27 take up the chapter's beginning vv2-7 at the end. V26 offers the maxim of holiness from v7, while v27 brackets the catalog of vices formulated at the beginning in vv2-6 via the mention of the punishment of stoning (v2) and the offense of divination (v6). Moreover, the closing position of v27 allows for greater attention to the offense of divination than v6 receives in view of the detailed thematization of the Molech in vv2-5*.

[58] So Nihan, Torah, 458f, but also Thomas Hieke, Levitikus 16-27, 806, who recognizes in v25 "den Weg zur Heiligkeit".

[59] Nihan, Torah, 459, n. 247.

draws on Lev 19:2 for this purpose and then adds that the separation happens להיות לי.[60] Thus, omitting v25 as a later interpolation would result in the following structure:

A	*v24b*	Separation motif
B	*v26a*	Sanctification motif according to Lev 19:2
A'	*v26b*	Separation motif with climax statement

In the light of vv7-8, it is thus even obvious to assume that, originally, v26 followed directly upon v24. This brings up another major research position, which judges v25 as an addition. For example, Karl Elliger writes[61]: "Schon das fast zufällige Auftauchen des Themas ist verdächtig, noch mehr das Fehlen jeder Strafandrohung."[62] That such a digression ("Abschweifung"[63]) as represented by v25 should be the work of the author of vv22-24, 26 is "undenkbar".[64]

Since there are no arguments for the attribution of v25 to the same author like vv24, 26, while at the same time there is much to suggest that this verse does not belong to the original text, it is obvious to consider v25 as an addition. With regard to v27 it is just as obvious that it is a later addition in Lev 20.

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[60] This could be a literal recourse to Exod 19:4-6.

[61] And others besides him, see, e.g., Baentsch, Leviticus, 404; Feucht, Untersuchungen, 37. The consideration of whether v25 represents the remainder of an originally independent dietary law will not be considered further here, since no solid arguments exist for such a thesis. In my opinion, a reference back to Lev 11, which was added at a later time, seems to be more likely.

[62] Elliger, Leviticus, 271.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

For whoever does this is an abomination to the LORD ... למלך and its relation to Lev 20.

Back to the initial questions: firstly, how can Leviticus 20:2-6 be analyzed in diachronic perspective? Secondly, how does the prohibition regarding the Molech relate to the rest of the chapter's content?

Since vv2aβ-5 strongly resemble the corpus of legal statutes vv9-21, vv2-5* are often read as being closely related to these other commandments in Lev 20[65] and thus thought of as addressing the theme of sexuality.[66] In contrast, I would suggest, to take the exposed position of vv2aβ-5 seriously. Since the verses are clearly set apart from vv9-21 there is no compelling reason to conclude that they refer to the topic of sexuality as well. Instead, vv2-5* should be read in close connection with the framing of the legal corpus — Lev 20:6-8, 22-27*. Why such an assessment seems reasonable is presented below. For this purpose, it is first necessary to take a closer look at the contexts in which the practice of Molech is mentioned in the OT.[67] Besides Lev 20:2-5* and Lev 18:21, these are the following passages:

> Deut 12:29-31; Deut 18:10-12; 2Kgs 16:3; 2Kgs 17:17, 30-33; 2Kgs 21:6; 2Kgs 23:10; 2Chr 28:3; 2Chr 33:6; Ps 106:37-38; Jer 7:31; Jer 19:4-6; Jer 32:35; Ezek 16:20-21; Ezek 20:26, 31; Ezek 23:37, 39.

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[65] Thus, for example, Seidl, ‚Moloch-Opferbrauch', 447, who draws conclusions about the meaning of the term למלך in general via the assumption of close relations between the legal clause corpus and vv2aβ-5 (but also via Lev 18:21) and sees a plausibility for the interpretation of the phrase as a rite of consecration of children or adolescents via the connection through the topic of sexuality. In addition, reference is made to Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 241f who reads Lev 20:2aβ-6, 27 generally against the background of the legal sentence corpus and explains the "prefixing" of the verses before the actual legal sentence corpus by the categorial differentiation of the offenses or, more precisely, by the presence of the sub-case regulation.

[66] An argumentation for the close connection between למלך and sexuality, moreover, is mostly made with reference to Lev 18, since here with v21 the Molech theme is framed by and thus directly connected with sexual prohibitions. See, e.g., Ruwe, Heiligkeitsgesetz, 178. However, the following discussion will be exclusively in reference to chapter 20, since it can be assumed that the whole section Lev 18:19-23, and therefore also Lev 18:21 is inspired by Lev 20.

[67] Hieke, Verbot, 150f names beside למלך further "markante Termini" which in different combinations with each other are supposed to describe the same act: *let go over; in the fire/ burn; son or daughter or children; slaughter.*
A list of verses relevant to the Molech theme, compiled according to other selection criteria but not further substantiated, can be found in the appendix of Seidl, ‚Moloch-Opferbrauch‘, 450f. However, since Seidl's selection is less systematic, the criteria for and against assigning verses to the theme of Molech-practice proposed by Hieke will be followed here.

In addition, in order to be able to make statements regarding the obvious contextual references of Lev 20:2-5*, the characteristics of those verses in Lev 20 that are referred to as frame passages must be considered. For Lev 20:6-8, 22-27* three guiding themes can be identified: A) References to the holy/holiness (vv7, 8, 26); B) Exodus/conquest motif or other nations (vv22-24); C) mantic practices denoted by ידעני and/or אבת (vv6, 27). The results of an examination of the above-mentioned passages and their closer context[68] with regard to the three motifs can be presented in tabular form as such:

Textual Evidence	A	B	C	*Textual Evidence*	A	B	C
Lev 20:2-5*	x	(x)	x	2Chr 33:6		(x)	x
Lev 18:21		(x)		Ps 106:37-38		x	
Deut 12:29-31		x		Jer 7:31		(x)	
Deut 18:10-12		x	x	Jer 19:4-6		(x)	
2Kgs 16:3		x		Jer 32:35		(x)	
2Kgs 17:17, 30-33		(x).x		Ezek 16:20-21		(x)	
2Kgs 21:6		(x)	x	Ezek 20:26.31	(x)	(x)	
2Kgs 23:10			(x)	Ezek 23:37, 39	(x).x	(x)	
2Chr 28:3		x					

The following conclusions can be drawn from these observations:
It is indeed obvious for Lev 20 to understand vv2-5 as a intentional composition because of the themes shared with vv6-8, 22-27, which means that subsequently vv2-6* as a whole should also be read as a intentionally composed section. The combination of mantic practices and service to the Molech seems to serve together as a kind of catalogue of vices. This is supported by the fact that the two topics are also connected in similar passages from Deut and 2Kgs/2Chr.[69] Moreover, it can be stated that the criticism of such actions serves especially to distinguish the people of God from other nations.[70] It is striking how often the references to the practice of Molech are connected to the motif

[68] Even though the present chapter boundaries were only drawn later, they were used here as a basis for delimiting the text stock to be considered. If the motif is found in the passage itself, this is marked with x. If the statement refers to the chapters context, this is indicated by (x).

[69] A detailed discussion of v27, which again raises the topic of mantic practices towards the end of the chapter, follows later.

[70] Even though 2Kgs 23 makes no direct reference to Exodus, conquest or other nations, ultimately the focus here is also on setting oneself apart from others in an attempt to restore right worship practices for YHWH's people.

of conquering the land or refer directly to the preceding expulsion of other nations.[71] It is thus quite obvious to read Lev 20:2-5* or 20:2-6* in close connection with the closing (frame) verses in Lev 20:22-27, because here, too, the giving of the land and the separation from the nations (and their cult practices) is brought into focus, which is furthermore linked via v8 to the condition of observing the legal principles of YHWH.

The literary unity of the passage vv2-8*

It remains to return to the original question, namely that of the unity of the passage Lev 20:2-8*. The Molech practice occurs several times in vv2-5*, more precisely in three different regulations: V2 introduces the human stoning penalty as the punishment for the Molech practice, v3 ties the offense back to the people's sanctity and mentions the divine כרת-penalty (with נתן) as the consequence, while vv4-5 extend the כרת-penalty (with שים) to the offender's clan in the sense of a sub-case regulation in case of failure of the people with respect to v2.[72] If we add the prohibition v6, the section vv2-6 can be understood as a short but independent legal corpus, followed by a paraenesis in vv7-8, which equally serves as a demarcation and transition to the legal corpus in vv9-21. This understanding of vv2aβ-6 as a separate collection of thematically closely related legal sentences[73], would also explain the introduction in v2a with איש איש, which also opens the legal corpora in Lev 18:6 and Lev 20:9 respectively.[74] Since vv3, 6 strikingly agree in their formulation of the punishment, they certainly go back to one hand.[75] Moreover, verses 4-5 are also connected in terms of content and likely go back to a single hand. This is supported by the fact that the כרת-punishment is formulated here with שים instead of נתן as it is in vv3, 6. Thus, behind the section vv2-8* there must be at least two hands. It remains difficult at first to decide which of these hands — vv4-5 or vv3, 6 — is earlier in a relative sense, since both v3 and v4 show a clear connection to v2 and are connected to each other via the formulation מזרעו נתן למלך. In my opinion, a separation

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[71] In view of the initial consideration — a close reference between Lev 20:2-5* and the frame passages of the chapter — the following verses are to be especially highlighted here: Jer 32:21-22 and Ezek 20:15-16. For here, as in Lev 20:24, the phrase ארץ זבת חלב ודבש is found.

[72] The clan liability in vv4-5 is almost singular in the OT and reserved for YHWH alone. Old Testament criminal law, i.e., inner-worldly jurisdiction, generally does not provide for collective liability. — Cf. Schmid, Kollektivschuld, 6, 9.

[73] See the previous comments on the thematic proximity of Molech practice and mantic practices with ידעני and אבת.

[74] It can be assumed that this is more a formal design feature than a gender-neutral introduction. Already with the continuation in v2 with מבני ישראל the second option can be excluded. It is also evident in vv3-4 that the introductory איש איש is understood as referring to a man.

[75] For vv3, 6, moreover, references to Lev 17:10, which offers not only the כרת-punishment but also the term הנפש as the target of this punishment, can be assumed. This reference back to Lev 17 probably inspired the addition of the stranger in v2aα. The peculiar phrase הגר הגר in the singular-here as a complement to מבית ישראל-also occurs in Lev 17:8, 10, 13.

into vv2, 4-5 and vv3, 6-8 suggests itself. The arguments for such a stratification are the following:

1. Verses 4-5 logically connect to v2 to such a conspicuous degree that the assumption of an original insertion behind v3 seems highly unlikely.
2. Cholewiński's structural considerations also support, *mutatis mutandis*, an original textual context in vv2, 4-5: This would result in an equally concentric structure A - B - A', whose center would then be v4. The conspicuous correspondence A - A' would remain untouched.[76]
3. The material evidence has shown that G, or possibly even G's *Vorlage*, deviates from the MT in v2, possibly also with regard to v4. Moreover: The עם הארץ in H is only encountered in these two verses. As a result, this raises the possibility of considering vv2, 4-5 as "spolia" that were integrated into Lev 20 via the motif of separation from the nations[77], as it is present in the framework in both Lev 18 and Lev 20[78], opened up. Even if this hypothesis cannot be validated on the basis of the G variant alone, it seems plausible in the overall picture. It is only through vv3, 6-8 that the motif of giving seed to the Molech in vv2, 4-5 is then incorporated into the Holiness Code and becomes a suitable opening of Lev 20.
4. Just as v4 responds directly to v2, so does v3 in the present textual form. Not only in content but also through the inverted verbal clause, verse 3 creates a strong contrast to v2, which has repeatedly provoked discussion in research. While the idea that vv4-5 should have been inserted later behind v3 cannot be excluded entirely, the above observations make it much more plausible that v3 was purposefully added at its present position: From the point of view of the reviser, the contradiction in content between divine intervention and human punishment probably did not present itself to the extent that is mostly felt in research discourse today. However, in the light of the conception of the Holiness Code, the presumable motive for the addition was certainly to tie the offense back to divine holiness at the first possible point behind (i.

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[76] See above, p. 9.

[77] The verses themselves pose puzzles about their origin — especially via the reference to the עם הארץ, a phrase most familiar from 1/2Kgs, as well as via their clan punishment, when one additionally considers that „Kollektivschuldaussagen im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament [are found] vornehmlich im Bereich historisch-politischer Texte, die Geschichte in Relation zu den sich in ihr manifestierenden Gottesaktionen deuten.“— Schmid, Kollektivschuld, 27.

[78] It can be assumed that Lev 20 already knew the chapter Lev 18, which is why the framework passages from Lev 18 can also be seen as relevant for the design of Lev 20.

e., v2b)[79] — and to put YHWH in the focus. Verses 4-5 had to move back for this reason, and the original context vv2, 4-5 was torn apart.

5. Verse 6, very artfully formed, then binds the section that had previously fallen apart even more deeply into H. It ties the individual legal sentences together on a literary level: The crime v6aα is borrowed from Lev 19:31, the consequence of punishment from v3, and the motive of fornication from v5. The formulation with the infinitive לזנות plus suffixed particle אחר then probably found its way from v6 to v5 (ואת כל הזנים אחריו לזנות אחרי המלך). All these interventions then result in the fact that the cultic or sacral character of למלך-succession, so clearly established in v3, could no longer be denied even for Lev 20:2, 4-5.

The author of v3, and for that probably also of vv6-8, thus profoundly anchors the thematic complex ידעני/אבת - מלך - *separation from the nations* in the Holiness Code. He clearly expresses the reciprocity of sanctification, as encountered in vv7-8, also in relation to penal responsibility. Thus, it is only through the skillful work of the editor, the many keyword links and resumptions of formulations, that the text gained its present structure, which erroneously led Cholewiński, Elliger and Gründwaldt to assume that the text should be considered a literary unity.

<u>Conclusions</u>

The following three conclusions can be drawn from the preceding remarks: Firstly, the theme of Molech-practice is in no way related to a sexual context. The evidence in Lev 18:21, where the prohibition is embedded in a law collection aiming at illegitimate sexual practices is thus misleading. Rather, the motifs of Molech and divination are closely related to each other and to the separation from other nations and the land-taking narrative.

Secondly, the framework of Lev 20 was deliberately designed with knowledge of the composition of the Holiness Code. The conquest narrative — and, by extension, the motifs of Molech and divination — are artfully and inextricably woven into the narrative of holiness.

Thirdly, Lev 20's framework was not written by one author. While vv1-2aα, 3, 6-8, 22-24, 26 probably go back to the same hand, vv25, 27 must be singled out as later additions. Even if vv2, 4-5 are spolia whose origin can no longer be elucidated, they were certainly intended from the beginning to be part of the chapter's opening.

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[79] In theory, one could also argue for an originally single Mot-Jumat sentence in v2a as the earliest layer. However, the present text clearly shows that v2b - and thus also vv4-5 - had to be already present before the extension by vv3, 6. Otherwise, the divine punishment would certainly have come even further ahead, namely before v2b.

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PROJECT SUMMARY:

THE BLESSING OF JACOB (GEN 48–49) IN LIGHT OF ANCIENT CELESTIAL CARTOGRAPHY

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The Blessing of Jacob is among the most scrutinized passages in the Bible. However, questions concerning its origin, age, and genre remain unsettled. The goal of this study is to shed light on these issues by examining, whether the blessing is an astrological divination based on an ancient celestial map. To achieve this goal, five hypotheses are tested:

1. The Blessing of Jacob is based on a celestial map
2. The celestial map, which the blessing is based on, resembles the celestial maps known from the first millennium BCE
3. By comparing the imagery of the blessing with the ancient celestial maps, it is possible to reconstruct the celestial map on which the blessing was based
4. The same celestial map was also the basis for some other biblical texts
5. Using the reconstructed celestial map, it is possible to identify which texts make use of it

Since the blessing may be the result of a single author's creative work, the last two hypotheses are not to be seen as prerequisites for the first three. However, the reconstructed model is more likely to be correct if there are references to it in other texts as well.

The study consists of three phases, each of which will end in the publication of an article. The draft presented at the 2023 OTSEM conference in Lund is part of the first phase. In the first phase, I will study the imagery of the blessing in order to reconstruct the celestial map on which the blessing was based on. The objective of this phase is to test the first three hypotheses. In the second phase, I will try to determine whether there are signs of the celestial map in other biblical texts, and test the last two hypotheses. In the third phase, I will examine the celestial map as part of the argumentative strategy used in the Death Bed episode.

The study begins with an analysis of the metaphors used in the blessing. Since the blessing is, according to the first hypothesis, a written description of a visual object, the intermedial nature of the data must be taken into account in the analysis. The conceptual framework for this is provided by ekphrasis research, which has become common in literary studies in recent decades. Ekphrasis is a rhetorical device used especially by the ancient Greeks, a vivid description of something the poet sees or imagines. The purpose of the description is to create a visual experience of the described object in the reader's mind.[1] After identifying the blessing's metaphors, they will be compared with the ancient celestial maps in order to reconstruct the map used in the blessing.

In the second phase of the study, text mining is used to search for the imagery of the celestial map from other parts of the Bible. This will be done by using open source software packages, such as TextFabric and Pandas, which will be run in the Python environment. The ETCBC database maintained by Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the SBLGNT package published by Andrews University will provide the data for the analysis.[2] The results will be structured using the phylogenetic approach, which originates from the field of evolutionary biology and has been successfully applied to comparative mythology. In the phylogenetic approach, myths are considered to consist of smaller

[1] Mikkonen 2005, 262, 266; Zeitlin 2013, 17–18; For a more thorough discussion on ekphrasis, see Heffernan 2015; Krieger 1992.

[2] For the use of TextFabric and the ETCBC database, see for instance Nielsen 2017; Roorda 2018; van der Schans et al. 2019; van Peursen 2020.

sub-myths, mythemes, which are inherited, mutated and eliminated according to principles partly analogous to the evolution of genes. By examining the distribution of mythemes in different versions of myths, it is possible to reconstruct a phylogenetic tree or network describing the interrelationships between the myths.[3]

The mythemes examined in this study are the astrological elements of the blessing. These include, for example, a heel-biting snake, violent brothers and a lion ruling as king. The texts, selected on the basis of text mining, are encoded in a binary form for each mytheme (1 = mytheme, 0 = no mytheme). Using the SplitsTreeCE application, the encoded material is presented in the form of a phylogenetic tree, which will show the relationship between the texts. The more astrological mythemes a given text shares with the blessing, the closer it is to the celestial map on which the blessing was based.[4]

In the third phase of the study I will return to the Blessing of Jacob and use pragma-dialectical argumentation analysis to find out, what the final redactor of Genesis was hoping to convey by including the celestial map in the narrative.[5] By carefully examining the overall argumentation of the Death Bed episode, I will hope to identify, what role the celestial map plays as part of the book of Genesis.[6] Put together, the three phases of the study will help to appreciate, how and when the Blessing of Jacob came to be, and how it functions as a part of the Bible.

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[3] d'Huy 2013, 115; Thuillard et al. 2018, 123–125.
[4] d'Huy 2013, 115; d´Huy 2023, 11–12.
[5] This assumes, of course, that the final redactor of Genesis is the author of the blessing, or at least aware of the celestial map embedded within it.
[6] See for instance van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2000; van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans 2017.

The Blessing of Jacob (Gen 48–49) in Light of Ancient Celestial Cartography

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PREFACE

This paper is a draft, presented at the 2023 OTSEM conference in Lund. Some of the relevant resources have not yet been thoroughly consulted; thus, the interpretations offered here are likely to develop over time. This draft focuses on the Greek constellations found in Aratus' Phaenomena, while the final article will broaden the scope to include all of the celestial maps mentioned later on in the draft. The focal points of discussion proposed for the conference are the general readability of this multidisciplinary article, the credibility of the suggested interpretations, and possible directions for future research.

ABSTRACT

The Blessing of Jacob is among the most scrutinized passages in the Bible. However, questions concerning its origin, age, and genre remain unanswered. This study seeks to shed light on these issues by examining the blessing as an astrological divination based on an ancient celestial map. In this article I will propose, that the blessing was constructed in the late first millennium BCE, and that the author had access to a celestial map, whose content greatly resembled the Greek celestial maps. This reading resolves most of the problems regarding the blessing.

INTRODUCTION

How does one acquire divine knowledge? This question, around which humanity has revolved for thousands of years, forms a focal point in the book of Genesis as well. It is first put forward in the form of the tree of knowledge and the cunning diviner[1] in the Garden of Eden, and remains a central theme all the way through the book, as the patriarchs and other agonists and antagonists interpret their dreams and visions or use divination-artefacts[2] to discover the will of God(s). It is no surprise, then, that we find this very question looming in the background as we reach the end of the Joseph Cycle, the Deathbed episode, and its pinnacle, the Blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:1–27).

The Blessing of Jacob is an enigmatic poem at the end of Genesis. Jacob, the blind and dying paterfamilias, summons his sons to him and foretells them what will happen to them and their descendants "at the end of days".[3] Foretelling the future requires superhuman knowledge, and the acquisition of such knowledge calls for the art of divination[4]. In the ancient Near East, several forms of divination were known. Some of them were inductive, focused on the interpretation of natural phenomena, such as the trajectories of birds or the veins in a sacrificial animal's liver. Others relied on the diviner's special skills, such as the ability to receive visions from the gods. These can be

[1] Gen 3:5. The Hebrew noun for 'snake' shares a common root with the verb 'divine'.
[2] See for instance Gen 44:5.
[3] Gen 49:1–2.
[4] For a more detailed description of the numerous forms of divination in the ANE, see e.g. Nissinen 2016; Cryer 2009.

described as non-inductive divination. The narrative does not state, which form of divination Jacob used to recite his blessing. At least not explicitly.

One method of inductive divination was astrology, the interpretation of celestial omens. This pseudoscience, harnessed by the Mesopotamian elite and popularized by the Egyptians and the Greeks, entered the Jewish thought not later than the Second Temple period, when the five books of Moses were given their final touch.[5] In this article I will propose, that the form of divination used by Jacob is in fact implied in the blessing, and deducible quite easily, if the reader has some knowledge of the way in which people in the first millennium BCE viewed the night sky. I will suggest, that the blessing is written on the basis of a celestial map, and meant to be read as such.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

It is not possible nor worthwhile to go through all the research done on the Blessing of Jacob. I shall, therefore, present a brief summary of the status quaestionis, and provide in more detail only the papers of Zimmern[6] and Peano Cavasola[7], which discuss a possible connection of the blessing and the constellations of the Zodiac. For a more thorough research history, the reader may refer to Raymond de Hoop's monumental book *Genesis 49 in its Literary and Historical Context*.[8]

Prior research has mostly been motivated by questions concerning the origin, age, genre and unity of the blessing. It has a number of linguistic features, which distinguish it from the surrounding narrative, and have made it difficult to reconcile it with the documentary hypothesis. Since the 18th century, the blessing has been generally viewed as a later addition to the narrative. Within form criticism, the majority view is that the blessing consists of originally independent tribal sayings, which circulated as oral tradition before being assembled and placed in Genesis by one or several authors. Partly due to this view, less attention has been paid to the unified structure of the blessing or its current context. However, the theory of independent tribal sayings has recently come under criticism, and new arguments have been put forward in favor of the unity of blessing. The questions of the origin and genre are thus once again open for debate. [9]

Some scholars, most notably Zimmern and Peano Cavasola, have called attention to the resemblance between the numerous animal metaphors of the blessing and the twelve constellations of the Zodiac.[10] Their articles focus on the Babylonian Zodiac, which sometimes differs from the Greek one. Zimmern discusses seven of the eleven blessings, concentrating mainly on three of them, while Peano Cavasola explores them all. Zimmern dismisses the order of the blessings, and instead searches for the most obvious connections, while Peano Cavasola keeps the present order and seeks to connect each blessing with the Zodiacal constellation next in line. The idea, that the tribes of Israel are somehow connected to the constellations of the Zodiac is not a new one – quite the contrary; a plethora of examples can be found in rabbinic literature.[11] However, the rabbis don't seem to have associated the Zodiac specifically with the Blessing of Jacob, since none of them refers to it as an example of this connection.[12] Nevertheless, a tendency to seek astral connections clearly existed within Judaism from early on.[13] Zimmern's and Peano Cavasola's proposals are summarized in Table 1 and discussed further in the footnotes.

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[5] Popović 2014; Cooley 2012, 28. Astral worship was also widely practiced during the first temple period, partly due to Neo-Assyrian influence, see Cooley 2013, 246; Collins 2017, 31.
[6] Zimmern 1892.
[7] Peano Cavasola 2014.
[8] De Hoop 1999.
[9] De Hoop 1999, 2–7, 60–62, 78–79. For the arguments in favour of the unity of the blessing, see Twersky 2019; Knohl 2020.
[10] Zimmern 1892; Peano Cavasola 2014. See also Skinner 1910, 534–535; Bullinger 1893, 20–21.
[11] See for instance Yalkut Shimoni 418; Midrash Lekach Tov, Exodus 1:2; Kuzari 3:17; Shenei Luchot HaBerit, Torah Shebikhtav, Vayetzei, Torah Ohr; Likutei Moharan 9:2..
[12] Contra Cooley 2013, 254, which seems to be based on a misreading.
[13] Already Josephus associated the twelve stones on the high priest's breast plate with the Zodiac; the stones had the names of the tribes engraved in them. Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, III,7,5–7.

The Blessing	Zimmern	Main grounds for the connection	Peano Cavasola	Main grounds for the connection
Reuben			**Taurus**	The bull's rampant nature. According to Targum Pseudo-Jonathan the original emblem of the tribe was a bull.
Simeon & Levi	**Gemini & Taurus**	The violent brothers resemble Gilgamesh and Enkidu, who killed and mutilated the Bull of Heaven and the tyrant Humbaba.	**Gemini**	The armed brothers resemble the twins, which were heavily armed guardian deities in the Babylonian celestial map.
Judah	**Leo**	Leo stands for the Lion. Regulus is the scepter between its feet.	**Leo & Cancer**	Leo stands for the Lion. Cancer is the scepter between its feet.
Zebulun			**Virgo**	The blessing mentions Sidon, known for its devotion to Astarte. Virgo is placed near the Southern Sea, inhabited by Hydra and Argo. *Zbl* is an Ugaritic epithet for the sea god Yam.
Issachar	**Cancer**	Two stars in the constellation were seen by the Greeks as two donkeys in front of a manger.	**Libra**	Libra has two burdens in it.
Dan	**Serpens & Ophiuchus**	The serpent.	**Scorpius / Ophiuchus & Serpens**	The serpent. Jeremiah 8:16, 17. The northernmost tribe would be the first to face the attack of the invaders. Samson.
Gad			**Sagittarius**	The location of the tribe made it a target for nomads, who would attack on horseback.
Asher			**Capricornus**	The tribe's territory between the sea and the mountains corresponds with the twofold nature of the Goat-Fish.
Naphtali	**Aries**		**Aquarius**	The deer is a sacred animal of Ea, the Babylonian Aquarius. The nearby constellations, Ibex, Deer, and Field fit the description.
Joseph	**Taurus & Orion**	The beginning of the blessing is read as speaking of a young bull calf. The bow is associated with Orion's bow, and the Sagittarius on the opposite side of the sky. Midrash Bereshit Rabbah connects Joseph's bow with Orion.	**Pisces**	The fish are not mentioned in the blessing to avoid an association with the local pagan cults. The tree metaphor can be associated with the area of Pisces in the sky.
Benjamin	**Aldebaran / Lupus**	Aldebaran identified as the Jackal star. Lupus is a wolf.	**Aries**	The Triangle, next to Aries, identified as holding the Wolf star in it. Dumuzid, the shepherd god, was turned into a wolf in the Epic of Gilgamesh.

TABLE 1. *A summary of Zimmern's and Peano Cavasola's arguments*

There are indeed some obvious parallels between the imagery of the blessing and the constellations of the Zodiac, as demonstrated in Table 1. Yet, as one can see by comparing the table with the actual blessing, the correspondence remains partial. Many of the blessing's features are not accounted for, and at times, the connections remain vague. Because of this, the view has not gained wider support.[14] Another reason for rejecting this approach has been the question of dating. The blessing has many archaic features, which seems to suggest an early date, perhaps predating Iron II, while the system of twelve Zodiacal constellations wasn't established until the fifth century BCE.[15] While this is a valid point, it should be noted, that the Zodiacal constellations were already at place much earlier, as attested by MUL.APIN and other sources; there were simply more of them until the Ecliptic was divided into twelve parts for calendrical reasons.[16] It should also be noted, that form critical arguments aside, the blessing's early date is based mainly on its archaic features. Since

[14] Cross & Freedman 1997 [1975], 56; Cooley 2013, 254. It should be noted, that their criticism is directed only against Zimmern and other early proponents of the idea. Peano Cavasola's recent paper has gone unnoticed by the exegetical community, perhaps because it was written in Italian and published at an archeoastronomical conference.
[15] Cross & Freedman 1997 [1975], 46–47,56; Kurtik 2021, 59.
[16] MUL.APIN, for instance, reports 18 constellations "on the path of the moon". For the development of the Zodiac, see Kurtik 2021.

these could indicate archaizing instead of archaicity[17], and since the dating of the Torah is still a matter of much debate[18], the question of dating should not be a reason to abandon Zimmern's and Cavasola's proposal.

In this article I will propose, that the Blessing of Jacob was indeed written to resemble the constellations known in Classical antiquity. I will seek to overcome the weaknesses of the earlier efforts by expanding the scope of the study beyond the Zodiacal constellations. Including the non-Zodiacal constellations increases the number of parallels greatly, as will be shown in the following chapters. Another core difference between this article and the aforementioned ones is, that the main focus will be on the Greek celestial maps. As will be demonstrated, they are closer to the blessing's imagery than the Babylonian ones.

ANCIENT CELESTIAL MAPS

In the following chapters I will identify the images in the Blessing of Jacob and compare them with the Greek celestial maps of the first millennium BCE in order to determine, whether the blessing was written on the basis of one of them. After the analysis, I will discuss the consequences of the results. By celestial maps I am referring to written and visual depictions of the constellations. I have narrowed my analysis down to the following sources.

The earliest complete map of the Greek constellations is Aratus' poem *Phaenomena*, written ca. 275 BCE. It is based on a since lost work of the fourth century astronomer Eudoxus.[19] It is followed by the first century BCE Roman poet Hyginus' work *De Astronomica*, which relies on the third century Greek astronomer Eratosthenes' lost work *Catasterismoi*.[20] Also included in the comparison is Ptolemy's *Almagest* from the second century CE, which consists mostly of material dating back to the second century BCE astronomer Hipparchus.[21]

As for the visual celestial maps, I have consulted the Farnese Globe and Kugel's Globe, both from the first century BCE.[22] Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Pseudo-Eratosthenes' *Epitome Catasterismorum* are the primary sources, when discussing the myths related to the constellations. In a few instances, the blessing's imagery differs considerably from the Greek celestial maps. In these cases, I will use the Babylonian equivalents as a reference point to determine, whether the discrepancies can be traced back to differences between the Greek maps and the one used by the blessing's author.[23]

STRUCTURE OF THE BLESSING

Before addressing the individual blessings, I shall make a brief note on the structure of the blessing. Since the order of the sons is atypical, and the individual blessings are of unequal length, the structure has been subject to much debate.[24] In my analysis I will follow and further develop the ideas of Sarna and Twersky.[25] Sarna proposed, that the sons are arranged in a chiastic structure on the basis of their mothers: LEAH-Bilhah-Zilpah-Bilhah-RACHEL. Twersky, on the other hand, suggested that the epicentre of the blessing is marked by the interjection *"I wait for your salvation, O Lord!",* between the blessings of Dan and Gad. This outburst creates two clusters, built around the

[17] de Hoop 1999, 74–78.
[18] For the various contemporary approaches, see Dozeman 2017, 135–195.
[19] Schaefer 2004, 161.
[20] Dekker 2012, 4.
[21] Marx 2020.
[22] Dekker 2012, 102, 111. A comparison of all the Greek sources, as well as illustrations of the celestial globes can be found in Dekker 2012.
[23] The earliest list of constellations, MUL.APIN, dates back to the late second millennium BCE and forms the backbone of Middle Babylonian astronomy, see Hoffmann 2020, 156. Since astronomy developed over time, I have supplemented MUL.APIN with a reconstruction of the Late Babylonian map, provided by Stellarium 23.2.
[24] For a thorough discussion, see de Hoop 1999, 81–243.
[25] Sarna 1989, 331. Twersky 2019.

longer blessings of Judah and Joseph. While I agree with Twersky on the central role of the interjection, I shall propose, that the two clusters form a chiasm, although an unbalanced one in its present form. The first cluster consists of six blessings given to seven sons, while the latter one has only five blessings and sons. Even though imperfect chiasms are not uncommon, I will suggest an amendment to the latter cluster in order to perfect the structure.

In Genesis 48, Joseph brings his two sons to Jacob, who adopts them as his own and blesses them before (the rest of) his own sons. Now, if we take the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh and place it in the Blessing of Jacob after the blessing of Joseph, the chiastic structure becomes complete. The blessing of the two grandsons is mirrored by the blessing of Simeon and Levi. That these two sets of brothers are associated, is hinted by the author in 48:22.[26] Although neither the chiastic structure nor the inclusion of Joseph's sons is crucial to my thesis, both of them seem to be supported by it, as we shall see in the following chapters.[27]

BLESSING OF JACOB AS A CELESTIAL MAP

In this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between the Blessing of Jacob and the Greek constellations. Each son's blessing will be addressed separately, identifying the imagery in it and comparing it with the celestial maps. While there may be several possibilities among the constellations for each image, the most probable one will be chosen based on the proximity with the previous identified image and the ease with which the connection can be made. Visual cues will be preferred over mythological ones.[28] The results are summarized in Table 2.

[26] The verse belongs to Ephraim's and Manasseh's blessing, while the massacre of Shechem, alluded to in the verse, was orchestrated by Simeon and Levi (Gen 34). The peculiarities of this verse will be addressed in the analysis.
[27] However, altering the text affects the number of words, cola and verses. Cf. Knohl's argument on the numerically perfect structure of the blessing, Knohl 2020.
[28] The final article will include images of the constellations, excluded from this draft. The reader may refer to the Stellarium software's sky cultures for a map of the Aratean constellations.

Latin name	Aratean name "English translation"	Equivalent in the blessing	Jacob´s son
Eridanus	Ἠριδανός "Eridanus" Ποταμός "River"	Turbulent waters, Defiled couch	Reuben
Gemini	Δίδυμοι "Twins"	Violent brothers	Simeon and Levi
Taurus	Ταῦρος "Bull"	Hamstrung bull	Simeon and Levi
Orion	Ὠρίων "Orion"	Slain man	Simeon and Levi
Cancer	Καρκίνος "Crab"	Hand, Donkey, Vine	Judah
Hydra	Ὕδρη "Water Serpent"	Enemy´s neck	Judah
Leo	Λέων "Lion"	Lion	Judah
Corvus	Κόραξ "Raven"	Prey	Judah
Regulus		*Ruler's staff*	*Judah*
Fomalhaut		*Shiloh*	*Judah*
Centaurus	Κένταυρος "Centaur"	Donkey	Judah
Lupus	Θηρίον "Wild Animal"	Clothes	Judah
Crater	Κρητήρ "Wine-pouring Cup"	Wine	Judah
Ara	Θυτήριον "Altar"	Teeth	Judah
Argo	Ἀργώ "Argo-ship"	Ships	Zebulun
Canopus		*Sidon*	*Zebulun*
Boötes	Βοώτης "Herdsman"	Rawboned donkey	Issachar
Ursa Minor	Ἄρκτος μικρά "Small Bear" Κυνοσούρα "Cynosura"	Burden	Issachar
Ursa Major	Ἄρκτος μεγάλη "Great Bear" Ἑλίκη "Helice"	Burden	Issachar
Virgo	Παρθένος "Virgin" Δίκη "Justice"	Judge	Dan
Corona Borealis	Στέφανος "Crown"	Heel	Dan
Hercules	Ἐνγόνασι "Kneeling One"	Rider	Dan
Serpens	Ὄφις "Serpent"	Snake	Dan
Pegasus	Ἵππος "Horse"	Horse	Dan
Ophiuchus	Ὀφιοῦχος "Serpent Handler"	YHWH's deliverance	Interjection
Scorpius	Σκορπίος "Scorpion"	Attacked One	Gad
Libra/Claws	Χηλαί "(Scorpion's) Claws"	Attacked One	Gad
Sagittarius	Τοξευτής "Archer"	Band of Raiders	Gad
Corona Australis	Anonymous	Heel	Gad
Cepheus	Κηφεύς "Cepheus"	King	Asher
Cygnus	Ὄρνις "Bird"	Fatty Delight	Asher
Aquila	Ἀιετός "Eagle"	Carrier of Fatty Delight	Asher
Capricornus	Αἰγόκερως "Goat-Horned One"	Doe	Naphtali
Lyra	Λύρα "Lyre" χέλυς "Tortoise"	Beautiful Words	Naphtali
*Taurus	Ταῦρος "Bull"	Bull	Joseph
Aquarius	Ὑδροχόος "Water-pourer"	Spring	Joseph
Aqua	ὕδωρ "Water"	Spring	Joseph
Hyades	Ὑάδες "Hyades"	Daughters	Joseph
Pleiades	Πλειάδες "Pleiades"	Daughters, Eternal Mountains	Joseph
Cassiopeia	Κασσιέπεια "Cassiopeia"	Breasts	Joseph
Auriga	Ἡνίοχος "Charioteer"	Shepherd	Joseph
Cetus	Κῆτος "Sea-Monster"	Crawling Deep	Joseph
Draco	Δράκων "Dragon"	Sky	Joseph
Perseus	Περσεύς "Perseus"	Head, Hand, Bow	Joseph
Sagitta	Ὀιστός "Arrow"	Arrows	Joseph
Triangulum	Δελτωτόν "Triangle"	Hand of the Mighty One	Joseph
Delphinus	Δελφίς "Dolphin"	Womb	Joseph
Andromeda	Ἀνδρομέδα "Andromeda"	Rock	Joseph
Aries	Κριός "Ram"	Shepherd	Joseph
*Orion	Ὠρίων "Orion"	Amorites' Elbow, Jacob's Bow and Sword	Ephraim and Manasseh
Piscis Austrinus	Ἰχθύς "Fish" νότιος "Sourn"	Rachel's Tomb	Ephraim and Manasseh
Pisces	Ἰχθύες "Fish"	Swarming (Fish)	Ephraim and Manasseh
Lepus	Λαγωός "Hare"	Prey	Benjamin
Canis Major	Κύων "Hound"	Wolf	Benjamin
Canis Minor	Προκύων "Before the Hound"	Wolf	Benjamin

TABLE 2. The Blessing of Jacob and the Greek Constellations

** implies, that a constellation is used a second time.*

The stars are italicized and marked by grey background.

The Blessing of Jacob begins with the blessing of Reuben, described as the firstborn son and the beginning of Jacob's strength. The natural place to look for such a blessing is the beginning of the year, which in the Jewish calendar coincided with the vernal equinox.[29] Due to the precession of the earth's axis, the constellations slowly shift in relation to the equinoxes. At the beginning of the second millennium BCE, the vernal equinox would have been in Taurus, and at the end of the first millennium BCE already moving from Aries to Pisces. Thus, the date of a celestial map would have affected the place of the vernal equinox.[30] It is, therefore, not possible to determine the exact starting point without looking for clues in the blessing itself. All the constellations near Taurus and Aries should be considered.

Reuben is reproached for going up onto his father's bed and defiling it, and he is compared to turbulent waters. Regardless of whether the vernal equinox is in Taurus or in Aries, southward of it lies the constellation Eridanus, the deep-eddying[31] river of many tears.[32] It is best known for the myth of Phaeton, the son of the sun god Helios. In the myth, Phaeton asks to ride his father's chariot, loses control of it and ends up drowning in Eridanus after being struck down by Zeus' thunderbolt.[33] While Reuben didn't ride his father's quadriga, Jacob's bed is probably a reference to his four wives, one of whom Reuben slept with.[34]

Reuben is followed by Simeon and Levi. They are described as violent brothers, who have slain a man and mutilated an ox. North-westward of Eridanus is Gemini, the twins.[35] Next to it stands Taurus, a bull, which is missing its hind legs.[36] The eye of Taurus is a red giant star, Aldebaran, which together with the missing legs gives the stargazer an impression of a violent death.[37] The slain man can also be found among the nearby constellations, since the elbow of Orion is similarly marked by a red giant, Betelgeuse. That Orion is the slain man alluded to in the blessing will become evident, once we get to the blessing of Joseph's sons.

The third blessing is that of Judah. He is depicted as placing his hand on the neck of his enemies, and as a lion rising from the prey. Following the sun's orbit, after Gemini in the celestial sphere is Cancer, the crab. Below Cancer lies the water snake Hydra, whom the crab's scissors appear to be grabbing by the neck. Behind Cancer stands Leo, the lion constellation, and beneath it is Corvus, the raven, which can be seen as the lion's prey.

Judah is promised, that the sceptre will not depart from him, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh comes. The brightest star of Leo is Regulus, the ruler, located at the front legs of the lion.[38] Identifying the ruler's staff with a low magnitude star may indicate, that the crux interpretum of the blessing, the Shiloh-oracle, is also a star – one that would take Regulus' place in the night sky. This possibility will be discussed later on in this article, along with the blessing of Joseph's sons.

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[29] Jacobus 2014, 393.

[30] Karttunen; Manner & Perhoniemi 2012, 18–19. However, since precession wasn't duly noted until the second century BCE Hipparchus, the celestial maps would oftentimes reliy on the observations of their predecessors, preserving the place of equinoxes and solstices. See Dekker 2012, 19.

[31] Hesiod, *Theogony,* 338.

[32] Aratus, *Phaen.* 358–360.

[33] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I, 750–779, II, 1–400.

[34] Peano Cavasola identifies Reuben with Taurus, based on the sexual behaviour of the animal and a notion in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, which states that the original emblem of the tribe was the Bull. This interpretation could fit well with the Greek constellations as well, since the constellation was often associated with the bull of Zeus, signifying the libido of the chief-god. However, Taurus will be connected with the blessing of Simeon and Levi, and the Phaeton myth suffices to explain the contents of Reuben's blessing. Still another possibility to be considered is Orion, the son of Poseidon, as he was known for his vigour as well as his sexual misconduct. See Aratus, *Phaen*. 635–646. Be that as it may, Orion will find its place in the blessings of Simeon and Levi, and Ephraim and Manasseh.

[35] Aratus, *Phaen*. 147.

[36] Ibid. 322.

[37] As Zimmern noted, the Gilgamesh Epic's myth of Gilgamesh and Enkidu slaying and mutilating the Heavenly Bull seems to fit well with these two constellations and the brothers' blessing. The slain man of the blessing would then indicate the couple's next victim, Humbaba. While this myth was widespread and well known in the ANE, the blessing can be connected with the constellations even without access to the epic of Gilgamesh.

[38] Zimmern also notices this, and gives credit to H. Gunkel for pointing it out. Zimmern 1892, 163.

Judah's blessing also speaks of a donkey tied to a vine. There are at least two possible ways to tie this imagery to the nearby constellations. First, Cancer has two stars, which were depicted as donkeys in front of a manger.[39] A myth connects them with Dionysius, the god of wine, who rode them to battle against the giants, and placed them among the stars as an expression of gratitude.[40] Second, between Leo and Hydra is the wine-pouring cup, Crater, and below Hydra's tail is Centaurus, a horse-like figure, which the author of the blessing could have identified as a donkey.[41] Centaurus is holding in its hand a game animal, Lupus[42], which could describe the lion's prey or the clothes, washed in wine.[43] The blessing also talks about Judah's teeth being as white as milk. The milk is found in the Milky Way, flowing through Centaurus, Lupus, and Ara, the altar.[44] The altar can be identified as the teeth, due to its function as the mouth of gods.

Next in line is Zebulun's blessing. He lives by the sea, and ships sail to him. Southward of Hydra, one can find the mythical Argo-ship, towed stern first, as if entering a harbour.[45] The blessing goes on to state, that Zebulun's border extends toward Sidon. This has spurred many interpretations, since the territory of the tribe is in no way connected to Sidon.[46] The problem disappears, however, if we follow through with the oceanic theme and read 'keel' instead of 'border'. [47] Nowadays Argo is divided into three constellations: Vela, Carina and Puppis. The keel of Argo is Carina, which holds Argo's brightest star, Canopus, within it. Sidon may have been a local name for Canopus, named after Argo's captain, whose burial place grew into an Egyptian coastal town.[48] Since Canopus is the second brightest star of the sky, it would be worth mentioning in the blessing.

After Zebulun comes Issachar's blessing. He is described as a raw-boned donkey, lying between two burdens and subdued as a corvée worker. Although the donkeys in Judah's blessing are worth considering here as well, none of them seems to be raw-boned. Behind Leo, northward of Virgo, is the constellation Boötes, the herdsman, associated with agricultural themes. The shape of Boötes resembles a donkey's jawbone, making the connection with Zebulun's blessing even stronger. The two burdens can be seen in the two bears circling the North Pole, Ursa Minor and Ursa Major.[49] These were known to the Greeks also by their Babylonian names, the Wagons of Heaven[50], and were connected with the figure of Boötes.[51] The corvée worker could be Hercules, crouching under his toil[52], but since Boötes suffices to account for it, I will suggest that Hercules should be placed in Dan's blessing.

The first cluster of blessings ends with Dan. He is described as a judge and as a snake, biting the horse's heel and causing the rider to tumble backward. Next to Boötes we find Virgo, whom the Greeks associated with Dike, the goddess of justice.[53] Next to it are Serpens and Ophiuchus, the serpent and its handler. The horse's heel, which gets bitten, can be associated with Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown, which is next to the serpent's head. Although not explicated by its name, the constellation resembles a horse's hoof. Hercules, above Serpens, could be the tumbling rider

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[39] Aratus, *Phaen.* 893–898.
[40] The myth is reported by Pseudo-Eratosthenes and discussed in Karttunen; Manner & Perhoniemi 2012, 106.
[41] There could be a theological reason for doing so, since hybrids were not kosher.
[42] Aratus, *Phaen*. 662
[43] Hipparchus, Geminus and Ptolemy also describe Centaurus as holding a Thyrsus-Lance, a staff connected with Dionysius, the god of wine, further strengthening the association with wine. Dekker 2012, 40.
[44] Interestingly, Aratus mentions the Milky Way passing through Crater, Corvus and Hydra, not Centaurus, Lupus and Ara as seen today. Aratus, *Phaen*. 511–524.
[45] Aratus, *Phaen*. 342–353. Peano Cavasola also rightly identifies Argo as the ships in Zebulun's blessing.
[46] Josh 19:10–16. See the discussion in de Hoop 1999, 540–546.
[47] As in Jonah 1:5.
[48] Conon, *Narrations*, 8.
[49] Another possibility is provided by Peano Cavasola, who equates the burdens with Libra, the scales. The Greeks, however, saw Libra as the claws of Scorpius.
[50] Aratus, *Phaen*. 26–27.
[51] Ibid. 91–95.
[52] Aratus, *Phaen*. 63–70.
[53] Aratus, *Phaen*. 96–136.

mentioned in the blessing.[54] It was known by the Greeks as the Ever-kneeling One.[55] Not far behind it is Pegasus, the horse. It is lying on its back, split in half and missing its hind legs, like Taurus.[56] These two images, combined with the snake and the hoof, form a scene in which the crawling Hercules has just fallen from his horse, because its hind legs have been injured. All the elements of Dan's blessing can thus be identified among the Greek constellations.

At the end of Dan's blessing we find a plea for YHWH's deliverance. There are no visual elements, that would connect the prayer with the constellations. However, if the serpent and viper in Dan's blessing are viewed as carrying a negative connotation instead of a positive one, it might be a reference to Ophiuchus, lifting the snake up from the ground.[57]

The second cluster opens with the blessing of Gad, chased by a band of raiders, whose heel he manages to attack. Below Ophiuchus is Scorpius, surrounded by two centaurs, Sagittarius and Centaurus. Sagittarius, the archer, is aiming its bow at Scorpius.[58] Between the figures is Corona Australis[59], the southern crown, which, like its northern counterpart, resembles the hoof of a horse. It seems, then, that the two heels, present in Dan's and Gad's blessings, are the two Coronae.

Gad is followed by Asher, who, in his blessing, serves a greasy delicacy to the king. Between Pegasus and Hercules sits the Ethiopian king, Cepheus. Below it are the constellations Cygnus and Aquila. Cygnus is described by the Greeks simply as a bird[60], and Aquila as the eagle. It seems as though the birds are either hunting or being hunted. Both the king who dines and the delicacies that are served can thus be found in the Greek night sky. Another delicacy might be Lyra, next to Cygnus, known also as the tortoise.[61] However, I will suggest that it should be assigned to Naphtali's blessing.

According to his blessing, Naphtali is a doe set free, uttering beautiful words. Next to Aquila and Sagittarius is Capricornus, the 'goat-horned', matching the doe at the beginning of the blessing. The beautiful words in the latter part of the blessing can be connected to Lyra, the divine lyre made by Hermes, which lies between Cygnus and Hercules.[62]

After Naphtali, it's Joseph's turn. His blessing is the longest, and also the most difficult to translate.[63] The first column speaks of a young bull or a fruitful bough near a spring. Next to Capricornus is Aquarius, the water-pourer, and the stream of water pouring from his cup. These match the spring, but the bull/bough is a bit more complicated. If read 'fruitful bough', it could be a reference to the Ganymede myth related to Aquarius. In the myth, Zeus takes the form of an eagle to abduct the beautiful young boy Ganymede and make him his cup-bearer.[64] If, on the other hand, we read 'young bull', it might be referring to Taurus, the previously mentioned constellation above Eridanus. Eridanus was sometimes seen as part of the same constellation as the water flowing from Aquarius.[65] The latter reading fits well with the following verse, which speaks of daughters running on top of the bull[66]. Above Taurus there are two sets of sisters, Pleiades on its back and Hyades on its forehead.

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[54] There are several possible horse riders in the nearby constellations. Centaurus and Sagittarius are half men and half horse, both resembling a horse rider. However, I find Hercules to be the most plausible alternative.
[55] Aratus, *Phaen*. 614–624.
[56] Ibid. 205–224.
[57] The snake handler could be a reference to Moses, and perhaps Joshua, whose name resembles the word 'deliverance'. It is tempting to see the battle against the Amalekites, described in Exodus 17, as a local variant of the famous conflict between Scorpius (or, in this case, Ophiuchus) and Orion. See Aratus, *Phaen*. 634–646.
[58] Ibid. 305–307.
[59] Ibid. 400–401. Aratus describes the constellation, but doesn't name it.
[60] Ibid. 275–281.
[61] Ibid. 268–269.
[62] Ibid. 268–274.
[63] de Hoop 1999, 181.
[64] Ovid, *Met.* X, 155–161. LXX reads here υἱὸς ηὐξημένος, 'the increased son', which could also fit Ganymede.
[65] Kidd 1997, 316.
[66] cf. de Hoop 1999, 190.

Next to Aquarius is Sagitta, the arrow mentioned in the second verse of the blessing.[67] Joseph's own bow and arm are not found among the nearby constellations, but if a minor Babylonian influence were accepted here, Andromeda's stretched arms could be seen as a rainbow.[68] This doesn't seem likely, though, since Andromeda will have her place as the rock of Israel's Shepherd – she was tied to a rock when (almost) sacrificed to Cetus.[69] Another possibility for Joseph's bow is found in the hand of Perseus, which in Kugel's Globe is depicted as holding a harp, and in the Farnese Globe, a sickle.[70]

The hand of the Mighty One of Jacob also lacks a clear counterpart, although the Aratean name 'Δελτωτόν', used for Triangulum, may be a reference to Zeus.[71] Another option could be that the author is describing a celestial globe which, like the Farnese globe, was placed on the shoulders of the giant Atlas.[72] The hand could in this case be a reference to Atlas' hand, supporting the globe. However, the Farnese Atlas' hands are near Gemini and Ophiuchus, which doesn't quite seem to fit. While the hand imagery is somewhat unclear, the Shepherd is clearly present in Auriga, whom the Greeks knew as the goatherd, and in Aries, the ram.

The crawling deep below, which gives Joseph its blessings, is easily connected with Cetus, the sea monster of Greek mythology.[73] Its counterpart is the sky above, also sharing its blessings. There are several constellations connected with the sky. One possibility is Perseus, who flew across the sky with Hermes' winged sandals to save Andromeda and kill Cetus.[74] Another option is Aries, the golden ram who flew down from heaven to save Phrixus from being sacrificed to Zeus.[75] A third one is Aquila, the eagle. However, while the link between the eagle and Ganymede might suggest that it belongs to Joseph's blessing, I retain the view that its place is in Asher's.[76] The final sky dweller, which I shall opt for here, is the sea monster's celestial counterpart, Draco.

The blessing of the womb is found quite easily. The dolphin constellation Delphinus, which is located next to Aquarius, derives its name from the Greek word 'δελφύς', meaning 'womb.' This is due to the fact that, unlike fish, the species possesses a uterus.[77] The breasts mentioned in the blessing may refer to one of two possible counterparts. The first one is the brightest star of Auriga, Capella, the goat who suckled the baby Zeus.[78] The other one is Cassiopeia, the queen sitting next to Cepheus. Its brightest star was seen as the Queen's breasts, and since the entire constellation has a W shape, it could easily be associated with breasts. The eternal mountains at the end of the blessing can be connected to the rock of Andromeda or, more likely, to the father of the Pleiades, the Atlas mountain.[79]

Finally, Joseph is depicted as a nazirite, with blessings resting on his head. The word nazirite has been a matter of much debate, since nothing in the Joseph Cycle seems to indicate, that he had taken a nazirite vow.[80] The problem disappears, however, if we turn to the constellation Perseus. In the Farnese Globe and Kugel's Globe, he is described as holding the apotropaic head of Medusa in his hand.[81] Since the nazirites were prohibited from cutting their hair, and an uncut hair will eventually

[67] The MT reads 'lords of arrows.' Zimmern's notion about the archers (Sagittarius and Orion) on opposite sides of the sky is also worth noticing.
[68] Hoffmann & Krebernik 2018, 538.
[69] Aratus, Phaen. 203–205.
[70] Dekker 2012, 103, 99.
[71] The genitive form of the name is Διός. See Karttunen; Manner & Perhoniemi 2012, 101.
[72] Dekker 2012, 84–102.
[73] Aratus, Phaen. 354–366.
[74] Ovid, *Met.* IV, 670–739.
[75] Karttunen; Manner & Perhoniemi 2012, 138.
[76] To my mind, the reading 'young bull' is to be preferred over the 'fruitful bough' in the first verse of the blessing. See the discussion in de Hoop 1999, 181–188.
[77] Liddell, Henry George; Scott, Robert. "δελφίς". A Greek-English Lexicon. Perseus Digital Library.
[78] Aratus, *Phaen*. 163.
[79] Ovid, *Met.* IV, 626–662; VI, 174.
[80] As described in Num. 6:1–21. It is possible, of course, that the word does not here bear the idea of acolyteship, see de Hoop 1999, 217.
[81] Dekker 2012, 103, 112.

develop into hairlocks, we can see the resemblance with the snake-haired gorgon.[82] Another candidate for the head of Joseph could be Aries, whose constellation consists mainly of its head.

The blessing of Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh in the previous chapter of Genesis can also be connected with the constellations. The rabbis saw the promise of swarming offspring as a reference to fish.[83] There are two fish-related constellations, Pisces and Piscis Austrinus. Pisces consists of two fishes, connected by a cord. This fits the two sons quite well. In the narrative attached to the blessing of Joseph's sons, Jacob tells how Rachel, the boys' grandmother, died and was buried near the road to Ephrata. According to a myth associated with Piscis Austrinus, the southern fish, it was the progenitor of Pisces, and resided in a lake near the river Euphrates.[84] The play on words seems obvious.

As mentioned earlier, the Shiloh in Judah's blessing might be a reference to a bright star, which surpasses Regulus. There are several ways to define such a star, but one possibility is to look for a bright star, which rises when Regulus is setting. One star fitting this description is Fomalhaut, the brightest star of Piscis Austrinus. It is brighter than Regulus, and rises, while Regulus is setting. Since Piscis Austrinus is connected with the tomb of Rachel in Bethlehem, the blessing's author might have been a supporter of the Davidic line.

At the end of the blessing, Jacob promises Joseph an extra 'elbow', which he has taken from the Amorites with his bow and sword. This is yet another detail in stark contrast with the rest of the narrative. But once again, the constellations may provide some light. The Amorites are described elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as a nation of giants.[85] The giant of the sky is the mighty hunter Orion. As mentioned earlier, Orion's elbow is Betelgeuse, whose bloody colour matches the stolen elbow mentioned by Jacob.[86] According to Greek mythology, Orion's death was brought to him because he sexually assaulted Artemis, the archer goddess par excellence.[87] The sword, on the other hand, was one of Orion's own weapons.[88] It seems like Jacob used weapons at hand to slay the heavenly giant.

Finally, the youngest brother Benjamin receives his blessing. He is depicted as a predatory wolf, active in the morning and in the evening alike. Next to Orion is its dog, Canis Major. Its brightest star, Sirius, is the brightest star in the entire sky, and therefore the first one to become visible in the evening, and the last to be seen in the morning.[89] Next to Canis Major one finds Hare, the prey of the great dog. Thus, each of the twelve blessings can be connected with the Greek constellations.

CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As has been demonstrated, the imagery of the Blessing of Jacob mirrors perfectly the Greek celestial maps. Only in three cases – the donkey's jawbone, the horse's hoof, and the hand of the Mighty One of Israel – the blessing differs from the studied celestial maps. Even in these cases, a connection with can be made based on the appearance or nomenclature of the constellations. This may indicate a local tradition, or simply the author's artistic freedom. Greek influence clearly calls for a late date, possibly the third or second century BCE.[90] This means, that the blessing's author is probably also

[82] If this interpretation is correct, it raises some interesting questions concerning the beheading of John the Forerunner.
[83] Genesis Rabbah XCVII: III, 4.
[84] Karttunen; Manner & Perhoniemi 2012, 47.
[85] Deut 3:11, Amos 2:9.
[86] The aforementioned Atlas could also account for this and other shoulders in the blessing.
[87] Aratus, *Phaen*. 634–646.
[88] Aratus, *Phaen*. 588; Ovid, *Met.* VIII, 207.
[89] The myth is reported by Pseudo-Eratosthenes and discussed in Karttunen; Manner & Perhoniemi 2012, 69. This holds true, of course, only when the star is above the horizon.
[90] This assumes, that Eudoxus was not collecting, but creating the constellations for his catalogue. Since there are mentions of the constellations from Homer on, the assumption may be wrong. Perhaps the astronomical data presented in the blessing might provide some clues concerning its age, as Cavasola suggested, Cavasola 2014. However, the data may also be misleading, since for instance Eudoxus, writing in the fourth century BCE, placed the solstices and equinoxes in a position in which they would have been ca. 1000 BCE. He may have been using older material, or perhaps he was simply fond of symmetry. See Dekker 2012, 20–22.

the final redactor of the Torah.[91] If this is true, it would explain why the blessing evades classification into the four documents of the documentary hypothesis. As for the mode of transmission, one proponent are the celestial globes which, alongside Aratus' poem, popularized Eudoxus' celestial map in the Hellenistic Era.[92]

The celestial map found in the blessing raises questions concerning its rhetorical function. I hope to address these questions in a future article, but some preliminary notions can be made already. Placed in a cross-cultural context, describing the patriarchs as constellations would equate the forefathers of the Jews with the forefathers and gods of the surrounding nations. The aim could be to create a local version of the surrounding nations' mythology.[93]

As the blessing now stands, as the climax of Genesis, it is connected to multiple motifs in the book. Firstly, in the creation account, men are made as images of God(s) and given a ruler's status on par with the stars. Secondly, in the Garden, the serpent promises Adam and Eve that by eating from the tree of knowledge they will become like gods. Thirdly, Jacob, naming his children after the animal-shaped constellations connects with Adam, naming the animals. Fourthly, Jacob's knowledge of the stars presents him as a Chaldean wise man, like Abraham[94]. Finally, the blessing brings Joseph's dream[95] to a closure.

The celestial map still requires further research. What happened to this astronomical tradition? Did it disappear, perhaps due to the rise of competing traditions, or are there traces of it elsewhere in the Bible and other second temple literature?[96] These questions I hope to address in another future article by combining text mining with a phylogenetic approach.[97]

I shall close with two quotes:

"He could not, of course, have named or identified all the stars taken individually, because there are so many all over the sky, and many alike in magnitude and colour, while all have circling movement; therefore he decided to make the stars into groups, so that different stars arranged together in order could represent figures."

Aratus*, Phaenomena,* 375–381[98]

"He took him outside and said, 'Look up at the sky and count the stars – if indeed you can count them.' Then he said to him, 'So shall your offspring be.'"

Genesis 15:5

[91] Following Baden's revision of the documentary hypothesis, the Torah only had one redactor who used the four documents (JEDP) to compile it. See Baden 2012.
[92] Dekker 2012, 4, 80. According to Dekker, Hyginus' work was at least partially based on such a globe.
[93] Cavasola 2014, 2.
[94] Wikander 2020, 557–558.
[95] Gen 37:9
[96] While there are numerous examples of Jewish astronomical and astrological text from this era, the author of this draft is not aware of any that treat the constellations in such a rigorous manner as the Blessing of Jacob does. For the other astronomical texts, see for instance Ben-Dov & Sanders 2014; Jacobus 2014.
[97] For the methodology see Thuillard, Le Quellec & d'Huy 2018.
[98] Kidd 1997, 101.

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Freedom of Movement in the Book of Jonah: Running from Authority to Free Will /

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Project Summary

The Book of Jonah tells the story of a prophet literally attempting to flee his god and miserably failing. A natural result of the dramatization of this premise is a story about a person running across space with a god in pursuit. Another inevitable result of this scenario is a power dynamic of a superior authority figure (Yahweh) pitted against an inferior subject (Jonah). While many commentators have wondered about the theological aspects of this kind of brazen disobedience, not many have considered the more experiential aspect of the embodied dramatization of this disobedience in travel-story form. In this dissertation, I examine the spatial aspect of Jonah's confrontation with Yahweh as it is dramatized in the story in the form of a conflict between an individual and an omnipotent god. Since both movement across space and a power dynamic are implied in the very concept of flight – and the story is organized as a dramatization of a flight - both aspects are crucial to the understanding of the story. I argue that a spatial reading of Jonah's agency in the context of his relationship with Yahweh will show that the narrative employs space itself as a literary device for the representation of Yahweh's absolute freedom as opposed to Jonah's oppression.

Since the spatial and power-dynamic aspects of the concept of flight are dramatized in the Book of Jonah – a narrative text – a study of its literary design and mechanisms will be especially useful for an examination of these themes as they are represented in the story. These will allow an insight into the underlying messages and implicit dynamics that are signaled to the reader by the exploitation of literary conventions and artistic design. Since the plot of the Book of Jonah takes the form of a travel story, a consideration of it as such will focus this literary analysis further, and assist in identifying the specific mechanisms of the literary

representation of a person moving across space. This analysis will be done using a close synchronic reading of the Hebrew Masoretic text using interpretive tools from the fields of biblical studies, narratology, travel literature, philosophy, and geography.

Read this way, the Book of Jonah imagines what would happen to a person who would actually try to run from Yahweh. As the extreme example of this notion, Jonah is persistent in his resistance. Since the message of the story is that resisting Yahweh is impossible, Jonah has to fail in his resistance, but his insistence upon his own point of view remains, and it leads him to the depths of despair. The story tells the reader that mere obedience is not enough to achieve happiness, but only a full-hearted acceptance of Yahweh's authority will do. Jonah is the example of an individual who refuses to submit to Yahweh full-heartedly, and is severely punished for it.

Following the introduction chapter, the first chapter of the dissertation will be dedicated to the plot of the story (namely, the narrative frame of the travel story); and the second chapter will be dedicated to the textual design of space – both from the perspective of Jonah's confrontation and relationship with Yahweh. The paper submitted relates to the third chapter of the dissertation, which will be dedicated to themes of space, authority, freedom, and their dynamics. An analysis of the spatial design and the internal laws, logic, and dynamics of the story-world of the book in the first two chapters will provide a more nuanced context for a more theoretical discussion on the representation of notions of power, individuation, oppression, and freedom of movement in the Book of Jonah. This discussion will draw from theories of these issues and their interaction from other fields of study – such as philosophy, psychology, geography, spatial studies, and more – and consider these power dynamics as they are reflected and represented in the biblical text.

A Panopticonian View of the Book of Jonah / Anat Shapiro, Aarhus University

Preface

The disciplining of the individual is an important means of social control and organization in any human society. It is crucial for maintaining social order, function, and protection, and alongside those, it is also crucial for maintaining power and authority. Over the years, social theorists from various fields of study have suggested different formulations of the individual, society, and power, as well as the dynamics between them. While these formulations differ – either in relation to historical contexts or as a simple result of differences in theoretical approach – they all share the underlying assumption that the individual and the demands of power or society often clash, leading to the exertion of disciplinary power in various forms of punishment and behavioral correction.

The basic premise of the story in the Book of Jonah deals with such a scenario, with an individual human prophet resisting his god's direct order. The story begins with this disobedience, marking it the central problem of the narrative, and the consequent story outlines the disciplinary action taken against the dissident prophet and its results. Previous readings of the Book of Jonah have focused on more abstract, theological issues, such as Yahweh's universal sovereignty, the power of repentance, or the nature of prophecy, to name a few. While many if not all of these notions are reflected in the text, however, they are all discussed within the context of a conflict between an individual agent and the deity – who represents power and authority in their most basic, abstract sense in a religious text.

Dealing with a divine authority is in many ways much different than dealing with a human one, in that it is perceived as possessing certain abilities that exceed human capabilities, and its claim to authority is considered absolute and timeless. Such an authority shares some fundamental qualities with the faceless, more implicit mechanisms of power typically

associated with the modern era. Biblical scholars have been careful to apply theories that address these "modern" power mechanisms to the biblical text, based on the assumption that the perception of the self, of society, of power, and their dynamics in ancient and modern times are necessarily too different to be considered in similar terms. Recent theories of the self in antiquity, however, have begun to undermine some of the most fundamental assumptions that have led to this hesitation, mainly in relation to the issue of the self and individual agency in the ANE.

Recent theories of moral agency and individualization in the Hebrew Bible have shown that Ancient Israel was very much aware of, and even concerned with, the notion of the individual self and its conflict with society and authority. Considering the highly individualized context of Jonah's character – as the only Hebrew/Israelite in the book – alongside the unique properties of divine authority, it is worthwhile to examine the text through the lens of such social theories that consider these very notions.

This paper is an attempt at such an examination, based on the fundamental similarities between the power dynamics in the Book of Jonah and Michel Foucault's concept of the Panopticon. Its main purpose is to consider the dynamics between the individual and Yahweh in this biblical story from the point of view of individual who resists, and to consider divine authority as social or political authority. Considered this way, some of the more oppressive or even "sinister" aspects of divine authority are pushed to the fore, which changes significantly the characterization of Yahweh as a universally loving, compassionate, god who is "slow to anger." The paper in its current form focuses more on the general methodological groundwork for considering Yahweh's authority in Panopticonian terms. The implementation of these ideas on the biblical text is somewhat partial and could be significantly elaborated and deepened, but I chose to give more room to the fundamental idea rather than the textual analysis within the constraints of space, to perhaps focus the discussion more on the possibility, viability, or

conversely – potential problems, of this framework regarding the biblical text in general and the Book of Jonah specifically.

A Panopticonian View of the Book of Jonah / Anat Shapiro, Aarhus University

The Book of Jonah confronts the reader with a human prophet who tries to avoid a divine order by fleeing the mighty god who gave it (Jonah 1:1–3). Not surprisingly, Jonah is "caught" and forced to fulfill his duty (2:1–3:3), causing him great distress to the point of losing the will to live (4:1–3). Yahweh's response to Jonah's resistance is an active, direct involvement on his part, with him controlling space to force Jonah into submission: he creates a storm at sea when Jonah tries to sail to Tarshish (1:4); sends a great fish to imprison (and then release) him (2:1; 11); and manipulates nature to disrupt Jonah's personal space (4:6–8).

By emphasizing Yahweh's absolute control over space, combined with his omnipresence, the narrative relates the inability to escape this powerful deity to the features of the spatial design of the story-world. Framed in a dynamic of a (failed) attempt at resistance to authority, the story ties space with power, rendering the first a means of exerting the latter. The futility of escaping Yahweh is brought to the forefront by arranging the plot around this dramatized metaphor, exposing a power mechanism that associates Yahweh's omnipresence with his (apparent) omnipotence.

In this paper, I examine how divine presence in the Book of Jonah is used as a means of oppressing resistance and securing Yahweh's will. For this purpose, I will consider the power dynamics of the story-world through the lens of French philosopher Michel Foucault's concept of the Panopticon.[1] Foucault's theories of power dynamics identify a profound connection between spatial organization and social regulation, suggesting that space is a powerful and effective means of social and individual control.[2] Since Foucault is concerned primarily with

[1] Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (trans. Alan Sheridan; New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 195–228.

[2] See: Miloje Grbin, "Foucault and Space," *Socioloski Pregled* 49, no. 3 (2015): 305–312; Chris Philo, "Michel Foucault," in *Key Thinkers on Space and Place* (eds. Phil Hubbard and Rob Kitchin; 2nd edition; London: Sage, 2011), 162–170.

his own contemporary modern society, theories of individuation and agency in Ancient Israel will serve to mediate the possible differences between the sense of self and its relation to authority in modern and ancient times.[3] Considered in the context of the Panopticon, divine presence in the Book of Jonah emerges as a spatial center that arranges and regulates space and the agents acting within it, so that it is impossible to escape Yahweh – and his gaze – and he must be obeyed completely and whole-heartedly at all times.

The Panopticon

In a series of letters written from Russia to his father in 1787, English philosopher Jeremy Bentham developed an architectural model for an institutional building, which he dubbed "the Panopticon" or the "Inspection-House."[4] To Bentham, this building is the ultimate, most efficient form of construction for a prison or penitentiary, yet it is "applicable to any sort of establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection."[5] Bentham describes this as a circular building, where a central tower is surrounded by a ring of individual cells.[6] The key idea behind the Panopticon is the creation of a system where inmates or subjects can be constantly observed without their knowledge, inducing a state of perpetual visibility and self-discipline.[7]

The central tower serves as the watchtower from which the inspector can observe all the cells simultaneously. The cells, on the other hand, are designed in a way that makes it

[3] Carol A. Newsom, *The Spirit Within Me: Self and Agency in Ancient Israel and Second Temple Judaism* (The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library; New Haven and London: Yale University, 2021); Jonathan Kaplan, "Jonah and Moral Agency," *JSOT* 43, no. 2 (2019): 146–162.

[4] Jeremy Bentham, *The Panopticon Writings* (ed. Miran Bozovic; London: Verso, 1995), 29–95; It has later been stressed that the conceptualization of the Panopticon should be attributed to Bentham's brother, Samuel Bentham, as Jeremy admits himself in his letters (see for example: Bentham, *Panopticon*, 34), yet it was Jeremy Bentham who formulated the idea in its final, published form, and in any case this point is immaterial for the purpose of this discussion (see: Philip Steadman, "Samuel Bentham's panopticon," *Journal of Bentham Studies* 14, no. 1 (2012): 1–30).

[5] Bentham, *Panopticon*, 29.

[6] Ibid, 35–36.

[7] Ibid, 43–44.

impossible for the inmates to ascertain whether they are being watched or not: the cells are all facing the central tower, but the inmates cannot see the other cells. More importantly, they can always see the central tower itself, but using blinds, screens and light, the inmates never see whether or not the tower is occupied, or by whom. This design element instills a sense of constant surveillance, compelling the inmates to regulate their behavior as if they were always under scrutiny.[8]

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, French philosopher Michel Foucault discusses the Panopticon as a symbol of disciplinary power. While Bentham conceived the Panopticon as a physical architectural design, Foucault abstracted it into a conceptual model that transcends its literal manifestation. He argues that the principles of the Panopticon can be observed in schools, factories, hospitals, and even in everyday life, where surveillance and disciplinary practices are pervasive.[9] More than a mere building, the Panopticon is to Foucault "the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; […] it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use."[10]

Like Bentham, Foucault notes the efficiency of the Panopticon mechanism, describing its function as an "automation of power."[11] The genius of the Panopticon, as interpreted by Foucault, however, lies not only in its economic efficiency – as it requires few inspectors for the inspection of many - but also in its ability to transform external surveillance into internalized self-discipline. Even in the absence of an actual observer, the perceived possibility of being watched compels individuals to conform to societal norms and expectations. This internalized surveillance becomes a mode of control that operates on the individual's mind, creating a docile and obedient population.[12]

[8] Ibid, 34–35.
[9] Foucault, *Discipline*, 200–202.
[10] Ibid, 205.
[11] Ibid, 206; see also: Bentham, *The Panopticon*, 34, 43–47.
[12] Foucault, *Discipline*, 202, 206.

In essence, the Panopticon is effective because it requires no active disciplining on the part of power, and it ensures by its mere existence the smooth and orderly surveillance and regulation of society: "its strength is that it never intervenes, it is exercised spontaneously and without noise, it constitutes a mechanism whose effects flow from one another. Because, without any physical instrument other than architecture and geometry, it acts directly on individuals; it gives 'power of mind over mind'."[13] In addition, the Panopticon's spatial design also lends itself to targeted inspection, alteration, experimentation, or correction of behavior when intervention is required, as it allows for regulated separation and isolation of individuals from the influences of others, limiting them to the gaze and authority of the inspector.[14]

The Self, Agency, and the Internalization of Authority in the Hebrew Bible

Foucault conceives of the Panopticon as a metaphor for the disciplinary society of the modern era, relating it to various industrial and political shifts he traces to the 17th century.[15] He formulates the fundamental difference between ancient and modern times as a difference that has to do with individuation. Following Julius, Foucault describes Antiquity as "a civilization of spectacle," where many persons had to be given access to a few objects, leading to an emphasis on familial, public, and ritualistic life.[16] Modern society, he claims, on the other hand, "is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance," so that rather than living "on stage," the modern individual lives "inside the panoptic machine," and is "invested by its effects of power, which we bring to ourselves since we are part of its mechanism."[17]

Foucault's conception of the individual self in Antiquity resonates with a traditional approach to the self in Jewish Antiquity. Van der Toorn, for example, represents a rather

[13] Ibid. 206.
[14] Ibid, 203–204.
[15] Ibid 209–217.
[16] Ibid, 216.
[17] Ibid, 217.

common view of individuality as a modern conception foreign to the Hebrew Bible.[18] He claims that Ancient Israelites did not conceive of the public and the private self as two conflicting or differentiated selves, but as two sides of the same person, with the public self taking precedence over the private. In other words, if modern thought takes the private self to be the "true" and the public to be the "false" self, Ancient Israelite thought, claims van der Toorn, was more concerned with the public self, and participation in familial, communal, and religious public systems was the individual's way of claiming their subjective self.[19]

However, an increasing number of scholars have suggested that the self in Ancient Israel was not necessarily perceived in such a strictly public way, or at the very least not at the expense of other, more complex perceptions of the individual self. For example, while van der Toorn takes religion to be a means of connecting the individual with the community, Niditch suggests that archeological evidence indicates an active and lively practice of lived personal religion at least in the Persian period, with an "increased emphasis on the real or material, the individual or personal, and the unofficial or popular aspects of religion. There is also evidence of the interplay between unofficial and official, personal and public dimensions of religious experience and expression."[20] Niditch acknowledges the importance of corporate identity in the Hebrew Bible. She adds, however, that this kind of system does not exclude the existence of a private, individual perception of the self that could have existed alongside it and could have come to the fore in certain historical and literary contexts – for instance in the post-exilic and Persian periods. As evidence, she points to the blessings and curses theology, where sins

[18] Karel van der Toorn, "Public Self and Private Self in the World of the Hebrew Bible," in *With the Loyal You Show Yourself Loyal: Essays on Relationships in the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Saul M. Olyan* (eds. T. M. Lemos, et all.; Ancient Israel and Its Literature 42; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2021), 99–100; see also: Newsome, *The* Spirit, 10–11; Cornelis H. J. de Geus, "The Individual in Relation to Authority in Ancient Israel," *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 46 (1989): 53–71.

[19] van der Toorn, "Public Self," 111–112.

[20] Susan Niditch, *The Responsive Self: Personal Religion in Biblical Literature of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (New Haven and London: Yale University, 2015), 7.

and punishable transgressions are usually attributed to the entire community, yet in some texts an awareness of individual moral responsibility is vividly reflected.[21]

Representing a similar view, in her study of the self in Ancient Israel, Newsome claims that perceptions of the self are cultural constructs necessary for social function in all human societies, and as such, they are symbolic and consequentially potentially numerous.[22] However, she notes, anthropological research has shown that the relationship between the cultural, symbolical models of the self and the actual subjective experience of the individual is a problematic one.[23] While individuals acknowledge and adopt those communal, normative models of the self, they must still navigate them with other, sometimes conflicting models resulting from their own self-experience:

> "Though agents are aware of cultural expectations for how persons are to conduct themselves and how, subjectively, one is *expected* to experience things, people often struggle to actualize the cultural norms and are often aware of a gap between self-experience and normative models. They may even be critical or dismissive of the cultural model."[24]

To support this claim, Newsome points to wisdom literature as an example of models of the self that assume the possibility of individual transgression of the social norm, while also reflecting the social dynamics around such resistance. In Proverbs, for example, the negative characterization of the fools "provides indirect evidence for significant resistance to the cultural norms, much as recent ethnographies have shown the tensive relationship between sociocentric cultural norms and actual individual agency."[25] In addition, Job and Qohelet represent

[21] Niditch, *Responsive Self*, 24–25.
[22] Newsome, *The Spirit*, 1–2; see also: Kaplan, "Jonah," 149–150.
[23] Newsome, *The Spirit*, 3–4.
[24] Ibid, 4.
[25] Ibid, 13.

individual characters who are very much concerned with and for personal autonomy and judgement.[26]

Not unlike Niditch, Newsome identifies a shift towards a heightened interest in the self and internal experience in later periods in Ancient Israel, specifically in the aftermath of the Babylonian exile and in Second Temple literature.[27] An example of this can be found in the increasing concern with theories of mind – or the depiction of characters thinking about other characters' (and their own) thoughts – in these later texts.[28] She points to the Book of Jonah as an example of a narrative text that makes active use of theory of mind as a literary device, claiming that the entire premise of the book is based on the author's setting the reader up to make an inaccurate judgement about Jonah's mental state, an assumption that is suddenly overturned at the very end of the story."[29] To her, this indicates a growing concern and understanding of the notion of internal personal perception.[30]

Moral Agency and the Internalization of Authority in the Hebrew Bible

Newsome relates the shift in the perception of the self in the Persian and Second Temple periods to the specific issue of moral agency in response to the crisis of the Babylonian exile. With the destruction of Judah in 586 BCE perceived as human moral failure, Ancient Israel had to confront the nature and limits of human moral agency to explain this traumatic event to itself, leading to a reflection on the existing notions of human moral agency, and finally to a displacement of moral agency from the human to the divine.[31] This shift, however, is in constant dialogue with the preexisting notions of moral agency to which it responds. This is a natural result of a responsive conceptualization, alongside the multiplicity of perceptions of the

[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid, 8; 17.
[28] Ibid, 20–21.
[29] Ibid, 22.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid, 49–50, 71, 73.

self that are anyway present in any society. And so, before the discussion can return to the Panopticon and the Book of Jonah, it is necessary to understand these underlying perceptions of the self that are reflected in the text.

Despite the multiplicity of models of the moral self in the Hebrew Bible, from a cross-cultural point of view, Newsome identifies a common, or "default" Israelite notion of human moral agency, which she defines as "an internalized conceptualization of the self in control."[32] This model perceives the human being as a moral agent capable of making moral choices, yet all the while being subject to an external (divine) authority to which these choices are related.[33] However, the Hebrew Bible also assumes the possibility of divine intervention in a person's selfhood, be it in the form of the enhancement of their existing agency or the divine's endowment of skills or abilities necessary for success.[34]

This model of shared moral agency is a natural result of a hierarchal, feudal society on the one hand, combined with the covenantal nature of the imagined relationship between Yahweh and Israel on the other.[35] The result of this power dynamic is that human success or failure are perceived as moral success or failure that elicit the appropriate response from the authoritative divine. These were measured by three central aspects that were perceived as working in combination within the moral self: "desire, knowledge, and the discipline of submission to external authority."[36] Moral failure was likewise considered a combination of a failure to understand situations or the divine; misguided desires; and finally, resistance to authority.[37]

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[32] Carol A. Newsome, "Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism," *JBL* 131, no. 1 (2012): 10; see also: Kaplan, "Jonah," 148–149.

[33] Newsome, "Models," 11.

[34] Ibid; see also: Newsome, *The Spirit*, 44–47.

[35] Newsome, *The Spirit*, 27–28, 63–64.

[36] Newsome, "Models," 12.

[37] Newsome, *The Spirit*, 50–52.

Submission to authority is an important moral value in the Hebrew Bible, as is reflected from different perspectives in Proverbs and Deuteronomy, for example. Both texts associate resistance with subsequent disaster.[38] This perception is a result of the highly hierarchal nature of Israelite society, where authority is considered moral and legitimate due to its function as the facilitator and protector of the good of the group. As a result, "if authority is recognized as legitimate, then the appropriate response to it is respect, obedience, and submissiveness. Rejection of authority expresses itself in disrespect, disobedience, and rebellion."[39] In the Hebrew Bible, this authority is associated with Yahweh, and his laws and divine commands must be followed to please him – for the benefit of the moral self and the group.[40]

While Deuteronomy foregrounds the issue of memory and active recognition of respect to authority, Proverbs places particular emphasis on the maintaining of the social order by way of internalized authority and preventative morality.[41] In Proverbs, says Newsome, the model of the moral, "good" agent is of a person who has memorized and internalized the wisdom of the authority figure – or the father – so as to gain ultimate control of one's inner urges and desires. Since Proverbs is concerned with the essence of moral existence, it aspires to more than mere outwardly acts of submission, and encourages a profound adoption of the authority and its teachings.[42] As a result, "the process of becoming a moral agent formed in sapiential culture is largely a matter of internalizing the dynamics of teaching and rebuke. […] Discipline becomes self-discipline."[43]

Proverbs and Deuteronomy both reflect a perception of the moral self that requires the individual to internalize Yahweh's authority and submit to him whole-heartedly. This submission is considered a moral act, as it pleases the benevolent protective authority;

[38] Ibid, 51.
[39] Ibid, 64.
[40] Ibid, 65–66.
[41] Ibid, 67–68.
[42] Ibid, 55–56.
[43] Ibid, 56.

promotes the good of the group; and maintains social order by encouraging self-motivated discipline. This approach represents a common model of the self in the Hebrew Bible, which has been reexamined and considered more explicitly in later texts. Considering this formulation of the individual's relationship with authority, it is now possible to return to the story-world of the Book of Jonah and examine how this issue is expressed in the dramatized scenario of an individual blatantly resisting such authority and the consequences of this resistance.

The Panopticonian Story-World of the Book of Jonah

While Foucault associates the disciplinary nature of the panopticon with the specific features and historical circumstances of modern society, recent trends in the study of the self, individuality, and agency in the Hebrew Bible indicate a subjective reality much more similar to Foucault's formulation than initially assumed. At least certain perceptions of the moral self in the Hebrew Bible are very much aware of and concerned with the individual's relationship with authority, the possible conflict of this relationship with individual desire and experience, and the consequent societal need to regulate individual thoughts and behavior. The emphasis on a hierarchal relationship with a divine authority, combined with the encouragement of internalized submission, indicates that a Panopticonian model can prove useful for the understanding of the perception of obedience and resistance to Yahweh's wishes in the biblical text. As a dramatization of such a scenario, the Book of Jonah represents an example of the mechanism of authority in action when intervention is required to reform a wayward individual. In what follows, the story-world of the Book of Jonah will be examined through the lens of the Panopticon, especially in terms of the role of the authoritative divine gaze and its disciplining qualities in relation to the individual.

The Panoptic Spatial Organization of the Book of Jonah

One of the main features of the Panopticonian mechanism is its spatial organization, which is crucial for its disciplinary efficiency. The central tower has the important function of both allowing the single inspector to guard many inmates at once, as well as establishing the uneven dynamics of power by making the inmate constantly visible and authority constantly visible yet unverifiable.[44] The story-world of the Book of Jonah is likewise spatially organized around a central point that is associated with the divine, and by extension – the divine authority and gaze.

Previous research into the spatial perception of the Ancient Near East draws a rather uniform picture of a world perceived as organized around an orienting center to which all of space relates.[45] This is usually represented in the form of a great mountain or a temple, which represents a microcosmos in itself and considered to mark the source of creation and the sacred meeting point of the human and the divine worlds. This temple or mountain was considered to be the deity's cosmic domain and was imagined to be the center of the world.[46] The image of the holy, central temple served as an orienting and organizing element in the perception of the world, as Walton explains:

[44] Foucault, *Discipline*, 200–201.

[45] See for example: Gert T. M. Prinsloo, "Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Theory and Practice with Reference to the Book of Jonah," in *Constructions of Space V: Place, Space and Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (eds. Gert T. M. Prinsloo and Christl M. Maier; Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 576; London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), 9; Nicolas Wyatt, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 54, 57; Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Prophane: The Nature of Religion* (trans. Williard R. Trask; New York: Harcourt, 1959), 21–42.

[46] John H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2007), 123–125; see also: Wyatt, 38–39, 147, 159; John H. Walton, *Genesis 1 as Ancient Cosmology* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 101–102; Francesca Rochberg, "Mesopotamian Cosmology," in *A Companion to the Ancient Near East* (ed. Daniel C. Snell; Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 325–326; Richard A. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1972), 25; John D. Levenson, "The Temple and the World," *The Journal of Religion* 64, no. 3 (1984): 282–283; John M. Lundquist, "The Common Temple Ideology of the Ancient Near East," in *The Temple in Antiquity: Ancient Records and Modern Perspectives* (ed. Truman G. Madsen; Salt Lake City: Desert Books, 1984), 55.

> "Because of the significance that the temple had in the divine and cosmic realms, it took on unparalleled significance in the human world as well. It was considered the center of power, control, and order from which the deity brings order to the human world. Fertility, prosperity, peace, and justice emanate from his presence there."[47]

This conceptualization of the temple as an orienting, organizing center that represents the seat of power, order, and control of meaningful existence resonates with the spatial organizational functions of the Panopticonian tower. Furthermore, the notion of the ancient Near Eastern temple has Panoptic qualities that have to do with its more concrete aspects, namely its architecture and performative social functions. As a result of its cosmic function as the meeting point between the human (the earth) and the divine (the heavens) realms, temples were typically built on high ground – on hilltops or mountains – in the form of tall, elongated, multi-storied buildings.[48] This structure did not just position the temple in a privileged vantage point overlooking the surrounding area, but also positioned it so that it is visible – and orienting – from all directions and from a distance. Hundley, following Rapaport, explains that very tall, central, highly-visible buildings such as these temples have the purpose of subconsciously eliciting feelings of awe and implicitly directing desired social behavior, by providing mnemonic cues designed to guide and correct behavior.[49] Interestingly, Hundley describes the temple's social function in terms very similar to those used to describe the function of the Panopticon by both Foucault and Bentham, namely in terms of the efficiency of unconscious, internalized acceptance of authority and its relation to separation and differentiation and the dynamics of power:

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[47] Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern*, 127.
[48] Lundquist, "Common Temple," 56.
[49] Michael B. Hundley, *Gods in Dwellings: Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East* (Writings from the Ancient World Supplements / SBL 3; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 5–6.

> "The environment itself does not create messages; instead it is created to reinforce, perhaps even enculturate, preexisting messages regarding rank and access. This message is particularly persuasive precisely because the observer often absorbs it unconsciously. Thus, by reinforcing the divisions within the society and within the homes of its members, the structure seems to indicate that the differences are innate."[50]

In the Book of Jonah, too, the image of the temple functions as an orienting center that is identified with the divine and its presence. The most explicit expression of this is in chapter 2. In his psalm, Jonah describes himself as being in a state of utter disorientation as he is engulfed by the waters of the sea, using the word יסובבני to denote a situation of being completely surrounded by water, while also evoking a spatial connotation of being turned around as in a whirlwind (cf. 2:4, 6).[51] In his address to Yahweh, Jonah refers to Yahweh's temple as the orienting point for his gaze in v. 5 and for his prayer in v. 8: " ואני אמרתי נגרשתי מנגד עיניך אך אוסיף להביט אל-היכל קדשך" (2:5); "בהתעטף עלי נפשי את-יהוה זכרתי ותבוא אליך תפלתי אל-היכל קדשך" (v. 8).[52] As a result, the temple (and Yahweh) emerge as the main point of reference around which space is organized in relation to chaos. Prinsloo, too, understands this mention of the temple as Jonah's perception of it as the organizing center of the world: "YHWH is present [in the temple], acts there, only here Jonah can be at-center. […] The message is clear: the center of the universe is where YHWH is – and that is where human beings worship him."[53]

As noted above, the architectural design and the social function of the temple are a symbolical recreation of the cosmos itself. If the world is organized around a cosmic center that is imagined as the source of all creation, order and power, as well as the dwelling of the

[50] Hundley, *Gods*, 10.

[51] BDB, סבב.

[52] "And I said: I am cast out of the sight of your eyes, yet I still behold again your holy Temple." (Jonah 2:5); "Even while my soul fainted within me, I remembered Yahweh, and my prayer came before you into your holy Temple." (v. 8).

[53] Prinsloo, "Space, Place," 17.

divine, in a monotheistic view like the one reflected in the Hebrew Bible, a natural consequence would be that this cosmic center is associated with a single, all-encompassing authority. And indeed, the story-world of the Book of Jonah is organized around Yahweh as a spatial center in terms of its wider cosmography, as well. This is evident first and foremost in Jonah's flight in 1:3. By mentioning that Jonah flees to Tarshish מלפני יהוה [from before Yahweh], the narrative orients Jonah in relation to Yahweh as a fixed point in space. Since Jonah is sailing from Joppa, whatever historical city we identify Tarshish with, it is presumable that the ship was sailing west. However, rather than saying "Jonah fled westward to Tarshish," the narrative says, "Jonah fled to Tarshish away from Yahweh." Pre-modern Jewish commentators also note the difference between the forms מפני ה and מלפני ה. The latter, they explain, means Yahweh's presence, the greatest proximity to him, and implies first being in the presence of Yahweh and then turning from him.[54] Spatially, this phrase emphasizes the relation to Yahweh's location, rather than a geographical one.

Other actant movements also construct a circular image of space in the book, where everything eventually returns to Yahweh or to an implied point of origin or center: First, Yahweh creates a storm at sea that prevents the ship from continuing its voyage westward or away from Yahweh (1:4); then, while it is unclear where it is exactly that the fish vomits Jonah onto land, it is implied that the general direction would be in the opposite direction of his flight (2:11); in Nineveh, too, the repeated use of the root שוב evokes not just moral repentance, but also a physical, spatial movement of returning to something – in this case, Yahweh (3:8–10);[55] and finally, in chapter 4, Jonah sits east of the city, and Yahweh sends an eastern wind to him (4:8), creating a counter-movement that nudges Jonah back towards the city or in the direction from which he came. On the vertical axis, too, Jonah's string of descents in chapters 1 and 2

[54] Saadia Gaon, Radak, Malbim on Gen 4:16; Malbim, Metsudat David on Jonah 1:3.
[55] BDB, שוב.

are eventually concluded with a rise from the bottom of the sea back to the surface via the fish (cf. 1:3, 5, 15, 2:3 and 2:11).

The sum of the spatial markers in the Book of Jonah create a cosmographic image that is circular, or more accurately – center-centric. Movements across space are constructed as in constant relation to a fixed point of departure and a directional return to it. With all of these movements – and most importantly, the initial movement of the story in 1:3 – relating to Yahweh as the source or destination of these movements, alongside an underlying perception of the divine as the orienting center of the cosmos, the story-world of the book appears to be constructed around Yahweh and his authority.

That Yahweh is the orienting center of the entire universe might be a natural result of a cosmological perception that organizes space around a divine meaningful center. In the Book of Jonah, however, this spatial conception is employed for the purposes of the narrative, and ties it directly to the issue of Yahweh's authority. Its very first effect is creating a sense of irony: if Yahweh is the safe and coherent center, for Jonah, this means that what he perceives as failure – to submit to Yahweh and accept his prophecy – is the only way to live a meaningful and safe life. This colors the safe and meaningful life under Yahweh's presence in colors of withholding sanctions rather than any genuine care or reward. In a sense, it might be more accurate to see Yahweh as the organizing protecting center in terms of an organizing policing center. The disciplinary function of this policing center becomes even more evident when considering the second important function of the Panopticon: the ever-present, yet unverifiable authoritative gaze.

The Panoptic Nature of Yahweh's Presence in the Book of Jonah

Prinsloo takes Jonah's temple-oriented spatial conception to be an expression of Jonah's mistaken understanding of Yahweh's nature, limiting him to the temple while the narrative in

its entirety constructs Yahweh's presence and authority as boundless and limitless – as evident by his acts at sea in chapter 1.[56] While it is true that Yahweh's presence and authority in the Book of Jonah are constructed in this way, I argue that this notion is constructed not as a simple, concrete divine boundless omnipresence (Yahweh *is* everywhere), but as a divine center that delimits the world around it and extends to the ends of it (Yahweh *can reach* everywhere).

Prinsloo is correct in reading Yahweh's control of the sea in chapter 1 as an expression of his limitless authority over the cosmos. One of the functions of the sea in the Book of Jonah is to construct Yahweh's reach and sovereignty as all-encompassing and boundless. This is achieved in two main ways: by inverting the sea's conventional symbolic function as the border of the world; and by using inter-textual references to Amos 9:1–4. These two notions, combined with the general premise of the book as a story about an impossible escape from a mighty god, construct a story-world where the deity's disciplinary gaze sees all.

The Sea as (Inverted) Border in the Book of Jonah

Much of the function of the sea in Jonah has to do with the book's author and ancient readers' cultural background. In the ANE, the sea functions first and foremost as a border element in the cosmic imagined structure of the world, where the earth was imagined as a flat disc surrounded by water, marking the edges of the world.[57] Related to this is its use to mark political borders and borders of power and authority.[58]

At first glance, the sea in Jonah indeed functions as a border marking the limits of Yahweh's authority, when Jonah attempts to escape Yahweh's reach and avoid the unwanted prophetic mission by sea. This attempt is evidence of Jonah's belief that the sea marks the

[56] Prinsloo, "Space, Place," 17.

[57] Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern*, 148, 172–173; see also: Wyatt, *Space and Time*, 80; Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 325–326.

[58] Wyatt, *Space and Time*, 114–119.

borders of Yahweh's sovereignty just as it would those of any human ruler's.[59] However, the text constantly works to undermine this perception: rather than limit Yahweh's territory, the sea limits Jonah's movement and confines him to Yahweh's realm of authority – which is constructed as limitless as it covers the edges of the earth.

From Jonah's perspective, the sea encloses Yahweh's territory and creates a center around him and the human being within this territory, while also signaling the theoretical end of it, beyond which Yahweh's authority should not apply – symbolized in the text by Tarshish. On the other hand, Jonah never reaches Tarshish and never exits Yahweh's realm of authority. As a result, the sea does not mark the end of Yahweh's realm and the beginning of the rest of the world, but confines Jonah to Yahweh's realm. In other words, if the sea was imagined as tracing the borders of the earth, in Jonah, it traces the borders of the earth around Yahweh's planned route for Jonah. In essence, rather than marking the border of Yahweh's territory of power, by having the border itself (the sea) delimit the story-world to Yahweh's objectives, the sea inverts this notion to blur the concept of boundary altogether – rendering Yahweh's sovereignty limitless.

Yahweh's Reach and Amos 9

Much like the assumption that Yahweh's reach does not extend beyond the land of Israel is undermined, so is the conventional assumption that the depths of the sea and Sheol are the furthest places from Yahweh, where one can presumably hide or flee from him. This notion is expressed in Amos 9, where the prophet describes Yahweh's enemies' futile attempts to flee him and avoid his wrath (v. 1–4). By listing these supposedly extremely remote and

[59] See also: Thomas M. Bolin, *Freedom Beyond Forgiveness: The Book of Jonah Re-Examined* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 1997), 76; Gerda Elata-Alster and Rachel Salmon, "Eastward and Westward: The Movement of Prophecy and History in the Book of Yonah," *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (1984): 18; Douglas Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah* (World Bible Commentary 31, Waco: Word Books, 1987, 451; Prinsloo, "Place, Space," 14; Avigdor Shinan, Yair Zakovitz, *The Book of Jonah: A New Israeli Commentary* (ed. Dov Eichenwlad; Tel Aviv: Miscal, 2015), 28–29.

unreachable places – which include Sheol, the sky, mountaintops, and the bottom of the sea – Amos emphasizes how Yahweh can find and reach his enemies *even* there.[60] Two allusions to Amos 9:1–4 evoke this notion in the Book of Jonah and signal to the reader the specific aspect of Yahweh's limitless authority that has to do with the boundless extension of his reach.

The first allusion to Amos 9 can be found in Jonah 1:13, where the sailors attempt to row back to shore: "ויחתרו האנשים להשיב אל היבשה ולא יכלו."[61] Commentators have noted the peculiar use of the verb חתר – which denotes both rowing and digging -[62] in v. 14.[63] As noted by Sasson, an intertextual link to Amos 9:2 evokes an image of "men who burrow into Sheol (Hades), seeking to escape God's wrath."[64] As Amos 9 deals with the impossibility to escape Yahweh, this reference clearly implies that this attempt at escaping Yahweh's storm is futile.

The emphasis on Yahweh's limitless reach is made more explicit in the second reference to Amos 9 in chapter 2 of the Book of Jonah. The situation depicted in Amos 9:3 can be equated with Jonah's in chapters 1–2: Jonah attempts to flee Yahweh by sea, but Yahweh sends a wild animal (the fish) to "catch" the fleeing prophet; in Amos 9:3, Yahweh commands a snake to catch his enemies that are trying to hide from him at the bottom of the sea. Jonah's experiences force him to come to the same realization as Yahweh's enemies in Amos 9: despite fleeing to where Yahweh is not supposed to be able to exert any power over him, there is eventually no escaping Yahweh, who is aware of all that happens everywhere in the cosmos. Jonah explicitly

[60] See also: Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* (ed. Frank Moore Cross, Minnesota: 1517 Media, 1991), 276–279; Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos* (trans. Waldemar Jansen, S. Dean McBride Jr., and Charles A. Muenchow, ed. S. Dean McBride Jr., Minnesota: 1517 Media, 1977), 340–341; John Goldingay, *Hosea–Micha* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2021), 290.

[61] "Then the sailors began to row so as to reach the shore, but in vain" (Jonah 1:13).

[62] BDB, חתר.

[63] See for example: James Limburg, *Jonah: A Commentary* (Old Testament Library, London: SCM, 1993), 55; Stuart, *Hosea–Jonah*, 455; Shinan and Zakovich, *The Book of Jonah*, 52; Rashi on Jonah 1:13; Metzudat Zion on Jonah 1:13.

[64] Jack M. Sasson, *Jonah: A New Translation with Introduction, Commentary, and Interpretations* (The Anchor Bible 24B; New York: Doubleday, 1990), 130.

says so himself in 2:3, when he claims that Yahweh can hear his prayer even from Sheol: "מבטן שאול שועתי שמעת קולי."[65]

A similar notion is constructed by the response of the foreign human characters to the threat of Yahweh's wrath. Both the sailors and the Ninevites – supposedly pagans who are not expected to fear Yahweh and acknowledge his sovereignty – accept his authority whole-heartedly and without hesitation once they realize that he is the source of the threat hanging over their heads (cf. Jonah 1:14–16; 3:5–8). Just like Yahweh's authority is supposed to be subject to certain geographical limitations, so is it supposed to be restricted to his people. However, the narrative shows time and again how such restrictions do not apply to Yahweh. In this way, Yahweh's sovereignty in the story-world of Jonah is constructed as boundless and limitless, not only in geographical terms but also in political and national ones. The resulting image is of a god who has eyes, ears, proxies, and servants at all places and at all times.

Discipline and Surveillance in the Book of Jonah

The story-world of the Book of Jonah is constructed in a way that highlights Yahweh's absolute power and control over the entire cosmos – geographic and social alike. That this is more than just a simple omnipresence, but rather a disciplinary mechanism, becomes evident when considering Jonah's confrontation with Yahweh – or his experience in the Panoptic machine.

To begin with, the need to discipline Jonah and correct his behavior is evident in his very refusal to fulfill Yahweh's command in 1:3. Kaplan argues that "the effect of Jonah and its moral presentation of moral selfhood is […] to help readers assert a properly attuned 'executive self' who internally understands the relationship of self-control and external authority."[66] Without addressing the specifics of his reading of the book, I agree with the

[65] "Out of the belly of Sheol I cried. You heard my voice" (Jonah 2:3).
[66] Kaplan, "Jonah," 150.

general notion that Jonah serves as an example of the abnormal human being in need of behavioral correction. For this reason, Yahweh is not satisfied with punishing Jonah for his disobedience with death or some misfortune, but makes it a point to force Jonah into submission (cf. Jonah 3:1–3).[67]

"The Panoptic machine" is demonstrated in its full power and efficiency in chapters 1–3: the dissident Jonah, under the constant watchful gaze of Yahweh, is separated from the rest of society and imprisoned in a secluded space (the fish), where he knows he is being seen and heard by a god whose presence can only be assumed but not physically affirmed (cf. 2:1–3). This is evident, for example, in Jonah's confidence that his prayer will reach Yahweh both from inside the fish (2:3) and in Nineveh (4:2).

The disciplinary spatial separation turns out to be efficient: once he realizes that there is no escaping Yahweh, in the fish, Jonah accepts Yahweh's authority (2:8–10) and proceeds to fulfill his command (3:3) – without any further involvement on Yahweh's part.[68] However, while efficient in correcting Jonah's behavior, the mere surveillance and capture of Jonah in chapters 1–3 appears far less efficient in terms of Jonah's internal sense of self: despite having fulfilled Yahweh's command, Jonah is still miserable at having done so, and continues to hold the same views he had held atthe beginning of the story (4:1–3).[69] This requires yet another intervention by the all-seeing authority, who appears to Jonah again once he is separated from society (cf. 4:5). This time, Yahweh uses the modification of Jonah's personal space to ensure the final breaking of his resistant spirit – or the internalization of his authority: by replacing

[67] Cf., for example, Gen 3:14–24; Lev 10:1–2; Num 16:32–36; Deut 28; 2 Sam 6:1–7; 1 Kings 11:11–12.

[68] It can perhaps be argued that Yahweh is still actively involved in ensuring Jonah's obedience when he tasks Jonah with the prophetic duty for the second time in 3:1–2. However, Yahweh is not in any way active in Jonah's *response* to this second divine command. This is evident in Jonah's immediate obedience in the following verse (3:3). In addition, many have argued that one of the purposes of the second divine command is to emphasize the contrast between Jonah's disobedience in chapter 1 and his obedience in chapter 3 (see for example: Shinan and Zakovich, *The Book of Jonah*, 94).

[69] For other readings claiming a lack of internal change in Jonah after chapter 2, see for example: R. J. Lubeck, "Prophetic Sabotage: A Look at Jonah 3:2–4," *Trinity Journal* 9 (1988): 43–44; Prinsloo, "Space, Place," 17.

Jonah's booth with a divinely-grown plant and then killing it and exposing Jonah to the harmful elements (4:5–8), Yahweh confronts Jonah directly with his control over his most private existence, much like a Panoptic inspector who must reassert their authority anecdotally to remind the inmate of their constant presence and control.

While the text ends without Jonah's response to Yahweh's speech so we never know whether or not he had internalized Yahweh's authority, the Panopticonian tactic appears efficient at the very least in terms of oppressing the dissident's rebellious spirit: Jonah, who was so passionate about fleeing Yahweh at the beginning of the story, ends it as a broken, bitter man who loses all will to live and all agency, who is reduced to begging for death and submitting to Yahweh's forced spatial organization and commands.

Conclusion: Panopticonian Divine Presence in the Book of Jonah

A model of human moral agency like the one formulated by Newsome in relation to the Hebrew Bible can be considered as naturally inclined towards a Panopticonian dynamic, as it assumes a divine, invisible authority that is constantly watching and must be pleased actively and whole-heartedly at all times. In the Book of Jonah, this idea is dramatized in narrative form, and the result is a story-world that is spatially organized and socially ordered much like a Panopticon as formulated by Foucault.

Jonah's case demonstrates the efficiency of the Panopticonian disciplinary approach in terms of the correction of Jonah's behavior, yet also makes it clear to readers that mere obedience out of fear is not enough; in order to be a functioning, productive member of society, one must fully internalize Yahweh's authority. The return to the Panopticonian method in chapter 4 shows that the same methods used to correct behavior can likewise be employed to correct internal views whenever there is a need for direct intervention. In Jonah's case, this

additional intervention was required when it turned out that Jonah had changed his ways but not his mind.

The Book of Jonah reflects the view that Yahweh is omnipresent – or at least all-seeing (or panoptic) – yet not omnipotent when it comes to human moral agency. This resonates with the "default" Deuteronomistic model of moral agency, according to which a combination of human agency and divine proxy agency are required for appropriate moral behavior. At the same time, the narrative also reflects the growing tendency to challenge this existing model after the exile and question its validity. If, as Newsome claims, post-exilic Biblical texts reflect a process of doubting the efficacy of human moral agency and displacing it from the human to the divine, Jonah's story can be read as an example of such a view: if a person poses danger to society – by way of their moral transgressions – authoritative power can separate them from society and take upon itself the rebel's moral (and overall) agency.

Since we never learn of the results of Jonah's corrective discipline, it is possible to relate the story's criticism to Jonah, who represents a moral dissident who did not correctly internalize authority. However, the story can also be read as criticism of the moral model that attributes to the divine the right to "take" moral agency away from whoever had failed morally – Jonah as well as the nation of Israel.

The divine omnipresence becomes in the Book of Jonah not a comforting, ordering, meaning-making presence, but a policing tool for both external and internal discipline. In this sense, Jonah's story might very well be an invitation for reflection on the inability to keep one's individual agency in a reality where moral failure is not processed by way of internal reflection, but by imagining a punishing, external agent who forces the individual to change despite their own personal judgement and inclinations.

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Research Summary

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Project Working Title:

The Tabernacle and its Inventory in the Textual Witnesses of Exod. 25–40

Projekt-Summary:

In my examination paper, “The Altar of Burnt Offering in the Book of Exodus: Textual, Literary and Religious Historical Investigations of Exod. 27:1–8 and 38:1–8”, a desideratum of Old Testament research with regard to a textual- and literary-historical analysis of the order and execution account of the erection of the tabernacle and its inventory in the Book of Exodus (Exod. 25–31*; 35–40*) has emerged. The study of the altar of burnt offering in the Book of Exodus has not only shown that the order (Exod. 27:1–8) and its execution (Exod. 38:1–8) as they now appear presuppose a complex textual- and literary-history, but that both passages already in themselves exhibit an equally complicated textual development. It allows the assumption that not only the text passage on the altar of burnt offering, but also the texts on the tabernacle and its inventory *in toto* reveal a complicated textual development. This is also linked to a process of transformation of the Israelite cult

and its cult identity in the history of religion and theology. The analysis draws attention to the need for a textual- and literary-historical analysis of the tabernacle and its inventory (Exod. 25–40), which I would like to pursue in my research project as follows. In the first and second part, both the orders for the erection of the tabernacle, its inventory, and their execution (Exod. 25–40*) will be examined in terms of textual and literary history. Textual witnesses such as the Masoretic Text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), Exodus fragments from Qumran, the Septuagint (LXX) and Latin textual witnesses such as the Vulgate (Vulg.) and Codex Monacensis (Codex Mon) are to be considered. The aim is not only to draw conclusions about literary development, but also to present the development and transformation of Israel's cult and the identity of the people of Israel within the Book of Exodus. This development is to be evaluated in a third part in terms of the history of religion and theology. Here, the question is about the theological development and transformation of the Israelite people's identity, cult, and image of God in the face of the first destruction of the Temple in 586 BCE, which is witnessed from the point of view of the Book of Exodus in Exod. 25–40*.

The paper deals with portions of the Priestly Sinai pericope (Exod. 25-40) and their various forms in the main text-critically relevant witnesses (Masoretic Text, Samaritanus, Septuagint and its *Vorlage*, Codex Monacensis and Vulgate)[1]. The command to build the altar for the tabernacle in Exod. 27 and the corresponding account of its fulfillment in Exod. 38 serve as an example. Two questions arise: How do the order and the fulfillment report relate to each other in the respective textual versions? And how can the mutual relationship of the individual textual witnesses be explained? To answer these questions, in a first step the orders and execution accounts of the respective versions considered separately. The results obtained this way will then be read in combination towards a reconstruction of the textual and literary history of both Exod. 27 and 38. It will show that already due to the difficult textual relations a complex textual and literary history is to be expected: An older command to build "the" altar (MT) may have been expanded by the (secondary) command to build the altar of incense (Exod. 30:1-10) in order to build "an" altar (thus in LXX, SP, and Vulg.). The "missing" fulfillment of the altar of incense in LXX (and Codex Mon) shows that the fulfillment reports are most likely to be secondary to the respective commands. The LXX's presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* in Exod. 38 obviously knows the execution report of the altar of incense (Exod. 37:25-28 MT). By comparing the different textual versions, a basic form of the command to build the bronze altar can be reconstructed, which consists of parts of the present MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX (Exod. 38:1*, 3-7*, 8* MT; Exod. 38:22-24*, 26* LXX). This is followed by numerous *Fortschreibungen* both in the Masoretic and in the other traditions, which finally result in the texts that we now have. These additions will be briefly presented in the paper as well.

[1] Masoretic Text: MT, Samaritanus: SP; Septuagint: LXX, Vulgate: Vulg. and Codex Monacensis: Codex Mon.

“The altar or better the altars in Exod. 25–40?”

The tabernacle accounts in Exod. 25–40 seem to be a textual and literary historical mystery. According to Julius Wellhausen, the temple, which was indispensable for the Priestly writing even in temple-less times, was “made portable and transferred to primeval times as a tabernacle. For this is in truth not the archetype, but the copy of the Jerusalem temple”[1]. The altar or altars also belong to the ‘portable temple’. Next to it are the ark, the table of showbread, the tabernacle, its forecourt and much more. There is not only an order for the making of the tabernacle (Exod. 25–31*), but also its detailed execution (Exod. 35–40). In most cases, the order and the execution are almost identical in content and wording.[2]

On closer reading, however, one recognizes different sequences and inconsistencies in content between the respective orders and their corresponding execution (reports). This is apparent even if we examine just the MT (craftsmen, dwelling, cost accounting, Sabbath order).[3] As an example, the unusual position of the altar of incense, which is to be built in addition to the altar of burnt offering. One would most likely expect the order to build the incense altar to come after the order to build the “normal” altar (Exod. 27:1–8).[4] Between the two orders for the altars, however, are the orders for the priestly vestments, the ordination of the priests and the daily sacrifices. The last two, the consecration of the priests and the daily sacrifices, are commissioned here, but their execution is not found until far away in the books of Leviticus and Numbers (Lev 8:1–36; and Num 28:3–8).[5] These observations lead us to divide the orders for the making of the sanctuary into two parts, an A part (Exod. 25–29*) and a B part (Exod. 30–31*).

[1] Wellhausen 1905, 36.
[2] See Bruning 2016, 288.
[3] Julius Popper not only showed the extent of the problems with the chapters of the LXX and the MT but was also the first to formulate the attempted solution using a combination of textual and literary historical approaches. According to him, the LXX Exod. 35–40 is the result of a shorter Hebrew model that preceded the form of the tabernacle accounts in the MT, see Popper 1892.
[4] The SP places the order of the altar of incense between the order to make the curtain for the covering of the ark (26:31–35) and that of the curtain for the tent opening (26:36). This is also how 4QpaleoExod^{m} reads it, without handing down the entire text of Exod. 35–40, see Sanderson 1986, 11–13, 310.
[5] The tamid (Exod. 29:42-45) is mentioned in Lev. 9:17, see Feldmann 2017, 29–32.

As for the altar of burnt offering (Exod. 27), the laver and its base are also found in the associated execution (Exod. 38). Neither the one nor the other are ordered beforehand! This needs a qualification as they are mentioned in Exod. 30:17-21. A comparison shows that, conversely, not everything that was ordered in Exod. 25–31*is actually executed in Exod. 35–40*.

If one now compares the MT and the LXX, things become even more complicated. In the early third century, Origines had already noted the differences between the LXX and the MT, which can be seen above all in the length and content.[6] Already the comparison of the contents by chapter in the LXX with the MT confirms both a different arrangement of execution chapters of the LXX and a considerably shorter text.[7] In modern times, the question arose whether these were interventions by the translators of the LXX or whether the LXX text is based on a Hebrew Vorlage that differs in this way from the MT (or Proto-MT). Over time, this has been discussed many times and different conclusions have been reached.[8]

One side of the scholarship explains this finding with the help of the textual and literary history of Exod. 25–40*.[9] The other side rejects this explanation.[10] Instead, it assumes a single author and attributes the finding to the significance of the inventory or the execution of the order. However, the second side cannot adequately explain the literary evidence. It stops at the similarities in content and the emphasis on the differences. In doing so, it overlooks the formal, literal agreement that forms the key point for understanding the composition of Exod. 25–40*. To the present day, on the other hand, the first side has not succeeded in forming a *consensus* on the textual and literary history of Exod. 25–40*.[11] The Exodus texts from Qumran and the LXX version(s) serve as evidence for a literary-historical development of Exod. 25–40.[12] Using the example of the altar(s), it will be shown here that a solution for the complex evidence can only be solved with the help of a textual and literary-historical approach.

[6] See Salvesen 2013, 37.
[7] See Bruning 2016, 288.
[8] See Salvesen 2013, 37-38.
[9] See Bruning 2016, 288; Popper 1892; Kratz 2000, 328–329; Kuenen 1886, 313–317; Nihan 2007, 31–58; Wellhausen 1899, 135–147.
[10] See Gooding 1959; Ranke 1840, 68–69; Vater 1802, 107–108; Popper 1892, 21–22, 47.
[11] See Nihan 2007.
[12] See Bruning 2016, 288.

1. The order to build *the* altar

The altar, or rather the altars (i.e., the altar of burnt offering and altar of incense) are, in my view, particularly well-suited to illustrate the relationships between orders and execution in Exod. 25–40. If one first reads Exod. 27, the order to build the altar, and then Exod. 38, the corresponding account of execution, in the Masoretic version, one recognizes not only a similar structure and content but also some differences between order and execution. First of all, it is significant that Exod. 38, in contrast to Exod. 27 (addressed to a 2nd pers. sg.), naturally uses the 3rd pers. sg. masc. to describe the making.[13] It is true that in Exod. 38, as in Exod. 27, what is made is listed summarily, but not everything that was ordered there is executed in the same way here.

2. The order to build the altar vs. its execution according to the MT

At the beginning, the making of the altar (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ; Exod. 27) or the altar of burnt offering (מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה; Exod. 38) of acacia wood with its measurements is ordered and executed (Exod. 27:1; 38:1). The most significant difference between the order and the execution report is found in the respective first verse. 27:1 speaks of "*the* altar," whereas Ex 38 reports of the "*altar of burnt offering*." In order to explain this difference, a closer look at the textual evidence is recommended, more on this in a moment. The respective altar is given horns on its four corners and is covered with bronze (Exod. 27:2; 38:2).[14] Thereupon the altar inventory is listed, whereby only in the order (Exod. 27:3) the note "for the cleaning of ashes" was added to the vessels. In contrast, the execution reads with "the vessels of the altar" (Exod. 38:3) a plus compared to the order.

Another difference is found in vv. 4–7 to ensure the transportability of the altar. The order (Exod. 27:3) describes in detail the installation of a grating, rings, and support poles on the altar, whereas the execution (Exod. 38:3) is shorter and more comprehensible. The making of the rings and their installation on the grating are

[13] Moses as the subject of the execution must be older than the craftsmen introduced in Exod. 31:1–11 (esp. vv. 2, 6), which are classified as secondary. For a more detailed discussion of Exod. 30–31, see Pola 1995, 257–259.

[14] His horns are to be made from the altar (Exod. 27:2a). This can be imagined with a stone altar but not with a bronze-covered hollow wooden structure (cf. vv. 1, 8), cf. ibid.

immediately connected with the supporting poles in the execution report (בָּתִּים לַבַּדִּים in Exod. 38:5). The making of the altar from hollow wooden planks is mentioned earlier in the execution report than in the order (Exod. 27:8; 38,7). Although the account of the execution does not make the final reference to the revelation of God to Moses at Sinai (Exod. 27:8)[15], it does, as already mentioned, report the making of a laver and its base from the mirrors of the working women (Exod. 38:8).[16] However, these vessels were not ordered in Exod. 27, but much later in Exod. 30,17-21.

On the one hand, the differences listed can be explained text-critically, for example in the case of the grating (Exod. 27:4–7//38:4–7). While in the order one does not recognize at first what (אֹתָהּ) is to be placed under the altar ledge in Exod. 27:5, in the execution report (Exod. 38:4) one immediately knows that it is the grating. In contrast to the "chaotic" juxtaposition in the order (Exod. 27:4–7), the execution account obviously simplifies the text with the earlier and "clearer" bringing together of rings and supporting poles in Exod. 38:5–7. In the case of the differences in the naming of the altar and the naming of God's revelation to Moses or of the laver and its base (Exod. 27:1, 8//38:1, 8), on the other hand, textual criticism does not help. Their peculiarities require a literary-historical solution.

3. *The* altar (MT) or *an* altar (LXX, SP) in the order?

If one consults other textual witnesses to Exod. 27:1, above all the Septuagint, one notices, apart from all the similarities (structure, objects, etc.), two differences

[15] Exod. 27:8, by analogy with Exod. 25:40 and 26:30, serves as a concluding note that does not directly follow the previous one. On the one hand, this underlines with the help of the additional information, that it is a portable hollow wooden object, which appears to have been added too late and secondarily. It is qualified as legitimized and authorized by God by referring back to the revelation situation in Exod. 25:8–9; (24:15–18*) (see Popper 1892, 76–84, 144–145). Looking at the altar description in Exod. 27:1–8 alone now, it ends with the designation of the altar as a hollow wooden object, which is only loosely tied to v. 7. The following vv. 9–19 connect easily with the familiar style of vv. 1–5* and continue with the instruction about the curtain. Pola 1995 reduces the oldest textual evidence of P^G to Ex 24:15b–18a; 25:1, 8–9; 29:45–46, to which Ex 26 is added with the term משכן, setting in motion the successive literary development in the form of detailed descriptions (see Pola 1995, 251–255, 264). Among many other critical points at this point, one should be emphasized: If one takes Pola's literary-critical reduction of the text seriously, P^G does not know the actual heart of the cult, namely the altar itself, at all — it would be nothing more than a secondarily added instrument among others. This raises questions not only of textual and literary history, but also of the history of religion and theology, as to whether a sanctuary could ever exist without an altar, see Pola 1995, 251. For criticism of Pola's literary-critical reconstruction, see, e.g., Nihan 2007, 34–50.

[16] In Exod. 30:17a the bronze laver and its base are reported, with additional mention of the purpose of these vessels for washing, see Jacob 1997, 903, 1012.

which lie on different levels. First, *the* altar from Exod. 27 MT is called "*an*" altar in the LXX and the SP in an indefinite way. In contrast to "*the* altar" of the Masoretic Text, "*an* altar" leaves room for the existence (and naming) of further altars. To clarify this difference, the literary-critical approach is recommended. Secondly, a harmonizing tendency can be observed in the textual attestations, e.g., in the form of text simplification/ harmonization (grating: verbs are put in the 2nd pers. sg. etc.), which can be explained with the help of textual criticism. Yet in order to get to the bottom of these differences, a comparison of the various witnesses to the texts of execution (Exod. 38) should be carried out.

4. The execution of the altar of burnt offering or bronze altar in the LXX

It is noticeable that the LXX and the Codex Mon differ from the others in both content and brevity.[17] MT, SP and Vulg. "reproduce" the order practically word for word (apart from the laver and its base). In contrast, the LXX and the Codex Mon have their own distinctive wording.[18] Although they overlap with the order in vv. 23–24 (//38,3-7 MT), especially vv. 22, 26 (//38:1-2,8 MT) go their own way.

4a. The common textual material of MT and LXX in Exod. 38

A comparison of the common textual material of the MT and LXX in Exod. 38 is shown the following picture:

MT Basic Layer Exod. 38:1–8	**LXX Basic Layer Exod. 38:22–24, 26***
וַיַּ֥עַשׂ אֶת־מִזְבַּ֖ח הָעֹלָ֑ה:	ἐποίησεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χαλκοῦν
וַיַּ֣עַשׂ אֶת־כָּל־כְּלֵ֣י הַמִּזְבֵּ֗חַ אֶת־הַמִּזְרָקֹת֙ אֶת־ הַמִּזְלָגֹ֣ת וְאֶת־ *הַמַּחְתֹּ֔ת* נְחֹ֖שֶׁת:	ἐποίησεν πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ *τὸ πυρεῖον* καὶ τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰς κρεάγρας *χαλκᾶς*.
וַיַּ֣עַשׂ לַמִּזְבֵּ֗חַ מִכְבָּ֤ר מַעֲשֵׂה֙ רֶ֣שֶׁת תַּ֔חַת כַּרְכֻּ֖בּוֹ מִלְמַ֑טָּה עַד־חֶצְיֽוֹ: וַיִּצֹ֨ק אַרְבַּ֤ע טַבָּעֹת֙ בְּאַרְבַּ֣ע הַקְּצָוֹ֔ת לְמִכְבָּ֖ר הַנְּחֹ֑שֶׁת לְשִׂמֹ֥ת אֹתָ֖ן אֶת־הַבַּדִּֽים:	ἐποίησεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παράθεμα, ἔργον δικτυωτόν, κάτωθεν τοῦ πυρείου ὑπὸ αὐτὸ ἕως τοῦ ἡμίσους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν τέσσαρας δακτυλίους ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ παραθέματος

[17] Gooding first assumes that Exod. 25–40 stem from a single translator. He does not see the "chaos" in LXX Ex 35–40* as an indication that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Exod. 35–40 is based on a non-MT *Vorlage*. Gooding attributes LXX Exod. 35–40* to a later redactor with an inadequate knowledge of Hebrew who "interfered" here himself. But why should he have done it only here? Especially when the general trend of the LXX is in the opposite direction (see Gooding 1978, 99).
[18] Not Moses, but Bezalel and Eliab carry out the orders in Exod. 35–39, see Nihan 2007, 58.

	χαλκοῦς, τοῖς μοχλοῖς *ὥστε αἴρειν τὸ θυσιαστήριον*.
וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת הַכִּיֹּר נְחֹשֶׁת וְאֵת כַּנּוֹ נְחֹשֶׁת בְּמַרְאֹת הַצֹּבְאֹת אֲשֶׁר צָבְאוּ פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד׃	ἐποίησεν τὸν λουτῆρα χαλκοῦν καὶ τὴν βάσιν αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐκ τῶν κατόπτρων τῶν νηστευσασῶν, αἳ ἐνήστευσαν παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου·

Both versions share with each other the execution of the altar and the making of its furniture, as well as the making of the laver and its base of mirrors. There are minor text-critical differences, such as the adaptation of the adjective "bronze" (Exod. 38:1 MT) to its plural reference word in the LXX (τὰς κρεάγρας χαλκᾶς LXX). The same is true of the explicit mention of the altar (τὸ θυσιαστήριον in Exod. 38:24 LXX) as opposed to the less specific "it" (אֹתוֹ in Exod. 38:7 MT). However, there are also differences between the two versions of the text, which are probably of a literary-historical nature.

4b. The *Fortschreibung* of the execution account in LXX

In Exod. 38:22 LXX, contrary to expectation, there is no production of the altar of burnt offering (MT, SP and Vulg.), but there is that of the bronze altar. This is also not made of acacia wood, but of the incense pans of the Korah group.[19] This, of course, is reminiscent of Num. 16 and 17.[20] In Num. 16, the Korah group seeks the priesthood and refuses to offer incense to Yahweh (Num. 16:6). Because of this refusal, Yahweh decides to destroy them. After their deaths, he arranges to destroy their incense pans and use the material as a covering for the altar. It is to serve as a warning sign for the sons of Israel (Num. 17:1–5 [MT]; 16,36–40 [LXX]). No stranger should perform the priestly service, for otherwise he will suffer the same fate as the group. This admonishing character is not explicitly expressed in Exod. 38:22 (LXX and Codex Mon), but could implicitly serve as a sign to cause the people to remember — here, however, it is already projected back to the time of the erection of the tabernacle.

Exod. 38:26 LXX also knows the making of the bronze laver and its base from the mirrors of the women. The corresponding order is found in Exod. 30:17–21,

[19] According to Popper, the incense pans of Korah's group are to be understood as secondarily inserted Haggadic elements that find no reference in Exod. 27 or 38, see Popper 1862, 131.
[20] See Jacob 1997, 1012–1014.

according to which it is to be made of bronze. In addition, there are the voluntary offerings of the women in the form of jewelry (earrings) for the construction of the sanctuary (Exod. 35:22, 29).[21] From the jewelry of the women, the sons and daughters, the golden calf had been formed in Ex 32:2–4. In contrast, the jewelry could now be used to make the laver and its base. What once served to make the golden calf, i.e., idolatry, now serves to build the tabernacle.

In contrast to the other textual witnesses, the LXX and Codex Mon do not speak of "working" (MT, SP and Vulg.), but of "fasting" women. For the phrase הַצֹּבְאֹת אֲשֶׁר צָבְאוּ (MT, SP and Vulg) the passages Num. 4:23; 8:24 and 1 Sam. 2:22 are enlightening.[22] In the book of Numbers, לִצְבָא צָבָא expresses the service of the Levites at the sanctuary. In contrast, in 1 Sam. 2:22 the working women (הַנָּשִׁים הַצֹּבְאוֹת) are found at the sanctuary. However, this note is found only in the MT! The LXX knows about the shameful crimes of the sons of Eli but does not name them. This suggests that the "laboring women" (MT) in Exod. 38:8 were influenced by Num. 4:23; 8:24 (and possibly Exod.38 has influenced 1 Sam. 2:22 rather than vice versa). The well-known phrase לִצְבָא צָבָא was transferred from the service of the Levites to that of the women. At the same time, these working women remind us of the cruel behavior of the sons of Eli. Like the incense pans of Korah's group, the making of the mirrors can serve as a cautionary reminder of the shameful crimes of the sons of Eli.

The fasting women of the LXX, on the other hand, find no direct parallel. To clarify the textual relationship between צבא (work) and צום (fast), there are two possibilities. On the one hand, a consonant interchange of Beth and Aleph with Waw and Mem can serve to explain צבא (to work) and צום (to fast).[23] On the other hand, fasting includes the aspect of repentance. The Israelites perform penance for their sins at Mizpah by fasting (1 Sam. 7:6). The reason for fasting, i.e., repentance, for Exod. 38 is found in chapters 32–34. Because of Israel's fall in the form of the golden calf (women's ornament), repentance has to be performed, which the women do until the sanctuary is built. Accordingly, not only the making of the laver from the women's mirrors, but also their fasting is a reference back to Exod. 32–34. All three

[21] See ibid.
[22] For a detailed discussion of the literary-historical and religious-historical question of the Tent of Meeting see loc. cit., 861–862, 1014.
[23] Behind this, a correction of the LXX would also be possible, based on the assumption that the work of the Levites at the sanctuary is not meant for women.

references, to the incense pans of Korah's group, the mirrors and the fasting of the women, thus serve as a reminder to/for Israel.

Besides the incense pans and the fasting women, other references such as the mention of the altar base (Exod. 38:23 LXX) from Exod. 29:12 and the necessary width of the rings for the supporting poles (Exod. 38:24 LXX) from the accounts of the execution of the table and the ark (εὑρεῖς in Exod. 38:4, 10 LXX) can be noted. A *Fortschreibung* can be observed on the part of the LXX (and Codex Mon) which is shorter and different from that of the MT (SP and Vulg.). This looks as follows:

Fortschreibung* of the LXX in Exod. 38:22-24.26	
οὗτος ἐποίησεν τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χαλκοῦν **ἐκ τῶν πυρείων τῶν χαλκῶν, ἃ ἦσαν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς καταστασιάσασι μετὰ τῆς Κορε συναγωγῆς**.	Num. 17:1Καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν 17:2καὶ πρὸς Ελεαζαρ τὸν υἱὸν Ααρων τὸν ἱερέα ᾽Ανέλεσθε **τὰ πυρεῖα τὰ χαλκᾶ** ἐκ μέσου τῶν κατακεκαυμένων καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἀλλότριον τοῦτο σπεῖρον ἐκεῖ, ὅτι ἡγίασαν 17:3**τὰ πυρεῖα τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τούτων** ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν· καὶ ποίησον αὐτὰ λεπίδας ἐλατάς, **περίθεμα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ**, ὅτι προσηνέχθησαν ἔναντι κυρίου καὶ ἡγιάσθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς **σημεῖον** τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ. 17:4καὶ ἔλαβεν Ελεαζαρ υἱὸς Ααρων τοῦ ἱερέως **τὰ πυρεῖα τὰ χαλκᾶ**, ὅσα προσήνεγκαν οἱ κατακεκαυμένοι, καὶ προσέθηκαν αὐτὰ **περίθεμα τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ**, 17:5μνημόσυνον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ισραηλ, ὅπως ἂν μὴ προσέλθῃ μηθεὶς ἀλλογενής, ὃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Ααρων, ἐπιθεῖναι θυμίαμα ἔναντι κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὥσπερ **Κορε** καὶ ἡ ἐπισύστασις αὐτοῦ, καθὰ ἐλάλησεν κύριος ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσῆ.
οὗτος ἐποίησεν πάντα τὰ σκεύη τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ τὸ πυρεῖον **αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βάσιν καὶ** τὰς φιάλας τὰς κρεάγρας χαλκᾶς.	Exod. 29:12καὶ λήμψῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ μόσχου καὶ θήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τῷ δακτύλῳ σου· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πᾶν αἷμα ἐκχεεῖς παρὰ **τὴν βάσιν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου**.
οὗτος ἐποίησεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ παράθεμα, ἔργον δικτυωτόν, κάτωθεν τοῦ πυρείου ὑπὸ αὐτὸ ἕως τοῦ ἡμίσους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπέθηκεν **αὐτῷ** τέσσαρας δακτυλίους ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τοῦ παραθέματος	38:4 (ark)**εὑρεῖς τοῖς διωστῆρσιν ὥστε αἴρειν αὐτὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς.** 38:10 (table)καὶ ἐχώνευσεν αὐτῇ τέσσαρας δακτυλίους, δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ κλίτους τοῦ ἑνὸς καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ κλίτους τοῦ

τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου χαλκοῦς, τοῖς μοχλοῖς **εὐρεῖς ὥστε αἴρειν τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐν αὐτοῖς**.	δευτέρου, **εὐρεῖς ὥστε αἴρειν τοῖς διωστῆρσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς.**
ἐποίησεν τὸν λουτῆρα χαλκοῦν καὶ τὴν βάσιν αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν **ἐκ τῶν κατόπτρων τῶν νηστευσασῶν**, αἳ ἐνήστευσαν παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπηξεν αὐτήν·	Exod. 35:22καὶ ἤνεγκαν οἱ ἄνδρες παρὰ τῶν **γυναικῶν**· πᾶς, ᾧ ἔδοξεν τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἤνεγκαν **σφραγῖδας καὶ ἐνώτια καὶ δακτυλίους καὶ ἐμπλόκια καὶ περιδέξια, πᾶν σκεῦος χρυσοῦν**, καὶ πάντες, ὅσοι ἤνεγκαν ἀφαιρέματα χρυσίου κυρίῳ. 35:29καὶ πᾶς ἀνὴρ καὶ **γυνή**, ὧν ἔφερεν ἡ διάνοια αὐτῶν εἰσελθόντας ποιεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔργα, ὅσα συνέταξεν κύριος ποιῆσαι αὐτὰ διὰ Μωυσῆ, ἤνεγκαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ ἀφαίρεμα κυρίῳ. 32:2καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Ααρων Περιέλεσθε **τὰ ἐνώτια τὰ χρυσᾶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμῶν** καὶ θυγατέρων καὶ ἐνέγκατε πρός με. 32,3καὶ περιείλαντο πᾶς ὁ λαὸς **τὰ ἐνώτια τὰ χρυσᾶ** τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὠσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἤνεγκαν πρὸς Ααρων. 32,4καὶ ἐδέξατο ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπλασεν αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ γραφίδι καὶ **ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ μόσχον χωνευτὸν** καὶ εἶπεν Οὗτοι οἱ θεοί σου, Ισραηλ, οἵτινες ἀνεβίβασάν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

In view of this evidence, it can be stated that the LXX and the MT share a common account of the execution of the altar, but go their separate ways in their updates. In addition, we now have to look at the *Fortschreibung* on the part of the MT, SP and Vulg.

4c. The *Fortschreibung* of the execution account in MT

The Masoretic account of the execution (Exod. 38) is very close to the order and its sequence (Exod. 27). As already mentioned, only minor differences can be found on the textual and literary-historical level:

***Fortschreibung* of the MT in Exod. 38,1–8**	**The order in Exod. 27**
וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה **עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים חָמֵשׁ אַמּוֹת אָרְכּוֹ וְחָמֵשׁ־אַמּוֹת רָחְבּוֹ רָבוּעַ וְשָׁלֹשׁ אַמּוֹת קֹמָתוֹ**: **וַיַּעַשׂ קַרְנֹתָיו עַל אַרְבַּע פִּנֹּתָיו מִמֶּנּוּ הָיוּ קַרְנֹתָיו וַיְצַף אֹתוֹ נְחֹשֶׁת**:	וְעָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ **עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים חָמֵשׁ אַמּוֹת אֹרֶךְ וְחָמֵשׁ אַמּוֹת רֹחַב רָבוּעַ** יִהְיֶה הַמִּזְבֵּחַ **וְשָׁלֹשׁ אַמּוֹת קֹמָתוֹ**: **וְעָשִׂיתָ קַרְנֹתָיו עַל אַרְבַּע פִּנֹּתָיו מִמֶּנּוּ תִּהְיֶיןָ קַרְנֹתָיו וְצִפִּיתָ אֹתוֹ נְחֹשֶׁת**:

וְעָשִׂיתָ סִירֹתָיו לְדַשְּׁנוֹ וְיָעָיו וּמִזְרְקֹתָיו וּמִזְלְגֹתָיו וּמַחְתֹּתָיו לְכָל־כֵּלָיו **תַּעֲשֶׂה** נְחֹשֶׁת:	וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־כָּל־כְּלֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ **אֶת־הַסִּירֹת וְאֶת־הַיָּעִים** וְאֶת־הַמִּזְרָקֹת אֶת־הַמִּזְלָגֹת וְאֶת־הַמַּחְתֹּת **כָּל־כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה** נְחֹשֶׁת:
וְעָשִׂיתָ לוֹ מִכְבָּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת נְחֹשֶׁת **וְעָשִׂיתָ עַל־הָרֶשֶׁת אַרְבַּע טַבָּעֹת נְחֹשֶׁת עַל אַרְבַּע קְצוֹתָיו**: וְנָתַתָּה אֹתָהּ תַּחַת **כַּרְכֹּב הַמִּזְבֵּחַ מִלְמָטָה** וְהָיְתָה הָרֶשֶׁת **עַד חֲצִי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ**: **וְעָשִׂיתָ** בַדִּים לַמִּזְבֵּחַ **בַּדֵּי עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים וְצִפִּיתָ אֹתָם נְחֹשֶׁת**:	וַיַּעַשׂ לַמִּזְבֵּחַ מִכְבָּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת נְחֹשֶׁת תַּחַת **כַּרְכֻּבּוֹ מִלְמַטָּה עַד־חֶצְיוֹ**: וַיִּצֹק אַרְבַּע טַבָּעֹת **בְּאַרְבַּע הַקְּצָוֹת לְמִכְבַּר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת** : **וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־הַבַּדִּים עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים וַיְצַף אֹתָם נְחֹשֶׁת**:
וְהוּבָא אֶת־בַּדָּיו **בַּטַּבָּעֹת** וְהָיוּ הַבַּדִּים **עַל־שְׁתֵּי צַלְעֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** בְּשֵׂאת אֹתוֹ: **נְבוּב לֻחֹת תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתוֹ** כַּאֲשֶׁר הֻרְאָה אֹתְךָ בָּהָר כֵּן יַעֲשׂוּ: ס	**וַיָּבֵא** אֶת־הַבַּדִּים **בַּטַּבָּעֹת עַל צַלְעֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** לָשֵׂאת אֹתוֹ **נְבוּב לֻחֹת עָשָׂה אֹתוֹ**: ס
	וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת הַכִּיֹּר נְחֹשֶׁת וְאֶת כַּנּוֹ נְחֹשֶׁת בְּמַרְאֹת הַצֹּבְאֹת אֲשֶׁר צָבְאוּ פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד:

As in the Masoretic Text's order (Exod. 27), the execution account (Exod. 38) also reports the making of the altar from acacia wood, the measurements and the making of the horns (vv. 1–2), which are missing in the execution account of the LXX. Apart from the differences already mentioned (see 1.), a simplifying tendency is also noticeable. For example, the suffixes of the 3rd pers. sg. from the order (Exod. 27:3) are not mentioned in the execution account (Exod. 38:3).

The following can be concluded: In the account of the building order, the text versions have many overlaps in terms of content and form. The most striking difference lies in the naming of the altar. In contrast to the LXX, the SP (and V), the order to build "the" altar in the MT does not leave another altar next to it. The second altar must therefore have been added later. If one compares the individual orders with each other, one notices in the LXX, SP and Vulg., apart from the tendency towards harmonization, also tendencies towards *Fortschreibung* (e.g. alignment of the verbs in v.7–8 or net in v. 4 or the rearrangement of the order to build the altar of incense in the SP).

The accounts of the execution show differences both from the order and from one another. The MT, SP and Vulg. describe the execution in the sequence of the order in Exod. 27, whereas the LXX and Codex Mon formulate a shorter and independent execution. All textual witnesses (see above) share the execution of the construction of the laver and its base in Exod. 38, which in turn was not ordered at all in Exod. 25–29. This only happens in Ex 30:17–21. The MT, SP and Vulg. show a parallel

to Num. 4; 8 and 1 Sam. 2:22 (service, tent of meeting). In contrast, the LXX and the Codex Mon refer beyond the others to the events described in Exod. 32–34.

A significant difference between the different versions is found in the first verse of the execution. In Exod. 38, the MT, SP and Vulg. report the execution of the order to build *the altar of burnt offering*. This is otherwise mentioned, besides Exod. 30–40* (cf. 31:9; 35:16; 38:1; 40:6–7, 10, 29), only in Lev. 4 (cf. verses 10, 18, 25, 30, and 34) and 1/2 Chron. (1 Chron. 16:40; 21:26, 29; 2 Chron. 29:18). In contrast, the LXX and Codex Mon read Exod. 38 as the execution of the order to build the bronze altar. This is mentioned alongside Exod. 38 and 39 (38:30; 39:39) in 1 Kings (8:64; 16:10–15), Ezek. (9:2) and 2 Chron. (1:5–6; 4:1; 7:7). In addition, there is the difference in the making from acacia wood (so in MT, SP, Vulg.) and the covering from the material of the censers (LXX, Codex Mon). To understand these differences between the altar of burnt offering and the bronze altar, a comparison with the altar for incense (Exod. 30:1–10) is enlightening.

5. The relationship between the altar of incense and the altar of burnt offering

The order to build the altar of incense in Exod. 30 is reminiscent of the one in Exod. 27, near which one would actually expect it. Although almost all textual versions (except the SP) offer it in Exod. 30, its execution is only found in MT, SP and Vulg. (Exod. 37:25–28), where the building of the altar of incense is carried out *(expressis verbis)* in its expected place.

This finding is illuminating in two aspects. Exod. 30 is to be classified as secondary because of its position and the mention of the "one altar" in Exod. 27 (so, as we know, all except MT).[24] In contrast to Exod. 27 MT, the LXX, SP and Vulg. — as seen — tolerate or know of yet another altar. Therefore, Exod. 27 MT is probably the oldest order for the construction of *the* (one) altar that we can reach.[25] This becomes even clearer with the names of the altar(s). First, Exod. 27 knew "the altar". By adding the "altar for incense" (Exod. 30), the LXX, SP and Vulg. could (or

[24] See Kratz 2000, 105; Wellhausen 1905, 64–65.
[25] See Kratz 2000, 105; Nihan 2007, 31–32; Wellhausen 1905, 64–65.

had to) already speak of "*an* altar" in their orders.[26] In the next step, the MT, SP and Vulg. wrote the execution reports of the altars in the style of their orders as follows:

***Fortschreibung* of the MT in Exod. 38:1–8**	**Order to build the altar for incense in Exod. 30:1–10 MT**	**The execution of the construction of the incense altar in Exod. 37:25–28 MT**
וַיַּעַשׂ **אֶת־מִזְבַּח הָעֹלָה עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים** חָמֵשׁ אַמּוֹת אָרְכּוֹ וְחָמֵשׁ־אַמּוֹת רָחְבּוֹ רָבוּעַ וְשָׁלֹשׁ אַמּוֹת קֹמָתוֹ: וַיַּעַשׂ קַרְנֹתָיו עַל אַרְבַּע פִּנֹּתָיו **מִמֶּנּוּ הָיוּ קַרְנֹתָיו וַיְצַף אֹתוֹ נְחֹשֶׁת**:	וְעָשִׂיתָ **מִזְבַּח מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת** עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים תַּעֲשֶׂה אֹתוֹ: אַמָּה אָרְכּוֹ וְאַמָּה רָחְבּוֹ רָבוּעַ יִהְיֶה וְאַמָּתַיִם קֹמָתוֹ **מִמֶּנּוּ קַרְנֹתָיו**:	וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־**מִזְבַּח הַקְּטֹרֶת עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים** אַמָּה אָרְכּוֹ וְאַמָּה רָחְבּוֹ רָבוּעַ וְאַמָּתַיִם קֹמָתוֹ **מִמֶּנּוּ הָיוּ קַרְנֹתָיו**:
וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־כָּל־כְּלֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶת־הַסִּירֹת וְאֶת־הַיָּעִים וְאֶת־הַמִּזְרָקֹת אֶת־הַמִּזְלָגֹת וְאֶת־הַמַּחְתֹּת כָּל־כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת:		
וַיַּעַשׂ **לְמִזְבֵּחַ מִכְבָּר** מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת **נְחֹשֶׁת תַּחַת כַּרְכֻּבּוֹ מִלְמַטָּה עַד־חֶצְיוֹ**: וַיִּצֹק אַרְבַּע טַבָּעֹת בְּאַרְבַּע הַקְּצָוֹת לְמִכְבַּר הַנְּחֹשֶׁת **בָּתִּים לַבַּדִּים**: **וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־הַבַּדִּים עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים וַיְצַף אֹתָם נְחֹשֶׁת**:	**וְצִפִּיתָ אֹתוֹ זָהָב טָהוֹר** אֶת־גַּגּוֹ וְאֶת־קִירֹתָיו סָבִיב וְאֶת־קַרְנֹתָיו וְעָשִׂיתָ לּוֹ זֵר זָהָב סָבִיב: **וּשְׁתֵּי טַבְּעֹת זָהָב תַּעֲשֶׂה־לּוֹ מִתַּחַת לְזֵרֹו** עַל שְׁתֵּי צַלְעֹתָיו תַּעֲשֶׂה עַל־שְׁנֵי צִדָּיו וְהָיָה **לְבָתִּים לְבַדִּים לָשֵׂאת אֹתוֹ בָּהֶמָּה**: **וְעָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַבַּדִּים עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים וְצִפִּיתָ אֹתָם זָהָב**:	**וַיִּצֹק אֹתוֹ זָהָב טָהוֹר** אֶת־גַּגּוֹ וְאֶת־קִירֹתָיו סָבִיב וְאֶת־קַרְנֹתָיו וַיַּעַשׂ **לוֹ זֵר זָהָב** סָבִיב: **וּשְׁתֵּי טַבְּעֹת זָהָב עָשָׂה־לוֹ מִתַּחַת לְזֵרֹו** עַל שְׁתֵּי צַלְעֹתָיו עַל שְׁנֵי צִדָּיו **לְבָתִּים לְבַדִּים לָשֵׂאת אֹתוֹ בָּהֶם**: **וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת־הַבַּדִּים עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים וַיְצַף אֹתָם זָהָב**:
וַיָּבֵא אֶת־הַבַּדִּים בַּטַּבָּעֹת עַל צַלְעֹת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ **לָשֵׂאת אֹתוֹ** נְבוּב לֻחֹת עָשָׂה אֹתוֹ: ס		
וַיַּעַשׂ אֶת הַכִּיּוֹר נְחֹשֶׁת וְאֶת כַּנּוֹ נְחֹשֶׁת בְּמַרְאֹת הַצֹּבְאֹת אֲשֶׁר צָבְאוּ פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד:	וְנָתַתָּה אֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי הַפָּרֹכֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־אֲרֹן הָעֵדֻת לִפְנֵי הַכַּפֹּרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־הָעֵדֻת אֲשֶׁר אִוָּעֵד לְךָ שָׁמָּה:	

In doing so, they use the *termini technici* "altar of burnt offering" and "altar of incense", which are rare in the Hebrew Bible. In addition, there are literal correspondences between the two accounts of the execution of both altars. Like all other

[26] The altar of incense is missing even where the incense is not offered on the altar but on pans (e.g., Lev. 16:12, 18–20); also Num. 17 and Lev. 10, see Wellhausen 1905, 64–65. The idea of a sanctuary without an altar of incense is supported by Ezek. 41:21–22; 44:16. In the description of the temple, the altar is equated with the table of shewbread, which may also have been in the minds of the authors of Exod. 25–29 (Lev. 16), see Nihan 2007, 31–32; Popper 1862, 228; Wellhausen 1905, 64–65.

textual witnesses, the LXX orders that the one altar and the altar for incense are to be made as altars of horns (Exod. 27:2; 30:2–3). Contrary to expectation, however, both altars are described as altars of horns only in the MT (SP and Vulg. in 38:25–26).[27] Among others, these differences suggest that this "style" of execution accounts following the orders as offered by the MT, SP, and V was not ignored or modified by the LXX, but was apparently still completely unknown to it.[28] The "absence" of the execution of the order for the altar of incense in the LXX and Codex Mon gives reason for the following assumption: The execution accounts – all execution accounts! – were added to the orders afterwards. The more detailed execution accounts in Exod. 37 and 38 MT, SP, and V in turn are secondary to these shorter ones of the LXX and Codex Mon.[29]

6. From *the* altar to the altar of burnt offering or incense

Not only in Exod. 25–40*, but throughout the Hebrew Bible, "the altar" is the most frequently used altar designation. In addition, we find the designations of the altars according to their materials such as bronze altar, golden altar or earth and stone altar (Exod. 20:24, 25–26; Deut. 27:5–6; Josh. 8:30–31). In contrast, the altar of burnt offering is mentioned only rarely and the altar of incense only twice outside the Book of Exodus (2 Chron. 26:16, 19). This evidence suggests a development in the designations from "the altar" becoming "an altar" through the altar for incense. These were later distinguished by their materials as bronze and gold (Exod. 27:2//38:2 and 30:3//37:26 MT). Only at the very end did they receive their specific (functional) designations "altar of burnt offering and altar of incense".

Later layers in the LXX in Exod. 35–40* also know these specific designations "altar of burnt offering" and "altar of incense". For the former it has the designation "τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῶν καρπωμάτων" (only three times in Exod. 40:6, 10, 29). Besides this it knows the "τὸ θυσιαστήριον τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων" (altar of whole-burnt-offering; Exod. 30:26). The *terminus technicus* altar of incense, "τὸ

[27] See Popper 1862, 130.
[28] See loc. cit., 136.
[29] Popper's criticism of Frankel's hypothesis is revealing: Frankel does not assume that the Hebrew *Vorlage* behind LXX Exodus differs from the MT. According to him, LXX Exodus originally went up to 36:8. Exod. 36:8b–38:20 form a later addition without reference to the MT. However, this leaves open the questions: Apart from all the differences, how can the textual similarities between the two accounts in Ex 36:8b–38:20 be explained? See Frankel 1851, 73, 110; Popper 1862, 128–130, 134–139.

θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θυμιάματος," on the other hand, is found in the LXX only once in Exod. 39:9. In all other textual witnesses (see above) in Exod. 30–40*, however, both terms are used several times. This finding further supports the assumption that the order to build the altar in Exod. 27:1–8* (MT) is the oldest achievable order. Among the secondary execution accounts, the basic layer reconstructed from the MT and LXX is older than that of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX (and Codex Mon) and that of MT, SP, and V. The term "bronze altar" from the LXX is probably more original than the "altar of burnt offering" mentioned in the MT (SP and Vulg.), given the textual evidence of the altars in Exod. 25–40* and the entire Hebrew Bible.

Accordingly, an older order to build the altar (MT) became the building of an altar through the secondary addition of the altar of incense (LXX, SP, and V). On the other hand, the "absence" of an execution account for the altar of incense in LXX and Codex Mon shows that, in general, the executions are secondary to the orders. The building order of the one altar in Exod. 27 (LXX) was secondarily supplemented by an execution account for the bronze altar. This execution account includes a textual account that LXX and Codex Mon share with the MT, SP, and V. It reports on the making of the bronze altar, its furniture, and the laver and its base. From this common evidence, the MT and LXX now separate in their respective *Fortschreibungen*. The detailed Masoretic account of the execution of the altar of burnt offering not only carries out everything step by step along the account of the order (Exod. 27)[30], but also shows references to the account of the execution of the altar of incense (Exod. 37:25–28), which was not yet available to the LXX. The *terminus technicus* "the altar of incense" (מִזְבַּח הַקְּטֹרֶת in Exod. 37:25) subsequently necessitates an altar designation "altar of burnt offering." In contrast, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX (and the Codex Mon) formulates an execution account that takes references to Exod. 29, to the execution accounts of the ark and the table of shewbread, and to Num. 17 (possibly also to Exod. 32–34) but does not yet know the style of detailed "working through" the order.

[30] This phenomenon of almost word-for-word "working through" the order in the execution account is also found in the case of the ark and the table (Exod. 25:10–22, 23–30//37:1–9, 10–16 MT). As in the case of the altar, we encounter a very similar difference in the execution accounts of the ark (Exod. 38:1–3, 5–9 LXX) and the table (38:9–12 LXX) between the LXX and the MT (SP and Vulg.). The LXX also transmits a considerably shorter execution account compared to the MT (SP and Vulg.).

This style enters only with the execution account of the altar of incense (Exod. 37:25–28), of which the LXX apparently knows nothing. Consequently, it is obvious that the LXX and the MT are based on a common text, which is then continued or supplemented differently and independently of each other in both cases.[31]

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[31] A comparison between the fragmentary description of the temple building in the Temple Scroll (11QT[a] 3–13:7) with the sanctuary accounts shows: Although the altar of incense is mentioned in 11QT[a] 3:10 in agreement with MT Exod. 35:15 (which is frequently absent from LXX 35–40), the order of items is more similar to that of LXX 36–37 than to that of MT 36–39. This evidence suggests the existence of a non-MT version of Ex alongside a "non-similar" Hebrew Vorlage of LXX Ex contemporaneous (cf. Brooke 1992, 81–106).

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PhD Project: "Assyro-Aramaic bilingual archives in Northern Mesopotamia: Social domains and language choice"

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Disposition of dissertation:

1. Introduction
    - 1.1. Synthesis of previous research on Aramaic and Akkadian language contact
    - 1.2. Sources: Defining bilingual archives
2. Theoretical and Methodological Approaches
    - 2.1. Theory: Language, Identity, and Ethnicity
        - 2.1.1. Homophily and Social Groups
        - **2.1.2. Language Choice, Social Domains, and Language Shift**
    - 2.2. Methods: Social Network Analysis
        - 2.2.1. Applying SNA in ancient contexts
        - 2.2.2. Data collection
        - 2.2.3. Network Measures: Homophily
        - 2.2.4. Network Measures: ?
3. Bilingual archives in Northern Mesopotamia
    - 3.1. Dūr-Katlimmu
    - 3.2. Ma'lāna
    - 3.3. Tell Shiukh Fawqani
    - 3.4. Ashur
    - 3.5. Nineveh
    - 3.6. Guzana
    - 3.7. Til-Barsip
4. Conclusions

I plan to adapt the paper presented in OTSEM 2023 as part of the chapter 2.1.2. on sociolinguistic theory of language choice and social domains.

Research aims:

The aim of the research is to study the social context of language choice within bilingual Assyro-Aramaic archives from the Neo-Assyrian period (ca. 900-600 BCE). During the 9th century, Aramaic and Akkadian languages were both used in Assyrian administration, both in the official and private sphere. In the past two decades, the number of published Aramaic texts from the Neo-Assyrian period has doubled; stemming both from the heartland of Assyria and from the more peripheral areas of the empire. Traditionally in scholarship, Akkadian and Aramaic have been classified as the "standard" and "vernacular" language

respectively. In this study, I examine the diachronic and spatial differences in the use of Aramaic and Akkadian in published bilingual cuneiform archives and map the norms of choosing either language. The primary sources for this research are ancient bilingual cuneiform archives from the Neo-Assyrian period. “Bilingual archive” in this context refers to an archive which contains either monolingual texts in both Akkadian or Aramaic, or bilingual texts in both Akkadian and Aramaic. In this definition, I also include Akkadian texts with Aramaic epigraphs. The sources are limited bilingual archives, because these archives indicate the usage of both Akkadian and Aramaic in daily life in each of their social contexts. While the primary sources for this research could be extended to monolingual cuneiform archives with a high degree of Aramaic linguistic influences in written Akkadian, such archives would not be helpful to determine the different social domains occupied by Aramaic and Akkadian.

Methods:

The primary sources will be studied with the following two methods: 1. close reading, 2. Social Network Analysis (SNA).

1. The first method “close reading” is a traditional philological approach. I will assess the primary texts to determine the context where Akkadian and Aramaic are used. The most common documents in cuneiform archives are economic texts, and this will likely also apply with bilingual archives. Large amounts of economic documents provide information on the culture and economy of the community; For example, what level and sources of income the communities had, in which social classes the people belonged to, or what deities were worshipped in the area. Close reading will also be the main method of determining social domains of Aramaic and Akkadian. I will have to consider, what kind of social situations administrative documents represent, who they are aimed for, and what purposes the chosen language(s) serve in the document. I will discuss how I plan to use SNA to analyze the social domains below.

2. Social Network Analysis refers to the study of social networks with network theory. In this research, SNA is used to study the structures of the bilingual communities based on the traits of the people involved in the texts (such as profession, linguistic name origin, familial ties) and the language used in the texts they appear in. Once the community members and their ties have been established, I will look for patterns of language-switching. Social context for each document can be deduced by the contents of the texts and the people involved. Some relevant questions to determine the social context by people are, whether certain people only interact in either language with some of their contacts, or whether some groups appear only in documents written in either language. Social networks are associated with language shifts in bilingual communities because they affect the language usage of bilingual people, and often languages are associated with certain social domains, such as “work”, “home” or “religion”. If the social domains for Aramaic and Akkadian change in bilingual

communities, for example diachronically or between urban and rural locations, the process of the language shift could be tracked. The analysis of social domains of Aramaic and Akkadian will likely need to be performed mostly by close reading. Nevertheless, the analysis can be supplemented with SNA by examining if language choice of a document is affected by the people involved in the event of writing the document.

Language choice in bilingual Assyro-Aramaic archives

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The spreading influence of Aramaic language during the Neo-Assyrian empire (ca. 900-600 BCE) has been a widely discussed topic. Yet, the social domains of Aramaic and Akkadian within the empire are rarely explored beyond the classification to "vernacular" (Aramaic) and "standard" (Akkadian) languages. The use of Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian empire is documented since the 9th century BCE. Contemporary multilingual monumental inscriptions suggest that Aramaic was used for identity expression and even insubordination against the Assyrian rule, but these propagandistic inscriptions portray an ideal rather than reality. Legal texts, a more abundantly available text type, reflect everyday use of language. Examining the language choices in bilingual (Assyro-Aramaic) archives may reveal societal norms and attitudes towards a language, as language choice is affected by the social interactions and social networks of individuals.

I discuss the different aspects of interaction that may have influenced language-choice in these documents and demonstrate with two examples from the bilingual Dūr-Katlimmu archive how the contents of the text are relevant for determining who writes what to whom and when. Language choice can be influenced by several factors, such as whether the transaction is related to an institution such as a temple or a palace, or which socio-economic or cultural background the participants come from. However, the scope of evidence is limited, and bilingual cuneiform archives can hardly represent all social contexts of language. Most private cuneiform archives are centered around a certain "archive protagonist" and their social circle, spanning over several generations. While these archives do not necessarily reflect the language choices within the larger community, they provide an opportunity to observe diachronic changes in language choice within small social networks and to focus on the people actively utilizing both Aramaic and Akkadian in their daily lives.

Preface for the discussion: I would like the focal points of the discussion to be on the main struggles of applying sociolinguistic analysis on administrative and legal texts, such as defining the audience and authorship of the document, or defining relationships between people.

Introduction

Both in this presentation and my dissertation, I will focus on the social domains of Old Aramaic in legal texts from Northern Mesopotamia in the Neo-Assyrian period.[1] As of writing, the corpus of Aramaic clay tablets from Assyrian archives consists of c. 500 texts, distributed to several ancient archives from Assur, Nineveh, Dūr-Katlimmu, Til-Barsip, Tell Shiukh Fawqani, Guzana, and the unprovenanced Ma'lānā archive (Fales 2021). All these ancient archives also include cuneiform documents in Akkadian. Therefore, they represent the parallel use of Aramaic and Akkadian. In the past twenty years, the corpus of Aramaic legal texts from the Neo-Assyrian period has at least doubled in size due to the publication of documents from sites such as Dūr-Katlimmu/Tell Sheikh Hamad and Tell Shiukh Fawqani. I will be referring to ancient archives with Aramaic and Akkadian texts as bilingual archives. Most comprehensive discussion of the function and typology of Aramaic epigraphs and bilingual clay tablets in the Neo-Assyrian context is by Fales (1986). Following his typology, Aramaic served three different functions on clay tablets: a summary/label referred to as an "epigraph", a full translation of the Assyrian text, or a monolingual independent text. I classify as a bilingual archive any cuneiform archive that includes any of these tablet types. Following the definition of Pedersén (1998, 3), a cuneiform archive is "a collection of texts, each text documenting a message or a statement, for example, letters, legal, economic, and administrative documents." In addition to cuneiform archives found together as a group of texts in an archaeological context, archives have been reconstructed based on the contents of cuneiform texts. Most of the corpus of Aramaic inscriptions in bilingual archives from the Neo-Assyrian period are classified as legal texts[2]. Legal texts are further divided to subcategories: conveyance documents, contracts (including loan documents), and varia

[1] All dates are BCE unless otherwise indicated. When referring to editions of primary sources, I follow the abbreviations from the CAD (*Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*). If an abbreviation is not included in the CAD, the full citation is indicated in the footnotes.

[2] This was the case already when Fales wrote the only comprehensive discussion of Aramaic epigraphs from the Neo-Assyrian period in 1986 and remains true today – even with new archives discovered and published.

(memorandum, receipt) (Radner 1997; Postgate 1976). Most commonly, monolingual Aramaic tablets belong to the category of loans, usually either silver or grain – but they are also represented in the other categories.

The socio-cultural implications of the parallel use Aramaic and Akkadian within this corpus have not been studied extensively. The size, state of publication, and the geographical area and timespan covered by the corpus grant an opportunity to assess general trends in the use of Aramaic in Neo-Assyrian private and official administration. While there have been several overviews of use of Aramaic in Neo-Assyrian context[3], the most comprehensive studies on functions of Aramaic in this corpus are from Fales (2007; 1986). The number of published Aramaic documents from Neo-Assyrian sites has doubled since his publications and a review of the material is in order. By using Social Network Analysis, I attempt to evaluate correlations between genre and social context of language choice between Aramaic and Akkadian. Social Network Analysis has been successfully applied in studies of language-switching in modern communities. Social Network Analysis facilitates the study of administrative archives; using it jointly with close reading from a sociolinguistic approach enables the assessment of social norms in using Aramaic in administration.

In the following sections, I give an overview on the diglossia in Neo-Assyrian empire and evidence of Assyrian norms regarding use of Aramaic outside of legal texts. This is followed by a discussion on sociolinguistic theory on language choice as it relates to social identity and social networks. Then, I present how to apply this theoretical framework with select texts from a cuneiform archive from Dūr-Katlimmu. I conclude with a summary of potentials and issues related to the approach.

[3] Most recently on the use of Aramaic as the lingua franca by Folmer (2020) and on the language contact induced changes in Old and Imperial Aramaic by Stadel (2020) in the same volume, and in Gzella (2014).

Diglossia in the Neo-Assyrian empire

Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as a situation "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play." Ferguson further assigns hierarchy to the two languages, dividing them to "high" and "low" variety. These classifications imply how the languages are perceived by the society: one is held in higher regard than the other. Usually, in the context of Neo-Assyrian diglossia, Akkadian is considered the high language and Aramaic the low, vernacular language. Generally, this classification seems applicable: Akkadian was the literary language used by scholars of the Assyrian empire, and contemporary Aramaic evidence is mostly limited to everyday use of language. Instead of ascribing the high and low varieties between just Akkadian and Aramaic, Radner (2021) describes the diglossia situation in the Neo-Assyrian period as a divide between Standard Babylonian (high) and three vernaculars: Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian dialects and Aramaic. Standard Babylonian refers to the dialect of Akkadian commonly used in literary texts, including royal inscriptions. Radner's categorization is supported by the find context of Aramaic clay tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period, which only appear in the context of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts.

In addition to the legal texts, a few Northern Mesopotamian sites have revealed monumental inscriptions in Aramaic. The 9th century statue of Adda-it'i, governor of Guzana, from Tell Fekheriye bears a bilingual inscription: Standard Babylonian in the front, Aramaic in the back (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard 1982). In the Standard Babylonian inscription, Adda-it'i uses the title of governor of Guzana (*šakin māt*), while the Aramaic inscription refers to him as king of Guzana (*mlk gwzn*). Two more examples of Aramaic monumental inscriptions come from Arslan Tash (Hadattu): two lions, one with a bilingual (Akkadian and Aramaic) and one with a trilingual inscription (Akkadian, Aramaic and

Luwian hieroglyphic)[4]. The inscriptions on the lions have similar contents to each other, installed by Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur, the governor of Kar-Šalmaneser/Til-Barsip/Masuwari. One significant difference between the inscriptions is, that in the Luwian inscription Ninurta-bēlu-uṣur refers to himself as ”country lord” (REGIO-*ni*(-)DOMINUS-*ia-sá*), which Bunnens (2022, 105) suggests in the first millennium referred to the status of an independent king, rather than the title of governor used in the Akkadian and Aramaic inscriptions. In these examples, the languages appear parallel are presented on equal footing, suggesting that the governors installed by Assyrians recognized the multilingual context. The variance in titulary, however, could imply only a partial compliance with the Assyrian rule: the expressions of ruling identity are braver in other languages than Akkadian.

As established, while Aramaic is known to appear parallel to Standard Babylonian in monumental contexts, in everyday use of writing Aramaic appears alongside the other two vernaculars. The sporadic appearance of Aramaic as either epigraphs or monolinguals, and usually only in certain text types, raises questions about the motivations for using it. Were there were ideals or social norms guiding the usage of Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian empire – especially at the state level? Indirect references to Aramaic letters appear in Assyrian royal correspondence, which provide clues into the language abilities and norms of the administration. Importantly, in the commonly quoted letter SAA 17:2 to Sin-iddina, an official from Ur, Sargon II prohibits the use of Aramaic:

Lines 13.-20. [As to what you wrote]: “There are informers [… to the king] and coming to his presence; if it is acceptable to the king, let me write and send my messages to the king on Aram[aic] parchment sheets *(ina* ŠÀ *si-ip-ri* [KUR].*ár-m*[*a-a-a*])” – why would you not write

[4] The bilingual inscription on Lion M 7519 is published in Röllig 2009. The Luwian part from the Lion with the trilingual inscription is published in CHLI (p. 246).

and send me messages in Akkadian (*ak-ka-da-at-tu*)? Really, the message which you write in it must be drawn up in this very manner – this is a fixed regulation!"

Sargon quotes the previous letter sent by Sin-iddina in the beginning, where he has suggested writing to the king in Aramaic instead of Akkadian. Sargon's response to this is clearly negative and he appears to emphasize the necessity to write royal correspondence between Babylonia and Assyria in Akkadian. Pearce (1999, 364–65) argues that this indicates Sin-iddina's inability to recognize the appropriate language-choice in the social domain of correspondence with the king. Fales (2007, 104 fn. 47) provides another alternative motive for using Aramaic: he suggests that Sin-iddina's request to use Aramaic relates to a wish to encrypt delicate information sent through the territories between Ur and Assyria, based on the informers coming to the king mentioned by Sin-iddina. Fales argues that Sargon's refusal indicates denial of potential dangers. Radner (2021, 176) rejects this interpretation, and instead suggests that Sargon wished to keep up the cultural tradition of writing in Babylonian when corresponding with Babylonian officials. Nevertheless, the problem seems to be an ideological one, rather than an issue of not understanding Aramaic. After all, Aramaic scribes were employed in Assyrian administration[5], so there was certainly no lack of Aramaic knowledge in the court. Rather, Sargon's reaction implies that there was a conscious choice to use certain languages in certain situations according to societal norms.

While there are references to Aramaic letters being sent to Assyrian governors and officials[6], the only example of Aramaic letters from the Neo-Assyrian context is the Ashur Ostracon (ca. 650 BCE), found in a private house near the western city wall of Ashur. The

[5] In addition to references of Aramaic scribes in administrative texts from the Neo-Assyrian period, they are portrayed frequently together with cuneiform scribes in palace reliefs of the Neo-Assyrian kings (Radner 2021, 149).
[6] ND 2686 refers to a sealed Aramaic letter, and the letter SAA XVI to king Esarhaddon forwards an Aramaic letter translated in Akkadian.

ostracon is probably a draft, intended to be copied on a perishable material. I follow here the edition by Fales (2010). In the letter, an Assyrian official Bēl-eṭir writes to another official Pir'-Amur(ru) that four deserters from Bīt-Amukkanni, given to Bēl-eṭir as slaves by the king Ashurbanipal, were going to be taken back to south by an official from Babylon. Bēl-eṭir lists several kings of Assyria who had taken captives to Assyria, yet had not actively pursued escaped captives, unlike Ashurbanipal who had appointed a person to track them down. Fales emphasizes the significance of the Assyrian officials involved in this correspondence, dealing with very Assyrian problems, choosing to use Aramaic in the private letter. The number of royal correspondences from the reigns of succeeding rulers of Assyria is far fewer than that from Sargon, which can indicate that letters in Aramaic were rather written on perishable materials (Radner 2021, 176). Sargon's successors may have changed their language policy, yet there is no direct evidence of such change. While the Ashur ostracon is so far the only surviving Aramaic letter from the Neo-Assyrian period, it accounts for the use of Aramaic among Assyrian officials without posing a conflict with an Assyrian identity.

Social domains and social networks

To understand the motivations for using either Aramaic or Akkadian, I apply the concept of *social domains*, introduced by Fishman (1965; 1972) to describe the social situations and institutions that influenced the language choices within bilingual societies. Fishman argued that three things factor in the social domain of language: topic, role relation and locale, summarizing the motivation behind language choice to one question: "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" Topic refers to the topic of conversation – whether some topics are easier discussed in certain languages either due to specialized terms or societal appropriateness. Role relation refers to the role of the speaker and hearer. Within a social

domain, there can be several divisions to different roles. Locale refers to the physical location where the exchange takes place. Fishman's approach focuses on language choices on larger, societal scale; which domain is generally associated with which language. He argues that in bilingual communities, language-choices are affected by the situation and context: topic of conversation, location such as home or work, or the conversational partner(s). Domains are not constant; changes in language choices when observed in greater scale, may indicate either language shift or language maintenance (Fishman 1965). As with any theoretical models, applying the concept of social domains historical case studies relies on the researcher's evaluation of domains based on socio-historical context: an ancient Assyrian might have possibly classified their social domains differently than the modern scholar.

Similar ideas to social domains were discussed by Blom and Gumperz (1972) in their study of the contextual influences on switching between Bokmål and Ranamål in a Norwegian community. Blom and Gumperz showed that involvement in the local community increased the use of the vernacular language, whereas those with a more open social network used standardized language more often. Milroy and Margrain (1980) demonstrate this with a social network approach by measuring the correlation of locality (defined as involvement in local community) and language use – and include comparison between ages and gender. Milroy and Margrain's results support the already established observations on language-use:

1. Social Networks affect one's use of language.
2. Older generations of bilingual communities are generally less open towards the "outer group", and therefore use one of their languages more than the other.

Li et al. (1992) combine social network analysis and socio-linguistic analysis to examine the patterns of social domains and language-switching within a bilingual Chinese community in Britain. They compare the "ethnic index" of a language-user's social network to their language choices and abilities and show that aspects such as gender and age alone do not

account for language-choices: daily language choices depend on the speaker's social network. Following these findings, personal social domains of language are defined by the social network of the speaker – but the general trends within communities can influence language maintenance or language shift. I attempt to merge these aspects of studying the social domains of Aramaic and Akkadian within the Neo-Assyrian empire by first studying the trends of language choice within each archive, and then compare the results to see any existing trends either diachronically or between the imperial periphery and the Assyrian heartland.

Not only does the social network of a person has an impact on language use, but also their personal identity. Our identities are enforced and formed by the people surrounding us; family, friends, and co-workers. In diglossic communities, language choice and social domains reflect identity of the language user. Domains such as home or internal language use (dreams, speaking to self) are closely related to the language user's identity. Locality may be represented by one's language; for example, using the vernacular language may be a conscious choice to show community allegiance instead of simply reflecting the social status of the user (L. Milroy 1987, 19). On the other hand, language choice may reflect the identity one wishes to attain. When the norms of the society apply certain prestige to one language or dialect, appearing as the user of that language or dialect can be desirable.

Using social network analysis for the study of historical sociolinguistics assumes that the phenomena of language maintenance, shift and innovation are typical for multilingual communities, even in the past. Historical data is always limited and sets boundaries for the type of analysis that can be performed and difficulties arise especially in defining relationships between people (Conde-Silvestre 2012, 335–36). The relationships reflected in legal texts offer a mere glimpse of the social activity of ancient people, whereas in the studies on language choice and social networks in modern communities the quality of relationships is

defined by the people participating in the study. With historical data, relationships based on kinship and trust are not necessarily visible, and records of communication within home would be rarer to encounter than records of purchasing grain.

In historical sociolinguistics, *ego-centric* case studies focus on the language use of individuals. With "Ego-centric", I am referring to the networks built around one focal person, the *ego*. The focal point of these studies has rather been on innovations in grammar, spelling and code-switching between languages[7] – a point of view which is equally important to the language contact between Akkadian and Aramaic, but outside the scope of this study. Rather than to document code-switching, borrowing or language interference in the legal texts, my aim is to understand the social influence of relationships and connectivity on language choice. The current study falls somewhere in between micro-scale study of personal language use and a macro-scale study of diachronic development of social domains: because the archives are generally centered around one protagonist and their family, the data does not represent the whole surrounding community. At the same time, the material limits the view to the archive holder's language use to the domain of economic transactions. However, the comparatively long time span of bilingual archives and their geographic locations offer a macro point of view of archival practices in the northern part of the Assyrian empire.

Linguistic change and innovation require links to the outside of the community, usually a 'broker'; a person who is connected to more than one densely connected communities and is able to transfer information from one community to another (J. Milroy 1992, 173–83). If switching between Aramaic and Akkadian in certain situations is based on social norms, a person practicing the switching may be in the position of the broker – balancing between communities. Therefore, in an ego-centric archival study, the analysis of the immediate and long-distance relationships of the egos is central to understanding the

[7] For an overview, see Conde-Silvestre (2012).

linguistic environment of the ego. Attributes of the participants in the network, such as social rank, office, and gender are generally relevant for understanding the influence of the ego and the situations of language use (Conde-Silvestre 2012; Sairio 2009).

How to approach bilingual legal texts?

While most of the research and theory on bilingualism has focused on spoken language, historical sociolinguistics follow generally the same principles (Schendl 2012). The social context of the multilingual situation is still relevant in the case written material, and the same question remains: "Who writes what language to whom and when?". In ancient context, defining the "who" proves a complex issue of authorship. Instead of assuming that the "who" always refers to the scribe of the text, in some cases it is possible that the author of the text is not the only party influencing the language choice. An alternative suspect here would be one of the protagonists and the commissioner of the text, likely the creditor in loan documents or the seller in conveyance documents. The question of "whom" refers to the audience of the text. The intended audience might be the person who is likely to use the text in the future and whose archive it ends up in. Another option would be a legal authority who must be able to verify the document. As addressed by Fales (any), the use of Aramaic in legal texts argues for the validity of the legal status of Aramaic. "Where" refers here to the location where the transactional event took place; both the geographical location (heartland of Assyria or the periphery of the Assyrian empire) and whether the transaction relates to the official or private domain. The answer to the question of "When" might be the most complex; not only is the date of the document relevant, but also the situation described in the document. The situation is defined by the genre of the text and the people involved in the transaction.

To illustrate this approach to multilingual and monolingual texts from the Neo-Assyrian bilingual archives, I provide two examples from one of the bilingual archives used in this study. The Neo-Assyrian Dūr-Katlimmu archives (8th-6th centuries) were found from the Assyrian settlement Dūr-Katlimmu (Aramaic name Magdalu) in Northern Mesopotamia, was a significant location for Assyrian military activity. Several deposits of Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts have been found from Dūr-Katlimmu, most of them from the so-called "Red House", centered around the purchases and loans of an Assyrian official Rahimi-il. He is not the only protagonist in the transactions: other buyers of people and real estate are present too, as in the two examples given below.

The examples are chosen because they are Akkadian cuneiform texts with Aramaic epigraphs, both commissioned by the buyer called Adad-aplu-iddina and written by the scribe Urdu-Nabû. Both texts were found from the Red House and date to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, after the fall of the Neo-Assyrian empire. They are therefore not part of Rahimi-il's archive, but probably relate to people occupying the Red House after him. The scribe and the commissioner are the most likely people to influence the language-choice of a document: the scribe because they write the document, and the commissioner because they will use the document. Whether the same scribe wrote both the epigraph and the Akkadian text requires paleographic evaluation, which is unfortunately not possible in the realms of this paper. However, simply from the appearance of the epigraph can be determined that the user of the tablet, the commissioner, was probably able to read Aramaic and perhaps used it for finding the right document. The commissioner of the tablet is part of the intended audience for the completed text, but so is the legal authority: the text must be legally standing in order to use it in case of a dispute.

The text BATSH 6 37[8] found from the Red House, a sealed cuneiform text documenting the sale of a field to an individual called Adad-aplu-iddina, dated to VIII 602:

"The seal of Hanana, son of Bel-dan, the owner of the given field. Estate of one homer five seah, a watered field, next to (the field of) Ia-ahhe, next to (the field of) Hazaqi-Iau; Estate of two homers, a field below the estate of Ignunu, next to (the field of) Am-iadi'; estate of five seah, a field on the river, next to (the field of) Adda-idri, son of Kul-bajadi-il, next to (the field of) Adda-takal – altogether five homer of watered fields (acquired) by Adad-aplu-iddina for one mina of Silver in total, as compensation for granary offense (?) committed by his (Hanana's) son Adad-milki-ereš at Adad-aplu-iddina's threshing floor. The field and the storage together are legally acquired. There can be no return, trial, or lawsuit. Whoever in the future rebels(?) and contests, be it Hanana, his sons or grandsons, and opens a court process or trial agains Adad-aplu-iddina, his sons or his grandsons, must give five šekels of silver. Witness: Sîn-na''id, the mayor. Witness: Salmanu-šangû-uṣur, priest. Witness: Saku'a, son of Hazalum. Witness: Adad-milki-ereš, son of Menase'. Witness: Dadi-larim, son of Ahzi-Iau. Witness: Am-iadi', son of Same'-Iau. Witness: Mas'aiu, son of Hallis.i. Witness: Nabû-malik, son of Ah-ia'a. Witness: Arabaiu, the messenger. Witness: Am-dukur, son of Uhabbil. Witness: Liblut.u, son of Nabû-šarru-uṣur. Witness: Ahu-larim. Witness: Mannî. Witness: Adda-rapi'. Witness: Mannu-ki-ahhe. Witness: Urdu-Nabû, the scribe. VIII, second year of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon (602 BCE). Witness: Nabûtu."

Aramaic epigraph:

[8] Radner, Karen. *Die Neuassyrischen Texte Aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*. BATSH 6. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2002.

"The *egirtu* (= legal document, loan from Akkadian) of Hanana from Bait Zahir, regarding his land and house, which altogether are in Bait Zahir"

The scribe of the document, Urdu-Nabû, is listed as the second to last witness. The text is sealed and bears an inscribed Aramaic epigraph on top of the sealed area. The position of the epigraph implies that it is added after the cuneiform document has been after the cuneiform inscription. Generally, the Neo-Assyrian epigraphs are written on any available space of the document and there is no formal designated space for the epigraph, although the left edge is a common place to write it on. An inscribed epigraph implies that the epigraph must have been written while the clay was still wet, but after the writing of the cuneiform text.

The formula of the document follows Neo-Assyrian standards; Seal identification of the seller, identifying the sold property and its size, location, buyer, and the price. The document then closes with a no-contest disclosure and a list of witnesses and a date. The epigraph contents also follow the general pattern, identifying the type of document, the seller, and the property sold. The contents of the epigraph provide additional information otherwise missing from the cuneiform document: The seller Hanana and his field are specified as "from Bait Zahir". Sonnevelt (2021) argues that when the buyer is not identified in Aramaic epigraphs from the later Neo-Babylonian period, his involvement in the document was implied to the intended audience of the epigraph. In texts from Dur-Katlimmu, the buyer is identified only in two of the 74 Aramaic epigraphs.

The text BATSH 6 39 is another conveyance text documenting the sale of a field. In this text, the Aramaic epigraph is on the lower edge of the obverse, continuing on the left edge of the tablet.

"The seal of Ubru-Harran, son of Ilutu-upawa, the owner of the given field. Estate of one homer, five seah, a watered field in the land of Magdālu, next to the river, next to the field of the Elamite, next to the estate of Zangari-ibni, the rest of the field, that his (Ubru-Harran's) brother has given, Adad-aplu-iddina acquired for the total of 16.5 šekels of silver. The price was given in full. The field is legally acquired. There can be no return, trial, or lawsuit. Whoever tries to contest the will of Aššur, Šamaš, [Bel], and Nabû, must pay five minas of silver. XII, second year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (603 BCE). Witness: Salmanu-šangû-uṣur. Witness: Han-Ṣaruru. Witness: Ia-ahhe. Witness: Gabbî. Witness: Idî. Witness: Na''id-Issar. Witness: Mannî. Witness: Mannu-ki-ahhe**.** Witness: Urdu-Nabû, the scribe."

Aramaic epigraph:

"A contract about the field from Magdālu, which Ubru-Harran sold, the one sold to the tenant."

In bilingual archives the transaction described in the documents, sale of property, is commonly documented in Akkadian. Writing the Aramaic epigraph suggests that use of Aramaic in the process of using the document – possibly for sourcing the document from the archive – was appropriate and preferred. However, the Aramaic epigraph clearly serves a different purpose than the Akkadian text, providing an abridged version of the legally binding document. The epigraphs do *not* have legal value, because they do not follow the formula or record witnesses. Witnesses are a key part of Neo-Assyrian legal documents: Faist (2019, 261) argues that they are the most important aspect of making a legal document, as they are always listed, even when a seal impression or date is not present.

Witnesses are also relevant for the reconstruction of the social setting of the writing event. Both protagonists of each document probably brought their own witnesses, or if the

text was drafted in an official or temple setting, some of the people employed may have served as witnesses. Certain names repeat in both texts as witnesses: Salmanu-šangû-uṣur, Mannî, and Mannu-ki-ahhe. The latter two names are not given any professional titles or patronyms in either text, and they are common enough names that their identification is uncertain. However, their position towards the end of the witness list and co-occurrence together implies that they may have been witnesses of Adad-aplu-iddina. Salmanu-šangû-uṣur, whose name translates to "O, Salmanu protect the priest", is identified as a priest in BATSH 6 37, and appears among the first witnesses in both. Considering the texts were written in the same regnal year and concern the purchases of Adad-aplu-iddina and the scribal activities of Urdu-Nabû, Salmanu-šangû-uṣur likely refers to the same person in both. The secure identification of individuals based on names alone proves to be an issue in reconstructing the social networks, as several names are never accompanied with a title or a patronym.[9] Several West-Semitic names are attested in both texts, including Yahwistic names, which may be accounted for Assyrian deportations. While the witnesses may not be important in the language choice of the document, they are a part of the larger social context of both the event of writing and the social fabric of Dūr-Katlimmu. The presence of deportees in Dūr-Katlimmu and in the social circles of Adad-aplu-iddina and Ubru-Nabû may have influenced their use of Aramaic while the repeated presence of the priest Salmanu-šangû-usṣur may be accounted for ties to the temple of Salmanu in Dūr-Katlimmu.

To conclude, determining the influences on language-choice in legal texts is the sum of several variables: the protagonist, the scribe, paratextual and paleographic aspects, the

[9] An additional issue lies in the varying spellings of names used between Aramaic and Akkadian. In cuneiform texts from Dūr-Katlimmu, certain names are written differently in the Aramaic epigraphs. Some of these are direct translations, such as in BATSH 6 54: 5. Ilu-iqiša (DINGIR-*i*-BA), written El-yahab (*ʾlyhb*) in the epigraph. Some might represent the pronounciation of the name otherwise written in logograms. In BATSH 6 94: 4. The name GIN-DI-*man*, otherwise read as "Mukin-Salmanu", is written in epigraph as Ubru-Salmanu (*ʾbršlmn*). There are possibly several names in the Aramaic monolingual texts, which could be identified with individuals appearing in the cuneiform texts, but these connections may go unnoticed due to the differences in spelling.

subject matter, the linguistic and social environment, and the date of the text. While strong conclusions cannot be drawn on two texts alone, general trends may present when the texts are observed together with the rest of the archives.

Conclusions: potential and issues

The limitations of the material for sociolinguistic analysis are obvious: the data is limited to economic texts, which leads to limited analysis of social domains. However, the relationships reflected in the texts extend further than transactional relationships: witnesses, although their role and relation in the Neo-Assyrian period is poorly known, may well represent friends and trusted relationships of the creditors and lenders or sellers and buyers in texts. Similarly, the Assyrians often use professional titles as identifiers of individuals, which give clues on the social strata represented in the social networks. Familial ties are represented in several aspects: in patronyms, adoption contracts, in business transactions, and in the archive structures themselves. The archives usually stay in the family, which provides an opportunity for analysis of generational changes in language choices.

The weaknesses of the approach relate also to relationships. Defining the quality and strength of ties between ancient people is not as simple as with modern studies, in which the subjects may define their own close and distant links. In ancient sources, some influential ties between people are bound to be invisible. For an obvious example, women are very underrepresented in the available material, which will certainly rule out the representation of some social domains. While an individual archive may include attestations of hundreds of people, even the largest archive cannot project a complete picture of language use in the surrounding community: individuals from lower socio-economic classes may be attested more than once, if ever, in cuneiform sources. Accepting this limitation, the analysis of social

domains must be adjusted accordingly: sociolinguistic analysis of bilingual archives leads to ego-centric case studies of archival protagonists and their language choices. Naturally, ego-centric studies will not present a complete picture of social domains of either Akkadian or Aramaic, but historical sociolinguistics are always limited to the restrictions of data.

Despite the issues, defining the social position and influences of the archival protagonists will help contextualizing the use of Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian period. As the number of Aramaic material from the Neo-Assyrian period continues to grow, be it in short inscriptions and mundane records of sales and loans, the available material must be thoroughly examined. While anxiously awaiting for the discovery of direct statements of the social status of Aramaic, glimpses of the reality and everyday use of language are already available in the published material.

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DOCTORAL PROJECT SUMMARY

„THE RHETORIC AND GENRE-RELATED ELEMENTS OF THE SONG OF SONGS AND EARLY ARABIC POETRY“

Alice Volkonski

Poetry conveys human experience. Various embellishments and keywords in poetry may provoke different experiences in us as we read or hear it. Similarities between the Song of Song and Arabic poetry have been often observed. For instance, it has been suggested that for studying the Ancient Hebrew language and texts, a search for the meaning of Arabic or Aramaic word roots is helpful. We can also move a step forward and try to find alternative meanings of the Ancient Hebrew texts using methods and terminology from Arabic or other Semitic traditions. The most famous parallel, going back to Johann Gottfried Wetzstein, that has been observed beside the sensual language in the Song of Songs and Early Arabic poetry, is the descriptive theme of *waṣf*, which appears in 4:1–7; 5:10–16; 6:4–7 and 7:2–8. Other examples mentioned by Scott B. Noegel and Gary A. Rendsburg include Arabic *nasīb*, *ḥiǧāʾ* and *tašbīb*. The aim of mu doctoral project is to continue the research that has already been initiated and ask whether it is possible to find more examples of common ground between the Song of Songs and Early Arabic poetry. By applying different methods and alternative terminology I will try to find support for common formal and generic features in two traditions.

My main source beside the Song of Songs is early Arabic poetry, mostly from the 6th century. For instance, I have found the *Dīwān* of *an-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyānī* (535–604) who was the first court poet particularly inspiring. His language and style are a mix of Bedouin tradition and luxurious courtly elements. His poems evidence the knowledge of Christian, Jewish and Arabic tribal traditions.

As for the methods, I have followed, with a touch of critical attitude, some Western scholars, such as Harris H. Hirschberg, Johann Gottfried Wetzstein and Roland Meynet. I have also learned from the 9th century authors, such as Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Qurayš. My dissertation takes three main methodological steps:

1) Analysing and comparing the Hebrew word roots with Arabic word roots and their meanings; occasionally I am looking for parallels with Akkadian.
2) Noting different genre-related elements and analysing their characteristics and narrative context.
3) Rhetorical analysis following Roland Meynet's approach.

The methods will be synthesised in order to gain new knowledge or to support or refute the results of previous research.

I have written two articles:

2019 "Heebrea Ülemlaul ja araabia an-Nābīġa *qasida* kontsentriline idee. Roland Meynet' retoorilise meetodi põhjal" ["The Concentric Idea of the

Hebrew Song of Songs and Arabic an-Nābiġa's qaṣīda Based on Roland Meynet's Rhetorical Method"] – *Usuteaduslik Ajakiri* 2/2019 (75), 25–47. https://usuteadus.ee/?page_id=1112&lang=et (This paper needs to be translated into English.)

[2023] "Genre-Related Elements of Song of Songs Against the Backdrop of Early Arabic Poetry" – *[TBA]*. Eds. Gavin Fernandes, Stefan Fischer and Annette Potgieter. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press (in press).

Current OTSEM paper "A comparative analysis of the Biblical Song of Songs and Early Arabic poetic tradition" concentrates on my methodological experiences and is a preparation for planning further articles, as my thesis is based on articles. The third article should analyse the phenomenon of word play (multiple meanings) in the Song of Songs by using Arabic etymology. The fourth article should substantiate the combination of rhetorical analysis and genre-related elements, presenting my observations about the whole structure of the Song of Songs.

In addition, after my doctoral studies it is my plan to complete an exegetical study of the Song of Songs from the point of view of an Arabist and with adopting my methodology.

As an Arabist, I am aware of my untraditional approach, and I am thankful for the righteous criticism and questions that I may receive and that I have not been noticing myself.

A comparative analysis of the Biblical Song of Songs and Early Arabic poetic tradition

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Abstract

Ibn Qurayš, in the 9th century, was the first to compare the vocabulary and grammatical structure of the Semitic languages. He stated that knowing Aramaic and Arabic is essential to understand the Hebrew language and the Bible. Wilhem Gesenius manifested Qurayš's heritage in his dictionaries. Harris H. Hirschberg (1961) implicated his comparative method for Biblical Hebrew and Arabic in his research of explaining several Old Testament verses and the Song of Songs. Johann Gottfried Wetzstein (1873) found in the Song of Songs some parallels of the *waṣf*, which leads us again to the 9th Century, to Ibn Qutayba's writings on Arabic literature. Roland Meynet developed a rhetorical method for analysing biblical texts from the contributions of his predecessors, and Michel Cuypers used it successfully in studying Arabic texts of the Quran. Every new and already used method gets its credit and criticism. When we remember keeping a critical mind, we are aware of the possibility of becoming too speculative. Still, innovative but prudent creativity could also lead us to discoveries in this "archaeology of languages and traditions". The results of different studies on the Semitic tradition over a long time have allowed us to gather additional material; previous methods can be applied anew to the new material, and this new combination can provoke new methods. My analysis of the Song of Songs builds on those earlier methods with the vocabulary, structure, and traditions of two Semitic languages – Biblical Hebrew and Classical Arabic. The paper analyses the meaning of word roots, genre-related elements, and the rhetorical structures of the Song of Songs. The result should show the relevance of using old methods, either critically accepted or unaccepted, with new sources.

1. Introduction – leading to the questions about comparative analysis

My main idea during writing this paper was driven by questions that were gradually raised after analysing texts in two Semitic traditions. Now I will provide an introduction into what lead me to the questions that are relevant to my presentation. During my studies in recent years, I have changed my research area a few times. Several years ago, I started with Biblical Hebrew and the Old Testament being mostly fascinated by its poetry. I am thankful to my supervisor Urmas Nõmmik, who inspired me to study poetology and introduced some methods for analysis. Using mostly Wilfred G.E. Watson's book "Classical Hebrew Poetry: a Guide to its Techniques" as a manual and different Bible commentaries I tried to analyse Old Testament psalms and their verses poetologically. Somehow the situation seemed already so perfect in Old Testament research – so many different translations from Biblical scholars, so many commentaries, different methods, and lot of research still going continuing.

To get a fresh restart, I began my Master studies learning Standard Arabic, but decided to stick to poetry. Soon, I started to notice similarities between the Biblical Hebrew and Arabic poetry. Two basic observations were made:

1.) Some poetical similarities to the Old Testament poetry occur in the pre- and Early Islamic rhymed prose *saǧʿ*. As an example, I will quote a part of the speech by Quss ibn Sāʿida al-Iyādī, Bishop of Naǧran (died ca. 600 CE):[1]

O People!	*ʾayyuhā n-nāsu*
Listen and retain!	*ʾismaʿū waʿū*
He who lives dies.	*man ʿāša māta*
He who dies is lost [forever].	*wa-man māta fāta*
Everything that could happen will happen.	*wa-kullu mā huwa ʾātin ʾātin*
A dark night...	*laylun dāǧin*
a bright day...	*wa-nahārun sāǧin*
a sky that has zodiacal sign...	*wa-samāʾun ḏātu ʾabrāǧin*
stars that shine...	*wa-nuǧūmun tazharu*
seas [whose waters] roar...	*wa-biḥārun tazḥaru*
mountains firmly anchored...	*wa-ǧibālun mursātun*
an earth spread out...	*wa-ʾarḍun mudḥātun*
rivers made to flow	*wa-ʾanhārun muǧrātun*
Indeed, there are signs in the sky.	*ʾinna fī s-samāʾi lağabaran*
There are lessons in the earth.	*wa-ʾinna fī l-ʾarḍi laʿibaran*
What is the state of the people	*mā bālu n-nāsi*
going and never returning?	*yaḏhabūna wa-lā yarǧiʿūna*
Have they been satisfied, thus choosing to reside [there]?	*ʾaraḍū fa-ʾaqāmū*
Or were they abandoned, [are they] sleeping?	*ʾam turikū fa-nāmū*

The speech provides some examples of end-rhyme but it is being considered prose in the Arabic literature. Rhyme without meter is not poetry. However, it is possible to read the text as poetry that belongs to the Arabic Wisdom literature. Because of my background in Hebrew poetry and poetological analysis according to Wilfred G.E. Watson, I took the liberty to divide the Arabic text into cola and verses as if it was a parallelistic Old Testament poem. The result is astonishing in the sense that it is no question that the poem is in its most part parallelistic, and this in addition to the massive end-rhyme.

[1] Text and translation from Qutbuddin 2019.

2.) In Arabic literature, the understanding of what a poem is, is rather conventional. There exist two main forms of poems – *qaṣīda* and *qitʿa*. A shorter fragment, consisting of only a few verses, is *qitʿa*.[2] *Qitʿa* means "a fragment".[3] The poem, rarely exceeding the length of a hundred and twenty verses is called *qaṣīda*.[4] The term is probably derived from the verb *qaṣada* "to aim at, to intend", but the original meaning is unknown.[5] In the Western world, it is usually translated as "an ode".

Each verse, called *bayt* "tent, house" in Arabic, consists of two hemistichs and the two hemistichs of the first verse must rhyme with one another, and the same rhyme must be repeated at the end of every verse throughout the whole poem.[6]

Arabic verses have also sixteen different types of meter.[7]

Just because of the form, a short example from the *qaṣīda* of the first court poet an-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyānī (flourished ca. 600 CE) will be quoted here:[8]

> O adobe of Mayya on the height and peak
> It lies abandoned, and so long time has passed it by
> *yā dāra mayyata bi-l-ʿalyāʾi fa-s-sana**di***
> *ʾaqwat wa-ṭāla ʿalayhā sālifu l-ʾaba**di***
>
> I stopped there in the evening to question it;
> It could not answer, for in the vernal camp there was no one.
> *waqaftu fīhā ʾuṣaylānan ʾusāʾiluhā*
> *ʿayyat ǧawāban wa-mā bi-r-rabʿi min ʾaḥa**di***
>
> Nothing but tethering pegs that I made out only slowly,
> And the tent trench, like a water trough, hollowed from the smooth hard ground.
> *ʾillā l-ʾawāriyya laʾyan mā ʾubayyinuhā*
> *wa-n-nuʾya ka-l-ḥawḍi bi-l-maẓlūmati l-ǧala**di***

For analysing traditional Arabic poetry, I used the methods of Hussein Abdul-Raof (2006), Ḥasan Alwān and Muḥammad Aḥmad Barāniq (1937), and Alan Jones (2011) who follows the example of Ibn Qutayba.[9]

As a side remark, I would like to mention a further case of poetry relevant to my research. My attention has turned to medieval Hebrew and Arabic poetry in Spain – in al-Andalusī. In Andalusia, awareness of history, language and structure of poetry, also adopting traditional and archaic elements in new compositions, seemed to belong to ideal skills of a poet. Poetry written in Hebrew gained the form of Arabic *qaṣīda*, at the same time keeping its own history and

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[2] Wright 1996: 351.
[3] Wehr 1979: 908.
[4] Ibid, 908.
[5] See Meisami 1998: 630; Wehr 1979: 897.
[6] Ibid, 351–352.
[7] Ibid, 359.
[8] Text of the *qaṣīda* from an-Nābiġa's *Dīwān* (1996); translation from Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych (Stetkevych 2002).
[9] See Volkonski [2023]: 3; Jones 2011: 2.

tradition from the Hebrew Bible. Jehuda Ha-Levi (*Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Lāwī*) (died 1141) used the same form and style in his *qaṣīda* Zion:[10]

Zion! Wilt thou not ask if peace be with thy captives
That seek thy place – that are the remnant of thy flocks?
*ṣiyyôn hălōʾ tišʾălî lišlôm ʾăsīrāy**iḵ***
*dōršê šəlômēḵ wəhēm yeter ʿădārāy**iḵ***

From west and east, from north and south – the greeting
"Peace" from far and near, take thou from every side;
iyyām ûmizrāḥ ûmiṣṣāpôn wətêmān šəlôm
*rāḥôq wəqārôḇ śəʾî mikkōl ʿăbārāy**iḵay***

And greeting from the captive of desire, giving his tears like dew
Of Hermon, and longing to let them fall upon thine hills.
ûšlôm ʿăsîr taʾăwâ nôtēn dəmāʿâw kəṭal-
*ḥermôn wəniḵsap ləridtām ʿal-hărārāy**iḵ***

These are the first three bayts resp. verses. The rhyme *-āy**iḵ*** is important here. Ha-Levi also adapted Arabic meters in Hebrew.[11] "Zion! Wilt Thou Not Ask?" has an Arabic metre called *baḫr basīṭ* "outspread". Hillel Halkin has also brought out the term for a meter in Hebrew: *mitpašetet*,[12] but the question of the Hebrew meter is highly disputable at the moment.

Two traditions I am doing my research about have had crucial impact to the Spanish Medieval Hebrew poetry. These traditions are pre-Islamic and Early Arabic poetry from the 6th–7th centuries CE and Song of Songs in Biblical Hebrew from ca. the 3rd century BCE. In my PhD thesis, I am analysing and comparing the two.

I am thankful to my supervisors Urmas Nõmmik and Helen Geršman who have encouraged me to be creative while using my methodology. But I am still in a phase of doubting and asking: If we have different methods for analysing poetry in different languages and traditions, do we have a need at all to experiment and apply the method of analysing one poetic tradition to the study of another literary tradition? Is it of any help for understanding literary or historical sources, or does it lead us to creatively inventing something irrelevant?

Next, I will introduce my methodology and analysis of the Song of Songs and try to give an answer to what I found.

[10] A *qaṣida* from „Selected Poems of Jehuda Halevi" (Brody 1974: 3; translation of Heinrich Brody).
[11] Mashiah 1972: 209
[12] Halkin 2011: 23.

2. Analysis of Song of Songs by comparing it to the Arabic tradition and language

2.1 Comparison of word roots

For Song of Songs, the method of comparing Biblical Hebrew and Arabic word roots was initiated mainly by Harris H. Hirschberg in 1961. In Song of Songs, he has outlined the verse 1:2a: "May he kiss me with the kisses of his mouth" (*yiššāqēnī minnəšīqōṯ pihu*). Marvin Pope has summarised his explanations and results of the translation in the following manner:[13] Hirschberg argues that the noun *nəšīqōṯ* here means not "kisses" but "odours" related to Arabic *našaqa* "to smell (a scent or odour)" and thus is an excellent parallel to *rēaḥ* "aroma" in the following verse. The verb then cannot be related to *nšq* "to kiss", but must be connected with the root *š(w)q*, Arabic *šāqa*, "to fill someone with desire, to excite him". The word *pihu* "his mouth", is then an error for *pyḥyk* related to Arabic *fāḥa* "to give forth scent", and thus Hirschberg attains the sense he wishes: "The scents of your perfumes excite me".

As an Arabist, it is my habit to compare Hebrew words with Arabic words and their meanings. In my paper "Genre-Related Elements of Song of Songs Against the Backdrop of Early Arabic Poetry", hopefully to be published in this year, I have used a similar approach like Hirschberg for Song of Songs 1:3b. In 1:2b–3c that can be considered as two bicola, the word *tūraq* appears:[14]

Indeed, your love is better than wine,	*kī-ṭōḇīm dodēḵā miyyāyin*
As an odour, your oils are good.	*lərēaḥ šəmānēḵā ṭōḇīm*
Poured out oil is your name,	*šemen* ***tūraq*** *šəmeḵā*
That's why young women love you.	*ʾal-kēn ʿalāmōn ʾahēḇūḵā*

It has always been difficult to understand the meaning of the word *tūraq* in this context. I did not suggest exactly the different meaning but wanted to explain a possible backdrop. By looking for this root in Wehr's Arabic-English dictionary, we indeed find a cognate verb *rāqa* "to pour out" but we also discover that the noun *rīq* derived from this verb means "saliva". Then I recognised a parallel in Arabic wine-poetry *ḥamriyya* because mentioning "wine" together with "saliva", or with something that could mean it, is common in Arabic poetry.[15] I used this comparison to define the verses of Song of Song as a part of genre-related element of wine poetry. The consequence to be drawn is that Hebrew word roots can involve more meanings, sometimes hidden meanings, that can be tracked when looking for help in the Arabic dictionary. The ancient Semitic poets played with words and their multiple meanings. For us today, more interpretative layers emerge.

[13] Pope 1977: 297; Hirschberg 1961: 377.
[14] Volkonski [2023]: 15.
[15] Kennedy 1997: 19–20.

However, in two different Arabic translations of the Bible, two other Arabic terms for "poured out" derived from different roots have been used: *muhrāq* from the root *h-r-q*[16] and *mufāḍ* from *f-y-ḍ*.[17]

Steven Fassberg refers to the fact that the first scholars exploiting Arabic for the purpose of understanding Biblical Hebrew in a systematic way were the medieval Hebrew grammarians of the 10th–12th centuries CE (I believe it is already from the 9th century): Saʿadia Gaon, Ibn Qurayš, Ibn Ḥayyuǧ, Ibn Ǧanaḥ, and Ibn Barun.[18] Not by directly following the mentioned scholars but through adapting to the tradition, Wilhem Gesenius manifested this heritage in his dictionaries.[19] Analysing different word roots could be helpful to find a different or extra meaning but I agree with the criticism of James Barr and John Kaltner and take also seriously a warning against the mistakes and excesses of scholars in this century.[20] I don't agree that we can often understand the meaning of the Hebrew word in exactly the same way as in Arabic if we notice the overlap of roots. But since Arabic poetry is valued for its complex wordplay, extra meanings of roots are helpful to analyse and notice different embellishments or rhetorical devices. Arabic, and it seems also Biblical Hebrew poetry, loves repetitions. Taking the same example, Song of Songs 1:1–3 repeats the word that is related to the meaning "smelling" and "odour" in a hidden way:

1 The Song of Songs that belongs to Solomon:	*šīr haššīrīm ʾašer lišəlomō*
2a **May he kiss me with the kisses** of his mouth.	***yiššāqēnī minnəšīqōt** pihu*
2b Indeed, your love is better than wine,	*kī-ṭōḇīm dodēḵā miyyāyin*
3a **As an odour**, your oils are good.	***lərēaḥ** šəmānēḵā ṭōḇīm*
3b Poured out oil is **your name**,	*šemen tūraq **šəmeḵā***
3c That's why young women love you.	*ʾal-kēn ʿalāmōn ʾahēḇūḵā*

The verb in verse 2a from the root *n-š-q* that occurs in *yiššāqēnī* "let him kiss me" and in *minnəšīqōt* "from the kisses" has an Arabic counterpart that means "to smell". The next cola 2b–3c refer to smelling using the words *lərēaḥ* "as regards to an ointment/odour". Also in the Arabic, *rīḥ* derived from the root *r-y-ḥ* means "odour". The word *šəmeḵā* that is usually translated "your name" from the word *šēm* could be seen as parallel to the Arabic root *s-m* and the derivates *ʾism* (actually *ʾ-s-m*) meaning "name" and "reputation", or to the Arabic root *š-m-m* and to the verb *šamma* that also means „to smell", or to the noun *šamma* meaning "odour". An extra meaning could be provided by the Arabic noun *šamam* that means "pride". Hence, verses 1–3 can be connected in many different ways by considering different meanings through Arabic. Maybe it would be beneficial to analyse the vocabulary in the whole book of Song of Songs to understand if the pattern continues and what would be the other keywords.

[16] *al-kitābu l-muqaddasu ʾay kutubu l-ʿahdi l-qadīmi wa-l-ʿahdi l-ǧadīdi* 1996: 845.
[17] *al-kutubu l-muqaddasatu wa-hiya kutubu l-ʿahdi l-ʿatīr* 1983: 895.
[18] Fassberg 1998: 191; see also Bekkum 1981: 309.
[19] Florentin 2013: 56.
[20] Fassberg 1998: 193.

2.2 Genre-related elements

The most familiar phenomenon in the Song of Songs which leads to Arabic poetry is the one that Johann Gottfried Wetzstein referred to in 1873 – the Arabic *waṣf* (description).[21] Biblical scholars consider it in the Song of Songs 4:1–7; 5:10–16; 6:4a, 5b–7 and 7:1–6.[22] Sometimes, verses 6:4a, 5b–7 and 7:1–6 are regarded as being part of longer texts in 6:4–10 and 7:1–9. They are all descriptions of the physical appearance of the loved one; different body parts are compared in a special sequence along with elegant and luxurious elements in the sensual language.[23] I only introduce some shorter examples from Song of Songs and Arabic *waṣf*. Song of Songs 7:3–5:[24]

3 **Your navel** is a rounded bowl	*šārərēḵ ʾaggan hassahar*
that never lacks mixed wine.	*ʾal-yeḥsar hammāzeg*
Your belly is a heap of wheat,	*biṭnēḵ ʿarēmaṯ ḥiṭṭīm*
surrounded with lilies.	*sūgā baššōšannīm*
4 **Your two breasts** are like two fawns,	*šənē šādayiḵ kišnē ʿåpårīm*
twins of a gazelle.	*tåʾåmē ṣəḇiyyā*
5 **Your neck** is like an ivory tower.	*ṣawwāʾrēḵ kəmigəddal haššēn*
Your eyes are pools in Heshbon,	*ʿēnayiḵ bərēḵōṯ bəḥešbōn*
by the gate of Bath-Rabbim.	*ʿal-šaʿar baṯ-rabbīm*

Now, let us take a look at a text by *An-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyānī'*, 10–12:[25]

A string of beads adorns **her throat**
of gold that gleams like a blazing meteor
wa-n-naẓmu fī silkin yurayyinu naḥrahā
ḏahabun tuwaqqidu ka-š-šihābi l-mūqadi

Her skin as soft and pale as a yellow silken gown
Her figure perfect, like a supple bough, exuberant, swaying
ṣafrāʾu ka-s-sīrāʾi, ʾakmala ḫalquhā
ka-l-ġuṣni, fī ġulwāʾihi, ʾal-mutaʾawwidi

Her belly slender, with delicate soft folds,
Her breasts, firm and high, rise toward her breastbone.
wa-l-baṭnu ḏū ʿukanin, laṭīfun ṭayyuhu

[21] Wetzstein 1873: 270–302.
[22] Pope 1977: 67.
[23] Volkonski [2023]: 4.
[24] Hebrew translation by Pope and Murphy, modified.
[25] Text of the *qaṣīda* from an-Nābiġa's *Dīwān* (1996); translation by Stetkevych (2002).

More knowledge about using *waṣf* in Arabic poetry can be gained from Ibn Qutayba's writings on Arabic literature in the 9th century. He has explained the composition of *qaṣīda* and its specific characteristics. It is, again, complicated to use the same terminology for poetic traditions of two different Semitic languages, but as an experiment, we have to try. I define the Arabic description *waṣf* as "the genre-related element" (not as a specific genre in itself). Alan Jones who follows the example of Ibn Qutayba has mentioned also other genre-related elements beside *waṣf*. One of my main questions has been that if biblical scholars have already noticed *waṣf* in the Song of Songs, could we then find other similarities among Arabic genre-related elements. According to Alan Jones, there exist seven main "themes" altogether, *waṣf* being one of them: *madīḥ* (panegyric), *hiǧāʾ* (lampoon), *ġazal* (love), *riṯāʾ* (lament), *faḫr* (self-glorification) and *ḥikma* (wisdom).[26] And there exist even more potential themes that Ibn Qutayba has not mentioned – for example *ṣabr* (sufferance), *taḥrīḍ* (instigation), *tahdīd* (threat) and *ṭard* (hunt) – these are classified sometimes under the previous themes.[27]

My article "Genre-Related Elements of Song of Songs Against the Backdrop of Early Arabic Poetry" is concentrating on discovering other Arabic genre-related elements in the Song of Songs and the problems of terminology in the comparative methodology. Some other examples of similarities are mentioned in Scott B. Noegel's and Gary A. Rendsburg's book *Solomon's Vineyard – Literary and Linguistic Studies in the Songs of Songs* as Arabic *nasīb*, *hiǧāʾ* and *tašbīb*.[28] In my analysis of Song of Songs, I have found examples of how different genre-related elements may be intertwined and overlapped. I suggested the possibility of widening the meaning of *waṣf* also for the Song 4:12–16[29] and highlighted the genre-related elements of *madīḥ*, *luġz* (riddle), *ḥikma*, *muʿamma* (cryptography, secret writings, or codes), *ġazal*, *ḫamriyya* (wine-poetry), *hiǧāʾ*, *faḫr* and *ṣabr*. For the purpose of defining different genre-related elements it is important to notice specific characteristics and keywords. Comparing Hebrew and Arabic word roots and their meanings in context can lead to fascinating results. For example, the *luġz* "riddle" s not only a question, but a question that gets answered by *waṣf* appearing in a logical coherence.[30]

Apart from this, a methodological observation regarding keywords should be mentioned here. I already mentioned *ḫamriyya* while discussing the hapax *tūraq* in Song of Songs 1:3. The word root *r-y-q* could also be the Arabic root for the word "saliva". Phillip P. Kennedy has written about the ambivalent use of words in *ḫamriyya* poems, the word can be used as a "description of the beloved's saliva … or a boast of hedonistic pleasure directed expressly at the beloved".[31] This has been an example of a comparison between Hebrew and Arabic word

[26] Jones 1996: 2. I decided for the notion "genre-related elements" since Arabic terminology uses notions "purposes" (plur. *ʾaġrād*) and "themes" (plur. *funūn*).
[27] Ibid, 2.
[28] Noegel and Rendsburg 2009: 133. *nasīb* and *tašbīb* are intertwined, belong to the introduction of ancient Arabic *qaṣīḍā*, and relate to the day of youth and of play, and amatory language. See Wehr 1979: 1126, and Lane 1863: 1493.
[29] Volkonski (2023): 6–7.
[30] Ibid, 9.
[31] See Kennedy 1997: 19–20 and Volkonski (2023): 13–15.

roots, but my suggestion is to compare also the meanings of the Accadian and Aramean word roots.

2.3 Rhetorical Analysis

In 2019, I made a rhetorical analysis of Song of Songs using the method of Roland Meynet.[32] This method was originally applied for biblical texts, but Jacques Berque used it successfully for analysing Quran.[33] The main idea is that rhetorical analysis helps to notice if the text might be concentric or if there exist other patterns. For example, the suggestion of concentric composition by Roland Meynet can be challenged by the idea of ring composition by Mary Douglas[34], even though I tend to advocate Meynet's method. The latter seems much more concentrated on close-reading, every single word has an important nuance in an enigmatic composition. Meynet uses different levels for his analysis starting with "the term" as a minimal unit (the preposition and the article are considered as being part of the same term) and then gradually analyses the next levels: "the member" (made up of two or three terms, occasionally have just one or four), "the segment", "the piece", "the part", "the passage", "the sequence", "the section" and finally the whole "book". Meynet's rhetorical analysis allows to discuss in some cases also intermediate levels, if the text is longer or more complicated: sub-parts, sub-sequences, or sub-sections.[35] Different levels can be synonymous, synthetical and antithetical. There also can be more variations. Main examples are: AA', AB, ABA', AA'B, ABB', ABC, AA'A''. The third one, ABA' is a concentric composition.

In my work in 2019, I did not yet apply the method of analysing word roots and generic elements alongside with rhetorical analysis, but I already had suggestion on its composition. Now I am sure that analysing the root of every word and discovering different genre-related elements combined with rhetorical analysis gives extra value to recognising various language, religious or literary/oral traditional influences in any text.[36]

Without further ado, I introduce the division of Song of Songs into sections, sequences, passages and parts combining the scheme with genre-related elements.

Song of Song (a book) *ġazal*
I section (1:1–3:5)
I sequence (1:1–1:4) – *ġazal* and *madīḥ*
passage (1:1–1:4) I part (1 ja 2a) II part (1:2b–4e)
II sequence (1:5–9) – *riṯāʾ*
I passage (1:5–9) I part (1:5–6b) II part (7d–9)
III sequence (1:10–2:14) – *ġazal* and *waṣf*
I passage (1:10–2:3) I part (1:10–14) II part (1:15–17) III part (2:1–3)
II passage (2:4–14)
IV sequence (2:15–3:5) – *taḥrīḍ*

[32] Vijard (Volkonski) 2019; see Meynet 1998.
[33] Cuypers 2015: 24.
[34] Douglas 2007.
[35] Cuypers 2015: 24.
[36] Vijard (Volkonski) 2019: 34–35.

passage (2:14–3:5) I part (2:15–17) II part (3:1–4) III part (3:5)

II section (3:6–6:12)
A I sequence (3:6–11) – *madīḥ*
I passage (3:6–11) I part (3:6–8) II part (3:9–11)
B II sequence (4:1–5:1) – *waṣf*
I passage (4:1–7) I part (4:1-3) II part (4:4–6) III part
II passage (4:8–5:1) I part (4:8–11) II part (4:12–14) III part (4:15–5:1)

C III sequence (5:2–8) *ġazal* and *riṯā'*
a I passage (5:2–3) I part (5:2–3)
b II passage (5:4–6) – concentric idea – part (5:4–6c)
a' III passage (5:6d–8) part (5:6d–8)

B' IV sequence (5:9–6:7) – *waṣf*
I passage (5:9–16) I part (5:9–12) II part (5:13–16)
II passage (6:1–7) I part (6:1–3) II part (6:4) III part (6:5–7)
A' V sequence (6:8–12) – *madīḥ*
passage (6:8–6:12) I part (6:8–9) II part (6:10–12)

III section (7:1–8:14)
I sequence (7:1–7:10) *waṣf*
passage (7:1–10) I part (7:1–3) II part (7:4–6) III part (7:7–10)
II sequence (7:11–8:4) – *ġazal*
passage (7:11–8:4) I part (7:11–14) II part (8:1–4)
III sequence (8:5–7) – *madīḥ*
passage (8:5–7) I part (8:5) II part (8:6–7)
IV sequence (8:7–10) – *riṯā'*
I passage (8:7) part (8:7)
II passage (8:8–10) I part (8:8–9) II part (8:10)
V sequence (8:11–14) – *ḥikma*
I passage (8:11–12) part (8:11–12)
II passage (8:13–14) part (8:13–14)

My analysis yet needs to be elaborated and critically proved by adapting also word root and genre-related analysis, but the first result has been that the Song of Songs is divided into three higher levels – sections: 1:1–3:5; 3:6–6:12 and 7:1–8:14. In the first parts of two first sections, the name of Solomon (*šəlomō*) is mentioned; in the third section, the name of Shulamite (*ha-šūlammīṯ*), the feminine form of Solomon.[37] In addition, in the middle of the Song of Songs, in verses 5:4–6, the concentric idea appears. After analysing the whole text of Song of Songs with Meynet's method, I realised that in the heart of the text verses 5:4–6 are left:[38]

[37] Ibid, 31–32.
[38] Ibid, 38.

5:4 My beloved thrust his **hand** into the opening,	*dōḏī šālaḥ **yāḏō** min-haḥor*
and my inmost being **yearned** for him.	*ūmēʿay **hamū** ʿālāw*
5:5 I arose to open to my beloved,	*qamə ī ʾanī li ə oaḥ ləḏōḏī*
and my hands dripped with **myrrh**,	*wəyāday nāṭə ū-**mōr***
my **fingers** with liquid **myrrh**,	*wəʾ**eṣbə**ʿ**oṯay mōr** ʿoḇēr*
upon the handles of the bolt.	*ʿal ka ōṯ hammanʿūl*
5:6 I opened to my beloved,	*pāṯaḥəī ʾanī ləḏōḏī*
but my beloved had turned and was gone.	*wəḏōḏī ḥāmaq ʿāḇār*
My soul failed me when he **spoke**.	*nafšī yāṣəʾā **ḇəḏabərō***

The words in bold refer to the *qaṣīda* from an-Nābiġa cited below (pp. 12–13) which has a similar vocabular preferences.

2.3.1 Rhetorical Analysis of Song of Songs comparing it to the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry

In my article in 2019, I compared Song of Songs rhetorically with the pre-Islamic Arabic *qaṣīda* of the first court-poet an-Nābiġa aḏ-Ḏubyānī (ca. 535–604[39]). I was inspired by panegyric verses from another *qaṣīda* for the honour of his patron an-Nuʿmān ibn al-Munḏir Abū Qābūs III (reigned 580–602) to whom he compared the king Solomon:[40]

I see no one among the people who resembles him,
And I make no exception from among the tribes
wa-lā ʾarā fāʿilan fī n-nāsi yušbihuhu
wa-lā ʾuḥāšī mina l-ʾaqwāmi min ʾaḥadi

Except for Sulayman when Allah said to him:
Take charge of my creatures and restrain them from sin.
ʾillā Sulaymānu ʾiḏ qālā l-ʾillāhu lahu
qum fī l-bariyati fa-ʾuḥdudhā ʿani l-fanadi

And subdue the Jinn, for I have allowed them
To build Tadmur with stone slabs and columns.
wa-ḫayyisi l-ǧinna! ʾinnī qad ʾaḏantu lahum
yabnūna tadmura bi-ṣufāḥi wa-l-ʿamadi

Then whoever obeys you, reward his obedience
In due measure and guide him on righteousness' path.
fa-man ʾaṭāʿaka fa-ʾunfaʿuhu bi-ṭāʿitihi

[39] Furani 2012: 269.
[40] Text of the *qaṣīda* from an-Nābiġa's *Dīwān* (1996); translation by Stetkevych (2002).

ka-mā ʾatāʿaka wa-ʾadlulhu ʿalā r-rašadi

And whoever defies you, chastise him with a chastisement
That will deter the evildoer— but do not harbor rancor.

wa-man ʿaṣāka fa-ʿāqibatan
tanhā ẓ-ẓulūma wa-lā taqʿidu ʿalā ḍamadi

There is a legend that king an-Nuʿman III asked from an-Nābiġa to write a *qaṣīda* for his wife, queen al-Mutağarrida. The too sensual style of language and intrigues in the court made an-Nuʿman suspicious. This poem became the reason for poet's exile and keeping away from king's anger. In this *qaṣīda*, it is possible to find some parallels to the Song of Songs. I already brought an example of *waṣf* from Song of Songs 7:3–5. There are also some other parallels in this *qaṣīda*:

Song of Songs 2:8–9:

Voice of my beloved! Here **it comes**,	*qōl dōḏī hinnē-zē bāʾ*
leaping across **the mountains**,	*mədallēg ʿal-hehārīm*
bounding over **the hills.**	*məqappēṣ ʿal-haggəḇāʿōṯ*
My beloved is like **a gazelle**	*domē dōḏī liṣḇī*
or **a young stag.**	*ʾō ləʿop er hāʾayyālīm*

Qaṣīda:

Her speaking – if you could hear it
Then **the mountain-goat** would **draw near to it**

bi-takallumin, law tastaṭīʿu samāʿahu
ladunat lahu ʾarwā l-hiḍābi ṣ-ṣuḫḫidi

Song of Songs 5:11:

Her **curls** are **date palm's vortex**	*qəwūṣṣōṯāw taltallīm*
Black as raven	*šəḥorōṯ kāʿōrēḇ*

Qaṣīda:

With **black curly hair** which is long in its length
Is like **vines that bend** towards a shore

wa-bi-fāḥimin rağlin, ʾaṯīṯin nabtuhu
ka-l-karmi māla ʿalā d-diʿāmi l-musnadi

I made a rhetorical analysis of this poem according to Meynet, and the concentric idea seemed similar to the Song of Song's (5:4–6) that was already quoted above (p. 11):[41]

17 Her veil dropped— surely by accident! —
So she grabbed it and veiled herself from us with her **hand.**

[41] Text of the *qaṣīda* from an-Nābiġa's *Dīwān* (1996); translation by Stetkevych (2002).

saqaṭa n-naṣīfu, wa-lam turidʾ isqāṭuhu
*fa-tanāwalathu, wa-(ʾi)ttaqatnā bi-**l-yadi***

18 With a hand hennaed and smooth as if its **fingers** were **anam-boughs**
So tender and pliant you could tie them in knots.
bi-muḫaḍḍabin raḫṣin, ka-ʾanna banānahu
*ʿ**anamun** yakādu mina l-laṭāfati yuʿqadu*

19 She looked at you, desiring to **speak**, but afraid to,
Like a sick man looking in the faces of his visitors, too weak to **speak**.
*naẓarat ʾilayka biḥāğatin lam **taqḍihā***
*naẓara s-saqīmi ʾilā wuğūhi l-ʿ**uwwadi***

20 She reveals through [lips dark and soft] like the wingtips of the dove of the **aykah-tree**
[Teeth like] hailstones against antimony-blackened gums.
*tağlū bi-qādimatay ḥamāmati ʾ**aykatin***
baradan ʾusiffa liṯātuhu bi-l-ʾiṯmadi

21 Like chamomile blooms on the morning after a rainfall:
The top petals dry, The lower ones still moist.
ka-l-ʾuqḥuwāni, ʿadāta ġibba samāʾihi
ğaffat ʾaʿālīhi, wa-ʾasfaluhu nadi

My analysis wants to indicate that concentric compositions can be revealed in the Song of Songs and in an-Nābiġa's *qaṣīda*. Both concentric compositions even use closely related vocabulary, such as "hands", "fingers", several verbs for "speaking"; "myrrh" that is an analogue to "anam boughs" and "aykah-tree", and they have probably the same function. Both concentric compositions express a desire that does not get immediate answer, which may mean continuity of the feeling of longing. If we see some allegory in the Song of Songs to a relationship with God, then it also means a constant feeling of missing. Prayers and religious life are an endeavour to get close to God that one desires. This example may also indicate that an-Nābiġa was familiar with Song of Songs or a very similar tradition behind it. And we can see how he interpreted and understood it.

Stefan Sperl and Suzanne Pickney Stetkevych have many examples of *qaṣīdas* that have similar chiastic or concentric structure. The idea of continuity of longing and allegory to the relationship of human and God is a fascinating motive in Arabic love poetry that later developed into the verses of Sufism.

3. Conclusion

This was an introduction to my three methods – comparing word roots in Hebrew and Arabic, searching for genre-related elements, and analysing texts rhetorically similarly to Meynet's rhetorical analysis. It seems that the methods can be combined and then they either support or question the results of the previous research. I continue to be critical while applying the

different methods to compare the Song of Song and Early Arabic poetry and I am aware of the possibility of becoming too speculative, but I also believe that we can find more questions that will lead us to new or once existed but forgotten ideas.

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Judeans in Elephantine as Diaspora Community

My paper is part of the research project 'Divergent Views of Diaspora in Ancient Judaism' at the University of Copenhagen. The project investigates issues of the Judean Diaspora in the Neo - Babylonian and Persian periods (597-331 BCE). It aims to create a new model of divergent views of diaspora and homeland that sheds light on the dynamics of conflicting opinions on Judean identity in these centuries, examining biblical and extra-biblical sources.

The conceptual framework of the project comes from Diaspora studies. It focuses on researching diaspora as a phenomenon divided into the homeland community and diaspora communities abroad (in the hostlands). In the case of the Judeans in the Neo - Babylonian and Persian periods, we can study the community in Palestine and the diaspora communities in Babylonia and Egypt.

The case of the Egyptian community known from Aramaean papyri and ostraca concerning the military colony at Elephantine/Syene in Upper Egypt is particularly interesting. Egyptian Judeans are the only case in the early diaspora when we have extra-biblical references to diaspora community relations with the homeland. We also have a considerable amount of information about the contacts of the Judeans with other communities in the hostlands and their living conditions in Egypt.

In my paper, I will discuss three methodological issues. First, I will present a typology of diasporas and suggest how we can classify the diaspora community in Egypt. Secondly, I will consider how we can conceptualize the type of military service performed by the Judeans and how it relates to their role as a diaspora community. Finally, I will present a social anthropology theory that can contribute to our understanding of their contacts with the homeland.

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Judeans in Elephantine as Diaspora Community

This paper is a research summary of a sub-project within the project 'Divergent Views of Diaspora in Ancient Judaism'. It investigate diaspora issues in ancient Judaism (597 - 331 BCE). It focuses on identifying and mapping different representations of the earliest Jewish diaspora communities, and aims at presenting a new model of the divergent views of homeland and diaspora that shed light on the dynamics of conflicting opinions in Judean identity in the Neo - Babylonian and Persian periods.

In this paper, I focus on one diaspora community, namely Judeans in Elephantine and Syene in the Achaemenid Egypt.

The Judeans were a community of military settlers stationed on the southern frontier of the satrapy of Egypt. The corpus of Aramaic papyri and ostraca contains information on their relation with Persian administration, family life and legal contracts of some individuals (Porten and Yardeni 1986-1999[1]). A separate archive (the so-called Jedaniah archive) deals with the conflict with the Egyptians, the destruction of Yaho's temple, petitions to the authorities of Yehud and Samaria asking for assistance and the temple's rebuilding.

The Judean community of Elephantine is a unique case when we have extra-biblical sources on the contacts of Judeans living across the border of Palestine with Yehud in the Persian period. In the case of the Babylonian diaspora community, the cuneiform sources (Al - Yahudu, Murasu, Sippar) do not mention any contact with Palestinian Judean communities (Alstola 2020). Moreover, it is remarkable, that Judeans living the satrapy of Egypt asked for help from representatives of local authorities in another satrapy (Beyond-the-River). Therefore, the reasons for petitioning the authorities of Yehud and Samaria have puzzled scholars since the papyri and ostraca were published (Porten 1968; van der Toorn 2019; Becking 2020) Interestingly, the authors of the two recently published volumes on Elephantine did not address these issues (Folmer 2022; Kratz and Schipper 2022)

As we know more about Egypt in the Achaemenid period, I think it is worth asking anew about the place of the Judeans of Elephantine as a diaspora community and their relationship with their homeland in Palestine.

In the paper, I will discuss concepts of diaspora, military service and diaspora – homeland relations. The first part focuses on how we can define Judean diaspora community and its characteristics. Since diasporas and diaspora communities differ, the second part will deal with the typology of diasporas. In the third part, I will discuss how to describe the type of military service of the Judeans as scholars often refer to them as mercenaries. Finally, in the fourth part, I will return to the nature of their relationship with homeland in Palestine.

[1] In the following parts of the paper, I will refer to sources from Porten and Yardeni as TAD.

Judeans as a diaspora community

The definition of diaspora is a matter of scholarly debate. According to the online *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, diasporas are 'populations, such as members of an ethnic or religious group, who originate from the same place but have dispersed to different locations' (2023). Cohen defines them by listing several characteristics: 'Members of a particular group have been dispersed to multiple destinations; they construct a common identity; they still have some degree of orientation to their original 'home'; and they show affinity with other members of the group dispersed elsewhere' (Cohen 2022:1). Butler also points to four characteristics of a diaspora: a minimum of two destinations; some connection to a real or imagined homeland; self-awareness of group identity; and existence for at least two generations (Butler 2001:192). She also proposes a framework to map the data on a particular community listing five dimensions of the diaspora community (Butler 2001:195):

1) Causes and conditions of dispersal 2) Relationships with the homeland 3) Relationships with host countries 4) Interactions within the diaspora community 5) Comparative studies of different diasporas

How do the sources on the Judeans in Elephantine fit into this framework?

1) Reasons for and conditions of dispersal

In the case of the Elephantine community, we know neither the reasons nor the time of dispersal. Nothing is hinted at in the sources. The question of when the Judeans arrived in Egypt has been discussed by many authors. It seems that with the current state of knowledge, it is impossible to settle this issue (Granerød 2016:25-27).

One hint that may point to the origins of the diaspora community is the nature of their residence/type of activities in the hostland. The Judeans were military settlers/mercenaries. Their role suggests that they may have arrived already as soldiers, and the Achaemenid authority 'inherited' them from the Saite predecessors (Tuplin 2021:1186. Their status as persons performing military service in Persian Egypt may be a starting point for classification as a particular type of diaspora community. Robin Cohen has proposed a typology of diaspora communities stressing the primary activity of its members (Cohen 2022). This issue relates to the typology of a particular diaspora community and will be further discussed in the second part.

2) Relationship with homeland

The very fact that members of the community call themselves 'Judeans' points that their homeland was in Judah. In the Persian period, the territory roughly corresponding with pre-exilic Judah was the province of Yehud. These links are attested in the Jedaniah archive, where the Judeans correspond with the authorities in Yehud asking for support to rebuild the temple destroyed by the Egyptians. The texts provide us with some information about this relationship. The Judeans apparently had some knowledge about internal politics in Yehud - they knew about the governor, high priest and other members of the elite.

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the influence of the homeland on the Egyptian diaspora. One can argue that Hananiah mentioned in the letter, where he sends instructions 'from the king' (TAD A4.1), was an agent of the authorities in Yehud, who had come with new instructions for celebrating Passover.

Butler emphasises that one aspect of the homeland relationship is the representations and images of the diaspora in the homeland. The issues of the Egyptian diaspora appear in the Bible, but it remains debatable whether specific narratives refer to the diaspora in the Persian period (e.g. Middlemas 2021).

3) Relationship with hostland

To quote Butler, 'hostlands may be considered as one of the primary agents in the formation and development of diasporas (the others being the homeland and the diaspora group itself)' (Butler 2001:206).

At this point, one must ask, who constituted the host for the Judeans? Hostland - in the geographical sense - was clear. Egypt (and the Egyptians, who probably constituted the largest community Elephantine-Syene), was a setting of the Elephantine community. The sources paint a picture far from a ghettoized group that isolates itself from its neighbours. On the contrary, documents mention mixed marriages with Egyptians (e.g. TAD B2.6). We also see that the Judeans were subject to religious influence by referring to the god Khnum (TAD D7.21). It means that this Egyptian deity was not taboo for community members. Similarly, the scribal habit of the legal documents indicates borrowings from the Demotic form (Schütze 2022). Despite the violent end to the dispute with the Egyptians that resulted in the destruction of the Yaho temple, the sources indicate that there were no barriers between the two communities and different ethnicities interacted.

Another issue is the impact of imperial overlords on the Judeans. Judeans, as military colonists, were dependent on the administration of the Achaemenid satrapy of Egypt. They were a significant element of Persian power in the satrapy, being part of a garrison stationed on its southern border (Porten 1968:35-42). Therefore, the Persians can be considered - as imperial overlords - a host for the Judeans. Indeed, the Persian influence on them may have been quite significant as it is witnessed by the Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription of Darius I (TAD A4:7). The Persian influence, however, may have been more important. Firstly, it may have affected Judean beliefs (Brent and Strawn 2022). Secondly, as argued by Kratz, two other literary texts found in Elephantine - the Ahiqar Story and Proverbs - may have transmitted the Persian ideology of loyalty to the monarch (Kratz 2022). Moreover, Porten opined that Jedaniah, the leader of the community, may have read these texts in his spare time (Porten 1968:263).

4) Interrelationship within the diaspora group

Research on contemporary diasporas indicates that interrelationships between different diaspora communities often occur. According to Butler, 'the emergence of these relationships is the seminal moment in the transformation of migratory groups to diasporas' (Butler 2001:207). Further, on the same page, she argues that 'identity is, therefore, a vital component of diasporas; it transforms them from the physical reality of dispersal into the psychosocial reality of diasporas'. In other words, a community becomes a diaspora when it becomes aware of 1) the fact of dispersal, 2) the fact of the existence of other communities living in other places, and 3) the existence of a community that has remained in the homeland (Butler 2001:208).

The Jedaniah archive leaves no doubt that the Judeans were aware of the existence of a Judean community in their homeland. Unfortunately, none of the sources explicitly indicates awareness of the

other diaspora communities (let alone connections with them). The Hebrew Bible does not mention such links. Neither do Babylonian sources (Al Yahudu and Murasu texts) mention any links between the Judeans there and other communities outside Mesopotamia. Kratz speculated that Hananiah known from the Jedaniah archive - along with the biblical Ezra and Nehemiah - was evidence of a broader phenomenon of Judean envoys who 'were all members of a global Diaspora of Judeans, who acted with the support of the Persian authority-as intermediaries or advocates for their "brothers" either in the Judean colony of Yeb in Egypt or in the province of Yehud (Kratz 2011:438)'. The movement of envoys and communication between Yehud and Elephantine may have resulted in the awareness of other diaspora communities.

5) Comparative studies of different diasporas

Sadly, we do not have a comparable case from Persian Egypt. However, some comparative cases can be proposed (e.g. Samaritan communities in II century BCE Delos).

* * *

Butler's framework helps map source data. A typical problem encountered in the case of Elephantine is the scarcity of sources. It prevents us from investigating the first issue of origins and reasons for relocation. Namely, we do not know when and under what circumstances Judeans arrived in Egypt.

Another element we ignore is the issue of return. Although homeland return is not necessarily defining for the diaspora (Butler 2001:205), it is evident in some Hebrew Bible texts (e.g. Deutero-Isaiah). Is this merely a consequence of the type of sources we have? Or, did the Judeans have no plans to 'return' to their homeland? Sadly, we do not know. However, despite a few 'black holes', the Judeans of Elephantine constituted a diaspora community.

Types of diaspora

Defining the Judean community on Elephantine as a diaspora community entails clarifying its type. As noted above, there are different types of diaspora, as the reasons for dispersal and activity outside the homeland vary. Furthermore, diasporas are not homogeneous - as Cohen notes, diasporas can be segmented, and different diaspora communities may have arisen in various circumstances (Cohen 2022:9-16).

(a) Victim diasporas - are characterised by 'calamitous dispersal, a rupture of ordinary life so profound that its recollection becomes inscribed into the subsequent collective memory of the group'. The original trauma is often performed anew as a result of ongoing events in the hostland.

(b) Labour diasporas - this type of diaspora 'arises from the deployment of a defined group for work in the fields, factories or service sectors in another country'.

(c) Imperial diasporas - this case, 'is formed by settlers sent abroad to protect trade, exploit resources and local labour, and consolidate the power of an expanding empire'. Members of such groups often

receive grants for plots of land. It is also important to note that the imperial plan and not the settlers' motivations are crucial for the emergence of such diaspora.

(d) Trade diasporas - this is the case of 'merchants, propelled by a sense of adventure or a desire for profit, set off to foreign lands using their own or family capital'. Faced with harsh conditions and risks of their work, they quickly form relationships with other merchants with similar backgrounds.

(e) Deterritorialised diasporas - pertains to diaspora without fixed territory. It is a new phenomenon that involves groups living in different places who, through the exchange of data and information, have acquired a shared identity (although not necessarily from a single homeland).

f) Incipient diasporas - this refers to recently displaced first-generation groups on the way to becoming diasporas.

Although scholars often mention Judeans/Jews as a typical (and first) example of a victim diaspora, we do not know whether the Judeans arrived in Egypt due to the traumatic event that would left traces in their collective memory. Victim diaspora is the case for the Judean diaspora community in Babylonia, where the memory of calamitous dispersal left its traces in biblical texts. The Babylonian diaspora community may also fit into the second type (labour diaspora). In recent years, research has focused on the circumstances of the forced relocation of groups of Judeans to work in Babylonia and the conditions under which they functioned in their new places (Berlejung 2022). Again, it is debatable whether the Elephantine community fits into this type. Military service is undoubtedly a kind of labour. We know, moreover, that in the Persian Empire, soldiers may have been engaged for construction work (as is the case for Bactria; Naveh and Shaked 2012). Judeans, however, were military colonists, and we do not know if they were engaged in other activities (like farming, as is the case in the Babylonian diaspora etc.).

Thus, Elephantine Judeans constituted a different segment of the diaspora. As members of the garrison maintaining Persian power in Egypt, they seem closest to the imperial diaspora. Although we are not sure whether the community existed before the Persian conquest - in other words, whether Judeans were deployed to Egypt as part of the policy of the Persian Empire - there is no doubt that their presence on Elephantine served to consolidate the power of an expanding empire. The texts also indicate that they participated in securing trade routes and merchant activity (Porten 1968:41). Cohen also highlights the role that imperial settlers played in the spread of imperial culture. The Aramaic character of the entire garrison may have influenced the spread of Aramaic (the dominant language of the Persian Empire's administration) in Egypt. The fact that the Judeans were under the influence of the Achaemenid ideology may have played a role in its expansion in Egypt.

When classifying Judeans as an imperial diaspora, one must not forget about certain caveats. Cohen's primary example of the imperial diaspora is the emigration from the British Isles in the 19th century to the British colonies (mainly to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, South Africa). It concerns settlers coming from the core of the empire to its peripheries. It is certainly not the case for the Judeans. However, the imperial elites (or people identifying with it) need not to be ethnically related to its cradle. It was the case of the Persian Empire, where the elite members at the highest levels of its administration were ethnic Persians (*ethno - classe dominante*); however, numerous members of local communities were included in the management and maintenance of Persian power in the satrapies (Basello 2021).

Putting Judeans within the imperial diaspora allows a closer look at their profession as military settlers/mercenaries.

Judeans as military settlers

Research on the Persian army is hampered by scarcity of sources (Hassan 2021; Tuplin and Jacobs 2021). However, the mercenaries (or paid professionals) formed a substantial part of the Persian army. Indeed, Cyrus the Younger's attempt to win the throne indicates their importance in certain political events in the history of the empire. Although most studies focused on Greek mercenaries, the role of other ethnicities has not escaped the scholars' attention (Tuplin 2021). The term 'mercenary' is rather broad, and its meaning (and the definition of mercenary) remains debated (Morillo 2008:245-249).

People may choose to serve for different reasons. Their relationship with their employer and the population may also differ. Stephen Morillo has proposed a typology of military service based on compared cases from different periods. This author organised it along two intersecting axes concerning the social embeddedness of soldiers and their motivation to serve – 'the 'embeddedness' (or not) of the terms of paid service in the social fabric of the employing society; second, the balance between an economic market and politics in setting terms of service' (Morillo 2008:244). What exactly are these two axes? By embeddedness, he means 'that the terms of service of embedded soldiers arise out of the social structure of their society and reflect their social roles and status; the terms of service of unembedded soldiers ignore social relationships or even consciously set the soldiers apart from society in real and symbolic ways.' (Morillo 2008:247). The second axis runs between two extremes where 'at one end, terms of service that are determined exclusively (or virtually) by considerations of politics-that is, of the exercise of formal state power; at the other end, terms of service that are determined by the choices available to potential soldiers in a free economic market' (Morillo 2008:248). An important part of this axis is motivation - in the case of considerations of politics, the reason for the service is the result of the mechanisms of the state or society that often takes on a more or less coercive nature. On the other end, mercenary considerations are purely voluntary.

According to these two axes, Morillo distinguishes the following quadrants, which correspond to types of military service:

(a) Embedded, political: "social armies": this is a case of close integration of social structure and politics; soldiers serve primarily out of a combination of social and legal obligations; although these obligations do not exclude compensation for such service; the military workforce is a type of internal politics that reflects internal social divisions.

(b) Embedded, economic: 'stipendiaries': social embeddedness remains high, but market considerations play a much bigger role; in other words, such groups are deeply connected to their society but serve for economic reasons rather than ideological commitment.

(c) Unembedded, political: 'political armies': in this case, soldiers are separated from society; they usually lack other market options.

(d) Unembedded, economic: 'mercenaries': 'classic' mercenaries; they are separated from their employer society and sell their services to the most convenient employer.

How to place the Judeans in this typology? There is no doubt that they were a socially embedded group. This embeddedness is evident in the context of the Achaemenid administration and imperial structures - the Judeans were part of the Persian power system in Egypt. The Passover letter with the instructions sent from the king also indicates their placement within the power structures of the Persian Empire.

Moreover, they also appear to be strongly embedded in the Egyptian world together with other communities in Elephantine (despite the violent end of their dispute with the Egyptians).

Sources indicate that Judeans were paid for service and received pay/rations (Tuplin 2021:1184), and at least some were landholders possessing plots of lands (TAD B2.3). Although they received pay/rations, they remained outside the mercenary market as an institutionalised group (Tuplin 2021:1183). Whether they only arrived after the conquest of Cambyses or whether they were Saitic 'inheritance' is irrelevant. What is evident in the sources is their emphasis on loyalty to the Persians. In a text from the Jedaniah archive, they stress that they did not abandon their position when the Egyptian revolt occurred (TAD A4.5). It may be a rhetorical tool, but it is remarkable.

The Judeans were probably not as deeply integrated into the imperial structures of power as, for example, the elite units of the Persian army from Iran. However, the fact that they remained outside the market (contrary to Greek mercenaries) and were part of the structures of Persian rule in Egypt warrants considering them a 'social army'. Morillo emphasises that social armies are often remunerated - whether through pay, weapons and equipment, or the distribution of social prestige (Morillo 2008). In addition to purely material remuneration, the participation in Persian power structures in Egypt may also have been a source of distinction, prestige and self-identification.

Describing the Judeans as a 'social army' allows for their further placement within the structures of the Persian Empire (along with their role as an imperial diaspora). We can now turn to the nature of their contacts with the Palestinian homeland.

Relations with homeland

Judean contact with the homeland in Palestine is evident in the letters from the Jedaniah archive concerning the events of the destruction of Yaho's temple. Two documents (first and second draft; TAD A4.7; A4.8) contain a petition sent by Jedaniah and the priests to the governor of Yehud, Bagavahya. In the letter, garrison members outline the circumstances of the temple demolition and its aftermath. We also learn that they had sent a letter to the high priest Jehohanan and 'Ostanes, brother of Anani and the nobles of the Judeans. They received no reply. They go on to ask the governor of Yehud for his support in the quest to rebuild the temple asking him to 'regard your obligees and your friends here in Egypt'. In return, the governor will receive gratitude and remembrance from the community. At the end of the letter, we read that a similar letter was addressed to Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanballat, the governor of the province of Samaria.

Since the Judeans were members of a garrison under the administration of the satrap of Egypt, their petition to the authorities of Yehudah and Samaria is somewhat surprising. It means that the Judeans sought support and assistance for the temple's reconstruction outside 'their' satrapy. They asked for it from people with whom - as far as we know - they had no formal ties. We must therefore look for reasons that may have been behind such a decision.

The fact that a community that describes and self-identifies by the term 'Judeans' (*yhwdy'*) is in a certairn way linked to Yehud should not be surprising. A second clue is the worship of the same deity - this would explain the sending of the petition to both Yehud and Samaria. But what could have prompted the Judeans seeking help to assume that governors and representatives of local elites located in another satrapy might have interceded on their behalf? Can we identify cultural background behind these petitions be?

In recent decades, scholars have argued that patronage was a political and social phenomenon permeating the Levantine and more broadly Near Eastern culture. (Lemche 1996; Westbrook 2005; Pfoh 2016). Patronage (also known as the patron-client relationship) is primarily a dyadic personal and individual relationship between a patron - a person with power, influence or resources - and a client benefiting from his support and looking for loyalty and assistance. This relation takes place within the wider phenomenon called the patrimonial society. Although the primary social locus of this relationship is kinship, it is argued that patronage may explain the functioning of wider social structures (like kingdoms and polities; Pfoh 2016:134). Although the basic relationship is dyadic, it can develop into a triadic unit of patron-broker-client where 'a broker acts as a middleman to arrange an exchange of resources between two parties separated by geographic or personal distance such as differences in rank or office. (...) A broker's essential resources are people he knows who can provide access to power and place in exchange for loyalty and service. (...) A broker frequently uses resources he does not directly control himself' (Kettering 1988:425-6).

In the petition, the Judeans ask for assistance to rebuild their temple and seek a person who may provide help. One may argue that governors of Persian provinces in Persian Palestine and representatives of local elites may have functioned as brokers between Judean clients and the highest representatives of Persian power in Egypt. Although Bagavahya and Sanballat governed two provinces in Egypt's neighbouring Beyond-the-River satrapy, they apparently had some ties with people in Egypt of which the Judeans were aware as they asked Bagavahya to 'regard his obligees'. One may argue that their contacts in Egypt reached higher than the anonymous 'obligees'. It is probably no coincidence that Judeans mentioned the departure of the satrap Arsames to the king in the letter. The satrap of Egypt, a great Persian aristocrat, had a network of his trusted clients in various parts of the empire (Tuplin 2020). It is possible that these included governors of the Palestinian provinces.

Two other aspects of patronage are noteworthy in this context. The first is the competitiveness of this system. By appealing to the authorities of Yehud and Samaria, the Judeans were looking for a better (or, a more effective) broker who understood the same political idiom as they did.

Language as an idiom of political alliance is also important. Within the culture of patronage, terms associated with household or kingship, such as 'lord/master' and 'servant', were often used (Pfoh 2016:154). It is evident in the first phrases of the petition. This language also appears in other texts from the Jedaniah archive in which there is a request for assistance within Egypt.

In the late Bronze Age, patronage permeated the political culture of Palestine (Pfoh 2016:170) and continued into later eras. In the Persian period, we find it, for example, in the activities of Nehemiah organising sumptuous feasts (Fried 2018). Patron-client links in the relationship of the Judeans on Elephantine with the Palestinian homeland may have been another example of this reality. It does not necessarily mean that in such a case it functioned perfectly along the lines of the patron-broker-client pattern. The relationship between the various agents in the decision process concerning Yaho's temple may have engaged different brokers and patrons. Nevertheless, it is possible to propose that patronage, as a political idiom, was the cultural background of the Judean petitioners and their contacts with the homeland as a diaspora community.

* * *

One may propose some preliminary observations about the position of the Judeans on Elephantine within the Persian Empire and their relationship with the homeland.

The Judeans on Elephantine constituted a diaspora community within the Judean diaspora in the Persian era. Unfortunately, there are questions that we cannot answer. They mainly concern the origins of this community. However, it seems that Judeans constituted a different segment of the diaspora than the Judeans of Babylonia and Palestine. Therefore, we can speak not only of varieties of Yahwism in the Persian period but also of varieties of diaspora experience.

Their role as imperial diaspora and social army within the empire indicates a deep embedding in the imperial structures. It does not only apply to securing Persian power in Egypt. It could also have implications for the social standing of garrison members in Elephantine/Syene.

The influence of Persian culture on the Judeans seems to have been substantial (Silverman 2019). Sadly, we do not know to what extent the Judeans in Egypt participated in Persian culture (other than being subject to Persian propaganda). However, in Achaemenid Egypt, links to the Persians may have been a source of social prestige (Colburn 2021). Cohen emphasises that imperial diasporas often assumed the self-image of a privileged group with the imperial mission (Cohen 2022:70). Although the Judeans were not ethnic Persians, being part of Persian power in Egypt may have served to identify them and contribute to social prestige and distinction.

Despite their embeddedness in the structures of the Persian Empire, the cultural background of their petition to Yehud and Samaria seems to be a patron-role society. It indicates that this pattern of political and social relations, typical of the southern Levant, remained relevant to community members. If they succeeded in their petition - the temple seems to have been rebuilt (von Pilgrim 2022; TAD A4.10) - it may also indicate that the Persian administration in the region may have continued to operate according to patronage and patron-client relations.

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