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The Yahwist: The Earliest Editor
in the Pentateuch

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I

Recent Pentateuch research has again come to center on the long-familiar fact that the Pentateuch narrative rests on a sequence of individual narrative compositions. In the non-Priestly text, six separate narrative groups can be distinguished: (1) the primeval history (Genesis 2–11), which has to do with the origin of the world and humankind; (2) the history of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Genesis 12–36); (3) the story of Joseph and his brothers (Genesis 37–50); (4) the narrative about Moses (Exodus 2–4); (5) the history of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt and their wanderings through the desert (Exodus 12 through Numbers 20), to which the death of Moses may also have belonged (Deuteronomy 34*); and (6) the story about the seer Balaam (Numbers 22–24).

The diversity of the material indicates that it was only at a later stage that these groups were linked to form the continuous narrative we have today. At present the view is gaining ground that the compositions were joined together not in a single literary step but in several stages, and that this fusion took place at a late period. One reason is that, according to ancient Israelite tradition, the history of God's people began with the exodus from Egypt. Consequently it is assumed that the great OT history also originally began with the book of Exodus. According to this view, the stories of the patriarchs and the primeval history were put in front of the account of the exodus only later.[1] The Documentary Hypothesis, which assumes that there

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[1] Considerations along these lines can be found already in Gerhard von Rad, "The Problem of the Hexateuch" (1938) in idem, *The Problem of the Hexateuch, and Other Essays* (trans. E. W. Trueman Dicken; New York: McGraw, 1966), 1–78, esp. 50–67; also in Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (1948; trans. B. W. Anderson; Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1972), 46–62. See recently Markus Witte, *Die biblische Urgeschichte: Redaktions- und theologiegeschichtliche*

are sources that run right through the Pentateuch, is incompatible with a solution of this kind. Not a few of today's scholars consider that this hypothesis is now superseded.[2] Instead, Deuteronomistic[3] or late wisdom writers[4] are made responsible for fusing the different blocks of tradition. This view can claim support inasmuch as explicit cross-references in the Pentateuch have clearly been introduced subsequently, and at a late date;[5] one example is the explicit references to the tradition of the patriarchs in the books of Exodus to Deuteronomy.[6]

Another solution sees the Priestly source as providing the historiographical scaffolding into which the non-Priestly narratives have been inserted at a later point, not having formed a separate source of its own before that.[7] This revival of the supplementary hypothesis once more attributes to the source P the position of the basic document that nineteenth-century research rightly denied to it.

Until a short time ago, however, the Documentary Hypothesis was also called into question because of the Priestly source, since the literary coherence in the patriarchal narratives is so weak as to suggest that there was no independent written source here, but that the P material represents a reworking of the older text.[8]

Beobachtungen zu Genesis 1,1–11,26 (BZAW 265; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1998); Konrad Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* (WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999); Jan Ch. Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion in der Exoduserzählung* (FRLANT 186; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (trans. J. Bowden; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 279–82.

[2] See *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (ed. J.Ch. Gertz et al.; BZAW 315; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2002); and my critical review of this volume, "Abschied vom Jahwisten?" *TRu* 69 (2004): 329–44. See also recently *A Farewell to the Yahwist?* (ed. Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid; SBLSymS 34; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), and my contribution to this volume: "The Yahwist and the Redactional Link between Genesis and Exodus" (pp. 131–41).

[3] See, e.g., Erhard Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984); idem, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch* (BZAW 189; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1990).

[4] See, e.g., Witte, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*.

[5] Shown by Rainer Kessler, "Die Querverweise im Pentateuch" (Theol. diss., University of Heidelberg, 1972); Rolf Rendtorff, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* (1977; trans. J. J. Scullion; JSOTSup 89; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 84–85.

[6] See Thomas Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition* (OBO 99; Freiburg [Switzerland]: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990).

[7] Thus, e.g., Eckart Otto, *Das Deuteronomium im Pentateuch und Hexateuch* (FAT 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); idem, "Pentateuch V: Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte des Pentateuch," *RGG* 4th ed. (2003), 6:1097–1102.

[8] See Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 301–21; Rendtorff, *Problem of the Process;* Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*.

The Priestly source alone is not suited to serve as the basis for the narrative of the whole Pentateuch, even if there are still good reasons for the assumption of an originally independent literary thread.

The composition of the Pentateuch hangs not on a single thread but on a cord plaited together from two strands, the Priestly source and the Yahwist's history. This cord makes it possible for the work as a whole to avoid falling apart when one of the two threads is torn or missing, which is the case several times.

It is certainly true that the material in the books of Genesis to Numbers that does not derive from the Priestly source provides us with a more or less coherent narrative. Even if this coherence cannot have existed when the transmission began because of the disparity of the material, it will not have been produced merely through the late cross-references. There are good reasons why earlier scholars read the non-Priestly Pentateuch as a literary unity.[9] This is especially true for the Yahwist, whom earlier research rightly recognized as providing the basis of the narrative.[10] It is no counterargument to say that the explicit cross-references between the book of Genesis, on the one hand, and the books of Exodus to Deuteronomy, on the other, are only late. Those references are no more than the stucco on a long-existing building. They are not the supporting beams that hold the construction together. The stucco is external and strikes the eye. But for the stability of the building, it is the supporting beams that are important. Consequently the question about a redaction (or editing process) of the non-Priestly narrative that is at the same time pre-Priestly and non-Deuteronomistic is inescapable. If a redaction of this kind were to be found, it would be the best proof that the Documentary Hypothesis (in the form of the two-source hypothesis, P and J)[11] is still the solution that best fits the literary history of the Pentateuch.

For a long time scholars saw the development of the pre-Priestly Pentateuch not as a question of redaction, or editorial, history but as a problem about the history of the transmission. The narrative foundation of the Pentateuch was interpreted as a composition that drew on current oral tradition. The diversity that can

[9] For a survey of the research, see my *Der Jahwist* (FRLANT 157; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 9–35.

[10] This view was emphatically von Rad's. See his *Problem of the Hexateuch*. Even if his presuppositions about the transmission history have meanwhile been cogently refuted, the conclusion, taken as a redaction-history hypothesis, meets the facts with astonishing accuracy.

[11] From the start—that is, from the eighteenth century onwards—the Documentary Hypothesis was so evident that scholars came to apply it again and again to the separate sources. This led to hypotheses such as E (the "Elohist"), N ("Nomadenquelle" [Nomad source]), L ("Laienquelle" [Lay source]), and others. This approach has clearly proved to be mistaken. The fusion of sources as suggested in the Documentary Hypothesis is not the rule in OT literary history but very much an exception. See Paul Volz and Wilhelm Rudolph, *Der Elohist als Erzähler: Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik?* (BZAW 63; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1933).

be detected behind today's text was put down to popular narrative tradition.[12] This approach reflects the influence of romanticism; the activity of collectors such as the Brothers Grimm and others at that time suggested a model. But even in the nineteenth century, people became aware of tensions that can be explained only in literary terms. Since the 1960s the internal lack of unity has come to be explained as the result of the redaction history.[13] It is emerging ever more clearly that the Yahwist is an editorial collection with a distinctive literary profile that has fused older written sources into a new whole.[14] Editorial compositions of this kind do not stand at the beginning of the history of a literary culture. Numerous indications point to the period after the end of the Judean monarchy, that is to say, the sixth century B.C.E.[15]

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[12] An example of this view is Hermann Gunkel's famous commentary *Genesis* (1901; trans. M. E. Biddle from 3rd ed., 1910; Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon GA: Mercer University Press, 1997).

[13] See Rudolf Kilian, *Die vorpriesterlichen Abrahamsüberlieferungen literarkritisch und traditionskritisch untersucht* (BBB 24; Bonn: Hanstein, 1966); Renate Friebe, "Form und Entstehungsgeschichte des Plagenzyklus Exodus 7,8–13,16" (Theol. diss., University of Halle, 1967); Volkmar Fritz, *Israel in der Wüste: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen der Wüstenüberlieferung des Jahwisten* (Marburger Theologische Studien 7; Marburg: Elwert, 1970); Erich Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie: Untersuchungen z. jahwist. u. elohist. Geschichtswerk* (FB 3; Würzburg: Echter, 1971); Peter Weimar, *Untersuchungen zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (BZAW 146; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977).

[14] I do not agree with John Van Seters's approach in rejecting the concept of an editor J; see his *Der Jahwist als Historiker* (TS 134; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1992); and his *The Edited Bible: The Curious History of the 'Editor' in Biblical Criticism* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006). The inconsistencies in the Yahwistic source make a separation between narrative and editorial text inescapable. The tensions are literary, even textual, in kind and do not fit the concept of a renarration of traditions by a historian. Because of the lack of differentiation, the "Yahwist" emerges as a literary collection with no distinctive profile; many texts are attributed to him that earlier research rightly saw as non-Yahwistic. For discussion, see Bernard M. Levinson, "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters," in *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. John Day; JSOTSup 406; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 272–325, esp. 284–88 and 315–17; Jean-Louis Ska, "A Plea on Behalf of the Biblical Redactors," *ST* 59 (2005): 4–18.

[15] Thus Levin, *Der Jahwist.* An outline of the thesis is also to be found in my book *The Old Testament: A Brief Introduction* (trans. Margaret Kohl; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 61–70. Ernest W. Nicholson (*The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* [Oxford: Clarendon; Oxford/New York; Oxford University Press, 1998], 161–65) presents a perfect and sympathetic outline, related to the summary in *Der Jahwist*, 414–35 ("The Yahwist's message"). Unfortunately he does not refer to the redaction-critical proof. My thesis is not initially based on tendency criticism but on analytical literary criticism, form-critical arguments, and language. Nicholson's most important objection is that the universalism of J can be found already in Amos and Isaiah (pp. 165–69). If this is true (and there are good reasons for doubting that the respective texts go back to the eighth-century prophets themselves) the universalism of J is just one feature among many others.

II

Let us look more closely at the different blocks of narrative tradition.[16] The *primeval history* (Genesis 1–11) rests on a narrative about the origin of human beings, an anthropogony. Like the Babylonian epic about the creation of the world, the *Enuma elish*,[17] this primeval history begins with an account of the state of the world before creation, the great "Not Yet": "When no plant of the field was yet in the earth" (Gen 2:5)—when there was still no vegetation. In Genesis, unlike in Babylonian mythology, the first act is not the creation of the gods. Here creation begins with the human being (Genesis 2–3). A single God goes to work like a potter. After he has blown breath into the nostril of the man he has created, he plants a garden for him in Eden, in the east. Afterwards God creates the animals, and finally the woman, out of the man's rib. Even the clothing, which distinguishes the human being from other living things, comes from God.

The first two human beings produce a son, Cain (Genesis 4). With Cain a series of generations begins that leads to Noah and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth.[18] Into this tribal list all kinds of notes have subsequently been interpolated about the differentiations of the arts of civilization: the raising of cattle and arable farming, urban building, music, wrought-iron work. The series leads into the so-called table of nations (Genesis 10), which classifies the peoples in the world of that time according to the place in which they lived and their language, and links them with each other genealogically.[19] At this point the description of the primeval era merges into an account of the historical world. The list of peoples was an already-existing entity, for it is divided according to the four regions of the world, which do not match the "three" of Noah's sons. Since Assyria is mentioned but not Babylon

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[16] The outline given here follows the detailed literary-critical analysis in *Der Jahwist*. Since 1993, however, a number of changes have occurred (and others may still follow). My present view of the J source may be seen from the English translation: http://www.at1.evtheol.uni-muenchen.de/service/texte/index.html. The translation omits all non-Yahwistic text and marks the difference between the pre-Yahwistic sources and the editor's own contribution.

[17] *COS* 1:111; *ANET,* 60–61.

[18] Unfortunately the sequence is interrupted between Lamech and Noah. However, the gap can in all probability be closed on the basis of the parallel thread in Genesis 5 (P), since the lists of the ancestors in the Priestly source rests on the Yahwist's account in Genesis 4, as Karl Budde has clearly shown (*Die Biblische Urgeschichte (Gen. 1–12, 5)* [Giessen: J. Ricker, 1883], 89–182).

[19] Usually the table of the nations counts as part of the Priestly source. This is a mistake that is due to the *toledot*-heading in Gen 10:1 through which the redaction J/P imitated the Priestly heading system in order to fit the pentateuchal sources together, thus producing a doublet to Gen 11:10. The Yahwistic parts of the chapter do not form a coherent text but are additions to the original table of nations. This proves that the table belongs to the pre-Yahwistic sources, not to the Priestly source. The Priestly writer did not focus on geographical and historical details such as are presented here.

and Persia, the seventh century would seem to be a plausible date for the composition. The interest in the countries of the west is striking.

Just as in the ancient Babylonian Atramhasis epic, the transition from the primeval history to history proper is interrupted by the great *flood* (Genesis 6–9).[20] Before humankind spreads throughout the earth, chaos returns once more. Noah survives because of the solicitous care of the God Yahweh. The hero of the flood becomes the second father of humankind. That the story of the flood was interpolated later is shown by the detail that, unlike Utnapishtim, the hero of the flood in the Gilgamesh epic, Noah neglects to take the craftsmen with him into the ark.[21] The details about cultural history in Genesis 4 aim to describe the origins of the civilization of the day and do not take into account the fact that after the flood everything begins again from the beginning.[22]

With the *second* block of the narrative tradition, the *history of the patriarchs* (Genesis 12–36), we find ourselves in another world. The chief characters in the action are seen as individuals, judging by their names: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They are grandfather, father, and son. On a closer look, we see that the composition is based on three great, artistically embroidered narratives: the wooing of a bride for Isaac (ch. 24); Jacob's theft of a blessing (ch. 27); and Jacob's marriage with Laban's daughters (chs. 29–30). With only a few stitches (see Gen 24:67aβ; 25:21bβ, 24, 25*, 26a, 27–28, and Gen [27:42–45;] 28:10) these narratives are joined into a narrative sequence. All the events take place in the framework of the family; moreover, the continued existence of the family is their real subject. What is narrated is solely the sequence of the generations: marriage, descendants, and inheritance. We have to read the story of the patriarchs in its earliest nucleus as the history of a particular family, and as that alone. What is striking is the broad geographical horizon. Abraham settles in the steppe, in the direction of Egypt (Gen 20:1); Isaac in Beersheba, on the southwest border of Judah (Gen 28:10); but the country where their relatives live is northern Syria.

Sarah, Abraham's wife, is at first childless (Genesis 16). She therefore gives Abraham her maid as his wife, with whom he begets Ishmael. When at last Sarah becomes pregnant, Abraham casts off the maid and her son (ch. 21). The very next scene describes how Sarah's son Isaac acquires a wife (ch. 24). Abraham, who knows that his end is near, commands his servant to take a long journey into Syrian Mesopotamia, where he is to woo Rebekah, the daughter of his brother Nahor.

Rebekah bears twins (Genesis 25). In the story, the birth is followed immediately by the quarrel of the grown-up sons about the inheritance of their father (ch.

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[20] *COS* 1:130; W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atra-Ḫasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).

[21] Thus the account of the flood on the eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh epic, line 85 (*ANET,* 72–99; *COS* 1:132).

[22] Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (1885; 4th ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963), 10.

27). With the help of his mother, the younger twin, Jacob, steals a march on his elder brother, Esau, and receives the blessing of the firstborn from Isaac, who is blind and on his deathbed. To avoid Esau's vengeance, Jacob flees to Haran, to Laban, Rebekah's brother (Gen 28:10). There he desires Laban's younger daughter, Rachel, for his wife (ch. 29). Since he is unable to pay the bride-price, he engages to serve Laban for seven years. When the seven years are up, the wedding is held. On the morning after the wedding night, Jacob discovers that Laban has brought him the wrong woman—his older daughter, Leah. Laban excuses himself on the grounds of custom: "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the firstborn" (29:26). At the end of the bridal week he gives Jacob the younger daughter, Rachel, into the bargain. This leads to further complications. In order to free himself from Laban, Jacob chooses to flee (ch. 31). Laban catches up with him, and in the end the two come to an agreement, according to which Laban is given rights of ownership over the women, but Jacob the right of use.[23]

Surprisingly enough, this family story has later been embroidered into a kind of history of national origins. The story of Abraham was supplemented by the tradition about Lot (Genesis 19). This tells that what is now the Dead Sea was once the city of Sodom, which was destroyed because of the wickedness of its inhabitants. Lot, having escaped the inferno, begets with his two daughters his sons Moab and Ammon, who become the ancestors of the monarchies east of the Jordan. More important are a number of aetiologically key scenes in chs. 31–35 that were added later, forming an appendix to the original narratives about Jacob. When he returns from Laban, Jacob gives the mountains of Gilead their name (ch. 31) and founds Mahanaim east of the Jordan (ch. 32), as well as the place Luz, and builds Rachel's tomb near Ephrath (ch. 35). It is only from this point that Jacob counts as the progenitor, or tribal father, of Israel. It is remarkable that in the story of the patriarchs, developed in this way into a national history, Judah does not appear.[24] All the key scenes take place in the northern kingdom of Israel, including Gilead, or in its sphere of influence east of the Jordan.

The most important episode of this kind is the story about Bethel (Genesis 28), which was later inserted at the point of intersection between the cycles of the Jacob–Esau narratives and the Jacob–Laban narratives. Jacob is supposed to have founded the royal sanctuary of the northern kingdom on his flight to Haran. He dreams about a ladder between heaven and earth, which he calls not merely "Beth-El" ("House of God") but "Gate of Heaven" (28:17). Read with a tiny change as "Gate of the gods" (Akkadian *Bāb-ilī*), the dream can be related to Etemenanki, the Tower of Babel, "the house of the foundation of heaven and earth." Apparently a

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[23] See Levin, *Der Jahwist*, 237–44.

[24] This is a difference compared with the original narratives, in which Beersheba is an important dwelling place (Gen 28:10). In Gen 13:18; 23:2, 19; 35:27 Mamre is equated with Hebron/Kiriat-arba; but these are quite evidently late glosses; cf. Gen 25:9; 49:30; 50:13. In fact we do not know where Mamre was situated.

Mesopotamian tradition has been transformed into the story of the founding of the Israelite sanctuary.[25] This change may be no earlier than the eighth or seventh century. It is striking that in this cultic saga, and elsewhere too, the monarchy plays no part.[26] We have to conclude from this that the narrative establishing the national history came into being only after the end of the northern kingdom, which fell to the Assyrians in 722. It could derive from members of the upper class who had fled to Judah on the conquest of Samaria.

With the *third* of the narrative blocks, the *story of Joseph and his brothers* (Genesis 37; 39–45), we return to the family sector. In its oldest form this is a fairytale. Like many examples of the genre, it begins with a family conflict. The father favors the youngest son and excites the jealousy of the brothers. They sell Joseph into Egypt. There, at the end of a path full of humiliations, he rises to become the first man in the state after the pharaoh. Behind the scene with "Potiphar's wife" and her attempt at seduction is the Egyptian fairytale about the two brothers, which dates from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.[27] Later, the Joseph story was developed into a novella that interprets the changing fortunes of its hero as an example of Yahweh's guidance.

Of the *fourth* narrative block, the *stories about Moses*, only the beginning is extant (Exodus 2–4). Allegedly born a Levite, Moses is exposed in a basket in the Nile and is adopted by the pharaoh's daughter (2:1–10). This is intended as an assertion of his Israelite origin, in contrast to his Egyptian name (which, paradoxically, is explained through a Hebrew etymology). When it becomes known that Moses has intervened as an avenger in a conflict, he is forced to flee from the pharaoh (2:16–22). In Midian, in northwest Arabia, he marries into the priest's family. After the pharaoh's death, Moses returns to Egypt (Exod 2:23aα; 4:20a). Here the source breaks off; it provides evidence for the interest in the outstanding priestly figure who is later linked with the memory of Israel's early period. Moses's rank is shown by the fact that the account of his exposure in the Nile draws on the story about the origin of King Sargon of Akkad, a story known to us in a Neo-Assyrian version.[28]

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[25] See Nabopolassar's building inscription for Etemenanki, the Tower of Babel, *TUAT* 2/4:490–93.

[26] One may argue that an antimonarchical tendency can be found in the OT (and that the patriarchal narratives may represent this tradition). A closer look, however, shows that all the related texts reflect the concept of theocracy that emerged only in postexilic Judaism under the conditions of the Persian Empire. In ancient Israel, as throughout the ancient Near East, people could not imagine any (religio-)political concept other than monarchy. See recently Reinhard Müller, *Königtum und Gottesherrschaft: Untersuchungen zur alttestamentlichen Monarchiekritik* (FAT 2.3; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004).

[27] *ANET,* 23–25; *COS* 1:40; *AEL* 2:203–11.

[28] The story of the exposed child is widespread; see the survey in Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7: A Commentary* (trans. W. C. Linss; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989) on Matthew 2. The closest parallel, however, is the birth legend of Sargon of Akkad; see *ANET,* 119; *COS* 1:133.

The *fifth* great unit of tradition describes the *exodus* of the Israelites *from Egypt* and their *wanderings through the desert*. The path begins in the delta palace of Ramses II (Exod 12:37) and finds its provisional end on the southern border of Judah, in Kadesh (Num 20:1a), or in Shittim, the place from which the spies set out (Num 25:1a; Josh 2:1). Along this narrative thread, a series of episodes has been strung dealing with the living conditions in the desert: the bitter water in Mara and the palm oasis of Elim (Exodus 15), the food provided for the people through quails and through a scale-insect secretion called manna (Exodus 16).

The oldest thread in the wilderness narratives was later supplemented by the *miracle at the sea*, which describes the downfall of the pursuing pharaoh (Exodus 14–15), and by the scene on the *mountain of God*, which later, in the course of a long literary development, became the place where the OT law was given (Exodus 19ff.). Here again we find the figure of Moses, now assuming the role of the leading priest, who proclaims the oracle of salvation before the battle begins (Exod 14:13–14), and who alone is allowed to approach the deity on the mountain (= sanctuary). The notes about the deaths of Miriam (Num 20:1b) and Moses (Deut 34:5*) may also have belonged to this strand of tradition.

Before this conclusion to the narrative, as a *sixth* narrative block, the story about the seer *Balaam* has been interpolated (Numbers 22–24). Balaam is hired by the Moabite king Balak to curse Israel but blesses it instead. This reflects the dispute between the northern kingdom of Israel and Moab southeast of the Jordan, which for a time was Israel's vassal state. Here too the date is established through a nonbiblical source: a Balaam tradition in Aramaic dating from the eighth/seventh century was discovered in 1967 at Tell Deir ʿAlla in the Jordan Valley.[29]

III

Considering the redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, Martin Noth spoke of the "evidence that the work is a self-contained whole."[30] To support his view Noth mentions a number of common characteristics that hold the work together. Similarly, characteristics of redactional composition can be found in the earliest ongoing stratum of the narrative in the Pentateuch, characteristics that shape the work into a literary unity with its own distinct meaning.

The *first* of these characteristics has to do with the *choice of sources.* The fragmentary nature of some of the narrative blocks, and even of individual stories, is evident, for example, the Abraham narratives and the original story of Moses, which suddenly breaks off after Exod 4:20. This shows that the material that has been col-

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[29] *COS* 2:27.
[30] Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History* (trans. J. Doull et al. from the 2nd ed., 1957; JSOTSup 14; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981), 4.

lected in the Pentateuch is what remains of a still greater wealth of literary tradition that has otherwise been lost. What is extant rests on a selection, and the viewpoints determining it can be described. Since these viewpoints affect all six blocks of tradition in the same way, they provide evidence of the work's editorial coherence.

The main guiding principle in the choice of sources can be easily detected. All the narratives with a single exception are set outside the country of Israel and Judah. They depict the main actors as *strangers:* Hagar in the desert (Genesis 16); Lot in Sodom (Genesis 19); Abraham's servant in Mesopotamia (Genesis 24); Isaac among the Philistines (Genesis 26); Jacob in Haran (Genesis 29–30); Joseph in Egypt (Genesis 39–45.); in Egypt too, later, the Israelites (Genesis 46–Exodus 1); Moses in Midian (Exodus 2); the people on their journey through the desert (Exodus 12–Numbers 20). That this is the rule is shown by the exception: for the purposes of the stories about Abraham (Genesis 12–22), which are set in the Israelite mountains, the country of Israel has been artificially declared a foreign land by way of the distinction between Israelites and Canaanites: "At that time the Canaanites were in the land" (Gen 12:6). This comment is matched by the promise: "To your descendants I will give this land" (Gen 12:7). The Israelite possession of the land is thus supposed still to lie in the future. With the help of this fiction, Abraham too now lives in a foreign country.

The work as a whole relates a history of exile. In order to emphasize this, the sources used have been painted over with vivid colors. The narrative as a whole begins with the expulsion from paradise and ends, as far as we can see, before the gates of the promised land. The road to an alien land is a terrible fate, for it runs counter to a fundamental anthropological fact: the essential ties of the human being (Hebrew אָדָם) with the earth (Hebrew אֲדָמָה). This fundamental premise is the theme of the creation narrative (Genesis 2) in the edited version we have today: the human being is created from the earth, and at the end of his life he will return to it. The trees in the garden and the animals too originate from the earth—indirectly the woman also, since she has been fashioned out of the man's rib. The task set for the human's existence is "to till the ground from which he was taken" (Gen 2:5; 3:23)—that is to say, to settle down as farmer. For the relationship between human beings and the earth to be disturbed is a curse. This is what the interpolated scene about the fall tells us (Genesis 3). "Death is threatened for non-observance, but what follows . . . is not death or social extinction but exile."[31]

Cain's fate is still worse. Because he has soaked the earth with his brother's blood, a curse drives him away from the cultivated land (Genesis 4). From now on he wanders over the earth "a fugitive and a wanderer." Yet to exist as a stranger can also be God's charge, as is the case with Abraham: "Go from your country and your

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[31] Joseph Blenkinsopp, "A Post-exilic Lay Source in Genesis 1–11" in *Abschied vom Jahwisten,* ed. Gertz et al., 49–61, esp. 51.

kindred and your father's house" (Gen 12:1). In this case the charge is linked with the promise of Yahweh's support and blessing.

In these stories the conditions in which the stranger exists are described in sometimes drastic terms. As someone with fewer rights than the others, he lives among an indigenous majority from whom he is ethnically and religiously divided. Lot experiences the inhabitants of Sodom as a horde of unbridled evildoers who do not hesitate to assault sexually the guest he has taken into his house. At the expense of his two virgin daughters, he tries to pacify the lustful crowd, but the attempt fails: "They said: 'This fellow came to sojourn, and he would play the judge! Now we will deal worse with you than with them.' Then they pressed hard against the man" (Gen 19:9). Isaac has reason to fear that he will be murdered by the Philistines for the sake of his wife, who is a desirable beauty (Gen 26:7). Through the false accusations of his Egyptian master's wife, Joseph lands in prison (Genesis 39). The pharaoh compels the Israelites in Egypt to forced labor, with the declared purpose of decimating them (Exodus 1). When his plan fails, he commands the midwives to kill the newborn sons of the Hebrews.

In this situation special values and forms of life develop. The less the individual feels in harmony with the majority of those around him, the greater the importance of family and kindred. Marriage with the indigenous population is forbidden, and the segregation is strictly observed. Internal disputes are settled with a reminder of the common bond between the contenders. When a quarrel about grazing rights breaks out, Abraham deems it right to say to Lot: "Let there be no strife between you and me, for we are kinsmen" (Gen 13:8); and in exemplary fashion he gives Lot first choice of the land. Great importance is attached to the sequence of generations. In order to portray this, the natural sequence of marriage, procreation, and birth is disturbed with unnatural regularity. Sarah, Rebekah, and Rachel—all are at first barren, until through Yahweh's influence the heir is born.[32] This stylistic device shows that the mere continuance of the family is in itself intended to count as a proof of Yahweh's efficacious help.

Religion too is determined by the conditions of the family. Yahweh has cast off his ties with the land of Israel and Judah. The relationship to him is no longer mediated through the fact that his worshipers settle in the place where this god has his given sphere of influence. The determining fact is now that the clan, the extended family, worships Yahweh. Yahweh becomes "the God of the fathers" who is "characterized not by a firm link with one place, but by a continuous connection with one group of people."[33] Wherever his followers happen to be, he proves his efficacy and

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[32] Even the pregnancies of Eve (Gen 4:1), Hagar (birth oracle, Gen 16:11), and Leah (Gen 29:31) are put down to Yahweh.

[33] Albrecht Alt, "The God of the Fathers" (1929) in idem, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* (trans. R. A. Wilson; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), 1–77, esp. 23.

confers blessing: "I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land" (Gen 28:15). Jacob is given this promise in Bethel and he responds, full of astonishment: "Surely Yahweh is in this place; and I did not know it" (v. 16). If the scene takes place in the sanctuary of the northern kingdom, it also means resistance to the claim of the temple in Jerusalem to be the sole legitimate cultic site for Yahweh's worshipers.[34] For life in the dispersion, it was vital to put an end to any confinement to the central sanctuary, a limitation that had been elevated to the rank of doctrine only at the end of the seventh century, under King Josiah.[35]

IV

The *view of history* is the *second* sign of a planned unity. It has been fashioned by the redaction on the basis of selected sources and with the help of its own linguistic methods. It again makes plain the initial situation to which the Yahwist is reacting: the alien status of the Israelites.

The threat hanging over the alien has an external side, which reaches from the exposure to trickery in material and legal affairs to physical violence; and it has an inward one, which touches a person's self-esteem. At that time this was reflected in religious ideas. What the majority thinks and does seems of necessity to have a higher claim, and it requires great self-assurance, or the force of circumstance, to refuse worship to the country's gods.

A situation of this kind cries out for compensation. That is why the Yahwist's work recounts salvation history. In this history, Yahweh—in origin the dynastic god of the two minor Palestinian kingdoms of Israel and Judah—is described as "the God of heaven" (Gen 24:3, 7) who directs the destiny of everyone. What we see taking place here is a profound transformation in the history of religion. It is a striking fact that we otherwise meet this OT title only in writings dating from the Persian period, where it has as a model Ahura Mazda, the Persian god of heaven. As the god of heaven, Yahweh nevertheless remains bound to his restricted origin. The special relationship to his worshipers in the closer sense still exists—indeed it becomes the real subject of the account.

The work traces the history of the people of Israel from the beginning of the world down to the threshold of the conquest of the Palestinian land. For this purpose the already existing blocks are sewn together by means of a continuous geneal-

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[34] For detailed argumentation, especially with regard to the altar law of the Covenant Code, see Christoph Levin, "Das Deuteronomium und der Jahwist" in idem, *Fortschreibungen: Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (BZAW 316; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2003), 96–110.

[35] The historical link between the earliest Deuteronomic law (Deuteronomy 12–26) and Josiah (639–609 B.C.E.) may still be considered the most probable.

ogy:[36] Abraham now counts as the descendant of Shem, from the table of nations (Gen 10:21). Moses having been born as the son of a Levite (Exod 2:1) is incorporated into the genealogical line of Jacob in that Levi is declared to have been one of the sons of Jacob (Gen 29:34).

Because a general anthropogony is placed at the beginning, God's people are from the outset put in relation to the rest of humankind as a whole, in the sense that they are set over against all the others. With occasionally shocking logic, the division between the people who belong to Yahweh and the great majority, who are far from him, runs right through the work. The cleft begins with the sons of the first human being. Both sons bring Yahweh an offering. "And Yahweh had regard for Abel and his offering, but for Cain and his offering he had no regard" (Gen 4:4–5)—no reason for this being given. When, as a result, Cain becomes a murderer, he is cursed (vv. 11–12). Afterwards the first man begets another son, Seth, through whom Yahweh gets a new group of followers: "At that time men began to call upon the name of Yahweh" (v. 26). Noah descends from Seth, and in him Yahweh's partiality is intensified to an unsurpassable degree: he is the only one who finds "favor in the eyes of Yahweh" (Gen 6:8), when all human beings are drowned in the flood.

After the fall of the first human being, existence is subject to a curse: "Cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life" (Gen 3:17). But things do not rest there. When Noah is born, his father, Lamech, declares: "Out of the ground that Yahweh has cursed this one shall bring us relief from our work" (5:29). And after the flood Yahweh does in fact resolve: "I will never again curse the ground because of man" (8:21). With this pronouncement he affirms that the curse is lifted. For Noah and for those who are his, the curse is no longer in force; in its place is an abundance of blessing.

Although the majority who are far from Yahweh are annihilated in the flood, this does not prevent the division of humankind from continuing afterwards, just as the flood too is repeated in spite of the promise—this time as a rain of fire on Sodom. Among Noah's sons, a curse is laid on Ham/Canaan because of an indecent act. In the table of nations, Nimrod is numbered among Ham's sons. "The beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, and Akkad, all of them in the land of Shinar" (Gen 10:10). This Mesopotamian empire counts as the realm of evil. Egypt too is supposed to be the descendant of Ham, as are, of course, the Canaanites, under whom Abraham and Lot are said to have lived as strangers. In Shem, "the father of all the children of Eber" (= all the Hebrews) the group of those who belong to Yahweh stands over against the sons of Ham (v. 21). In spite of all the differentiations in the table of nations, at the end of the primeval history humankind is divided into two according to a simple pattern, before Yahweh scatters it over the earth, because of the tower of Babel.

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[36] See Noth, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 214–19 ("Genealogies").

The line of blessing and the line of curse run counter to each other until the end of the work. The blessing is expressed in the wealth of Abraham and Lot, and in the birth of Isaac, which Yahweh brings about contrary to all human capacity. It is expressed in the angel's care for Hagar in the desert, in response to which she acknowledges: "You are a God of seeing" (Gen 16:13). It is expressed in Yahweh's support for the hard-pressed Lot, and in the terrible punishment inflicted on the wicked indigenous population, from whom Lot is brought safely away.

Yahweh crowns the journey of Abraham's servant with success. In the Philistine town of Gerar, he promises Isaac the blessing which he fulfills a hundredfold in the year of famine, so that the Philistines envy Isaac, and their king Abimelech acknowledges: "We see plainly that Yahweh is with you" (Gen 26:28). Jacob now lays hold of his father's blessing, not just through deception but also with Yahweh's help: "Let peoples serve you, and nations bow down to you. Cursed be every one who curses you, and blessed be every one who blesses you!" (Gen 27:29). Under Jacob's care, Laban's cattle multiply greatly. When Joseph is living in the Egyptian's house, his master sees "that Yahweh was with him" (Gen 39:3), and he puts Joseph in charge of his property. "From the time that he made him overseer in his house and over all that he had, Yahweh blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; the blessing of Yahweh was upon all that he had, in house and field" (v. 5). Even when Joseph is in prison, the warder "committed to Joseph's care all the prisoners who were in the prison" (v. 22), and when the pharaoh elevates Joseph to a great position, he does so with the words: "Only as regards the throne will I be greater than you" (Gen 41:40).

The fate of the Israelites in Egypt changes for the worse, since because of Yahweh's blessing the people have become more numerous and stronger than the Egyptians themselves. But Yahweh foils the attempt to decimate them through the imposition of forced labor. He sees their misery and comes down to lead them to a land flowing with milk and honey, going before them in the form of a pillar of cloud and a pillar of fire. The Egyptians try to prevent the exodus, but they suffer the same fate as the victims of the flood and the inhabitants of Sodom: they are destroyed. Moses's Midianite father-in-law hears of this and can only acknowledge: "Blessed be Yahweh, who has delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods" (Exod 18:10–11).

Finally, when God's people approached their later dwelling place, "Moab was in great dread because they were many" (Num 22:3). King Balak bids the seer Balaam: "Curse this people for me, since they are too mighty for me" (v. 6). But Yahweh commands him: "You shall not curse the people, for they are blessed" (v. 12b).

V

In all this a *third* characteristic emerges—a theological *leitmotif* that holds the work together from beginning to end, from the curse in Genesis 3 and 4 down to

Balaam's blessing in Numbers 24. This guiding theme is the history of *blessing.* In earlier exegesis the promise to Abraham in Gen 12:2–3 was read as a kind of motto for the Yahwist: "I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse; and in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed."[37] The history of God's people in contrast to the rest of the (generally hostile) peoples is presented as the effect of Yahweh's blessing. But this was not what was actually historically experienced. The work of the Yahwist offers a counterpicture to reality as it is. This can be grasped from the promises. They are not just directed to the characters in history as it is here narrated; they are directed beyond these figure to readers in the present. The exemplary fulfillment of the promises, as it is described, for example, in the birth of son and heir, or in Yahweh's helpful guidance in a foreign land, in loneliness, desert, and hostility, as well as in the experiences of deliverance, is designed as an encouragement to hope here and now. The fictitious nature of the account is shown by the enumerated riches in which Yahweh's blessing takes material form, as it were.[38] The huge herds, the multitudinous servants, and all the other possessions are a narrative of wishful thinking. We can therefore call it more than chance that the work as we have it loses itself at the end in the wilderness, so to speak. That is to say, it does not lead out of the utopia. The account remains a history of faith.

VI

All the points we have considered suggest that the narrative composed in this way did not leave the already existing sources untouched but linked them and commented on them by way of editorial additions. In these additions a *fourth* overall characteristic emerges: *language and style.* The Yahwist redaction can be recognized from a whole series of individual touches, through which it has its own distinctive literary signature.

From the eighteenth century onwards, the names for God, "Yahweh" and "Elohim," were considered the prime characteristics through which the sources could be differentiated. It is for this reason that we talk about the oldest continuous source as being the work of the "Yahwist." As time went on, this starting point proved to be insufficiently specific, since the older narratives occasionally use "Elohim" as a term for God, while the many later additions continue to use "Yahweh." In fact there are numerous other stylistic features besides the criterion of the divine names. Earlier exegetes were aware of this and compiled actual lists of such features, which

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[37] Hans Walter Wolff, "Das Kerygma des Jahwisten" (1964), in idem, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (TB 22; Munich: Kaiser, 1973), 345–73, esp. 351–54.

[38] Genesis 13:2, 5; 24:35; 26:12; 30:43; 32:5; Exod 12:35, 38.

defined the work's stylistic coherence.[39] It was not yet recognized, however, that these same stylistic features pointed to an editor, not an original author, as was then assumed.[40] Naturally, the criterion of language must not be applied mechanically. In its use of language, the redaction draws upon its sources, just as it influences the linguistic choices of later authors and the texts that were subsequently added to the Pentateuch.

Here are a few examples of how the editor dealt with his sources:[41]

1. *Genesis 19:3.* He [Lot] urged them [the three men] strongly; so they turned aside to him and entered his house; and he made them a feast, and baked unleavened bread, and they ate. 4 But before they lay down, the men of the city [...] surrounded the house; [...] 5 *and they called to Lot, "Where are the men who came to you tonight? Bring them out to us, that we may know them."* 6 Lot went out of the door to the men, shut the door after him, 7 *and said, "I beg you, my brothers, do not act so wickedly. 8 Behold, I have two daughters who have not known a man; let me bring them out to you, and do to them as you please; only do nothing to these men, for they have come under the shelter of my roof."* 9 But they said, "Stand back!" *And they said, "This fellow came to sojourn, and he would play the judge! Now we will deal worse with you than with them." Then they pressed hard against the man* [...], and drew near to break the door. 10 But the men put forth their hands and brought Lot into the house to them, and shut the door.[42]

2. *Genesis 26:1.* Now there was a famine in the land. [...] And Isaac went to Gerar, to Abimelech king of the Philistines. 2 *And Yahweh appeared to him, and said,* [...] 3 *"Sojourn in this land, and I will be with you, and will bless you."* [...] 6 *So Isaac dwelt in Gerar.* 7 When the men of the place asked him about his wife, he said, "She is my sister"; for he feared to say, "My wife, *lest the men of the place should kill me for the sake of Rebekah; because she is fair to look upon."* 8 When he had been there a long time, Abimelech king of the Philistines looked out of a window and saw Isaac fondling Rebekah his wife. 9 So Abimelech called Isaac, and said, "Behold, she is your wife; how then could you say, 'She is my sister'?" Isaac said to him, "Because I thought, 'Lest I die because of her.'" [...] 11 So Abimelech warned all the people, saying, "Whoever touches this man or his wife shall be put to death." 12 *And Isaac sowed in that land, and reaped in the same year a hundredfold. Yahweh blessed him,* 13 *and the man became rich, and gained more and more until he became very wealthy. 14 He*

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[39] See especially Heinrich Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Freiburg/Leipzig: Mohr Siebeck, 1893), 93–110.

[40] Levin, *Jahwist*, 399–408.

[41] The editor's additional text is printed in italics. Later non-Yahwistic expansions are omitted and marked by [...].

[42] For a detailed analysis of Genesis 19, see Levin, *Jahwist*, 159–70.

had possessions of flocks and herds, and a great household, so that the Philistines envied him.[43]

3. *Genesis 28:12.* And he dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it. 13 *And behold, Yahweh stood above it and said, "I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac.* [...] 15 *Behold, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land."* [...] 16 *Then Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "Surely Yahweh is in this place; and I did not know it."* 17 And he was afraid, and said, "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." 18 So Jacob rose early in the morning, and he took the stone which he had put under his head and set it up for a pillar and poured oil on the top of it. 19 He called the name of that place Bet-El.[44]

4. *Genesis 39:1.* And Joseph was taken down to Egypt, and [...] an Egyptian bought him from the Ishmaelites who had brought him down there. 2 *Yahweh was with Joseph,* [...] 3 *and when his master saw that Yahweh was with him,* [...] 4 *Joseph found favor in his eyes and attended him,* and he made him overseer of his house and put him in charge of all that he had. 5 *From the time that he made him overseer in his house and over all that he had Yahweh blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; the blessing of Yahweh was upon all that he had, in house and field.* 6 [...] *Now Joseph was handsome and good-looking.* 7 And after a time his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph, and said, "Lie with me."[45]

5. *Exodus 3:1.* Now Moses was keeping the flock of his father-in-law, Jethro, *the priest of Midian;* and he led his flock to the west side of the wilderness, and came [...] into the desert. 2 *And the angel of Yahweh appeared to him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush;* and he looked, and lo, a bush was burning, yet the bush was not consumed. 3 *And Moses said, "I will turn aside and see this great sight, why the bush is not burning."* 4 *When Yahweh saw that he turned aside to see,* God called to him out of the bush, "Moses, Moses!" And he said, "Here am I." 5 Then he said, "Do not come near; put off your shoes from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground." 7 *Then Yahweh said, "I have seen the affliction of my people who are in Egypt, and have heard their cry* [...] 8 *and I have come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land to a good and broad land."*[46]

[43] For a detailed analysis of Genesis 26, see Levin, *Jahwist*, 201–6.
[44] For a detailed analysis of Genesis 28, see Levin, *Jahwist*, 216–20.
[45] For a detailed analysis of Genesis 39, see Levin, *Jahwist*, 274–78.
[46] For a detailed analysis of Exodus 3, see Levin, *Jahwist*, 326–33; compare also Levin, "The Yahwist and the Redactional Link between Genesis and Exodus," in *A Farewell to the Yahwist?,* ed. Dozeman and Schmid, 137–41.

The editorial language does not derive from the literary creativity of an individual author. Instead, it reflects a particular social milieu: the king's court. This is not surprising because extensive editorial work of this kind was possible only with official support, either from the royal court or, in postexilic times, from the temple. One characteristic phrase deriving from this milieu is "to find favor in someone's eyes" (מצא חן בעיני). We find this twenty-six times from the flood to the wanderings in the desert, and fifteen of these instances can be put down to the Yahwistic editor.[47] In this way the phrase is something of a linguistic fossil characteristic of the editor's style. Its context was the relation between someone high up on the social scale, generally the king, and someone of inferior rank. It therefore reflects its origin, which was courtly speech. In the relevant dialogues, the person of inferior status addresses the other as "my lord" and refers to himself not as "I" but as "your servant."[48]

As a member of the court, the editor is also quite familiar with speech forms customary in the administration of justice. At an important point he uses the accusatory formula: "What have you done?" (Gen 3:13; 4:10). He is acquainted with the king's prerogative to pronounce a death sentence (Gen 2:17; cf. 26:11) and with the formal charge (Gen 43:6) and the appeal (Gen 16:5). He frequently uses the legal institution of the hue and cry in the construction of key scenes.[49]

The editor is familiar too with the language of the royal cult. He cites typical phrases of the individual lament which originate in the prayer of the king, as can be seen from Neo-Assyrian parallels. He also uses elements of the salvation oracle, which is the response to the lament, given to the king:[50] the reassurance formula "Fear not!" (Exod 14:13),[51] the formula of support "I am with you" (Gen 26:3, 28; 31:3; 39:2, 3, 21, 23), and the self-introductory formula "I am Yahweh" (Gen

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[47] Genesis 6:8; 18:3; 19:19; 30:27; 32:5; 33:8, 10, 15; 39:4, 21; 47:29; Exod 3:21; 12:36; 34:9; Num 11:11. The other examples have been influenced by the editor: Gen 34:11; 47:25; 50:4; Exod 11:3; 33:12, 13 (twice), 16, 17; Num 11:15; 32:5.

[48] Genesis 18:3–5; 19:18–19; 32:4–5, 18; 33:8, 15; Exod 34:9; Num 11:11.

[49] Genesis 4:10; 18:20; 19:13; 27:34; Exod 3:7; 14:10; 15:25; 17:4; Num 11:2. See Hans-Jochen Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament* (WMANT 14; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964); Isac L. Seeligmann, "Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch" (1965) in idem, *Gesammelte Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel* (FAT 41; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 293–317.

[50] This is shown by Assyrian and Syrian examples. See Hans-Jürgen Zobel, "Das Gebet um Abwendung der Not und seine Erhörung in den Klageliedern des Alten Testaments und in der Inschrift des Königs Zakir von Hamath," *VT* 21 (1971): 91–99; Manfred Weippert, "Assyrische Prophetien aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Assurbanipals," in *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis* (ed. F. M. Fales; Orientis Antiqui Collectio 17; Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1981), 71–111.

[51] See Joachim Becker, *Gottesfurcht im Alten Testament* (AnBib 25; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1965), 50–55; Martti Nissinen, "Fear Not: A Study on an Ancient Near Eastern Phrase," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 122–61.

28:13).[52] The revelation to Jacob in Bethel is presented as a cultic encounter with God (Gen 28:13a, 15a, 16). The same is true of Moses's encounter with God on Sinai (Exod 34:5, 9a).

There is an evident proximity to the school of courtly wisdom. We might describe the editor's language as "deictic." One example is the phrase "see that" (ראה כי). In itself, the phrase is not remarkable: it occurs frequently elsewhere and is prominent in the first creation account.[53] In combination with other phrases, however, its frequency points to the Yahwistic editor.[54] This editor frequently uses direct speech, and his dialogues would be at home in the classroom: "Tell me!" (Gen 24:23, 49; 29:15; 32:29; 37:16). Salient are the many questions that occur in the dialogue: "Who?," "What?," "Why?,"[55] and especially "Where?": "Adam, where are you?" (Gen 3:9) and "Where is Abel your brother?" (Gen 4:9) are only the most famous examples of a stylistic device that is used several times at the transition between the editor's source text and the interpreting dialogue that he adds immediately afterward. This frequent pattern is distinctive of the Yahwist.[56]

The editor often brings the dialogue down to basic principles, which apply independently of the scene described and are designed to make the reader transfer the point to his own experience of life. They underline the efficacious presence of Yahweh. Many of them have an ethical trend. "It is not good that the man should

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[52] See Walther Zimmerli, "I Am Yahweh" (1953) in idem, *I Am Yahweh* (trans. D. W. Stott; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 1–28.

[53] This is the "formula of approval": "And God saw that it was good" (Gen 1:4, 10, 12, 18, 21, 25, 31). See Werner H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift* (3rd ed.; WMANT 17; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 59–63.

[54] Genesis 3:6; 6:2, 5; 16:4, 5; 26:28; 29:31; 39:3; 46:30; Exod 2:2; 3:4; Num 24:1.

[55] As examples: "Yahweh said to Abraham, 'Why did Sarah laugh, and say, Shall I indeed bear a child, now that I am old?'" (Gen 18:13); the servant to Rebekah: "Whose daughter are you? Tell me" (Gen 24:23); "But Isaac said to his son, 'How is it that you have found it so quickly, my son?' He answered, 'Because Yahweh your God granted me success'" (Gen 27:20); "And Laban said to Jacob, 'Because you are my kinsman, should you therefore serve me for nothing? Tell me, what shall your wages be?'" (Gen 29:15); Jacob to Laban: "But now when shall I provide for my own household?" (Gen 30:31); "And he said to him, 'What is your name?' and he said, 'Jacob'" (Gen 32:27); "Then Jacob asked him, 'Tell me, I pray, your name.' But he said, 'Why is it that you ask my name?'" (Gen 32:29); "And Esau said, 'What do you mean by all this company which I met?'" (Gen 33:8); "The man asked Joseph, 'What are you seeking?' 'I am seeking my brothers,' he said, 'tell me I pray you, where they are pasturing the flock'" (Gen 37:15); "Then Judah said to his brothers, 'What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood?'" (Gen 37:26).

[56] Other examples: The angel of Yahweh: "Hagar, maid of Sarah, where have you come from and where are you going?" (Gen 16:8); the three men to Abraham: "Where is Sarah your wife?" (Gen 18:9); the Sodomites to Lot: "Where are the men who came to you tonight?" (Gen 19:5); Esau to Jacob's servant: "To whom do you belong? Where are you going? And whose are these before you?" (Gen 32:17); Joseph to the man in Shechem: "I am seeking my brothers; tell me, I pray you, where they are pasturing the flock" (Gen 37:16); the priest in Midian to his daughters: "Where is he? Why have you left the man?" (Exod 2:20).

be alone" (Gen 2:18) is the first example of this kind, spoken before the creation of the woman. Many others follow: "I will bless you so that you will be a blessing" (Gen 12:2); "Is anything too hard for Yahweh?" (Gen 18:14).[57]

An especially effective didactic method is the scheme of announcement and fulfillment. The facts are not simply described as such. Important events are regularly preceded by a promise.[58] Negative events are announced too—the flood, for example (Gen 6:5–7*), and the destruction of Sodom (Gen 18:20–21). The threat to the hostile party means a promise of protection for the Israelites. The space of time between the announcement and the event heightens the suspense. The Yahwist is in fact the inventor of the genre "promises to the patriarchs." All other instances of the genre are later. His work is intended to awaken hope, and its goal is faith. It offers a view of history that is religious through and through. Readers are intended to interpret their own lives in expectation of Yahweh's acts and support.

VII

I have demonstrated that a pre-Priestly and non-Deuteronomistic work shaped the narrative basis of the books of Genesis through Numbers. This work was one of the two documents that provide the literary basis of what later became the Pentateuch. In accordance with the Documentary Hypothesis we may call it the "Yahwist." What can be said with certainty about the editor who composed this work? There are a number of clues, but they do not add up to a unified picture. Each feature points in two directions simultaneously:

1. The Yahwist could claim to have put together the definitive account of Israel's origins, one that formed the nation's self-understanding. With good reason, earlier exegetes described this account as "Israel's national epic."[59] A work of this kind bears an implicit authoritative stamp. It would seem to reflect a royal court context and thus point to the Judean state prior to the exile as its home.

Nonetheless, the conditions of existence as foreigner are described so exactly and immediately that one cannot avoid seeing the author as also being in this situation. A cruel fate has driven him out of the familiar world of Palestine into the

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[57] Further examples: "Am I my brother's keeper?" (Gen 4:9); "Let there be no strife between you and me; for we are kinsmen" (Gen 13:8); "You are a God of seeing" (Gen 16:13); "The thing comes from Yahweh" (Gen 24:50); "Surely, Yahweh is in this place and I did not know it" (28:16); "You are my kinsman, should you therefore serve me for nothing?" (Gen 29:15); "I have enough, my brother; keep what you have for yourself" (Gen 33:9); "What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood?" (Gen 37:26); "Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all gods" (Exod 18:11); "Is Yahweh's hand shortened?" (Num 11:23).

[58] We find favorable announcements of this kind in Gen 2:18; 5:29; 8:21; 12:2–3; 16:11; 18:10; 26:3; 28:15a; 31:3; 37:11; Exod 3:7–8; 14:30; Num 11:23.

[59] Eduard Reuss, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments* (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1881), 251.

foreign land. The conditions that the patriarchs each time experience among an indigenous population and that the Israelites then endure under Egyptian oppression and on their wanderings through the desert reflect his own present. The doubt whether Yahweh is able to guarantee the blessing of support in the foreign country is his doubt. The hope for Yahweh's protection and, in the end, for a return reflect his own hope. What the author describes, therefore, are the conditions in which the Jewish people, scattered throughout the world, already existed.[60]

2. The language and the world of ideas have their roots in the court. The style of the dialogues contributed by the editor is that of courtly speech. The difference from the older stories about the patriarchs, which are set in the milieu of the clan, is noticeable. The writer has been trained in court wisdom. The revelatory scenes, in which Yahweh himself or his messengers play a part, follow patterns that originated in the cult of the royal sanctuary.

Nevertheless, there is no trace whatsoever of the monarchy itself. Even scenes that have a fundamental connection with national history get along without the king. The narrative about the origin of the sanctuary at Bethel is linked with Jacob. On the exodus from Egypt, it is Moses, the priest, who has the key role. The description of an early era is not aligned toward the (re)introduction of the monarchy.[61] The events as a whole remain outside the state sphere.

3. The work presupposes, in fact even if not programmatically, the exclusive worship of the God Yahweh. The term "Yahwist" is to this extent justified. The religious program, which finds expression in the confession "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh is one" (Deut 6:4), is operative from the outset and without any reservation.[62] The whole spectrum of local gods and demons that can be found in the sources (see Gen 18:1–2; 32:25; Num 24:4) is equated without further ado with the one God Yahweh, who counts as at once the creator of the world and the universal God of heaven.[63]

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[60] See Otto Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (5th ed.; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1984), esp. 93–96. In the 2nd ed., from which the English translation was prepared (*Introduction to the Old Testament* [trans. J. Sturdy; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975], 82–85), Kaiser still holds the older view.

[61] This is very different from the account of the premonarchical era offered in the book of Judges. At the end of the book, at least, everything tends toward the need for a king. See Timo Veijola, *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (AASF B 198; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1977).

[62] See Timo Veijola, "Das Bekenntnis Israels: Beobachtungen zu Geschichte und Aussage von Dtn 6,4–9" (1992), in idem, *Moses Erben: Studien zum Dekalog, zum Deuteronomismus und zum Schriftgelehrtentum* (BWANT 149; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000), 76–93.

[63] The difference from the testimonies stemming from the Jewish colony on Elephantine, the island in the Nile, is remarkable. There as late as the fifth century a goddess Anat-Bethel, a god Eshem-Bethel, and other gods are worshiped side by side with Yahu. See Bezalel Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

Nevertheless, any trace of OT prophecy is absent. There is no comparable literary work in the OT that is further removed from the later theology, which was determined by the prophets and Deuteronomism. In language and thought, therefore, the Yahwist and the Deuteronomistic Historian may clearly be distinguished from each other.[64] It is inconceivable that the patriarchs or the Israelites could turn their backs on Yahweh in order to turn to "other gods." The theological horizon involved is closer to that of the earlier psalms and the broader Syro-Palestinian mythology that was long behind them.

4. The Yahwist, just like Deuteronomy and the later Deuteronomistic History, upholds the program of a single "Israel" composed of Israel and Judah, a program that we associate with the policy of King Josiah, in the last third of the seventh century. If it is correct that the confession "Yahweh is one" is designed to overcome the religious and political opposition between Israel and Judah,[65] this goal is attained in the Yahwist inasmuch as from the outset he describes an overall history of Israel and Judah such as was later to determine the historical viewpoint of postexilic Judaism.

Nevertheless, the Yahwist contrasts with Deuteronomy in denying the restriction of worship of Yahweh to a single cultic site, a restriction that Deuteronomy emphatically demands and that the Yahwist repudiates with equal emphasis. Instead he preaches the omnipresence of this God, showing that Yahweh lets himself be cultically worshiped in the foreign country too.

To integrate these points, one may conclude, with all due caution, that the Yahwist was a member of the courtly upper class living in the early Jewish Diaspora, who was trying to find an answer to the radical change in living conditions. The Diaspora began with the Neo-Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem at the beginning of the sixth century. The circumstances can best be seen from the deportation of King Jehoiachin and his court, following the first conquest in 597 B.C.E. It would seem reasonable to look for the origin of the work in this context. If the work originated in Babylon, that could in part explain the universal horizon and the wide acceptance of non-Israelite material. In favor of this dating is the work's opposition to a theology according to which only the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem was legitimate.

The Yahwist stands at the threshold between the Judean national religion and Judaism as a world religion. The consequence, for literary history, is a striking paradox: the Israelite national epic is at the same time the first chapter in the history of Judaism.

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[64] John Van Seters (see n. 14 above), and Hans Heinrich Schmid (*Der sogenannte Jahwist: Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* [Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976]) mistakenly see the theologies of the Yahwist and Deuteronomist as closely related.

[65] Erik Aurelius, "Der Ursprung des Ersten Gebots," *ZTK* 100 (2003): 1–21, esp. 4–8.

The Representation of Speech
in the Casuistic Laws of the Pentateuch:
The Phenomenon of Combined Discourse

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During the last thirty years an approach has emerged in legal theory that deals with the interrelationship between law and literature. Scholars of law and of literature have begun to lay emphasis on the narrative elements that are reflected in judicial decisions and verdicts and in legal discourse in general. According to James Boyd White, law is a kind of social literature, "a way of talking about people and their relationships."[1] Robert Cover determines that "[o]nce understood in the context of the narratives that give it [the law] meaning, law becomes not merely a system of rules to be observed, but a world in which we live; in this normative world, law and narrative are inseparably related."[2] Such views (and others) were the first sign of the establishment of a central school of thought in legal research, the "law and literature" movement. This extensive movement consists of diverse branches of research, every one of which is based on a different aspect of the linkage between the two independent disciplines that it contains—law, on the one hand, and literature, on the other.[3]

[1] James Boyd White, *The Legal Imagination: Studies in the Nature of Legal Thought and Expression* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 243–44.

[2] Robert Cover, "Nomos and Narrative," *Harvard Law Review* 97 (1983): 4–68, esp. 4–10.

[3] Ronald Dworkin, "Law as Interpretation," in *The Politics of Interpretation: Critical Inquiry* 9 (ed. W. J. T. Mitchell; 1982–83): 179–200; Allan Hutchinson, *Dwelling on the Threshold: Critical Essays in Modern Legal Thought* (Toronto: Carswell, 1988); Stanley Fish, *Doing What Comes Naturally: Change, Rhetoric and the Practice of Theory in Literary and Legal Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989); Bernard S. Jackson, "Narrative Theories and Legal Discourse," in *Narrative in*

My work applies the methods and approaches of "law and literature" theory, in order to examine aspects of narrative that may be found within law. It focuses on the phenomena and events that are described in the law and on their mode of description, rather than on the legal theoretical analysis of abstract principles, basic rules, or the policy that the law embodies. According to its basic assumption, one concentrates on narrative elements rather than dealing with legal analytic methods per se. This follows from the human inclination to think, to understand, and to grasp reality in a narrative manner, leading to a deeper understanding of law as part of human culture. A narrative approach can also enrich our understanding of the legal system and legal notions, thereby facilitating a deeper understanding of human life, which is, after all, the subject of law.

Since human culture is narrative by nature, it is both possible and worthwhile to relate to law as an arena for presenting human stories—stories about people, their relations with others, and their interaction with the community. Law describes concrete situations that may affect people's lives; it deals with human events, and those events are naturally based on the familiar form of narrative. Law utilizes "real" people in order to illuminate legal theory and norms, and in this respect it is a descriptive, contextual, and influential text, consisting not only of rules and principles but also of scenarios.

A narrative reading of law (reading law as story) pursues questions that are identified as legal by adopting and applying notions and devices from other disciplines—literature and narratology.[4] The laws are examined according to the common rules and conventions used by readers of literary texts and narratives.[5] Such reading entails a systematic analysis of laws according to three components of literary narrative texts: (1) the "story," which is a sequence of events; (2) the "text," which is the verbal representation of the "story"; and (3) the "discourse," which is

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Culture: The Uses of Storytelling in the Sciences, Philosophy and Literature (ed. C. Nash; London: Routledge, 1994), 23–50; Daniel A. Farber and Suzanna Sherry, "Telling Stories Out of School: An Essay on Legal Narratives," *Stanford Law Review* 45 (1993): 807–55; Linda H. LaRue, *Constitutional Law as Fiction: Narrative in the Rhetoric of Authority* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995); Richard Weisberg, "Proclaiming Trials as Narratives: Premises and Pretenses," in *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law* (ed. P. Brooks and P. Gewirtz; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 61–83; Peter Brooks, "Narrativity of the Law," *Law and Literature* 14 (2002): 1–10.

[4] In this respect, such reading meets the challenge set by Adele Berlin: "Besides, modern literary theory has given us better tools to analyze narrative, whereas it is only beginning to give us tools to analyze law" ("Numinous Nomos: On the Relationship between Narrative and Law," in *"A Wise and Discerning Mind": Essays in Honor of Burke O. Long* [ed. S. M. Olyan and R. C. Culley; BJS 325; Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2000], 25–31, esp. 26).

[5] Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978); Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (trans. Jane E. Lewin; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980); Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (trans. C. van Boheemen; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).

the process of producing the "text," a process of communication, in the course of which the "story" is conveyed as a message from sender to receiver.

Elements such as plot, character and characterization, discourse, point of view and focalization, the reading process, and the lawgiver's implication in the discourse are the focus of this reading. The contribution of this kind of reading may be its ability to evoke emotions and induce reader involvement with texts that are seemingly "dry" and matter-of-fact. The reader participates actively in the process of reading—filling gaps, identifying with characters, and thus achieving a fuller understanding of humankind.

I. The Casuistic Laws of the Pentateuch

Casuistic law, recognized as one of the two basic categories of legal form in biblical law codes, is conditional in structure; it consists of a protasis—a conditional clause stating an action or a state of affairs (*casus*)—and an apodosis—a clause that designates the legal consequences of the case described in the protasis.[6] This legal form (which has quintessential parallels in Near Eastern law codes) is formulated according to a fixed linguistic pattern, consisting of an opening formulation and words that indicate the diverse events or states of affairs set forth in the law. Casuistic law is substantially descriptive and retrospective and deals mainly with human relationships.

The casuistic laws of the Pentateuch are accordingly the legal corpus in which I choose to demonstrate a method of reading laws as narrative; the study, therefore, combines biblical law, modern legal theory, and narrative methods. Representing a phenomenon in narrative terms lays the emphasis on change and development. Therefore, a pattern of law that sets forth an action or a state of affairs that throws the social order into disequilibrium and then spells out what is required to reintegrate that order may be used as a fertile ground for locating narrative elements; a narrative seems to be inherent in it.[7]

In casuistic law, which deals with human states of affairs, it is possible to reconstruct the story, namely, the events in which "real people" take part, as well as their characters. In its written form, casuistic law makes possible examination of the tex-

[6] It was Albrecht Alt who coined the terms "casuistic law" and "apodictic law" in his epoch-making monograph "Die Ursprünge des Israelitischen Rechts" (Albrecht Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law," in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion* [trans. R. A. Wilson; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967], 101–71).

[7] Leonard L. Thompson, *Introducing Biblical Literature: A More Fantastic Country* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 145–59, esp. 147–48; Harry P. Nasuti, "Identity, Identification and Imitation: The Narrative Hermeneutics of Biblical Law," *Journal of Law and Religion* 4 (1986): 9–23, esp. 9; Bernard S. Jackson, *Law, Fact and Narrative Coherence* (Merseyside: Deborah Charles Publications, 1988), 97–98.

tual means by which the substance of the law is constructed; and as the law is related by an "agent"—the lawgiver—it is possible to deal with the process of communication, in the course of which the law is conveyed to receivers/readers.[8]

In the present article, I treat one of several ways that speech is represented in the casuistic laws of the Pentateuch—combined discourse.

II. The Representation of Speech

There are two ways of representing an event of speech in a literary narrative text: "telling" and "showing" (or "scene" and "summary"). In "telling" the narrator presents the characters' speech and conversations directly, as monologue and dialogue, thus creating the illusion of mimesis, whereas in "showing" the characters' utterances are reported indirectly—transmitted by the narrator's voice as indirect speech.[9]

It is well known that in biblical narrative when speech is involved in a narrative event, it is usually presented as direct discourse. The preference of biblical writers for indirect speech is so limited and their preference for direct discourse so extensive that "in regard to the proportions of the narrative, third-person narration is frequently only a bridge between much larger units of direct speech."[10]

It is worthwhile stating that, as in biblical narrative, when presenting speech events within the casuistic laws, the lawgiver tends to use direct discourse (Exod 21:5; 22:8b; Num 5:19–22; Deut 15:16a; 17:16b; 18:16b; 20:3–8; 21:7–8a, 20; 22:14b, 16–17a; 25:7b, 8b, 9b; 26:3b, 5–10a, 13–15). Moreover, in several laws, when the lawgiver exposes characters' consciousness—namely, their thoughts, views, desires, decisions—it is represented as direct speech, as internal monologue. The lawgiver, like the biblical narrator, "penetrates" a character's inner world, giving an authoritative citation of its "events," according to the conventions of representing actual speech (Lev 25:20; Deut 12:20b, 30b; 15:9b; 17:14b; 18:21).[11]

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[8] Another aspect of the "narrative turn" as applied to biblical law is Bernard S. Jackson's new approach to the reading and interpretation of the scope of the language used in biblical laws—the "narrative" meaning as opposed to "literal" meaning. See Bernard S. Jackson, *Studies in the Semiotics of Biblical Law* (JSOTSup 314; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 75–82; idem, *Wisdom-Laws: A Study of the Mishpatim of Exodus 21:1–22:16* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 24–29; idem, "Literal Meaning: Semantics and Narrative in Biblical Law and Modern Jurisprudence," *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law/Revue International de Sémiotique Juridique* 13, no. 4 (2000): 433–57.

[9] Genette, *Narrative Discourse,* 162–63; Seymour Chatman, *Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 109–23.

[10] Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 65.

[11] On representing thoughts as direct speech in biblical narrative, see Alter, *Art*, 63–87, esp. 67–69; Cynthia L. Miller, *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis* (HSM 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 291.

As said above, speech is an event, and like any other event it "belongs" to the "story." However, when dealing with the ways an utterance is represented—as direct or indirect speech or as inner speech—the discussion centers not on the event itself but rather on the function of each representation of an utterance and on the effect the specific representation has on the reader/addressee. In this respect it deals with another aspect of the literary narrative text—the "discourse."

III. Combined Discourse

In the present essay, as was said, I illustrate the phenomenon of combined discourse found in several casuistic laws. Combined discourse is one of the ways a narrative text represents an utterance—spoken discourse or unspoken thoughts. It is a mixed form (also called "free indirect speech," since it is an intermediate form between indirect and direct speech free of conjunctions or quotation marks), according to which an utterance that grammatically belongs to one speaker is in fact a mixture of two (or more) utterances, of different styles and points of view. This form is a dual-voiced (or polyvocal) discourse, usually a mixture or merging of narrator and character.[12] According to Meir Sternberg, the phenomenon of combined discourse (Sternberg uses the term "free indirect speech") as a systematic "stratagem of penetration" into the characters' internal world was born in biblical narrative.[13]

The discussion is divided into three parts, according to two criteria: the identity of the speaker and the utterance's location within the framework of the law. The first part deals with combined discourse reflected in *the lawgiver's utterance located within a motive clause.* This part includes the examination of three casuistic laws: the law concerning the lending of money to the poor (Exod 22:24–26); the Deuteronomic law of the Hebrew slave (Deut 15:12–18); and the Babylonian law concerning the man who deserts his city (Laws of Hammurabi [LH] 136). The second part deals with combined discourse reflected in *the lawgiver's utterance that is located within the protasis,* examining the law concerning the striking of a pregnant woman (Exod 21:22–25). The third part deals with combined discourse reflected in *the characters' utterances located in the protasis.* In this part I examine

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[12] Chatman, *Story and Discourse,* 198–209; Menakhem Perry, "The Combined Discourse—Several Remarks about the Definition of the Phenomenon," a paper delivered at *Synopsis* No. 2, Tel Aviv, June 1979 (12 pages); Wallace Martin, *Recent Theories of Narrative* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 136–42; Mikhail Bakhtin, *Discourse in the Novel* (in Hebrew; trans. A. Avner; Tel Aviv: Hapoalim Library, 1989), 101–5.

[13] Meir Sternberg, "Between the Truth and the Whole Truth in Biblical Narrative: The Rendering of Inner Life by Telescoped Inside View and Interior Monologue" (in Hebrew), *Hasifrut* 29 (1979): 110–46. On the diverse functions of combined discourse in literary texts see Shlomit Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (London/New York: Methuen, 1983), 113–14.

four Deuteronomic laws: the law of the prohibition of Canaanite ritual (Deut 12:29–31); and the three laws of solicitation to idolatry (Deut 13:2–6, 7–12, 13–19).

The Law concerning the Lending of Money to the Poor (Exodus 22:24–26)

> [24]If you lend money to any of my people with you who is poor, you shall not be to him as a creditor, and you shall not exact interest from him. [25]If ever you take your neighbor's garment in pledge, you shall restore it to him before the sun goes down; [26]for that is his only covering, it is his mantle for his body; in what else shall he sleep? And if he cries to me, I will hear, for I am compassionate.[14]

In this law there is a motive clause that gives reasons for the prescribed duty to restore a garment that was given in pledge to a poor person, before the sun goes down: "for that is his only covering, it is his mantle for his body; in what else shall he sleep?"[15] The argumentation for prohibiting the restraint of property, which is an existential need, is twofold: the garment is the poor person's only covering—he has no other; and without his garment he cannot warm himself at night.

Three characters participate in the events described in this law: the lawgiver, the lender, and the poor person. The lawgiver adopts the first person ("*my* people"; "if he cries *to me I* will hear for *I am* compassionate"); he addresses the lender/the audience directly, using the second person ("If *you* lend money"; "with *you*"; "*you shall not* be . . ."; "*you shall not* exact . . ."; "*you* take your neighbor's garment . . ."; "*you shall* restore . . ."); and he gives reasons for the addressee's duty, referring to the poor person in the third person ("*who is* poor"; "to *him*"; "from *him*"; "*his* only covering"; "*his* mantle for *his* body"; ". . . *shall he* sleep"; "and if *he* cries").

From a grammatical perspective, the motive clause is the lawgiver's utterance —he is the speaker. Nevertheless, the "personal" language, which describes so vividly and palpably the poor person's distress to such an extent that the reader can feel the night chill on his coverless body, may lead to the conclusion that the utterance does not reflect the lawgiver's style of speech; that another style, point of view,

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[14] All biblical quotations in English are from the RSV.

[15] In the laws of the Book of the Covenant there are eleven motive clauses: the first in the law of the bondwoman (Exod 21:8b); the second in the law of killing a slave (21:21b); two others in the law of striking a slave (21:26b, 27b); three in the framework of the laws concerning the protection of the needy's social rights (22:20b, 26; 23:9b); two others in the laws concerning justice and morality in legal proceedings (23:7b, 8b); and the two last concerning the Sabbath (23:12b) and the festival of unleavened bread (23:15b). On different categories of motive clauses in biblical law, see Berend Gemser, "The Importance of the Motive Clause in the Old Testament Law," in *Congress Volume: Copenhagen 1953* (VTSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1953), 50–66; Rifat Sonsino, *Motive Clauses in Hebrew Law: Biblical Forms and Near Eastern Parallels* (SBLDS 45; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980).

and standpoint are involved in the lawgiver's utterance. Thus, an utterance that grammatically belongs to the lawgiver absorbs the utterance of another speaker.

The other speaker is the poor person who comes to the lender's house at the end of the day asking for the return of his garment. The point of view reflected in the lawgiver's utterance is his personal position, expressing the poor person's supplication. The rhetorical question "in what else shall he sleep?" reflects the scene of a dialogue between the poor person and the lender, since it is aimed at persuading, at "leading" the lender to the recognition that he has nothing besides the garment to use as a covering.

In order to clarify the use of the technique of combined discourse within the framework of the motive clause and to illustrate its intermediate character (between direct and indirect speech), I paraphrase vv. 25–26, changing them into direct and indirect speech:

1. DIRECT SPEECH: *If you take your neighbor's garment in pledge, and when he says to you: "this is my only covering, this is my mantle for my body, in what else shall I sleep?" you shall restore it to him before the sun goes down.*

According to the above paraphrase, the utterance of the poor person is transmitted in direct speech located between two utterances of the lawgiver (the direct speech is typically preceded by the verb "to say").

2. INDIRECT SPEECH: *If you take your neighbor's garment in pledge, and he says to you that it is his only covering, that it is the mantle for his body, in what else shall he sleep? you shall restore it to him before the sun goes down.*

In this utterance the poor person's words are reported in indirect speech, preserving his own style. The lawgiver is using the verb "to say" to report on the saying, adding the conjunction "that" and changing the deictics and the pronouns from first to third person.

In *combined discourse,* as a mixed form, the verb "to say" and the conjunction "that" are omitted, and the pronouns are given in the third person. In such a format the motive clause is conveyed by the lawgiver. The capacity of combined discourse to reflect a personal style and a character's point of view within the lawgiver's utterance enables him to switch from the description of a scene, namely, an event of speech, to a summary—a motive clause that combines two different consciousnesses.

God, the lawgiver, is the poor person's patron. Through the technique of combined discourse the lawgiver helps readers understand their attitude toward the poor. The combination of the "objective" voice of the lawgiver and the engaged, personal voice of the poor person illustrates God's intervention and concern for the welfare of the indigent. By "coloring" his speech with the poor person's language and experience, the lawgiver brings the reader close to the indigent's point of view, thus evoking empathy and sympathy toward him.

The motive clause in question is unique among the motive clauses in the Book of the Covenant. All the other motive clauses reflect the lawgiver's style, position, and point of view alone.[16]

The Law of the Hebrew Slave (Deuteronomy 15:12–18)

> [12]If your brother, a Hebrew man, or a Hebrew woman, is sold to you, he shall serve you six years, and in the seventh year you shall let him go free from you. [13]And when you let him go free from you, you shall not let him go empty-handed; [14]you shall furnish him liberally out of your flock, out of your threshing floor, and out of your wine press; as the LORD your God has blessed you, you shall give to him. [15]You shall remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt, and the LORD your God redeemed you; therefore I command you this today. [16]But if he says to you, "I will not go out from you," because he loves you and your household, since he fares well with you, [17]then you shall take an awl, and thrust it through his ear into the door, and he shall be your bondman for ever. And to your bondwoman you shall do likewise. [18]It shall not seem hard to you, when you let him go free from you; for at half the cost of a hired servant he has served you six years. So the LORD your God will bless you in all that you do.

In the law under discussion three motive clauses appear: the first clause provides a historical reason ("You shall remember that you were a slave in the land of Egypt"); another clause grants an explanation concerning the logic of the legal settlement ("for at half the cost of a hired servant he has served you six years"); and the third clause refers to the slave's utterance, which expresses his unwillingness to go out free, giving the reasoning for his decision: "But if he says to you I will not go out from you *because he loves you and your household since he fares well with you.*" This motive clause is an additional example of using the technique of combined discourse in the casuistic laws.

The lawgiver conveys the slave's utterance in direct speech: "I will not go out from you," then gives reasons for the decision, expressed in his utterance, by summarizing in the form of a motive clause. In this respect, the motive clause reflects the lawgiver's "penetration" into the slave's psyche—the lawgiver is not only aware of the slave's feelings but knows that his decision is motivated by these feelings. The lawgiver's utterance is, then, an official summary of the slave's consciousness.

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[16] The clause "for the slave is his money" (Exod 21:21b), for instance, explains the logic of the variance between the legal norm prescribed in the main law and the legal norm prescribed in the secondary law. The clauses "for you were strangers in the land of Egypt" (22:20b; 23:9b) and "for in it you came out of Egypt" (23:15b) provide historical justification. The clauses "for I will not acquit the wicked (23:7b), "for a bribe blinds the officials and subverts the cause of those who are in the right" (23:8b), and "that your ox and your ass may have rest and the son of your bondmaid and the alien may be refreshed" (23:12b) give theological, moral, and social reasons, respectively.

It should be clarified that penetrating the character's psyche is not in and of itself sufficient for indicating combined discourse; the penetrator, who mediates between the reader and the penetrated consciousness, may leave his mark on the character's inner world by not preserving the subjective characterizations of his mental and intellectual process.[17] In this case, the bivocal (or polyvocal) discourse, which characterizes combined discourse, is not reflected in the utterance, and the sole voice is, in fact, the voice of the penetrator.

In the motive clause under discussion, the statement concerning the slave's love toward his or her master and his household does not, by itself, turn the lawgiver's utterance into combined discourse. In order that it be considered combined discourse, the lawgiver's utterance has to include elements that reflect the slave's personal style, the slave's own voice. Only a comparison between the motive clause under discussion and the slave's declaration, which appears in the parallel law in the Book of the Covenant, enables us to point out the slave's voice, which is integrated with the voice of the lawgiver.

The slave's declaration: "I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free" (Exod 21:5) expresses his strong feelings, making clear that the decision not to go out free is motivated by these emotions. The Deuteronomist, while adapting the ancient law to his views, integrated the slave's personal style and position into the lawgiver's utterance, and at one and the same time adjusted the slave's rationale to the modifications generated by him in the later law. Thus, the expression "master" is missing, since the slave is considered "your brother" (it is switched to direct application in second person: "he loves *you* and *your* household since he fares well with *you*"); and the wife and children are not mentioned, for the slave's family is no longer considered his master's property—the slave's matrimonial life is not subordinate to his social status.[18] The citation "I will not go out from you" is an adaptation of the parallel declaration "I will not go out free" appearing in the Book of the Covenant. The expression "go out" preserves the slave's style of speaking (the verb "to go out" appears in the Deuteronomic law in the slave's utterance only), and the words "from you" come in place of the expression "free," based on different lexical choice/preference.[19]

The slave's declaration in Exod 21:5 consists of four elements: his love for his master, his love for his wife, his love for his children, and his unwillingness to go out free. In Deut 15:16 the combination of the slave's utterance and the lawgiver's motive clause consists of four elements as well: the slave's declaration, the slave's

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[17] See Sternberg, "Between the Truth and the Whole Truth," 113.

[18] See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 282–83.

[19] The expression "from you" appears four times in the Deuteronomic law (vv. 12, 13, 16, 18) and the word "free" is used after the expression "let him go" (vv. 12, 13, 18). On the use of "let him go" in the Deuteronomic law against the use of the verb "go out" in the parallel law in the Book of the Covenant, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy,* 282–83.

love for his master/the addressee, the slave's love for his master's/the addressee's household, and the slave's feeling of welfare. The lawgiver who omits two elements (the love for the wife and children) adds two others (the love for the houshold and the feeling of welfare), thus preserving the rhythm of the slave's "original" utterance, as if he were to say: "I will not go out from you, I love you and your household, I fare well with you."

Let us consider a known technique used by a later author, who, when referring to a former verse, may reverse its original order, producing a chiastic citation.[20] It may be suggested that the present order in Deut 15:16, namely, beginning with the slave's declaration and then giving the lawgiver's reasoning, as opposed to the order in Exod 21:5, according to which the argumentation anticipates the declared decision, may also support the conclusion that the motive clause under discussion reflects combined discourse; that it combines the lawgiver's utterance and the slave's "previous" utterance, appearing in the Book of the Covenant.

The Babylonian Law concerning the Man Who Deserts His City (LH 136)

Before examining additional appearances of combined discourse in other casuistic laws of the Pentateuch, I would like to point out an utterance that appears in LH 136 that may also demonstrate the use of the technique of combined discourse. Similar to the utterance in the Deuteronomic law of the Hebrew slave examined above, the utterance in the Babylonian law is found also in the framework of a motive clause formulated by the lawgiver, integrating the "voice" of one of the characters taking part in the events described in the law. In addition, a comparison between the utterance under discussion and an utterance that appears in a parallel law may lend support to the conclusion that the utterance reflects combined discourse.

> LH 136   šumma awīlum ālšu iddīma ittābit warkīšu aššassu ana bīt šanîm īterub šumma awīlum šū ittūramma aššassu iṣṣabat aššum ālšu izērūma innabitu aššat munnabtim ana mutīša ul itâr.
>
> If a man deserts his city and flees, and after his departure his wife enters another's house—if that man then should return and seize his wife, because he repudiated his city and fled, the wife of the deserter will not return to her husband.[21]

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[20] On inverted citation as marking reuse, see Bernard M. Levinson, "'You must not add anything to what I command you': Paradoxes of Canon and Authorship in Ancient Israel," *Numen* 50 (2003): 1–51, esp. 34.

[21] The Akkadian transliteration of the Babylonian laws and other ancient Near Eastern laws and their translation into English are taken (with minor modifications) from Martha Roth, *Law Collec-*

In the law's apodosis there is a motive clause, a "because clause" ("because he repudiated his city and fled"), known as the "*aššum* clause": *aššum ālšu izērūma innabitu*; this clause explains the husband's noneligibility to take back his wife.[22] Although the above-mentioned argumentation repeats the facts presented in the law's protasis, namely, the abandonment and flight from the city, it describes different circumstances in view of the lawgiver's verbal choice. In the protasis the lawgiver uses the verb *nadūm* (*ālšu iddīma*)—a "neutral" verb in this context, which expresses only the fact that the husband left his city—whereas in the motive/*aššum* clause, the lawgiver adopts a harsher verb, *zērum* (*ālšu izērūma*), meaning "to hate, to detest, to repudiate." By using the verb *zērum* the lawgiver gives a negative charge to the husband's behavior. The husband is hostile to his city and its residents, and for that reason he is constrained from ever taking back his wife.[23]

A parallel Babylonian law—Laws of Eshnunna (LE) 30—describes a similar case and prescribes an identical legal norm:

> *šumma awīlum ālšu u bēlšu izērma ittaḫbit aššassu šanūmma ītaḫaz inūma ittūrma ana aššatīšu ul iraggam.*

> If a man repudiates his city and his master and then flees and someone else then marries his wife whenever he returns he will have no claim to his wife.

The two parallel laws differ in two main elements: (1) In the protasis of LE 30 the verb *zērum* is used to describe the abandonment of the city: *alšu u bēlšu izērma ittaḫbit* (not the verb *nadūm*, as in the protasis of LH 136); (2) In LE 30, in contrast to LH 136, there is no *aššum* clause in the law's apodosis. It is plausible to assume that when drafting the apodosis, the lawgiver of LH 136 was influenced by the verbal choice of the lawgiver of LE 30.[24] However, the change of the verb (from *nadūm* to *zērum*) is not based on the lawgiver's desire for stylistic diversity, but rather on his apparent intention to corroborate the argument by way of a motive clause.

The protasis of LH 136 presents the leaving of the city as a voluntary act (as opposed to the forced leaving described in the protasis of LH 135), which, in contrast to LE 30, is not necessarily illegitimate (the abandonment may be justified, for instance, by circumstances of "essential necessity"). Even so, the abandonment

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tions from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBLWAW 6; 2nd ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997).

[22] On "*aššum* clauses" in Mesopotamian laws, see Sonsino, *Motive Clauses,* 197–213 ; Martha Roth, "The Because Clause: Punishment Rationalization in Mesopotamian Laws," in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume: Studies Presented to K.R. Veenhof on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. W. H. van Soldt; Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2001), 407–12.

[23] In the previous statute (LH 135) the husband, who left his city under justified circumstances, has the right to take back his wife.

[24] According to Reuven Yaron, the appearance of the verb *zērum* in LH 136 points to its direct borrowing from LE 30: "In the present case [c. 136] . . . the quote is not from the protasis of 136, rather from LE 30" (Reuven Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1969], 90).

itself, disregarding its circumstances, leads to the husband's loss of rights. Despite the fact that the abandonment is not necessarily illegitimate, when formulating the law's argumentation, the lawgiver chooses to characterize the husband's act negatively (by using the harsher verb).

I suggest that this distinctly negative characterization is actually the wife's reaction to the abandonment; the lawgiver adopts the deserted woman's point of view. Thus, in a motive clause belonging to his utterance, he inserts the "loaded" verb, reflecting the injured feelings of the wife. In the eyes of the abandoned woman, the abandonment of the city is considered to be a rejection and repudiation of the city and its residents.[25]

By using combined discourse, which exposes the hurt character's perspective, the lawgiver grants redoubled force to his argument—an argument that does not effectively add any new information beyond the facts described in the protasis. The use of combined discourse is one of the lawgiver's means of enlivening and adding psychological depth to the events portrayed in the law.

The Law concerning the Striking of a Pregnant Woman (Exodus 21:22–25)

> [22] When men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that there is a miscarriage, and yet no harm follows, the one who hurt her shall be fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. [23] If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, [24] eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, [25] burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

The protasis of the first law describes the unintentional striking of a pregnant woman that occurs in the course of a struggle and causes a miscarriage; the apodosis prescribes the culprit's duty to pay for the damages, namely, for the loss of the fetus, since no further harm follows. The negation clause that appears in the protasis, "and yet no harm follows," points out that no fatal injury is suffered by the woman (the woman does not die as a result of the striking). In contrast to the situation described in the first law, the second law indicates (in addition to the miscarriage) a fatal injury suffered by the woman. "If any harm follows"—in that case the law of talion is put into effect.[26]

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[25] See Godfrey R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1952, 1955), 1:286–87.

[26] It must be noted that interpreting "harm" as referring to the woman's death (as reflected in the Vulgate, *Targum Onqelos,* Josephus, rabbinic literature, and in harmony with parallel laws from the Mesopotamian legal collections [Laws of Lipit-Ishtar (LL) d–e; LH 209–14; Middle Assyrian Laws (MAL) A 50]) is not the only accepted interpretation. As reflected in the LXX, Vetus Latina, Philo, and as inferred from the distinction made in Hittite Laws (HL) 17–18, the word refers to the

In the present discussion I examine the two opposite clauses: "and yet no harm follows" and "If any harm follows," focusing on the literary-narrative meaning of the word "harm" (אסון). In my opinion this word exposes the lawgiver's attitude toward the "substance of the law."[27] It reveals the point of view through which he looks at the events described in the law, which may be considered either his point of view alone or his point of view integrated with the characters' point of view; in the latter, the word "harm" reflects combined discourse.

When the lawgiver marks the fact of the woman's death/non-death, he does not use "objective" language such as "and if the woman does not die," "and if the woman dies" (similar to the phrase found in the law of bodily injury: "and the man does not die" [Exod 21:18]), but rather prefers an idiom that is intellectually and emotionally charged.[28]

The word "harm," when referring to a case of death, occurs only three more times in the Bible, all in the cycle of Joseph stories (Gen 42:4, 38; 44:29). In these three occurrences the word expresses Jacob's fear of what might happen to his beloved son, Benjamin. The word is laden with emotion expressing the speaker's attitude toward the situation under discussion (it is not employed by the narrator but is used by a character).

Since one might not expect to find a word laden with so emotional a nuance in a legal text, its appearance in the law is surprising.[29] I suggest two readerly perspectives regarding the appearance of the word "harm" in the law under discussion: (1) The word reflects the way the lawgiver sees the event, expressing his shock at the death of a woman in such a (pregnant) condition. His grave attitude may explain the imposition of the death penalty, although her death has not been caused

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fetus, noting its stage of development, which influences the legal sanction. On the two commentary traditions, see Stanley Isser, "Two Traditions: The Law of Exodus 21:22–23 Revisited," *CBQ* 52 (1990): 30–45. On the understanding of the word "harm," see Bernard S. Jackson, "The Problem of Exodus 21:22-5 (Ius Talionis)," in *Essays in Jewish and Comparative Legal History* (SJLA 10; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 75–107, esp. 94–96; cf. Jackson, *Wisdom-Laws,* 214–20.

[27] Generally, the lawgiver explicitly exposes his standpoint, his worldview, and his moral judgment within the framework of the "motive clauses" relating to the apodosis. Here the exposure occurs in the protasis (of the first and second laws).

[28] In the parallel laws from the Mesopotamian law collections, the woman's death is described by the clause "and if she dies" (thus, in LL e [*tukumb*[*i b*]*aug*]; in LH 210, 212, 214 [*šumma sinništum ši imtūt*; *šumma amtum ši imtūt*]; and in MAL A 50 [*šumma sinniltu šīt mētat*]). *Targum Onqelos* also uses "objective" language: ולא יהא מותא; ואם מותא יהא.

[29] Obviously, it is not impossible to assume that the word "harm," which rarely appears in Scripture, was used in biblical Hebrew as a common (or legal) term to indicate a case of death. An original view concerning the understanding of the word "harm" in the law under discussion (as well as in Gen 42:4, 38; 44:29) is expressed by Raymond Westbrook, according to whom the word has a specific legal meaning, since it indicates a case of an unknown perpetrator—in the first law he is known whereas in the second law he is unknown ("Lex Talionis and Exodus 21, 22–25," *RB* 93 [1986]: 52–69). In my opinion this view is more than a little speculative and not sufficiently convincing. See Bernard S. Jackson's reference to Westbrook's view (Jackson, *Wisdom-Laws,* 214).

deliberately. (2) The word represents combined discourse. Within the lawgiver's utterance is embedded the attitude of other characters—namely, the woman's family (her husband and relatives)—toward her death. The word expresses their deep pain and sorrow in view of their loss. Thus, the lawgiver not only expresses his own feelings but provides a stage for their feelings as well, lending an emotional depth to the events.

There is, perhaps, an additional application of combined discourse embodied in the lawgiver's utterance that is located in the protasis.[30] According to a common interpretation, the phrase: "and it is stolen out of the man's house," which appears in the protasis of the law of the deposit (Exod 22:6), reflects the bailee's claim that a thief stole the goods from his house.[31] Thus, the claim of one party to the dispute is presented as if it were part of the lawgiver's account of the situation; the lawgiver's utterance absorbs the utterance of another character/speaker. According to Bernard S. Jackson, the same phenomenon exists in the first part of the protasis of the law of the suspected adulteress (Num 5:12-13), since the lawgiver's account of the woman's behavior actually reflects/absorbs the husband's accusation/claim:[32]

> If any man's wife goes astray and acts unfaithfully against him, if a man lies with her carnally, and it is hidden from the eyes of her husband, and she is undetected though she has defiled herself, and there is no witness against her, since she was not taken in the act.

Although it is tempting to add these two cases to my enumeration of combined discourse in pentateuchal law, I am not convinced that they exemplify this phenomenon. In my view, the two utterances (in Exod 22:6b and in Num 5:12–13) are presented from the wide perspective of the omniscient lawgiver; they establish true and "objective" facts. The lawgiver's omniscience gives prominence to the characters' limited and partial knowledge, which explains the need to turn to the divine sphere—the oath and the ordeal.

In contrast to the combined discourse embodied in the above motive clauses or in the protasis, in which the voice of the character is combined within the lawgiver's utterance, in four laws in the Deuteronomic code the voice of the lawgiver is inserted into the characters' utterances represented as direct speech. The hypothesis of combined discourse enables us to identify the additional voice that merges into the character's statement, since there appears in the statement a linguistic usage that "deviates" from the speaker's anticipated discourse perspective and grammatical selection.

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[30] I am grateful to Bernard S. Jackson for drawing my attention to this possibility based on his statement that "biblical law sometimes formulates a claim as a fact" (Jackson, *Wisdom-Laws,* 340 n. 45).

[31] The Talmud called this claim טוען טענת גנב ("makes a claim of theft").

[32] Jackson, *Wisdom-Laws,* 340 n. 45.

The Law of the Prohibition of Canaanite Ritual
(Deuteronomy 12:29–31)

[29]When the Lord your God cuts off before you the nations whom you go in to dispossess, and you dispossess them and dwell in their land, [30]take heed that you be not ensnared to follow them, after they have been destroyed before you, and that you do not inquire about their gods, saying, "How did these nations serve their gods?—that I also may do likewise." [31]You shall not do so to the Lord your God; for every abominable thing which the Lord hates they have done for their gods; for they even burn their sons and their daughters in the fire to their gods.

Within the framework of the law we find the addressee's (the people of Israel's) inner speech: " . . . saying, 'How did these nations serve their gods?—that I also may do likewise.'" In the present discussion I focus on the phrase "these nations" in the utterance, examining the identification of its speaker. Does it belong, as represented, to the addressee? Or does it belong to the lawgiver? Or perhaps it belongs to two different voices, to two distinct perspectives simultaneously?

The phrase in question is a common expression, used by the Deuteronomist solely in negative contexts—in delineating the foreign nations' sins and in underscoring the need to exterminate them.[33] Therefore, it is hard to imagine that the speaker, who wants to imitate the rituals of the surrounding nations, would characterize them by using an expression loaded with negative connotations.

Since the phrase in question reflects a "deviation" from the speaker's positive attitude toward the foreign cult, it may be suggested with a high degree of probability that the technique of combined discourse finds expression in the speaker's words (in his inner speech). The phrase "these nations," although grammatically an integral part of the speaker's utterance, belongs, in fact, to the lawgiver's voice. The lawgiver insinuates his voice into the speaker's utterance in order to inject his negative judgment of the addressee's standpoint immediately at the outset, for the sake of "removing any doubt." He is not satisfied with his own utterance, determined as it is, appearing afterwards (v. 31). The integration of the lawgiver's voice in the speaker's inner speech, which creates a dissonance within the utterance, also creates an ironic distance between the speaker and his utterance.

Another possibility, which may also be appropriate (according to the technique of combined discourse), is to attribute the phrase in question to a dual voice reflecting two opposing standpoints simultaneously[34]—the lawgiver's standpoint (explained above) and the speaker's standpoint, in which the phrase conveys a neutral ethnic-geographical identification. The second possibility intensifies the text's multiple voice.

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[33] See Deut 7:17, 22; 9:4–5; 11:23; 18:14; 20:15; 31:3.
[34] See Bakhtin, *Discourse in the Novel*, 101.

The Laws of Solicitation to Idolatry
(Deuteronomy 13:2–6, 7–12, 13–19)

[2]If a prophet arises among you, or a dreamer of dreams, and gives you a sign or a wonder, [3]and the sign or wonder which he tells you comes to pass, and if he says, "Let us go after other gods," which you have not known, "and let us serve them," [4]you shall not listen to the words of that prophet or to that dreamer of dreams; for the LORD your God is testing you, to know whether you love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul. . . .

[7]If your brother, the son of your mother, or your son, or your daughter, or the wife of your bosom, or your friend who is as your own soul, entices you secretly, saying, "Let us go and serve other gods," which neither you nor your fathers have known, [8]some of the gods of the peoples that are round about you, whether near you or far off from you, from the one end of the earth to the other, [9]you shall not yield to him or listen to him, nor shall your eye pity him, nor shall you spare him, nor shall you conceal him. . . .

[13]If you hear in one of your cities, which the LORD your God gives you to dwell there, [14]that certain base fellows have gone out among you and have drawn away the inhabitants of the city, saying, "Let us go and serve other gods," which you have not known, [15]then you shall inquire and make search and ask diligently, and behold, if it be true and certain that such an abominable thing has been done among you. . . .

These three laws, which deal with solicitation to idolatry, share a common literary structure as well as linguistic and thematic parallels.[35] In addition, the same phenomenon of direct speech embedded in law appears in them. In each law, after presenting the seducer, the lawgiver turns to direct speech to convey the seducer's utterance, which constitutes the act of solicitation to idolatry: ". . . and if he says, 'Let us go after other gods,' which you have not known, 'and let us serve them'" (v. 3b); ". . . saying, 'Let us go and serve other gods,' which neither you nor your fathers have known, some of the gods of the peoples that are round about you, whether near you or far off from you, from the one end of the earth to the other" (v. 7–8);[36] ". . . saying, 'Let us go and serve other gods,' which you have not known" (v. 14).

Within the words of the seducer in each case are specific expressions whose suitability to the speakers' points of view is liable to be questioned by the audience. When the speaker is a prophet or dreamer and refers to "other gods," when the speaker leads people to idolatry saying "which you have not known," and when the

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[35] See Richard D. Nelson, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 166–67. See in addition Paul E. Dion's synoptic presentation of these laws ("Deuteronomy 13: The Suppression of Alien Religious Propaganda in Israel during the Late Monarchical Era," in *Law and Ideology in Monarchic Israel* [ed. Baruch Halpern and Deborah W. Hobson; JSOTSup 124; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991], 147–217, esp. 207–10).

[36] On viewing v. 8 as a late addition and for some reasons for this view, see Dion, "Deuteronomy 13," 173–74.

speaker induces others to apostasy saying "which neither you nor your fathers have known," the audience or reader may discern the intrusive voice of the lawgiver.[37]

Let us first consider the expression "other gods," which appears in all three utterances. The fact that the expression under discussion, appearing in the characters' speech, is a common Deuteronomistic expression,[38] is not a sufficient reason to "expropriate" the phrase from the characters'/speaker's utterances and ascribe it to the lawgiver's voice. In this context—namely, seducing to idolatry—it is hard to think of a suitable idiom to express the idea apart from the phrase in question. Moreover, the speakers use "minimal" language and do not add a contemptible humiliating characterization, such as "of wood and stone." Therefore, the expression may be considered to be well matched to the characters' utterances. Nevertheless, the use of general idiomatic language is not utterly logical in these circumstances —one might expect the speaker to refer to a specific god.

Although the expression "other gods" does not unequivocally demonstrate the use of combined discourse, the other two clauses—"which you have not known" and "which neither you nor your fathers have known"—clearly reflect the phenomenon, since attributing these clauses to the seducers' voice creates grammatical discrepancies as well as deviation from their ideological positions. In their utterances the seducers use the first person plural ("let us go," "let us serve"), whereas when using the verb "to know," they shift into second person, indicating grammatical inconsistency. In addition, the alteration to the second person is inappropriate to the matter in hand, since not knowing the other gods is common to the seduced as well to the seducers.

The grammatical inconsistency and the inherent illogical nature of the argument may be resolved by attributing the phrases to the lawgiver, since using the second person is appropriate to the lawgiver's common style, known as the "if-you pattern."[39] Moreover, it is hard to imagine that utterances designed to persuade people to turn to other gods would include language that casts doubt on the benefits of abandoning the God of Israel and relying on the efficacy of other gods. Such language is, however, consonant with the lawgiver's theological point of view.[40]

In these laws, which are characteristic of an extremely uncompromising attitude,[41] it is not surprising that the lawgiver feels obliged to insinuate himself into

[37] See Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy = [Devarim]: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia/New York/Jerusalem: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 130.

[38] See Deut 5:7; 6:14; 7:4; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 17:3; 18:20; 28:14, 36, 64; 29:25; 30:17; 31:18, 20. On this subject, see Yair Hoffman, "The Conception of 'Other Gods' in Deuteronomistic Literature," *IOS* 14 (1994): 103–18.

[39] See Harry Gilmer, *The If-You Form in Israelite Law* (SBLDS 15; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975).

[40] See, e.g., Deut 11:28; 28:64; 29:25; 32:17.

[41] On the political background of Deuteronomy 13, and for literary parallels from ancient Near Eastern literature, see Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy*, 91–100; Dion, "Deuteronomy 13," 192–206.

the seducers' utterances. The lawgiver interferes from the beginning in the framework of the protasis (where the seducers' utterances are found), even before the explicit presentation of his own position and the prescription of the penalty, in order to emphasize his decisively negative position in view of the real danger that the seducers will succeed and the seduction will work.

The common scholarly solution of ascribing the clauses in question to a late editor[42] indeed acknowledges the utterances' multiple layers. From a literary or rhetorical perspective, however, this kind of solution is less interesting since it does not allow for the polyvocality of the text that can be created by combined discourse, a feature that, as we have seen, is part and parcel of the lawgiver's rhetorical inventory—and even perhaps part of Babylonian legislation.

IV. Conclusions

Although the presence of the phenomenon of combined discourse in the casuistic laws is striking, it is not utterly surprising. The outstanding poetic accomplishment that is reflected in the casuistic laws is the production of mimetic texts —imitating reality—within a rigid pattern with fixed linguistic elements. The description of events and characters in the casuistic laws in a realistic, vivid manner—albeit not rich in details—leaves the reader with an intense impression of reality.
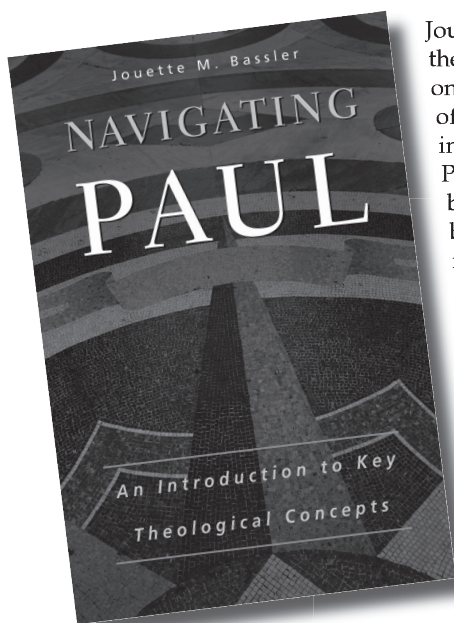
As in narrative texts in general, and in biblical narrative in particular, one of the main devices that forms the mimetic element, the illusion of reality in the casuistic laws, is the presentation of scenes within which the characters' utterances are made. The ability to "hear" the characters' words gives the events dramatic color. Maintaining the linguistic characteristics of external speech and, more than that, exposing the characters' thoughts through their inner speech, create a strong effect of psychological realism. In this respect the use of the technique of combined discourse may be regarded as another device by which the mimetic illusion in the casuistic laws is attained, since it enables us to become familiar with the characters' inner world—thoughts and feelings—although in this instance it is mixed with the authoritative voice of the lawgiver.

The use of combined discourse in the casuistic laws enhances the bivocality (or polyvocality) of the text by bringing into play a plurality of speakers and attitudes. The co-presence of the lawgiver's voice and the characters' perceptions and feelings plays diverse roles in the casuistic laws examined above. In the law concerning the lending of money to the poor, it evokes the effect of solidarity and empathy

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[42] See, e.g., Dion, "Deuteronomy 13," 189–90. The intervention by a late editor is undoubtedly clear in v. 8, which widens the scope concerning the solicitation to idolatry, applying it not only to local gods but to gods of the surrounding nations as well.

toward the poor person, promoting an empathetic identification on the part of the reader. In the Deuteronomic law of the Hebrew slave, the reflection of the slave's personal style in the lawgiver's motive clause grants redoubled force to the argumentation. In the Babylonian law concerning the man who deserts his city, it "legitimizes" the strong negative feelings of the deserted wife. In the law concerning the striking of a pregnant woman, it enables us to feel the other's emotions and to understand his experience, deepening our understanding of the described situation. In the law of the prohibition of Canaanite ritual, it creates an ironic distance between the speaker and his utterance and enables us to reconstruct at the outset the lawgiver's clearly negative attitude toward the speaker's position. In the laws of solicitation to idolatry, it underscores the lawgiver's extremely uncompromising attitude, his decisively negative position toward the severe transgressions described in these laws.

Identifying "Updated" Prophecies in Old Greek (OG) Isaiah: Isaiah 8:11–16 as a Test Case

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In a 1997 article entitled "Isaiah in the Septuagint," Arie van der Kooij made the following bold claim: "LXX Isaiah represents a unique case within the LXX of the Old Testament as a whole, in being a free translation which reflects at several places an actualizing interpretation of the Isaianic prophecies."[1] As van der Kooij employs the term, "actualization" refers to "a type of rewritten or rephrased text" that offers a "fulfillment-interpretation" of a passage in the translator's *Vorlage*.[2] Actualization is not limited to word- or phrase-level phenomena such as the modernization of place-names; according to van der Kooij, actualization in OG Isaiah may take the form of

> a free rendering of a whole passage (and not only of single words, or a single clause) which presents itself as a new text with a coherence of its own, and which

[1] Arie van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (ed. Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 2:513–29, here 513. In this article, I will use the term "Old Greek (OG) Isaiah" to refer to the critically reconstructed text of Joseph Ziegler (*Isaias* [Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 14; 3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983]), while "Septuagint (LXX)" will refer more generally to the books included in the editions of the Göttingen Septuagint and of Rahlfs. Van der Kooij apparently uses the terms "Septuagint" and "Old Greek" interchangeably to refer to Ziegler's reconstructed text. There is general agreement that the *Vorlage* of OG Isaiah did not differ substantially from the MT, and there is good reason to believe that that generalization holds true for Isa 8:11–16 (van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 517, 529 n. 48).

[2] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 519, 515.

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can very well be explained as an "updated" prophecy referring to specific events of the time of the translator.[3]

Although Isac Leo Seeligmann, Jean Koenig, and others claim to have identified instances of "actualized" or "updated" prophecies in OG Isaiah,[4] it is van der Kooij who has offered the most sophisticated methodological proposals to date for testing such claims.[5] As he himself acknowledges, "The question of how to deter-

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[3] Ibid., 519. Elsewhere (pp. 514–15) he cites with approval I. L. Seeligmann's observation: "Those places where the paraphrase of the text contains allusions to events happening in the more or less immediate neighbourhood of the translator's place of residence give one a surprising image of the translator's notion that the period in which he lived was to be time for the fulfilment of ancient prophecies, and of his efforts to contemporize the old biblical text and revive it by inspiriting it with the religious conceptions of a new age" (Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* [Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Nº 9 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"; Leiden: Brill, 1948], 4). Seeligmann's volume, including original pagination, is newly available in Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann; FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 119–294.

[4] Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah;* Jean Koenig, *L'Herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe* (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982); Robert Hanhart, "Die Septuaginta als Interpretation und Aktualisierung: Jesaja 9:1 (8:23)–7 (6)," in *Isac Leo Seeligmann Volume,* vol. 3, *Non-Hebrew Section* (ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch; Jerusalem: Rubenstein, 1983), 331–46; repr. in idem, *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (ed. Reinhard Gregor Kratz; FAT 24; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 95–109; Florian Wilk, "'Vision wider Judäa und wider Jerusalem' (Jes 1 LXX): Zur Eigenart der Septuaginta-Version des Jesajabuches," in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, with the collaboration of Lutz Doering; WUNT 1/162; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 15–35. Cf. J. Coste, "Le texte grec d'Isaïe xxv, 1–5," *RB* 61 (1954): 36–66; Joaquim Carreira Marcelino das Neves, *A Teologica da Traduçâo Grega dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías (Cap. 24 de Isaías)* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1973).

[5] See Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 33–60; idem, "Accident or Method? On 'Analogical' Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIsaᵃ," *BO* 43 (1986): 366–76, esp. 368–70; idem, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 5–19. For the method applied to specific texts, see Arie van der Kooij, "Die Septuaginta Jesajas als Dokument jüdischer Exegese: Einige Notize zu LXX-Jes 7," in *Übersetzung und Deutung* (ed. A. R. Hulst; Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1977), 91–102; idem, "The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16–25: Translation and Interpretation," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies—Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 127–66; idem, "1QIsaᵃ Col. VIII, 4–11 (Isa 8, 11–18): A Contextual Approach of Its Variants," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 569–81; idem, "The Septuagint of Isaiah: Translation and Interpretation," in *The Book of Isaiah/Le Livre d'Isaïe* (ed. Jacques Vermeylen; BETL 81; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 127–33; idem, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 513–29; idem, "'The Servant of the Lord': A Particular Group of Jews in Egypt According to the Old Greek of Isaiah: Some Comments on LXX Isa 49,1–6 and Related Passages," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A. M. Beuken* (ed. J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 383–96; idem, *Oracle of Tyre,* 20–189.

mine the actualization is a rather complicated one."[6] Thus, his method begins with a close comparison of the OG and MT at the levels of grammar, syntax, and semantics. The interpreter attends not simply to the word level, but also to phrases, clauses, and entire verses. The next stage of analysis adopts what van der Kooij terms a "contextual approach." Here the Greek passage is "read as a text in its own right."[7] One examines the individual features of the OG in their *inter*relation, asking, "Do specific renderings, be it words or clauses, relate to each other contextually" so as to constitute "a coherent text?"[8] Finally, van der Kooij examines the text at the level of its genre. For a prophecy, this entails inquiring whether the translator has updated the oracle so that it now refers to his own contemporary situation.

I. A Test Case: van der Kooij's Interpretation of Isaiah 8:11–16

In this essay, I seek to build on the hard-won insights of van der Kooij and his predecessors in order to offer what I believe to be an important refinement of the "contextual approach" to translation variants in the Old Greek of Isaiah. I will focus my remarks on OG Isa 8:11–16, a passage that van der Kooij has offered as a test case of his method.[9] In brief, I will argue that van der Kooij is right to insist that "in order to take passages such as LXX Isa 8:11–16 as seriously as possible in its [*sic*] own right it is more appropriate to deal with them by way of a *contextual approach*" than by "an atomistic, or an *ad hoc* treatment of (single) words or verses."[10] At the same time, I will contend that he has not pressed this contextual approach nearly far enough in his actual interpretation of this particular text. For van der Kooij, "the word 'context' is meant . . . primarily in the sense of the immediate literary context (pericope or chapter)," although he recognizes the importance of considering "the broader context, the text of LXX Isaiah as a whole . . . particularly as far as related passages are concerned."[11] But in delineating the relevant "context" for

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[6] Van der Kooij, "Septuagint of Isaiah," 127.

[7] Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre,* 16.

[8] Ibid., 17.

[9] His treatment of OG Isa 8:11–16 may be found in van der Kooij, "Septuagint of Isaiah"; and idem, "Isaiah in the Septuagint"; more briefly in idem, "Zur Theologie des Jesajabuches in der Septuaginta," in *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik* (ed. Henning Graf Reventlow; Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1997), 9–25, esp. 13–15, and idem, *Oracle of Tyre,* 13–15. Compare also his reading of Isa 8:11–16 in 1QIsaᵃ in idem, "1QIsaᵃ Col. VIII, 4–11 (Isa 8, 11–18)." Van der Kooij's interpretation agrees at significant points with Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah,* 105–6, and Koenig, *L'Herméneutique analogique,* 120–35. Johan Lust ("The Demonic Character of Jahweh and the Septuagint of Isaiah," *Bijdr* 40 [1979]: 2–14, esp. 9–10) has expressed skepticism concerning Seeligmann's interpretation of the passage.

[10] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 519–20 (emphasis original).

[11] Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre,* 17.

interpreting 8:11–16, van der Kooij has neglected important features of the imme-
diate context in ch. 8. Moreoover, he has not taken the wider literary setting of this
passage (chs. 1–12) sufficiently into account, nor has he considered the highly rel-
evant parallel to this passage in chs. 28–29. Closer attention to these three aspects
of "context" leads to a markedly different reading of Isa 8:11–16 from that proposed
by van der Kooij.

Isaiah 8:11–18 MT	Isaiah 8:11–18 OG
¹¹כי כה אמר יהוה אלי	¹¹οὕτως λέγει κύριος
כחזקת היד	Τῇ ἰσχυρᾷ χειρὶ
ויסרני מלכת בדרך	ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ πορείᾳ τῆς ὁδοῦ
העם־הזה לאמר	τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου λέγοντες
¹²לא־תאמרון קשׁר	¹²Μήποτε εἴπητε σκληρόν·
לכל אשר־יאמר העם הזה	πᾶν γάρ, ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ λαὸς οὗτος,
קשׁר	σκληρόν ἐστιν·
ואת־מוראו לא־תיראו	τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆτε
ולא תעריצו	οὐδὲ μὴ ταραχθῆτε·
¹³את־יהוה צבאות אתו תקדישׁו	¹³κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε,
והוא מוראכם	καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται σου φόβος.
והוא מערצכם	¹⁴καὶ ἐὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεποιθὼς ᾖς,
¹⁴והיה למקדשׁ	ἔσται σοι εἰς ἁγίασμα,
ולאבן נגף	καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι
	συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ
ולצור מכשׁול	οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι·
	δὲ
לשני בתי ישראל לפח	ὁ　　　οἶκος Ιακωβ ἐν παγίδι,
ולמוקשׁ ליושׁב	καὶ ἐν κοιλάσματι ἐγκαθήμενοι
ירושלם	ἐν Ιερουσαλημ.
	¹⁵ διὰ τοῦτο
¹⁵וכשׁלו בם רבים	ἀδυνατήσουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ
ונפלו ונשׁברו	καὶ πεσοῦνται καὶ συντριβήσονται,
ונוקשׁו ונלכדו	καὶ ἐγγιοῦσι καὶ ἁλώσονται
¹⁶צור	ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὄντες.
	¹⁶ τότε
תעודה	φανεροὶ ἔσονται
חתום תורה	οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι τὸν νόμον
בלמדי	τοῦ μὴ μαθεῖν.
	¹⁷ καὶ ἐρεῖ
¹⁷וחכיתי ליהוה המסתיר	Μενῶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀποστρέψαντα
פניו	τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ
מבית יעקב	ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου Ιακωβ

וקויתי־לו	καὶ πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ.
¹⁸ הנה אנכי והילדים	¹⁸ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παιδία,
אשר נתן־לי יהוה	ἅ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός,
לאתות ולמופתים	καὶ ἔσται εἰς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα
בישׂראל	ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ
מעם יהוה צבאות	παρὰ κυρίου σαβαωθ,
השׁכן בהר ציון	ὃς κατοικεῖ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σιων.

Van der Kooij's translation of Isa 8:11-16 runs as follows:[12]

¹¹Thus says the Lord: "With a strong hand they disobey the course of the way of this people, saying:

> ¹²'Do not say, it is hard, for whatsoever this people says, is hard. Fear not their fear, neither be dismayed. ¹³Sanctify the Lord himself, and he himself shall be your fear. And if you put your trust in him, he shall be to you for a sanctuary, and you shall not come against him as against a stumbling-block, neither as against the falling of a rock. ¹⁴But the house of Jacob is in a snare, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are in a hollow.'

¹⁵Therefore (διὰ τοῦτο), many among them ["they," v. 11] shall be powerless and fall and be crushed; and men who are in security shall approach and be taken. ¹⁶Then shall be manifest those who seal up the Law that they should not learn (it)."

Before evaluating van der Kooij's interpretation of OG Isa 8:11–16, I will offer a brief sketch of the exegetical argument that undergirds his translation.[13]

- *The boundaries of the passage:* 8:11–16 is a unit in OG Isaiah. The adverb τότε ties v. 16 to v. 15.[14] The phrase καὶ ἐρεῖ in v. 17 begins a "new section" with the result that vv. 17–22 are (apparently) not directly relevant to the interpretation of 8:11–16.[15]

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[12] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 521–22. I have reformatted the text to highlight van der Kooij's differentiation between words spoken directly by the Lord and the words of others that are quoted by the Lord. Comments in square brackets are mine.

[13] For clarity's sake, in the remainder of this section double quotation marks will indicate a direct quotation from van der Kooij, while single quotation marks will represent a citation from Isaiah (in translation).

[14] However, his further argument for a linkage of v. 16 with v. 15 based on the fact that "the beginning of v. 16 (ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὄντες) belongs to v. 15" ("Isaiah in the Septuagint," 523) has little probative value. The Greek (ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ὄντες) appears to be a free rendering of MT צור (see Johann Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine Textkritische Studie* [Giessen: Töpelmann, 1930], 23; Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* [ATA 12.3; Münster: Aschendorff, 1934], 63). Although the translator apparently took צור with the preceding sentence, one cannot assume that he knew the tradition of verse and paragraph divisions reflected in the MT and thus conclude that the translator deliberately read *against* that tradition in order to stitch v. 15 and v. 16 together.

[15] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 523. Nowhere does van der Kooij comment on vv. 17–18, although he does translate these verses in his most recent discussion of Isa 8:11–16 (*Oracle of Tyre*, 14).

- *The structure of the passage:* 8:11 introduces an oracle of the Lord; 8:12–14 reports the speech of an unspecified 'they'; 8:15–16 pronounces an oracle of doom against the speakers of vv. 12–14.
- *Verse 11:* Those 'with a strong hand' who 'rebel' are the leaders in Jerusalem (cf. Isa 1:23–24).[16] The verb 'disobey' (ἀπειθέω) implies that they are rejecting the right way, and so 'the way of this people' here must carry a positive sense for the translator (in sharp contrast to its sense in the MT).[17]
- *Verse 12:* In context, σκληρόν is to be read as a characterization of 'the way of this people.' According to van der Kooij, the terms 'fear' and 'dismay' further portray "the religious way of life of 'this people' . . . in a negative way."[18]
- *Verses 13-14:* These verses present the speakers' alternative to the 'hard' way of life of 'this people.' The reference to the sanctuary and the (supposed) cultic expression 'meeting (συναντάω) God' betray the perspective of priestly circles.[19] Their exhortation, van der Kooij argues, should be understood as follows: "If you appear before God in his Temple, and sanctifies [*sic*] Him by honouring Him there, and you trust in Him, then He will be your God, and He will look upon you with favour (thus granting you security) and not with anger (which would make you stumble and fall)."[20]
- *Verse 14:* On the basis of the parallel in Isa 29:22, 'the house of Jacob' (compare the MT, 'the two houses of Israel') should be taken as a reference to "the elected people of the Lord," with whom the translator is in sympathy.[21]

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[16] Isaiah 1:23: οἱ ἄρχοντές σου ἀπειθοῦσι. In Isa 1:24, the leaders are termed οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ισραηλ.

[17] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 523–24. In an earlier article, he appeals to Isa 65:2 to support this interpretation: λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα . . . οἳ οὐκ ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδῷ ἀληθινῇ ("Septuagint of Isaiah," 130). Significantly, however, Isa 65:2 understands the people's rebellion as a refusal 'to walk in the *true* way'; the description of the way as 'true' (as well as the parallel characterization of the people as ἀντιλέγοντα) helps to give ἀπειθοῦντα its negative sense in this passage. See the further discussion of ἀπειθέω below in relation to Isa 7:16.

[18] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 524. Van der Kooij (ibid., 525) is right to point out the negative connotation of ταράσσομαι in 8:12 (cf. MT ערץ), but here the translator is simply reproducing the sense of the Hebrew. Although the translator did select φοβέομαι in 29:23, where ערץ bears a positive sense (ibid., 525), he probably chose ταράσσομαι in 8:12 for stylistic rather than semantic reasons, since he had already rendered the immediately preceding verb (ירא) with φοβέομαι.

[19] Van der Kooij argues that συναντάω (a plus in OG Isa) corresponds to the common cultic expressions for approaching God in his temple: ἐγγίζω αὐτῷ and ὤφθην αὐτῷ ("Isaiah in the Septuagint," 525–26). However, it is surely significant that συναντάω never occurs with this meaning elsewhere in the LXX. Why, especially if this is an interpretive addition by the translator, did he not use one of the common cultic expressions, if this is indeed the meaning he wanted to convey? On the other hand, συναντάω can be used with a hostile sense—that is, 'meet in conflict or battle' (see, e.g., Exod 4:24; Num 35:19; Josh 2:16; 11:20; 1 Macc 4:29; Job 3:25; 27:20; 39:22; 41:18). In context, this sense coheres better with the notion of finding God to be a stumbling stone.

[20] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 526.

[21] Van der Kooij, "Septuagint of Isaiah," 132. Van der Kooij does not repeat this claim in his later article, "Isaiah in the Septuagint." A closer look at Isa 29:22 suggests that, while 'the house of Jacob'

- *Verses 15–16:* Here the Lord pronounces doom on the speakers of vv. 12–14 ('many among them').[22] Van der Kooij finds in the translator's choice of ἀδυνατέω for כשל (only here in LXX) an allusive reversal of the speakers' identity as the 'strong ones,' the leaders of the people (cf. Isa 1:23–24).[23] Moreover, the verb ἐγγίζω again recalls the cultic expression for approaching God, providing an (ironic) link with v. 13.[24]
- Despite van der Kooij's linear presentation of the evidence, it appears clear that it is his interpretation of v. 16, the accusation that some persons are 'sealing up the law,' that ultimately drives his reading of the entire passage. He understands the speakers of vv. 12–14 to be those who 'seal up the law'; their opposition to the 'hard' way of 'this people' is therefore nothing less than opposition to "the way of life according to the law."[25] Van der Kooij summarizes their viewpoint: "In the view of the leaders, which is clearly rejected in our pericope, the only condition to live in security and safety is to honour God in his temple; the ethical demands of the law are considered as not being required."[26]

On van der Kooij's reading, the Isaiah translator has carried out a bold reinterpretation of the entire pericope, a reinterpretation that has its own internal coherence, both literary and theological. Could the motive for this rereading be the desire to update Isaiah's oracle so that it addresses the translator's contemporary situation? Van der Kooij answers in the affirmative. He advances the hypothesis

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is God's people, they are estranged from him and covered in shame. They are those 'whom [the Lord] separated from Abraham' (ὃν ἀφώρισεν ἐξ Αβρααμ; in contrast, the MT reads, 'the Lord . . . who redeemed Abraham'). It is only 'now,' in the day of redemption, that they will not be ashamed. In the following verse, this redemption is clearly portrayed as a future occurrence that will take place when 'their children' turn to the Lord (29:23). Moreover, this turning to the Lord consists in 'sanctifying' (ἁγιάζω) the Lord and 'fearing' (φοβέομαι) God—precisely the actions advocated in Isa 8:13, which van der Kooij believes stand *in opposition* to the nomism of the elect in 8:11–16. For the argument, contra van der Kooij, that the translator maintains the *same* viewpoint concerning 'the house of Jacob' in 29:23 and 8:11–16, see my reading below.

[22] Alternatively, 'many among them' may be understood to refer to 'the house of Jacob' rather than to the speakers of vv. 12–14. See below.

[23] However, this translation equivalency is less striking than it may first appear; in OG Isaiah the verb כשל is regularly translated by terms whose semantic fields overlap with that of ἀδυνατέω, such as ἀνίημι, κοπιάω, παραλύω, ἄνισχυς εἰμί.

[24] The OG seems to presume a substitution of verbs here: ונגשו for ונוקשו (Fischer, *Schrift,* 23; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen,* 34). While this might represent a deliberate interpretive strategy on the part of the translator (so van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 527), it could also simply be a confusion of similar-sounding words by the translator (or his *Vorlage*). The imagery makes perfect sense apart from a specifically cultic setting. Compare n. 19 above, which calls into question the cultic sense of συναντάω in 8:13.

[25] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 527.

[26] Van der Kooij, "Septuagint of Isaiah," 133.

that the translation of Isaiah into Greek was made by Jewish scholars who fled to Egypt in the first half of the second century B.C.E.[27] It is their view of events back in Judea that comes to expression in this passage. He concludes: "LXX Isa 8:11–16 which, on the textual level, constitutes a new composition in comparison to MT (and 1QIsaᵃ), makes perfect sense if understood as a prophecy that could (and should) be read as predicting the policy of Hellenistic leaders in Jerusalem, in the first half of the second century BCE, and its failure."[28]

II. Critique

The cogency of van der Kooij's reading of OG Isa 8:11–16 may be challenged by applying his own methodological insight that a "contextual approach" is best suited to the task of elucidating the style of translation of the OG Isaiah translator. In order to do this, however, it will be necessary to broaden the "context" considered in this contextual approach in three ways:[29] (1) by attending to structural markers in the immediate context, which should be expanded to incorporate vv. 17–22; (2) by including in the study larger textual units beyond the pericope itself, here especially chs. 1–12;[30] and (3) by examining an important parallel passage to which the translator has turned for help in making sense of 8:11–22, namely, Isaiah 28–29.[31] Through closer attention to "context" in this wider sense, I will argue that van der Kooij's reading of Isa 8:11–16 is open to question at a number of specific points:

- the identity of "this people" (vv. 11–12) and, conversely, the identity of their opponents, the speakers quoted beginning in v. 12;
- the significance of the words ἀπειθέω (v. 11) and σκληρόν (v. 12);

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[27] For arguments in support of this provenance/dating of OG Isaiah, see van der Kooij, *Textzeugen des Jesajabuches,* 50–65.

[28] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 529.

[29] Once again, I do not suggest that van der Kooij is unaware of the importance of these aspects of "context." Rather, my criticism is that, despite his recognition that one must examine "first of all the pericope itself, but also the context of LXX Is as a whole" ("Septuagint of Isaiah," 128 n. 9), in practice he analyzes 8:11–16 in isolation from its wider literary contexts in Isaiah.

[30] Ultimately, the literary context includes the entire translation of Isaiah, since it is probably the work of one translator/group of translators (so also van der Kooij, "'Servant of the Lord,'" 395; Ziegler, *Untersuchungen,* 31–46; Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah,* 39–42).

[31] On ancient translators' use of parallel passages to illuminate one another, see Johannes Schildenberger, "Parallelstellen als Ursache von Textveränderungen," *Bib* 40 (1959): 188–98. Of OG Isaiah, Ziegler remarks, "Gerade bei der Js-LXX darf irgendein Wort oder eine Wendung, die vom MT abweicht, nicht aus dem Zusammenhang genommen werden und für sich allein betrachtet werden, sondern muß nach dem ganzen Kontext der Stelle und ihren Parallelen gewertet werden; erst so läßt sich manche Differenz der LXX gegenüber dem MT erklären" (*Untersuchungen,* 135; van der Kooij cites this passage in "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 514).

- the relationship between "trust" in God (vv. 14, 17) and the νόμος (vv. 16, 20);
- and, finally, the identification of this pericope as an instance of "actualized" or "updated" prophecy.

Structural Markers in the Immediate Context (Isaiah 8:11–22)

Van der Kooij considers Isa 8:11–16 to be a self-contained unit. This judgment, I believe, skews his analysis from the outset. Rather, it is necessary to consider Isa 8:11–16 first of all as part of the larger unit 8:11–22.

OG Isaiah 8:11–22 falls into three parts, delineated by introductory formulae in vv. 11, 17, and 19. In v. 11, οὕτως λέγει κύριος introduces an oracle of the Lord (vv. 11–16).[32] In v. 17, καὶ ἐρεῖ is inserted by the translator (with no equivalent in Hebrew), marking vv. 17–18 not simply as a "new section" unrelated to what precedes (as van der Kooij implies),[33] but, more importantly, as the prophet's response to the oracle.[34] Finally, in v. 19a, the phrase καὶ ἐὰν εἴπωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς introduces the speech of an unnamed group advocating reliance on mediums and diviners. This is followed by the prophet's (or the Lord's) response (vv. 19b–22),[35] which draws on the key term contested by the parties in vv. 11–16: νόμος (v. 20).[36]

In the oracle of the Lord in vv. 11–16 there is yet another speaker: the unidentified "they" whose words are quoted beginning in v. 12. Where the citation of their speech ends, however, is not obvious. Van der Kooij believes "their" speech runs through v. 14; it is then followed by a rejoinder from the Lord (vv. 15-16), an oracle of doom introduced by διὰ τοῦτο (a plus in the OG relative to the MT). But

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[32] There is no equivalent in OG Isaiah for the MT's אלי. Its omission does not seem to be motivated by the translator's interpretive agenda; in the OG, as in the MT, the prophet appears to be the one who responds to the oracle in v. 17 (see n. 34 below).

[33] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 523.

[34] Although the speaker is unidentified in. v. 17 (καὶ ἐρεῖ), v. 18 strongly suggests that it is the prophet who is in view: "Here am I and the children God has given me" (for Isaiah's children, see 7:3; 8:3–4). As van der Kooij observes, the translator reads v. 16 with vv. 11–15, whereas in the MT the imperatives suggest the beginning of a new unit in v. 16 ("Isaiah in the Septuagint," 523). Even in the MT, however, the new unit (vv. 16–18) can be seen as closely connected with the preceding passage, as Marvin A. Sweeney has argued: "The first person perspective of vv. 16-18 and the references to the 'Torah' and 'Testimony' in v. 16 as well as those to Isaiah's children as signs and portents in v. 18 indicate that this section forms the conclusion to 8:1–15" ("A Philological and Form-Critical Reevaluation of Isaiah 8:16–9:6," *HAR* 14 [1994]: 215–31, here 216).

[35] Robert P. Carroll also analyzes the division of speakers in the OG this way; he notes that the Hebrew text offers a translator very little guidance for determining who is speaking in Isa 8:19–20 ("Translation and Attribution in Isaiah 8:19f," *BT* 31 [1980]: 126–34, here 127).

[36] Seeligmann draws attention to the importance of 8:20 for ascertaining the translator's own view of the Law (*Septuagint Version of Isaiah,* 106–7).

while it seems clear that the translator has supplied the phrase διὰ τοῦτο to emphasize that the doom pronounced in vv. 15–16 is a consequence of the rebellion of the Lord's opponents,[37] it is less evident that διὰ τοῦτο signals a change of speakers at just this point.

On the contrary, it is possible to understand Isa 8:14b (ὁ δὲ οἶκος Ιακωβ κτλ.) as the resumption of the Lord's direct speech (cf. v. 11) after the divine report of "their" speech (vv. 12–14a). In this case, δέ in 8:14b (also a plus in the OG) would contrast "the house of Jacob" with the unidentified "they" in v. 11, rather than with the "you" of v. 14a, as van der Kooij believes. The "many among them" who will fall (v. 15) would then refer to those named in the preceding line: "the house of Jacob" who are "in a trap," who "dwell in a pit in Jerusalem" (v. 14b). On this reading, in vv. 14b–16 the Lord supports the exhortation given by the unnamed "they" who speak in vv. 12–14a by pronouncing judgment on "this people" against whom they rebel.[38] The absence of any explicit quotation formula indicating a shift of speakers after v. 12 (contrast καὶ ἐρεῖ in 8:17) would seem to favor this view, as it suggests that it was not important to the translator to distinguish sharply between the words of the unnamed speakers in vv. 12–14 and the words of the Lord.[39]

Further evidence for this interpretation may be adduced from the strong verbal links the translator has forged between "their" speech and the prophet's response in 8:17–18. In v. 14a, the phrase ἐὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεποιθὼς ᾖς (cf. MT וְהוּא מַעֲרִצְכֶם [v. 13]) is drawn directly from 8:17, καὶ πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ (וְקִוֵּיתִי־לוֹ). The prophet's resolve to "trust in him" shows that "their" exhortation to "trust in him" is endorsed in OG Isaiah and not opposed as an antinomian slogan.[40] Moreover, the prophet's statement that God has "turned his face from the house of Jacob" (v. 17) coheres with the condemnation of "the house of Jacob" by the Lord in v. 14b.[41] This

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[37] Johan Lust notes the translator's tendency, evident in Isa 6:9–10 and 8:11–16 as well as in other texts, to avoid the implication that God has caused Israel's intransigence ("Demonic Character," 5–10).

[38] Van der Kooij's interpretation of vv. 15–16 as a pronouncement of doom on the speakers of vv. 12–14 rests less on the marker διὰ τοῦτο than on his conviction that the speakers of vv. 12–14 are opposed by the Lord (thus making it fitting that they receive a pronouncement of doom). For a challenge to this latter judgment, see below.

[39] It is also possible to understand "their" speech as consisting only of the words μήποτε εἴπητε σκληρόν (so Bernhard Neuschäfer, personal communication). One might compare the similar problem in the Fourth Gospel, where at times it is difficult, if not impossible, to discern where Jesus' monologue ends and the evangelist's commentary begins.

[40] Van der Kooij notes that the expression πεποιθὼς εἰμί "is typical of LXX Isaiah (see e.g., v. 17; 10:20; 31:1; 32:3); elsewhere in the LXX it occurs in a few places only" ("Isaiah in the Septuagint," 525). Curiously, although he observes that the use of this phrase here reflects the clear choice of the translator "for reasons of context and content" (ibid.), he does not apply this significant insight to the interpretation of πεποιθὼς εἰμί in 8:14.

[41] Contra van der Kooij, who believes that "the house of Jacob" in v. 14b refers to the faithful and that their condemnation comes from the prophet's opponents. For a response to van der Kooij's

verbal connection is due to the translator's decision to render "the two houses of Israel" in v. 14 (לִשְׁנֵי בָתֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל) as "the house of Jacob," borrowing the terminology of v. 17.[42] Thus, just as the prophet—and the Lord—line up in v. 17 against "the house of Jacob," so the speakers of vv. 12–14a stand in opposition to "the house of Jacob" in v. 14b.

The Larger Literary Context (Isaiah 1–12)

Van der Kooij's claim that the translator presents the speakers in vv. 12–14 as a group condemned by the Lord may be further called into question by noting two major incongruities between his reading of 8:11–16 and the wider literary context of chs. 1–12. These are, first, the positive interpretation van der Kooij attributes to the appellation, "this people" in 8:11; and, second, the negative interpretation he gives to the exhortation by the speakers of vv. 12–14 to "trust in the Lord."

The Identity of "This People" The unnamed speakers of vv. 12–14 are defined by their active opposition (τῇ ἰσχυρᾷ χειρὶ ἀπειθοῦσι)[43] to "the course of the way of this people" (τῇ πορείᾳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου [v. 11]). Although van der Kooij understands "this people" to be the faithful adherents of the Law with whom the translator's sympathies lie, consideration of the way the appellation "this people" functions elsewhere in Isaiah 1–12 strongly suggests otherwise.

From the opening oracle of OG Isaiah, the relationship between God and God's "people" is characterized as one of profound estrangement: "Israel does not know me, and the people does not understand me" (1:3).[44] Beginning in Isaiah 6, the prophet adopts a particularly jarring phrase to refer to the unfaithful nation: "this people." In the space of three verses in ch. 6, it occurs three times—once, apparently, as a result of the interpretive work of the Greek translator.[45] Isaiah is sent to "this people" (6:8, 9), whose heart has become calloused (6:10), with a frightening message of judgment. Standing as it does in sharp contrast to the covenant formula "my people" frequently found in Isaiah's messages of consolation, the

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appeal to the parallel in Isa 29:22 in support of his claim that "the house of Jacob" is a positive reference to the faithful in 8:14, see n. 21 above.

[42] Contrast the translator's rendering of בישראל in v. 18 by ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ.

[43] In its two other occurrences in the LXX (Num 20:20; 1 Macc 11:15) χεὶρ ἰσχυρά describes armed resistance.

[44] Contrast the MT here: "*My* people does not understand." Subsequent oracles flesh out the charge. They are "a sinful nation, a people full of sins, evil seed, lawless children" (1:4 OG). With bitter irony, the prophet addresses them as "people of Gomorrah" (1:10 OG). In response to their rebellion and intransigence, God has "forsaken his people, the house of Israel" (2:6 OG); he has burned with anger against "his people" and struck them down (5:25 OG).

[45] Isaiah 6:8, καὶ τίς πορεύσεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον; (compare the MT, ומי ילך־לנו).

appellation "this people" underscores the sharp distancing of God from his people on account of their sin.

In the passage immediately preceding Isa 8:11–22, one finds the phrase used in a similar manner. In Isa 8:6, "this people" names those who have rejected "the smoothly flowing waters of Siloam" and urged submission to the coalition of northern kings. Rather than trust in the Lord, they put their hope in merely human rulers for deliverance from Assyrian aggression (8:5–8). Likewise, in Isaiah 9, "this people" continues to refer to those opposed to the Lord and his prophet (9:16). Within the whole of chs. 1–12 it is when proclaiming the salvation of God's people from their oppressors—either the powerful within Israel (3:12, 15; 10:2) or foreign aggressors (10:6, 24; 11:16)—that the Lord addresses the people with the covenant formula "my people."[46]

A similar pattern of usage pertains in two passages that show significant parallels to 8:11–22. In Isaiah 28–29, the prophet announces judgment on "*this people*" (28:11, 14; 29:13-14), while proclaiming that "in that day," the Lord will be "a crown of glory for *my remnant people*" (28:5). In Isaiah 65, the Lord decries the opposition of "*this people* who constantly provoke me to my face" (65:3) but promises blessing to "*my people,* who seek me" (65:10; cf. 65:18, 22). That the Greek translator has not only recognized but even enhanced the contrast between "this people" and "my people" is suggested by the occurrence of "this people" in 6:8, where the MT has "for us (לנו)," and by the appearance of "this" to describe "people" in 65:3 (the MT has no equivalent for the adjective). Note also the use of the possessive "my" with "people" in several instances where the MT has a third-person possessive ("his people" [11:16; 28:5]; "her [Jerusalem's] people" [65:18]).[47]

All of these lines of evidence—the wider literary context (chs. 1–12), parallel passages (chs. 28–29; 65), and what appear to be the translator's own interpretive renderings—strongly suggest, against van der Kooij, that the appellation "this people" in 8:11 designates those whom the Lord and his prophet *oppose.*

One might object to my reading on the grounds that the translator uses the verb ἀπειθέω ("rebel, reject") to characterize the speakers of vv. 12–14, since this term commonly describes the attitude of the opponents of the Lord in OG Isaiah (e.g., 1:23, 25; 3:8; 65:2).[48] Not surprisingly, however, context—*who* is speaking and *what* is being rejected—makes all the difference in construing the meaning of this

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[46] The sole exception appears to be 5:13. Thus, if "they" in 8:11 were the powerful leaders in Jerusalem, as van der Kooij suggests, one would expect to find them opposed to "my people," as in 3:12–15 and 10:2 ("the poor of my people"), rather than to "this people."

[47] Compare the interpretive rendering in 10:6, where instead of "people of my wrath" (MT), one finds "my people."

[48] The verb ἀπειθέω appears in OG Isa 1:23 and 65:2, where the MT attests a form of סרר (cf. ἀπειθέω in 59:13, where the MT has the noun סרה); perhaps in 8:11 also the translator understood the Hebrew verb in his *Vorlage* to derive from סרר. Alternatively, the translator may have read the verb as a form of סור (so α, σ, θ, 1QIsaᵃ, Peshiṭta; contrast MT וְיִסְּרֵנִי [from יסר]).

term in its various occurrences.[49] Isaiah 7:16, the occurrence of ἀπειθέω that immediately precedes our passage, proves instructive in this regard. Here the sign given to Ahaz portending the imminent demise of the hostile northern kingdoms is a child who will "reject evil in order to choose the good" (ἀπειθεῖ πονηρίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν). As this example shows, the verb ἀπειθέω alone does not connote apostasy from the Lord. Rather, it is the object against which one rebels that determines whether ἀπειθέω carries a positive or a negative connotation. If "this people" denotes the unfaithful in Israel, then to "reject walking in the way of this people" must in this instance be a mark of fidelity to the Lord.

The Call to "Trust in the Lord." The identification of the speakers as the faithful who oppose the apostasy of "this people" resolves the second of the principal incongruities posed by van der Kooij's interpretation, namely, the negative interpretation he must give to the speakers' call to "trust in the Lord." As discussed above, "trust in the Lord" epitomizes the prophet's response in vv. 17–18 to the preceding oracle; moreover, the translator emphasizes the common viewpoint of the prophet and the speakers of vv. 12–14 when, without warrant in his Hebrew *Vorlage,* he puts the prophet's words from v. 17 into the mouths of the speakers in v. 14. Attention to the wider context of chs. 1–12 further shows that this attitude of trust in the Lord is, for the Isaiah translator, the mark of the faithful remnant:

> In that day, the remnant of Israel and the rescued of Jacob will no longer trust in those who oppress them, but they will trust in God (ἔσονται πεποιθότες ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν), the holy one of Israel, in truth. (10:20)

> And you will say in that day. . . . Look, my God, my Savior, is the Lord; I will trust in him (πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ) and not be afraid. (12:1–2).[50]

To hear the call in 8:14 to "trust in the Lord" as an outlook *opposed by* the Isaiah translator is, in light of these passages, virtually inconceivable.[51]

It is likewise a mistake to view the translator as one who understands "trust in the Lord" and observance of the νόμος to be at loggerheads. Reading 8:11–16 in its wider context, it is those who do not trust in the Lord but rather seek help from mediums (vv. 19–20), who "seal up the νόμος so as not to learn" (16). For it is in response to their encouragement to consult the dead that the prophet exhorts his listeners both to seek their God (v. 19) and to turn for help to the νόμος God has given them (v. 20). Thus, contra van der Kooij, trust in the Lord and reliance on the

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[49] As Carroll observes, "Meaning belongs to phrases and sentences and varies according to speaker and stance. So to translate the text with insight and accuracy depends upon prior decisions about attribution of phrases and sentences to different speakers" ("Translation and Attribution," 126).

[50] See also Isa 17:7–8; 37:10; 50:10; 58:14.

[51] Similarly, in Isa 29:22–23, to "sanctify" the Lord (cf. 8:13) characterizes the repentant posture of those who turn back to the Lord; the translator hardly opposes such an attitude.

νόμος describe one and the same path to be followed by the faithful, a manner of life implacably opposed to "the way of this people."

What, then, is to be made of the speakers' injunction, μήποτε εἴπητε σκληρόν· πᾶν γάρ, ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ λαὸς οὗτος, σκληρόν ἐστι?[52] Van der Kooij understands σκληρόν to be the speakers' description of the position they oppose; they refer to the difficulty of following the rigorous regimen of legal observance advocated by the faithful.[53] But if, as I have argued, the speakers of vv. 12–14 are the faithful who reject the way of "this [apostate] people," a way characterized by a stubborn refusal to study and obey God's law (8:16, 19–20),[54] then "hard" or "difficult" cannot be the speakers' own evaluation of the way of obedience to God through the νόμος. Rather, the speakers should be understood to be quoting the complaint of "this people." On this reading, the words, "No longer say, '[It's] hard,'" should be taken as the speakers' admonition to one another not to follow in the way of "this people," who complain that the way of trusting obedience to the νόμος is difficult: "For everything this people says [about the way of the Lord] is, '[It's] hard.'"[55]

Parallel Passages (Isaiah 28–29)

It has long been recognized that ancient translators regularly compared particular texts with parallel passages, whether in order to "solve" perceived difficul-

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[52] The rendering σκληρός may be explained by supposing that the translator found קשר in his *Vorlage* and solved the interpretive crux posed by this word by "reading" it as קשה (cf. 8:21, where the MT has נקשה ורעב and the OG reads σκληρὰ λιμός). It is also possible that the variant קשה arose in the course of the transmission of the Hebrew text. G. R. Driver's suggestion ("Two Misunderstood Passages of the Old Testament," *JTS* 6 [1955]: 82–87, esp. 82–84) that the translator recognized a meaning of קשר ("hard, difficult") that has eluded most modern commentators is rightly questioned by Norbert Lohfink ("Isaias 8, 12–14," *BZ* 7 [1963]: 98–104, esp. 99–100); in any case, it would be hard to prove in view of the translator's frequent use of σκληρός for קשה.

[53] See above; so also Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah,* 106; Koenig, *L'Herméneutique analogique,* 121 n. 14.

[54] In the wider context of Isaiah 8, "this people" is further marked by the fond hope that Syria and Ephraim will protect them from Assyrian imperialism (8:5–6).

[55] Another possible interpretation would be to understand σκληρόν as a term for rebellion, so that the faithful would be admonishing *this people:* "Don't speak rebelliously." In support of this reading, one might observe that the adjective σκληρός and related words are part of a frequently employed scriptural topos describing Israel's rebelliousness (e.g., σκληρός [Isa 48:4; Deut 31:27; Judg 2:19; Bar 2:33], σκληρότης [Deut 9:27], σκληροκαρδία/σκληροκάρδιος [Deut 10:16; Jer 4:4; Ezek 3:7; Sir 16:10], σκληροτράχηλος [Exod 33:3, 5; 34:9; Deut 9:6, 13; Sir 16:11; Bar 2:30]; σκληρύνω [καρδίαν; τράχηλον; νῶτον] [Deut 10:16; 4 Kgdms 17:14; 2 Chr 30:8; 36:13; Neh 9:16, 17, 29; 1 Esd 1:46; Ps 94:8; Jer 7:26; 17:23; 19:15; *Pss. Sol.* 8:29]). Cf. R. R. Ottley's rendering of Isa 8:12a: "Never speak ye stubbornly; for all that this people speaketh is stubborn" (*The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint [Codex Alexandrinus], I, Introduction and Translation with a Parallel Version from the Hebrew* [2nd ed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909], 93).

ties or simply as an aid to understanding.[56] Where such a reading-in-parallel has occurred, one ought to consider these parallels part of the relevant "context" of interpretation. In the present instance, recognition that the OG translator has used chs. 28–29 to illuminate ch. 8 (and vice versa) is crucial to understanding the import of his rendering of 8:11–22.

Already in the Hebrew, a number of verbal and thematic links bind chs. 8 and 28–29 together. The translator has not only recognized these connections but also in some cases strengthened them.[57] These parallels provide particularly strong confirmation of two features of my proposed interpretation of Isa 8:11–22. First, Isa 28:11–16 supports my argument that "this people" in 8:11 serves as a designation of the opponents of the Lord. The passage features the same cast of characters as was encountered in 8:11–22: an unnamed "they" who call for fidelity to the Lord (28:11–12a); their opponents, named "this people" (28:11) and "the rulers of this people in Jerusalem" (28:14), who, by setting themselves in opposition to the Lord, stumble and are broken (28:12b–15); and finally, the Lord, who promises to be a refuge for those who trust (28:16).

Second, Isa 28:16, with its assurance that those who "trust" in the Lord's chosen stone (ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ) will never be ashamed, recalls both the promise in 8:14 that for those who "trust in him" (ἐὰν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πεποιθὼς ᾖς) the Lord will be a sanctuary, and the prophet's resolution in 8:17 to "trust in him" (πεποιθὼς ἔσομαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ). The translator has made this connection unmistakable by supplying in 28:16 the prepositional phrase "in him" (ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ), which has no equivalent in the MT but is found in 8:17 and 8:14 (OG).[58] Once again, it is evident that the call to "trust in the Lord" represents the viewpoint of the faithful rather than the outlook of those condemned by the prophet—or his Greek translator. Similarly, Isa 29:22–23 portrays the repentance of the "house of Jacob" as consisting precisely in "sanctifying" and "fearing" the Lord.[59] The use of these terms here supports my argument that the call to "sanctify" and "fear" the Lord alone in 8:13 represents not the slogan of an antinomian party but the rallying cry of those who remain true to the Lord.[60]

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[56] See literature in n. 31 above.

[57] See the fuller discussion in J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (NovTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 145–51. While it would be wrong to minimize the importance of instances in which the translator has simply reproduced faithfully verbal links that existed in his *Vorlage,* where the translator has forged additional links we have particularly strong evidence that he recognized intratextual connections between the passages.

[58] Dietrich-Alex Koch convincingly defends the originality of this phrase to OG Isaiah ("Beobachtungen zum christologischen Schriftgebrauch in den vorpaulinischen Gemeinden," *ZNW* 71 [1980]: 174–91, esp. 179 n. 18).

[59] ἁγιάσουσι τὸ ὄνομά μου καὶ ἁγιάσουσι τὸν ἅγιον Ιακωβ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦ Ισραηλ φοβηθήσονται (Isa 29:23).

[60] One might also note the intriguing connection between Isa 8:16 and Isa 29:9–24. The former passage speaks of those who "seal up the Law" so as not to learn it (μαθεῖν), while Isa 29:11–12

An Alternative Translation. For purposes of comparison with van der Kooij's reading of this passage, I offer the following translation of Isa 8:11–18 based on the exegetical argument I have sketched above:

> [11]Thus says the Lord, "With a strong hand they reject the course of the way of this people, saying,
>
> > [12]'No longer say, "[It's] hard"; for everything this people says is: "[It's] hard." Do not fear what they fear and do not be troubled. [13]The Lord—sanctify *him,* and *he* will be your fear. [14]And if you trust in him, he will be for you a sanctuary, and you will not encounter him as the obstruction of a stone or as the obstacle of a rock.'
>
> But the house of Jacob is in a snare, and they are lying in a trap in Jerusalem. [15]For this reason many among them [the house of Jacob, v. 14] will become weak, and they will fall and be broken, they will draw near and be captured—people dwelling in safety. [16]Then those who seal up the Law in order not to learn [it] will be exposed."
>
> > [17]And he will say, "I will wait for God, who has turned his face away from the house of Jacob, and I will trust in him. [18]Here am I and the children that God has given me; and they will be for signs and wonders in Israel from the Lord Sabaoth, who dwells in mount Zion."

III. Methodological Implications

It is important to emphasize once again my fundamental agreement with van der Kooij that understanding the method of the Isaiah translator requires close attention to the text on multiple linguistic levels, from individual morphemes to the discourse considered as a whole. Thus, van der Kooij's "contextual approach" represents a major methodological advance in studying OG Isaiah.

At the same time, I have argued that, in practice, by employing a truncated notion of the context relevant for interpretation, van der Kooij (along with Seeligmann and Koenig before him) has seriously misconstrued the meaning of OG Isa 8:11–16. It is necessary to expand considerably the scope of the "context" to which one attends in attempting to make sense of the translator's work. In the present instance, this entails (1) extending the boundaries of the immediate context relevant for interpreting the pericope from vv. 11–16 to vv. 11–22; (2) looking at larger literary units beyond the pericope—first, chs. 1–12, but finally the book as a whole;

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likens the plight of God's people under judgment to the quandary of a person unable to read a "sealed book." Moreover, Isa 29:18–24 speaks of the time of redemption as the day when "the deaf will hear words of a book" (29:18, reversing 8:16 and 29:11–12), "the befogged eyes of the blind will see" (29:18, reversing 6:9–10 and 29:10), and the rebels will "learn to obey," μαθήσονται ὑπακούειν (29:24, reversing 8:16; cf. the exhortation in 28:19, μάθετε ἀκούειν).

(3) recognizing the translator's use of parallel passages (chs. 28–29) to gain interpretive leverage on the text.

When Isa 8:11–16 is read with attention to this broader context, the evidence for van der Kooij's claim that the translator has "actualized" or "updated" this prophecy in order to speak to a specific situation in his own day evaporates. While the translator has clearly attempted to offer a coherent interpretation of a larger textual unit (an interpretation shaped by his own cultural-linguistic context), his rendering of Isaiah 8 represents a serious effort to interpret the text before him within the wider context of Isaiah. Nothing in the OG version strongly indicates that the translator has shaped his translation to offer a "fulfillment-interpretation" addressed to a specific contemporary situation (e.g., Maccabean-era struggles with antinomian priests in Jerusalem). On the contrary, the OG rendering would fit remarkably well in many of the various historical and cultural contexts in which Jewish communities found themselves in the centuries on either side of the turn of the era,[61] for the issue of Jewish identity vis-à-vis law observance continued to be debated throughout this period (and beyond).[62] The call for trust in the Lord, expressed by faithful adherence to the νόμος, would not require specific "updating" to be open to continual reinterpretation and reappropriation as a word of the Lord directed to the community.

Curiously, van der Kooij appears to believe that for a translator to interpret a prophecy contextually—that is, as prophecy—the translator must of necessity actualize the prophecy. Note the stark either/or he poses:

> The underlying issue here is that of the *genre* of the text: has a *prophetic* passage from the book of Isaiah been translated into Greek as a text only from a linguistic or philological point of view, or as a text which was understood as making sense as "prophecy" at the time of the translator?[63]

But why, one may ask, would it be necessary for a translator to actualize a prophetic text in order to respect its status as "prophecy," especially when the same translator did *not* actualize other oracles that he almost certainly thought remained open, and thus relevant, in his own day (e.g., the prophecy of the messiah and Israel's

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[61] Thus, for example, Seeligmann can plausibly claim that the Greek version of Isa 8:11–16 reflects debates within the Alexandrian Jewish community rather than a polemic against Jerusalem priests (*Septuagint Version of Isaiah,* 105–6; see also Koenig, *L'Herméneutique analogique,* 121–22).

[62] That this issue was a perennial one is evidenced by Philo's struggle, a century or more after the translation of OG Isaiah, with hyperallegorizers who abandoned nomistic practices such as circumcision (*Migr.* 89–93). See further John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000); and John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996).

[63] Van der Kooij, "Isaiah in the Septuagint," 516 (emphasis original).

return from exile in Isaiah 11)?[64] Once it is recognized that the translator did not update every prophecy, the a priori argument for actualization based on the translator's respect for the prophetic genre falls to the ground. Similarly, appeals to examples of fulfillment-interpretation by other ancient exegetes, as in the Qumran *pesharim* and the Targumim,[65] are no more than suggestive of the possibilities open to the Isaiah translator. That *some* prophecies were updated by certain early Jewish interpreters, even by the Isaiah translator himself, does not entail that *all* were. Thus, instances of actualization in OG Isaiah must be established individually, on a case-by-case basis. My contention is that with regard to Isaiah 8, the case for fulfillment-interpretation remains unconvincing.[66]

Although it may be impossible to identify in the text of OG Isaiah 8 a specific actualization of prophecy intended by the translator, one may still fruitfully consider how this passage was read by different groups at different times. Ancient interpretations of Isaiah 8 are attested among the Dead Sea Scrolls as well as in the NT.[67] But such potential "readerly actualizations"[68] are a matter for research into the text's history of effects, rather than a question of the translator's interpretive agenda.

Thus, although van der Kooij is undoubtedly on the right track in his call for a "contextual approach" to the variants in OG Isaiah, it is necessary in practice to expand considerably the definition of the "context" that may be relevant for evaluating claims of contemporization or fulfillment-interpretation in particular peri-

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[64] In fact, as Ronald Troxel notes with reference to another passage, in refusing to "close" a prophecy by identifying it with a specific contemporary situation," the translator "leaves open or even enhances the theological tension of an oracle" ("Exegesis and Theology in the LXX: Isaiah V 26–30," *VT* 43 [1993]: 102–11, here 110).

[65] Van der Kooij, *Oracle of Tyre,* 11, 18, 88–109.

[66] In this respect, my findings are compatible with the judgments reached by a number of recent studies of OG Isaiah that find little evidence for "actualization" (in van der Kooij's sense of "fulfillment-interpretation") in the particular texts they examine. See Peter W. Flint, "The Septuagint Version of Isaiah 23:1–14 and the Massoretic Text," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 35–54; Ronald L. Troxel, ΕΣΧΑΤΟΣ and Eschatology in LXX-Isaiah," *BIOSCS* 25 (1992): 18–27; idem, "Isaiah 7,14–16 Through the Eyes of the Septuagint," *ETL* 79 (2003): 1–22; idem, "What's in a Name? Contemporization and Toponyms in LXX-Isa," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 327–44; Steven James Schweitzer, "Mythology in the Old Greek of Isaiah: The Technique of Translation," *CBQ* 66 (2004): 214–30. For "contemporization" in OG Isaiah understood more broadly than simply "fulfillment interpretation," however, see the careful study by David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66* (JSOTSup 318; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), esp. 199–276.

[67] See, e.g., 1QSa [1Q28a] I, 1–3; 4QFlor (MidrEschat[a]) [4Q174] 1–2 I, 14–15; CD-A VIII, 4–5 (= CD-B XIX, 17); CD-A VIII, 16 (= CD-B XIX, 29; cf. XX, 23–24); 11QMelch [11Q13] II, 24; see also *Jub.* 1:9–10 (cf. 4QJub[a][4Q216] II, 6–7); Rom 9:32–33 (cf. 10:11); Heb 2:13; 1 Pet 2:4–8; 3:14–15; possibly also Luke 2:34; 20:18 (//Matt 21:44).

[68] I owe this turn of phrase to one of the anonymous reviewers of this essay.

copes. Each case will have to be examined on its own merits, but the clear impli-
cation of the present study is that claims for actualization bear a greater burden of
proof than even van der Kooij's careful investigations of OG Isaiah 8 have hereto-
fore suggested.[69]

[69] I am grateful to Arie van der Kooij for his comments on the penultimate version of this
paper. He indicates to me (personal correspondence, September 24, 2005) that over the past several
years he has revised his interpretation of Isa 8:11–16. Although he still characterizes the translation
as an actualized prophecy, he now believes that "this people" should be understood as a reference to
the apostates and that it is the faithful who are called to trust in the Lord. This revised interpretation
of the passage is reflected in his annotated translation (with Florian Wilk) of Isaiah 8 in the *Septu-
aginta Deutsch* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft,
2007), a prepublication draft of which was kindly provided to me by Professor Wilk.

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Isaiah 51:9–11 and the Rhetorical Appropriation and Subversion of Hostile Theologies

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For Paul D. Hanson

The discovery and decipherment of the Ugaritic mythic corpus in the 1920s and 1930s provided further extrabiblical evidence for theories that Israel had appropriated from its neighbors the biblical imagery of Yahweh as a divine warrior. The Ugaritic literature provided specific lexical parallels, often in the form of cognate terms, to Israelite and Judahite examples of the motif preserved in the Bible. As the comparison of these two literary corpora has progressed, a vast body of literature

has developed in which it is a generally accepted maxim that the Yahwistic cultus of Israel and Judah adopted and adapted many elements of Canaanite religion.[1] However, we should by no means consider the Israelite religion of the Iron Age to have been monolithic. Even within Israelite religion, several variations of Yahwism may be distinguished. This diversity is reflected not only in the Bible but also possibly in epigraphic evidence.[2] This multiplicity of theologies was fragmented along several lines, among which was the permissibility of the syncretistic identification of Israel's God with the other Canaanite deities.[3] The form of the Yahwistic cultus

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[1] Hermann Gunkel was among the first to propose the dependence of Israelite literature on Babylonian sources such as *Enuma Elish* (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895], esp. 30–33; recently translated into English as *Creation and Chaos in the Primeval Era and the Eschaton* [trans. K. William Whitney Jr.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006]). In recent decades, that assessment has been modified to see Canaanite, not Babylonian, sources as the most direct influence on the motif in Hebrew literature; see especially Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973); Loren R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament," *VT* 15 (1965): 313–24; John Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); idem, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (JSOTSup 265; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 13–41; and Mark S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). Day and Fisher have argued that the Canaanite instantiation of the myth was at least to some extent associated with enthronement, kingship, and the New Year (and hence, with creation; Day, *God's Conflict,* 10–17; see also J. H. Eaton, *Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah* [London: SPCK, 1979], esp. 73; and Smith, *Early History,* 91–101). For various objections to this argument, see Michaela Bauks, "'Chaos' als Metapher für die Gefährdung der Weltordnung," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte* (ed. B. Janowski and B. Ego; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 431–64, esp. 448, 461; and Wolfram Herrmann, "Das Aufleben des Mythos unter den Judäern während des babylonischen Zeitalters," *BN* 40 (1987): 97–129.

[2] For the wide variety of religious practices in Iron Age Israel, see, e.g., Susan Ackerman, "'And the Women Knead Dough': The Worship of the Queen of Heaven in Sixth-century Judah," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. Peggy L. Day; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 75–94; Jo Ann Hackett, "Religious Traditions in Israelite Transjordan," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. Patrick D. Miller, Paul D. Hanson, and S. Dean McBride; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987), 125–36. For the Kuntillet ʿAjrūd inscriptions, see Zeʾev Meshel and Carol Meyers, "The Name of God in the Wilderness of Zin," *BA* 39 (1976): 6–10; Zeʾev Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort? The New Religious Inscriptions from the Sinai," *BAR* 5, no. 2 (1979): 27–30; Saul M. Olyan, *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel* (SBLMS 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 25–37 and bibliography therein.

[3] Smith has argued that Canaanite "influence" on Israelite religion should, in fact, be considered in the context of Israelite *differentiation* from Canaanite religion and *convergence* of features in the person of Yahweh, rather than in terms of "syncretism," in which deities with different cultural origins are identified (*Early History*). I agree in general with Smith's assessment of the development of Israelite religion as a subset of Canaanite religion, but would maintain that "syncretism" remains a valid category of synchronic assessment of relationships between deities. That is to say, from the point of view of the Israelite prophets, some individuals in Israel practiced a syncretistic religion, no

espoused during much of the period of the early monarchy is frequently repre-
sented in the Bible as bearing features of such syncretism. For example, Jeroboam's
installation of the golden calves at Dan and Bethel (1 Kgs 12:28–29) was most likely
intended historically as a sincere expression of faithful Yahwism, although it is dif-
ficult to know whether the bull iconography symbolized aspects of ʾEl or Baal.[4]
Whereas the identification of Yahweh with ʾEl remained relatively unproblematic,[5]
there are indications that Israelite society was not unanimous in its acceptance of
the conceptualization of Yahweh as possessing characteristics proper to Baal: youth,
vigor, power over the elements (particularly the rain), and especially the capacity
to subdue the forces of chaos.[6] Although a few biblical texts attest to a situation in
which the identification of Yahweh with Baal was utterly unacceptable to the nor-
mative "puritanical" factions within Israelite society,[7] several formative biblical texts
of theophany unproblematically present Yahweh as a warrior, defeating the chthonic
Sea or treading the land and bringing about rain—precisely those characteristics
most emblematic of Baal.[8]

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matter how scholarship reconstructs the early history of Yahweh. My usage of the term thus
approaches that of Smith, when he states that "[t]here was no opposition to 'syncretism' [of Yahweh]
with El" (ibid., 183).

[4] The cult of the golden calves has long been recognized as a contemporarily appropriate
expression of Yahwism, but the symbolism inherent in the image remains ambiguous; see, e.g., Cross,
Canaanite Myth, 74; Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in
Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 191–95; Smith, *Early History,* 83–85; cf. Day, *Yahweh and
the Gods,* 34–41. Baruch Halpern has gone so far as to argue that the bull figurines were a *more*
appropriate local expression of Yahwism than was David's ark, a Gibeonite cultic implement (*David's
Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 420).

[5] Jason Bembry has recently discussed the change in Yahweh's characteristics, moving from
youth to old age ("YHWH's Coming of Age" [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2004], abstract avail-
able in *HTR* 97 [2004]: 495–96). Part of this "movement" is a retention of ʾEl's aspects as they were
applied unproblematically to Yahweh (Smith, *Early History,* 58–59, 183).

[6] E.g., Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 147–94; Herrmann, "Aufleben," 105–6 and n. 40.

[7] Generally, this objection was made on the grounds that Yahweh was quite distinct from Baal
and did not possess the same attributes—apparently the thrust of 1 Kgs 19:11–12, which recognizes
Israel's God in the "sound of sheer silence" (NRSV) instead of in the passing wind, earthquake, and
fire (e.g., Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 194; but cf. Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with
Introduction and Commentary* [AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2000], 457 n. 2).

I do not intend the use of the term "puritanical" as a derogatory evaluation of this position.
Rather, I mean to indicate the staunch refusal of this faction to compromise its own vision of God,
which was stripped of the limitations of description. It is possible that the aniconic faction of Israelite
Yahwism shared this elemental concern with preserving the freedom of God from the imposition of
human limitations, but that discussion is beyond the scope of the present study.

[8] E.g., Day, *Yahweh and the Gods,* 91–127. Joseph Blenkinsopp has studied aspects of Deutero-
Isaiah's syncretism, and the prophet's movement toward a universalistic theology ("Yahweh and Other
Deities: Conflict and Accommodation in the Religion of Israel," *Int* 40 [1986]: 354–66). But cf. J.
Gerald Janzen, who argues that Deutero-Isaiah's cosmology was significantly different from the heav-
ily mythologized, Mesopotamian-inspired cosmology commonly assumed. Rather, he argues,

Frank Moore Cross argued that this portrayal of Israel's God as a divine warrior was predicated on the "recrudescence" of mythic imagery in Israelite thought, the mythologization of historical events and institutions: "With the institution of kingship in Israel and the temple cultus, both institutions of Canaanite origin, the old myths became resurgent."[9] The process implied by this description is an impersonal one, unspecific with regard to how it views the appropriation of mythic imagery. The use of Canaanite myth in the description of Israel's history was for Cross an indescribable (or at least nondescript) process, and the manner in which he talks about the reuse of mythic imagery attests to the ambiguity of the process as he conceived it. As in the protoapocalyptic genre that took up the old Canaanite myths, humans cease to act and the process becomes impersonal, uninitiated by individual agency: "The myths of creation and kingship became recrudescent"; "The Exile was a second era of the recrudescence of myth";[10] "the old myths became resurgent."[11]

In this article, I investigate through the examination of three biblical passages (Isa 51:9–11; Ps 74:13–15; Ps 89:10–11) and one Ugaritic text (*KTU* 1.3 III 38–46) how practitioners of what I will call "mainstream" Yahwism—that is, that form of Yahwism that was neither entirely "syncretistic" nor "puritanical"—understood the process, the purpose, and the specific theological ramifications of the appropriation of Canaanite mythical and theological concepts. I argue that many in the community of mainstream Yahwism had subverted contemporary Canaanite literature through their reuse of a Canaanite hymn for a specifically Yahwistic purpose. I then study Deutero-Isaiah's stance toward this mainstream faction of Yahwism, arguing that the petition to the arm of Yahweh in Isa 51:9–11 was a similar appropriation and subversion of an originally Canaanite song that was still circulating in the Israelite theological milieu,[12] but that a second subversion lies unrecognized in the text. Not only did Deutero-Isaiah appropriate and subvert a Canaanite hymn, but the prophet used the text in such a way as to lampoon the Judahites who had previously appropriated the text for their own purposes. In short, I believe that this

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Deutero-Isaiah conceived of Yahweh's creation as without need for battle ("On the Moral Nature of God's Power: Yahweh and the Sea in Job and Deutero-Isaiah," *CBQ* 56 [1994]: 458–78).

[9] Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 91–144; quotation from 144; for "recrudescence," see 135.

[10] Ibid., 135.

[11] Ibid. 144. A similar complaint could be lodged against Smith's ubiquitous use of the passive voice and impersonal subjects, e.g., "Yahweh and El were identified . . . devotion to the goddess Asherah did not continue . . ." (*Early History*, 57).

[12] Cf. Bauks, speaking of similar claims concerning Psalm 29 (see n. 14 below): "Es ist ausser Frage, daß der Text zahlreiche Parallelen mit dem Baal-Epos enthält, ohne daß eine exakte kanaanäische Vorlage nachgewiesen werden könnte" ("'Chaos,'" 449 n. 92). See also Herbert Donner, who argues against making such claims generally ("Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 [1967]: 322–50, esp. 338–44). There is, I believe, enough indirect evidence from extant texts to reconstruct a Canaanite *Vorlage* without direct archaeological evidence of such a text.

reuse and recontextualization of Canaanite mythic themes and vocabulary were intentional, methodical, and purposeful at both levels of the "double subversion." This argument should not be taken as a refutation of Cross's theory of recrudescence, but rather as a refinement, clarification, and personalization of that process.

I. Method

Thanks to the recent proliferation of studies of inner-biblical interpretation, particularly with regard to the book of Isaiah, we have available a well-developed set of tactics for recognizing and deciphering allusion from which to develop a consistent and practicable methodology.[13] Although the bulk of arguments that biblical authors appropriated Canaanite hymns wholesale are based on the similarity of imagery,[14] the newly tested methods of recognizing inner-biblical allusion in the book of Isaiah on the basis of lexical and syntactic similarities may be employed fruitfully in search of extrabiblical allusion as well.[15] The current project will require the extension of a methodology that has developed specifically to recognize allu-

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[13] The classic work on inner-biblical allusion is that of Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), although scores of others exist. Recent studies on "intertextuality" and "allusion" in Isaiah include Wolfgang Lau, *Schriftgelehrte Prophetie in Jes 56–66: Eine Untersuchung zu den literarischen Bezügen in den letzten elf Kapiteln des Jesajabuches* (BZAW 225; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994); Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah* (SBLDS 161; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Richard L. Schultz, *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (JSOTSup 180; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); H. G. M. Williamson, "Isaiah 62:4 and the Problem of Inner-Biblical Allusions," *JBL* 119 (2000): 734–39; J. Todd Hibbard, "Isaiah xxvii 7 and Intertextual Discourse about 'Striking' in the Book of Isaiah," *VT* 55 (2005): 461–76; Thomas A. Keiser, "The Song of Moses a Basis for Isaiah's Prophecy," *VT* 55 (2005): 486–500.

[14] However, cf. Psalm 29 as a Canaanite hymn taken over by Israel: Theodor H. Gaster, "Psalm 29," *JQR* 37 (1946–47): 55–65; Frank Moore Cross, "Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament," *BASOR* 117 (1950): 19–21; and Aloysius Fitzgerald, "A Note on Psalm 29," *BASOR* 215 (1974): 61–63; cf. Day, *God's Conflict,* 59–60; and Carola Kloos, who argues against regarding Psalm 29 as an originally Canaanite hymn, while at the same time maintaining its continuity with Canaanite mythological themes (*Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Israel* [Amsterdam: van Oorschot, 1986], 91–112).

[15] E.g., Peter B. Machinist, "The Image of Assyria in First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 719–37; Gordon H. Johnston, "Nahum's Rhetorical Allusions to the Neo-Assyrian Lion Motif," *BSac* 158 (2001): 287–307; idem, "Nahum's Rhetorical Allusions to Neo-Assyrian Treaty Curses," *BSac* 158 (2001): 415–36; idem, "Nahum's Rhetorical Allusions to Neo-Assyrian Conquest Metaphors," *BSac* 159 (2002): 21–45. However, neither of these cases deals with allusion at the lexical and syntactic level. For further discussion on how we might deal with the problem of influence and dependence in ancient literature, see F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion: A Study of the City-Lament Genre in the Hebrew Bible* (BibOr 44; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993), 5–10.

sions to other known texts to contexts in which the text or texts alluded to are extra-biblical and potentially even unknown in the exact form to which allusion was made.

It is generally recognized that the project of determining allusion is—even in optimal circumstances—ultimately not provable. However, contrary to those who point to the difficulties involved in the recognition of diachronically bound allusion, preferring instead to concentrate on the synchronic intertextual relationships that connect texts,[16] I am convinced that ancient cases of authorially intended allusion to extant texts can be both recognized and actualized (albeit imperfectly) by modern readers. Furthermore, I argue throughout this article for the possibility of the reconstruction of an original source text when two or more allusive texts are sufficiently similar to "triangulate" the hypothetical text to which both allude.

The understanding of literary allusion espoused in this study follows in its substance the theoretical work of Ziva Ben-Porat and Carmela Perri,[17] and the application of that theoretical framework to biblical studies in the work of Benjamin Sommer.[18] These studies stress three critical and corollary aspects of the reasons for and the methods of literary allusion.

1. Allusion is by its very nature a diachronically expressed enterprise in which an author makes reference through the use of "markers" to an earlier, extant "marked" text.[19] Correspondingly, the ultimate objective in a study of allusion is a

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[16] E.g., Lyle Eslinger, "Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of Category," *VT* 42 (1992): 47–58. See also John Goldingay, who seems to blur the synchronic/diachronic boundary between "allusion" and "intertextuality" ("Isaiah 40–55 in the 1990's: Among Other Things, Deconstructing, Mystifying, Intertextual, Socio-Critical, and Hearer-Involving," *BibInt* 5 [1997]: 225–46, esp. 234). Cf. n. 17 below.

[17] Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 105–28; Carmela Perri, "On Alluding," *Poetics* 7 (1978): 289–307; eadem, "Knowing and Playing: The Literary Text and the Trope Allusion," *American Imago* 41 (1984): 117–28; cf. James H. Coombs, "Allusion Defined and Explained," *Poetics* 13 (1984): 475–88. For a further investigation in the theory of allusion, see also Anthony L. Johnson, "Allusion in Poetry," *PTL* 1 (1976): 579–87. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein provide a welcome account of the differences between diachronic theories of "influence" (of which allusion participates as a subset) and synchronic theories of "intertextuality" ("Figures in the Corpus: Theories of Influence and Intertextuality," in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History* [ed. J. Clayton and E. Rothstein; Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991], 3–36).

[18] Benjamin D. Sommer, "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger," *VT* 46 (1996): 479–89; idem, *Prophet Reads Scripture*; idem, "Allusions and Illusions: The Unity of the Book of Isaiah in Light of Deutero-Isaiah's Use of Prophetic Tradition," in *New Visions of Isaiah* (ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney; JSOTSup 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 156–86. The first of these sources provides an important defense of a pioneering work on inner-biblical allusion, namely, Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*.

[19] Ben-Porat, "Poetics of Literary Allusion," 108–10; eadem, "The Poetics of Allusion: A Text-Linking Device," in *A Semiotic Landscape: Proceedings of the First Congress of the International Asso-*

fuller understanding of the way(s) in which the author of the alluding (or "marking") text appropriated the earlier marked text. The recognition of allusion is, therefore, possible only in a context in which a temporal order can be assigned (or at least, assumed) for two texts.

2. The study of allusion assumes that the author of the marking text used the literary device in order to provide the reader/intended audience with a fuller appreciation of the allusive text's significance, without explicitly divulging that significance. While the marking text may be read and understood without the reader's recognition of the marker,[20] the actualization of the allusion provides a depth not otherwise present in the marking text alone by creating a dialectic relationship between the two texts. This actualization consists of four steps, according to Ben-Porat:[21] (a) the recognition of a marker in a given sign; (b) the identification of the evoked text; (c) the modification of the initial local interpretation of the signal;[22] (d) the activation of the evoked text as a whole, in an attempt to form maximum intertextual patterns. In short, the actualized allusion brings to bear on the marking text not just the themes and meaning of the specific marked elements but the themes and meanings of the marked text as a whole.[23]

3. No matter the author's intention or skill, the actualization of the allusion on the part of the reader is by no means guaranteed. The marking text's effectiveness requires the reader's sufficient competence to actualize the allusion to the earlier work.[24] Without prior knowledge of the marked text, the allusion can only remain unactualized by the reader. Furthermore, other hindrances to interpretation may exist. For example, an allusion can be polyvalent, that is to say, it may mark more than a single source text,[25] potentially confounding the reader's understanding of the marking text.

Because the mechanisms through which allusion is recognized and actualized are subject to ambiguity, overstatement, and outright failure, the recognition of allusion is more art than science. As such, the task of understanding allusion, both ancient and modern, is subject to the analysis of probabilities, rather than mere possibilities, because

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ciation for Semiotic Studies (ed. S. Chatman; The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 588–89. The marker in the alluding text can be lexical, syntactical, or thematic, but no matter its form it "directs our attention to one or more attributes of the source text necessary to comprehend the meaning of the allusion" (Perri, "On Alluding," 296).

[20] Ben-Porat, "Poetics of Literary Allusion," 115.

[21] Ibid., 110–11. The titles of the four steps here are Ben-Porat's.

[22] That is, a modification of the meaning of the marking word, phrase, or syntactic structure in its original context.

[23] Ben-Porat, "Poetics of Literary Allusion," 111.

[24] E.g., Perri, "On Alluding," 299.

[25] David M. Gunn, "Deutero-Isaiah and the Flood," *JBL* 94 (1975): 493–508, esp. 495.

> [t]he argument that an author alludes . . . is a cumulative one: assertions that allu-
> sions occur in certain passages become stronger as patterns emerge from those
> allusions. In any one passage that may rely on an older text, the critic must weigh
> evidence including the number of shared terms and their distinctiveness, the
> presence of stylistic or thematic patterns that typify the author's allusions, and the
> likelihood that the author would allude to the alleged source.[26]

As modern readers, we certainly do not participate in the life-world of the authors
of any ancient texts, and this limitation hampers our ability to gauge the original
audiences' reception of the texts under scrutiny. In order to mitigate the effects of
the chronological gap dividing us from the authors of ancient texts, Richard Hays
has outlined a schema in which seven criteria, variably subjective in analytical value,
may be used to distinguish allusion.[27] The criteria are the following: *availability*,
the extent to which the marked text would have been available to the author of the
marking text; *volume*, the amount of text transposed in explicit repetition and the
rhetorical stress placed on the passage; *recurrence*, the number of times the text is
marked elsewhere in the later text; *thematic coherence*, the allusion to the previous
text in a situation that is thematically similar; *historical plausibility*, the probability
that, given the later author's historical situation, the author actually intended the
echo to be heard; *history of interpretation*, the echoes that have been heard in the
text since it first appeared;[28] and, finally, *satisfaction*, the degree to which "the pro-
posed reading offers a good account of the experience of a contemporary commu-
nity of competent readers."[29]

The pericope Isa 51:9–11 has commonly been noted to use motifs of Yahweh
as the Divine Warrior, cleaving the sea, familiar from the Ugaritic literature. In the
present study, I hope to show not only that this view is justified but that it can be
elaborated and clarified as an instance of extrabiblical allusion. Using the method-
ological schema outlined here, I will show that Isa 51:9–11, along with Ps 74:13–15
and 89:10–11, shows several lexical and syntactic commonalities with a particular
instantiation of the motif in Ugaritic literature, *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46. The markers
present in these four texts, I argue, point to a deliberately allusive intention on the
part of the authors of the Ugaritic material, Isaiah 51, and Psalms 74 and 89, which,
using Hays's criteria as guides, may be gauged with a high degree of probability.

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[26] Sommer, "Inner-Biblical Exegesis," 485.

[27] Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press,
1989), 29–32.

[28] Historical interpretation must of necessity be the least important of these criteria in the pres-
ent study because of the relatively short time span over which the comparison of the Ugaritic texts
and the Bible has proceeded. Hays himself recognized that this criterion is "one of the least reliable
guides for interpretation" (*Echoes,* 31). Despite that short time, however, the close correspondence
between Isa 51:9–11 and *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46, the two texts under consideration, has long been rec-
ognized (see n. 61).

[29] Hayes, *Echoes,* 31–32.

Although we lack the purported source text (and the necessarily hypothetical project of this study therefore cannot be stressed enough), the close correspondences between these four texts—lexical, syntactic, and thematic—allow the plausible reconstruction of the source text, here provisionally called the "Hymn of ꜥAnat" (HA).

II. Test Case: Isaiah 51:9–11

9 Awake, awake, dress in strength, O arm of the Lord![30]
   Awake as in the days of old, (of) generations long past!
   Are you not she who hews Rahab, (who) pierces Tannin?

10 Are you not she who dries up the sea, the waters of the great deep?
   Who makes the depths of the sea into a path for the redeemed to cross?

11 The Lord's ransomed[31] will return,[32] and they will come to Zion with shouts of joy, and eternal joy (will be) on their heads. Gladness and joy will overtake them,[33] and grief and groaning will flee.[34]

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[30] The versions show evidence of theological reworking in v. 9. Many of the versions shy away from reading the arm of the Lord as the object of the prophet's arousal, preferring instead to insert a less contentious subject. For example, the LXX inserts the name of the city Jerusalem: Ἐξεγείρου ἐξεγείρου, Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ ἔνδυσαι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ βραχίονός σου. . . ("Awake, awake, Jerusalem, and put on the strength of your arm"). However, this is most likely an anticipation of v. 17 (Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah III,* vol. 2, *Isaiah 49–55* [Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Leuven: Peeters, 1998], 168). Cf. Chris A. Franke, who takes Jerusalem as the invoked second person feminine singular of 51:9 ("The Function of the Satiric Lament over Babylon in Second Isaiah [xlvii]," *VT* 41 [1991]: 416). Similarly, *Targum Jonathan*'s translation suggests interpretation toward the abstract: אתגלא אתגלא לבשי תקוף גבורא מן קדם ידי ("Be revealed, be revealed, put on strength, O might from before the Lord"). Furthermore, the poem is then cast in the divine voice, with efforts toward demythologization: "Was it not for your sake, assembly of Israel, that I shattered the mighty men, destroyed Pharaoh and his armies, which were as strong as the dragon? Was it not for your sake, congregation of Israel, that I dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep?" (Translation that of Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* [Aramaic Bible 11; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987], 100–101; for Aramaic text, see Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 3, *The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* [Leiden: Brill, 1992], 104).

[31] Cf. 1QIsaᵃ, ופזורי, "the scattered (ones)." However, an erasure on the manuscript here suggests some scribal ambivalence (Donald W. Parry and Elisha Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll [1QIsaᵃ]: A New Edition* [STDJ 32; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 85). See also n. 47.

[32] Joseph Blenkinsopp argues that "beginning with *yĕšûbûn,* the verbs are taken to be in Jussive" (*Isaiah 40–55: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB 19; New York: Doubleday, 2002], 330). But this is impossible in the MT, because the paragogic *nun* is a remnant of the unapocopated *yaqtulu* form, which designates an indicative, not jussive, mood (cf., though, 1QIsaᵃ ישובו).

[33] For this reading, compare the LXX of both Isa 35:10 and 51:11: καταλήμψεται αὐτούς. The paragogic *nun* of the MT's ישיגון may have been added in 51:11 under pressure from ישובון earlier in the verse.

[34] We should read here the *waw* + suffix conjugation ונסו with the MT of Isa 35:10 or ונס with

The text-critical study of Isa 51:9b–10 provides a text only slightly reworked from that of the MT:

9b   הלוא את־היא המחצת[35] רהב מחוללת תנין:[36]

10a   הלוא את־היא המחרבת ים[37] מי תהום רבה[38]

10b   השׂמה[39] מעמקי[40]־ים דרך לעבר גאולים:

1QIsaᵃ of 35:10 and 51:11; e.g., Joachim Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja* (TB 20; Munich: Kaiser, 1963), 166. We may, however, disregard Mitchell Dahood, "The Conjunction *wn* and Negative *ʾî* in Hebrew," *UF* 14 (1982): 51–54. The singular ונס may be preferable, based on comparison with Isa 51:3; see Paulson Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsaᵃ* (JSPSup 34; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 59–61. Authors are divided as to whether v. 11 is original to the context (e.g., Begrich, *Studien*, 167–68) or secondary (e.g., Klaus Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeschichtliche Analysen* [OBO 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979], 93–94, 148; Jean M. Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40–55* [BBET 5; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1977], 110; Odil Hannes Steck, *Bereitete Heimkehr: Jesaja 35 als redaktionelle Brücke zwischen dem Ersten und den Zweiten Jesaja* [SBS 121; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1985], 28–29). However, as Blenkinsopp has noted, whatever our assessment of the relationship between v. 11 and the nearly identical Isa 35:10, the verse "is not out of place thematically in its present location, since it advances the highway motif of the previous verse and marks a transition to the more prominent theme of Jerusalem/Zion in the chapters immediately following" (*Isaiah 40–55*, 333). See also Schultz: even if 51:11 is later, one ought to consider "the *effect* which a quotation has within the present canonical book as potentially indicative of an editorial *purpose*" (*Search for Quotation*, 50 n. 85 [his emphasis]).

[35] This reading is based on 4QIsaᶜ, which reads [המוח]צת, and 1QIsaᵃ, which has the full reading המוחצת (*hammōḥeṣet*, "who strikes"). See H. L. Ginsberg, "The Arm of YHWH in Isaiah 51–63 and the Text of Isa 53:10–11," *JBL* 77 (1958): 153 n. 6, and bibliography cited there. Cf. Blenkinsopp, who argues that the MT's המחצבת is preferable as the *lectio difficilior*, despite the Vg.'s *percussisti* and Job 26:12 מחץ רהב (*Isaiah 40–55*, 330). See also Herrmann, "Aufleben," 98 n. 8; and Koole, *Isaiah III*, 171. This word will be dealt with further below.

[36] This line is not rendered in most manuscripts of the LXX.

[37] I. L. Seeligman notes that the LXX's translation ἡ ἐρημοῦσα θάλασσαν is "typically mechanical" (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* [FAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 193).

[38] The rendering of רבה in the LXX as πλῆθος suggests some scribal confusion between the omitted רבה of v. 9b, and the root רחב, possibly preserved in the form רחוב in 1QIsaᵃ (Nicolas K. Kiessling, "Antecedents of the Medieval Dragon in Sacred History," *JBL* 89 [1970]: 171 and n. 8). That manuscript also reads תנים ("jackals") instead of תנין. Koole (*Isaiah III*, 171), following E. Y. Kutscher (*The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll [1QIsaᵃ]* [STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974], 287), has suggested that "the variant reflects miscomprehension or even a conscious anti-mythological tendency which could also explain the omission of all of v. [9]b in LXX." Steven James Schweitzer avers that "[t]he translator of OG Isaiah does not seem to be aware of a mythological creature called 'Rahab . . . ,'" but notes that the translator "*did not* delete the mythological elements from the text" ("Mythology in the Old Greek of Isaiah: The Technique of Translation," *CBQ* 66 [2004]: 224 [his emphasis]).

[39] For השׂמה as a participle rather than the accented perfective form, see Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55*, 330.

[40] Cf. 1QIsaᵃ, במעמקי, "in the depths."

These lines provide a meaningful reference within the world of the text, thus fulfilling Perri's qualification of allusion that "[t]he allusion-marker . . . participates in its text's possible world, maintaining connotation and denotation in the way other signs . . . do."[41] Specifically, Yahweh's arm is awakened and summoned to act on behalf of the community.[42] In short, we may paraphrase the lines' meaning as follows: "Our God is a mighty God, the mighty God who has acted salvifically on our behalf in the past, and who will continue to do so in the future. Just as Yahweh is the God who brought Abraham and Sarah to Canaan (v. 2), and who delivered our forebears from Egypt (v. 10), so too will Yahweh be the God who delivers us from our present bondage in Babylon, causing us to return safely to Jerusalem (v. 11)."[43] The reader who does not recognize these lines as any sort of allusive marker nonetheless understands them readily in the context of the immediate poem, in the context of the Deutero-Isaian corpus, and indeed in the context of the Israelite prophetic canon. In fact, nearly all of the commentaries on this pericope interpret the prophet's words as a sincere call to Yahweh to save the Judahite people from their Babylonian captivity. Yet I suggest that such an understanding of vv. 9b–10 does not fully encompass the author's intended message, because it does not fully comprehend the allusion to a body of literature external to that preserved in Deutero-Isaiah.

III. Identification of the Markers

The lexical repetition in the first two stichs of v. 9 (עורי עורי) serves to connect the present poem intertextually with other literary units in the Deutero-Isaian corpus (e.g., Isa 51:12 [אנכי אנכי] and 51:17 [התעוררי התעוררי]).[44] Furthermore, the

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[41] Perri, "On Alluding," 295.

[42] That "Yahweh's arm . . . has almost become a divine hypostasis" (Koole, *Isaiah III*, 169)—as in Isa 40:10–11; 51:5; 63:12; and Ps 44:4; 79:11; and 89:11, 14, 22—seems implied from the context, but cf. n. 104 below concerning the import of these lines.

[43] See, e.g., Isa 40:1, 3 and 43:14–16, both of which allude to the exodus event. The typological similarities between the exodus from Egypt and the departure from Babylon as a second exodus —posed so poignantly by Deutero-Isaiah—are well known and need not be rehearsed here. See especially Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg* (ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson; New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 177–95. Likewise, the almost verbatim correspondence between 51:11 and 35:10 points to the allusive capacities of the present text with respect to referents known from prophetic literature (but cf. those who, like Sommer, consider ch. 35 to be the work of Deutero-Isaiah ["Allusions and Illusions," 170]. If this is the case, the correspondence between 51:11 and 35:10 may have been an intentional repetition on the part of the author, or a redactional insertion to provide that kind of repetition). See also n. 34 above.

[44] Each of these verses bears syntactical similarities to 51:9–10. Verse 12 reduplicates the pronoun + copulative + participle sequence (הוא מנחמכם) familiar from vv. 9b and 10a, and v. 17 fol-

syntactic structure of the lines resonates with independent units from elsewhere in the Israelite poetic corpus. For instance, it has long been noted that Isa 51:9–11 shares multiple elements in common with several Psalms, among which are Pss 74:13–15 and 89:10–11:[45]

Ps 74:13-15

13 אתה פוררת בעזך ים שברת ראשי תנינים על־המים:

14 אתה רצצת ראשי לויתן תתננו מאכל לעם לציים:

15 אתה בקעת מעין ונחל אתה הובשת נהרות איתן:

13. *You* divided[46] the sea with your strength, you broke the heads of the Tan-ninim upon the water,
14. *You* crushed the heads of Leviathan, made him food for the people of the coastlands,
15. *You* tore open spring and wadi; *you* dried up perennial rivers.

Ps 89:10–11

10 אתה מושל בגאות הים בשוא גליו אתה תשבחם:

11 אתה דכאת כחלל רהב בזרוע עזך פזרת אויביך:

10. You rule over the swelling of the sea; when it lifts its waves, *you* calm them,
11. *You* crushed Rahab like one pierced; with your strong arm you scattered[47] your enemies.

Each of these texts celebrates Yahweh's destruction of the chthonic forces at the time of creation and during the exodus,[48] symbolized by the Sea (Isa

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lows its command to "rouse yourself" (using the same verbal root עור as in v. 9) with a feminine sin-gular imperative directed to Jerusalem (קומירו שלם). This close-knit interweaving of the verses may explain why the LXX takes Jerusalem to be the addressee of vv. 9–10 (see n. 30 and below).

[45] See, e.g., Psalms 2, 9, 24, 29, 46, 47, 48, 65, 68, 76, 77, 97, 98, 104, 106, and 110, all listed in Paul D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 304–5.

[46] I take the redundant fronting of the pronoun before the finite verb here as an indication of emphasis ("*You* divided . . .") or of implicit antithesis ("You [not another] divided . . ."). For these cat-egories, see *IBHS*, 295–97, §§16.3.2d–e. For a similar translational convention, see Matthew W. Mitchell's treatment of Ps 89:40–41 ("Genre Disputes and Communal Accusatory Laments: Reflec-tions on the Genre of Psalm lxxxix," *VT* 55 [2005]: 514).

[47] Cf. 1QIsaᵃ at 51:11, which reads ופזורי, "the scattered (ones)" (see n. 31 above). One won-ders whether an original ופדויי (with MT) shifted under pressure from the perceived similarity between Ps 89:10–11 and Isa 51:9–11.

[48] The degree to which vv. 9aβγ, 9b, and 10a display elements proper to the *Chaoskampf*/cre-ation and to the exodus is heavily debated. Some argue that each stich contains imagery proper to only one event (for a thorough discussion, see Koole, *Isaiah III*, 170–73), so that the image progresses from creation to exodus to return from Babylon, much like Psalm 136. Although the first-order meaning of the stichs does progress from creation (most explicit in v. 9aβγ) to the exodus (obvious

51:10;[49] Ps 74:13; 89:10), Rahab (Isa 51:9; Ps 89:11),[50] Tannin (Isa 51:9; Ps 74:13), or Leviathan (Ps 74:14). Yet, aside from the clear thematic similarities found here, the syntactical arrangement of all three texts is striking. In each, the independent pronoun is explicitly fronted (even sometimes redundantly), then followed by the verb (both perfective and participial forms):

Isa 51:9   את־היא המחצבת

Isa 51:10   את־היא המחרבת

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in v. 10b; see also Walter Breuggemann, *Isaiah 40–66* [Westminster Bible Companion; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998], 129–30), a more appropriate reading, however, is that these verses typologically overlay imagery proper to both creation and exodus. The *Chaoskampf* and the exodus permeate both verses. The crushing or subjugation of Tannin and Rahab, along with the more mundane parting of the sea, served (and continue to serve) as imagery for the creation (e.g., Gen 1:9; Ps 74:13–15; 89:10–11; 104:26; Job 41:1–26); so too was the motif used to characterize the exodus—both from Egypt (Exod 15:1–18; Josh 3:14–4:7) and from Babylon (Isa 11:15–16; 43:14–16; see, e.g., S. Douglas Waterhouse, "The River-Dragon: Its Meaning in Scripture," in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies: Presented to Siegfried H. Horn* [ed. L. T. Geraty and L. G. Herr; Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986], 635 n. 38; and Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 187). In the ancient mind-set, the two are inseparable—especially since the exodus is perceived and perpetuated in the community as a divine act of re-creation! See also Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 403–4; Anne E. Gardner, "The Great Sea of Dan. vii 2," *VT* 49 (1999): 412–15; Eaton, *Festal Drama*, 13–16; Jon D. Levenson, *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 12; Christopher R. North, *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL–LV* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 212; and Day (*God's Conflict,* 91–92), whose exegesis of these lines is particularly apposite:

> we have a blending of God's victory over chaos at the creation, at the Exodus and in the coming deliverance from the Babylonian exile. Rahab is both the monster defeated at creation and Egypt at the time of the Exodus and also, by implication, it may be argued, the thought is extended to Babylon at the time of the prophet himself. The return from exile in Babylon is both a new creation and a new Exodus.

That the return to Jerusalem would have been viewed by Deutero-Isaiah as eschatological—as is claimed by Hans M. Barstad (*A Way in the Wilderness: The "Second-Exodus" in the Message of Second Isaiah* [JSS Monograph 12; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1989], 73)—is debatable and of little relevance for the present conversation.

[49] Cf. Gunn, who argues that the motif of "drying up" is appropriate to the flood, but not to the *Chaoskampf* ("Deutero-Isaiah and the Flood," 497–98 and n. 21). Klaus Baltzer notes the implication of המחרבת that a חרב ("sword") is involved (cf. Isa 27:1), echoing the use of weapons implied by the verbs המחצבת and מחוללת, despite the fact that "drying up" is the natural reading (*Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55* [trans. Margaret Kohl; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 357). One suspects that some degree of wordplay is involved here, in which the imagery of the flood is overlaid on imagery of the *Chaoskampf*.

[50] Several authors have pointed to the traditional identification of Rahab with Egypt in Ps 87:4 and Isa 30:7, among whom are Johann Fischer, *Das Buch Isaias,* II. Teil, *Kapital 40–66* (HSAT 7/1:2; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1939), 122–23; and Mary K. Wakeman, *God's Battle with the Monster: A Study in Biblical Imagery* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 60.

אתה פוררת	Ps 74:13
אתה רצצת	Ps 74:14
אתה בקעת	Ps 74:15
אתה הובשת	Ps 74:15
אתה מושל	Ps 89:10
אתה דכאת	Ps 89:11

Moreover, H. L. Ginsberg went so far as to suggest that Isa 51:9–11 displays strong evidence of direct dependence on Psalm 89, thanks not only to syntactical similarities, but lexical ones as well.[51] In both texts may be found not only the independent pronoun (אַתָּה/אַתְּ) and the objects of action (ה)ים and רהב but also the nouns עז ("strength") and זרוע ("arm"), and the verbal root חלל (מחוללת/חלל) as well. However, Ginsberg's assessment that Deutero-Isaiah had Psalm 89 immediately in view may be challenged and modified on the basis of the presence of similar—and sometimes identical—lexemes and syntactic structures found in a Ugaritic text that similarly deals with the *Chaoskampf*:

KTU 1.3 III 38–46:

(38) *l mḫšt . mdd* (39) *il ym*	Did I not strike[52] Sea, the beloved of El?
l klt . nhr . il . rbm	Did I not finish off River, the great god?
(40) *lištbm . tnn . ištm[d]h*[53]	Did I not place a bit in (the mouth of) Tannin (and) harness (?) him?[54]

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[51] Ginsberg, "Arm of YHWH"; see also Otto Eissfeldt, "The Promises of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1–5," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage,* ed. Anderson and Harrelson, 196–207, esp. 199–200; and Tull Willey, *Remember*, 146–51.

[52] Moshe Held, "*mḫṣ/*mḫš* in Ugaritic and other Semitic Languages (A Study in Comparative Lexicography)," *JAOS* 79 (1959): 169–76. Wakeman uses Held's proposed allophonic relationship to emend *arš* to *arṣ*, suggesting, "The word which came to mean simply 'earth' may very well have meant 'monster'" (*God's Battle*, 71 n. 2). In order to make this association, however, Wakeman disregards Held's limitation of the sound change *ṣ > š to contexts in which the phoneme precedes /t/. See also n. 57 below.

[53] For this reading over *KTU*²'s *ištm . lh*, see Dennis Pardee, "Will the Dragon Never Be Muzzled?" *UF* 16 (1984): 254.

[54] For this translation, see Jeremy M. Hutton, "Ugaritic *š/ and the Roots *šbm* and *šm[d]* in KTU 1.3.III.40," *Maarav* 13 (2006): 75–83. Cf. the translation "muzzled" for *ištbm* proposed by Charles Virolleaud (*La déesse ᶜAnat* [Mission de Ras Shamra 4; Paris: Geuthner, 1938], 53), followed by S. E. Loewenstamm ("The Muzzling of the Tannin in Ugaritic Myth," *IEJ* 9 [1959]: 260–61); Mitchell Dahood (*Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology: Marginal Notes on Recent Publications* [repr., BibOr 17; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1989], 73 no. 2378); John Gray ("The Blood Bath of the Goddess Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts," *UF* 11 [1979]: 316 and n. 3); Edward L. Greenstein ("The Snaring of the Sea in the Baal Epic," *Maarav* 3 [1982]: 215); and Pardee ("Will the Dragon," 254). Cf. James Barr, "Ugaritic and Hebrew 'šbm'?" *JSS* 18 (1973): 17–39, repr. in idem, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (rev. ed.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 388–411; M. Dietrich and

(41) *mḫšt . btn . ʿqltn*	I struck the Twisting Serpent,
(42) *šlyṭ . d . šbʿt . rašm*	Tyrant,[55] he with seven heads.[56]
(43) *mḫšt . mdd ilm . arš*	I struck Glut[ton],[57] the beloved of El,
(44) *ṣmt . ʿgl il . ʿtk*	I defeated[58] the Savage One,[59] the Calf of El.
(45) *mḫšt . klbt . ilm . išt*	I struck Fire, the bitch of El,
(46) *klt . bt . il . ḏbb*	I finished off Flame,[60] the daughter of El.

It has long been noted that Isa 51:9–11 partakes of the same mythic imagery and themes that are present in *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46.[61] However, any closer relationship

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O. Loretz, "*ŠB, ŠBM* und *UDN* im Kontext von KTU 1.3 III 35B–IV 4 und KTU 1.83:8," *UF* 14 (1982): 78–79; and Day, *God's Conflict,* 14 n. 32, 16. Cf. the translation "destroyed him," for *ištmdh* proposed by Mark S. Smith, "The Baal Cycle," in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (ed. Simon B. Parker; SBLWAW 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 111 and n. 68.

[55] For this translation, see Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquin Sanmartin, *Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 822, and *HALOT*, 1524. Smith ("Baal Cycle," 111) translates this word as "Potentate," and Pardee ("Will the Dragon," 253; see also Gray, "Blood Bath," 316 n. 4) as "the close-coiled one." However, the various translations of רהב in the LXX as ὑπερθανία ("arrogance"; Ps 89:11 [LXX 88:11]), ματαιότης ("vanity"; Ps 40:5 [LXX 39:5]); and particularly μάταιος ("idleness"; Isa 30:7) may display some etymological confusion with Heb. שׁלי ("quietness"; 2 Sam 3:27) and שׁלוה ("ease"; e.g., Ezek 16:49); BDB, 1017ab; *HALOT,* 1524 and 1505, respectively. For later interpretations, see Kiessling, "Antecedents," 171–73.

[56] For *btn . ʿqltn* parallel to *šlyṭ . d . šbʿt . rašm*, see also *KTU* 1.5 I 2–3 and 27–30 (the latter reconstructed in Smith, "Baal Cycle," 142).

[57] I am convinced by Day's argument for the fundamental identity between Behemoth of Job 40:15–24 and the bovine creature known as *arš* in the Ugaritic texts (*God's Conflict*, 75–84). Wakeman has attempted to emend the name to *arṣ*, but cf. *KTU* 1.6.50 (Day, *God's Conflict*, 84–86; and discussion in n. 52 above).

[58] *HALOT* gives the definition of Heb. צמת in the *qal* as "a. to destroy, confine by force, or perhaps to fall down;—b. to silence" (pp. 1035–36). Any one of these definitions might be appropriate for the text at hand.

[59] Smith ("Baal Cycle," 111) translates this word as "Rebel," and Pardee ("Will the Dragon," 253) as "Binder." See Gray ("Blood Bath," 316 n. 6) on comparison with Arab. *ʿataka,* "to attack."

[60] Cf. Heb. שׁביב (Job 18:5); BDB, 985a; *HALOT*, 1392. The alternation between Heb. *š* and Ug. *ḏ* suggests that etymological *t is the original consonant. The sound change *t > *š* in Heb. is a regular occurrence, and the voicing of the consonant *t > *ḏ* in Ug. appears to be the reversal of an areal trend that occurred in Ugaritic. See Jeremy Hutton, "An Areal Trend in Ugaritic and Phoenician and a New Translation of KTU 1.15 I 3," *UF* 35 (2003): 243–58 and bibliography therein.

[61] Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 87, 107–8, 120, 136–37; Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55,* 332–33; Waterhouse, "River-Dragon," 621–38, esp. 634–35; Bernard F. Batto, "An Ancient Near Eastern Motif of Divine Sovereignty," *Bib* 68 (1987): 153–77, esp. 168–69; Anderson, "Exodus Typology," esp. 193–94; Kloos, *Yhwh's Combat,* 59. For the correspondence of Isa 51:9–11 with mythological themes more generally, see Childs, *Isaiah,* 403; Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66* (OTL; London: SCM, 1969), 241–42; Dieter Schneider, *Der Prophet Jesaja,* 2. Teil, *Kapitel 40 bis 66* (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1990), 198–99; Paul D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox, 1995), 145; idem, *Dawn of Apocalyptic,* 127, 310–12; Herbert G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *mayim rabbîm,* 'Many Waters,'" *JBL* 74 (1955): 9–21; Begrich, *Studien,* 90; Eaton, *Festal Drama,* 73; Kiesow, *Exodustexte,*

between the two texts—for example, an allusive relationship of "marker" and "marked"—has, to the best of my knowledge, never been suggested explicitly. Most treatments of the texts' relationship are justifiably cautious and establish a cordon around the word "allusion." For instance, Sommer notes that, despite the fact that vv. 9–10 share parallels with Ps 89:6–14 and 87:12–20 (among others), it is not possible to know whether Deutero-Isaiah knew those specific passages or whether they "result from [the passages'] common use of a vocabulary cluster known from Ugaritic texts as well."[62] Bernhard W. Anderson has likewise noted the similarities in vocabulary between *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 and Isa 27:1, but argued that "[t]he close affinity . . . does not necessarily indicate that the poet had the Ugaritic texts at hand. It seems, rather, that the Ugaritic myth influenced the Israelite poetic tradition from early times."[63]

I agree confidently with both of these opinions, but I suggest that the dialectic space left open by their application nonetheless allows for the possibility of deliberate allusion to a contemporary text on the part of Deutero-Isaiah. Precisely because of its undeniable similarities to the structure and vocabulary of Isa 51:9–11, this Ugaritic hymn composed in the voice of ʿAnat deserves further study. I propose not just that Isa 51:9–11 and *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 participated in the same mythic imagery, but that they may serve as benchmarks from which we may triangulate an original marked text.

The *Chaoskampf* imagery is not the only marker common to the two texts under examination (Isa 51:9–11 and *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46). I find four formal similarities that the two texts share, which may potentially serve as markers of a text known by the authors of both Isa 51:9–11 and *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46:

    *1. Each text displays the syntactic arrangement [*hă*] lō⁾/lā/la + subject*[64] *+ verb + object.* Scholarly opinion is still varied concerning whether the *l-* prefix of *KTU*

172–73; Fischer, *Buch Isaias*, 123; Vincent, *Studien*, 115–18; John L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 20; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), 123; Michael Fishbane, "Arm of the Lord: Biblical Myth, Rabbinic Midrash, and the Mystery of History," in *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr* (ed. S. E. Balentine and J. Barton; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 279–80; Charles Cutler Torrey, *The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation* (New York: Scribner, 1928), 399–400; H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 84–86. Cf. Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 356–57.

[62] Sommer, *Prophet Reads Scripture*, 260 n. 6.

[63] Bernhard W. Anderson, "The Slaying of the Fleeing, Twisting Serpent: Isaiah 27:1 in Context," in *Uncovering Ancient Stones: Essays in Honor of H. Neil Richardson* (ed. L. M. Hopfe; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 3–15; quotation from p. 5.

[64] Because the Hebrew text uses participles, the subject pronoun with its correspondingly gendered copulative, "you . . . she" (אַתְּ־הִיא) stands separately from the verbs. In the Ugaritic example, which uses both prefix and suffix forms, the subject pronoun is necessarily attached morphologically to the verb. In the current study this syntactic arrangement might best be understood as an instance of Sommer's *split-up pattern*, a literary device that Deutero-Isaiah used in the allusions to Proto-

1.3 should be considered a negative (*lā*) or asseverative (*la*)[65] particle. If the Hebrew passage is any indication, the negative would be preferable, but I find it unnecessary to argue this point further. First, because the Ugaritic text takes the character of rhetoric, the semantic value of *l-* is of primary concern only to the translator, who must decide whether to couch the phrase in the form of a question ("Did I not strike Sea . . . ?") or an exclamation ("I did indeed strike Sea . . . !"). The contextual rhetorical meaning of the outburst remains the same, stressing that it was ᶜAnat, and not some other, who had vanquished the enemy. Second, even if Isa 51:9–11 could be considered an explicit reference to *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46, the semantic distinctiveness of Hebrew הלוא, clearly a question, could not constrain the semantic ambiguity of the Ugaritic. Allusion is full of *play*—both in the sense of "sport," and in the sense of "room for movement"—and the Hebrew phrasing might be an instance of word- or sound-play (specifically, paronomasia, in which similar-sounding words with different semantic fields are employed).[66] Nevertheless, the הלוא of Isa 51:9–11 corresponds both graphemically and phonetically to either Ugaritic particle.

2. The agent in each poem is feminine. Isaiah 51:9–11 is directed at the feminine זרוע יהוה, particularized as feminine by the use of feminine participles (המחצבת, מחוללת, המחרבת), as well as of feminine singular pronouns and copulatives (אַתְּ־הִיא).[67] Similarly, the subject of the poem in *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 (i.e., ᶜAnat [line 32]) is feminine.[68] The suffix form verbs *mḫšt* and *klt* (lines 38 and 39) give little indication as to the person of the suffixed pronoun, and hence, of the identity of the subject who "struck Sea" and "finished off River." However, the prefix forms *ištbm* and *ištmd* in line 40 (see n. 53) confirm that the speaker, ᶜAnat

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Isaiah and to Jeremiah, in which words that appeared in close proximity in the source text are split apart in the alluding text (Sommer, "Allusions and Illusions," 159).

[65] For vocalization, see John Huehnergard, "Asseverative **la* and Hypothetical **lu/law* in Semitic," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 583–84.

[66] Sommer has recognized sound play as an important feature of Deutero-Isaiah's inner-biblical allusions ("Allusions and Illusions," 160). See also Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques* (repr., London: T&T Clark, 2005), 222–50, esp. 237–38. Perri discusses the allusive capacity of "a well-known rhythmical phrasing" ("On Alluding," 304).

[67] Cf. Ps 74:13–17, which attributes the defeat of Leviathan to Yahweh (conceived of as masculine, designated by the second person masculine singular independent pronoun אַתָּה), and Ps 89:10–11, which similarly uses the independent pronoun in conjunction with the already marked verb (e.g., בשׂוא גליו אתה תשבחם in v. 10b).

[68] ᶜAnat also plays the role of the one who vanquishes Yamm in *KTU* 1.83:3–10 (for translation, see Day, *God's Conflict*, 15–16). As Day points out, we have different traditions regarding ᶜAnat's participation in the slaughter of Mot (ibid., 15). Day concludes that "Anat, together with Baal . . . defeated Yam, Leviathan and the other monsters on some occasion other than the events of *CTA* 2. . . ." *KTU* 1.83 is written in a hand *other than Elimelek's* (i.e., the scribe who wrote or copied 1.3) but the defeat of Yamm in 1.3 is clearly referring to the same event as is 1.83 (as the presence of the root *šbm* in each shows).

(rather than the addressee Baal), is the agent who "captured Tannin and harnessed him."[69]

3. The object in each text is conceptualized as the Sea, and corresponding proper nouns are used to convey that conceptualization. The calming of the sea in the person of Rahab or Tannin is a well-known motif in the Bible. The names appear in several passages utilizing the motif of Yahweh as the divine warrior, but, when combined with the syntactic arrangement recognized above, their presence serves to confirm the allusive nature of Isa 51:9–11 with respect to a particular text or set of texts. God cleaves the sea (ים [vv. 10a, 10b; line 39]), personified as Tannin (v. 9b; line 40), and the waters of the "great deep" (תהום רבה[70] [v. 10a]; cf. *il rbm* in line 39).[71]

4. One of the verbs in each text describing the deity's victory over the Sea-Monster is possibly cognate. As Frederick Holmgren has pointed out, the verbal root חצב appears twice in Isaiah 51 (vv. 1, 9), but nowhere else in Isaiah 40–55.[72] For Holmgren, this distribution helps to elucidate the chiastic nature of Isa 51:1–11.[73] But in the present discussion, this close distribution of the verbal root points to yet another marker common to both Isa 51:9–11 and *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46. If the participle here was in fact originally המחצת (/*hammōḥeṣet*/, "she who strikes"), reading with 4QIsa[c] (and cognate to the verbal root √*mḥṣ* in *KTU* 1.3 III 38, 41, 43, and 45 [see n. 52]), then the MT has undergone either corruption because of scribal confusion or development in which the author or an editor intentionally linked v. 9 with v. 1 by changing המחצת to המחצבת.[74] In this second option, the change

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[69] For discussion, see recently Nick Wyatt, "Who Killed the Dragon?" in *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature* (London: Equinox, 2005), 21 and n. 21 (originally published as *AuOr* 5 [1987]: 185–98).

[70] The word תהום in Isa 51:10a is cognate to Akk. *tiāmat*, the goddess of chaos from whose destroyed body Marduk fashions the world in *Enuma Elish.*

[71] The name Rahab, known from Isa 51:9b, does not appear in Ugaritic or Canaanite literature (see, e.g., Day, *God's Conflict,* 4–6). While a few of the Ugaritic descriptors, e.g., *bṭn . brḥ* ("fleeing serpent") *bṭn . ʿqltn* ("twisting serpent"), and *d šbʿt rašm* ("he with seven heads") (*KTU* 1.5 I 1–3), are not found in the passage of Isaiah currently under scrutiny, they are reminiscent of other passages of Isaiah, e.g., 27:1 (Anderson, "Fleeing, Twisting Serpent"; see also Norman C. Habel, *The Book of Job* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985], 560–61).

[72] Frederick Holmgren, "Chiastic Structure in Isaiah LI 1–11," *VT* 19 (1969): 196–201, esp. 199.

[73] Cf., however, Koole (*Isaiah III*, 165–66), who argues that regarding the unit as vv. 1–16 is preferred (with J. Kenneth Kuntz, "The Contribution of Rhetorical Criticism to Understanding Isaiah 51:1-16," in *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* [ed. D. J. A. Clines, D. M. Gunn, and A. J. Hauser; JSOTSup 19; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982], 140–71). See also Theodor Seidl, who argues that the unit should be considered vv. 9–16 ("Jahwe der Krieger—Jahwe der Tröster: Kritik und Neuinterpretation der Schöpfungsvorstellungen in Jesaja 51,9–16," *BN* 21 [1983]: 116–34).

[74] This option is certainly possible, for, as Holmgren points out, "Whereas Israel is portrayed

hammōḥeṣet > *hammaḥṣebet* was occasioned precisely to echo the correspondences between so many lexemes in vv. 1–3 and 9–11. In order to explain the apparently chiastic structure of vv. 1–11 proposed by Holmgren, I would suggest two possible scenarios: (1) the prophet played on the known Canaanite hymn (as reconstructed below) by linking the allusion to that text with the rest of the prophet's own material using the verbal root חצב instead of מחץ; or (2) a redactor or interpreter recognized the apparent chiastic structure of Isa 51:1–11 and—not realizing that vv. 9–10a played allusively on an ancient Canaanite hymn—intentionally adjusted the original text of v. 9 (with מחצת) toward מחצבת to reflect further the chiasm.[75]

IV. The Identification (and Reconstruction) of the Evoked Text (= "Hymn of ʿAnat" [HA])

It is extremely doubtful that *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 was itself the text marked by Isa 51:9–11; the physical and temporal distance between the two texts precludes such a hypothesis. It would not be unreasonable, however, to suggest one of two alternative chronologies, neither of which assumes that the biblical material directly marked the Ugaritic material, and both of which allow for the dialectical space opened up by the biblical writers' practice of the art of allusion:

1. An originally Ugaritic hymn composed in the voice of ʿAnat became so popular in the northern Levant that its influence spread south and, despite several mutations in structure, style, and vocabulary, it became known to the Israelites and Judahites in a form that was readily adaptable to the peculiar demands of the Israelite cultus. In this evolutionary schema, the hypothetical "Hymn of ʿAnat" was the product of a process whereby the chronologically prior text *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 developed subsequent to its publication on the Ugaritic tablets. The HA, then, evolved directly or indirectly from *KTU* 1.3 and served as the most immediate marked text of Isaiah 51, Psalm 74, and Psalm 89. In this case, the four texts would be genetically related.

2. All four poetic pericopes examined above (Isa 51:9–11; Ps 74:13–15; Ps 89:10–11; *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46) serve as markers of variant exemplars of a single lit-

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as *cut out* of a rock (i.e., Abraham) by Yahweh . . . [in v. 1], the corresponding material [in v. 9] views Yahweh as the one who has *cut in pieces* the great enemy Rahab" ("Isaiah LI 1–11," 199). This possibility, if true, certainly would not alter the thrust of the present argument because the author of Isaiah would then have been subverting the Canaanite hymn to an even greater extent than otherwise suggested here by linking *directly* Yahweh's creation of the earth with the "creation" of the people Israel from Abraham.

[75] Oddly, ʿAnat appears as the subject of the verb *ḥṣb* in the Gt stem in *KTU* 1.3 II 20, 24, 30, in all cases parallel to √*mḥṣ* in the Gt stem. That knowledge of this passage has contaminated the MT is unlikely but should nonetheless be pointed out as a possibility.

erary unit of Canaanite or Levantine origin. In this nonevolutionary schema, *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 made reference to a hypothetical text known in the area along the Syrian coast during the Late Bronze Age, while the biblical passages made reference to a structurally and lexically similar exemplar known in Iron Age Canaan. Because the original cluster of hymns encompassed a set of texts roughly identical in lexical and syntactical elements, but in use across a wide geographic area, there is no single text HA to which the markers of the biblical and Ugaritic material allude. Instead, the "marked text" comprises a close-knit group of similar texts, all of which contain a few common elements.[76]

Of these two models, I favor the second. The first option requires the assumption that the original text, *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46, was the genetic ancestor of the biblical material—whether by direct descent or by a series of allusive adaptations [/adoptions]. That assumption is too constraining, and the availability of the source text to the author of the marking text(s) simply cannot be asserted with any confidence. On the other hand, it is clear that the mythological matrix in which our marking texts take part was widespread throughout the Levant.[77] The second model does not make any explicit claims as to the genetic relationships among our four texts, but rather leaves the precise form(s) of the marked texts—quite widespread in distribution—subject to debate. Ultimately, either model is possible, but the second variation is assumed throughout the remainder of this study, because it deals more realistically with the issue of availability.

A further advantage of working with the second model is that it provides us with a more plausible set of reasons for the present state of the marking texts in their respective historico-religious contexts. In the first model, difficulties confound any reasonable explanation of the variation between the marked rhetorical phrase "Did I not . . . ?/I did indeed . . . !" (*KTU* 1.3 III 38, 39, 40) and the marking rhetorical question "Are you not . . . ?" (Isa 51:9b–10a) and the alternative marker "*You* did . . . !" (Ps 74:13, 14, 15; 89:10–11; cf. the unemphasized "you did . . ." in Ps 74:13, 14; 89:10, 11[78]). In the second model, however, the variation in the markers is easily explicable when due attention is given to the respective cultic and theological contexts of each marking text.

Syntax. The narrative style of the text *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 demands that the hymn be placed in the mouth of the goddess, whereas the glorifying nature of the psalmic and Isaian material demands that the text display a classic hymnic struc-

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[76] For "intermediaries" as the hypothetical texts through linking texts belonging to a common genre, see Dobbs-Allsopp, *Weep, O Daughter of Zion*, 5–10. However, Dobbs-Allsopp bases his methodology on generic (i.e., thematic and structural) similarities, whereas I am arguing here on the basis of lexical and syntactic, as well as thematic, similarities.

[77] See, e.g., Bauks, "'Chaos,'" 436–48.

[78] See also the syntactically similar *KTU* 1.5 I 1–3.

ture. Because the reconstruction of a hypothetical text must also take into account the text's most probable *Sitz im Leben*,[79] it is difficult to suggest in good conscience that the HA was originally engaged in a longer narrative and couched as a first-person self-congratulatory anthem (as was *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46). Rather, the most plausible original form of the HA is that of a hymn *to* the deity, either as a rhetorical question, or as an asseveration, couched specifically in the second person (and possibly indicated by the independent personal pronoun).

Gender. The gender of the deity addressed varies between the markers but may tentatively be reconstructed as originally feminine in the HA. As several commentators have observed, Ugaritic sources attribute the harnessing and defeat of the sea dragon to several different actors: ꜥAnat (*KTU* 1.3 III 38–46), Baal (*KTU* 1.2 IV 27–28 and 1.5 I 1–3),[80] and, in some views, ꜣAṯirat (*rbt aṯrt ym*; *KTU* 1.3 V 40–41; 1.4 I 13–14; etc.).[81] It seems most likely to me that the agent of the hypothetical HA was, in fact, a feminine singular subject, although the exact identity of the agent remains debatable (see below). Because Israel's normative theological perspective did not permit the attribution of such action to anyone other than Yahweh, the Israelites' cognitive appropriation of the HA through allusion could occur only with a concomitant subversion of the gender reference, or of the identified referent. Instead of the female deity, either the grammatically masculine Yahweh (Psalms 74 and 89) or the grammatically feminine *arm* of Yahweh (Isa 51:9–11) became the subject to whom the action was attributed.

Tense and Aspect. Presumably, the hymn originally celebrated the past actions of the deity. Both the prefix form (*ištbm* and *ištmdh* [line 40]) and the suffix form (*mḫšt* [lines 38, 41, 43, 45]; *klt* [lines 39, 46]; *ṣmt* [line 44]) of verbs appear in the Ugaritic text, indicating a past narrative tense.[82] The suffix form indicating per-

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[79] Nick Wyatt notes that we never find a myth in its original form (*Myths of Power: A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Tradition* [UBL 13; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996], 123). Rather, each instantiation of a myth is a *version* derived from and situated in a particular social and temporal context. See also Bauks, "'Chaos,'" 436.

[80] E.g., Day, *God's Conflict,* 15–16; Neal H. Walls, *The Goddess Anat in Ugaritic Myth* (SBLDS 135; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 174–77.

[81] Wyatt has adduced indirect evidence that not only were ꜥAnat and Baal credited with the defeat of Yamm in Ugaritic mythology, but ꜣAṯirat was as well ("Who Killed the Dragon?" esp. 18–21). See previously William Foxwell Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (London: Athlone, 1968), 105–6; *ANET*³, 17–18. Olyan has also pointed to the association of ꜣAšerah with the sea and with the dragon—hence, the goddess's epithet *tannit* (<*tannittu* < *tannintu*), a female form of Tannin (*Asherah*, 38–61, esp. 53–61 and n. 63, following Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 32–33, and others). Wyatt proposes El as a fourth candidate, but I find this suggestion less than compelling. See n. 69 above.

[82] E.g., Wilfred G. E. Watson, "Ugaritic Poetry," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 169, 171, and literature cited there.

fective (i.e., completed) aspect appears, along with the preterite use of the imperfect, in two of the Hebrew texts (פוררת and שברת [Ps 74:13]; רצצת and תתננו [Ps 74:14]; בקעת and הובשת [Ps 74:15]; דכאת and פזרת [Ps 89:11]). One imperfect form indicating habitual or iterative action (תשבחם [Ps 89:10]) also appears in two of the texts,[83] alongside the participial forms used both predicatively (מושל [Ps 89:10]; מחוללת [Isa 51:9]) and substantively (המחצבת [Isa 51:9]; המחרבת and השׂמה [Isa 51:10]). The question as to the tense and aspect of the original marked text(s) is perhaps best treated by deferring to Anderson: "The new exodus, which [Deutero-Isaiah] regards as the counterpart of the old exodus, is portrayed in the mythopoeic colors of creation (51:9–10). Of these eschatological events he can say: 'they are created . . . now, not long ago' (48:7; cf. 41:20)."[84] In short, it seems most probable that the deity's subjugation of the forces of chaos and the corresponding creation were extended typologically to the present. Simply on the basis of the apparent tenses of the preserved texts participating in the *Chaoskampf* motif, we may voice support for the classical understanding of Israel as having moved away from a cosmological model, in which the creative act had been performed only once, toward a model in which Yahweh's saving acts were continually performed for the benefit of the community.

Lexemes. As I have noted above, the object of the divine warrior's action is generally conceived of as the sea, whether mythologized and personified as such (ים/*yammu* [Pss 74:13; 89:10; Isa 51:10a, 10b]), or in the form of the dragon (תנין/*tnn* [Ps 74:13; Isa 51:9; *KTU* 1.3 III 40]; לויתן/*lītānu*[85] [Ps 74:14; also *KTU* 1.5 I 1 and Isa 27:1]) or Rahab (Ps 89:11; Isa 51:9). These names were likely paired with corresponding verbs with overlapping semantic fields ranging from "harnessing" (√*šbm* and √*smd*,[86] *KTU* 1.3 III 40; perhaps √*smt* [צמת; see n. 58 above], *KTU* 1.3 III 44; see also Job 40:25–26) and "drying up" (√*ḥrb* [חרב], Isa 51:10; √*ybš* [יבשׁ], Ps 74:15) to "striking" (Ug. √*mḥṣ* ~ Heb. √*mḥṣ* [מחץ], *KTU* 1.3 III 38, 41, 43, 45; 1.5 I 1; and Isa 51:9 [see nn. 35 and 52 above]; √*prr* [פרר][87] and √*šbr* [שבר], Ps 74:13; √*rṣṣ* [רצץ], Ps 74:14; √*bqᶜ* [בקע], Ps 74:15; √*dkᵓ* [דכא], Ps 89:11) and "destroying" (√*kll* [כלל], *KTU* 1.3 III 39, 46; 1.5 I 2; √*ḥll* [חלל], Isa 51:9, Ps 89:11; perhaps √*smt* [צמת]). The paired sets of divine action and chthonic object do not seem to have been rigidly established in the set of source hymns constituting our hypo-

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[83] For the use of the imperfect to designate habitual and iterative action, see, e.g., *IBHS,* 502–6, §§31.2–31.3.

[84] Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 185.

[85] For this vocalization, see J. A. Emerton, "Leviathan and *LTN*: The Vocalization of the Ugaritic Word for the Dragon," *VT* 32 (1982): 327–31.

[86] Hutton, "Ugaritic */š/,*" 78–81.

[87] However, cf. the suggestion of Jonas C. Greenfield that this verb should be translated as "made the sea flee" ("ᵓattā pōrartā bĕᶜozkā yam [Psalm 74:13a]," in *Language, Theology, and the Bible,* ed. Balentine and Barton, 113–19).

thetical HA, but the traditions reflected in the Israelite corpus (Isa 51:9 and Job 26:12) suggest that the verbal root √*mḥṣ* (מחץ) was often paired with an object *rahab* (רהב) in the precise text or texts known in Israelite culture.

The hypothetical source text(s) designated here as HA may thus be reconstructed to have comprised a few stichs, each of which contained three essential elements:

1. a rhetorical introduction *(hă)lā/la* (ʾattī) . . . ("Did you not . . . /You did indeed . . .");
2. a verbal root from the list above (or with a similar semantic field), aspectually perfect or imperfect (but probably not participial in form), inflected in the second person; and
3. an object comprised of a personification of the mythologized sea.

We might then reconstruct a possible marked text of HA type:

(hă)lā (ʾattī) maḥaṣtī rahab	Did you not strike Rahab?
(hă)lā (ʾattī) ḥalaltī tannīn	Did you not pierce Tannin?

V. The Activation of the Evoked Text and the Modification of the Marker's Meaning

The remaining datum that needs clarification is the precise addressee of the hymn. So far I have designated the cluster of hypothetical texts marked by Isaiah 51, Psalms 74 and 89, and *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46 as the "Hymn of ʿAnat." Although ʿAnat clearly held some prestige in Iron Age I Palestine (demonstrated epigraphically by the continued use of her name on inscribed arrowheads)[88] and in early biblical traditions (if the name Shamgar ben-ʿAnat in Judg 3:31 and 5:6 is any indi-

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[88] The name ʿAnat appears on the ʾEl-Ḥaḍr V arrowhead as the patronymic (or "matronymic"?) of the arrow's owner: *ʿbdlbʾt / bn ʿnt* (originally published in Frank Moore Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *BASOR* 238 [1982]: 1–20, esp. 6–7, and subsequently catalogued in idem, "An Inscribed Arrowhead of the Eleventh Century BCE in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem," *ErIsr* 23 [Avraham Biran volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992], 25*; and idem, "The Arrow of Suwar, Retainer of ʿAbday," *ErIsr* 25 [Joseph Aviram volume; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1996], 14* as arrowhead no. 11). Cross has reconstructed the name ʿAnat on a second arrowhead: *ḥṣ zkrb[ʿl] / bn bn ʿn[t]* (ibid., no. 5; originally published in J. T. Milik, "An Un-published Arrow-head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th-10th Century B.C.," *BASOR* 143 [1956]: 3–6). However, it is not entirely clear that these data demand religious devotion to ʿAnat; cf. Smith, *Early History,* 101–7; and Day, *Yahweh and the Gods,* 134–35. Instead, it seems that the name indicates a military designation of some sort. Jeffrey H. Tigay found no evidence of ʿAnat as a theophoric element in his study of Iron Age II inscriptional onomastics (*You Shall Have No Other Gods: Israelite Religion in the Light of Hebrew Inscriptions* [HSS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986], 12, 65–73).

cation), not to mention Ramesside Egypt,[89] it is not clear that the goddess's popularity continued into the late Iron II period, which governed the historical milieu of the sixth-century Israelite prophet.[90] On the other hand, there does seem to have been widespread worship of an otherwise unnamed "Queen of Heaven" (with the appropriate repointing of מלכת השמים [Jer 7:18; 44:17, 18, 19, 25]) who has generally been identified with the Canaanite deity ʿAštart (Ugaritic ʿAṯtart, East-Semitic Ištar, late Punic Astarte).[91] Although this question must remain open, the confusion or deliberate identification of ʿAnat and ʿAštart is suggested by the variety of traditions in Ugarit surrounding the mythological episode of the subjugation of the sea, as well as the documented syncretism throughout the ancient Near East that identified ʿAnat, ʿAštart, and Qudshu.[92] If this supposition is correct, the original addressee of the bundle of hymns designated HA may have been ʿAštart, and was conceivably known simply as the "Queen of Heaven" among non-normative groups in seventh-century Judah and the sixth-century Judahite exilic communities in Babylon and Egypt.[93]

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[89] Milik, "Un-published Arrow-head," 5.

[90] Day, *Yahweh and the Gods,* 132–44. Despite recent suggestions to the contrary (e.g., Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 30–32), I follow here the scholarly consensus that the date and location of Second Isaiah's prophetic activity may reasonably be considered to have been mid-sixth-century Babylon.

[91] See Ackerman, "'Women Knead Dough,'" and comprehensive bibliography therein, esp. nn. 3–6; Day, *Yahweh and the Gods,* 144–50, esp. 148–50; Smith, *Early History,* 126–29, and references there.

[92] Ackerman makes a compelling argument that the Queen of Heaven was a combination of elements of West-Semitic ʿAštart and East-Semitic Ištar ("'Women Knead Dough'"). However, J. T. Milik and Frank Moore Cross point to the ambiguous identification of *lbʾt* ("the lioness") on the ʾEl-Ḥaḍr arrowheads as ʾAṯirat/ʾAšerah, ʿAṯtart/Ištar/ʿAštart/Astarte, or ʿAnat ("Inscribed Javelin-Heads from the Period of the Judges: A Recent Discovery in Palestine," *BASOR* 134 [1954]: 5–15, esp. 6–9; but cf. Cross [*Canaanite Myth,* 33–34], where an identification of ʾAṯirat/ʾAšerah alone is made; see also Anthony J. Frendo, "A New Punic Inscription from Żejtun [Malta] and the Goddess Anat-Astarte," *PEQ* 131 [1999]: 24–35; and R. A. Oden, Jr., *Studies in Lucian's* De Syria Dea [HSM 15; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977], 58–107). The inscribed arrowhead noted above (n. 88) may provide evidence for the syncretistic identification of the three, in that its owner, a "son of ʿAnat" (ʿAnat being a "matron saint" of the archer class, so to speak) seems to have gone by the epithet "servant of the lioness." The lion was often associated specifically with Babylonian Ištar (Milik and Cross, "Inscribed Javelin-Heads," 7–9, and bibliography there). By the end of the Iron Age (evidenced in the work of Sanchuniathon), it is clear that ʿAnat had waned in popularity throughout the Levant, and that ʿAštart had "become Baal's primary consort in Iron Age Phoenician religion" (Olyan, *Asherah*, 51–52 and n. 53; see also Day, *Yahweh and the Gods,* 146–47).

The debate about syncretism has a long history, which I cannot recount here (see Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 28–36; Smith, *Early History*). Yet the confusion caused by the numerous ambiguities present in the iconographic and epigraphic record provides some sense of the ambiguities experienced in antiquity. Ultimately, the precise identification of the goddess praised by the HA known by the prophet Deutero-Isaiah is irrelevant for the thesis of this article.

[93] Deutero-Isaiah apparently did not allude directly to Jeremiah's castigation of the Judahites' worship of the Queen of Heaven, if we follow the list of allusions provided by Sommer, "Allusions

In both cultures, then, there would have been easily understood reasons for the (re)attribution of the events proclaimed in the hymn to the speaker or the addressee. If ʿAnat was the original addressee of the hymn known to the person or persons who composed the text preserved in *KTU* 1.3 III 38–46, then that narrative was constructed so that it simply marked the original hymn, while recast in the goddess's voice. The allusion was supportive of its source text's theology, in that it took the theological perspective of the hymn and appropriated it favorably. On the other hand, those who composed the Israelite Psalms could not allude supportively to the Canaanite hymn, precisely because the theology explicit in a hymn to ʿAnat or ʿAštart was incompatible with the normative Israelite focus on Yahweh alone. The Psalmist(s) alluded to the hymn, but subverted it by couching the acts of Yahweh in the second person *masculine* singular, instead of the original feminine singular. This means that the only aspect of the Canaanite hymn subverted by the practitioners of mainstream Yahwism was the identity of the deity who defeated the sea. Neither the mythologized scope of the creation nor the syncretistic ramifications of attributing actions to Yahweh couched in language equally appropriate to Baal seems to have been problematic for the writers of the Psalms.[94]

Finally, Deutero-Isaiah took a different tack. The prophet did not simply subvert the HA by changing the addressee to Yahweh (and shifting the gender of the marked text correspondingly), as had those who composed Psalms 74 and 89. That tactic was perhaps taken to be too clumsy and did not convey clandestinely enough the subversion that Deutero-Isaiah intended. Instead, the prophet preserved the feminine gender of the marked text by attributing the salvific actions to the grammatically feminine "arm of Yahweh." The allusion of Isa 51:9–11 is thus both more obvious, in that it more closely marks the source text, and more subtle, in that it directs the modern reader's attention away from any "Canaanite" (or perhaps more accurately, syncretistic Israelite) literature toward exactly those normative Israelite psalms that feature the "arm of Yahweh" as a divine hypostasis (e.g., Pss 71:18; 79:11; 89:11, 14; 98:1; see also Isa 53:1), and the creedal formulae in which the "outstretched arm" (זרוע נטויה) of the Lord is credited with the deliverance of Israel through the exodus (e.g., Exod 6:6; Deut 4:34; 5:15; 26:8; Jer 32:21; Ezek 20:33, 34; Ps 136:12).[95] Moreover, the call in Isa 51:9 for the arm of Yahweh to "dress in

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and Illusions," 176–77 n. 42. It is clear, however, that the prophet did allude frequently to earlier textual traditions (for allusions in Isa 51:9–52:12, see esp. Tull Willey, *Remember*, 105–74).

[94] Contra Smith, who argues that the imagery appropriate to ʿAnat in the Late Bronze Age was conflated with that of Baal and "mediated to Israelite tradition for Yahweh" (*Early History,* 106–7), the thesis of the present article requires that there remained throughout the monarchic period recognition in some circles of the origination of divine warrior imagery as a predication of both Baal and ʿAnat; see also Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "The Absence of the Goddess in Israelite Religion," *HAR* 10 (1987): 239–48.

[95] Westermann has perhaps hit on this when he states that "[i]t might, of course, be said that here Deutero-Isaiah has borrowed from a community lament where the terms were already fixed. But

strength" (לְבֻשִׁי עֹז) is a direct allusion to the description of Yahweh incorporated in Ps 93:1, "The Lord is dressed, he has girded himself with strength" (לָבֵשׁ יהוה עֹז הִתְאַזָּר).[96] As in the Psalms, Deutero-Isaiah asserts that the identity of the deity who has forged creation out of the nothingness of chaos is neither ʿAnat nor ʿAštart, warrior goddesses venerated throughout the Levant. Nor is it Baal, the Canaanite god of the storm to whom other traditions attributed the dragon's defeat. Instead, it is the sole deity Yahweh, like whom there is no other, who has effected the salvation. The confusion of the variant traditions in which both ʿAnat and Baal (and possibly also ʿAštart) received credit for the defeat of Leviathan lent itself to derision: How could two or three separate deities all claim to have struck Rahab and pierced Tannin, asks Deutero-Isaiah? Was this act not the work of the single sovereign lord Yahweh?

This primary subversion suggests that Deutero-Isaiah's allusion to the HA subverts the theology of the earlier text—and of mainstream Yahwism, as represented by Psalms 74 and 89—in a second important way. As Gerald Janzen has pointed out, Isa 51:9–11 is the only pericope in Isaiah 40–55 in which the cosmic battle occurs.[97] Far more often in that corpus, the creation of the universe and the exodus are pictured without overtones of the *Chaoskampf*. Yahweh has personally made the measurement of the universe (Isa 40:12). Yahweh has spread out the cosmic ceiling like a tent (e.g., Isa 40:22; 42:5; 51:16).[98] Yahweh has effected the exodus and will bring about the restoration without piercing Tannin or crushing Rahab (e.g., 43:2, 16–19;[99] 48:20–21; 50:2; 51:15[100]). A corollary major theme throughout Isaiah 40–55 is the uniqueness of Yahweh and the utter ridiculousness of the worship of idols, grounded precisely in the nonexistence of other gods (e.g., Isa 40:12–31; 44:6–22; 46:1–13).[101] In this respect, it is clear that Isa 51:9–11 stands in antithesis to the

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how can he do so without a change? And how can Israel's psalms use such [mythological] language?" (*Isaiah 40–66*, 242). The "change" for which Westermann calls, I argue, is implicit in the subversive allusion to the lament, not explicit as a shift in the lexical or syntactic formulations.

[96] Tull Willey, *Remember*, 144–46.

[97] Janzen, "Moral Nature," 473–74. Cf. Theodore M. Ludwig, who sees no particular discrepancy in methodological outlook between 51:9–11 and the rest of Isaiah 40–55 ("The Traditions of the Establishing of the Earth in Deutero-Isaiah," *JBL* 92 [1973]: 345–57).

[98] For a fuller discussion, see Janzen, "Moral Nature," 471–73.

[99] See also Kiesow, who has pointed to the differences in mythological outlook between Isa 43:16–19 and 51:9–11 (*Exodustexte*, 169–75).

[100] As Tull Willey has shown, Isa 51:15 alludes directly to the demythologized portrayal of Yahweh in Jer 5:22 and 31:35 as "one who stills the sea" (*Remember*, 137–41).

[101] Richard J. Clifford, "The Function of Idol Passages in Second Isaiah," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 450–64; Klaus R. Baltzer, "The Polemic against the Gods and Its Relevance for Second Isaiah's Conception of the New Jerusalem," in *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple and Community in the Persian Period* (JSOTSup 175; ed. Tamara Cohn Eskenazi and Kent H. Richards; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 52–59.

bulk of Deutero-Isaiah's theology, and that the subversion of the HA performed by Isa 51:9–11 stands within the tradition of that prophet's larger oeuvre. Not only is Yahweh, sole sovereign God of Israel, the one whose power was able to overcome the forces of disorder; Yahweh is the *only* God in existence![102]

In contrast to this hard-line monotheism and demythologizing tendency, taking vv. 1–11 as a literary unit couched in the voice of the prophet[103] forces the conclusion that Deutero-Isaiah seeks aid from the hypostatic divine arm, which has defeated cosmological forces in a *Chaoskampf* both during the creation of the world and within history at the time of the exodus.[104] While sidestepping the question of the exact boundaries of the full literary unit, we find indications that the present order of the text is natural and normative so that the shift in voice between v. 11 and v. 12 does not signal a break in unity.[105] Such a division of the pericope ignores the *Sitz im Leben* of the genres exemplified by vv. 9–11 and vv. 12–16, both of which passages are couched in familiar liturgical forms. The initial utterance (vv. 9–11) bears the hallmarks of a "communal [accusatory] lament," namely, an introductory call for divine aid followed by reference to the past salvific actions that the deity has performed on behalf of the community. It is not uncharacteristic for the petitionary element of such a lament to be followed by a divine response in the form of a "salvation oracle" (beginning in v. 12), delivered by a priest (or as here, by the prophet).[106] It is likely, then, that we should consider v. 12 linked closely to the pre-

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[102] Thus, while I am not in disagreement with Smith's statement that "[i]n the postexilic period, the old motifs associated with El, Baal, and Asherah in Canaanite tradition ceased to refer to the cults of deities other than Yahweh" (*Early History,* 146), at least insofar as this sentence accurately describes the theology of Deutero-Isaiah and his conjoiners, I maintain that a historical memory of the imagery of "the goddess" defeating the various manifestations of the sea continued into the postexilic era in some decidedly nonauthoritative Israelite circles.

[103] E.g., Holmgren, "Chiastic Structure," 196–201.

[104] The "arm of the Lord" (זרוע יהוה) appears as a hypostasis elsewhere in the Deutero-Isaianic corpus and is said to "rule for him" (וזרעומ שלה לו [40:10]); cf. 51:5, where Yahweh's arms "judge peoples" (וזרעי עמים ישפטו). More often, however, the arm appears in figurative language or as a circumlocution for the salvific action of Yahweh: Isa 40:11 (בזרעו יקבץ); 48:14 (וזרעו כשדים); 52:10 (וזרוע יהוה על־מי נגלתה); 53:1 (חשׂף יהוה את־זרוע קדשׁו). The petition for the arm to awaken and do battle in Isa 51:9–10 is therefore the only occurrence of the arm in a mythological context in Isaiah 40–55. For hypostasis as an indigenous element of Canaanite religion, see P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., "Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data," in *Ancient Israelite Religion,* ed. Miller et al., 137–55, esp. 148–49.

[105] Cf. Kiesow, who attributes the shift in voice and mythological scope to redaction (*Exodustexte,* e.g., 93–95, 98–100). Against Kiesow, see Hans-Jürgen Hermisson (*Studien zu Prophetie und Weisheit: Gesammelte Aufsätze* [FAT 23; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998], 151, 252–53) and Odil Hannes Steck (*Gottesknecht und Zion: Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja* [FAT 4; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992], 60–72), who argue that vv. 12–16 are a redactional addition to vv. 9–11. I tend to agree with Childs that "the approach [of Steck] is highly subjective and largely unhelpful" (*Isaiah,* 401).

[106] For Isa 51:9–11 as a communal lament, see Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66,* 240–41; Batto,

ceding lines.[107] However, there are cues here that the voice of the speaker does indeed shift between v. 11 and v. 12. The shift is grammatical in person and gender, with the pronoun and corresponding copulative and participle moving from the second person feminine singular in v. 9 (אַתְּ־הִיא המחצבת) to the first person masculine singular in v. 12 (אנכי אנכי הוא מנחמכם). This shift suggests a call-and-response format of vv. 9–16. Therefore, we must understand that it is the community (*not* the prophet) in whose voice vv. 9–11 are spoken,[108] and that it is the community who is comforted in v. 12a.[109] The prophet thus relays the divine response in vv. 12–16: the Lord will comfort the people (conceptualized as the feminine singular addressee of מי־את ותראי, "who are you that you fear . . . ?" [v. 12b]), even though they have forgotten Yahweh their maker, who has "stretched out the heavens" (couched in the masculine singular ותשכח יהוה עשך נטה שמים [v. 13]). By attributing speech to the community in order to open a dialectical space for argumentation, the prophet has used a rhetorical strategy familiar from elsewhere in the Deutero-Isaianic corpus. In Isa 49:14, Deutero-Isaiah imputes blasphemous language to the community, to which Yahweh gives an unmarked but obvious response:

14 ותאמר ציון עזבני יהוה ואדני שכחני:
15 התשכח אשה עולה מרחם בן־בטנה
גם־אלה תשכחנה ואנכי לא אשכחך:

14. Zion said, "The Lord has forsaken me; my Lord has forgotten me."
15. "Does the woman forget her child, or the mother her offspring?
    Even if these forget, I will not forget you."

"Ancient Near Eastern Motif," 167–68; Richard J. Clifford, *Fair Spoken and Persuading: An Interpretation of Second Isaiah* (Theological Inquiries; New York: Paulist, 1984), 169–72; Begrich, *Studien*, 167; Vincent, *Studien*, 111–12; Carroll Stuhlmueller, "The Theology of Creation in Second Isaias," *CBQ* 21 (1959): 440–41; Roy F. Melugin, *The Formation of Isaiah 40–55* (BZAW 141; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976), 160–61. For communal accusatory laments as "an angry lament in which accusatory language serves as a unifying element" predicated upon Yahweh's perceived covenant disloyalty, see Mitchell, "Genre Disputes," esp. 525–27 (quotation from abstract, p. 527).

[107] In favor of conjoining the two pericopes, Koole points out that the opening word in each grouping (v. 9: עורי עורי; v. 12: אנכי אנכי) is repeated, and that the את־היא + participle of v. 9 parallels the אנכי הוא + participle of v. 12 (*Isaiah III*, 165; see also Seidl, "Jahwe der Krieger"). Koole challenges Kiesow's assessment (e.g., *Exodustexte*, 94–95, 98–99) that the ideas in vv. 12–16 are "entirely different" because "the arm" parallels "the hand" in v. 16a, and the themes of both passages are creation and salvation. Cf. Julian Morgenstern, who rearranges vv. 12–13 to follow 51:23 ("'The Oppressor' of Isa 51 13—Who Was He?" *JBL* 81 [1962]: 25–34). There is, in my opinion, no compelling reason why this arrangement should be accepted.

[108] Cf. the rather odd suggestion of Baltzer, who pictures the new "Moses" calling on the arm of Yahweh to bring about a new exodus (*Deutero-Isaiah*, 355).

[109] E.g., Koole, *Isaiah III*, 168; and Seidl, "Jahwe der Krieger," 124–25. For alternative suggestions, see literature cited there and n. 30 above.

So too, in Isa 51:9, the prophet attributes speech to the community, thus calling into question the community's theological stance, and then powerfully conveys the divine consternation with the theological implications of that petition.[110]

An investigation of the implications of the call for the arm of Yahweh to awaken in Isa 51:9 will demonstrate the validity of the prophetic and divine frustration. Bernard Batto has argued that Isa 51:9–11 is part of a well-known ancient Near Eastern motif in which the deity's dormancy symbolizes two prominent themes.[111] First, "[t]he divine rest which follows creation is, as it were, a statement that the creative activity is complete and that the work of the creator is perfect." Second, "[t]he ability of the divine king to sleep undisturbed was accordingly a symbol of his unchallenged authority as the supreme deity."[112] Using these two observations as guides to understanding how Isa 51:9 works rhetorically, one can see that this bicolon serves to juxtapose the prophet's view of Yahweh's position as divine king with that of the Judahite people. The community laments the apparent neglect of God, believing that the divine arm must be reawakened in view of the depredations suffered by the Judahite community at the time of the Babylonian exile (vv. 9–11). The people continue to expect salvation from Babylon through the mythological combat with which God's past actions in the world have been effected.[113] But the community's lament calling on the "arm of Yahweh" to awaken signals disbelief in the Lord's presence even in the midst of utter destruction and captivity, and Deutero-Isaiah chastens the communal disbelief indirectly by alluding to a Canaanite hymn originally dedicated to ʿAnat or ʿAštart.[114] Even if firmly

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[110] For other occurrences of the prophet imputing speech to the community, see John T. Willis, "Dialogue between Prophet and Audience as a Rhetorical Device in the Book of Jeremiah," in *"The Place Is Too Small for Us": The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (ed. R. P. Gordon; Sources for Biblical and Theological Study 5; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 205–22, esp. 220 (originally published in *JSOT* 33 [1985]: 63–82). Willis argues convincingly that not *all* the words of a prophetic book should be taken as indicative of that prophet's theology (p. 221). Mark J. Boda has pointed to the prophetic citation of a communal saying as a typical rhetorical device in the late preexilic and early exilic periods ("Haggai: Master Rhetorician," *TynBul* 51 [2000]: 300).

[111] Batto, "Ancient Near Eastern Motif," 153–77. Cf. Schneider, who argues that the deity is not sleeping *per se*, but rather is passive (*Prophet Jesaja*, 198).

[112] Batto, "Ancient Near Eastern Motif," 156, 159.

[113] Janzen, "Moral Nature," 475; Seidl, "Jahwe der Krieger," 126-29; Helmer Ringren, "Die Funktion des Schöpfungsmythos in Jes. 51," in *Schalom A. Jepsen* (ed. K. Bernhardt; AzTh 46; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1971), 38–40. For the function of hypostasis as describing divine presence or absence, see McCarter, "Aspects," 148.

[114] Batto states that "[t]he appeal to Yahweh to wake up is therefore also a statement that Yahweh's supreme authority is at stake" ("Ancient Near Eastern Motif," 169). Compare the similar assessment of Janzen that "the community's use of the motif of creation battle, by its contrast to the repeated references to creation devoid of this motif, shows that the community has still not understood the nature of Yahweh's *mišpāṭ* as Deutero-Isaiah is setting it forth . . . to call upon Yahweh to act in the manner of v 9 is to have forgotten Yahweh who creates in a different manner" ("Moral Nature," 475).

entrenched in a monotheistic context in which the divine consort is conceived only as the feminine "arm of Yahweh," the people's apostasy (manifested here simply as disbelief) is nonetheless tantamount to the worship of foreign gods, the prophet suggests. Elsewhere in the corpus, Deutero-Isaiah's damning critique of idolatrous practices attests to the futility of any practice other than the practice of faith in the one sovereign Lord. By couching the allusion in the exact grammatical categories of the marked text, Deutero-Isaiah is able to create a strong marker of the original Canaanite hymn (i.e., one that repeated a significant portion of the source text with "minimal formal difference"),[115] while at the same time maintaining the normative prophetic theological stance and lampooning the mainstream Yahwistic appropriation of the variations of that hymn.[116] The prophet's counterargument continues in vv. 12–23, couched as a response in the divine voice (vv. 17–23), answering directly to the sentiment expressed by the community in its call to awaken.[117]

The divine frustration with the community's petition after its display of apostasy is similarly brought to expression in Jer 2:27:

. . . who say to wood "you are my father" (אבי אתה),
    and to stone (ולאבן) "you bore me" (אַתְּ ילדתני),
and turn the back to me instead of the face,
    but in the time of their distress they say "arise and save us" (קומה והושיענו)!

One might note Jeremiah's allusion to Deut 32:18 (צור ילדך תשי ת שכח ת אל מחללך [Smith, *Early History,* 129]), and Deuteronomy's use of the verb חול (*polel* "to give birth"), a verb that is itself punned upon in Isa 51:1b–2a, along with the other elements of Deut 32:18 and Jer 2:27:

Look to the rock (צור [Deut 32:18]) from which you were hewn (חצבתם [cf. Isa 51:9b]),
    and to the bored-out cistern from which you were quarried;
Look to Abraham your father (אביכם [cf. Jer 2:27 אבי]),
    and to Sarah who bore you (תחוללכם [cf. מחללך in Deut 32:18]).

To connect the intertextual web wherein prophets accuse the people of apostasy, we may also point to Hab 2:19, which bears imagery similar to that of Jer 2:27:

Woe to the one saying to wood, "Awake!"
    "Wake up (עורי)!" to the silent stone . . .

Regardless of whether these passages serve as textual evidence for the late monarchic worship of Asherah (cf. Smith, *Early History,* 111–33), they do indicate a close-knit matrix of typical language that the prophets used to excoriate putative idolaters, and the quotation of the people's call for the rock to awaken in Hab 2:19 (עורי) points to a similar implied context of accused apostasy in Isa 51:9–10.

[115] Ben-Porat, "Poetics of Literary Allusion," 115.

[116] See Gaster, "Psalm 29," 65. For Deutero-Isaiah's appropriation of ancient Near Eastern motifs as polemic more generally, see Eugene H. Merrill, "Isaiah 40–55 as Anti-Babylonian Polemic," *Grace Theological Journal* 8 (1987): 3–18. For prophets as satirists more generally, see Thomas Jamieility, *Satire and the Hebrew Prophets* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992).

[117] See previously Seidl ("Jahwe der Krieger," 129–31) and Erich Zenger ("The God of Exodus in the Message of the Prophets as Seen in Isaiah," in *Exodus: A Lasting Paradigm* [ed. B. van Iersel

The allusion to the Canaanite hymn, therefore, not only lampoons the Canaanite mythological *Chaoskampf* and its confusion of the true creator of the universe; it similarly takes to task the continued reliance on that trope practiced in the literature and mind-set of the exilic Judahite community.[118] Thus, I must disagree with Paul Hanson's exegesis of vv. 9–16:

> Audacious promises that God's justice would be established among the nations and that the persecution of the faithful would be ended were no doubt met with considerable skepticism. Doubt is answered in the fourth section (51:9–16) with a reply that bristles with the raw power of mythopoeic imagery. It is hard to imagine a more poignant reminder to a wavering people that neither the cause of world justice nor their own safety rested upon human self-help projects but solely upon the power that created the universe by repelling the forces of chaos, called Israel forth from bondage to peoplehood, and even now was preparing to return the exiled community to Zion.[119]

Moreover, I disagree with Kiesow's assessment that the mythological scope of Isa 51:9–11 is to be attributed to a later layer of redaction.[120] As a representation of the position against which Deutero-Isaiah is arguing, the pericope is integral to the prophet's message: over against the people's apostasy—evident in the very usage of mythopoeic imagery—the prophet looks to the recurring need for Yahweh's salvation and redemptive work in the world on a more mundane plane, in which it is Cyrus, Yahweh's anointed, who will lead the people out of Babylon, not Yahweh personally (e.g., Isa 45:1; see also 41:2–4; 45:13; 48:14–15).[121] The God who acts does so within history, argues the prophet, not by quelling the resurgent forces of chaos in a mythological battle in the heavenly sphere, but here on earth.[122] Salvation is effected through human agency, not through the aid of the "divine arm." Instead of looking to the heavens for help, look around you, chastens the prophet —Yahweh's action is present in the everyday, the mundane, and the quotidian, in powerful and surprising ways.[123]

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and A. Weiler; Concilium 189; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987], 22–33, esp. 27–28), both of whom reached substantially similar conclusions on the sole basis of the Hebrew text of Isa 51:9–11—that is, without having actualized the allusion to the HA. Cf. Kuntz's assessment of those verses as "an earnest cry" ("Contribution," 159–62).

[118] Janzen, "Moral Nature," 478; cf. Levenson, *Creation*, 20–21.

[119] Hanson, *Isaiah 40–66*, 145.

[120] Kiesow, *Exodustexte*, 175.

[121] This is not to say, however, that Yahweh will not be involved in the second exodus (see Isa 52:12).

[122] Thus, Isa 51:9–11 as a subversive text may be more appropriately categorized with those texts in which "Yahweh's control of the waters has simply become a job of work" (Day, *God's Conflict,* 49–57; quotation from 49).

[123] Thus, the tension between myth and history proposed by Hanson is perhaps not as prevalent as assumed there (*Dawn of Apocalyptic*, esp. 127, 310–12). See also Cross, *Canaanite Myth,* 144.

VI. Conclusion

Several markers in four texts—three biblical (Isa 51:9–11; Ps 74:13–15; 89:10–11) and one Ugaritic (*KTU* 1.3 III 38–46)—correspond closely in thematic coherence and volume (in the form of both lexical and syntactic repetition). They correspond so closely, in fact, that after consideration of the data we are justified not only in seeing the same imagery in these four texts but also in positing an intermediate hypothetical text that is marked by all four. An intermediary text is necessary because the degree to which the text *KTU* 1.3 was available to the Israelite audience remains dubious, despite the fact that the appropriation of the Ugaritic material is chronologically possible. Although it is difficult, and perhaps ultimately impossible, to know whether the "Hymn to ʿAnat" (or ʿAštart) was in fact the source text of all four marking texts under investigation, or whether *KTU* 1.3 was the source text and HA served as a truly intermediary text between Ugaritic and Israelite audiences, the historical plausibility that Deutero-Isaiah alluded to a preexistent text is clear. I have argued on syntactic grounds that *KTU* 1.3 is more probably to be considered another marking text, rather than the originally marked source text, and that the Ugaritic hymn marked the version of HA known in the northern Levant. We may attribute the syntactic and lexical divergence between the Hebrew texts and the Ugaritic text to two causes. First, I have argued that the HA most likely did not exist in any unified and fixed form throughout the Late Bronze and Iron Age Levant. The plurality of forms may be reflected in the variations between the marking texts. Second, we must take into consideration the various intentions in appropriating the lexical, syntactic, and thematic material from the HA that the authors display. Again, the variations in the authorial intent of the texts probably account to some degree for the apparent divergence of the source texts.

Deutero-Isaiah's appropriation of the earlier HA was carried out with a twofold subversion in mind. First was the direct contradiction of the theology espoused by the earlier text, in which it was ʿAnat or Baal who had defeated the chthonic forces in the primeval *Chaoskampf*. But the prophet did not stop with this single subversion. The Judahite community had adopted the ideal of the *Chaoskampf* as its own perception of how Yahweh worked in the world inside and outside of history. This theology was perpetuated through the Psalms' continuing usage of the *Chaoskampf* motif, even though the composers of the Psalms had already aligned the motif with Yahwism in such a way as to maintain the appearance of orthodoxy by attributing

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For an analysis similar to my own, see Anderson, "Exodus Typology," 191–92; and more generally, Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, Pa.: Herald, 1980), esp. 32.

the actions of ꜥAnat and Baal to Yahweh alone. But Deutero-Isaiah considered this syncretistic theology hostile to that espoused by the prophet's own tradition and found it necessary to subvert the mainstream theology in the message of salvation and comfort to the community in exile. Deutero-Isaiah performed this second level of subversion by couching a communal lament in the exact grammatical categories of an earlier well-known "Hymn to ꜥAnat" (or ꜥAštart), implying that the Judahites' belief in the radical intervention in history by the "arm of Yahweh" was itself a form of idolatry and did not properly understand the nature of God's work in the world.

   Two significant observations derive from this study. First, through the actualization of the allusion in Isa 51:9–11, we are provided with yet another example of how the prophetic tradition appropriated prior texts and traditions—even those whose theology was hostile to that espoused by the prophets—to convey its message. Second, we may now describe Cross's idea of *recrudescence* more accurately. It is certainly true, as Cross and others have pointed out, that Israelite religion differed from that of the Canaanites in aspects of history and mythology. However, if the argument that I have presented here is correct, at least in its fundamental elements, the appearance of mythological themes in Israelite contexts is not simply an impersonal, nondescript process. Instead, the reuse and recontextualization of Canaanite mythic themes and vocabulary were intentional, methodical, and purposeful, performed by human agents with a specific literary and theological purpose in mind.

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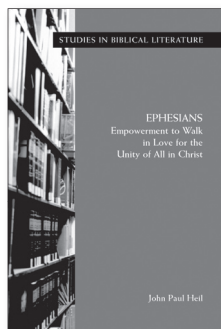
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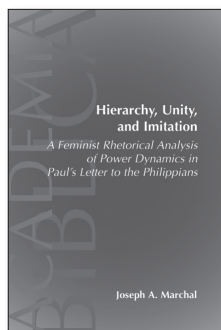
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Chirps from the Dust:
The Affliction of Nebuchadnezzar
in Daniel 4:30 in Its
Ancient Near Eastern Context

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In Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon recounts that God Most High afflicted him because of his pride, and then restored to him his health, his majesty, and his throne. The punishment is described in Dan 4:30:

בה־ שעתא מלתא ספת על־נבוכדנצר ומן∂אנ שא טריד ועשׂבא יאכל כתורין ומטל שמיא גשמה יצטבע עד די שערה כנשׂרין רבה וטפרוהי כצפרין

Immediately the sentence was fulfilled against Nebuchadnezzar. He was driven away from human society, ate grass like oxen, and his body was drenched with the rain of heaven, until his hair grew as long as that of eagles[1] and his nails like those of birds.

This study begins with a simple question—*Why is Nebuchadnezzar portrayed as an animal?*—but it opens out onto an entire mythological motif and its tradition throughout the ancient Near East. In short, the type of animal imagery found in this passage frequently symbolized those who were afflicted by divine powers.

The question of Nebuchadnezzar's animal characteristics has been a source of consternation for modern commentators. A representative remark comes from John Goldingay, who says only that "anyone's hair and nails will grow long in the wild, and anyway the pericope itself is more concerned with its theological than its medical significance."[2] This is all true, but a failure to understand the passage's

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[1] Or "vultures"—see discussion below.

[2] John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 90.

imagery is likely to hinder attempts to understand anything else about it. The biblical text tends not to supply detail idly; why should an author have chosen *these* details?

Goldingay is right to cast a skeptical eye on the "medical" theories of Nebuchadnezzar's madness, which posited that the story reflects a historical event in which the king suffered from a form of psychosis. As one nineteenth-century commentator put it:

> It is now conceded that the madness of Nebuchadnezzar agrees with the description of a rare sort of disease, called Lycanthropy, from one form of it . . . in which the sufferer retains his consciousness in other respects, but imagines himself to be changed into some animal, and acts, up to a certain point, in conformity with that persuasion.[3]

Matthias Henze, who cited this passage, calls it now "more humorous than illuminating," but the theory has demonstrated surprising staying power. It was reiterated by James Montgomery in his 1927 commentary and was included in the notes of *The New Oxford Annotated Study Bible* as recently as 1994.[4]

A second approach is offered by redaction critics who identify multiple sources and editors in order to explain the complexity of the chapter's imagery.[5] Despite the text's apparently complicated history,[6] such theories can be shown to be unnecessary for the verse in question; composite imagery of this sort is to be expected in ancient Near Eastern poetry.

In place of the medical and redaction theories, Henze concludes (rightly, I think) that "it seems more plausible to turn . . . to the Babylonian mythology in search of an explanation" for the imagery of 4:30. He then searches the ancient Mesopotamian world for accounts of madness, but is forced to settle for occurrences of the "wild man" motif—stories of those who lived "outside of civilized urban centers."[7] As an example, he cites a Sumerian text telling that in primordial times, "The people went around with skins on their bodies. / They ate grass with their mouths like sheep." In order to show that such a text is comparable to Dan

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[3] E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet: Nine Lectures, Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford* (1865; New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885), 360–61. Cited in Matthias Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* (JSJSup 61; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 92.

[4] One primary mechanism of this influence is likely to have been through the 1869 commentary of C. F. Keil, which has gone through a number of reprints. Keil says nearly the same thing as Pusey, identifying the king's ailment as *insania zoanthropica*.

[5] See, e.g., Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends* (HDR 26; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 87–120. Wills identifies the bull image as one of the sources and the bird imagery as the work of a redactor, although he does not explain what that imagery would have meant to such a redactor.

[6] See n. 40.

[7] Henze, *Madness,* 93, 94.

4:30, it would help to have some evidence that such a primal state could result from the curse of a deity, but that is not the case. Nearly all of the texts Henze cites are simply naturalistic descriptions of uncivilized peoples. The only mythological account he adduces is the transformation of Enkidu from wild beast to civilized man in tablet I of *Gilgamesh*—the *opposite* of the transformation in Daniel 4. But he is content to say that this story is "borrowed by the ancient Israelite author, turned upside-down, and applied to King Nebuchadnezzar, Israel's enemy of the first rank."[8]

Faced with these unsatisfying solutions, all but the most technical recent commentaries simply omit comment on the details of Nebuchadnezzar's affliction. This avoidance is unnecessary. With due respect to Henze's "inversion theory," better parallels to Dan 4:30 lie nearly as close at hand in Akkadian literature—parallels that match rather than reverse the transformation, and that have comparable elements of divine agency.

Throughout human history, writers and artists have used animal imagery extensively to describe something other than animals themselves, so that the animals function as metaphors. And as Chikako E. Watanabe has observed, the meanings of animal metaphors in ancient Near Eastern texts "are not made explicit, and often no clue is provided to explain their symbolic relationships. . . . The meanings of things can only be approached if contexts of use are considered."[9] This is certainly the case with Dan 4:30. I suggest that prayer genres—lament and thanksgiving— should be a primary comparative domain for Daniel 4.[10] In Dan 4:30, as in Mesopotamian and Israelite laments, one sees a suffering person depicted with a combination of naturalistic and mythological features that express his affliction by the hand of a deity. Animal imagery—especially the animals of Dan 4:30 (bull, eagle, and songbird[11])—is an important component of this set. But even apart from the terminological parallels, various literary features such as the first-person address and the structure of affliction–restoration–praise strongly suggest an awareness of the genre and its stock motifs on the part of the author or redactor of Daniel 4.

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[8] Ibid., 99. Another literary proposal is expounded briefly by Rainer Albertz, who assumes that the outer transformations are a literary device through which the inner (mental) change is expressed (*Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches* [SBS 131; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988], 73-74.) However, this suggestion also appears to suffer from a lack of comparative support.

[9] Chikako E. Watanabe, *Animal Symbolism in Mesopotamia: A Contextual Approach* (Wiener Offene Orientalistik 1; Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 2002), 1, 15.

[10] To my knowledge, this has been suggested only once in the history of scholarship, by C. J. Ball, "Daniel and Babylon," *Expositor* 19 (1920): 235–40. Ball's brief article is of very limited usefulness today; he uses only *Ludlul bel nemeqi* for comparison and even there is working with sometimes outdated readings of the Akkadian.

[11] See discussion below.

This article falls into two major sections. The first demonstrates that the same complex of animal images that is found in Dan 4:30 was used to portray underworld figures (gods, demons, and the spirits of the dead) in Mesopotamia, in surrounding ancient Near Eastern cultures, and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. In passing, this section also shows that drenching with rain is frequently employed as an image of supernatural affliction. The second section shows the way in which imagery used to describe these supernatural beings is transferred to those whom they afflict, specifically in prayer texts. Prayers—that is, thanksgivings and laments —commonly link suffering to the encroachment of the powers of death. Thus, it is Nebuchadnezzar's *suffering* at the hand of God, rather than his madness, that this imagery should evoke.

I. The Imagery of Daniel 4:30 in Ancient Near Eastern Texts Pertaining to the Underworld

Ancient Mesopotamian portraits of the underworld (or world of the dead) made extensive use of animal imagery, even from Sumerian times. If there is any doubt about this association,[12] it is due to an excess of data rather than a shortage. I am certainly not arguing that every appearance of these animals in a given period and culture indicates underworld imagery,[13] but rather that a limited set of images became associated as a familiar complex representing the assault of supernatural powers and its effects—making it the best available interpretation of Dan 4:30.

As we proceed, we bear in mind the commonplaces in depictions of the ancient Near Eastern underworld—that demons and the dead are typically grouped together by ancient writers and modern scholars alike;[14] and that the dead were

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[12] Jeremy Black and Anthony Green refer to the association of birds with the dead as "a suggestion" in *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 43. See also Klaas Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1986), 183–86, and see the subject index s.v. "birds."

[13] The diversity of the use of animal imagery in Mesopotamian literature may be seen in any number of genres. An excellent starting point for exploring types of literature not discussed here is *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Billie Jean Collins; HO 64; Leiden: Brill, 2002), particularly parts 2–4, which cover animals in art, literature, and religion, and feature essays by a number of eminent scholars. Note also David Marcus's "Animal Similes in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions," *Or* 46 (1977): 86–106; and again, Watanabe, *Animal Symbolism*.

[14] Tablet IV of the apotropaic incantation series *Utukki limnûti* is a particularly good example of the demonic aspect of the dead. In general, Akkadian names for the ghosts of the dead are frequently preceded by the DINGIR determinative, marking them as divinized. The unburied or unhappy dead "may even become part of the demonic world. . . . Hence, *eṭemmu* (ghost) may become associated with the demonic *utukku*, and even be so designated" (Tzvi Abusch, "*eṭemmu*," *DDD*, 589). See also Jo Ann Scurlock, "Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia" (Ph.D. diss.,

perceived paradoxically in ancient Near Eastern cultures—reduced in their ability to care for themselves but quite able to attack and torment the living.[15] Therefore one should take into account both explicit descriptions of the underworld and other references to demonic figures in order to get a full picture of such phenomena.

There was a long tradition in Mesopotamia relating the dead to birds in particular. Sumerian (and Sumero-Akkadian) collections of spells describe demons as "the ones who keep flitting around"[16] and "fly in dark places like a bird of the night."[17] Another says of the prominent demon Lamaštu:

> Her feet are those of an eagle; her hands mean decay.
> Her fingernails are long, her armpits unshaven. (*Lamaštu* series, tablet I)[18]

Birds' feet were also characteristic of demons. The gatekeeper of the netherworld is described with "the feet of a bird" in a Sumerian text, and of another demon it is said, "his right foot is a bird's claw."[19] Similar portrayals abound in material culture. A. Leo Oppenheim believed that it was the dead who were represented by "numerous small clay-figurines of females with bird-shaped heads, shoulders and arms covered with clustered clay-lumps representing feathers" found in Mesopotamia.[20]

Ox imagery, too, is attested Sumerian spell texts. One Sumero-Akkadian incantation calls a *gallû*-demon "a goring ox (GUD/*alpu*), a powerful ghost."[21] The

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University of Chicago, 1988), 1. In her article in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* ("Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Mesopotamian Thought," 1883–94), Scurlock uses "demon" and "ghost" almost interchangeably. Similarly, Walter Farber treats "Demons and Ghosts" under one subheading in his article "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination in Ancient Mesopotamia" (*CANE,* 1895–1910, here 1897).

[15] "The anger and resentment resulting from [the neglect of proper burial and mourning rites] turned an otherwise friendly ghost into a vicious demon. Equally vengeful were persons who had died violent and unhappy deaths, before they had had the opportunity to live out a normal life on earth" (Scurlock, "Death and the Afterlife," 1890). See also Scurlock, "Ghosts in the Ancient Near East: Weak or Powerful?" *HUCA* 68 (1997): esp. 92–93.

[16] Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination," 1896.

[17] R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (2 vols.; London: Luzac, 1903–4), 1:130; *CT* 16, plate 28.

[18] Cited in Farber, "Witchcraft, Magic and Divination," 1897.

[19] *MIOF* 1:74 r.iv 43; cf. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, 2:153. Note also the incantation series *Ṭiʾi* ("Headache"), in which the supplicant hopes "that the Headache, like the dove to the cote, like the raven to heaven, like the bird of the open steppes, may fly away" (lines 140–44; cf. Thompson, 2:77.) Full transcriptions of the Mesopotamian texts have been omitted from this article in the interest of conciseness. Terms for the animals under study are supplied in order to demonstrate the underlying terminological consistency.

[20] A. Leo Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Mythology II," *Or* 17 (1948): 44. Iconographic representations of demons, the dead, and underworld deities could easily be multiplied. However, the methodological complexities of dealing with this material compel me to leave it aside for the present purpose.

[21] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*, 1:69; *CT* 16, 14.iv.14–15.

fierceness of the ox was seen by later Akkadian authors as comparable to that of the *ūmu*-demon.[22]

This association of animals and the underworld can be seen also in the "canonical" myths of Mesopotamia, as in this passage from "The Descent of Ishtar":

> To the netherworld, land of [no return],
> Ishtar, daughter of Sin, was [determined] to go.
> Indeed, the daughter of Sin did set her mind
> To the dark house, seat of the netherworld (ᵈ*irkalla*),
> To the house which none leaves who enters,
> To the road whose journey has no return,
> To the house whose entrants are bereft of light,
> Where dust is their sustenance and clay their food.
> They see no light but dwell in darkness,
> They are clothed like birds (MUŠEN) in feather garments (*ṣubat kappi*),[23]
> And dust has gathered on the door and bolt. (lines 1–11)[24]

This text, a later Semitic rendition of the Sumerian "Descent of Inanna," is first attested in the Late Bronze Age. Certain of its details (dust, darkness, and a shortage of good food and drink) are already familiar from Sumerian underworld texts, but here the picture is more complex with the addition of bird imagery.[25]

This description seems to have been accorded great esteem in Akkadian canonical literature. By the Late Babylonian period, exactly parallel passages are found in the Standard Babylonian version of *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (VII.184–91)[26] *and* in "Nergal and Ereshkigal" (Tablet C ii.48–iii.8´).[27] In each case, the description is *not* found in older, second-millennium versions. In short, the pericope above seems to have become an increasingly popular description of the world of the dead in Akkadian literature. The mythological image of birdlike features for the dead may have spread from certain demons to the dead in general.

In *Gilgamesh*, the passage is found in a narrative context that sheds further light on the issue of animal imagery. Enkidu tells Gilgamesh of being dragged off

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[22] Watanabe, *Animal Symbolism*, 4.

[23] Akkadian *kappi* may be translated as "feathers" or "wings," depending on context.

[24] Benjamin R. Foster, *From Distant Days: Myths, Tales, and Poetry of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1995), 78–79.

[25] The Sumerian texts in question are particularly "The Descent of Inanna" and "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld." There is only shaky ground from which to argue the progressive elaboration of the Mesopotamian imagery of the underworld, yet in light of Thorkild Jacobsen's comment below, such a theory does not seem untenable.

[26] A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Cuneiform Texts* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1:644–45. See also Benjamin R. Foster, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation, Analogues, Criticism* (New York: Norton, 2001), 57–58.

[27] Tablet C is an eighth-century text from Sultantepe. For further bibliography, see Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (3rd ed.; Bethesda, MD: CDL, 2005), 524.

to the underworld by what appears to be a demon or a ghost. This kidnapper is a composite creature:

> His face was like that of Anzû;
> His hands were the paws of a lion (UR.MAḪ),
> his claws were the claws (ṣupur) of an eagle (arê).
> He seized me by the hair, he was too strong for me,
> I hit him but he snapped back like a snare,
> He struck me and capsized me like a raft.
> Like a wild bull (rīmi) he trampled me.[28]

The underworld creature looks like a composite beast comparable to a bird and a bull, among other things. Similarly composite descriptions of supernatural attackers are found also in apotropaic incantation texts.[29]

The increasingly baroque character of these descriptions suggests a growing fascination with the world of the dead in the Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian period. Thorkild Jacobsen observed some time ago (in connection with different texts) that in the first millennium, "[t]he ubiquity of the powers of sudden death led understandably to an increased interest in what these powers and their domain, the netherworld, were like; stories and descriptions of them became popular," and this observation seems to be supported by the rise of spell texts intended to protect against ghosts in the Neo-Assyrian period and later.[30] Jacobsen makes a large generalization; regardless of whether it is ultimately tenable to characterize a whole millennium in this way, the pattern he identified in the literature finds further support in the present research.

Versions of the same underworld myths and incantations continued to be copied and collected in this period. One incantation text found in a copy at Nineveh describes a (demonized) fever as "a goring ox (alpi),"[31] while another seeks to make a (demonized) headache fly away "like the bird (iṣṣuri) of the open steppes."[32] How-

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[28] After George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 1:642–43; see also Stephanie Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 89.

[29] For example, in the twelfth tablet of *Ašakki marṣûti* ("fever sickness"), the fever is portrayed in sequence as a frost, a rainstorm, a bull, an enemy, lightning, etc.—a full inventory of the imagery is impeded by the broken text (Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 2:39).

[30] Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 228. For the magical texts pertaining to ghosts, see Scurlock, "Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts," 5.

[31] *Ašakki marṣûti*, XII.4. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 2:38–39; *CT* 17, plate 27. In the Neo-Babylonian version of the "Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar," line 51, the one lamenting prays, "O angry wild ox (rīmi), let thy spirit be appeased" (*ANET*[3], 384). Ishtar, as we have already seen, has a significant underworld aspect.

[32] *Ṭi'i* IX.145. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 2:76–77; *CT* 17, plate 22. Note also *Utukki limnûti* V.20, which describes evil spirits as crying out like an owl (Thompson, 1:50–51; *CT* 16, plate 12), and V.ii.61, which threatens the spirit: "If you would fly up to heaven / You shall have no wings." (Thompson, 1:62–63).

ever, the exemplar of the trend that Jacobsen identified is the text referred to as
"The Netherworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince." This account was preserved in a
private archive in a house in the remains of Aššur, sacked in 612 B.C.E. In the text,
the prince Kummâ, who may represent Aššurbanipal, has multiple, highly detailed
dreams of the underworld that appear to serve as warnings not to neglect the serv-
ice of the gods. After the first dream and its appearance by Ereškigal, Kummâ awak-
ens and mourns "like a dove (*summe*)."[33] Then he dreams again and sees the entire
divine cohort of the netherworld:

> I saw Namtar (NAM.TAR), the vizier of the underworld, who fashions the visceral
> omens; a man stood before him, while he held the hair of his head in his left
> hand, and wielded a dagger in the right […]
>
> Namtartu, his wife, had the head of a cherub, (her) hands and feet being
> human. Death had the head of a dragon, his hands were human, his feet […]
>
> The Evil Genie had a human head and hands, was crowned with a tiara and
> had the feet of an eagle.[34] With his left foot he was trampling on a *crocodile*.
> Alluhappu had a lion's[35] head, his four hands and feet (like) those of a human
> being.
>
> The Upholder of Evil had the head of a bird,[36] his wings (*akappu*) were spread
> out and he flew here and there; (his) hands and feet were human. Humut-tabal,
> the ferryman of the underworld had an Anzû head, his hands and feet […]
>
> The *Ghost* (GIDIM[= *eṭemmu*]) had an ox's (GUD) head, his four hands and feet
> were (like) those of human beings. The Evil Spirit (*utukku*) had a lion's head,
> (his) hands and feet were like those on Anzû. Šulak was a lion, standing con-
> stantly on his hind legs.
>
> The Oath had a goat's head, (his) hands and feet were human. Nedu, the porter
> of the underworld, had a lion's head, and human hands, his feet were those of a
> bird. Total Evil had two heads, one was the head of a lion, the second was the
> head of […].
>
> [Muh]ra had three feet, the two front ones were those of a bird, the rear one
> was that of a bull (GUD.NITÁ[37]). He had fearsome and luminous splendor. Of two
> gods I did not know the names—one had the head, hands and feet of Anzû, in his
> left hand […]
>
> The other had a man's head, he was crowned with a tiara, carried in his right
> hand a mace, in his left hand, before him, . . . In all, fifteen gods were present."[38]

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[33] Note the "Prayer of Lamentation to Ishtar," line 64: "I mourn like a dove, night and day"
(*ANET*³, 384).

[34] Here the orthography is ÉR.MUŠEN—literally, "weeping bird" or "lamentation-bird." Alasdair
Livingstone guesses that this may be "an esoteric writing for *erû*," but given the association of song-
birds with mourning, that is the more likely referent (*Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* [SAA 3;
Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989], 72).

[35] "Lion" is written as UR.MAḪ throughout this pericope.

[36] "Bird" is written as MUŠEN throughout this pericope.

[37] NITÁ = "male," thus "male ox."

[38] Livingstone, *Court Poetry,* 68–69.

Of the fifteen gods, six have birdlike features, counting the two with Anzû-like hands or feet, which amount to the same thing.[39] Notably, these include references to birds' feet and wings. There are also two deities with bull- or oxlike features. The only other nonhuman entity mentioned more than once is the lion, which represents another major thread of ancient representation of underworld demons—but one that cannot be addressed here.[40]

In summary, then, animal imagery was firmly associated with underworld figures by the first half of the first millennium B.C.E.,[41] and this is especially true of the animals that are used to portray Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4:30.

The final element in Dan 4:30 that has yet to be discussed is Nebuchadnezzar's drenching with the "rain of heaven"[42]—although this could also be translated "rain of the skies," "heaven" better captures the sense that the rain is to be seen as a facet of divine judgment. It is admittedly more difficult to trace rain imagery across the millennia, but rain and storms were certainly long-standing images for supernatural affliction. Such imagery is particularly rampant in the series *Utukki limnûti*, where the evil spirits are described as "cold and rain that diminish all things" (V.i.1), "great storms directed from heaven" (V.i.16), "destructive storms" (V.ii.65), and "the deluge of the Storm-God" (XVI.13).[43]

In the Bible, whereas rain is typically seen as a form of agricultural blessing (e.g., Gen 27:28, 39), it can also be a sign of suffering, as in Job's complaint about God's treatment of the poor and oppressed:

> The poor of the earth all hide themselves.
> Like wild asses in the desert they go out to their toil . . .
> They lie all night naked, without clothing,
>   and have no covering in the cold.
> They are wet with the rain of the mountains,
>   and cling to the rock for want of shelter. (Job 24:4b–5a, 7–8)

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[39] Black and Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols,* 43.

[40] There is significant textual variance between the MT of Daniel 4 and the Old Greek version attested in three manuscripts (88 [Codex Chrisianus, ninth–eleventh century C.E.], Syrohexapla 615–617 C.E.], and 967 [Pre-Hexaplaric: late second/early third century C.E.]). For my purposes, the primary issue posed by the textual variance is that the OG and the MT compare Nebuchadnezzar's nails to those of different animals. Both the OG and the MT attest to his eating grass like an ox, and to his hair growing long like an eagle's feathers; however, the MT gives him bird claws while the OG offers lion claws.

[41] While my central line of argumentation is textual, it is likely that a dedicated iconographic study could augment my findings. Iconographic representations of winged demons from diverse periods and locations may be seen, e.g., in *CANE*, 1897; and Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 79, 83.

[42] For טל as "rain," see *HALOT,* 374; e.g., Zech 8:12.

[43] This is only a representative sampling of phrases. See Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 1:esp. 50–115.

The inclement weather of Ezra 10:9 may also bear connotations of divine displeasure: "All the people sat in the open square before the house of God, trembling because of this matter and because of the heavy rain."

While Mesopotamian texts offer the most significant comparative resources for the imagery of Dan 4:30, there are numerous other ancient Near Eastern traditions that represent demons and the dead in the form of animals, especially birds. Therefore, in addition to the possibility of specific influence from Israel's historical interactions with Mesopotamian powers, one must reckon with the likelihood of a broader stream of tradition.

In Egypt, as is well known, the *ba*-bird (human-headed soul) was a significant feature of beliefs about the world of the dead, especially from the Middle Kingdom onward. It was believed that, after death, the *ba*-bird was able to "leave the grave-shaft . . . and provide the corpse, which remained in the depths, with every good thing."[44] It therefore became not only a feature of texts but a very common iconographic motif in funerary preparations. Furthermore, no fewer than twelve chapters of *The Book of the Dead* are devoted to providing the deceased with the words of power, the recital of which was necessary to enable the deceased to transform him- or herself into various animals, including a "hawk of gold," a "divine hawk," a *bennu*-bird (i.e., a phoenix), a heron, and a swallow.[45]

Furthermore, in Jewish and Christian writings of later periods, demonic figures are repeatedly associated with birds: Mastema's messengers in *Jubilees* 11, Azazel in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–8, and Satan in *b. Sanh.* 107a, line 8. The passage concerning the "wicked woman" in 4Q184 describes this hostess of Sheol as having "a multitude of sins in her wings." Satan is also portrayed as a bird in the NT (Mark 4:15). Thus, animal symbolism for the dead continued through the period of Daniel's composition and redaction—and beyond.

It must be clarified that any argument for the *literary* dependence of Daniel 4 on any of the aforementioned texts goes beyond the available data, and that is not what is argued here.[46] Despite the common use of ancient Near Eastern literature

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[44] Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 65.

[45] This diversity of birds suggests that perhaps the question of the significance of the various specific species named was not of primary importance to the ancients, but that there was a fairly broad association of birds with the dead.

[46] Despite this disclaimer, some scholars are quite sanguine about the possibility of more direct influence. Helge S. Kvanvig suggests that the author of Daniel had access to Mesopotamian texts. His comment about "The Netherworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince" is even more likely to apply to the other Akkadian texts referenced here, since they, unlike the "Netherworld Vision," are demonstrably part of the scribal tradition: "[T]here must have been some transference of traditions derived from this vision in its Akkadian form, or in an Aramaic translation or summary, to the composer of Daniel 7. The problem is that no such traditions are known. . . . The problem must not, however, be exaggerated. If the Vision of the Nether World gave rise to later traditions, it is not unlikely to assume that they were preserved in the Aramaic language. . . . If the traditions were written down in Aramaic, it is not surprising that they have not survived, because of the material used" (*Roots of Apocalyptic:*

to illumine facets of the biblical text, scholars typically must be modest about the precise mechanisms behind such cultural affinities.[47] Still, at the time that Judahites went into exile in Babylon, a complex set of images about the world of the dead appears to have been in full flower in Mesopotamia—in canonical myths, in apotropaic spell-prayers, and in private compositions. It is likely that Jewish authors would have been exposed to it and influenced by it, probably via Aramaic. The Daniel cycle in general certainly shows evidence of Babylonian cultural influence, and this is only part of the Hebrew Bible's broad pattern of adaptation of Mesopotamian traditions, from the primeval history to the Psalms to the wisdom dialogue in Job.

In light of all this, it should not be surprising that one can see in the OT muted echoes of the sort of underworld animal imagery just cited, even before the time of Daniel. It has sometimes been noted in studies of biblical imagery that animals of various sorts symbolize demonic assailants.[48] For example, in Ps 22:13–19 images of bulls, lions, dogs, and sickness are inextricably entangled. The Mesopotamian texts cited above suggest that the animals are to be seen as demonic assailants rather than as human ones, since, in the ancient Near East, demons were perceived to inflict sickness.[49] Neither in that psalm nor in Dan 4:30 have multiple sources been

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The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man [WMANT 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988], 540–41).

[47] To cite two examples from a single recent volume on this same topic: Karel van der Toorn says that "the cuneiform evidence illuminates the eviscerate biblical demonology," but adds: "Whether the biblical authors were consciously adopting this [Erra] motif from Babylonia is doubt-ful at best; it was after all, quite common in the ancient Near Eastern literature." He concludes that it was a "parallel development" ("The Theology of Demons in Mesopotamia and Israel," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. Armin Lange et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003], 82). Similarly, Loren Stuckenbruck argues that facets of the Gilgamesh epic inform our understanding of the Book of Giants found at Qumran. He is more positive than van der Toorn about literary influence and suspects "the knowledge of oral, perhaps even literary, traditions originating from Mesopotamia among learned circles of Judaism during the final centuries B.C.E." But Stuckenbruck, too, is cautious: "We do not know how the author(s) of [the Book of Giants] became knowledgeable of any of these traditions" ("Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen*, ed. Lange et al., 337).

[48] There is no doubt that in many cases the animal imagery of the Psalms (unlike the imagery of sickness and death) is different from that of its Mesopotamian neighbors—animals often sym-bolize "threats encountered from *within* the human community" (William P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002], 136; italics in original). That may be why a number of good treatments of that imagery make very little of these connections.

[49] The most notable proponent of the view that demons are afoot in the Psalter has been Sigmund Mowinckel, but he makes little of the animal associations (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship* [2 vols.; New York: Abingdon, 1962], 2:2–8). Keel, however, does make this connection in *Symbol-ism of the Biblical World*, 78–85. Note also Brent Strawn, "Psalm 22:17b: More Guessing," *JBL* 119 (2000): 439–51, esp. 447. Certainly there are also cases in which animals are used to symbolize human assailants. For examples, see Karel van der Toorn: "In the Lions' Den: The Babylonian Background

combined; as in the Gilgamesh episode above, composite imagery is expected in the poetic descriptions of the supernatural.

The two Aramaic words translated as "bird" and "eagle" in Dan 4:30 are צְפַּר and נְשַׁר. The other scarce occurrences of the words in Biblical Aramaic are not useful for determining their significance.[50] However, a look at the appearances of the cognate Hebrew terms (צִפּוֹר and נֶשֶׁר) widens the scope and is more fruitful. G. R. Driver concluded that "[t]he *nešer* is without doubt primarily the vulture[51] . . . [which] congregate often in considerable numbers from invisible distances about a fallen camel or other dying or dead beast."[52] *HALOT* has accepted Driver's judgment, listing "vulture" as the first definition.[53] Proverbs 30:17 is one text in which the term must mean "vulture" rather than "eagle:"

> The eye that mocks a father
> and scorns to obey a mother
> will be pecked out by the ravens of the valley
> and eaten by the vultures.

Job 39:30 makes a similar connection: "Where the slain are, there it [i.e., the *nešer*] is." It does not require much imagination to understand why vultures were associated with death—the image of these menacing creatures swooping in from a distance to gather around a corpse tells the whole story. This is not to deny that in other cases the term must mean eagle (e.g., Deut 28:49); it seems that the two were not completely distinguished terminologically, although the ancients certainly knew their fauna. Thus, the literary imagery is able to pick up characteristics of both eagle (attacking) and vulture (congregating around the dying).

Driver concluded that "*ṣippor* refers to a general class of birds" including most commonly the sparrow, whose doleful call seems to have distinguished the *ṣippor* for association with the dead, well before the time of Daniel.[54] The Hebrew root *ṣpr* may be related to *ṣpp* in that both seem to have been onomatopoeic for bird calls, and bird calls, in turn, were likened by Isaiah to the cries of ghosts.

> Consult the ghosts and the familiar spirits that chirp (המצפצפים) and mutter. (Isa 8:19)

> Then deep from the earth you shall speak,
> from low in the dust your words shall come;
> your voice shall come from the ground like the voice of a ghost,
> and your speech shall chirp (תצפצף) out of the dust. (Isa 29:4)

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of a Biblical Motif," *CBQ* 60 (1998): 626–40; and J. J. M. Roberts, "The Young Lions of Psalm 34:11," *Bib* 54 (1973): 265–67.

[50] In Biblical Aramaic, *ṣippar* appears only in Dan 4:9, 11, 18; *nĕšar* appears only in 7:4.

[51] Specifically, the griffon vulture, *gyps vulvus*.

[52] G. R. Driver, "Birds in the Old Testament," *PEQ* 87 (1955): 5–20, here 8–9.

[53] Driver is supported by the Arabic cognate, *nisr*, "vulture."

[54] Driver, "Birds," 6.

The juxtaposition of these somewhat pathetic images with the powerful and threatening imagery of eagles/vultures captures well the paradoxical nature of the spirits of the dead to which I have already referred.[55] H. W. F. Saggs and Marjo C. A. Korpel have argued that the souls of the dead (or suffering) are portrayed as birds in texts such as Ps 124:7 and Ezek 13:17–23.[56]

A related motif in the Bible, found most commonly in prophetic judgment oracles, is the association of the imagery of wild animals with desert wastelands, places of destruction:

> From generation to generation [Edom] shall lie waste;
> 　no one shall pass through it forever and ever.
> But the hawk and the hedgehog shall possess it;
> 　the owl and the raven shall live in it.
> . . . .
> Thorns shall grow over its strongholds,
> 　nettles and thistles in its fortresses.
> It shall be the haunt of jackals,
> 　an abode for ostriches.
> Wildcats shall meet with hyenas,
> 　goat-demons shall call to each other;
> there too Lilith shall repose,
> 　and find a place to rest.
> There shall the owl nest and lay and hatch and brood in its shadow;
> 　there too the buzzards shall gather, each one with its mate.
>
> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Isa 34:10b–15; cf. 13:19–22)

Such passages have a certain affinity with texts describing the Mesopotamian geography of the netherworld, which was accessed by means of a "demon-infested steppe."[57] This same association of birds with the bodies of the slain may be found as widely in the Near East as ancient Egypt (see the discussion of the *ba*, above) and pre-Islamic Arab religion, in which it was believed that the "bird" of those who died badly might turn into an angry, screeching owl and haunt the site of death and seek revenge for its body's suffering. Thus, the owl became a common motif in the poetry of that culture, as a symbol of wastelands—places of danger, warfare, and death.[58] Indeed, this theme appears in the NT as well:

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[55] See also n. 71.

[56] The argument regarding Ezekiel 13 depends partly on understanding the contested term מספחות as "fowler's net." See H. W. F. Saggs, "'External Souls' in the Old Testament," *JSS* 19 (1974): 1–12; and Marjo C. A. Korpel, "Avian Spirits in Ugarit and Ezekiel 13," in *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Essays Presented in Honour of Professor John C.L. Gibson* (ed. N. Wyatt et al.; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996), 99–113.

[57] Scurlock, "Death and the Afterlife," 1886. For further discussion of the geography of the netherworld, see John F. Healey, "Das Land ohne Wiederkehr: Die Unterwelt im antiken Ugarit und im Alten Testament," *TQ* 177 (1997): 94–104.

[58] T. Emil Homerin, "Echoes of a Thirsty Owl: Death and Afterlife in Pre-Islamic Arabic

Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great!
It has become a dwelling place of demons,
   a haunt of every foul spirit,
a haunt of every foul bird,
   a haunt of every foul and hateful beast. (Rev 18:2)

II. Demonic Assault and the Portrayal of the Victim

Thus far we have shown that demons and the dead are frequently portrayed with animal characteristics, and that suffering was commonly attributed to demonic assault in the ancient Near East. But Nebuchadnezzar is one who is suffering in Dan 4:30—why would he be the one portrayed with mythical underworld attributes? It is not often noticed that a transformation can happen to the one who suffers such an assault: the victim can begin to *look like* the dead even before he or she reaches the underworld. This transformation may involve naturalistic and/or mythical features.

For an example, we might return to Gilgamesh: When the underworld creature attacks Enkidu to haul him off to the underworld, Enkidu says:

[…] he turned me into a dove (*summe*)
[he trussed] my arms, like the wings of a bird (MUŠEN).[59]

Enkidu begins to be portrayed as a bird as he is being taken to the netherworld. It is as if he is being "possessed" by the spirit who abducts him. Similarly, in a Sumero-Akkadian apotropaic text, an *utukku*-demon is said to "enshroud" or "cover" a man.[60] And in the Maqlû incantation series, we find a protective spell against a "mighty hand" that "clamps down upon a young man like a bird snare."[61]

This motif of transformation is equally clear in prayers of lament and thanksgiving. In "Man and His God," a Sumerian "just-sufferer" composition, one sees a set of descriptions of sickness as demonic assault that is very similar to the Sumerian spell texts reviewed above.

Suffering overwhelms me
   like a weeping child
In the hands of Fate,
   (my) features had been changed,

Poetry," *JNES* 44 (1985): 168. See also Peter Riede, *Im Netz des Jägers: Studien zur Feind-metaphorik der Individualpsalmen* (WMANT 85; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 293.

[59] George, *Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 1:644–45; cf. Foster, *Epic of Gilgamesh*, 57–58.

[60] Akkadian *katāmu* (*Utukki limnûti* series, tablet T, line 10; Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 1:182–83).

[61] Maqlû III.159–61. Gerhard Meier, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Orientforschung 2; Berlin: Im Selbstverlage des Herausgebers, 1937), 27.

> my breath of life had been carried off.
> Asag,[62] the evil one, bathes in my body.
> . . . .
> How long will you not care for me,
>   will you not look after me?
> Like an ox I would like to rise toward you,
>   but you do not let me rise,
> You do not let me take the right course.[63]

Asag is a prominent demon of sickness, and the name translated as "Fate" is NAM.TAR, a netherworld demon of fatal sickness and the harbinger of death. He is the same figure who evolved into the vizier of the underworld in Kummâ's vision. Fate is frequently thought to be in the hands of the underworld gods.[64]

In the second half of the citation, the description of the constrained ox moves closer to later texts, in which animal characteristics are frequently attributed to the sufferer. The same theme is attested in a number of bilingual Sumero-Akkadian ritual prayers. One reads: "Like a dove I moan. I am surfeited with sighing."[65] Perhaps the imagery became more complex and interwoven as the genre aged, combining different animal features in a single description:

> Wailing bitterly, lamenting bitterly.
> Like a dove (*summati*) distressed he moans night and day.
> To his own god, the merciful one, he cries like a cow (*litti*).
> Sorrowfully he makes lament to you. . . .[66]

Indeed, these composite descriptions are prone to combine many of the same images as Daniel 4. For example, a number of prayers use the imagery of binding or chains (recalling the "fetter of iron and bronze" from Dan 4:12, 23) in close proximity to animal imagery:

> In his illness he rests not from his chains.[67]
> The *mašmašu* by incantation relieves him not.
> Like an ox (*alpi*) he lies in his own dung.
> Like a sheep he is soiled in his own excrement.[68]

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[62] A demon of sickness, esp. causing headaches.

[63] *COS* 1:573. S. N. Kramer, "'A Man and His God': A Sumerian Variation on the 'Job' Motif," in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East: Presented to Prof. Harold Henry Rowley* (ed. M. Noth and D. W. Thomas; Leiden: Brill, 1955), 175, 179.

[64] Note also *Ludlul* II.37: "Who understands the plans of the underworld gods?"

[65] Stephen Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms* (Paris: Geuthner, 1927), 81; cf. Isa 38:14: "Like a swallow or a crane I clamor, / I moan like a dove."

[66] After Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, 35–36.

[67] For the image of fetters, see also Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, 64: "Break his chains, unfasten his bonds. / Lighten his confusion, entrust him unto his god, his maker." This is not intended to dispute Henze's work on images of metal-bound trees in ancient Mesopotamia, which is quite cogent. See also Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 478–80.

[68] Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, 44–45.

These final two verses may also link the ox to the imagery of the world of the dead. We have seen that the fear of living in and eating dust and dirt was a feature of Mesopotamian underworld mythology. The same may perhaps be said of excrement. Paolo Xella argues that Mesopotamians absorbed from the Egyptians the fear of eating feces and drinking urine in the underworld (as attested in *The Book of the Dead*).[69] Only one in dire physical condition lies in one's own waste.

In any case, these comparisons point to intriguing precursors to the extensive inbreaking of the world of the dead into the life of the sufferer as imaged in later Akkadian laments. One of the best examples of this is *Ludlul bel nemeqi*, or "The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer." *Ludlul* suggests itself in part because it shares its essential "plot" with Daniel 4—each text moves from an introductory call to praise to an account of trouble and salvation, and each closes with further praise—a form reminiscent of prayers of thanksgiving. *Ludlul bel nemeqi* is also the poem's opening line, and means "Let me praise the Lord of wisdom!" Similarly, Nebuchadnezzar begins his story in Dan 3:32 with these words: "The signs and wonders that the Most High God has worked for me I am pleased to recount!" Unfortunately most of the end of *Ludlul* is lost, but what is restored of tablet IV certainly has a hymnic flavor:

> The Lord took hold of me,
> The Lord set me on my feet,
> The Lord gave me life.
> . . . .
> Who but Marduk restores his dead to life?" (IV.2–4, 33)

In a similar fashion, Daniel 4 ends with this exclamation:

> I praise and extol and honor the King of heaven,
>   for all his works are truth, and his ways are justice;
>   and he is able to bring low those who walk in pride.

These general observations invite a comparison of some more specific features of *Ludlul*'s imagery. To a great degree, the speaker, Šubši-mešre-šakkan, attributes his great and numerous sufferings to the work of malevolent powers, and he frequently describes his sufferings using death imagery. At one point, he says, "my grave was open, my funerary goods ready" (II.114). In this context, and in light of the texts already covered, a number of lines stand out, such as this couplet from tablet I:

> I moan like a dove (*summe*)[70] all my days,
> Like a singer I groan out my lament. (I.107–8)

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[69] Paolo Xella, "Sur la Nourriture des Morts," in *Death in Mesopotamia: XXVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (ed. Bendt Alster; Copenhagen: Academisk Vorlag, 1980).

[70] For the Akkadian text, see the edition of W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 21–62.

Near the end of tablet II is a sequence strikingly similar to the bilingual laments noted above in its reference to imprisonment in the flesh and comparison to herd animals:

> My house turned into my prison.
> My flesh was a shackle, my arms being useless.
> . . . .
> Through twisting, my sinews are parted,
> My arms are splayed and thrust apart.
> I spent the night in my dung like an ox (*alpi*),
> I wallowed in my excrement like a sheep. (II.97–98, 104–7)

Clearly the composer is working with traditional materials here, and *Ludlul* seems to add a subtle reference to Enkidu's binding in *Gilgamesh* in the detail of the arms splayed and thrust apart.

Elsewhere in tablet II the process of dying is explicitly compared to a transformation into a spirit from the underworld: "A demon has clothed itself in my body for a garment" (II.71—note the comparison to the Sumerian Asag text above). That line precedes a passage describing the loss of feeling and movement. It continues:

> Signs of death have shrouded my face!
> . . . I can't respond to the inquirer.
> "[Ala]s!" they weep. I have lost consciousness.[71] (II.81–83)

In this section the association between demonic attack and death from sickness is still quite intact, but it is now expressed in naturalistic language of physical processes in addition to the mythological adoption of animal attributes noted above.

As Šubši-mešre-šakkan's suffering worsens, he reflects on the effects of suffering:

> People's motivations change in a twinkling!
> Starving, they become like corpses,
> Full, they would rival their gods.
> In good times, they speak of scaling heaven,
> When it goes badly they complain of going down to hell (*irkalla*). (II.43–47)

"Going down to hell" is precisely what is described in his lament and others from ancient Mesopotamia; as this happens, the sufferer is portrayed as taking on the mythical physical characteristics of the dead.

The same phenomenon may be observed in the Bible. As Sigmund Mowinckel noted some time ago, distress in the Psalms is depicted "not only as a deadly dan-

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[71] Cf. Foster's translation in *COS* 1:489.

ger but as a real *state of death*."[72] Indeed, imagery of inbreaking death is also common in the Psalter. To take only the most obvious set of texts:

> Ropes of Sheol encircled me; snares of Death confronted me. (Ps. 18:6)

> My vigor dries up like a shard; my tongue cleaves to my palate; You commit me to the dust of death. (Ps. 22:16)

> What is to be gained from my death, from my descent into the Pit? Can dust praise You? Can it declare Your faithfulness? (Ps. 30:10)

> My heart is convulsed within me; terrors of death assail me. (Ps. 55:5)

> From my youth I have been afflicted and near death; I suffer Your terrors wherever I turn. (Ps. 88:16)

> The bonds of death encompassed me; the torments of Sheol overtook me. I came upon trouble and sorrow. (Ps. 116:3)

Similarly, the psalmists' praise for restoration is often cast in terms of salvation *from* death (33:18–19; 56:13; 68:20; 109:31; 116:8; 118:18).

As in psalms of thanksgiving, *Ludlul bel nemeqi* enacts a restoration from near-death through divine mercy. In tablet III, a number of healer figures appear in Šubši-mešre-šakkan's dreams, some sent by gods such as Marduk. Step by step, these healers restore all of the parts of Šubši's body that had malfunctioned in his sorry state in tablet II. His restoration, like his suffering, echoes imagery noted earlier. Some of these cures occur in a broken section, but they are still suggestive. He recounts that the healer "pared my nails"[73] (III.f), which evokes the long nails of demons. Some healing activity is applied to his knees, "which were tied and bound like a bird's" (III.h)—like Enkidu's when he was taken down to hell.

There are other signs of underworld imagery in the poem, but there is no need to belabor a point that the poem itself states explicitly: ancient Mesopotamians expressed their suffering as a descent into hell or as a possession by demonic spirits of the underworld. In the process, they are often portrayed as taking on the mythological physical characteristics of the dead.[74]

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[72] Mowinckel, *Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 1:239. Adds Claus Westermann: In the Psalms "pain and sorrow are understood as steps toward death. Death is not only the end of physical life; it is a power which projects itself into life" (*The Psalms: Structure, Content and Message* [trans. R. Gehrke; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1980], 57).

[73] Cf. Foster's translation in *COS* 1:491; also Ball, "Daniel and Babylon," 239.

[74] This phenomenon may partly explain the dichotomous (powerful/powerless) nature of the images for the dead. Afflicted by the fierce bird demon, the sufferer becomes the mournful songbird. Assaulted by the raging bull demon, the sufferer becomes the passive, domesticated ox. However logical this may be, it cannot be shown conclusively that this logic was recognized by the ancient writers.

A final step in our tracing of this theme into Daniel 4 is to note that *eventually no explicit reference to demonic powers was necessary* to evoke this association between animal characteristics and suffering or death. This phenomenon can be seen in the story of Aḥiqar, which found great currency in the ancient world, and whose oldest attestation is in an Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine dating to the fifth century B.C.E.[75] It is the tale of a wise man of the court who is framed by a treacherous nephew for treason against his king and is forced to hide in a pit. After a period of time, he is needed again by the kingdom and so is sought by the king. Aḥiqar recounts that when the king opens the "prison" . . . "I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like an eagle's (*nšrʾ*)."[76] The nails like eagles' claws are a hint of the mythical layer that lies beneath what otherwise seems to be a naturalistic description. As in biblical imagery, the pit itself sets the scene for the netherworld—especially in the psalms, those "who go down to the pit" are the dead.[77] The body "foul with dust" recalls the dust of the tomb, and the eagles' claws again show that those who go down to the underworld begin to take on the birdlike features of the dead. Aḥiqar's affliction is imaged in terms of a descent to hell, as in Mesopotamian laments. And, at this late stage, this is done without explicit reference to demonic assault.

After he is brought up from the pit, Aḥiqar undergoes treatments to restore him from his deathly condition that are similar to those of Šubši-mešre-šakkan: his brow is shaved and his nails are pared. The same hair and nails that are featured in Daniel are thus noted in Aḥiqar and *Ludlul*.

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[75] A sense of the scope of the Aḥiqar story's dissemination and influence may be gleaned from J. M. Lindenberger's introduction to his translation in *OTP* 2:479–93, esp. 480, 486–90. A similar list of texts for comparative study, along with a translation of the Syriac version (see following note) is offered by R. H. Charles in *APOT* 2:716–19.

[76] F. C. Conybeare, *The Story of Aḥikar* (2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), 116; Syriac text c. V.12. Unfortunately, in the oldest extant source, the Elephantine papyrus, the text is very broken at the point where Aḥiqar is hidden, and immediately afterward it breaks off entirely. However, the later Syriac version, cited here, is broadly thought to be closer to the Aramaic than any other surviving recension of the story. More important still is the information from the book of Tobit: one of the few details of the Aḥiqar story preserved there is that "while still alive, [he was] brought down into the earth" (Tob 14:10). The very structure of this paradox shows the author's familiarity with the pit-as-underworld metaphor. Tobit goes on to recount that God vindicated Aḥiqar, so that his scheming nephew took his place: "Aḥiqar came out into the light, but Nadab went into the eternal darkness, because he tried to kill Aḥiqar." Because this pit-as-death scene is recounted in Tobit, and because Tobit dates to the third or fourth century B.C.E. in a probable Jewish, Aramaic original, the underworld aspect of the Aḥiqar tale must have had some currency in Jewish circles around the time of the composition of Daniel. See van der Toorn, "In the Lions' Den."

[77] See Pss 28:1; 30:4, 10; 53:24; 88:5; 143:7; see also Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 69–73.

III. Conclusions

With such extensive background already laid out, conclusions can be drawn with relative brevity. Like *Aḥiqar,* Daniel 4 uses imagery of the underworld to convey to the reader the extreme affliction of its main character: Nebuchadnezzar "ate grass like oxen, and his body was drenched with the dew of heaven, until his hair grew as long as that of eagles and his nails like those of birds." These descriptors, far from being naturalistic, are impressionistic, poetic evocations of long traditions of prayer. Apart from those traditions, the animal imagery makes very little sense at all. Certainly it has never been shown that animal imagery was commonly used to portray madness; thus, the reference in Dan 4:31 to the restoration of reason— "When that period was over, I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, and my reason returned to me. I blessed the Most High, and praised and honored the one who lives forever"—should not be understood to determine the meaning of the imagery in 4:30. Instead, the animal images in 4:30 express suffering, lending detail and poignancy to Nebuchadnezzar's condition. The madness mentioned in 4:31 (after the fact) is simply a further symptom of the divine affliction, as it sometimes is in Mesopotamian apotropaic incantations (e.g., *Ṭi'i* IX.20, where the sufferer is "like one who has lost his mind [*libbašu*]").[78]

As in *Aḥiqar*, Daniel 4 uses imagery of affliction to set the stage for salvation; and as in prayer texts, the suffering is seen as the punishment of God (4:28), but the restoration follows quickly upon the description of the sufferer's ultimate degradation.

In neither *Aḥiqar* nor Daniel 4 is every possible motif evoking the underworld found: for example, Dan 4:30 omits the imagery of the dust and the pit that is commonly associated with the netherworld, while *Aḥiqar* restricts itself strictly to bird imagery, omitting the other animals that may symbolize demonic assailants. Comprehensive fidelity to a set of images is not to be expected, since each text moves within certain literary constraints.

In summary, then, the animals of Dan 4:30 (bull, eagle, and songbird) can each symbolize demons and the dead (or the nearly dead) in ancient Near Eastern texts of various genres. Although any one of the animals in question may mean something different in another context, the setting of supernatural affliction imbues this set of imagery with its traditional force. In the Mesopotamian and Israelite prayer traditions, such demonic figures were frequently depicted as assaulting a sick or afflicted person. Indeed, death was seen as a force that could break into a human life and begin to take it over. As the sufferer was overwhelmed by the forces of the underworld, he or she often was portrayed as taking on the characteristics of the dead, both naturalistic (medical) and mythological. This process can be seen

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[78] Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits,* 2:66–67; *CT* 17, plate 19.

both in Mesopotamian texts such as *Ludlul bel nemeqi* and in biblical texts such as the Psalms. Although this adoption of underworld traits can be seen most clearly in poetic texts, even prose texts such as *Aḥiqar* and Daniel 4 begin to co-opt the set of images for similar purposes: to express the depth of the suffering of the one telling the story.

Daniel 4 makes this co-option clearer by adopting certain literary (esp. hymnic) features of prayers of thanksgiving. It might be said to play with and subvert that genre, just as it plays with and subverts the historical reality of the Babylonian empire.[79] While the portrait of Nebuchadnezzar may be strange to modern readers, the chapter's overall movement from affliction to salvation to thanksgiving would have been familiar to a people shaped by praying the psalms.[80] Surely many literate Jews in the Second Temple period would have understood Nebuchadnezzar's affliction in just this light.

[79] As Carol Newsom remarked in her recent monograph on Job: "Texts do not 'belong' to genres, so much as participate in them, invoke them, gesture to them, play in and out of them, and in doing so continually change them. . . . The point is not simply to identify the genre in which a text participates, but to analyze that participation in terms of the rhetorical strategies of the text" (*The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003], 12).

[80] Walter Brueggemann has argued that "the people of Israel perceived their entire existence in the form of petition and thanks. They were aware of distress, but more aware of Yahweh's powerful deliverance" (*The Psalms and the Life of Faith* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995], 77). He asserts that most of the major narrative themes of the Hebrew Bible are shaped in accordance with a pattern of affliction, salvation, and thanksgiving.

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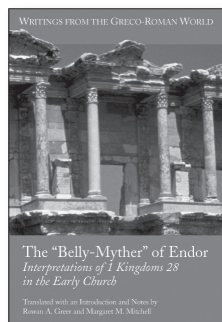
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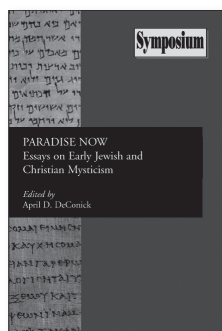
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Jewish Leadership and Hellenistic Civic Benefaction in the Second Century B.C.E.

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The abridgment of a multivolume history into a single book requires a penchant for economy, a discerning eye, and, in particular, the selection of words that minimize verbiage yet maximize meaning. Seldom has one prompted so much discourse, out of so few words, as the epitomist of 2 Maccabees when he coined the terms "Judaism" and "Hellenism."[1] Over two millennia later, these two words stand at the forefront of research on Jews of the Greco-Roman era.[2] The attention lavished on "Judaism" and "Hellenism" is due to the wide and complex array of phenomena that they represent, and scholars have endeavored to break down these terms in an effort to understand better their relationship to each other. While Judaism of the Second Temple period has been well atomized, few attempts have been made to unpack the component parts of Hellenism that were encountered by Jews.[3]

One such element of Hellenism that appears in our sources for ancient Judea is *euergetism*, a neologism created from the wording of Greek honorific decrees

[1] For sources on the terms "Judaism" and "Hellenism" in 2 Maccabees, see Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3–4.

[2] For reviews of modern scholarship, see Martha Himmelfarb, "Elias Bickerman on Judaism and Hellenism," in *The Jewish Past Revisited: Reflections on Modern Jewish Historians* (ed. David N. Myers and David B. Ruderman; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 200–211; and Lee I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 3–32.

[3] Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 1–14.

that recognized a εὐεργέτης ("benefactor") of the city.[4] Euergetism was a form of civic benefaction in which a voluntary gift to a city was recognized and repaid with rewards that carried high symbolic value. This informal institution was ubiquitous throughout the Greek-speaking world from the fifth century B.C.E. onwards and was defined by a remarkably consistent set of features.[5] A benefactor would personally provide the city with one or more contributions that might include food, construction projects, public games, fortifications or other forms of defense, victory in military campaigns or athletic competitions, various municipal services, and/or provisions for the local cult.[6] In return, the εὐεργέτης would be recognized for his or her contribution/s with a prize drawn from a fairly standardized set of rewards. The gift most characteristic of euergetism was an honorary decree passed by the local council that recounted the benefactor's contribution/s to the city and bestowed personal honors upon the εὐεργέτης. The honors set forth in the decree were also symbolized by other gifts given to the benefactor, including statues in his or her image, crowns, and/or seats of honor at games and festivals. The gifts were awarded in public ceremonies that praised the benefactor, and the decrees themselves were inscribed and displayed in prominent locations, serving to publicize the benefaction, encourage others to contribute to the city, and elevate the social status of the εὐεργέτης.[7]

For the Jews, however, the rewards granted to a εὐεργέτης posed a number of potential problems. Material evidence suggests that Jews rigorously avoided statues and other images of human figures in the pre-70 C.E. era, probably owing to a strict understanding of the second commandment (Exod 20:4) as a prohibition against images of living beings.[8] Uneasiness surrounded Greek-style games and competitions, which were viewed as alien and unacceptable to some (2 Macc 4:13–17).[9] 1 Maccabees (8:14), Philo (*Decalogue* 1.4–7), and Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 2.217–18) stake out ideological positions against crowns, silver and gold objects, conspicuous monuments, and public marks of distinction, scorning them as symbols of self-

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[4] Paul Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism* (trans. Brian Pearce; London: Penguin Press, 1990), 10; *OCD* ad loc.

[5] For a summary, see Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, eds., *Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 1:356–57.

[6] See the sources cited in Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 102, 105–8; Guy M. Rogers, "Demosthenes of Oenoanda and Models of Euergetism," *JRS* 81 (1991): 91–92.

[7] For a discursive treatment of the decrees and gifts awarded to benefactors, see Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 107–8, 122–24, 127–29, to be read with Peter Garnsey, "The Generosity of Veyne," *JRS* 81 (1991): 164–68. See also B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C.–A.D. 337)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 228–45.

[8] Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 44.

[9] Martha Himmelfarb, "Judaism and Hellenism in 2 Maccabees," *Poetics Today* 19 (1998): 27.

aggrandizement and pride.[10] To be sure, the approaches of Judeans to these issues were anything but monolithic, and our sources indicate a spectrum of reactions, including rejection as well as accommodation and acceptance.[11] Nevertheless, our sources indicate that these issues represented possible points of tension between Jewish interests and the norms of euergetism.[12] Indeed, as we demonstrate below, they helped define and shape the forms of euergetism that were practiced by the leaders of Judea in the second century B.C.E.

The sources on euergetism among the native rulers of Judea in the second century B.C.E. have heretofore not been collected and analyzed, a desideratum that I seek to satisfy in the present study. By focusing on this narrow component of Greek culture, I hope to shed light on the complex process of cultural interaction during a century that is crucial for the study of "Judaism and Hellenism."

I. Onias III ca. 175 b.c.e.

2 Maccabees provides an account of what would be the earliest recorded trace of euergetism among Judean leadership of the Second Temple period. The reference is found in a dispute between the high priest Onias III and his rival, Simon, captain of the Jerusalem temple, following an attempt to inspect the funds stored in the temple treasury by Heliodorus, an agent of the Seleucid government, ca. 175 B.C.E.[13]

> The previously mentioned Simon, who had informed about the money against his own country, slandered Onias, saying that it was he who had incited Heliodorus and had been the real cause of the misfortune. He dared to designate

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[10] See the discussion in Tessa Rajak, "Benefactors in the Greco-Jewish Diaspora," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (AGJU 48; Boston: Brill, 2001), 373–74; repr. from *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Peter Schäfer et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

[11] Multiple attitudes may even be evident within a single work, such as 1 Maccabees; see Martha Himmelfarb, "'He Was Renowned to the Ends of the Earth' (1 Macc 3:9): Judaism and Hellenism in *1 Maccabees*," forthcoming.

[12] Jewish idiosyncrasies are evident in Diaspora Jews' efforts to participate in euergetism. On the one hand, they embraced euergetism by acknowledging benefactions with inscriptions that were displayed in public. On the other hand, the inscriptions refrained from ascribing individual honors to the donors themselves, in an effort to assert Jewish distinctiveness by gesturing toward the aversion to public marks of distinction discussed above; see Rajak, "Benefactors."

[13] Simon, the temple captain, was the brother of Menelaus, who later bought the high priesthood (2 Macc 4:23–24). The temple captain was probably a high-level administrator of the Jerusalem temple; see Daniel R. Schwartz, *The Second Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation, and Commentary* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2004), 103; James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 191; Solomon Zeitlin, ed., *The Second Book of Maccabees* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), 118–19.

as a plotter against the government the man who was the benefactor of the city,
the protector of his compatriots, and a zealot for the laws. (2 Macc 4:1–2)

In these verses, Onias is given three titles, covering the various dimensions of his
civic and cultic authority in Jerusalem.[14] The first title, "benefactor of the city"
(εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως) is unmistakably indicative of euergetism, as it is widely
attested in Greek honorary inscriptions that typify the custom.[15] Moreover, because
evidence elsewhere in 2 Maccabees suggests that the author was well versed in
Greek terms of praise,[16] I view the use of εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως as intentional and
pregnant with contemporaneous meaning. That is, 2 Maccabees either understood
Onias as a typical Hellenistic-era εὐεργέτης or wanted to portray him as such.

A careful examination of the text, along with epigraphic evidence, sheds
important light on Onias's otherwise unexplained appellation. Although it is pos-
sible that "benefactor of the city" reflects the cultic services that the high priest
Onias provided for the people, this role is best captured by the third description "a
zealot for the laws."[17] Moreover, εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως conveys the sense of a polit-
ical or administrative contribution; indeed, elsewhere in 2 Maccabees we find an
allusion to Onias's civic duties: "But a man named Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin,
who had been made captain of the temple, had a disagreement with the high priest
about the city ἀγορανομίας" (2 Macc 3:4). Scholars have generally understood ἀγο-
ρανομίας in 2 Macc 3:4 as the administration of the city market,[18] reflecting the
standard translation of ἀγορανομία.[19] This understanding has rendered the dispute

[14] Like his predecessors in the high priesthood, Onias III served as both the head of the tem-
ple cult and the highest native political authority in Judea; see David Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Prin-
ciple: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity* (TSAJ 38; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 20–22.

[15] See, among others, John Ma, *Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford:
Oxford University Press, 1999), 308–11, document no. 17; *OGIS* 220; see also Schwartz, *Second Mac-
cabees*, 118. For additional examples of language common to both 2 Maccabees and honorific decrees,
see Nigel M. Kennell, "New Light on 2 Maccabees 4:7–15," *JJS* 56 (2005): 19.

[16] 2 Maccabees frequently draws on the vocabulary of Greek writers, especially in its charac-
terization of heroes; see Himmelfarb, "2 Maccabees," 32–38.

[17] Cf. F.-M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1949), 329.

[18] Among others: "management of the city-market" in *APOT* 1:135; "the city office of market
controller" in Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Com-
mentary* (AB 41A; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 194; "the administration of the city market" in
NRSV; הפיקוח על השוק בעיר in Schwartz, *Second Maccabees*, 104; "the regulation of the city mar-
ket" in Zeitlin, *Second Maccabees*, 119; cf. Abel, *Livres*, 317, though his suggestion that Simon served
as the ἀγορανόμος is unlikely in light of 2 Macc 3:5, which indicates that Onias controlled the ἀγο-
ρανομία.

[19] LSJ defines ἀγορανόμος as "clerk of the market," a definition that reflects the office's earli-
est mandate. Although the official's title remained unchanged, by the Hellenistic era the functions of
the ἀγορανόμος had expanded to include a wide array of municipal services; see the discussion
below.

between Onias and Simon enigmatic, as no further information is given in 2 Maccabees on markets or market activity. Accordingly, modern scholars have downplayed the nature of the dispute in 2 Macc 3:4 as inconsequential to the subsequent narrative.[20] I posit, however, that such discontinuity is unlikely in light of the unity and sophistication of 2 Maccabees,[21] and this difficulty can be solved with a better understanding of ἀγορανομία.

My investigation of the ἀγορανομία begins with the observation that Onias had an intimate knowledge of the city's financial matters. Like other cities in antiquity, Jerusalem stored its municipal revenues in the temple treasury, which served as a central bank of sorts.[22] That Onias supervised the funds in the temple treasury, and therefore the city's monies as well, is indicated by 2 Macc 3:6, 10–13. Because some of these funds were subject to Seleucid control (2 Macc 3:6),[23] Onias effectively served as a local agent for handling the king's share of the money that was stored in the temple.[24] Elsewhere in the world at that time, this important task fell under the purview of the ἀγορανόμος.[25] Therefore, I suggest that Onias's supervision of the funds stored in the temple treasury fulfilled the duties of a typical ἀγορανόμος, the clerk of the office of the ἀγορανομία. Indeed, supervising the king's revenues is one of a number of commercial and economic services that the ἀγορανόμος provided for Greek cities beyond the mere regulation of the marketplace.[26] My understanding that ἀγορανομία encompassed the supervision of funds on deposit in the temple also preserves the cohesion of 2 Maccabees, as it makes 3:4 relevant to the narrative that follows in chs. 3–4, which describes a dispute over the funds stored in the temple treasury.

Like kings, military leaders, artists, and athletes, the ἀγορανόμος was also

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[20] See, e.g., Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 201.

[21] For the unity of 2 Maccabees, see Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (CBQMS 12; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 22–23.

[22] Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 155.

[23] There has been much speculation on the nature of these funds; see the discussions in Schwartz, *Second Maccabees*, 105; Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 465–66 n. 12.

[24] That Onias may not have served the king as faithfully or adequately as some would have liked is suggested by Simon's accusations in 2 Macc 3:6.

[25] See Lloyd Jonnes and Marijana Ricl, "A New Royal Inscription from Phrygia Paroreious: Eumenes II Grants Tyriaion the Status of Polis," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997): 1–30. Dated to 188 B.C.E., this inscription contains additional parallels to 2 Maccabees; see Kennell, "New Light."

[26] In addition to the functions discussed above, the ἀγορανόμος also mediated disputes, controlled prices, coordinated grain sales, drafted and notarized documents, enforced contracts, inspected the quality of goods, registered landed property, and supervised weights and measures; see the sources cited in A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1940), 215–17; Cancik and Schneider, *New Pauly,* 1:356–57. A detailed study of the ἀγορανόμος with attention to geographic and chronological variety is a desideratum.

honored by Greek cities for contributions to civic life. In an inscription from sec-
ond- century B.C.E. Paros, a certain Cillus is awarded various honors typical of euer-
getism for his service as ἀγορανόμος.[27] Likewise, we posit that Onias was
understood as εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως in recognition for his service as ἀγορανόμος,
which included the supervision of funds stored in the temple treasury.

There is no evidence to suggest that the presence of these two institutions of
Greek origin, the ἀγορανομία and euergetism, aroused any opposition in Judea.
The ἀγορανόμος often worked to ensure fairness in economic and commercial
activity, a precept also found in Israelite traditions (Lev 19:35–36). That is, Judeans
may not have viewed the ἀγορανόμος as the embodiment of alien concepts.[28] Onias
demonstrated that one could hold the title of εὐεργέτης while maintaining the
high priesthood and holding a characteristically Jewish appellation such as "a zealot
for the laws" (2 Macc 4:2).[29] Therefore, 2 Macc 4:2 demonstrates that the institu-
tion of euergetism was amenable to, and could coexist with, characteristically Jew-
ish concerns. Indeed, this was understood by at least one Judean leader, the high
priest Onias III no less, in the period before Hasmonean rule.[30]

II. Simon Maccabee (143/2–135/4 b.c.e.)

The next allusion to euergetism among Judean leadership is found in 1 Macc
14:25–49, which cites an honorary decree from 140 B.C.E. for Simon Maccabee[31]
that establishes his supreme authority over all religious, military, and civil matters.[32]

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[27] Cillus is awarded a gold crown, a marble statue, and a stone stele, and his merits are pro-
claimed during the Great Dionysia; see *IG* XII 5.129.

[28] For the importance of fairness in commerce and trade in Jewish writings of the Second Tem-
ple period, see Sir 42:3–5, 7; Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.216.

[29] The term is characteristic of Jewish literature of the period and contains biblical overtones;
see 1 Macc 2:26–27, 50, 58.

[30] Onias's own knowledge of euergetism may have come from his Seleucid overlords. During
Onias's high priesthood, foreign kings honored Jerusalem, glorified the temple, and financed its
cult—all acts of civic benefaction (2 Macc 3:1–3).

[31] For a general discussion of Simon Maccabee, see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish
People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. and ed. Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar;
Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1973), 1:189–99

[32] The consensus holds that 1 Macc 14:25–49 preserves an authentic decree, due partly to the
fact that some of its contents contradict information found elsewhere in 1 Maccabees. To be sure,
oddities such as the narrative style of 1 Macc 14:35 suggest that 1 Macc 14:25–49 has not cited the
original document verbatim; see Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Intro-
duction and Commentary* (AB 41; New York: Doubleday, 1976), 37–38, 501; Gruen, *Heritage*, 22
n. 89, 35; Uriel Rappaport, *The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation, and Com-
mentary* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2004), 36–38, 315; Joseph Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and
their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (South Florida Studies in the His-

(1 Macc 14:25) When the people heard these things they said, "How shall we thank Simon and his sons? (26) For he and his brothers and the house of his father have stood firm; they have fought and repulsed Israel's enemies and established its freedom." (27) So they made a record on bronze tablets and put it on pillars on Mount Zion. This is a copy of what they wrote: "On the eighteenth day of Elul, in the one hundred seventy-second year, which is the third year of the great high priest Simon, (28) in Asaramel, in the great assembly of the priests and the people and the rulers of the nation and the elders of the country, the following was proclaimed to us: (29) 'Since wars often occurred in the country, Simon son of Mattathias, a priest of the sons of Joarib, and his brothers, exposed themselves to danger and resisted the enemies of their nation, in order that their sanctuary and the law might be preserved; and they brought great glory to their nation. (30) Jonathan rallied the nation, became their high priest, and was gathered to his people. (31) When their enemies decided to invade their country and lay hands on their sanctuary, (32) then Simon rose up and fought for his nation. He spent great sums of his own money; he armed the soldiers of his nation and paid them wages. (33) He fortified the towns of Judea, and Beth-zur on the borders of Judea, where formerly the arms of the enemy had been stored, and he placed there a garrison of Jews. (34) He also fortified Joppa, which is by the sea, and Gazara, which is on the borders of Azotus, where the enemy formerly lived. He settled Jews there, and provided in those towns whatever was necessary for their restoration.'" (35) The people saw Simon's faithfulness and the glory that he had resolved to win for his nation, and they made him their leader and high priest, because he had done all these things and because of the justice and loyalty that he had maintained toward his nation. He sought in every way to exalt his people. (36) In his days things prospered in his hands, so that the Gentiles were put out of the country, as were also those in the city of David in Jerusalem, who had built themselves a citadel from which they used to sally forth and defile the environs of the sanctuary, doing great damage to its purity. (37) He settled Jews in it and fortified it for the safety of the country and of the city, and built the walls of Jerusalem higher. (38) "In view of these things King Demetrius confirmed him in the high priesthood, (39) made him one of his Friends, and paid him high honors. (40) For he had heard that the Jews were addressed by the Romans as friends and allies and brothers, and that the Romans had received the envoys of Simon with honor. (41) "The Jews and their priests have resolved that Simon should be their leader and high priest forever, until a trustworthy prophet should arise, (42) and that he should be governor over them and that he should take charge of the sanctuary and appoint officials over its tasks and over the country and the weapons and the strongholds, and that he should take charge of the sanctuary, (43) and that he

tory of Judaism 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 120–21; idem, "The Highpriesthood of Simon Maccabeus: An Analysis of 1 Macc 14:25–49," *SBLSP* 20 (1981): 310–11; Jan Willem Van Henten, "The Honorary Decree for Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc 14:25–49) in Its Hellenistic Context," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling; Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 13; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 119; cf. Edgar Krentz, "The Honorary Decree for Simon Maccabee," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel,* 151.

should be obeyed by all, and that all contracts in the country should be written in his name, and that he should be clothed in purple and wear gold. (44) None of the people or priests shall be permitted to nullify any of these decisions or to oppose what he says, or to convene an assembly in the country without his permission, or to be clothed in purple or put on a gold buckle. (45) Whoever acts contrary to these decisions or rejects any of them shall be liable to punishment." (46) All the people agreed to grant Simon the right to act in accordance with these decisions. (47) So Simon accepted and agreed to be high priest, to be commander and ethnarch of the Jews and priests, and to be protector of them all. (48) And they gave orders to inscribe this decree on bronze tablets, to put them up in a conspicuous place in the precincts of the sanctuary, (49) and to deposit copies of them in the treasury, so that Simon and his sons might have them. (1 Macc 14:25–49)

This document bears a number of striking similarities to Greek honorific decrees from elsewhere in the ancient world that typify euergetism. One important similarity is the structure of the decree, as it includes: a dating formula (1 Macc 14:27b); an *opening* that names the movers of the decree (14:28); *motives* or *preamble* that describe the benefactions made by the honorand (14:29–37); next, the text incorporates a letter from the Seleucid king Demetrius II (14:38–40)—a departure from the *hortatory intention* that usually appears in Greek honorary decrees; the decree for Simon then returns to form with a *resolution formula* (14:41a); a *decision*, which details the rewards granted to the honorand (14:41b–14:47); and finally, provisions for the publication and display of the decree (14:48–49).[33]

Although other scholars have noted these structural similarities, much of the content of the decree—particularly Simon's benefactions and rewards—has heretofore not received full treatment. Simon's deeds are cast as contributions to the people that strongly resemble the benefactions of a εὐεργέτης in Greek honorary

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[33] For the structure of Greek honorary decrees, see McLean, *Greek Epigraphy*, 229–32; see also Krentz, "Simon Maccabee," 147; and Van Henten, "Honorary Decree," 120–28. Scholars have long been aware of the structural resemblance of the decree for Simon to Greek honorary decrees from elsewhere in the ancient world; see Elias Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees: Foundations of Postbiblical Judaism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1962), 157–58; Gruen, *Heritage*, 35; Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 120; idem, "Highpriesthood," 310; Menahem Stern, *The Documents on the History of the Hasmonean Revolt with Commentary and Introductions* (in Hebrew; 3rd ed.; Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1983)*,* 120–21; and the works cited in Van Henten, "Honorary Decree," 122–23. For the fullest treatment of the structure of the decree for Simon, see Van Henten, "Honorary Decree," published together with a response, Krentz, "Simon Maccabee." Van Henten demonstrates that the decree for Simon compares favorably to decrees from priestly circles in Ptolemaic Egypt and argues that Simon's portrayal is strongly influenced by the image of Ptolemaic rulers in Egypt (Van Henten, "Honorary Decree," 131). Krentz, however, rightly notes that the decree for Simon also compares favorably to decrees from elsewhere in the ancient world, such as Asia Minor and Syria. Krentz concludes, convincingly to me, that one cannot argue that Egypt was necessarily the primary source of the language of the decree for Simon (Krentz, "Simon Maccabee," 151).

decrees: Simon wins military victories and provides for the country's defense and safety (1 Macc 14:29–34, 36–37);[34] he arrives in times of dire straits (14:31–32),[35] finances benefactions out of his own pocket (14:32),[36] and is given credit for general prosperity (14:36).[37] While the inclusion of the letter from Demetrius II (14:38–40) is structurally unusual, its content fits nicely with contemporaneous honorary inscriptions that name the honorand "friend of the king."[38]

The many parallels between the 1 Macc 14:25–49 and Greek honorary decrees lead me to posit that the decree for Simon was modeled along the lines of decrees honoring euergetism and should be viewed within the framework of euergetistic rhetoric of the Hellenistic era.[39] Indeed, this point was not lost on the ancients either. Writing at the end of the first century C.E. and drawing on 1 Maccabees for his history of the Hasmonean period,[40] Josephus calls the ruler of Judea "Simon, the benefactor (εὐεργέτου) and ethnarch of the Jews" (*Ant.* 13.214).[41] Josephus's addi-

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[34] Ma, *Antiochus III*, 297–98 document no. 9, 308–10 document no. 17; *OGIS* 219; Michael Wörrle, "Antiochos I., Achaios der Ältere und die Galater: Eine neue Inschrift in Denizli," *Chiron* 5 (1975): 59–60.

[35] Ma, *Antiochus III*, 308–10, document no. 17; *OGIS* 219.

[36] Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 504; Ma, *Antiochus III*, 325–26, document no. 24; see also the claim of Seleucus IV in 2 Macc 3:3. Because public revenues were considered a ruler's own property, we do not know exactly how Simon financed these contributions, and thus cannot learn much about his personal fortune from 1 Macc 14:32; cf. Rappaport, *First Maccabees*, 318–19.

[37] Ma, *Antiochus III*, 325–26, document no. 24; *OGIS* 219.

[38] Ma, *Antiochus III*, 297–98 document no. 9.

[39] I am confident in my suggestion that 1 Macc 14:27–49 constitutes euergetism despite the absence of εὐεργέτης from the decree for Simon, a title that is usually found in honorific inscriptions and a frequent signifier of euergetism; see Krentz, "Simon Maccabee," 150. It is possible that the absence of εὐεργέτης reflects coherence with the widespread practice that cities did not grant the title to their own citizens (Ma, *Antiochus III*, 207). However, the force of this explanation should be tempered by the fact that the decree for Simon does not always conform to all the norms of euergetism; see the discussion below. Moreover, that Judeans did not necessarily adhere to this particular detail of euergetism is suggested in the discussion above of Onias III as εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως. To be sure, it is also possible that the title εὐεργέτης was lost in the complicated transmission of both the decree and 1 Maccabees. Whatever the original language of the decree (Aramaic, Greek, and Hebrew have all been suggested), it was likely translated again for its inclusion in the original Hebrew version of 1 Maccabees. The entire book was then translated into a Greek version that gave rise to the texts that we have today; see Bickerman, *From Ezra*, 157; Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 14, 501; Solomon Zeitlin, ed., *The First Book of Maccabees* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 33–34. Moreover, the Greek version itself exhibits transmission and scribal errors, enigmatic words (e.g., ασαραμελ in 1 Macc 14:27) as well as other irregularities (see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 501–2, 508 and the sources cited in n. 32 above). Therefore, I am hesitant to put too much stock in the specific language found in the text as we have it today.

[40] Isaiah M. Gafni, "Josephus and I Maccabees," in *Josephus, the Bible and History* (ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989), 116–31.

[41] Josephus's treatment of Simon's domestic policies is brief and conflates a number of verses from 1 Maccabees. Josephus places *Ant.* 13.214 in the chronological context of 1 Macc 13:42, but draws on language from 1 Macc 14:47; 15:1–2; see Ralph Marcus's note in the LCL edition, ad loc.

tion of εὐεργέτου to Simon's titles indicates that Simon Maccabee was understood by some as a εὐεργέτης by the first century C.E. at the latest, regardless of whether εὐεργέτης appeared in the original decree.

The content of the decree for Simon also exhibits a number of important departures from Greek honorific inscriptions that have been largely overlooked by modern scholars.[42] We begin with Simon's benefactions, where his defense of the Jerusalem temple (1 Macc 14:29, 31, 36) and the law (i.e., Torah; 1 Macc 14:29) are unique to honorary decrees.[43] Temple and Torah were central concerns of the Jews, and inclusion of them in the decree reminds the reader of their defense by the Maccabean family. The emphasis on the Jerusalem temple also serves to legitimize Simon's assumption of the high priesthood.

The list of rewards given to Simon also exhibits a number of idiosyncrasies when compared to contemporaneous decrees. Although Simon is given various symbols of authority and titles, crowns are conspicuously absent—which may reflect characteristically Judean models of leadership.[44] In addition, statues of the benefactor are absent from the decree for Simon, which is likely due to the Jews' aforementioned aversion to figurative art during the period. The decree for Simon also lacks any reference to games and competitions, probably reflecting the antagonism to Greek games held by some Jews.[45] Further, the title "savior (σωτήρ) of the people" was commonly given to honorands in Greek inscriptions but is conspicuously absent from the decree for Simon; the term may have been seen as an affront to Jewish messianic beliefs or too closely associated with pagan cultic contexts.[46]

[42] See the secondary sources listed in n. 33 above. Structural abnormalities have been well attested; among others, see Krentz, "Simon Maccabee." However, differences in content have been noted only in passing and have not heretofore been explored in detail.

[43] Cf. *OGIS* 219, which mentions a benefactor's εὐσεβείας toward a temple.

[44] For crowns in honorary decrees, see p. 328 above. Specific examples from the late third and second centuries B.C.E. include Ma, *Antiochus III*, 308–10 document no. 17; *OGIS* 219, 248, 763; *SIG* 630. As noted above, some Jewish sources posit an ideological aversion to crowns as symbols of pride. Such attitudes, however, would also have disapproved of the purple clothes and gold buckle that Simon received (1 Macc 14:43–44). It is unclear if the Seleucids would have disapproved of a crown for Simon—note the crown given to Jonathan by Alexander Balas in 1 Macc 10:20. The absence of a crown should probably be understood in the context of norms of Judean rulership, where the high priest stood as the highest native political authority. This model of priestly monarchy had been established well before Simon's days (Goodblatt, *Monarchic Principle*, 22–24) and rendered crowns inconsequential. A crown may have also been omitted in light of Israelite traditions that reserve kingship exclusively for the house of David. The Hasmoneans ruled as monarchs without crowns until Aristobulus I donned the diadem in 104/3 B.C.E. (*Ant*. 13:301).

[45] See the discussion and sources noted above, p. 328. Additional examples from the third and second century include games (*OGIS* 219; *SIG* 630) and statues (Ma, *Antiochus III*, 308–10 document no. 17; 325–27 document no. 24; *OGIS* 219, 763; *SIG* 630).

[46] Likewise, the title σωτήρ may have been consciously avoided in 1 Macc 5:62, where σωτηρία is achieved through the Maccabean family's agency. See the explicit assignation of the title σωτήρ to

The decree for Simon includes language that is unique among honorary decrees, yet characteristic of Jewish literature. The decree evokes Israelite traditions in 1 Macc 14:30, where Jonathan's death is couched in terms borrowed from the Hebrew Bible: "Jonathan . . . was gathered to his people" (cf. Gen 25:17; 35:29; 49:33; Num 20:24, 26).[47] The language of 1 Macc 14:41, "until a trustworthy prophet should arise," is unattested in other honorary decrees but characteristic of Jewish literature of the period and pregnant with biblical overtones.[48]

In sum, the decree for Simon Maccabee is modeled along the lines of Hellenistic-era euergetism: Simon's achievements are cast as "benefactions," and his powers and titles as "rewards." Yet it also reflects characteristically Jewish sensitivities and tastes, which account for the unique features that distinguish it from contemporaneous decrees. Indeed, Judean and Israelite traditions were central to the self-image of Hasmonean rulership and 1 Maccabees,[49] and we should not be surprised to find them in 1 Macc 14:25–49. The decree for Simon seamlessly blended traditions that were native to both Jew and Greek, and the result proved to be an innovation both within and without Judea.[50]

III. John Hyrcanus I (135/4–104 b.c.e.)

An Athenian decree from 105 b.c.e. preserved by Josephus indicates that John Hyrcanus I,[51] like his father, Simon, also engaged in euergetism.[52]

> (*Ant.* 14.149) Among the Athenian people also Hyrcanus obtained honours, for he had been of great service to them. And they wrote and sent him a resolution, of which the contents were as follows. "In the presidency and priesthood of Dionysius, son of Asclepiades, on the fifth day before the end of the month Pane-

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the benefactors in Ma, *Antiochus III*, 308–10 document no. 17 and *OGIS* 219; see also the sources cited in BDAG, 985. A discussion of Jewish messianism and pagan cults lies beyond the scope of this study.

[47] See also the sources cited in Stern, *Documents*, 136.

[48] Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 507–8; see also J. C. Dancy, *A Commentary on I Maccabees* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954), 186. Many scholars see in 1 Macc 14:41 evidence of a compromise reached between the Hasmoneans and the movers of the decree; see the discussion in n. 66 below.

[49] On Israelite traditions incorporated into Hasmonean kingship, see Tessa Rajak, "Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (AGJU 48; Boston: Brill, 2001), 39-60; repr. from *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (ed. Per Bilde; Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 7; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996). For the Hebrew Bible's influence on 1 Maccabees, see Himmelfarb, "Renowned."

[50] See our discussion in section IV below.

[51] On the reign of John Hyrcanus I, see Schürer, *History*, 1:200–215.

[52] For the date of the decree, see Claude Eilers, "Josephus' Caesarian *Acta*: History of a Dossier," *SBLSP* 42 (2003): 191.

mus, a decree of the Athenians was delivered to the magistrates. (150) In the archonship of Agathocles, when Eucles, son of Xenander, of the Aithalidean deme, was scribe, on the eleventh of the month of Munychion, on the eleventh day of the prytany, a meeting of the presiding officers being held in the theatre, Dorotheus of Erchian deme and his fellow presiding officers supervised the voting when the people passed the motion of Dionysius, son of Dionysius, as follows. (151) "Inasmuch as Hyrcanus, son of Alexander,[53] the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, has continued to show goodwill to our people as a whole and to every individual citizen, and to manifest the greatest zeal on their behalf, and when any Athenians come to him either on an embassy or on a private matter, he receives them in a friendly manner and sends them on their way with precautions for their safe return, (152) as has been previously attested, it has therefore now been decreed on the motion of Theodotus, son of Diodorus, of the Sunian deme, who reminded the people of the virtues of this man and of his readiness to do us whatever good he can, (153) to honor this man with a golden crown as the reward of merit fixed by law, and to set up his statue in bronze in the precincts of the temple of Demos and the Graces, and to announce the award of the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival when the new tragedies are performed, and at the Panathenaean and Eleusinian festivals and at the gymnastic games; (154) and that the magistrates shall take care that so long as he continues to maintain his goodwill towards us, everything which we can devise shall be done to show honor and gratitude to this man for his zeal and generosity, in order that by these measures our people may show that it approves of good men and holds them worthy of a fitting reward, and may rival those already honored in the zeal shown toward us; (155) and that the envoys shall be chosen from among all the Athenians to convey this resolution to him and request him to accept these honors and to endeavor at all times to do good to our city." (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.149–55; trans. Ralph Marcus, LCL)

The structure and language of the decree conform to that of Greek honorary decrees that typify euergetism.[54] The Athenian decree for Hyrcanus includes a dating formula (*Ant.* 14.150); an *opening* with the name of the mover of the decree (14.150); a *motives* or *preamble* section that describes Hyrcanus's benefaction (14.151);[55] a *resolution formula* (14.152); and the *decision*, which specifies the honors awarded (14.153). There follows a *hortatory intention* (14.154), which may be

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[53] Hyrcanus I's father was Simon, while Alexander (Jannaeus) was the father of Hyrcanus II. This is one of a number of incorrect alterations made to the text of the decree by Josephus, who mistakenly ascribed the decree to Hyrcanus II instead of to his grandfather Hyrcanus I; see Ralph Marcus's notes in the LCL edition, ad loc.; Eilers, "Josephus' Caesarian *Acta*," 191–94.

[54] For the structure of honorary decrees, see section II above.

[55] The description of Hyrcanus's contribution is too vague (*Ant.* 14.151, 154), and the array of benefactions typically honored by euergetism is too wide (see the introductory remarks and section I above), to identify confidently the nature of Hyrcanus's gift and his relationship with the Athenians.

somewhat misplaced after the *decision*, but is nonetheless typical of such decrees.[56] An envoy of Athenians was then chosen to convey the resolution to Hyrcanus (14.155), as provisions for the public announcement of the honors had already been stipulated (14.153).[57]

As one would expect, the Athenians' decree for Hyrcanus exhibits none of the Jewish proclivities that motivated the departures from euergetism found in the decree for Simon. The Athenians award Hyrcanus a gold crown and a statue and proclaim his honors during games and festivals (*Ant.* 14.153). That is, in the Athenian decree Hyrcanus is portrayed as a typical Greek benefactor who participates in the standard form of euergetism.[58]

IV. Aristobulus I (104–103 b.c.e.)

We close our survey of euergetism among second-century Judean leaders with a brief note on Hyrcanus's son Aristobulus I (104/3 b.c.e.),[59] whose accomplishments were characterized as εὐεργετήσας τὴν πατρίδα ("benefits on his country" [*Ant.* 13.318]). That aspects of Aristobulus's rulership would have been couched in the language of euergetism seems likely to us, though not much can be said with certainty owing to the paucity of evidence for his brief reign.[60]

[56] McLean, *Greek Epigraphy*, 230–31.

[57] The titles σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης, normally given to benefactors in Greek honorary decrees, are notably absent from the Athenian decree for Hyrcanus. The omission of εὐεργέτης is all the more notable in light of numismatic evidence that suggests Hyrcanus's familiarity with the term, as the obverse of one of his small bronze coins bears the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕ-ΤΟΥ ("of King Antiochus the benefactor"), minted to honor the Seleucid king for his restoration of certain cities to Judean control. See Yaʿakov Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2001), 30–31. However, the absence of these titles from the Athenian decree should not preclude its classification within the genre of Greek honorary decrees that characterize euergetism; see n. 39 above. To my mind, the striking similarities in structure and content that the Athenian decree shares with contemporary inscriptions outweigh its few idiosyncrasies. Therefore, I argue that the Athenian decree for Hyrcanus should be understood in the context of the practice of euergetism.

[58] There is no evidence to suggest that Hyrcanus objected to the awards stipulated in the Athenian decree; for Hyrcanus as a Hellenistic prince, see Bickerman, *From Ezra*, 148–52. To be sure, other areas of Hyrcanus's rule deviated from the norms of his contemporaries and often reflected characteristically Jewish concerns. For example, Hyrcanus avoided the use of figurative images on his coins; see Tessa Rajak, "The Hasmoneans and the Uses of Hellenism," in *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome: Studies in Cultural and Social Interaction* (AGJU 48; Boston: Brill, 2001), 71; repr. from *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History* (ed. Philip R. Davies and Richard T. White; JSOTSup 100; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990).

[59] On Aristobulus I, see Schürer, *History*, 1:216–18.

[60] Kings regularly engaged in civic benefaction in the Hellenistic era (Klaus Bringmann, "The King as Benefactor: Some Remarks on Ideal Kingship in the Age of Hellenism," in *Images and Ide-*

V. Euergetism, the Hasmoneans, and Cultural Exchange

It comes as little surprise to find a custom of Greek origin such as euergetism among the leaders of Judea. Over the last half century, scholars have successfully demonstrated that Greek norms had penetrated into Judea well before the days of John Hyrcanus I, Simon Maccabee, and Onias III.[61] Indeed, the once-standard dichotomy between the "Hellenistic Judaism" of the Diaspora and the supposedly "Hellenistic-free Judaism" of Judea is no longer held by the vast majority of scholars. Nevertheless, an important assumption of this traditional view continues to enjoy some currency, namely, that Judaism and Hellenism were irreconcilable and competing forces—where you have more of one, you necessarily have less of the other.[62] This postulate underpins an effort to label certain areas of Jewish life and literature as simply "hellenized" without consideration of possible deviations from Hellenistic norms or Jewish idiosyncrasies. Consequently, Jews and Judaism of the Hellenistic era are perceived as passive recipients of Greek culture, which has been ingested and swallowed whole.[63] This approach is exemplified by previous treatments of the decree for Simon, in which it epitomizes the absorption of a Greek norm in unaltered form.[64]

Indeed, the decree for Simon provides an excellent venue in which to explore the dynamics of cultural exchange in the second century because of the numerous details that it provides. While others have found in this document evidence of the passive reception of Greek norms, I find an active and dynamic encounter between traditional Israelite interests and those of the second-century Hellenistic world. The decree represents a transformation of the otherwise standardized form of euergetism in order to account for aims and interests that were characteristically Jewish. Surpassing mere accommodation, the decree for Simon proved to be an innovation for customs of both Judean and Hellenic origin.

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ologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World [ed. Anthony Bulloch, Erich S. Gruen, A. A. Long, and Andrew Stewart; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993], 7–24; Veyne, *Bread and Circuses*, 102), a point that would not have been lost on Aristobulus, a Hellenophile (Φιλέλλην [*Ant*. 13.318]) who broke with Hasmonean tradition when he donned the diadem and transformed the government into a kingdom (βασιλείαν [*Ant*. 13.301]).

[61] For reviews of scholarship, see n. 2 above.

[62] The conception that Judaism and Hellenism constitute competing forces dates back to the second century B.C.E.; for a critical review of this approach, see Gruen, *Heritage*, xiii–xv; Himmelfarb, "Bickerman," 200–201; Rajak, "Hasmoneans," 61–63.

[63] Himmelfarb, "Bickerman," 201.

[64] See Krentz, "Simon Maccabee"; and Van Henten, "Honorary Decree." The passive model is adopted also by Gruen in his treatment of the decree, though this is atypical of his approach to the period in general; see Gruen, *Heritage*, 21–22, 34–35; cf. xii–xvii.

Simon had initially inherited the high priesthood in 143/2 B.C.E. from his brother Jonathan, who in turn had been appointed to the post by the Seleucids. It is unclear who may have supported or opposed Simon's high priesthood over the next three years. What is clear, however, is that a desire to legitimize Simon's reign arose by 140 B.C.E. at the latest.[65] In its simplest sense, the decree for Simon represents an effort to create *ipso facto*, or to document *post factum*, broad support for his rule.[66] Significantly, the decree casts Simon's investiture as high priest as a "democratic" process by which the people are empowered to grant him authority— an important and innovative departure from the Judean tradition in which the high priest either inherited his position or was appointed by an overlord. This "democratic" innovation is made possible by the nature of euergetism itself, whereby a representative body of the people (instead of a king) sanction the rewards granted

[65] The long-held claim that the Qumran sectarians opposed the Hasmoneans on account of the latter's lack of Zadokite lineage has recently been questioned; see Albert I. Baumgarten, "Crisis in the Scrollery, A Dying Consensus," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Part 3, Vol. 1 (ed. Jacob Neusner and Alan J. Avery-Peck; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 99–119 (= *Judaism* 44 [1995]: 399–416). A recent study has argued that the Hasmoneans did indeed possess Zadokite lineage; see Alison Schofield and James C. VanderKam, "Were the Hasmoneans Zadokites?" *JBL* 124 (2005): 73–87. Whatever the case may be, the Hasmoneans certainly found themselves outside the Oniad line, the last family of high priests that had enjoyed widespread legitimacy in Judea. Moreover, the Hasmoneans also lacked the Davidic lineage necessary to rule as kings according to Israelite custom. In short, Simon's lack of a traditional claim to rule may have motivated his pursuit of domestic legitimacy. Even if genealogical issues were not at stake, more mundane factors may have been at work. It may be altogether possible that Simon simply sought to increase his base of support. What politician would deny an opportunity to increase, or document, his popularity among the people?

[66] The decree's authorship has received significant attention from scholars. One prominent theory is that the wording of the decree is the fruit of a compromise reached between Simon and his opponents; see esp. Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 119–27; idem, "Highpriesthood." Accordingly, the sensitivities of "conservative" Judean groups were assuaged with the inclusion of certain language, most notably "until a trustworthy prophet should arise" in 1 Macc 14:41, which limited the authority of the movers of the decree and thus restricted Simon's appointment as well. By implication, this theory also assumes the absolute "Greekness" of Simon: if Simon had not been held in check by conservative groups, the decree would not have deviated from the norms of euergetism in any way, would have been devoid of Jewish idiosyncrasies, and probably would have looked a lot like the Athenians' decree for Hyrcanus with its crowns, games, and so on. Therefore, the compromise theory assumes the aforementioned bifurcation of Judaism and Hellenism (see the introductory remarks above) among the various groups whose interests were accounted for in the decree: each group was either conservative/traditionalist/Jewish or "hellenized" (a similar critique with respect to Hasmonean coinage is made by Gruen, *Heritage*, 36–37). An alternative to the compromise theory holds that Simon, or his close associates, unilaterally authored the decree to reflect the interests of the people; see Lee I. Levine, *Jerusalem: Portrait of the City in the Second Temple Period (538 B.C.E.–70 C.E.)* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2002), 99–101. In the end, however, we are left only with the decree in its final form, as the author of 1 Maccabees chose to preserve it, and we must assess its value as a whole. Indeed, the decree itself represents an important innovation in the ancient world (see the discussion below)—whether or not one can identify the specific innovators behind it.

to the honorand.[67] In Simon's case, the chief reward was absolute, supreme power officiated through the Judean high priesthood.

Indeed, the powers bestowed on Simon were extensive. He is named high priest of the Jerusalem temple, an office that had long served as the highest native political and cultic authority. Simon is also named leader, ethnarch, and military commander (1 Macc 14:35, 41–42, 47), leaving little ambiguity regarding the extent of his powers.[68] It is not unusual for autocrats such as Simon to appear in Greek honorary decrees, as the notion of the king as benefactor formed an important part of the ideal of Hellenistic kingship.[69] However, the monarch's authority is usually presupposed by the movers of the decree, and it is highly unusual, if not unique, for a honorand to receive supreme authority in the context of an honorary decree. That is, the framework of euergetism is generally not used to confer or establish the kind of sweeping powers that are granted to Simon.[70] Therefore, I posit that the decree for Simon represents a *double innovation*: it was an innovation in the practice of euergetism in the greater ancient world as much as it was new to Jewish practices.

The present argument supports a growing consensus that stresses the Jews' active engagement with Greek culture, a dynamic interaction that often produced innovation.[71] This position departs from that which assumes the Jews' passive

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[67] The "democratic" nature of the decree for Simon is cast in high relief when compared to Jonathan's appointments as high priest and governor by the Seleucids (1 Macc 10:18–21, 59–66). To be sure, a term meaning "democratic" is not used in our sources; nevertheless, it best describes this aspect of the decree. The decree credits its approval to various groups and bodies, which should be understood as an effort to portray Simon's support in the widest possible terms; see 1 Macc 14:28, 35, 41, 46. On the possible identities of, and differences between, these groups, see Krentz, "Simon Maccabee," 148–49; Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 119–27; idem "Highpriesthood"; Van Henten, "Honorary Decree," 120–21. On the approval of honorary decrees by local civic bodies, see the works cited in n. 33 above.

[68] It is certainly possible that Simon did not quite achieve the complete independence from foreign rule that is described in 1 Macc 13:41; 14:26; see Gruen, *Heritage*, 18–23. In any case, I am less concerned with the *reality* of Simon's powers (which may be unrecoverable as the biased 1 Maccabees remains our only detailed source) than with their portrayal in the decree—and there can be no mistake that the decree casts Simon as the supreme authority of Judea.

[69] See Bringmann, "King as Benefactor." To be sure, Simon never takes the title "king"; see the discussion of crowns in n. 44 above.

[70] This point is made also by Gruen, *Heritage*, 35; Sievers, *Hasmoneans*, 120–21; idem, "Highpriesthood," 310. A king's power was typically based on inheritance or military might, and benefactions alone would not elevate one to a position of supreme authority like that granted to Simon by the decree in 1 Macc 14:25–49.

[71] Among others, see Martin Goodman, "Epilogue," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel,* ed. Collins and Sterling, 302–5; Gruen, *Heritage*, esp. xii–xix; Himmelfarb, "2 Maccabees"; eadem, "Bickerman"; eadem, "Renowned"; Rajak, "Hasmoneans"; eadem, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome,* 3–10; Schwartz, *Imperialism*, 31. Bickerman is credited as the forerunner of this school of thought, particularly in his treatment of Ben Sira; see the discussion in Himmelfarb, "Bickerman."

reception of Greek ways and understands Judaism and Hellenism as irreconcilable forces for which the adoption of one necessitates the abrogation of the other. In contradistinction, the new, growing consensus holds that a native culture can be preserved through the proactive restructuring of alien customs, enabling Judeans to integrate into the wider world while retaining their distinctive identity.[72] Indeed, the ancients would have noticed even the slightest alteration in the otherwise standardized language of euergetism, thereby highlighting what made Judeans unique.

An important element of Greek culture and politics, euergetism proved to be a remarkably useful tool for the early Hasmoneans. For Hyrcanus, it served to promote his image and country on the international stage. In Athens, conforming to local norms required little or no change in the standard model of euergetism. Such was not the case with the decree for Simon Maccabee, which restructures euergetism in order to invent a formula for the conferral of the high priesthood that relies on widespread public support. The author/s of the decree were innovative in the way that they restructured euergetism, though they cannot be credited with introducing this Greek norm into Judea. Indeed, euergetism had been introduced into the country long before the days of John Hyrcanus I and Simon Maccabee, by the time of Onias III at the latest.

VI. Conclusion

This survey of literary evidence indicates that second-century B.C.E. native rulers of Judea were well versed in euergetism. In particular, the highly detailed decree for Simon Maccabee reveals an active engagement between customs traditionally categorized within "Judaism" and "Hellenism." Moreover, the decree broke new ground, as it represents a double innovation to both Judean rulership models and the norms of euergetism in the ancient world. Simon, however, was not the first Judean ruler to participate in euergetism; sources indicate that Onias III had done so three decades earlier. Therefore, while the early Hasmoneans Simon Maccabee and John Hyrcanus I actively engaged in a custom of Greek origin, they chose one that had already been legitimized, if not introduced, by an Oniad high priest.

[72] Schwartz, *Imperialism*, 34–35.

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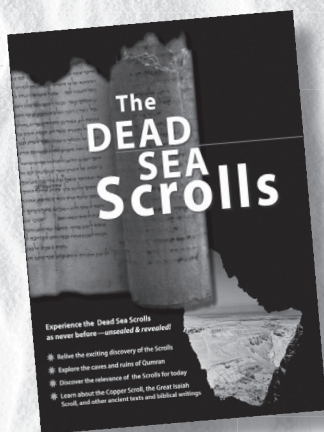
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Realism in Western Narrative and the Gospel of Mark: A Prolegomenon

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Professor Eucalyptus said, "The search for reality is as momentous as the search for god."

—Wallace Stevens[1]

I define "realism" as the way objective reality (i.e., what meets us "out there") is portrayed in literary narrative. I define "reality" as the way each individual perceives society and nature. Society and nature exist over against us, but only as each individual perceives them. In other words, our perceptions constitute what is real *to us*. Thus, one person's reality is not necessarily what others perceive.[2] In the final analysis reality is subjective, although clearly a commonly perceived reality does exist "out there" and most of us in the twenty-first century, as heirs of the science and learning of Western culture, do share a similar view of reality. To be sure, what we in the twenty-first century consider real may differ remarkably from what people in previous centuries considered real, since reality is subjective.

In general, modern human beings conceive of reality in three dimensions in common, practical, everyday ways and, hence, describe the world using identical conceptual categories. For example, we describe things by color and size (viz., height, depth, width, length, and weight) and in terms of distance, speed, and time; we conceive of the necessity for rules; we share the idea of a past and future. These conceptual categories seem common to diverse societies past and present and to

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[1] Wallace Stevens, "An Ordinary Evening in New Haven," XXII, 1–3, in *The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 481.

[2] See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966); and Burkart Holzner, *Reality Construction in Society* (rev. ed.; Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1972).

some extent form something of common ways of conceiving of objective reality. This suggests that we are not completely misled by what is "out there," since in general we interact with it in similar ways. But the "core of reality" that human beings encounter "out there" clearly can be shaped in many different ways by different individuals on the basis of the inferences they make. Our individual inferences are much less uniform and far more significant for shaping individual views of reality. In a sense, if one believes it to be so, it is so—at least it is for the one believing it! The personal inferences we make are the result of our particular social engineering and shape the realities we experience.

My aim in this article is to describe how the "realities we perceive" have been portrayed as "realisms" in Western narrative and to examine Mark's "literary realism" in that context.[3] In general, literary realism is "an approach that attempts to describe life without idealization or romantic subjectivity."[4] It "aims at conveying reality as closely as possible and strives for maximum verisimilitude."[5] This article is something of a "trial balloon," as it were, since so far as I know no one has ever attempted such a synthesis.[6]

I. Realisms in Narrative

Roland Barthes describes "realism" in literature as a "reality effect" that a narrative has on a reader; it is caused by the author's including things in the narrative that have no significance beyond themselves. These features are essentially insignificant to the author's plot. Beyond the fact that they enhance a reader's visual imaging of a scene, they contribute nothing to the plot or the narrative's progress. Like so many things in life, they are just there and incidental to the activity around them.[7]

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[3] For the history of the discussion of the term "realism" in art and literature from the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth, see Luc Herman, *Concepts of Realism* (Literary Criticism in Perspective; Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996).

[4] "Realism in Literature," *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (5th ed.; ed. Barbara A. Chernow and George A. Vallasi; New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 2286.

[5] Roman Jacobson, "On Realism in Art," in *Readings in Russian Poetics: Formalist and Structuralist Views* (ed. Ladislav Matejka and Krystyna Pomorska; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), 38–46, here 38.

[6] Mary Ann Tolbert finds a correlation between Mark and the ancient novels, which are a type of popular romance; see *Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 62–70. She specifically says, however, that "*Mark is obviously not an ancient novel of the erotic type*," although it displays "striking *stylistic* similarities to the popular Greek novel" (p. 65). She never classifies Mark in terms of where it fits in the representation of reality in Western literature.

[7] Discussed in Charles W. Hedrick, "Representing Prayer in Mark and Chariton's *Chaereas*

Eric Auerbach describes realism in literature as mimesis of everyday life. The title of his book suggests his aim: *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (first published in 1946).[8] He examined selected narrative scenes ranging from Homer to Virginia Woolf to see how closely they imitate everyday life.

Auerbach never addresses the difficulty of defining an actual objective reality, or the problem of different perceptions of reality. He never even defines realism in literature, as such,[9] although two general statements in *Mimesis* help me to understand what he seems to mean by "realism":

1. [Realism] is "a serious representation of contemporary everyday social reality against the background of a constant historical movement" (p. 518).
2. "In our study we are looking for representations of everyday life in which that life is treated seriously, in terms of its human and social problems, or even of its tragic complications" (p. 342).

For Auerbach, realism is the opposite of idealism and romanticism. From the literary selections examined in his book he notes certain features of narrative, leading him to describe the narrative at that point as "realistic"; that is, a particular feature of narrative imitates the way things actually are. I have identified from his essays twelve features of realism.[10] According to Auerbach a narrative is realistic:

1. *When as much of the narrative as possible is left in the background.* This is because life itself is fraught with background. In "real" life we never know what people are thinking, and even if they tell us what they are thinking, we only know what they tell us they think. Hence, a narrator's explanation of the interior views of characters in the narrative is a mark of unreality. A narrative that explains to the reader what would not be available to a character in the narrative by reading a character's mind or explaining matters in an aside to readers is simply not realistic.
2. *When it is a serious action involving common people.* Caricaturing personae and deliberately casting them in comedic situations to create a comic effect are not part of life as we encounter it. Things happen in real life, and some of these may strike us humorously, but there is no omnipotent script writer

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and Callirhoe," *PRS* 22 (1995): 240 n. 5. See Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language* (trans. Richard Howard; New York: Hill & Wang, 1986), 141–48. See also Jacobson, "Realism in Art," 44.

[8] Eric Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (trans. Willard R. Trask; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

[9] Others also have observed that to be the case with Auerbach's book; see, e.g., René Wellek, "Realism in Literature," in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas* (ed. Philip P. Wiener; 5 vols.; New York: Scribner, 1972), 4:51–56, here 54.

[10] See my discussion of these features in Charles W. Hedrick, *Parables as Poetic Fictions: The*

setting us up in everyday life to be the brunt of a joke, as narrators some-
times deliberately arrange for characters in the narrative.

3. *When characters develop before the reader out of their own premises*, rather
   than having omniscient narrators praise, criticize, or otherwise describe
   characters positively or negatively. Characters act, express feelings, and
   speak in their own natural idiom consonant with their own nature as it is
   naturally allowed to develop in the narrative. Readers must make up their
   own minds about them without the criticism or praise of an omniscient
   narrator.

4. *When the narrative uses direct discourse* where, like real life, no narrator
   exists to describe discourse in the third person. Action is shown as it hap-
   pens; it is not summarized.

5. *When the action in the narrative portrays everyday occurrences reflecting the
   chance contingencies of life* where unanticipated events can and do change
   the course of our lives. Real life is not plotted or manipulated to achieve a
   certain desired end for the protagonist.

6. *When the narrative has a history with its own cause-and-effect system*, where
   everything does not serve the author's plot. Extraneous things appear to
   happen spontaneously and have no necessary relationship to the author's
   plot.

7. *When the narrative is neither idealized nor romanticized.* Life is shown in
   its entirety, complete with its blemishes and baser aspects.

8. *When the narrative has numerous activities*, which, like life, happen simul-
   taneously and follow rapidly one upon the other. Action is not unilateral
   but shown multilaterally.

9. *When the activities of the narrative are complete in themselves*. They do not
   require an appeal to some other plane of reality to complete them as though
   they were a figure of some unearthly reality. Things have their own natural
   place in the narrative world.

10. *When the narrative gives the appearance of spontaneity*. The representation
    does not appear to be pre-thought, planned, and schematized.

11. *When the narrative reflects the differing conditions of the different epochs of
    life*. Life, social circumstances, characters, and action are true to what we
    know of the epochs being described in the narrative.

12. *When the narrative reflects a multiplicity of viewpoints*; that is, the repre-
    sentation does not show life, characters, and action from the perspective of
    a single personal subjectivism. The narrative reflects multiple subjective
    impressions that are not always in agreement.

II. Northrop Frye and Types of Narrative Fiction

Several ancient writers in the history of Western literature have sorted out different literary types. Sextus Empiricus, for example, divided narrative into the categories of history, legend, and fiction.[11] He argued that history is the recording of things that are true and, hence, actually happened. Legend is the narration of events that have never happened and, hence, are false. Fiction is the narrating of things that are not real but are similar to real events in their narration.

Aristotle sorted out fictions on the basis of the moral excellence of the characters in the narrative by comparison to the rest of us: some are better than we are, some are less so, and still others are like us.[12]

Northrop Frye, following Aristotle's idea of focusing on characters in the narrative, has categorized narrative fiction on the basis of the hero of the narrative. Frye sorts out fiction literature in the following ways. (a) If the hero is superior to us *in kind*, the hero is a god and the story is myth. (b) If the hero is superior to us and to his environment *in degree*, the hero is a human being and the story is romance. (c) If the hero is superior *in degree* to others in his world but is not superior to his environment, the narrative is in the high mimetic mode of epic and Greek tragedy. (d) If the hero is neither superior to us nor his environment, the hero is like us, and the narrative is cast in the low mimetic mode of comedy and realistic fiction. (e) If the hero is inferior to us in power or intelligence so that we would regard the circumstances of the narrative as absurd, then the hero is cast in the ironic mode[13] and we are dealing with satire and, perhaps, caricature.[14] This article draws on Frye's categories of narrative, but is specifically focused on the narrative's realism, that is, its literary portrayal of reality, whereas Frye is sorting out types of literature.

III. Mimesis in Western Literature

So far as I am aware, no one has attempted to describe types of literary realism in Western narrative literature. In the discussion that follows I am describing

[11] Sextus Empiricus, *Against the Professors* 1.253–67 (ed. and trans. Robert G. Bury; 4 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 4:149–51.

[12] Aristotle, *Poetica*, 1.2 (trans. W. Hamilton Fyfe, *Aristotle, the Poetics; Longinus, On the Sublime; Demetrius, On Style* [LCL; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953]).

[13] Frye defines irony as follows: "a technique of appearing to be less than one is, which in literature becomes most commonly a technique of saying as little as possible and meaning as much as possible, or, in a more general way, a pattern of words that turns away from direct statement or its own obvious meaning." See Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 40; see the full discussion on pp. 40–43.

[14] Ibid., 33–34.

neither types of literature nor the nature of objective reality, but types of narrative realism in Western narrative. A great deal of fluidity exists between these types of realisms, and at times writers mix and mingle realism types. For example, science fiction and ghost stories constitute distinct types of narrative blending both fictional and fantasy realisms.[15] In the main, however, the realisms described below seem specific enough to be described as distinct types of narrative realism.

Based on the way authors describe social and natural contexts, five types of realisms have been presented in Western narrative: they are fantasy, myth, romance, fiction, and history.

Fantasy Realism

Fantasy realism is imaginary and portrays what has never happened and could not happen in common space and time. It bears little resemblance to reality as commonly perceived, even though it still must make use of certain conventional rules for ordering affairs in the imaginary world. Fantasy realism derives from the imagination of a particular writer. Things work differently in the writer's mind from the way things happen outside—though it could also be true that the inventor actually sees reality in that way. "The term [fantasy] is applied to a work that takes place in a nonexistent and unreal world, such as fairy land, or concerns incredible and unreal characters. . . ."[16] Examples of fantasy realism in modern texts are *Alice in Wonderland* (Lewis Carroll), and *The Lord of the Rings* (J. R. R. Tolkien), and "The Library of Babel" (Jorge Luis Borges). In antiquity some texts presenting fantasy realism are the Johannine Apocalypse, Antonius Diogenes' *The Incredible Things beyond Thule,*[17] and Lucian's *A True Story*.[18]

The second-century satirist Lucian of Samosata clearly recognized the difference between a historical realism and a fantasy realism, which he described as the difference between truth and lying—or, better, between things that can and do exist and imaginary things. Lucian's work (*A True Story*) is a parody[19] of authors like Diogenes (and Herodotus!), "who narrate fanciful falsehoods while all the time

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[15] J. A. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (4th ed. rev. by C. E. Preston; London: Penguin Books, 1998): science fiction, 791–800; ghost stories, 343–52.

[16] C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon, *A Handbook of Literature* (5th ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1986), 198.

[17] *The Incredible Things beyond Thule* is a second-century text but survives only in a much later summary by Photius. See Susan A. Stephens and John J. Winkler, eds., *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments; Introduction, Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995), 101–29. A translation of the summary is found on pp. 120–29.

[18] A. M. Harmon, *Lucian* (8 vols.; LCL; New York: G. P. Putnam, 1927), 1:248–357.

[19] A parody is a type of burlesque. See Meyer H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (6th ed.; Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1993), 17–19.

claiming to be telling the truth."[20] In Lucian's words, readers will find his own stories enticing "because I tell all kinds of lies in a plausible and specious way, but also because everything in my story is a more or less comical parody of one or another of the poets, historians and philosophers of old who have written much that smacks of miracles and fables."[21] In other words, Lucian finds these works he parodies, and even his own parody, to be inventions of their authors. He does not fault them for lying, since it was common practice. "I did wonder though," he says "that they thought they could write untruths and not get caught at it."[22]

About his parody, which is an exaggeration of the lies of his targets—and hence an even more egregious lie—he says: "I think I can escape the censure of the world by my own admission that I am not telling a word of truth. Be it understood that I am writing about things which I have never seen nor had to do with nor learned from others—which in fact do not exist at all and in the nature of things, cannot exist."[23] This kind of literature, and the realism it represents, in antiquity was regarded as paradoxigraphical, that is, descriptions of paradoxes (παραδόξα), and hence absurd and fantastic.[24] Such descriptions are a departure from a common reality, as Lucian makes clear.

Mythical Realism

Mythical realism describes the activities of primordial gods in a world before common space and time. Its tangential contact with common space and time is that myth is one way we humans have explained the forces governing our common space and time. I define mythical realism as stories about gods in a time and place not recognizable as our own. Myth includes cosmogonic stories about gods and the origins of our own world. The "heroes" of these narratives are different from us *in kind*. Here is a standard definition of myth as literary narrative: "In general, a myth is a story which is not 'true' and which involves (as a rule) supernatural beings—or at any rate supra-human beings. Myth is always concerned with creation. Myth explains how something came to exist."[25] Here is another: "[T]he mythology of all groups takes shape around certain common themes: they all

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[20] J. R. Morgan, "Lucian's *True Histories* and the *Wonders Beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes," *CQ* 21 (1985): 475–90, here 426.

[21] Harmon, *Lucian*, 1:248–51 (section 2). He names two of the writers he parodies (Ktesias and Iamboulos), but in general the targets of his parody are not named, since he is sure the reader will know them (ibid., 250–51).

[22] Ibid., 250–51 (section 4).

[23] Ibid., 252–53 (section 4).

[24] Emilio Gabba, "True History and False History in Classical Antiquity," *JRS* 71 (1981): 50–62, esp. 52–55.

[25] Cuddon, *Penguin Dictionary*, 526.

attempt to explain creation, divinity, and religion."[26] Mythical realism is what is portrayed, for example, in Hesiod's *Theogony*[27] and Genesis 1.

Some ancient writers were well aware of the unreliability of myth, and hence they had a general distrust of the poets, particularly Hesiod and Homer. Plato was particularly critical of the poets for making up stories and misrepresentation (*Resp.* 2.377).[28] Xenophanes of Colophon (sixth century B.C.E.), for example, criticized the poets for attributing what would be considered the worst of human behavior to the gods and crassly describing them anthropomorphically.[29] Further, one of Cicero's dialogue partners (Velleius) in Cicero's *Nature of the Gods* described the poets' representations of divine activity by the gods as "poisonous honey" (*Nat. d.* 1.42).[30]

Thucydides said in his introduction:

> I do not think that one will be far wrong in accepting the conclusions I have reached from the evidence which I have put forward. It is better evidence than that of the poets, who exaggerate the importance of their themes, or of the prose chroniclers, who are less interested in telling the truth than in catching the attention of their public, whose authorities cannot be checked, and whose subject-matter, owing to the passage of time, is mostly lost in the unreliable streams of mythology.[31]

Romantic Realism

Romantic realism describes the activities of superhuman beings in a supernatural world. It portrays characters like us, only much better than we are in every

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[26] Holman and Harmon, *Handbook*, 317.

[27] Hesiod, *The Theogony* (Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* [LCL; 1936; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977], 78–155).

[28] Trans. Henry D. P. Lee, *Plato. The Republic* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1955), 115; see also *The Laws* 4.719 C, trans. Robert G. Bury, *Plato. Laws* (2 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press, 1926), 1:304–5.

[29] James H. Lesher, *Xenophanes of Colophon, Fragments: A Text and Translation with a Commentary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 78–119.

[30] C. P. McGregor and John M. Ross, *Cicero, The Nature of the Gods* (London: Penguin, 1972), 87. C. Mucius Scaevola, a Roman Pontifex Maximus in 89 B.C.E., recognized three kinds of gods: one strand derives from the poets, a second through the philosophers, and a third through civil leaders. About the poets he said: the gods of the poets "[were] trivial nonsense, a collection of discreditable fictions about the gods" (Augustine, *Civ.* 4.27). See John O'Meara, *St. Augustine, Concerning the City of God against the Pagans* (London: Penguin, 1984), 168. M. Terentius Varro, a widely published author of the first and second centuries B.C.E., credited by Augustine with being a monotheist (O'Meara, *Augustine*, 174–77), said of the gods of the poets that their reports contain "a great deal of fiction which is in conflict with the dignity and nature of the immortals" (Augustine, *Civ.* 6.5; O'Meara, *Augustine*, 234). In Augustine's words: "He makes it quite clear what injustice is done to the nature of the gods by these lying fables" (ibid.).

[31] Rex Warner and M. I. Finley, *Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Penguin, 1972), 47.

way, in a space similar to ours, in a time of marvels. Romance, as a term applied to a type of literature, derives from descriptions of medieval literature of the twelfth century and designates a narrative featuring "a quest undertaken by a single knight in order to gain a lady's favor; frequently its central interest is courtly love."[32] It features adventure, travel, and the supernatural, including such things as dragons, monsters, magic spells and enchantments; and "stresses the ideals of courage, loyalty, and honor."[33] Hence, it is an idealistic tale with supernatural and marvelous features. Texts earlier than the twelfth century also reflect romantic features: such as the Greco-Roman epic, Christian apocrypha, and the ancient Greek novels.

In general, the term "romance"

> refers to works with extravagant characters, remote and exotic places, highly exciting and heroic events, passionate love, or mysterious or supernatural experiences. In another and more sophisticated sense, romance refers to works relatively free of the more restrictive aspects of realistic verisimilitude and [which are] expressive of profound, transcendent, or idealistic truths.[34]

Such works are not realistic, at least not in terms of our common and shared reality. They idealize and romanticize reality and are not a serious portrayal of the way things actually are. According to Frye, in literary romance the hero is superior to us in degree, and the world of the romance is recognizable as our own but with remarkable differences. The ordinary rules of nature are suspended, and the extraordinary regularly occurs. Courage and endurance unnatural to us are part of the romantic hero's nature. For example, King Arthur's world was filled with magic swords and magic scabbards, angels, demons, wizards, witchcraft, magic instantaneous healings, monsters, incredible human endurance, and bodiless voices.[35] Such things as these are not usually accorded a credible place in the mainstream social contexts of modern Western culture. Examples of narrative reflecting this type of realism are the King Arthur legends and the modern Harry Potter stories.

Fictional Realism

Fictional realism portrays what could have happened in our common space and time but never did. Realistic fiction attempts to imitate commonly perceived reality; that is to say, the author of the narrative is attempting to portray without idealizing or romanticizing what we may recognize as our own world. In realistic fiction the hero is neither superior to us in kind or degree, nor to the environment. The hero is one of us, and his world is the everyday world we experience. The real-

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[32] Abrams, *Glossary*, 25.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Holman and Harmon, *Handbook*, 436
[35] This list is drafted from the King Arthur legends alone.

ism of such fiction is "fidelity to actuality in its representation in literature."[36] The writer's goal in realistic fiction is faithfully to create the appearance of actual lived reality.[37] An example of a novel that has been acclaimed as "a great work of realism" is Gustav Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*.[38] It is a work that "captures the full intricacy of the relationship between reality and fiction out of which the entire genre of the novel originates."[39] The dividing line between history and realistic fiction is extremely fine—if discernible at all.

Historical Realism

Historical realism describes what has actually happened in common space and time, as it can be reconstructed on the basis of empirical evidence. The subject of history is real people and actual events portrayed in terms of natural cause and effect—although it is the historian who "reconstructs" the cause-and-effect relationship. History in the best modern sense of the word was invented in fifth-century B.C.E. Greece by Thucydides in his *Peloponnesian War*.[40] Thucydides' history of the war was unusual in the ancient world in that he did not show the gods actively manipulating human affairs, as myth does, for example.[41] Another ancient historian, Polybius (second century B.C.E.), who worked with the past in a way similar to Thucydides,[42] clearly distinguished his history from myth.[43] He records what he describes as "actual events" (*Histories* 9.2),[44] involving the actions of nations, cities,

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[36] Holman and Harmon, *Handbook*, 412.

[37] Ibid., 521, s.v. "verisimilitude."

[38] Cuddon, *Penguin Dictionary*, 731.

[39] Paul de Man, *Madame Bovary: Backgrounds and Sources; Essays in Criticism* (New York: Norton, 1965), vii. See also pp. 383–92, where Eric Auerbach evaluates the realism of Flaubert by reproducing an article he had previously published (in 1937 in Istanbul). "Serious Imitation of Everyday Life." He finds Flaubert's realism to be "impartial, impersonal, and objective" (p. 383). The section in Paul de Man is excerpted from Auerbach, *Mimesis,* 482–91.

[40] While Herodotus is described as the "father of history," Thucydides is "the first critical and scientific historian," who "sought the causes of events in a critical study of men, their actions and emotions" (Matthew A. Fitzsimons and Charles E. Nowell, *The Development of Historiography* [Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole, 1954], 4). On the problems with the histories of Herodotus, see Aubrey de Sélencourt and Arthur R. Burns, *Herodotus, The Histories* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1972), 28–36.

[41] See Cicero, *Nat. d.* 1.54–56 (McGregor and Ross, *Cicero*, 91–92), and David J. Furley, "Epicurus," *OCD,* 3rd ed., 533. In this respect Thucydides seems to share the views of the Epicureans, a religio-philosophical movement of the Hellenistic period, who did not think that the gods involved themselves in human affairs.

[42] Gabba, "True History and False History," 50.

[43] Polybius, *Histories* (*Rise of the Roman Empire*) 9.2, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert and Frank W. Walbank, *Polybius, The Rise of the Roman Empire* (London: Penguin, 1979), 386.

[44] Scott-Kilvert and Walbank, *Polybius*, 387.

and rulers, rather than gods (9.1).[45] He does, however, appeal to "fortune/Fortune"[46] to account for unexplainable turns of event in human affairs.[47] His aim, however, is to explain history in terms of human and natural cause and effect, and he seems to regard that as "the process by which [Fortune] has accomplished her general design" (*Histories* 1.4).[48] He does not try to explain everything but leaves some things open as "chance" occurrences (*Histories* 15.34–36)[49] and never portrays Fortune interrupting human processes or natural events to bring about a certain end.[50]

Modern historical reconstruction is done, like that of Thucydides, in a thoroughly secular way on the basis of evidence and observations open to neutral third parties and by the absence of idealistic and romantic elements.[51] Modern historians, like Thucydides, are careful to distinguish between inference and data.

IV. Realism in the Gospel of Mark

I have selected the Gospel of Mark because by nearly unanimous agreement it is regarded as the earliest of the Gospels to have survived.[52] Mark lacks many of those features of realism that Auerbach affirms. For example, Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane (14:32–42) has all the earmarks of fated control: God is behind the scenes manipulating events. Although God could "remove the cup," it was not to be, for the will of God must prevail, as Jesus tells his disciples (14:27): All is foreordained and has been previously so determined in the ancient Hebrew Scriptures.[53] Indeed the reason why Jesus must die—to give his life as a ransom for many" (10:45)—is why his fate may not be altered, as he requested. On three occasions he announces the inevitability of his death (8:31–32; 9:30–31; 10:32–34). On the other hand, the portrayal of Jesus at prayer in Gethsemane is quite realistic. Jesus is a man facing imminent death, believing that his life is fated to end prematurely. He prays for another

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[45] Ibid., 386.

[46] See Nicholas Purcell, "Fortuna/Fors," *OCD,* 3rd ed., 606.

[47] It is not clear to what extent Polybius shared the idea that Fortune was a deity. In some cases the statement that "Fortune used such and such to do something" only has the force of "by chance such and such occurred." In other instances, however, he appears to conceive of the "deity" causing something to occur. See Scott-Kilvert and Walbank, *Polybius*, 27–30.

[48] Scott-Kilvert and Walbank, *Polybius*, 44.

[49] Ibid., 491–93.

[50] See Peter Derow, "Polybius," *OCD,* 3rd ed., 1210. Derow describes Polybius's view of Fortune in this way: "A metaphor of supernatural guidance is often evoked [by Polybius] in the form Τύχη (fortune), which though sometimes very close to seeming an active, even a vengeful agent, is never involved as an explanation for anything."

[51] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.22: Warner and Finley, *Thucydides*, 48.

[52] In truth, each of the canonical Gospels has at one time shared the temporal "pride of first place" in the history of early Christian literature.

[53] See Hans Hübner, "New Testament, OT Quotations in," *ABD* 4:1096–1104.

solution to what he regards as the inevitability of the divine will. Readers are not given a view into his tortured soul, but the public representation of his inner torment is realistically portrayed.

Another feature of unreality is that Jesus knows things not available to others. Shortly after Judas had gone to the chief priests in order to betray Jesus (14:10–11), Jesus knew that he would be betrayed (Mark 14:18), although no one knew the identity of the betrayer (14:19). Jesus also "knows" both the identity of the crowd approaching his place of prayer and why they are there (14:42–43).[54] Knowing the outcome of events ahead of time is a striking feature of Mark's Jesus. He tells Peter "this very night before the cock crows twice you will deny me three times" (14:30), and so it happened (14:66–72). Quite mysteriously he knows that a chance meeting with an anonymous man "carrying a jar of water" will lead his disciples to an unnamed householder who has already prepared a room for a meal for Jesus and his disciples (14:12–16). In other words, in Mark there is little spontaneity; things give the appearance of being preplanned and known beforehand. The Pharisees and the other opponents of Jesus in Mark are negative foils for the Jesus character in order to enhance his image—in other words action is portrayed from a single subjective perspective. Instances where this single viewpoint is modified (e.g., Mark 12:28–34) are exceptions that prove the general rule.[55] These things alone would disqualify Mark as history, or even realistic fiction, as I have described them above. Everyday life is simply not scripted, even though we might wish it were.

My objective, however, is not to criticize Mark's realism but to determine which type of realism best fits Mark's presentation. It is clearly not historical realism as represented by the work of Thucydides; for Thucydides, like modern secular historians, never portrays the gods manipulating history as Mark portrays in his Gospel.[56] Histories that represent the course of events as being under the control of some overarching divine "plan" are "theological histories." Histories written from a nonreligious perspective by definition omit appeals to the gods for explaining the events of history. Modern historians rely only on a natural and human cause and effect that can be observed by people of all faiths and non-faiths as well. Mark's realism does not even correspond to fictional realism, which must, according to literary critics, reflect "fidelity to actuality in its representation in literature."[57]

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[54] I take the use of ἰδού here as it is used in Mark 4:3. In essence it is nonessential. At times the word is not translated, as is the case in Mark 4:3. The use of ἤγγικεν, as in Mark 1:15, indicates that the crowd is not quite there yet, although perhaps close enough that they can be heard approaching. Thus, the translation of ἰδού should be something like "pay attention," "look here," "take note," or some similar expression. It does not mean "see" in a literal sense. Jesus knew before the group arrived that it was the betrayer approaching (Mark 14:41).

[55] See A. J. Saldarini, "Pharisees," *ABD* 5:289–303.

[56] See the discussion in Charles W. Hedrick, *When History and Faith Collide: Studying Jesus* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999), 1–13.

[57] Holman and Harmon, *Handbook*, 412.

So how shall Mark's realism be described? It is clearly not fantasy realism; its realism is not of its own kind, since we can recognize many of the markers of our own common reality in Mark. For example, Mark realistically portrays, to some extent, the conditions of first-century Palestinian Judaism, as best we can tell. And it is not myth—at least not as described above, because it occurs in a time and place we recognize as belonging to our common human past.

Mark's realism appears to be closest to romantic realism, for several reasons. The hero is superior to us in degree but not in kind—Frye's criterion for identifying the literary romance. Neither is the Jesus of Mark described as a god, nor does he claim to be divine, as the author of John's Gospel claims for his hero (e.g., John 20:27–29).[58] An unidentified and bodiless voice from the Markan sky (1:9–11) claims Jesus as "my beloved son," though there is nothing unique about the claim; others in Hebrew antiquity have been called "son of God."[59] Of more interest is the confession of the centurion that "surely this man was a son of God" (15:39). But neither is his accolade to Jesus about the uniqueness of Jesus, nor is it a Christian confession; rather, it describes a status Jesus shares with other figures in Greco-Roman antiquity.[60] The death of Jesus, as the centurion perceived it, was the death of a virtuous man who was unjustly persecuted.[61] His comment about Jesus recognizes

[58] Raymond E. Brown, *An Introduction to New Testament Christology* (New York/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 1994), 73–89.

[59] For example, the angels are called "God's sons" (Gen 6:4); the Davidic king is referred to as God's son (Ps 2:7); God calls Israel his son (Hos 11:1–4); a righteous person is called God's son (Wis 2:16–18; Sir 4:10); and Jesus says that people who love their enemies will be sons of God (Matt 5:45||Luke 6:35). See the discussion in Robert J. Miller, *Born Divine: The Births of Jesus and Other Sons of God* (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2003), 227–30.

[60] For a discussion of "sons of god" in Greco-Roman antiquity, see Miller, *Born Divine*, 133–53; and Charles H. Talbert, *What Is a Gospel: The Genre of the Canonical Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 1–52. The statement of the centurion about the death of Jesus has been regarded as a Christian confession since the latter part of the twentieth century, but in the early part of the century it was not so regarded. See H. J. Holtzmann, *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament* (3rd ed. rev.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1901), 181. Holtzmann says that the heathen centurion "accurately observed a son of god [as a] worthy hero. In no other way could the first readers of this gospel as gentile Christians have understood son of god." Ernest De Witt Burton (*Studies in the Gospel of Mark* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904], 216) notes, "It was a Roman who uttered these words, and he probably meant by them a sort of demi-god." On the other hand, in the second half of the century, Vincent Taylor (*The Gospel According to St. Mark* [London: Macmillan, 1959], 597) says, "The centurion's confession . . . may have been a spontaneous recognition of divinity in a man of outstanding greatness . . . but Mark read much more into the words regarding them as a parallel at the end of this gospel to [son of God] at the beginning (i.2), i.e., as a confession of the deity of Jesus in the full Christian sense." Thus it appears that how the statement should be read turns on the understanding of the original readers, the author's intent, or the demands of characterization. For further literature, see Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 974–75.

[61] For the model of this concept, see Wisdom 2–5 and the Suffering Servant songs in Isaiah,

that Jesus was numbered among the many sons of God known in Greco-Roman antiquity such as Herakles, Apollonius, and Asclepius.[62] At his trial Jesus's acceptance of the title "Messiah" (14:61–62) was not specifically a claim to divinity. Many messiahs existed in the history of Israel who did not wear the cloak of divinity.[63] Jesus is clearly not portrayed in Mark as an all-knowing deity, or even a divinity. For example, in Mark 6:1–6 Jesus is surprised that people do not believe in him, and in Mark 6:30 he does not know who touched him.

But he was certainly superior to us and to his environment in many ways. He could do things that we cannot do: feed several thousand people with meager resources (6:30–44; 8:1–10), heal the sick (1:29–31), restore sight to the blind (10:46–52), cause fig trees to wither with a word (11:12–14, 20), instantly restore a withered hand to wholeness (3:1–5), walk across the surface of the water (6:45–52), and silence storms with a word (4:35–41). His world was occupied by greater-than-human powers (1:21–28): phantoms (6:39), spirits that coerce human behavior (1:12), personified evil powers that tempt human beings (1:13), angels that assist human beings (1:13), demons that inhabit human beings and animals (1:34; 5:1–13), debilitating spirits of various sorts,[64] and holy angels that serve in a heavenly court (8:38). Jesus wears a magic garment that brings healing (6:56), without his awareness, to people who touch it (5:25–29).[65] He performs what appear to be magic gestures (7:33–35; 8:23–25) that induce healing.

The ordinary "rules" of nature are suspended in the Gospel of Mark: garments mysteriously shine supernaturally (9:2–4) or magically have the capacity to heal (6:56); clouds speak (9:7); dead people come back to life (9:4); and huge curtains before the temple are mysteriously torn asunder at the moment of his death. In the end, even Jesus rises from the dead (16:6). These are all classic features of romantic realism. Hence, however we may describe the literary genre of the Gospel, Mark's realism falls somewhere between mythical realism and realistic mimesis, and therefore it is most like the realism portrayed in the literary romance.

V. Conclusion

Does it matter that Mark's realism is more akin to romantic realism than historical realism? I think it does, but I suppose every person will respond to the ques-

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particularly Isa 52:13–53:12. Indeed, Luke's centurion calls him a "just" (δίκαιος) man and not son of God (Luke 23:47).

[62] See Talbert, *What Is a Gospel*, 39.

[63] Joseph E. Tyson, *The New Testament and Early Christianity* (New York: Macmillan, 1984), 95–100.

[64] These spirits are mute (9:17), unclean (3:11; 9:25), and deaf (9:25).

[65] This explanation depends on αὐτοῦ (5:30) referring back to ἱματίου (5:27). Compare Mark 6:56, where touching even the fringes of his garment brings healing.

tion differently. Mark's romantic realism, in my judgment, further undermines Mark's reliability as a historical account of Jesus's public career, at least in the sense of a modern understanding of history. Mark's account of Jesus is permeated throughout by an ancient sentimental romanticism.[66]

Biblical scholars should address the character of a text's realism as a part of the usual preliminary matters they discuss in critical introductions to ancient texts. These introductory matters, such as historical value, genre, linguistic character, religious and ethical views, and so on, help readers understand and evaluate ancient texts. In the same way, an analysis of the nature of a narrative's realism will also help readers put the text in historical perspective. It is difficult to believe that modern readers of Mark's Gospel will not find it significant that Mark's realism is more akin to the tales of King Arthur and the modern Harry Potter stories than to *The Peloponnesian War* and *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

[66] By "sentimental" I mean to say that the realism is more moved by feeling than by reason.

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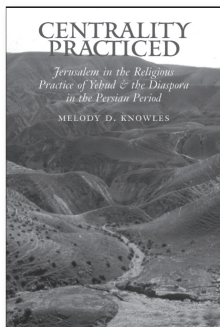
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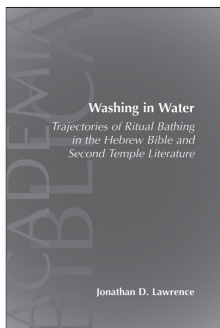
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The Label Χριστιανός:
1 Peter 4:16 and the Formation of
Christian Identity

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It is perhaps surprising that NT scholars have not devoted more attention in recent years to the origin and significance of the term Χριστιανός, given its eventual significance as *the* definitive label for the movement that began around Jesus of Nazareth.[1] One obvious reason for this comparative neglect is the rarity of the term in the NT itself; it occurs only three times, in Acts 11:26; 26:28; and 1 Pet 4:16, becoming more frequent only later, notably in Ignatius, Polycarp, and Diognetus.[2]

[1] As will be evident in the notes that follow, many of the pertinent discussions of the name come from the earlier decades of the twentieth century, up to the 1960s. Notable recent discussions include Justin Taylor, "Why Were the Disciples First Called 'Christians' at Antioch? (Acts 11, 26)," *RB* 101 (1994): 75–94; and Helga Botermann, *Das Judenedikt des Kaisers Claudius* (Hermes Einzelschriften 71; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1996), 141–88. Also noteworthy as broader treatments of the making of Christian identity are Judith M. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); eadem, *Neither Jew nor Greek? Constructing Early Christianity* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002).

[2] Ign. *Eph.* 11.2; 14.2; *Magn.* 4.1; *Trall.* 6.1; *Rom.* 3.2; *Pol.* 7.3; *Mart. Pol.* 3.2; 10.1; 12.1–2; *Diogn.* 1.1; 2.6, 10; 4.6; 5.1; 6.1–9. Ignatius is evidently the first Christian writer to employ the term with any frequency. He is also the first author to use (or coin?) the substantive Χριστιανισμός (*Magn.* 10.1; 10.3; *Rom.* 3.3; *Phld.* 6.1; also in *Mart. Pol.* 10.1). By the time of *Diognetus* the label Χριστιανός seems to be well established as a (the?) standard and accepted self-designation, as also in, e.g., Tertullian's *Apology*. Important early non-Christian references are in Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; Suetonius, *Nero* 16.2; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96–97; Lucian, *Alex.* 25, 38; *De morte Peregr.* 11–13, 16; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.64

Another reason is perhaps the sense that there is little to say, or at least little new to say, since the pertinent features of the word's etymology are well established. In this essay, however, I shall suggest that, despite the paucity of references, there is indeed considerable insight to be gained from examining this label and its significance, particularly when analysis is enriched with social-scientific resources relating to the possible reactions to negative labels in relation to social identity. I shall also argue, more specifically, that the reference in 1 Pet 4:16 is—despite the greater focus of attention on Acts 11:26—especially valuable with regard to illuminating the origin and significance of the term, and, indeed, that this text represents the earliest witness to the crucial process whereby the term was transformed from a hostile label applied by outsiders to a proudly claimed self-designation.

I. The Origins of the Term

It has been long and uncontroversially established that the word Χριστιανός is a Latinism, the ending -ιανός being a Grecized form of the Latin *–ianus*.[3] Generally, the formations derive from a proper name or title and denote the followers, supporters, adherents, or partisans of a person, as in *Brutianus, Augustianus, Caesarianus*, and so on.[4] The basic sense conveyed by the suffix is that of "belonging to."[5] The context could define the relation of dependence or allegiance more precisely, to include clients, slaves, and so on, as well as the more common sense of political or military support.[6]

Most scholars agree that the designation originated with outsiders, not the

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(the authenticity of which is famously disputed). The inscription from Pompey in *CIL* 4 §679 is too uncertain to be used (the editor of *CIL* comments: "Lectio inscriptionis . . . admodum incerta est").

[3] See, e.g., Theodor Zahn*, Introduction to the New Testament* (3 vols.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), 2:193; Henry J. Cadbury, "Names for Christians and Christianity in Acts," in *The Beginnings of Christianity,* ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, Part 1, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan, 1933), 5:375–92, esp. 384–85; Elias Bikerman [Bickerman], "Les Hérodiens," *RB* 47 (1938): 184–97, esp. 193; Erik Peterson, "Christianus" (first pub. 1946), in idem, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome/Freiburg/Vienna: Herder, 1959), 64–87, esp. 69; Ceslas Spicq, "Ce que signifie le titre de Chrétien," *ST* 15 (1961): 68–78; cited here from the reprint in idem, *Théologie Morale du Nouveau Testament* (2 vols.; Paris: Gabalda, 1970), 1:407–16, esp. 411; Taylor, "Christians," 76. I have seen no demurral from this conclusion in the commentaries or other works on 1 Peter.

[4] See H. H. Rowley, "The Herodians in the Gospels," *JTS* 41 (1940): 14–27, esp. 26; Bikerman, "Les Hérodiens," 193; Harold B. Mattingley, "The Origin of the Name *Christiani,*" *JTS* 9 (1958): 26–37, esp. 27; John H. Elliott, *1 Peter: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 37B; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 789. For many examples, see Zahn, *Introduction*, 193.

[5] Elias J. Bickerman, "The Name of Christians," *HTR* 42 (1949): 109–24, esp. 118.

[6] Rowley, "Herodians," 26. Cf. Colin J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (ed. Conrad H. Gempf; WUNT 49; Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), 177 with n. 36, who also notes that the form could be used for adoptive *cognomina*.

Christians themselves.[7] More difficult to determine is whether the name was most likely coined by general members of the populace, as many suggest, or by Roman authorities, as Erik Peterson and Justin Taylor argue.[8] A decision on this matter depends to some extent on the likely place of origin (on which see below), but we shall assume for the moment that Luke's statement that the term was first used in Antioch is correct. There are a number of reasons that may favor an origin among members of the Roman administration. First is the etymology of the word, which suggests an "origin within Latin-speaking circles."[9] This is not a decisive support for the argument, given both the presence in Antioch of a considerable number of Romans/Italians, traders, and the like,[10] and the awareness of Latin terms and forms among the wider populace. It remains highly plausible, however, that a new term of Latin formation would originate in the encounter between Romans and the followers of Christ. Second is the use of the term χρηματίζω, the verb Luke uses in Acts 11:26, to refer to official or juridical designation rather than to informal naming, an argument developed especially by Peterson.[11] Similarly, Luke's use of πρώτως, Peterson argues, also conveys a legal or juristic sense, as in legal documents where it indicates that something is now being recorded that will henceforth have force (Peterson suggests the German word "erstmalig . . . im Sinne einer die Zukunft bestimmenden Norm").[12] It remains open to question whether these words need always or necessarily convey such legal or juristic nuances, so the arguments are again less than decisive, but a probable case begins to mount. Third is the general point, developed by Taylor, that "in the non-Christian first-century sources, the names Christ and Christian are invariably associated with public disorders and

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[7] See Elliott, *1 Peter,* 790 with n. 609.

[8] Peterson, "Christianus"; Taylor, "Christians." See also Botermann, *Judenedikt,* 147–57; Marta Sordi, *The Christians and the Roman Empire* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994), 22 n. 27; Adolf von Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (2 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1905), 2:15–16 n. 1.

[9] Elliott, *1 Peter*, 789. Elliott goes on to attribute the origin of the term to "its invention by Gentile residents of Antioch" (p. 790), but one may wonder whether he, like many others, takes the indications of "origin within Latin-speaking circles" seriously enough.

[10] On the presence of Romans/Italians in Syria, especially in the large commercial centers like Antioch, see Maurice Sartre, "Romains et Italiens en Syrie: Contribution à l'histoire de la première province romaine de Syrie," in *The Greek East in the Roman Context* (ed. Olli Salomes; Helsinki: Foundation of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 2001), 127–40, esp. 130–33.

[11] Peterson, "Christianus," 67–69 ("Χρηματίζειν ist im Unterschied zu καλεῖν ein Terminus der Amtssprache. . . . [Es] bedeutet 'einen rechtmäßigen Namen (Titel) führen'. Der juristische Charakter des Wortes ist auch in der Literatur deutlich zu erkennen" (p. 67). See also Taylor, "Christians," 80, 82–83, who, however, points out that Rom 7:3 and other texts indicate that the verb need not always convey an official sense (p. 80 n. 19).

[12] Peterson, "Christianus," 68 with n. 10, who gives examples from the papyri. As Botermann (*Judenedikt*, 157–58) points out, these philological aspects of the understanding of Acts 11:26 have been somewhat neglected by NT commentators.

crimes."[13] This may also explain the reluctance of the Christians to adopt the term as a self-designation and their later apologetic efforts to argue for positive nuances inherent in the name. In the end, it is difficult to be certain about the precise circles of origin of the term, but there is a good deal to be said for the thesis that it was first coined in Latin, in the sphere of Roman administration, arising from the encounter between Christianity and the imperial regime (in the provinces?).

Given the Latin roots of the term, and its occurrence in reports about happenings in Rome by Tacitus and Suetonius, a few scholars have suggested, contra Luke, that the name *Christianus* originated in Rome.[14] The appearance of the term in 1 Peter, usually assigned a Roman origin, might add some weight to this proposal. Nevertheless, while we can be reasonably sure that the term was known and used in Rome, probably from or before the time of Nero's persecution (see below), the evidence does not constitute an entirely convincing case against the name's origins in Antioch. Luke's record is, of course, the primary datum in support of the latter location, but there are strong grounds for taking his report—or his citation of a source—seriously. The note he gives about the origins of the term Χριστιανός seems unlikely to have been constructed in service of any theological agenda or apologetic *Tendenz*; it reads rather straightforwardly like the conveying of a piece of information of which Luke was aware, without there being any particular reason to convey—or invent—it at this point. Luke was no doubt aware that the Gentile mission achieved notable success in Antioch and that the church there achieved a distinct and visible identity vis-à-vis Judaism; he could therefore have decided that this was an appropriate place—in theological as well as historical terms—to designate as the origin of the appellation. But these are equally strong reasons why a term like Χριστιανός should actually have arisen in such a location, precisely where our earliest sources report the church's practices, in a mixed community of Jews and Gentiles, as no longer conforming to a distinctively Jewish way of life (Gal 2:11–14: ἐθνικῶς καὶ οὐχὶ Ἰουδαϊκῶς ζῆν [cf. Acts 11:19–20; 15:1–35]). The Latin form of the term, moreover, is no proof against an origin in Antioch, especially if the name did originate as an official designation in administrative circles. The fact that the earliest uses of the term in Christian texts, outside Acts and 1 Peter, occur in writings linked with Antioch—perhaps the *Didache*[15] and certainly Ignatius— seems also to support Luke's information.[16] An origin in Antioch, if unprovable,

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[13] Taylor, "Christians," 84. Cf. Botermann, *Judenedikt*, 156, 187–88.

[14] For discussion of this suggestion, by, *inter alii*, A. Gercke and F. C. Baur, see Taylor, "Christians," 79–80; Cadbury, "Names for Christians in Acts," 385; and Zahn, *Introduction*, 191.

[15] Kurt Niederwimmer (*The Didache: A Commentary* [Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1998], 186) suggests that the term is here "already a common and unproblematic self-designation . . . a title of honor." Given that this is the sole occurrence of the term in the *Didache* the claim that it is "common" is hardly warranted, especially given the possible doubts about its authenticity here. But in any case, Niederwimmer argues that we must remain agnostic about the provenance of the text (pp. 53–54).

[16] Cf. Taylor, "Christians," 77.

seems a plausible conclusion. Nonetheless, what the evidence of Acts, 1 Peter, Pliny, Tacitus, and so on, indicates, is that, though slow to appear with any frequency in Christian literature, the term did become known across the empire, certainly by the end of the first or in the early second century, and probably some time before this.

In terms of the date of the name's origin, many scholars, focusing primarily on Acts 11:26, presume that the term Χριστιανός originated in Antioch around 39–44 C.E.[17] Arguments in favor of this early date have recently been mounted by Taylor, but his case depends on following the Western text of Acts 11:26 and, crucially, its addition of τότε ("at that time").[18] It is unlikely, though, that this is the original reading.[19]

Indeed, even taking Luke's information with full seriousness, there are grounds for questioning this early date. If we follow the Alexandrian text generally accepted as the most likely reading here, Luke himself does not state that the term originated in Antioch at the time he had just described, but only that "it was in Antioch that the disciples were first called 'Christians'" (NRSV), ἐγένετο . . . χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς. This closing phrase is only loosely connected with what precedes and reads like a distinct item of information. Thus, as Gerd Lüdemann remarks, "Even if the information about the emergence of the name Christian is reliable, one certainly cannot say whether Luke has put it at the right chronological point."[20] Helga Botermann likewise stresses that this is a summary report about Antioch and that Luke is concerned to indicate not the time of the name's use but the place.[21]

A further reason to doubt the early origins of the name is its absence from the earliest NT writings and its rarity throughout the NT. Even if one were to concede Elias Bickerman's point that it was not a term Christians used of one another, but only of themselves in relation to the outside world,[22] the fact that Paul nowhere uses the term, despite his unquestionably close links with Antioch (Acts 11:26–30; 13:1–3; 14:26–15:35; Gal 2:11), must raise doubts about its formulation there in the time prior to any of the letters, even though such an argument from silence can hardly be decisive. Paul's own terminology is to refer to a Christian as an ἄνθρω-

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[17] E.g., Zahn, *Introduction*, 192 (43–44 C.E.); Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, 18 (ca. 40–45 C.E.); Taylor, "Christians," 94 (39–40 C.E.); Sordi, *Christians*, 15 (36–37 C.E., adopted by the Christians themselves ca. 42 C.E.).

[18] D[(2)] (and gig p, sy[hmg]) reads: καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐχρημάτισαν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ οἱ μαθηταὶ Χριστιανοί.

[19] Peterson, for example, comments that the Western text represents an attempt "durch die Einführung des τότε die abrupte Notiz in 26 b rational und kausal mit dem vorhergehenden zu verknüpfen" ("Christianus," 65).

[20] Gerd Lüdemann, *Early Christianity According to the Traditions in Acts: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1989), 138. Similarly, Hemer, *Acts*, 177.

[21] Botermann, *Judenedikt*, 145 (see further n. 27 below).

[22] Bickerman, "Name," 115.

πος ἐν Χριστῷ (2 Cor 12:2) or as someone who is simply Χριστοῦ (1 Cor 1:12; 3:23; 2 Cor 10:7; cf. also Mark 9:41). This use of the name of Christ is also evident, significantly, in 1 Pet 4:14, shortly before the crucial use of the term Χριστιανός (4:16). The early Christians, it seems, could and would choose to designate themselves as bearing the name Χριστοῦ (or Ἰησοῦ [Acts 5:40–41]).[23] To anticipate our later discussion somewhat, their own form of confession would more likely have been Χριστοῦ εἰμί rather than Χριστιανὸς εἰμί.

Tacitus's famous remarks about Nero's punishment of the Christians (*Ann.* 15.44), following the fire of 64 C.E., do provide, as Harold Mattingley notes, evidence that the term *Christiani* was known in Rome at this time. Although Tacitus's account was written later (early second century), he clearly makes the point that, back at the time immediately after the fire, the populace were already referring to the members of this new superstition as *Christiani* (*quos . . . vulgus Christianos appellabat*).[24] It is possible that Tacitus is guilty of anachronism here, but his rather deliberate statement, combined with the evidence from Acts (πρῶτως . . .) and the other indications that the name was known across the empire by the end of the century, seems to support the conclusion that the name was indeed used by, or before, 64.

It is unlikely that our sparse evidence will allow a more specific hypothesis to be sustained with confidence. There are strong reasons to doubt that the name was formed as early as the 40s C.E., not least since Luke himself—our most explicit source about the origins of the name—does not make such a claim.[25] But if it did originate in Antioch, as seems a reasonable conclusion, and was known in Rome by the mid 60s, then it must have been coined at least a little before that time, though how long must remain uncertain. It is possible, though no more than this, that Mattingley suggests approximately the right date (ca. 59–60) even though his explanation—that the term was coined as a conscious and mocking parallel to Nero's *Augustiani*[26]—does not carry conviction. Botermann's suggestion that the term was first coined ca. 57–59 C.E., perhaps by Agrippa, in the context of Paul's hearing in Jerusalem, or during his imprisonment in Caesarea, and then was written in the report sent by Festus to Rome where Paul was sent for trial and thus came

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[23] It is uncertain what the καλὸν ὄνομα of Jas 2:7 is, though it seems likely to be the name of the Lord Jesus Christ (cf. 2:1). Certainly there is no basis to conclude that it refers to the label Χριστιανός.

[24] It is the use of the imperfect *appellabat* rather than the present *appellat* that is significant here; see Mattingley, "Origin," 32 n. 4; Zahn, *Introduction*, 191–92; Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, 19.

[25] The absence of the name from Suetonius's report of disturbances among the Jews of Rome, *impulsore Chresto* (Suet. *Claud.* 25.4)—assuming that *Chrestus* is a reference to Christ—also implies that it had not been coined in the 40s C.E. See Botermann, *Judenedikt*, 142 (and, on Suetonius's report more generally, 50–102).

[26] See Mattingley, "Origin."

to the attention of the imperial authorities in Rome is intriguing but builds rather too much on a slender foundation. It is possible, though hardly demonstrable, that Luke's use of the term in Acts 26:28 indicates the point at which the term originated—but Luke gives no real indication that this was the case.[27]

If it is right that the name originated in the circles of Roman administration and jurisdiction, then this requires that the Christians came to attention in Antioch before the time of Nero's branding them as criminals. Indeed, the narrative of Acts, confirmed in part by Paul's own reports, firmly supports the notion that Christians (generally as troublemakers among the *Jews*) did come to the attention of the city administration in various places (Acts 16:19–39; 17:5–9; 19:23–40; 2 Cor 11:23–25). As Botermann comments, however, there was no reason for these local authorities, charged with keeping the peace in their domain, to involve the wider provincial Roman administration in such cases[28]—hence her suggestion that the transport of Paul the prisoner to Rome first brought the name to the attention of the imperial authorities in Rome. It is possible, of course, that the name did originate in Antioch (*pace* Botermann) but came to attention in Rome precisely because of the appearance of Paul as a prisoner there. But it is hard to feel that we can get much beyond informed speculation regarding such possibilities. Reports of Nero's actions against the Christians after the fire of 64, however, provide the first explicit indication that the adherents of this new superstition were labeled *Christiani* in Rome. Thereafter the name is available to, and used by, Roman officials to designate members of this movement, which had now come to imperial attention.

II. Χριστιανός in 1 Peter 4

Of the three NT uses of the word Χριστιανός, Acts 11:26 seems to have received most attention. However, Luke's two Χριστιανός texts actually communicate very little about the meaning and significance of the term, the contexts in which it arose, and the nuances that attached to it. The text in 1 Peter, however, although it lacks the kind of explicit historical notice given by Luke, offers a much richer insight into the origin, meaning, and significance of the label. As such, it constitutes our earliest window "from the inside" onto this rather important development in the construction of Christian identity, one specifically forged in the

[27] Botermann, *Judenedikt*, 171–77. Botermann sees Acts 11:26 as recording the occasion on which Christians first adopted the name themselves, probably at a time after the narrative of Acts ends and in connection with their refusal to pay the *fiscus Iudaicus* post 70 c.e. This hypothesis requires more substantive argument than Botermann gives for taking χρηματίζω to mean active self-naming, not least since many scholars reject this interpretation (as Botermann indicates), and this claim is crucial if one wants to deny that Luke here reports something about the place of *origin* of the name.

[28] Botermann, *Judenedikt*, 168–69.

encounter between Christians and outsiders. Moreover, it reveals, as does 1 Peter as a whole, much about the ways in which the early Christians were forced to negotiate their relationships with the wider world in general and the Roman authorities in particular.

The third major section of 1 Peter begins at 4:12 with a reference to the "fiery ordeal" currently faced by those whom the author addresses.[29] The theme of suffering, which runs throughout the letter (1:6; 2:19–20; 3:14–17; 4:1, 12–19; 5:10) here finds its most vivid and explicit portrayal. This suffering, which the author insists should not come as a surprise, is explained and discussed in various ways. First, it is a cause for rejoicing insofar as it constitutes a sharing in the sufferings of Christ;[30] indeed accepting these sufferings with joy now is imperative[31] so that the addressees may rejoice far more when Christ's glory is revealed (cf. 1:5–9). The nature and cause of this suffering are described in v. 14: being reviled for the name of Christ. Again the author insists that such maltreatment be accepted positively, as a mark of blessing. Verses 15–16 reveal still more about the envisaged situation, as they distinguish between suffering that is a cause for glory and honor and suffering that is not. One of the themes of the letter has been the need for Christians to "do good," to conduct themselves honorably in the sight of the world (e.g., 2:11–12, 20; 3:8–17). So they are urged here to ensure that none of them suffers as a consequence of wicked conduct, which might result in a person's being labeled a murderer, a thief, or any kind of evildoer, or, indeed, an ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, probably best understood as someone who interferes in others' business.[32] Unlike being reviled for the name of Christ, such accusations (if well-founded) and their consequent suffering are not an occasion for rejoicing but are rightly seen as a cause for shame—in contrast to suffering ὡς Χριστιανός, which is no cause for shame (μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω [v. 16]). Indeed, those who suffer *this* accusation should glorify God ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ (v. 16).

Assuming this to be the original reading,[33] there remains the question of what

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[29] Although disagreement continues about the precise structure of 1 Peter, 2:11 and 4:12 clearly mark the beginning of new sections of the letter, indicated with the opening address, ἀγαπητοί.

[30] A notion most closely paralleled in the Pauline letters (see Rom 8:17; 2 Cor 1:5–7; Phil 3:10–11; Col 1:24), and thus one possible indication of Pauline influence on 1 Peter. See further David G. Horrell, "The Product of a Petrine Circle? A Reassessment of the Origin and Character of 1 Peter," *JSNT* 86 (2002): 29–60.

[31] Rightly interpreted as imperative, in parallel with μὴ ξενίζεσθε in v. 12, by Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1996), 306.

[32] See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 785–88, for the meaning of this *hapax*, coined here for the first time in Greek literature and appearing only very rarely some centuries thereafter.

[33] As do, e.g., Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 303–4 n. 6; Elliott, *1 Peter*, 796; Norbert Brox, *Der erste Petrusbrief* (EKK 21; Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 222. The variant does not find mention in either UBS[4] or Metzger's *TCGNT*. J. Ramsey Michaels (*1 Peter* [WBC 49; Waco: Word Books, 1988], 257 note *e*) argues for the originality of μερει (P 049) and the recent *Novum Testamentum Graecum, Editio Critica Maior* (vol IV/2; ed. Barbara Aland et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2000) opt for this reading.

exactly we should take ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ to mean. Most commentators rightly agree that the antecedent to which "this name" refers is not Χριστοῦ (v. 14) but the much nearer Χριστιανός (v. 16).[34] It is, moreover, unnecessary and unconvincing to avoid the direct translation "name" here and to appeal to an idiom, as does J. N. D. Kelly,[35] since in contrast to the uses in Matt 10:41–42 and Mark 9:41, in this case there is no difficulty in taking ὄνομα in its literal sense. There is more discussion over the precise sense to be given to ἐν. Elliott distinguishes three options: instrumental ("with," "by," or "through this name"), locative ("in the sphere of this name"; RSV: "under that name . . ."), and causative (NRSV: "because you bear this name").[36] The distinctions here are not great, but Elliott makes a strong case for the instrumental sense.[37] When labeled and made to suffer as Χριστιανοί they are not to be ashamed but to glorify God with this name, bearing it as a means to honor God. A further explanation is then given as to why this suffering can be joyfully embraced: God's eschatological judgment begins with God's own household (v. 17). But if the judgment of the righteous is hard, how much worse will it be for the unrighteous (v. 18)? Thus, the author concludes drawing this section of the text to a close (ὥστε), those who suffer according to God's will—not, that is, for genuine wrongdoing—can entrust themselves to God's faithfulness (v. 19).

The context in which the word Χριστιανός appears in 1 Peter is highly significant for understanding the origin and importance of the term in the history of early Christianity. The setting is one of hostility and suffering, where believers are ridiculed for their allegiance to Christ. It is in this section of 1 Peter that this situation is most vividly and explicitly portrayed here and that the term Χριστιανός appears. This may be no accident, for the term specifies most clearly and precisely what the target of external criticism was, compared with the rather less specific references earlier in the letter: the Christians' allegiance to Christ. But it also indicates the *form* in which this criticism was expressed. The insiders' terminology, known from elsewhere in the NT, as we have seen, appears earlier in this passage: being reviled for "the name of Christ" (ὄνομα Χριστοῦ). The term Χριστιανός is functionally equivalent—it means, after all, supporters or partisans of Χριστός—but it emerges specifically as one of a number of labels (along with "murderer," "thief," and so on) that may be the direct cause of suffering. The implication—not quite explicit, to be sure—is that these labels are, or may be,[38] attached by outsiders, as accusa-

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[34] Elliott, *1 Peter*, 796; Peter H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 170 n. 17.

[35] J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude* (BNTC; London: A. & C. Black, 1969), 190–91.

[36] Cf. Elliott, *1 Peter*, 796.

[37] Ibid., 796–97. This sense is also preferred by Brox, *Petrusbrief*, 222; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter,* 170 n. 17.

[38] It is difficult to say whether the addressees were actually encountering accusations that they were murderers and thieves, though the kind of stock, polemical criticisms often directed against Christians makes this not implausible: see, e.g., G. E. M. de Ste. Croix, "Why Were the Early Chris-

tions. There must be no truth in accusations of being murderers and thieves, or even "those who meddle in others' affairs," for Christians are to be demonstrably those who do good and not evil (cf. 4:15, 19); but the accusation of being a Χριστιανός, evidently a reality that was leading to suffering, should be embraced with rejoicing.

III. Suffering ὡς Χριστιανός: 1 Peter and the Letters of Pliny

What kind of suffering in what kind of situation does the text then envisage, and how does the name Χριστιανός relate to this? This question is best answered via a consideration of the relationship, if any, between the situation depicted in the letter and that reflected in Pliny's famous correspondence with Trajan (*Ep.* 10.96–97), dated to ca. 111–112 c.e. While some scholars have proposed that the similarities are close and that 1 Peter therefore dates from the same period,[39] the tendency among recent commentators is to favor an earlier date for 1 Peter and to downplay any similarities. John Elliott puts this especially forcefully: "the situation described by Pliny bears *no substantive resemblance* to the situation portrayed in 1 Peter. . . . the Pliny-Trajan exchange has *no bearing* on the import of the label 'Christian' in 1 Peter."[40]

First we must note the essential features of the situation Pliny reports. Christians are coming to trial for their faith. Those who refuse to renounce Christianity are executed (or, if Roman citizens, sent to Rome for trial); those who deny ever having been Christians are released, provided that they demonstrate their religio-political loyalty by invoking the gods and offering to the emperor's statue, and prove their nonallegiance to Christ by reviling his name. Those who admit to having previously been Christians are set the same test. Pliny does not state what he has then done with such former Christians, but he has ascertained from them and from further investigations that the cult does not seem to involve any criminal practices as such; and he evidently favors allowing such people the opportunity to repent. It is clear that those who refuse to renounce their profession of Christianity are exe-

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tians Persecuted?'" *Past & Present* 26 (1963): 6–38, esp. 20–21; Craig S. de Vos, "Popular Graeco-Roman Responses to Christianity," in *The Early Christian World* (ed. Philip F. Esler; London/New York: Routledge, 2000), 869–89, esp. 877–85; Sordi, *Christians*, 32–33; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.7.11; 5.1.14, 26; 9.5.2; Justin, *1 Apol.* 26; *2 Apol.* 12; Tertullian, *Apol.* 2, 6–7. We can be more confident that accusations of being "meddlers" were a reality, and still more confident that they were actually derided as Χριστιανοί.

[39] E.g., F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes* (3rd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 32–35; F. Gerald Downing, "Pliny's Prosecutions of Christians: Revelation and 1 Peter," *JSNT* 34 (1988): 105–23.

[40] Elliott, *1 Peter*, 792 (my emphasis).

cuted for this and not for any other or associated crimes (*flagitia*). Even though Pliny professes uncertainty as to whether punishment is due for the name itself (*nomen ipsum*)—that is, merely for being a *Christianus*—or for crimes associated with the name (*flagitia cohaerentia nomini*), his practice is evidently to proceed on the basis purely of the confession of Christianity.[41] Indeed, Trajan affirms this legal procedure (*actus*)[42] in his reply to Pliny, confirming that punishment was to be executed upon any who were proven to be Christians, that is, for the name itself.[43]

Elliott gives a number of reasons why he considers the situation reflected in 1 Peter to be different from that described by Pliny.[44] The author of 1 Peter "speaks only of the 'reproach' and 'suffering'" experienced by the Christians "and says nothing of their delation by others, their arrest or examination by Roman governors/legates, their trials, or their execution. . . . Suffering public ridicule by being stigmatized as a 'Christ-lackey' (4:16) is several steps removed from being legally denounced, arrested, and punished as a criminal."[45] The exhortation to those who suffer ὡς Χριστιανός "not to be ashamed" is thought to be too weak if martyrdom were potentially in view, and appropriate rather for a context of verbal ridicule: "If being a Christian were itself a crime then its consequence would be legal punishment, not shame (v 16a)."[46] Moreover, there is, according to Elliott, "no evidence proving that at this early point in Christian history" profession of Christianity constituted a "public crime" or "violated some putative Roman law or edict."[47] Even the Pliny–Trajan correspondence, Elliott suggests, reveals no "official Roman policy proscribing Christianity," thus making "clear that for Roman authorities in the early second century Christianity was still an unknown quantity."[48] Fur-

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[41] See de Ste. Croix, "Early Christians," passim, which demonstrates persuasively that Christians were persecuted "for the Name" beginning "either in 64 or at some time between 64 and 112" (p. 10); also idem, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?—A Rejoinder," *Past & Present* 27 (1964): 28–33, esp. 30; T. D. Barnes, "Legislation against the Christians," *JRS* 58 (1968): 32–50, esp. 37.

[42] A. N. Sherwin-White, "Why Were the Early Christians Persecuted?—An Amendment," *Past & Present* 27 (1964): 23–27, esp. 25: "*actus* is technical for judicial procedure."

[43] This affirmation of Trajan is explicit not so much in his positive statement *si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt*, which could in principle refer to an accusation regarding some form of criminal activity (*flagitium*) but in the negative that follows: *qui negaverit se Christianum esse . . . quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex paenitentia impetret* (*Ep.* 97.2).

[44] Elliott also suggests a further difference, that the situation Pliny discusses pertains only to Pontus (from where letter 10.96 was written), whereas 1 Peter envisions a situation faced by Christians throughout the provinces of northern Asia Minor and indeed the whole world (5.9). This does not, however, mean that the situations cannot be similar, only that what Pliny describes for Pontus(-Bithynia) must also be plausible in other parts of the region, and in the empire as a whole.

[45] Elliott, *1 Peter*, 793.

[46] Ibid., 794; cf. Charles Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1901), 180; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter,* 170.

[47] Elliott, *1 Peter*, 791, citing a similar statement by William J. Dalton, "The First Epistle of Peter," *NJBC,* 903–8, esp. 908.

[48] Elliott*, 1 Peter*, 792.

thermore, the author of 1 Peter does not "present any critique of Rome anywhere in the letter, an omission difficult to imagine if Roman authorities were indeed executing innocent Christians as criminals."[49]

These points, however, are by no means persuasive. It should be no great surprise that a Christian writer can reinforce the Christian duty to respect the authority of the state even in a context where the authorities are responsible for punishments meted out to Christians. Paul's infamous exhortations to the Roman Christians (Rom 13:1–7) were in essence repeated in writings that postdate Nero's scapegoating of Christians, an act that was evidently remembered among Christians and non-Christians alike.[50] And even on the point of martyrdom early Christians could reiterate their political loyalty in these terms while at the same time refusing to comply with the demand to abandon their Christian confession (*Mart. Pol.* 10–11).[51] Specifically with regard to 1 Peter, it is worth noting that this letter's affirmation of Roman imperial rule is a good deal more reserved, even implicitly critical, than Paul's.[52] Honoring the emperor (2:17) is appropriate (only) as part of a general disposition to honor all people; and the emperor is not to be revered; that attitude is reserved for God (τὸν θεὸν φοβεῖσθε, τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε)—so however politically loyal 1 Peter urges Christians to be, on the basis of these instructions they would fail the "sacrifice test" with which Pliny tested Christians.[53] There is no affirmation here that the existing authorities have been instituted by God or that they act as God's servant (Rom 13:1–4), nor is there any presumption that the governing authorities necessarily fulfill their role in punishing evil and praising those who do good (1 Pet 2:14; contrast Rom 13:3–4). The author of 1 Peter is probably opti-

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[49] Ibid., 793

[50] E.g., 1 Tim 2:1–2; Titus 3:1; *1 Clem.* 60.4–61.2. For explicit references to Nero's persecution of Christians, see, e.g., in Christian literature: Tertullian, *Apol.* 5; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.25.4–5 (quoting Tertullian); 4.26.9 (quoting Melito); in non-Christian sources: Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44; Suetonius, *Nero* 16.2.

[51] Glossing the Pauline call for submission with the "Petrine clause" of Acts 5.29 soon became a means to explain the limits to civil obedience and an expression of the Christians' circumscribed political loyalty. See further Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer* (EKKNT 6/3, Zurich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 44–45 with n. 190.

[52] I am indebted here to a comparison set out by Gerd Theissen, in lectures on "Ethik des Neuen Testaments," given at the University of Heidelberg in 2003.

[53] On the "sacrifice test," see de Ste. Croix, "Early Christians," 19–21. This is one reason to doubt the argument of Warren Carter that 1 Peter urges Christians to "go all the way" in honoring the emperor through the imperial cult, while at the same time practicing an internal form of resistance, sanctifying Christ in their hearts (1 Pet 3:15; Warren Carter, "Going All the Way? Honoring the Emperor and Sacrificing Wives and Slaves in 1 Peter 2.13–3.6," in *A Feminist Companion to the Catholic Epistles* [ed. Amy-Jill Levine with Maria Mayo Robbins; London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004], 14–33). The formulation of this text also gives reason to doubt Leonhard Goppelt's view that the issue of "divine homage paid to the emperor," which Goppelt sees arising especially in the time of Domitian, "lies quite clearly outside the purview of 1 Peter" (Leonhard Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993], 45).

mistic that, through ἀγαθοποιΐα (1 Pet 4:19), Christians can stem the criticism and hostility that unjustly attach to them out of ignorance (2:15; cf. 2:12), a hope that also motivates an apologist like Tertullian, however false the optimism proved to be.

It is also unnecessary and unconvincing to assume that what the author of 1 Peter depicts as the Christians' suffering is *only* a matter of public hostility and verbal reproach. They are, after all, said to be suffering a "fiery trial" that some may well find a surprise and a shock (4:12). And given 1 Peter's consistent use of the verb πάσχω to refer to Christ's suffering to death (2:21, 23; 3:18; 4:1), its use in 4:15, along with the reference in 4:13 to sharing in Christ's sufferings (παθήματα [cf. 1:11; 5:1, 9]), may certainly be taken to indicate that the suffering inflicted by outsiders could be anything "up to and including execution."[54] The key point about Jesus's suffering, after all, was that he was killed, not that he suffered public ridicule. That the author describes the response to suffering in terms of "shame" (4:16) does not mean that it cannot refer to something as momentous as potentially suffering to death. As Elliott has shown, this reflects an anachronistic and culturally inappropriate perception of the importance of shame and honor, far more significant in the ancient world than in the modern West.[55] For a person judged and condemned by society, a death might well be described in terms of shame and ignominy, as indeed is Christ's death (Heb 12:2), though the author of 1 Peter insists that this verdict is not appropriate in the case of those who suffer ὡς Χριστιανός (cf. 4:6; Wis 2:18–3:5; etc.). The fact that the author describes suffering in terms of being reviled, shamed, and so on, by no means proves that the processes involved cannot include legal trials and executions, nor should we present "public hostility" and "official persecution" as alternatives, despite the tendency of commentators so to do (see further below).

There are also closer similarities between Pliny's letters and 1 Peter than Elliott and others perceive.[56] One similarity is that the hostility against Christians originates among the local populace.[57] Most commentators, like Elliott, see the suffering in 1 Peter as stemming from public hostility and opposition to the Christians, rather than from official enactment of some Roman edict defining Christianity as a crime.[58] But the same goes for Pliny's *cognitiones*, which were brought about only

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[54] Goppelt, *1 Peter,* 38; cf. 336.

[55] See John H. Elliott, "Disgraced Yet Graced: The Gospel According to 1 Peter in the Key of Honor and Shame," *BTB* 25 (1995): 166–78; Barth L. Campbell, *Honor, Shame, and the Rhetoric of 1 Peter* (SBLDS 160; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); Jerome H. Neyrey, "'Despising the Shame of the Cross': Honor and Shame in the Johannine Passion Narrative," *Semeia* 68 (1994): 113–37; Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (London: SCM, 1981).

[56] On the other hand, Beare exaggerates when he states that "Pliny's description of his experience and methods could not conceivably correspond more closely to the words of 1 Peter 4.12–16" (*First Epistle of Peter*, 33).

[57] See further de Vos, "Graeco-Roman Responses."

[58] See Elliott, *1 Peter*, 794; Davids, *First Epistle of Peter,* 10; Karen H. Jobes, *1 Peter* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 9; Steven R. Bechtler,

at the instigation of accusers, who brought Christians to the governor's attention and mounted formal accusations against them. Pliny has gone so far as to follow up names provided anonymously on a pamphlet—another sign of *public* opposition to the Christians—but is reprimanded by Trajan for entertaining such anonymous accusations, which violated the principle that the accuser must publicly face the accused (Acts 25.16).[59] To pose as alternative causes for suffering either public hostility or a Roman edict outlawing Christianity is to misunderstand the pre-Decian legal position with regard to Christianity.[60] As is often noted, it is only with Decius's edict in 250 C.E. requiring people to sacrifice to the gods that a general persecution of Christians was instigated, though even this was not specifically targeted at Christians and lasted little more than a year.[61] But prior to this, at least from Trajan and probably from the time of Nero (see below), profession of Christianity was indeed treated, albeit sporadically, as a crime punishable by death, but one in which trial and punishment depended first and foremost on persons being brought to Roman attention by an accuser and then on the disposition of particular governors, who wielded considerable power and freedom in such matters.

Another notable similarity is that the suffering is specifically attached to the label "Christian" (Χριστιανός/*Christianus*). The Christians whom 1 Peter addresses may be reviled for the name of Christ (4:14), a form of hostility that is then precisely depicted in terms of the possibility of having to suffer ὡς Χριστιανός. Those whom Pliny has executed are deemed guilty solely on the basis of their confession of being a *Christianus*, for the *nomen ipsum* rather than for any other crime; he asks the accused in person if they are *Christiani* (§3). 1 Peter thus provides the earliest Christian evidence of suffering for the *nomen ipsum* in which the specific Latinism by which the Romans identified these criminals appears.[62] Indeed, as we have already seen, the term may well have originated in the encounter between Roman official-

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Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community and Christology in 1 Peter (SBLDS 162; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), 83–105; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 314, who notes that "Christianity was not declared formally illegal until 249 CE under the emperor Decius," referring only to David L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* (SBLMS 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1981), 140, who, however, also makes the point that provincial governors, under the procedures for hearing cases *extra ordinem*, already had the power "to martyr a Christian" without any such law.

[59] See further A. N. Sherwin-White, "The Early Persecutions and Roman Law Again," *JTS* 3 (1952): 199–213, esp. 204–5.

[60] Cf. Joachim Molthagen, "Die Lage der Christen im römischen Reich nach dem 1. Petrusbrief," *Historia* 44 (1995): 422–58, esp. 452.

[61] See further William H. C. Frend, "Martyrdom and Political Oppression," in *Early Christian World*, ed. Esler, 815–39, esp. 827–28; Sordi, *Christians*, 100–105. On the outbreak of the persecution, see Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 6.41.9–13.

[62] Although there are other NT references to suffering for "the name," none is strictly comparable, since they do not have the name Χριστιανός in view, but rather the name of Jesus and/or Christ, etc. (Matt 10:22; Mark 13:13; esp. Acts 5:40–41; cf. also 1 Pet 4:14). Moreover, in Acts 5:40–41 the cause of suffering is an encounter with the Jewish Sanhedrin.

dom and the emerging Jewish-messianic sect that came to be known as Christianity. Thus, without either text explicitly quoting these words, Pliny's letter indicates the crucial question from the Roman side, *Christianus es?*, just as 1 Peter indicates the answer that led to suffering on the part of the Christian, *Christianus sum*/Χριστιανὸς εἰμί (cf., e.g., *Mart. Pol.* 10.1; Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.20).[63]

There are, then, notable similarities between the Pliny–Trajan correspondence and 1 Peter, though this does not necessarily require that the letters date from precisely the same period, as Gerald Downing has argued, on the basis that Pliny's letter marks the beginning of persecution and trials of Christians in Asia Minor.[64] Many Roman historians believe that Christianity was effectively illegal—regarded as inherently criminal—from the time of Nero (or even before), whether or not there was formal legislation to this effect, such that Trajan's rescript largely confirms rather than innovates policy regarding the Christians.[65] And despite the self-deprecatory opening of his letter, there is good reason to believe that Pliny knew a good deal more about how to treat the Christians than he implies. He is clear enough that those who confess the name should be executed (or, if citizens, sent to Rome for trial); his main uncertainty pertains to those who confess to having been Christians but who have now renounced their faith. The key point of his letter, indeed, seems to be to argue that such people should be allowed to repent, an argument Trajan evidently accepts.[66] Moreover, Pliny's letter implies "that trials of Christians were far from rare" and had been going on for some time, even if Pliny himself had not formerly been directly involved (§§1–2).[67]

But if the similarities do not require us to date 1 Peter at precisely the time of Pliny's letter, they do enable us to sketch more fully the kind of scenario that probably underlies the Christian epistle: Christians are experiencing hostility from the populace among whom they live, suffering verbal slander and accusation. This hostility can reach the level where it takes the form of legal accusation, which results in Christians being brought before the governor for trial. It is likely that the popular slander included some of the typical kinds of criminal accusation—that the

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[63] On the importance of martyrdom as the crucial context in which "Christian" identity was forged, see further Judith M. Lieu, "'I am a Christian': Martyrdom and the Beginning of 'Christian' Identity," in eadem, *Neither Jew nor Greek?* 211–31.

[64] Downing, "Pliny's Prosecutions."

[65] Cf. de Ste. Croix, "Early Christians," 8; Frend, "Martyrdom," 821, 835 ("a religion deemed since the Neronian persecution to be illegal"); Sordi, *Christians*, 63; A. Giovannini, "L'interdit contre les chrétiens: raison d'état ou mesure de police?" *Cahiers du Centre Glotz* [Paris] 7 (1996): 103–34; Botermann, *Judenedikt*, 156, 187, who takes from Peterson ("Christianus," 77) a definition of what the Romans understood by the term *Christiani* in the first century: "Juden, die unter dem Einfluß von Christus Unruhen verursachen." Similarly, F. Vittinghoff, "'Christianus sum': Das 'Verbrechen' von Aussenseitern der römischen Gesellschaft," *Historia* 33 (1984): 331–57, esp. 336, 355.

[66] Barnes, "Legislation," 36 with n. 49.

[67] Ibid., 37.

Christians committed incest, were murderers, cannibals, and so on[68]—and the accusations brought to the governor may also have included mention of such *flagitia*. This again is confirmed in 1 Peter, where the likelihood of accusations of various kinds of evildoing is apparent (4:15), and the author is concerned that no such accusations should stick. But the crucial accusation, in the end, would be that of being *Christianus*, the *nomen* coined by Romans to designate such persons. This, if proven in the manner Pliny describes, would most likely lead to suffering like Christ, suffering to death. And it is precisely such suffering that the author of 1 Peter insists is a noble experience, which, far from being shameful and degrading —as outsiders no doubt saw it—brings glory to God.

IV. Χριστιανός, Conflict, and the Construction of Christian Identity

Just as 1 Peter provides our earliest glimpse "from the inside" into the specific contexts and experiences in which the term Χριστιανός arose and was employed, so the term itself provides us with a window onto significant aspects of the development of early Christian identity, particularly insofar as this relates to outsiders' perceptions of the movement. In the final sections of this essay I want briefly to explore the significance of the term Χριστιανός and the settings in which it arose —as depicted in 1 Peter 4—for the development of Christian identity. My primary theoretical resources for this task will be taken from the field of social psychology.

A first step is to see the label Χριστιανός as a form of *stigma*. That is to say, in the words of Erving Goffman's classic definition, it is "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" in terms of the wider society's values and assumptions.[69] Someone who bears a stigma is "the bearer of a 'mark' that defines him or her as deviant, flawed, limited, spoiled, or generally undesirable."[70] The forms in which stigma is indicated and felt through the processes of social interaction vary widely, but in the case of the label Χριστιανός, 1 Peter makes it clear that those who bore this "mark"[71] were subject both to informal hostility and to official censure, negative responses that could combine in the accusatorial process to bring about physical suffering and death. Also clear from 1 Peter is the reality that, from outsiders' point of view, bearing this mark was a cause of shame. Goffman, indeed, notes that this is precisely a product of the process of stigmatization: "Shame becomes a central

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[68] See n. 38 above.

[69] Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1963; London: Penguin, 1990), 13, taken up, e.g., by Irwin Katz, *Stigma: A Social Psychological Analysis* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1981), 2.

[70] Edward E. Jones et al., *Social Stigma: The Psychology of Marked Relationships* (New York: Freeman, 1984), 6.

[71] This is the terminology of Jones et al., *Social Stigma*.

possibility, arising from the individual's perception of one of his own attributes as being a defiling thing to possess."[72]

One of the key points about a stigma, of course, is that it assumes a larger role than simply being one of a number of characteristics an individual may bear. It is, or is felt to be, an identity-defining mark, one that the processes of social interaction and labeling make central to the designation of who or what someone is.[73] In Irwin Katz's words: "certain negative qualities or traits have the power to discredit, in the eyes of others, the whole moral being of the possessor."[74] In the terms used by social-identity theorists, in such cases a particular feature of a person's identity becomes especially or predominantly salient. Why certain features of a person's necessarily complex and multifaceted identity become salient at different points in time, and in different contexts, is precisely one of the things that has interested social-identity theorists such as Henri Tajfel and his collaborators and successors. As the term suggests, these social psychologists have focused on those facets of identity that may be defined as "social" as opposed to "personal," that is, "that *part* of an individual's self-concept that derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[75] The label Χριστιανός is a stigmatizing label associated not with a facet of personal identity—such as disability or disfigurement—but with a feature of social identity deriving from group membership. In relation to the term Χριστιανός, one thing that is interesting is that it is outsiders who heighten the salience of this label, not only by coining it in the first place but also by making it, in judicial settings, *the* crucial identifier that determines whether a person is or is not a social deviant, whether they can be permitted to remain in society or not. The *nomen ipsum*, to use Pliny's phrase, is the point on which everything hangs. The attempt to make allegiance to Christ the central and all-defining reference point for members of the early Christian movement had already been undertaken by insiders. Paul provides the clearest examples of an insistence that it is belonging to Christ, being in Christ, that is all-defining and all important and renders other facets of a person's identity—ethnic-religious, social, and sexual—insignificant, nothing (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 12:13; Col 3:11; cf. also 1 Cor 3:23; 7:19; Gal 5:6; 6:15). An ironic and surely unintended consequence, then, of the outsiders' hostile labeling of believers as Χριστιανοί, is that it confirms and increases the salience of this aspect of the insiders' shared social identity and increases the extent to which this facet of their identity defines their commonality and sense of belonging together—increases, indeed, their sense that this badge is the one they must own or deny in the face of hostility. The outsiders' hostile criticism, which also indi-

[72] Goffman, *Stigma*, 18.
[73] Cf. Katz, *Stigma,* 118–23.
[74] Ibid., 118.
[75] Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 255.

cates that they have come to identify Christians as distinct from Jews in general, plays its part, then, in forging and fostering a sense of shared *Christian* identity.

This last observation should also draw our attention to the importance of hostility and conflict in the formation of Christian identity, and specifically to the positive impact of conflict in strengthening group identity and boundaries, as classically identified by Georg Simmel and later Lewis Coser.[76] However negative the consequences of conflict with the wider public and the Roman imperium were for Christians, individually and corporately—and 1 Peter's attempts to provide consolation and hope are testimony to the reality of the negative pressures—we should not ignore the crucial and positive consequences, at least from a sociological perspective, for the formation of specifically Christian identity.

Another axiom of social identity theory is that people "strive to achieve or to maintain positive social identity" and that such positive social identity is "based to a large extent on favourable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups."[77] Negative identifiers, and stigmas in particular, are negative precisely because of the way in which they are judged by the wider society or by dominant social groups relative to the specific in-group identified. People who are disabled, or fat—key examples for studies of stigma—have to cope with the negative stereotypes, assumptions, and attitudes with which they are confronted. The same was the case, *mutatis mutandis*, with Christians, whose group membership was taken to indicate, as we have seen, an antisocial criminality and who were thus shamed by those among whom they lived, whether by ridicule and hostility or by the more physical shame of arrest and execution.

Henri Tajfel and John Turner have set out the options for an individual suffering negative social identity, setting these options within the framework of two contrasting patterns of social assumptions, labeled "social mobility" and "social change."[78] Where social mobility is believed to be a possibility, a likely strategy for the individual facing a negative social identity is individual mobility, that is, leaving the group.[79] This was a real option for the early Christians, as again the evi-

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[76] Georg Simmel, *Conflict and the Web of Group-Affiliations* (1908; Glencoe: Free Press, 1955); Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956). For a broader sketch of the relevance of these perspectives to the emergence of early Christianity, see David G. Horrell, "'Becoming Christian': Solidifying Christian Identity and Content," in *Handbook of Early Christianity: Social Science Approaches* (ed. Anthony Blasi, Jean Duhaime, and Paul-Andre Turcotte; Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira, 2002), 309–35.

[77] Henri Tajfel and John Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in *Intergroup Relations: Essential Readings* (ed. Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams; Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001), 94–109, here 101, originally published in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (ed. W. G. Austin and S. Worchel; Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979), 33–47.

[78] Tajfel and Turner, "Intergroup Conflict," 95–96. See also Michael A. Hogg and Graham M. Vaughan, *Social Psychology* (4th ed.; London/New York: Prentice Hall, 2005), 411; Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London/New York: Routledge, 1988), 54–57.

[79] Tajfel and Turner, "Intergroup Conflict," 103–4.

dence of Pliny confirms: cursing Christ and offering to the gods is sufficient, whatever a person's past commitments, to secure their pardon and reintegration into society. And Pliny knows of Christians who have abandoned their faith, in the recent and the more distant past. 1 Peter does not show explicit concern to warn against apostasy, as, by contrast, does the Letter to the Hebrews (Heb 6:4–8). But the general concern of 1 Peter to offer consolation and hope and its specific plea not to be ashamed at bearing the name Χριστιανός indicate the perceived need to counteract pressures to abandon this commitment.

Other strategies come under the general heading of *social creativity*, that is, where group members "seek positive distinctiveness for the in-group by redefining or altering the elements of the comparative situation."[80] Most relevant to our consideration of the term Χριστιανός in 1 Peter 4 is the strategy of "*changing the values assigned to the attributes of the group, so that comparisons which were previously negative are now perceived as positive.*" The "classic example," Tajfel and Turner note, is "Black is beautiful."[81] In other words, terms and designators with a negative social-identity value are retained, but reclaimed and reinterpreted, with what we may perhaps call polemical pride, as positive ones. Gay people's (re)claiming of the derogatory label "queer" is one recent example: the term is now used (with polemical pride?) as a self-designation.[82] A recent BBC documentary on contemporary life among British Pakistanis examined another comparable example:

> the use of the term "Paki" over the decades. Although it was deemed acceptable in mainstream television coverage in the seventies and early eighties, for many British Asians today it remains a totally unacceptable form of racist abuse. However, some young British Pakistanis are now trying to reclaim the word as a badge they are proud of.[83]

Ancient examples of a comparable process may exist in names like Pharisees and Cynics, both of which may have begun as negative designations used by outsiders but then came to be claimed by insiders as their own self-description.[84] Similarly, in 1 Peter 4, while being "in Christ" and bearing "the name of Christ" (4:14) are insiders' ways to describe their identity, Χριστιανός is a label applied from outside, in the context of accusation. It, and the suffering that can follow as its consequence, are doubtless perceived by outsiders as a cause of shame, degradation, and

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[80] Ibid., 104.

[81] Ibid.; see also Hogg and Vaughan, *Social Psychology*, 413.

[82] For one of many examples, there is a society titled Imperial Queers, which (to quote the Web site) "is the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered society of Imperial College, London" (http://www.union.ic.ac.uk/scc/IQ/about.html).

[83] "British, Paki and Proud," 9:20–11:00 P.M., BBC 2, March 5, 2005. The quotation is taken from the description of the program at www.bbc.co.uk/print/bradford/features/2005/03/paki.shtml (accessed March 21, 2005).

[84] See A. I. Baumgarten, "The Name of the Pharisees," *JBL* 102 (1983): 411–28, esp. 423–27. Baumgarten is uncertain whether the name of the Pharisees began as a denunciation, though this is certainly a possibility.

humiliation. 1 Peter 4 represents an attempt to reverse this social verdict, at least in the eyes of insiders. A label applied as an accusation, a cause for punishment and shame, is to be regarded as a badge of honor and pride. Thus, 1 Peter 4 provides a brief but unique and illuminating insight into the beginnings of the process whereby the label applied as a term of disdain by outsiders comes first to be one that insiders accept—but as a source of honor, not shame—and then one that they later claim and use themselves as their basic designation of group belonging. Ignatius reveals a further stage in the process, expressing the desire not only to be *called* a Christian but to *be* one (μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι) (*Magn.* 4.1; cf. *Rom.* 3.2): here the term is well on the way to being used by insiders as a "true" designation of what they really are.[85]

In terms of social identity theory, then, we see the author of 1 Peter here engaging in a strategy of social creativity, attempting to give a positive value to what outsiders perceive as a cause of shame, to the term Χριστιανός, insisting that the "true" value of suffering ὡς Χριστιανός is as a way of bringing glory to God. For the early Christians this is but one facet of a fundamental need, rooted in the very origins of the movement, to reverse the social value judgments through which others perceived them. Jesus's death as a criminal on a cross marked him as a rebel who ended his days in degradation and shame; but the early Christians insisted that his death was instead a moment of glory and not shame, or, at least, that the verdict of the cross was reversed by the vindication of the resurrection. Similarly, the label Χριστιανός was used to indicate an antisocial criminality that was justly a cause for shame and punishment; but the author of 1 Peter insists that the label is no shame but instead a source of honor, even and especially when it leads to suffering, precisely because it represents a sharing in Christ's sufferings (4:13), a following in his footsteps (2:21). This reversal of societal judgments, the insistence that the very opposite is in fact the case, was one means, essential to early Christianity, whereby attempts were made to construct and sustain a positive sense of group identity.

V. Conclusion

A study of the term Χριστιανός thus provides an important source of insight into the development of early Christianity, important not least since it facilitates and requires an engagement with both Christian and non-Christian Roman sources and thus brings together the concerns and approaches of NT scholars and ancient historians. Philological considerations, combined with the Roman sources, scanty

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[85] Cf. Judith M. Lieu, *Image and Reality: The Jews in the World of the Christians in the Second Century* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 29: "the epithet 'Christians' . . . has become his [sc. Ignatius's] most favoured name for believers and a designation of honour which represents the goal of their individual and corporate existence. One must *be* and not simply be *called* 'Christian,' and for Ignatius himself this will be most truly demonstrated or even achieved in his martyrdom."

though they are, indicate the likely emergence of the label Χριστιανός in the encounter between Christians and hostile outsiders, most likely Roman officials, and testify to the early emergence of a focus on the *nomen ipsum*. Where 1 Peter 4 is especially important is in uniquely providing a corroborating picture from the inside of the process, setting the term Χριστιανός in the context of a consolatory address to those suffering hostility, derision, and punishment for bearing this name. Moreover, 1 Peter marks a crucial point in the process whereby this hostile label comes to be borne with pride by insiders, later becoming their standard self-designation. This is but one example, yet a key one nonetheless, of the early Christians struggling to reverse, at least in their own eyes, society's verdict on them. And ironically, though unsurprising in the light of social-scientific studies of conflict, the very hostility that the label Χριστιανός/*Christianus* represents, by focusing attention precisely on this facet of the believers' social identity, plays a significant role in fostering an emerging sense of *Christian* identity, making this label, for insider and outsider alike, the most salient designation of the followers of Jesus.

CRITICAL NOTES

Did David Overinterpret Nathan's Parable in 2 Samuel 12:1–6?

A general consensus among scholars holds that David misunderstands Nathan's parable in 2 Sam 12:1b–4. Most scholars assume that this misunderstanding results from David's treatment of it as an actual legal case rather than as a parable.[1] This article argues that David does in fact recognize Nathan's story as a parable but that he does not interpret it as Nathan intends. Rather, David overinterprets the parable and then tries to condemn Joab for the murder of Uriah in vv. 5–6. First, I will provide evidence to refute the position that David does not recognize the story as a parable. Second, I will examine how David may understand the story if he hears it as a parable. Third, I will illustrate how David attempts to condemn Joab for Uriah's murder in vv. 5–6 based on his overinterpretation of the parable.

I. Did David Hear a Parable or a Legal Case?

The notion that David interprets Nathan's story as an actual legal case has enjoyed popularity since Uriel Simon suggested that Nathan's story belongs to the genre of "juridi-

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I presented earlier versions of this article at the 2006 Mid-Atlantic regional and the 2006 annual meetings of the SBL. I would like to thank Nyasha Junior as well as the audiences at both meetings for their valuable comments and criticisms.

[1] For examples of majority positions, see Walter Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel* (IBC; Louisville: John Knox, 1990), 280; Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg *I and II Samuel*: *A Commentary* (trans. J. S. Bowden; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 312; Gwilym H. Jones, *The Nathan Narratives* (JSOTSup 80; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 96–101; P. Kyle McCarter, *2 Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 304–5; Steven L. McKenzie, *King David: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 159. In contrast, Bernard C. Lategan suggests that the recognized parabolic quality of Nathan's speech puts David at ease (*Text and Reality: Aspects of Reference in Biblical Texts* [SemeiaSt; Philadelphia: Fortress; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985], 81). Hugh Pyper provides a helpful review of the vast scholarship on Nathan's parable (*David as Reader: 2 Samuel 12:1–15 and the Poetics of Fatherhood* [Biblical Interpretation Series 23; Leiden: Brill, 1996], 84–110); cf. Randall C. Bailey, *David in Love and War: The Pursuit of Power in 2 Samuel 10–12* (JSOTSup 75; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 101–10.

cal parables."[2] According to Simon, a juridical parable contains a realistic story about a legal violation that is told to someone who has committed a similar offense in hopes that the person will unsuspectingly pass judgment on himself or herself. The offender will be caught in the trap only if he or she does not detect prematurely that the parable condemns him or her. Thus, the speaker disguises the parable as a legal case and creates some discrepancy between the parable and the offender's situation in order to trap the offender.[3]

Although some scholars question whether Simon has identified an actual genre of parables,[4] his notion that the juridical setting of Nathan's story conceals its parabolic quality remains influential.[5] Yet, as Hugh Pyper observes, only the surrounding narrative provides the juridical setting for the parable. If one brackets David's reaction to the parable in vv. 5–6, nothing in the parable itself (vv. 1b–4) suggests that it is a legal case.[6] The parable does not have any of the typical features of a legal proceeding, such as specific details, witnesses, or testimony (cf. 1 Kgs 3:16–30).[7]

In addition, important differences exist between Nathan's story and the two most convincing parallels that Simon cites. In the case of the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:1–24) and the unnamed prophet disguised as a wounded soldier (1 Kgs 20:35–43), the one who relates the veiled parable comes to the king disguised as an injured party seeking mercy from the king.[8] The wise woman of Tekoa, disguised as a bereaved mother, presents her case as a dispute among her family members.[9] Disguised as a wounded solider, the prophet presents his case as an incident that happened to him in war.

Yet, in 2 Sam 12:1b–4, Nathan, who is not disguised, tells a story about two men who have no apparent relation to him. Since no other biblical prophet presents another person's legal case to a king, one has little reason to believe that Nathan provides an excep-

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[2] Uriel Simon, "The Poor Man's Ewe-Lamb: An Example of a Juridical Parable," *Bib* 48 (1967): 207–42.

[3] Ibid., 221.

[4] See, e.g., George W. Coats, "Parable, Fable, and Anecdote: Storytelling in the Succession Narrative," *Int* 35 (1981): 368–82; David Gunn, *The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation* (JSOTSup 6; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1978), 41.

[5] See, e.g., Jean Hoftijzer, "David and the Tekoite Woman," *VT* 20 (1970): 419–44; Willy Schottroff, "Das Weinberglied Jesajas (Jes 5,1–7): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Parabel," *ZAW* 82 (1970): 68–91; Gerald T. Sheppard, "More on Isaiah 5:1–7 as a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 44 (1982): 45–47; Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 429–30; Gale A. Yee, "A Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5:1–7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 43 (1981): 33–34. Hoftijzer, however, argues that the purpose of the parable is to induce "the king to give the ruling on the fictitious case that [Nathan] wants for the real one" (p. 421) rather than to induce him to pass judgment on himself.

[6] Pyper, *David as Reader*, 102–3.

[7] As Bruce Birch observes, "this scene [12:1–7a] does not seem like a customary session of royal judicial practice. . . . No names, places, witnesses or other petitioners are in evidence. Instead, we find an encounter between prophet and king in which Nathan has chosen the rhetorical device of a parable of injustice for his purpose of confronting David" ("1 and 2 Samuel," *NIB* 2:1292).

[8] Simon also cites Isa 5:1–7 and Jer 3:1–5 as examples of juridical parables, but see Burke O. Long, "The Stylistic Components of Jeremiah 3, 1–5," *ZAW* 88 (1976): 387.

[9] For a number of differences between 2 Sam 14:1–24 and other juridical parables, see Hoftijzer, "David and the Tekoite Woman," 442–44.

tion. In other words, compared to other examples of a parable disguised as a legal case, Nathan does a very poor job of disguising his parable.

Nathan may intend to present not a disguised parable but rather a typical prophetic parable with the aim of confronting David directly. The poetic style and vocabulary in vv. 1b–4 link the story more closely with proverbs and parables than with legal petitions. For instance, outside of Nathan's story, the book of Proverbs contains the only other occurrences of the words "rich" (עשיר) and "poor" (רוש) in the same biblical verse (cf. Prov 10:4; 13:7, 8; 14:20; 18:23; 22:2; 28:6). As many scholars note, the literary character of Nathan's story breaks from the surrounding narrative. While arguing that David takes the story as a historical event and not a parable, J. P. Fokkelman still draws the reader's attention to its "unified rhythm" and cluster of phonetic devices such as rhyme and consonantal alliteration.[10] After observing that the story employs several terms that are relatively rare in prose narrative, Robert Alter muses "it is a little puzzling that David should so precipitously take the tale as a report of fact requiring judicial action."[11] Yet it is far less puzzling if one argues that David recognizes this story as a parable rather than as a legal case.

The poetic quality of this parable resembles other prophetic parabolic narratives such as Isa 5:1–7 or Ezek 17:1–24.[12] In these other cases, the prophet's parable calls for limited allegorical interpretation in order to explain certain elements (Isa 5:7; Ezek 17:11–21).[13] Such parables do not contain pure allegories in the sense that each element would represent a corresponding reality. Rather, certain elements or images such as the vineyard (Isa 5:7) or the eagle (Ezek 17:7) invite allegorical interpretation from the audience.[14] These allegorical elements function not as a disguise for the parable but rather as a standard rhetorical technique meant to intensify its message and to heighten its judgment of the audience.[15] Nonetheless, it remains possible for the hearers to draw point(s) different

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[10] J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analysis* (4 vols.; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1981), 1:74.

[11] Robert Alter, *The David Story: A Translation with Commentary of 1 and 2 Samuel* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 257.

[12] I define parables in the Hebrew Bible as short narratives functioning as explicit comparisons. They invite a biblical character or characters to create a comparison with another situation within the larger narrative.

[13] I borrow the description of parables as "limited allegories" from Craig L. Blomberg, who argues that parables, like many works of fiction, operate on "a sliding scale of more and less allegorical narratives." See Craig L. Blomberg, "Interpreting the Parables of Jesus: Where Are We and Where Do We Go from Here?" *CBQ* 53 (1991): 52.

[14] I believe that the audiences of such parables would have been sophisticated enough to recognize that the parable invites some allegorical interpretation that applies to their situation rather than being surprised when the prophet applies it to their situation, especially if such parables functioned as a standard prophetic rhetorical technique. On Isa 5:1–7 as a parable as opposed to an allegory, see John T. Willis, "The Genre of Isaiah 5:1–7," *JBL* 96 (1977): 337–62. Birger Gerhardsson describes it as an "allegorizing parable" ("The Narrative Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels: A Comparison with the Narrative Meshalim in the Old Testament," *NTS* 34 [1988]: 345).

[15] Claus Westermann concludes that "comparisons" in the Hebrew Bible (which may be expanded into short narratives or "parables") often serve an "intensifying function" that contributes to the rhetorical goals of the speaker. See Claus Westermann, *The Parables of Jesus in the Light of the Old Testament* (trans. and ed. Friedemann W. Golka and Alastair H. B. Logan; Minneapolis: Fortress,

from those that the speaker intends if they allegorize different elements or the same elements differently when making their own comparisons. For example, in Ezekiel 17, one could read the images of the "great eagle" and the "king of Babylon" (vv. 3, 12) as either Nebuchadnezzar or Yнwн.[16] Below, I will explore the possibility that David overallegorizes Nathan's parable.

Given Nathan's use of proverbial language and lack of legal disguise, one has little reason to suppose that David does not see his story as this type of prophetic parable, requiring some allegorical interpretation. The style and vocabulary in vv. 1b–4 suggest that David may easily recognize the story as a parable aimed at him rather than a legal case about two unnamed men.

II. How David Overinterprets the Parable

If David recognizes it as a parable, how might he have understood it? Any attempt to answer this question involves great speculation. The reader will never know ultimately how David interprets Nathan's story, especially since he or she has little access to the motivations behind David's speech and emotional display.[17] Nonetheless, the reader must engage in some amount of speculation if he or she is to offer any interpretation at all of David's response. At best, the reader can answer this question in a manner that remains consistent with David's speech and actions elsewhere in the story of David.

As scholars often note, the reader can connect the way the rich man "takes" (לקח) the lamb from the poor man in 12:4 with the way David "takes" (לקח) Bathsheba from Uriah in 11:4.[18] Based on Nathan's reply to David in vv. 7–12, the prophet seems to intend

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1990), 5–151, esp. 151. Expanding on Westermann's work, I would argue that Nathan's speech does not disguise his parable, but rather intensifies its message. Simon B. Parker asserts that Nathan's story does not qualify as a parable because of its "incompleteness." He notes that it does not include any consequences for the rich man's actions or lack thereof that may illustrate a lesson of some sort. He prefers to see the story as a "petitionary narrative" (*Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions: Comparative Studies on Narratives in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1997], 33; cf. Stuart Lasine, "Melodrama as Parable: The Story of the Poor Man's Ewe-Lamb and the Unmasking of David's Topsy-Turvy Emotions," *HAR* 8 [1984]: 111–12). This argument assumes that parables in the Hebrew Bible always function to convey a lesson. On the contrary, although speakers may turn petitionary narratives into parables (cf. 2 Sam 14:1–20; 1 Kgs 20:35–43), since parables in the Hebrew Bible often aim to intensify or justify a judgment, they do not need to include a consequence or lesson to qualify as a parable.

[16] Timothy Polk, "Paradigms, Parables, and *Měšālîm*: On Reading the *Māšāl* in Scripture," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 579–81.

[17] Some scholars observe that while the story of David provides the reader with information about other Saulides' inner lives (Jonathan and Michal), it does not do the same for David. See, among others, Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 118–19; Robert Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History,* part 2, *1 Samuel* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1989); 191; Patricia Tull, "Jonathan's Gift of Friendship," *Int* 58 (2004): 132.

[18] See, e.g., Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 280; see also Tod Linafelt, "Taking Women

the rich man to represent David, the poor man to represent Uriah, and the ewe lamb to represent Bathsheba.

Yet Nathan's reply does not clarify every major element of the parable. For example, it does not seem to account for the traveler who visits the rich man. Interpreters have puzzled over this issue since antiquity. In one talmudic discussion, the rabbis identify the traveler as the Evil Inclination (יצר הרע) who visits or influences David (*b. Sukkah* 52b). Both Rashi and Radak follow the sages in this identification (*Miqraʾot Gedolot*).[19] More recently, Larry Lyke has suggested that the traveler may refer to Uriah himself based on the similarity between the participle for "traveler" (ארח) and the proper name Uriah (אוריה) and the fact that Uriah is the one who comes (בוא) to David in 11:7 just as the traveler comes (בוא) to the rich man in 12:4.[20] Both Lyke and Robert Polzin note that in Nathan's reply, David resembles the traveler for whom the lamb is taken when Nathan tells him that Yʜᴡʜ gave Saul's wives to David (v. 8).[21] Yet, even before Nathan's reply, David could have understood himself as the traveler in the parable, the one for whom the lamb was killed. I will return to this possibility below.

Hermann Gunkel observes another issue that complicates Nathan's application of the parable to the situation in ch. 11. According to Gunkel, 2 Samuel 11 focuses on the murder of Uriah, but the parable does not contain a murder. Thus, he concludes that the parable originally existed independent of ch. 11.[22] By contrast, other scholars suggest that the ewe lamb must represent Uriah since it is the only figure that presumably dies in the parable.[23] Indeed, David may connect the ewe lamb with Uriah, given the similar vocabulary in chs. 11 and 12. The three verbs that Nathan uses in 12:3 to describe the ewe lamb's actions toward the poor man (i.e., "eat" [אכל], "drink" [שתה], and "lie down" [שכב]) are the same verbs that Uriah uses in 11:11 while speaking to David to describe his potential actions toward Bathsheba.[24]

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in Samuel: Readers/Responses/Responsibility," in *Reading between Texts: Intertextuality and the Bible* (ed. Danna Nolan Fewell; Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 99–113.

[19] For a more detailed discussion of rabbinic interpretations of this passage, see Peter Coxon, "A Note on 'Bathsheba' in 2 Samuel 12, 1–6," *Bib* 62 (1981): 247–50; cf. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 4:101–4; 6:261–66.

[20] Larry Lyke, *King David with the Wise Woman of Tekoa: The Resonance of Tradition in Parabolic Narrative* (JSOTSup 255; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 148.

[21] Ibid., 155; Robert Polzin, *David and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History,* part 3, *2 Samuel* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 123–26. Leinhard Delekat argues that Yʜᴡʜ represents the rich man who eliminates the ewe lamb for David, who represents the traveler ("Tendenz und Theologie der David-Salomo-Erzählung," in *Das Ferne und nahe Wort: Festschrift Leonhard Rost zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebenjahres am 30. November 1966* [Berlin: Töpelmann, 1967], 33).

[22] Hermann Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament* (trans. M. D. Rutter; Sheffield: Almond, 1987), 54–55

[23] P. Chibaudel, "David et Bethsabée: Une Tragédie de l'Abstentin," *VSpir* 143 (1989): 79; Delekat, "Tendenz und Theologie," 33; J. W. Wesselius, "Joab's Death and the Central Theme of the Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 9–1 Kings 20)," *VT* 40 (1990): 346–47 n. 15.

[24] Coxon, "A Note on 'Bathsheba' in 2 Samuel 12, 1–6," 249; Polzin, *David and the Deuteron-*

Unlike the reader, David does not have access to the narrator's connection between his "taking" of Bathsheba (11:4) and the rich man "taking" the ewe lamb (12:4). Nor does Nathan make this connection for him until 12:9. Nevertheless, David may connect Nathan's description of the ewe lamb to Uriah's description of himself, since he hears both Uriah and Nathan use the same series of verbs. If David understands the slaughtered lamb as the murdered Uriah, then he may identify the poor man as Bathsheba. As the poor man is the ewe lamb's object of affection, so Bathsheba is Uriah's object of affection.

So whom would David identify as the traveler and the rich man? If he understands the story as a parable about Uriah's murder, then the rich man who arranges the murder of the ewe lamb (Uriah) to please the traveler would be the only other named character in 2 Samuel 11—general Joab. Joab arranges the murder of Uriah for David, just as the rich man arranges the slaughter of the lamb for the traveler. Unlike Nathan's explanation in vv. 7–12, this interpretation accounts for every named character in 2 Samuel 11.[25] The rich man (Joab) takes the ewe lamb (Uriah) from the poor man (Bathsheba) and slaughters it in order to please the traveler (David). Certainly, given Nathan's reply, the prophet does not intend this understanding of the parable. Since the speaker may intend to draw a single point of comparison, the hearer should not search for parallels for each element of a parable.[26] Nonetheless, it is probably what David hears if he understands the story as a typical prophetic parable that requires allegorical interpretation.

If David assumes that Nathan identifies him as the traveler, David may believe that Nathan is implying that Joab (the rich man) carried out the murder for the king's (the traveler's) benefit. In other words, David may think that Nathan suspects that he has orchestrated Joab's actions. After all, David may have devised other politically advantageous murders to be carried out by Joab. For example, since at least the time of the Talmud (*b. Sanh.* 20a), interpreters have suspected Davidic support of Joab's murder of Abner, Saul's general (2 Sam 3:27).[27] Yet David insists that Joab acted alone and distances himself from Joab by publicly condemning him for this murder and even cursing his entire house (3:28–29). This technique seems to work effectively, since the narrator reports that everyone believed that David had nothing to do with Abner's murder (3:38). Later, Joab murders Amasa, Absalom's general (2 Sam 20:10). As with Abner's death, this also strengthens David's political position. Again, David distances himself from Joab by condemning him strongly for this murder. David tells Solomon that Joab should be put to death for both of these murders (1 Kgs 2:5–6).

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omist, 123. In v. 13 the narrator reinforces for the reader this connection between the sequence of these three roots and Uriah; v. 13 reads, "David summoned Uriah. Uriah ate (אכל) before him and drank (שתה) and David made him drunk. Yet when it was evening, Uriah went out to lie (שכב) on his bed among the servants of his lord, but he did not go down to his own house."

[25] Yнwн does appear by name in 11:27b and 12:1a. Of course, David would not have known about Yнwн's involvement in this episode. Thus, he would have no reason to identify Yнwн with one of the actors in the parable.

[26] On this point, see Jones, *Nathan Narratives*, 98.

[27] Baruch Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murder, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 83–84; P. Kyle McCarter, "The Apology of David," *JBL* 99 (1980): 489–504; McKenzie, *King David*, 32–34.

Since David portrays Joab publicly as a cold-blooded killer acting on his own in these other cases, one would expect him to condemn Joab publicly for Uriah's death in ch. 11. Yet when David hears of Uriah's death, he does not condemn Joab.[28] Rather, he tells Joab, "Do not worry about this thing, because the sword devours one just like the other" (11:25a).[29] To be sure, although David's words aim to comfort Joab, to an uninformed third party, they would seem to place the implicit blame for Uriah's death on Joab, even if the death appears accidental. Nonetheless, David leaves room for Nathan to suspect him of being involved in Uriah's death, since he offers no strong public condemnation of Joab and even marries and has a child with Uriah's widow soon after the event (11:27).

Upon hearing the parable, David may desire to correct this dangerous oversight. If he thinks that Nathan sees him as the traveler, he may want to emphasize that, like the traveler, he did not call for the slaughtering. He could create such emphasis through a strong condemnation of the rich man, whom he identifies as Joab. Thus, David falls back on a proven technique which worked well for him in the previous cases of Saul's death (1:14–26), Abner's death (3:28–35), and Ishbosheth's death (4:9–11).[30] In vv. 5–6, he delivers an emotionally charged condemnation of the murderer, something he neglected to offer in 11:25.

III. David's Reaction Based on His Overinterpretation
(2 Samuel 12:5–6)

In v. 5a, the narrator reports that David becomes very angry with the man when he hears the parable. If he thinks this man is Joab, this raises an interesting connection with 11:22, which one should read with the LXX rather than the MT.[31] According to the LXX, David becomes angry with Joab in 11:22. Since the LXX uses the same word for both David's anger toward Joab in this verse and his anger toward the man in 12:5, the narrator subtly suggests that David connects the two characters in his mind.

David introduces his condemnation of the rich man with the oath formula "As Yнwн lives . . . ." David uses this same oath formula when condemning the last reported murder, which benefited him politically. The last occurrence of this formula introduces David's condemnation of Ishbosheth's murderers in 4:9. Verse 5b further supports the idea that

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[28] A major difference between Uriah's death and those of Abner and Amasa is that the former dies in battle (cf. 1 Kgs 2:5). Unlike in the cases of Abner and Amasa, Joab does not kill Uriah himself and does not have an obvious motive for doing so. Thus, David may not see the need to condemn Joab in 11:25a.

[29] All biblical translations are my own.

[30] Regarding David's outburst in vv. 5-6, David Gunn writes, "We recognize once more the David who could so tellingly lend his emotions to a public occasion (e.g., at the deaths of Saul, Abner, and Ishbosheth, chap. 1–4)" ("2 Samuel" in *HarperCollins Bible Commentary* [rev. ed.; ed. James L. Mays; San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2000], 270).

[31] Based on the LXX, one may restore the Hebrew text of v. 22a as follows: "[The messenger] told David all that [*panta* = את כל] Joab sent him [to say], all of [*panta* = את כל] the affairs of the war. . . ." The MT's reading of v. 22 results from haplography involving את כל. Thus, everything in v. 22 following the phrase את כל אשר שלחו יואב dropped out of the MT.

David saw the rich man as a murderer since he calls the man a "son of death" (בן־מות). While some take this phrase to mean "one deserving of death" (cf. NRSV), Kyle McCarter argues that "son of . . ." (בן) does not mean "one deserving of . . ." anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible. He suggests that "son of death" is a derogative title that characterizes the man's actions rather than a statement that condemns him to death.[32]

Pyper extends McCarter's argument. Based on other biblical parallels, he suggests that the phrase "son of death" refers to the person responsible for the death.[33] He writes, "David's phrase . . . may be a description of the man as a murdering, death-dealing scoundrel, one who brings death in his train."[34] While Pyper takes the phrase as an implicit description of David, as noted previously the king repeatedly and explicitly describes Joab as a murderer. For David, if there is one person whom he would see as "bringing death in his train," it would be Joab.

David's identification of the rich man as a murderer in v. 5 suggests that he interprets the story not as an actual legal case about a stolen ewe lamb but as a parable about Uriah's death. So why does he call for the restitution of the ewe lamb in v. 6a? If one reads with the MT, the fourfold restitution of a stolen lamb follows the law in Exod 21:37. Yet the LXX is preferred here.[35] The LXX's reading calls for a sevenfold rather than a fourfold restitution. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the term "sevenfold" places emphasis on the need or desire for the punishment of wrongdoings, including murder (cf. Gen 4:15, 24; Ps 79:12).[36] Thus, rather than referring to a specific case law regarding theft, David's use of the word "sevenfold" reflects an idiomatic expression that emphasizes his desire to punish the murderer.

That David refers to the victim as a ewe lamb in v. 6 rather than a human does not

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[32] Based on a parallel with 2 Sam 16:7, McCarter translates the phrase as "a fiend of hell." With this translation, he avoids having David contradict himself by recommending the death penalty only then to recommend that the man pay restitution for the lamb. See McCarter, *2 Samuel*, 299. One should note that in the parallel passage that McCarter cites, Shimei accuses David of murder (cf. 16:7–8).

[33] In connection with the phrase "son of death" in 2 Sam 12:5, Pyper notes that in Num 17:25 the phrase "sons of rebellion" refers to the people responsible for the rebellion and in Jer 48:45 the phrase "sons of uproar" refers to the people responsible for the uproar (Pyper, *David as Reader*, 159). The phrase "son(s) of death" (בנ[י]־מות) also occurs in 1 Sam 20:31 and 26:16, but does not necessarily mean "deserving to die" in either case. See Anthony Campbell, *2 Samuel* (FOTL 8; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 116–17; Pyper, *David as Reader*, 161–62.

[34] Pyper, *David as Reader*, 159.

[35] Most likely, the MT's reading attempts to bring David's reaction in line with the law preserved in Exod 21:37. The "sevenfold" reading (שבעתים), however, plays off the name Bathsheba (בת־שבע), which appears within the more immediate context of the verse (cf. 11:3; 12:24). See Coxon, "A Note on 'Bathsheba' in 2 Samuel 12,1–6," 249; Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), 291; McCarter, *2 Samuel*, 294, 299; cf. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (2 vols.; trans. J. McHugh; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 1:160.

[36] R. A. Carlson observes that Prov 6:31 demands a sevenfold restitution for stealing (*David, the Chosen King: A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel* [Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964], 152–57). Yet 6:31 discusses a crime performed in order to satisfy the thief's hunger (v. 30), which is clearly not the case in 2 Samuel 11–12.

mean that he understands the victim as a ewe lamb literally. Rather, he is simply using the vocabulary of the parable in his response, as he does when he uses the root חמל ("to show mercy"). His use of this root in v. 6b to describe the rich man's actions picks up on Nathan's use of the same root to describe the rich man's actions in the parable (v. 4aβ).[37] Thus, when David says that the man should pay a sevenfold restitution for the ewe lamb, he is not specifying the man's punishment but simply demanding punishment in very strong terms.

As with the man's punishment, David's response never specifies the man's crime. In v. 6b, the king simply says that the man "did this thing (הדבר הזה) and he was not merciful (חמל)." Although he never identifies the antecedent of "this thing," he uses this same term in reference to Uriah's death. As mentioned previously, he tells Joab, "Do not worry about this thing (הדבר הזה) because the sword devours one just like the other" (11:25a). If, in light of Nathan's parable, David is trying to revise his previously calm reaction to Uriah's death (v. 25a), his use of הדבר הזה in v. 6b takes on new significance. It means that, in vv. 5–6, David not only calls the rich man a murderer but describes his crime with the same term that he uses to describe Uriah's death due to Joab's battle plan.[38] Not only does this severe condemnation point to Joab as the guilty party, but it effectively distances David (the traveler) from the crime, something he failed to do in 11:25–27.

IV. Conclusion

This reading makes sense of several of the apparent tensions that scholars have seen in vv. 1-6 in a way that is in keeping with David's character elsewhere in the story of David. As seen elsewhere in 2 Samuel, it would seem that by the end of v. 6 David dodges yet another bullet. He responds effectively to Nathan's suspicions by revising his initial reaction to Uriah's death by coming down hard on the rich man, Joab. Nathan should have no further reason to suspect that the traveler supported the rich man's slaughter of the ewe lamb. Once again, David satisfies suspicions through a passionate and convincing display of anger and grief. This old trick works again and "the traveler" gets off the hook. Yet this time there is a catch. David's mistake is that he overinterprets the parable if he thinks that Nathan is accusing him of being the traveler for whom the ewe lamb is slaughtered. According to Nathan's explanation in vv. 7-12, there is no traveler. Thus, Nathan begins his response in v. 7a by correcting David's misinterpretation. No, David is not the traveler—rather David is the man!

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[37] For a detailed discussion of חמל, see George W. Coats, "II Samuel 12:1–7a," *Int* 40 (1986): 170–75.

[38] Several scholars note that Joab does not execute David's battle plan exactly as written in 11:15. As McKenzie observes, Joab's changes to the plan result in the deaths of many other troops besides Uriah in 11:16–17 (McKenzie, *King David*, 158–59). For a detailed study of this issue, see Keith Bodner, "Is Joab a Reader-Response Critic?" *JSOT* 27 (2002): 19–35.

Why Bishlam (Ezra 4:7) Cannot Rest "In Peace": On the Aramaic and Hebrew Sound Changes That Conspired to Blot Out the Remembrance of Bel-Shalam the Archivist

In Ezra 4:7, we read: וּבִימֵי אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא כָּתַב בִּשְׁלָם מִתְרְדָת טָבְאֵל וּשְׁאָר כְּנָוֹתָו עַל־
אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתְּא מֶלֶךְ פָּרָס וּכְתָב הַנִּשְׁתְּוָן כָּתוּב אֲרָמִית וּמְתֻרְגָּם אֲרָמִית. In a previous article, I attributed considerable importance to the officials named in this verse.[1] I argued that they were the keepers of a major archive who had been asked by Artaxerxes, prior to Nehemiah's mission, to search for records relating to the rebuilding of Jerusalem. I concluded that they found four relevant letters, which they copied onto a scroll and sent to the king, and that copies of those copied letters found their way into Nehemiah's archive and, subsequently, into the book of Ezra (chs. 4–6). I would now like to return to a related question that I treated only cursorily in my previous article.

How many officials are named in the verse? The answer to that question depends, in large part, on the meaning of בִּשְׁלָם, which was controversial already in antiquity.[2] According to 2 Esdras and the Peshitta, the form is a preposition plus a noun ("in peace" or the like); according to 1 Esdras and the Vulgate, it is a personal name. I shall argue that the latter interpretation is correct, for בִּשְׁלָם has an excellent etymology as a theophoric name but is highly problematic when construed as a preposition plus a noun. I shall identify three phonological developments that conspired[3] to disguise the theophoric element of the name (-בֵּל), making it homonymous with a preposition (-בְּ). In the process, I hope to shed light on an Aramaic sound change and on several other obscure and/or controversial names.

I. בשלם as Preposition + Noun

According to 2 Esdras, "Tabeel wrote in peace (ἐν εἰρήνη) to Mithradates." Similarly, the Peshitta "took [בשלם] as the noun שלם with the preposition ב standing preg-

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[1] Richard C. Steiner, "Bishlam's Archival Search Report in Nehemiah's Archive: Multiple Introductions and Reverse Chronological Order as Clues to the Origin of the Aramaic Letters in Ezra 4–6," *JBL* 125 (2006): 641–85.

[2] For ancient and modern views, see the survey of Rodney H. Shearer, "Bishlam," *ABD* 1:750 (to which I am particularly indebted) and that of S. E. Loewenstamm, בשלם, in אנציקלופדיה מקראית (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1955–88), 2:366.

[3] "Conspire" is a term from generative phonology, used here and in the title in a loose, diachronic sense.

nantly for שאל בשלם = *he saluted*."[4] A new version of this reading was offered in the nine-teenth century by A. Klostermann: Tabeel wrote "with the approval of . . . Mithradates," that is, "with the authorization of Mithradates."[5] In his view, the singular verb כתב and the singular suffixed pronoun of כנותיו exclude readings with multiple writers (e.g., "Bishlam, Mithradates and Tabeel and the rest of his colleagues wrote"). Other interpretations of בשלם as a preposition plus a noun take it as part of the salutation[6] or connect it with phrases meaning "about/against Jerusalem" (בדבר ירושלם, בשם ירושלם, בירושלם)[7] or even "on the envelope" (בְּשֶׁלֶם).[8]

Klostermann's interpretation has been accepted by a number of scholars.[9] Never-theless, it is highly problematic. Two of the problems are noted by H. G. M. Williamson: "it is . . . difficult to accept, because an intrusive Aram. form of so common a word is inex-plicable and because the word order is unusual: in Heb. we should expect such a phrase to follow the word it qualifies."[10]

Williamson's first objection is well taken. We may restate it in terms of the vocal-ization of the adjacent words כָּתַב בִּשְׁלָם: Why is בשלם vocalized as Aram. בִּשְׁלָם (rather than Heb. בְּשָׁדָם) when the preceding word is vocalized as Heb. כָּתַב (rather than Aram. כְּתַב)?

Williamson is also right in seeing a problem with the word order, but his formula-tion of it is puzzling. He assumes that, in Klostermann's reading, בשלם מתרדת modifies a single word (rather than the entire clause)[11] and that "we should expect such a phrase to follow the word it qualifies," but if that is the case, it is difficult to see what the problem is: we expect the adverbial בשלם מתרדת to follow the verb כתב, and it does. The real problem with the word order is that prepositional phrases do not normally come between a verb and its subject.[12] Nontemporal prepositional phrases normally come at the end of the clause, after the verb, subject, and direct object. That is, in fact, the case with the other prepositional phrase in the verse, על ארתחששתא מלך פרס. It is also the case with the two

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[4] Charles Arthur Hawley, *A Critical Examination of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Ezra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), 36.

[5] A. Klostermann, "Esra und Nehemia," *RE,* 516.

[6] M. Newman, "Bishlam," *IDB* 1:441.

[7] Wilhelm Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (HAT 20; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949), 34 (בירושלם); Kurt Galling, *Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* (ATD; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), 194, 197–98 (בשם ירושלם); L. H. Brockington, *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* (NCB; London: Nelson, 1969), 74 (בדבר ירושלם).

[8] Giovanni Garbini, "La lettera di Ṭabʾel (*Ezra* IV,7)," *Henoch* 7 (1985): 161–63.

[9] See below.

[10] H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 54. Cf. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia,* 34: "even if v. 7a is translated from Aramaic, it is difficult to believe that שְׁלָם, which would have been so easy to change into שָׁלוֹם, was simply allowed to remain by the transla-tor."

[11] For a discussion of sentence adverbials, see Joshua Blau, *An Adverbial Construction in Hebrew and Arabic: Sentence Adverbials in Frontal Position Separated from the Rest of the Sentence* (Proceed-ings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities vol. 6, no. 1; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sci-ences and Humanities, 1977).

[12] We are speaking of prepositional phrases containing nouns rather than pronouns.

prepositional phrases in the subsequent verse (4:8): רחום בעל טעם ושמשי ספרא כתב.[13] Thus, if בשלם מתרדת were such a phrase, the normal order would be: ובימי ארתחששתא כתב טבאל ושאר כנותו בשלם מתרדת על אגרה חדה על ירושלם לארתחששתא מלכא ארתחששתא מלך פרס.

A third problem is Klostermann's rendering of בשלם, viz., "with the approval/authorization of" (*mit Genehmigung/Erlaubnis des*). H. H. Rowley endorsed this interpretation: "This again is a perfectly legitimate rendering, and the verse then states that Tabeel and his associates wrote with the approval of Mithridates."[14] No evidence for this rendering is presented by Klostermann or Rowley. This is a serious omission, for one need go back only a single chapter, to the phrase כרשיון כורש מלך פרס עליהם in Ezra 3:7, to see how the biblical author-historian expresses "in accord with the authorization of." The term רשיון, related to later Hebrew רשות, is rendered "*Erlaubniss*" by Gesenius, "permission" by BDB, and "authorization" by NJPS.[15] Klostermann's rendering of בשלם is sometimes modified to "with the agreement of" or "in accord with."[16] These renderings are a bit more defensible,[17] but, even so, the assessment of D. J. A. Clines is essentially correct: "NEB's translation 'with the agreement of' . . . cannot be paralleled."[18]

It should also be noted that Klostermann's arguments do not hold water. Take, for example, the argument from the singular verb כתב, accepted by Rudolph Kittel and Hans Heinrich Schaeder.[19] This argument is refuted by Williamson, who points out that "a sg verb before a multiple subject is common in these books."[20] This is actually an understatement, since it is true not only in these books but throughout the Hebrew Bible.[21] In Ezra itself, we find:

. . . [22] ויקם ישוע בן יוצדק ואחיו הכהנים וזרבבל בן שאלתיאל ואחיו ויבנו   3:2

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[13] This parallel is particularly relevant to interpretations that connect בשלם with phrases meaning "about/against Jerusalem"; see above.

[14] H. H. Rowley, *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy* (London: Nelson, 1963), 224.

[15] Wilhelm Gesenius, *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1823), 713 s.v.

[16] NEB; Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge I* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1930), 16–17; A. Noordtzij, *De boeken Ezra en Nehemia* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1951), 77, 80; J. J. Koopmans, "Het eerste Aramese gedeelte in Ezra (4:7–6:19)," *GTT* 55 (1955): 148; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 109, 110. In his translation, Blenkinsopp has "in accord with," but in his commentary (p. 111) he writes that "Tabeel wrote to Artaxerxes . . . with the approval of Mithredath."

[17] See Loewenstamm, בשלם, 366.

[18] D. J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther: Based on the Revised Standard Version* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), 77.

[19] Rudolph Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1929), 3/2:602; Schaeder, *Beiträge,* 16.

[20] Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah,* 54.

[21] See Richard C. Steiner, "Ancient Hebrew," in *The Semitic Languages* (ed. Robert Hetzron; Routledge Language Family Descriptions; London: Routledge, 1997), 167.

[22] Here we have a singular verb preceding a compound subject and a plural verb following it

3:9   <u>ויעמד</u> ישוע בניו ואחיו. . . .

5:1   <u>והתנבי</u> חגי נביאה וזכריה בר עדוא נביאיא. . . .

5:3   בה זמנא <u>אתא</u> עליהון תתני פחת עבר נהרה ושתר בוזני וכנותהון. . . .

5:6   פרשגן אגרתא די <u>שלח</u> תתני פחת עבר נהרה ושתר בוזני וכנותה. . . .

8:33   וביום הרביעי <u>נשקל</u> הכסף והזהב והכלים. . . .

Klostermann's argument from the singular suffixed pronoun of כנותיו overlooks the force of the word שאר, "the rest of." It is true that the singular pronoun makes no sense in "Bishlam, Mithradates and Tabeel and his colleagues," but it makes perfect sense in "Bishlam, Mithradates and Tabeel and the rest of his colleagues"—assuming that Bishlam is *primus inter pares,* the leader of a group of colleagues that includes Mithradates, Tabeel, and others. We may add that the word שאר is evidence against Klostermann's interpretation, for "Tabeel and the rest of his colleagues" makes no sense if the pronoun "his" refers to Tabeel.[23] Put differently, the phrase ושאר כנותיו must logically be preceded by the name of some person plus the name of at least one of his colleagues, which is not the case in Klostermann's reading.[24]

II.   בשלם as Personal Name

Despite all of these considerations, it is clear that scholars are not going to allow interpretation I (ב+שלם) to die in peace until a persuasive etymology is found for בשלם as a name. There is no shortage of theories. Eduard Meyer, Isidor Scheftelowitz, and Joachim Becker suppose that the name is Persian.[25] BDB offers a Hebrew etymology, בן שלם, with a question mark.[26] Other scholars, citing the Greek rendering of the name in 1 Esdr 2:15 (BA Βηλεμος, L Βεελσιμος), suggest Akkadian names beginning with *Bēl,* e.g., *Bēl-ebuš, Bēl-šum-iddin, Bēl-šum-iškun/Bēl-šum-šukun, Bēlšunu.*[27] Many of these scholars assume that the name was בלשם rather than בשלם. Not so Charles C. Torrey: "בשלם is apparently the Babylonian name *Bēl-šallim;* cf. *Nabū-šallim* (Stevenson, *Assyr. and Bab.*

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in a subsequent clause; cf. Gen 9:23; 14:8; 21:32; 24:50, 61; 31:14; 33:7 [bis]; 34:20; 44:14; Exod 4:29; 7:10; 10:3; Lev 9:23; Num 12:1–2; Deut 31:14; Judg 9:26; 14:5; 1 Sam 27:8; 2 Kgs 3:9; 12:11.

    [23] That is what the formula seems to require. It seems unlikely that the pronoun refers to Mithradates, both for that reason and because Klostermann's interpretation takes Mithradates as Tabeel's superior rather than his colleague.

    [24] See the preceding footnote. In Ezra 4:9, we find "X and Y and the rest of *their* colleagues." This formulation seems to imply that X and Y were of roughly equal rank, each being counted as a colleague of the other; cf. Ezra 3:8.

    [25] Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums: Eine historische Untersuchung* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1896), 33; Isidor Scheftelowitz, *Arisches im Alten Testament* (Königsberg i. Pr.: Hartung, 1901), 1:81; Joachim Becker, *Esra/Nehemiah* (NEchtB 25; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1990), 30.

    [26] BDB, 143 s.v.

    [27] J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1896), 63 n. 1; Eberhard Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialen* (Tübingen: J. J. Heckenhauer, 1893), 29–30; Anson F. Rainey, "The Satrapy 'Beyond the River,'" *AJBA* 1 (1968–73): 58.

Contracts, p. 148), *Sin-šallimani* (Muss-Arnolt, p. 1042), etc." In a footnote, he adds: "By supposing an A r a m a i c name *Bēl-šalām,* "Bēl is peace," we could retain the massoretic pointing בִשְׁלָם. But we have thus far no entirely satisfactory analogies for such a name."[28]

Most of these suggestions have been ignored. In 1949, Wilhelm Rudolph wrote that "the personal name Bishlam still defies explanation."[29] So too J. J. Koopmans in 1955: "The name Bishlam cannot be explained etymologically either from Semitic or from Persian and so, at least here, is very suspect."[30] I have found only one unconditional endorsement of Torrey's etymology during the century since it was published.[31]

Torrey weakened his case by conceding that "we have thus far no entirely satisfactory analogies" for an Aramaic בלשלם*. In fact, this concession was unnecessary, for one good parallel was already published in his time: the name נבושלם. A man with that name, mentioned in an Aramaic epigraph from Nineveh, was one of Esarhaddon's divination experts.[32] The same individual appears in Akkadian texts as *Nabū-(u)šallim* (a name that Torrey did cite), but in Aramaic the second component of his name may well have been שֶׁלֶם < שְׁלֵם rather than שַׁלֵם, for נבושלם is a translation (a kind of calque) rather than a transcription.[33] This is clear from the Aramaic *š:* transcription of Assyrian *Nabū-(u)šallim* would have yielded נבוסלם* with Aramaic *s.*[34] The same treatment of *šallim* is known from Tell Sheikh Ḥamad, ancient Dūr-Katlimmu, where a bilingual inscription equates Assyrian *Mannu-šallim* with Aramaic מנשלם.[35] Here too the rendering of the sibilant

[28] Charles C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910), 172.

[29] Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia,* 34.

[30] Koopmans, "Ezra," 148.

[31] Henry S. Gehman, *The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 119. Cf. also Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra* (KAT 19/1; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1985), 88: "Perhaps Bishlam corresponds to a Babylonian name Bel-šallim."

[32] J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott für Staat und königliches Haus aus der Zeit Asarhaddons und Asurbanipals* (Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1893), 2:245 no. 120; Frederick Mario Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs on Clay Tablets of the Neo-Assyrian Period* (Rome: Università degli studi "La Sapienza," 1986), 149–50. Cf. also שלמאסר = *Silim-Aššur,* the eponym (Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs,* 230), and שלמהדד from Tell Sheikh Ḥamad (André Lemaire, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes* [Paris: Droz, 2001], 148–49).

[33] The case of הֲלָו (Ezra 4:13, etc.) is similar. Because it is derived from Akkadian *ilku,* some emend the vocalization to הֵלָו. If this were really a loanword, the expected vocalization would more likely be הֲלָו (cf. סְפַר < *sipár* < *sípar* < Akk. *šipru*). However, the initial *h* (הלך instead of אלך) shows that this is a calque (loan translation) rather than a loanword. Thus, there is no reason to expect its vocalization to mimic that of the Akkadian etymon. The relationship of Aramaic הֲלָו to Akkadian *ilku* is not all that different from the relationship of Aramaic חֲלָק to Hebrew חֵלֶק. Cf. the discussion of "transcriptions modified by West Semitic interference" in Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs,* 66–68.

[34] It is well known from loanwords and transcriptions that, in Assyria, Akkadian *š* was realized [s], e.g., *Šarru-kīn* > סרגון and *šaknu* > סגן; see Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 140–41; A. R. Millard, "Assyrian Royal Names in Biblical Hebrew," *JSS* 21 (1976): 4; Fales, *Aramaic Epigraphs,* 61–63.

[35] Karen Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad* (Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu [BATSH] 6, Texte 2; Berlin: D. Reimer, 2002), no. 54a.

shows that the name is a translation rather than a transcription.[36] Other names in the Tell Sheikh Ḥamad inscriptions exhibit the normal rendering of Assyrian *š* with Aramaic *s,* for example, *Bel-šumu-iškun* > בלסמסכן, *Bel-šarru-uṣur* > בלסרצר, *Šamaš-aḫu-uṣur* > ססחצר, and even [DN]-*šallim-aḫḫe* > סלמח[...].[37]

Aramaic נבושלם, translated from *Nabū-(u)šallim,* gives added weight to a parallel published after Torrey's time. The name *Bēl-šallim,* hypothesized by Torrey on the basis of *Nabū-šallim* and *Sin-šallimani,* is now attested as the name of Esarhaddon's chief of trade.[38] The parallel of *Nabū-(u)šallim* > נבושלם shows that Neo-Assyrian *Bēl-šallim* could well have been translated into Aramaic as בֶּלְשַׁלֶם* > בֶּלְשְׁלֶם*.[39] The same goes for the Neo-Babylonian name *Bēl-silim/Bēl-silmu.*[40] Of course, the closest Akkadian parallel to בֶּלְשַׁלֶם* would be **Bēl-šalāmu.* To the best of my knowledge, the latter name is thus far unattested; nevertheless, it probably existed, since *šalāmu* is a good Akkadian word attested already in the Old Babylonian period, and *Nabū-šalāmu* is attested in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar.[41]

III. Assimilation of Word-final *Lamed* in Aramaic

One of the reasons for the unenthusiastic reaction to Torrey's equation of בשלם (Vulgate *Beselam*) with בלשלם* is, no doubt, the absence of the first *lamed.* I submit that that is no problem at all. The total assimilation of word-final *l* (to word-initial *š* and other consonants) is well attested in Aramaic, even though it has received little attention[42] and has often been mistaken for a scribal omission. I dealt briefly with this phenomenon some years ago in commenting on a passage from the Aramaic text in Demotic Script (papyrus Amherst 63 VI/14):

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[36] For another Aramaic name translated from Akkadian, see the discussion of כלבידאל < Akk. *Gabbu-ina-qāt-ili* in Richard C. Steiner, "On the Dating of Hebrew Sound Changes (**Ḫ > Ḥ* and **Ġ > ʿ*) and Greek Translations (2 Esdras and Judith)," *JBL* 124 (2005) 260–61 n. 196 and the literature cited there.

[37] Radner, *Šēḫ Ḥamad,* 260–61.

[38] Mikko Luukko and Greta van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (SAA 16; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002), 14 (no. 20, line 6).

[39] It is not easy to distinguish translation from transcription in theophoric elements such as Nabū and Bēl. (I am indebted to A. Koller for raising this issue.) Contrast the common noun *bēl,* which is translated בעל in a number of Aramaic expressions borrowed from Akkadian; see Kaufman, *Akkadian Influences,* 42–43.

[40] Knut L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch* (Helsingfors, 1905), 42. Cf. also *Bēl-šulum-šukun* (ibid.) and the very common *Šulmu-Bēl* (Knut L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* [Helsingfors, 1914], 224).

[41] *CAD,* s.v. *šalāmu,* pp. 206–8; Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch,* 143.

[42] It is mentioned briefly, together with the assimilation of medial *l* (the imperfect and infinitive of לקח and סלק), in Stanislav Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1975), 113; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984–94), 1:94 n. 1; and Takamitsu Muraoka and Bezalel Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 12–13.

*w̄.ʿ.š.n⌈t⌉.k.*ᵐ =*wʿšntk* "and during your years." This ʿ is in all likelihood ʿ*l* with its final consonant assimilated to the *š* of *šntk;* cf. Cowley 45:3 ʿ*dbr* < ʿ*l dbr* "concerning" and BJA prefixed ᵓ⁻ < ʿ*l* "on. . . ." For the assimilation of word-final *l* to word-initial *š,* cf. XVI/17 *bʿšmyn*ᵍ = Hat. and Nab. *bʿšmyn* "Baal of Heaven" (Punic *bʿšmm*). . . .[43] For ʿ*l* meaning "during," cf. Nab. ʿ*l šny ḥrtt mlk nbṭw* "during the years of Ḥaretat, king of Nabatea," ʿ*l ḥyy* "during the lifetime of," etc.[44]

The form בע < בעל is important for our purposes, since it is the West-Semitic cognate of Akkadian *Bēl.*[45] To the examples cited above, we may add (1) the divine/personal name בעשמן in Palmyrene and Hatran Aramaic and in ancient North Arabian (Lihyanite),[46] (2) the personal name ברבעשמין in Syriac, also attested as Βαρβε⌈σ⌉αμην and *Barbaessamen* at Dura-Europos,[47] (3) the personal name בעשגא in Palmyrene,[48] and (4) the clan name בערם בערום (alongside בעלדום, בעלרם) in Idumean Aramaic (fourth century B.C.E.).[49]

At Palmyra, we find several other relevant personal names. Jürgen K. Stark notes that we have assimilation of *l* in בונור, "Bōl is (my) light,"[50] בנור, בנר, Βωννουρος (alongside בולנור, בלנור, בלנורי) and in בורפא, "Bōl has healed," ברפא, Βωροφα.[51] In some of these, the theophoric element is clearly *Bōl;* in others, according to Stark, it is *Bēl.*

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[43] I have deleted a second example from Amherst 63 because it is based on a reading that has since been improved.

[44] Richard C. Steiner and Charles F. Nims, "You Can't Offer Your Sacrifice and Eat It Too: A Polemical Poem from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 43 (1984): 108. For references and acknowledgments, see the footnotes in the original. Another phrase often cited in this connection is Biblical Aramaic עד־דברת (Dan 4:14), alongside על־דברת (Dan 2:30) and עדבר (Cowley 45:3), but see Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Prepositions *ʿad/ʿal* in Aramaic and Hebrew," *BSOAS* 40 (1977): 371–72.

[45] As is well known, Proto-Semitic ʿ is lost in Akkadian.

[46] Jürgen K. Stark, *Personal Names in the Palmyrene Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 78; Delbert R. Hillers and Eleonora Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 195 (Inv 8 162); Francesco Vattioni, *Le iscrizioni di Ḥatra* (Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1981), 32 (no. 24, line 1), 41 (no. 49, line 3); A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909–20), 2:484 (no. 194).

[47] For the Syriac name, see J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen* (Paris: Leroux, 1930–32), 2:211 (cf. 1:45); and Stark, *Personal Names,* 78 s.v. Bʿšmn. It is attested three times in a pagan Edessan inscription of the third century c.e.; see J. B. Segal, "New Syriac Inscriptions from Edessa," *BSOAS* 22 (1959): 37–39 and the literature cited there. For the Greek transcription, see Franz Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1926), 403 (no. 48). For the Latin transcription *Barbaessamen,* appearing several times in army rosters from 219 and 222 c.e., see C. B. Welles et al., *The Parchments and Papyri* (= *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report* 5/1) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 308–64 (nos. 100 and 101). The best preserved example appears on p. 338 (col. xliii, line 23). An example of *Barbaesamen* (with one *s*) appears on p. 357 (col. xxxiv, line 28).

[48] Michel Gawlikowski, *Recueil d'inscriptions palmyréniennes* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1974), 34 (no. 71). For the second element of the name, cf. עתרשגא in *TAD* C4.2 line 5.

[49] André Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée* (Paris: Gabalda, 2002), 210.

[50] The rendering of *nwr* with "light" (as in Arabic) rather than "fire" (as elsewhere in Aramaic) is found also in Harald Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs from Palmyra," *Berytus* 2 (1935): 115.

[51] Stark, *Personal Names,* 75, 77, 79 s.v. The Greek forms are from bilinguals.

A name like בנור is difficult to separate from the name במלך, which occurs in an Egyptian Aramaic list of names from the middle of the fifth century B.C.E.—around the time of the biblical בשלם.[52] I therefore suggest that במלך derives from ‪*בלמלך‬. Although the latter is apparently unattested, the names אלמלך (*Il-malaku,* Ελμαλαχος) and קוסמלך (*Qauš-malaka,* Κοσμαλαχος) are well known.[53]

The assimilation of word-final Aramaic *l* is not restricted to ‪-בל‬, ‪-בעל‬, and ‪-על‬. In Galilean Aramaic, we find the form קליל > קלי, "a little," in קלי מלח, "a little salt," and קלי מיא, "a little water"; the rabbis even use this form in a midrashic play on קלי, "roasted grain," in Ruth 2:14.[54]

We may also mention the Palmyrene and Syriac personal name עבשלמא alongside עבדשלמא.[55] The second component of this name is, in our opinion, virtually the same as the second component of בשלם. In both cases, the initial *š* of the second component assimilates the final consonant of the first component.

IV. Gemination and Degemination

J. B. Segal speaks of the "elision of *l*" (instead of the "assimilation of *l*") in בעשמן and בעשמן,[56] but this formulation must be taken with a grain of salt. Gemination resulting from assimilation is seen clearly in the transcriptions *Barbaessamen* and Βωννουρος, the latter equated with בנור in a bilingual text of 186 C.E.[57] It is also reflected in the vocalization אַרֵישָׁא (with *dagesh* in *resh*) < עַל־רֵישָׁא, "on the beginning," attested in a Geniza fragment of *Halakhot Gedolot*.[58]

Masoretic בְּשָׁלֵם does not exhibit gemination, but that is not surprising. Loss of gemination in consonants preceding a reduced vowel is well attested in the Tiberian reading tradition. Among the examples of שְׁ < שֶּׁ, we note וַאֲמֻשְׁזָ (Gen 27:21; contrast v. 12 יְמֻשֵּׁנִי and v. 22 וַיְמֻשֵּׁהוּ),[59] הַשְּׁפַתַּיִם (Ezek 40:43), לַשְׁפַנִּים (Ps 104:18), and probably also הַדְּשֵׁנָה (Isa 34:6). From a phonetic point of view, the closest parallel to בְּשָׁלֵם is הַשְׁלַבִּים (3x; 1 Kgs 7:28–29), with שְׁל instead of an expected שֶּׁל.

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[52] *TAD* C4.2 line 1.

[53] Mohammed Maraqten, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1988), 69, 128, 209.

[54] מדרש בראשית רבא (ed. J. Theodor and C. Albeck; Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965), 521 note on lines 5–6; E. Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic* (trans. M. Sokoloff; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1976), 88–89.

[55] Segal, "Syriac Inscriptions," 30. Cf. also עבדשמיא = Αβισαμαια in Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs," 110–11, 112–13.

[56] Segal, "Syriac Inscriptions," 39.

[57] Ingholt, "Five Dated Tombs," 115. For *Barbaessamen,* see Richard C. Steiner, "*Bittĕ-Yâ,* Daughter of Pharaoh (1 Chr 4,18), and *Bint(i)-ʿAnat,* Daughter of Ramesses II," *Bib* 79 (1998): 399 n. 50.

[58] Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 72, citing Shelomo Morag, *Vocalised Talmudic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 20 no. 68, line 6.

[59] The contrast was noted already by David Qimḥi in his commentary on Gen 27:21.

V. Vowel Shortening

The first vowel of בִּשְׁלָם (*ḥireq* rather than *ṣere*) is not an obstacle to derivation from **Bēl-šalāmu* or the like. We find the same vowel in בִּלְשָׁן (Ezra 2:2; Neh 7:7)[60] < *Bēlšunu*. It is likely that בִּלְדַּד and בִּלְעָם have a similar derivation,[61] although one would hardly know it from some modern reference works. In 1885, A. Neubauer wrote: "Analogous are two names compounded with that of the Syrian god Dad (הדד and אדד), viz. that of Bildad the Shuhite, which means Bel-dad, and Eldad which is = El-dad. If the latter is rightly rendered in the dictionaries by 'God loves (him),' the former cannot be anything else but a compound of Bel and Dad."[62] Not long afterwards, Theodor Nöldeke argued that בִּלְעָם too has *Bēl* as its first component.[63] More recently, Akkadian evidence has been cited in support of this etymology of בִּלְעָם: the personal name *Bēl-ammu* (Neo-Babylonian), *Bēl-amma* (Neo-Assyrian).[64]

In all of these cases, the long vowel of בֵּל (Isa 46:1; Jer 50:2; 51:44) has been shortened in a closed unstressed syllable.[65] The *quality* of the shortened vowel (*ḥireq* rather than *segol*) may well have been dictated by analogy, for the alternation *bēl ~ bil-* is identical to the alternation *ʾēl ~ *ʾil-*. The form **ʾil-* is preserved in the Babylonian tradition, in names such as אֶלְצָפָן, אֶלְעָשָׂה, אֶלְעָזָר, אֱלִישִׁיב, אֶלְיָקִים, אֶלְחָנָן, and אֶלְקָנָה.[66]

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[60] For the occurrence of this name in an Aramaic epigraph on a clay tablet from Nineveh, see Maraqten, *Personennamen,* 237.

[61] Although the Septuagint has Βαλ- for both of these (Βαλδαδ and Βαλααμ), it is unlikely that the Tiberian *ḥireq* in both is a product of attenuation, since the Babylonian tradition, too, has *ḥireq* in both; see Israel Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1985), 1081, 1082. The Septuagint has Βαλ- for בלשן (Βαλασαν) as well.

[62] Adolf Neubauer, "On Some Newly-discovered Temanite and Nabataean Inscriptions," in *Studia Biblica: Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism and Kindred Subjects by Members of the University of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1885–1903), 1:226. Cf. BDB, s.v. בִּלְדַּד. For the divine name *Dad(i),* see Israel Ephʿal, *The Ancient Arabs* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 114; and Frederick Mario Fales, "West Semitic Names in the Šēḫ Ḥamad Texts," *SAAB* 7 (1993): 144. Another possibility is that the second component of בִּלְדַּד is a cognate of Hebrew דּוֹד, but the *pataḥ* of בִּלְדַּד makes this less attractive.

[63] Theodor Nöldeke, review of Friedrich Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte, der Gott Israel's und die Götter der Heiden, ZDMG* 42 (1888): 479. Cf. BDB, s.v. בִּלְעָם.

[64] Maraqten, *Personennamen,* 139–40, s.v. *blʿm; HALAT,* s.v. בלעם.

[65] Hebrew does not allow long vowels in closed unstressed syllables, but Aramaic seems to lack this constraint, judging from מָרְדְתָּא (Ezra 4:12), מְדִינְתָּה (Ezra 6:2), etc. Thus, the first vowel of Aramaic בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר and בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר may well be long, even though Aramaic also possesses a short *ṣere*. The name בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר retains its Aramaic form in Hebrew passages as well.

[66] Yeivin, *Babylonian Vocalization,* 1078–80. In the Tiberian tradition, the similarity between *bil-* and **ʾil-* has been obscured by a subsequent sound change; cf. the correspondence between Bab. אֶפְרַיִם, אֶקְטֹל, etc. and Tib. אֶקְטֹל, אֶפְרַיִם, etc. (Yeivin, *Babylonian Vocalization,* 373).

VI. Conclusions

We conclude that בִּשְׁלָם in Ezra 4:7 can be derived very plausibly from Aramaic *בֶּלְשַׁלָם via *בִּשְׁלָם. Although *בלשלם is, as yet, unattested, its existence can be inferred from parallels in Aramaic (נבושלם) and Akkadian (NA *Bēl-šallim,* LB *Nabū-šalāmu,* etc.). Three phonological developments (one Aramaic and two Hebrew) conspired to disguise the theophoric element -בֶּל, making it homonymous with the preposition -בְּ: (1) assimilation of final *l,* (2) degemination preceding a reduced vowel, and (3) vowel shortening in a closed unstressed syllable. All of them are well attested, and two of them occur in other Bēlistic names. Thus, בִּשְׁלָם is a theophoric name like the two names that follow, מִתְרְדָת and טָבְאֵל.

Bishlam wrote to the king in concert with Mithradates and Tabeel "and the rest of *his* colleagues." The singular pronoun "his" refers to Bishlam and implies that he was the leader of the group—the group of archivists whose report is the source of the Aramaic letters in Ezra 4:8–6:12. There is no longer any reason to cling to interpretations that assign unattested meanings to בִּשְׁלָם and take it as being doubly out of place: an Aramaic phrase in a Hebrew verse and a prepositional phrase (or part of one) separating a verb from its subject.

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The City in 4 Ezra

In 4 Ezra's fourth vision and its interpretation, the visionary sees a mourning woman who is transformed into "an established city, and a place of huge foundations" (10:27). The city is Zion (10:44). Because you mourned Zion sincerely, the angel says to Ezra, "the Most High . . . has shown you the brilliance of her glory, and the loveliness of her beauty" (10:50). The city that Ezra has seen is the city of the Most High, glorious and beautiful, and not just the earthly Jerusalem. This is clear since the angel told Ezra to go to an unbuilt field "for no work of man's building could endure in a place where the city of the Most High was to be revealed" (10:54).

Next, in 4 Ezra 10:55–56 the angel commands Ezra to enter the wondrous city, into which the mourning woman has changed. He is to hear and see as much as he, a human being, can see and hear. He is granted this experience because he "has been named before the Most High, as but few have been" (10:57). This command is the end of the incident and its fulfillment is not related.

The thesis of this study is that in this passage the heavenly city is a metaphor for the environs of God. In this respect, it functions like the metaphors of the heavenly temple and the chariot in such works as *1 Enoch* and in the Hekhalot books. The distinctive formulation of the commandment in 4 Ezra clearly indicates that entry into the city means experience of the Godhead. Indeed, Ezra can experience the divine only in partial, human measure, yet this very command indicates that Ezra has achieved a new level of revelation, the experience of the divine presence.

The author of 4 Ezra is ambiguous in his attitude to the revelation of heavenly secrets, as can be shown from other places in the book (4:4–11, 20; 5:38–39; etc.). He certainly does not regard them as information to be made known to ordinary people (see 8:61). His reticence is not, however, a denial of the mystic apprehension of God or of heavenly mysteries, but reflects an unwillingness to speak of them except in allusive language and terms. Such an attitude can be observed in other Jewish works of the period.

I. 4 Ezra 10:51–56 and Its Meaning

[51] Therefore I told you to remain in the field where no house had been built, [52] for I knew that the Most High would reveal all these things to you.

[53] Therefore I told you to go into the place where there was no foundation of any building, [54] for no work of man's building could endure in a place where the city of the Most High was to be revealed.

[55] Therefore do not be afraid and do not let your heart be terrified; but go in and see the splendor and vastness of the building, as far as it is possible for

your eyes to see it, [56] and afterwards you will hear as much as your ears can hear.

[57] For you are more blessed than many, and you have been named before the Most High, as but few have been.[1]

This passage, at the end of the fourth vision of 4 Ezra, is followed by the angel's injunctions to Ezra, which form the bridge to the next, fifth vision (10:58–60).

Several points mark the cited passage as worthy of attention:

1. The apparent doublet of vv. 51–52 and vv. 53–54. Each of the three sections of the cited passage is marked by the opening word "Therefore," but these first two sections also repeat the same information.
2. The preceding angelic interpretation of the vision is completed by 10:51–52 and every element of the vision has been interpreted by the end of v. 52. A codicil is added comprising (a) the rehearsal of vv. 51–52 in vv. 53–54 and then (b) a new commandment in vv. 55–56, with (c) a conclusion in v. 57.
3. The additional commandment of vv. 55–56 is given, but its fulfillment is not related.

II. The Present Proposal

This article is not the first time that the doublet in 10:51–52 and 10:53–55 has been noticed. In 1912, George Herbert Box remarked: "It is obvious that vv. 53–54 repeat the substance of vv. 51–52 in an otiose manner. The two pairs of verses are clearly doublets, of which vv. 53–54 seem to be the more original." This doublet, he concludes, "clearly existed in the Greek text."[2] He offers no reason for the doublet to have arisen, any more than I could in my commentary, published in 1990.[3] I remarked that vv. 53–54 explicitly mention the foundations of the city, to which 10:27 also refers. These foundations are to be found once more in Rev 21:14 and 21:19 as well as in Heb 11:10.[4] It is significant, moreover, that in a list in 4 Ezra 6:2 of things that mark the earliest stages of creation, we read: "and before the foundations of the garden were laid."[5] The foundations thus play a specific role in cosmology.

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[1] Michael E. Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), is the source of all English-language quotations of the text of 4 Ezra. 4 Ezra is regarded as a Jewish apocalyptic work written in the last decade of the first century C.E. in Hebrew, though it has survived only in a bevy of secondary translations. The arguments to support this position are given in Stone, *Fourth Ezra*.

[2] George H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (London: Pitman, 1912), 241.

[3] Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 338–39.

[4] Ibid., 327. In a number of instances in the Hebrew Bible the foundations of the city or the temple are mentioned, usually with reference to their utter destruction or complete rebuilding.

[5] In 6:15 the "foundations of the earth" are mentioned, an expression found frequently in the Hebrew Bible. Compare "foundations of the world" (2 Sam 22:16 ‖ Ps 18:15), "foundations of the earth" (Job 38:4; Ps 102:25; 104:5; Prov 8:29; Isa 24:18; 40:21; etc.). The foundations often occur in cosmological contexts, as one would expect.

The most interesting part of the codicil, though, is the angelic commandment in 10:55–56. This consists of two parts. In v. 55a the angel reassures Ezra, encouraging him not to fear the extraordinary vision he has received. This is not unusual, and such angelic encouragement occurs elsewhere in 4 Ezra and in other descriptions of visions in the Bible and the Pseudepigrapha.[6] Next, the command itself ensues, in vv. 55b–56.

> [55] Therefore do not be afraid and do not let your heart be terrified; but go in and see the splendor and vastness of the building, as far as it is possible for your eyes to see it, [56] and afterwards you will hear as much as your ears can hear.

As a result of entering the building, which is the city,[7] Ezra will receive a visual and aural revelation of matters that cannot be fully comprehended by his eyes and ears. In v. 57 the angel gives the reason for this commandment and the gift of revelation that accompanies it: Ezra is more blessed than many and has been named before the Most High.[8] The revelation that is beyond full human comprehension is an expression of God's love of Ezra, a gift granted to him.[9]

One would expect this command to be followed by an account of the seer's entering the city and a description of what he saw there; however, nothing of the sort occurs. Instead, the text continues with the instructions that prepare the way for the next vision. This seems to leave the commandment incident incomplete, unless the words "as far as it is possible for your eyes to see it, and afterwards you will hear as much as your ears can hear" are in fact the completion of the incident.

Interestingly, the visionary dimension of this promised revelation precedes the auditory. Ezra will see wondrous things and "afterwards" he will hear—that is, presumably receive an auditory revelation. This sequence of sensory revelation is typical of ascent visions, one of the oldest of which is *1 Enoch* 14, where the visual revelation (14:8–24) precedes the auditory one (14:21–16:4). This progression is both obvious and widespread, since the narratives of many apocalyptic visions first relate what is seen in the ascent. Then the seer asks about what he has seen and receives an auditory revelation as a response to his inquiry.

The special nature of the revelation is hinted at by the phrases "see as far as it is possible" for you to see and "hear as much as your ears can hear." The seer, on entering the city, will encounter such wonders that his eye cannot take them all in and will hear such mysteries that his ear cannot comprehend them all. In other words, the wondrous city is the place of revelations that transcend human measure. Were it merely a question of see-

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[6] Compare Dan 8:15–18; 10:8–10; Rev 1:12–17; *1 En.* 14:24; 4 Ezra 5:14, 7:2, 10:29, etc. See the discussion in David S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 165–66. On *1 En.* 14:24, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 270 who analyzes the matter somewhat more.

[7] See 10:42 and Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 129–30 and 327.

[8] See Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, 341 (commentary on 10:57), where the significance of these statements of Ezra's election is set forth in some detail.

[9] It is possible to interpret this statement as referring not to the immediately preceding verses but to the whole of vision 4 of 4 Ezra.

ing, we might be able to account for the experience described by comparing it with the revelation of the ideal temple city in Ezekiel 40–48. Intriguingly contrasting with 4 Ezra, at the inception of that revelation the "man" who holds the measuring tools says to the prophet: "Mortal, look closely and listen attentively, and set your mind upon all that I shall show you, for you were brought here in order that I might show it to you; declare all that you see to the house of Israel" (Ezek 40:4).[10] Ezekiel is expected to assimilate everything that he sees and hears and to transmit it to Israel.[11] The measurements and parts of the heavenly temple/city were a subject of speculation already from ancient times,[12] and a somewhat later analogous text is the Aramaic *New Jerusalem,* extant in a number of copies from Qumran.[13] What Ezra is told is rather different; he will be shown not the measurements and parts of the heavenly city but something that is beyond his human ability fully to understand. Moreover, he will hear things that surpass his human comprehension.

This understanding of the passage is reinforced by the verbal formulation of 10:55–56. There is a citation in 1 Cor 2:9–10 that is attributed to an *Apocalypse of Elijah* and features the same limited human vision and hearing as 4 Ezra. This reads, "But, as it is written, 'What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the human heart conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him.'" At least the first part of the phrase, if not the whole, most probably derived from the Elijah work, and it is cited in rabbinic literature as well. It resembles Isa 64:4, with which patristic texts often link it.[14]

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[10] When Ezekiel reaches the holy of holies, he receives an auditory revelation from God, whose glory he has seen returning to the temple (Ezek 43:1–9). That revelation is of rules relating to the temple and cult, partly structured as prophetic rebuke.

[11] Observe in this passage the same sequence of seeing followed by hearing.

[12] See Michael E. Stone, "Apocalyptic Literature," *JWSTP,* 385. See also Zech 2:1–5; and compare the remarks of Yechezkel Kaufmann, *Toldot ha-emunah ha-Yisreʾelit* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1956), 8:236–37. The heavenly temple and its role in the development of later speculation about the celestial realm were discussed in detail by Johann Maier, *Vom Kultus zur Gnosis* (Kairos: Wissenschaftliche Studien 1; Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1964). Revelation 21:10–21 draws on and develops the tradition of measurement, while in Rev 21:22–23 the city's temple is "the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb. And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine on it, for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb." The city descends from heaven and has the glory of God (21:10–11). This set of identifications upgrades the temple, which is identified not with the city but with God. God is the temple of the city, so God dwells at Jerusalem's heart.

[13] 4Q554–55; 5Q15; 1Q32; 2Q24; 11Q18 Hebrew; 4Q232. See Michael E. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature," in *Magnalia Dei, the Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (ed. Frank Moore Cross, Werner E. Lemke, and Patrick D. Miller, Jr.; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 414–54, esp. 445–46 (= Michael E. Stone, *Selected Studies in the Pseudepigrapha with Special Reference to the Armenian Tradition* [SVTP 9; Leiden: Brill, 1991], 379–418, esp. 410–11). See further the next note.

[14] This citation is traced in a plethora of sources in Michael E. Stone and John Strugnell, *The Books of Elijah, Parts 1 and 2* (SBLTT, Pseudepigrapha 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 41–73. Some further references are given in Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 341 n. 2. We take this occasion to add the following to the references given there: *History of the Sibyl, Daughter of Heraclius of Ephesus* in a reconstituted Karshuni manuscript, Vatican 15 (Joseph-Marie Sauget, "Reconstition d'un manuscript double etc.," *Accademia dei Lincei, Scienze Morali*, Series 8, Vol. 19 [1976]: 398), citing Corinthians. Three citations by Didymus the Blind that are found in his commentary on Ecclesiastes are

4 Ezra 10:55–56 states that the seer's eye will not be able to see nor his ear to hear those things that will be revealed to him in the city. In other words, the knowledge that he will receive will be beyond human ken, so he is to accept as much of it as he can, but he cannot comprehend it all. To express this idea, the author uses a phraseology that is close to that of the Elijah quotation in 1 Corinthians but sets it at a different point of time. In 1 Corinthians the point is the hiddenness of the eschatological good in the past, yet the promise of its appearance in the future. To what is 4 Ezra referring? The seer has already received a complete revelation of the meaning of the preceding vision, and with that the promise of redemption. Now he is told that he will receive in the near future a visionary and auditory revelation that surpasses human compass. I propose that this refers to apprehension of the divinity.

III. Esoteric Knowledge in 4 Ezra

The short passage discussed here draws on an unusual tradition of revealed knowledge of God in which the metaphor used for the heavenly realm is the city. This is an alternative metaphor for describing the surroundings of the deity's throne, which are usually spoken of as *hekhalot,* or heavenly temples, or as a chariot. It is well known that in Second Temple Jewish texts the imagery of the heavenly temple serves to describe the heavens in the center of which the deity is seated.[15] Later, in another variation on this theme, paradise is often presented with characteristics of a city, in both iconography and texts. Likewise, in Revelation 21, as we noted, the heavenly city that will descend is the place where the deity dwells.[16] The angel commands Ezra to enter the city, using this language, which is pregnant with meaning. Yet the author does not describe Ezra's entry into the city or what he saw and heard there. This combination of the pregnant language of the angelic command and the absence of any narrative of the execution of the command highlights 4 Ezra's ambiguous attitude to esoteric knowledge. He is familiar with it; he considers it part of revealed information; yet he is loath to be explicit about its actual contents.

In a number of places 4 Ezra states that humans can comprehend only earthly knowledge, not heavenly. Thus, 4:21 states that "those who dwell upon the earth can understand only what is on the earth."[17] In 4 Ezra, this limitation is made explicit, particularly as it

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included in Excursus II in Bärbel Kramer's edition of the commentary (*Didymus der Blinde: Kommentar zum Ecclesiastes IV* [Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlung 16; Bonn: R. Habelt, 1972]). In addition, there is one citation in Pierre Nautin's edition of Didymus's commentary on Genesis (*Sur la Genèse* [SC 233; Paris: Cerf, 1976], 428, line 16). A variant form of the citation occurs in Agathangelos §76, end.

[15] See *1 En.* 71:5–6 and earlier in 14:10–23. See Gershom G. Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (rev. ed.; New York: Schocken, 1954), 46–52. The literature is extensive and cannot be rehearsed here.

[16] Compare 4 Ezra 7:26, which says of the eschaton, "that the city which now is not seen shall appear." See, however, Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* on this passage, where I argue that in 7:26 the language of city refers to the heavenly Jerusalem. In ch. 10, however, the language is transmuted into terminology designating the environs of God.

[17] Stone, *Fourth Ezra,* 87–88.

relates to knowledge of the future, and is expressed quite unambiguously.[18] "He [the author] does not deny the existence of such types of knowledge, but he denies their availability to ordinary men and women."[19] Nonetheless, in the book there are a number of references to the revelation of knowledge transcending the earthly and the human, but this knowledge chiefly relates to God's conduct of the world and theodicy.

Thus, at several points 4 Ezra admits that knowledge is available that transcends the mundane. Moreover, the formulation of 10:55–56 speaks of a revelation inside the heavenly city or Jerusalem that surpasses human capabilities of sight and hearing. So Ezra, who is proclaimed elect, will experience that which is inexpressible. It seems to me, therefore, that this refers to the revelation of the divinity, and that this revelation will take place in the city, which is itself a metaphor for the celestial realm.

In another essay, I showed that 4 Ezra uses an otherwise unattested allegorical interpretation of Song of Songs, a text central to Jewish mystical speculation.[20] In the present article, I have proposed that the author of 4 Ezra may have used a different metaphor from that usually found for the environs of the divine throne. The book also exhibits an ambiguous attitude to esoteric knowledge. These different perspectives indicate that, along with the apocalyptic revelatory tradition that 4 Ezra so obviously represents, the author was familiar with a tradition of esoteric or mystical knowledge that was cultivated in the circles from which he came, but rarely surfaces in his text. Does this late-first-century work exemplify two different types of revealed knowledge current in apocalyptic circles at that time?

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[18] Ibid., 135 and references there, 341–42.
[19] Ibid., 139.
[20] Michael E. Stone, "The Interpretation of Song of Songs in 4 Ezra," *JSJ* (in press).

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