



RECOVERING THE DAUGHTER'S NAKEDNESS

A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF ISRAELITE
KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND THE
INTERNAL LOGIC OF LEVITICUS 18

MADELINE GAY MCCLENNY-SADLER



LIBRARY OF HEBREW BIBLE/
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

476

Formerly Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series

Editors

Claudia V. Camp, Texas Christian University
Andrew Mein, Westcott House, Cambridge

Founding Editors

David J. A. Clines, Philip R. Davies and David M. Gunn

Editorial Board

Richard J. Coggins, Alan Cooper, John Goldingay, Robert P. Gordon,
Norman K. Gottwald, Gina Hens-Piazza, John Jarick, Andrew D. H. Mayes,
Carol Meyers, Patrick D. Miller, Yvonne Sherwood



RECOVERING THE DAUGHTER'S NAKEDNESS

**A Formal Analysis of Israelite Kinship Terminology
and the Internal Logic of Leviticus 18**

Madeline Gay McClenney-Sadler



NEW YORK • LONDON

Copyright © 2007 by Madeline Gay McClenney-Sadler

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher, T & T Clark International.

T & T Clark International, 80 Maiden Lane, New York, NY 10038

T & T Clark International, The Tower Building, 11 York Road, London SE1 7NX

T & T Clark International is a Continuum imprint.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

McClenney-Sadler, Madeline Gay.

Re-covering the daughter's nakedness : a formal analysis of Israelite kinship terminology and the internal logic of Leviticus 18 / Madeline Gay McClenney-Sadler.
p. cm. — (The library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament studies ; #476)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

EISBN 978-0-567-02676-7

1. Kinship--Biblical teaching. 2. Bible. O.T. Leviticus--Criticism, interpretation, etc.
I. Title. II. Series.

BS1255.6.F32M33 2007

222'.13067--dc22

2007016880

To

My slave ancestors

My family

&

Ancestors and kin who transitioned along the way:

Dr. Earl H. McClenney Sr.

Greta Gay Jones Moore

Thelma McClenney Taylor

Carrie Alice White

Cleveland Wood

Mary Watkins Wood

Eddie Graham

Essie Covington

Richmond Public Schools

Howard University

Professors Gene Rice, Alice Bellis, Michael Newheart and Cain Felder

Abigail & Pam

Incest survivors everywhere

CONTENTS

List of Figures, Charts and Tables	ix
Preface	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Genealogical Abbreviations	xvi
Chapter 1	
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter 2	
METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS	6
Cross-Cultural Methodology in	
Historical and Contemporary Perspective	6
Interdisciplinary Methodology	10
Chapter 3	
ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES	
TO UNDERSTANDING INCEST PROHIBITIONS	16
The Incest Prohibition	16
The Psychoanalytic/Instinctive Approach	16
The Sociobiological Approach	21
The Sociological/Cultural Approach	23
Chapter 4	
A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT ISRAEL'S KINSHIP	
TERMINOLOGY	26
Kinship Systems	26
Kinship Terminology in Ancient Israel	31
Chapter 5	
PREFERRED MARRIAGE, POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE	
AND DESCENT IN ANCIENT ISRAEL	53
Preferred Forms of Marriage	53
Rules of Residence and Descent	64
Reconstructing the Kinship System of Ancient Israel	72

Chapter 6

INCEST IN LEVITICUS 18 AND THE PENTATEUCHAL NARRATIVES: A SOCIO-STRUCTURAL READING	76
Re-Reading Leviticus	76
The Internal Logic of Leviticus 18	87
Incest in Narratives	92

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: ISRAELITE KINSHIP AND THE INTERNAL LOGIC OF LEVITICUS 18	103
Israel's Kinship System	103
Purpose and Function of Ancient Israelite Incest Prohibitions	109

Bibliography	111
---------------------	-----

Index of References	127
----------------------------	-----

Index of Authors	130
-------------------------	-----

LIST OF FIGURES, CHARTS AND TABLES

Figures

1.	Eskimo Kinship	27
2.	Iroquois Kinship	28
3.	Hawaiian/Generational Kinship	28
4.	Crow Kinship	29
5.	Omaha Kinship	29
6.	Sudanese Kinship	30
7.	Terah's Family Tree	56

Charts

1.	Hebrew Kinship: Partial Reconstruction	38
2.	Hebrew Kinship: Full Reconstruction	75

Tables

1.	Hebrew-English Equivalencies	41
----	------------------------------	----

PREFACE

In order to assess the purpose and function of the incest narratives in the Pentateuch and the incest prohibitions of Lev 18, the following examination constitutes a formal analysis of ancient Israelite kinship terminology. According to anthropologists, only through a formal analysis of kin terms can incest prohibitions be properly understood. A “formal” analysis of kinship terms is a method employed by ethnographers to compare the kinship system of any given society with one of the six conventionally recognized kinship systems worldwide.

There are very specific culturally patterned and expected behaviors that every society adopts in relation to post-marital residence, rules of descent, kinship terminology and incest prohibitions. These patterns are socially conditioned and eventually produce either of the six kinship systems. A close reading of the biblical textual evidence in light of a formal analysis of kin terms and Syro-Palestinian archaeology allows us to conclude that descent was not patrilineal. The kinship system of ancient Israel was *Normal Hawaiian*. Furthermore, the internal logic and structure of Lev 18 becomes clear once we recognize that descent is not biological but jural in nature. Reading Lev 18 with this knowledge in view, we find that a *Normal Hawaiian* kinship system is reflected in Hebrew kin terms, the Genesis incest narratives and the jural-legal form of Lev 18. A hierarchy of kinship becomes transparent in the form and structure of Lev 18. In particular, we see in this form that wives and mothers were treated as heads of the family in biblical law and endowed with spousal and parental rights and authority over every other family member, not only in relation to incest laws, but the evidence indicates that this authority accrued to mothers and wives in all matters. The jural authority of mothers and wives is structurally represented as second only to that of Yahweh. Equally important, we also see, among other things, that there is indeed an explicit sister and an explicit daughter prohibition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project was completed with the aid, support and guidance of several people who must be acknowledged. To my parents, Frances Wood McClenney the mother-angel who first taught me to read and introduced me to the God and faith to which I have committed my life, and Earl H. McClenney Jr., the epitome of what every loving father should be, who taught me to strive for the best, serve my people and fight the oppression of others. Thanks for making this possible. My parents' support along with that of my sister, Jacqueline S. McClenney, my heart and irreplaceable friend, has been unflinching from beginning to end. I am grateful for my cousin and surrogate brother Michael Wood and his wife Jean who assured me that the end was in sight when I was weary. Also, a very special thanks to my friend and colleague in ministry and the academy Rev. Joanne Browne Jennings, another angel, whose wisdom and prayer-readiness in earthly and spiritual matters kept me lifted up. Her spouse, Dean Willie Jennings, was a visible advocate, a constant exhorter, and a gifted instructor who helped me to acclimate to the Department of Religion. I am exceedingly grateful for the preceptorial experience and professional opportunities in the Office of Black Church Studies that he opened to my husband and me.

The entire McClenney, Wood, Sadler, Hollis, Graham and Powell clans provided either technical aid in the form of new computers and stress aid in the form of comic relief and special trips during the Holidays. I thank Aleta McClenney for applying her adroit journalistic skills to a careful reading of the first draft. My dear childhood sister-friend Kelly Harris was a trusted spring of encouragement. Likewise, April Wells, my sister in the ministry, offered profound insights and gifted homilies by phone; she argued for the importance of my research when it was in its infancy.

The chair of my committee, Carol Meyers, was an excellent reader and offered essential recommendations and expert guidance throughout course work and the research period. The remaining committee members Randall Bailey, Beth LaRocca-Pitts, Orval Wintermute and Charlie Piot identified important ways to strengthen the project. Any weaknesses in

my research are my own and do not result from a lack of adroit feedback. Special thanks to Randall Bailey who kept close contact with me from the very beginning of this journey and attended the defense in person and Charlie Piot who was willing to cross disciplinary boundaries bringing his expertise in Anthropology to a dissertation in Religion. To the administrative assistants in the Department of Religion, Gay Trotter, Linda Harrison and Sandra Woods who kept me informed of each departmental requirement and opportunity to teach, I extend my deepest thanks and appreciation. Above all, their kind hearted refrains throughout the years meant the most.

I was sent off to doctoral studies by a host of supportive witnesses at New Bethel Baptist Church in Washington, D.C. under the leadership of Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy and Rev. James H. Wilson. To the people of New Bethel I owe thanks for their prayers, words of encouragement and acts of kindness not the least of which was financial support for study at Hebrew University, an experience that surely caught the eyes of those reviewing my application for admission to Duke. When I arrived in Durham, there stood people of faith ready to help my husband and me adjust. Of the many people and institutions in that welcoming band were Pastor Fred Davis, Judy Davis and First Calvary Baptist Church as well as Pastor William C. Turner and congregation of Mt. Level Baptist Church who offered preaching and fellowship that was essential to us during course work. A special thanks to all the women, free and incarcerated, in the prison ministry at Mt. Level who offered up prayers for me.

The Fund for Theological Education provided immeasurable support that made completion a reality. Led by Dr. Sharon Watson Fluker, its Ph.D fellows program added to financial assistance opportunities to interact with other Ph.D candidates. In the early years of my research, the Women's Studies Department, under the direction of Jean O'Barr aided by Nancy Rosebaugh and Cyndi Bunn made graduate studies a joy, ensuring that Women's Studies included black women's epistemologies and creating safe spaces for the analysis of racism and sexism from multiple perspectives. The Lisa Lee and Marc Ewing Family Foundation Dissertation Fellowship, offered through Women's Studies, made completion of this project a fiscal reality in my last year. Each class of Black Seminarian Union members welcomed me into their Divinity School community, and in the final stages of my research, the support and prayers of the Black Seminarian's Union headed by Jocleen McCall were a chorus of positive feedback urging me on. As the editorial process began in earnest and this book moved from a college dream in 1989 to a

budding reality, Rev. Miriam Phillips and Rev. Robert Arrington were indispensable sojourners who helped me press forward during a busy season in Heaven. I treasure your souls. The board and volunteer staff of Exodus Foundation.org, Freddie Sherrill, Michelle Walden, Vanessa Enoch, Otis Hardy, Cornell Roane, and mentees Barry Webb, Myra Byarm, Kevin Jackson and Bruce Little reminded me of the importance of kinship beyond biological markers—a key point in this research. I consider you my kin.

I am delighted to partner with T&T Clark to bring this research to the Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies. The kind, patient and diligent editorial reviews of colleagues Andrew Mein, Claudia Camp and Duncan Burns have been exceptional. To staff members who contributed whom I have not had the privilege of meeting, I owe a hearty thank you as well.

Last, but certainly not least, I want to acknowledge Rodney S. Sadler Jr., my college sweetheart, friend of 22 years, lover and spouse of 15 years who has labored with me, supported me and offered an inquisitive ear, one draft after another, remaining enthusiastic about the implications of my research. All of this Rodney has done while completing his own dissertation and bringing it to this series. It has been my privilege to share this journey with him. Next to Jesus, he should know that he is truly “all that.”

GENEALOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

Grandmother	FaMo, MoMo
Grandfather	MoFa, FaMo
Mother	Mo
Father	Fa
Sister	Si
Brother	Br
Daughter	Da
Son	So
Half-Sister	MoDa, FaDa
Granddaughter	DaDa, SoDa
Grandson	DaSo, SoSo
Aunt	MoSi, FaSi
Uncle	MoBr, FaBr
Cousin	Co, MoSiDa, MoSiSo, MoBrDa, MoBrSo, FaSiDa, FaSiSo FaBrDa, FaBrSo
Niece	SiDa, BrDa
Nephew	SiSo, BrSo
Husband	Hu
Wife	Wi
Non-lineal Wife's Daughter	FaWiDa
Daughter's Husband	DaHu
Son's Wife	SoWi

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The internal logic and relevance of the Leviticus incest prohibitions has been a subject of much interest. In search of clarity, the relationship between incest prohibitions and narratives describing “incestuous” relations has recently commanded close inspection.¹ Yet, before we can adequately examine the relationship between incest laws and narratives involving incest, there must be some general agreement about with whom sex is actually prohibited. Biblical scholars have not reached a consensus. A few examples illustrate this:

Mother, sister and daughter as close kin are automatically forbidden by Lev. 18:6.²

I would like to highlight that the Levitical list contains no express prohibition against intercourse with a full sister (as compared to maternal or paternal sister). Nor is there a prohibition against a father having intercourse with a daughter, as I discuss in subsequent chapters.³

But this is not their primary purpose; if it were, the prohibitions would surely include a man’s daughter—yet she is conspicuously missing from a detailed list...⁴

1. Athalya Brenner, *The Intercourse of Knowledge: On Gendering Desire and Sexuality in the Hebrew Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Calum Carmichael, *Law, Legend, and Incest in the Bible* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997); Ilona N. Rashkow, *Taboo or Not Taboo: Sexuality and Family in the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000).

2. Susan Rattray, “Marriage Rules, Kinship Terms and Family Structure in the Bible,” in *SBL 1987 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 538.

3. Rashkow, *Taboo or not Taboo*, 21.

4. Judith Romney Wegner, “Leviticus,” in *The Women’s Bible Commentary* (ed. Carol A. Newsome and Sharon H. Ringe; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 36–44 (41).

As applied to our case, this means that the circle of forbidden incestuous relatives could not be extended to include any who are not explicitly mentioned in the laws of chapter 18. The only exception is a man's own daughter, who is, of course, forbidden to him sexually, but who is not listed among the incestuous relations.⁵

*Il est frappant de constater que les sources bibliques eludent la repression des relations pere/fille.*⁶

This variation exists because we have not thoroughly examined the importance of kinship terminology; therefore, we have missed the internal logic and consistency of Lev 18. Anthropologists have long known that

the particular combination of kinship terms that people employ is not accidental. Nomenclature systems exhibit an internal logic and consistency such that, given certain bits of information, one can predict other attributes of the system as well as features of cultural behavior and social organization.⁷

Failure to comprehend this has led us to erroneous conclusions about narratives and laws that address incest, including the assertion that the Hebrew and English kinship nomenclatures are equivalent or comparable.⁸ Furthermore, in the absence of a formal analysis of Israel's kinship nomenclature, we have not adequately addressed the jural function of kinship terms.

A kinship term is jural in nature because it denotes the rights and duties of one person to another in equal or greater degree than it represents an actual biological tie.⁹ A similar principle is at work in our legal system. In the United States, regardless of actual blood ties, anyone can

5. Baruch Levine, *Leviticus Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 120.

6. 'It is surprising to find that the biblical sources avoid the prohibition of father/daughter relations': Sophie Lafont, *Femmes, Droit et Justice dan L'Antiquite orientale* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1999), 181.

7. Burton Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship and Social Organization* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 125.

8. Biblical scholars have relied heavily upon Henry Lewis Morgan's conclusions, which were modified by later anthropologists. See Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 17; Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1870), 50. See also Norman Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 B.C.E.* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1979), 314; and Rattray, "Family Structure," 538.

9. For the significance of jural responsibility in kinship systems see A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde, *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), 11.

be named the “executor” of a will; this title carries with it specific legal rights and duties that vary from state to state. Likewise, in social structures where kinship networks are the domain for social organization, the terms for “mother,” “father,” “brother” and “sister,” and so on, regardless of actual blood ties, carry with them specific legal duties and rights from culture to culture depending upon the particularities of a given kinship system and the social structure in which it is found. Recognition of the jural (connoting rights and obligations)¹⁰ nature of kin terms neither diminishes the importance of affective bonds in families nor does it imply that actual biological ties were not known; rather, this concept recognizes that the politico-jural domain is as much a part of kinship as the domestic/familial domain.

As such, from the earliest anthropological research on kinship to the present, it became increasingly clear that social structure is closely related to a society’s kinship system; and kinship, as it relates to descent, is not biological but jural.¹¹ British functionalist, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, was among the first to articulate the significance of jural obligations within kinship systems and their impact on total social structure. His definition of a kinship system reflects this finding:

A kinship system is therefore a network of social relations which constitutes part of that total network of social relations which is the social structure. The rights and duties of relatives to one another are part of the system and so are the terms used in addressing or referring to relatives.¹²

The terms used in addressing and referring to relatives, in the definition above, are known as kinship terminology or nomenclature. Kinship terms not only define family ties but also specify who inherits, whose rights are most important and when those rights supersede the rights of other kin. Kinship terminology specifies that a “son” has a specific jural

10. The term “jural” is used in contradistinction to the term “legal,” which will be used to connote something which derives its authority from the law.

11. Meyer Fortes, “Toward the Jural Dimension,” in *Kinship and Social Order* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 60–84. See also John F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1865; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York: Henry Holt, 1877); Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage in Three Volumes* (London: Macmillan, 1921; repr., New York: Johnson Reprint, 1971); Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, *African Systems*; Ernest L. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965); Elman Service, *A Century of Controversy: Ethnological Issues from 1860 to 1960* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985); and Meyer Fortes, *Religion, Morality and the Person: Essays on Tallensi Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

12. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, *African Systems*, 13.

obligation to a “father” and those obligations are very similar to anyone who is called “father,” even though a biological tie may not exist. In any culture, kinship terms are key to understanding its incest prohibitions in particular and the kinship system in general.¹³ For this reason, an analysis of ancient Israel’s kinship terminology and kinship system is undertaken here. The usual assumptions about biblical sources are suspended in order to gain a full appreciation of anthropological epistemologies, and it is further noted that the predominant mode of use of kin terms is not dependent upon their appearance in a particular biblical source.¹⁴

In analyzing kinship systems reflected in the Hebrew Bible, I will not be merely describing the kinship structures that appear embedded in the biblical text (patrilineages, levirate marriage, sororal polygyny, polygamy) or delineating the material evidence associated with kinship (four-room houses, compound dwelling units). Rather, I will be discussing kinship systems as defined and identified in an eclectic synthesis of social scientific theories relating to kinship. Although it has been noted that the risk of juridical formalism and uncritical objectivism may be inherent in the way traditional kinship studies have been organized,¹⁵ the potential for the development of new epistemologies emerging from observed regularities cross-culturally is undeniable and deserving of consideration.

There are only six basic kinship systems worldwide.¹⁶ I propose that an examination of Israel’s kinship system may illumine for Israel what examinations of kinship systems illumine in other cultures—the purpose and function of incest prohibitions. As such, the following examination utilizes the theorems of comparative ethnography and the material finds of Syro-Palestinian archaeology in order to explain the internal workings of Israel’s kinship system and the purpose and function of Lev 18:6–18. At the very least, it should become clear that Lev 18 (1) has been masterfully arranged to reflect the operative kinship hierarchy of its period; and (2) is best understood in light of incest narratives which explicate incest regulations, mitigate the application of punitive laws or justify incest rules. Also, in recognizing that Hebrew and English kinship nomenclature are not equivalent, it will be seen that there is indeed a daughter and full-sister prohibition. The methodological tools employed

13. Meyer Fortes, *Kinship and Social Order* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969). See also Brenda Z. Seligman, “Incest and Descent: Their Influence on Social Organization,” *JRAI* 59 (1929): 231–72.

14. For a full explanation of “mode of use” see p. 33.

15. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (trans. Richard Vice; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 35.

16. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 130.

are those from the field of anthropology. Chapter 2 provides an overview of significant points of contact between anthropology and biblical studies and an explanation of the methods that will be employed throughout this examination.

Chapter 2

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Cross-Cultural Methodology in Historical and Contemporary Perspective

The period from the 1860s to the 1960s represents the flowering of cross-cultural studies in anthropology.¹ Henry Lewis Morgan, a New York lawyer and a student of the Iroquois kinship system is considered the founder of and an early innovator in kinship studies.² Morgan's interest in the Iroquois and the subsequent kinship theories he espoused was predicated upon the work of linguists. A brief look at the philological agenda during the Enlightenment will put in perspective the significance of Morgan's work to kinship studies in general and this examination in particular.

Following a tradition which dated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, philologists and anthropologists of the early nineteenth century investigated the origin of different human "species" with Genesis as their starting point.³ It was the biblical story of the confusion of languages that piqued scientific curiosity. Assuming that one language existed before God created multiple tongues, philologists determined they would find the first language of humankind.⁴ Their sources were Gen 10 and 11, and the theory that was formulated is known as the Japheth Theory. Maurice Olender summarizes:

The three sons of Noah became, for Jewish and early Christian writers, the founders of three distinct human groups. By the sixth and seventh centuries, historians began to magnify the deeds of certain later peoples,

1. Service, *A Century of Controversy*, passim.
2. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 263.
3. George J. Metcalf, "The Indo-European Hypothesis in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms* (ed. Dell Hymes; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), passim; Service, *A Century of Controversy*.
4. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, 73.

such as the Scythians and Goths, and to connect them with the biblical genealogy of languages and races. And in the Renaissance, speculative historical etymology took root and flourished, as national pride led European intellectuals to assert their own modern languages for the original one... Japheth, Noah's favorite son and the forefather of Europeans emerged as the hero who had preserved the original language in its purity. A new history of the European languages developed, one which traced them back to the language of the barbarian Scythians and emphasized connections between Persian and European languages. It came to seem implausible that the European languages derived from Hebrew.⁵

The Japheth Theory or Scythian hypothesis was riddled with problems and was supplanted by the Indo-European Hypothesis in 1786 when linguist William Jones replaced the problematic and mythical Scythian language with Sanskrit.⁶ Jones argued that Sanskrit, Latin and Greek originated from a common but lost "Indo-European" language. That is, the language of the people of Asia, specifically India, and the language of Europeans had a common mother tongue—Indo-European. By studying Native Americans, presumed to be descendants of India's Indians, philologists and anthropologists believed they could trace the development and spread of the languages and the amalgamation of humankind. The heart of the research was the promise of philology to provide a history for the "savage and unlettered peoples."⁷ The consequence of this development was that Hebrew and English were now presumed to be from the same language branch. This led to the faulty conclusion that Hebrew and English kinship terminology are equivalent.

The comparative philological approach commanded center stage during the late eighteenth century. Based on Thomas Jefferson's conception that Native American nations shared a common origin, anthropologists and linguists studied Native American dialects. Linguist Albert Gallatin concluded that "the uniformity of character in the grammatical forms and structure of all the Indian languages of North America, which have been sufficiently investigated, indicates a common origin."⁸ Indeed, Morgan was influenced by the intellectual climate of his day:

5. Maurice Olender and Jordan Kellman, "Europe, or How to Escape Babel," *History and Tradition* 33 (1994): 5–21. See also Maurice Olender, *The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion and Philology in the Nineteenth Century* (trans. Arthur Goldhammer; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

6. Metcalf, "The Indo-European Hypothesis," 251.

7. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan*, 73.

8. Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America," *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 2 (1836): 142.

When the discoverers of the New World bestowed upon its inhabitants the name of Indians, under the impression that they had reached the Indies, they little suspected that children of the same original family, although upon a different continent, stood before them. By a singular coincidence error was truth.⁹

Henry Lewis Morgan's innovation was taking the comparative approach of philology and applying it to the semantics of kinship. After thirty years of field work with the Iroquois nation, Morgan concluded that the kinship terminology of any given culture has an internal logic and consistency sometimes *unrelated to actual biology*. He made this discovery by a meticulous collection of Iroquois kinship terminology. He surveyed members of the Iroquois nation regarding the use of kinship terminology. He mapped out genealogies. Morgan noted that everyone that was called "mother" in the genealogical tree was not always a biological relative. The same observation applied to other kinship terms. That is, Morgan discovered that kinship terminology in some cultures does *not* define *only* biological connections. Some other principle was at work.

Several important works appeared in the decades leading up to the publication of Morgan's findings;¹⁰ however, it was Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* (1871), that provided the foundation for early kinship studies. In *Systems*, Morgan concluded that (1) the kinship terminology of Indo-European tradents is descriptive and indicative of actual genealogical relationships; (2) the system of relationship terminology in the Native American system is classificatory and connotes relationship types rather than actual genealogical connections. Although Morgan's innovation was the recognition of the classificatory meaning of kin terms, according to one historian of the field Morgan's greatest error in explaining *descriptive* kinship terms was "viewing kinship terms as merely biological without consideration of the social status and class that kinship terms may have implied."¹¹ Decades of fieldwork culminated in

9. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, 508.

10. Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law* (New York: Henry Holt, 1864). The fifth edition addressed the significance of Roman law to civilization. Johann Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (Basel: B. Schwabe, 1948), argued for matriarchy as the earliest form of organization for the family; Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome* (trans. Willard Small; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980) noted the eighteenth-century tendency to project Enlightenment assumptions into antiquity; McClennan, *Primitive Marriage*, treated bride capture, early promiscuity and matrilineal descent as formative stages in the development of the family.

11. Service, *A Century of Controversy*, 31.

expansions and modifications to Morgan's theses and led to the discovery of six kinship systems.

A description of these six systems as well as the results and conclusions of extensive comparative fieldwork in anthropology are summarized by George Peter Murdock in *Social Structure*.¹² Like the documentary hypothesis in biblical studies, the principles delineated in this text are foundational for formal analyses of kinship systems. The difference, however, between the documentary hypothesis and the principles outlined in *Structure* is the availability of evidence against which to test the conclusions drawn. Murdock was the first to gather available data on over 250 societies from around the world, existing and extinct cultures, and to systematize the data for scientific inquiry.¹³ The assumption underlying cross-cultural comparisons is that similar environmental conditions in different areas of the world (with different cultural traditions) have favored similar cultural solutions to environmental problems.¹⁴

The study of kinship terminology along with a knowledge of the general customs of a culture enabled anthropologists to place the terminology of any culture on a kinship chart and analyze the expectations and obligations that accrue to any given relative. This visual representation became the basis for identifying kinship systems. Once a kinship system had been identified, cross-culturalists then set out to explain the structures inherent in each system-type and the factors that could account for deviations from the expected structural paradigms.

Wherever their analyses led, incest prohibitions figured prominently in explanations of rules governing social structure. As a component of kinship studies, the study of incest prohibitions illuminated the relationship between incest taboos and the development of kinship systems. Extensive research on kinship showed that a culture's incest prohibitions reflected marriage forms, principles of descent and rules of residence.¹⁵

12. George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1949).

13. Alexander Spoehr, "George P. Murdock, 1897–1985," *Ethnology* 24 (1985): 307–17.

14. Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember, ed., *Marriage, Family and Kinship: Comparative Studies of Social Organization* (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1983).

15. Murdock's *Social Structure* is one of the most comprehensive expositions. See also Edward B. Taylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions—Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *JRAI* 18 (1889): 245–69; Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1967); Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham; Boston: Beacon, 1969); Ladislav Holy, *Kinship, Honour and Solidarity: Cousin Marriage in the Middle East* (trans. James Harle Bell et al.; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

With the appropriate kinship system and its kinship terminology in view, one can better discern the purpose and function of incest prohibitions within that system. Thus, the study of kinship *terminology* is to the study of incest prohibitions what source criticism is to the documentary theory in biblical studies. The one cannot be elaborated fully without an understanding of the other. Thus, we lay out the empirical framework for understanding kinship terminology and kinship systems.

Interdisciplinary Methodology

In the past 15 years, interest in the Israelite family and tribal structure has brought heightened attention to biblical texts that illumine the organization of kinship ties in Israel.¹⁶ Although biblical scholars have yet to engage fully with the methods of anthropological inquiry, they have followed a course of study on kinship overlapping frequently with the social sciences.¹⁷ This examination follows that trend in order to reap the benefits of anthropological inquiry: it constitutes a social-structural study that applies the results of comparative ethnography to the biblical text in order to understand Israel's kinship system in general, and the meaning, function and setting of Lev 18:6–18 in particular. To speak of a kinship system in the singular does not mean that other forms of kinship organization do not occur within a given social structure; rather, it means that only the normative and recurring patterns of marriage, residence, descent and incest prohibitions shape social structure. In this sense, we speak of identifying the dominant kinship system operative in every society, and in this case, ancient Israel.

16. Richard Hess, "A Comparison of the Onomastica in Genealogical and Narrative Texts of Genesis 1–11," *Proceedings of the 10th World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1990): 67–74; Gary A. Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies," *VT* 40 (1990): 185–206; John Ronning, "The Naming of Isaac: The Role of the Wife/Sister Episodes in the Redaction of Genesis," *WTJ* 53 (1991): 1–27; Reuven Firestone, "Prophethood, Marriageable Consanguinity, and Text: The Problem of Abraham and Sarah's Kinship Relationship and the Response of Jewish and Islamic Exegesis," *JQR* 83 (1993): 331–47; William Propp, "Kinship in 2 Samuel 13," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 39–53; Naomi Steinberg, *Kinship and Marriage in Genesis: A Household Economics Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993); K. C. Hanson, "BTB Readers Guide: Kinship," *BTB* 24 (1994): 183–94; Harvey E. Goldberg, "Cambridge in the Land of Canaan: Descent, Alliance, Circumcision and Instruction in the Bible," *JANES* 24 (1997): 9–34; Leo G. Perdue et al., *Families in Ancient Israel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997).

17. Thomas W. Overholt, *Cultural Anthropology and the Old Testament* (Old Testament Series; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 3.

The beginning of the exchange between biblical studies and anthropology can be traced to 1881 when William Robertson Smith, a professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, attempted to demonstrate the relevance of anthropology for biblical studies; for his ingenuity he was summarily dismissed from his university.¹⁸ A few years later he joined the faculty at Cambridge as a professor of Arabic where he met J. G. Frazer. Smith encouraged Frazer to write in anthropology. Guided by Smith's hand, Frazer later revolutionized the field of anthropology by publishing *The Golden Bough*, a portion of which compared Christianity to "pagan" religions.¹⁹

Following in this tradition, Claude Levi-Strauss and Edmond Leach, borrowing from semiotics and linguistics, advanced the structuralist method in the twentieth century.²⁰ Levi-Strauss used structuralism to investigate the signification of kinship systems and myths. He believed structuralism could make a contribution to the study of kinship and mythology by identifying correlations between models and social data.²¹ To Levi-Strauss, a "structure" was a model that organized data in a system. With knowledge of the model, one may identify the data that best corresponds to a particular system (e.g. what kinship systems and customs are represented in mythical narratives).²² Levi-Strauss was guided by the assumption that every community has customs that are not unlimited and because they are not unlimited they can be defined and described.²³

Although we can no longer describe a structural reading of the biblical text as scientific analysis per se, by adopting this approach we may succeed in the structuralist goal of discovering new knowledge, a task often accomplished through comparative analyses. This can be seen in Mary Douglas' utilization of the results of comparative ethnography to examine the dietary laws of Leviticus.²⁴

18. Edmund Leach, "Anthropological Approaches to the Study of the Bible During the Twentieth Century," *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth* (ed. Edmund Leach and D. Alan Aycok; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 7-32 (12); see also T. O. Beidelman, *W. Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).

19. Leach, "Approaches," 13.

20. Marcel Henaff, *Claude Levi-Strauss and the Making of Structural Anthropology* (trans. Mary Baker; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

21. *Ibid.*, 8.

22. *Ibid.*, 13.

23. Claude Levi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques* (trans. John and Doreen Weightman; New York: Atheneum, 1975), 177.

24. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York: Routledge, 1966; repr., 1991), 41.

The use of cross-cultural evidence, however, is not without its critics.²⁵ Yet, the permanence of kinship systems, even in the midst of change, and the kinship focus of the Pentateuch, particularly Genesis, assure us that if any texts are deserving of scrutiny for kinship system markers, the first five books of the Bible are fair game and especially appropriate for such inquiry. Although the present study of Hebrew kinship terms is synchronic and only very late kin terms and poetic texts have been omitted, we restrict the examination of incest in narratives to the Pentateuch for the following reasons: (1) its compositional and intertextual unity suggest the comparability of its narratives; (2) its tendentious kinship focus can be isolated from the ideological aims of other texts; (3) its pre-exilic setting and legal strictures are formative for ancient Israel.

Thus, in addition to kinship terms, Levitical law and Pentateuchal narratives will serve as sources for a reconstruction of Israel's kinship system. Law sources are useful insofar as they indicate the customary and usual norms governing relationships between individuals in a society. There is nothing new about mining the deeper structures in biblical narrative to identify the social principles operating within the texts' symbolic field. Yet, one may ask, can these clues be subjected to cross-cultural comparison? An affirmative response is warranted due to the stable quality of kinship systems.²⁶ For whatever else may be represented textually, the kinship terms and principles that govern a society must be adhered to in order for the narrative to make sense to its intended audience. Furthermore, kinship terms can be analyzed syntagmatically and paradigmatically for the determination of lexical range.²⁷ In this way, narratives can be used to assess the underlying configurations in the text that should direct us to an understanding of Hebrew kinship terms and a kinship system that best fits the patterns observed.²⁸ Anthropologists and biblical scholars who maintain that cultural cues and social structures are represented in biblical narratives have supported those claims well.²⁹ For our purposes, a deductive analysis alone is unlikely to reveal those

25. Leach, "Approaches," 20. Here Leach argues for a restricted use of anthropology in biblical studies.

26. For an example of the use of law and literature to examine the kinship system of ancient Greece, see Ian Morris, "The Gortyn Code and Greek Kinship," *GRBS* 31 (1990): 233–54. See also in Murdock's *Social Structure*, Appendix A, "A Technique for Historical Reconstruction," 323.

27. David Greenwood, *Structuralism and the Biblical Text* (New York: Mouton, 1985), 4.

28. *Ibid.*, 6.

29. See the essays in David J. Chalcraft, ed., *Social-Scientific Old Testament Criticism* (The Biblical Seminar 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

cultural cues and social structures. An important aid here in the deductive process is cognitive dissonance theory.³⁰

Cognitive dissonance is an uncomfortable state of mind that results from inconsistencies in a person's own experiences, beliefs or actions. The basic tenet supported by this theory is that cognitive dissonance is so intolerable that people will either adjust their behaviors or their attitudes toward the behavior. Cognitive dissonance theory is a concept borrowed from psychoanalysis, which has been used in redaction critical discussions to explain motives for editorial activity.³¹ It is useful today in explaining editorial accretions that correct, justify and restore the legitimacy of biblical heroes and heroines through editorial expansions.³² We see examples of this in a number of narratives and their complementary passages, which have been redacted to reduce the dissonance that the original version created or to add an interpretive field for them (cf. Gen 12; 20; 1 Kgs 14:25 and 2 Chr 12:1; 1 Kgs 15:23 and 2 Chr 16:7–10). Additions, insertions and expansions are rare but they do occur, exemplifying the tendentious character of biblical texts. Cognitive dissonance theory is particularly useful for our understanding of incest in narratives.

The transgression of incest taboos has been shown to evoke strong emotions in every culture, requiring punishment or execution. The reworking of incest narratives suggests that the near universal "horror of incest" is observable in the editorializing of the biblical text. As in the case of murder or disobedience to the deity, we would expect that when a biblical hero or heroine becomes "unclean" after incestuous behavior, the cognitive dissonance created for the reader/hearer will have to be resolved in the narrative or its redaction. Where this does not occur, we may presume that the behavior was not perceived as transgressive. In the case of incest narratives, this examination seeks to illumine why a crime that is consistently viewed cross-culturally as equivalent to or worse than adultery would go without censuring in the biblical text, when adulterous behavior is consistently censured throughout biblical narrative. To summarize, this examination constitutes a social-structural reading of the

30. Douglas G. Mook, *Motivation: The Organization of Action* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987), 395.

31. Robert P. Carroll, "Ancient Israelite Prophecy and Dissonance Theory," *Numen* 24 (1977): 135–51. See also Carroll's "Prophecy and Dissonance: A Theoretical Approach to the Prophetic Tradition," *ZAW* 92 (1980): 108–19.

32. See Bernard M. Levinson, "The Case for Revision and Interpolation within the Biblical and Legal Corpora," in *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law: Revision, Interpolation and Development* (ed. Bernard M. Levinson; JSOTSup 181; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 37–59.

biblical text that utilizes comparative ethnography and cognitive dissonance theory to illumine Lev 18, to explain apparent inconsistencies in biblical law and narratives, and to reconstruct Israel's kinship system.

In order to determine the kinship system that governs the incest regulations appearing in Leviticus, one must begin with an analysis of kinship terminology. In addition to kinship terminology, several other elements of social structure illumine kinship systems and thus incest prohibitions: principles of descent, marriage preference and rules of residence. Each of these phenomena are structurally represented in biblical narratives and/or suggested by archaeological research. Thus, we can compare and contrast our theories in the biblical field with the more concrete and systematic evidence of comparative ethnography in order to improve and advance our understanding of incest in Israel. Murdock has tested and others have modified the essential theories employed here.³³ The limitation of relying heavily upon Murdock is the positivist nature of his conclusions about the determinants of kinship systems.³⁴ Although he made a break from the general evolutionary theorists of his day, he viewed his analysis of the factors leading to particular kinship forms as more of an exact science than postmodernism would allow in our day. Nonetheless, the fundamental value of the relationships he discerned between the determinants of kinship terminology and social structure are undeniable. They continue to be used in kinship studies.³⁵

Thus, the following investigation will address the major theorems of comparative ethnography relative to kinship terminology, principles of descent, preferred marriage forms, rules of residence and incest, and it will integrate those findings with what is known from the biblical text and Syro-Palestinian archaeology.

Comparative ethnographers have demonstrated the regularity of incest prohibitions and the regularity with which similar environmental forces lead groups from disparate historical periods, regions, linguistics stocks and systems of governance to similar adaptive responses.³⁶ Although the cross-cultural method cannot be used to make unqualified judgments, its

33. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis*, 2.

34. For a discussion of the need to deconstruct kinship terminologies, see Rodney Needham, ed., *Rethinking Kinship & Marriage* (London: Tavistock, 1971).

35. Ruth Mace and Mark Pagel, "The Comparative Method in Anthropology," *Current Anthropology* 35 (1994): 549–64.

36. Ember and Ember, *Marriage*, 9. Ember is careful to note that his use of environment connotes both the "physical and social" environment. Furthermore, their evolutionary perspective is unrelated to directive or progressive evolution associated with general evolution. Instead he speaks of evolution within societies.

heuristic value ensures its currency.³⁷ As such, this examination draws upon cross-cultural epistemologies to explore the purpose and function of Israel's incest prohibitions in light of its kinship system.

Chapter 3 addresses the major theories related to the origin of incest prohibitions. Chapter 4 is an analysis of Israel's kinship terminology that seeks to identify Israel's kinship system with one of the six major types known world-wide. In order to advance our understanding of attitudes toward incest in Israel and to reconstruct the kinship system of Israel, Chapter 5 focuses on the structural representations of preferred marriage forms, rules of residence and descent. In Chapter 6, we address incest in law and incest in narratives in light of cognitive dissonance theory, and in Chapter 7, we conclude by assessing the purpose and function of incest prohibitions in ancient Israel through a synthetic reconstruction of Israel's kinship system based on the evidence.

37. For a discussion of current methods, see Fons van de Vijver Kwok Leung, *Methods and Data Analysis for Cross-Cultural Research* (London: Sage, 1997).

Chapter 3

ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING INCEST PROHIBITIONS

The Incest Prohibition

An incest taboo is an oral or written rule which prohibits sexual relations between certain kinds of relatives.¹ Evidence from almost a century of data collecting demonstrates that the incest taboo is universal with respect to the nuclear family.² Every culture known to humanity prohibits sexual relations between father–daughter, mother–son, and brother–sister. When a society’s incest prohibition includes sexual relationships with additional relatives, even distant cousins, it is referred to as an “extended” taboo. That is, its strictures “extend” beyond the “original” taboo, which applies to the nuclear family only.

During the early to mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, cross-cultural studies of incest taboos or prohibitions were at academic center stage.³ As kinship systems were being analyzed, social scientists sought to discern the factors that gave rise to the universal incest taboo and its extensions. Three theoretical approaches or schools of thought dominated and continue to impact studies on the origin and function of the incest taboo: the psychoanalytical/instinctive, sociobiological and cultural/sociological approaches.

The Psychoanalytic/Instinctive Approach

The early psychoanalytical/instinctive school is characterized by the theories of Sigmund Freud and Edward Westermarck. In his seminal

1. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 28.

2. Noteworthy exceptions have been identified among royal families. The most famous case studies are the Egyptian Dynasties where brothers and sisters are known to have married. See Brent D. Shaw, “Explaining Incest: Brother–Sister Marriage in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” *Man* 27 (1992): 267–99.

3. Today, however, the emphasis is more on treatment for survivors of incest violations.

work, *Totem and Taboo*, Freud applies the tools of psychoanalysis to the dread of incest observed in the aborigines of Australia.⁴ The Australian aborigines were often used in comparative work because their totemic beliefs and practices seemed to evince much of what was observed cross-culturally. Where it exists in Australia and beyond, totemism takes the place of all religious and social institutions. It is a system whereby each clan takes the name of a totem—a species of animal or plant revered by an entire clan.⁵ The totem symbolizes the relationship between clan members; however, the origin of totemism is unknown. What anthropologists know for certain is that the totem is treated as a common ancestor which unites the clanspeople; the totem cannot be eaten or destroyed in any way. Speaking on incest, Freud notes that

almost everywhere the totem prevails, there also exists the law that the members of the same totem are not allowed to enter into sexual relations with each other; that is, that they cannot marry each other... In Australia the regular penalty for sexual intercourse with a person of a forbidden clan is death. It matters not whether the woman is of the same local group or has been captured in war from another tribe; a man of the wrong clan who uses her as his wife is hunted down and killed by his clansmen, and so is the woman; though in some cases, if they succeed in eluding capture for a certain time, the offense maybe condoned. In the Ta-Ta-thi tribe, New South Wales, in the rare cases which occur, the man is killed, but the woman is only beaten or speared, or both, till she is nearly dead; the reason given for not actually killing her being that she was probably coerced...⁶

According to Freud, “taboo” is a Polynesian word that defies easy translation. It denotes both the sacred and consecrated, the forbidden and unclean. A taboo is a sacred or unclean person or thing to which strict prohibitions apply regarding touching and handling. A mysterious power is thought to be inherent in the taboo, and the violator of the taboo becomes taboo.⁷ What accounts for the mysterious power in the taboo object or person? According to Wilhelm Wundt, the mysterious power relates to a fear of demons that existed during a pre-religious stage in human development.⁸ The distinction between the sacred and the unclean had not yet been made. According to Freud, at some later stages taboo

4. Sigmund Freud, “Totem and Taboo,” in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (ed. A. A. Brill; New York: Random House, 1938), 807–930.

5. *Ibid.*, 808.

6. *Ibid.*, 809–10.

7. *Ibid.*, 822.

8. Wilhelm Wundt, *Volkerpsychologie* (Leipzig: W. Englemann, 1906), 306.

items and people were divided into two classes: those to be revered and those to be avoided.⁹ Freud summarizes:

Taboos are very ancient prohibitions which at one time were forced upon a generation of primitive people from without, that is, they probably were forcibly impressed upon them by an earlier generation. These prohibitions concerned actions for which there existed a strong desire. The prohibitions maintained themselves from generation to generation...the persistence of taboo teaches, however one thing, namely, that the original pleasure to do the forbidden still continues among taboo races. They therefore assume an ambivalent attitude toward their taboo prohibitions; in their unconscious they would like nothing better than to transgress them but they are also afraid to do it; they are afraid just because they would like to transgress, and the fear is stronger than the pleasure. But in every individual of the race the desire for it is unconscious, just as in the neurotic. The oldest and most important taboo prohibitions are the two basic laws of totemism: namely, not to kill the totem animal, and to avoid sexual intercourse with totem companions of the other sex...the basis of taboo is a forbidden action for which there exists a strong inclination in the unconscious.¹⁰

Why such strict enforcement? Freud argued just as the compulsive neurotic was driven by uncontrollable and obsessive impulses to avoid certain objects or people, early humans generalized the power of touch to transfer contagions resulting in special rules which governed objects or people with mysterious powers. The flow of contagion could travel both ways from the object to the person and from the person to the object. When demonic forces were involved, fear of retributive acts due to unsanctioned touching led to taboo prohibitions. When sacred forces adhered to a person or object, fear of contaminating that king, priest or clansperson likewise led to avoidance rules. The mystery and fear associated with taboo things led to a compulsion to transgress restrictions. If one person transgressed, the threat of others following suit was so imminent that death or banishment was the recourse taken to protect the community.¹¹ Instinctive theorist Westermarck challenged this analysis and offered a slightly different view.

9. Freud, *Totem and Taboo*, 827. Although Freud is well known for appropriating Darwin's theory on the behavior of male hordes and concluding that son-father hostility may be attributed to the father's monopolization of females, his analysis of contagion and the severe punishment which follows a transgression is particularly relevant for a discussion of Lev 18 insofar as it is a part of the Holiness Code.

10. *Ibid.*, 832.

11. *Ibid.*, 833.

Though certain that internal drives could account for the origin of the incest taboo, Westermarck did not uphold Freud's use of the compulsive neurotic as the basis for understanding human behavior restricting incest. Instead Westermarck proposed that a natural instinct exists such that

There is a remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living very closely together from childhood. Nay more, in this, as in many other cases, sexual indifference is combined with the positive feeling of aversion when the act is thought of. This I take to be the fundamental cause of the exogamous prohibitions.¹²

Westermarck relied heavily upon Darwin's theory of natural selection to account for the adaptational quality of a natural aversion. Dismissive of the instinctive theory, Freud and those from whom he drew, like James Frazer,¹³ argued that a natural inclination *toward* incest must exist otherwise there would be no law. Westermarck rebutted:

Sir James G. Frazer has argued against me that if exogamy had resulted from a natural instinct there would have been no need to reinforce that instinct by legal pains and penalties.... This argument, which has been quoted with much appreciation by Dr. Freud, implies a curious misconception of the origin of legal prohibitions. Of course, where there is not transgression there is no law. But sir James cannot be ignorant of the variability of instincts and of the great variability of the sexual instinct.... Would he maintain that there can be no general aversion to bestiality because bestiality is forbidden by law, and that the exceptional severity with which parricide is treated by many law books proves that a large number of men have natural propensity to kill their parents?¹⁴

Given his explanation of the Oedipus Complex, Freud would have answered in the affirmative: men *do* want to kill their parents, especially their fathers. Notwithstanding divergent assumptions, some have noted that the difference between Freud and Westermarck was not so wide that their views should be characterized as oppositional.¹⁵

In the 1970s and '80s, Westermarck's theory was rejuvenated when two studies on early childhood socialization corroborated his views. The first study, conducted by Joseph Sepher, investigated the family dynamics of eastern European Jewish immigrants settling in Israeli kibbutzim (communal villages).¹⁶ Sepher discovered that children living in close

12. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 2:192.

13. James Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London: Macmillan, 1910).

14. *Ibid.*, 203.

15. David H. Spain, "Incest Theory: Are There Three Aversions?," *Journal of Psychohistory* 15 (1988): 235–53.

16. Joseph Sepher, *Incest: A Biosocial View* (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 57.

proximity to one another developed an aversion to sexual intimacy. Children spent only a few hours a day with parents and were reared with other children from about the age of three years. Girls and boys used the same bathing facilities, shared bedrooms and were not discouraged from sex play or marriage later on. With reliable data on marriage patterns from over 211 kibbutzim, Sepher observed: (1) an absence of erotic behavior between children reared in the same educational group; (2) the exceptions were characterized by couples who were not reared together for the entire time or who entered the educational groups at a later age; (3) heterosexual activity occurred between those in different peer groups.¹⁷ Sepher concluded:

We seem to have a strong case for Westermarck's instinctive avoidance theory. In a large population from all over Israel which shared a system of socialization, there were no marriages between people who had been continuously reared together for their first 6 years. This avoidance and aversion could not be attributed to prohibition or taboo.¹⁸

The second study was conducted by Arthur P. Wolf, who observed *Sim Pua* (little bride) marriages in Taiwan.¹⁹ *Sim Pua* marriages are those that occur at or near birth. A family adopts a baby girl and raises her with their son; when they come of age they marry. After spending two and a half years examining genealogies and conducting interviews, Wolf found that *Sim Pua* arranged marriages were considered oppressive. Husbands in *Sim Pua* marriages were three times more likely to visit prostitutes.²⁰ One female informant explained, "I just couldn't do it. It was too embarrassing. Imagine marrying your brother!"²¹ In later studies, Wolf found that couples were often *forced* to live together when first married.²² To explain the avoidance patterns observed between siblings, Wolf relied on evidence from behavioral psychology—animals do not copulate in environments associated with punishment. Wolf posits:

These findings suggest the possibility that the very fact they are socialized together may account for the mutual aversion of persons who have grown up in the same family. The socialization process inevitably involves

17. *Ibid.*, 57.

18. *Ibid.*, 59.

19. Arthur P. Wolf, "Childhood Association, Sexual Attraction and the Incest Taboo: A Chinese Case," *American Anthropologist* 68 (1966): 883–98.

20. *Ibid.*, 889.

21. *Ibid.*, 893.

22. Arthur P. Wolf, "Childhood Association and Sexual Attraction: A Further Test of the Westermarck Hypothesis," *American Anthropologist* 72 (1970): 503–15.

a good deal of punishment and pain, and children who are socialized together must come to associate one another with this experience.²³

Wolf recognized that other factors could contribute to this aversion but found no evidence to substantiate his critics' views. Though Westermarck championed inbreeding depression as a contributing factor in the emergence of incest prohibitions, Wolf contested this part of Westermarck's perspective:

I argue that under the condition of intimate and early association pro-pinquity does annihilate sexual desire, and that there is therefore no need to be concerned with the social or biological advantages of the incest taboo.²⁴

More recently, ethological studies and studies that have duplicated Wolf's findings provide more evidence of an aversion to close kin.²⁵ The case of animal species which avoid their close kin is particularly compelling.²⁶ As such, Wolf reaffirms Westermarck's view on early childhood association but maintains his cautious stance on social and biological concerns. The social and biological concerns to which Wolf refers are those studied by proponents of the second school of thought which dominated studies of incest origins—the sociobiological approach.

The Sociobiological Approach

Proponents of the sociobiological approach contend that an awareness of the deleterious effects of inbreeding led to incest prohibitions.²⁷ According to sociobiologists, the origin of human behavior can be found in a complex evolutionary process that begins with the adaptational quality of the human gene—what Darwin called natural selection.²⁸

When it was first proposed that the decrease in physical fitness of the offspring of close kin led to incest prohibitions, folklore and inbreeding in animal and human populations seemed to provide the necessary

23. Wolf, "A Chinese Case", 892.

24. *Ibid.*, 897.

25. Arthur P. Wolf, "Westermarck Redivivus," *American Anthropologist* 22 (1993): 157–75.

26. A. E. Pusey, "Inbreeding Avoidance in Chimpanzees," *Animal Behavior* 28 (1980): 543–52; N. Itoigawa, K. Nogoyama and K. Kondo, "Experimental Study on sexual behavior between mother and son in Japanese monkeys (*Macaca fuscata*)," *Primates* 22 (1981): 494–502.

27. Sopher, *Incest*, 85.

28. *Ibid.*, 85.

evidence to warrant this claim.²⁹ According to one proponent, Roger Burton, "the most common reason given in both primitive and modern societies for the incest taboo is that it produces bad stock."³⁰ Those who doubt that inbreeding depression³¹ occurs should weigh the scientific evidence along with folk etiologies. Early studies suggested that defects in the offspring of brother-sister, father-daughter, and mother-son unions would be visible in at least 50 percent of the offspring.³²

In a later study, eighteen children from brother-sister unions were compared with eighteen children from a control group; at six months, 61 percent of the children from inbred couples had recognizable defects compared with only one mentally retarded child of the control couples.³³ The evidence led sociobiologists to assert the incest taboo can be traced to two phenomena working together, one social and the other biological.³⁴ The biological factors include the observable defects of offspring of closely related people and an adaptational tendency in animals and humans to avoid sexual contact with the familiar. Socially, incest prohibitions emerged to make incest more rare than would be the case with biologically based inhibitions and preventions alone.³⁵ Detractors were swift to respond, however, claiming that the evidence upon which sociobiologists based their conclusions was unreliable.

During the sixties, when phylogenetics began to make marked advances as a science, Frank Livingstone was among the first to argue that the cause of physical defects in the offspring of close kin could not be related directly to inbreeding. His thesis is summarized as follows:

First, the phenomena of both cultural and physical anthropology are populational and are not explained by differences in the characteristics of the individuals in the populations. With regard to the effects of inbreeding, this difference between populational and individual phenomena is

29. Roger V. Burton, "Folk Theory and the Incest Taboo," *Ethos* 1 (1973): 504-16; For a summary of the early theorists' views, see Pierre L. van de Berghe, "Human Inbreeding Avoidance: Culture in Nature," *Brain and Behavioral Sciences* 6 (1983): 91-123. See also Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 1:195ff.

30. Burton, "Folk Theory," 505.

31. Inbreeding depression refers to those cases where an inbred person's gene pool contains deleterious recessive genes resulting in visible or noticeable defects, for example, short life span, blindness, physical deformities.

32. Newton E. Morton, "The Mutational Load Due to Detrimental Genes in Man," *American Journal of Human Genetics* 12 (1960): 348-64.

33. Morton S. Adams and James V. Neel, "Children of Incest," *Pediatrics* 40 (1967): 55-62.

34. Ray Bixler, "Incest Avoidance as A Function of Environment and Heredity," *Current Anthropology* 22 (1981): 639-54.

35. Sopher, *Incest*, 86.

particularly significant: the fact that inbreeding is deleterious or increases the chances of death for the individual does not imply (as both Aberle et al. and Ember assume) that it increases the death rate of a population which is in genetic equilibrium; for although the increase in homozygotes due to inbreeding invariably produces individuals with a lower fitness and a greater chance of death, this results in gene frequency change which will decrease the death rate due to homozygosity.³⁶

Opponents of the inbreeding theory claim that natural selection assures the survivability of the species. Large outbreeding populations reduce the appearance of the deleterious recessive elements in their gene pool by *outbreeding*; small inbreeding populations increase the risk of recessive pairings but soon eliminate such genes from their gene pools by continuous *inbreeding* which ensures that the most fit genes survive.³⁷ Hence, it may be said that evolution makes the existing breeding practice the most favorable. To date, there is no consensus about the relationship between inbreeding and incest taboos because there is no agreement on whether early humans would have seen enough of the deleterious effects to warrant the invention of an incest prohibition.³⁸

The Sociological/Cultural Approach

The sociological/cultural approach was a way to answer the question of the origin of the incest taboo without the conflicting evidence that emerged with Darwinist thought. According to Leslie White, a major theorist of the field, E. B. Tylor was the first to articulate the importance of culture in shaping incest prohibitions.³⁹ Tylor stated:

Exogamy, enabling a growing tribe to keep itself compact by constant unions between its spreading clans, enables it to overmatch any number of small intermarrying groups, isolated and helpless. Again and again in the world's history, savage tribes must have had plainly before their minds the simple practical alternative between marrying-out and being killed out.⁴⁰

36. Frank Livingstone, "Genetics, Ecology and the Origins of Incest and Exogamy," *Current Anthropology* 10 (1969): 45-61.

37. Gregory C. Leavitt, "Sociobiological Explanations of Incest Avoidance: A Critical Review of Evidential Claims," *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990): 971-92.

38. *Ibid.*, 983. For a recent study of the effect of population size on gene mutations, see Thomas Bataillon and Mark Kirkpatrick, "Inbreeding Depression due to Mildly Deleterious Mutations in Finite Populations: Size Does Matter," *Genetical Research* 75 (2000): 75-81.

39. Leslie White, "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest," *American Anthropologist* 50 (1948): 416-35.

40. E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions: Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent," *JRAI* 18 (1889): 245-72.

Though the cultural explanation was straightforward and direct, the search for underlying psychological forces at work made sociological/cultural solutions appear wanting.⁴¹ White urged theorists to abandon psychologizing and to focus on cultural anthropology. According to White, the *modus vivendi* that led to incest prohibitions was economic and therefore cultural. The need for mutual cooperation and alliances outside the family made in-group marriages a liability to social structure. White summarizes,

The prohibition of incest has at bottom an economic motivation—not that primitive peoples were aware of this motive, however, for they were not. Rules of exogamy originated as crystallizations of processes of a social system rather than as products of individual psyches. Inbreeding was prohibited and marriage between groups was made compulsory in order to obtain the maximum benefits of cooperation.⁴²

In contrast to Freud and Westermarck, White asserted that neither an inclination toward close relatives nor an instinctive horror at the thought of close unions had been sufficiently warranted.

Later theorists proposed solutions that combined the best elements of the psychological and cultural approaches. Claude Levi-Strauss accomplished this synthesis in *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*.⁴³ Here, Levi-Strauss argued that nature transcends itself in the universal prohibition of incest. The prohibition represents the convergence of biological and psychological forces and results in a regulation, that is, a social phenomenon.⁴⁴ The “nature” that humans were thought to transcend was borrowed from Freud’s analysis and was represented by an “inclination toward” unions with close relatives. Therefore, the incest taboo relies upon neither purely natural nor purely cultural constructs. It is the “fundamental step by which, but above all in which, the transition from nature to culture is accomplished.”⁴⁵ According to Levi-Strauss, the incest prohibition *precedes* rules of exogamy. Nonetheless, the two rules are closely intertwined. Exogamy, however, is the “widened social application of incest prohibitions.”⁴⁶ A woman who is forbidden is forbidden in order to be married to another.⁴⁷

41. White, “The Definition,” 422.

42. *Ibid.*, 426.

43. Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (trans. James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham; Boston: Beacon, 1969).

44. *Ibid.*, 24.

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, 51.

47. *Ibid.* For a critique of Levi-Strauss’ emphasis on male bartering of females and the obscuring of female roles in Genesis, see Ann Marnesh, “Anti-Covenant,”

The challenge for anthropologists was to discover the principles at work that could account for the difference in marriage forms. If women within the clan were forbidden for certain male kin, what women were males permitted to marry and why? These are the questions we ask of the Levitical incest laws. Kinship terminology is key.

By defining disqualified sexual relations using kinship terminology, the incest prohibitions of Leviticus reflect the H writer's⁴⁸ conceptualization of unholy sexual unions. Yet, in order to accurately identify relatives prohibited in incest prohibitions we must categorize kinship terms in a formal analysis. A formal analysis of kin terms is the primary method used by cultural anthropologists to identify the kinship system operating within a given culture and to understand the incest prohibitions that emerge from that kinship system. Thus, in Chapter 4, it will be necessary to elucidate the classifications of kin terms that are decisive in a formal analysis of kinship terminology.

in *Anti-Covenant: Counter Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Mieke Bal; Decatur: Almond, 1989), 43–58.

48. I use the abbreviation "H writer" when referring to the putative redactor of the Holiness Code.

Chapter 4

A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF ANCIENT ISRAEL'S KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship Systems

A kinship system regulates the usual and ordinary obligations of blood kin, affinal kin and non-kin. As previously noted, Henry Lewis Morgan suggested that kinship *terminology* is a coded version of a culture's kinship system. According to Morgan, a kinship system is *descriptive* when its kin terms represent actual biological ties. When kinship terms do not always represent actual biological relationships but serve as indicators of who is *treated* as a biologically related kinsperson, with respect to marriage rules and social responsibilities, then that system is *classificatory*.¹ For example, when an English speaker uses the term "sister" to identify a lineally related blood relative descended from at least one parent in common, we cannot assume that the equivalent term for "sister" in another language and culture refers to a woman who is positioned genealogically in the exact same way as the English term denotes. In some cultures, the term for "sister" is used to indicate a lineally related female and a collaterally related female (i.e. a cousin).

One important change in Morgan's typology was the recognition that entire systems should not be considered descriptive or classificatory² and that no relationship exists between societal complexity and kinship nomenclature.³ Some kinship systems contain a mixture of descriptive and classificatory terms. Rather than categorizing an entire system as descriptive or classificatory, each term has to be analyzed as a separate component of the whole.

1. Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (New York: Corinth, 1962); originally published as *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois* (Rochester: Sage & Brother, 1851).

2. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 100.

3. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 129.

There are only six conventionally recognized systems:⁴ Iroquois, Hawaiian, Eskimo, Crow, Omaha and Sudanese.⁵

In the Iroquois, Hawaiian and Eskimo systems, parallel and cross-cousins are treated differently. Parallel cousins are the children of MoSi or FaBr; cross-cousins are the children of MoBr or FaSi.⁶ More succinctly, "children of siblings of the same sex are parallel cousins; children of siblings of the opposite sex are cross-cousins."⁷ If, in a particular society's nomenclature, all cousins (Co) are equated (that is, referred to by the same terminology) and differentiated from siblings, then the system is considered Eskimo. In the following illustrations of each system, instead of using actual kinship terms in other languages, abbreviations of English kinship terms are used for clarity and consistency to illustrate the paradigm.

The *Eskimo* system may be diagrammed as follows (see the list of Genealogical Abbreviations for an explanation of the symbols used):

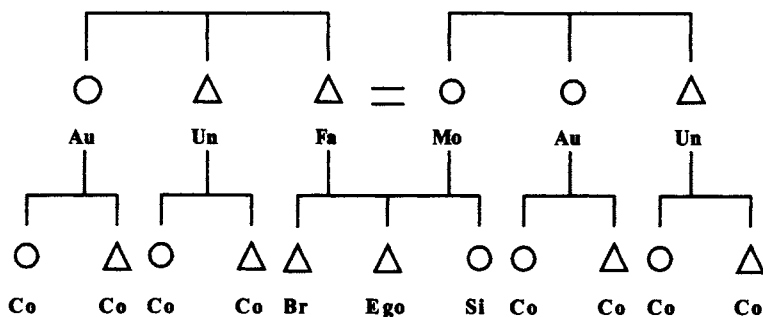


Figure 1. *Eskimo Kinship*⁸

Thus, English kinship terminology is *Eskimo*.

If the sibling terms (Br, Si) are the same terms used to describe parallel cousins, but there are separate terms for cross-cousins, then the system is considered *Iroquois*.

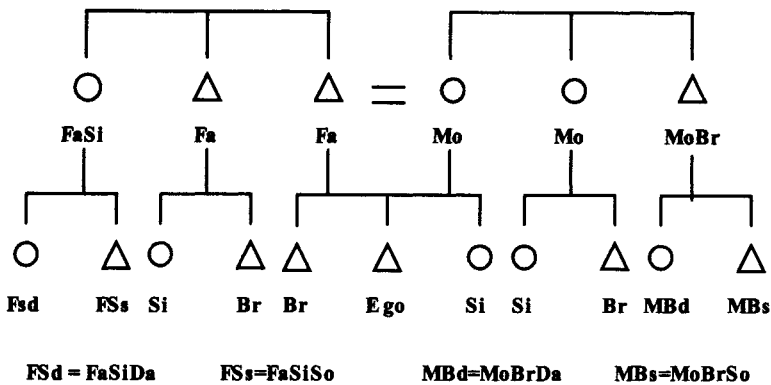
4. They are named after the culture in which the system was first recognized. It is important to note that multiple variations occur in each archetype.

5. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 130.

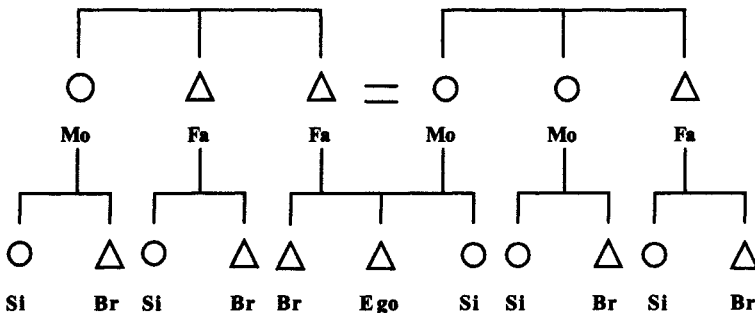
6. This notation was devised for the sake of simplicity in order to translate the genealogical position indicated by foreign terms into a short English form.

7. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis*, 19.

8. Thus, in a non-English speaking culture, a totally separate kinship term from that used for brother (Br) or sister (Si) is used to denote relatives in the same generation as Ego descended from a father's sibling or a mother's sibling.

Figure 2. *Iroquois Kinship*

If, however, sibling terms are the *same* as the terms for cousins, the system is considered *Hawaiian*.⁹

Figure 3. *Hawaiian/Generational Kinship*

A Hawaiian system is also called *generational* because Ego often refers to people of the same generation by the same kinship terminology. In the Eskimo, Iroquois and Hawaiian systems, the terminology on the mother's side is essentially the same as the terminology used on the father's side indicating that kinship is balanced or rather bilateral.¹⁰

The *Omaha* and *Crow* terminology is commonly found among unilineal societies, that is, societies that trace descent through one sex (matrilineally or patrilineally).¹¹ Although a patriline or matriline does not automatically suggest Omaha or Crow terminology, the *Omaha* system is commonly associated with patrilineages and the *Crow* system with

9. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis*, 20.

10. *Ibid.*, 20.

11. *Ibid.*, 44.

matrilineal societies.¹² In the *Crow* system FaSiDa=FaSi, FaSiSo=Fa; on the mother's side MoBrSo=So and MoBrDa=Da; parallel cousins are siblings, that is, referred to by the same terminology as siblings.¹³

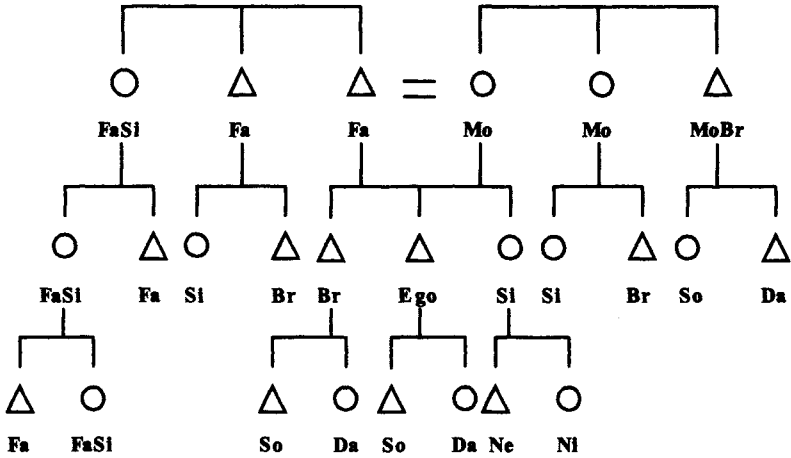


Figure 4. *Crow Kinship*

In the *Omaha* system FaSiDa=Ni, FaSiSo=Ne; MoBrSo=MoBr, MoBrDa=Mo and parallel cousins are siblings.¹⁴

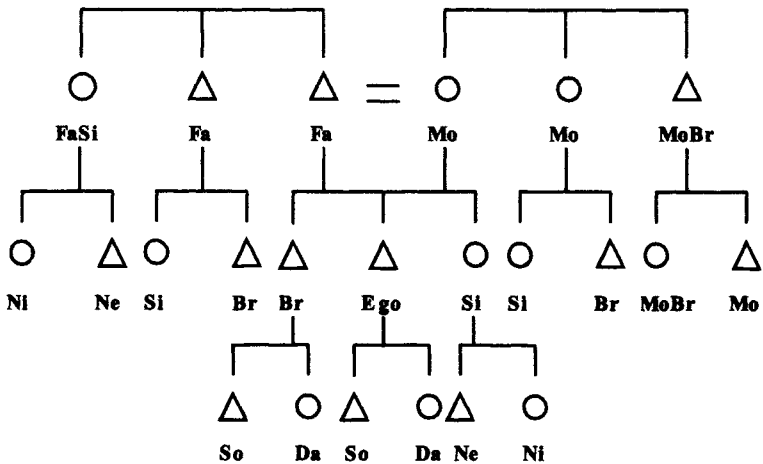


Figure 5. *Omaha Kinship*

12. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 133.
 13. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis*, 44.
 14. *Ibid.*, 45.

The *Crow-Omaha* and *Iroquois* kinship systems are typically, but not always, *bifurcate-merging*, which means that some uncles and aunts are equated to or “merged” with parents and others are terminologically distinguished from parents.¹⁵

The sixth kinship system, the *Sudanese* system is common among African and Asian cultures and it is normally *bifurcate-collateral*. Aunts and uncles and cousins are referred to by different terms and “different kinship statuses are not terminologically classed together.”¹⁶

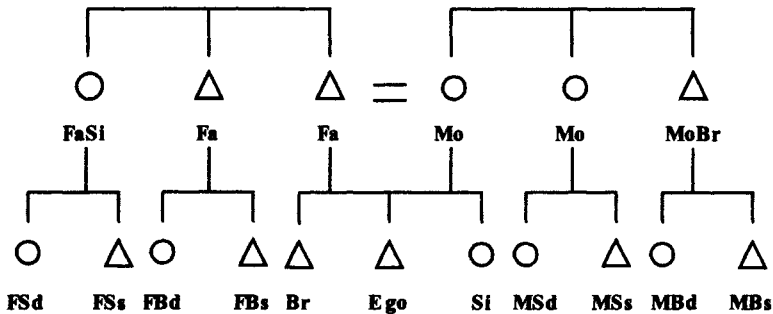


Figure 6. *Sudanese Kinship*

Whenever kinship terms are analyzed, terms of reference rather than terms of address must be used. For example, the term *father* would be included in the typology but not the term *daddy*.¹⁷ This distinction must be made because in many cultures terms of address are less related to kinship and more indicative of a desire to show respect or affection. Terms of reference, however, are those that Ego uses with another person to “refer” to his relationship to a third party. The importance of understanding kinship terms before analyzing incest prohibitions cannot be overstated. Does an incest taboo prohibiting sexual relations between a “brother” and a “sister,” refer to those biologically related as brother and sister or to anyone in that society who is *classified* as brother or sister? Or are all “brothers” and “sisters” prohibited?

Kinship terminology can be analyzed using one of two methods.¹⁸ The first involves matching the foreign term with the appropriate English term, and no two terms can indicate the same individual or groups of

15. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 131.

16. *Ibid.*, 135.

17. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 97.

18. Other, more complex, psycholinguistic methods have been developed; the genealogical and componential methods discussed here are foundational formalist approaches.

persons; this method is often referred to as the genealogical method.¹⁹ The second form of kinship analysis is known as componential analysis and it is based on five steps designed to narrow the English translation of kinship terms to their psychological meanings in a given culture. The results are then applied to mathematical models.²⁰ Although the formal analysis of kin terms has been criticized for being ethnocentric,²¹ for the sake of its directness and simplicity and since we are dealing with the terminology of an extinct culture and cannot confirm psychological meaning, a formal analysis, based on the genealogical method, will be used when analyzing Israel's kinship terminology.

Kinship Terminology in Ancient Israel

An understanding of Israel's kinship terminology will allow us to comprehend its social structure. By analyzing the meaning of referential kinship terms, we can better predict the rules that govern relationships between individuals, their kin and society.²² This should lead to a more accurate assessment of the purpose and function of the incest prohibitions of Leviticus.

We turn now to kinship terminology in the Hebrew Bible. In order to compare Israel's terminology with the six main kinship systems found

19. Anthony F. C. Wallace and John Atkins, "The Meaning of Kinship Terms," *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 58–80. "The meaning of the [foreign] term is given by a list of nonredundant English kin-types, each of which includes one or more individuals in the group of persons to which the foreign term refers, and none of which includes any individual outside the group of persons to which the term refers" (p. 58). See also Edmund R. Leach, "The Meaning of Kin Terms: Formal and Componential Analysis," in *Readings in Kinship and Social Structure* (ed. Nelson Graburn; New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 239–88.

20. Wallace and Atkins, "Kinship Terms," 60–79. For a discussion of problems and possible solutions to those created by componential analysis, see Vladimir Pericliev and Raul E. Valdes-Perez, "Automatic Componential Analysis of Kinship Semantics with a Proposed Structural Solution to the Problem of Multiple Models," *Anthropological Linguistics* 40 (1998): 272–317. For a mathematical paradigm for analyzing kinship which goes beyond the purview of this examination, see Austin Hughes, "The Structure of Kinship Terminologies," in *Evolution and Human Kinship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 116–31.

21. For a critique of formalist methods, see Lawrence A. Hirschfeld, "Kinship and Cognition: Genealogy and the Meaning of Kinship Terms," *Current Anthropology* 27 (1986): 217–42.

22. For a literary analysis of Israelite kin terms with implications for social rank within Israelite social structure, see Francis I. Andersen, "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure," *BT* 20 (1967): 29–39.

throughout the world, we must follow a series of steps. First, a list of Hebrew kinship terms must be matched with their English equivalents. Second, one must determine what each kin term signified in Israelite society. Because we cannot interview informants, we will have to follow the method that anthropologists use when analyzing kinship terminology of extinct cultures, that is, we must rely on the textual evidence. In order to do this, a definition of the criteria used to analyze kinship terminology will be provided. Then Hebrew kin terms will be identified, and their usage as either terms of address or reference will be assessed. Kinship terms of reference will be matched with the appropriate English notation as used by Murdock in *Social Structure*.²³ Thereafter, a formal analysis of the kinship terms will be undertaken, utilizing traditional word study methods and the criteria defined above.

In the remaining sections of this chapter, a comparison will be made between Israel's kinship terminology and its marriage rules, residence rules and principles of descent as represented structurally in the biblical text. With this information in the fore, a synthetic arrangement of the evidence becomes possible and enables us to identify Israel's kinship system with one of the six major types known worldwide.

The importance of using an English notation that identifies sex and generation cannot be overstated (e.g. FaMo = father's mother). The normal practice heretofore in biblical scholarship has been to equate English definitions for kinship terms to those found in the Hebrew Bible. Wallace and Atkins note "a term may not mean to its users that collection of kin-types which the English-speaking ethnologist finds it convenient to regard as its meaning."²⁴ As such, it is customarily assumed that our definition for *mother*, a consanguineously related first ascending order lineal female who gave birth to Ego, is equivalent to the Hebrew term *em*.²⁵ A culture in which motherhood is generalized may have a term for "mother" that means *any* lineally or collaterally related female of any generation including but not limited to the person who gave birth to Ego.²⁶ In the West, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that the commonly held belief that women were the depositories for men's babies was supplanted by the knowledge that women contributed *biologically* to

23. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 95.

24. Wallace and Atkins, "Meaning of Kinship Terms," 59.

25. For example, see Stephen Bigger, "The Family Laws of Leviticus 18 in Their Setting," *JBL* 98 (1979): 187-203; Terry J. Prewitt, "Kinship Structure and the Genesis Genealogies," *JANES* 40 (1981): 87-98.

26. For a discussion of how marriage practices may lead to "mother" having a classificatory meaning, see Bernard W. Aginsky, "The Mechanics of Kinship," *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 450-57.

human reproduction.²⁷ Consequently, reproduction ideology may be reflected in kinship terminology and social structure. The way to uncover the ideological commitments inherent in kinship terminology is by testing each kin term in light of six criteria used to distinguish denotative and classificatory terms. A review of the determinants of kinship will serve as introduction to the way kinship terms are classified and evaluated according to specific criteria.

The positioning of relatives is described as either primary, secondary or tertiary. Primary relatives are those of the nuclear family—mother, father, sisters, brothers. Primary relatives include those in the new household established by marriage—wife/husband, sons, daughters. Secondary relatives are those such as grandfather (FaFa), grandmother (FaMo), aunts, uncles, in-laws. Tertiary relatives include great-grandparents, great aunts, great uncles, and first cousins. Where blood connections or common ancestry exist, such relatives are *consanguineal*; and where marriage is the only tie relatives are known as *affinal*.²⁸ Cross-cultural studies have demonstrated that all societies employ kinship terms rather than using personal names to address relatives.²⁹ There is, however, a “fairly common usage intermediate between personal names and kinship terms called teknonymy.”³⁰ Teknonymy refers to calling a person the “father of x” or the “daughter of x” instead of using a personal name or a kinship term (e.g. Gen 9:18). In biblical scholarship, this construction is known as a patronymic phrase and serves as the basis for Israelite genealogies as well as statements of paternity.³¹

Kinship terms are classified according to *mode of use*, *linguistic structure*, and *range of application*. Mode of use refers to whether a kinship term is a *term of address* used when someone talks directly to the relative (“hi daddy”) or *term of reference* used when someone speaks about a relative to a third party (“my father”). Though a term of reference is often used as a term of address, only terms of reference indicate the status of one person relative to another. Terms of address indicate familiarity but not always kinship. Because terms of reference are indicative of social obligations, they are the terms that correctly identify kinship status. The best example of the distinction between a term of

27. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 58ff.

28. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 94.

29. *Ibid.*, 97.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Walter E. Aufrecht, “Genealogy and History in Ancient Israel,” in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical & Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (ed. Lyle Eslinger and Glen Taylor; JSOTSup 67; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 206.

reference and a term of address in a Hebrew narrative text is found in the book of Ruth. In Ruth 2:2, we find “And Ruth the Moabite said unto Naomi, ‘Let me go to the field and glean among the ears of grain behind someone in whose sight I find favor.’ She said to her, ‘Go, my daughter’” (NRSV). If indeed בת means lineally related descending female, then Ruth is *not* Naomi’s daughter. Were it not for the term בלה in the book of Ruth, we might wonder if Ruth was married to her mother’s son, that is, her brother. Fortunately, a term of reference in a preceding verse is provided and offers a way to contextualize the relationship between Ruth, Naomi and Naomi’s son. Ruth 1:22 (cf. 2:22) reads as follows: “So Naomi returned together with Ruth the Moabite, her *daughter in law*...” (NRSV). Two distinct Hebrew kin terms are used in each of these verses, בת and בלה respectively. The first is used as a term of address, the second as a term of reference. Thus, on a family chart indicating the kinship term for Naomi’s son’s wife, one would not use the term by which Naomi “addresses” Ruth (i.e. בת); one would use a term of reference which clarifies Ruth’s actual relationship (i.e. בלה). *Terms of reference* are also used as terms of address, as would be the case if Ruth actually had a daughter whom she could address as בת. The task then is to identify the correct *term of reference* that Ego uses in order to indicate an exact relationship; we accomplish this through a close reading of the narratological use of kinship terms.

With respect to *linguistic structure*, a kinship term may be *elementary*, *derivative* or *descriptive*. An *elementary* term cannot be divided into lexical parts and analyzed (e.g. mother); a *derivative* term combines an elementary term and some other lexical component (e.g. grandfather, sister-in-law); and a *descriptive* term “combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative.”³² An example of a descriptive term would be the Hebrew אבא (father’s brother). Another example would be the Swedish *farbror* (father’s brother).³³

The *range of application* of kinship terms may be *denotative* or *classificatory*. A *denotative* term limits the range of application to a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection.³⁴ For example, in English only one person is denoted by each of the terms mother, husband, father. Under certain circumstances, a denotative term may apply to several people of identical kinship connection. Thus, where Ego has more than one “daughter”, “son”, “brother” or “sister”,

32. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 98.

33. Robert H. Lowie, “A Note on Relationship Terminologies,” *American Anthropologist* 30 (1928): 263–67.

34. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 99.

Ego uses the same denotative terms for those relatives because they have identical kinship connections to Ego. A *classificatory* term “may apply to persons of two or more kinship categories defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection.”³⁵ Thus in English “grandfather” includes the father’s father *and* the mother’s father; and the term “aunt” denotes a sister of either parent.³⁶ Thus, these terms apply to relatives who hold two different genealogical positions in relation to Ego.

It should be noted that the terms *descriptive* and *classificatory* do not apply to any whole kinship system but to particular terms within a kinship system. Each term has to be assessed. The importance of this distinction is that English speakers in biblical studies have assumed that descriptive terms in English are also descriptive in Hebrew when in fact they may be classificatory. For example, the term “sister” is descriptive in English but, as we shall see, in Hebrew it is *classificatory*. Consequently, one cannot be absolutely sure who is denoted when that term is attested in Hebrew, since whatever it means, it does not *only* mean a female blood-related relative who shares the same parents. Likewise, in cultures with the Crow terminology, the term “father” is typically classificatory. The term used to designate a lineally related ascending male, the genitor of Ego, is also used to designate a male in a different genealogical position. Thus, someone who is actually a FaBr may be referred to as “father.” If Israel’s kinship system is Crow, what would it mean to read that Amram married his “father’s sister” (Exod 6:20)? Until we analyze the semantical range of each term in light of anthropological evidence and Israel’s social structure, we do not know. We may find that the conundrum that this verse created in biblical scholarship is unwarranted. The LXX offers some clues on how the MT should be read, but for now all usual assumptions must be suspended.

Cross-cultural studies have identified several basic distinctions between relatives to aid in the determination of descriptive and classificatory kinship terminology. If a kin term linguistically fails to meet any one of the criteria, the term will be classificatory, but if all of the criteria are recognized linguistically, a denotative term will result.³⁷ A. L. Kroeber was among the first to recognize eight distinctive characteristics of all kinship terminology.³⁸ Murdock and others have reduced those in

35. *Ibid.*

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, 101.

38. Alfred L. Kroeber, “Classificatory Systems of Relationship,” *JRAI* 39 (1909): 77–85. Kroeber’s eight criteria included whether a person was deceased or living, the difference in age within one generation and sex of the speaker.

number and added *polarity*. There are now six major criteria considered critical for the formation of denotative kinship terms in any language. They are: generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation and polarity.

The criterion *generation* is recognized if the term denotes the generation of the relative whether ascending, descending or the same generation as Ego. An example of a term that recognizes generation would be the English grandfather or the Hebrew FaFa (אב-אב).

The criterion *sex* is recognized if the term indicates the gender of its referent. In English, "cousin" is the only term that does not take into account the sex of the referent. Therefore, in English the term "cousin" is classificatory because one of the six criteria was ignored.

Affinity is recognized if the term indicates whether the relation is consanguineal or affinal. The English term mother-in-law recognizes affinity.

Collaterality is recognized if the distinction between father (a lineal relative) and father's brother is clear in the terminology. In many cultures, noticeably in Australian aboriginal languages, father and father's brother are called by the same term (i.e. one's father's brother is also called "father"). If genealogical closeness is distinguished terminologically, then collaterality has been recognized.³⁹

Bifurcation is recognized when a term indicates the sex of the person through whom the relationship to Ego exists. In English, the term "uncle" ignores bifurcation; it fails to indicate the line through which the uncle is related to Ego, either the maternal line or paternal line. The term for "uncle" in Swedish, *farbror* (father's brother), however, recognizes bifurcation because the term itself indicates the sex of the person through whom Ego has the relationship—that is, through the father.

Polarity indicates that two people constitute a relationship. If two kinspeople address each other by *distinct* terms then polarity is recognized. If they address each other by the *same* term then polarity is *not* recognized and a classificatory term would result. For example, Murdock states that in English polarity is recognized for all terms except the term cousin, that is, cousins refer to each other using the same kin term.⁴⁰

The relative age of the two parties, the speakers' sex and decedance can impact kinship terminology, but these are considered to have less of

39. Aginsky, "Mechanics," 451; Anna Wierzbicka, "Kinship Semantics: Lexical Universals as a Key to Psychological Reality," *Anthropological Linguistics* 29 (1987): 134.

40. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 104. Murdock also notes that two brothers or two sisters use the same terms for each other in English, but this is attributable to other criteria at work. In some cultures, however, brothers and sisters use the exact same terms to refer to each other, hence polarity and sex are ignored.

an influence on terminology than the preceding six criteria. Murdock notes that caution must be exercised in applying these criteria to a kinship system. They are not the final determinants of terminology; rather, one must look for the factors which influence a culture to recognize or reject these concepts.⁴¹ Thus, kinship nomenclature is "closely correlated with culturally patterned norms of behavior toward relatives."⁴²

Before determining the mode of use, linguistic structure and range of application of Hebrew kinship terms, what is known at this stage about Hebrew kinship terminology is presented in a Hebrew nomenclature chart that depicts the genealogical position of Ego to his kin and the corresponding Hebrew kinship terms from Ego's perspective. The exact lexicalization of each term has been reduced to its lowest common denominator in accordance with customary semantic analysis in kinship studies. Even though the textual evidence for a grand-daughter is literally "your daughter's daughter," the principle of reductiveness requires removal of prefixes and suffixes.⁴³ As such, Hebrew kin terms appear in the simplest lexical form.

It is noted also that most of the terms of reference may also be used as terms of address.⁴⁴ That does not mean, however, that a term is automatically classificatory. For example, I may address any older female kin by a descriptive term in English such as "mother" while at the same time knowing that the actual meaning of mother is first ascending female, related by blood, and so on. To judge that "mother" is a classificatory term in English on the basis of its use as a term of address would be an incorrect conclusion because normal use and meaning among English-speaking people places this term in a denotative category that meets all six of the criteria described above.

Again, what is at issue is the actual meaning of a kinship term for an individual in any given culture, regardless of irregular application of that term in practice. That is, what kinship relation does a specific term most often denote when it is used by an agent of a particular society or culture? Kinship systems are distinguished primarily according to the way cousins are treated terminologically. In the diagram that follows, the absence of cousin terms may be indicative of a principle at work in Israel, known by anthropologists, as the social equivalence of siblings and cousins.

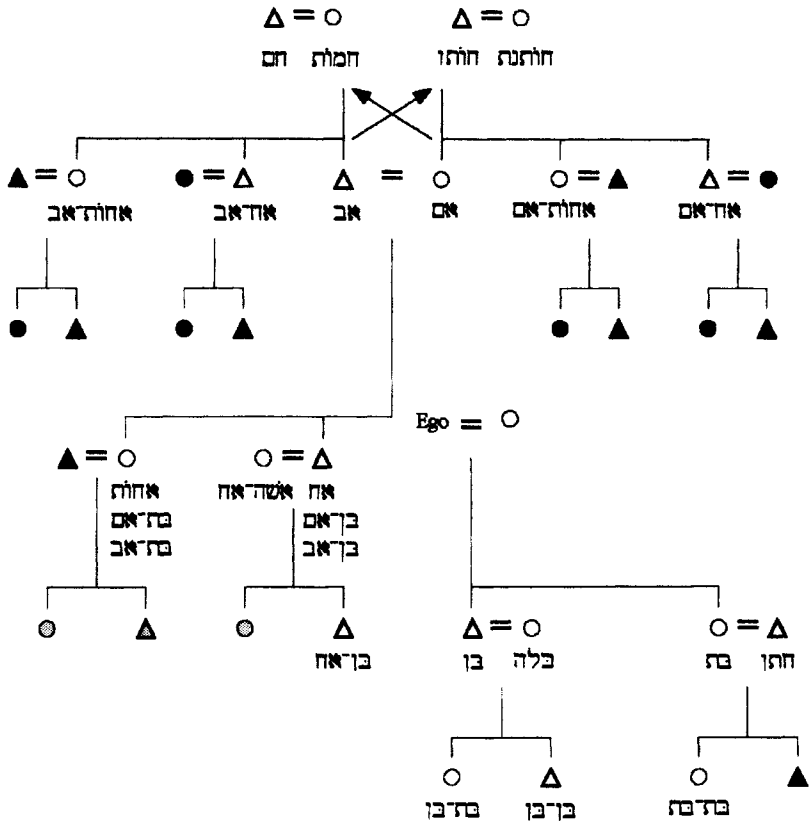
41. *Ibid.*, 106.

42. *Ibid.*, 112.

43. Munro S. Edmonson, "Kinship Terms and Concepts," *American Anthropologist* 59 (1957): 393-432.

44. As is in Ruth 2:22 above.

Chart 1. Hebrew Kinship: Partial Reconstruction



Key:

△ Male

○ Female

= Affinal tie

— Consanguine tie

The Hebrew kinship terminology used throughout this examination was obtained by identifying the Hebrew terms equivalent to the thirty-three or more relationship categories needed to analyze the effective kin network of any given Ego.⁴⁵ A preliminary genealogical reconstruction of these relationships is represented in Chart 1, which provides the Hebrew terms of reference Ego uses for each relationship depicted. The interlocking arrows at the top of the diagram indicate that separate kin terms exist for the in-law relationship, depending on the sex of the speaker. Ego's father addresses his wife's parents with one set of terms and Ego's mother addresses her husband's parents with another set of terms. The same usage would apply for Ego and his/her spouse's in-laws.

Several observations are noteworthy. First, elementary and descriptive terms (terms formed by combining two elementary terms) dominate the typology. Second, several kinship terms are unattested in the Hebrew Bible. The relatives for which no Hebrew kin terms are represented by the grey shading. Certainly the ancient Israelites had terms of reference for these relatives. Given that all of the relatives above for which kin terms are missing appear as characters within biblical narratives, the task is to discern the internal logic which governs their identification with or differentiation from similarly positioned relatives. By doing this, we may derive the missing Hebrew kin term. The intersecting arrows refer to the kin terminology that Ego's parents as well as Ego would use for in-laws. The terms differ depending upon whether the speaker is male or female. All four terms are depicted even though the chart otherwise depicts kin relations from the perspective of any given Ego, in this case a female Ego.⁴⁶

The unattested Hebrew kin terms are FaBrWi, FaSiHu, MoSiHu, MoBrWi, FaBrDa, FaBrSo, FaSiDa, FaSiSo, MoBrDa, MoBrDa, MoSiDa, MoSiSo, BrDa, SiHu, SiDa, SiSo, and DaSo. In English kinship vernacular we would say we are uncertain of the Hebrew terms for maternal or paternal blood or affinal aunt and uncle, cousin, niece or grandson by a daughter. Several terms which may constitute some of the missing terms have been temporarily omitted from this diagram until they can be more fully analyzed—these are דוד, דודה, דודם, דודתם. In light of the anthropological evidence, we cannot blindly assume that the preceding terms for aunt and uncle, sister-in-law and brother-in-law conform to the English kinship typology. That is, there can be no

45. Alan Barnard and Anthony Good, *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship* (London: Academic Press, 1984), 31.

46. This traditional bias is due to a focus on males when ethnographic data on kin terms were originally collected in the field.

certainty that אָבִי or אִמִּי is applicable to just *any* relative in the position of aunt or uncle irrespective of lineage. We must first determine the range of application of these terms. It may be that אָבִי and אִמִּי are only applied to relatives on one side of the family. We simply do not know at this point. Thirdly, the terms for HuMo, HuFa, WiMo, WiFa, SoWi, and DaHu are the only denotative terms noted thus far; it remains to be seen whether the Hebrew terms for “brother”, “sister”, “son” and “daughter” are denotative or classificatory in the Hebrew Bible according to cross-cultural criteria.

Taking into consideration the foregoing discussion, an evaluation of Hebrew kinship terms results in the identification of a number of Hebrew–English equivalencies. Table 1 shows these equivalencies, with a question mark placed in cells for which either the Hebrew or corresponding English equivalent is uncertain.⁴⁷

The range of application, mode of use and linguistic structure of kinship terminology changes only after long periods of time and under specific conditions. Thus, we can be assured that this synchronic analysis of over 3000 kin term occurrences, that controls for post-exilic and poetic texts, also controls for the variability in terminology that may occur within or between books whose antiquity and transmission histories vary. In addition, a synchronic examination of kinship terminology allows us to qualify the Pentateuchal evidence as necessary. We note from the outset that no measurable difference in mode of use, range of application and linguistic structure was observed for any kin term based on source. This is consistent with cross-cultural evidence regarding the stability of kinship terms over time. As Murdock noted, “Of the several major aspects of social structure, kinship terminology reacts very slightly if at all to external influences.”⁴⁸

The first two terms, FaFa and FaMo have no discernible Hebrew equivalent. To designate the Hebrew equivalent of “grandfather” the text simply employs אָבִי which is used 15 times to indicate an ascending lineal relative on the male side. Examples include 1 Kgs 15:11, 24; 2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 28:1 (see discussion of אָבִי below). The third term is descriptive—אָבִי אִמִּי (“mother’s father”); it appears in Gen 28:2 and Judg 9:1. In both passages it is used as a term of reference; its range of application is denotative and its linguistic structure is descriptive in both cases.

47. This table is not exhaustive but contains the principle terms needed for a formal analysis. Terms not attested in the HB will be deduced later.

48. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 201.

Table 1. Hebrew–English Equivalencies

Hebrew Term	English Notation	Mode of Use: Reference/ Address	Linguistic Structure: Elementary/Descriptive/ Derivative	Range of Application: Denotative/ Classificatory
?	FaFa	?	?	?
?	FaMo	?	?	?
אִם אִם ⁴⁹	MoFa	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	MoMo	?	?	?
אִם ⁵⁰	Fa	Reference	Elementary	Denotative
אִם ⁵¹	Ma	Reference	Elementary	Denotative
אִם ⁵²	Br	Reference	Elementary	Classificatory
אִם אִם ⁵³	BrWi	Reference	Descriptive	Classificatory
אִם אִם ⁵⁴	Si	Reference	Elementary	Classificatory
?	SiHu	?	?	?
אִם אִם ⁵⁵	FaDa	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
אִם אִם ⁵⁶	MoDa	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	FaSo	?	?	?

49. Attested twice: Gen 28:2; Judg 9:1.

50. Attested 681 times.

51. Attested 156 times.

52. Attested 222 times.

53. Attested 5 times: Gen 38:8, 9; Lev 18:16; 20:21; Deut 25:7, 9.

54. Attested 94 times.

55. Attested twice: Lev 20:17; Ezek 22:11.

56. Attested twice: Lev 20:17; Ezek 16:45.

מֹסֶסֶ	MoSo	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
פֹּסִי	FaSi	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
פֹּבֵר	FaBr	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
מֹסִי	MoSi	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
מֹבֵר	MoBr	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	FaSiHu	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	FaBrWi	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	MoSiHu	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	MoBrWi	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
?	FaSiSo			
?	FaSiDa			
?	FaBrSo			
?	FaBrDa			
?	MoSiSo			
?	MoSiDa			
?	MoBrSo			
?	MoBrDa			
פֹּסֵ	Da	Reference	Elementary	Denotative
פֹּסֵ	So	Reference	Elementary	Denotative

57. Attested twice: Gen 43:29; Ps 50:20.

58. Attested three times: Exod 6:20; Lev 18:12, 17.

59. Attested three times: Gen 29:12; Lev 18:14; 2 Kgs 24:17.

60. Attested twice: Lev 18:13; 20:19.

61. Attested twice: Gen 28:2; 29:10.

62. Attested 281 times.

63. Attested 1949 times.

	SoWi	Reference	Elementary	Classificatory
קָלָה ⁶⁴		Reference	Elementary	Classificatory
?	DaSo	?	?	?
קָדַח ⁶⁵	DaDa	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
קָדַח ⁶⁶	SoSo	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
קָדַח ⁶⁷	SoDa	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
קָדַח ⁶⁸	BrSo	Reference	Descriptive	Denotative
קָדַח ⁶⁹	WiMo	Reference	Elementary	Denotative
קָדַח ⁷⁰	DaHu	Reference	Elementary	Classificatory
קָדַח ⁷¹	WiFa	Reference	Elementary	Denotative
קָדַח ⁷²	HuFa	Reference	Elementary	Denotative
קָדַח ⁷³	?	Address	n/a	n/a
קָדַח	?	Address	n/a	n/a
קָדַח	?	?	?	?
קָדַח	?	?	?	?

64. Attested 34 times.

65. Attested twice: Lev 18:10, 17.

66. Attested six times: Gen 11:31; 21:23; Exod 10:2; Deut 6:2; Judg 8:22; Jer 27:7.

67. Attested twice: Lev 18:10, 17.

68. Attested twice: Gen 12:5; 14:12.

69. Attested twice: Deut 27:23; Song 3:11.

70. Attested 21 times: Gen 10:9; 19:12; Judg 15:6; 19:5; 1 Sam 18:18; 22:14; 2 Kgs 8:27; Neh 6:18; 13:28; Isa 62:5; Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11; Joel 2:16.

71. Attested nine times: Exod 18:1, 2, 5, 12, 14, 17; Num 10:29; Judg 1:16; 4:11.

72. Attested four times: Gen 38:13, 25; 1 Sam 4:19, 21.

73. Attested 15 times in reference to a specific kinsmen: Lev 10:4; 20:20; 25:49 (twice); Num 36:11; 1 Sam 10:14–16; 14:50; 2 Kgs 24:17;

1 Chr 27:32; Esth 2:7, 15; Amos 6:10; Jer 32:7.

The next term, אב ("father"), is attested 681 times in the Hebrew Bible. Twenty-four of these occurrences are ambiguous. Of the remaining 657 occurrences of אב, 72 percent (470) function as terms of reference for a lineally related male of the first ascending order, that is, "father" in English. In 2 percent of the cases, אב is used as a term of address in direct speech. Ten percent or 63 occurrences are structurally patronymic or teknonymous.

Of the remaining 187 occurrences, 15 are terms of reference for a lineal male of the second or third ascending order (i.e. grandfather or great-great grandfather).⁷⁴ In the case of Isa 58:14, it refers to an even further removed patrilineally related male ancestor. The other 172 occurrences are overwhelmingly used as terms of reference. Because the context is unclear in the legal and prophetic material, it is difficult to determine whether the term is being used in reference to a "father" of the first ascending generation, a previous generation or of male relatives with different genealogical connections. In sum, אב is a term of reference. Its linguistic structure is elementary and its range of application overwhelmingly denotative. That is, אב is a term of reference used to denote a lineally related male blood relative of the first ascending order. The relatively few cases in comparison where it is used in reference to a "grandfather" or "great-grandfather" do not warrant its ascription to the "classificatory" category. If this term were classificatory, it would have to ignore one of the six major criteria. However, in the majority of cases (72%), this term recognizes all six criteria, thus requiring its categorization as a denotative term. Note that, with one exception (Gen 32:9), the few "classificatory" uses of the term occur *outside* of the Pentateuch.

Where אב is used in the classificatory sense it is employed as a term of address to show respect. In such cases, degree of consanguinity is indeterminate because, as a term of address, it may be used in conversation with any ascending lineal or collateral male relative.

The term for "mother" (אם), is attested 156 times. It is always used as a term of reference and never appears as a term of address, though we may presume it is also used in this way. In the Hebrew Bible (hereafter HB), it appears 123 times as a term that denotes a matrilineally related female of the first ascending order. In the remaining instances, this term is used to refer to a matrilineally related female of any ascending generation. Those, however, are exceptional cases. In the majority of cases, each of the six criteria is recognized. Therefore, we classify אם as a term of reference, linguistically elementary and denotative.

74. 1 Kgs 15:11, 24; 22:50; 2 Kgs 14:13; 15:38; 16:2; 18:3; 20:5; 22:2; 1 Chr 9:19; 29:10; 2 Chr 17:3; 28:1; 34:1, 3; Isa 58:14; Ezek 16:3.

The term אָח ("brother") is attested approximately 222 times. In 185 of its occurrences it is a term of reference used to indicate a blood-related male of the same generation. At each occurrence, at least one parent is shared in common. It appears as a term of address in 2 Sam 1:26; 13:12; 20:9 and 1 Kgs 13:30. In 160 of the 185 occasions where it is clearly used as a term of reference, the context offers no way to distinguish a patrilineally related or matrilineally related brother. Thus, in the vast majority of cases, after an initial genealogical connection is established, lineal relationships are not indicated in the term itself; that is, bifurcation is ignored.

Although the term itself does not indicate bifurcation, the authors are able to indicate bifurcation by supplying additional information pertaining to parentage. Bifurcation is demonstrated implicitly (though not in the term itself) in the following cases indicating patrilineally related brothers—Gen 28:5; 29:12; Josh 15:17; Judg 1:13; 21:6; 2 Sam 4:6, 9—and matrilineally related brothers—Gen 43:29; 44:20; Deut 13:6; Judg 9:3, 18; 2 Sam 18:2; 23:18—respectively.

In the remaining 37 occurrences, אָח is used without respect to generation, polarity, bifurcation, affinity, or collaterality. In these instances, it applies to a nephew, neighbor, father's or mother's male relative or any male kin. What this actually represents, however, is its additional use as a term of address for any close or distant male relative. Thus, because the term for "brother" in Hebrew consistently denotes a collaterally blood-related male with at least one parent in common, without indicating which parent is shared, אָח is judged to be an elementary, classificatory term of reference applied to any collaterally or lineally blood-related male. The term for brother's wife appears five times in the Hebrew Bible; it is a descriptive, classificatory term of reference.

The term for "sister" (אָחֹת) is attested 94 times. In about 60 percent of its occurrences there is no indication of bifurcation. All that can be ascertained is that Ego shares at least one parent with someone called אָחֹת. It is not used narratologically as a term of address; however, this does not disqualify its usage from that category also. In a few instances the reference is followed by some indication of specific genealogical connection, either matrilineal (Gen 25:20; 34:13) or patrilineal (Gen 20:12; 28:9; 36:3). Having no clear conception of Israel's kinship system at the moment means that when this term appears in Lev 18 and other jural texts related to incest it escapes clear definition. An important clue to the meaning of אָחֹת within Israel's kinship system is found in Song 4:9, 10, 12 and 5:1, where אָחֹת is used as synonym for בְּלֵה. Eventually, we should be able to discern the internal logic of Israel's kinship system

that leads to the equation of these terms. Therefore, אִחָהּ is a term of reference for any lineally or collaterally blood-related female; it is linguistically elementary and classificatory.⁷⁵

Though attested only a few times each, the next several terms (אִחָהּ, אִחָהּ, אִחָהּ, אִחָהּ, אִחָהּ, אִחָהּ) are easily identified as terms of reference, linguistically descriptive with a denotative range of application. One might ask how can we be sure that the genealogical connection does not extend beyond the first ascending or descending level in each case, thus requiring the label “classificatory.” How do we know that אִחָהּ applies to a father’s daughter and not a grandfather’s daughter? An answer is suggested by the analysis above for “father.” Its predominant use in the HB is denotative. Although אִחָהּ could arguably denote the daughter of someone called father this would most likely be a special case, for example, when describing a female descendant of a male ancestor. Rather, the average Israelite would have known that this term ordinarily refers to only one specific female person, related by blood through one’s “father,” a lineally related male of the first ascending order.

Each of these terms are combinations of elementary denotative terms and classificatory terms. They refer to specific relatives limited by sex, generation and genealogical connection; that is, in combination they are also denotative terms. “Father’s daughter” refers only to Ego’s “sister” related to Ego through Ego’s “father.” Hebrew thus distinguishes between a full sister and half-sister through the use of descriptive kinship terminology.

The term for “daughter” (בַּת) is an elementary kinship term attested 281 times.⁷⁶ It is used as a term of reference 143 times and as a term of address in eight cases. Of the remaining 138 occurrences, 79 appear in poetic texts wherein בַּת is used metaphorically; and in 59 instances it is unclear whether or not בַּת refers to a lineally related descending female. For example, in Gen 34:14, Simeon and Levi refer to their *sister* as בַּת and in Ruth 2:8 Naomi refers to her son’s wife as בַּת. In the jural texts it is not readily evident whether בַּת is being used as a term of address or term of reference, though we may be able to weigh in on this more conclusively later. Due to the metaphorical use of lexemes in poetic verse, occurrences of בַּת in poetic texts should not be included in the total count. In the remaining occurrences, בַּת is a term of reference for a lineally related descending female relative in 143 out of 201 occurrences.

75. For a literary analysis that arrives at similar conclusions, see Rhonda Jean Burnette-Bletch, *My Bone and My Flesh: The Agrarian Family in Biblical Law* (Ph.D diss., Duke University, 1998), 58.

76. Plural forms omitted.

All six of the major criteria for denotative terms are recognized and thus דב is an elementary denotative term of reference for a lineally related descending female.

A lineally related descending male is known as בן . This term occurs 1949 times in the HB. Its mode of use and its range of application has been so well researched that we do not need to examine all occurrences. At the outset we might assume that it is a classificatory term because it so frequently and consistently fails to indicate the criteria of generation in certain contexts. In some passages, בן refers to a son, a grandson, a lineal or collateral descendant. It is arguably applicable to either sex when it appears lexically as בן־אִשׁ . Omitting biblical poetry, in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets, the term בן occurs 932 times. It is a term of reference to a lineally related male one generation descending in 896 instances. In six cases, it occurs as a descriptive term for grandson in the construction בן־בן . In thirty-two occurrences it is used as a term of address. As indicated by 896 unambiguous references to a lineally related descending male of one generation down, בן must be classed as an elementary denotative kinship term.

To express the relation "son-in-law," we might expect the descriptive term daughter's husband or אִשׁ־בַּת . Yet, this expression does not occur anywhere in the HB, perhaps because such a term would fail to signify a relationship between males. The term translated as son-in-law or bridegroom is דָּוָן , and it occurs twenty-one times in the HB in noun form. Although it is ordinarily translated as son-in-law or bridegroom there is no clear warrant for the English son-in-law or bridegroom as the semantical equivalent of דָּוָן .⁷⁷ Only in Gen 19:14 is דָּוָן explicitly referred to as DaHu (someone who took a daughter).⁷⁸ Biblical scholars have thus concluded that דָּוָן was a term implying affinity only.⁷⁹ Assuming that some form of cousin marriage was preferred in Israel,⁸⁰ דָּוָן is more likely equivalent to the English "nephew" with respect to the genealogical position it represents.

Nephew is a possible semantical equivalent when we take into consideration that kinship terms are primarily jural in meaning. The term son-in-law (i.e. son-by-law) in English kinship terminology may be analogous to דָּוָן if we are guided by the supposition that DaHu is only

77. T. C. Mitchell, "The Meaning of the Noun HTN in the Old Testament," *VT* 19 (1969): 93–112.

78. In Judg 15:6 and 1 Sam 18:18, DaHu as an affinal relationship is implicit.

79. Francis Brown et al., *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907), 368.

80. Victor P. Hamilton, "Marriage," *ABD* 4:559–69 (563).

an affinal relative, as in the American Eskimo system. We know from cross-cultural studies, however, that a relationship that has a status similar to that of a father-son relationship occurs between father and "son-in-law" when DaHu is also a kinsman.⁸¹ The Hebrew term בן־חמ and its cognates suggest that the same principle is at work here.

A look at a few cognates is instructive. In Ugaritic bnt means "to marry." The Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew verb בָּחַן , namely خَتَن , means "to circumcise." The masculine noun form denotes any male, related by marriage to a male Ego, through a wife or female relation (i.e. brother-in-law). Clearly, an affinal connection is indicated, yet we must examine the social context implied by circumcision.

The ritual of circumcision signifies kinship. Someone referred to as בן־חמ inherits the jural rights and obligations of a kinsmen uniquely expressed in the covenant of circumcision.⁸² Thus, the circumcision of males signifies both descent and alliance; it provides an outward expression of the obligations particular to that status. Through circumcision, all the rights and privileges pertaining to lineal males inures to those who are so initiated.⁸³ As an expression of covenant, it binds lineal males to affinal males in a mutually cooperative unit (the lineage or sib). The relative denoted by בן־חמ must be consistent with both the ritual of circumcision and the kinship system in which circumcision occurs.

Given a preference for cousin marriage in ancient Israel, בן־חמ , as a participial form, indicates "the one who circumcised" and בן־חמ as a noun indicates "the circumcised one," referring technically to the relationship between father and son and vicariously to the relationship between uncle and nephew when Ego marries his cousin. Why is this? Because in social structures where cousin marriage is the practice, a nephew becomes *like* a son, all things being held equal. In Israel, circumcision prefigures the expected uncle-nephew/DaHu relationship from birth. It signifies those to whom women may be wed. Upon marriage to his daughter, Ego's nephew is given the rights of a son and inherits or has access to Ego's wealth. Ego's son likewise becomes as a son to Ego's brother. It is

81. Fuad I. Khuri, "Parallel Cousin Marriage Reconsidered: A Middle Eastern Practice that Nullifies the Effects of Marriage on the Intensity of Family Relationships," *Man* N.S. 5 (1970): 597-618.

82. Harvey E. Goldberg, "Cambridge in the Land of Canaan: Descent, Alliance, Circumcision, and Instruction in the Bible," *JANES* 24 (1997): 9-34.

83. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, "The Fruitful Cut: Circumcision and Israel's Symbolic Language of Fertility, Descent and Gender," in *The Savage in Judaism: An Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 141-76 (164).

interesting to note that in Ugaritic text 1099 (lines 20, 23 and 27) someone referred to as $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ receives rations of various provisions.⁸⁴

The designation of $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ as a kin term for daughter's husband or son-in-law may not adequately express the genealogical position indicated. A review of the literary contexts associated with $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ also indicates that the English equivalent of $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ is more properly understood as "nephew" at some point. Relationships between males are key. If men are moving into the homes of origin of their wives, then the marriage rule is most likely endogamous (cousin marriage) and the residential rule would be ambilocal, avunculocal or matrilocal.⁸⁵ Women stay; men move and eventually inherit the property of their "circumcisers" (or uncles). This arrangement is clearly suggested by the post-marital residence of men in Exod 4:18; Gen 12:4; 28:5; 2 Kgs 8:27. Genesis 19:12 also suggests avunculocality. Thus, in light of the practice of cousin marriage, the English equivalent of $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ may be "nephew." With respect to the six criteria for determining whether a term is classificatory or descriptive, $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ recognizes polarity, generation, affinity and collaterality. Bifurcation is not recognized. Therefore, $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ is a term of reference for a lineally descending male related by blood through a sibling; it is linguistically elementary and classificatory. If this assessment of its etymology is correct, its classificatory status accounts for the fact that it applies to anyone in the genealogical position of nephew or anyone who is accorded the status of a nephew in an endogamous community, such as a son-in-law.

The term $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ occurs thirty-four times in the HB as a feminine noun. Its semantic range includes betrothed, son's wife and a loved wife. The root $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ may mean "closed in one." In literary context, it fails to denote generation, collaterality, polarity or bifurcation. It recognizes affinity and sex only and therefore must be categorized as an elementary classificatory term of reference for an affinally related female. The descriptive term of reference $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ appears twice in the HB. It recognizes all six criteria and is therefore a denotative kinship term. The same conclusions apply to $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ (SoSo) and $\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{h}}$ (SoDa). Oddly enough, there is no kinship term attested in the HB for DaSo. What in Israel's social structure accounts for the absence of such a term given that there are multiple DaSo's mentioned in the HB? Is another kin term being used for this genealogical position, and if so, what does this suggest about ancient Israelite social structure? At the completion of this study, some answers will be offered.

84. Cyrus Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr 38; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), 234.

85. See section on Residence Rules.

חַתָּן and חַתָּןָּ are the terms of reference for wife's mother and wife's father respectively. In each occurrence these terms denote first ascending lineal relatives on the wife's side. They recognize generation, affinity, polarity, collaterality and sex and bifurcation; therefore, they are to be categorized as denotative kinship terms. חַתָּן occurs twice in the HB (Ruth 2:11; 3:17) to denote the HuMo. This is a kin term that recognizes bifurcation, affinity, generation, collaterality, sex and polarity. It is therefore a denotative term. Its parallel term חַתָּןָּ (HuFa) is attested four times (Gen 38:13, 25; 1 Sam 4:19, 21). It is used as a term of reference to a husband's father. In Arabic, it may refer to any male relation of a husband (father, brother, paternal uncle). In Hebrew, however, the limited evidence suggests its usage in relation to husband's father only. Thus, it is a term used only by women in addressing a first ascending lineal male related through the husband. The term recognizes all six criteria and is therefore classed as denotative.

The remaining four kinship terms are not descriptive. It is difficult to determine the relative indicated especially given the literary contexts in which these terms appear. For example, in each of the occurrences of דָּוָד one could use "beloved" as an English equivalent instead of "uncle" and maintain a lexically sound reading and interpretation of the text. The root דָּו occurs 57 times in the HB as a masculine noun not including the construction דָּוִדָּדָּ which refers to a different kinsperson. It is used to describe a father's brother (15 times), beloved (33 times) and loved ones (9 times). Thus, in the Hebrew, it is inconclusive that דָּו is a term of reference for the kinsman father's brother. It could just as well be read "relative" or "loved one." In the Greek, the phrase τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ("brother of the father") or the term ὁ πατράδελφος (father's brother) clarifies the genealogical position suggested by דָּו in (Lev 10:4; 25:49; 1 Chr 27:32; Esth 2:7, 15; Jer 32:7). In 1 Sam 10:14–16, the Greek equivalent is ὁ οἰκέιος (member of the household). A descriptive kinship term for cousin appears in Num 36:11 in the LXX. Here, the masculine plural suffixed form of דָּו is translated τοῖς ἀνεψιοῖς ("cousin"). In 1 Sam 14:40 we find דָּו used as the term of reference for a relative of Saul who is genealogically Saul's grandfather (1 Chr 9:39). The most we can say about the genealogical connection indicated by usage is that דָּו is a term of *address* for a male on the father's side. It recognizes sex and bifurcation. It does not, however, appear to recognize polarity, generation, affinity or collaterality. Because only terms of *reference* signify the politico-jural domain of kinship, דָּו cannot not be used in our analysis of Israel's kinship system, as indicated by the designation "N/A" in Table 1.

The kin term דְּוִדָּה occurs 3 times in the HB. Its semantic range in Hebrew includes wife of the father's brother (Lev 18:14; 20:20) and father's sister (Exod 6:20). In Lev 18, דְּוִדָּה is not used in reference to a mother's sister. The unusual marriage of Amram to דְּוִדָּה , a union prohibited in Lev 18:12, may not seem so unusual if we rely on the Greek Leviticus, the slavishly literal *Vorlage* of the MT. In the Greek, Exod 6:20 translates דְּוִדָּה as $\text{θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ}$ (daughter of the brother of his father), which would mean that Amram married his paternal cousin. If דְּוִדָּה (like דְּוִד) is a term of address for any "beloved" female on the father's side, the Hebrew redactor would not need to state the actual genealogical tie. Given the social context of the compiler, it would be obvious that Amram did not marry his paternal aunt. The absence of narratological censure may indicate that an acceptable marriage was being signified. At this point, we note that דְּוִדָּה fails to observe the criteria that would establish it as a denotative term. Therefore, we designate it a classificatory term of *address* for a female related through the father's side. Like דְּוִד , it will not be used in this typology because it is not a term of reference.

דָּוָד occurs three times in the HB. As a verb it appears to refer to taking a brother's wife (Deut 25:7; 38:8). As a masculine noun it occurs twice meaning "lord of sister" (Deut 25:5, 7). It may also fall within the semantic range of דָּוָד , a post-biblical masculine noun meaning "heaped-up treasures," or an adjective meaning "familiar"; it also falls within the semantic range of wife's sister's husband, brother-in-law, brothers and brothers-in-law, that is, two brothers having married two sisters.⁸⁶

דְּוִדָּה is a feminine noun defined as "sister-in-law."⁸⁷ It appears five times in the HB (Deut 25:7 [twice], 9; Ruth 1:15 [twice]). As previously noted, the meaning of the root דָּוָד is uncertain. Caution in accepting the definitions provided for דָּוָד and דְּוִדָּה is necessary until the anthropological evidence has been examined in light of the biblical text. One may be able to deduce its meaning after more of the constituent elements of Israel's kinship system have been identified.

With the range of application of Israel's kinship terminology in view, we survey the Pentateuch for textual evidence of Israel's preferred form of marriage, rules of residence and principles of descent. Each of these is a component of kinship systems. Identifying each practice and its impact on Hebrew kinship terminology enables us to test and adjust the results

86. Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaic Press, 1992), 240.

87. Brown et al., "דָּוָד," in *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 386.

above, to narrow the field of possibilities from six kinship systems to one by proposing a synthetic arrangement of the constituent elements of Israel's kinship system that justifies our results in light of cross-cultural evidence.

Chapter 5

PREFERRED MARRIAGE, POST-MARITAL RESIDENCE AND DESCENT IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

Preferred Forms of Marriage

In light of the fact that marriage rules are responsible for ensuring the consistent spatial arrangement of similar relatives within a household, which in turn impacts kinship terminology, an examination of marriage rules in the HB is requisite to continuing a discussion of Israel's kinship system. Though several forms of marriage may be found in a culture, only the preferred first-marriage types influence the range of application and function of kinship terminology.¹ For example, where sororal polygyny is the predominant marriage rule, the extension of the kin term for Mo often applies to MoSi, that is, they are called by the same referential term.² Consequently, where sororal polygyny is practiced, an incest taboo for mother would apply to MoSi (maternal aunt) as well. A direct causal relationship is not expressed between marriage rules and kin terms, but marriage rules are generally believed to influence kin terms.³ The levirate would not be considered a preferred form of marriage in ancient Israel because (1) it is applicable only to second marriages and (2) cross-cultural evidence demonstrates that this form of marriage is rarely achieved due to ecological limitations.⁴

The kinship focus of Genesis in particular and the Pentateuch in general is unmistakable.⁵ Whether kinship genealogies and narratives

1. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 123.

2. *Ibid.*, 143.

3. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 140.

4. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 123, 177. See also Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 263–64.

5. Carol Meyers, "The Family in Early Israel," in *Families in Ancient Israel* (ed. L. G. Perdue, J. Blenkinsopp, J. J. Collins, C. Meyers; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 1–47; Steinberg, *Kinship and Marriage*; Athalya Brenner, ed., *Genesis* (FCTB, NS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, repr. 1997); Prewitt, "Kinship Structures"; Mara Donaldson, "Kinship Theory in the Patriarchal Narratives: The Case of the Barren Wife," *JAAR* 49 (1981): 77–87.

imply putative relationships or reflect actual remembered relationships, cross-cultural evidence indicates that kinship narratives, and genealogies in particular, depict actual lineages, social arrangements and ideological interests.⁶ An example would be the recurrent *וּלְדָוִד* headings in Genesis, which demonstrate an intent to establish the royal line from Adam to Judah.⁷ Therefore, in an examination of marriages in the Pentateuch both genealogies and narratives must be scrutinized for clues about actual or preferred marriage practices in Israel. We look only at those passages where ethnicity and/or lineal connections are textually clear in relation to marriage. Given that marriage rules are found in every culture, an inductive analysis is expected to make Israel's marriage rule intelligible.

Though no singular definition adequately expresses the variations and particularities in ideology and ritual associated with "marriage," which is variously considered in one case a contract and in another a sacred covenant, the search for a marriage rule requires a definition that will suffice for cross-cultural comparison. This will assist us later as we distinguish between incest and marriage rules in the biblical text.

In the *History of Marriage*, Edward Westermarck defined marriage as a social institution involving "a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it."⁸ Murdock considered marriage as the instrument whereby normative behavior in the family is established in relation to common residence, cooperation and reproduction.⁹ A definition of marriage general enough to include practically all forms of marriage observed is provided by E. Kathleen Gough. She defines marriage as a "relationship established between a *woman* and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full

6. Rendsburg, "Internal Consistency"; Ian Cunnison, "History and Genealogy in a Conquest State," *American Anthropologist* 59 (1957): 20–31; for a discussion of the importance of assessing the function of genealogies within their particular socio-political contexts, see the comparative analysis of Mark Chavalas, "Genealogical History as 'Charter': A Study of Old Babylonian Period Historiography and the Old Testament," in *Faith, Tradition and History* (ed. A. R. Millard et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 103–28.

7. T. D. Alexander, "Genealogies, Seed and the Compositional Unity of Genesis," *TynBul* 44 (1993): 255–70. See also Robert R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research," *JBL* 94 (1975): 169–89.

8. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, 1:26.

9. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 1.

birth status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum."¹⁰

Unlike that of Westermarck, Gough's definition does not specify marriage as that which occurs between males and females. Consequently, its cross-cultural descriptive value is somewhat limited inasmuch as the definition implies regularity for a minority of unions that appear for adaptive purposes in unusual circumstances.¹¹ Despite this weakness, the strength of Gough's definition of marriage is that it accounts for a larger number of marriage forms, namely, monogamy, polygyny and polyandry. As such, her definition will be employed. With respect to the distribution of the major forms of marriage, the Western industrial form of marriage, monogamy, is unusual, constituting a relatively constant 17 percent of all types of marriage even since Murdock's 1949 sample.¹²

Marriages can also be classified according to the relative statuses of the marrying parties either as isogamous or anisogamous with two variants: hypergamy and hypogamy.¹³ These, however, are not major considerations for our discussion because they do not represent preferred marriage forms that materially impact kinship terms. The predominant form of legally sanctioned marriage in general and in particular is polygamy. Polygamy takes two forms. One of these forms, polyandry, is rarely attested and represents less than one percent of all marriages. Where it does occur (among the Nayars and Todas of India, and Marquesans of Polynesia), polyandry represents a kind of solidarity for the sibling group, that is, brothers share a wife.¹⁴ Polygyny is the predominant form of marriage representing 83 per cent of all types of marriage.¹⁵ Polygynous marriages may be sororal or non-sororal.¹⁶ Some scholars have defined Israel's marriage practices in these terms. Neither fraternal

10. E. Kathleen Gough, "The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage," in *Marriage, Family and Residence* (ed. Paul Bohannon and John Middleton; Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1968), 68.

11. For example, ghost marriage, marriage between two women and polyandrous polygamy, wherein a mother has a ritual husband, several lovers and the notion of fatherhood is lacking for children of the lovers and no legal or biological issues pertain.

12. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 62. See also Fox, *Reproduction and Succession*, 33.

13. Isogamy equals marriage between equals; the converse is anisogamy. Hypergamy is a form of marrying someone in a wealthier socio-economic class, and hypogamy is a form of marrying someone in a lower socio-economic class.

14. Leach, "Polyandry, Inheritance and the Definition of Marriage," in Bohannon and Middleton, eds., *Marriage, Family and Residence*, 74.

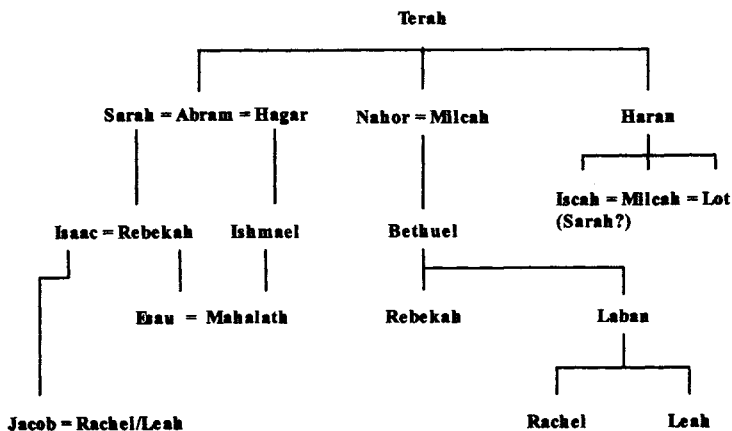
15. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 62.

16. A form of marriage wherein a man takes two or more sisters as co-wives.

polyandry nor sororal polygyny, however, should be used to describe societies when the sororate or levirate is “occasional or incidental, but only when they are common or genuinely preferred.”¹⁷

The conditions under which various forms of marriage are expected to emerge vary. In the case of polyandry, high female infanticide or increased numbers of migrating women have been offered as possible reasons for the development of this form of marriage.¹⁸ In the case of polygyny it is suggested that high male mortality and/or post-partum sex taboos influence this adaptation. With respect to ancient Israel, we suspect that just before the establishment of the monarchy a high infant mortality rate in conjunction with wars, famines and plagues placed an added burden on the procreative activities of women.¹⁹ It appears that the ecological and social environment of ancient Israel was conducive to the adaptation of polygynous marriage forms. There is, however, no evidence in the material or textual evidence from Israel that polyandry was practiced, though there is sufficient evidence to conclude that lineal exogamy was discouraged and clan endogamy, particularly lineage endogamy, was preferred in Israel. A family tree of Terah's descendants is provided below to facilitate the discussion.

Figure 7. *Terah's Family Tree*



17. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 29.

18. Melvin Ember, “Warfare, Sex Ratio, and Polygyny,” in Ember and Ember, eds., *Marriage, Family and Kinship*, 109–24 (122).

19. Carol Meyers, “The Roots of Restriction: Women in Early Israel,” *BA* 41 (1978): 91–103.

There are only seven marriages in the Pentateuch which provide sufficient kinship information about each character to suggest a preferred marriage form: Milcah–Nahor (Gen 11:29); Sarah–Abraham (Gen 12:13; 20:12); Rebekah–Isaac (Gen 24:4); Mahalath–Esau (Gen 28:9); Leah–Jacob–Rachel (Gen 29:30); Aaron–Elisheba (Exod 6:23); and Amram–Jochebed (Exod 6:20). A structural analysis of each union follows.

Milcah–Nahor (Gen 11:29). Milcah is daughter of Nahor's brother Haran. This constitutes marriage to BrDa or uncle–niece marriage.

Abraham–Sarah (Gen 12:13; 20:12). The relationship between Sarah and Abraham has been addressed with a pointed interest in Abraham's claim that Sarah is his sister.²⁰ Gunkel asserted that the second telling of the story recast the explanation "daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother" as a "mental reservation" rather than a lie.²¹ Yet, this emended collocation neither addresses the "lie" nor the King's question posed by Abimelech in Gen 20: "Why did you not tell me she is your wife? Why did you say 'She is my sister'?"

During the early decades of the twentieth century, evidence of wife–sister adoption in the Nuzi texts was used to explain the wife–sister episodes in Genesis;²² however, this theory fell under the weight of additional scrutiny.²³ According to Westermann, the emendation in Gen 20 is the narrator's attempt to show that Abraham was at least partly in the right because brother–sister marriage was not yet forbidden. He cites 2 Sam 13:13 as evidence that brother/half-sister marriage was "a practice from the early period which was not forbidden."²⁴ Given that the narrator did not leave an editorial mark of censorship in Gen 12, Firestone

20. Firestone, "Prophethood, Marriageable Consanguinity"; Robert Polzin, "The Ancestress of Israel in Danger," *Semeia* 3 (1975): 81–98. David L. Petersen, "A Thrice-told Tale: Genre, Theme and Motif," *BR* 18 (1973): 30–43. See also the work of Donaldson and Steinberg.

21. Hermann Gunkel, *The Stories of Genesis* (ed. William R. Scott; trans. of 3d ed. by John J. Scullion; Oakland: BIBAL, 1994), 84.

22. Ephraim A. Speiser, "The Wife–Sister Motif in the Patriarchal Narratives," in *Biblical and Other Studies* (ed. Alexander Altmann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1963), 15–28.

23. Samuel Greengus, "Sisterhood Adoption at Nuzi and the 'Wife–Sister' in Genesis," *HUCA* 46 (1975): 5–31.

24. Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary* (trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 326. For a socio-economic explanation of the recurring wife–sister narratives, see James K. Hoffmeier, "The Wives Tales of Genesis 12, 20 and 26 and the Covenants at Beer-Sheba," *TynBul* 43 (1992): 81–99. Hoffmeier interprets these passages in light of the Nuzi texts and finds evidence of diplomatic marriage arrangements for the purpose of securing safe passage or well rights.

correctly observes that the "Genesis 12 rendition exhibited no need to explain or apologize for Abraham's acts."²⁵

We are still left to wonder what would account for the emendation in Gen 20. The study of kinship systems provides a clue. Viewed through a structural alignment of kinship terminology that produces terminology equating parallel cousins to siblings, Abraham was indeed married to his sister, who was daughter of his father and not daughter of his mother. The proper articulation of the function of kinship terms ensures the proper articulation of meaning. The emendation was not supplied to justify prevarication. Another motive was at work. The emendation explains that Abraham did not err by marrying his "sister" because he married the *correct* "sister," namely a descendant of Terah. It has been demonstrated that the term אִשְׁתּוֹ is classificatory. Following the Targum and MT, Abraham would be married to either his father's brother's daughter or his brother's daughter (BrDa) respectively. In the latter case, Sarah would be Abraham's niece.

Firestone argues that it is unlikely that Sarah is Abraham's niece because linguistically she is referred to as the "daughter" of his father.²⁶ In kinship systems where parallel cousins and siblings are terminologically equated and therefore *classificatory* in range of application, however, Ego's father often refers to his descendants' children with the same terminology he uses to refer to his own children. *The rule of equivalence* dictates that "two people who call a third person by the same term should be siblings to each other, and the *rule of uniform reciprocals* dictates that if A and B are terms used between a pair of relatives, then the reciprocal of every A must be B."²⁷ Abraham and his brother (Nahor) both refer to Terah as father; Abraham would refer to Terah's brother as father's brother (FaBr); and Terah would refer to sons' children as son's-sons and son's-daughters; they in turn would refer to Terah as FaFa. In normal discourse, however, we would expect a descriptive term of *reference* SoSo or SoDa to be substituted with a simple term of *address*. In this case, Terah would *address* his grandchildren simply as "sons" and "daughters," and they would *address* him simply as "father." Hence, Abraham, speaking from his father's (Terah's) genealogical position, would say of Sarah, "she is my father's daughter," which could refer to either of the following genealogical positions: FaDa, FaBrDa, FaSoDa

25. Firestone, "Prophethood, Marriageable Consanguinity," 335.

26. *Ibid.*, 339.

27. Sol Tax, "Some Problems of Social Organization," in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes* (ed. Fred Eggan; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 20.

(i.e. Abraham's full-sister, cousin or niece). Each of these relatives is someone whom Terah would *address* as "daughter"; and Abraham could *address* as "sister."²⁸

Though addressing any kinswoman as תּוֹחָה certainly fits within its classificatory usage, under usual circumstances, we would expect a male to *refer* to a niece as BrDa or to *address* her as BrDa or Da. According to Firestone, the Palestinian Targum recognizes this explicitly in its emendation of Gen 20. It clarifies that Abraham married his FaBrDa.²⁹ Thus, the Palestinian Targum clarified what anthropologists distinguished a millennium later, that *terms of address* do not always signify precise biological ties and can lead to confusion in written form. The compiler of Gen 12 shows Abraham to be quick witted when he uses the classificatory nature of some kin terms to fool Pharaoh *without* lying.

Abraham's use of trickery to serve selfish needs is clear. By using תּוֹחָה in its classificatory sense, as a term of address for a kinswoman, he protects himself from any danger that would be caused by acknowledging Sarah's affinal position to him as wife. The practice of marrying a sister/cousin is well documented in the anthropological literature. Where cousin marriage is practiced, "when one marries a close cousin, one speaks of 'marrying a sister.'"³⁰

Applying cognitive dissonance theory, it is highly *unlikely* that a compiler would have experienced cognitive dissonance in relation to the wife-sister plot in Gen 12. The lexical field for "sister" was clear to the compiler, and the regulations against full-sister marriage have been shown to be universal with few exceptions. No one would enter into or observe such a marriage.³¹ Furthermore, the emendation itself fails to relieve any dissonance. If the problem of Gen 12 was related to an incestuous union, the change in Gen 20 created more of a problem. Instead, Gen 20 relieves the cognitive dissonance created by the possibility that Abraham married the wrong תּוֹחָה, that is, a kinswoman outside of his father's lineage.

28. It should be noted that Abraham (like his father) could *address* a niece as "daughter."

29. Firestone, "Prophethood, Marriageable Consanguinity," 338.

30. Mohamed Wassel, "The Ethnological Structure of the Middle East with Reference to: 1) The Endogamous Kinship System: Father's Brother's-Daughter's marriage, 2) Polygyny and the Status of Women," *Hamdard Islamicus* 8 (1985): 41-54.

31. Though we do not address ANE laws fully here, we see examples of the sister prohibition in numerous places including Hittite diplomatic texts. See Gary Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 31. For a complete treatment of incest in ancient Near Eastern laws, see Lafont, *Femmes*.

In the first account (Gen 12) Abraham was depicted as a genius who used the ambiguity of a term of reference to his advantage (Sarah's disadvantage). By adding the explanation "She is my sister, daughter of my father, not the daughter of my mother..." to Gen 20, however, the compiler has moved the symbolic field of meaning away from incest toward correct marriage form. In one emendation in the MT, the redactor affirms that it is correct to take a descendant of one's father for a wife, but *not* a descendant of one's mother. It is likely that the MT preserves the original story because the versions expand the MT by providing exact genealogical positions. Why this occurred cannot be fully explored here. Preliminarily, I would suggest that a change in social structure in the late Iron Age impacted the range of application of kin terms necessitating a clarification of the MT in the versions.

Neither the MT, LXX nor Palestinian Targum indicate that Abraham has to account for the use of trickery or an incestuous union;³² however, he must account for the possibility that he married incorrectly. In the emendation of Gen 20, we see the larger instructive agenda of the MT redactor at work.

The MT makes it clear that Abraham married correctly by marrying a descendant of his father. The versions explain that this was either a niece (following the Palestinian Targum Gen 12) or a parallel cousin (following LXX or Targum Gen 20), both of whom, according to our analysis, Abraham would *address* as sister. The repetition of the fact that Sarah was Abraham's אשת אביו (Gen 20:12) makes it clear that incest was not a concern in the MT. Thus, a proper understanding of the function of kinship terms leads to a proper articulation of meaning. The absence of narratological censure gives weight to the conclusion that embedded kinship structures were at work, and uncle-niece or parallel cousin marriage was consistent with the ideological expectation of redactors. In fact, it appears that the emendation to the wife-sister plot in Gen 20 was used to reinscribe the legitimacy of cousin marriage and to strengthen the expectation for lineage endogamy through males.

Rebekah-Isaac (Gen 24:4). Rebecca is daughter of Bethuel, son of Nahor, brother of Abraham. This constitutes FaBrSoDa marriage or parallel cousin marriage.

Mahalath-Esau (Gen 28:9). In an evaluation of FaBrDa marriage in Gen 11-50, Nathaniel Wander notes the difficulty of accounting for Esau being "read out" of the saga without postulating a psychoanalytic

32. While the translations that provide exact genealogical positions may hint at a concern with incest, the MT indicates no concern with incest.

solution to the symbolism of Rebekah's disunified twins.³³ The solution to the conundrum is probably much more mundane and again relates to proper marriage.

Esau's first marriage to Hittite wives (Gen 26:34, 35) embittered Isaac and Rebekah. To win his parents affections, he contracted a correct marriage with his father's brother's daughter, the daughter of Ishmael (Hagar's son). In the genealogy of Gen 36:1-6, however, Mahalath³⁴ is virtually unrecognized.³⁵

This apparent slight to Mahalath accents the editor's interest in showing the futility of Esau's strategy to win favor with Isaac and Rebekah. Even though the marriage between Esau and Mahalath constituted FaBrDa marriage, if it were correct, we would expect progeny. As Sharon Pace Jeanson notes, "fertility is always associated with blessing throughout the Hebrew Bible."³⁶ Yet, the genealogy of Genesis indicates that their union was infertile—a clear indication of disfavor with the deity. The instructive value of Esau's story is that FaBrDa is a correct marriage *only* when FaBr is a descendant of a correct wife. The implication is that a correct wife is a fellow kinswoman. Hagar's descendant (Mahalath) could not contribute to the family line, and Esau's marriage was incorrect and therefore childless.

Leah-Jacob-Rachel (Gen 29:30). Jacob marries two sisters—the daughters of Laban, his mother's brother. The use of this pericope to instruct in proper marriage forms has been noted by Donaldson who concludes that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is preferred.³⁷ At first glance one might consider these matrilateral cross-cousin marriages or MoBrDa marriage. Guided by a Straussian analysis, Donaldson examines the patriarchal narratives synchronically and concludes that Jacob's matrilateral cross-cousin marriages represent an ideal form of marriage that has emerged from the too close marriages of incest (Abraham-Sarah), parallel cousin marriage (Isaac-Rebekah) and patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (Jacob-Leah-Rachel) and crystallizes in the preferred

33. Nathaniel Wander, "Structure, Contradiction and 'Resolution' in Mythology: Father's Brother's Father Marriage and the Treatment of Women in Genesis 11-50," *JANES* 13 (1981): 97.

34. Typically presumed to be Basemath in the Genealogy, although this is unlikely since Gen 28 suggests that Mahalath is not Canaanite, and Gen 36 identifies Basemath as a Canaanite.

35. Mahalath is indirectly acknowledged as "the sister of Nebaioth." Taking note of the sources, P makes no attempt to harmonize the accounts.

36. Sharon Pace Jeanson, *The Women of Genesis: From Sarah to Potiphar's Wife* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 78.

37. Donaldson, "Kinship Theory," 78.

form with Jacob and Leah. The promise of descendants and the barrenness of the matriarchs is central to her reading.³⁸ The matriarchs' barrenness is viewed as symbolic of the incorrectness of the marriages until Jacob's matrilineal cross-cousin marriage with Leah completes the cycle.³⁹ When viewed through the mother's side, the Isaac–Rebekah/Jacob–Leah–Rachel marriages are also matrilineal cross-cousin marriages which “mediate the extremes of incest and exogamy”.⁴⁰ She also asserts that these marriages stand in stark contrast to Abraham's marriage to Hagar which represents an exogamic move too far away from the patrilineage.

The difficulty with this reading is threefold. First, the matriarchs' barrenness is overcome in each instance. Therefore, there is little support for the conclusion that the fertility of Leah compared to Rachel is “because of her matrilineal cross-cousin relationship to Jacob.”⁴¹ This is an unusual hypothesis in as much as Rachel and Leah stand in the same genealogical position to Jacob. Second, reliance upon Levi-Strauss' theory of generalized exchange wherein MoBrDa marriage (matrilineal cross-cousin marriage) establishes a complex cycle of alliances and creates harmony does not fit the textual evidence. The reason we can find a matrilineal cross-cousin is because of the lineal fusion caused by repeated marriages to father's brother's female descendants.⁴² Therefore, matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is a consequence of bilateral endogamy, not a marriage rule in itself. Third, matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is rare and it is “almost nonexistent in bilateral societies” such as Israel.⁴³ For matrilineal cross-cousin marriage to constitute the preferred marriage form, Donaldson would need to explain why its effect on kin propinquity is not reflected in Israel's kinship terminology. I would argue that the Jacob–Leah–Rachel marriage constitutes FaFaBrSoSoDa marriage, a parallel cousin marriage.⁴⁴

Elisheba–Aaron (Exod 6:23). Elisheba is Amminadab's daughter. Amminadab is a descendant of Judah, brother of Levi. Thus, Aaron and Elisheba are parallel cousins.

38. *Ibid.*, 82.

39. *Ibid.*, 83.

40. *Ibid.*, 84.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Khuri, “Parallel Cousin Marriage Reconsidered.”

43. David E. Eyde and Paul M. Postal, “Avunculocality and Incest: The Development of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage and Crow-Omaha Kinship Systems,” *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 747–71.

44. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 74.

Jochebed–Amram (Exod 6:20). At first glance, the union of Amram to his father’s sister escapes elucidation. The recensions of the LXX and Targum Neophyti indicate that Amram took the “daughter of his father’s brother.” The Targum Onkelos and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan read “sister of his father” and “his aunt.”⁴⁵ The RSV, NRSV, NIV and KJV translate with the Targum Onkelos.

As previously noted, the English word that best approximates the semantic range of *דְּוֵדָּה* and conforms to Israel’s kinship system is “beloved.” It is a classificatory kin term that applies to any kinswoman on the father’s side. Thus, Amram married his father’s “beloved,” a kinswoman. Lev 18:14 supports this conclusion.

We find in Lev 18:14 that *דְּוֵדָּה* is used as non-descript term of address/ endearment for a kinswoman on the father’s side. It is not equivalent to *אֵחָוֹתֵינוּ*. Therefore, the H-redactor must also use descriptive terminology in Lev 18:14 to clarify which *דְּוֵדָּה* is prohibited. Leviticus 18:4 supplies a descriptive kin term to indicate that a brother’s wife is prohibited. If *דְּוֵדָּה* were equivalent to brother’s wife, it would be unnecessary to supply additional descriptors. Consequently, if the term *דְּוֵדָּה* stood alone in a prohibition it would be meaningless. Likewise, in Exod 6:20, *דְּוֵדָּה* connotes very little about actual genealogical position. It only connotes a female kinsperson.

Narratological censure is absent because no custom or law has been transgressed. The compiler is simply indicating that Amram married correctly—a kinswoman of his father. Numbers 26:59 and Exod 2:1 are consistent with this interpretation. Numbers 26:59 states that “the name of Amram’s wife was Jochebed, daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt.” Here “Levi” refers to the lineage not its founding ancestor. Thus, the patronymic construction “daughter of Levi” conveys that Jochebed was a “female descendant of Levi” not Kohath’s sister, according to some English translations. Another example in which a patronymic refers to a non-specific kinsperson can be found in Exod 2:1. It states that “a man from the house of Levi went and married a Levite woman.” If anything may be said of these genealogical notations, it is that they are used to highlight the legitimacy of an affinal tie and the priestly lineage. Amram married a FaBrDa and the union is one of parallel cousins. Consequently, the RSV, NRSV, NIV and KJV are incorrect in equating *דְּוֵדָּה* with father’s sister.

45. See also Cornelius Houtman, *Exodus* (HCOT; Kampen: Kok, 1993), 517.

Rules of Residence and Descent

Rules of residence refer to the expected pattern of location after marriage. The personnel included in incest taboos are normally representative of the spatial arrangement of relatives within a given operational unit.⁴⁶ Leviticus 18 alone cannot be used to determine household members and therefore residence rules because the kin listed in Leviticus can be found in both patrilocal groups, matri-patrilocal groups and avunculocal groups.⁴⁷ In order to determine the most likely rule of residence, it is necessary to examine underlying assumptions in biblical law and narratives. The aim is to discern any patterns that illumine the rules of residence for the localized kin group suggested by Lev 18. Those patterns will suggest not only rules of residence but also principles of descent.

Descent refers to the systematic way societies determine kinship through one sex or both. It is customary to conclude that ancient Israel's descent type is patrilineal.⁴⁸ This assumption needs to be assessed in light of Israel's total social structure. Anthropologists derive principles of descent from the normative patterns of behavior that societies exhibit when they regard common descent from a particular lineage as the basis for forming alliances, conferring property or governing familial relationships internally and externally.⁴⁹ For the purpose of studying kin networks, what is generally meant by descent is not biological descent but rather descent as it relates to jural matters, for example, succession to property, social position or rank.⁵⁰ In fact, based on the structural principles of kinship originally noted by Radcliffe-Brown,⁵¹ the rules of descent are commonly held to be jural. That is, descent is not as much about kinship as it is about the governance of rights and obligations.⁵² Kinship terms "designate not individuals but status relations between persons."⁵³ For these purposes, descent can be reckoned just as well through an

46. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 16

47. *Ibid.*, 35. For a discussion of problems encountered when determining residence rules, see Ward H. Goodenough, "Residence Rules," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12 (1956): 22-37, and Paul Bohannan, "An Alternate Residence Classification," in Bohannan and Middleton, eds., *Marriage, Family and Residence*, 317-23.

48. C. J. H. Wright, "Family," *ABD* 2:762. See also Steinberg, *Kinship and Marriage*, 11.

49. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 43.

50. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 101.

51. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, *African Systems*.

52. *Ibid.*, 11.

53. Fortes, *Kinship and the Social Order*, 53.

adopted heir as a biological one. Descent is therefore primarily social and not biological; it “refers only to social allocation and has fundamentally nothing to do with genealogical relationships or recognition thereof.”⁵⁴

The most commonly recorded types of descent are: unilineal, nonunilineal, double unilineal and bilateral descent.⁵⁵ Kinship terminology, marriage form and residence rules are social structures that allow us to classify descent. We have analyzed ancient Israel’s kinship terminology as well as its rules of marriage. We turn now to the structural evidence for rules of residence and descent.

Israel’s residential units are frequently described as patrilocal.⁵⁶ It has been noted, however, that the בֵּית הַאִמָּה was a part of the social structure of ancient Israel.⁵⁷ Therefore, it is certainly plausible that matrilocality (living near the relatives of females) was practiced. In order for patrilocality to qualify as the “rule” of residence, it would have to be *consistently* practiced upon marriage.

Upon close examination of the Pentateuch, the following residence patterns after marriages emerge: residence can be (1) patrilocal (Abraham resided with his father after marriage to Sarah—Gen 11:31); (2) neolocal (as indicated by Abraham and Sarah’s movement away from Terah to another location—Gen 12:1); (3) patrilocal (when Isaac and Rebekah married, Rebekah left her mother’s household and she and Isaac established a residence patrilocally—Gen 24:51); (4) matri-patrilocal (after Jacob’s marriage to Leah and Rachel, he resided with Laban, his mother’s brother and later returned to the territory of his father—Gen 30:26; 31:18). This pattern is a variant of patrilocality. In the case of matri-patrilocality, the rule of matrilocality before patrilocality is established as a result of one of two factors: bride service, a substitute for wife-purchase or as an installment plan for payment of the bride-price⁵⁸; (5) matrilocal or avunculocal⁵⁹ (when Lot escapes Sodom, his sons-in-law $[\text{בְּנֵי לוֹט}]$ are living with him—Gen 19:12, 14).

54. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 15.

55. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 103.

56. Wright, “Family,” 2:762.

57. Carol Meyers, “To Her Mother’s House: Considering a Counterpart to the Israelite *Bêt ’āb*,” in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. David Jobling, Peggy L. Day and Gerald T. Sheppard; Cleveland, Ohio: Pilgrim, 1991), 39–51.

58. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 207.

59. Given parallel cousin marriage as the preferred form.

The preceding evidence suggests that the residence rule was bilocal or multilocal. Bilocality is common where descent is cognatic. According to Ember and Ember, multilocality may be an indication of depopulation.⁶⁰ This would not be the case for the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age in Palestine. An examination of the socio-economic conditions that anthropologists have observed for patrilocal post-marital residence suggests that the rule of patrilocality would be unlikely for ancient Israel. It will become clear that the cross-cultural evidence weighs against the commonly held position that Israel is unilocal, specifically patrilocal.

The most common form of residence rule is unilocality, that is, residence rules are most often restricted to one location either near the patriliney or matriliney.⁶¹ One of the most comprehensive and respected studies on residence and descent was conducted by Ember and Ember.⁶² A close inspection of their results should help place Israel in its proper context.

Prior to Ember and Ember's study, the general assumption was that "unilocal residence is the precondition for the emergence of unilineal descent."⁶³ The convergence of unilocality and unilineality is readily observable cross-culturally but not inevitable. Ember challenged the prevailing wisdom when he concluded that unilocal residence alone was not sufficient for the development of unilineal descent because spatially aggregated people claiming common descent does not necessarily lead to the *localized* group adopting unilineal descent.⁶⁴ That is, simply because post-marital residence is restricted to one location, near the male's relatives or near the female's relatives, this does not automatically predict that descent will be through one line only. Ember and Ember proposed that localized groups would not automatically adopt a unilineal structure because other methods for defining kinship are possible (e.g. bilateral, bilineal, and nonlineal descent).

Ancient Israel exhibits many of the features associated with unilineality, bilineality and bilaterality. For example, an emphasis on social

60. Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember, "The Conditions Favoring Multilocal Residence," in Ember and Ember, eds., *Marriage, Family and Kinship*, 218–48 (245). Migration, sex equality and the absence of agriculture were weak indicators of multilocality. The strongest indicator was depopulation, presumably that which occurs among sedentary societies with some agriculture. Depopulation for non-commercial societies may also be a function of contact with Europeans.

61. Also described as virilocal and uxorilocal (near males or females).

62. Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember, "On the Development of Unilineal Descent," in Ember and Ember, eds., *Marriage, Family and Kinship*, 359–97.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*, 360.

control,⁶⁵ a tie between status and lineage membership, corporate groups and the emphasis on kinship relations through what appears to be one line suggests unilineality.⁶⁶ Bilineal kin groups are affiliated with one another by both patrilineal and matrilineal ties and certain items are inherited either patrilineally or matrilineally. The importance of the matriarchal figures for correct marriage in the Genesis myths and segmented genealogies, the existence of the $\square\aleph\tau\tau\aleph$, preferred endogamous marriage⁶⁷ and the anthropological evidence for shared labor eventuating in an increased status for women all point toward a bilineal or bilateral social structure.⁶⁸ It is key to examine each of the aforementioned possibilities in light of both the research conducted by Ember and Ember and comparative ethnographies.

The descent groups that the Embers studied were either minimal, local or dispersed depending upon the number of kin involved and the degree to which they act corporately.⁶⁹ A *minimal* group is a domestic unit⁷⁰; a local group is a group of unilineally related individuals living in a community; and a dispersed group is one in which the unilineally related individuals are living apart. While 97 percent of 360 societies with unilineal descent had unilocal residence, only 72 per cent of societies with unilocal residence had unilineal descent. Ember concluded that unilocality was a necessary but not sufficient condition for unilineal descent.⁷¹

Thereafter, they tested the hypothesis that warfare or competition impacts the development of unilineal descent in societies lacking centralized political systems.⁷² Underlying this hypothesis is the observation that people with common property rights form sodalities and associations

65. Guy E. Swanson, "Rules of Descent," *Anthropological Papers* 40 (1969): 1-108.

66. Meyer Fortes, "Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953): 17-41.

67. Robert F. Murphy and Leonard Kasdan, "The Structure of Parallel Cousin Marriage," *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 17-38.

68. Robert N. Pehrson, "Bilateral Kin Groupings as a Structural Type: A Preliminary Statement," in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship*, 192-95. For a discussion on assessing kinship concepts, see Barnard and Good, *Research Practices*, 70.

69. Harumi Befu and Leonard Plotnicov, "Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist* 64 (1962): 313-27.

70. For a discussion on the distinction that should pertain to analysis of "families" and "households," refer to Donald R. Bender, "A Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-residence and Domestic Functions," *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967): 493-504.

71. Ember and Ember, "On the Development of Unilineal Descent," 361.

72. *Ibid.*, 363.

to protect their rights in environments when needed resources are scarce.⁷³ They live together, unilocally, pass on their "rights" unilineally and fight each other to protect those rights. Thus, internal competition or warfare should influence unilineal descent. Ember and Ember state, "intergroup competition is the most important catalyst in the formation of unilineal descent in unilocal societies."⁷⁴ There is very little structural evidence of intergroup competition in the Pentateuch. The results of their tests were statistically significant and led to the following observations and conclusions.

First, 91 percent of unilocal societies in their sample with warfare had unilineal descent.⁷⁵ Thus, warfare and unilocality are better predictors of the emergence of unilineal descent than unilocal residence alone. Most importantly, the type of warfare appears to impact the type of unilineal descent which emerges. Because unilineal descent groups vary in the way members are dispersed after marriage, they also tested the theory that a specific form of unilocal residence, patrilocal residence, will tend to develop with the emergence of internal warfare.

Societies in which core members were unilineally related and living in a single territory (community, neighborhood, district) without being separated by people of other descent groups of the same type of level of unilineal descent were considered completely contiguous. Whereas, if some of the descent group were scattered or dispersed, they were considered mostly contiguous. A society in which core groups were dispersed and separated by members of other descent groups of the same type or level and equivalent function were considered dispersed.⁷⁶ The findings were statistically significant that internal warfare will lead to the development of contiguous descent groups.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*, 366.

75. The investigation accounted for societies with an absence of warfare and eliminated societies which had been influenced by colonial powers. Only three of eight unilocal societies without warfare had unilineal descent. Using Fisher's Exact Test, Ember and Ember found that the probability of this result occurring by chance was 5 in 1000 (Ember and Ember, "On the Development of Unilineal Descent," 369).

76. Ember and Ember rated contiguity for every level of unilineal descent group and distinguished the levels in terms of ancestral referents. That is, a unilineal level was one in which the members claimed the same ancestor in common (e.g. at the level of lineage, sib, phratry or moiety). A society with three levels of lineage membership was rated on each level for the contiguity of the unilineally related persons at that level. On at least one level the society had to have a "mostly contiguous" rating in order to be classified as a contiguous unilineal descent group.

Though internal warfare and lineages are significantly related, internal warfare is not a predictor of the emergence of lineages, only of contiguous descent groups. What was determined to be key was whether or not the descent group could explicitly trace common descent. That is, whether kin links, be they putative or specified, influenced the development of lineages. It was proposed that close living conditions ensure the recollection of genealogical connections. Ember and Ember found that, compared to the absence of lineages among societies with unilineal descent, internal warfare and explicitly traced lineages are significantly related.

Yet, many societies with internal warfare did not have lineages. In addition to warfare, they concluded that some other factor was needed. The study found that internal warfare in societies with higher densities, at least five persons per square mile, were significantly more likely to have lineages. By comparing population samples, Ember and Ember concluded finally that

Small unilocal societies are likely to develop putative descent rather than lineages because in the face of an external threat, the allies that could be obtained from a small core of unilineal kinsmen might not be sufficient to ensure survival. A more adaptive response is to extend unilineal kinship to a wider net of persons, to "putative kinsmen." Ties might develop as a result of marriage, friendship and blood-brotherhood. As societies increase in size over time, internal warfare would be expected to foster the development of lineages. Development may be favored by internal warfare in relatively dense societies because the contiguous consolidation of unilocal kin may facilitate remembrance of genealogical links. But more importantly, internal warfare increases the possibility of competition with kinsmen. Thus, fine determination of one's obligation's and loyalties is necessary.⁷⁷

Furthermore, given matrilocality and warfare, matrilineal descent groups are expected to develop. Specifically,

Since internal warfare predicts that the core members of a kin group will tend to live contiguously, most societies with internal warfare will have contiguous patrilineal descent groups. If the population density in a patrilineal society is fairly high, the descent groups will mostly be lineages; if the density is low, the patrilineal descent groups will mostly be putative clans or sibs, phratries, and moieties. With purely external warfare, we expect matrilineality with dispersed descent groups that are putative.⁷⁸

77. Ember and Ember, "On the Development of Unilineal Descent," 389.

78. *Ibid.*, 394.

A centralized political system is characterized by a locus of power with a monopoly on coercion; it is not equivalent to a band, tribe or chiefdom.⁷⁹ Where centralized political systems emerge, military activities are usually assumed by the power and descent groups become unnecessary.⁸⁰ It must be emphasized that their findings were for societies *lacking* centralized political systems thereby making the comparison between the Embers' results and Israel's premonarchic and early monarchic traditions sustainable on this point.⁸¹

When examining Israel's social structure in light of the cross-cultural evidence above, the following points of comparison and contrast are discernible. First, population estimates start at 40,000 for the Late Bronze period.⁸² During the early Iron Age, a significant increase in highland settlement brought an additional 40,000 people to the area. Because the central hill country covers an area of 4,200 km² we can estimate that the population density was 24 people per square mile at the end of the LB period. At the beginning of the Iron II period, it was close to 50 people per square mile, well above the range for which the Embers found correlations between population density and the development of lineages. According to one reconstruction, the people who dwelled in the areas generally thought to be settled by proto-Israelites lived in contiguous multiple-family compounds ranging from 10–30 persons per household.⁸³ Thus, we find further bases upon which to make comparisons between the Embers' study and the situation of the pre-Israelites. But first we must ask: What are the linguistic-structural clues for an analysis of the divisions of lineages in ancient Israel?

The difficulty in delineating the social-structural divisions of Israel is compounded by an inadequate comprehension of kinship terminology, a concession that Gottwald makes.⁸⁴ Utilizing cross-cultural data, however, Gottwald adroitly concluded

79. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 19.

80. Satya P. Sharma, "Structural and Functional Characteristics of Lineages in Societies with Unilineal Descent Groups and Centralized Government: A Comparative Exploration," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 5 (1970): 226–31. For a discussion of the types of warfare conducted by state-controlled societies, see Israel Eph'al, "On Warfare and Military Control in the Ancient Near Eastern Empires: A Research Outline," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation* (ed. H. Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983).

81. Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 244.

82. Lawrence E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *BASOR* 260 (1985): 25.

83. *Ibid.*, 20.

84. Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 313.

The old Israelite *mishpāhah* was not a unilineal descent group practicing exogamy and cross-cutting the residential family units. It was not the primary social unit in ancient Israel for conferring duties or title or for holding and transmitting communal property. The *bēth-āv* or the extended family, constructed along patrilineal and patriarchal lines of authority, was the primary socioeconomic unit.⁸⁵

I believe we may interpret Israel's kinship terminology for social divisions (מִשְׁפָּחָה, שֵׁבֵט, בְּיַתְדָאֵב) with even greater precision. As Gottwald and Bendor⁸⁶ note, the בְּיַתְדָאֵב is the primary socioeconomic unit. The בְּיַתְדָאֵב would be socio-structurally equivalent to what anthropologists call a *lineage*. Therefore, בְּיַתְדָאֵב is the general term for lineage. Continuing the analogy in a way that is consistent with the biblical evidence and anthropological classifications, one notes that two or more lineages constitute a *clan*, and that this equates to the Hebrew מִשְׁפָּחָה;⁸⁷ two or more clans constitute a *phratry* and equates this to the Hebrew שֵׁבֵט.⁸⁸ This typology appears to minimize the kinds of inconsistencies noted by Gottwald, for example in Judg 20:12, where the term שֵׁבֵט appears to be used to speak of both a unit and subdivision.⁸⁹ By applying the preceding typology, the structural anomaly disappears. It no longer appears unusual to find "and the tribes of Israel sent men through the whole tribe of Benjamin" (וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ שְׂבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲנָשִׁים בְּכָל־שֵׁבֵטֵי בְנֵימִן). Each unit would be comprised of at least two or more clans, that is, four or more lineages. The plural form is defensible. The preceding subdivisions are consistent with the observation that the מִשְׁפָּחָה is most often treated as smaller than a שֵׁבֵט.⁹⁰ Now, in order to assess the likelihood that Israel was in fact a unilineally organized society, we need some evidence of internal warring; however, there is none. Intergroup struggles are only infrequently represented in the text (Gen 34; 37:12; Exod 7; Num 31; Josh 6). The

85. Ibid., 315.

86. S. Bendor, *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1996).

87. Clans become very large as is indicated by the use of the Hebrew אָלָף to designate a multitude. See Abraham Malamat, "A Recently Discovered Word for Clan in Mari and Its Hebrew Cognate," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots* (ed. Ziony Zevit et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995).

88. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis*, 65ff. Here, Schusky explains a lineage is two or more generations of people consanguineously related through one sex; a clan is two or more lineages living together; a sib is two or more lineages wherein kin links cannot be traced explicitly; and a *phratry* is generally a large group with a kin linkage; technically, *phratry* is two or more sibs in a society where at least three or more sibs exist.

89. Gottwald, *Tribes of Yahweh*, 251.

90. Ibid., 257.

absence of fortifications in the early Iron I period provides further evidence that internal warring, if any, was inconsequential.

Therefore, following Ember *et al.*, the descent form that we have in Israel is unlikely to be characteristic of unilineal (matrilineal or patrilineal) descent; another descent form is indicated, which will be described below.

Reconstructing the Kinship System of Ancient Israel

The existence of a lineage system in ancient Israel is textually clear. Until the present, what remained nebulous was the precise structure of Israel's lineages. We may now define Israel's lineage system in light of cross-cultural research. The evidence suggests that descent was *not* unilineal⁹¹ (determined through the line of one sex) but bilateral (determined through both lines). Our clearest indication of bilaterality, wherein descent is reckoned equally through the maternal and paternal lines, is Israel's preferred marriage form which has been shown to produce bilateral descent in cultures everywhere.⁹²

Bilaterality is further suggested by the genealogies of Genesis which are telescoped and later segmented and include women.⁹³ The primary types of genealogies are linear and segmented. Linear genealogies are lists of names used to establish claims to power, whereas segmented genealogies express actual kinship relationships between people.⁹⁴ In each of the segmented genealogies in Genesis (Gen 29:31–30:24; 35:16–20, 22–26; 46:8–24) women figure as prominently as men, which is what we would expect in a bilateral society. The only other segmented genealogy of individuals in the Pentateuch occurs in Num 26:5–51. Assuming we understand the gendered allocation of names, women do not appear, save Zelophehad's daughters, because the function of this list is to name the descendants of the patriarchs and matriarchs of Genesis. In relation to the mention of Zelophehad's daughters, a narrative follows immediately to explain their inheritance rights—another indication of the elevated status of women in bilateral societies.

The segmentation and fission we find in Genesis are characteristics of repeated FaBrDa or parallel cousin marriage. The functional utility of

91. Patrilineal or matrilineal.

92. In the case of bilineality, descent is reckoned on the patrilineal side for some purposes, for example, ritual offices, and matrilineally for others.

93. Robert A. Oden, Jr., "Jacob as Father, Husband, and Nephew: Kinship Studies and the Patriarchal Narratives," *JBL* 102 (1983): 189–205.

94. Robert R. Wilson, "Genealogy/Genealogies," *ABD* 2:930–31.

this marriage form is: (1) the potential for atomistic fission (2); the potential for agnatic/uxoral sections to trace relationships that can include all members of the group; (3) the potential for kinship to be factored kinship can be factored to determine relative obligations and allegiances.⁹⁵

With respect to residence rules, there is no proscribed rule in biblical law and the cultural symbols embedded in the narrative do not suggest any fixed post-marital residence practices. This leads us to the residence rule most consistent with the narratological evidence and that which is associated with parallel and cross-cousin marriage—bilocality or ambilocality. The adaptive advantage of bilocality is that it produces an association of bilateral relatives.⁹⁶

Though a tendency toward parallel cousin marriages has long been noted, an investigation of Israel's kinship terminology independently confirms the preference for parallel cousin marriage and provides a self-checking mechanism for our formal kinship analysis.⁹⁷ By synthesizing the evidence for kinship terminology, marriage rules, residence rules and descent, an underlying kinship system materializes.

With respect to kinship terminology one may conclude the following: (1) there are no derivative kinship terms; (2) Fa, Mo, Br, Si, Da and So and affinal relatives are identified using elementary terms; (3) ascending and descending lineal relatives are identified with descriptive terms; (4) דוד and דודתה are *not* terms of reference; their mode of use is as terms of *address*; (5) terms for in-laws differ based on the sex of the speaker; (6) יבם and יבתה are very late and should not be included in the typology; (7) several terms are not attested but may be inferred; (8) the range of application is denotative for 25 terminological positions and classificatory for 17 (Br, Si, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, FaBrDa, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, MoSiDa, MoBrSo, MoBrDa, DaHu, SoWi); (9) דודתה is a classificatory term of reference for a male related by marriage; its etymology suggests that it may refer as much to a "son-in-law" as a "nephew," which is a son-by-law where cousin marriage is preferred.

Of the six main kinship systems known worldwide, Israel's kinship system must be classified as *Normal Hawaiian or generational*. Specific indicators are (1) the absence of distinctive cousin terms in Hebrew; (2) the use of דודתה in the Hebrew Bible to indicate a woman in the genealogical position of cousin and sister; (3) bifurcating collateral terminology in the first ascending and first descending lines⁹⁸ in the presence

95. Murphy and Kasdan, *Parallel Cousin Marriage*, 24.

96. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 18.

97. Wander, "Structure, Contradiction." See also Prewitt, "Kinship Structure."

98. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 158.

of endogamous demes; (4) segmented genealogies indicating bilateral descent and bilocal residence; and (5) bilateral extension of incest taboos evinced in the prohibition of daughter's daughter, mother's sister and mother's female descendants.⁹⁹

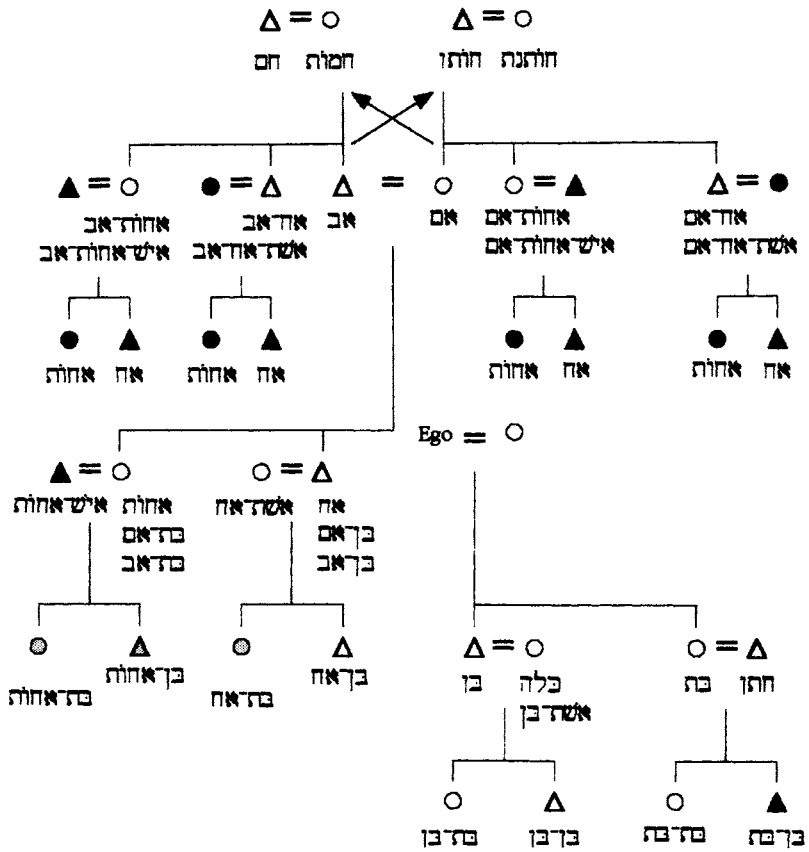
The assertion that Israel was patrilineally organized is unsupported by the anthropological and documentary evidence. Biblical scholars who continue to hold this view will have to account for the fact that endogamy in the presence of patrilineal descent is rare cross-culturally and produces a set of cultural elements (kinship terms, etc.) different from that which is expected or that which is found in Israel. As Gary Lee notes, it is a well-established anthropological fact that patrilineality is nearly universally associated with *exogamy*.¹⁰⁰ A complete genealogical chart can now be reconstructed, and is presented in Chart 2.

Below the shaded kin positions are conventional kin terms and conjectural terms that reflect the type of terminology expected in a Hawaiian/Generational system within an endogamous deme, that is, bifurcate collateral terminology or terminology that distinguishes between collateral and lineal relatives in the first ascending and descending generations. The brother's wife (Gen 38:9; Lev 18:16) and its correlate sister's husband are the logical kin terms for those positions. The social equivalence of siblings and cousins in the Hawaiian system allows us to make the conjecture of kin terms for the cousin positions above. We should also note that even though the term of reference is descriptive for MoSi, in Israel's Hawaiian system, MoSi would be *addressed* as "mother." The term "daughter's son" does not occur anywhere in the Hebrew Bible; given the fission and fusion that FaBrDa marriage creates one could only speculate why this is the case. One possibility is that while descent (jural duty) may be calculated bilaterally, social status may be determined through males only, making a "daughter's son" without sufficient status.

99. *Ibid.*, 228.

100. Gary Lee, *Family Structure and Interaction* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott, 1977), 158.

Chart 2. Hebrew Kinship: Full Reconstruction



Key:

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|---------|-----------------|
| \triangle | Male | \circ | Female |
| = | Affinal tie | — | Consanguine tie |

Chapter 6

INCEST IN LEVITICUS 18 AND THE PENTATEUCHAL NARRATIVES: A SOCIO-STRUCTURAL READING

Re-Reading Leviticus

The purpose and function of Lev 18:6–18 are illustrated by a focus on the relationship between biblical narratives and biblical laws that address incest and/or endogamy. There is currently no consensus on the relationship between laws and narratives in general. Traditionally, scholars maintained that the laws were strategically inserted into the epic stories to demonstrate their enduring relevance.¹ Others, such as Calum Carmichael, who has written on incest in law and narratives, assert that priestly writers formulated the law codes in relation to narratives.² Certainly this may not be the case for all laws and narratives. Yet, there is evidence that some laws and narratives were formulated in relation to each other and that some narratives operate as justification for specific biblical laws. Thus, narratives function as cases that explain the rationale for specific precepts governing social relations.

There are at least three things occurring in Pentateuchal narratives: (1) a national charter based on “family history” is committed to writing and functions as a pre-historiography; (2) narratological etiologies shaped by the family history explain the basis for cultic rituals, social organization and national sentiment toward other peoples; and (3) certain biblical laws are justified narratologically (presumably those which may cause the most confusion).³ This third function of biblical narratives and

1. Richard Elliot Friedman, “Torah,” *ABD* 6:605–22.

2. Carmichael, *Law, Legend, and Incest*, 9. There are noted weaknesses in his assumptions about the fictive context for the laws. See Gail Corrington Streete’s review of Carmichael’s book in *Cross Currents* 48 (1999): 570–71.

3. For a general discussion of these issues, see Douglas A. Knight, “The Pentateuch,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 263–96.

laws can be readily assessed in relation to incest. The following discussion summarizes various approaches to the study of Lev 18:6–18 and refocuses on its internal logic in light of the preceding analysis of kinship terminology.

Leviticus 18:6–18 is part of a three-chapter unit (Lev 18–20) that contains prohibitions and penalties for illicit sexual unions. Though these chapters are now thematically united by the term *שְׁרִיק*, they were originally independent scrolls.⁴ Alfred Cholewinski maintains that several redactions are recognizable in the Holiness Code; he ascribes the sigla H-1 and H-2 to represent the second stage of literary deposits before a common editor redacted Lev 18 and 20.⁵ Karl Elliger views the final form of Lev 18:6–18 as a dodecalogue, formed by an accretion of two verses from what had originally been a decalogue comprised of vv. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16 and the “missing” daughter prohibition.⁶ Proposing a transmission history for Lev 18 is an important contribution to our understanding of this pericope; however, without a reasonable assessment of its *Sitz im Leben*, which is addressed in this chapter, redactional activity is highly speculative. Several observations can be made with relative surety.

First, as Noth has pointed out, the incest prohibitions (beginning with v. 7) are in the style of the apodictic⁷ laws of Exod 20, which employ the second person singular address.⁸ As such, the target audience appears to be males, as opposed to the general audience suggested by the second person masculine plural addresses in vv. 2–6, which address the entire community.

Second, it has been noted that the terms that relate the definition of incest are (1) *בשר*, denoting blood relatives, and (2) *גלות*, meaning “nakedness,” a euphemism for sexuality.⁹ The nuclear family consisted

4. Jacob Milgrom, “Leviticus,” *EncJud*, 138–47.

5. Alfred Cholewinski, *Heiligkeitsgesetz und Deuteronomium* (AnBib 66; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1976), *passim*.

6. Karl Elliger, *Leviticus* (HAT; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1966), 229–35. Mary Douglas (“Justice as the Cornerstone: An Interpretation of Leviticus 18–20.” *Int* 53 [1999]): 341–50) views these chapters as part of a pedimental composition which points toward ch 19 as the apex of the book of Leviticus. Doug Mohrmann (“Making Sense of Sex: A Study of Leviticus 18.” *JSOT* 29, no. 1 [2004]: 57–79) builds on Mary Douglas’ analysis by identifying concentric patterns of familial relationships in the structure of Lev 18.

7. Though several law forms have been noted, we use Alt’s terms for the sake of convention.

8. Martin Noth, *Leviticus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972), 134.

9. Baruch Levine, *Leviticus: JPS Torah Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 117.

of six **אֵלֶּיךָ** relatives: mother, father, son, daughter, brother and sister known implicitly from the code of purity in Lev 21:2–3.¹⁰ It is generally held that additional family members included in the proscriptions are part of the extended family network of ancient Israel.¹¹

According to Rattray, 18:6 prohibits sexual relations within the nuclear family. She states that the proscriptions that follow answer the question “who else is prohibited?” It will be shown that Lev 18 is not structured simply to answer who else is prohibited; it also answers (1) who is considered “own flesh,” and (2) to what degree one is considered “flesh.” Leviticus 18 elucidates Ego’s obligations to each member of his household in order of *decreasing* jural responsibility; however, the structural ranking of kinspeople does not lessen the strength of the sanctions. Motive clauses are strategically placed to emphasize the importance of observing the rule itself, notwithstanding the status of one family member whose status is greater compared to another.

We turn now to an examination of each prohibited relative in light of the Hawaiian kinship system. The task at hand is to determine the internal logic of Israel’s incest taboos, which apply to both nuclear *and* extended kinship ties. Even in the Iron Age, it becomes clear that blood relations are generally privileged.

אִישׁ אִישׁ אֶל־כָּל־שָׂמַר בְּשָׂרוֹ לֹא תִקְרַב וּלְגִלּוֹת
עָרְוָה אֲנִי יְהוָה

None of you shall approach anyone near of kin to uncover nakedness: I am the Lord. (Lev 18:6)

Verse 6 prohibits sexual relations with “near of kin”; it is followed by a motive clause indicating that there is no other reason for avoiding sexual relations with near kin except that the deity forbids it. The motive clause mitigates against the hierarchical social structure which unfolds in succeeding verses. Above all, close kin must be avoided simply because the deity demands it and the deity’s claim to the family supersedes those of any human family member. Subsequent prohibitions are built upon this overarching injunction to avoid one’s “near of kin” by specifying exactly who is considered kin.

Another motive clause “it is the nakedness of x” appears in vv. 7, 8, 10 and 16 indicating that the purpose of the prohibitions is not only to avoid abominations but also to delineate the protected rights of person x

10. Ibid.

11. Bigger, “Family Laws.” See also J. R. Porter, “The Extended Family in the Old Testament,” *Occasional Papers in Social and Economic Administration* 6 (1967): 1–21.

in relation to person y (forbidden relative) with whom person z (Ego) might otherwise form a union. Thus, v. 6 introduces the notion that the ultimate duty is to Yahweh. In the succeeding verses, the additional duty of Ego to persons x and y is clarified. The protected rights of those considered closer “flesh” to Ego are listed first. Rattray’s assertion that the nuclear family is automatically prohibited in this verse is warranted. Clearly, all members of the nuclear family are prohibited. The absence of a distinct “daughter” prohibition has been treated as a scribal error or elsewhere as intentional.¹² My previous assessment of a “missing daughter” prohibition as scribal error rested upon the absence of an *explicit* prohibition. Upon close and sustained examination along with the following structural analysis, however, it is apparent that we can no longer assert a “missing daughter”; and, we no longer need to rely on v. 6 to assert that she is included implicitly. The “daughter prohibition” is explicitly included if we understand how v. 17 functions within the socio-structural outline of the unit.

Rattray has asserted that the daughter prohibition is explicit in the definition of אִשָּׁרֵי relatives. Yet, as Judith Wegner has pointed out, she is not actually listed. I concur with the assertion that אִשָּׁרֵי and עֲרֻוָּה are key to understanding the legislation of ch. 18 as a whole. אִשָּׁרֵי refers to the flesh near the bone, and it carries the meaning to be full of blood, hence “blood relation.” Both its Akkadian cognate šêru or “flesh”¹³ and its Arabic cognate لَأْر (“blood revenge”) makes it plausible to conclude that אִשָּׁרֵי conveys the notion that relatives idealized as a ‘part of oneself’ are prohibited as sexual partners. The code of purity in Lev 21:2–3 further clarifies that אִשָּׁרֵי relatives are mother, father, son, daughter, brother, sister. As we shall see, however, the most explicit daughter prohibition appears not in v. 6, but in v. 17:

עֲרֻוָּת אָבִיךָ וְעֲרֻוָּת אִמֶּךָ לֹא תִגְלֶה אִמֶּךָ הוּא לֹא
תִגְלֶה עֲרֻוָּתָהּ

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your father, which is the nakedness of your mother; she is your mother, you shall not uncover her nakedness. (Lev 18:17)

The syntax of this verse is complex. The construct chain allows the translation of this verse to be rendered “the nakedness of your father *and* mother...you shall not uncover”; however, if the prefixed ל in the word

12. Madeline McClenney-Sadler, “Women in Incest Regulations,” in *Women in Scripture* (ed. Carol Meyers, Toni Craven and Ross S. Kraemer; Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000), 206–8; Wegner, “Leviticus.”

13. N. H. Snaith, *Leviticus and Numbers* (Greenwood: Attic, 1971), 85.

וְעֵרְוָה is understood as a circumstantial ו then וְעֵרְוָה may be translated “which is the nakedness of...,” theoretically clarifying the referent—mother.¹⁴ Most English translations treat the ו as circumstantial and most interpreters assume that this is solely a mother prohibition. Another reading is possible.

This verse should be read in the same way as those which follow, where “uncovering the nakedness of y” refers to a sex act with person y and the motive clause “it is the nakedness of x” refers to the party whose rights have been violated. We see this clearly in v. 8a where we read that one should not “uncover the nakedness of y” where y is father’s wife. The motive clause in v. 8b explains whose rights are violated—“it is the nakedness of your father [x].”

Likewise, v. 7a prohibits “uncovering the nakedness” of the father “which is the nakedness of the mother.” Like v. 8 which follows, v. 7 first denotes with whom a sex act is forbidden; then a motive clause explains whose rights have been violated: “it is your mother’s nakedness.” Verse 7a therefore is a father prohibition. Verse 7b begins with an emphasis on the rationale for the father prohibition, which should be translated “she is your mother, you shall not reveal her nakedness [either].” What appears to be missing at the end of 7b is the motive clause “it is the nakedness of your father.” This omission can be explained by the fact that paternity could easily be questioned and lead to justification of sexual unions with one’s mother. This is a particularly likely scenario where a father is deceased or absent and women are few. If the primary rationale was violation of father’s rights, one simply had to state “he is not my father.” To avoid this loophole, the H writer accents the אָמָּה connection between mother and child implicit in the first command, “none of you shall uncover his own flesh” (v. 6). By omitting the formula which makes reference to the violation of another’s rights, that is, “it is the nakedness of x,” the compiler reduces the incest taboo to its lowest common denominator, the avoidance of close relatives: “she is your mother, you shall not uncover her nakedness [either].” Though we arrive at this conclusion from different analyses, I concur with Carmichael that v. 7 is a parent taboo. Consequently, we must re-examine claims that incest prohibitions address men only.

עֲרֹוֹת אִשְׁת־אָבִיךָ לֹא תגַּלֶּה עֲרֹוֹת אִבִּיךָ הוּא

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your father’s wife; it is the nakedness of your father. (Lev 18:8)

14. Levine, *Leviticus*, 120.

The reference here is to a woman with whom the father has sexual access but who is not the mother of the son (Gen 35:22; 49:4). The son nonetheless has a duty to protect his father's interests in that relationship by refraining from "uncovering her nakedness." In Lev 20:11, the penalty for lying with the wife of one's father is death.¹⁵

עָרְוַת אֲחוֹתֶיךָ בְּתֹאבִיד אוֹ בְּתֹאמֶךָ מִלְּדַת בֵּית אָבִיךָ
מִלְּדַת חַיִּץ לְאִתְגַּלְתָּהּ עִרְוַתְךָ

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your sister, your father's daughter or your mother's daughter, whether born at home or born abroad. (Lev 18:9)

Whether this verse contains a full sister prohibition is a subject of debate. Bigger and Levine view v. 9 as a sister prohibition. The so-called "parenthetical phrase" "father's daughter or mother's daughter" expands the definition of sister to include a half-sister born of either parent.¹⁶ Rattray concludes that a full sister is "notably absent from this verse."¹⁷ According to Rattray, a specific type of sister is being identified, that is, a half-sister born of *another* woman and Ego's father or born of *another* man and Ego's mother.¹⁸

For Rattray, a full sister is implicitly prohibited only in v. 6. Though Bigger, Levine and Rattray are correct to conclude that a full sister is prohibited, they must do so without the full evidence in view, provided by an analysis of kinship nomenclature. A reading consistent with Israel's social structure takes into consideration kinship terminology and allows us to discern that which is explicit. It is now evident that one classificatory term and two descriptive terms (אָחוֹת, בְּתֹאב, בְּתֹאם) results in *three* relatives being listed in this verse: a full sister (of both biological parents), a father's daughter, and a mother's daughter. The range of application of the first term is classificatory. To avoid confusion between a full-sister and a FaBrDa (cousin), all of whom would be *addressed* as sister, the compiler elucidates the prohibition with descriptive kin terms making it perceptible that any full sister or a half-sister born of either parent by someone *outside* the lineage is prohibited.

A "father's daughter" is one born to the father by Ego's mother or by a woman who does not reside with the lineage (matrilineage or patri-

15. For a structural analysis of Lev 20 which draws upon conclusions herein, see Jonathan Burnside, "Strange Flesh: Sex, Semiotics and the Construction of Deviancy in Biblical Law," *JSOT* 30, no. 4 (2006): 387–420.

16. *Ibid.*, 120.

17. Rattray, *Family Structure*, 538.

18. *Ibid.*, 537.

lineage) and over whom the father retains jural responsibilities as father. Such a person is therefore *treated* by Ego as a full sister. A “mother’s daughter” is one who presumably resides with the mother in Ego’s patrilineage or matrilineage over whom the mother retains jural authority and who shares the same father with Ego or who has a different father who does not reside within the lineage. Various legal texts of the ancient Near East indicate that women, on occasion, negotiated to keep control over children upon entering new marriages, or arranged to keep such control at the beginning of a first marriage. For example, the Laws of Lipit Ishtar (§20b) are indicative of the rights over children that mothers and fathers were bound to share within certain limits; the laws of Hammurabi explicitly recognize that contractual arrangements could be made by women to protect their heirs (§150).¹⁹ These arrangements protected marriage prestations and allowed greater authority to women of high status. One might consider the case of a woman and her daughter, upon marriage, entering the household of a man with no sons and the resulting importance of the status “mother’s daughter” in determining inheritance rights.²⁰ Ancient Near Eastern law codes typically expand family rights and privileges to those in higher classes thereby elucidating what anthropologists long ago concluded: descent is primarily jural and not biological. Hence, the distinction between “father’s daughter” and “mother’s daughter” leads us to consider the specific legal duties and jural interests of each parent (in this case, over their children) implicit in the possessive noun forms. These are rights that any given son or Ego is bound to respect notwithstanding actual blood ties. Given the *אָחֻה* prohibition in v. 6, which could be confused with FaBrDa, who is also called *אָחֻה*, the distinctions in v. 9 direct us away from the genealogical position of cousin. Therefore, v. 9 also clarifies that a FaBrDa (cousin) prohibition is not operative.

Key to interpreting this verse properly is an understanding of *בֵּית* as lineage and an understanding of a lineage as a set of legally binding relationships, not necessarily blood relations. We must also understand *מִוֹלְדֵת בֵּית* and the elliptical *חֵוֶן [בֵּית] מִוֹלְדֵת*²¹ as legal statuses. Unlike

19. Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBLWAW; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

20. Zafira Ben-Barak, “The Legal Status of the Daughter as Heir in Nuzi and Emar,” in *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c.1500–1000 B.C.)* (ed. M. Heltzer and E. Lipiński; OLA 23; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988), 87. See also Gershon Hepner, “Abraham’s Incestuous Marriage with Sarah: A Violation of the Holiness Code,” *VT* 53 (2003): 143–55.

21. Wherein *בֵּית* is understood.

v. 11, which addresses non-lineal siblings, v. 9 prohibits sexual relations between lineally related brothers and sisters. To be lineally related, one has to be born to a lineal relative (someone who has lineal status as a biological descendant of a lineal relative, as a primary marriage partner or through adoption by a person with lineal status). The prohibition should be translated “do not uncover the nakedness of your sister, your father’s daughter, or your mother’s daughter, that is, a kindred from within the lineage (מולדת ביה) born to two people with lineal status²²) or a kindred from outside the lineage...” (מולדת [ביה] חוץ) born to a parent with lineal status and another person who no longer has jural responsibility for the sister and does not have claims on lineage membership).²³ These daughters are all prohibited because they can all be classified as lineal “kindred.” We see that

מולדת has less to do with place of birth than it has to do with to whom one is born. To return to the land of one’s מולדת is to return to the place of kindred (Gen 11:28). The actual place of birth is irrelevant and does not confer status.²⁴

The three sisters listed in v. 9 are “kindred” to Ego because they are either female progeny of Ego’s parents or the offspring of Ego’s father or Ego’s mother who has lineal status. Half-sisters are included in v. 9, because they have *full-sister status* by virtue of their parents’ status in the lineage. In patrilineal societies, daughters, like sons, normally belong to the father by virtue of descent being reckoned through males or depending upon whether the father adopts an incoming MoDa. In a bilaterally organized society, the claims of the father upon offspring are attenuated due to the interlocking kinship structures created by repeated FaBrDa marriage. Thus, a mother’s status is all the more important in determining *bona fide* lineal membership. A MoDa (מרת) would be one over whom Ego’s mother retained special rights from a previous union or one over whom she arranged to keep such rights at the outset.

Because v. 9 categorizes full and half-lineal sisters as equal, it suggests that the rights and duties toward them, beyond incest avoidance, were very similar. Thus, a lineal half-sister, that is, one who is *treated* (and therefore prohibited) as a full sister, is one whose circumstances meet *all* of the following conditions: (1) she is born of Ego’s mother or father who has lineal status, (2) she has a biological parent who is not a member of the lineage, and (3) she is subject to at least one of Ego’s parents who exercises shared or separate jural responsibilities toward her.

22. Refers to the full sister.

23. Refers to a MoDa or FaDa.

24. For a different view, see Levine, *Leviticus*, 120.

This verse *does not* prohibit a half-sister born to a father and a secondary wife or concubine who lacks full lineal membership status. A co-wife's daughter, however, would be prohibited by v. 9, assuming she had status as a lineal relative. Drawing upon biblical narrative, we would say that this verse would prohibit sexual relations between Benjamin and any of Leah or Rachel's daughters, but not between Benjamin and the daughters of Leah and Rachel's handmaids. The compilers address that circumstance in v. 11. The penalty for violating this rule appears in Lev 20:17. The pair are to be cut off from their people. This punishment continues with an indictment of the brother indicating that the brother would be held responsible for the transgression.

עֲרוֹת בַּת בְּנֵךְ אִוּ בַּת בְּתוּךְ לֹא תגַלֶּה עֲרוֹתוֹן כִּי
עֲרוֹתוֹךְ תִּגְדֶּה

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your son's daughter or of your daughter's daughter, for their nakedness is your own nakedness. (Lev 18:10)

Verse 10 is a bilaterally extended incest prohibition addressed to any male with children who have children. The motive clause indicates that nearness of kinship is not the only concern of these regulations, but also actual blood ties.

עֲרוֹת בַּת אִשְׁתְּ אָבִיךָ מִלֵּדָת אָבִיךָ אַחֲזִיקָהּ הוּא
לֹא תגַלֶּה עֲרוֹתָהּ

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your father's wife's daughter, begotten by your father, since she is your sister. (Lev 18:11)

A man must abstain from sexual relations with a half-sister, that is, a father's daughter or a mother's daughter (v. 9) *and* he must abstain from sexual relations with a half-sister born of a woman other than his mother who is "legally" neither a "father's daughter" nor a "mother's daughter" but a "father's wife's daughter" (v. 11). Membership in the בְּיָת is not specified as in v. 9. Although, it has been suggested that Lev 18 does not address concubinage,²⁵ concubinage is the precise focus of v. 11.

Leaving Ego's juridico-legal obligations to secondary wives and their children vague would jeopardize household stability by weakening the father's rights over this category of kin. The descriptive kin terminology "father's daughter" (v. 9) vs. "father's wife's daughter" (v. 11) indicates that the children of secondary wives or concubines were considered more closely related to the secondary wife than to Ego. It also implies the relative control of this secondary wife over her children insofar as her

25. Ibid., 121.

daughter is not included in the category “father’s daughter.” Nonetheless, due to the blood relationship between father and the half-sister by a woman without lineal status, Ego is bound to respect the rights of his father which inure to all of his father’s wives and children. Conversely, the general extent of Ego’s jural duty to protect the rights of a step-sister would be less than his jural duty toward lineal full-sisters or half-sisters who are “father’s daughters” or “mother’s daughters.”

עַרְוַת אֲחֻת־אָבִיךָ לֹא תגַלֶּה שְׂאֵר אָבִיךָ הוּא
עַרְוַת אֲחֻת־אִמְךָ לֹא תגַלֶּה כִּי־שְׂאֵר אִמְךָ הוּא

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your father’s sister; she is your father’s flesh.

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your mother’s sister, for she is your mother’s flesh. (Lev 18:12–13)

The complementary bilateral prohibitions of vv. 12 and 13 disclose in part that this taboo is designed as much to protect the respective lineage heads from claims to inheritance rights as well as to ensure harmony within the endogamous clan. We see that the term of address for aunt, דְּוִדָּה, is not utilized and descriptive terminology determines exact genealogical position and therefore jural duty. The penalty in Lev 20:19 is an unspecified punishment.

עַרְוַת אֲחֵי־אָבִיךָ לֹא תגַלֶּה אֶל־אִשְׁתּוֹ לֹא תִקְרַב
דְּוִדָּה הוּא

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your father’s brother, that is, you shall not approach his wife; she is your aunt. (Lev 18:14)

The nakedness of the father’s brother is also the FaBrDa. In light of the preference for FaBrDa unions, the compiler had to specify the exact woman prohibited and delineate the antecedent to which the term דְּוִדָּה referred. Implicit here is also the adulterous nature of this union. Note that in Lev 20:20, the punishment is to die childless.

עַרְוַת בִּלְחָד לֹא תגַלֶּה אִשְׁתְּ בְנִיךָ הוּא לֹא תגַלֶּה
עַרְוַתָּהּ

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your daughter-in-law: she is your son’s wife; you shall not uncover her nakedness. (Lev 18:15)

Verse 15 is a daughter-in-law prohibition. As noted in the formal analysis of kin terms in Chapter 4, the term בִּלְחָה refers to an affinally related female. Thus, the descriptive kin term for son’s wife, אִשְׁת־בֶּן, is added for clarity. Daughter-in-law prohibitions are among the most common cross-culturally. In Lev 20:12, this transgression carries the death penalty.

עַרְוַת אִשְׁתְּ אָחִיךָ לֹא תגַלֶּה עַרְוַת אָחִיךָ הוּא׃

You shall not uncover the nakedness of your brother's wife; it is your brother's nakedness. (Lev 18:16)

To have sexual relations with a brother's wife would dishonor both the affinal female relative and the brother. The exception to the rule is found in Deut 25:5–10. In the case of levirate marriages, a brother was expected to take the wife of his *deceased* brother, if the deceased brother died without progeny. The penalty for this transgression in Lev 20:21 is childlessness.

עַרְוַת אִשָּׁה וּבִתָּהּ לֹא תגַלֶּה אֶת־בִּתְּדָבָרָהּ
וְאֶת־בִּתְּדָבָרָהּ לֹא תִקַּח לְגִלּוֹת עַרְוַתָּהּ שְׂאֵרָהּ הִנָּה
זָכָה הוּא׃

You shall not uncover the nakedness of a [wife] and her daughter, and you shall not take her son's daughter or her daughter's daughter to uncover her nakedness; they are [her] flesh; it is depravity. (Lev 18:17)

Two corrections are needed for a proper understanding of this verse. First, to denote that the emphasis in Lev 18 is on regulating sexual relations between consanguineal and affinal kin, in order of nearness of kinship, the term אִשָּׁה should be translated “wife” where the NRSV has “woman.” Second, the suffixed noun שְׂאֵרָה is represented in the Greek²⁶ by οἰκέται γὰρ σοῦ εἰσιν (“since they are members of *your* household”). This collocation, favored by the RSV and NRS, is highly tendentious, and it should be abandoned. Reliance upon the Greek obscures the structural unity of the Hebrew by emphasizing the rights of the wife in relation to the husband, when in fact, the focus of this verse is on the rights of the wife in relation to her daughters and granddaughters. As such, the MT should be literally translated as it is above, in brackets.

Consistent with the literary structure of Lev 18, which begins by listing the rights of blood kin (vv. 6–16) and ends with the rights of affinal kin (vv. 17–18), v. 17 protects the rights of a wife to her female descendants; and, it contains the “missing daughter” prohibition that Karl Elliger believes was lost through *homoioteleuton*.²⁷

This interpretation is certain for two reasons: (1) it is impossible to have sexual relations with one's daughter without transgressing this rule; and (2) as will be shown below, the literary form and structure of

26. Alfred Rahlfs, *Old Greek Jewish Scriptures* (Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1935).

27. Elliger, *Leviticus*, 234. Elliger maintained if it were not for scribal error the daughter prohibition would appear between vv. 9 and 10.

Lev 18:6–18 warrant this conclusion in every respect. The direct effect of this law is to protect the inter-relationship of the two women involved. The penalty in Lev 20:14 requires that transgressors be burned to death. The emphasis in the penalty is only on the relationship between the two women and does not specify the relationship between the male and the woman, though one can be inferred.

וְאִשָּׁה אֶל-אֲחֹתָהּ לֹא תִקַּח לְצָרָר לְגִלּוֹת עִרְוָתָהּ
עַל יְהִי בְחַיֶּיהָ

And you shall not take a wife as a rival to her sister, uncovering her nakedness while her sister is still alive. (Lev 18:18)

As in the preceding verse, אִשָּׁה should be translated “wife.” Verse 18 protects the rights of a wife in relation to her female kin. Angelo Tosato suggests that this verse has been philologically and literarily misinterpreted. The term אֲחֹתָהּ should maintain its broader sense of “fellow-citizen”;²⁸ thus, the prohibition is against polygamy. He further suggested that Lev 18:18 does not belong, in either form or content, to the first set of laws that prohibit incestuous unions. Instead, it belongs with vv. 18–23, which address a variety of illicit unions. Given the foregoing analysis, there is little evidence to support this hypothesis.

Verses 17 and 18 together form a synthetic parallel unit; both verses are indicative of a jural interest in protecting the family rights of a wife in relation to her consanguineal female kinspeople. The terminal position of v. 18 may appear to indicate that the jural obligation least binding upon Ego is the right of a wife in relation to her “sister.” To construe its signification in this way, however, would be a mistake.

The Internal Logic of Leviticus 18

The incest regulations, thought to be lacking a logical order, are jurally arranged, not according to the intensity of the law but according to the intensity of the degree of kinship. The internal logic and consistency of the incest taboos of Lev 18 can be understood in light of the following three principles governing its literary arrangement, form and content. In Lev 18, sexual relations are prohibited between:

1. Ego and Ego’s close kin (vv. 6–11);
2. Ego and Ego’s close kin’s kin (vv. 12–16);
3. Ego and two people who are close kin to each other (vv. 17–18).

28. Angelo Tosato, “The Law of Leviticus 18:18: A Reexamination,” *CBQ* 46 (1984): 203.

Specifically, in relation to #1, where Ego is a male in the lineage, Ego's consanguineal female kin as well as Ego's father are prohibited. As such, the interests of each member of the nuclear family (father, mother, daughter, son, brother, sister, step-mother, half-sisters and so on) are protected before any other rights are protected, and the right of sexual access to any woman that normally adheres to a male is mitigated by the rights of females and males within the nuclear family first, because Yahweh demands it (v. 6), and the lineage second (vv. 7–18) because it is "depravity." In principle #2, Ego's close male kin's female kin have protected rights (vv. 12–16) on the basis of their relationship to Ego's male kin. In principle #3, the rights of two people who are close kin to each other, a wife and her consanguineal kin, are protected (vv. 17–18).

Why are the rights of lineal relatives protected by the incest regulations of Lev 18:6–18? Drawing upon recent psychological studies, I hold that the importance of protecting each lineal relatives' rights can be summarized in this truism: A sexual union with a prohibited kinswoman/man diminishes or severs pre-existing kinship ties and establishes a new bond that supersedes and threatens previous kinship relationships and obligations.²⁹ Not only does the violation of an incest prohibition have the potential to alter the kinship relationship between two parties, but also it may alter the kinship relationship between many others within the lineage and threaten survival and stability by reversing jural rights and obligations. For example, not only is the common affection shared by mother and daughter threatened if a man uncovers the nakedness of his wife's daughter (v. 17), but also, the daughter now stands in equal relationship to the mother and may threaten the status of the mother and her marriage prestations. When a father uncovers his son's nakedness or vice versa (sexual relations between father and son), the status of all other sons is diminished by the unique relationship that now obtains to one son only.

In a social structure where parallel cousin marriage is preferred and endogamy prevails, relatives customarily stand in more than one relationship to each other. For example, the relationship between father and father's brother can be permanently jeopardized and the normal duties of an uncle toward a nephew (potentially his son-in-law) are abrogated, if the nephew uncovers the nakedness of his FaBr wife (potentially his mother-in-law). Thus, a ripple effect of estranged relationships results when prohibitions are violated. This hierarchy of duty toward

29. Sue Blume, *Secret Survivors* (New York: Ballantine, 1989), *passim*.

relatives is supported in the form and content of Lev 18; it complements, and confirms, our understanding of parallel cousin marriage as the preferred form of marriage. The hierarchy first offers protection for the rights of nuclear family members, these rights are followed by the rights of close kin and the pericope ends with protection for affinal kin. Consequently, a wife's rights are protected last because she is an affinal kinsperson, not because her rights are less binding or because she is a woman. According to this analysis, the daughter and son are prohibited in v. 6 implicitly, and the daughter is explicitly prohibited in v. 17.

The outline below depicts the jural-literary function that this analysis brings to light for Lev 18:6–18. The major divisions (in bold) reveal an order designed to convey the hierarchy of duty that binds Ego to each relative listed below based on degree of kinship. Subdivisions (in italics) indicate the rights of people who are protected by virtue of their status in relation to the person in bold. These laws protect the *ius in rem*,³⁰ or rights that should be respected by other people, of each person listed in the outline. That is, the roman numerals explain whose rights are being considered, and the relatives listed in italics explain who is prohibited on the basis of those rights. The right being protected is the right of the deity/person (in bold) in the major division to unambiguous and uncompromised bonds of sexual and familial ties to the kinsperson (italicized in the subdivisions below) listed in Lev 18 before each motive clause.

It is not my position that this order represents an order specific to incest prohibitions, but that the compiler is working with a generally accepted order that governs all social relationships around which he/she formulated the incest laws.

- I. **Yahweh—יְהוָה Rights³¹ (v. 6)**
 - Daughter*
 - Son*
 - Father*
 - Mother*
 - Brother*
 - Sister*

- II. **Mother's Rights (v. 7a)**
 - Father (addressed to Son and Daughter)*

30. Elizabeth Martin, ed., *Dictionary of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). Translation of the Latin is "against the thing." In this case, rights against the rights of others.

31. See Lev 21:2–3.

- III. **Father's Rights** (vv. 7b–11)
Mother (addressed to Son and Daughter)
Father's Wife (addressed to son)
Sister/s (addressed to Son)
Children's female children (addressed to Father's Father)
Father's Wife and her Daughter/"secondary" half-sister
(addressed to Son)
- IV. **Father's Father's Rights** (v. 12)
Father's Sister
- V. **Mother's Father's Rights** (v. 13)
Mother's Sister
- VI. **Father's Brother's Rights** (v. 14)
Father's Brother's Wife/Uncle's Wife
- VII. **Son's Rights** (v. 15)
Daughter-in-law
- VIII. **Brother's Rights** (v. 16)
Sister-in-law
- IX. **Wife's Rights** (vv. 17–18)
Wife's Daughter
Wife's Daughter's Daughter
Wife's Son's Daughter
Wife's Sister

When we collapse the subdivisions, the hierarchy of duty is even more discernible. After the rights of Yahweh over אֲבִי relatives is announced, the structural arrangement of relatives is in the order of degree of kinship and reveals a social structure as follows:

Yahweh's rights over אֲבִי relatives	(v. 6)
Mother	(v. 7a)
Father	(vv. 7–11)
Father's Father	(v. 12)
Mother's Father	(v. 13)
Father's Brother	(v. 14)
Son	(v. 15)
Brother	(v. 16)
Wife	(vv. 17–18)

As shown above, the jural responsibilities of Ego toward near kinspeople are listed in order from the kin whose rights and interests Ego is socially and legally held responsible to offer the most protection to the relatives to whom Ego has comparatively fewer obligations. Loyalty to Yahweh supersedes all kinship ties. In addition, the severity of punishment is

harsh for all violations except a violation of v. 18, reinforcing the relative importance of duties toward blood kin compared to affinal kin.

This analysis of the literary form of Lev 18 illuminates the purpose and function of the incest prohibitions, and it has implications for understanding ancient Israelite social structure. For example, the presentation of mother's rights before father's rights in v. 7 reflects an increase in status that accrues to mothers, an increase in status for women in ambilateral societies and the absence of any claim on the father's sexuality by a relative other than a mother. The first rights recognized are the exclusive sexual rights of a mother to a father (v. 7); the final rights recognized are those of a wife to harmonious and non-threatening relationships with her daughters, granddaughters and sisters. The jural-literary movement from "mother's rights" to "wife's rights" forms an *inclusio* that makes the first last and the last first. Consequently, the importance of wives and mothers in ancient Israelite culture is emphasized literarily, thus balancing gender asymmetry in these laws.³² The form of Lev 18 communicates that marriage and motherhood elevate a woman's status so that her claims upon the family are second only to Yahweh's. To summarize, this analysis supports the following conclusions:

1. Motherhood confers an elevated status to women.
2. Father's daughter is prohibited twice (vv. 6 and 17), once in relation to Ego's duty to Yahweh because "daughter" is a אִשָּׁת relative, and again in relation to Ego's duty to protect his wife's interests and rights. Likewise, the sister prohibition is repeated in v. 9 in relation to a father's rights over his daughter.
3. Sexual unions between a male and his full sister, a sister who is treated as a full sister, his children's children and father's wife's daughter is considered a violation of their rights as well as the rights of the father responsible for them.
4. A law delineating the obligation to a father comes before the law delineating Ego's obligation to a father's father.
5. The law delineating an obligation to protect the mother's father's rights by abstaining from sexual relations with the mother's sister is second in importance to the law delineating Ego's obligation to the father's father.
6. The law protecting the rights of mother's father follows the law protecting the rights of father's father and precedes the law that

32. For a discussion of symmetry and asymmetry in biblical law, see Cheryl Anderson, *Women, Ideology and Violence: Critical Theory and the Construction of Gender in the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Law* (New York: T&T Clark International, 2004).

protects the interests of father's brother. Where parallel cousin marriage is the rule, this hierarchy reflects the likelihood that mother's father and father's father are brothers in an endogamous community.

7. Responsibility to father's brother surpasses Ego's responsibility to Ego's own son. This is consistent with the fact that in Hawaiian systems father and father's brother have equal statuses especially when father's brother is a wife-giver. In an exogamous lineage mother's brother would be authoritative, but here we find lineal endogamy and a male Ego's duty to father's brother precedes that to son because "prestige, rank, superiority and thus the attitude of authority always falls to spouse-givers."³³ This also reflects the case when father's brother is also wife's father and becomes father-in-law (cousin marriage).
8. Ego has a greater legal obligation to his son than to his brother.
9. Ego is also related to *affines* as illustrated by the placement of a wife's protected status in the terminal position of this list wherein her rights are also protected.

As stated previously, a lineage is a "grouping of two or more consanguineous generations related through one sex or both."³⁴ Leviticus 18 clearly depicts several generations grouped together. This analysis is consonant with previous conclusions that an extended family setting is represented in these laws. At this point, the function of incest laws must be placed in larger relief by examining the interrelationship of incest regulations and incest narratives in the Pentateuch.

Incest in Narratives

In light of the analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 and the literary structure that has emerged from a formal analysis of Israel's kinship system, we must reexamine narratives that address incestuous relationships. Eshkenazi suggests that a rigid distinction between narrative and law must be relaxed and that narrative and law in the Pentateuch are complementary literary forms designed to instruct. According to this view, narrative functions as *torah*.³⁵ If indeed laws originate within sacral wisdom traditions

33. Henaff, *Making of Structuralism*, 87.

34. Schusky, *Manual for Kinship Analysis*, 65.

35. Tamara Cohen Eshkenazi, "Torah as Narrative and Narrative as Torah," in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker* (ed. James Luther Mays et al.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 13–30.

and only later evolve into legal tradition,³⁶ then the integration of narrative and legal texts can be viewed as a part of this larger toranic tradition. Flexibility and adaptability are lost once oral customs evolve into law and take on written form. The solution is to allow some equivocation through narrative Torah. I will argue that narratives addressing incest and endogamy mitigate the rigidity of written legal traditions or explicate them.

The relevant passages have been named to reflect the complementarity of law and narrative as communal instruction in the Pentateuch and to reflect their function as proposed here: Father's Rights: Noah's Sons (Gen 9:20–27); Justification of Wife Rights in Perpetuity (Gen 19:30–38); The Matriarch, Her Sister and Jacob (Gen 29 and 30); Spare the Righteous Daughter-in-law (Gen 38); Cursed Be the Son (Gen 35:22; 49:3). We move to the first narrative in Genesis that addresses incest. It is customarily referred to as the *Curse of Canaan*; however, it is more consistent with the kinship emphasis of Genesis to see its relevancy as related to torah concerning a Father's Rights.

Father's Rights: Noah's Sons (Genesis 9:20–27)

The significance of the euphemism in v. 22 “saw the nakedness” has been treated elsewhere, and the question that we raise in this examination has been raised before.³⁷ Did a prohibited sex act occur? And if so, between whom? Admittedly, the text may have been corrupted during transmission. A corrupted text is suggested by Gen 9:25–27 wherein Canaan is cursed because of an act attributed to his father Ham. Attempts to interpret these verses in their final form have ranged from the outrageous, as justification for the oppression of Africans everywhere, to the sublime, as unrelated to modern racist ideologies.³⁸ Yet, irrespective of its use to promote racialist ideologies, is it possible that the curse in its final form does not represent a corruption but a sequence original to the story?

36. Anne Fitzpatrick-McKinley, *The Transformation of Torah from Scribal Advice to Law* (JSOTSup 287; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

37. Frederick W. Bassett, “Noah's Nakedness and the Curse of Canaan: A Case of Incest?,” *VT* 21 (1971): 232–37.

38. For a description and critique of the “Hamitic Myth,” see Cain Hope Felder, *Stony the Road We Trod: African American Biblical Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 132. For a discussion that questions the influence of early rabbinic exegesis on racist ideologies, see David H. Aaron, “Early Rabbinic Exegesis on Noah's Son Ham and the So-Called ‘Hamitic Myth,’” *JAAR* 63 (1997): 721–59. See also Rodney S. Sadler, Jr., *Can a Cushite Change his Skin? An Examination of Race, Ethnicity, and Othering in the Hebrew Bible* (LHBOTS 425; New York: T&T Clark International, 2005).

If we read this pericope in light of incest narratives and laws that prohibit incest, it functions symbolically in dyadic relationship to the story of Lot and his daughters.

The similarities are unmistakable. Each story follows a recent destruction of human life (Gen 6:7; 19:13), and each story uses the trope of an inebriated father to absolve him of responsibility for the transgression that occurs (Gen 9:21; 19:33). The wife of the male parent is unnamed in each story, and the need to multiply is explicitly stated either within the narrative or immediately preceding it (Gen 9:1; 19:31). Thus, if we interpret the episode of Noah's son "seeing his nakedness" in light of Lot and his daughters, we have another incest narrative. Ham has seen the nakedness of his father, which is Noah's wife, presumably Ham's mother but not necessarily. Thus, Ham had sexual relations with his father's wife at best, or his own mother at worst.³⁹ The narrative mitigates against capital punishment for mother-son incest because these are dire circumstances. The earth must be replenished (Gen 9:1).

The repetition of the phrase "Ham was the father of Canaan" in vv. 18 and 22 signals the reader that an etiology is at work. Just as Moab and Ammon are cursed because of their mother's actions, Ham's descendant, Canaan, is cursed because of his father's actions. The more important implication for sons is that failing to respect their fathers' rights will place their descendants in the same situation as the Canaanites: they will lose their land, a condition paramount to lifetime servitude where arable land is scarce. Understood in this light, v. 23 is the only editorial accretion, attributable to a compiler who misunderstood the euphemism "seeing the nakedness." The larger instructive agenda is to provide a defense of negative Israelite attitudes toward the people of the land.⁴⁰

Justification of Wife Rights in Perpetuity (Genesis 19:30–38)

The story of Lot's daughters has drawn considerable attention and has led to insightful discussions about its significance. It has been treated variously as ethnocentric hyperbole (improperly) aimed at demonizing otherness (namely Moab and Ammon),⁴¹ as a narrative emphasizing the

39. Bergsma's analysis is similar. See John S. Bergsma and Scott W. Hahn, "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20–27)," *JBL* 124 (2005): 25–40.

40. Randall C. Bailey, "They're Nothing but Incestuous Bastards: The Polemical Use of Sex and Sexuality in Hebrew Canon Narratives," in *Reading from This Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation* (ed. Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 121–38.

41. *Ibid.*, 138.

dangers of daughters to patriarchy,⁴² as sympathetic in its tone toward women who take extreme measures to save the lineage⁴³ and as little more than a conclusion to Abraham's genealogy and an explanation for the relationship between Israel and her neighbors Ammon and Moab.⁴⁴

Understood in its jural-legal context, the story of Lot and his daughters relates only marginally to Lot and his daughters. Rather, this story addresses the rights of Lot's wife and the consequences for father-daughter incest after a mother's death. Two literary clues point toward the structural centrality of Lot's wife: her death occurs in the middle of the narrative unit, and the symbolism of salt carries with it the implication of purity, covenant, barrenness and sterility.⁴⁵ According to Aycock, the salt symbolism mediates the extreme behaviors represented in the Lot cycle and signifies the importance of hospitality, fertility and covenant with the deity. A close reading of this pericope suggests a more narrow focus. Specifically, in its immediate literary context, the pillar of salt signifies the covenant of marriage which is consistently corrupted or devalued in the Lot cycle.

According to this reading, the story of the incestuous union between Lot and his daughters exemplifies an extreme case of a noncovenantal or incestuous marriage. The absence of narratological censure implies that the death penalty should not be applied. As noted by Randall Bailey, this narrative is also an etiology for the condemnation of Moabites and Ammonites.

In addition to the salt pillar, the evidence that the compilers focus is on marriage and a wife's rights is the death of Lot's sons-in-laws in Gen 19:14. Their death anticipates the incestuous act between Lot and his daughters in 19:33. Without changing any other detail of the story, had the narrator allowed Lot's sons-in-laws to survive during the union of Lot and his daughters, the story may have been mistaken for commentary on the right of a son-in-law to his wife. The sons-in-law, however, did not survive. The only survivor whose marital rights Lot was bound to respect were those of his wife. At the denouement of the flight from

42. Ilona N. Rashkow, "Daughters and Fathers in Genesis or What is Wrong with this Picture," in *The Phallacy of Genesis: A Feminist-Psychoanalytic Approach* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 66.

43. Athalya Brenner, "On Incest," in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy* (ed. Athalya Brenner; FCTB 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 119.

44. Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 315.

45. D. Alan Aycock, "The Fate of Lot's Wife: Structural Mediation in Biblical Mythology," in Leach and Aycock, eds., *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth*.

Sodom and the prelude to Zoar, Lot's wife stands as the hermeneutical key to the narrative. Yet, there too she falls in anticipation of the instruction on incest that the narrative was designed to convey.

In several biblical stories, the death of a spouse prefigures an endogamous or incestuous union between the surviving spouse and a kinsperson of the deceased. This trope functions to turn the *leitmotif* away from adultery toward a restricted or desired union (cf. Gen 38:7, 10, 12; Ruth 1:3, 5; 1 Sam 25:37). In Gen 19, the spouse-death trope is indicative of the compiler's jural aim to narrow the interpretive field in view away from the offense of adultery toward incest. The use of trickery is also a clue that the compiler is aware of ethical norms—opposite of what is represented textually. After all, behavior that is socially sanctioned does not require the narratological use of trickery (Laban and Jacob) or the untimely death of people with sexual access and rights superordinate to the hero (Lot's sons-in-law and wife, and Judah's wife) as explication for a departure from accepted ethical norms. In Gen 19:30ff., the sons-in-law are dead. Lot's wife is dead. There are no men around for Lot's daughters.

The juridical question raised is: Are Lot and his daughters bound to protect a wife/mother's interests in perpetuity? The death of Lot's wife is an intermediate reprieve for Lot and redirects the question to its female audience. The drunk father trope minimizes the cognitive dissonance that would have arisen for the compilers' audience if Lot had willfully uncovered the nakedness of his daughters. The question must then be rephrased as: Can a daughter take her mother's husband as a husband if her mother is dead? The implicit answer is no. The prohibition of Lev 18:6, whether known in written or oral form, retains its legitimacy as custom. Daughters must not uncover the nakedness of their father which is the nakedness of their mother (Lev 18:7) and the value of narrative as torah adds "even if the mother is deceased."

What is the consequence for violating a mother's rights after her death? We can deduce from what is signified textually and suggested cross-culturally that father-daughter incest was socially equivalent in severity to mother-son incest; thus, the death penalty would apply (Lev 20:11). Thus, Gen 19:14-38 mitigates against strict application of the death penalty for father-daughter incest. Because, however, Lot and his daughter's descendants are the Ammonites and Moabites, a curse is implied. What apodictic torah lacked, narrative torah supplied; the father-daughter prohibition remains in effect even when the mother is dead or else the children (like Ammon and Moab) will be estranged from the clan.

The Matriarch, her Sister and Jacob (Genesis 29 and 30)

The custom prohibiting the marriage of a man to a wife and her sister appears to be operating in this pericope as pretext. Otherwise, Laban's use of trickery to force Jacob to marry Leah, the oldest daughter, would have no literary value or make any sense socially unless we were to argue that Laban was simply hedging his bets and attempting to protect his own interests by marrying the less marriageable daughter first. Theoretically, it would be better for a father in Laban's situation to marry the older daughter first rather than to offer both daughters and lose a suitor altogether. Indeed, Laban's own words suggest that he was following a custom: "This is not done in our country—giving the younger before the firstborn" (Gen 29:26). Yet, had the terms of Laban's contract with Jacob originally included the marriage of both daughters to Jacob, one might argue that the narrator's depiction of Jacob's intense love for Rachel served to place Jacob in a weaker negotiating position. He would not *want* to run away.

The questions then become: Why did Laban refuse to offer both daughters at one time? What imbedded cultural assumptions known to the author but unknown to contemporary readers precluded any action except trickery? There are at least three possibilities: (1) Laban could not offer both women because a man in Jacob's position would not take an unloved woman in order to gain permission to marry the one he loved; (2) Laban could not offer Jacob two daughters because Jacob could not sustain two wives (we may rule this out inasmuch as he did in fact take two wives); or (3) a rule, custom or law prevented Jacob from taking two sisters as wives.

Given the kinship focus of Genesis and the complementary use of narrative as torah, I would argue for the third possibility. The compiler appear to hint at the fact that an offer to give two sisters as wives would be illegal, forbidden or prohibited. Just as marrying the younger daughter first is not done in Laban's country, the story is intended to evoke in the reader or hearer the response "and neither is marrying two sisters to the same man." The story *required* the use of trickery to make its point without diminishing the status of the patriarch. Jacob's marriage to two sisters could be sanctioned only if he were tricked. Given Jacob's intense love for Rachel, his wealth and consequent ability to sustain two wives, Laban's use of trickery would only make sense narratologically if Jacob's willingness to marry two sisters for the sake of one could not be stated explicitly in the text. Thus, this passage not only advances the Genesis Saga, but also functions heuristically as a warning against marrying a wife and her sister. Or from the perspective of Ego as father, it warns against marrying two daughters to the same man (Lev 18:18). Several

supporting literary details, in addition to what has been stated thus far, warrant this conclusion.

First, in Gen 28:1–2, Jacob is instructed to take a wife from his mother's kinsmen. Verses 1–2 thus introduce a new episode in the Jacob cycle—the search for a wife. Whatever the succeeding verses connote, the key to an interpretation is in vv. 1–2. Jacob must obtain a proper wife. The introduction of a second woman changes the focus to co-wife status in marriage. Second, the narrator describes a love story that begins at 29:1, forms a steady crescendo through 29:20 (“and they seemed to him but a few days because of the love he had for her”) and unveils its climax at 29:26–28 when Laban tricks Jacob and requires him to serve an additional seven years in order to marry Rachel, when at long last Jacob consummates his true love. Chapter 29:1–30 is intended to explicate the unusual case of an ancestor who married *two sisters*. The love story, its climax and the exhausting closing scenes where sister battles sister for the deity's and Jacob's favor prefigure the denouement crafted by 29:31–30:24—marrying two sisters is a bad idea. There are no punishments for this practice attested in the Hebrew Bible or in the narrative. This episode serves as a supplementary instruction to apodictic torah, specifically the ethic which underlies Lev 18:18 “you shall not take a woman and her sister.”

Spare the Righteous Daughter-in-law (Genesis 38)

The interruption of the Joseph Cycle with the story of Tamar and Judah has been the subject of much discussion with most commentators conceding that the reasons for its inclusion are ambiguous. Westermann concludes that it is a self-contained individual family narrative inserted by a redactor to preserve it.⁴⁶ Its emphasis on the levirate has long been noted.⁴⁷ Carol Smith states that the story of Tamar complicates a rigid approach to individual rights and eventuates in the message that the law is not absolute.⁴⁸ Sarna maintains, however, that Gen 38 is unassociated

46. Claus Westermann, *Genesis 37–50* (trans. John J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1982), 49.

47. See also Tikva Frymer-Kensky, “Tamar 1,” in Meyers, Craven and Kraemer, eds., *Women in Scripture*: 161–62; and Anthony J. Lambe, “Genesis 38: Structure and Literary Design,” in *The World of Genesis: Persons, Places, Perspectives* (JSOTSup 257; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998): 102–20.

48. Carol Smith, “The Story of Tamar: A Power-filled Challenge to the Structures of Power,” in *Women in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. George J. Brooke; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellon, 1992), 16–28 (24). See also Alice Ogden Bellis, “Women in Genesis,” in *Helpmates, Harlots, Heroes: Women's Stories in the Hebrew Bible* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994): 67–98.

with rules regarding the Levirate because Tamar does not make a claim to marriage but only to progeny; consequently, compared to Deut 25:5 it “reflects a much earlier socio-judicial stratum.”⁴⁹ In addition to making a statement about relative guilt and perhaps advancing the family genealogy, Brueggemann concludes that its placement in Genesis “does not make clear its intent.”⁵⁰ Andrew observes that verbs of motion emphasize movement from death to life throughout the narrative. The foreign woman is symbolic of death while the birth of twins under inauspicious circumstances, one of whom is the grandfather to David, relates the life-giving power of Yahweh to sustain the lineage.⁵¹ According to Wildavsky, Joseph’s story is that of an anti-hero indicating the path that the Hebrew people must avoid.⁵² Furthermore, he states that the placement of the Judah and Tamar story in the middle of the Joseph cycle advances the Joseph mytheme by accenting the danger of violating moral codes. Wildavsky explains, “the stories as a whole are about what is permissible when the Jewish-family is threatened by extinction.”⁵³ Judah and Joseph are brothers who sought survival by violating moral law. Their stories are interwoven to illustrate the danger of unmitigated self-interest in the case of Judah and assimilation to foreign ways in the case of Joseph. The extreme conditions under which Tamar acted, however, are sanctioned because she had no other choice.

The perspective presented here holds that the Tamar–Judah narrative is polyvalent, serving the interests of its compilers in explicating the Pentateuchal family saga and its jural portions. Though the preceding analyses are instructive, they miss the powerful analogy made between Joseph and Tamar that may explain the placement of the Tamar–Judah story *after* Joseph was betrayed by Judah and sold to Potiphar.⁵⁴ Both content and literary context suggest at least three overarching objectives.

49. Nahum Sarna, *Genesis: JPS Torah Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 270.

50. Walter Brueggemann, *Genesis* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox, 1982), 308.

51. Maurice E. Andrew, “Moving from Death to Life: Verbs of Motion in the Story of Judah and Tamar in Gen 38,” *ZAW* 105 (1993): 262–69.

52. Aaron Wildavsky, “Survival Must not be Gained through Sin: The Moral of the Joseph Stories Prefigured through Judah and Tamar,” *JSOT* 62 (1994): 37–48.

53. *Ibid.*, 42.

54. For a discussion of similarities between the stories of Tamar in Genesis and Tamar in Samuel, see Fokkelen van Dijk-Hemmes, “Tamar and the Limits of Patriarchy: Between Rape and Seduction (2 Samuel 13 and Genesis 38),” in *Anti-Covenant: Counter Reading Women’s Lives in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Mieke Bal; JSOTSup 81; Sheffield: Almond, 1989): 135–56.

By juxtaposing Tamar's story and Joseph's story in sequential narratives as ancestors mistreated by Judah, four motifs materialize: (1) the equation of marriage to foreign women with danger; (2) Tamar and Joseph as symbols of righteousness; (3) a qualification to Lev 20:12, which requires the death penalty for father/daughter-in-law unions; and (4) grace as the *modus operandi* for settling violations of biblical law under unusual circumstances. The third and fourth motifs carry the most relevance in relation to the topic under examination. As such, a brief summary of the first two motifs will suffice in preparing for a discussion of the third and fourth.

The equation of marriage to foreign women with a curse is related in two ways. First, the explicit mention of Judah's Canaanite wife provides a clue that the issue of acceptable marriage partners is key to the plot. It foreshadows another unacceptable sexual union, that of Tamar and her father-in-law. This is also the first marriage mentioned since Simeon and Levi's pretentious refusal to give Dinah to an uncircumcised man; it is one of many examples that ingroup and outgroup sentiments are operating in the Genesis Saga. Each Canaanite character in this story dies with the exception of the youngest son—perhaps a sign of Yahweh's tendency to favor the weakest.

Second, as symbols of righteousness, Tamar and Joseph share several experiences in common in relation to Judah. Both were deceived by Judah. Judah sold Joseph into slavery (37:26) and Judah broke his promise to give Tamar in marriage to his youngest son (38:11). Both Tamar and Joseph requested a youngest surviving son as evidence of Judah's faithfulness. Tamar requested Shelah and Joseph requested Benjamin (42:15). Judah failed to recognize both Tamar (38:16) and Joseph (42:8), and both Tamar and Joseph exposed the truth with a scheme involving material objects. Tamar kept objects in her possession to expose the truth (Gen 38:18), and Joseph placed an object in the possession of a brother to expose the truth about his brothers' misdeeds. Furthermore, both Tamar and Joseph protected the rights of the head of the household to whom they were bound—Tamar to her deceased husband and Joseph to Potiphar. Consequently, their actions are attributed to them as righteousness. Despite poor treatment by Judah, they use every means at their disposal to maintain the family line, Tamar by giving birth and Joseph by giving sustenance during famine. Both narratives mitigate rigid understandings of biblical laws. Joseph practiced divination, and Tamar slept with her father-in-law. Strict application of biblical law would suggest they both deserved the death penalty. Yet, they acted in ways that would ensure their ability to preserve the family line. Thus, they are not

condemned narratologically. The message is that neither should those in similar circumstances be punished.

Judah, however, sold a brother (Joseph) into slavery and refused to allow a son to perform the duty of a levir. To absolve him, a sufficient explanation must be given for this behavior. The intertextuality of the Tamar and Joseph stories is illumined in Judah's monologue. *Double entendre* characterizes the monologue placed in Judah's mouth. His words are presented as explanation for why Jacob could not permit Benjamin (the youngest) to leave him, but functions also as subtext explaining and justifying Judah's tight fisted hold on his youngest son, Shelah.

Then Judah stepped up to him and said, "O my lord let your servant please speak a word in my lord's ears, and do not be angry with your servant; for you are like Pharaoh himself. My Lord asked his servants, saying 'Have you a father or a brother?' And we said to my lord, 'We have a father, an old man, and a young brother, the child of his old age. His brother is dead; he alone is left of his mother's children, and his father loves him.' Then you said to your servants, 'Bring him down to me, so that I may set my eyes on him,' We said to my lord, 'The boy cannot leave his father for if he should leave his father, his father would die'"... "If I do not bring him back, I will bear the blame in the sight of my father all my life. Now therefore, please let your servant remain as a slave to my lord in place of the boy; and let the boy go back with his brothers. For how can I go back to my father if the boy is not with me? I fear to see the suffering that would come upon my father.'" (Gen 44:18–22, 32–34)

Judah's acceptance of blame and his offer to remain a slave to Joseph shows Judah to be righteous in the end. The sequence beginning in Gen 37 and ending at Gen 45 answers questions about family obligations and the application of customs regarding brothers, sons and daughters-in-law.

With respect to father–daughter-in-law incest, a clear signal is given to interpret the death penalty in light of mitigating circumstances. Yet, Tamar's use of trickery to "uncover the nakedness" of her father-in-law could be expected to cause ambivalence, outrage and tacit approval of Judah's call for capital punishment. Though the death of the mother-in-law figure removes the question of adultery from the story, the danger that Tamar faced by initiating an incestuous union cannot be understated, especially because she impersonated a highly respected temple devotee.⁵⁵ The punishment that should have come to Tamar necessitated placing Tamar's behavior in the shadow of Joseph, who also used trickery to expose Judah's failings.

55. Though the meaning of קִוְּשָׁה in this context is unclear.

Judah's declaration of Tamar's righteousness alone would not accomplish her salvation. More importantly, a father-in-law's declaration could not be expected to accomplish the salvation of a *woman* in a similar position as Tamar if such a matter came before a tribunal or court relying upon the torah for guidance. Unlike Lot's daughters, for whom the death penalty would end a lineage, Tamar can be replaced. For so egregious a transgression, her actions had to be declared as righteous in light of those of a similarly positioned male hero. By placing Tamar's story alongside Joseph's, the narrator has accomplished the vindication of Tamar and allows his/her audience to reinterpret the opprobrious behavior of Judah in withholding Shelah in Gen 38 in light of Jacob's love for Benjamin in Gen 44, that is, the love a father for a son. Therefore, both Tamar and Judah are deserving of mercy.

Cursed Be the Son (Genesis 35:22; 49:3)

Genesis 35:22 reads, "While Israel lived in that land, Reuben went and lay with Bilhah his father's concubine; and Israel heard of it." The heuristic value of family stories to teach proper conduct within the household is clear in the case of Reuben and Jacob. Given the centrality of Reuben's territory in the material on Levites and Aaronids, it may be that Israel's first son once held a position of preeminence among his brothers.⁵⁶ That tradition, however, appears to be lost in the tribal account of Reuben. Genesis 49:1–28a is generally held to be a collection of ancient tribal sayings comparable to Judg 5 (Song of Deborah) and Deut 33 (Blessings of Moses).⁵⁷ What remains of Reuben's legacy here is diatribe (Gen 49:1–4). Jacob's curse on Reuben is clear indication that at the time that these tribal sayings were added to the Joseph Cycle or redacted by another editor,⁵⁸ a custom prohibited sexual intercourse with a father's concubine. Whatever its origin or antiquity, this tribal saying does not mask the compilers' awareness of the story of Reuben and his father's concubine. What was treated as a secret exposed in 35:22 is harshly sanctioned in 49:1–4. From this perspective, the ancestor story upholds and buttresses a community ethic which prohibited "uncovering the nakedness of your father's wife."

56. Frank Moore Cross, "Reuben First-Born of Jacob," *ZAW* 100 (1988): 46–65.

57. Westermann, *Genesis 37–50*, 221.

58. *Ibid.*, 223.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: ISRAELITE KINSHIP AND THE INTERNAL LOGIC OF LEVITICUS 18

Israel's Kinship System

The incest prohibitions of Lev 18 cannot be properly understood without bringing into focus Israel's kinship system. A "kinship system" is the regular pattern of preferred marriage form, post-marital residence, descent and kinship relations as specified through kinship terminology. This is not to suggest that other forms of marriage, residence or descent are not operative; however, only those patterns that are regularized have implications for kinship terminology, incest prohibitions and social organization. That every culture has a normative pattern has been conclusively demonstrated cross-culturally. Patterns may change over time, but they are very resistant to change; and anthropological studies based on a cross-cultural comparison of societies listed in the World Ethnographic Atlas suggest that very specific events lead to those changes. The most significant factor effecting kin terms, and consequently social structure, is a shift in residence.

In our own culture, the preferred marriage form is monogamous exogamy, the post-marital residence rule is neolocal (a new residence is established upon marriage), descent is bilateral (inheritance, status, familial rights and obligations are transmitted through both parents) and kinship terminology is Eskimo (descriptive). The presence of other marriage forms among the Utah Mormons, Nation of Islam or cousin-marrying enclaves does not alter the rule or determine the dominant social structure.

Thus, when I speak of identifying Israel's kinship system, I am identifying the regular patterns that shape kin relations and social organization. In order to identify the kinship system of any culture with one of the six conventionally recognized kinship systems around the world, a formal

analysis of Hebrew kinship terminology was necessary. For without an understanding of the linguistic structure, mode of use, range of application and six criteria for determining descriptive vs. classificatory usage of kin terms, Israel's kin terms cannot be compared to those of other kinship systems.

A formal analysis has thus identified ancient Israel's kinship system as *Hawaiian*. The single most significant indicator of this is the equivalence of kin terminology for siblings and cousins. Kinship terminology for "aunts" and "uncles" in ancient Israel is bifurcate-collateral, which means that Hebrew kin terms differentiate between FaBr and Fa and MoSi and Mo. The American system does not make this distinction. As a result, it is impossible to know if an "aunt" is a mother's sister or a father's sister. A formal analysis of ancient Hebrew kin terms led to new insights about Israel's kin terms; the most significant are: (1) the kin terms for cousin and siblings are equivalent; (2) the terms for דוד and דודיה are Hebrew terms of *address*, used to *address* a "beloved" male or female related by marriage on the father's side, and they do not denote an exact genealogical position such as "father's sister"; (3) בְּלֵיָהּ is a classificatory term of *reference* for an affinally related female. Its equation to אֶחָיוּת in the Song of Songs (4:9) can be explained by cousin/אֶחָיוּת marriage and its range of application which is classificatory; (4) אֶחָיוּת is a classificatory term of reference to a male related by marriage; its etymology suggests that it may refer as much to a "nephew" as a "son-in-law."

A socio-structural reading of the Pentateuch led to the conclusion that ancient Israel's preferred marriage form, residence rule and descent form were FaBrDa marriage, bilocal/ambilocal post-marital residence and bilateral descent respectively. Only seven marriages in the Pentateuch provided sufficient genealogical information that could be used to discern a marriage rule. Given the instructive nature of the Torah and the kinship focus of Genesis, it is neither coincidental that each of these marriages constitutes marriage to a father's brother's daughter, nor accidental that there are exactly seven, a number connoting perfection in the Genesis Saga and throughout the Hebrew Bible. The message that the compilers are conveying to their post-monarchic audience is clear. The preferred form of marriage is FaBrDa marriage. The post-marital residence in Genesis demonstrated an absence of any consistent structurally embedded rule. Based on the multiplicity of post-marital residences in Genesis, I concluded that the operative rule was bilocal or ambilocal. This confirms the assessment of Israel's system as *Hawaiian* in part because it has been noted that "where a consistent unilocal (i.e. patrilineal or matrilineal) mode of postmarital residence is absent or has been

abandoned, Hawaiian rather than lineal kinship classification may be found.”¹ Furthermore, Hawaiian kinship terminology is characterized by social structures with an “exceedingly frequent appearance of limited polygyny, the bilocal extended family, generation terminology for aunts and nieces, bilateral extension of incest taboos and bilateral kindreds or demes.”²

Since Hawaiian systems are bilaterally organized, it is clear, with support from both narratives and the segmented genealogies that ancient Israel was not patrilineal but bilineal/bilateral. The bilateral extension of incest prohibitions to both father’s relatives and mother’s relatives provided conclusive support that descent was reckoned bilaterally.³ As Murdock notes, “bilateral extension [of incest taboos] follows the establishment of bilateral kin groups.”⁴

Although kinship terms were examined throughout the Hebrew Bible, except for poetic texts, I limited a socio-structural reading of narratives that address incest to the Pentateuch for three reasons: (1) its compositional and intertextual unity suggest the comparability of its narratives; (2) its tendentious kinship focus can be isolated from the ideological aims of other texts; (3) its pre-exilic setting and legal strictures are formative for ancient Israel. Consequently, late exilic/post-exilic kin terms were not included in this analysis.

In the course of analyzing over 3000 occurrences of kin terms in their respective literary contexts and subjecting each occurrence to the standard six criteria, no measurable variation in mode of use, linguistic structure or range of application appeared based on location in one of the traditionally recognized Pentateuchal sources or any of the books of the Hebrew Bible.⁵ The results of this analysis and the basic principles applicable to the study of incest prohibitions were then applied to Lev 18. A structure consistent with its juridical-legal context emerged.

The internal logic of Lev 18 may be summarized accordingly: close sexual relations are not permitted between (1) Ego and Ego’s close kin

1. Pasternak, *Introduction to Kinship*, 137.

2. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 228. Elsewhere, Murdock notes the presence of bifurcate-collateral terms (separate terms for parents and their siblings) in bilateral societies (p. 158). As noted in Chapter 5, ancient Israel’s terms were bifurcate-collateral.

3. Dr. Gregory Leavitt, personal communication, 19 December, 2000. Comparative sociologist, Dr. Gregory Leavitt, reviewed a list of the forbidden relatives of Lev 18 and concluded it “reads like a bilateral prohibition.”

4. Murdock, *Social Structure*, 305.

5. Not including the preponderance of descriptive kin terminology in Leviticus which has more to do with the form than the source.

(vv. 7–11); (2) Ego and Ego's close kin's kin (vv. 12–16); and (3) Ego and two people who are close kin to each other (vv. 17–18). This internal logic is structurally represented in a hierarchical order beginning with the person whose rights and interests Ego is most duty bound to protect and ending with the person whose rights and interests Ego is least duty bound to protect. Listed below are the relatives whose rights the proscriptions are designed to protect in order of descending filiation with respect to any given male Ego. The order in which Lev 18 protects any given persons' "nakedness" is a function of the protected persons relationship to the people listed below. The order is not haphazard. It reflects the social order of an endogamous and bilaterally organized community:

Yahweh's rights over his relatives	(v. 6)
Mother	(v. 7a)
Father	(vv. 7–11)
Father's Father	(v. 12)
Mother's Father	(v. 13)
Father's Brother	(v. 14)
Son	(v. 15)
Brother	(v. 16)
Wife	(vv. 17–18)

Each verse protects the *jus in rem*,⁶ or rights that should be respected by other people, of each person listed in the outline above and again in the major divisions below. The right that is protected is the right of the deity/person (in bold) in the major division to unambiguous and uncompromised bonds of sexual and familial ties to the kinsperson listed in Lev 18 *before* the motive clause and italicized in the subdivisions below:

- I. **Yahweh**—~~his~~ Rights⁷ (v. 6)
 - Daughter*
 - Son*
 - Father*
 - Mother*
 - Brother*
 - Sister*
- II. **Mother's Rights** (v. 7a)
 - Father* (addressed to Son and Daughter)

6. Martin, ed., *Dictionary of Law*. Translation of the Latin is "against the thing." Thus *jus in rem* describes a right that should be respected by other people generally. See <http://w1.xrefer.com>. Radcliffe-Brown used this expression to explain the rights relatives have one to another.

7. See Lev 21:2–3.

- III. **Father's Rights** (vv. 7b–11)
Mother (addressed to Son and Daughter)
Father's Wife (addressed to son)
Sister/s (addressed to Son)
Children's female children (addressed to FaFa)
Father's Wife and her Daughter/"secondary"
half-sister (addressed to Son)
- IV. **Father's Father's Rights** (v. 12)
Father's Sister
- V. **Mother's Father's Rights** (v. 13)
Mother's Sister
- VI. **Father's Brother's Rights** (v. 14)
Father's Brother's Wife/Uncle's Wife
- VII. **Son's Rights** (v. 15)
Daughter-in-law
- VIII. **Brother's Rights** (v. 16)
Sister-in-law
- IX. **Wife's Rights** (vv. 17–18)
Wife's Daughter
Wife's Daughter's Daughter
Wife's Son's Daughter
Wife's Sister

The relatives listed in bold above and in descending degree of kinship to Ego is not a social hierarchy particular to the Levitical incest prohibitions, rather it is an order that is recognizable as a function of endogamous marriages, bilateral descent and bilocality. Thus, it is no surprise that a "mother's sister" is prohibited especially if, for reasons related to wealth, labor needs, age difference or status, a man resides at his wife's home of origin upon marriage. Nor, given this analysis, is it surprising that this taboo is not extended patrilineally but bilaterally. In as much as the punishments for transgressing the rights of blood kin are severe compared to transgressing the rights of affinal kin, this list also demonstrates that one is obligated to protect the rights of consanguine relatives first.

The *inclusio* formed by the introduction of the mother's rights first and ending with the wife's rights indicates that the rights of a mother are second only to those of Yahweh. The descriptive kinship terms in v. 9 indicate that three different relatives are explicitly prohibited—a full sister, mother's daughter, and father's daughter of a wife or co-wife with full lineage membership rights. Verse 11 addresses the case of a secondary wife's daughter by the father and defines her as a sister for biological reasons only. Her omission from v. 9 suggests that like her

mother, her status is secondary and that Ego's rights and obligations to her in other matters would be secondary as well.

The daughter prohibition is explicit in v. 17. It does not occur in relation to the father because if a father uncovers the nakedness of his daughter he has not infringed upon his own rights (an implicit recognition of male privilege and dominance), he has infringed upon the rights of Yahweh (v. 6) and his wife (v. 17) (an explicit effort at equity). For this reason, the daughter prohibition appears in v. 17 where Ego's affinal kin's rights begin. It is impossible for a father to uncover the nakedness of his biological daughter without transgressing this prohibition.

For the same reasons a daughter prohibition is included, a son prohibition is omitted. It is an implicit recognition that women/mothers in the family do not ordinarily aggress and that such aggression is already prohibited in v. 6 for the mother. Father-son incest would fall under the stipulations of the same sex unions prohibited in v. 22.

The jural-literary movement from mother's rights to wife's rights forms an *inclusio* that makes the first last and the last first. Consequently, the near parity of the status of wives and mothers compared to fathers in a bilaterally organized society is literarily represented in Lev 18. The *inclusio* also serves to militate against the hierarchical order of consanguinity over affinity that unfolds in Lev 18. The *inclusio* is a tacit admission of an endogamous kin network. The stress that it places on the "first" and "last" functions to remind the community that a wife, like a mother, is a blood relative. The general instruction of the *inclusio*, however, is not limited to mothers; it stresses that the rights of all affinal relatives are equally as important as blood kin because normally they are in fact blood kin as well.

The narratives that address incest may now be read in a new light. They explicate or militate against rigid interpretations of the legal portions of the Pentateuch. They address the horror associated with incestuous unions, which are linked to severe punishments, by offering an explanation of the dire circumstances that may precede these liaisons. No one is totally absolved: a curse follows the offspring of parents who commit incestuous acts (Canaan, Moab and Ammon), whether those parents be male (Ham) or female (Lot's daughters); however, the reduction of cognitive dissonance associated with transgression is meant to lessen the application of rigid sanctions, especially capital punishment.

Of particular interest is the conclusion that the editorial expansion of the Abraham-Sarah-Abimelech story in Gen 20 demonstrates a concern with correct marriage form rather than incest. Abraham was married to his cousin and the expansion "daughter of my father, but not daughter of mother" informs the reader that it was a correct marriage form.

Purpose and Function of Ancient Israelite Incest Prohibitions

Within the Central Highlands of Iron IA Palestine, an independent economy, based on the production of cereals and animal husbandry, emerged among an endogamous kin group of neo-Canaanites. A network of contiguous multiple-family units suitable for 25–30 people per unit characterized the average village. Ecological risks associated with diverse soil types and minimal rainfall necessitated mutual cooperation between families and reduced the likelihood of internal warring and the development of a patrilineal descent form. Putative kinship links were established as endogamous marriages ensured the protection of property and renewal of mutual aid. Postmarital residence depended in large measure on the labor needs of various kin groupings; consequently, bilocal/ambilocal postmarital residence became the regular pattern.

By the period of the monarchy, two centuries of contiguous living in the Central Hill country led to the replacement of putative with explicit genealogies. The recollection of a common ancestor resulted in a preference for FaBraDa marriage tracing descent to that ancestor (presumably Terah); and repeated FaBraDa marriage fused lineages together resulting in a nearly egalitarian social structure, as suggested by the lack of stratification in the late Iron IB and IIA period and subsistence strategies that relied upon the contributions of women. Repeated endogamous marriages guarded against internal warring between contiguous descent groups and membership in the בית־אב was traced bilaterally, that is, through the בית־אב as well.

The kinship network that emerged during this period of state formation resulted in a Hawaiian kinship system with bifurcate-collateral terms for aunts and uncles, thus reflecting the bilineal nature of the pre-Israelites. This emerging Israelite kindred protected the rights of its residential groups by adopting customs that placed limitations on sexual access to blood-related and affinal kin.

The bilaterally extended incest prohibitions of Lev 18 are the written evidence of these customs. The presence of the mother's sister and mother's grandchildren (that is, the children of her daughter and son-in-law who moved to his wife's home of origin) provides additional evidence that residence patterns were bilocal.

Considering the placement of the incest prohibitions within the Holiness Code, it becomes clear that strict ideological commitments separating clean from unclean and holiness from depravity become operative. A religio-jural ideal that recognizes the exclusive rights of sexual access of married people to each other is at work. An attempt to prevent division,

strife, jealousy, and a de facto shift in rank and status is the motive for prohibiting Ego from having sexual relations with two people who are closely related (vv. 17–18).

Furthermore, gender-power imbalances in the larger society are mediated in the literary structure of these laws. The first is last and the last is first. A mother's jural interests are second only to those of the deity. A mother or wife is the legal head of the Iron Age household next to Yahweh. All texts relating to women's authority will need to be reread in this light. Her status in the household prefigures the shift to matrilineality in the post-exilic period.

Thus, each prohibition that follows must be observed; and, according to the rule of social equivalence, any person who has a similar status as any of those listed *should* be sexually avoided as well. Within the nuclear consanguineal group, the power of males over females and parents over children, brothers over sisters and sisters over brothers, and adult children over aging (or inebriated) parents is unilaterally quashed and predatorial behavior is proscribed. One must avoid relations with close kin, if for no other reason than it is an infringement upon the rights of Yahweh. To do so is above all amoral; it is depravity.

Thus, observance of the laws of Lev 18 protects the endogamous bilateral kindred from religious impurity and internal warring. Interlocking kinship networks critical to Israel's survival in the rough terrain of Iron Age Palestine are assured, as long as households follow these instructions. As the narratives of Genesis clarify, only in the *absence* of mitigating circumstances would the most severe punishment be exacted. Unless there is another law permitting the union of people previously prohibited to each other in these laws (as with the Levirate), they take effect in perpetuity. Under ordinary circumstances, however, when a violation occurs, it results in harm done to both individuals and the entire family; this warrants the punishments of death, banishment or childlessness. Such a person's descendants or potential descendants must never see the light of day within the community. The harsh punishments in Lev 20 make it clear that incestuous acts are antithetical to the survival, purpose and function of the family.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aaron, David H. "Early Rabbinic Exegesis on Noah's Son Ham and the So-Called 'Hamitic Myth.'" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 63 (1997): 721–59.
- Adams, Mortan S., and James V. Neel. "Children of Incest." *Pediatrics* 40 (1967): 55–62.
- Aginsky, Bernard W. "The Mechanics of Kinship." *American Anthropologist* 37 (1935): 450–57.
- Aharoni, Yohanan. "Violence and Tranquility in Ancient Israel: An Archaeological View." Pages 63–70 in *Violence and Defense in the Jewish Experience*. Edited by Salo W. Baron and George S. Wise. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1977.
- Alexander, T. D. "Are the Wife/Sister Incidents of Genesis Literary Compositional Variants?" *Vetus Testamentum* 42 (1992): 145–53.
- "From Adam to Judah: The Significance of the Family Tree in Genesis." *Evangelical Quarterly* 61 (1989): 5–19.
- "Genealogies, Seed and the Compositional Unity of Genesis." *Tyndale Bulletin* 44 (1993): 255–70.
- Alter, Robert. *Genesis: Translation and Commentary*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1996.
- "A Literary Approach to the Bible." Pages 166–85 in *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in Old Testament Literary Criticism*. Edited by Paul R. House. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992.
- Andersen, Francis I. "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure." *Bible Translator* 20 (1970): 29–39.
- Anderson, Cheryl Barbara. *Women, Ideology and Violence: Critical Theory and the Construction of Gender in the Book of the Covenant and the Deuteronomic Law*. New York: T&T Clark International, 2004.
- Andrew, Maurice E. "Moving From Death to Life: Verbs of Motion in the Story of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 105 (1993): 262–69.
- Arens, W. *The Original Sin: Incest and Its Meaning*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Aufrecht, Walter E. "Genealogy and History in Ancient Israel," in *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*. Edited by Lyle Eslinger and Glen Taylor. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 76. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988.
- Aycock, Alan D. "The Fate of Lot's Wife: Structural Mediation in Biblical Mythology." Pages 113–19 in Leach and Aycock, eds., *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth*.
- Bachofen, Johann. *Das Mutterrecht*. Basel: B. Schwabe, 1948.
- Badaruddoza and Mohammad Afzal. "Inbreeding in the Human Population." *Man in India* 72 (1992): 431–53.

- Bailey, Randall. "They're Nothing But Incestuous Bastards: The Polemical Use of Sex and Sexuality in Hebrew Canon Narrative." Pages 121–38 in *Reading from This Place: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation*. Edited by Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.
- Barnard, Alan, and Anthony Good. *Research Practices in the Study of Kinship*. London: Academic Press, 1984.
- Bassett, Frederick W. "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse of Canaan: A Case of Incest?" *Vetus Testamentum* 21 (1971): 232–37.
- Bataillon, Thomas, and Mark Kirkpatrick. "Inbreeding Depression due to Mildly Deleterious Mutations in Finite Populations: Size Does Matter." *Genetical Research* 75 (2000): 75–81.
- Beckman, Gary. *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.
- Befu, Harumi, and Leonard Plotnicov. "Types of Corporate Unilineal Descent Groups." *American Anthropologist* 64 (1962): 313–27.
- Beidelman, T. O. *W. Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Bellis, Alice Ogden. "Women in Genesis." Pages 67–98 in *Helpmates, Harlots, and Heroines: Women's Stories in the Hebrew Bible*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994.
- Ben-Barak, Zafrira. "The Legal Status of the Daughter as Heir in Nuzi and Emar." Pages 87–97 in *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (1500–1000 B.C.)*. Edited by Michael Heltzer and E. Lipiński. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 23. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1988.
- Bender, Donald R. "A Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-residence and Domestic Functions." *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967): 493–504.
- Bendor, S. *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel*. Jerusalem: Simor, 1996.
- Berghe, Pierre L. van de. "Human Inbreeding Avoidance: Culture in Nature." *Brain and Behavioral Sciences* 6 (1983): 91–123.
- Bergsma, John S., and Scott W. Hahn. "Noah's Nakedness and the Curse on Canaan (Genesis 9:20–27)." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124 (2005): 25–40.
- Bigger, Stephen F. "The Family Laws of Leviticus 18 in their Setting." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 187–203.
- Bixler, Ray H. "Incest Avoidance as a Function of Environment and Heredity." *Current Anthropology* 22 (1981): 639–54.
- Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series* 123. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.
- Blume, Sue. *Secret Survivors*. New York: Ballantine, 1989.
- Bohannon, Paul. "An Alternate Residence Classification." Pages 317–23 in Bohannon and Middleton, eds., *Marriage, Family and Residence*.
- Bohannon, Paul, and John Middleton, eds. *Marriage, Family and Residence*. Garden City, N.Y.: The Natural History Press, 1968.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Brenner, Athalya, ed. *Genesis*. *The Feminist Companion to the Bible, New Series* 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, repr. 1997.
- The Intercourse of Knowledge: On Gendering Desire and Sexuality in the Hebrew Bible*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

- "On Incest." Pages 113–38 in *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy*. Edited by Athalya Brenner. The Feminist Companion to the Bible 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.
- Brown, Francis, et al. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
- Brueggemann, Walter. *Genesis*. Interpretation. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982.
- Brush, Stephen G. *The History of Modern Science: A Guide to the Second Scientific Revolution, 1800–1950*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1988.
- Bunimovitz, Shlomo. "On the Edge of Empires—Late Bronze Age (1500–1200)." Pages 320–31 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Burnette-Bletch, Rhonda Jean. "My Bone and My Flesh: The Agrarian Family in Biblical Law." Ph.D. diss., Duke Graduate School, 1998.
- Burnside, Jonathan. "Strange Flesh: Sex, Semiotics and the Construction of Deviancy in Biblical Law." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30 (2006): 387–420.
- Burton, Roger V. "Folk Theory and the Incest Taboo." *Ethos* 1 (1973): 504–16.
- Byron, Theodora, and F. R. Palmer. *Studies in the History of Western Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Carmichael, Calum M. *Law, Legend, and Incest in the Bible: Leviticus 18–20*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Carr, David. *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- Carroll, Robert P. "Ancient Israelite Prophecy and Dissonance Theory." *Numen* 24 (1977): 135–51.
- "Prophecy and Dissonance: A Theoretical Approach to the Prophetic Tradition." *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 92 (1980): 108–19.
- Carter, Charles E. *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 294. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Carter, Charles E., and Carol Meyers. *Community, Identity and Ideology: Social Science Approaches to the Hebrew Bible*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- Chalcraft, David, ed. *Social-Scientific Old Testament Criticism*. The Biblical Seminar 47. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- Chavalas, Mark. "Genealogical History as 'Charter': A Study of Old Babylonian Period Historiography and the Old Testament." Pages 103–28 in *Faith, Tradition and History*. Edited by A. R. Millard et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994.
- Cholewinski, Alfred. *Heiligkeitgesetz und Deuteronomium*. Analecta Biblica 66. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1976.
- Christensen, Duane L. *A Song of Power and the Power of Song: Essays on the Book of Deuteronomy*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1993.
- Cohen, Percy S. "Theories of Myth." *Man*, New Series 4 (1969): 337–53.
- Cohen, Yehudi A. "The Disappearance of the Incest Taboo." *Human Nature* 1 (1978): 72–78.
- "Ends and Means in Political Control: State Organization and the Punishment of Adultery, Incest and Violation of Celibacy." *American Anthropologist* 7 (1969): 658–87.
- Cross, Frank Moore. "Reuben First-Born of Jacob." *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 100 (1988): 46–65.

- Cunnison, Ian. "History and Genealogies in a Conquest State." *American Anthropologist* 59 (1957): 20–31.
- Currid, John D., and Avi Navon. "Iron Age Pits and the Lahav (Tell Halif) Grain Storage Project." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 273 (1989): 67–78.
- Dahood, Mitchell. *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*. Biblica et orientalia 17. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
- Darwin, Charles. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. Vol. 21 of *The Works of Charles Darwin*. Edited by Paul H. Barrett and R. B. Freeman. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1989.
- The Origin of the Species*. Vol. 15 of *The Works of Charles Darwin*. Edited by Paul H. Barrett and R. B. Freeman. London: Pickering & Chatto, 1988.
- Davenport, William. "Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups." *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 557–72.
- Davis, Kingsley, and W. Lloyd Warner. "Structural Analysis of Kinship." *American Anthropology* 39 (1937): 291–310.
- De Coulanges, Fustel. *The Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws and Institutions of Greece and Rome*. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1901.
- Ancient City: A Study on the Religion, Laws, and Institutions of Greece and Rome*. Translated by Willard Small. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Dever, William G. "Archaeology and the Emergence of Early Israel." Pages 20–50 in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*. Edited by John R. Burtlett. London: Routledge, 1997.
- "Social Structure in Palestine in the Iron II Period on the Eve of Destruction." Pages 416–31 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Dijk-Hemmes, Fokkeli van. "Tamar and the Limits of Patriarchy: Between Rape and Seduction (2 Samuel 13 and Genesis 38)." Pages 135–56 in *Anti-Covenant: Counter Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible*. Edited by Mieke Bal. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 81. Sheffield: Almond, 1989.
- Donaldson, Mara E. "Kinship Theory in the Patriarchal Narratives: The Case of the Barren Wife." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 49 (1981): 77–87.
- Douglas, Mary. "Justice as the Cornerstone: An Interpretation of Leviticus 18–20." *Interpretation* 53 (1999): 341–50.
- Leviticus as Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Purity and Danger*. New York: Routledge, 1966, repr. 1991.
- Du Boulay, Juliet. "The Blood: Symbolic Relationships Between Descent, Marriage, Incest Prohibitions and Spiritual Kinship in Greece." *Man*, New Series 19 (1984): 533–56.
- Edmonson, Munro S. "Kinship Terms and Concepts." *American Anthropologist* 59 (1957): 393–432.
- Eickelman, Dale F. *The Middle East: An Anthropological Approach*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- Eilberg-Schwartz, Howard. "The Fruitful Cut: Circumcision and Israel's Symbolic Language of Fertility, Descent and Gender." Pages 141–76 in *The Savage in Judaism: An Anthropology of Israelite Religion and Ancient Judaism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Elliger, Karl. *Leviticus*. Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1966.
- Elliot, John H. *What is Social Scientific Criticism*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

- Ember, Carol, and Melvin Ember. "The Conditions Favoring Multilocal Residence." Pages 219–48 in Ember and Ember, eds., *Marriage, Family and Kinship*.
 — eds. *Marriage, Family and Kinship*. New Haven: HRAF, 1983.
- "On the Development of Unilineal Descent." Pages 359–97 in Ember and Ember, eds.,
Marriage, Family and Kinship.
- "Warfare, Sex Ratio, and Polygyny." Pages 109–24 in Ember and Ember, eds.,
Marriage, Family and Kinship.
- Ember, Melvin. "Warfare, Sex Ratio, and Polygyny." Pages 109–24 in Ember and Ember,
 eds., *Marriage, Family and Kinship*.
- Eph'al, Israel. "On Warfare and Military Control in the Ancient Near Eastern Empires: A
 Research Outline." Pages 88–106 in *History, Historiography and Interpretation*.
 Edited by H. Tadmor and Moshe Weinfeld. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983.
- Eshkenazi, Tamara Cohn. "Torah as Narrative and Narrative as Torah." Pages 13–30 in
*Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future: Essays in Honor of Gene
 M. Tucker*. Edited by James Luther Mays, David L. Petersen and Kent Harold
 Richards. Nashville: Abingdon, 1995.
- Evan, William M. *Social Structure and Law: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*.
 Newbury Park: Sage, 1990.
- Eyde, David B., and Paul M. Postal. "Avunculocality and Incest: The Development of
 Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage and Crow Omaha Kinship Systems." *American
 Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 747–71.
- Felder, Cain Hope. *Story the Road We Trod: African American Biblical Interpretation*.
 Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.
- Fiorenza, Elisabeth Schüssler. *Rhetoric and Ethic: The Politics of Biblical Studies*.
 Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.
- Firestone, Reuven. "The Problem of Sarah's Identity in Islamic Exegetical Tradition."
Muslim World 80 (1990): 65–71.
- "Prophethood, Marriageable Consanguinity, and Text: The Problem of Abraham and
 Sarah's Kinship Relationship and the Response of Jewish and Islamic Exegesis."
Jewish Quarterly Review 83 (1993): 331–47.
- Fitzpatrick-McKinley, Anne. *The Transformation of Torah from Scribal Advice to Law*.
 Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 287. Sheffield:
 Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.
- Flanagan, James W. "Succession and Genealogy in the Davidic Dynasty." Pages 35–55 in
The Quest for the Kingdom of God: Studies in Honor of George E. Mendenhall.
 Edited by H. B. Hoffman. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983.
- Fortes, Meyer. "Anthropologists and Theologians: Common Interests and Divergent
 Approaches." Pages V–XIX in *Sacrifice*. Edited by M.F.C. Bourdillon. London:
 Academic Press, 1980.
- *Kinship and the Social Order*. Chicago: Aldine, 1963.
- *Religion, Morality and the Person: Essays on Tallensi Religion*. Edited by Jack Goody.
 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups." *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953):
 17–41.
- "Toward the Jural Dimension." Pages 60–84 in *Kinship and Social Order*.
- Fox, Michael. "The Sign of the Covenant: Circumcision in the Light of the Priestly 'ôt
 Etiologies." *Revue Biblique* 4 (1974): 557–96.

- Fox, Robin. *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective*. London: Penguin, 1967.
- Reproduction and Succession: Studies in Anthropology, Law, and Society*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1993.
- Frazer, James. *Totemism and Exogamy*. London: Macmillan, 1910.
- Freud, Sigmund. "Totem and Taboo." Pages 807–930 in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*. Edited by A. A. Brill. New York: Random House, 1938.
- Frick, Frank S. "Israelite State Formation in Iron I." Pages 245–58 in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Memory of D. Glenn Rose*. Atlanta: John Knox, 1987.
- Friedman, Richard Elliot. "Torah." Pages 605–22 in vol. 6 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 12 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Frymer-Kensky, Tikva. "Tamar 1." Pages 161–62 in Meyers, Craven and Kraemer, eds., *Women in Scripture*.
- Fuchs, Esther. "The Literary Characterization of Mothers and Sexual Politics in the Hebrew Bible." *Semeia* 46 (1989): 151–66.
- Gallatin, Albert. "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States east of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America." *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* 2 (1836): 1–264.
- Gausset, Quentin. "Double Unilineal Descent and Triple Kinship Terminology: The Case of the Kwanja of Cameroon." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, New Series 4: 309–23.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard S. *Leviticus: A Commentary*. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1996.
- Gifford, E. W. "A Problem of Kinship Terminology." *American Anthropologist* 42 (1940): 190–94.
- Gillmayr-Bucher, Susanne. "The Woman of their Dreams: The Image of Rebekah in Genesis 24." Pages 90–101 in Philip R. Davies and David J. A. Clines, eds., *The World of Genesis*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 257. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Gledhill, John. *Power and Its Disguises*. London: Pluto, 1994.
- Goldberg, Harvey E. "Cambridge in the Land of Canaan: Descent, Alliance, Circumcision and Instruction in the Bible." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 24 (1997): 9–34.
- Goodenough, Ward H. "Residence Rules," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12 (1956): 22–37.
- Goody, Jack. *The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Gordon, Cyrus H. *Ugaritic Textbook*. Analectica Orientalia 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
- Gottwald, Norman. *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel 1250–1050 B.C.E.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1979.
- Gough, Kathleen E. "The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage." Pages 49–71 in Bohannan and Middleton, eds., *Marriage, Family and Residence*.
- Graburn, Nelson, ed. *Readings in Kinship and Social Structure*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Gray, Patrick. "Is the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample Biased? A Simulation Study." *Cross-Cultural Research* 30 (1996): 301–15.

- Greengus, Samuel. "Sisterhood Adoption at Nuzi and the Wife-Sister in Genesis." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46 (1975): 5-31.
- Greenstein, Edward L. *Essays on Biblical Method and Translation*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Greenwood, David C. *Structuralism and the Biblical Text*. New York: Mouton, 1985.
- Gunkel, Hermann. *The Stories of Genesis*. Edited by William R. Scott. Translated by John J Scullion. Oakland: BIBAL, 3d ed. 1994.
- Haddon, Alfred. *History of Anthropology*. London: Watts & Co., 1855.
- Haebel, A. Adamson. "William Robertson: An 18th Century Anthropology Historian." *American Anthropology* 6 (1960): 648-55.
- Halperin, Rhonda H. *Cultural Economies: Past and Present*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.
- Hamilton, Victor P. "Marriage," Pages 559-69 in vol. 4 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 12 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Hanson, K. C. "BTB Readers Guide: Kinship" *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 24 (1994): 183-94.
- Hayano, David. "Marriage, Alliance and Warfare: A View from the New Guinea Highlands." *American Ethnologist* (1973): 281-293.
- Henaff, Marcel. *Claude Levi-Strauss and the Making of Structural Anthropology*. Translated by Mary Baker. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- Hepner, Gershon. "Abraham's Incestuous Marriage with Sarah: A Violation of the Holiness Code." *VT* 53 (2003): 143-55.
- Hess, Richard. "A Comparison of the Onomastic in Genealogical and Narrative Texts of Genesis 1-11." *Proceedings of the 10th World Congress of Jewish Studies* (1990): 67-74.
- "The Genealogies of Genesis 1-11 and Comparative Literature." *Biblica* 70 (1989): 241-54.
- Hirschfeld, Lawrence. "Kinship and Cognition: Genealogy and the Meaning of Kinship Terms." *Cultural Anthropology* 27 (1986): 217-42.
- Hoffmeier, James K. "The Wives Tales of Genesis 12, 20 and 26 and the Covenants at Beer-Sheba." *Tyndale Bulletin* 43 (1992): 81-99.
- Hoffner, Harry A. "Incest, Sodomy and Bestiality in the Ancient Near East." In *Orient and Occident: Essays for C. H. Gordon*. Edited by Harry A. Hoffner, Jr. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1973.
- Holladay, John S. "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron II A-B (ca. 1000-750 B.C.E.)." Pages 368-98 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Holy, Ladislav. *Kinship, Honour and Solidarity: Cousin Marriage in the Middle East*. Translated by James Harle Bell et al. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989.
- Hopkins, David. "Bare Bones: Putting Flesh on the Economics of Ancient Israel." Pages 121-130 in *Origins of the Ancient Israelite States*. Edited by Volkmar Fritz and Philip R. Davies. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Horne, Kibbey M. *Language Typology: 19th and 20th Century Views*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1996.
- Houtman, Cornelis. *Exodus*. Historical Commentary on the Old Testament. Kampen: Kok, 1993.

- Hughes, Austin L. "The Structure of Kinship Terminologies." Pages 116–31 in *Evolution and Human Kinship*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Hyatt, Marshall. *Franz Boas Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity*. Contributions to the Study of Anthropology 6. New York: Greenwood, 1990.
- Ilan, David. The Dawn of Internationalism—The Middle Bronze Age. Pages 299–319 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Itoigawa, N., K. Nogoyama and K. Kondo. "Experimental Study on Sexual Behavior Between Mother and Son in Japanese Monkeys (*Macaca fuscata*)." *Primates* 22 (1981): 494–502.
- Jankowsky, Kurt R. *Studies in the History of the Language Sciences*. History of Linguistics 78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993.
- Jastrow, Marcus. *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature*. New York: Judaic Press, 1992.
- Jay, Nancy. "Sacrifice and Descent and the Patriarchs." *Vetus Testamentum* 38 (1988): 52–70.
- Jeansonne, Sharon Pace. *The Women of Genesis: From Sarah to Potiphar's Wife*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.
- Khlat, Myriam. "Inbreeding Effects on Fetal Growth in Beirut and Lebanon." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 80 (1989): 481–84.
- Khoury Philip S., and Joseph Kostiner. "Introduction: Tribes and Complexities of State Formation in the Middle East" Pages 1–22 in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Khuri, Fuad I. "Parallel Cousin Marriage Reconsidered: A Middle Eastern Practice that Nullifies the Effects of Marriage on the Intensity of Family Relationships." *Man*, New Series 5 (1970): 597–618.
- Klagsbrun, Francine. "Ruth, Naomi, Rachel and Leah: Sisters Under the Skin." Pages 261–72 in *Reading Ruth: Contemporary Women Reclaim a Sacred Story*. Edited by Judith A. Kates and Gail Twersky Reimer. New York: Ballantine, 1994.
- Klawans, Jonathan. "Idolatry, Incest and Impurity: Moral Defilement in Ancient Judaism." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 29 (1998): 391–415.
- Kloos, Peter. "Matrilocal Residence and Local Endogamy: Environmental Knowledge or Leadership." *American Anthropology* 65 (1963): 854–63.
- Knight, Douglas A. "The Pentateuch." Pages 263–96 in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*. Edited by Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Kroeber, Alfred L. "Classificatory Systems of Kinship." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 39 (1909): 77–84.
- Essays in Anthropology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936.
- "Stepdaughter Marriage." *American Anthropology* 42 (1840): 562–67.
- LaBianca, Øystein S., and Randall W. Younker. "The Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom: The Archaeology of society in Late Bronze/Iron Age Transjordan (ca. 1400–500 B.C.E.)." Pages 399–415 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Lafont, Sophie. *Femmes, Droit et Justice dan L'Antiquite orientale*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.
- Lambe, Anthony J. "Genesis 38: Structure and Literary Design." Pages 102–20 in *The World of Genesis: Persons, Places, Perspectives*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 257. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

- Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Lawson, E. Thomas, and Robert N. McClauley. *Rethinking Religion: Connecting Cognition and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Leach, Edmund. "Anthropological Approaches to the Study of the Bible During the Twentieth Century." Pages 7–32 in Leach and Aycock, eds., *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth*.
- "Kinship, Marriage Rules and Residential Models." Pages 240–51 in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship*.
- "The Meaning of Kin Terms: Formal and Componential Analysis." Pages 239–88 in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship and Social Structure*.
- "Polyandry, Inheritance and the Definition of Marriage," Pages 73–83 in Bohannon and Middleton, eds., *Marriage, Family and Residence*.
- Leach, Edmund, and D. Alan, eds. *Structuralist Interpretations of Biblical Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Leavitt, Gregory. "Inbreeding Fitness: A Reply to Uhlmann." *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992): 448–49.
- "Sociobiological Explanations of Incest Avoidance: A Critical Review of Evidential Claims." *American Anthropologist* 92 (1990): 971–93.
- Lee, Gary R. *Family Structure and Interaction*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lipincott, 1977.
- Leung, Fons van de Vijver Kwok. *Methods and Data Analysis for Cross-Cultural Research*. London: Sage, 1997.
- Levenson, Jon D. "The Political Import of David's Marriages." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980): 507–18.
- Levine, Baruch. *Leviticus: JPS Torah Commentary*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989.
- Levinson, Bernard M., ed. "The Case for Revision and Interpolation Within the Biblical and Legal Corpora." Pages 37–59 in Levinson, ed., *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law*.
- *Theory and Method in Biblical and Cuneiform Law*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series 181; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *Anthropology and Myth*. Translated by Roy Willis. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984.
- *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Translated by James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer and Rodney Needham. Boston: Beacon, 1969.
- *Structural Anthropology*. Translated by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. New York: Basic Books, 1963.
- *Tristes tropiques*. Translated by John and Doreen Weightman. New York: Atheneum, 1975.
- Levy, Thomas E. ed. *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. London: Leicester University Press, 1998.
- Linton, Ralph. *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Lipton, Diana. Review of David Carr, *Reading the Fractures of Genesis: Historical and Literary Approaches*. *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1997): 549–52.
- Livingstone, Frank. "Genetics, Ecology and the Origins of Incest and Exogamy." *Current Anthropology* 10 (1969): 45–61.

- Long, V. Philips. *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1999.
- Lounsbury, Floyd G. "The Nature of Formal Analysis." Pages 257–58 in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship*.
- Lowie, Robert H. "Exogamy and the Classificatory Systems of Relationship." *American Anthropologist* 17 (1915): 223–39.
- "A Note on Relationship Terminologies." *American Anthropologist* (1928): 263–67.
- Mace, Ruth, and Mark Pagel. "The Comparative Method in Anthropology." *Current Anthropology* 35 (1994): 549–64.
- Maine, Henry. *Ancient Law*. New York: Henry Holt, 1864.
- Malamat, Abraham. "A Recently Discovered Word for 'Clan' in Mari and Its Hebrew Cognate." In *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*. Edited by Ziony Zevit et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- Maranda, Pierre. "Kinship Semantics." *Anthropos* 59 (1964): 517–28.
- Marnesh, Ann. "Anti-Covenant: Counter Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible." *Anti-Covenant: Counter Reading Women's Lives in the Hebrew Bible*. Edited by Mieke Bal. Decatur, Ga.: Almond, 1989.
- Martin, Elizabeth., ed. *Dictionary of Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Maynes, Mary Jo, et al. *Gender, Kinship and Power: A Comparative and Interdisciplinary History*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Mazar, Amihai. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible 10,000–586 BCE*. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Mazar, Benjamin. "The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (1981): 75–85.
- McArthur, Harvey K. Review of Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies With Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 38 (1970): 430–32.
- McClenney-Sadler, Madeline. "The Incest Taboos of Leviticus 18." Paper presented at the Southeast Regional AAR/SBL Meeting. Gainesville, FL., March 1995.
- "Women in Incest Regulations." Pages 206–8 in Meyers, Craven and Kraemer, eds., *Women in Scripture*.
- McLennan, John F. *Primitive Marriage: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- McNutt, Paul M. *The Symbolism of Ironworking in Ancient Israel*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1989.
- Menn, Esther M. "Sanctification of the Divine Name." Pages 206–40 in *The Function of Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Tradition*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Metcalf, George J. "The Indo-European Hypothesis in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Pages 233–57 in *Studies in the History of Linguistics: Traditions and Paradigms*. Edited by Dell Hymes. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.
- Meyers, Carol. *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- "The Family in Early Israel." Pages 1–47 in L. G. Perdue, J. Blenkinsopp, J. J. Collins, C. Meyers, eds., *Families in Ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997.
- "Procreation, Production, and Protection: Male-Female Balance in Early Israel." *Journal of the Academy of Religion* (1983): 569–93.

- Review of Paula M. McNutt, *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel*. *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research* 320 (2000): 95–96.
- “The Roots of Restriction: Women in Early Israel.” *Biblical Archeologist* 41 (1978): 91–103.
- “To Her Mother’s House: Considering a Counterpart to the Israelite *Bêt ’āb*.” Pages 39–51 in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by David Jobling, Peggy L. Day and Gerald T. Sheppard. Cleveland: Pilgrim, 1991.
- Meyers, Carol, Toni Craven and Ross S. Kraemer, eds. *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*. Boston: Mifflin, 2000.
- Meyers, Eric M., ed. *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Middleton, Russell. “Brother–Sister and Father–Daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt.” *American Sociological Review* 27 (1962): 603–11.
- Milgrom, Jacob. “Leviticus.” Pages 138–47 in *Encyclopedia Judaica*. New York: Leon Amiel, 1972.
- Leviticus 17–22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible 36A. New York: Doubleday, 2000.
- Miller, J. Maxwell. “Rehoboam’s Cities of Defense and the Levitical City List” Pages 273–86 in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*. Edited by Leo G. Perdue, Lawrence E. Toombs and Gary L. Johnson. Atlanta: John Knox, 1987.
- Mitchell, T. C. “The Meaning of the Noun HTN in the Old Testament.” *Vetus Testamentum* 19 (1969): 93–112.
- Mohrmann, Doug C. “Making Sense of Sex: A Study of Leviticus 18.” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 29 (2004): 57–79.
- Mook, Douglas G. *Motivation: The Organization of Action*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1987.
- Moore, Michael S. Review of Seth Daniel Kunin, *The Logic of Incest: A Structuralist Analysis of Hebrew Mythology*. *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 58 (1996): 516–18.
- Moore, Sally Falk. “Descent and Symbolic Filiation.” Pages 369–81 in *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist 1946–1970*. Edited by Robert F. Murphy. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1976.
- Morgan, Lewis H. *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization*. New York: Henry Holt, 1877.
- League of the Iroquois*. New York: Corinth, 1962.
- Systems of Consanguinity*. Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 17. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1870.
- Morris, Ian. “The Gortyn Code and Greek Kinship.” *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 31 (1990): 233–54.
- Morton, Newton E. “The Mutational Load Due to Detrimental Genes in Man.” *American Journal of Human Genetics* 12 (1960): 348–64.
- Murdock, George Peter. “Bifurcate Merging: A Test of Five Theories.” *American Anthropologist* 49 (1947): 56–68.
- “The Cross Cultural Survey.” *American Sociological Review* 5 (1940): 361–70.
- “Double Descent.” *American Anthropologist* 42 (1940): 555–61.
- Social Structure*. New York: Free Press, 1949.

- Murphy, Robert F., and Leonard Kasdan. "The Structure of Parallel Cousin Marriage." *American Anthropologist* 61 (1959): 17–28.
- Needham, Rodney, ed. *Rethinking Kinship and Marriage*. London: Tavistock, 1971.
- Netting, Robert McC. *Smallholders, Householders: Farm Families and the Ecology of Intensive, Sustainable Agriculture*. Stanford: Stanford Press, 1993.
- Nielsen, Francois. "Sociobiology and Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 20 (1994): 267–303.
- Noth, Martin. *Leviticus*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972.
- Nott, J. C. and G. Gliddon. *Types of Mankind*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854.
- Oden, Robert A. "Jacob as Father, Husband, and Nephew: Kinship Studies and the Patriarchal Narratives." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102 (1983): 189–205.
- Olender, Maurice. "Europe, or How to Escape Babel?" *History and Theory* 33 (1994): 5–21.
- The Languages of Paradise: Race, Religion and Philology in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Otto, Eckart. "Town and Rural Countryside in Ancient Israelite Law: Reception and Redaction in Cuneiform and Israelite Law." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 57 (1993): 3–22.
- Overholt, Thomas W. *Cultural Anthropology and the Old Testament*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996.
- Pasternak, Burton, Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember. *Introduction to Kinship and Social Organization*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- "On Conditions Favoring Extended Family Households." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 32, no. 2 (1976): 109–23.
- Pearson, Mike Parker. *The Archaeology of the Dead*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000.
- Pehrson, Robert N. "Bilateral Kin Groupings as a Structural Type: A Preliminary Statement." Pages 192–95 in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship*.
- Perdue, Leo G., Joseph Blenkinsopp, John J. Collins and Carol Meyers. *Families in Ancient Israel*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997.
- Pericliev, Vladimir. "Automatic Componential Analysis of Kinship Semantics with a Proposed Structural Solution to the Problem of Multiple Models." *Anthropological Linguistics* 40 (1998): 272–317.
- Petersen, David L. "A Thrice-told Tale: Genre, Theme and Motif." *Biblical Research* 18 (1973): 30–43.
- Pfeffer, George. Bruder, Väter, Gotten: Verwandtschaft in der Genesis. *Anthropos* 1991 (1996): 153–67.
- Piot, Charles. *Remotely Global: Village Modernity in West Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Plum, Karin Friis. "Genealogy as Theology." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 1 (1989): 66–92.
- Polzin, Robert. "The Ancestress of Israel in Danger." *Semeia* 3 (1975): 81–98.
- Porter J. R. "The Extended Family in the Old Testament." *Occasional Papers in Social and Economic Administration* 6 (1967): 1–21.
- Prewitt, Terry J. "Kinship Structures and the Genesis Genealogies." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981): 87–98.

- Propp, William H. "Kinship in 2 Samuel 13." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 55 (1993): 39–53.
- Pusey, A. E. "Inbreeding Avoidance in Chimpanzees." *Animal Behavior* 28 (1980): 543–52.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., and Daryll Forde. *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Rahlfs, Alfred. *Old Greek Jewish Scriptures*. Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1935.
- Rashkow, Illona. "Daughters and Fathers in Genesis or What is Wrong with this Picture." Pages 65–84 in *The Phallacy of Genesis: A Feminist-Psychoanalytic Approach*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1993.
- Taboo or Not Taboo: Sexuality and Family in the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- Rasmussen Carl G. "The Economic Importance of Caravan Trade for the Solomonic Empire." Pages 153–66 in *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*. Edited by Walter C. Kaiser Jr. and Ronald F. Youngblood. Chicago: Moody, 1986.
- Rattray, Susan. "Marriage, Rules, Kinship Terms and Family Structure in the Bible." Pages 537–44 in *SBL 1987 Seminar Papers*. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 26. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Redford, Donald B. *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Rendsburg, Gary A. "The Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies." *Vetus Testamentum* 40 (1990): 185–206.
- The Redaction of Genesis*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1986.
- Ricks, Stephen D. "Kinship Bars to Marriage in Jewish and Islamic Law." *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*. Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Rivers, William H. R. "Rivers on the Psychology and Sociology of Kinship." Pages 65–66 in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship*.
- Rogerson, John. *The Pentateuch*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Ronning, John. "The Naming of Isaac: The Role of the Wife/Sister Episodes in the Redaction of Genesis." *Westminster Theological Journal* 53 (1991): 1–27.
- Rosen, Baruch. "Subsistence Economy in Iron Age I." Pages 339–51 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*. Edited by Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.
- Roth, Martha T. *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*. SBL Writings from the Ancient World 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.
- Rubin, Rick, and Greg Byerly. *Incest—The Last Taboo: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1983.
- Sadler Jr., Rodney S. *Can a Cushite Change his Skin? An Examination of Race, Ethnicity, and Othering in the Hebrew Bible*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 425; New York: T&T Clark International, 2005.
- Sahlins, Marshall. "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion." *American Anthropologist* 63 (1961): 322–45.
- Sanders, William T., and David Webster. "Unilinealism, Multilinealism and the Evolution of Complex Societies." Pages 249–302 in *Social Archaeology: Beyond Subsistence and Dating*. Edited by C. L. Redman et al. New York: Academic Press, 1978.
- Sapir, E. "Terms of Relationship and the Levirate." *American Anthropologist* 18 (1916): 327–37.

- Sarna, Nahum. *Genesis: JPS Torah Commentary*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989.
- Sasson, Jack M. "A Genealogical 'Convention' in Biblical Chronography?" *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 90 (1978): 171–85.
- Sawyer, John F. A. *Reading Leviticus: A Conversation with Mary Douglas*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 227. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Schloen, J. David. "The Exile of Disinherited Kin in KTU 1.12 and KTU 1.23." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993): 209–220.
- Schneidel, Walter. "Incest Revisited: Three Notes on the Demography of Sibling Marriage in Roman Egypt." *Bulletin of the American Papyrologists* 32 (1995): 143–55.
- Schneider, David M. *A Critique of the Study of Kinship*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984.
- Schneider, David M., and George C. Homans. "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System." Pages 381–85 in Graburn, ed., *Readings in Kinship*.
- Schloen, J. David. "The Exile of Disinherited Kin in KTU 1.12 and KTU 1.23*." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993): 209–20.
- Schusky, Ernest L. *Manual for Kinship Analysis*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965.
- Seligman, Brenda Z. "Incest and Descent: Their Influence on Social Organization." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 59 (1929): 231–72.
- Sepher, Joseph. *Incest: A Biosocial View*. New York: Academic Press, 1983.
- Service, Elman. *A Century of Controversy: Ethnological Issues from 1860–1960*. Orlando: Academic Press, 1985.
- "Kinship Terminology and Evolution." *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 747–63.
- Seters, John van. "The Primeval Histories of Greece and Israel Compared." *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 100 (1988): 1–22.
- Shaw, Brent. "Explaining Incest: Brother–Sister Marriage in Graeco-Roman Egypt." *Man* 27 (1992): 267–99.
- Sharma, Satya. "Structural and Functional Characteristics of Lineages in Societies with Unilineal Descent Groups and Centralized Government: A Comparative Exploration." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 5 (1970): 226–31.
- Shiloh, Yigael. "The Four Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City," *Israel Exploration Journal* 20 (1970): 180–90.
- "Judah and Jerusalem in the Eighth–Sixth Centuries B.C.E." Pages 97–106 in *Recent Excavations in Israel: Studies in Iron Age Archaeology*. Edited by Seymour Gitin and William G. Dever. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1989.
- Smith, Alfred G. and John P. Kennedy. "The Extension of Incest Taboos in the Woleai, Micronesia." *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 643–47.
- Smith, Carol. "Challenged By the Text: Interpreting Two Stories of Incest in the Hebrew Bible." In *A Feminist Companion to Reading the Bible: Approaches, Methods and Strategies*. Edited by Athalya Brenner and Carole Fontaine. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.
- "The Story of Tamar: A Power-filled Challenge to the Structures of Tamar." Pages 16–28 in *Women in the Biblical Tradition*. Edited by George J. Brooke. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1992.
- Smith, Mark. "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 58 (1996): 25–50.

- Snaith, N. H. *Leviticus and Numbers*. Greenwood: Attic, 1971.
- Spain, David H. "Incest Theory: Are there Three Aversions?" *Journal of Psychohistory* 15 (1988): 235–53.
- "The Westermarck–Freud Incest Theory Debate: An Evaluation and Reformulation." *Current Anthropology* 28 (1987): 623–45.
- Speiser, Ephraim A. "The Wife–Sister Motif in the Patriarchal Narratives." Pages 15–28 in *Biblical and Other Studies*. Edited by Alexander Altmann. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.
- Spoehr, Alexander. "George P. Murdock, 1897–1985." *Ethnology* 24 (1985): 307–17.
- Stager, Lawrence E. "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (1985): 1–35.
- "The Impact of the Sea Peoples in Canaan (1185–1050 B.C.E.)." Pages 332–48 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Steinberg, Naomi. "The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis." *Semeia* 46 (1989): 41–50.
- "Kinship and Gender in Genesis." *Biblical Research* 39 (1994): 46–56.
- *Kinship and Marriage in Genesis: A Household Economics Perspective*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- "Social Scientific Criticism: Judges 9 and Issues of Kinship." Pages 45–64 in *Judges and Method*. Edited by Gail Yee. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Stern, Ephraim. "Between Persia and Greece: Trade, Administration and Warfare in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods (539–63 B.C.E.)." Pages 432–45 in Levy, ed., *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*.
- Stockings Jr., George W., ed. *History of Anthropology: Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Stone, Ken. *Sex, Honor and Power in the Deuteronomistic Historian*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 234. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Streete, Gail C. Review of Calum M. Carmichael, *Law, Legend and Incest in the Bible: Leviticus 18–20*. *Cross Currents* 48 (1998–99): 570–71.
- Swanson, Guy E. *Rules of Descent: Studies in the Sociology of Parentage*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969.
- Tax, Sol. "Some Problems of Social Organization," Pages 3–32 in *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*. Edited by Fred Eggan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Taylor, Edward B. "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions—Applied to the Law of Marriage and Descent." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18 (1889): 245–72.
- Thornhill, Nancy Wilmsen. "An Evolutionary Analysis of Rules Regulating Human Inbreeding and Marriage." *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 14 (1991): 247–93.
- Tosato, Angelo. "The Law of Leviticus 18:18: A Reexamination." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 46 (1984): 199–214.
- Trautmann, Thomas R. *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
- Uhlmann, Allon J. "A Critique of Leavitt's Review of Sociobiological Explanations of Incest Avoidance." *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992): 446–48.
- Vijiver, Fons van de, and Kwok Leung. *Methods and Data Analysis for Cross-Cultural Research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1997.

- Vries, Simon J. De. "A Review of Recent Research in the Tradition History of the Pentateuch." *SBL Seminar Papers* (1987): 459–502.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C., and John Atkins. "The Meaning of Kinship Terms." *American Anthropologist* 62 (1960): 58–60.
- Wander, Nathaniel. "Structure, Contradiction and 'Resolution' in Mythology: Father's Brother's Father Marriage and the Treatment of Women in Genesis 11–50." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society* 13 (1981): 75–99.
- Wassel, Mohamed. "The Ethnological Structure of the Middle East with Reference to: 1) The Endogamous Kinship System: Father's Brother's-Daughter's Marriage, 2) Polygyny and the Status of Women." *Hamdard Islamicus* 8 (1985): 41–54.
- Weber, Max. *Ancient Judaism*. Translated by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952.
- Wegner, Judith Romney. "Leviticus." Pages 36–44 in *Women's Bible Commentary*. Edited by Carol A. Newsom and Sharon H. Ringe. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1992.
- Westermann, Claus. *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary*. Translated by John J. Scullion. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981.
- Genesis 37–50: A Commentary*. Translated by John J. Scullion. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981.
- Westermarck, Edward. *The History of Human Marriage in Three Volumes*. London: MacMillan, 1921; repr. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1971.
- White, Douglass R., and Paul Jorion. "Representing and Computing Kinship: A New Approach." *Current Anthropology* 33 (1992): 454–63.
- White, Leslie. "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest." *American Anthropologist* 50 (1948): 416–35.
- "A Problem in Kinship Terminology." *American Anthropologist* 41 (1939): 566–73.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. "Kinship Semantics: Lexical Universals as a Key to Psychological Reality." *Anthropological Linguistics* 59 (1964): 131–56.
- Wildavsky, Aaron. "Survival Must not be Gained Through Sin: The Moral of the Joseph Stories Prefigured Through Judah and Tamar." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 62 (1994): 37–48.
- Wilson, Robert R. "Genealogy/Genealogies." Pages 930–31 in vol. 2 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 12 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975): 169–89.
- Winnett, Fred V. "The Arabian Genealogies in the Book of Genesis." Pages 171–96 in *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970.
- Wolde, Ellen Van. "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives." *Biblical Interpretation* 5 (1997): 1–28.
- Wolf, Arthur P. "Childhood Association and Sexual Attraction: A Further Test of the Westermarck Hypothesis." *American Anthropologist* 72 (1970): 503–15.
- "Childhood Association, Sexual Attraction, and the Incest Taboo: A Chinese Case." *American Anthropologist* 68 (1966): 883–98.
- "Westermarck Redivivus." *American Anthropologist* 22 (1993): 157–75.
- Wright, C. J. H. "Family." Page 762 in vol. 2 of *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 12 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Wundt, Wilhelm. *Volkerpsychologie*. Leipzig: W. Englemann, 1906.
- Yadin, Yigael. *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, vol. 2. New York: International Publishing, 1963.

INDEXES

INDEX OF REFERENCES

HEBREW BIBLE		21:23	43	37:26	100
<i>Genesis</i>		24:4	57, 60	38	93, 98
6:7	94	24:51	65	38:7	96
9:1	94	25:20	45	38:8	41
9:18	33, 94	26:34	61	38:9	41, 74
9:20–27	93	26:35	61	38:10	96
9:21	94	28	61	38:11	100
9:22	93, 94	28:1–2	98	38:12	96
9:23	94	28:2	40–42	38:13	43, 50
9:25–27	93	28:5	45, 49	38:16	100
10	6	28:9	45, 57, 60	38:18	100
10:9	43	29	93, 97	38:25	43, 50
11–50	60	29:1	98	42:8	100
11	6	29:10	42	42:15	100
11:28	83	29:12	42, 45	43:29	42, 45
11:29	57	29:20	98	44	102
11:31	43, 65	29:26–28	98	44:18–22	101
12	13, 57–60	29:26	97	44:20	45
12:1	65	29:30	57, 61	44:32–34	101
12:4	49	29:31–30:24	72, 98	45	101
12:5	43	30	93, 97	46:8–24	72
12:13	57	30:26	65	49:1–28a	102
14:12	43	31:18	65	49:1–4	102
19	96	32:9	44	49:3	93, 102
19:12	43, 49, 65	34	71	49:4	81
19:13	94	34:13	45		
19:14–38	96	34:14	46	<i>Exodus</i>	
19:14	47, 65, 95	35:16–20	72	2:1	63
19:30–38	93, 94	35:22–26	72	4:18	49
19:30	96	35:22	81, 93, 102	6:20	34, 42, 51,
19:31	94	36	61		57, 63
19:33	94, 95	36:1–6	61	6:23	57, 62
20	13, 57, 59,	36:3	45	7	71, 77
	60, 108	37	101	10:2	43
20:12	45, 57, 60	37:12	71	18:1	43

18:2	43	18:12-16	87, 88, 106	25:5	99
18:5	43	18:12-13	85	25:7	41, 51
18:12	43	18:12	42, 51, 85,	25:9	41, 51
18:14	43		90, 106,	27:23	43
18:17	43		107	33	102
		18:13	42, 85, 90,	38:8	51
			106, 107		
<i>Leviticus</i>					
9	77	18:14	42, 51, 63,	<i>Joshua</i>	
10	77		85, 90,	6	71
10:4	43, 50		106, 107	15:17	45
11	77	18:15	85, 90,		
12	77		106, 107	<i>Judges</i>	
14	77	18:16	41, 74, 78,	1:13	45
15	77		86, 90,	1:16	43
16	77		106, 107	4:11	43
18-20	77	18:17-18	86-88, 90,	5	102
18	2, 4, 14,		106, 107,	8:22	43
	18, 45, 51,		110	9:1	40, 41
	64, 77-79,	18:17	42, 43, 79,	9:3	45
	84, 86, 87,		86-89, 91,	9:18	45
	89, 91,		108	15:6	43, 47
	103, 105,	18:18-23	87	19:5	43
	106, 108-	18:18	87, 91, 97,	20:12	71
	10		98	21:6	45
18:2-6	77	18:22	108		
18:6-18	4, 10, 76,	20	77, 81, 110	<i>Ruth</i>	
	77, 87-89	20:11	81, 96	1:3	96
18:6-16	86	20:12	85, 100	1:5	96
18:6-11	87	20:14	87	1:15	51
18:6	1, 78-82,	20:17	41, 84	1:22	34
	88-91,	20:19	42, 85	2:2	34
	106, 108	20:20	43, 51, 85	2:8	46
18:7-18	88	20:21	41, 86	2:11	50
18:7-11	90, 106	21:2-3	78, 79, 89,	2:22	34
18:7	77, 78, 80,		106	3:17	50
	91, 96	25:49	43, 50		
18:7a	80, 89, 90,			<i>1 Samuel</i>	
	106	<i>Numbers</i>		4:19	43, 50
18:7b	80	10:29	43	4:21	43, 50
18:7b-11	90, 107	26:5-51	72	10:14-16	43, 50
18:8	77, 78, 80	26:59	63	14:40	50
18:8a	80	31	71	14:50	43
18:9	81-84, 86,	36:11	43, 50	18:18	43
	91, 107			1818	47
18:10	43, 78, 84,	<i>Deuteronomy</i>		22:14	43
	86	6:2	43	25:37	96
18:11	83, 84, 107	13:6	45		

<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>1 Chronicles</i>		<i>Isaiah</i>	
1:26	45	9:19	44	58:14	44
4:6	45	9:39	50	62:5	43
4:9	45	27:32	43, 50		
13:12	45	29:10	44	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
13:13	57			7:34	43
18:2	45	<i>2 Chronicles</i>		16:9	43
20:9	45	12:1	13	25:10	43
23:18	45	16:7–10	13	27:7	43
		17:3	44	32:7	43, 50
<i>1 Kings</i>		28:1	40, 44	33:11	43
13:30	45	34:1	44		
14:25	13	34:3	44	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
15:11	40, 44	<i>Nehemiah</i>		16:3	44
15:23	13	6:18	43	16:45	41
15:24	40, 44	13:28	43	22:11	41
22:50	44			<i>Joel</i>	
<i>2 Kings</i>		<i>Esther</i>		2:16	43
8:27	43, 49	2:7	43, 50		
14:13	40, 44	2:15	43, 50	<i>Amos</i>	
15:38	44	<i>Psalms</i>		6:10	43
16:2	44	50:20	42	INSCRIPTIONS	
18:3	44	<i>Song of Songs</i>		<i>Ugaritic Texts</i>	
20:5	44	3:11	43	1099	
22:2	44	4:9	45, 104	20	49
24:17	42, 43	4:10	45	23	49
		4:12	45	27	49
		5:1	45		

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Aaron, D. H. 93
Adams, M. S. 22
Aginsky, B. W. 32, 36
Alexander, T. D. 54
Andersen, F. I. 31
Anderson, C. B. 91
Andrew, M. E. 99
Atkins, J. 31, 32
Aufrecht, W. E. 33
Aycock, A. D. 95
- Bachofen, J. 8
Bailey, R. 94
Barnard, A. 39, 67
Bassett, F. W. 93
Bataillon, G. 23
Beckman, G. 59
Befu, H. 67
Beidelman, T. O. 11
Bellis, A. O. 98
Ben-Barak, Z. 82
Bender, D. R. 67
Bendor, S. 71
Berghe, P. L. van de 22
Bergsma, J. S. 94
Bigger, S. F. 32, 78
Bixler, R. H. 22
Blume, S. 88
Bohannan, P. 64
Bourdieu, P. 4
Brenner, A. 1, 53, 95
Brown, F. 47, 51
Brueggemann, W. 99
Burnette-Bletch, R. J. 46
Burnside, J. 81
Burton, R. V. 22
- Carmichael, C. M. 1, 76
- Carroll, R. P. 13
Chalcraft, D. 12
Chavalas, M. 54
Cholewinski, A. 77
Coulanges, D. F. de 8
Cross, F. M. 102
Cunnison, I. 54
- Dijk-Hemmes, F. van 99
Donaldson, M. E. 53, 57, 61, 62
Douglas, M. 11, 77
- Edmonson, M. S. 37
Eilberg-Schwartz, H. 48
Elliger, K. 77, 86
Ember, C. 9, 14, 66-69
Ember, M. 9, 14, 56, 66-69
Eph'al, I. 70
Eshkenazi, T. C. 76, 92
Eyde, D. B. 62
- Felder, C. H. 93
Firestone, R. 10, 57-59
Fitzpatrick-McKinley, A. 93
Forde, D. 2, 3, 64
Fortes, M. 3, 4, 64, 67
Fox, R. 9, 55
Frazer, J. 19
Freud, S. 17, 18
Friedman, R. E. 76
Frymer-Kensky, T. 98
- Gallatin, A. 7
Goldberg, H. E. 10, 48
Good, A. 39, 67
Goodenough, W. H. 64
Gordon, C. H. 49
Gottwald, N. 2, 53, 70, 71

- Gough, K. E. 55
Greengus, S. 57
Greenwood, D. C. 12
Gunkel, H. 57
- Hahn, S. W. 94
Hamilton, V. P. 47
Hanson, K. C. 10
Henaff, M. 11, 92
Hepner, G. 82
Hess, R. 10
Hirschfeld, L. 31
Hoffmeier, J. K. 57
Holy, L. 9
Houtman, C. 63
Hughes, A. L. 31
- Itoigawa, N. 21
- Jastrow, M. 51
Jeansonne, S. P. 61
- Kasdan, L. 67, 73
Khuri, F. I. 48, 62
Kirkpatrick, M. 23
Knight, D. A. 76
Kondo, K. 21
Kroeber, A. L. 35
- Lafont, S. 2, 59
Lambe, A. J. 98
Laqueur, T. 33
Leach, E. 11, 12, 31, 55
Leavitt, G. 23, 105
Lee, G. R. 74
Leung, F. 15
Levi-Strauss, C. 9, 11, 24
Levine, B. 2, 77, 78, 80, 83, 84
Levinson, B. M. 13
Livingstone, F. 23
Lowie, R. H. 34
- Mace, R. 14
Maine, H. 8
Malamat, A. 71
Marnesh, A. 24, 25
Martin, E. 89, 106
- McClenney-Sadler, M. 79
McLennan, J. F. 3
Metcalf, G. J. 6, 7
Meyers, C. 53, 56, 65
Milgrom, J. 77
Mitchell, T. C. 47
Mohrman, D. C. 77
Mook, D. G. 13
Morgan, L. H. 2, 3, 8, 26
Morris, I. 12
Morton, N. E. 22
Murdock, G. P. 9, 12, 26, 30, 32-37,
40, 53, 54, 56, 64, 65, 73, 74,
105
Murphy, R. F. 67, 73
- Needham, R. 14
Neel, J. V. 22
Nogoyama, K. 21
Noth, M. 77
- Oden, R. A. 72
Olender, M. 7
Overholt, T. W. 10
- Pagel, M. 14
Pasternak, B. 2, 4, 16, 26, 27, 29, 30,
53, 55, 62, 64-66, 70, 105
Pehrson, R. N. 67
Perdue, L. G. 10
Pericliev, V. 31
Petersen, D. L. 57
Plotnicov, L. 67
Polzin, R. 57
Porter, J. R. 78
Postal, P. M. 62
Prewitt, T. J. 32, 53, 73
Propp, W. H. 10
Pusey, A. E. 21
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. 2, 3, 64
Rahlfs, A. 86
Rashkow, I. 1, 95
Rattray, S. 1, 2, 81
Rendsburg, G. A. 10, 54
Ronning, J. 10
Roth, M. T. 82

- Sadler Jr., R. S. 93
Sarna, N. 99
Schusky, E. L. 3, 14, 27–29, 71, 92
Seligman, B. Z. 4
Sepher, J. 19–22
Service, E. 3, 6, 8
Sharma, S. 70
Shaw, B. 16
Smith, C. 98
Snaith, N. H. 79
Spain, D. H. 19
Speiser, E. A. 57
Spoehr, A. 9
Stager, L. E. 70
Steinberg, N. 10, 53, 57, 64
Streete, G. C. 76
Swanson, G. E. 67
- Tax, S. 58
Taylor, E. B. 9
Tosato, A. 87
Trautmann, T. R. 6, 7
Tylor, E. B. 23
- Valdes–Perez, R. E. 31
Wallace, A. F. C. 31, 32
Wander, N. 61, 73
Wassel, M. 59
Wegner, J. R. 1
Westermann, C. 57, 95, 98, 102
Westermarck, E. 3, 19, 22, 54
White, L. 23, 24
Wierzbicka, A. 36
Wildavsky, A. 99
Wilson, R. R. 54, 72
Wolf, A. P. 20, 21
Wright, C. J. H. 64, 65
Wundt, W. 17