

PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

EDITED BY JOHN DAY



LIBRARY OF HEBREW BIBLE/
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

531

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



This page intentionally left blank

PROPHECY AND PROPHETS
IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar

edited by

John Day



NEW YORK • LONDON

Copyright © 2010 by John Day

Published by T & T Clark International
A Continuum imprint
80 Maiden Lane, New York, NY 10038
The Tower Building, 11 York Road, London SE1 7NX

www.continuumbooks.com

Visit the T & T Clark blog at www.tandtclarkblog.com

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.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-0-567-47364-6 (hardback)

Typeset and copy-edited by Forthcoming Publications Ltd. (www.forthpub.com)
Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

Preface	ix
List of Contributors	xi
Abbreviations	xiii

Part I

THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONTEXT OF PROPHECY

COMPARING PROPHETIC SOURCES: PRINCIPLES AND A TEST CASE Martti Nissinen	3
PREDICTIVE AND PROPHETIC LITERATURE: CAN <i>NEFERTI</i> HELP US READ THE BIBLE? Stuart Weeks	25
FEMALE PROPHETS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST Jonathan Stökl	47

Part II

SPECIFIC THEMES

PROPHETESSES IN THE HEBREW BIBLE H.G.M. Williamson	65
INTERPERSONAL FORGIVENESS AND THE HEBREW PROPHETS David J. Reimer	81

Part III

SOCIOLOGICAL, ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

EXIT THE OPPRESSED PEASANT? RETHINKING THE BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL CRITICISM IN THE PROPHETS Walter J. Houston	101
---	-----

SHAMAN, PREACHER, OR SPIRIT MEDIUM? THE ISRAELITE PROPHET IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL MODELS Lester L. Grabbe	117
THE PROPHETS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION Paul M. Joyce	133
Part IV PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS IN SPECIFIC BIBLICAL BOOKS	
DEUTERONOMY 18.9-22, THE PROPHETS AND SCRIPTURE Ernest Nicholson	151
‘A PROPHET INSTEAD OF YOU’ (1 KINGS 19.16): ELIJAH, ELISHA AND PROPHETIC SUCCESSION David T. Lamb	172
THE THEOLOGY OF AMOS John Barton	188
HOSEA AND THE BAAL CULT John Day	202
THE SIGN OF IMMANUEL John J. Collins	225
REWRITING ISAIAH: THE CASE OF ISAIAH 28–31 Reinhard G. Kratz	245
DEUTERO-ISAIAH AND MONOTHEISM Hywel Clifford	267
‘NOW YOU SEE ME, NOW YOU DON’T!’ JEREMIAH AND GOD Philip S. Johnston	290
EXCLUSIVELY YAHWEH: ANICONISM AND ANTHROPOMORPHISM IN EZEKIEL Jill Middlemas	309
ZEPHANIAH AND THE ‘BOOK OF THE TWELVE’ HYPOTHESIS Tchavdar S. Hadjiev	325

‘LAW IS PARALYSED’ (HABAKKUK 1.4): HABAKKUK’S DIALOGUE WITH GOD AND THE LANGUAGE OF LEGAL DISPUTATION Kevin J. Cathcart	339
STRUCTURE AND MEANING IN THE BOOK OF MALACHI Elie Assis	354
NEW WINE AND OLD WINESKINS: THREE APPROACHES TO PROPHECY AND PSALMODY Susan Gillingham	370
DEMOCRATIZING REVELATION? PROPHETS, SEERS AND VISIONARIES IN CHRONICLES Gary N. Knoppers	391
PROPHECY AND THE NEW TESTAMENT Christopher Rowland	410
Index of References	431
Index of Authors	455

This page intentionally left blank

PREFACE

This volume consists of twenty-three essays which were originally delivered as papers to the Oxford Old Testament seminar between January 2006 and October 2008, and which have all subsequently been revised and often expanded. The essays, which overall make a major contribution to the study of Prophecy and the Prophets in ancient Israel, range over a wide field, stretching from the ancient near East, through the Old Testament—on which it primarily concentrates—and into the New Testament.

I am extremely grateful to all the contributors to this work who have helped make it a success, many from within Oxford, others from elsewhere in the United Kingdom and yet others who have travelled vast distances from overseas in order to address the Oxford seminar. In particular, I am indebted to one of the participants, Professor John Barton, for once again allowing me to take over for such a long period the organization of the deliberations of the seminar that he normally convenes. I am also grateful to T&T Clark International for agreeing to publish this volume. Not for the first time I am enormously indebted to their copy-editor and typesetter, Dr Duncan Burns, who once again has demonstrated extraordinary care in his attention to detail and has also undertaken the laborious task of compiling the indexes.

This is now the fourth series of published proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament seminar to appear under my editorship. The first volume to be published was *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTSup, 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), which appeared in a Brazilian Portuguese translation in 2005. The second, *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel* (JSOTSup, 406; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2004) went into paperback in the same year, while the third, *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (LHBOTS, 422; London and New York: T&T Clark International, 2005), appeared in paperback in 2007. It is hoped that this latest volume will prove as successful as the earlier series have been.

John Day

This page intentionally left blank

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Elie Assis, Head of Department of Bible, Bar-Ilan University.

John Barton, Oriel and Laing Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, University of Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.

Kevin J. Cathcart, Emeritus Professor of Near Eastern Languages, University College, Dublin.

Hywel Clifford, Tutor in Old Testament, Ripon College, Cuddesdon, Oxford.

John J. Collins, Holmes Professor of Old Testament Criticism and Interpretation, Yale University.

John Day, Professor of Old Testament Studies, University of Oxford, and Fellow & Tutor in Theology, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

Susan Gillingham, Reader in Old Testament, University of Oxford, and Fellow & Tutor in Theology, Worcester College, Oxford.

Lester L. Grabbe, Professor of Hebrew Bible and Early Judaism, University of Hull.

Tchavdar Hadjiev, Academic Dean, United Theological Faculty of the Bulgarian Evangelical Theological Institute, Sofia.

Walter Houston, Emeritus Chaplain Fellow in Theology, Mansfield College, Oxford.

Philip S. Johnston (from October 2009), Senior Tutor, Hughes Hall, Cambridge. Formerly Tutor in Old Testament and Hebrew, Wycliffe Hall, Oxford.

Paul Joyce, Lecturer in Old Testament, University of Oxford, and Fellow & Tutor in Theology, St. Peter's College, Oxford.

Gary Knoppers, Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies, Religious Studies, and Jewish Studies, The Pennsylvania State University.

Reinhard G. Kratz, Professor of Old Testament, University of Göttingen.

David Lamb, Assistant Professor of Old Testament, Biblical Seminary, Hatfield, Pennsylvania.

Jill Middlemas, Associate Professor of Old Testament, Aarhus University.

Ernest Nicholson, Honorary Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and previously Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, University of Oxford.

Martti Nissinen, Professor of Old Testament Studies, University of Helsinki.

David Reimer, Senior Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Christopher Rowland, Dean Ireland's Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, University of Oxford, and Fellow of The Queen's College, Oxford.

Jonathan Stökl, Naden Research Associate in Divinity (post-doc), St. John's College, Cambridge.

Stuart Weeks, Senior Lecturer in Old Testament and Hebrew, University of Durham.

H.G.M. Williamson, Regius Professor of Hebrew, University of Oxford, and Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Tablet signature of texts from Mari
AB	Anchor Bible
AD	Avraham J. Sachs and Hermann Hunger, <i>Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia. III. Diaries from 164 B. C. to 61 B. C.</i> (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 247. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften)
ADPV	Abhandlungen des deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
ANET	James B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3rd edn with Supplement, 1969)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Society
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR, IS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BDB	Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907)
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical interpretation</i>
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
<i>b. Meg.</i>	Babylonian Talmud, tractate <i>Megillah</i>

- BN* *Biblische Notizen*
 BWANT Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ *Biblische Zeitschrift*
 BZAW Beihefte zur *ZAW*
CAD Ignace I. Gelb et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–)
 CAT Commentaire de l’Ancien Testament
 CBC Cambridge Bible Commentary
 CBET Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
 CBQMS Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
 CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
 CM Cuneiform Monographs
 ConBOT Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament
COS W.W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions, and Archival Documents from the Biblical World* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002)
 COT Commentaar op het Oude Testament
 CRB Cahiers de la Revue biblique
 CRRAI Compte rendu de la rencontre assyriologique internationale
 CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c in the British Museum
CTR *Criswell Theological Review*
 DJD Discoveries in the Judean Desert
 DH Deuteronomistic History
 DMOA Documenta et monumenta orientis antiqui
 Ebib Etudes bibliques
 ES Abraham Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Old Testament* (London: Kuperard, 1990)
 ET English translation
EvT *Evangelische Theologie*
 FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament
 FLP Tablets in the collections of the Free Library of Pennsylvania
 FM Florilegium marianum
 FOTL The Forms of Old Testament Literature
 FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und neuen Testaments
 FTS Freiburger theologische Studien
 FzB Forschung zur Bibel
*GAG*³ W. von Soden (with W.R. Mayer), *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (AnOr, 33; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 3rd edn, 1995)
 GKC *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar* (ed. E. Kautzsch, revised and trans. A.E. Cowley; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910)

<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HALOT</i>	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, J.J. Stamm <i>et al.</i> , <i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (trans. and ed. M.E.J. Richardson; 5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000)
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IDB</i>	George Arthur Buttrick (ed.), <i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962)
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBTh</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
JPSV	Jewish Publication Society Version
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSJSup	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i> , Supplement Series
JSNTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i> , Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i> , Supplement Series
JSPSup	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i> , Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAI</i>	H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.), <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962–64)
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KAV</i>	O. Schroeder, <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (Ausgrabungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. E: Inschriften, 3; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1920)
<i>KTU</i>	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, <i>The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU; Second Enlarged Edition)</i> (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 2nd edn of M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976)

LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
M	Tablet signature of texts from Mari
MSL	Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCB	New Century Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NF	Neue Folge
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
POS	Pretoria Oriental Series
POuT	Prediking van het Oude Testament
<i>PRAK</i>	H. de Genouillac, <i>Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich</i> (2 vols.; Paris: E. Champion, 1924–25)
<i>PRIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RE	Tablet signature of texts from Emar
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SBE	Studies in Bible and Exegesis
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph series
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SBLWAW	SBL, Writings from the Ancient World
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>

SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
STT	Tablet signature of texts from Sultantepe
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
T	Tablet signature of texts from Mari
TBT	<i>The Bible Today</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (trans. D.E. Green <i>et al.</i> ; Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans, 1974–)
<i>ThWAT</i>	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1970–)
<i>TLOT</i>	E. Jenni and C. Westermann (eds.), <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (2 vols.; trans. M.E. Biddle; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997)
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TM	Tablet signature of texts from Ebla (Tell Mardikh)
TNIV	Today's New International Version
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament commentaries
<i>TRE</i>	G. Krause and G. Müller (eds.), <i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> (36 vols. + 2 index vols.; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1976–2007)
<i>TRu</i>	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Supplements
W	Tablet signature of texts from Uruk (Warka)
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZB, AT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare, Altes Testament
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

This page intentionally left blank

Part I

THE ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONTEXT OF PROPHECY

This page intentionally left blank

COMPARING PROPHETIC SOURCES: PRINCIPLES AND A TEST CASE

Martti Nissinen

1. *Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy as the Context of Biblical Prophecy*

1.1. *Prophetic Studies in Transition*

Increasing knowledge of ancient Near Eastern prophetic texts has during the last couple of decades led to a growing awareness of prophecy in the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah as an integral rather than antagonistic factor in the Near Eastern socio-religious milieu. Thanks to the much-improved documentation, it can be seen today better than ever that the biblical text demonstrates the Near Eastern cultural roots of prophecy in Israel and Judah in multiple ways. On the other hand, however, the biblical text also introduces features of prophecy difficult to explain on the basis of the common Near Eastern background.¹ Hence, the age-old question of comparability of the biblical text with other Near Eastern material inescapably raises itself, with high expectations. Given this propitious research situation, it is my purpose in this essay to outline some methodological principles of such comparison, as well as to present a test case which I hope to be helpful in clarifying these principles.

The selection of ancient Near Eastern documents of prophecy that we have at our disposal at the beginning of the third millennium CE is well known already and need not be described here in detail; suffice it to repeat the common knowledge that there are two corpora of Mesopotamian prophetic documents, one found in the archives of the Old Babylonian state of Mari from the eighteenth century BCE (Durand 1988),² and another in the archives of the Neo-Assyrian empire in Nineveh from the

1. For a more thorough discussion, see Nissinen 2010.

2. A few pertinent texts (ARM 26 371, 372 and 414) were published by Francis Joannès in Charpin, Joannès, Lackenbacher and Lafont 1988 (ARM 26/2).

seventh century BCE (Parpola 1997),³ and so roughly contemporary with important biblical prophetic figures such as Isaiah and Jeremiah. In addition to these, there is scattered evidence of prophecy in different parts of Mesopotamia from the twenty-first to the second century BCE (Nissinen 2003: 181-99), as well as a few telling examples of prophecy in the West Semitic milieu, temporally and geographically close to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (Seow 2003: 202-18). All this evidence comprises more than 140 individual texts which make up a literature well comparable in size to the biblical corpus of prophetic books.⁴

The ancient Near Eastern selection of prophetic documents, however, should not be viewed as a kind of extra-biblical prophetic canon. Its composition may vary according to different criteria of defining a text as ‘prophetic’, and it can quite realistically be expected to grow when new documents are found or previously known texts are recognized as evidence of prophecy.⁵ In fact, the Neo-Assyrian oracles, published by Simo Parpola in 1998, began to be seriously considered as prophecy only in the late 1960s, in spite of the fact that some of them were already recognized as such by the end of the nineteenth century.⁶ Even the documentation from Mari has been expanded by several important texts since Jean-Marie Durand’s edition of 1988.⁷ The newest document mentioning a prophet was recently found in an archive excavated at Ziyaret Tepe (Parpola 2008). All this evidence justifies the statement that we are only beginning to recognize fully something that was suggested long ago by critical scholars but which was difficult to substantiate: that biblical prophecy is but a part—though a distinctive and in many ways unique part—of a larger picture. The next step following this observation is to ask why it is necessary. What do we know now that we did not know before? What kind of changes does this knowledge bring about in our view of biblical prophecy, or prophecy in general?

3. Cf. also Nissinen 1998; 2003: 101-77.

4. Hence I do not quite share the opinion of Rooke (2006: 392), according to whom ‘[t]he major problem with attempted comparisons between Israelite and other types of ancient Near Eastern prophecy is the very small amount of information that is available about the other types’.

5. For example, the Old Babylonian letter containing a message from Ištar, possibly sent by a prophet to a deputy of the king of Uruk (W19900, 1; see Pongratz-Leisten 2003: 155-56); this letter is not included in Nissinen 2003.

6. For the early history of their research, see Parpola 1997: xiii-xiv.

7. For additional texts, see, for example, Huffmon 1997; Roberts 2002: 157-253; Charpin 2002; Nissinen 2003: 17-91.

1.2. *The Perils and Advantages of Comparative Studies*

Comparative studies, with all their perils and advantages, are a natural consequence of asking the aforementioned questions. In most cases this means comparison between the Bible and extra-biblical documents, which is a worthwhile but dangerous enterprise—worthwhile because it serves the purpose of viewing the biblical text in its cultural context, and dangerous because it easily leads to sweeping generalizations or to a goal-directed exploitation of ancient Near Eastern sources to justify Bible-based and sometimes questionable claims. If the prophets from Mesopotamia and Syria are seen primarily as forerunners of the biblical prophets and the ancient Near East as the ‘context of Scripture’, it is difficult to change the Bible-centred perspective into a more comprehensive view of prophecy as an ancient Near Eastern phenomenon, documented by sources, the general significance of which is not dependent on their applicability to biblical studies.

We should never forget to ask: ‘Why am I doing this?’, ‘What do I actually want to know?’ Scholars are often blamed for importing hidden agendas into discussion—both those labelled as ‘revisionists’ and others with a conspicuous predilection for early datings. Indeed, probably every scholar works under presuppositions that may be difficult to render explicit to the scholarly community, sometimes even to oneself.

Let me try to answer these questions for my own part. I am not particularly ‘in search of pre-exilic Israel’, even though I have learned a lot from a volume with this title that I am happy to quote in this essay (Day [ed.] 2004). I am keenly interested in the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, and I would love to know more about prophecy as practised in those kingdoms. However, I do not think that the pre-exilic period has an intrinsic value, and I do not consider pre-exilic sources more valuable than post-exilic ones. I do not exclude the possibility that some texts of the Hebrew Bible can be best explained against pre-exilic circumstances, but I am also open to readings of prophetic passages from the point of view of post-monarchical concerns. Moreover, I would like to ask what kind of comparisons could be made without precise knowledge of the age and historical context of the texts and how this might enhance our understanding of ancient prophecy.

A further challenge to comparative studies is related to the diversity of the ancient Near Eastern sources for prophecy, including the Hebrew Bible. There are many ways of documenting prophecy; hence it must be carefully considered what kind of historical information is obtainable from each source, be it a written oracle,⁸ an entry appearing in a

8. For example, the Assyrian oracles published in SAA 9 (Parpola 1997).

word-list,⁹ a legal document,¹⁰ a letter reporting a prophetic appearance,¹¹ a paraphrase of prophetic words in a literary context,¹² or a prophetic book, a genre known only from the Hebrew Bible. It is a major methodological challenge to determine how each individual piece of this multifarious documentation contributes to drawing the larger picture.

Whether biblical or extra-biblical, the available set of sources our knowledge is extracted from does not yield a full picture of the prophetic phenomenon at any historical moment. The selection of documents at our disposal, which are virtually always *texts*, is the result of a huge process, beginning sometimes with the spoken word of a prophet, sometimes with the pen or stylus of a scribe, and ending with a publication, whether a printed version of the Bible or a scholarly edition of an ancient text with an archaeological provenance. This process is random on one hand and systematic on the other. It is random because the discovery of ancient documents is unavoidably a matter of chance. Whether it is the result of sheer coincidence like Qumran or Nag Hammadi, or the result of responsible archaeological work, it is quite certain that not everything has been found so far, and so our picture remains incomplete. The systematic element comes into play with the fact that we are entirely dependent on the scribes who decided which prophecies were considered worth writing down, the archivists and librarians who selected the material they wanted to keep in their collections, and the editors of the biblical books who created the image and ideology of the prophets in the Hebrew Bible. What we see is the outcome of this process, the reconstruction of which is a matter of careful methodological consideration.

Comparing ancient Near Eastern prophecy with ancient Hebrew prophecy is an especially demanding task. With the exception of two or three letters from Lachish which mention prophets,¹³ there is nothing outside the Hebrew Bible that informs us about the prophetic phenomenon in ancient Israel and Judah in the monarchical or even in the Persian

9. For example, the lexical lists MSL 12 4.212 and 4.222 (Civil *et al.* 1969: 103, 132).

10. For example, the donation of a silver ring to a prophet (ARM 25 142; see Durand 1988: 380-81).

11. For example, the letter of Mar-Issar to Esarhaddon reporting a prophecy uttered on the occasion of the substitute king ritual at Akkad (SAA 10 352; see Parpola 1993: 228-29).

12. For example, the quotation of words of Ištar to Assurbanipal concerning his Mannean campaign (Prism A iii 4-10; see Borger 1996: 32-36).

13. That is, the Lachish ostraca 3 and 16 (see Seow 2003: 212-18); some scholars reconstruct to word *h[nb ']*, even in ostrakon 6, line 5, but this reading is primarily inspired by Jer. 38.4.

period. The Hebrew Bible, again, is a literary composition unparalleled by any ancient Near Eastern document, and, therefore, presents a particular challenge to comparison, especially if it aims at historical reconstruction. Since this requires a fair amount of knowledge of the historical context of the sources, one of the most important tasks in historical comparison is the dating of the sources.

1.3. *The Problem of Dating*

Anyone familiar with the critical study of the Bible knows how arduous a task the dating of the prophetic texts (or any text) of the Hebrew Bible can be, and how many divergent opinions, based on different methodological approaches, have been introduced into the discussion. In practical terms, anyone who wants to compare biblical and extra-biblical prophetic sources must face a question akin to the following: ‘How can one prove that anything comes from the eighth rather than, say, the fifth century BCE?’ Hugh Williamson has recently discussed this question, admitting that ‘in the case of texts which are demonstrably more than 2000 years old, nothing can be “proved”’, and suggests some relevant methodical ways of establishing reasonable probabilities (Williamson 2004: 182-83). This is certainly true for biblical texts, but it must be added that the extra-biblical material which is even older, can, as will be demonstrated below, often be dated rather precisely. When it comes to the Bible, however, we can no longer choose from two alternatives regarding the authorship of a given verse in the prophetic books—that is, the assumption of the authorship of the prophet to which the book is ascribed until the contrary is proved, or *vice versa*. The situation is far more complex than that. Every dating, early and late alike, has to be, if not ‘proved’, then at least corroborated with positive arguments, the more convincing the better.

It goes without saying that one and the same biblical passage can be interpreted against the background of different periods of time. To use the book of Amos as an example of recent scholarship, there is an intriguing reading of it as a late post-exilic book reflecting the concerns of the pious poor, the *ʿanāwîm*, of the third century BCE (Levin 1997). On the other hand, there are also attempts to give an early date even to those passages of the book that are traditionally regarded as later additions, such as the last verses of the book in ch. 9 (Sweeney 2006). Both views are based on sophisticated argumentation, the validity of which is a matter of dispute. The worst we can do is to resort to the kind of circular reasoning which makes the social crisis of the eighth century BCE and the social criticism in the book of Amos dependent on each other. As Walter

Houston puts it, ‘we cannot date any specific text in these books [*scil.* Isaiah, Amos and Micah] to the eighth century simply on the grounds of its subject matter. But there *was* a social crisis in the eighth century’ (Houston 2004: 147; emphasis original). It is up to scholarly insight to decide to what extent a given text originally has to do with this or another crisis.

It is most fortunate that many of the ancient Near Eastern prophetic sources can rather easily be located in history. In fact, the two major corpora of prophetic texts, those from Mari and Assyria, can be dated fairly accurately without major problems. Almost all prophetic texts from Mari date from the time of King Zimri-Lim, who reigned a decade and a half from c. 1774 to c. 1760 BCE.¹⁴ Thanks to the efforts of Mari scholars, we are now able to reconstruct the events of this period with greater precision than ever, which often yields an individual prophetic document a more or less certain historical background. A good example of this are the letters of Nur-Sin to Zimri-Lim (FM 7 38 and 39) that are connected with Zimri-Lim’s affairs in Alalakh in the mid-1760s BCE.¹⁵ The extant Assyrian prophecies, again, are all addressed to Kings Esarhaddon (681–669 BCE) and Assurbanipal (668–627 BCE). One of them has a date written in the colophon,¹⁶ and most of them are well understandable against the background of three historical events: the civil war preceding Esarhaddon’s rise to power and his enthronement (681–680 BCE); the appointment of Assurbanipal as the crown prince of Assyria (672 BCE); and the revolt of his brother, Šamaš-šumu-ukin (652–648 BCE).¹⁷ Even other prophetic sources sometimes bear exact dates, as is the case with the astronomical diary reporting a prophetic appearance in Babylonia in the month of Tishri, 133 BCE.¹⁸

When it comes to the Hebrew Bible, the situation is totally different. This difficulty is due to what the (Hebrew) Bible is: a canonized composition of texts of different age as the result of a centuries-long editorial process. Hard evidence of this process is available to us from a very late period only, and the earliest text-critical evidence shows that by the beginning of the Common Era the text of this composition was still not completely fixed. Since it is presumable that this composition includes a fair amount of text material that is older, the methodological question

14. For a historical overview of this period, see Charpin 2004: 192-316.

15. See Durand 2002: 59-97, 134-40.

16. SAA 9 9 r. 6-7; see Parpola 1997: 41.

17. For the dates of the Assyrian oracles, see Parpola 1997: lxviii-lxxi.

18. *AD* III -132B and -132C; see Sachs and Hunger 1996: 216-19, 224-25, and cf. Nissinen 2002.

arises how to identify and date the textual evidence embedded in the late composition that in all likelihood dates from earlier periods. I repeat this common knowledge in order to demonstrate how different the sources are that we have at hand when we start comparing biblical texts with ancient Near Eastern documents.

With regard to source criticism, the main difference between biblical and other ancient Near Eastern documents lies in the process of transmission. The chronological distance between the Near Eastern prophetic documents and their presumable origin in the oral performance of the prophets varies from a few days to a decade, whereas in the case of the biblical prophetic texts as we have them, we have to reckon with centuries. The editorial processes were probably similar in the beginning: there were scribes who wrote down their versions of the prophecies according to their own discretion, and archivists who decided what they wanted to file away in their archives. Moreover, the compilation of collections of oracles probably required taking some documents and leaving the others. All this creates a distance between the spoken and the written word, which cannot be presumed to be identical. The so-called *ipsissima verba* remain unreachable in both cases.¹⁹

What makes the Hebrew Bible different from any other ancient Near Eastern source is the length, the depth and the purpose of the editorial activity that turned prophecy into literature. There is evidence of the beginnings of editorial activity in the Assyrian documents that reinterpret prophetic words to new audiences, transcending specific historical situations.²⁰ However, the huge scribal prolongation of the prophetic process of communication in post-monarchical Yehud, triggered by the radical socio-religious and political crisis inflicted by the loss of the Temple and kingship and the change in demographic status and world-view, is without parallel in the Near East. Written prophetic documents from the Near East can usually be considered an interpretation of the spoken word of a prophet or of a previously written text. And yet, only in the Hebrew Bible do we have prophetic books which are 'by definition reinterpretive documents, whose writers reapply patterns of divine-human interaction discerned in one particular historical context to

19. Cf. van der Toorn 2000: 228-33; Nissinen 2005.

20. The collection SAA 9 1 was probably compiled around 672 BCE from oracles proclaimed in 681 and/or 680 BCE (see Parpola 1997: lxviii-lxx). The purpose of the original prophecies was to support Esarhaddon's rise to power, which was on shaky grounds because of the civil war. The investiture of Assurbanipal as crown prince in 672 made it necessary to remind the Assyrians of the divine election of Esarhaddon a decade earlier.

another later historical context' in such a way that, 'in final analysis the prophetic viewpoint expressed in a prophetic book owes more to the writer than to the original prophet' (Floyd 2006: 290). The scribal activity producing literary prophecy may not be the 'proprium' of biblical prophecy as such,²¹ but the literary process that designed the genre of the prophetic book and gave the concept of prophecy a new meaning²²—indeed, *created* the concept of prophecy as we have inherited it, whether as scholars, or as believing Jews, Christians or Muslims—is certainly unparalleled in the ancient Near East, at least to the best of our present knowledge.

1.4. *What Is Being Compared?*

As a consequence of the above reflections, I would like to suggest that, whenever involved in comparative studies in prophecy, we should try to be consistent in comparing sources, not prophets.²³ We cannot claim to be able to compare the prophet Amos of Tekoa with the prophet Bayâ of Arbela, since it is highly improbable that we have any access to historical personalities called by these names in a few particular texts. What can we do, then? Obviously, we can read the book bearing the name of the prophet Amos and the Assyrian oracle collections that include prophecies allegedly uttered by Bayâ, and make all kinds of observations.

Let us take the biographical notes on each prophet as an example. Bayâ appears as the speaker of two oracles belonging to two different oracle collections,²⁴ and all information available to us concerning this prophet is written in the standard colophons following the text of the oracle on each tablet. This prophet is said to come from Arbela, which doubtless refers to the prophet's affiliation with the temple of Ištar in

21. This conviction of Jeremias (1994) has recently been challenged by Lange (2006) on the basis of ancient Near Eastern texts and, above all, Greek oracle collections.

22. The crucial impact of the literary process of the prophetic books on the biblical image of prophets and prophecy has been highlighted by many scholars from different perspectives; for more recent contributions, see, for example, Ben Zvi 2003; Kratz 2003; Levin 2004; Floyd 2006; van der Toorn 2007: 173-204.

23. Rooke (2006: 392) is right in her contention that 'the safest comparison is at the level of the texts rather than at the level of what kind of activity might have produced the texts'; equally right is Barstad (2000: 9): 'When we compare biblical "prophecy" with "prophecy" in other texts or cultures it is always our own views of prophecy that we compare'. All this, of course, does not mean that the socio-religious background of the texts should be dropped from the agenda of the comparative enterprise altogether.

24. That is, SAA 9 1.4 and 2.2; see Parpola 1997: 6, 14-15.

Arbela, the cradle of Neo-Assyrian prophecy.²⁵ The oracle is said to be delivered ‘by the mouth’ of the prophet, referring to an oral performance probably written down by someone else. The gender of this prophet is ambiguous because the name is written with a female determinative (MÍ), even though the prophet is said to be a ‘son’ (DUMU) of Arbela. Unless this ambiguity is due to a slip of the scribe,²⁶ the prophet may belong to those devotees of Ištar who were considered neither men nor women, and represented a ‘third’ gender as a sign of the power of the goddess over human gender and as mythological reminiscences of the goddess’s journey to the Netherworld.²⁷ All this information—the oral performance, the religious affiliation and even the ambiguous gender of the prophet—makes perfect sense in view of what is known about the historical background of the sources in the early seventh-century Assyria; the original oracles probably date from the years 680–679.²⁸

In the case of Amos, we learn from the first verse of the book (Amos 1.1) that this man, who is said to be one of the sheep-farmers (*nōq^edīm*) of Tekoa, a village in Judah, ‘saw’ (*ḥzh*) words (this probably implies that he was believed to have received them in visions) concerning Israel during the reigns of Uzziah, king of Judah, and Jeroboam, king of Israel, ‘two years before the earthquake’. In another context (Amos 7.10-17), in accordance with the introductory verse, he is called ‘seer’ (*ḥōzeh*) by Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, who had written about him to King Jeroboam and now tells him to go back to Judah and prophesy (*hinnābē*) there instead of Bethel, the king’s sanctuary and a royal palace. Amos denies belonging to the prophetic guild: ‘I am no prophet, nor am I a prophet’s son’, and claims to be ‘a herdsman and a dresser of sycomore-figs’, who was told by God to prophesy against Israel. The introductory verse (Amos 1.1) seemingly provides the reader with information similar to the colophons of the Assyrian oracles: name, provenance, the type of transmission of divine words and the date (which may originally have belonged to the Assyrian tablets, the ends of which, with the exception of one tablet, are broken away). However, the case of Amos is more problematic since there is a certain discrepancy between the beginning of the book, where Amos is presented as the one who ‘sees’ divine words, and in Amos 7.14, where he vehemently rejects the designation ‘seer’ given to him, not only by Amaziah the priest, but implicitly also by the introductory verse of the book. Moreover, unlike the case of Bayâ, the

25. Cf. Nissinen 2001: 176-83.

26. Thus Weippert 2002: 34.

27. Thus Parpola 1997: xxxiv, il; Nissinen 2003: 105-106.

28. See Parpola 1997: lxxviii-lxix.

social role of Amos is rather difficult to fathom, at least if we look at it from an ancient Near Eastern point of view: a farmer, presumably without any kind of literary education or affiliation to any religious institution, reciting, if not writing, sophisticated Hebrew poetry and confronting religious authorities outside his homeland.²⁹ The built-in dissonance in the image of Amos as a non-prophet fulfilling divinatory functions may not surprise us if we look at it from the point of view of the biblical prophetic ideal refined by two centuries of biblical scholarship, according to which Amos, the free spirit and social critic, is the paragon of a true prophet. But Amos does appear as a curiosity when seen from the perspective of our present knowledge of prophetic social roles in the ancient Near East. Moreover, the dissonance between the information given by Amos 1.1 and 7.14 raises questions concerning the unity of the literary product we call the book of Amos.

To be sure, the incongruities within the book of Amos have for a long time been subject to diachronic analyses of the editorial history of the book, attributing much if not all biographical material to the pre- or post-exilic editors of the book: hence the information given by it on the prophet Amos should be understood as part of a strategy by later writers to address their own ideas to their readers. Whether or not this is true in the case of Amos 7.10-17 (as I think it is),³⁰ the case of the book of Amos as a whole serves as an example of the difference between the literary history of the prophetic books of the Bible and the remaining ancient Near Eastern documentation. The sources represent different genres. Comprising a variety of genres of literature—divine words, poetry, narrative sections and so on—as the result of a long editorial process, a prophetic book certainly can and should be used as a historical source, but it cannot be applied to historical reconstruction in the same way as the Assyrian oracle collections, the editorial process of which is considerably shorter. The genre of a prophetic book is only known from the Bible, where its function is to transcend the message of ancient prophets for new audiences, not to conserve the ‘original’ word of the prophet.³¹

29. This oddity has been pointed out by Niesiołowski-Spanò (2002), who denies that Amos is depicted as a ‘simple, poor shepherd from Judah’.

30. Concurring with many other scholars, I am convinced that Amos 7.10-17 is placed secondarily in its present context and dates from a later period, not reporting actual words and deeds of the prophet Amos; for more recent studies on the passage, see, among others, Williamson 1995; Werlitz 2000; and cf. Schmidt (2007), who admits that the passage is a later insertion, yet early enough to be used as indirect evidence for the historical Amos.

31. For the prophetic book as a genre, see Ben Zvi 2003; Floyd 2006.

This is not to say that the texts attributed to Amos and Bayâ cannot be compared with each other at all. ‘Future shall be like the past’, says the prophet Bayâ in both oracles attributed to him/her (SAA 9 1.4 ii 37 and 2.2 i 17-18),³² meaning that there will always be divine support for the rule of King Esarhaddon. This is in apparent contradiction to Amos 5.2: ‘She has fallen to rise no more, the virgin Israel’, which proclaims the opposite to Israel. We can ask, however, whether both derive from the same Near Eastern prophetic tradition of proclaiming blessing to one’s own king and destruction to the enemy, although in the case of Amos with reversed roles. A similar correspondence can be observed between Bayâ’s word—‘Esarhaddon, king of Assyria! I will vanquish yo[ur enemies]’ (SAA 2.2 i 22)—and the prophecy (*vaticinium ex eventu*) of Amos to King Jeroboam—‘Your land shall be divided by a measuring-line, and you yourself shall die in an unclean country’ (Amos 7.14). The two oracles seem to be two sides of the same coin, a coin which has the king’s image on it.

Whenever two texts are compared, we can make observations of the vocabulary, literary form, ideology and theology of the texts, consider them from the point of view of their literary contexts and their editorial history, and examine what they inform us about various aspects of what we call prophecy. It deserves attention that the relationship between Amaziah, Amos and Jeroboam corresponds well with what we know about the relationship between priests, prophets and kings in the ancient Near Eastern documents in general, priests reporting prophetic messages to the king and exercising control over prophetic activity.³³ Quite certainly, we can also attempt a sketching out of the historical background and ‘*geistige Heimat*’ of the texts. To take Amos and Bayâ again as examples, this is considerably easier in the oracle of Bayâ, which can be dated rather firmly; in the case of the book of Amos, we must ponder several alternatives depending on the dating of each part of the book.

In any case, placing the sources side by side for the sake of comparison requires a sense of what is being compared. As stated above, different texts yield different information. In some cases—for instance,

32. The wordings of the two oracles of Bayâ differ slightly, yielding, however, an almost identical translation: *urkîûte lû kî pânîûte* (SAA 9 1.4 ii 37), ‘the future shall be like the past’—*akî ša pânîti [lû ina u]rkîti* (SAA 9 2.2 i 17-18), ‘[let the f]uture be like the past’.

33. This has recently been convincingly shown by Couey (2008), who surveys a number of similar instances in Near Eastern sources and concludes: ‘The evidence strongly suggests, then, that priests in ancient Israel and Judah functioned as royal officials, loyal to the king and responsible for monitoring prophetic activity on his behalf’ (pp. 313-14).

in administrative documents—the sources inform us rather directly about prophets, while in others they tell more about the purposes of their writers than the prophetic phenomenon in its own right. Most often—as is the case, for instance, in the letters reporting prophetic performances at Mari and in Assyria—the sources must be read in both ways: the letters certainly give us some indispensable information about prophetic activities in their time, but this information is totally dependent on the point of view of the writers and their audiences.³⁴

To be able to make a difference between different levels of the perception of prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, I have introduced the distinction between *biblical prophecy*, meaning prophecy as it is supposed to be understood by the readers of the biblical texts, and *ancient Hebrew prophecy*, referring to the historical phenomenon of prophecy in the kingdoms of Israel and Judah and in the Persian province of Yehud.³⁵ Biblical prophecy we have in front of our eyes; ancient Hebrew prophecy can only be reconstructed from the biblical text with more or less probability with the help of exegetical methods—including the comparative method. For comparative studies this means that the primary counterparts of comparison are extra-biblical documents and the biblical text, that is, ancient Near Eastern prophecy and biblical prophecy. To what extent it is possible to compare ancient Hebrew prophecy with ancient Near Eastern prophecy is another question that involves all the difficulties of historical reconstruction described above.

Not everything depends on dating when texts are compared. As the above example from Amos 7.10-17 shows, much of the comparison can be done without dating, assuming that both sources present themselves as authentic representatives of ancient Near Eastern literature and prophetic tradition, each in its own way. Dating becomes significant if we wish to establish literary or, at least, cultural dependencies between the documents—for instance, between Neo-Assyrian prophecies and Second Isaiah.³⁶ Such dependencies, however, are not the absolute prerequisite for drawing the larger picture of ancient Near Eastern prophecy. In most cases, dependencies between source materials from the ancient Near East cannot be demonstrated, but it is nevertheless possible to increase our understanding of prophecy by observing similarities and distinctive features in prophetic sources from different times and places. The result is not a tree-like diagram we may be used to striving for, but rather a pizza-like collage that shows different kinds of family resemblances between

34. Cf. van der Toorn 2000: 225-28.

35. See Nissinen 2004: 31; 2005: 166-67.

36. Cf. Weippert 2001.

source materials which are more or less historically connected. All these sources belong to the Near Eastern cultural sphere, which unites them anyway, but the comparison can be extended to prophecy as a global phenomenon.

Despite all the caveats mentioned so far, the comparative study of ancient Near Eastern prophecy should not be regarded as a desperate attempt altogether. We do have at our disposal a sizable, even though uneven, source material that makes comparison possible, especially when supplemented by relevant non-prophetic extra-biblical and biblical sources that help to contextualize the prophetic documents. Hence, comparison between the biblical and extra-biblical sources is a worthwhile and legitimate enterprise if it is undertaken with steady awareness of *what* is being compared for what purpose. Personally—and I am talking as a biblical scholar—I have more or less eschewed this comparison, primarily because I have felt a need to study each set of sources independently of biblical concerns. Now I will venture to sketch out some commonalities and differences between the biblical and ancient Near Eastern sources, using divination as a test case.

2. *The Test Case: Prophecy as Divination*

2.1. *The Role of Divination in the Ancient Near East*

In ancient Near Eastern studies, prophecy (if this word is used) is usually regarded as a sub-type of divination. In other words, prophets are seen as further representatives of the institution, the purpose of which is to make the people, the king in particular, conversant with the divine will in a variety of ways.³⁷ I fully subscribe to this view, though I would like to emphasize the distinctive characteristics of different divinatory practices: in prophecy, the divine word is allegedly received intuitively, probably in an altered state of mind, and this clearly sets prophecy apart from astrology or extispicy, which are based on observations of physical objects and their scholarly interpretation. This difference is visible also in the social location of diviners of different kinds: at least in the Mesopotamian society, ‘academics’ such as haruspices, astrologers or exorcists assumed social roles clearly different from prophets, who were not affiliated with literary and scribal education but rather belonged to the context of worship.³⁸

37. For the interface of prophecy and divination, see, for example, Barstad 2002: 87-89; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2003; Pongratz-Leisten 2003; Kitz 2003.

38. Cf. Parpola 1997: xlvi-xlviii; Nissinen 2000: 95-102.

What unites different divinatory practices is their function in guiding the decision-making in society by means of revealing the divine will. This is much more than mere fortune-telling or predicting the future. Prophets, like other diviners, act as instruments of divine encouragement and warning, and they are typically consulted in situations of war and political crises. A telling example of this is the newest available document of prophecy, an outlay of copper found in Ziyaret Tepe (ancient Tušhan) and dating from the year 611 BCE, that is, from the very last days of the Assyrian empire after the fall of Nineveh (Parpola 2008). Just before the battle against the invading Babylonian army, both an augur (*dāgil iššurī*) and a prophet (*raggimu*) have been paid for their services. The substantial amount of six minas of copper given to the prophet is noteworthy regardless of whether he ever survived the fall of the city to be able to enjoy his riches. Furthermore, the use of two distinctive methods of divination deserves attention: the city in distress needed every divine instruction they could get.

Even though the king was not the only employer of diviners and prophets, the societal function of divination is fundamentally associated with the institution of kingship. The position of the ancient Near Eastern king as the link between the divine and human worlds also made him the prime recipient of prophetic and other oracles. Divination was the medium through which the king was kept informed of the divine favours and obligations and the origin and legitimacy of his rule; this is what Beate Pongratz-Leisten calls *Herrschaftswissen* in her important monograph *Herrschaftswissen im alten Mesopotamien* (Pongratz-Leisten 1999). It is especially through prophets that the ‘the secrets of the gods’, that is, the decisions of the heavenly council usually proclaimed by the goddess Ištar, were revealed to the king.³⁹ Hence the prophets function as intermediaries and channels of communication for the divine knowledge necessary for the king and country to live in safety and receive divine advice in times of crisis and uncertainty.

2.2. *Divination and Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible*

Much of this is easily observable in the Hebrew Bible, where prophets appear as proclaiming the word of Yahweh to kings and authorities, often in political or religious crises; if not more, this shows that the authors and editors of the prophetic and historical books of the Hebrew Bible

39. Cf. the oracle from Eshnunna (FLP 1674: 1-8; cf. Nissinen 2003: 94): ‘O king Ibalpiel, thus says Kititum: The secrets of the gods (*nišrētum ša ilī*) are placed before me. Because you constantly pronounce my name with your mouth, I constantly disclose the secrets of the gods to you.’

were well aware of the function of prophecy as *Herrschaftswissen*. A telling example of this is the decisive role of the prophetess Huldah in introducing the *sēper hattôrâ* as the constitution of the religious reform of King Josiah, as reported by the Deuteronomists in 2 Kgs 22.14-20.⁴⁰ Moreover, prophets such as Isaiah and Jeremiah, as well as several prophets mentioned in the Deuteronomistic History, not to forget Chronicles, are repeatedly brought to a direct contact with the kings—more than is observable in any prophetic document from Mesopotamia.⁴¹ Whether we have to do with a late reconstruction or description of actual events, all this points to the conclusion that (1) prophecy as an institution had a significant divinatory function in the politics of the Judaeen kings when the kingdom still existed, and (2) this function of prophecy was remembered long after the collapse of the institution of kingship in Jerusalem.

When it comes to prophecy in relation to other forms of divination, the Hebrew Bible takes a different stance. That prophecy is understood as a sort of divination is acknowledged, for example, in 1 Samuel 28, where Saul tries to inquire of God by means of dreams, Urim and prophets (v. 6), and finally resorts to a necromancer. The existence of astrologers, necromancers and other people bearing somewhat unclear designations, including *qōsēm*, *m^eōnēn*, *m^enahēš*, *m^ekaššēp*, *yidd^eōnî*, and so on,⁴² is also acknowledged, but their activities are either condemned or ridiculed. While prophecy is not presented in the Hebrew Bible as the only legitimate way of receiving knowledge of the divine will (dreams, for instance, are not rejected as such, and the Urim and Thummim belong to the priestly equipment without criticism of their use), the prophet clearly enjoys an elevated position. This is obviously the reason for the sharp distinction between prophecy and divination with the respective positive and negative value judgments in modern scholarship until recent days. Since the nineteenth century, scholars have appreciated the prophets as champions of ‘ethical monotheism’ (which is primarily a modern rather than biblical construction⁴³), while divination has been the paragon of a

40. For the original function of the newly found book as a divine oracle and its redactional reinterpretation as a law-book, see Ben-Dov 2008.

41. A more thorough survey of the encounters between prophets and kings in the Hebrew Bible is available in Nissinen 2010. See also the articles included in Lemaire (ed.) 2001.

42. For these and other prophetic role labels, see, for example, Blenkinsopp 1995: 123-29.

43. Cf. Loretz (1992: 185) with regard to the traditional interpretation of Amos: ‘Im Grunde steht dieser Typ der Amos-Forschung uneingestanden und unbewußt unter dem Diktat der Vergangenheit, gekettet an die Vorstellungen, die seit dem

less-developed, irrational superstition. In the context of the Hebrew Bible, however, the distinction is not motivated by a universal ethical rule, but a particular, authoritative set of instructions, the Torah, governed by a particular idea of the relationship of God and his people mediated by Moses, the paragon of a prophet (Deut. 18.15-22). This is not to say that every prophetic text in the Hebrew Bible originally reflects this idea, but this is certainly how the ‘Prophets’ as a part of the composition (or ‘canon’, if we prefer) of the Hebrew Bible wishes to be read.

2.3. *Literary Prophecy as Scribal Divination*

With regard to prophecy and divination, it is interesting to observe what happened to prophecy when the kingdom of Judah collapsed and the people had to manage the consequences of this crisis—first, the so-called exilic period or the ‘Templeless age’⁴⁴ when the ruling class was deported to Babylonia; and then, after a few decades, the attempts at building a new Temple and establishing a new community of worshippers of Yahweh. There was a fundamental change in the concept, practice and social context of prophecy during this long and troublesome period, extending from the first occupation of Jerusalem in 598 BCE well into the time of Nehemiah in mid-fifth century BCE. We may observe two parallel developments presupposing each other: on the one hand, the decline and marginalization (but not disappearance) of the traditional type of prophecy as oral delivery of divine messages; and on the other hand, the rise of the literary interpretation of written prophecies which becomes the preferred and authoritative sort of divination in the Second Temple community.

One of the consequences of the destruction of the monarchy and social institutions in the early sixth century BCE was that prophecy became divorced from its socio-religious context as a royal institution, thereby losing its traditional function and setting. Prophecy did not disappear in the post-monarchical period; such figures as Haggai and Zechariah bear witness to the contrary, and enough traces of prophetic activity can be extracted from the text of the Hebrew Bible to demonstrate that prophecy of the traditional type never died away completely, even though it seems to have been driven into the margins of society.⁴⁵ However, there was an alternative kind of prophetic practice, and this was assumed by the scribal circles who were responsible for transmitting the holy tradition in

letzten Jahrhundert mit den Thesen *lex post prophetas* und *ethischer Monotheismus* umschrieben werden’.

44. This term is preferred by Middlemas (2007: 1-6).

45. See, for example, Grabbe 2003; Nissinen 2006.

general and the prophetic tradition in particular. The management of the divination as *Herrschaftswissen* was now essentially a scribal enterprise. The scribes, in the words of Michael Floyd, ‘kept records of prophetic activity, cultivating among themselves forms of prophecy that were expressed in writing and selectively recording forms of prophecy that were not’ (Floyd 2006: 285). It should be noted that this was probably the role of the scribes even before the post-monarchical period. However, the way the scribes developed ‘the theory and practice of prophetic divination as conducted with reference to the current worldview’ (*ibid.*) was now different because of the changes in the worldview. To use a distinction introduced recently by Armin Lange, *written prophecy*, meaning written records of orally delivered prophetic messages, was largely, if not entirely, replaced by *literary prophecy*, that is, literature that reinterprets earlier written records of prophecy, transcending the original proclamation situations and recontextualizing them in other contexts (Lange 2006: 249-50).

The authoritative concept of prophecy, separated from other forms of divination and elevated above them, was in the post-monarchical period inspired by the figures of the past and introduced by the scribes who took care of the intermediation of the prophetic tradition, producing prophetic books by relying on earlier written records and reinterpreting them, thereby assuming the personae of the past prophets.⁴⁶ As Joachim Schaper has noticed with reference to Ezekiel, the textualization and ‘sacerdotalization’ of prophecy ultimately led to the ‘death of the prophet’ as the intermediary of divine knowledge. ‘In Ezek 1:28bβ–3:15, writing is no longer the *documentary medium* of prophetic discourse but its *material prerequisite*’ (Schaper 2006: 79; emphases original).

It was only the formation and subsequent authorization of prophetic literature that led to a full appreciation of literary prophecy, that is, the prophetic books, as prophecy *par excellence*. This, again, highlighted the importance of the interpretation of the prophetic books in a way that gave the scholars and teachers of wisdom as authorized interpreters of the prophetic word a quasi-prophetic role. This can be seen very clearly, for instance, in Ben Sira (cf. Sir. 24.33; 39.6)⁴⁷ and in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴⁸ Interestingly, prophetic and scholarly roles merge together in a way that leads to a reconceptualization of prophecy.

46. Cf. Floyd 2006: 285-92.

47. Cf. Beentjes 2006.

48. For this aspect of prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls, cf. the recent contributions by Brooke 2006 and Jassen 2008; cf. also Nissinen 2008.

Returning, in conclusion, to the comparative view, it is easy to note that none of the ancient Near Eastern documents reflects a development comparable to the one described above that took place in Yehud. This by no means prevents the comparison between the sources—it only requires alertness to the critical points of the comparative analysis. The conceptual distinctions that have been made above might be helpful in acknowledging the nature of the sources being compared: that of biblical prophecy and ancient Hebrew prophecy on the one hand, and that of written prophecy and literary prophecy on the other. To use the example of Bayâ and Amos again, the oracles of Bayâ are an illustrative specimen of written prophecy, whereas the book of Amos, as a prophetic book, clearly belongs to the category of literary prophecy.

The institution of divination offers itself as a particularly rewarding test case, because it highlights an aspect of Near Eastern prophecy that appears to be significant in the biblical texts regardless of their dating, demonstrating the function of prophecy as *Herrschaftswissen* in early and late texts alike. Moreover, the comparative view also helps us to see where Second Temple Judaism takes a course of its own with regard to the concept and practice of prophecy.

Bibliography

- Barstad, H.M.
 2000 'Comparare necesse est? Ancient Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy in a Comparative Perspective', in Nissinen (ed.) 2000: 3-11.
 2002 'Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah and the Historical Prophet', in A.G. Hunter and P.R. Davies (ed.), *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible in Memory of Robert Carroll* (JSOTSup, 348; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 87-100.
- Beentjes, P.C.
 2006 'Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Ben Sira', in Floyd and Haak (eds.) 2006: 135-50.
- Ben-Dov, J.
 2008 'Writing as Oracle and as Law: New Contexts for the Book-Find of King Josiah', *JBL* 127: 223-39.
- Ben Zvi, E.
 2003 'The Prophetic Book: A Key Form of Prophetic Literature', in E. Ben Zvi and M.A. Sweeney (eds.), *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans): 276-97.
- Blenkinsopp, J.
 1995 *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox).

- Borger, R.
1996 *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J, und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
- Brooke, G.J.
2006 'Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards', in Floyd and Haak (eds.) 2006: 151-65.
- Cancik-Kirschbaum, E.
2003 'Prophetismus und Divination: Ein Blick auf die keilschriftlichen Quellen', in Köckert and Nissinen (ed.) 2003: 33-53.
- Charpin, D.
2002 'Prophètes et rois dans le Proche-Orient amorrite: Nouvelles données, nouvelles perspectives', in D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot* (Florilegium marianum, 6; Mémoires de NABU, 7; Paris: SEPOA): 7-38.
2004 'Histoire politique du Proche-Orient amorrite (2002–1595)', in D. Charpin, D.O. Edzard and M. Stol, *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit* (OBO, 160/4; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): 25-480.
- Charpin, D., F. Joannès, S. Lackenbacher and B. Lafont
1988 *Archives épistolaires de Mari I.2* (ARM 26/2; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations).
- Civil, M. *et al.*
1969 *The Series lu = ša and Related Texts* (MSL 12; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum).
- Couey, J.B.
2008 'Amos vii 10-17 and Royal Attitudes toward Prophecy in the Ancient Near East', *VT* 53: 300-314.
- Day, J. (ed.)
2004 *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (JSOTSup, 406; London: T&T Clark International).
- Durand, J.-M.
1988 *Archives épistolaires de Mari I.1* (ARM, 26/1; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations).
2002 *Le Culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahum* (Florilegium Marianum, 7; Mémoires de NABU, 8; Paris: SEPOA).
- Floyd, M.H.
2006 'The Production of Prophetic Books in the Early Second Temple Period', in Floyd and Haak (eds.) 2006: 276-97.
- Floyd, M.H., and R.D. Haak (eds.)
2006 *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (LHBOTS, 427; New York: T& T Clark International).
- Grabbe, L.L.
2003 'Poets, Scribes or Preachers? The Reality of Prophecy in the Second Temple Period', in L.L. Grabbe and R.D. Haak (eds.), *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic and their Relationships* (JSPSup, 46; London: T&T Clark International): 192-215.

- Houston, W.
2004 'Was there a Social Crisis in the Eighth Century?', in Day (ed.) 2004: 130-49.
- Huffman, H.B.
1997 'The Expansion of Prophecy in the Mari Archives: New Texts, New Readings, New Information', in Y. Gitay (ed.), *Prophecy and Prophets: The Diversity of Contemporary Issues in Scholarship* (SBL Semeia Studies; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 7-22.
- Jassen, A.
2008 'The Presentation of Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran', *JBL* 127: 307-37.
- Jeremias, J.
1994 'Das Proprium der alttestamentlichen Prophetie', *ThLZ* 119: 483-94.
- Kitz, A.M.
2003 'Prophecy as Divination', *CBQ* 65: 122-24.
- Köckert, M., and M. Nissinen (ed.)
2003 *Propheten in Mari, Assyrien und Israel* (FRLANT, 201; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Kratz, R.G.
2003 'Das Neue in der Prophetie des Alten Testaments', in I. Fischer, K. Schmid and H.G.M. Williamson (eds.), *Prophetie in Israel: Beiträge des Symposiums 'Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne' anlässlich des 100. Geburtstags Gerhard von Rads (1901–1971) Heidelberg, 18.–21. Oktober 2001* (Altes Testament und Moderne, 11; Münster: LIT): 1-22.
- Lange, A.
2006 'Literary Prophecy and Oracle Collection: A Comparison between Judah and Greece in Persian Times', in Floyd and Haak (eds.) 2006: 248-75.
- Lemaire, A. (ed.)
2001 *Prophètes et rois: Bible et Proche-Orient* (Lectio divina, hors série; Paris: Cerf).
- Levin, C.
1997 'Das Amosbuch der Anawim', *ZTK* 94: 407-36.
2004 'Das Wort Jahwes an Jeremia: Zur ältesten Redaktion der jeremianischen Sammlung', *ZTK* 101: 257-80.
- Loretz, O.
1992 'Die Entstehung des Amosbuches im Licht der Prophetien aus Märi, Assur, Ishchali und der Ugarit-Texte: Paradigmenwechsel in der Prophetenforschung', *UF* 24: 179-215.
- Middlemas, J.
2007 *The Templeless Age: An Introduction to the History, Literature, and Theology of the 'Exile'* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox).
- Niesiołowski-Spanò, Ł.
2002 'Biblical Prophet Amos: A Simple, Poor Shepherd from Judah?' in T. Derda, J. Urbanik and M. Węcowski (eds.), *Εὐεργεσίας χάριν: Studies Presented to Benedetto Bravo and Ewa Wipszycka by their Disciples* (The Journal of Juristic Papyrology, Supplement, 1; Warsaw: Sumptibus auctorum): 211-17.

Nissinen, Martti

- 1998 *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources* (SAAS, 7; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project).
- 2000 'The Socioreligious Role of the Neo-Assyrian Prophets', in Nissinen (ed.) 2000: 89-114.
- 2001 'City as Lofty as Heaven: Arbela and Other Cities in Neo-Assyrian Prophecy', in L.L. Grabbe and R.D. Haak (eds.) *'Every City Shall Be Forsaken': Urbanism and Prophecy in Ancient Israel and the Near East* (JSOTSup, 330; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 172-209.
- 2002 'A Prophetic Riot in Seleucid Babylonia', in H. Irsigler (ed.), *'Wer darf hinaufsteigen zum Berg JHWH's: Beiträge zu Prophetie und Poesie des Alten Testaments. Festschrift für Sigurður Örn Steingrímsson zum 70. Geburtstag* (ATSAT, 72; St Ottilien: EOS): 63-74.
- 2003 *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (with contributions by C.L. Seow and R.K. Ritner; SBLWAW, 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
- 2004 'What Is Prophecy? An Ancient Near Eastern Perspective', in J. Kaltner and L. Stulman (eds.), *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East, Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (JSOTSup, 378; London: T&T Clark International): 17-37.
- 2005 'How Prophecy Became Literature', *SJOT* 19: 153-72.
- 2006 'The Dubious Image of Prophecy', in Floyd and Haak (eds.) 2006: 26-41.
- 2008 'Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta (eds.), *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (JSJSup, 126; Leiden: Brill): 513-33.
- 2010 'Biblical Prophecy from a Near Eastern Perspective: The Cases of Kingship and Divine Possession', in A. Lemaire (ed.), *Congress Volume, Ljubljana 2007* (VTSup, 133; Leiden: Brill): 441-68.

Nissinen, M. (ed.)

- 2000 *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives* (SBL Symposium Series, 13; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).

Parpola, S.

- 1993 *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (SAA, 10; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).
- 1997 *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA, 9; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).
- 2008 'Cuneiform Texts from Ziyaret Tepe (Tuşhan) 2002–2003', *SAAB* 17: 1-113.

Pongratz-Leisten, B.

- 1999 *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (SAAS 10; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project).
- 2003 'When the Gods Are Speaking: Toward Defining the Interface between Polytheism and Monotheism', in Köckert and Nissinen (ed.) 2003: 132-68.

Roberts, J.J.M.

- 2002 *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns).

- Rooke, D.W.
2006 'Prophecy', in J.W. Rogerson and J.M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 385-96.
- Sachs, A.J., and H. Hunger
1996 *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*. III. *Diaries from 164 B. C. to 61 B. C.* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 247. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften).
- Schaper, J.
2006 'The Death of the Prophet: The Transition from the Spoken to the Written Word of God in the Book of Ezekiel', in Floyd and Haak (eds.) 2006: 63-79.
- Schmidt, L.
2007 'Die Amazja-Erzählung (Am 7,10-17) und der historische Amos', *ZAW* 119: 221-35.
- Seow, C.-L.
2003 'West Semitic Sources', in Nissinen (ed.) 2003: 201-18.
- Sweeney, M.A.
2006 'The Dystopianization of Utopian Prophetic Literature: The Case of Amos 9:11-15', in E. Ben Zvi (ed.), *Utopia and Dystopia in Prophetic Literature* (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society, 92; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society): 175-85.
- Toorn, K. van der
2000 'From the Oral to the Written: The Case of the Old Babylonian Prophecy', in E. Ben Zvi and M.H. Floyd (eds.), *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (SBL Symposium Series, 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 219-34.
2007 *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Werlitz, J.
2000 'Amos und sein Biograph: Zur Entstehung und Intention der Prophetenerzählung Am 7,10-17', *BZ NF* 44: 233-51.
- Weippert, M.
2001 "'Ich bin Jahwe"—"Ich bin Ištar von Arbela". Deuterocesaja im Lichte der neuassyrischen Prophetie', in B. Huwlyer, H.-P. Mathys and B. Weber (eds.), *Prophetie und Psalmen: Festschrift für Klaus Seybold* (AOAT, 280; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag): 31-59.
2002 "'König, fürchte dich nicht!'" Assyrische Prophetie im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.', *Or* 71: 1-54.
- Williamson, H.G.M.
1995 'The Prophet and the Plumb-Line: A Redaction-Critical Study of Amos 7', in R.P. Gordon (ed.), *The Place Is Too Small for Us: The Israelite Prophets in Recent Scholarship* (Sources for Biblical and Theological Study, 5; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 453-77.
2004 'In Search of the Pre-Exilic Isaiah', in Day (ed.) 2004: 181-206.

PREDICTIVE AND PROPHETIC LITERATURE: CAN *NEFERTI* HELP US READ THE BIBLE?

Stuart Weeks

There can be no real doubt that prophecy was practised in Iron Age Palestine, and comparison with other ancient cultures in the region would probably lead us to presume its existence there, even without the many biblical attestations and the more limited inscriptional evidence.¹ That at least some of the individuals named as prophets in biblical literature actually existed and prophesied is less certain, but is not inherently improbable—even if the amount we can say about any one of them is difficult to determine. Matters are more complicated, however, when it comes to the biblical literature most directly associated with prophecy. Almost from the inception of modern critical scholarship, perceived inconsistencies of style or message, references to different periods, and evidence of redactional activity have all contributed to a general understanding that the prophetic books, or many of them at least, are the product of processes much more complicated than the simple dictation or recording of original speeches. In recent decades, moreover, there has been a recognition that there may be more to this than the simple insertion of later oracles, and that the presentation of prophetic figures in these works may itself be implicated in those processes.²

The prophetic literature, then, stands at some remove from actual prophecy, and few, if any, of the prophetic books can be regarded as simple documentary records of prophetic speech, at least in their current form. The same is not true of all the non-Israelite texts linked to prophecy, many of which are archived accounts of prophetic messages, and comparison with those accounts further underlines the need to draw a

1. The inscriptional evidence for Israel itself is confined to a single reference to a prophet on Lachish Ostrakon 3, although some scholars reconstruct a further reference in a lacuna on Lachish Ostrakon 6.

2. So, especially Carroll 1981.

distinction between prophetic speech and prophetic literature.³ For a start, those foreign oracles which have been preserved are rarely more than a few lines long, and, if their language is sometimes colourful, they hardly aspire to the sophisticated poetry which characterizes much of the Hebrew literature.⁴ In this respect, they resemble most of the oracles described in biblical literature outside the prophetic corpus, and that fact might tend to tell against this being a simple matter of variation between local styles and habits. Not all the differences, moreover, are simply a matter of degree. The foreign prophecies, for instance, have no interest in the person of any given intermediary, beyond establishing their *bona fides*. Equally, although there are examples of Neo-Assyrian oracles being collected together, there are no apparent instances of oracles being delivered in series. Correspondingly, there is no equivalent either, say, to the opening chapters of Hosea, with their focus on the life of the prophet,

3. Although we have many references to prophecy in other materials, and some citation of prophetic oracles, most of the oracles which have actually been preserved come from the archives of the royal palace at Mari, and from the royal archive at Nineveh (Parpola 1997); these sources, it should be observed, lie far apart in date, since the Mari texts are from the early eighteenth century BCE, and the Nineveh texts date from the seventh century. There has been considerable discussion about the relationship between the two groups of texts, and whether they represent two chronologically distant witnesses to a continuous tradition; see deJong Ellis 1989: 145 n. 88. From the Old Babylonian period, we also have two oracles from the goddess Kititum, published in deJong Ellis 1987. These are less obviously direct accounts of prophetic activity, taking the established literary form of letters from a deity to a king, whereas the Mari texts are letters, generally from officials, reporting specific episodes of prophetic speech. The character of two other texts is also difficult to establish: the ninth-century Amman Citadel Inscription (cf. Nissinen 2003: 202-203) apparently reports an oracle of assurance from Milcom, and the slightly later Zakkur Stela from Tell Afis (cf. Nissinen 2003: 203-207) recounts a prophecy of assurance from Baalshamayn, as part of a royal autobiography. Both are found in monumental, not archival, contexts.

4. Van der Toorn (2000: 230) claims, with respect to the earlier Mesopotamian prophetic reports that, 'In most, if not all cases, the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet will probably elude us forever'. While it is true that the process of transmission may have lent itself to paraphrase, many of the Mari letters clearly reflect some attempt to reproduce the tone and phraseology of the original oracle: they are not simply summaries, and so may be used for comparison legitimately, albeit cautiously. See also Nissinen (2000a: 241, 244), which points out that adjustments are likely to have been in the direction of greater literary refinement. The Neo-Assyrian materials are sometimes longer and a little closer in character to the biblical materials, showing substantial affinities with, and perhaps knowledge of cultic and literary materials (cf. Nissinen 2000b: 97). There are, of course, some very brief biblical oracles as well: the point is not that the biblical and Mesopotamian materials never resemble each other in these respects, but that in general they do not.

or to the first two chapters of Amos, with their sequence of oracles in which order and juxtaposition convey the message. Whatever the extent to which individual Hebrew prophetic books may contain or imitate actual prophetic oracles, the actual oracles preserved from elsewhere tend only to emphasize how much more is going on in many of those books.⁵

Any attempt to define the differences more precisely has to confront the problem that biblical prophetic literature lacks homogeneity in many key respects. Even if we exclude Jonah, it is difficult to formulate an adequate description for all the prophetic books except in terms of their self-presentation as products of prophecy. Accordingly, despite some recent efforts by Ben Zvi to contrive a more structural definition, it seems unlikely that the creators of these works felt themselves to be under any strong generic constraint in terms of overall form.⁶ As a corollary of their self-presentation, however, the prophetic books do generally revolve around direct speech, often accompanied by a greater or lesser narrative component, which establishes the context for the speech. It is this element of explicit or implicit narration which furnishes a basis for the wider involvement of the prophet as a character in many of the books, and while some of the literature barely exploits that possibility at all, the prophetic speech in every book is attributed to a named, individual prophet. Although some of the texts, as we have them, are certainly the work of many hands, none presents itself as a collaborative effort, or collection of speeches from different sources.⁷

It is hard to speak of a prophetic style, especially when the style varies so greatly even within some of the books, and our ability to judge such matters is limited. Much of the literature, however, would appear to have been composed in an elevated register, with a widespread use of figurative language and unusual vocabulary, even where the presentation is not formally poetic. Without going so far as to claim, on those grounds alone, that the books must necessarily be 'literary' compositions, in the sense of 'high literature', we can at least say that their style would not generally exclude such a description. This sits comfortably with other aspects of their presentation, since many of the literary compositions known from the ancient Near East, including some of those preserved in

5. Morris (1996: 15) puts it well: 'none of the prophetic letters from Mari can compare with even the shortest or simplest prophetic book of the Hebrew Bible in length or complexity... [I]t is asking too much of these brief epistles that they should define the genre of Isaiah.'

6. See especially Ben Zvi 2003.

7. In this respect, they differ from some of the Neo-Assyrian collections, in which oracles from several different prophets are grouped (cf. SAA 9.1; 9.2).

the Bible, make similar use of direct speech as a compositional device, with or without an explicit narrative setting. This is true of some of the earliest literature from Egypt and Mesopotamia, but it is also a feature of much later works, and is familiar within biblical studies as a typical component of apocalyptic and other literature. There are reasonably good grounds, then, for speaking of the prophetic books as ‘literature’, without prejudice to the question of how their contents originated: their language and general format conform to long-established traditions of literary composition.

When biblical scholars speak of reading prophecy as literature, however, they are usually bracing their audience either for a synchronic reading or for a study of poetics. It is widely supposed (or, more often, presupposed) that the conventional features of prophetic literature derive not from broader literary conventions, but essentially from the practice of prophecy. On such an understanding, there is nothing problematic about the presentation as speech, or the attribution to the prophet who made the speech; if the poetic style is harder to explain, it can at least be connected with the rhetorical purposes of the prophecy,⁸ or with a need to make it easily memorized.⁹ As a consequence, the relevance of other materials to the study of prophetic literature has tended to be assessed in terms of their own connection to prophetic activity. While the Mari letters have generated hundreds of articles, and the Neo-Assyrian texts from Nineveh promise to do the same, a number of other Mesopotamian and Egyptian works have almost entirely disappeared from discussion of the prophetic literature, on the grounds that they are ‘literary’ and not ‘real’ prophecy.¹⁰

8. In fact, Morris (1996) makes a good case for separating rhetoric and poetry as separate phenomena, and argues that, although both are to be found in prophetic literature, the assumption that poetic passages are simultaneously rhetorical cannot stand.

9. That texts were often memorized is beyond doubt; and the practice has been explored in detail by Carr (2005). It is not obvious, however, why prophetic oracles should have been memorized, given both their function and the availability of writing, and it is far from apparent that lengthy poems would have been more memorable than short, Mari-style messages.

10. For example, deJong Ellis (1989: 146) characterizes the Mesopotamian texts as ‘not comparable with the Biblical prophecies in either form or function’. Grabbe (1995: 94) sums up the situation well: ‘Writers on prophecy, both Old Testament scholars and Assyriologists, often make a distinction between “actual” prophecies, such as the Mari and neo-Assyrian prophecies, and the literary prophecies... The distinction is a useful one if appropriately applied. Unfortunately, the literary prophecies are often dissociated from Old Testament prophecy precisely because they are literary.’ Note also his similar remarks on the Egyptian texts (1995: 86-87).

The rejection of such texts is misguided, not least because a distinction has to be drawn between prophecy and prophetic books, however we account for the relationship between them. It is by no means inconceivable that some or all of the Hebrew prophetic books draw on oracles which were originally spoken, or maybe written, by actual, historical prophets, and that they are to some degree, therefore, compilations of prophetic speech. There are, to be sure, some serious questions to be asked about the means by which such oracles were preserved, and also about the motives which might have driven such preservation: most of the explanations traditionally offered are speculative and rather unsatisfying. The fact that they may contain records of prophecy, however, does not make those books prophecy themselves. When Amos tells Amaziah what Yahweh has declared about the future of his family and of his country (Amos 7.16-17), that is clearly prophecy. When the story of him doing so is transmitted in a book across subsequent centuries, however, something different is going on: Amaziah has already been told, so the message no longer needs delivery; even by the time the book of Amos was composed, moreover, Amaziah may have been dead, and the prophecy fulfilled. The delivery of a prophetic message is a transient action related to an immediate situation or forthcoming event—the preservation of a prophetic message in a book is not. If only for that reason, it is important to make a distinction between prophecy and the prophetic literature which claims to report prophecy, and not to assume that one is wholly explicable in terms of the other.¹¹

There are, however, other good reasons to disengage the texts from the phenomenon, and to pay more attention to their literary character. In the first place, a great deal of the material in some of the books is not oracular at all, and so can hardly be explained in terms of the preservation of oracles. To retain a connection with prophetic activity, commentators have resorted to such notions as the prophetic memoir—a type of text which is convenient, but which is attested nowhere else and presents many problems.¹² The many different types of material, indeed, and the

11. Not all the prophetic books are necessarily to be seen in terms of reporting prophecy, and some may be intended to replace, not recount, spoken oracles; Haggai, in particular, comes to mind. It seems likely, however, that such works are exceptional, and perhaps derivative from perceptions shaped by literary predictive texts. For a useful discussion of written oracles, see Floyd 1993. Van der Toorn (2004) describes Jeremiah and Ezekiel as ‘writer-prophets’, which invites confusion if the relationships between their (written) oracles and the books which bear their names are not closely specified.

12. Clements (2000), for instance, has defended the old idea of a memoir in Isa. 6–8, seeing it as an attempt to preserve a rejected message for future vindication.

explanations proposed for each, can rapidly lead us into a world of strange texts or memorized snippets without any parallel, and with no reason for their existence beyond the need to sustain certain suppositions. It is important to note, in this respect, that the Neo-Assyrian evidence for the literary collection and transmission of prophetic oracles, although it is admittedly confined to a very limited period and directed to a very specific end, shows no sign of this complexity, and bears little resemblance to the biblical literature.

We should also note that some of the materials in the prophetic books, although presented as historical words or actions, depend essentially on publication of some sort. Whether or not Jeremiah (13.1-11) actually travelled to the Euphrates twice to bury and disinter his dirty underwear, for example, it seems unlikely that many of the audience he wished to reach came with him: his actions are presented as illustrative, not effective, and achieve nothing without publication of the accompanying oracle. As Philip Davies (1996: 57-58) puts it succinctly, ‘it is the report that carries the message’. Even in the case of oracles which lack anecdotes, moreover, we may be dealing often with materials that were never intended to be heard by their supposed recipients, and which would have been, without broader publication, little more than shouts in the wind: it seems unlikely, for instance, that the Prince of Tyre ever heard Ezekiel’s prophecy against him, or that the cows came down from Bashan to hear Amos; if Micah really called on all the peoples and all the earth to listen, his message can hardly have reached more than a fraction of its purported audience.¹³ The portrayal of the prophet in such cases moves away from the classic idea of a messenger or mediator, and comes closer to the idea of a character, on a stage or in a book, whose words require not a recipient but an audience.¹⁴

The text may well intend to be understood this way (cf. Isa. 8.16), but that does not mean that this is really its origin. A number of ancient texts, including *Neferti* (which I shall discuss below), contain fictitious accounts of how they came to be written or preserved, and some other references to the writing of prophecy (e.g. Hab. 2.2) are perhaps to be understood in similar terms.

13. Ezek. 28; Amos 4.1; Mic. 1.2.

14. The Mesopotamian oracle texts generally have a specific addressee, to whom the oracle was to be delivered, directly or, more often, through intermediaries. One Neo-Assyrian oracle (SAA 9 3.2), preserved as part of a collection addressed to Esarhaddon, directs itself to the Assyrians, promising support to their king. The collection contains notes on an accompanying ritual procession, including the presentation of this oracle before courtyard gods, so that there is, in fact, a context within which it can be delivered to its recipients, albeit symbolically. See especially Nissinen 2000a: 251-53. A Babylonian report tells of an oracle against a visiting

Such considerations suggest, at least, that we need to look beyond the practice of prophecy if we are going to understand important features of the prophetic books: to whatever extent they are ‘prophetic’, they are also, more immediately ‘books’. We should not, therefore, exclude other texts from consideration as analogies simply because they are not themselves documentary records of oracular speech. Indeed, to the extent that some literary conventions may have influenced the composition of many different types of literature, there are potentially useful comparisons to be made with a wide range of texts. Since, however, we have to work largely from analogy, rather than on the basis of established links or a full understanding of literary influences, it makes sense to focus on those texts which most directly resemble prophetic literature. Under this heading we might include a certain amount of apocalyptic literature, as well as the Akkadian predictive texts, of which the best known, perhaps, is the prophecy attributed to Šulgi. I want to focus in the first instance, however, on some similar Egyptian works, and in particular, as my title suggests, on the *Sayings of Neferti*.¹⁵

Neferti has itself often been labelled as a ‘prophetic’ text, usually now just because it revolves around a predictive speech, rather than because it is taken to reflect some historical practice of prophecy in Egypt.¹⁶ Egyptologists also sometimes put it in the category of wisdom literature, a fact which is less significant than it sounds, since the designation carries less baggage (and is used even more promiscuously) in that discipline than in biblical studies. Formally, like most early Egyptian literature, it consists of a speech set within a narrative context, and it is probably best simply to think of it in those terms for the time being. The narrative context is the court of King Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty, so the story is

foreign king, proclaimed to him publicly in the presence of a crowd (cf. van der Toorn 2000: 228). We should not neglect the performative aspects of historical prophecy, and the extent to which it may be intended sometimes that a message should be overheard. There is no obvious parallel in the Mesopotamian sources, however, either to the proclamation of oracles to entirely absent or unreachable addressees, or to the report of symbolic actions carried out beforehand as the basis for an oracle.

15. The standard edition is Helck 1970. For a recent transliteration and translation, see Quirke 2004: 135-39; also Parkinson 1997: 131-43, 310; Lichtheim 1973-80: I, 139-45.

16. For the history of scholarship on this issue, see Shupak 1989-90: 13-18. Shupak does not address the historical issues directly, but it seems unlikely that intermediary prophecy was ever practised in Egypt, although there is substantial evidence for the consultation of oracles, which typically gave ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers (cf. Černý 1962).

set during the first half of the twenty-sixth century BCE. After his council has completed its daily meeting with the king and is leaving, Snefru recalls them, and asks them to find someone clever who can provide him with an entertaining speech. They nominate a chief lector priest called Neferti, who is brought into the royal presence, and asked to speak some fine words for the king. When he asks whether the king wants to hear about the past or future, Snefru chooses the future, and Neferti proceeds to paint a picture of Egypt fallen into a terrible decline, which the king himself records as Neferti speaks.

Under attack from foreigners, with its government displaced, the country is destroyed, and in need of re-creation. The sun is obscured, and the Sun-god cut off, the winds locked in an *impasse*, the river and fishpools dried out. In the meantime, Asiatics stroll comfortably into all strongholds, while social protections and constraints have broken down, with every man struggling for himself, wealth going to those who have not earned it, and social roles reversed. Into this situation comes a king from the south, named Ameny (the ‘hidden one’), who restores order, and re-establishes protection for the land, building a fortress called ‘The Walls of the Ruler’. The poem, and the work, conclude with Neferti’s forecast that posterity will offer him libations when they see the accuracy of his predictions. And well they might, indeed: if things were not quite as bad as all that before the rise of the Twelfth Dynasty, he does, with fair accuracy, foresee the coming of that dynasty’s founder, Amenemhet I, who built ‘The Walls of the Ruler’. We might even describe the prediction as uncanny, were it not that this whole work was written no earlier than Amenemhet’s reign, in the late twentieth century BCE, and merely set back in the distant past. Like much literature from the early Middle Kingdom, it is, in part at least, intended to promote the interests of the ruling dynasty.¹⁷

It would be a mistake, however, to limit the meaning and significance of *Neferti* to the particular historical context in which it was composed. This work, after all, was copied for hundreds of years afterwards, and Neferti’s name features in a New Kingdom list of famous writers on Papyrus Chester Beatty IV (which comments, among other things, on the accuracy of predictions).¹⁸ It became, essentially, a classic of Egyptian literature, and it reflects not only important Egyptian ideas, but also certain compositional and thematic conventions familiar from other texts. Apart from its general similarity to the many Egyptian texts which

17. See Posener 1956.

18. Gardiner 1935: I, 38-39; II, pls. 18-19. Translation and notes in Lichtheim 1973-80: II, 175-78; Parkinson 1991: 148-50.

present their ideas through the vehicle of direct speech, which have a strong interest in social order, or which set their content back in the Old Kingdom, *Neferti* can usefully be compared directly to several other Middle Kingdom compositions.

The best known of these, perhaps, is the slightly later series of tales preserved on Papyrus Westcar, which similarly employs the entertainment of a bored king as a narrative framework.¹⁹ This time the king is Snefru's successor, Khufu (Cheops), but the initial stories are recounted as having happened in the time of his ancestors. Later on, a more complicated narrative involves Khufu himself, with an account of the predicted coming and subsequent birth of the kings who are to form the next dynasty. Where these stories offer a framework reminiscent of that in *Neferti*, and also a predictive element, two other texts apparently employ a different setting, but have a similar interest in portraying the collapse of social order. In one of these, attributed to Ipuwer, the initial description of the setting has been lost, nevertheless the work seems to present a dialogue between a certain Ipuwer and the king, in which the current state of chaos is acknowledged by both, but the responsibility debated.²⁰ The other work describes itself as a collection of sayings by one Khakheperreseneb, but it takes the form of a connected monologue, addressed to his own heart and lamenting the state of the land.²¹

To the extent that *Neferti* can usefully be described as a prophetic text at all, it clearly does not belong to some exclusive genre of prophetic texts. On the contrary, it illustrates rather well the extent to which aspects of subject-matter and formal presentation can be shared across different types of literary composition. In terms of its origin, we cannot offer precise details, but it is not apparently the product of circles distinct from, or isolated within, the scribal context out of which most literature emerged in this period. Broadly speaking, it is a court composition, and the motives for its composition may have included a desire to inculcate

19. Papyrus Berlin 3033: the work was probably composed in the late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period. The text is given in Blackman 1998. Translations and notes are to be found in Quirke 2004: 77-89; Parkinson 1997: 102-27, 309-10; Lichtheim 1973-80: I, 215-22.

20. There is a new edition in Enmarch 2005. Translations and notes are to be found in Quirke 2004: 140-50; Parkinson 1997: 166-99, 311-12; Lichtheim 1973-80: I, 149-63.

21. Gardiner 1909: 95-112, pls. 17-18. The composition is probably later than Senwosret II (c. 1844-1837 BCE), whose throne-name gave rise to the popularity of the name Khakheperreseneb (cf. Quirke 2004: 173-75, esp. 173). Other translations and notes are to be found in Parkinson 1997: 144-50, 310-11; Lichtheim 1973-80: I, 145-49.

key aspects of the elite's culture. That much can be said of almost every literary text from the Middle Kingdom. We should not, furthermore, waste too much time on the background to its predictive element. *Neferti* does not explicitly draw on divinatory or oracular sources, any more than does Djedi, the character who makes the predictions in Papyrus Westcar: these are simply men with extraordinary knowledge and quasi-magical powers. In short, then, the *Sayings of Neferti* is neither a product of some prophetic group in Egypt, nor a useful source for investigating the practice of prophecy or related phenomena. It is, however, a very useful starting-point for examining certain conventions which extended through Egyptian literature, and far beyond.

Despite his appearance as a famous writer on the Chester Beatty papyrus, Neferti is not the author of the work in which he appears. Indeed, it is unlikely that he ever existed at all, and the very name Neferti is apparently an intentional wordplay: *mdt nfrt* is the 'fine' or 'perfect', language central to the concerns of much Egyptian literature, and *nfr* is also a component of King Snefru's name.²² This is actually unusual, to the extent that attributions in Middle Kingdom literature were more commonly to individuals who were probably or certainly historical. Those attributions, however, are no less fictitious, and it is the norm in Egypt, as elsewhere in the ancient Near East, for books to bear the names not of their authors but of their protagonists. This is not unconnected with the presentation of literature as direct speech: a work like the well-known *Instruction of Ptahhotep* is being depicted as a record of words spoken by a famous vizier from the past, who appears as a character in the introductory narrative; even in those compositions where no such narrative appears in the text, the words are supposed to be heard in the voice of the character. In a very few cases the names given may genuinely be the names of the actual writers, but, as a rule, ancient Near Eastern literature is anonymous and what we are offered on the flyleaf, as it were, is not the name of the author or originator, as it would normally be in classical or modern literature. This habit persists into the apocalyptic literature, of course, and is generally described in terms of pseudonymity. That description is misleading, however, without qualification: this is not a matter of authors pretending to be someone else, but of authors speaking through and about their main character.²³ This is particularly

22. Cf. Parkinson 1997: 139.

23. The distinction is an important one. John Barton (1986: 211-12) discusses the possibility that the later Jewish pseudonymous apocalypses may have originated in the belief by some writers that they were vehicles for genuinely ancient visions. The conventions of apocalyptic in this respect, however, are surely more likely drawn

clear in the many cases where the author additionally uses the voice of a narrator to set the scene for his character. Unless prophetic literature constitutes a significant exception to this very common convention, it is a reasonable assumption that the original readership would have understood the attributions of the prophetic books in this way.

Determining how this would have influenced the understanding and reception of the books is not an easy matter. The limited evidence of later Egyptian interpretation, in fact, suggests that a recognition of conventionally fictional attribution sat alongside a willingness to accept, at some level, the historicity of certain historically improbable attributions.²⁴ We would certainly find such a co-existence uncomfortable, but it is not without parallel in other ancient cultures, including later Judaism, and we might discuss at length, although not perhaps very profitably, the extent to which our own distinctions between fact and fiction would really have been recognized by ancient readers. An understanding that those readers were less inclined than us to equate validity and authenticity with strict historicity may have some truth in it, but the issue, I suspect, is more closely to be associated with the reading of texts for different purposes, or against different sets of conventions. Be that as it may, the important point about attributions is not that they imply or exclude historical authenticity, but that they are potentially descriptive, whether drawing on the reputation of some ancient figure, exploiting the circumstances of a particular period, or as, with Neferti, creating a protagonist with symbolic characteristics. If the prophetic literature is not just drawing on the reputations of real prophets, then it is possible that the characterization of the speakers is similarly of some significance for the way in which their messages are to be understood. Malachi's name raises some interesting

from the long-standing conventions of attribution in Near Eastern literature: whatever the authors thought they were doing, their practice did not originate in an elision of identity between author and protagonist.

24. The poem on Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, mentioned above, is especially interesting in this respect. It identifies books as occupying the role of tombs or heirs in perpetuating the names of their authors, and lists a series of names, most of them familiar to us through literary attributions. It goes on, though, to refer to the scribe Khety as the author of the *Instruction of Amenemhet* (verso, 6.13-14), a work which presents itself as the words of the dead king, after his assassination. The issue of fictional attribution needs to be addressed within a broader discussion of fictionality, as recognized by Parkinson (2002: 87-91). Antonio Loprieno (1996: 214) offers an attractive definition: 'Fictionality is the textual category whereby an implicit mutual solidarity is established between author and reader to the effect that the world presented in the text need not coincide with actual reality and no sanctions apply in the case of a discrepancy'.

questions in this respect, of course, but we should not neglect the possibility that details offered about other prophets may be intended to convey meaning, rather than being incidental biographical information. Rather than worry about whether Amos really was a shepherd, for instance, it might be interesting to consider why the book is so keen to tell us that he was.

We should also observe that the strong emphasis on literature as speech by a character probably influenced the way that texts were read. We are inclined, perhaps, to see essays where ancient readers heard voices, and so to neglect the narrative aspect of speech. *Neferti* actually draws in the voice of a narrator to engineer a transition from Neferti's dialogue with the king to the monologue in which he speaks to his heart, watched and recorded by the king. In an often complicated way, which can make us quite nostalgic for quotation marks, other texts develop dialogues, or even stories, through the interplay of voices. If this is self-evident in, say, the Song of Songs, it is also a crucial feature of some prophetic books, with Second Isaiah and the start of Hosea furnishing obvious instances, but even Joel gliding seamlessly between different speakers. It is a device, furthermore, which lends itself to some ingenuity when the prophet has, as it were, two voices. In the second chapter of Hosea, for example, what seems to be the prophet talking of his wife is revealed to be the god talking about his people.²⁵ If ancient narrative literature so often revolves around speech, it is also important to recognize that speech can have a narrative dimension.

The presentation of prophetic literature as speeches attributed to individual prophets, then, gives it a character and appearance similar to a lot of other ancient literature. To whatever extent that presentation is the result of its relationship with actual prophetic activity, it seems likely that readers would still have understood that literature in terms of the conventions which governed such texts over a long period. Correspondingly, then, if we do not pay attention to aspects of narration, characterization and attribution associated with those conventions, we risk missing or misunderstanding what is going on. These points are very general, however, and are not only applicable to some other biblical texts, but are of limited significance for understanding those prophetic books in which the characterization or narration is minimal. There may be more specific insights into the function and character of prophetic literature to be gained by comparing it with the relatively limited corpus of texts in which predictive speech plays a central role.

25. See Weeks 1999.

It would be misleading, in fact, to speak of such texts as a corpus, were that taken to imply that historically they all belong together in some way. The extent to which the author of any was conscious of the others is uncertain, but there are strong similarities between them, and we may legitimately consider them broadly, at least, as analogous compositions. The Mesopotamian texts are not all easy to date, but are later than *Neferti*, with the earliest examples unlikely to have been composed before the twelfth century, and some of the material probably originating in the Seleucid period. The precise number of different compositions represented by the textual evidence is not absolutely certain, but we are probably dealing with no more than five or six distinct works.²⁶ Typically, like *Neferti*, these seem to be interested in affirming the value of a particular ruler, through comparison with the situation which preceded him, although some are interested more specifically in the succession of previous rulers than in painting general pictures of chaos.²⁷ It is worth observing that the short Neo-Assyrian collections, which may contain genuine oracles rather than the literary, if omen-like, compositions of these other texts, are also largely orientated toward affirmation of the king. In other words, the great majority of predictive literary texts outside Israel seem to have support for a king or dynasty among their primary purposes.²⁸

26. The texts generally considered literary predictive literature are the ‘prophecies’ attributed to Marduk and Šulgi (which have been transmitted as elements of a series), the Uruk Prophecy, the Dynastic Prophecy, and the text known as ‘Text A’, after its designation in Grayson and Lambert 1964. Of the other texts listed in that work, texts C and D are now identified as belonging to the Šulgi and Marduk prophecies, while B is grouped by many scholars with astrological omen literature, rather than the ‘prophetic’ texts.

27. The Marduk Prophecy appears to relate to a recovery of the cult-statue of Marduk from Elam by Nebuchadnezzar I in the late twelfth century BCE, and has Marduk relate his past decisions to abandon Babylon; against the background of the chaos ensuing from his latest abandonment, a king will arise and renew the city, paving the way for the god to return. The more fragmentary Šulgi Prophecy is harder to place historically, and sets itself on the lips of a divinized ancient king of Ur; it predicts a coming time of chaos, during the reign of a king whose name is lost, which is to be ended by the arrival of another king, who will renew and rebuild the cult. These straightforward accounts of resolution and renewal give way to more complicated schemes in the other texts, involving predicted series of kings.

28. The same, obviously, can be said of the Ammonite Citadel inscription, the Zakkur Stela, and perhaps more generally of monumental accounts. For Egypt, Gillam (2005: 81-82) notes that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III both claim to have experienced oracular endorsement by the gods. The particular focus on affirmation

That is patently not, in itself, a feature of the Hebrew prophetic books, even if they do often reflect an interest in matters of state. Looking beyond the immediate subject-matter, however, we can see in the foreign texts a very particular use of prediction, or at least of the recounting of predictions. However prestigious the characters who offer the predictions in the literary works, none of the texts is geared to the affirmation or validation of those figures themselves. Rather, their predictions are apparently used to depict the immediate past or present, from the point of view of the author, as the end-point of a historical situation or process. The fact that the past is commonly presented as highly stylized should make us cautious about calling these texts ‘historiographical’, but their approach is something analogous to historical analysis, and they have an interest in depicting the present against the background of the past, sometimes in connection with assertions of divine action.²⁹ Predictive literary texts from outside Israel, then, are essentially orientated toward their own present time, which is depicted as the future time of the characters making the predictions. They are interested in the past, but the character of their interest is not antiquarian or memorial, and they are not concerned to validate the speakers who offer predictions.

In comparing the Hebrew prophetic books, we need not get involved in complicated questions about the degree to which particular oracles must be regarded as *ex eventu*. Again, it is important to distinguish here between prophets and books: if an oracle was spoken in advance of the event, it may nevertheless have become part of a book many years afterwards. There are, to be sure, certain predictions (most obviously the eschatological ones) which could still not have been fulfilled by the time the books containing them were written. Modern scholars have generally accepted, however, that the prophetic books were not composed as predictive almanacs, but rather addressed issues and events which preceded, or were contemporary, with the time of their composition. Whatever the original nature of material within them, then, these books too were presenting predictions made in the past, about events which occurred closer to their time of composition.

Scholars, however, have also often tended to assume that the writers or editors shared the modern preoccupation with the historical prophets themselves, and with validation of those prophets. Although the great

of monarchs, in both literature and monuments, is probably to be linked to the contexts in which such texts were created and preserved.

29. The whole notion of historiography is difficult in both Egypt and Mesopotamia. With regard to the Mesopotamian literary predictive texts, see especially deJong Ellis 1989; for Egypt, Morenz 2003.

majority of commentators offer no explanation at all for the existence of particular works, there seems to be a widespread perception that the prime purpose of a prophetic book is to preserve the remaining words and recollections of a historical prophet. Andersen and Freedman (1989: 7) are more explicit than most, but probably not untypical when they say of the book of Amos that ‘Amos and his words remain the central factor in the book, and we make our first assumption by arguing that the editor’s purpose is to do precisely that—to make and maintain the centrality of Amos, man and prophet, words and deeds’. Other works, like Obadiah, Nahum or Habakkuk, have so little to say about the prophet that biography or memorialization could hardly be deemed a ‘central factor’ in the rise of prophetic literature more generally. We might wonder, in fact, whether the contents and arrangement support that claim even in the case of Amos. Like many commentators before and since, Andersen and Freedman have a great deal to say about the life and ministry of Amos, which they reconstruct in great detail. Little of their reconstruction, however, rests on actual statements in the book, which offers a one-verse description of Amos at the start, and a further two verses of self-description by the prophet in Amos 7.14-15. Even if we take the vision accounts as memoir and the Amaziah episode as biography, the book can hardly be said to focus much on ‘man and prophet’ or on ‘deeds’: it is almost entirely about Amos’s words.

Robert Carroll (1981 and elsewhere) has put a strong case for supposing that even in the case of Jeremiah, where the book offers much biography, the historical figure of the prophet is not the real concern, but is essentially the medium through which aspects of the message are conveyed. Whether one accepts that case or not, it is difficult either to argue that the content of most prophetic books betrays a prime interest in the prophet, or to find parallels to such a phenomenon in other ancient literature. On the other hand, if we allow the possibility that we are, in this respect, simply projecting our own interests on to the original authors, then it becomes rather easier to see potential resemblances between the Hebrew prophetic literature and other predictive literary compositions and to suggest that much of the biblical literature may, like the foreign texts, be more concerned with the period in which it is written than with the period in which it is set.

We do not, of course, have to resort to foreign literature in order to recognize that the interests of a prophetic book may relate to a context different from that of the book’s protagonist. With regard to some of the prophecies depicted in other biblical literature, indeed, there can be little doubt that we are dealing with the retrojection of later circumstances and issues—as when, for instance, the man of God in 1 Kings 13 predicts at

Bethel the future actions of Josiah. The other predictive literature from the ancient world does, however, not only furnish a model for understanding texts in this way, but also indicates that we may need to reckon with something more important than simple prophecy *ex eventu*. If it is legitimate to understand some of the foreign material, at least, in terms of historical analysis, then we should be asking more seriously, perhaps, whether the book of Amos, say, is really perhaps intended to serve as an explanation for the fall of the Northern Kingdom, rather than as either an antiquarian memoir or a piece of ‘told you so’ propaganda. In any case, the uses of the past in predictive literature, combined with the broader issues of attribution and characterization in ancient literature more generally, must surely undercut traditional assumptions about the centrality of the historical prophets to the concerns of prophetic literature.

If the use of the past in predictive literature is interesting, the way it sometimes depicts the past is no less so. I have referred generally to stylization, and a degree of schematization also can be discerned in some of the Mesopotamian material. The links between *Neferti* and other Egyptian texts, however, show that we are not dealing with something specific only to predictive literary texts, and it is usually recognized that descriptions of the land in chaos constitute a particular motif or *topos* in Middle Kingdom literature.³⁰ This can be linked to the centrality of order in Egyptian thought, and also to related political concepts about the land, meaning that while the fact of reference to particular historical periods should not be neglected, the nature of that reference is less than straightforward. There is wide agreement now, at least, that the descriptions should not be used directly as a historical source: they amount to an understanding of the past reflected through a particular ideological prism, and include elements which are detailed enough to be plausible, but which are actually highly conventional. To put it another way, very specific problems described within the accounts are not there because they necessarily happened, but because they indicate the nature of what was taken to have been happening.

Although the Egyptian texts must be read in the context of the idiosyncratic Egyptian view of the cosmos, the literary predictions from Mesopotamia also include elements which appear to be stereotypes (and which have counterparts in other literature). Although it has precise historical elements as well, the Marduk Prophecy, for example, includes a

30. This was recognized long ago in Luria 1929. As Loprieno (1996: 211) points out, however, some Egyptologists continued to read the accounts as a direct reflection of the First Intermediate Period for many decades after this.

description of brothers consuming each other, friends striking each other, and aristocrats begging from commoners, along with other things which are bad, but more symbolic than specific. Similarly, the Šulgi prophecy has families breaking apart, children sold for cash and, again, brothers consuming one another. Despite the fact that we have brothers eating each other also in Isa. 9.18-19 (ET 19-20), the extent to which biblical accounts can be related to all this is complicated by considerations of date and cultural difference. Discerning what is conventional in such depictions is a very different matter from recognizing the use of more widely established and less nationally specific conventions of composition and presentation in literature. It is important to note here, however, some other material which would appear to be a form of literary composition related to prophecy, and which comes from a context rather closer to pre-exilic Israel.

That material is, of course, the text or texts found near Deir 'Allā, in the Jordan Valley.³¹ At least part of this famously concerns a vision by the seer Balaam, but the condition of the texts, and the problem of relationships between the surviving fragments, make it difficult to pronounce with any certainty on the overall character of the composition.³² We can say, at least, that the vision appears to be recounted within a narrative context, where Balaam is the principal character, and the gods appear to be planning something terrible. We can also say that the text probably dates from the eighth century, and that a local origin is suggested by both its language and its position. Despite its many difficulties, then, this is a direct witness to Palestinian literature in the period, which makes it especially interesting for us to observe that the text seems to include a stylized account of disaster, analogous to the descriptions in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian compositions. This is very fragmentary and difficult to understand, but appears to include birds, animals and humans acting in uncharacteristic ways, probably alongside descriptions of social reversal. While it would be wrong to place too much weight on such material, then, it is nevertheless striking to find such an account of stylized natural and societal disorder in a predictive literary context so close to Israel.

31. Published in Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976: 173-82, pls. 1-15, 23, 29-33; see Nissinen 2003: 207-12.

32. It is highly improbable, though, that the text attests to 'the practice of compiling the words and deeds of someone invested with prophetic authority', and is, as van der Toorn claims (2004: 193-94), comparable to the preservation of the Neo-Assyrian oracles. This is surely a fictional narrative, incorporating a fictional vision account. Just why it was written on a plaster wall is an intriguing question, but the position does not attest to its authenticity as an oracle.

To some extent, this sort of imagery is simply a facet of the poetic language in works like *Neferti* or the Balaam text. Where it appears in predictive or prophetic literature, it may do so in accounts of future blessings, as well as in descriptions of disaster—the behaviour of the animals in Isa. 11.6, for example, provides an interesting counterpart to that of the animals at Deir ‘Allā. Once we move away from the more obviously symbolic world of birds and animals, however, it is often difficult to determine how far the use of imagery and metonymy extends. *Neferti* clearly includes certain historical details, such as the fort built by Amenemhet. And yet it has other specifics, such as the incursions by Asiatics, which are less a reference to particular events than the evocation of a common problem. When *Neferti*, furthermore, speaks of servants taking the place of their masters, the book does not have actual individuals in mind, but is illustrating the broader threat to social and cosmic order. The work uses detailed descriptions to represent a much greater problem, one which transcends the specific instances, and it would be a mistake, therefore, to take those instances either as actual occurrences or as the primary concern.

The possibility that something similar may be happening in parts of the biblical literature should not be ignored. Making allowances for the different conceptualizations of proper social and religious order, we might reasonably wonder whether the author of Amos, for instance, was really convinced that Israel was full of fathers and sons sleeping with the same woman, or men drinking confiscated wine in the temple (Amos 2.7-8), or whether Micah truly believed that the land was riddled with women being rude to their mothers-in-law (Mic. 7.6). If these are being adduced poetically by the books as symptoms of the underlying malaise, then the usage in *Neferti* and elsewhere should warn us against taking them too literally. *Neferti* does not deduce the threat to order from observations of society, but depicts that threat through an account of societal malfunctions. Similarly, we should perhaps see the social and religious commentary in some prophetic literature not as the basis for condemnation, but as a way of speaking about the collapse of proper order, or the corrosion of the nation’s relationship with Yahweh. This would not sit uncomfortably, of course, with the idea broached earlier, that prophetic literature may have an explanatory function. At the very least, however, we must be extremely cautious about trying to use the prophetic observations as historical data, and, for that matter, of assuming the prophets to have been acute observers of social and religious behaviour.

There are other areas, perhaps, in which predictive literature from elsewhere might raise some interesting questions about the Hebrew prophetic literature. It is not my intention here, however, either to track

down all the possibilities, or to suggest firm answers to any of the questions raised already. The comparison of literary works is rarely an exercise in certainties, even where the context and connections are understood well, and study of the Hebrew prophetic books is further complicated by their considerable diversity. If it would be inappropriate to draw general conclusions in each of the areas touched on above, however, it would also be inappropriate to ignore the questions raised by the predictive literature which we possess from elsewhere—not least because some of those questions have already been raised in modern scholarship, on the basis of quite different considerations. The need to be cautious about specifics, furthermore, does not preclude making some general points rather more firmly.

It may be difficult, but it is not illegitimate to seek historical information about prophecy from the prophetic books. Some of the materials which they contain may indeed be authentic oracles, and it seems likely that the literature often seeks to reflect the common forms of address and patterns of speech used by prophets. The function of prophetic literature, however, is not inherently the same as the function of prophecy, and the act even of preserving an oracle verbatim is functionally and qualitatively different from that of delivering an oracle. In fact, as I noted earlier, there are a number of factors which might lead us to see prophetic literature as something rather more than a simple record of speech, but it is, in any case, a phenomenon which requires its own explanation. That explanation is more likely to be found through consideration of other literature and uses of writing, than in the context of prophetic activity itself.

In searching for an understanding of the prophetic books, furthermore, we should avoid presuming that their relationship to the historical phenomenon of prophecy must be a defining, determinative factor, one which links them together and excludes other texts from consideration. Unless we have some particular reason to suppose that Israel's literature emerged in a highly compartmentalized way, unparalleled elsewhere, then we must be willing to recognize not only that the prophetic books may sometimes be very different from each other, despite their subject-matter, but also that they may share important features with books which are not prophetic, just as *Neferti* has much in common with other Egyptian texts that are not predictive.

By understanding the biblical prophetic literature principally in terms of Israelite prophetic activity, which may be as egregious a category confusion as anything ever done to Genesis, traditional scholarship on prophecy has justified the rejection as irrelevant of texts which could shed much light on that literature. We do not, in fact, have to assume any

specific connection, direct or indirect, with *Neferti* or the Mesopotamian literary prophecies, in order to appreciate that those works may offer fresh insights into the biblical texts. The questions, after all, might almost as readily be raised through analogy with the other texts, as on the basis of any claim to literary dependence or shared literary heritage. We will never ask those questions properly, however, if we fail to break the grip of historical prophecy on the interpretation of prophetic literature. Texts like the *Sayings of Neferti* can help us—but only if we are willing to ask for their help in the first place.

Bibliography

- Andersen, F.I., and D.N. Freedman
 1989 *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 24A; New York: Doubleday).
- Barton, J.
 1986 *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd).
- Ben Zvi, E.
 2003 'The Prophetic Book: A Key Form of Prophetic Literature', in Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi (eds.), *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans): 276-97.
- Ben Zvi, E., and M.H. Floyd (eds.)
 2000 *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy* (SBL Symposium Series, 10; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
- Blackman, A.M.
 1988 *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033). Edited for Publication by W.V. Davies* (Reading: J.V. Books).
- Carr, D.
 2005 *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Carroll, R.P.
 1981 *From Chaos to Covenant: Uses of Prophecy in the Book of Jeremiah* (London: SCM Press).
- Černý, J.
 1962 'Egyptian Oracles', in R. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3)* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press): 35-48.
- Clements, R.E.
 2000 'The Prophet as an Author: The Case of the Isaiah Memoir', in Ben Zvi and Floyd (eds.) 2000: 89-101.
- Davies, P.R.
 1996 'The Audiences of Prophetic Scrolls: Some Suggestions', in S.B. Reid (ed.), *Prophets and Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker* (JSOTSup, 229; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 48-62.

- deJong Ellis, M.
 1987 'The Goddess Kititum Speaks to King Ibalpiel: Oracle Texts from Ischali', *MARI* 5: 235-66.
 1989 'Observations on Mesopotamian Oracles and Prophetic Texts: Literary and Historiographic Considerations', *JCS* 41: 127-86.
- Enmarch, R.
 2005 *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* (Oxford: Griffith Institute)
- Floyd, M.H.
 1993 'Prophecy and Writing in Habakkuk 2, 1-5', *ZAW* 105: 462-69.
- Gardiner, A.H.
 1909 *The Admonitions of an Ancient Egyptian Sage, from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs).
 1935 *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third series, Chester Beatty Gift* (London: British Museum).
- Gillam, R.
 2005 *Performance and Drama in Ancient Egypt* (London: Duckworth).
- Grabbe, L.L.
 1995 *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International).
- Grayson, A.K., and W.G. Lambert
 1964 'Akkadian Prophecies', *JCS* 18: 7-30.
- Helck, W.
 1970 *Die Prophezeiungdes Nfr.tj* (Kleine Ägyptische Texte; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz).
- Hoftijzer, J., and G. van der Kooij
 1976 *Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla* (DMOA 19; Leiden: Brill).
- Lichtheim, M.
 1973-80 *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (3 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Loprieno, A.
 1996 'Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Literary Theory', in J.S. Cooper and G.M. Schwarz (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century. The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 209-32.
- Luria, S.
 1929 'Die Ersten werden die Letzten sein', *Klio* 22: 405-431
- Morenz, L.D.
 2003 'Literature as a Construction of the Past in the Middle Kingdom', in J. Tait (ed.), *Never Had the Like Occurred': Egypt's View of Its Past* (Encounters with Ancient Egypt; London: UCL Press): 101-17.
- Morris, G.
 1996 *Prophecy, Poetry and Hosea* (JSOTSup, 219; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Nissinen, M.
 2000a 'Spoken, Written, Quoted, and Invented: Orality and Writtness in Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy', in Ben Zvi and Floyd (eds.) 2000: 235-71.

- 2000b 'The Socio-religious Role of the Neo-Assyrian Prophets', in M. Nissinen (ed.), *Prophecy in its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives* (SBL Symposium Series, 13; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 89-114.
- Nissinen, M.
2003 *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: With Contributions by C.L. Seow and Robert K. Ritner* (ed. Peter Machinist; SBLWAW, 12; Leiden: Brill).
- Parkinson, R.B.
1991 *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (London: British Museum).
1997 *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
2002 *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies; London: Continuum).
- Parpola, S.
1997 *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA, 9; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).
- Posener, G.
1956 *Littérature et Politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e Dynastie* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes, IV^e section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 307; Paris: H. Champion).
- Quirke, S.
2004 *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: Questions and Readings* (London: Golden House Publications).
- Shupak, N.
1989–90 'Egyptian "Prophecy" and Biblical Prophecy: Did the Phenomenon of Prophecy, in the Biblical Sense, Exist in Ancient Egypt?', *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap, Ex Oriente Lux* 31: 5-40.
- Toorn, K. van der
2000 'From the Oral to the Written: The Case of Old Babylonian Prophecy', in Ben Zvi and Floyd (eds.) 2000: 219-34.
2004 'From the Mouth of the Prophet: The Literary Fixation of Jeremiah's Prophecies in the Context of the Ancient Near East', in J. Kaltner and L. Stulman (eds.), *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon* (JSOTSup, 378; London: T&T Clark International): 191-202.
- Weeks, S.
1999 'Whose Words? Qoheleth, Hosea, and Attribution in Biblical Literature', in Peter J. Harland and Robert Hayward (eds.), *New Heaven and New Earth. Prophecy and the Millennium: Essays in Honour of Anthony Gelston* (Leiden: Brill): 151-70.

FEMALE PROPHETS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

Jonathan Stökl

The study of prophecy has a special place in religious studies, particularly the study of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, all of which understand their religion as based on prophetic revelation. As a consequence, the bibliography on prophets is vast. By contrast, the number of studies on female prophets is relatively small. This is partly related to the fact that evidence for female prophets in the Scriptures of Judaism, Christianity and Islam is relatively scarce.¹ The evidence for female prophets in the ancient Near East is much fuller. Texts from Mari and the Neo-Assyrian empire provide information about female prophets in these two societies. Often, texts from Late Bronze Age Emar are cited in this context as well, but, as will be shown below, neither of the two specialists referred to in texts from that city are prophets.²

For the purposes of this study, a ‘female prophet’ is a woman who either (a) transmits a deity’s message, which had not been requested by the addressee or any other human, to a human addressee, or (b) is referred to in a text as a ‘female prophet’.³ The term for professional female prophets in Old-Babylonian Akkadian is *āpiltu*, while *raggintu* is the term used in Neo-Assyrian texts. Both cultures also have a word for men and women who are ‘ecstatic’ and who also transmit divine messages. I do not, however, understand them as professional prophets, but rather as people who, because they would at times be ecstatic, are often chosen by a god as messengers. They are neither professional prophets

* I would like to thank Stephanie Dalley and Hugh Williamson for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay. I am also grateful to Miranda Laurence for improving my English.

1. Cf. the contribution by Williamson to the present volume.

2. Pettinato (1976: 49; 1981: 119, 253) claimed that he had found the terms ‘*mahhu* and *nabi’ūtum*’ (allegedly spelled *na-bi-ū-tum*, in TM 74G.454) in the Ebla texts. Although the evidence has never been published, recent studies of Israelite religion persist in citing it; cf. Kitchen (2003: 384) and Hess (2007: 83).

3. Weippert (1988: 289-90). Grabbe (1995) and Nissinen (2004) use a similar definition but they do not distinguish between prophets and technical diviners.

nor lay prophets, but they occupy something of a middle ground. The terms used for them are *muhhūtum* (Old Babylonian) and *mahhūtum* (Neo-Assyrian).

Although the texts mentioning ancient Near Eastern women prophets are included in the modern collections of prophetic texts, I am not aware of any publication devoted exclusively to female prophets in the ancient Near Eastern, a lacuna which this article aims to close.⁴ Due to limitations of space, I will not engage here with recent feminist anthropological theories regarding gender and prophecy, or ‘alterity’ as it is sometimes called in the anthropological debate.⁵

Among the prophetic figures attested in the extra-biblical ancient Near Eastern sources we find considerably more women than in the Bible. However, the commonly drawn picture that women were prevalent among the prophets in the ancient Near East has to be modified.⁶ We have to distinguish very carefully between the Neo-Assyrian sources on the one hand and sources from Mari on the other.⁷ For Mari there is a fairly high number of prophets of various kinds. In the Neo-Assyrian texts, the number of individuals is far lower and the relative number of women much higher. Outside these two corpora, ancient Near Eastern sources that refer to prophecy are scarce, and no further woman prophets are attested. Before analysing the evidence from the two ancient Near Eastern corpora—the royal archives from Mari and those from Nineveh—it is necessary to assess the evidence for prophecy at Emar.⁸

To my knowledge, the first to suggest translating **munabbiātu* as ‘prophetesses’ was Daniel Arnaud, the editor of most of the Emar texts, presumably because it contains the root *nb*.⁹ However, there is no indication in the text that these women prophesy.

4. For example, Nissinen (2003).

5. Recent anthropological theory has concentrated on the question of why women are so prevalent among prophetic figures in modern contexts; cf. Keller (2002). For a critical review from an anthropological point of view; cf. Heschel (2004). For a reading of Keller’s work with regard to female prophets at Mari; cf. Stökl (forthcoming).

6. E.g. Frymer-Kensky (2006: 48).

7. For translations of both sets of texts, see the widely available Nissinen (2003); for recent alternative translations of the Mari texts into English, see Roberts (2002) and Heimpel (2003).

8. For example, Feliu (2003: 55); Hess (2007: 89); Gafney (2008: 66-68).

9. The four texts are: (1) Emar 373:97’, Arnaud (1986: 353, 360); (2) Emar 379:11-12, Arnaud (1986: 375); (3) Emar 383:10’, Arnaud (1986: 377); and (4) Emar 406:5’, Arnaud (1986: 402-403). A literal translation is ‘Išhara of the female *nubbû*-ers’; the verb *nubbû* is a D-stem of *nabû* II (‘to call’). The D-stem

The verb *nubbû* is attested eight times in adoption documents at Emar.¹⁰ It always occurs as part of the standard expression which requires the adopted party to ‘call my gods and my dead’ in what is probably connected to some form of cultic provision for the adopted parent after their death. Prophecy, however, does not appear in this context at all. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that these texts have been read as prophetic.¹¹

1. *Female Prophets in Mari*

The royal Archives of Mari contain in excess of 70 texts which contain references to prophecy; a relatively substantial number. At Mari, two titles are associated closely with prophecy: the *āpiltum*, who is a professional female prophet; and the *muhhūtum*, who is an ecstatic who sometimes prophesies. Normally, the *muhhūtum* is understood as a professional prophet in the scholarly literature. However, while the *muhhūtum* (plural) deliver divine messages to the king, they also seem to display raving behaviour which does not lead to prophecy, suggesting that prophecy might only have been one aspect of their role. There are also other individuals who prophesy, individuals who will be referred to as female ‘lay-prophets’ in this study. The fact that these people are not referred to as *āpiltum* (‘female prophet’) in the texts, suggests that they were people of various professions and walks of life, including temple personnel who happen to prophesy.

verb *nubbû* usually means ‘to wail’. However, since Emar is a representative of peripheral Akkadian, the meaning of the verb could be different; cf. Fleming (1993c). For further discussions of this verb at Emar, see Tsukimoto (1989: 4-5), van der Toorn (1994), Pitard (1996), and Schmidt (1996). Durand (1989: 88) suggests reading the name of one of the Emar gates in Emar 140:1 as *Dagan-bēl-nabî-elsi* (‘Dagan-Seigneur-des-Prophètes-à-appelé’). Arnaud’s (1986: 151) original reading had been *Dagan-bēl-napilsî*. As noted by Fleming (1993a-c) at Emar the root *nb’* also occurs in the noun *nabî*, see Emar 387:11, Version F (Msk 74286b:47’): ^{lû.meš}*na-bi-i* (Arnaud [1986: 385-86]). For a discussion and negative evaluation of Fleming’s suggestion to regard the Emar evidence as supporting an active etymology for 𒀭𒀪; cf. the responses of Huehnergard (1999) and Fleming’s (2004) response.

10. (1) *RA* 77 1:8, Huehnergard (1983: 13), (2) *RA* 77 2:11-12, Huehnergard (1983: 17) (texts 1 and 2 were also published as *ASJ* 13 25-26; cf. Tsukimoto [1991]), (3) *AuOr* 5 13:16-17, Arnaud (1987: 233), (4) Emar 185:2-3, cf. Arnaud (1986: 197-98), (5) *CM* 3:23-24, Westenholz (2000: 9-12), (6) *Sem* 2:20-21, Arnaud 1996: 10-14, (7) *RE* 23:16-17, Beckman (1996: 39-40), (8) *RE* 30:5-7, Beckman 1996: 49-51.

11. Barr’s (1961) warning against callous use of etymology is as applicable to Akkadian as it is to Hebrew.

1.1. Female Lay-Prophets

Only one of the names of the four female lay-prophets at Mari is known to us today. The *qammatum* of Dagan of Terqa remains nameless.¹² Her title, *qammatum*, used to be read *qabbatum* ('speaker'), but the correct reading *qammatum* is now established beyond reasonable doubt.¹³ As this word only appears in three texts and nowhere else in the entire cuneiform record, it seems impossible to find a precise meaning for it. The title is related to the verb *qamāmu* ('to bind up [of hair]'), and Heimpel translates it as 'shock head' (Heimpel 2003: 251-52). In most studies on prophecy at Mari, the *qammatum* is listed among the professional prophets. She is discussed only briefly since the amount of data on her is not sufficient to describe her role with a sufficient degree of confidence. She may have been a professional prophet, but it seems more likely that she fulfilled a similar role to the *muḥḥūtum*. Possibly she was a temple functionary whose prophecy was incidental.

There are two other prophesying women whose names did not survive. The first gives the most violent of the prophetic oracles from Mari.¹⁴ She starts her oracle with *Dagan išpuranni* ('Dagan sent me'), which, incidentally, is one of the few times that any of the prophesying figures from Mari claims to have been divinely 'sent' to report an oracle. The letter mentioning the second of these two lay-prophets is badly damaged and only parts of the oracle itself remain legible, so that we cannot glean any information from the text on who the prophesying woman was or what she did.¹⁵

The only Mari female lay-prophet whose name has survived is Aḥatum, a servant of a certain Dagan-Malik. Aḥatum pronounces her message in the temple of the goddess Annunitum inside the city.¹⁶ The priest Aḥūm brings Aḥatum's message to Šibtu, the queen, who in turn relays these to her husband Zimri-Lim. In her letter, Šibtu not only relates the oracle but also the fact that Aḥatum had been 'raving'—*immaḥḥima*—a verb that is never used when describing the actions of a

12. ARM 26: 197, 199 and 203.

13. In contrast to statements in some recent publications, for example, Marsman (2003: 517) and Gafney (2008: 52-53). ARM 26 197 and 199 allow for both readings, *qa-ma-tum* and *qa-ba-tum*, as the OB BA and the MA signs are very similar. However, ARM 26 203 12' has [*ša*^f*qa*]-*am-ma*-[*tim*], which decides the matter; the AM sign does not have a reading *ab*, see Borger (2004); Labat and Malbran-Labat (1995); and von Soden and Röllig (1991).

14. ARM 26 210.

15. ARM 26 217.

16. ARM 26 214.

professional prophet. It might have been used here to assure the king that the message by the servant Aḥatum was a divine message.

There is an additional text which is usually included as one of the prophetic texts from Mari. In this text, Šibtu writes to her husband explaining that she had given two people, a man and a woman, something to drink and then questioned them on an ongoing war.¹⁷ This text is not only grammatically difficult but also badly damaged. Most interpreters think that the man and woman are referred to as *ittātum* ‘signs’ by Šibtu.¹⁸ However, Wilcke has convincingly shown that *ittātum* should be understood as ominous ‘signs’ about which the queen asks ‘the man and the woman’.¹⁹ Therefore, this text is not treated as a case of prophecy here.

1.2. *The muḥḥūtum and the āpiltum*

As mentioned above, I understand the *muḥḥūtum* as a ‘raver’ who also prophesies, and not as a professional prophet. In contrast to this, the *āpiltum* is a professional prophet, meaning that sociologically speaking her main function is to prophesy. Both titles also appear in a masculine form: *āpilum* and *muḥḥūm*, respectively.²⁰ I concur with the assessment by Batto that there is no detectable functional difference between the *āpiltum* and the *āpilum*; the same is true for the *muḥḥūtum* and the *muḥḥūm* (Batto 1974: 124). However, Batto did not notice any difference in the gender-distribution, which is remarkable in its unevenness, even if we allow for accidents of preservation.

A short discussion of the translation for the two terms is now necessary to help understand the different standing of the two groups. The *muḥḥūtum* is a woman who habitually ‘raves’.²¹ In other words, the usual interpretation of the *muḥḥūtum* as an ‘ecstatic’ is well-founded and we should not be too surprised to find evidence for unusual behaviour.²²

17. ARM 26 207.

18. Durand (1982: 43-44), Sasson (1994: 308) and Heimpele (2003: 257) translate ‘I gave (a) male and (a) female the signs to drink’. Gafney (2008: 72-73) identifies the *zikāram u sinništam* as an *āpilum* and an *āpiltum*. There is nothing in the text to support such an interpretation.

19. Wilcke 1983. In ARM 26 237:5 *ittātum* is also used in this meaning.

20. This fact is in itself peculiar, as most other titles linked to temples tend to be either male or female, see Fleming (2004: 51). As Fleming notes, there are some exceptions, including singers and musicians.

21. Cf. CAD, *maḥḥû*; *muḥḥūtum* is a feminine *pussû*, a variant of *purru*, which is used to express the infinitive and the verbal adjective of the D-stem. It often denotes intense physical deformities and illnesses; see GAG³ §54m and §55m.

22. CT 41 28 r.6 equates the verb *maḥû* with *šegû*, used to describe the behaviour of a rabid dog.

The *āpiltum* is commonly translated as a ‘female answerer’, from the verb *apālu* (‘to answer’),²³ in spite of the problem that no *āpiltum* or *āpilum* is attested as answering a question.²⁴ Recently, Merlo suggested a link between the OB term *āpiltum/āpilum* and a lexical list from twenty-fourth-century BCE Ebla, in which *āpilum* is equated with Sumerian EME.BAL (‘translator’).²⁵ Because of the links between Ebla and Mari, both in the Early Bronze Age but also in the early Middle Bronze Age, I follow Merlo’s lead and render *āpiltum/āpilum* as ‘spokesperson’. To be clear, this translation does not propose a different etymology, but relies on a different part of the semantic range of the verb *apālu*.

There are four individual male *muḥḥūm* and two individual female *muḥḥūtum* in the Mari texts. The two women are Ḫubatum and Annu-tabni. Ḫubatum gives an oracle against the Yaminites, a tribe that sometimes rebelled against Zimri-Lim’s overlordship.²⁶ Annu-tabni is listed as the recipient of a ‘*utuplum*-garment’ as part of the distribution of clothing by royal officials.²⁷

There is one additional though anonymous *muḥḥūtum* who is mentioned in a letter written by the queen mother, Addu-Duri.²⁸ Her name was evidently never included in this text, which is in a relatively good state of preservation. This nameless *muḥḥūtum* admonishes the king not to go on a military campaign but to stay put in Mari (Durand 1988: 479).

Finally, a group of *muḥḥātu*, probably the nominative plural of *muḥḥūtum*,²⁹ is mentioned in one of the two ritual texts for Eštar. In the other ritual text, one (male) *muḥḥūm* is described in similar but not quite identical circumstances:³⁰ in case the ecstasies do not enter in a state of ecstasy, the musicians are sent away. Conversely, only if the ecstasies are ecstatic do the musicians sing their song.³¹

23. For example, Durand (1988); Nissinen (2003: 6); and Roberts (2002: 159).

24. As noted by Cagni (1995: 21); van der Toorn (1998: 59-60); and Nissinen (2003: 6).

25. Merlo (2004). Von Soden (1989) dismisses this link it out of hand.

26. ARM 26 200.

27. ARM 22 326.

28. ARM 26 237.

29. The spelling *ḥmu-ḥa-tum* is interpreted as a singular by Durand and Guichard (1997: 62) and Ziegler (2007: 64). I follow the suggestion by Nissinen (2003: 83 n. c) to read the form as a plural.

30. FM III 3 col. iii:4’-13’ for the (female) *muḥḥātum*, and FM III 2:21’-27’ for the (male) *muḥḥū*. For a translation into English, see Nissinen (2003: 80-83, texts 51-52).

31. The song in question is the MÀ.E Ú.RE.M[ÉN]; Durand and Guichard (1997: 50) identify this song as the canonical Sumerian lament ME.E UR.RE.MÈN. They argue that the form of this Sumerian song, known and used in their rituals, was in all

I find no differences in the way that *muḥḥum* and *muḥḥūtum* are portrayed in the texts. Further, taking into account that not all texts have survived, we have roughly equal numbers of *muḥḥûm* and *muḥḥūtum*, and both are involved in the important Ritual of Eštar that was held at the end of the month.

The case with the *āpiltum* is in some respects similar and in another very different from the situation just described: *āpilum* and *āpiltum* are both portrayed in very similar ways. However, there is only one *āpiltum* attested in the texts, whereas the number of her male counterparts is much higher.³² Since the evidence suggests that there was no gendered difference between the *āpiltum* and the *āpilum*, texts in which the male form is attested will be used to describe the *āpiltum* as well. Thus, an *āpilum* could send letters to the king directly without having to go through a member of the royal family or a governor.³³ Further, they could be sent out on missions, as the episode about Lupaḥum and his trips to Dēr and Tuttul shows.³⁴ While these features are not present in the text involving Innibana, there is no indication that she could not have been sent on a mission to another city as well. Durand describes the *āpiltum* as a higher-level prophet than her counterpart the *muḥḥūtum*.³⁵ The *āpiltum* was a kind of ‘special agent in prophecy’ who seems to have occupied a relatively high status in Mariote society—though still considerably below that of some other religious specialists, such as the *barû* (‘haruspex’).

The gender distribution between male and female prophets is striking: there are nine named *āpilum*-prophets³⁶ and six further texts mention *āpilum*-prophets whose names were not preserved³⁷ There is, however,

likelihood similar to the text in *PRAK C 26*, a lament intoned by Eštar herself. For the text of the lament; see Cohen (1988: II, 545, line 27 and 554).

32. The vagaries of cuneiform writing leave the possibility open that the spelling a-pi-il-tum, normally read *awīltum* (‘woman’), could also be read *āpiltum*. Normally, the context rules out this possibility. As far as I am aware, there is only one text in which the reading *āpiltum* is a distinct possibility: FLP 1672, mentioned by deJong Ellis (1987: 254 n. 108).

33. For example, ARM 26 194, in which an *āpilum* of Šamaš writes to his king directly.

34. ARM 26 199.

35. Durand (1988: 388-89; 1995: 326-27).

36. Abiya (A1968, published in Durand [2002: 133-35]), Alpan (A.1121+ A.2731, published in Lafont [1984]), Atamrum (ARM 26 414), Ili-andulli (ARM 9 22), Išhi-Dagan (T.8, published in Durand [1988: 380]), Iši-Aḥu (ARM 26 195), Lupaḥum (A.3796, M.11436, and ARM 26 199), Qišatum (ARM 25 15), and Qišti-Dēritum (ARM 26 208).

37. (1) A.3760 (published in Charpin [2002: 34-35]); (2) ARM 26 194; (3) ARM 26 219; (4) ARM 26 223; (5) ARM 26 371; and (6) ARM 26 209.

only one single *āpiltum*, Innibana.³⁸ When seen in conjunction with the fact that there are roughly even numbers of *muḥḥûm* and *muḥḥûtum*, I find myself drawn to the conclusion that the gender imbalance between these two groups is most easily explained as an expression of the difference in social standing between the professional *āpiltum* on the one hand and the *muḥḥûtum* on the other. This means that while there certainly were men and women involved in professional prophecy at Mari, women had mostly to content themselves with a lower-status position.³⁹

2. Female Prophets in Neo-Assyrian Texts

The Neo-Assyrian corpus of texts recording prophetic messages includes ten tablets relating oracles, some of them collecting more than one oracle, and some further twenty texts referring to prophecy.⁴⁰ The professional title is *raggintu* and corresponding to the Old Babylonian *muḥḥûtu* there is the *maḥḥûtu*, the Assyrian dialect form.⁴¹ The word *raggintu* is a Neo-Assyrian feminine G-participle of the verb *ragāmu* ('to call').⁴²

The Neo-Assyrian texts mention 13 female prophets, with an additional reference to the feminine plural *maḥḥātu* in a text outlining provisions at the Aššur temple in Assur.⁴³ Among those prophets whose names have been included in the documents and which have survived, ten are female. The first eight are: Aḥāt-abīša, Dunnaša-āmur, Issār-bēlī-da'ini, Mullissu-abu-ušri, Mullissu-kabtat, Rēmūt-Allati, Sinqīša-āmur,

38. ARM 26 204:4.

39. This shows that Batto's (1974) analysis that there was no direct gender discrimination at Mari should be modified.

40. For the most complete list of the non-oracular Neo-Assyrian texts, see de Jong 2007: 173-79.

41. For the analysis of the word *maḥḥûtu*, see the discussion of *muḥḥûtu* above. It is noteworthy that while most Neo-Assyrian *literary* texts are written in Standard Babylonian, the oracles themselves are in Neo-AssyrianA dialect.

42. In Neo-Assyrian a long vowel followed by a single consonant, such as in the standard form *rāgintu*, can be shortened, with the following consonant being doubled, leading to the form *raggintu*. For the Neo-Assyrian texts, Parpola (1997: xlvi.cii n. 228) suggested reading ¹⁴GUB.BA as *raggintu* rather than the normally attested equivalent *maḥḥûtu*. However, the two terms *raggintu* and *maḥḥûtu* occur in the same text, Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty, SAA 2 6 and Watanabe (1987: 72, 148-49), in a list of possible sources of information, where the context determines that the two are distinct; cf. also de Jong (2007: 288 n. 8).

43. SAA 12 69:29. The entire line reads: 1 ANŠE 5BÁN ša pān maḥ-ḥa-te ¹⁴ŠIM^{mes} i-na-ši-[ú-0?], 'the brewers tak[e] 1 homer 5 litres (of barley) for the "presence" of the ecstasies'; cf. Kataja and Whiting (1995: 74).

and Urkittu-šarrat.⁴⁴ Further commentary is provided below regarding the remaining two. There are three cases in which the gender of the prophet is debated: (1) Bāia, (2) Ilussa-āmur, and (3) Issār-la-tašīaṭ.⁴⁵

Bāia's name is spelt with a female determinative in two of the three texts.⁴⁶ In the third text, in which Parpola reconstructs almost her entire name, [TA* *pi-i* MÍ.ba-ia]-ṛa', the person is described as an *arba' ilayya* ('son of Arbela').⁴⁷ It is therefore not at all clear whether this text should be attributed to Bāia the female prophet.

Ilussa-āmur's name is spelt with a female determinative in two texts.⁴⁸ In one of these, Parpola restores a male gentilic.⁴⁹ Weippert has pointed out that Parpola's reconstruction is not necessary or even preferable.

In the text mentioning Issār-lā-tašīaṭ, the gender determinative in front of her name is under debate. Irrespective of that question, the biological gender of Issār-lā-tašīaṭ itself is probably male: Edzard has shown that the female form of the name would have been *Issār-lā-tašīṭī' (Edzard 1962: 126). The easier explanation for the female gender determinative in front of an obviously male name is scribal error and not necessarily castration or cross-gender dress and/or behaviour, as suggested by Parpola and Huffmon.⁵⁰ The evidence is not strong enough to support

44. For NA names I use the spellings found in Parpola *et al.* (1998–). The names of individual prophets are mentioned in the following texts: Aḥāt-abīša (SAA 9 1.8), Dunnaša-āmur (SAA 9 9), Issār-bēlī-da''ini (SAA 9 1.7), Mullissu-abu-ušri (SAA 13 13), Mullissu-kabtat (SAA 9 7), Rēmūt-Allati (SAA 9 1.3), Sinqīša-āmur (SAA 9 1.2 and probably also SAA 9 2.5; cf. Parpola [1997: lii]), and Urkittu-šarrat (SAA 9 2.4). Sinqīša-āmur and Dunnaša-āmur might be the same person; cf. Parpola (1997: il-l). There are four male prophets whose names have survived (1) Lā-dāgil-ili in SAA 9 1.10, 2.3, and 3.4-5; (2) Nabū-ḥussanni in SAA 9 2.1; (3) Tašmētu-ēreš in SAA 9 6; and (4) Quqī in SAA 7 9. Parpola (1997: il-l) considers 3.1-3 as likely to be spoken by Lā-dāgil-ili as well. The arguments by Weippert (2002: 17-18), however, who reads SAA 9 3.1-3 as a completely separate group from 3.4-5, is more persuasive. SAA 10 24 mentions two men, Nergal-šallim and Bēl-erība, but it is not clear which of the two is acting as a prophet.

45. For a more in-depth discussion, see Stökl (2009).

46. SAA 9 1.4 and STT 406 r. 10; see Gurney (1955), and Gurney and Finkelstein (1957).

47. SAA 9 2.2.

48. SAA 9 1.5 and in the list *KAV* 121:5; see Schroeder (1920: 83).

49. SAA 9 I.5:6'.

50. Parpola 1997: xxxiv. Huffmon (2004: 246) argues that the NA texts reporting cross-dressing behaviour of the *assinnum* should be read in conjunction with the OB Mari texts where no such behaviour is attested. Huffmon's argument is problematic as it conflates 1100+ years of history and possible development in the role of the *assinnum*. Because Huffmon understands the OB *assinnum* to be a professional

such an interpretation and in view of that, it is better not to impose Western conceptions of gender on to the Neo-Assyrian data.

Apart from the ten named female prophets, there are five additional texts which mention women prophets. However, one of these texts is so damaged that the name is lost, while the other four never mentioned the names of the female prophets.⁵¹ One of these texts is a letter relating an episode in which ‘a slave-girl of Bēl-aḥu-uṣur’ prophesied in the name of the male god Nusku in favour of Sasî, a high official and contender to the throne of Esarhaddon.⁵²

This quick overview has shown that the vast majority of named prophets in the Neo-Assyrian texts are female, and that female prophecy, often in the name of some form of Ištar, was well established in the Neo-Assyrian empire. As far as the sources tell us, female prophets fulfilled all the prophetic functions performed by their male colleagues. In the case of Neo-Assyrian prophecy, this caveat is quite important, since, of the 62 prophetic texts, ten are too damaged and do not preserve name or gender of the prophet, whereas 24 texts never mentioned their gender in the first place. This last group of texts, however, can also be interpreted in a different way, namely, that to the writers of these texts which mention prophecy but not the prophets’ gender, the gender might not have been of major importance. Read in this way, these 24 texts actually strengthen the view that understands Neo-Assyrian female prophets as fulfilling the same function as their male counterparts.

In this short survey of female prophets in the ancient Near East I have shown that no differences between men and women can be found with regard to their prophetic function. In Mari there is a correlation between the social status of a prophetic profession and the numerical distribution of gender—the higher the status, the fewer women we find. Among the Neo-Assyrian prophets there is a roughly even distribution of male and female prophets with a slight majority of women. This finding applies equally to both prophetic titles and to prophets without titles.⁵³

prophet rather than an incidental prophet, he goes on to read gender ambiguity into professional prophecy at Mari. However, there is no justification for this interpretation in either corpus.

51. The damaged text is SAA 13 144. The four texts that refer to female prophetic activity without mentioning the women’s names are SAA 10 352, SAA 13 148, SAA 16 59 and SAA 12 69. The last of these texts is the list from the Aššur-temple in Assur, which refers to female prophets (*maḥḥūtu*).

52. SAA 15 59, see also Nissinen (1998: 108-54).

53. In a separate study (Stökl 2009) I demonstrate a tendency for female prophets to speak for female deities and for male prophets to speak for male deities.

Bibliography

- Arnaud, D.
1986 *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI/3. Textes sumériens et accadiens. Texte* (Paris: ERC).
1987 'La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé', *AuOr* 5: 211-44.
1996 'Mariage et remariage des femmes chez les Syriens du moyen-Euphrate, à l'âge du bronze récent d'après deux nouveaux documents', *Sem* 46: 7-16.
- Barr, J.
1961 *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press).
- Batto, B.F.
1974 *Studies on Women at Mari* (Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies, 5, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Beckman, G.M.
1996 *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (HANE/M, 2; Padova: Sargon).
- Biro, M.
1960 *Textes administratifs de la salle 5 du Palais* (ARM, 9; Paris: Imprimerie nationale).
- Borger, R.
2004 *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (AOAT, 305; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).
- Cagni, L.
1995 *Le profezie di Mari* (Testi del Vicino Oriente antico, 2, Letterature mesopotamiche, 2; Brescia: Paideia).
- Charpin, D.
1988 *Archives épistolaires de Mari, II* (ARM 26/II, Paris: ERC).
2002 'Prophètes et rois dans le Proche-Orient amorrite. Nouvelles données, nouvelles perspectives', in D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Florilegium marianum VI. Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U., 7; Supplément à N.A.B.U. 2002, 3; Paris: SEPOA): 7-38.
- Chavalas, M.W. (ed.)
1996 *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age* (Bethesda: CDL Press).
- Cohen, M.E.
1988 *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Potomac: Capital Decisions).
- deJong Ellis, M.
1987 'The Goddess Kītītum Speaks to King Ibalpiel: Oracle Texts from Ishchali', *Mari* 5: 235-66.
- Durand, J.-M.
1982 'In Vino Veritas', *RA* 76: 43-50.
1988 *Archives épistolaires de Mari, I* (ARM, 26.I; Paris: ERC).

- 1989 'Tombes familiares et culte des Ancêtres à Emâr', *NABU* 1989 §112.
- 1995 'La religión en Siria durante la época de los reinos amorreos según la documentación de Mari', in P. Mander and J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Mitología y religión del Oriente Antiguo*, 2/1. *Semitas occidentales* (Sabadell: AUSA): 125-533.
- 2002 *Le culte d'Addu d'Alep et l'affaire d'Alahtum* (Florilegium Marianum, 7; Paris: SEPOA).
- Durand, J.-M., and M. Guichard
- 1997 'Les rituels de Mari', in D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Florilegium marianum*. III. *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U., 4; Supplément à N.A.B.U. 1997, 2; Paris: SEPOA), 19-78.
- Edzard, D.O.
- 1962 'ᵐNingal-gāmil, ᵑIštar-damqat. Die Genuskongruenz im akkadischen theophoren Personennamen', *ZA* 55: 113-30.
- Feliu, L.
- 2003 *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria* (CHANE, 19; Leiden: Brill).
- Fleming, D.E.
- 1993a 'The Etymological Origins of the Hebrew *nabî*': The One Who Invokes God', *CBQ* 55: 217-24.
- 1993b 'LÚ and MEŠ in ᵑna-bi-i^{mes} and Its Mari Brethren', *NABU* 1993 §4.
- 1993c 'Nābū and Munabbiātu. Two New Syrian Religious Personnel', *JAOS* 113: 175-83.
- 2004 'Prophets and Temple Personnel in the Mari Archives', in L.L. Grabbe and A.O. Bellis (eds.), *The Priests in the Prophets: The Portrayal of Priests, Prophets, and Other Religious Specialists in the Latter Prophets* (JSOTSup, 408; London: T. & T. Clark): 44-64.
- Frymer-Kensky, T.S.
- 2006 *Studies in Bible and Feminist Criticism* (JPS Scholar of Distinction Series; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society).
- Gafney, W.
- 2008 *Daughters of Miriam: Women Prophets in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Grabbe, L.L.
- 1995 *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-Historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International).
- Gurney, O.R.
- 1955 *The Assyrian Tablets from Sultantepe* (Proceedings of the British Academy; London: Oxford University Press).
- Gurney, O.R., and J.J. Finkelstein
- 1957 *The Sultantepe Tablets*, I (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 3/7; London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara).
- Heimpel, W.
- 2003 *Letters to the King of Mari: A New Translation, With Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* (MC, 12; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns).

- Heschel, S.
2004 'Gender and Agency in the Feminist Historiography of Jewish Identity', *Journal of Religion* 84: 580-91.
- Hess, R.S.
2007 *Israelite Religions: An Archaeological and Biblical Survey* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic; Nottingham: Apollos).
- Huehnergard, J.
1983 'Five Tablets from the Vicinity of Emar', *RA* 77: 11-43.
1999 'On the Etymology and Meaning of Hebrew NĀBĪ', *Eretz-Israel* 26: 88*-93*.
- Huffman, H.B.
2004 'The *Assinum* as Prophet: Shamans at Mari?', in: C. Nicolle (ed.), *Amurru 3. Nomades et sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Compte rendu de la XLVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, (Paris, 10-13 juillet 2000)* (CRRAI, 46; Paris: ERC): 241-47.
- Jong, M.J. de
2007 *Isaiah Among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies* (VTSup, 117; Leiden: Brill).
- Kataja, L., and R.M. Whiting
1995 *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period* (SAA, 12; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).
- Keller, M.
2002 *The Hammer and the Flute: Women, Power, and Spirit Possession* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press).
- Kitchen, K.A.
2003 *On the Reliability of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Labat, R., and F. Malbran-Labat
1995 *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne: Signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes* (Geuthner manuels; Paris: Geuthner).
- Lafont, B.
1984 'Le roi de Mari et les prophètes du dieu Adad', *RA* 78: 7-18.
- Marsman, H.J.
2003 *Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East* (OTS, 49; Leiden: Brill).
- Merlo, P.
2004 'āpilum of Mari: A Reappraisal', *UF* 36: 323-32.
- Nissinen, M.
1998 *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources* (SAAS, 7; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Corpus Project).
2003 *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW, 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
2004 'What is Prophecy? An Ancient Near Eastern Perspective', in J. Kaltner and L. Stulman (eds.), *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honour of Herbert B. Huffman* (JSOTSup, 378; London: T&T Clark International): 17-37.
- Parpola, S.
1997 *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA, 9; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).

- Parpola, S., K. Radner, H.D. Baker and R.M. Whiting (eds.)
1998– *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, University of Helsinki).
- Pettinato, G.
1976 ‘The Royal Archives of Tell Mardikh-Ebla’, *BA* 39: 44-52.
1981 *The Archives of Ebla: An Empire Inscribed in Clay* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Pitard, W.T.
1996 ‘Care of the Dead at Emar’, in Chavalas (ed.) 1996: 123-40.
- Roberts, J.J.M.
2002 ‘The Mari Prophetic Texts in Transliteration and English Translation’, in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 157-253.
- Sasson, J.M.
1994 ‘The Posting of Letters with Divine Messages’, in D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (eds.), *Florilegium marianum II. Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U., 3; Supplément à N.A.B.U. 1994, 2; Paris: SEPOA): 299-316.
- Schmidt, B.B.
1996 ‘The Gods and the Dead of the Domestic Cult at Emar’, in Chavalas (ed.) 1996: 141-63.
- Schroeder, O.
1920 *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts. Autographiert, mit Inhaltsübersicht und Namenliste versehen* (WVDOG, 35; Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur. E, Inschriften 3. Keilschrifttexte verschiedenen Inhalts autographiert von Otto Schroeder; Leipzig: Hinrichs).
- Soden, W. von
1989 ‘Dolmetscher und Dolmetschen im Alten Orient’, in L. Cagni and H.-P. Müller (eds.), *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babyloniens. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi): 351-57.
- Soden, W., von and W. Röllig
1991 *Das akkadische Syllabar* (AnOr, 42; Rome: Pontificium Istitutum Biblicum, 4th edn).
- Stökl, J.
2009 ‘Ištar’s Women, YHWH’s Men? A Curious Gender-Bias in Neo-Assyrian and Biblical Prophecy’, *ZAW* 121: 87-100.
forthcoming ‘Where are All the Prophetesses Gone? Women and Prophetic Communication in Mari’, in J. Silverman and L. Matassa (eds.), *Text, Theology, and Trowel: New Investigations in the Biblical World* (provisional title).
- van der Toorn, K.
1994 ‘Gods and Ancestors in Emar and Nuzi’, *ZA* 84: 38-59.
1998 ‘Old Babylonian Prophecy between the Oral and the Written’, *JNSL* 24: 55-70.

- Tsukimoto, A.
1989 'Emar and the Old Testament—Preliminary Remarks', *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 15: 3-24.
- Watanabe, K.
1987 *Die adê-Vereidigung anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons* (Baghdader Mitteilungen, Beihefte, 3; Berlin: Mann).
- Weippert, M.
1988 'Aspekte israelitischer Prophetie im Lichte verwandter Erscheinungen des Alten Orients', in U. Magen and G. Mauer (eds.), *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum. Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987* (AOAT, 220; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag): 287-319.
2002 '"König, fürchte dich nicht!" Assyrische Prophetie im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.', *Or* 71: 1-54.
- Westenholz, J.G.
2000 *Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Collection of the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem: The Emar Tablets* (Cuneiform Monographs, 13; Groningen: Styx).
- Wilcke, C.
1983 'ittātīm ašqi aštāl: Medien in Mari?', *RA* 77: 93.
- Ziegler, N.
2007 *Florilegium marianum. IX. Les Musiciens et la musique d'après les archives de Mari* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U., 10; Supplement à N.A.B.U. 2007, 3; Paris: SEPOA).

This page intentionally left blank

Part II

SPECIFIC THEMES

This page intentionally left blank

PROPHETESSES IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

H.G.M. Williamson

There are five references to individual prophetesses in the Hebrew Bible,¹ though other passages refer in a more general manner to women prophesying as well as men (e.g. Ezek. 13.17; Joel 3.1 [ET 2.28]).² Despite the once widespread assumption, especially on the basis of Isa. 8.3, that the relevant Hebrew word נְבִיאָה could be used to indicate the wife of a prophet,³ it is now more generally agreed that a נְבִיאָה is a prophetess in her own right.⁴ While there is not space here to lay out the linguistic arguments for this conclusion in full, it will become clear from the following survey of its specific application to the five named prophetesses in the Hebrew Bible that only this conclusion accounts satisfactorily for what is said about them.

In turning to the relevant texts in order to learn more of the role of prophetesses, we may begin with the most obscure, namely, Noadiah in Neh. 6.14: ‘Remember Tobiah and Sanballat, O my God, according to

1. The Talmud lists seven prophetesses, of which only three coincide with those explicitly so designated in the Hebrew Bible: Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah and Esther; cf. *b. Meg.* 14a.

2. Fischer (2002) adds to this number those whom she thinks are implicitly prophetesses even though the specific vocabulary is not used of them: the ‘witch of En-dor’ (1 Sam. 28) and the women at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting (Exod. 38.8; 1 Sam. 2.22). Later she speculates that Noadiah (Neh. 6.14) may have been associated with the successors of this latter group (p. 265). Kessler (1996) reaches a similar conclusion by including practitioners of the forms of divination and the like prohibited by Deut. 18.10-14; see too Gafney 2008.

3. Gesenius (1821: 528) states: ‘Der Name נְבִיאָה setzt wohl nicht voraus, daß die Gattin des Propheten selbst *Prophetin* war...sondern des Gatten Amtsname ist wohl...auf die Gattin übertragen’.

4. This is rightly stressed with regard to Isa. 8.3 by Wildberger (1980: 318 [ET 1991: 337]), for instance, though his assumption that she was nevertheless Isaiah’s wife is not stated in the text. See, more cautiously, Blenkinsopp 2000: 238 and Jepsen 1960.

these things that they did, and also the prophetess Noadiah and the rest of the prophets who wanted to make me afraid'. Commentators regularly state that we know nothing about Noadiah, nor why she is specifically mentioned in the present context. The one full article devoted to her that I know of, by Robert Carroll (1992), serves only to confirm how ignorant we are. That need not prevent speculation, however!

Carroll himself assumes that Noadiah opposed Nehemiah's work of wall building. Perhaps, he suggests, as a representative local resident she resented or even feared Nehemiah's imperially authorized project. This, he insists, is not necessarily a matter of history; it is a derivative merely of 'the utopian world of imaginative literature', in which the only prophets who are spoken of with approval are Haggai and Zechariah, who clearly supported the Temple building project. Given our uncertainties, however, and the agreement that we may express that we can work only from the literature that we have, this seems an oddly unspecific reading. In the first place, there is no direct connection between the building of the Temple and of the wall so far as the text is concerned,⁵ and secondly, the suggestion that Noadiah's opposition was to the wall building is in any case plucked right out of the air and is far from being the most plausible deduction from the context in which she is mentioned.

There are two clues in the verse that may take us a little further. First, Noadiah is linked with other prophets who were trying to intimidate Nehemiah. This takes us back to the mention of prophets earlier in the chapter (Neh. 6.7) where Sanballat claims that Nehemiah had set up prophets to proclaim him as king in Jerusalem.⁶ And secondly, the language of intimidation is in fact the main building block of the structure of this chapter as a whole (cf. Neh. 6.9, 14, 19), as has been previously noted (Williamson 1985: 251-52), and this has been separately linked with the theme of (false) prophecy by way of a connection with Deut.

5. I am aware that Edelman (2005) has sought to bring these two concerns together in the closest possible way from a historical point of view, but regardless of the merits of her case Carroll would not have allowed such external historical data to impinge on his kind of literary reading.

6. It would in some ways be attractive to link the following episode concerning Shemaiah (vv. 10-13) directly with this same concern. He certainly seeks to present himself as a prophet, and his urging of Nehemiah to come to the Temple has been taken to be linked to royal aspirations by Kellermann (1967: 180-82) and Ivry (1972). This is, however, a most implausible reading of the text; see Williamson 1985: 258-59. More plausibly, Fischer (2002: 265-66) suggests that Shemaiah was acting as an agent for Sanballat and Tobiah to get Nehemiah to meet Noadiah at the Temple in order to catch the two of them together as proof of a plot to have Nehemiah crowned as king.

18.22.⁷ From this we might deduce that far from opposing Nehemiah, the prophets of Neh. 6.14 were in fact so enthusiastic about him that they wanted to go further than he himself was prepared to go by proclaiming him as king. Of course, Nehemiah responds in Neh. 6.8 that Sanballat's report is a fabrication, and this has usually been taken to mean that he was denying that anything of the sort had ever happened. What it seems to me to be worth considering, rather, is that there were prophets who were speaking in this way, and that what Nehemiah denies is that he himself wanted to be king (Neh. 6.6) and that he had personally 'set up prophets to proclaim' it in Jerusalem (Neh. 6.7). In fact, one might well imagine the scenario where the enthusiasm of some prophetic figures had got carried away, rather as many commentators think that Haggai had earlier with regard to Zerubbabel, and that this was the source of acute embarrassment to Nehemiah, who both perceived that from his point of view these were false prophets (hence Deut. 18.22) and that it was indeed dangerous talk, as Sanballat was not slow to point out (cf. Kessler 1996: 68-70, followed by Butting 2001: 23-24).

If this is at all along the right lines, the reference to Noadiah perhaps becomes slightly more focused, in that it would appear that she was in some way particularly prominent in relation to talk of kingship; indeed, it almost looks from the way Neh. 6.14 is phrased that she took the lead in this matter with 'the rest of the prophets' following on behind her (Fischer 2002: 259). This is certainly somewhat speculative, but it will, perhaps, gain a measure of support if similar concerns are found to underlie any of the other references to prophetesses in earlier literature.

Reviewing the three occurrences of prophetesses in the narrative literature of the Hebrew Bible, we find two principal spheres of activity with Deborah as the linch-pin, so to speak, who straddles the two. On the one hand, we cannot fail to observe that Miriam is titled a prophetess at the point where she leads the Israelite women in the singing of the victory hymn after the crossing of the Red Sea,⁸ whereas Deborah also

7. Cf. Hossfeld and Meyer 1973: 156; more recently, and apparently independently, Shepherd 2005. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the key vocabulary item in each case is different.

8. The parallels with 1 Sam. 18.6-7 are palpable, and Judg. 11.34 is comparable. The fact that in neither of these other cases is there any reference to prophecy is one reason why many commentators regard the designation of Miriam as late. There is a difference to be noted, however, in that these latter two cases are songs welcoming the victors home, whereas in Miriam's case (and Deborah's) she is leading a hymn of praise to God; cf. Burns 1987: 11-40; van der Kooij 1996: 143-44. For this, 1 Sam. 10.5-6 may be the more apt parallel, though there women are not specifically mentioned. It would appear, however, that women were included among the post-exilic

sings a victory song, though that is in association with Barak and she is not styled a prophetess specifically in the introduction to the hymn at Judg. 5.1.

On the other hand, the style of the passage in which Deborah is so introduced has strong affinities with the introduction of Huldah in 2 Kings 22:

... והיא יושבת ... ודבורה אשה נביאה אשת לפידות ... (Judg. 4.4-5)
 ... והיא יושבת ... חלדה הנביאה אשת שלם ... (2 Kgs 22.14)

As is readily apparent, both passages follow the scheme of citing personal name, designation as prophetess, name of husband (with some elaboration in Kings) and place of residence.⁹

The main differences are that there is the additional information in the Judges passage that Deborah ‘was judging Israel at that time’, which ties her story into the wider context,¹⁰ and her designation not just as a prophetess, but as a woman prophetess (אִשָּׁה נְבִיאָה). This is an unusual expression whose masculine counterpart, אִישׁ נְבִיא, itself occurs only once, namely, as part of the introduction to the next story in the Judges cycle following Deborah, the Gideon cycle, at Judg. 6.8. Judges 6.7-10 is widely regarded as a late editorial addition to the story. Its precise status is uncertain, but we may certainly agree without difficulty that it is thoroughly Deuteronomistic in both thought and language and that it appears to be somewhat truncated in that the prophet’s speech lacks its expected conclusion. Whether this means that it has been relocated from some other context is less certain.¹¹ Opinions differ as to whether the

Levitical singers (1 Chron. 25.5-6) and that they made use of similar instruments to these earlier groups. In 1 Chron. 25.1, 2 and 3 they are said to have ‘prophesied’, so that not surprisingly close connections have been seen between them. Unless all the previously listed texts are very late, however (which seems improbable to me), the lines of connection are inevitably somewhat hypothetical; for discussion, see, for instance, Petersen 1977; Kleinig 1993: 148-57; Schniedewind 1995: 163-88; Knoppers 2004: 857-59, with further literature.

9. I am indebted to Mark Leuchter for unwittingly drawing this parallel to my attention in the course of correspondence on something quite different; see too Butting 2001: 165.

10. This applies to the use of שִׁפְטָה in v. 4. It does not exclude the possibility that behind the use of נִשְׁפָּט in v. 5 there may lurk a much older tradition that Deborah was involved in mantic practice; cf. Spronk 2001, and in a similar general direction Block 1994.

11. Cf. Soggin 1987: 112-13; Beyerlin 1963: esp. 10-13. Needless to say, those who follow a purely literary approach to the text of Judges are able to explain these features in a synchronic manner; see most recently Assis 2005: 21-26, with references to earlier discussions.

passage belongs to the basic Deuteronomic layer in Judges (Noth 1967: 51, ET 1981: 45), to one of its early redactions, the identity of which varies according to which school of redaction is favoured (e.g. Richter 1964: 97-109; Dietrich 1972: 133; Veijola 1977: 43-48; Nelson 1981: 47-53), or is a completely separate and very much later addition altogether, as has been suggested because of the absence of the passage from 4QJudg^a.¹² Were the latter option to be correct, then one might suppose that the form of wording was imitative of Judges 4, but I am more inclined myself to take the view that when this similarity is joined with the observation that the introductory words on Deborah show other connections too with the attempt to join her story with the wider framework of the book of Judges as a whole, then it seems most probable that both passages belong together as part of the redaction of the book of Judges as it approached its full form within the Deuteronomic History (DtrH) as we now have it. On this supposition, (1) the basic framework of the introduction is based on that to the other prophetess in DtrH, namely, Huldah; (2) the statement about Deborah as a judge is designed to tie her particular story in with the Judges cycle as a whole, but the detail of it may have been phrased to link with Samuel, the last of the judges, and also a prophet. According to Judg. 4.5, she exercised her role as judge ‘between Ramah and Bethel’, which is most peculiar because it is so far away from the scene of the following narrative in the north of the country, though it forms a close parallel with Samuel, who ‘judged all Israel’ by going on an annual circuit to Bethel, Gilgal and Mizpah before returning home to Ramah (1 Sam. 7.15-17);¹³ and (3) her description as an *נביאה* parallels the introduction of the next prophet in the story, namely, the prophet in the Gideon story.

If that is anywhere near the mark, the further question is bound to arise why anyone should have wanted to designate Deborah a prophetess in the first place; while the following narrative in Judges 4 may be read in a manner compatible with her role as a prophetess, it is not clearly phrased in such a way as to compel that title. However, if we accept that the introduction to her story is something of an editorial catch-all, the

12. Cf. Trebelle Barrera 1989–90; 1995: 162; see Auld 1989: 263 (repr. 2004: 67). As observed by O’Connell, however, the presence of the bulk of this paragraph in the LXX shows that it was present in some texts, at least, prior to the date of the Qumran Scroll, in which case the question remains open for debate whether it was added late in some textual traditions or alternatively omitted (either deliberately or accidentally) in others; cf. O’Connell 1996: 147 n. 178 and 467; see too Hess 1997 and especially Fernández Marcos 2003.

13. For parallels between Deborah and Samuel in other parts of their respective narratives, see Fischer 2002: 126-28.

possibility might be entertained that this is how she was originally designated in association with the Song of Deborah before it was incorporated into the History, just as in the case of Miriam with the Song of the Sea.¹⁴ When the prose version of the story was written and joined with the Song, her designation was moved to the start of her narrative and the Song attributed to both her and Barak so as to further bind the prose and verse tales together.

With or without this final speculation, another fact emerges from our drawing together of the introductions to Deborah and Huldah which I have found noted only sporadically elsewhere (see, for instance, Christensen 1984; Butting 2001: 165-89; Fischer 2002: 123-24, 182-85). Rather remarkably, they are the first and last of the named prophets in the Deuteronomic History. There is no reference to a prophet of any sort in Joshua or the opening chapters of Judges prior to Deborah. At the other end, following the reference to Huldah, there is a general reference to prophets among those who listened to Josiah's reading of the law in 2 Kgs 23.2, but they play no part in the narrative, and there is also mention of the unnamed 'prophet who came from Samaria' in 2 Kgs 23.18, whose bones were left in peace by Josiah during the course of his purge at Bethel. Who he was is unknown, and he may even owe his mention to textual error, but at any rate he had clearly ceased his activity a long while previously. Finally, 'my servants the prophets' are mentioned in 2 Kgs 24.2 as those who had predicted the fate of Judah, but again they are not specified and the implication is that they had ministered some while in the past. Thus, following Huldah, no new prophetic word is uttered in Judah or Jerusalem. And since, as we have seen, the introduction to Deborah seems to have been framed with an eye very much on Huldah, I take it that the historian responsible for this form of the history was aware of the fact and wished to draw it to his reader's attention. Why should that be?

A possible answer begins again with the account of Huldah's role in the reforms of King Josiah. The historian's evaluation of this king is given in 2 Kgs 23.24-25:

14. The connection has been previously noted, of course; cf. Propp 1999: 546-47. It is noteworthy that the story of Samuel too, with which we have seen there seems to be some connection at the literary level, is introduced by a woman singing a song which also celebrates God's exaltation of the underdog at the expense of the mighty, Hannah's song in 1 Sam. 2.1-10, but Hannah is nowhere styled a prophetess. For a sensitive analysis of the relationship between the singing of Miriam and of Moses in Exod. 15, see Janzen 1992 (repr. 1994); other views are surveyed by Butting 2001: 37-40.

Moreover Josiah put away the mediums, wizards, teraphim, idols, and all the abominations that were seen in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, so that he established the words of the law that were written in the book that the priest Hilkiah had found in the house of the Lord. Before him there was no king like him, who turned to the Lord with all his heart, with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; nor did any like him arise after him.

It is abundantly clear not just that the historian approves of Josiah but that he does so on the basis of his conformity with the ideals of the book of Deuteronomy. Verse 25 summarizes his work of reform¹⁵ with language drawn from the Shema (Deut. 6.5); twice there are references to the book of the law, which in this context can be none other than Deuteronomy itself; and, supremely, Josiah blocks off alternative avenues to knowledge of the divine will in favour of finding it through the book of the law. Although the language at this latter point owes most to the attempt to show how Josiah reverses the misguided efforts of his predecessors (cf. Jones 1984: 628), the thought is precisely in line with the summary dictates of Deut. 18.9-14.

The alternative which Deuteronomy itself establishes to seeking God is contained in the continuation of that passage, namely, the raising up of a prophet like Moses (Deut. 18.15-22).¹⁶ Thus, when the ideal Deuteronomistic king Josiah needs to consult with the deity about the book he has found and does not do it by consulting wizards or mediums but rather a prophetess, the conclusion seems inevitable that that prophetess is, from the historian's point of view, one in the Mosaic succession. The associated terminology that is shared between the two passages is perhaps a little too commonplace to be absolutely compelling, but for what it is worth it supports the conclusion strongly. Josiah orders his officials to 'seek the Lord' (דרש את־יהוה) on his behalf, and Huldah acknowledges what he has done in this regard with approval (2 Kgs 22.13, 18)—this in studied contrast with those who 'seek the dead' according to Deut. 18.11; in Huldah's oracle, she accuses previous generations of 'abandoning' (עזבו) the Lord in favour of 'other gods' (אלהים אחרים), both being envisaged in Deuteronomy (Deut. 28.20; 29.24; 31.16, on the one hand,

15. For the language of 'turning to the Lord' as a reference to Josiah's reform, see Knoppers 1992.

16. The literature on this passage is enormous and need not be surveyed here. The important point to note for the present purpose is that the reference is not initially to a single future prophetic/messianic figure, but rather to a succession of prophets 'as occasion may demand (cf. Jud. 2^{16,18}), the sing. denoting Moses' representative for the time being' (Driver 1902: 227-29). Much of the recent literature is referenced by Hagedorn (2004: 156-61).

and 5.7; 6.14; 7.4, and many other passages, including 13.3, 7, 14 and 18.20, among those that deal with false prophets), so provoking God to wrath (הכעיס)—an equally Deuteronomic consequence (4.25; 9.18; 31.29; 32.16). On the other hand, Josiah has ‘heard words’ (הדברים) and ‘heard how I spoke’ (בשמעך אשר דברתי), which is very close to the response expected with regard to the prophet like Moses (Deut. 18.15, 18) as well as by implication from its converse (v. 19).

We are thus left with something of a theological circular argument, not unfamiliar to those who are used to the ways of establishing a position from a biblical proof-text: Josiah’s response to the finding of the book of the law is approved by a prophetess whose credentials are validated by the self-same book. While this is a difficult circle to break from a historical point of view, it makes perfect sense in terms of the literary presentation of a Deuteronomically good king doing the right thing by the book of the law; and that itself entails that he consult not mediums and their like but rather a prophet like Moses. Huldah, I conclude, is presented as that prophet in that generation.¹⁷

If this is correct, then it is obvious that a similar conclusion must be drawn for Deborah, given that the passage which introduces her as a prophetess is based, I have argued, on the introduction of Huldah. And indeed, there are further considerations that might be held to support this in a general way. Had we only Judges 5 in our text, we should no doubt have concluded that Deborah was a prophetess in the line of Miriam. The prose narrative in ch. 4, however, offers a different perspective, namely, Deborah as the leader who does not herself fight but who encourages her commander and his forces with the promise that God will fight for them, a promise vindicated by the confusion of the enemy chariots and warriors. The parallels between Exodus 14–15 and Judges 4–5 are obvious and have been frequently remarked upon. While many questions remain open in spite of this consensus, it would be hard to disagree that in this

17. Wilson (1980: 222) appears to regard this characterization as so obvious as not to require argument. For some further considerations, see briefly Leuchter 2005: 96, and more fully Rüterswörden 1995, followed by Kessler 1996: 67. Rüterswörden stresses in particular that *דרש בעד* (2 Kgs 22.13) should be rendered ‘intercede on behalf of’, and he finds that the Deuteronomic theme of prophets as intermediary intercessors puts them—including Huldah—in the line of succession to Moses. However, as his later remarks also show, it is difficult not to see in the account of Josiah an illustration of not seeking by mediums but rather seeking the Lord by way of the prophet, so that his point is not an exclusive one, but rather a case of where to put the primary emphasis.

respect, at least, one aspect of Judges 4 is to cast Deborah in the role of Moses.¹⁸

In addition, the parallels between the portrayal of Samuel and Moses have been noted in the past and no difficulty need be found with them.¹⁹ We have already noted, however, that there are also elements in the editorial portrayal of Deborah which align her with Samuel, so that it can only be chauvinism which claims that Samuel is the first prophet in the historical books to be presented as next in the line of Mosaic succession.

Before turning to the final passage for consideration—that concerning the prophetess in Isaiah 8—it may be helpful to reflect a little on our findings so far. It will come as no surprise to have found that, as so often, there is no direct correlation between literary presentation and historical reality. Probably the most consistent element in the portrayal of the prophetess is the association with inspired singing with accompanying instruments and dancing, suggestive of feverish enthusiasm if not necessarily ecstasy.²⁰ That such activity should have eventually become institutionalized in the work of the Levitical singers is equally unremarkable, since it seems to be the fate of most charismatic movements in the history of religion.

More difficult to relate to history is the obviously very literary process by which Huldah and, in her wake, Deborah have also become central, institutionalized prophets in the Mosaic succession. On the one hand, I am reluctant to press this too far. It is clear from the fact that it has been overlooked by most scholars that it cannot have been a major theme of the Deuteronomist. Furthermore, there is no suggestion that this role was filled only by women; Samuel and Elijah are sufficient to dispel any such notion. On the other hand, the stubborn fact remains that it was to Huldah, not Jeremiah or Zephaniah, that Josiah is said to have turned. No prophetic book is ascribed to a woman, and Huldah's name is not otherwise known. This can only be explained, in my opinion, on the grounds

18. That general narrative analogy may be used in the Deuteronomic History precisely to show parallels between particular prophets and Moses within the framework of Deut. 18.15-18 is shown by Carroll (1969).

19. For example, Rendtorff 1997. My only disagreement comes at the point where Rendtorff claims that Samuel was the first in the Mosaic succession (p. 30). So far as the presentation in our texts is concerned, Deborah preceded him, though of course the historical reality in relation to either character is far from certain.

20. Burns (1987: 47-48) argues that the designation of Miriam as a prophetess is anachronistic. If she is right, it would strengthen the lack of correlation between literary presentation and historical reality. Nevertheless, it should be appreciated that there comes a point where literary presentation itself becomes an influential factor in historical development.

of the constraints of the historical record, which, moreover, was sufficiently widely accepted to allow the Deuteronomist both to write it up to conform with the Mosaic pattern and himself or a later successor to cast Deborah as the first in the same role. The likelihood that the elusive Noadiah was thought to be acting in a similar vein in Nehemiah's day shows that such memories persisted until well into the Persian period. It therefore seems likely to me that the figure of the prophetess was not nearly so unfamiliar in monarchical Israel and Judah as our scant sources initially suggest. The broadly male orientation of our present prophetic texts is therefore to be seen as a later theological construct overlaying an earlier social reality.

All this means that we should not be surprised by the appearance of a prophetess in the eighth-century narrative of Isaiah. Obviously the person in question had to be a woman, but she did not have to be a prophetess. So why was she? I suspect the key to the answer lies in the very public nature of this sign-act. In Isa. 8.1, Isaiah is commanded to take some kind of writing tablet and to write on it 'Belonging to Maher-shalal-hash-baz'. Although the explanation of the meaning of the name comes only in v. 4, one assumes that this was known to Isaiah from the start, but that in the literary account of this incident the explanation is reserved for the end of the pericope, where it achieves maximal rhetorical impact.²¹ The precise nature of the tablet is uncertain, but it is said to be big, which presumably means, in view of the short inscription, that the lettering is to be relatively large and thus easily legible. This may, indeed, also be the import of the use of the curious expression בחרט אנוש, though that too remains obscure.²²

In the next verse, Isaiah records that he has the text attested²³ by two reliable witnesses. This already puts the proceedings further and explicitly

21. Cf. Donner 1964: 21. Childs (2001: 71-72) sees the initial writing as a symbolic action whose revelatory meaning becomes apparent only when it is later joined with an interpretation (as in Isa. 20).

22. I hope to return to the elucidation of the obscure expressions in this verse on another occasion.

23. MT וְאֵעִידָהּ מִי, followed by עֵדִים. This same construction occurs three times in Jer. 32 (vv. 10, 25, 44) with the meaning 'take as witnesses', each time in the context of certifying a legal document (conveyance). There is textual uncertainty in our verse, however, concerning whether the verb is indicative or imperative, and if the former, whether it has future or past reference. The MT (simple *waw* with cohortative form) would normally be expected to have the sense 'in order that I may take witnesses', but for obvious contextual reasons this has only very rarely been adopted; somewhat more frequently it has been construed as a simple future, 'and I will take', with God as the subject, continuing the speech of v. 1. This is possible, but unusual

into the public domain, and this is underlined by the probable identity of the two named witnesses. Uriah the priest seems almost certainly to be the same as the Uriah the priest who features as a faithful servant of King Ahaz in 2 Kgs 16.10-16; he was therefore an important member of the priestly establishment, if not, indeed, the chief priest. Zechariah son of Jeberechiah is not otherwise known for certain, but there is a Zechariah mentioned as Hezekiah's maternal grandfather in 2 Kgs 18.2, which would put him at about the right date and in a comparable social class, presumably, with Uriah. If this is right, then the witnessing of the writing will have been known in the highest priestly and court circles. The reason for witnesses will have been the need both to guarantee that Isaiah had predicted the defeat of the northern coalition in advance of it happening and, indeed, that it was Isaiah himself who had written on the tablet (see more fully Williamson 1994: 95-97).

When Isaiah goes on immediately to relate, therefore, that 'I went to the prophetess, and she conceived and bore a son', I am inclined to read this at the same level. The point is not whether the prophetess was his wife or not (something it seems to me we shall never know), but rather that she was a public figure, the birth of whose son could be expected to be widely known.

I postulate, therefore, that she was, so to speak, the predecessor of Huldah in office.²⁴ The fact that we do not hear more of such a position need not be held in evidence against this suggestion. Isaiah is the only prophet prior to Josiah's time who operated in the centre of public life in

grammatically and because it has to take for granted that God will in fact act through Isaiah. A greater difficulty, which is not generally noted, is that there would then have to be an unannounced change of person at the start of v. 3, where the first person clearly refers to Isaiah himself. More likely, therefore, is the revocalization of the conjunction to read as a *waw*-consecutive (as at the start of v. 3): 'So I took...' This is the understanding of the Vulgate and perhaps also of 4QIsa^c, which has the same consonants as MT, and has been adopted by many. 1QIsa^a, however, has וְהָעֵד, which is presumably the imperative, and this is also the understanding of the LXX (καὶ μάρτυράς μοι ποίσον πιστοῦς ἀνθρώπους) and probably the Peshitta (וְסִדָּד); the Targum (וְאִסְדִּיד) is ambiguous. On this reading (either וְהָעֵד, as in the Scroll, or וְהָעִידָה, as had previously been conjectured), God is still the speaker, but Isaiah is the agent, so that the situation envisaged differs little from the previous alternative. The use of וְ following seems to me slightly more probable with a first person verb preceding in this context. For a fuller account of the history of this discussion (though with a different conclusion), see Barthélemy 1986: 47-49.

24. So, correctly, Blenkinsopp 2000: 238. It is important, however, not to press the use of the definite article in this regard (*contra* Fischer 2002: 216); its use is dictated solely by the conventions of Classical Hebrew grammar; cf. GKC §126s.

Jerusalem. We should not expect to find a reference to the prophetess anywhere else.

In conclusion, while prophetesses are mentioned only rarely in the Hebrew Bible, it seems probable both that this fact hides a more familiar social reality and that some, at least, of the biblical writers recognized that fact. It remains the case, however, that written prophecy remained a male preserve,²⁵ and that this is itself a reminder that far more is at stake in the interpretation of the prophetic books than mere historical reconstruction.

Bibliography

- Assis, E.
2005 *Self-Interest or Communal Interest: An Ideology of Leadership in the Gideon, Abimelech and Jephthah Narratives (Judg 6–12)* (VTSup, 106; Leiden: Brill).
- Auld, A.G.
1989 'Gideon: Hacking at the Heart of the Old Testament', *VT* 39: 257-67. Repr. in *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld* (SOTSMS; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004): 63-70.
- Barthélemy, D.
1986 *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament, 2: Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations* (OBO, 50/2; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Beyerlin, W.
1963 'Geschichte und heilsgeschichtliche Traditionsbildung im Alten Testament: Ein Beitrag zur Traditionsgeschichte von Richter vi-viii', *VT* 13: 1-25.
- Blenkinsopp, J.
2000 *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 19; New York: Doubleday).
- Block, D.I.
1994 'Deborah among the Judges: The Perspective of the Hebrew Historian', in A.R. Millard, J.K. Hoffmeier and D.W. Baker (eds.), *Faith, Tradition, and History: Old Testament Historiography in Its Near Eastern Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 229-53.
- Burns, R.J.
1987 *Has the Lord Indeed Spoken Only through Moses? A Study of the Biblical Portrait of Miriam* (SBLDS, 84; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Butting, K.
2001 *Prophetinnen gefragt: Die Bedeutung der Prophetinnen im Kanon aus Tora und Prophetie* (Erev-Rav-Hefte: Biblisch-feministische Texte, 3; Knesebeck: Erev-Rav).

25. Kessler's suggestion (1996: 71) that the prophetic books with which we are familiar include the sayings of prophetesses is, as he candidly admits, impossible to demonstrate.

- Carroll, R.P.
1969 'The Elijah–Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel', *VT* 19: 400–415.
1992 'Coopting the Prophets: Nehemiah and Noadiah', in E. Ulrich *et al.* (eds.), *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (JSOTSup, 149; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 87–99.
- Childs, B.S.
2001 *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox).
- Christensen, D.L.
1984 'Huldah and the Men of Anathoth: Women in Leadership in the Deuteronomistic History', *SBLSP* 23: 399–404.
- Dietrich, W.
1972 *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT, 108; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Donner, H.
1964 *Israel unter den Völkern* (VTSup, 11; Leiden: Brill).
- Driver, S.R.
1902 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn).
- Edelman, D.
2005 *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple: Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem* (London and Oakville: Equinox).
- Fernández Marcos, N.
2003 'The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Judges', in A. Schenker (ed.), *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (SBLSCS, 52; Leiden: Brill): 1–16.
- Fischer, I.
2002 *Gotteskünderinnen: zu einer geschlechterfairen Deutung des Phänomens der Prophetie und der Prophetinnen in der Hebräischen Bibel* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer).
- Gafney, W.C.
2008 *Daughters of Miriam: Women Prophets in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Gesenius, W.
1821 *Philologisch-kritischer und historischer Commentar über den Jesaia* (2 vols.; Leipzig: Vogel).
- Hagedorn, A.C.
2004 *Between Moses and Plato: Individual and Society in Deuteronomy and Ancient Greek Law* (FRLANT, 204; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Hess, R.S.
1997 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and Higher Criticism of the Hebrew Bible: The Case of 4QJudg^a', in S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans (eds.), *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (JSPSup, 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 122–28.

- Hossfeld, F.-L., and I. Meyer
 1973 *Prophet gegen Prophet: eine Analyse der alttestamentlichen Texte zum Thema: wahre und falsche Propheten* (Biblische Beiträge, 9; Fribourg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk).
- Ivry, A.L.
 1972 'Nehemiah 6, 10: Politics and the Temple', *JSJ* 3: 35-45.
- Janzen, J.G.
 1992 'Song of Moses, Song of Miriam: Who is Seconding Whom?', *CBQ* 54: 211-20. Repr. in A. Brenner (ed.), *A Feminist Companion to Exodus to Deuteronomy* (The Feminist Companion to the Bible, 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994): 187-99.
- Jepsen, A.
 1960 'Die Nebiah in Jes 8₃', *ZAW* 72: 267-68.
- Jones, G.H.
 1984 *1 and 2 Kings* (NCB; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott).
- Kellermann, U.
 1967 *Nehemia: Quellen, Überlieferung und Geschichte* (BZAW, 102; Berlin: A. Töpelmann).
- Kessler, R.
 1996 'Mirjam und die Prophetie der Perserzeit', in U. Bail and R. Jost (eds.), *Gott an den Rändern: Sozialgeschichtliche Perspektiven auf die Bibel* (Festschrift Willi Schottroff; Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser): 64-72.
- Kleinig, J.W.
 1993 *The Lord's Song: The Basis, Function and Significance of Choral Music in Chronicles* (JSOTSup, 156; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Knoppers, G.N.
 1992 "'There Was None Like Him": Incomparability in the Books of Kings', *CBQ* 54: 411-31.
 2004 *1 Chronicles 10-29: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 12A; New York: Doubleday).
- Kooij, A. van der
 1996 'On Male and Female Views in Judges 4 and 5', in B. Becking and M. Dijkstra (eds.), *On Reading Prophetic Texts: Gender-Specific and Related Studies in Memory of Fokkelen van Dijk-Hemmes* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 18; Leiden: Brill): 135-52.
- Leuchter, M.
 2005 'The Temple Sermon and the Term מִקְדָּשׁ in the Jeremianic Corpus', *JSOT* 30: 93-109.
- Nelson, R.D.
 1981 *The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup, 18; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Noth, M.
 1967 *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 3rd unaltered edn). ET *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTSup, 15; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981).
- O'Connell, R.H.
 1996 *The Rhetoric of the Book of Judges* (VTSup, 63; Leiden: Brill).

- Petersen, D.L.
1977 *Late Israelite Prophecy: Studies in Deutero-Prophetic Literature and in Chronicles* (SBLMS, 23; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press).
- Propp, W.H.C.
1999 *Exodus 1–18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 2; New York: Doubleday).
- Rendtorff, R.
1997 ‘Samuel the Prophet: A Link between Moses and the Kings’, in C.A. Evans and S. Talmon (eds.), *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 28; Leiden: Brill): 27-36.
- Richter, W.
1964 *Die Bearbeitung des “Retterbuches” in der deuteronomischen Epoche* (BBB, 21; Bonn: Peter Hanstein).
- Rüterswörden, U.
1995 ‘Die Prophetin Hulda’, in M. Weippert and S. Timm (eds.), *Meilensteine: Festgabe für Herbert Donner* (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 30; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz): 234-42.
- Schniedewind, W.M.
1995 *The Word of God in Transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period* (JSOTSup, 197; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Shepherd, D.
2005 ‘Prophetaphobia: Fear and False Prophecy in Nehemiah vi’, *VT* 55: 232-50.
- Soggin, J.A.
1987 *Judges: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 2nd edn).
- Spronk, K.
2001 ‘Deborah, a Prophetess: The Meaning and Background of Judges 4:4-5’, in J.C. de Moor (ed.), *The Elusive Prophet: The Prophet as a Historical Person, Literary Character and Anonymous Artist* (OTS, 45; Leiden: Brill): 232-42.
- Trebolle Barrera, J.
1989–90 ‘Textual Variants in 4QJudg^a and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges’, *RevQ* 14: 229-45.
1995 ‘4QJudg^a’, in E. Ulrich *et al.* (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4* (DJD, 14; Oxford: Clarendon Press): 161-64.
- Veijola, T.
1977 *Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, 198; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia).
- Wildberger, H.
1980 *Jesaja* (BKAT, 10.1; Neukirchen–Vluy: Neukirchener Verlag, 2nd edn). *ET Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (trans. T.H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).
- Williamson, H.G.M.
1985 *Ezra, Nehemiah* (WBC, 16; Waco, TX: Word Books).

1994 *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Wilson, R.R.

1980 *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

INTERPERSONAL FORGIVENESS AND THE HEBREW PROPHETS

David J. Reimer

1. *Introduction*

This essay has two purposes: (1) to gather such resources as there are in the writing prophets for reflecting on interpersonal forgiveness; and, anticipating those results, (2) to account for the relative paucity of such resources. In other words: What is there? And why is it the way it is? Given the prominence of the writing prophets when Old Testament ethics is in view, one might assume that this would be a straightforward exercise. However, the prophets offer little by way of narrative which relates ‘stories of forgiveness’. Fractured relationships abound, but little attention is given to how to repair them. Where forgiveness comes to the fore, it is almost exclusively about how God deals with human wrong. The interpersonal dimension is either ignored or further exacerbated by looking towards vengeance rather than reconciliation.

This study forms part of a slowly evolving project which is mining the Old Testament for an aspect of Christian ethics: interpersonal forgiveness (cf. Reimer 1996, 2006).¹ I pose this as a problem for *Christian* ethics, which, in some sense, looks to its Scriptures, both Testaments for ethical reflection. I pose it as a problem for *Christian ethics*, which has to do with (human) behaviour, so not primarily a question for theology (talk about God). And I come at this problem as a student of the Hebrew Bible, interested in knowing what its texts have to say on the issue. These questions are intertwined in the discussion which follows.

2. *Accounts of Personal Forgiveness*

As already noted, narrative accounts of people forgiving people are rare in the Hebrew Bible. Others have noticed this fact, too. As Donald Shriver writes: ‘The scarcity of attention to forgiveness between human

1. A further article on forgiveness and law is in preparation.

beings in the Hebrew Bible is a surprise to careful readers of the Joseph saga' (Shriver 1995: 29). Such a famous story might make us think it is the tip of the iceberg; it is rather the tip of the ice cube.

As I have talked about these things over the years, it has sometimes been urged on me that the 'story' of Hosea and Gomer deserves attention in this regard. The well-known domestic saga portrayed in Hosea 1–3 has an immediate appeal for a study of interpersonal forgiveness worthy of any soap-opera: the prophet marries a 'harlot' (*'ēšet zēnūnīm*, Hos. 1.2), not once, it seems, but twice (3.1), and sticks by her, too. Perhaps! There are complexities in the detail of the narrative. How could the 'man of God' remain faithful to a woman (or women) who proved faithless to him? Especially since at least once, perhaps twice, there appears to be some reconciliation between husband and wife after the relationship had broken down (implied at 2.1, 3, 16–22, ET 1.10; 2.1, 14–20; 3.1–5).

Such simple appeal is dogged by at least three intractable interpretative problems: (1) What *was* Gomer's profession, and what exactly was Hosea's relationship to her? (2) Is the woman of ch. 3 to be identified with or distinguished from Gomer in ch. 1? And (3) is the story to be taken literally? These problems, and related issues, were much discussed during the twentieth century.² As is widely reported, the longstanding traditional view that the opening chapters of Hosea were symbolic or perhaps visionary was only comparatively recently eclipsed by a more literal reading. If the narrative elements in Hosea 1–3 are symbolic, then the interest the story holds for an account of interpersonal forgiveness in the Hebrew Bible is seriously diminished or even negated. The 'symbolic' view is not commonly held today, however. Such an observation counsels caution: the Hosea narratives are not necessarily directly relevant for this investigation; relevance here is contingent on one's interpretation of these episodes.³ The 'natural' reading—that Gomer is a prostitute—is strongly contested by Rudolph. While his discussion flags up real problems, his solution (that Gomer was 'a woman of respectable character', Davies 1992: 107) is not finally persuasive as it subverts too much of the narrative flow. As for the identity of the woman in Hos. 3.1, the question turns in part on how 'again' (*'ôd*) is to be understood, nicely illustrated in comparing the RSV and the NRSV:

2. For an overview of issues and current options, see Davies 1992: 105–109. Vermeylen (2003) is not alone in discerning complex literary development in these chapters which has the effect of relocating and redistributing the interpretative problems. Meanwhile, his literary divisions are not uniformly convincing.

3. In contrast, say, to the texts dealt with in Reimer 2006, where the interpersonal level was not in question.

RSV: And the Lord said to me, 'Go *again*, love a woman...'

NRSV: The Lord said to me *again*, 'Go, love a woman...'

The older reading suggests that a new relationship is to be forged, not now with Gomer; the newer simply reiterates the previous instruction, making the identity of the women in chs. 1 and 3 more likely. Again, the complication casts doubt on whether one is following an ongoing relationship between Hosea and Gomer which brings it into our sphere of interest, or not.

None of these questions admits of a definitive solution. Commentators make their peace with the problems in some fashion or other. There is, of course, a further complication for my own purposes, which is also the reason why it does not feature in my study on 'stories of forgiveness'. Whether this was vision or symbol or enacted in human lives, the whole complex of events nevertheless remains deeply symbolic. Hosea's relationship with however many women there are is clearly intended (one of the only clear things here!) to convey a truth about the relationship of Yahweh and Israel. In other words, at its most fundamental level, Hosea is not about human relationships after all. This is quite a special situation, and not one from which one may readily make ethical generalizations. It is an especially dramatic and poignant form of prophetic symbolic action. Its 'real' import, then, is not so much about interpersonal forgiveness, as it is about divine forgiveness.⁴

All the same, we do get a pointer here to a dimension of life that finds some sporadic comment in the Hebrew prophets. Domestic relationships come to the fore in at least two passages, and are mentioned in passing in others. Malachi 3.23-24 (ET 4.5-6), the final verses of the Christian Old Testament, and in any case the last two verses of the Minor Prophets,⁵ form a poignant counterpart to the opening passage in the Book of the Twelve in Hosea which we have just considered. There, an estranged couple produce children whose only value is to bear names. At the end of Malachi, a future day is discerned when Yahweh 'will turn the hearts of fathers to their children and the hearts of children to their fathers', which, as O'Brien points out, provides a culmination to the theme of fathers and sons throughout Malachi (cf. Mal. 1.6; 3.17; O'Brien 1996: *passim*). If

4. I note, however, the contention that one cannot simply divorce theology and ethics; cf. O'Donovan 2005: ix-x, on the 'misleading' distinction between them.

5. The status of these verses in Malachi, and in the Book of the Twelve more widely, is debated. Some see the verses as original to the book, some as redactionally shaped, and some as secondary additions. Summaries and bibliography are cited by Redditt 1994: 249 n. 39; O'Brien 1996: 243 n. 4.

the minor prophets open with a domestic nightmare, at least they end with filial harmony—but with the threat of *hērem* hanging over the land if harmony is not achieved (3.24b, ET 4.6b). That we are in the right conceptual neighbourhood is clear from the Jewish Publication Society Bible translation of 3.24 (ET 4.6): ‘He shall *reconcile* [*hēšīb*] *parents with children and children with their parents*’ (italics added).

Even if we are finally in the presence of human reconciliation, the text remains mute about how, why or even when this state of affairs is to prevail, except that it still falls outside the scope of human initiative. This is a work of divine initiative and sovereignty. At least it holds out hope of repaired human relationships, even in this limited and gendered (as O’Brien points out) sense. Such is not the case in Mic. 7.1-7, where violence and greed have come to displace godly living:

¹ Woe is me!,

For I have become as when the summer fruit has been gathered,
as when the vintage has been gleaned...

² The godly man (*hāsīd*) has perished from the earth,
and there is none upright among men;
they all lie in wait for blood,
and each hunts his brother with a net.

³ Their hands are upon what is evil, to do it diligently;
the prince and the judge ask for a bribe ...

⁵ Put no trust in a neighbour,
have no confidence in a friend;
guard the doors of your mouth
from her who lies in your bosom;

⁶ for the son treats the father with contempt (*m^enabbēl*),
the daughter rises up against her mother,
the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law;
a man’s enemies are the men of his own house.

⁷ But as for me, I will look to the Lord,
I will wait for the God of my salvation;
my God will hear me.

Despite questions which linger over the literary/historical relationship of the different parts of Micah to each other, this passage offers a description of general breakdown in society. The opening metaphor which expresses the prophet’s profound moral isolation is translated into literal terms in v. 2. Those inclusive generalizations give way to a relentless survey of successive spheres of society and relatedness: from the high and mighty (vv. 3-4), through communal relationships (v. 5a), into the intimacies of marriage (v. 5b) and family (v. 6), at every level violence marks human relations. What is of interest for my purposes is that, again, the remedy is not to attempt to mend the social fabric which is tearing

apart. Rather, the counsel is to live in light of the tatters, or, as v. 5 baldly puts it, *not* to trust your neighbour, let alone your relatives. Oppressive relationships can only be avoided, it seems, not fixed—not until Yahweh fixes them at any rate (v. 7).⁶ We return to this in a moment.

Micah 7 portrays the breakdown of society without offering analysis or remedy. A similar passage found in Jer. 9.3-5 (ET 4-6) has several strong echoes, yet is cast in different terms which invites more constructive reflection:

- ³(⁴) Let every one beware of his neighbour,
and put no trust in any brother;
for every brother is a supplanter,
and every neighbour goes about as a slanderer.
⁴(⁵) Every one deceives his neighbour,
and no one speaks the truth (^Ꝁ*met*);
they have taught their tongue to speak lies;
they commit iniquity and are too weary to repent.
⁵(⁶) Heaping oppression upon oppression,
and deceit upon deceit,
they refuse to know me,
says the LORD.

Here there is still the mistrust and distance from brother and neighbour counselled in Micah 7, but it is not simply reported. This passage claimed the attention of Miroslav Volf in his book, *Exclusion and Embrace* (1996: 259-62). Weaving together discussion of Jeremiah and Paul,⁷ Volf contends that ‘truth sustains community while deception destroys it’ (p. 258). He follows a number of biblical scholars in understanding ‘truth’ in terms of ‘faithfulness’ and ‘reliability’.⁸ He takes his case forward through consideration of Jer. 9.3-5 (ET 4-6), observing (1) that

6. I join v. 7 to vv. 1-6 on the basis of the echo between ‘Woe is me’ of v. 1 and ‘But as for me’ in v. 7 (cf. Hillers 1984: 85), and the correspondence of the trust of v. 7 with the mistrust of v. 5 (cf. Rudolph 1975: 126; Hillers 1984: 85). The trajectory followed in these verses—that the fundamental collapse of human relationships even of the greatest intimacy requires the ‘godly man’ (*hāsīd*, v. 2) to hope in God (v. 7)—is also that of Jesus’ teaching in Mt. 10.35//Lk. 12.53; cf. Wolff 1990: 210.

7. 2 Cor. 4.2: ‘We have renounced disgraceful, underhanded ways; we refuse to practise cunning or to tamper with God’s word, but by the open statement of the truth we would commend ourselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God’.

8. Biblical scholars might be wary of this move in the light of James Barr’s famous strictures against this kind of equation made by T.F. Torrance and A.G. Herbert in *Semantics of Biblical Language* (Barr 1961: 162-71). However, such connections are also made by Jepsen in *TDOT* and Wildberger in *TLOT* (*q.v.* ^Ꝁ*met*) which do not run into the linguistic snares identified by Barr.

truth necessarily ‘accords with reality’; (2) that the issue turns not on “‘minds” and “facts””, but rather Jeremiah (and Paul) ‘narrate the things people do to each other’ (p. 260);⁹ (3) that ‘doing truth’ sustains community (p. 261); and (4) that in making the plea for truth telling, Jeremiah (and Paul) ‘appeal to the character of God’ (p. 262).¹⁰

Once again we do not see the explicit mechanism which brings together estranged brothers and neighbours. In fact, contrary to Volf’s terms, Jeremiah is not directly here making a plea for truth-telling. Rather, the prophet issues a warning concerning the deceit attendant on human relationships. Destructive speech is such an indelibly formed habit (Jer. 9.4 [ET 5]a-bα), that words cannot even be formed which name them for the lies they are (Jer. 9.4 [ET 5]bβ). The oracle concludes noting the indissoluble connection between human relationships and regard (or its lack) for Israel’s God. The oracle’s plea for truth-telling remains implicit, but such a trajectory grows when Jer. 9.6-8 (ET 7-9) is also taken into consideration: mouths that speak peace only as a cover for treachery bring down the punishment of God on the nation.

3. *Calls for Revenge*

Resistance to or absence of forgiveness is one thing, but actively calling for revenge is the opposite of forgiveness. Rather than repairing relationships and laying enmity to rest, calls for vengeance promote violence and prolong enmity. Learning something about enmity, however, may also suggest something about how it can be laid to rest (somewhat in the manner of Volf’s handling of Jer. 9, above).

One prominent place where such a situation obtains, and which has the added value of bringing together the interpersonal aspect with ‘neighbours’, is in Jeremiah’s so-called laments. These much-studied passages have been recently evaluated yet again by Michael Avioz (2005) with a view to evaluating this particular aspect.¹¹ Typically, the call for vengeance is framed using the root *nqm* (verb or noun *n^eqāmā*): 11.20; 15.15; 20.12 (although it is not required): 12.3 (which calls for the slaughter of Jeremiah’s opponents); 17.18 (which looks for shame,

9. Volf does not mention the immediately preceding verse, Jer. 9.3 (ET 4), but could have: ‘They bend their tongue like a bow; falsehood and not truth has grown strong in the land; for they proceed from evil to evil, and they do not know me, says the Lord’.

10. This leads Volf on to Isa. 28.15-17 (1996: 263).

11. Avioz identifies the laments as found in Jer. 11.18-12.6; 15.15-21; 17.14-18; 18.18-23; 20.7-13 (2005: 429 n. 2).

dismay [*hitt*], and destruction); 18.21-23 (which invokes a barrage of curses, culminating in the plea that their iniquity not be forgiven—*al-ʾkappēr ʿal-ʿawōnām*).¹² Avioz asks: ‘How can we reconcile these prayers for vengeance with Jeremiah’s own testimony that he had prayed to God for the sake of Israel?’ (2005: 430). Avioz argues that these passages are to be identified with the prophet himself, and thus have a biographical element. However, they also have a function within the prophet’s literary deposit, and need to be understood in those terms as well. Avioz offers three inter-related solutions: (1) Jeremiah is not here interested in his own person, so much as he is God’s spokesman, and it is also God’s honour that is at stake (p. 434); (2) these ‘laments’ remain appeals for justice, in so far as the imprecations simply fit the punishment to the crime (pp. 435-36); and (3) the retribution is in any case assigned to God, who judges justly—that is, Jeremiah does not turn vigilante, and vengeance remains ‘divine retribution’ (pp. 436-37).

The observation that ‘hurting the messenger means hurting the sender’¹³ provides a connection to John Rogerson’s study of ‘The Enemy in the Old Testament’ (Rogerson 2004). Rogerson’s work focuses primarily on the Psalms, and rightly so, since more than 25 per cent of all references to ‘enemies’ (*ʿōyēb*) occur in the Psalms.¹⁴ Rogerson argues that the contemporary significance of such references is best seen not through historical or sociological reconstructions, but through asking ‘what the enemy meant in the religious experience and worship of the Old Testament’ (2004: 114). Although the Psalms provide the obvious vehicle for Rogerson’s investigation, there are nonetheless connections to the prophetic writings. Rogerson is especially impressed with the way in which Israel’s sovereignty is subordinated to Yahweh’s, and the resolution of conflict with the nations cast into a future setting. The language, he argues, is symbolic and provides a mechanism of hope. There is a further aspect which derives more directly from the prophets than the Psalms, that is, the way in which the enemy is in any case often divinely authorized.¹⁵ Rogerson points to Isa. 7.18-19 as a place where foreign

12. Cf. Avioz 2005: 430.

13. Avioz 2005: 434; and cf. Mk 12.1-12 and parallels.

14. The Psalms have 74 occurrences (26%); next closest is Deuteronomy with 25 (9%); for comparison, Jeremiah has 19 (7%), Lamentations 15 (5%, but yielding by far the highest density of hits), Isaiah 8 (3%), Micah 6 (2%), Nahum 4 (1%), Ezekiel 2 (1%).

15. Such a recognition is also operative in David’s refusal to take Shimei’s fate into his own hands as he flees Jerusalem in the wake of Absalom’s coup (2 Sam. 16.11-12).

nations (there, Egypt and Assyria) are granted ‘temporary status of servant of God to execute his righteous judgment upon the Israelite nation, even if this involves punishing the righteous with the wicked’ (2004: 119). The verses in question read:

¹⁸ In that day the Lord will whistle for the fly which is at the sources of the streams of Egypt, and for the bee which is in the land of Assyria.

¹⁹ And they will all come and settle in the steep ravines, and in the clefts of the rocks, and on all the thornbushes, and on all the pastures.

Rogerson argues that such passages, and others, point to ‘the working out of justice on a universal scale’ (2004: 119). The call for justice, then, is being worked out in divine sovereignty on different levels, and the presence of enemies is not therefore evidence of ‘a setback for God’s rule’ even if, for Rogerson, this only provides cold comfort.

Such an understanding is not only available by abstraction on a theoretical level. It can also be seen at work in at least one poignant prophetic passage. Micah 7 has already been noticed above for its account of the breakdown of society. That passage is followed by a remarkable combination of confession and confidence (vv. 8-10):

⁸ Rejoice not over me, O my enemy (*ʿōyabî*);
when I fall, I shall rise;
when I sit in darkness,
the Lord will be a light to me.

⁹ I will bear the indignation of the Lord
because I have sinned against him,
until he pleads my cause
and executes judgment for me.
He will bring me forth to the light;
I shall behold his deliverance.

¹⁰ Then my enemy (*ʿōyabî*) will see,
and shame will cover her who said to me,
‘Where is the Lord your God?’
My eyes will gloat over her;
now she will be trodden down
like the mire of the streets.

It is not clear what mechanism the prophet believes will effect the transformation from guilt (v. 9a) into divine approbation (v. 9b), or why there can be confidence that falling will be followed by rising (v. 8a). In part, it depends on the identity of the first-person speaker of these words. At first blush, following hard on the account of social meltdown in vv. 2-6, it would appear to address those concerns and that context. However, the reference to the ‘enemy’ in the feminine (*ʿōyabî*) hints that this is not

the voice of the prophet, but the voice of the city.¹⁶ As for ‘forgiveness’, v. 10b does not seem to hold out hope of reconciliation, but looks rather for the disgrace and destruction of the enemy. Despite the initial possibility that this pericope addresses interpersonal relations, again there appears to be more going on than meets the eye. The expectation of vindication responds to the need for justice and restoration, but it does not result in reconciliation, nor is it clear that this is an ‘interpersonal’ context after all.

4. *Group Reconciliation*

These observations draw attention toward a facet of forgiveness ignored in my earlier studies. Implicit (even explicit!) in much work on interpersonal forgiveness is that it is between *persons*, that is, between *individuals*. But *groups* of individuals also can experience broken relationships which require healing and repair.

During the discussion of a lecture on forgiveness and law, I was posed a question by someone from Rwanda. What, the questioner asked, did my paper have to say about reconciliation in such a setting, not only because the stakes were so high, but because it involved not just individuals, but groups? This is the sort of situation that motivates Mirslav Volf’s reflections on the social dimension of reconciliation (Volf 1999). For Volf, a serious problem is faced when Christians participate in violence, and such was the case in the Rwandan genocide. This, he argues, has to do with a confusion of loyalties (p. 8). But beyond this, a further problem remains with outcomes of such violence. Typically, calls for justice are sounded which promote ‘legitimation for the struggle’, and thus, perhaps ironically, impede the reconciliation which is ultimately desired (p. 9).

Donald Shriver has written thoughtfully about the nature of forgiveness in the political sphere (Shriver 1995). His work is structured around the contention that ‘forgiveness in a political context... is an act that joins [1] moral truth [implying the pursuit of justice], [2] forbearance, [3] empathy, and [4] commitment to repair a fractured human relation’ (1995: 9; numbering added). To add another, non-theological voice to the mix, Peter Digeser also takes up this theme, and deals especially with the complex relationship between justice and reconciliation

16. Cf. Joüon and Muraoka (2006: 465-66 [§ 134o]), who regard this feminine as a ‘personification’ in distinction from a collective; so also, for example, Rudolph 1975: 130-31; Waltke 2007: 433, 451-52; *contra*, for example, Smith, Ward and Bewer 1912: 145.

already touched on by Volf. For citizens to realize justice when dealing with the ‘dirty hands’ of governments is no easy thing. At what point, and in what way, ponders Digeser (1998: 710-13), are citizens able to pass beyond the hurt, or crime, when the limits of justice have been reached without the wrong being righted?

Such reflections quite forcefully put the social dimension of forgiveness on the agenda. The latter prophets were spokesmen for the national God of Israel; they were also, in some complex and sometimes contested fashion, ‘prophets to the nations’ (cf. Isa. 49.6; Jer. 1.5). At the very least, one thinks also of the ‘oracles against the nations’, though a cursory reading leaves one with the firm impression that, whatever these oracles are about, ‘social reconciliation’ is not one of them! Still, there are trajectories that may be plotted from a reading of some prophetic texts which lead towards reconciled groups.

If any prophet could lay claim to being a ‘prophet to the nations’ surely Jonah is one of them. Gregory Jones’s reading of the book of Jonah provides a poignant reflection on the inertia inherent in relationships of hatred (Jones 1995: 264-65). Enmity is a difficult thing to give up, especially between groups. Examples are legion and scarcely require enumeration. The incentive to let such hostilities go, one might think, should be very strong—yet it is not so. Hatred is a hard habit to break. God’s ‘reconciliation’ with the Ninevites (as Jones puts it), ‘makes Jonah quite angry’. Jones comments: ‘Jonah is unable to cope with the loss of his enemies, with the fact that his prophetic proclamation has actually produced repentance’ (1995: 265). Jonah illustrates what may be one of the fundamental contributions of the prophetic literature in the arena of forgiveness. Prophets call for repentance in situations where it is needed but lacking. Jonah’s pithy message (Jon. 3.4) gives no intimation of the possibilities of repentance, but in this instance, repentance is an outcome of indictment.

We do not know the outcome of the oracles Amos spoke against foreign nations. The indictment against Tyre in Amos’s foreign nation oracles seems a helpful place to look, however, both because it stands near the beginning of the written tradition of oracles directed against foreign nations (whatever oral precursors they might have), and also because it is cast in terms that resonate with the dual themes of achieving justice and promoting reconciliation:

Thus says the Lord: ‘For three transgressions of Tyre, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment; because they delivered up a whole people to Edom, and did not remember the covenant of brotherhood’. (Amos 1.9)

This accusation stands in a sequence of atrocities for which, Amos announces, the judgment of Yahweh is to be felt. The counter-expectation implicit here is that a ‘covenant of brotherhood’ (*berît ʿaḥîm*) ought to have produced a protective rather than treacherous relationship with some neighbour. Edom, likewise, in the next oracle is to be punished ‘because he pursued his brother with the sword, and cast off all pity, and his anger tore perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever’ (Amos 1.11). I think the most extensive such statement comes in the small book of Obadiah, again against Edom:

¹⁰ For the violence done to your brother Jacob,
shame shall cover you,
and you shall be cut off for ever.

¹¹ On the day that you stood aloof,
on the day that strangers carried off his wealth,
and foreigners entered his gates
and cast lots for Jerusalem,
you were like one of them.

¹² But you should not have gloated
over the day of your brother
in the day of his misfortune;
you should not have rejoiced
over the people of Judah
in the day of their ruin;
you should not have boasted
in the day of distress...

And in this instance, ‘brother’ of vv. 10, 12 is apparently a reference to Judah.¹⁷ Of course, such passages make sense only on the assumption that different relationships between ‘brothers’ ought to have prevailed. This point stands no matter how one understands the *ʿal* plus jussives of v. 12:¹⁸ whichever construal is preferred, strenuous approbation is expressed against Edom’s passive approval turned positive pleasure.

17. There is an echo between Obad. 10a and Joel 4.19b (ET 3.19b), where the application to Judah is explicit. Meanwhile, the Joel reference lacks the element of ‘brother(s)’, the repeated feature to which attention is drawn here. Used between groups, it summons associations with treaty partnerships (cf. Raabe 1996: 170) and links the passage firmly with my interest here in ‘political forgiveness’.

18. Given the negation of the explicitly jussive form of (*ʿal*)-*tēre*², along with the perfect verbs of v. 11b, the RSV’s modal translation claims most likelihood; alternatively, v. 12 could be construed as negative prohibitions (e.g. NJB: ‘Do not feast your eyes on your brother...’; thus Raabe 1996: 177). The JPSV renders them asseveratively: ‘How could you gaze with glee...!’ Cf. Robinson, who prefers a temporally indeterminate rendering on stylistic grounds (1988: 90-91).

There are probably other resources to be mined in the foreign nation oracle collections as well, as well as some limitations. Both aspects may be exemplified by brief reference to Isaiah 19. The oracle against Egypt in vv. 1-15 is a straightforward pronouncement of judgment—much ‘message’, but very little (if any) ‘motivation’.¹⁹ In the set of ‘in that day’ elaborations appended to it, the tone is initially very harsh (‘the Egyptians will be like women’, v. 16) before a very different vision for the future is held out, culminating in the prophecy of Egyptians, Assyrians and Israelites together, all blessed by Yahweh Sebaoth (v. 25). This takes us further than the Obadiah passage, and I shall return to this vision in a moment.

The terms of Shriver’s ‘political forgiveness’ are not uniformly present in these oracles. For Obadiah, we can elicit the first three of his four aspects of forgiveness in the political sphere: we have memory and judgment—the truthful (we assume) recital of injuries sustained; the aspect of forbearance is present, as the malice displayed by the gloating Edomites is not reciprocated, and punishment remains in God’s hands.²⁰ Empathy is yet more difficult to elicit, while a commitment to renewing community fails as obliterating Edom is preferred in v. 18 (‘there shall be no survivor to the house of Edom’). In the final form of Isaiah’s Egypt oracle, on the other hand, it seems we go straight from hostility to ‘renewed community’, but it is difficult to see the process. Judgment has been pronounced, but not in the company of any ‘truth-telling’ or *moral* judgment. Revenge has been voiced, even if the supplements in vv. 16-25 mute and redirect those feelings. Forbearance, the willingness to live together ‘on some level of positive mutual affirmation’ (Shriver 1995: 8), obtains to the degree that Egypt and Assyria come under the protection and into the service of Yahweh.

5. *Utopian Visions*

Broadening the scope to consider the possibility of groups (and not just individuals) reconciling brings another possible resource into play. At several points in the latter prophets an ideal future is envisaged. This trajectory had already been indicated when we examined the conclusion to Isaiah 19. The Hebrew Bible famously includes a number of passages

19. The curse of brother fighting brother in Isa. 19.2 is itself of interest, echoing even in distant fashion the norm also assumed by Obadiah.

20. The nuance of ‘gloating’ inheres only in context; the verb remains *rʾh*. This stance may be contrasted with that of Mic. 7.10, where the repentant victim looks forward to looking on (RSV ‘gloating at’) the downfall of the enemy.

which look to a future of peace in which all of nature—not just human beings, but the whole of creation—will again enjoy the peace of Eden.²¹

As Christoph Bultmann points out in his study of these visions, it is not simply a matter of prevailing peace (*šālôm*), but of joining peace with righteousness (*š^edāqâ*).²² Bultmann develops a sort of taxonomy of utopian visions in the Hebrew Bible, drawing especially on the ‘poets and prophets’ and the ‘pictures’ they paint of this scenario. He begins with the interweaving of justice and wisdom associated with Solomon, before moving to look at those visions which have Mount Zion as their focus, culminating with Psalm 85. It is the prophetic witness to this future that is of interest here. The passage to which Bultmann gives greatest attention is Mic. 4.1-5 (noting also the parallel text in Isa. 2.1-5), one of the passages that falls under the ‘Mount Zion’ rubric in Bultmann’s schema. As with the other texts he examines, this one too bases its vision of peace in a reality of justice (2004: 167; vv. 2b-3a). Miroslav Volf also comments on these parallel passages. It is of vital importance, he argues, to distinguish between *divine* and *human* justice.²³ There will never be an end to the struggle for and between particular human notions of justice, and these conflict with each other: ‘Unable to transcend particularities, justice must continue to struggle against justice’ (Volf 1996: 201). Visions such as Mic. 4.1-4//Isa. 2.1-4 contribute the assurance of a divine justice that is truly universal, and which will reign in time to come.

This glimpse of utopia assures readers of the Hebrew prophets that divine justice assures peace in human affairs. This also is a motif of the famous ‘new covenant’ passage in Jer. 31.31-34 (cf. 32.36-41), which Bultmann does not attend to, but which surely figures in this matrix. The Jeremiah passage is well known, but worth citing, at least the latter half:

³³ But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord: I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

³⁴ And no longer shall each man teach his neighbour and each his brother, saying, ‘Know the LORD’, for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says the LORD; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more.

21. I exclude here some Isaianic texts which might at first glance stake a claim to being considered: the messianic texts of Isa. 9.1-6 (ET 2-7) and 11.1-16 leave the establishment of justice in divine hands (9.6b, ET 7b; 11.15) and do not, it seems to me, reconcile nations so much as establish divinely ordered supremacy. Perhaps greater hopes for human relationships are held out in Isa. 32.1-8 (cf. Isa. 61).

22. Bultmann 2004: *passim*, and see esp. p. 160.

23. For this part of the discussion, see Volf 1996: 197-202.

Here, as in the pacific vision of Micah and Isaiah, God-as-judge provides the foundation for renewed relationships between people. People who know themselves forgiven, presumably know also how to forgive (cf. Mt. 18). As Shriver comments, ‘*Divine* forgiveness alone will produce an interior renovation of humanity sufficient to renovate relations between humans’.²⁴ Perhaps Jeremiah’s statement does not seem so utopian as Mic. 4.1-4//Isa. 2.1-4. It is not clear where or whether the ‘nations’ are included in this vision; it appears to be a domestic affair (cf. also Jer. 31.35-36).

Other texts may figure in here as well: I merely register here, for example, the Ezekiel text often set alongside Jeremiah’s ‘new covenant’, Ezek. 36.22-32,²⁵ although it has a similar limitation as the Jeremiah passage in being orientated to a domestic audience. The ‘universalistic’ texts of Second Isaiah also merit reflection (e.g. Isa. 42.6; 45.22), and these text in turn remind one of Zech. 8.20-23.

6. Conclusions

In previous studies, I have attempted to set divine forgiveness to one side, in an attempt to gain clarity on the human dimensions of forgiveness in ‘biblical Israel’. It is frequently the case that the attraction of attending to the divine–human axis of relations leads biblical theologians to ignore the human–human dimension. Thus, in looking at stories of interpersonal forgiveness and more recently at the potential connections between law and forgiveness, and in framing my studies in terms of ‘ethics’ rather than ‘theology’, I have attempted to avoid that pitfall. With the prophets, however, there is no avoiding God. Grasping the identity of the prophets as divine spokesmen supplies three particular pieces to the puzzle of forgiveness in the Hebrew prophets.

First, the identification of prophet with the deity explains the lack of direct teaching on or depictions of interpersonal forgiveness itself. The prophets were not, in their public persona at any rate, concerned about their own honour or position. Even Jeremiah’s laments do not seek to overcome the hostilities that engendered them, however their ‘voice’ is construed. They call for justice, and Jeremiah continues in his divinely appointed role (cf. Jer. 20.9b). The prophets wholly subordinated themselves as messengers to the Message-giver. This aspect does not, it seem, even offer a kind of implicit *imitatio dei*. The God of Israel has prerogatives that belong to no one else.

24. Shriver 1995: 30; italics original.

25. Cf. also Ezek. 47.1-12 (of nations, though(?); cf. Rev. 22.1-2).

Secondly, the ‘social dimension’ of forgiveness which I have so far been setting to one side (or resisting, or neglecting) has also been forced on to the agenda. To speak of groups forgiving groups still requires nuance, and raises problems of its own. But it is surely right that such a dimension be raised and attended to, not only because such writers as Volf or Shriver say so, but because it does seem to be an integral part of the prophetic message itself. At the same time, it is again clear that in prophetic oracles, peace between nations is achieved only with the express intervention of Israel’s God, so that again the dimension of *interpersonal* forgiveness is reduced.

Thirdly, my interest in people forgiving people and how the Hebrew Bible talks about this has led to another kind of neglect of the divine (different from the first observation above, that is). This is the aspect of divine forgiveness being the foundation for human forgiveness. In other words, ultimately theology cannot be held apart from ethics.²⁶ This is again something that arises directly from this reading of the prophetic texts. Solomon Schimmel, for example, roots his discussion of offering apologies to those whom we have hurt or offended in the initiative that God takes in being gracious to sinners. ‘God’s love and grace for sinners is not that he forgives them when they persist in sinfulness, but that he offers them the possibility of repentance, which is grace enough’, he writes in comment on Isa. 55.6-7 (Schimmel 2002: 147). Likewise, Donald Shriver observes that Jeremiah’s ‘new covenant’ passage presupposes ‘the coming of a powerful, transforming renewal of the human, whose true beginning is the forgiveness of sins’ (1995: 30).

In the Hebrew prophets, the seeming paucity of material directly related to interpersonal forgiveness nevertheless yields a result: repairing fractured human relationships requires divine participation.

Bibliography

- Avioz, M.
2005 ‘The Call for Revenge in Jeremiah’s Complaints (Jer XI-XX)’, *VT* 55: 429-38.
- Barr, J.
1961 *Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Bultmann, C.
2004 ‘Friedensvisionen im Alten Testament und für Leser des Alten Testaments’, in C. Bultmann, B. Kranemann and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Religion, Gewalt, Gewaltlosigkeit: Probleme—Positionen—Perspektiven* (Münster: Aschendorff): 159-80, 288-90.

26. See n. 4, above.

- Davies, G.I.
1992 *Hosea* (NCB; London: Marshall Pickering).
- Digeser, P.
1998 'Forgiveness and Politics: Dirty Hands and Imperfect Procedures', *Political Theory* 26: 700-24.
- Hillers, D.R.
1984 *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Jones, L.G.
1995 *Embodying Forgiveness: A Theological Analysis* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Joüon, P., and T. Muraoka
2006 *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Subsidia Biblica, 27; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, rev. edn).
- O'Brien, J.M.
1996 'Judah as Wife and Husband: Deconstructing Gender in Malachi', *JBL* 115: 241-50.
- O'Donovan, O.
2005 *The Ways of Judgment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Raabe, P.R.
1996 *Obadiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 24D; New York: Doubleday).
- Redditt, P.
1994 'The Social Setting of Malachi', *CBQ* 56: 240-55.
- Reimer, D.J.
1996 'The Apocrypha and Biblical Theology: The Case of Interpersonal Forgiveness', in J. Barton and D.J. Reimer (eds.), *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press): 259-82.
2006 'Stories of Forgiveness: Narrative Ethics and the Old Testament', in R. Rezetko, T. Lim and W. Aucker (eds.), *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (Leiden: Brill): 359-78.
- Robinson, R.B.
1988 'Levels of Naturalization in Obadiah', *JSOT* 40: 83-97.
- Rogerson, J.W.
2004 'The Enemy in the Old Testament', in M.D. Carroll R. (ed.), *Theory and Practice in Old Testament Ethics* (JSOTSup, 405; London: T&T Clark International): 113-20 [first published as 'The Enemy in the Old Testament', in A.G. Auld [ed.], *Understanding Poets and Prophets: Essays in Honour of George Wishart Anderson* (JSOTSup, 152; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), pp. 284-93].
- Rudolph, W.
1975 *Micah, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephaniah* (KAT, 13; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn).
- Schimmel, S.
2002 *Wounds Not Healed by Time: The Power of Repentance and Forgiveness* (New York: Oxford University Press).

- Shriver, D.W., Jr
1995 *An Ethic for Enemies: Forgiveness in Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Smith, J.M.P., W.H. Ward and J.A. Bewer
1912 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Vermeulen, J.
2003 'Os 1-3 et son histoire littéraire', *ETL* 79: 23-52.
- Volf, M.
1996 *Exclusion and Embrace: A Theological Exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press).
1999 'The Social Meaning of Reconciliation', *Transformation* 16.1: 7-12.
- Waltke, B.K.
2007 *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Wolff, H.W.
1990 *Micah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg).

This page intentionally left blank

Part III

SOCIOLOGICAL, ANTHROPOLOGICAL
AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

This page intentionally left blank

EXIT THE OPPRESSED PEASANT?
RETHINKING THE BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL CRITICISM
IN THE PROPHETS

Walter J. Houston

1. *Introduction*

It is an almost universally held assumption in the study of ancient society that where we hear of social oppression the principal victims will be the peasants, the subsistence farmers and agricultural workers of the countryside who formed the great majority of the population in nearly all ancient societies, while their oppressors will be largely found in the cities. This is certainly true of the models that have been used to explain the social oppression mentioned in the Hebrew Bible and denounced in the Prophets. I recently examined a number of these models (Houston 2006: 21-46; 2008: 26-48). The assumption is made the structural backbone of the 'rent capitalism' model taken by O. Loretz (1975) from the geographer H. Bobek (1969) and popularized in English by B. Lang (1983). What is described here is characteristic of modern Middle Eastern societies, at least until recently: a dichotomy of society between the productive rural peasants who work the land as tenants and an unproductive urban bourgeoisie who live by extracting the maximum possible surplus as landlords from the production of the peasants. Though other models do not make this urban-rural split their foundation, they effectively incorporate it. Kippenberg's theory (1977) of the development of 'ancient class society' locates the initial driving force in the attempt by an aristocracy to secure the fruits of the labour of the peasants for themselves by the use of credit. The aristocrats are not necessarily city-based, but in view of the complete absence of large country houses in ancient Palestine they must have been if the theory is correct. The most popular model, certainly among American scholars, has been that of Gerhard Lenski's 'agrarian society' (Lenski 1966: 189-296), in which the sole or only significant source of wealth is the labour of the rural cultivators, while their surplus (not less than 50% of total production) is redistributed from them by and to a governing class based principally in the cities, including the ruler and his officials, and often also an aristocracy.

While in the first edition of *Contending for Justice* (Houston 2006) I devoted much care to attempting to identify the mechanisms of social oppression in the society of Israel and Judah and the elements that bore responsibility for it, I gave virtually none at all to identifying its *victims* as a class. I accepted the universal assumption as thoroughly as anyone. There is, however, evidence for the monarchic period that casts doubt upon the idea that the main victims were the cultivators, and that they were stripped of their entire surplus. This includes King Menahem's poll tax (2 Kgs 15.19-20), which was levied on all 'men of property' (*gibbôrê ḥayil*) at a level and in numbers suggestive of substantial untapped surpluses in the rural economy, as well as the archaeological record of rural villages, where the size and quality of the dwelling houses gives no indication of impoverishment at any time down to the falls of the respective kingdoms (Holladay 1995: 392-93, and below in more detail).

It is an illustration of the hold of the assumption on me that in an earlier article (Houston 2004) I set myself to explain this evidence away. A more interesting example comes from the first edition of my book (Houston 2006: 42-46), where I showed that the biblical text assumes that the characteristic relationship between rich and poor is that of patronage, and concluded that the most pervasive mechanism through which the poor were exploited was the abuse of this relationship. But it is essential to patronage that it is a face-to-face relationship (Eisenstadt and Roniger 1984: 48-49). How then can this mechanism be invoked to explain the exploitation of people in villages by people in cities, who would rarely meet? Yet that is what I tried to do, by elaborating an image of a ruling class which included wealthy representatives of rural society as well as state officials based in the provinces. What I failed to notice is, for example, that the poor man in Deut. 15.7-11 is 'in one of your gates', that is to say in a *city*, for Deuteronomy uses 'gates' as a metonym for 'cities', and although *ʿir* in Biblical Hebrew can refer to a settlement of any size, only real cities have gates. What exactly might be meant by a real city we shall come to in a moment.

In a series of articles, Avraham Faust has surveyed the results of the excavations of all types of settlement in Israel and Judah during the monarchic period in order to establish the nature of the society that inhabited them, and has summed up his conclusions in a recent book in Hebrew (Faust 2005a). Most references here will be to his English-language articles.¹

1. For what follows, see also, in rather more detail, Houston 2008, which also depends on Faust. I should like to express my personal appreciation of Avi Faust's generosity in making the results of his research available to me, in reading and

The result of Faust's researches is to establish a striking dichotomy in the society of monarchical Israel and Judah between cities and villages (Faust 1999a); but although this conclusion in itself is in accord with the consensus, the dichotomy is of a rather different character than has been hitherto assumed. First, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by 'village' and 'city'. 'Cities' have been the object of the bulk of archaeological excavation work in the past, in that they form tells, which have attracted the attention of excavators, because the settlement has been rebuilt again and again on the same site, suggesting the perceived importance of having a city on that site. They are protected by defensive walls, which forces up the density of settlement. In Faust's view their defining social characteristics are social stratification and economic specialization (Faust 2005b: 44). Although they vary considerably in their significance as administrative and military centres, they are all characterized to a greater or lesser extent by the presence of the state, which will be evident at least in the defensive wall, a work beyond the capacity of the local community (Fritz 1995: 117).

Much less work has been done on the rural villages of this period, as their presence is not immediately evident on the ground, although they must have housed the great majority of the population. Many of the excavations that have been done have been salvage operations in advance of development. A village typically contains a few dozen dwelling houses, together with installations for the processing of agricultural products, such as a threshing floor and an oil press, and storage facilities. They are usually bounded by a wall of sorts, but not one that could withstand a siege, often incorporating the outer wall of the outermost houses (Faust 2000b: 26-28).

Faust's conclusions are based primarily on the size and quality of houses in these different types of settlement, and to a lesser extent on other finds. Most of the houses in both cities and villages are based on the traditional 'four-room' type. In Israelite² villages these are of a generous size, with a ground area generally in the range 115 to 130 square metres; and it is clear that they also had a second storey. Faust interprets the size of the houses, and the fact that they vary very much in the extent to which the rooms are subdivided, as an indication that each was the

commenting on drafts of this essay and other work, and in guiding me to sources in the archaeological literature.

2. A different picture is presented by certain villages in the northern valleys which Faust interprets as ethnically different from the majority population. For Faust, they show marked signs of being part of public or private estates (Faust 2000a; 2005a: 256-83).

residence of an extended family, which would have been the work unit as well as the living unit (Faust 1999a: 243-47). Further, there is no sufficient difference in the size and quality of the dwelling houses, either within one site or between different sites of this type, to suggest any serious degree of social stratification. Of course this does not exclude some differences of wealth. Thus, even if the villages of Israel were not equal societies, they show every sign of being egalitarian in outlook. This is underlined from a different aspect by the fact that the boundary wall, the storage facilities and installations such as oil presses do not belong to individual houses, but appear to have been constructed and operated communally (see Faust 2000b; 2005a: 142-92).

The quality of the houses in these villages, and the capacity of the storage facilities, suggest that they were prosperous, and that their work generated surpluses which were largely retained in the village and did not go to enrich a landlord (cf. Faust 2000b: 31-32). Although they would certainly have had to pay taxes, these would have been at a level which they were capable of paying out of their surpluses. Faust's work with Ehud Weiss on the economy of the Levant in the seventh century (Faust and Weiss 2005) suggests that these villages successfully competed in a regional market by specializing in particular products.

A very different social picture is presented by the contemporary cities. Here the dwelling houses in general are smaller than in the villages. A study of Hazor VI (Faust 1999b) revealed many houses with a ground area of about 70 square metres, some larger, some smaller, and only a couple of comparable size with village houses, one of them a luxurious structure of 160 square metres, of good construction, with all its walls freestanding. Faust divides the houses into three groups: the few houses of this kind that can be described as luxurious, a large group of quite modest four-room houses, in the 70 square metres range, and some poor structures which are smaller and not built on any regular plan, but simply squeezed into any available patch of land. He concludes that most of these, with the exception of the luxurious houses, would have been inhabited by nuclear families, so that there would be a substantial difference in basic social structure from the villages. The wide variation in the size and quality of the houses also shows a high degree of social stratification. Contrary to my earlier assertion (Houston 2004: 135) that the situation uncovered by de Vaux at Tell el-Far'ah North had not been reproduced elsewhere, it is now clear that this degree of variation is common in cities. They contained: a wealthy ruling elite, who were able to preserve the extended family structure; a middle class of lower officials, shopkeepers, service workers and so forth, as well as farmers, as

the cities all had land attached to them; and the poor who had been unable to find a secure foothold in the system, including the fatherless, widows and aliens so frequently mentioned. Many of these would scrape a living as hired labourers; others, in attempting to maintain an independent existence, would have fallen into debt-slavery.

Most cities were founded on the basis of existing settlements, which had been selected for development by the state for administrative and strategic reasons (Fritz 1995: 14). This intervention appears to have normally led to a very rapid breakdown in the traditional social structure, as the traditional rule by the 'elders', or heads of the extended families, was replaced by state control, and state officials settled with their families, while poorer elements flooded in to take advantage of the wealth and opportunities provided by the new foundation. The co-operative ethos of village society would have generally enabled the farming families to withstand the shock of hard times, and not require recourse to the moneylender, or at least to discharge their debts without disaster. But the new conditions of the cities gave rise to a more individualistic ethos and thus exposed everyone in humble circumstances, including the original farming population, to far greater risk of debt and exploitation. Thus the evidence seems to suggest that the process of social stratification generally assumed for the ninth and eighth centuries indeed took place, but rather than covering each kingdom as a whole, it was a piecemeal process which took place within each city, and so spread little by little across the land, until it was temporarily brought to a halt by the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests.

This sketch applies to conditions under the monarchy. On the other side of the caesura of the devastations and deportations, it is likely that things were different.

To an extent, Faust's view is vulnerable to the same criticisms as I have made (Houston 2004: 137-38) of Holladay's similar understanding of the strength and security of the rural economy. An analysis based on the size and quality of buildings can only give a picture of social relationships over the long term. It cannot take account of sudden or rapid changes in absolute or relative wealth. As I said there, the size of storage facilities shows us what surpluses farmers expected to house; it does not show us what surpluses they actually had. Nor does it reveal the relationships of power between village families, at least in the short term. Some social differences could be hidden within houses built in happier days. It is possible that there were quite rapid social changes in the second half of the eighth century, especially under the impact of the Assyrian demand for tribute, and it is not clear that the archaeological record can rule this

out. But in truth, the double picture given by Faust makes such reservations less necessary; for the society of the cities is likely to offer a perfectly adequate context for all, or nearly all, that we know or think we know about inequality, patronage and oppression in the period of the monarchy—subject to the detailed interrogation of individual texts, which we shall come to.

A deeper weakness of Faust's treatment of social relationships in the period of the monarchy is that he treats urban and rural society quite separately, virtually as independent worlds which had little or nothing to do with each other. But it is obvious that this cannot be true. Village residents must have been subject to tax and tithe and military service, and in Judah to the *corvée*. The cities were nourished on their produce, whether they were requisitioned as tax or bought in the market. Such flourishing communities as are depicted in Faust's picture of the villages would have produced a surplus of population, and it is clear that not all children of the village could have stayed there. There were various shifts to which those who left could have resorted. They could have founded new villages or enlisted for mercenary service; but many would have left for the cities. It is likely that many of the destitute people to whom Deuteronomy urges generosity were incomers from the villages, so that the oppressed peasant may not after all need to leave the stage: he or she is there in the city, being 'pushed aside in the gate', perhaps literally (Amos 5.12); this is in addition to the fact that the cities contained farming populations vulnerable to exploitation. Of course, there may also have been upward mobility. The official class must have been recruited from somewhere. Moreover, at least some of those who found their way to the cities may not have left their villages of their own accord. The eldest son of a father had an advantage in the inheritance, and it is likely that the further down the birth order a son was, the more likely he was to be subject to pressure to leave (cf. Bendor 1996: 175-90).

In brief, the concept of social stratification must cover the entire society, not merely individual settlements. None of Faust's evidence challenges the view that the villages, as well as the lower classes of the cities, were subject to the official class, and that the balance of redistribution did not favour them. What it does is to refine our understanding of how redistribution operated in societies like those of the Hebrew kingdoms, which, it is evident, were not fully mature agrarian kingdoms, but developing towards that condition: that is, that the consequent inequity is more pronounced within the cities than between the cities and the villages, and evidence for it is more obtrusive in the cities. This may have a bearing on how we understand prophetic texts, which is the object

of this essay. I will here make the initial working assumption that most of the texts on this subject in Isaiah 1–12, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Micah 1–3 and Zephaniah are of monarchical date.

Faust himself has attempted to address this question (Faust forthcoming). However, he spends relatively little time on the texts themselves, and gives specific attention only to Jeremiah. His general point is that the prophets, with some minor exceptions, worked in cities, mostly Jerusalem and Samaria, and ‘engaged with the reality before their eyes’, which was that of extreme social stratification. Here I should remark that stratification is not the same thing as oppression, or at least, not the same thing that the prophetic texts identify as oppression. What the prophets denounce is specific acts of exploitation, expropriation, corrupt justice and violence (Houston 2006: 86–93). The importance of a stratified society is that by making some of its members weaker than others it invites the unscrupulous to commit such acts and enables them to succeed.

Faust is interested in possible exceptions to the rule that the prophets worked in the cities, because, he hopes, it may enable him in addition to provide textual evidence to support his conclusion from the archaeological evidence that there was no social stratification in the villages. He relies on work by B. Oppenheimer (1968), who claims to be able to distinguish oracles uttered by Jeremiah while still in Anathoth, before settling in Jerusalem, from those delivered in Jerusalem, by the fact that the latter use images from city life rather than only rural life and the wilderness. The former make no mention of social evils but are exclusively concerned with apostasy and idolatry. It was when he moved to the city that he came across such evils as the oppression of the poor.

I have not been able to test this case in detail, since I have not had access to Oppenheimer’s work, and Faust gives only one brief quotation from it. However, it does not immediately inspire conviction. The images in Jeremiah’s poetry are predominantly taken from nature and rural life in all parts of the book where the poetry occurs. But at the same time, Jerusalem is frequently the backdrop of the prophecy, whereas Anathoth never is, perhaps not even in Jer. 11.21–23, for the men of Anathoth could have come to attack Jeremiah in Jerusalem. Further, the book is so dominated by the image of Jeremiah as prophet to the city before its fall that the suggestion that parts have a background in Anathoth is impossible to demonstrate convincingly, possible though it is. It may readily be granted that the few Jeremian passages denouncing social oppression (Jer. 2.34; 5.20–29; 7.1–7; 22.13–19; 34.8–22) are at home in an urban context, though, for example, it is quite likely that the victims of Jehoiakim’s *corvée* (22.13) included people from rural areas. But that the very

many passages denouncing apostasy include some where the culprits are villagers is undemonstrable. The address is invariably to the nation as a whole, which suggests a capital-city point of view.

In what follows I limit myself to texts which clearly deal with oppression of the poor. I shall identify texts which are explained better if the victims are understood as city-dwellers, and those where definitely agrarian distress seems to be referred to. It should not necessarily be concluded in the latter case that the victims are villagers, for all cities, as I have noted, retained agricultural land worked by peasants or others who lived in the cities. The majority of texts, however, do not present features distinct enough to enable a judgment. On this basis, it may be possible to arrive at an estimate of how well Faust's theory accounts for the prophetic texts on this subject.

2. *Amos*

Turning first to Amos, there is one text which immediately leaps to the eye after the foregoing discussion. 'Gather on the hills of Samaria and see the great tumults *within* it (Samaria), and the oppressions *within its midst*' (3.9). The oppression is 'within' Samaria, which would be taken most naturally to mean that the victims as well as the perpetrators are in Samaria.

Another text in Amos which is most naturally taken of goings-on in an urban context is Amos 8.4-6, the denunciation of the corn dealers. I formerly favoured the theory of Kessler and Fendler that the dealers here are actually landowners selling their own surplus crops (Houston 2006: 64; cf. Kessler 1989; Fendler 1973: 42). But the only strong reason for preferring this is simply that this apparently enables the setting to be a rural one. In fact, most grain dealing would have taken place in the city markets, probably under state control, and conceivably as crown monopoly, as I suggested there. Poor city residents who did not have their own land, as well as farmers specializing in wine or oil production, would have had to rely on them for their food supply, and would have had to go into debt if they could not afford it: and this is how they could be 'bought' by the dealers, as v. 6 asserts. The similar reference to commercial sharp practice in Mic. 6.9-12 is explicitly located in a 'city' (v. 9), presumably Jerusalem.

Again, there is more than one reference to the 'gate' in Amos: 5.10, 12, 15 all mention the gate. 'Who turn aside the poor in the gate' could be meant literally, because poor people in cities actually lived there, according to Faust (2005a: 113-16). 'They hate him who reproves in the

gate' and 'Establish justice in the gate' have the court in the city gate as their setting: and this probably means the court of a royal judge rather than the court of the elders generally favoured by commentators.

Of course, this is not to say that the victims of oppression in Amos are never peasants. 'You take a levy of grain from him' (5.11), whatever the nature of the levy, suggests a victim who has grain to be levied. But as I have pointed out, peasants did live in the cities, though they were not the only poor inhabitants.

The remainder of the texts in Amos are not clear enough to contribute much to this discussion, but their interpretation may well be affected by it. The poor people oppressed by the 'cows of Bashan on the hill of Samaria', rather than being the producers of the wine that the wives of the officials and courtiers demand, could well be persons more immediately in the eye of a visitor to the city, the debt-slaves and labourers who served them personally. (They would probably also have had chattel slaves, but these would not be described as 'poor'.) However, Samaria's wine was probably produced quite locally—some of the Samaria ostraca refer to place names which we know from the Bible as clans of Manasseh—and it is not impossible that at least some of the vineyards in the vicinity of Samaria were owned by members of the governing cadre and run with hired labour or debt slaves.

At all events, it would be difficult to show that any text in Amos concerning social injustice requires any other geographical context than Samaria and its environs.

3. *Isaiah*

In a similar way, most of the texts attacking social oppression in Isaiah and Micah allow or indeed require Jerusalem as their geographical context. I will discuss Isa. 5.8-10 and Mic. 2.1-5, the sole prophetic texts mentioning the seizure of land, later.

Isaiah 1.21-26 concerns the administration of justice in the courts in Jerusalem ('How has the faithful city become a harlot?'), and accuses the judges, who are royal officials, of corruption and denounces their consequent failure to protect widows and orphans, who of course stand by convention for all vulnerable and unprotected victims of oppression. In ordinary circumstances it is likely that such complainants would take their cases to the nearest royal court. Such courts would have existed in all the fortified cities (2 Chron. 19.5), and we should assume that the victims of judicial corruption in Jerusalem lived in the city or its immediate neighbourhood. Some of them might be country people, but most, in

view of the size of the city, would be townspeople. The context is very similar in Isa. 10.1-4, where widows and orphans again appear as the victims of official maladministration. In this case the officials seem to be accused of getting their hands on the disputed property themselves, which may suggest that it is not a question of poor families here. In this case there is no specific reference to Jerusalem, but it seems likely that the officials are Jerusalem-based. It is possible that disputes within village families which came to court did offer an avenue by which officials on the make could insinuate themselves into village property. But the archaeological evidence suggests that if this happened it was not on a large scale—except perhaps in the vicinity of Jerusalem, as we may see below.

A nationwide situation is again in view in Isa. 3.13-15, but the victims, apart from being poor, are not further identified. The accusation ‘you have despoiled (or trampled) the vineyard’ is taken metaphorically by most commentators, in the light of the parable in Isa. 5.1-7, and I would tend to agree with this, though Blenkinsopp (2000: 200) thinks it is possible to understand it literally at the same time. It is equally true in Isa. 5.1-7 itself that the accusation is too general for a precise pinpointing of the victims, though the perpetrators are surely likely to be the same governing classes as are denounced in Isa. 3.13-15.

The post-exilic passage Isaiah 58 is mainly exhortation rather than denunciation, but it includes the specific accusation ‘you drive all your workers’ (v. 3a). Then the exhortations in vv. 6-7 imply the prevalence of unfree workers and of destitute people. Where? Everything else we know about Trito-Isaiah suggests that the writers were based in Jerusalem, and nothing about this lengthy passage gives any hint of a rural or agrarian setting. It seems reasonable to suppose that this diatribe is addressed to people who employ slaves in Jerusalem. The homeless people whom they are expected to take into their homes are also obviously wandering the streets of Jerusalem. Homelessness in most ages and places is an urban problem.

4. *Micah*

Micah 3 has a very clear setting in Jerusalem. Verses 1 and 9 address the ‘heads of Jacob and commanders of the house of Israel’. The accusation which follows in vv. 2-3 is cast in sensationally horrific terms, but in itself it is too highly metaphorical to be referred to any specific acts of oppression. Light is cast on it by v. 10, ‘who builds Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity’. This is an unmistakable reference to the *corvée*. Kessler (1999: 163-65) compares a whole range of texts speaking of

kings 'building' various cities, that is to say, fortifying them, or, recalling our earlier discussion, turning them from villages into real cities. In the late eighth century Hezekiah would have been strengthening the fortifications of Jerusalem to withstand Assyrian attack. The conscripts could well have included contingents of villagers. The chapter attacks the mistreatment of the people, including probably rural people, by their government in the name of 'security'. However, it does not have to do with the oppression of peasants as land holders and the seizure of their land.

We have already seen that Mic. 6.9-12 (probably post-exilic) is set in an urban context. How does this square with vv. 14a and 15, where the addressees are warned of their failure in every kind of agricultural enterprise? This can be regarded as the cliché of the 'futility curse', found in several biblical and extra-biblical texts, without any necessary close relationship to the actual work of the addressees (Hillers 1984: 82; Kessler 1999: 280-81). Even so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that wealthy Jerusalemites at all periods had agricultural property, probably mostly in the neighbourhood of the city.

Oppression of peasants as such is, however, the concern of the earlier passage in Mic. 2.1-5. The key verse describing the outrages, v. 2, is comparable to Isa. 5.8. There is no question that these verses describe the seizure, on whatever pretext, of agricultural land. That it is land used for agriculture is underlined by the judgment pronounced in Isa. 5.10. In a different way Micah is equally clear: he speaks of 'a man and his inheritance', that is, a family head and the family holding. Both texts accuse unspecified people of seizing houses and land—and turning out families—on unspecified pretexts. Here surely we have the oppression of the peasantry by the rich in order to enlarge landholdings, perhaps through the manipulation of credit, as set out in relatively clear terms in Neh. 5.1-5. This is how most commentators interpret the verses.³ Wolff especially, but other commentators as well, argue that Micah has events in his home town of Moresheth-Gath in view (Wolff 1990: 74). We do not know whether Moresheth-Gath was a village or a city at this time. In fact, we do not even know where it was precisely, so there is little light available to shed on our question in this direction. It could be true that Micah began prophesying in his home town and then travelled to Jerusalem, only to find conditions even worse there. But there is nothing to indicate the locality of the exploitative activities in Micah 2.

3. Wolff refers somewhat differently to 'members of the royal court, officials, military commanders, and soldiers—groups who were part of a permanent occupation' who 'would have taken charge of farms and comfortable homes' (Wolff 1990: 74). This appears to imply simple confiscation.

I should like to suggest the alternative possibility that both the Isaiah and Micah texts, which are closely parallel, are set in Jerusalem, and yet speak of the oppression of peasants, in the traditional sense. How can this be? Jerusalem in the late eighth century was for the time and the region a large city, of, on Faust's estimate (2005b: 111), between 17,500 and 40,000 inhabitants. It was surrounded by a thickly populated rural area which was different in its settlement pattern from most of the country. Isolated farmsteads were densely scattered on the north, west and south of the city; apparently there were several hundred of them (Faust 2003: 100; 2005b: 102-103). They occupied a band about four kilometres wide (Faust: personal communication). These farmsteads are also found in other parts of the country at this period (Faust 2003), but the density is much greater in this area. This would point to the intensive cultivation of the whole area (Faust 2005b: 102-103). The east side of the city was used for grazing. Some of the farmsteads are well built, suggesting the personal presence of a proprietor, while others are very small, like small city houses, suggesting that they were owned by an absentee landlord and worked by hired labour, or possibly by debt or even chattel slaves (Faust, personal communication).

It is obvious enough that this pattern of settlement and cultivation responds to the needs and pressures of the rapidly expanding population of the city. But what was the social mechanism—Marxists would call it the mode of production—through which this novel mode of rural settlement and agriculture was instituted? Bear in mind that farmers, and especially peasant farmers, are generally deeply conservative, and that the clan-based type of nucleated settlement had been entrenched in the highlands of Judah and Benjamin for at least 300 years. There were doubtless many traditional villages within easy reach of Jerusalem's markets. They may have been unable to respond effectively to the possibilities of profit in the growth of the city, perhaps especially because traditional village-based agriculture required a large area outside the bounds of the cultivated land to be given over to grazing. But there were those who knew how to take advantage of this commercial opportunity. Some of them would have been based in the city, possibly including those officially responsible for its food supply. According to Hopkins (1997), farmsteads reflect 'the penetration of the countryside by the managerial arm of the city-based administration'. It was certainly easier for people who had become accustomed to the more individualistic culture of the city to develop this more efficient mode of exploitation of the land, but doubtless there were also those in the villages who took the plunge into consolidating their holdings and living on them. In this way

we may account for the larger and more obviously independent farms. In so far as farms were established by those in the city with access to capital, the obvious step was to buy land. If there was reluctance to sell, there were ways of overcoming it, and it is this that is presumably referred to by the Isaiah and Micah texts. Although the story of Naboth's vineyard is doubtless legendary, it may well reflect the kind of social situations that arose in this process. Persistent peasant claims could be swept aside, whether through the manipulation of credit described by Nehemiah, or perhaps through less roundabout seizures.

Isaiah is typically hyperbolic in his expression of the result; the mirage of *latifundia* in Judah largely arises from taking Isaiah's hyperbole literally. And the impression cannot be avoided in both cases that a few scandalous cases may have been seized on in a process which may well have proceeded for the most part to the superficial satisfaction of seller as well as buyer. However, as the 'jubilee' complex of laws in Leviticus 25 as well as 1 Kings 21 indicates, a deep-seated objection to the treatment of inherited land as a commercial investment persisted, and the Holiness writer gave it theological expression.

5. *Zephaniah and Ezekiel*

I mentioned the Jeremiah passages earlier. There remain two other passages of ostensibly late seventh- to early sixth-century date to deal with. It hardly needs demonstration that Zeph. 3.1-5 deals with conditions in the city. Ezekiel 22.23-29 appears to be based on the Zephaniah passage, and is most naturally interpreted of Jerusalem, though it is addressed as a 'land' rather than a city. One verse here requires comment, v. 29, which speaks of the 'people of the land' as the oppressors of the poor and the alien. I have discussed this expression elsewhere (Houston 1999: 358; 2006: 39), and adopted the view that it refers to wealthy provincial landowners who have made their home in the capital. I would modify this identification now by adding that it is likely that they had acquired their wealth as citizens of walled cities by expropriating the local peasantry. Thus they would have reached their present status by doing what Ezekiel accuses them of doing.

6. *Conclusion*

I think I have shown that the hypothesis is plausible at the very least that prophetic accusations of social injustice have a background primarily in the capital cities of Samaria and Jerusalem, and that both oppressors and

victims mostly resided in those places, or nearby. These prophetic texts offer a moral evaluation, of course from a committed and some would say prejudiced viewpoint, of a process of rapid social change in the fortified cities of monarchical Israel and Judah. They cannot be used to challenge archaeological evidence that this process, during the monarchical era, touched rural areas only to a limited extent, except in the immediate hinterland of the capitals.

Bibliography

- Bendor, S.
1996 *The Social Structure of Ancient Israel: The Institution of the Family (Beit 'Ab) from the Settlement to the End of the Monarchy* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies, 7; Jerusalem: Simor).
- Blenkinsopp, J.
2000 *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 19; New York: Doubleday).
- Bobek, H.
1969 'Die Hauptstufe der Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsentsaltung in geographischer Sicht', in E. Wirth (ed.), *Wirtschaftsgeographie* (WdF, 219; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchhandlung): 441-85.
- Eisenstadt, S.N., and L. Roniger
1984 *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Faust, A.
1999a 'Differences in Family Structure between Cities and Villages in Iron Age II', *Tel Aviv* 26: 233-52.
1999b 'Socioeconomic Stratification in an Israelite City: Hazor VI as a Test Case', *Levant* 31: 179-90.
2000a 'Ethnic Complexity in Northern Israel during Iron Age II', *PEQ* 132: 2-27.
2000b 'The Rural Community in Ancient Israel during Iron Age II', *BASOR* 317: 17-39.
2003 'The Farmstead in the Highlands of Iron II Israel', in A.M. Maeir *et al.* (eds.), *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel* (BAR International Series, 1121; Oxford: Archaeopress): 91-104.
2005a *Israelite Society in the Period of the Monarchy: An Archaeological Examination* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi [Hebrew]).
2005b 'The Settlement of Jerusalem's Western Hill and the City's Status in Iron Age II Revisited', *ZDPV* 121: 97-118.
- forthcoming 'Prophetic Social Criticism and the Social Reality in Israel and Judah: An Archaeological Examination', in M. Garsiel, R. Kasher, A. Frisch and D. Elgavish (eds.), *Studies in Bible and Exegesis, Presented to Shmuel Vargon* (SBE, 9; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press [Hebrew, English abstract]).

- Faust, A., and E. Weiss
2005 'Judah, Philistia, and the Mediterranean World: Reconstructing the Economic System of the Seventh Century B.C.E.', *BASOR* 338: 71-92.
- Fendler, M.
1973 'Zur Sozialkritik des Amos', *EvT* 33: 32-53.
- Fritz, V.
1995 *The City in Ancient Israel* (The Biblical Seminar, 29; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Hillers, D.R.
1984 *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Holladay, J.S.
1995 'The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA-B (Ca. 1000-750 BCE)', in T.E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (New York: Facts on File): 368-98.
- Hopkins, D.C.
1997 'Farmsteads', in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (New York: Oxford University Press): II, 306-307.
- Houston, W.J.
1999 'The King's Preferential Option for the Poor: Rhetoric, Ideology and Ethics in Psalm 72', *BibInt* 7: 341-67.
2004 'Was There a Social Crisis in the Eighth Century?', in J. Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (JSOTSup, 406; London: T&T Clark International): 130-49.
2006 *Contending for Justice: Ideologies and Theologies of Social Justice in the Old Testament* (London: T&T Clark International).
2008 *Contending for Justice: Ideologies and Theologies of Social Justice in the Old Testament* (London: T&T Clark International, 2nd edn).
- Kessler, R.
1989 'Die angeblichen Kornhändler von Amos viii 4-7', *VT* 29: 13-22.
1999 *Micha* (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament; Freiburg: Herder).
- Kippenberg, H.G.
1977 'Die Typik antiker Entwicklung', in Kippenberg (ed.), *Seminar: die Entstehung der antiken Klassengesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp): 9-61.
- Lang, B.
1983 'The Social Organization of Peasant Poverty in Biblical Israel', in *Monothemism and the Prophetic Minority* (SWBA, 1; Sheffield: Almond Press): 114-27.
- Lenski, G.E.
1966 *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: McGraw-Hill).
- Loretz, O.
1975 'Die prophetische Kritik des Rentenkapitalismus', *UF* 7: 271-78.

Oppenheimer, B.

- 1968 'Urbanization as a Religious and Social Problem in the Words of the Prophets' (Hebrew), in *Collection of Papers Read at the Twelfth Congress of Historical Studies* (Jerusalem: The Israeli Historical Society): 207-26.

Wolff, H.W.

- 1990 *Micah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Press). ET of *Dodeka-propheton. IV. Micha* (trans. G. Stansell; BKAT, 14/4; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982).

SHAMAN, PREACHER, OR SPIRIT MEDIUM? THE ISRAELITE PROPHET IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL MODELS

Lester L. Grabbe

It is fair to say that most biblical scholars who study prophetic literature are primarily interested in prophecy as literature and theology. There are occasional discussions of the prophetic persona, but this tends to be a secondary interest. The uniqueness of Israelite prophecy is assumed: it is not often discussed explicitly but just taken for granted. The question of uniqueness of theological message is a subjective one and beside the point here. Yet even though prophecy has been looked at from an anthropological point of view for many years, one notices a knee-jerk negative reaction when it is suggested that Israelite prophets might have acted in similar fashion to shamans or spirit mediums or those in a trance.

All we know about Israelite prophets comes from the biblical text. There are no other sources of information so far. Anthropology does not give us additional data. Its importance is that examples of prophetic or related figures in other cultures can be studied *in situ*. How prophetic figures actually live, perform, and act can be observed and recorded. By comparing the scientific description of a living figure with the literary description in the text, we might learn something new. We might see new possibilities for understanding the biblical picture. Most of all, we might break through the constraints of our prejudices, assumptions, and teachers. My intent in this essay is to discuss possible models for Israelite prophets and prophetic activity and to discuss what they might suggest about Israelite religion.

1. *Anthropological Examples*

1.1. *Wana Shamanism*¹

The Wana are a rice-growing forest people in the interior of Sulawesi, Indonesia. During the head-hunting days of the nineteenth century the

1. The main study is Atkinson 1989.

Wana tended to be the victims. They were often oppressed by a succession of coastal regimes and developed the capacity to move quickly and disappear when danger threatened. The Dutch and later the independent Indonesian government attempted to get the Wana to settle on the coast, but most of them managed to avoid this and escape back into the interior. This and other experiences have created centrifugal tendencies in Wana settlements. The Wana concept of selfhood is that the person consists of a series of vital elements. This picture applies only in the context of illness, but the cohesion of these elements is dependent on powers external to the person. Since these elements are unstable, they can become dislocated or dispersed and can be managed only by the specialist. Sometimes the person's soul can fly away into the spiritual realm. The shamans play a central role among the people not only as healers and exorcists but also in integrating the polity of the community and countering the centrifugal tendencies noted above.

There are mainly two shamanic rituals. The lesser is the *potudu* where the shaman only sings. The other, the *mabolong*, is a communal event, a public forum in which the shaman has the chance to demonstrate his power—and also a chance for the people to see his ability tested and demonstrated (or not). In a shamanistic ritual he calls for his spirit allies, and his ability to summon and control them is the measure of his power and reputation. In some cases, the shaman must ascend to the sky to Pue, which translates as the 'Lord' or 'Owner', who seems to be some sort of supreme being. Such a drastic action is taken only when other treatments are considered insufficient.

The view of the ill person as having vital elements dispersed seems to be a major metaphor of Wana society. Just as the body has vital elements that can become disassociated, so Wana society is subject to forces that press toward its fragmentation. When knowledge, power, and wealth were present in the community, it would thrive, like a healthy person, but when these were dispersed, the Wana people were like the individual who suffered soul loss. The *mabolong* had an integrative function for the community as a whole. Atkinson's (1989: 298) analysis shows that the

Wana have relied on 'men of prowess' with special access to exogenous knowledge to promote social cohesion and to cope with the hegemonic advances of a succession of coastal regimes—a trend that has only gained in strength in recent Wana history.

In the nineteenth-century chiefdoms existed in the Wana region, and the 'men of prowess' were chiefs who sponsored priestly functionaries to conduct liturgy-centred rituals that stabilized communities. But the

chiefdoms collapsed with the coming of the Dutch shortly after 1900. The result has been for present-day communities to depend on charismatic ritual leaders to give cohesion and direction (Atkinson 1989: 299).

1.2. *Tenskwatawa*²

Shortly after 1800, a crisis developed among the Shawnee Indians of Ohio, at a time when the various native American tribes were being pushed back west of the Ohio river. The Shawnee chief Tecumseh had a ne'er-do-well brother with a reputation for being lazy, dissolute, and frequently drunk. But he had guardian spirits and worked as a healer and exorcist. He had a vision, as a result of which he changed immediately, to everyone's astonishment, and began to preach a message of repentance to all of his people who would listen. We have a contemporary account of his message from a Shaker who was sent as part of a mission to meet Tenskwatawa, known as 'The Prophet', in 1807 and listened to him sympathetically, as well as other contemporary records.³ He began to preach a message of morality and nativism: whiskey was for Whites and should not be drunk by Indians; murder and warfare were wrong; monogamy should be practised and fornication avoided. Men should dress as was traditional in an earlier age; only wild animals were to be eaten, not cattle and pigs (though horses were allowed to be ridden); bows and arrows were to be used rather than firearms; and fire should be started with sticks instead of flint and steel. One of his biggest innovations was in regard to medicine bundles. These were traditional to Indian culture, symbols of guardian spirits acquired at puberty. Part of Tenskwatawa's message was about the evils of witchcraft and sorcery, and so he called on all to give up their medicine bundles. He also instituted a witch-hunt that ended with the executions of some prominent leaders of the community.

1.3. *The Dodo Possession Spirits of Southern Niger*⁴

The dominant possession cult in parts of Western Africa is the *bori* cult, which includes a couple of hundred divinities. Those possessed by *bori* spirits do the traditional things expected of spirit mediums: they heal,

2. The basic information on Tecumseh and the Prophet is taken from Sugden 1997 and Mooney 1896. Some other literature is cited below.

3. The handwritten Shaker account is not signed but was written by one of the three men who formed the party sent to find and talk to Tenskwatawa. This account is published in Andrews 1972. For other contemporary accounts, see Sugden 1997: 116-26.

4. This section is based on the data in Masquelier 1999.

they promote fertility on behalf of women, they exorcize, and they divine the future. In recent years, however, the *bori* institutions have often been taken over by an increasing number of ambitious young men who see possession as a road to fame and riches. They compete openly but lack knowledge of traditional medicine, are not concerned about their clientele, charge exorbitant prices, and generally behave corruptly. It is against this background that Dodo spirit possession arose. The Dodo spirits have particular ethical requirements that militate against exploitation, money grubbing, immorality, or greed. They require their mediums to be committed to serving their clientele; as a result, they have a reputation for being much superior to *bori* mediums with regard to healing and divining. But Dodo spirits are very strict and will leave a medium who does not toe the line. The result is that most Dodo mediums retain their spirits only for a limited period of time.

Among the ‘moral’ precepts of the Dodo spirits is a rejection of Western commodities. They hearken back to an idealized past—a past that never in fact existed. The purpose of this is ‘to regain control over a moral order whose viability hinges on the strength of spiritual bonds rather than on the power of market relations’ (Masquelier 1999: 37). Most Dodo mediums will refuse to ride in a car. They might reject the wearing of rubber sandals instead of the traditional leather ones. They criticize schools and education, and sometimes even literacy. Capitalist society and modernity as a whole are repudiated, though there are some—often inconsistent—exceptions, such as using coloured enamel cookware and kerosene lamps, drinking Nescafé, and even wearing a watch.

1.4. *Civil War in Northern Uganda*⁵

In the period after the fall of Idi Amin a civil war developed between the army that liberated Uganda from his grip and another group called the National Resistance Army. The National Resistance Army won out but sent soldiers to occupy the region of Acholi. A young spirit medium woman named Alice Lakwena, who had previously worked as a healer, began to organize resistance to this new government in the shape of the ‘Holy Spirit Mobile Forces’. She was able to do this because she was possessed by a variety of spirits who formed a hierarchy that lent itself to military command. The spirits would take possession of her before a military action, and a clerk of the spirit would translate and record Alice’s words. She freed the soldiers from the threat of witchcraft and evil spirits and promised protection against enemy bullets. After some remarkable successes, she marched on Kampala, at which point her army

5. The information in this section is derived from Behrend 1999a and 1999b.

was defeated, and she fled to Kenya. Her spirits abandoned her, and she was succeeded by her rival Joseph Kony. She eventually died in January 2007.

1.5. *Tromba Spirits of North-west Madagascar*⁶

In northern Madagascar the Sakalava people were organized into a kingdom before the coming of the French. The site of the royal tombs was an island called Nosy Faly. The spirits of the dead royal ancestors were called *tromba*. The greatest and oldest of the spirits would occasionally possess a woman (it always seems to have been a woman) who would then journey in a trance to the island of Nosy Faly. She would be subjected to stringent tests, but if she passed them, she would be allowed to join the *saha*, the group of mediums possessed by these spirits, and would usually remain in the royal village for the rest of her life.

The value of the *tromba saha* mediums became apparent in an outbreak of possession of young people by evil spirits. The traditional healers could not deal with them, and the more powerful *tromba* mediums had to be called in. Their aid was further enlisted in a dispute over profitable fishing rights around the island of Nosy Faly. In another example, they were consulted on and approved the opening of a new school that might have been opposed by the Sakalava. Here we see a possession cult—incidentally, made up of women—that has considerable power and is able to pronounce on national matters and to be heeded by the powers that be.

1.6. *Hopi Prophecy*⁷

Among the Hopi Indians of the American South-west a tradition of prophecy has developed in at least the last 150 years. We cannot speak about the pre-Columbian period, since no records are available, nor about the long period of Spanish rule, since the Spanish written records say nothing about it. But beginning about the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Hopi came under American domination, we have the record of a continuing prophetic tradition to the present day. It appears to be a native development, not the result of Christian influence, for these prophecies arise from and are interpretations of a central Hopi creation myth. Although there are a number of versions, the essence of the myth does not change. It describes how the Hopi people migrated through four worlds, one above the other until they emerged into the present world. It

6. This section depends on Sharp (1999) for the data cited.

7. The main source for information in this section are the writings of Armin Geertz, mainly Geertz 1994.

was empty except for Maasaw (the Hope tutelary deity), who allowed them to settle in it. They created the sun and moon to give light (since the world was previously dark). They asked the Maasaw for land and were told that they could settle; however, he would not give up title to the land but would see how they lived in the future. A good deal of space is given to the migrations of the various clans, and the myths vary in detail from clan to clan in this part of the narrative. An essential part of the myth concerns two brothers, an elder and a younger who journeyed in the land. The elder moved faster and went toward the east and the rising sun. He gave rise to the White people, who would eventually return to help his younger brother. The Hopi sprang from the younger brother and settled about the centre of the earth. This myth underlies and supports Hopi society (Geertz 1994: 77):

...this core narrative is enhanced, mobilized, and reiterated in hundreds of ways in social praxis. One can even postulate that every ceremonial and social drama either refers explicitly to the narrative or assumes it. The narrative and its prophetic framework follow the Hopi individual from the cradle to the grave. It defines his or her world view and provides the individual with powerful instruments in the creation of meaning and significance.

It is also the source of the series of prophecies that have been recorded over the last century and a half. The interesting thing is that as time has gone on, the prophecies have been embellished to incorporate new technologies and events. Thus, around the turn of the century leaders of two opposing factions in the community both agreed that the split had been prophesied. Later on, the prophecies were said to envisage a highway in the sky, 'cobwebs' by which people would communicate, and a 'jar of ashes' that would rain destruction on the earth (interpreted as the atomic bomb). During the 1960s and 1970s the prophecies took on an ecological character that would appeal to the counter culture and the many hippies who came to live in the Hopi community.

The prophecies were mainly utterances of elders and community leaders. A number of them were the product of the 'Traditionalist Movement' that was seeking to present an image compatible with left-wing White expectations, such as movie and rock stars, ecologists, and members of the counter culture. Their success was evident in the claims that the Hopis lived a pure life in harmony with nature and had prophesied the evils of modernity long before. In fact, no prophecy can be shown to precede the event prophesied. A catalogue of the recorded prophecies shows that none is earlier than a decade after the event; for example, the first recorded reference to the 'gourd full of ashes' appears in 1956

(Geertz 1994: 430), though it is supposed to have been mentioned in a meeting in 1948 (1994: 141), but the report of this utterance was not made until 1984.

1.7. *Shamanism in the Mongol State*⁸

Shamans were central to Mongol society in the pre-state period, as one of several religious specialists and healers. Some also seem to have been war leaders.

The one thing linking China and the hinterland was the concept of heaven as the all-encompassing principle of cosmic order and human destiny (Humphrey 1994: 196). There were two kinds of religious specialist, one focusing on lineal clans, the other being responsible for biological reproduction. Shamans were involved in both but not exclusively or dominantly. Shamans tended to belong to one of two sorts. The first, the 'patriarchal', focused on the sky spirits, mainly calling down spirits through divination and sacrifice. They performed a liturgy-centred ritual, though shamans were often replaced by clan elders or Buddhist lamas in the ritual area. The other, 'the transformational', used trance and performance-centred ritual. The aim of the ritual was to restore balance to the world. This type of shaman competed with midwives and those who used magic because they performed some of the same functions. After the consolidation of the state, shamans specializing in such practices tended to be in the backwaters.

Caroline Humphrey argues that different manifestations of shamanic practice may support or undermine political authority. Using examples from twelfth or thirteenth century, she argues that inspirational practices were deeply implicated in the formation of Inner Asian states. During the formation of the Mongol state, shamans gave characteristic discourses on prophecy and interpreted omens (e.g. natural phenomena). When the state was consolidated, prophecy became less significant and discourse related more to interpersonal power and identity, with different registers, depending on whether it was central or peripheral. Under the Manchus, concern for genealogies led to associating spirits with the ancestors, which gave an emphasis to the patriarchal form of shamanism. The shamans had much in common with priests and became 'a largely hereditary social class, responsible for maintaining the regular sacrifices for the well-being of the government and empire' (Humphrey 1994: 211). The Manchus had essentially a shamanic state religion until the end of the dynasty.

8. The main source for this section is the study of Humphrey 1994, with some data from Humphrey 1996.

Nevertheless, the other sort of shamanism survived. Judging from interviews with modern Mongul peoples, such as the Daurs, shamanism on the periphery was different. It was less interested in the 'patriarchal' form of shamanism and more in the *yadgan* or 'transformational shamans', who were masters of spirits and able to travel to the other world to rescue souls. The emperor Hongli issued an edict to renew the court shamanic ritual by drawing on this peripheral shamanism in the mid-eighteenth century.

1.8. *Swahili Possession Cults*⁹

In the 1980s Linda Giles studied possession cults in a number of coastal sites in Kenya and Tanzania in which Islam was the dominant religious culture. In spite of Quranic teachings, spirit possession is not uncommon even among 'good Muslims'. The spirit may be Muslim or pagan. When spirit possession is suspected (because of illness, misfortune, or perhaps more direct manifestations), one can go to a diviner who is able to provide a diagnosis as to whether the person is possessed. If so, the diviner will refer the person to a *mganga* who is able to treat such problems. Sometimes the spirit is exorcized, but more often the spirit is appeased and the person comes to terms with living with it. Because many people are usually possessed by the same spirit or spirits, the possessed individual will usually be initiated into a possession cult.

What Giles discovered is that such cults do not occupy the peripheral position often assumed. Possession cults are much more widespread than might be at first realized, even among Muslims. Giles

found all societal categories in the cult, including those from highly respected, well-educated or economically well-off families. I also found representatives from various racial and ethnic backgrounds, running the full continuum from 'Arab' to 'African', as well as from various age groups... (1987: 242)

Rather than being an opportunity for the marginal or powerless to protest, the cults provided a much more tangible set of benefits (1987: 247).

2. *Prophetic Themes*

An analysis of the anthropological examples catalogued above, and also the many biblical passages on prophets, yields several themes that cut across both the anthropological and the biblical material:

9. The information here is taken from Giles 1987.

2.1. *Importance of Cosmology/Theology as the Basis for Prophecy*

Shamans practise their art in a context which is founded on a particular cosmology. Among the Hopis, their emergence myth structures a great deal in their society, and it is the source and basis of their prophecy. Israelite prophets subscribed to a world-view in which Yahweh decided matters in a divine council (to which the true prophet had access: 1 Kgs 22.15-23; Jer. 23.18, 22) and Israel was punished by conquest from foreign powers for its sins (Isa. 8–10; Jer. 20–21; 27–29), from which Israel might occasionally (and only temporarily) be delivered through intervention by a righteous king and/or prophet (2 Kgs 18–19//Isa. 36–37). God had enormous heavenly armies at his disposal, if he should choose to use them (2 Kgs 6.15-17). The prophet could be a dangerous figure who could call on God to strike his enemies or those threatening him (2 Kgs 1.9-15; Jer. 28.15-17).

2.2. *Social and Ethical Criticism*

One of the insights arising out of the nineteenth-century discussion of prophecy was that prophets were ‘forthtellers’—they criticized society and the unethical actions of the people and, especially, their rulers. Criticism of those actions and institutions that violate cultural norms were documented throughout the examples examined in this study. Alice Lakwena, Tenskwatawa, the Wana shamans, and the Dodo spirits all uphold cultural norms or condemn violations of actions viewed as evil in their respective societies. It is not just Israelite prophets who are ‘forthtellers’; most prophetic figures in some way speak out about morality and ethics in their own society. The view that only Israel’s prophets (‘true prophets’) spoke of ethics/morality is thoroughly mistaken.

2.3. *Religious Criticism*

Biblical scholars have often emphasized how prophets were commentators on the evils of the society around them. What is often overlooked is how little of the contents of prophetic writings have to do with *social* criticism. For example, in the book of Isaiah what we would call social or moral critique is found primarily in ch. 5, which talks about drunkenness and taking bribes to pervert the course of justice. Most of the content of the book actually has to do with *religious* criticism—incorrect worship, abandoning Yahweh, following others gods, and the like. Prophets, of whatever flavour, do not usually make the modern differentiation between ethical and religious criticism: they regard their ethical, social, and religious critique as all part of one whole. In the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible, the ‘religious’ critique (false worship) is much more prominent than the ‘ethical’.

2.4. *Multiple Roles*

The idea types discussed below associate a single role with each religious specialist, yet in actual societies the prophet may practise a number of roles. For example, Samuel was simultaneously a prophet (1 Sam. 3.20; 9.9; 19.20), a civil leader (1 Sam. 7.6; cf. 8.1), and a priest (although perhaps not called a priest as such, he definitely acts as a priest: cf. 1 Sam. 2.35; 7.7-10; 9.6-14). We know a number of prophets who were priests—Jeremiah (Jer. 1.1), Ezekiel (Ezek. 1.3), probably Malachi (cf. Mal. 1.6–2.9)—though it is not clear that any of them practised that office while engaged in prophetic activity. There is also the question of whether some of the prophets were cult prophets—a subject that unfortunately could not be explored here because of space constraints (but see Grabbe 1995: 112-13). Shamans generally have multiple roles in their society, usually acting as priest, healer, prophet, and even sometimes civic leader (e.g. among the Wana). Elijah and Elisha healed, raised the dead, and fed people miraculously (1 Kgs 17; 2 Kgs 4).

2.5. *Relationship with the Establishment*

It is often assumed that prophets opposed the powers that be. One thinks of the frequent prophetic criticism of the reigning king and his officers. Yet anthropological examples illustrate the extent to which spirits support more than one grouping within society; indeed, they may even change sides as the social dynamics change. In some cases the spirits supported movements that resisted the central administration (Alice Lakwena, some Mongol shamans), but in other cases they supported the established government (the *Tromba* mediums, some Mongol shamans). The same was true with Israelite prophets, a number of whom supported the reigning king in certain cases (e.g. Isaiah's support of Hezekiah and Huldah's support of Josiah).

2.6. *Prophet as War Leader*

It was the duty of priests in ancient Israel to bless and encourage the Israelite army before it went out (Deut. 20.2-4). This precise description is not given with regard to prophets, though it seems that for a religious specialist to be associated with a military campaign is not unusual—even to the point of leading them into battle. Samuel rallied the troops with prayer, fasting, and sacrifice before fighting the Philistines (1 Sam. 7.5-10). Ahab consulted prophets of Yahweh before battle (1 Kgs 22.5-28). Elisha is credited with delivering Israel from the Aramaean army on more than one occasion (2 Kgs 6.8-23; 7). We might think some of these stories incredible, but they are on the same level as other miraculous

stories told about prophets; what is more, they are on the same level as stories told to anthropologists about the exploits of prophetic figures. Tenskwatawa promised to make his warriors invulnerable to the Whites' bullets. After the death of Tecumseh, he was declared war leader (Tecumseh's son being the civil leader). Alice Lakwena apparently made a similar promise to her troops against the weapons of the government forces. Her spirit masters were also military leaders in their own right and ostensibly directed the military activities of the 'Holy Spirit Army'.

2.7. *Prophetic Cults*

The existence of prophetic groups or bands seems to be often overlooked or ignored in discussions, but they are mentioned in several contexts (1 Sam. 10.5-13; 19.18-24; 1 Kgs 2.3, 5, 15; 4.1, 38-41; 6.1-7; 9.1-10; 20.35-43). We are left with many more questions than answers: What was their function? What did they do? Were they permanent groups or did people drift in and out? But one cannot help wondering whether there is some resemblance between the 'sons of the prophets' and the possession cults known widely in various parts of the world (e.g. the Swahili possession cults, the *Tromba* mediums).

2.8. *Prophetic Conflict*

In living societies with several prophet figures that have been studied, prophet rivalry is ubiquitous: prophetic figures naturally compete with each other, and prophetic conflict is normal. The Bible puts it in terms of true and false prophecy, but this is precisely what we would expect. Thus, Jeremiah contrasts himself with other prophets whom he says have not stood in the council of Yahweh and who have prophesied good things (Jer. 23.18, 22; 28.8-9); of course, a number of prophecies in the Bible predict good, including some in Jeremiah. Among the anthropological examples looked at here, there are a number of examples: the shamans of Wana, the Mongol shamans, Alice Lakwena.

2.9. *Literary Development of the Prophetic Tradition*

A century and a half or more of biblical scholarship has thoroughly analysed the prophetic corpus. There is practically universal acceptance that a great deal of literary growth, development and evolution have gone on. Whatever original prophetic oracles there were have been added to and edited, perhaps enormously. Therefore, when we talk about prophets, must we not include scribes and editors who have also contributed to the prophetic corpus? Unfortunately, it is difficult to know how these scribal editors saw their work: Did they feel under inspiration? Did the spirit

come upon them? Or was it just a mundane scribal duty to ‘update’ the literature that they copied? Hopi prophecy seems to offer a remarkable parallel. The central core myth is known, even if there are various versions of it. But the prophecies recorded in the twentieth century show additions to the core myth to bring in developing technology (motor cars, airplanes, the atomic bomb, space trips to the moon), even though there is no evidence that such information was found in the original myth(s)—the prophecies have been ‘updated’ to take account of the developing knowledge of the information age. Thus, scribes, editors and tradents have all made their contribution: ‘My Lord Yahweh has spoken: who will not prophesy?’ (Amos 3.8).

3. Ideal Types and Prophet Models

We should consider several ideal types (in the Weberian sense) of prophets and related figures that may help us to understand prophets in Israelite society. Certain figures that have a place in some societies will not be considered here because they do not seem relevant for Israelite society: witch finders were not part of this society; some prophets were priests but there seems to be no connection between this and their prophetic call.

3.1. The Diviner

I begin with divination for a particular reason. Divination seeks to ascertain God’s will and other esoteric knowledge, usually by some sort of manipulation. It often uses mechanical techniques or physical objects, but divination can use such a wide range of techniques that it becomes hard to characterize it. It might involve the interpretation of written texts or extensive questioning of the person consulting the diviner, but can be by means of the spirit of a medium or shaman. Since prophets gain esoteric knowledge by means of the divine spirit, prophecy can usually be considered a type of divination. This is why I put this idea type first, since I argue that most prophecy—including Israelite prophecy—is a form of divination (Grabbe 1995: 139-41).

3.2. The Shaman

The main distinguishing characteristic of a shaman is being a master of spirits: to call them up when needed and also to journey to the spirit world on occasion.¹⁰ The Israelite prophets most resembling the traditional

10. This differs somewhat from the definition of Eliade (1964), who puts his emphasis on the heavenly journey of the shaman, but my impression is that those

shaman are Elijah and Elisha, who control the weather (1 Kgs 17.1; 18.1, 41-45), make miraculous journeys (1 Kgs 18.46), conjure food from nowhere and heal and raise the dead (1 Kgs 17; 2 Kgs 4), and even recover lost objects (2 Kgs 6.1-7). Most of the time we are not told the context for a revelation from Yahweh: Did it come out of thin air or did the prophet evoke the message? At times we know that the prophet instigated a revelation ('inquired of Yahweh'), which resembles the shamanic call up of spirits (2 Kgs 3.11-20; Ezek. 14; 20). It seems to have been common to 'stand in the council of Yahweh' (or at least have a vision of it: 1 Kgs 22.15-28; Jer. 23.18, 22).

3.3. *The Spirit Medium*

These figures are instruments in the hands of the spirit master. The spirit speaks through them and may even replace their personality. They often remember nothing about what they said or did, and it is accepted by onlookers that it is not the person but the spirit who is acting. Yet an experienced medium may be able to go into a trance and call down the spirit almost at will, which means that the traditional distinction between shaman and spirit medium becomes rather blurred in such cases. They are regularly sought out for specialist help and information about disease, personal troubles, and important decisions. Spirit mediums often exist in societies that have other religious specialists, such as priests, diviners, or witch finders. Most of the Israelite prophets fit well this model. In most cases, the prophet seems to be a medium for Yahweh's revelations or communications.

3.4. *The Scribe*

The basic job of the scribe is to write, but his duties usually go beyond this. He not only may put dictated text into words, but might well compose writings himself—we have what seem to be a variety of scribal works from antiquity. In some cases, scribes interpret the prophetic utterances in the process of recording them (e.g. with Alice Lakwena). Thus, the scribe not only keeps records but might edit existing literature and even extend this literature by composing additions to it. It looks as if a considerable portion of prophetic literature in the Bible was written by scribes.

who distinguish the shaman from the spirit medium and other individuals engaged in spirit possession usually have the same emphasis as that here: the shaman is able in some sense to control the spirits, though this can include his ability to journey to the spirit world to consult them.

There are two points to keep in mind about ideal types: first, they do not necessarily occur in real life; secondly, they do not serve to describe reality but to interrogate it. That is, ideal types are simply a way to ask questions about the real world. The descriptions given above are abstractions, whereas real religious specialists live in a specific cultural environment that develops, adapts, and evolves over time.

One can ask whether there is an ‘Israelite prophet’ or only a variety of different but related types; the latter seems more likely. None of these ideal types precisely fits any of the prophets known from the biblical text, but the Israelite prophets have similarities to a number of these ideal types: shaman and spirit medium in particular, with the scribe making his contribution more in the process of transmission. The purpose of anthropological models is not to impose a structure found in one cultural situation onto another. It is only a means of trying to probe more deeply into the tradition—the biblical tradition in our case—and ask whether there is more to be discovered and learned.

4. *Conclusions*

My aim here has been to seek clarity and illumination. Various models have been looked at to see whether they help us to understand the data of the Hebrew Bible. This might lead to the criticism that the exercise is illegitimate because—after all—Israelite prophets were not spirit mediums or shamans or witch-finders. I would make two responses to such criticisms. First, these models are just that—models. No model is actually like the real thing, and some of the models were clearly unlike Israelite prophets in some particulars. Some have even rejected the term ‘prophet’ for anyone but the prophets of the Bible. I would dispute that, but this aspect of the question is not essential for what I am doing here. I have emphasized resemblances in my discussion because this is where the models are likely to provide help, but I take for granted that many differences will also be noticeable without the need to draw attention to them.

Secondly, the point is not that these models provide something exactly like what we find in Israel. Rather, they suggest how prophets might have functioned, forcing us back to the biblical texts to read more carefully, to notice forgotten details, and to put aside our prejudices. For how do we know—*a priori*—whether the Israelite prophets were or were not shamans or spirit mediums? Is it only because such an idea goes contrary to your own subjective—prejudiced—image of what a prophet would have been? My opinion is that we should not answer these questions prematurely or close off possibilities until we have carefully investigated

the matter. I think I have demonstrated how at least *some* biblical prophets have characteristics in common with shamans and spirit mediums. We might decide that ‘shaman’ and ‘spirit medium’ is not the way we want to characterize them, but this should be decided in the context of discussing scholarly definition, not simply from religious bias.

Bibliography

- Andrews, E.D.
1972 ‘The Shaker Mission to the Shawnee Indians’, *Winterthur Portfolio* 7: 113-28.
- Atkinson, J.M.
1989 *The Art and Politics of Wana Shamanism* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Behrend, H.
1999a *Alice Lakwena and the Holy Spirits: War in Northern Uganda 1986–97* (Eastern Africa Studies, Oxford: James Currey).
1999b ‘Power to Heal, Power to Kill: Spirit Possession and War in Northern Uganda (1986–1994)’, in Behrend and Luig (eds.) 1999: 20-33.
- Behrend, H., and U. Luig (eds.)
1999 *Spirit Possession: Modernity and Power in Africa* (Oxford: James Currey).
- Eliade, M.
1964 *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (Bollingen Series, 76; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University).
- Geertz, A.W.
1994 *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
- Giles, L.L.
1987 ‘Possession Cults on the Swahili Coast: A Re-examination of Theories of Marginality’, *Africa* 57: 234-58.
- Grabbe, L.L.
1995 *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International).
- Humphrey, C.
1994 ‘Shamanic Practices and the State in Northern Asia: Views from the Center and Periphery’, in Nicholas Thomas and Caroline Humphrey (eds.), *Shamanism, History, and the State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press): 191-228.
- Humphrey, C., with U. Onon
1996 *Shamans and Elders: Experience, Knowledge, and Power among the Daur Mongols* (Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology; Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Masquelier, A.
1999 ‘The Invention of Anti-Tradition: Dodo Spirits in Southern Niger’, in Behrend and Luig (eds.) 1999: 34-49.

- Mooney, J.
1896 *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892–93, Part 2; Washington, DC: Government Printing Office; reprinted Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1991).
- Sharp, L.A.
1999 ‘The Power of Possession in Northwest Madagascar: Contesting Colonial and National Hegemonies’, in Behrend and Luig (eds.) 1999: 3-21.
- Sugden, J.
1997 *Tecumseh: A Life of America’s Greatest Indian Leader* (New York: Random House).
- Thomas, N., and C. Humphrey (eds.)
1994 *Shamanism, History, and the State* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press).

THE PROPHETS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

Paul M. Joyce

Among the many so-called new methods that have played a part within biblical studies over recent decades has been the application of the insights of psychology to the task of reading the Bible (Miell 1990). This can involve drawing upon the range of psychoanalytic and other psychological approaches, including behavioural or cognitive therapies, and non-therapeutic kinds of psychology, such as experimental and social psychology, not least in the areas where these overlap with social anthropology. It is possible here only to illustrate a small part of this range, and to do so with reference to the prophets.

Clines and Exum provide a programmatic statement of the potential range of psychological interpretation of the Bible:

Just as psychoanalytic theory has shown the power of the unconscious in human beings, so literary critics search for the unconscious drives embedded within texts. We can view texts as symptoms of narrative neuroses, treat them as overdetermined, and speak of their repressions, displacements, conflicts and desires. Alternatively, we can uncover the psychology of characters and their relationships within the texts, and ask what it is about the human condition in general that these texts reflect, psychologically speaking. Or we can turn our focus upon empirical readers, and examine the non-cognitive effects that reading our texts have upon them, and construct theoretical models of the nature of the reading process (Clines and Exum 1993: 18; see also the related Select Bibliography on pp. 23-24).

The prophets of the Hebrew Bible do indeed give much scope for such inquiry. Moses, presented as the greatest of the prophets (Deut. 34.10), provided the basis for one of the most famous contributions, namely, that of Freud himself on *Moses and Monotheism* (Freud 1939). And it is not difficult to read the experience of Elijah (another iconic representative of the prophetic tradition) after his encounter with the prophets of Baal in terms of depression (1 Kgs 19.4). In what follows I shall illustrate some possibilities of psychological reading in relation to selected books named after specific prophets.

It was Paul Ricoeur who developed the now-familiar distinction between ‘the world behind the text’, ‘the world of the text’ and ‘the world before the text’ (Ricoeur 1976, 1980)—a typology taken up by many, including Sandra Schneiders (1999). In this essay, I will use this for its heuristic and exploratory value, and will present my material within such a framework.

1. *The World behind the Text*

There have been many attempts to construct a picture of the psychological life of the prophet Ezekiel. Ezekiel was certainly a strange character. There is indeed much in the book of Ezekiel that demands explanation, whether it is Ezekiel’s sitting ‘overwhelmed’ among the exiles for seven days (3.15), his perplexing dumbness (3.26-27; 24.27; 33.22), his not mourning the death of his wife (ch. 24) or his bizarre ‘sign actions’ (e.g. 4.4-8, where the prophet lies on his left side for three hundred and ninety days and then on his right side for forty days!)—not to mention his famous vision of throne of God, with its ‘wheels within wheels’ and ‘their rims full of eyes’ (ch. 1).

One interesting feature of the quest for the historical Ezekiel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (reflecting a preoccupation of the times) was the attempt to diagnose Ezekiel’s condition in terms of a psychological illness that might explain his bizarre behaviour. There is a long tradition of attempts to explain some of the unusual features of Ezekiel and his book by reference to his mental state, the descriptions used ranging from mere ‘eccentricity’ right through to ‘schizophrenia’. The first clear articulation of such a theory is found in Klostermann (1877), while the classic presentation of the hypothesis is found in Broome (1946), which purports to be a real case-study. The most influential rebuttal of Broome’s developed theory was presented by Howie (1950: 69-84). He argued that adequate explanations can be given for each of the odd features of Ezekiel’s reported behaviour, explanations that accommodate him within the (in any case broad) range of the ‘normal’. For Howie, Ezekiel was a mystic but not a madman. In Germany, Jaspers (1947)—independent of both Broome and Howie—offered a judicious reflection on all these questions, also highlighting some important questions of method. Since the 1950s, the general consensus has been that the theory of Ezekiel’s mental illness was a false trail in interpretation, which was rightly abandoned (Cassem 1973; Carley 1975). It was rather surprising, therefore, that in 1993 Halperin not only revived the hypothesis but deployed it at greater length than ever before. Halperin attempted

to use the text of the book of Ezekiel as the basis for nothing less than a thoroughgoing Freudian psychoanalysis of the man Ezekiel, and to give an account of the whole text in these terms. He postulates a person dominated by a pathological dread and loathing of female sexuality. Discussing the problem of why the prophet's dumbness ends when the news reaches him of the fall of the Jerusalem Temple (Ezek. 24.27; 33.22), Halperin explains this on the basis of the theory that the city and Temple represent the feminine. God, as 'tyrannical parent', has, through the catastrophe of 587 BCE, destroyed these symbols of the feminine, thereby apparently vindicating Ezekiel's negative feelings towards the feminine and relieving him of the acute guilt feelings that had caused his dumbness. Close attention is given to the vivid, some would say pornographic, presentations of Israel as woman in chs. 16 and 23, and to Ezekiel's failure to mourn his wife's death in ch. 24. And a central place is given to the strange episode in Ezek. 8.7-12, in which Ezekiel digs through a wall to find portrayed on the wall of a chamber all kinds of creeping things and loathsome animals.

The scant personal details found in this ancient text are an insufficient basis for a project as bold as psychoanalysis. And yet Halperin attempts to paint a very detailed picture of Ezekiel's inner life, venturing far beyond what, on any showing, the available data could justify (see, further, Joyce 1995). When approaching Ezekiel and his book, it is important to take account of a range of evidence and of methods. This is something Halperin singularly fails to do, taking, as he does, psychological issues in isolation from other important perspectives. Recent years have seen much fruitful application of the insights of sociology in biblical studies; more specifically, a good deal has been learned about the social roles performed by prophets in ancient Israel, and the ways in which they interacted with society as a whole (e.g. Wilson 1980; Petersen 1981). In contrast to this, Halperin's reading is (in spite of his own disclaimers) a strongly individualizing one, one which takes Ezekiel in isolation from his context. Smith-Christopher writes,

Halperin mentions the exile two times in his entire book, and then only in passing. Such tendencies to read the psychological state of Ezekiel totally apart from the social and political experiences he suffered are symptoms of the same avoidance in other biblical scholarly analyses of the exile as a real event where human beings deeply suffered' (Smith-Christopher 2002: 89; cf. 1999).

Smith-Christopher himself urges attention to the social, economic and traumatic factors, highlighting specifically the theme of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (cf. Collicutt McGrath 2006; Birnbaum 2008).

Another important area of insight is the influential wealth of literary perspectives in biblical studies. Halperin is, perhaps surprisingly, very 'literalistic' in his treatment of the text, which is used with much confidence as a historical source for Ezekiel's life, both outer and inner. His study is lacking in any real sense that the book of Ezekiel is a work of literature. However, it is now increasingly recognized that the books of the prophets are by no means straightforward reports by the prophets of their personal experiences. The presentation of Ezekiel must be seen as echoing certain features of the so-called pre-classical prophets of old, such as Elisha (Carley 1975). The images of women must be read in the light of earlier presentations, in Isaiah and especially in Hosea. And the bizarre visions that characterize the book of Ezekiel must be seen in the context of a developing tradition of imagery, which would later play a significant part in shaping the idioms of apocalyptic literature.

It is also vital to take with full seriousness the theological nature of our source material (whether or not one is a religious believer). Halperin is quite frank in rejecting this—for example, the wrath of God is to be interpreted reductionistically as a projection of Ezekiel's own rage. For someone who claims to be handling the literature on its own terms, as Halperin does, this lack of theological perspective is surely a serious shortcoming. For example, much is made of Ezekiel's failure to mourn his wife, as recounted in ch. 24. And yet it is vital to see that a theological point is being made in the paralleling of the wife's death with the fall of the Jerusalem Temple. The latter tragedy is presented as richly deserved by Israel, and the refusal to allow proper mourning is to be seen as compounding the punishment of sin.

So there is much to be said in critique of Halperin's work. But more nuanced psychological readings of Ezekiel have been offered since, by Garber (2004), Jobling (2004), Schmitt (2004) and Stiebert (2005), and there is positive potential for discriminating reflection about what might be known of the psychological life of those behind the biblical text. However, Halperin's tendency towards reductionism and a single mode of discourse should be avoided. In presenting a positive vision of psychological interpretation, the present study will emphasize the need always to set this alongside other modes of interpretation.

2. The World of the Text

One could explore the prophet Ezekiel entirely as a literary character within the text, rather than as an historical person behind the text. Such a discussion would share some features with Halperin's enterprise, but

would in other respects necessarily be very different. Leaving this issue behind but staying with the book of Ezekiel, it will be of value next to examine some specific examples where a psychological perspective might illumine features of the text itself.

Ezekiel 18 famously starts with the people citing the proverb ‘The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge’ (18.2), which the prophet then sets about rejecting as a false proverb. In vv. 5-18, three cases are presented: those of a righteous man, his wicked son and his righteous grandson. Each test case concludes with a verdict, reached on the basis of the legal principle that had been enunciated in v. 4 (‘It is only the person who sins that shall die’). Thus it is said that the righteous man shall live (v. 9), whereas his wicked son shall die, despite his parent’s righteousness (v. 13). These first two cases establish a precedent for the third case, that of the righteous son of a wicked man in vv. 14-17, which is crucial because Ezekiel’s audience imagine themselves to be the righteous descendants of wicked ancestors. When the legal principle of v. 4 (‘It is only the person who sins that shall die’) is applied to the case of the righteous son of a wicked man, it is clear what the verdict must be: ‘He shall surely live’ (v. 17). Ezekiel is here asserting that if the present generation *were* righteous they would not be suffering; but since they *are* suffering, this must be because of their own sins. Thus Ezekiel’s hearers cannot be the righteous sons of wicked men that they suppose themselves to be.

But then in v. 19 we encounter a surprise, and this brings me to my point. Here in v. 19, Ezekiel’s audience is presented as saying: ‘Why should *not* the son suffer for the iniquity of the father?’ They are indeed pictured as demanding that ‘the son’ *should* suffer for the iniquity of ‘the father’. The ‘sour grapes’ proverb of v. 2 expressed their complaint that they are suffering unjustly for the sins of their ancestors, and yet here in v. 19 the same people are pictured as demanding that ‘the son’ (with whom they identify themselves) *should* suffer for the iniquity of ‘the father’. This is indeed paradoxical and can only be explained on the hypothesis that Ezekiel is suggesting that such a demand is implied by his audience’s position. Though they used the ‘sour grapes’ proverb to voice their complaint, they also have a vested interest in its validity; for unless it can be established that one generation suffers for the sins of previous generations, they will have to admit that they are to blame for the current situation. They complain about the injustice of events, but would prefer to go on believing in their own explanation for the disaster rather than admit responsibility. Hence the paradoxical plea of v. 19, in which Ezekiel’s hearers are represented as in effect pleading that they be

punished—a *reductio ad absurdum* of their whole position. They would, it seems, prefer that Yahweh be unjust than to admit themselves unjust.

Perhaps this paradoxical verse can be further illuminated by psychological reflection. The words of Ezekiel's audience at 18.19 can be read as an expression of a 'death wish'. Alternatively, their clinging to a self-contradictory interpretation of their predicament could be said to be a manifest 'denial' of the reality of their situation. Such a phenomenon is well documented in the modern psychoanalysis of individuals. Ezekiel's strategy is to liberate his audience from a defence mechanism that is ultimately illusory and untenable. And indeed in the remainder of the chapter he succeeds brilliantly in showing a way beyond their impasse.

For a further example from Ezekiel, we turn to ch. 23, where the prophet presents two sisters, Oholah and Oholibah. In v. 31, the 'cup' of judgment, a widespread motif in the Hebrew Bible, is given into the hand of Oholibah (Jerusalem), who is to down the potion of punishment already consumed by Oholah (Samaria) as recompense appropriate to her similar sins. In v. 34, we read 'You shall drink it and drain it out' and 'Gnaw its sherds'. Not just drinking and draining but apparently biting into the cup itself! This sounds like obsessive masochistic behaviour; one is reminded of the perverse wish to be punished articulated by Ezekiel's audience in those paradoxical words of 18.19. Verse 34 continues, 'You shall tear out your breasts', which recalls the use of the motif of the breasts earlier in the chapter in relation to the alleged crimes of the sisters (v. 3). This desperately self-destructive action may fruitfully be read in the light of the now widely documented pathological behaviour of self-harming.

Other examples of psychological features within 'the world of the text' may be drawn from the book of Amos. D. Andrew Kille is the author of the *Fortress Guide to psychological biblical criticism* (Kille 2001) and co-editor of a recent volume on psychological insight into the Bible (Rollins and Kille [eds.] 2007). He brings to these matters the perspectives of Carl Gustav Jung. (Other noteworthy Jungian contributions to our general theme are found in Lieb 1989, a Jungian reading of Ezekiel's opening vision, and Edinger 2000, a Jungian treatment of the prophetic corpus as a whole.) Kille has presented a reading of the 'Day of the Lord' in Amos from a Jungian point of view (Kille 2004). This valuable essay is one of many in a four-volume collection that reflects the fruit of many sessions of the Psychology and Biblical Studies section of the Society of Biblical Literature (Ellens and Rollins [eds.] 2004). Kille focuses here on Amos 5.18-20, 'Alas for you who desire the day of the Lord! Why do you want the day of the Lord? It is darkness, not light...', and he relates this to material in 6.3: '...O you that put far away the evil

day, and bring near a reign of violence'. Kille highlights the delusional desiring of the 'Day of the Lord' in 5.18-20 and focuses on the defensive putting off of 'the evil day' in 6.3. Kille interprets both of these as a refusal to deal with the reality of the present:

Acknowledgement of injustice and the recognition of God's presence are put off to an indeterminate future, and thus the possibility of responsible action in the present is diminished. Psychologists recognize several human mechanisms for denying or putting off present reality, including *repression* and *projection*. An individual or group unwilling to acknowledge negative, unacceptable and destructive tendencies in themselves...ignores or denies them (repression) and/or attributes those qualities elsewhere—that is, projects them onto another person, group or event, such as the Day of the LORD or the *evil day* (Kille 2004: 273 [original emphasis]).

Kille is also helpful when reflecting on method. 'Does all of this suggest that Amos was an eighth-century analytical psychologist?', he writes. 'By no means. The human experience that we today observe and describe in psychological language, Amos described in prophetic language' (Kille 2004: 274). It is helpful here to draw on the distinction made by social anthropologists between 'emic' and 'etic' discourse. By the former is meant the language used by participants and by the latter the language used by observers. Such a distinction will hopefully preserve us from some confusion. In this context, prophetic language would be 'emic' and psychological discourse would be 'etic'—one does not have to claim that the ancients understood matters in a modern way in order to gain legitimate insight into what may have been going on in earlier times.

However, there may be more than mere disjunction between prophetic and psychological discourses. As H. Wheeler Robinson wrote, 'As Hebrew myth and legend often enshrine permanent truths about God, so the Hebrew ideas about man seem to have anticipated by intuition some of our modern science' (Robinson 1925: 382). In this connection it is interesting to reflect that, though he chose to name a range of psychological phenomena in terms borrowed from Greek myth, Freud was himself a Jew influenced by the Hebrew Bible.

Another methodological observation may be made here, namely, to highlight the value in this context of Troeltsch's 'Principle of Analogy', which he employed to express the dialectic between difference and continuity between historical eras (Troeltsch 1922). He spoke of a commonality of human experience through time, in spite of massive cultural differences, as the necessary presupposition of the historian's art of sympathetic intuition. For him, understanding of the past presupposed at least some analogy with the present.

The work of Robert Carroll drew upon psychological insight, and in particular on ‘cognitive dissonance’ theory (Carroll 1977), which had first been developed by Leon Festinger (1957). This theory seeks to describe how individuals and communities deal with the conflicts that might arise between the image constructed of self or the world, and the actual reality of external circumstances. When such conflicts arise, the person or group seeks to minimize them or avoid them through a variety of strategies or defence mechanisms, including (in Robert Carroll’s words) ‘behaviour changes, changes of cognition, and circumspect exposure to new information and new opinions’ (Carroll 1979: 89). In *When Prophecy Failed*, Carroll applied cognitive dissonance theory specifically to the issue of the apparent failure of prophetic predictions, such as within the traditions of Isaiah or Haggai–Zechariah (Carroll 1979: 130–83). One of the strategies for coping with disappointment, Carroll writes, ‘may take the form of modifications of the offending cognitions or interpretative shifts in the subject’s cognitions’ (Carroll 1979: 96). In short, where there is experienced dissonance (e.g. disappointment over predictions), individuals and communities may reinterpret authorities (e.g. prophetic texts) in such a way as to lessen the dissonance.

Kille draws upon Carroll’s work on cognitive dissonance when he finds traces of this process in the editorial placement of Amos 5.18–20 within the book of Amos—the editors place it, he argues, in the context of Amos’s condemnation of cultic worship in vv. 21–23, to limit the reference to the ‘Day of the Lord’ to a religious context rather than a social one, as part of a strategy for reshaping the prophetic oracles to lessen the conflict with the redactors’ own views of the world (Kille 2004: 275–76). Whether or not one agrees with Kille’s particular interpretation, this is a good example of his distinctive integration of psychological interpretation with more ‘mainstream’ methods, such as redaction criticism. This combination of a specialist knowledge of psychology with a formal training in historical-critical biblical studies is alas all too rare among those who work in the psychological interpretation of the Bible, which highlights a deficiency seen in many of the other contributions to the four-volume collection on psychology and the Bible edited by Ellens and Rollins, which tend on the whole (with notable exceptions—another being Jobling 2004) to reflect more pastoral and clinical specialism than expertise in biblical criticism. One problematic example would be that of Dan Merkur (2004), who reviews the prophecies of Jeremiah through a psychoanalytic lens. His essay repays close reading, but I refer to it here primarily to make some critical points. Merkur finds much psychological plausibility in what he finds in the book of Jeremiah, and goes on to claim that ‘because no one writing prior to Freud can have known what

to counterfeit in order to deceive a modern psychoanalytical reader, the possibility of fraud is eliminated' (2004: 142). He declares that 'despite the skepticism of modern critics the authenticity of Jeremiah's prophecies is not in doubt' (p. 142). But this is unpersuasive, for psychological plausibility does not guarantee the primacy of prophetic material. There seems to be here something rather uncritical, even naïve, about Merkur's approach. It is as though we were back in the days of Skinner in the 1920s, with an unjustified confidence about access to the inner life of the prophet Jeremiah (cf. Skinner 1922).

A final example of the need for more dialogue between psychological interpretation and so-called mainstream biblical criticism may be cited. Alice Miller (1991) wrote an important essay on 'The Mistreated Child in the Lamentations of Jeremiah'. This is a brilliant integration of psychology with the reading of a biblical text, but throughout Miller assumes Jeremianic authorship of Lamentations, apparently unaware that this has ever been contested.

3. *The World before the Text*

We have considered 'the world behind the text' and 'the world of the text'. Now we turn to 'the world before the text', that is, to ourselves as readers of the prophetic books. As noted earlier, Exum and Clines, reviewing the many things that can be done with a text in psychological terms, wrote '...or we can turn our focus upon empirical readers, and examine the non-cognitive effects that reading our texts have upon them, and construct theoretical models of the nature of the reading process' (Clines and Exum 1993: 18).

Most of those active in historical criticism of the Bible were brought up on an objectifying paradigm within which the detachment of the reader and the definition of the text as 'other', historically located, were emphasized. But as readers we are also subjects, real human beings. Taking this seriously can pose quite a challenge to many within the historical-critical guild. Each of us in fact experiences a text in his or her own way. As readers we bring much to the task of interpretation, though paradoxically the more we can understand about who it is that is doing the reading the freer we shall be in relation to our own biases.

There has been much work over recent times exploring the difference between personality types, much of it springing from Jung's personality typing. Examples include the Myers-Briggs Personality Test and the Enneagram. Among the polar distinctions made between personality traits on the Myers-Briggs Personality Test is that between 'perceivers' and 'judgers'. 'Perceivers' tend to be those who are always aware of

possibilities and issues and are typically inclined to negotiate towards truth consensually. ‘Judgers’ prefer clear-cut distinctions and clarity in discrimination. The historical-critical tradition of biblical studies (which has contributed massively to our understanding of the Bible over the past few centuries) has been shaped almost exclusively by ‘judgers’. However, it seems to me that biblical studies has been sadly impoverished by a failure to engage with the ‘perceiving’ side of human nature. There is much to be gained by correcting this deficiency, so that more exploratory and heuristic modes of reading can contribute more. My own primary orientation is to be a ‘perceiver’ and it was a real breakthrough for me when I first realized that this was one reason why a certain amount of the historical-critical approach, and especially its tendency to attempt to nail down a univocal meaning even within a poetic text, seemed alien to me. However, in line with Jung’s insights, we can all develop additional aspects of our personality and I have learned to adopt a ‘judging’ mode in interpretation, albeit aware that I am often acting on my ‘shadow side’ (in Jung’s phrase) when functioning as an historical critic.

The personality differences between us as interpreters are instructive and can be illustrated briefly by an encounter between two distinguished former presidents of the Society for Old Testament Study, David Clines and Wilfred Lambert. The encounter went something like this: Professor Lambert had been instructing the Society on a fine point of Mesopotamian usage, and declared ‘You can’t be too careful!’ Professor Clines retorted characteristically, ‘Oh yes you can!’ Well, which are you? A David or a Wilfred, a Lambert or a Clines?

4. Issues of Method

Some issues of method have been broached already in this essay. But others should be highlighted, albeit briefly. I opened a 1993 article on reading the book of Lamentations in the light of pastoral psychology with the words, ‘The field of biblical studies is littered with cases of scholars who caught up late in the day with insights from various secular disciplines, and then, understanding them only partially, proceeded to apply these insights confidently to the study of the Bible’ (Joyce 1993: 304; an extensive discussion of methodological issues is found there on pp. 314-20). It is, then, in a self-critical spirit that one should approach any such interdisciplinary enterprise.

The work of both Freud and Jung is, of course, in many respects long-superseded, or rather transcended, in psychoanalytical circles. They must not be regarded as absolute authorities. While their theories were, in part, empirically based and have been very influential, their work and then in

turn that of their successors has been subject to criticism and revision; and their contributions must all be regarded as provisional. It is important that one does not make biblical studies dependent on work that is outmoded within its own discipline; but on the other hand, we should avoid simply chasing the latest trend in psychoanalysis, or any other branch of psychology, in the hope that it will prove definitive—a pursuit doomed to failure.

One is acutely aware of one's own ignorance when encountering another discipline. And yet, if bridges are to be built and insights gained, we must individually and collectively be ready to risk the vulnerability involved in interdisciplinary work. One has heard many colleagues, in various subjects, say of anything outside a tiny territory 'that is beyond my competence'. But while genuine specialist expertise is to be treasured, we should not be over-cautious at its margins—or we shall all be impoverished.

Within interdisciplinary work, much is to be gained from close collaboration, indeed co-authorship, involving real specialists. There is a trade-off to be negotiated here—between integration within oneself and collaboration with another. But it is worth observing how reluctant scholars in biblical studies often are to collaborate. In contrast, many of us have distinguished colleagues in Science or Mathematics who have never published a single book or even an article under their solo names. This indeed provides another example of the way in which we should become self-aware of how we tend to be as critics, corporately as well as individually.

A final caveat may be entered here: in drawing upon the insights of psychology, one should be aware of the danger of theory-led observation—in other words, finding what one is looking for and making it fit. If excessively stringent tests of falsifiability are inappropriate here, nonetheless it is important to ask oneself what would count against the value or legitimacy of a particular reading. Work that gives the impression that anything goes can only bring psychological interpretation into disrepute.

5. Psychological Interpretation and So-Called Mainstream Biblical Study

It often seems as though psychological insights are at best marginal in a good deal of biblical study. There have been notable exceptions, both within the biblical studies guild (e.g. Robinson 1925; Lindblom 1962: 105; Kaiser 1975) and also around it (e.g. Weber 1967; Povah 1925), but all too often psychological approaches in biblical studies seem to be disparaged as a recent trendy development. However, two things should

be remembered. One is that, though we may think of this as in many respects a relatively new development, it is important to acknowledge features shared with commentators earlier in the history of interpretation, including Augustine and Ignatius Loyola, for whom psychological insights, albeit differently expressed, certainly had an important place. Secondly, modern historical criticism of the Bible flourished in the very age in which Freud was doing his groundbreaking work. Freud (1856–1939) published seminal studies on the unconscious mind in 1900 and 1901, while Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), the father of biblical Form Criticism, published his Genesis commentary in 1901. And these developments happened in the same geographical and cultural context, namely, that of German-speaking central Europe. It is striking how many shared features these two enterprises have. For example, both speak of aetiology when addressing questions of origins and causation. And both apply a ‘hermeneutic of suspicion’—the psychoanalyst looks for the real meaning of a slip of the tongue, while the biblical critic presses inconsistency or repetition for their deeper significance. The historical-critical method will posit multiple authors from different periods (such as J, E, D and P in the Pentateuch) and so attempts to reconstruct the ‘real story’ behind the biblical text, a history of the ideas and institutions of ancient Israel. This finds its parallel in the psychoanalyst’s determination to find the ‘real story’ below the surface of the narrative presented by the client. In many respects, these are two remarkably similar modernist enterprises.

Psychology is indeed commonly perceived as a typically ‘modernist’ enterprise. Psychologists since Freud have, it is often said, worked with a grand ‘metanarrative’. However, postmodernism is often characterized by the abandonment of all ‘metanarratives’, so might one expect less influence from psychology in a so-called postmodern age? In fact, psychology has by no means stood still over recent decades, and it has not been immune from the influences of postmodernism. There is in fact a lively interaction between psychology and biblical studies in the post-modern context. It is interesting to note that in the influential volume *The Postmodern Bible* there is a chapter on psychoanalytic criticism (Bible and Culture Collective 1995: 187-224). Elsewhere, Barton highlights and reflects upon the contemporary phenomenon of readers, working in a psychoanalytic mode, who would argue for hidden meanings of which the authors were themselves unaware (Barton 2007: 80-81). Psychoanalytic criticism, especially the kind that builds on Lacan, reads texts ‘not so much for the main point...as for what reveals itself unintentionally through slips of the tongue or pen, subtle evasions, audible silences, logical digressions and other “accidents” of expression’ (Bible and Culture Collective 1995: 199).

This essay has attempted to give just a taste of the some of the many ways in which psychological factors may operate at various levels in a biblical text—for example, in the experience of the biblical writer, or the redactor, or in ways that had long informed literary conventions upon which the biblical writer drew. And all of this long before the personality dispositions of any particular reader of the text come in to play. In conclusion, I contend that psychological insights are really not so new-fangled or so detached from much that is generally taken as familiar and valuable in biblical criticism. If we approach such insights with an open mind and yet also a critical spirit (critical of others, but also critical of ourselves) we have potentially much to gain in our reading of the prophets.

Bibliography

- Barton, J.
2007 *The Nature of Biblical Criticism* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox).
- Bible and Culture Collective (E.A. Castelli *et al.* [eds.])
1995 *The Postmodern Bible* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).
- Birbaun, A.
2008 'Collective Trauma and Post-Traumatic Symptoms in the Biblical Narrative of Ancient Israel', *Mental Health, Religion and Culture* 11: 533-46.
- Broome, E.C.
1946 'Ezekiel's Abnormal Personality', *JBL* 65: 277-92.
- Carley, K.W.
1975 *Ezekiel among the Prophets* (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series, 31; London: SCM Press).
- Carroll, R.P.
1977 'Ancient Israelite Prophecy and Dissonance Theory', *Numen* 24: 135-51.
1979 *When Prophecy Failed: Reactions and Responses to Failure in the Old Testament Prophetic Traditions* (London: SCM Press).
- Cassem, N.H.
1973 'Ezekiel's Psychotic Personality: Reservations on the Use of the Couch for Biblical Personalities', in R. Clifford (ed.), *Word in the World* (Cambridge, MA: Weston College Press): 59-68.
- Clines, D.J.A., and J.C. Exum
1993 'The New Literary Criticism', in Exum and Clines (eds.) 1993: 11-25.
- Collicutt McGrath, J.
2006 'Post-Traumatic Growth and the Origins of Early Christianity', *Mental Health, Religion & Culture* 9: 291-306.
- Edinger, E.F.
2000 *Ego and Self: The Old Testament Prophets: From Isaiah to Malachi* (Studies in Jungian Psychology by Jungian Analysts, 90; Toronto: Inner City Books).

- Ellens, J.H., and W.G. Rollins (eds.)
 2004 *Psychology and the Bible: A New Way to Read the Scriptures* (4 vols.; Westport, CT and London: Praeger).
- Exum, J.C., and D.J.A. Clines (eds.)
 1993 *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible* (JSOTSup, 143; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Festinger, L.
 1957 *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson).
- Freud, S.
 1939 *Moses and Monotheism* (New York: Knopf).
- Garber, D.G., Jr
 2004 'Traumatizing Ezekiel, the Exilic Prophet', in Ellens and Rollins (eds.) 2004: II, 215-35.
- Halperin, D.J.
 1993 *Seeking Ezekiel: Text and Psychology* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press).
- Howie, C.G.
 1950 *The Date and Composition of Ezekiel* (JBL Monograph Series, 4; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature).
- Jaspers, K.
 1947 'Der Prophet Ezechiel: Eine pathographische Studie', in H. Kranz (ed.), *Arbeiten zur Psychiatrie, Neurologie und ihren Grenzgebieten: Festschrift K. Schneider* (Willsbach: Scherer): 77-85.
- Jobling, D.
 2004 'An Adequate Psychological Approach to the Book of Ezekiel', in Ellens and Rollins (eds.) 2004: II, 203-13.
- Joyce, P.M.
 1993 'Lamentations and the Grief Process: A Psychological Reading', *BibInt* 1: 304-20.
 1995 'Reading the Bible within the Public Domain', in F. Young (ed.), *Dare We Speak of God in Public? The Cadbury Lectures for 1994* (London: Mowbray, 1995): 67-79.
- Kaiser, O.
 1975 *Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems* (Oxford: Blackwell, rev. edn).
- Kille, D.A.
 2001 *Psychological Biblical Criticism* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship, Old Testament Series; Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
 2004 'The Day of the LORD from a Jungian Perspective: Amos 5:18-20', in Ellens and Rollins (eds.) 2004: II, 267-76.
- Klostermann, A.
 1877 'Ezechiel: Ein Beitrag zu besserer Würdigung seiner Person und seiner Schrift', *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 50: 391-439.
- Lieb, M.
 1989 'Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision as Jungian Archetype', *Thought* 64: 116-29.
- Lindblom, J.
 1962 *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Blackwell).

- Merkur, D.
2004 'Reading the Prophecies of Jeremiah through a Psychoanalytic Lens', in Ellens and Rollins (eds.) 2004: II, 141-83.
- Miell, D.K.
1990 'Psychological Interpretation', in R.J. Coggins and J.L. Houlden (eds.), *A Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International): 571-72.
- Miller, A.
1991 'The Mistreated Child in the Lamentations of Jeremiah', in *Breaking Down the Wall of Silence to Join the Waiting Child* (London: Virago).
- Petersen, D.L.
1981 *The Roles of Israel's Prophets* (JSOTSup, 17; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Povah, J.W.
1925 *The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.).
- Ricoeur, P.
1976 *Interpretation Theory* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press).
1980 *Essays on Biblical Interpretation* (ed. L. Mudge; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Robinson, H.W.,
1925 'Hebrew Psychology', in A.S. Peake (ed.), *The People and the Book: Essays on the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 353-82.
- Rollins, W.G., and D.A. Kille (eds.)
2007 *Psychological Insight into the Bible: Texts and Readings* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Schmitt, J.J.
2004 'Psychoanalyzing Ezekiel', in Ellens and Rollins (eds.) 2004: II, 185-201.
- Schneiders, S.M.
1999 *The Revelatory Text: Interpreting the New Testament as Sacred Scripture* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2nd edn).
- Skinner, J.
1922 *Prophecy and Religion: Studies in the Life of Jeremiah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Smith-Christopher, D.L.
1999 'Ezekiel on Fanon's Couch: A Postcolonial Dialogue with David Halperin's *Seeking Ezekiel*', in T. Grimsrud and L.L. Johns (eds.), *Peace and Justice Shall Embrace: Power and Theopolitics in the Bible. Essays in Honor of Millard Lind* (Telford, PA: Pandora): 108-44.
2002 *A Biblical Theology of Exile* (Overtures to Biblical Theology; Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Stiebert, J.
2005 *The Exile and the Prophet's Wife: Historic Events and Marginal Perspectives* (Interfaces; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press).
- Troeltsch, E.
1922 'Über historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, II (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]): 729-52. ET 'Historical and Dogmatic Method in Theology', in *Religion in History* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1991): 11-32.

Weber, M.

- 1967 'Judaism: The Psychology of the Prophets', in H.D. Lesswell, D. Lerner and H. Speier (eds.), *Propaganda and Communication in World History*. I. *The Symbolic Instrument in Early Times* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press).

Wilson, R.R.

- 1980 *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

Part IV

PROPHECY AND THE PROPHETS
IN SPECIFIC BIBLICAL BOOKS

This page intentionally left blank

DEUTERONOMY 18.9-22, THE PROPHETS AND SCRIPTURE

Ernest Nicholson

1.

Deuteronomy devotes more attention to prophecy—its foundation at Horeb/Sinai, its purpose, and its potential for abuse—than to any other national institution or office, including even kingship (Deut. 17.14-20). The authors of the Deuteronomistic corpus also assign a distinct role to prophets and prophecy. It was Yahweh's 'servants the prophets' who were commissioned to summon Israel to repentance and obedience to the *torah* and who are said to have announced the judgment upon Israel and Judah which came in the cataclysmic events of 722 and 587 BCE:

The Lord had warned Israel and Judah by every prophet and seer: Turn from your evil ways and keep my commandments and statutes according to the whole Law which I commanded your fathers and which I have sent to you by my servants the prophets. (2 Kgs 17.13-14; cf. 17.23; 21.10; 24.2)

Such a text reminds us immediately of the promise in Deut. 18.15-18 of the prophets¹ whom Yahweh would appoint in succession to Moses, and the inference is warranted that the author or editor who penned these

1. Later Jewish tradition interpreted the promise in Deut. 18.15 eschatologically as referring to 'that prophet who should come', and, differently, Ben Sira in Sir. 46.1 describes Joshua as 'the successor of Moses in the prophetic office', an interpretation that has its modern advocates (e.g. Barstad 1994; Ratheiser 2007: 275-91; Štrba 2008: 197-98, 261-64 *et passim*). The majority of modern commentators, however, understand that the promise in this text is to meet a continuous and permanent need of the people to know the will of God when they settle in the land of Canaan (v. 9), and that the singular 'prophet' here thus refers to a series of prophets (just as, for example, the singular 'king' in 17.14 refers to a succession of kings). The context is one in which these promised prophets and not practitioners of the various mantic practices listed in Deut. 18.9-14 are the mediators of Yahweh's will; the distributive understanding of the word is also confirmed by the warning against the danger of the (false) 'prophet who speaks presumptuously' in Yahweh's name, which can scarcely refer to a single occurrence of this phenomenon but to any and all such prophets.

texts intended by ‘my servants the prophets’ the sequence of prophets presaged in that text. But who were these prophets referred to in 2 Kgs 17.13-14? Similarly, when, a few verses later, 2 Kgs 17.23 refers to the judgment that had been announced by Yahweh ‘through all his servants the prophets’ (cf. also 2 Kgs 21.10-12; 24.1-3), which prophets might this general description ‘my servants the prophets’ have had in mind?

Elsewhere the phrase ‘my/his servants the prophets’ occurs in texts which can be generally described as ‘distanced reflections’ on past prophecy epitomized as having announced judgment upon Israel/Judah, judgment that has since struck (Amos 3.7; Ezek. 38.17).² Sharing the same character are several texts in prose passages in the book of Jeremiah (7.25; 25.4; 26.5; 29.19; 35.15; 44.4). Here too there is a degree of ‘distanced reflection’ on an ostensibly long history of the announcement of judgment by ‘my/his servants the prophets’, who according to Jer. 7.25 were active ‘since the day that your fathers came out of the land of Egypt unto this day’, as though they constituted an unbroken succession.

The similarity between these texts in Amos, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel and the Deuteronomistic texts recounting the testimony of Yahweh’s ‘servants the prophets’ against Israel/Judah (2 Kgs 17.13-14, 23; 21.10; 24.2) is evident. Here too in Kings the history of prophecy in Israel and Judah is précised and invoked in an almost stereotypical manner in explaining the disaster that overtook first the northern kingdom of Israel and subsequently Judah:

The Lord banished Israel out of his sight, as he had threatened by his servants the prophets. So Israel was carried into exile from their own land to Assyria, and are there to this day (2 Kgs 17.23; cf. 24.1-4).

It is generally agreed that the texts in Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel show Deuteronomistic influence, whether direct or indirect,³ and it might therefore be deduced from this that the referent of the phrase Yahweh’s ‘servants the prophets’ is so-called old prophecy represented by such figures as Samuel, Ahijah, and so on, who are prominent in the narratives of Samuel–Kings. That with the exception of Isaiah none of the ‘canonical’ prophets is mentioned in the books of Kings lends *prima facie* support to such an inference. But such a limitation of the connotation of the phrase strains credulity.

2. On Zech. 1.1-6, see below, pp. 165-66.

3. On Amos 3:7, see Wolff 1977: 181, 187-88. For Ezek. 38.17, which alone in the book employs the phrase ‘my servants the prophets’, see Zimmerli (1983: 312), who regards the verse as a secondary addition to the basic material of this chapter. Joyce (2008: 10-11; cf. 213-15) attributes it to Deuteronomistic influence upon Ezekiel.

First, it is difficult to imagine that the authors/editors responsible for the texts in Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel excluded these prophets themselves from the company of Yahweh's 'servants the prophets' to which they refer. Secondly, and more importantly, it does not seem at all likely that 'old prophecy' was a source of the notion of a cataclysmic judgment by the national God upon Israel/Judah such as these various texts presuppose. Among the prophetic figures who are representative of 'old prophecy', only Ahijah at the foundation of the northern state of Israel announces judgment on such a scale upon this newly founded kingdom:

For the Lord will strike Israel, till it trembles like a reed in the water; he will uproot its people from this good land which he gave to their forefathers and scatter them beyond the Euphrates...because of the sins of Jeroboam (1 Kgs 14.15-16).

There cannot be any doubt, however, that this is to be attributed to the Deuteronomistic editor of these narratives, who already here at this earliest of stages in the history of the two kingdoms registers inexorable doom upon the northern state on account of the 'sins of Jeroboam'. In only two other texts in Kings is judgment on this scale announced—Isaiah's prophecy in 2 Kgs 20.17 of the sacking of Jerusalem and the exile of Hezekiah's descendants by the Babylonians in 'days to come', and Huldah's oracle announcing the 'unquenchable anger' of Yahweh against Judah following the discovery of 'the book of the *torah*' (2 Kgs 22.15-20).

Such a record of the declaration of judgment scarcely furnishes the testimony of prophetic preaching against Israel/Judah that 2 Kgs 17.23 and 24.2-4 reflect. These texts give the impression that for their author(s) a more substantive message of judgment lay behind the catastrophes that overwhelmed Israel and Judah and brought the exile than these three texts in the Deuteronomistic corpus convey. We make sense of the Deuteronomistic epitome of the prophetic announcement of judgment against Israel and Judah, as also of the similar texts cited above, only if we understand the referent of the phrase 'my/his servants the prophets' to embrace some at least of the line of prophets from the eighth century onwards, beginning with Amos whose radical message of judgment announced doom upon Israel. The oracle editorially placed on the lips of Ahijah, the prophecy of Isaiah in 2 Kgs 20.17, which cannot have been composed earlier than 598 BCE,⁴ and Huldah's oracle, which bears the imprint of Deuteronomistic redaction, do not by themselves offer a credible alternative.

4. Cogan and Tadmor (1988: 262-63) date vv. 17-19 to the period of Babylonian hegemony over Judah in 598-87, and point out (p. 259) that the language of the criticism of Hezekiah here is strikingly akin to the book of Jeremiah.

2.

These considerations prompt the question whether the author of Deut. 18.9-22 had in mind some of the ‘canonical’ prophets as being among the prophets whom Yahweh promises to raise up in this text. Among features of the text that might lend support to such a suggestion is the clause ‘I will put my words in his mouth and he shall speak to them all that I command him’ (v. 8) which immediately reminds us of the commissioning of Jeremiah as narrated in the account of his call:

Then the Lord put forth his hand and touched my mouth; and the Lord said to me, ‘I have now put my words in your mouth’ (Jer. 1.9).

This in turn raises the further question, however, of which text influenced the other, since commentators generally have attributed priority to Deuteronomy, and in more recent research have found evidence of extensive Deuteronomistic redaction in the book of Jeremiah, which *prima facie* supports dependency of the call narrative in its present form upon the text in Deuteronomy.⁵

The narrative of the call of Jeremiah (Jer. 1.4-19) is a compilation comprising an account of the call and commissioning of Jeremiah in vv. 4-10 to which other originally independent units have been attached (vv. 11-12, 13-16, 17-19).⁶ McKane views the narrative, including the account of the call proper in vv. 4-10, as among the latest in the book and, indeed, ‘built out of a book of Jeremiah already in existence’ (1986: 25), and providing a sort of résumé of Jeremiah’s prophetic ministry, an estimate of Jeremiah after he has ‘run his course’ (p. 14). We shall have to return later to this estimate of the narrative. Important for our present purposes is McKane’s suggestion (p. 13) that if ‘we are searching for a prototype for הנה נתתי דברי בפוך [“I have now put my words in your mouth”], the poetry of 5.14 הנה נתתי דברי בפוך לאש, [“I shall make my words like fire in your mouth”] is a likely candidate’. That is, the assumption that the phrase ‘I have now put my words in your mouth’ is derived from Deut. 18.18 is unnecessary. Independently of McKane, Werner H. Schmidt sees in Jer. 5.14 evidence that the phrase ‘I have now put my words in your mouth’ is firmly anchored in imagery original to

5. This is the view I argued in my monograph of 1970 (pp. 113-15). Research since then has shown, however, that the redaction of Deuteronomy, including its central law section, is more complex and expansive than hitherto perceived. One result of this is that it can no longer be assumed that a passage in Jeremiah bearing a resemblance to one in Deuteronomy is necessarily dependent upon the latter.

6. For details, see McKane 1986: 1-25.

the book of Jeremiah (Schmidt 1997: 61-62). This is further evidenced by the testimony of some of the ‘confessions’ (15.16; 17.15; 20.8-9); in 20.9 the imagery of Yahweh’s word being ‘like fire’ is found again, as also in the polemic against false prophecy in 23.29: ‘Is not my word like fire, says the Lord, and like a hammer which breaks the rock in pieces?’

All this suggests that the phrase in Deut. 18.18, ‘I will put my words in his mouth’, is more probably derived from the narrative of Jeremiah’s call rather than being the source of it. Commenting upon the immediately following phrase in Deut. 18.18—‘and he shall speak to them all that I command him’—Schmidt further plausibly suggests that this phrase too is more likely to be derivative from the parallelistic construction in Jer. 1.7—‘to all to whom I send you, you shall go, and whatever I command you, you shall speak’—than *vice versa*.⁷

3.

There is still further evidence of the influence of the book of Jeremiah upon the composition of Deut. 18.9-22, in this instance the warning in v. 20 against false prophecy: ‘the prophet who speaks a word presumptuously in my name which I have not commanded him to speak...that same prophet shall die’. Though we know of false prophecy in the pre-exilic period from such texts as Micah 3, Hos. 4.5(?), Isa. 28.7-13, there is no recorded incident of inner-prophetic conflict centring upon this issue in the Deuteronomistic corpus,⁸ and no narrative of anyone either being accused and condemned to death or dying by direct divine intervention as a *poseur* ‘arrogantly presuming’ to speak in Yahweh’s name what he has not been called and commissioned to speak.

The evidence strongly suggests that it was in the closing years of the kingdom of Judah that an inner-prophetic struggle on the issue of true and false prophecy erupted on a new and, as far as we know, unprecedented scale of intensity. Lamentations 2.14 tersely condemns those prophets who ‘have seen false and deceptive visions...who have not exposed your iniquity to restore your fortunes, but have seen for you oracles false and misleading’. Ezekiel 13 announces judgment against the prophets ‘who prophesy out of their own hearts and according to what

7. See Schmidt 2008: 47-48.

8. The episode narrated in 1 Kgs 22 is not such an example, since the source of the falsehood here is not ‘presumption’ on the part of Zedekiah ben Chenaanah and the prophets with him but rather a ‘lying spirit’ from among the ‘host of heaven’ who is commissioned by Yahweh to go and ‘entice’ Ahab to a disastrous strategy through the words of the unwitting Zedekiah ben Chenaanah.

they have not seen' (v. 3). But at once the most extensive and also the most intensive coverage of this issue is found in the book of Jeremiah (5.30-31; 6.9-15; 14.11-16; 23.9-32; chs. 27; 28; 29). Both the concern and the gravity with which Deut. 18.20 views the problem of false prophecy is here amply represented.⁹

The issue came to a head in the confrontation between Jeremiah and his prophetic opponents in the politically highly charged years that led up to the Babylonian onslaught upon Jerusalem in 587 BCE and the end of the Judaeon state, and those to whom we owe the extant book of Jeremiah dwelt upon this theme, which has even been worked into narratives where it originally did not belong (chs. 27; 28; 29).¹⁰ For our immediate purposes the proposal is justified that the concern with false prophecy in Deuteronomy 18 is more plausibly understood as presupposing and reflecting the expansive treatment of this issue and theme in the book of Jeremiah rather than being the source or stimulus of what amounts to one of the preoccupations of those to whom we owe the book of Jeremiah.

The fate of the self-styled prophet in Deut. 18.20 is itself evidence of this, for though death is declared for false prophets, there is no prescription of execution, whether by the state or the local community. It seems rather that the decreed penalty is overseen by Yahweh directly, so to speak, just as in the case of anyone who does not obey the words of the prophets sent by Yahweh, it is written that Yahweh himself will 'require it of him' (v. 19). We are immediately reminded of the fate of the prophet Hananiah, whose imminent death is announced in an oracle by Jeremiah (Jer. 28.16) and who, we are told, 'died the same year in the seventh month'.¹¹ Others too are similarly condemned as false prophets by Jeremiah, and their fate likewise decreed through the prophet and overseen by Yahweh—Shemaiah the Nehelamite, the civic leader of the exiles, who is to be without descendants among future generations (29.31-32), and Ahab and Zedekiah who, we are told, were delivered by Yahweh into the hands of Nebuchadrezzar for execution on account both of their acts of adultery and also because 'they spoke words falsely in my name, which I did not command them' (vv. 21-23).

9. For detailed analyses of these texts and discussion of the theme of false prophecy in Jeremiah, see McKane 1996: cxxxiv-cxli; 1986 and 1996, *ad loc.*; Hossfeld and Meyer 1973; Meyer 1977.

10. On the secondary nature of the theme of false prophecy in these chapters, see McKane 1996: *ad loc.*

11. See Schmidt 1997: 62-63.

4.

From this evidence of the dependence of Deut. 18.9-22 upon the book of Jeremiah the inference is warranted that for its author Jeremiah was among the prophets promised at Horeb. Such a conclusion is consonant with texts in the book of Jeremiah, again especially sayings and narratives of a Deuteronomistic stamp, in which Jeremiah belongs to the company and succession of Yahweh's 'servants the prophets' whom he had been sending to his people 'since the day that your fathers came out of the land of Egypt unto this day'.

The referent of the promise of prophets in Deut. 18.9-22 is accordingly this much broader at least than the impression given by the Deuteronomistic corpus where the story of so-called old prophecy predominates, almost exclusively so. Such a conclusion in turn suggests the possibility that the author of this passage had still other prophets in view, and here the eighth-century predecessors of Jeremiah come immediately to mind. Not least in favour of this is the evidence of the influence of the preaching of these prophets in a number of ways upon Jeremiah and upon those to whom we owe the book of Jeremiah.¹² There can be little doubt that Jeremiah saw himself as standing in the tradition of these prophets of doom, whether or not the well-known saying to Hananiah in 28.8 can be attributed to him: 'The prophets who preceded you and me from ancient times prophesied war, famine, and pestilence against many countries and great kingdoms'.

Accordingly, since Isaiah alone among the canonical prophets is accorded a place in the Deuteronomist's narrative of Kings, and since the collection of oracles bearing his name has undergone a certain amount of Deuteronomistic editing, we can include him alongside Jeremiah among the prophets whom the author of the pericope in Deut. 18.9-22 had in mind. We can include also Micah, who is mentioned and quoted in Jer. 26.17-19, which, citing his words of judgment against Jerusalem (Mic. 3.12), depicts him as a forerunner of Jeremiah. We can with confidence also allow that Amos too would have been included by the author of Deut. 18.9-22, since a Deuteronomistic editor has placed him among the company of Yahweh's 'servants the prophets' (cf. Amos 3.7), and the same hand has placed on Amos's lips the accusation in Amos 2.11-12—'I raised up some of your sons for prophets...but you commanded the

12. For this evidence, see Schmidt's helpful summary (2008: 9-12), where also additional bibliography relating to this is provided (see esp. p. xiii).

prophets “do not prophesy”—which, since Amos was expelled by Amaziah from Bethel, reinforces the inclusion of Amos among these prophets whom Yahweh ‘raised up’, the same verb ‘I raised up’ (אָרָא) being employed as in Deut. 18.15, 18.¹³ Hosea too can plausibly be included: the book that bears his name shares with Amos, Micah and Isaiah a Deuteronomistic superscription. More important again are the many and often-cited connections between traditions and themes in Hosea’s preaching and the traditions and theological teaching of Deuteronomy.¹⁴

5.

If such an analysis is justified—I shall return to it later—and these prophets are among the promised prophets of Deut. 18.18, it raises the further question whether this pericope already presupposes an emergent scripture¹⁵ embracing not only ‘the book of the *torah*’, which already has such a standing in the Deuteronomistic corpus (cf. Deut. 17.18-20; Josh. 1.8), but also a core collection of prophetic books.¹⁶ A consideration of this calls first, however, for some further comments upon the character of Deut. 18.9-22.

From the present examination of this pericope it seems clear that it does not belong to the ‘statutes and ordinances’ of Deuteronomy;¹⁷ it is not *sensu stricto* legislation or customary law, since it prescribes no penalties to be imposed, whether by the state or the local community. Instead, as we have seen, punishment appears to be directly visited upon offenders by Yahweh. This is the case also with the peroration about the various ‘repugnant’ ritual and mantic practices listed in vv. 9-13. Here too no civic penalty is prescribed, whether for those skilled in such

13. On Amos 2.10-12, see Wolff 1977: 169-70.

14. See, for example, Wolff 1974: xxxi-xxxii.

15. On the distinction between ‘scripture’ and ‘canon’, see Sundberg 1975: 356: the former designates ‘writings that are regarded as in some sense authoritative’, while ‘canon’ designates ‘a closed collection of scripture to which nothing can be added, nothing subtracted’.

16. For recent discussions of a possible contribution of a Deuteronomistic ‘school’ to the beginnings of a corpus of ‘scripture’, see Römer 2000; Vermeylen 2000. Neither essay discusses Deut. 18.9-22 in any detail. See also Tengström 1994: 265-66.

17. Against the widely held view that the passage is part of a written ‘polity’ comprising 16.18–18.22, focusing upon the primary state offices—judge, king, priest, prophet—see Perlitt 1994; Nicholson 2009.

techniques and rites or for those who resort to them to unlock mysteries.¹⁸ Rather, as in the case of false prophets or those who disobey the words of Yahweh's prophets, punishment, in this case dispossession of the land, comes from Yahweh (v. 12), just as the former occupants of the land were driven out on account of their practice of these 'abominations'. In the historical situation in which the passage was composed, however, this of course was what had happened (cf. 2 Kgs 17.17; 21.6) and Judah had been dispossessed of its land and was in exile; similarly, the nation that had not obeyed the prophets whom Yahweh had 'raised up' had suffered judgment (Deut. 18.19), and likewise, delusion had been laid bare and the false prophets who fostered it with their easy words of wellbeing and security (שְׁלוֹמָם) exposed for what they were.

For the Deuteronomistic author of this pericope,¹⁹ therefore, who wrote against the background of the catastrophic events of the early sixth century and the exile, the significant voices now were the prophets whom he believed to have been raised up by Yahweh, the prophets of doom. He employed the title 'prophet' for Moses,²⁰ and in so doing placed these prophets apparently on a par with Moses as channels of the divine will to Israel after Moses: as Moses exercised the prophetic role of mediating Yahweh's will to Israel, so the promised prophets are to mediate Yahweh's word after Moses when Israel is in the land. Put conversely, in conferring the title of prophet upon Moses, the author has apparently bestowed the authority of Moses, the mediator of the *torah*, upon the prophets. The law and the prophets were thus apparently conjoined.

18. It is doubtful whether this list was derived from a legal source, since, from the point of view of genre, the passage has neither the form nor the character of a statute outlawing these rituals and practices and prescribing an appropriate penalty. Rather, it has the appearance of an attempt to compile a comprehensive list of these rituals and practices, and may thus have been composed for its present context where it acts as a foil setting off the prophets promised by Yahweh as the means of mediating his will to his people.

19. The reference to the events at Horeb already indicates that the passage belongs to a Deuteronomistic stage in the composition of the book of Deuteronomy. See Mayes 1979: 42-43, 161-62.

20. The depiction of Moses's role here as a prophet arises from the circumstances at Horeb as described in Deut. 5 (cf. 18.16), and owes nothing to the allusion to Moses as a prophet in Hos. 12.14 (ET 13), where the reference is to the exodus rather than to Horeb/Sinai. The glorifying of Moses at the end of his life (Deut. 34.10-12) by stressing his incomparability as prophet has the ring of a panegyric death account common in folkloristic literature, and derives from the desire to portray him as a heroic figure; it is not a comment upon Deut. 18.15, 18 (see Wilson 1980: 162 n. 52).

6.

Two issues have emerged that now call for further comment and consideration: first, the claim made immediately above that Deut. 18.9-22 places ‘the *torah*’ on a par with ‘the prophets’; secondly, and related to this, is the credibility of the suggestion that this pericope reflects an emerging corpus of prophetic scripture.

On the first of these issues, I draw attention to the well-known narrative in Jeremiah 36 of the writing down of the prophet’s oracles as a dramatic fresh announcement of Yahweh’s judgment upon Judah, and its subsequent supplementation with other words of Jeremiah as enduring testimony to later generations, that is, its launch as what we would term scripture. What is also striking about this narrative, however, is the close equivalence it draws between this scroll of the prophet’s oracles and ‘the scroll of the *torah*’ in the narrative in 2 Kings 22.

It is well known that Jeremiah 36 bears significant resemblances to the narrative in 2 Kings 22 recounting Josiah’s reaction to the discovery and reading of ‘the scroll of the law’: the two scrolls make their public appearance, so to speak, in the Temple (2 Kgs 22.8; Jer. 36.10), royal officials are involved (2 Kgs 22.8-10; Jer. 36.11-13), the reaction of the two kings is narrated (2 Kgs 22.11-13; Jer. 36.23-26), followed by a prophetic oracle (2 Kgs 22.15-20; Jer. 36.27-31). That these similarities between the two narratives are not simply coincidental is clear from the pointed contrast drawn between Josiah’s penitence on hearing the scroll of the law and Jehoiakim’s reaction to the scroll of the prophet’s oracles:

And when the king heard the words of the book of the law, *he rent his garments* (2 Kgs 22.11; cf. v. 19).

But neither the king nor any of his aides who heard all these words was afraid, *nor did they rend their garments* (Jer. 36.24).

The impression created is that the behaviour of Jehoiakim and his royal officials is an antitype to that of Josiah and his state officials (שרים).

The LXX preserves elements of an earlier form of the narrative, however, which looks much less like a replication of the narrative in 2 Kings 22.²¹ Thus, instead of the MT’s reading פחדו (‘they feared’), at v. 16 expressing the dread of the officials who read the scroll of Jeremiah’s oracles, LXX reads συνεβουλεύσαντο (‘they took counsel with one another’), suggesting a Hebrew *Vorlage* וייעצו. That is, the LXX suggests that the assembled royal officials upon hearing the scroll went into

21. For a detailed discussion of the chapter and the relevance of LXX, see McKane 1996: cxliii-cxlv, 900-21.

session on what advice to give to the king. Again, while the MT at v. 25 describes Elnathan, Delaiah and Gemariah as pleading with Jehoiakim not to burn the scroll, in LXX it is narrated that these officials (it reads Gedaliah instead of Delaiah) urged the king to do so. ‘This is a case’, as McKane concludes, ‘where, according to Sept., chapter 36 is better understood as a historical narrative which reports the conflict between Jeremiah and the king’s advisers rather than a Deuteronomic narrative which makes the שׂרֵי his disciples’ (McKane 1996: cxlv).

Conversely, the MT represents a revision of this earlier version of the narrative to yield an account which heightens the depiction of Jehoiakim as the antitype to Josiah. Thus in the MT the LXX reading ‘they took counsel together’ has been replaced by פָּחְדוּ (‘they feared’) at v. 16, which is difficult to construe with the phrase that follows, אִישׁ אֶל רֵעֵהוּ (‘one to another’). The same hand has also added the comment in v. 24 on the lack of piety on the part of Jehoiakim and ‘all his aides’, while this latter phrase ‘all his aides’ (כָּל עֲבָדָיו), instead of the usual ‘all the royal officials (שְׂרָיִם)’ (cf. vv. 12, 14, 19), has likewise been introduced to suggest that two groups were involved in the events described, the one in support of Jehoiakim, the other a group of ‘closet’ sympathizers with Jeremiah who bear names apparently relating them to some of Josiah’s pious officials—Micaiah ben Gemariah ben *Shaphan* and Elnathan ben *Achbor* (Jer. 36.11-12; cf. 2 Kgs 22.12). The same hand has also edited v. 25 to state that the three officials referred to urged the king not to burn the scroll.

Thus a narrative of the measures taken by Jehoiakim on the advice of his ‘cabinet’ for the avoidance of possible serious unrest as a result of Jeremiah’s action, or to counter what they viewed as the defeatism of the contents of the prophet’s scroll, has been transformed into one contrasting the penitence of Josiah upon reading the ‘scroll of the law’ with Jehoiakim’s contemptuous rejection of the scroll of Jeremiah’s oracles. The focus of each narrative is the scroll and the fear it evokes or should evoke, and this carries with it the implication that the prophet’s scroll has the same divine sanction as the ‘scroll of the law’ in 2 Kings 22, which the narrative in Jeremiah 36 (MT) replicates virtually step by step.

Following Jehoiakim’s burning of the scroll of Jeremiah’s oracles, it was rewritten by Baruch at the dictation of the prophet (v. 32). Perhaps Jehoiakim’s action in cutting off two or three columns of writing at a time for destruction in the fire was motivated by a belief that the written form of the oracles of the prophet effects an intensification of the threat they proclaim.²² By the rewriting of them their special threat is reactivated.

22. See McKane 1996: 919.

Though this may have been the immediate reason for the rewriting of the scroll, however, the phrase at the conclusion of the narrative (36.32), ‘and many like words were added’, suggests something further, since it refers to the expansion, the *Fortschreibung*, of the scroll in the years following the events here narrated.²³ The rewriting of the scroll and its supplementation represented also its permanence and endurance as testimony to the word of Yahweh spoken by the prophet Jeremiah. That is, the scroll has become scripture to be read and so to instruct, convict, exhort, threaten and promise in future generations.

These observations lend further substance to the conclusion advanced earlier that the prophet Jeremiah and the book bearing his name were in the mind of the author of Deut. 18.15-18. They also return us to the suggestion that other prophetic collections familiar to us in the Hebrew Bible were also in the mind of this author, among which those bearing the names of the eighth-century prophets have a good claim *prima facie* to be included. The question now is: Did the scrolls bearing the names of these prophets share the authority and standing of scripture which the narrative in Jeremiah 36 associates with the book of Jeremiah?

Modern research has yielded evidence that renders this altogether likely. This lies in the manner in which the collected oracles and sayings of these prophets were subject to a process of ongoing reinterpretation and reapplication, a *Fortschreibung* involving insertions and redaction to address changing historical circumstances. Redactors, including Deuteronomistic editors but also others, whom we can rightly describe as prophets, or ‘traditionists’ with a prophetic bent, have editorially focused sayings of these figures upon new situations in the changing world of their own day, and have not hesitated to supplement them anonymously with additional sayings or insertions, in this way casting the mantle of the authority of these prophets over their own new message. Evidence of additions and insertions reflecting an exilic background in the books of Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah offers confirmation of this,²⁴ and there is

23. McKane (1996: 920) suggests that the scroll was expanded upon its rewriting by Baruch: ‘The special threat embodied in a written collection of doom-laden oracles is reconstituted and enlarged by a supplement’. Since it is already narrated (v. 2) that the scroll contained all that the prophet had spoken since his call, however, the phrase in v. 32, ‘many like words were added’, more likely refers to the expansion of the scroll in subsequent years to include a record of the prophet’s activity during the reign of Zedekiah and up to his abduction to Egypt.

24. On Amos, see Wolff 1977: 106-13; on Hosea, see Wolff 1974: 29-31; Davies 1992: 34-37; on Isaiah, see Clements 1980a and 1980b: 6-8; on Micah, see Wolff 1982: xxvii-xxxvi, followed, with some differences, by McKane 1998: 17-21.

further evidence to suggest still earlier, pre-exilic stages of supplementation and redaction.²⁵

Such redaction and *Fortschreibung* of the inherited sayings of these prophets was self-evidently not a private matter carried out by bands of disciples, of whom, in any event, we hear nothing. Rather, it was in the public domain, as we might put it, that these prophetic collections evidently carried authority as being revelatory and were read and heard as scripture—as theodicy, as call to repentance, as exhortation to trust, as warning and threat, as promise. We must presume that the initial impetus for such authority and also for the survival and transmission of their oracles over such a protracted period, derived from the historical vindication of what they declared, not least of all in the case of Amos and Hosea, whose announcement of judgment was fulfilled with shocking immediacy. The reinterpretation and application of the oracles of these four prophets in the wake of the events of 587 BCE in terms of judgment and of hope beyond judgment offered both an explanation of these events and also declared the sovereignty of Yahweh against any despairing surrender to what seemed to be aimless chance and mere historical contingency. As noted above, Jeremiah is described in 28.8 as having identified himself with the prophets of doom that preceded him, and, on the evidence we have from the Hebrew Bible, these can scarcely have been other than this quartet of eighth-century prophets.

7.

We are led by these observations to the question of the background to the inclusion of the pericope on prophecy in Deut. 18.9-22 and to some further considerations to which this gives rise. The superscriptions to the books of the four eighth-century prophets are usually regarded as Deuteronomistic and need not therefore be later than the exilic period.²⁶ Since the passage that is the focus of our attention is likewise from a Deuteronomistic hand, an exilic background again suggests itself, at least as a *terminus a quo*.

25. For example, sayings have been identified in Isaiah and Amos reflecting the buoyant and confident age of Josiah when the power of Assyria was on the wane. On such material in Isaiah, see Barth 1977; Clements 1980b: 5-6; Vermeylen 1978: 688-92; for Amos, see Wolff 1977: 111-12.

26. See Tucker 1977. The various descriptions of the content of these books given in the superscriptions—‘the words of Amos’, ‘the vision of Isaiah’, etc.—are theological terms for revelation, no longer referring, however, to individual oracles originally given orally, but to the words of the prophet now written down, which have become scripture to be copied and read in future generations.

The period in which the author of Deut. 18.9-22 wrote depends more precisely, however, upon the composition of the call narrative in Jeremiah 1 upon which, as we have seen, it draws. This is a more complex and controversial issue, since the composition of the book of Jeremiah was a protracted process lasting well into the post-exilic period. In particular, McKane has argued that this narrative is among the latest chapters in the book and is not the work of the prophet himself, but was ‘built out of a book of Jeremiah already in existence’ by editors in the exilic period, or more probably, he suggests, the post-exilic period (McKane 1986: 25). The allusion in Jer. 1.5, 10 to the oracles against the nations, which he regards as post-Jeremiah and late, is the main basis for his conclusion.

There is not sufficient space here to discuss this problem in any detail. A counter to it finding much more of the prophet’s hand in Jer. 1.4-10 is offered in Werner Schmidt’s recently published first volume of his commentary on Jeremiah.²⁷ Schmidt’s analysis²⁸ confirms my own conviction that the core call account in vv. 4-9 derives from Jeremiah himself. At each stage of this short passage there are echoes and overtones of the invasion and takeover of the prophet’s life by his call, his sense of which was so overwhelming that he seemed to have been born with it, its hold on him so obsessive from an early age that he denied himself marriage and the begetting of a family; the motif of being already designated a prophet in the womb, and the divine reiteration of his commission in the face of his protestation of inadequacy (v. 6)—‘to whomever I send you, you shall go; and you shall speak to them whatever I command you’ (v. 7)—are expressive of the compulsion he experienced in his calling, however much he recoiled from it and took up a lament against the adversity it inflicted upon him; his cry ‘Ah! My Lord Yahweh’ (v. 6) together with the divine oracle of assurance and protection—‘Do not be afraid... I am with you to keep you safe; you have my word’ (v. 8), which reads like the *Heilsorakel* in response to a lament—are redolent of his confessions and laments. The genre (*Gattung*) employed is well attested, but this does not rule out individual, personal content—any more than the employment of the genre of the lament inhibits an outpouring of an individual’s personal plight—and the content of these verses is unmistakably singular. If it is the work of editors and thus composed at second hand, as it were, it is a remarkably true-to-life summation. This cannot simply be ruled out as impossible, but it is a less compelling explanation of the conception and writing of such a text than the text itself narrates, and the

27. See Schmidt 2008: 44-50, 52-56.

28. For these and other details, see Schmidt 2008: esp. 48-49.

comment offers itself that if it were not for the allusion to Jeremiah as ‘a prophet to *or* for the nations’ (v. 4) and as ‘a prophet responsible for nations and kingdoms’ (v. 10), no one would seriously question that the passage derives from the prophet himself.

This, indeed, is what Schmidt has urged, emphasizing the distinction between ‘to *or* for the nations’ (לגוים) in v. 5 and ‘responsible for nations and kingdoms’ (על הגוים ועל הממלכות) in v. 10, the latter manifestly a late redactional addition to the original call account, the former, however, cohering with a distinct theme of the book represented by texts reflecting a broader political horizon that Jeremiah had in mind in fulfilling his prophetic calling, not least of all the theme of the ‘foe from the north’ who is described as ‘the destroyer of nations (גוים)’ (4.7).²⁹ There is no reason why, in an earlier form, the core call account may not have been located in another context in the emerging book—perhaps as part of the scroll of the prophet’s oracles narrated in Jeremiah 36 (Schmidt 2008: 49)—but has been secondarily adapted to a new context in this introductory chapter, just as the following two visions in vv. 11-14 (the almond branch and the seething cauldron), neither of which can be disengaged from the historical Jeremiah, originally had a different context or contexts. It would have been at such a stage in its transmission that v. 10, with its probably late content, was appended as part of the redactor’s intention to provide a résumé of Jeremiah’s prophetic ministry, ‘an estimate of him after he has run his course’.

On such an assessment of the origin of this call narrative, a Deuteronomistic redactor of the exilic period could have known and had access to it in composing the pericope on prophecy in Deuteronomy 18. Some texts from the early post-exilic period provide a further possible indicator, however. These are Zech. 1.1-6; 7.7, 8-14, which refer to ‘the earlier prophets’, most probably the pre-exilic prophets,³⁰ and show the influence of some of these prophetic texts.³¹ These texts in Zechariah already show familiarity with an emerging corpus of prophetic literature as well as a knowledge of Pentateuchal materials in the early post-exilic community to which they were addressed, and the allusion to Yahweh’s ‘words’ as having been sent to the people by the ‘spirit’ of Yahweh through ‘the earlier prophets’ (7.12) confirms the impression that the books of these prophets had attained the standing of scripture alongside

29. See Schmidt 2008: 49-50, 52-53.

30. Meyers and Meyers (1987: 94) suggest that the phrase ‘earlier prophets’ may be ‘a designation for the Yahwistic prophets of the pre-exilic period’ and that ‘Jeremiah in particular was no doubt one of those prophets included in the term...’

31. See Tollington 1993: 26 and n. 1.

some part or parts of the Pentateuch, including Deuteronomy.³² Thus, in 7.11-14 Judah's 'stubborn resistance was to the "Torah" and to the words of Yahweh proclaimed "through the earlier prophets"' (Meyers and Meyers 1987: 407), and the combination in 1.6 of the 'words' of the prophets with 'statutes' reflects the same conjunction of 'the law and the prophets' that is found in Deut. 18.15-20 and Jeremiah 36.³³

Such evidence as we have, therefore, suggests an exilic or early post-exilic setting for the composition of the pericope on prophecy in Deuteronomy 18. In favour of such a background to this passage are the following observations. The end of the state of Judah and the devastation of Jerusalem and its Temple and the exile would have been a landmark in the emergence and establishing of a corpus of prophetic scriptures. There would have been two main impulses for this, the first a desire amid the destruction of the state and the collapse of national institutions, as well as the exile of elites and leaders, to preserve and conserve tradition, which would assuredly have included the extant prophetic literature. Secondly, prophecy was newly stirred by the events of 587 BCE and their aftermath, yielding not only further redaction and *Fortschreibung* of earlier prophetic collections, as we have seen, but also the ongoing development of the book of Jeremiah, and the labours of the two major prophetic figures of this period, Ezekiel, who was among the first exiles of Jerusalem in 598 BCE, and, later, the anonymous prophet of the return, whom we refer to as Deutero-Isaiah, at whose hands, if Hugh Williamson is correct (Williamson 1994), the book of Isaiah entered a major new stage of the history of its composition. Thus a new age in the history of prophecy sprang to life in the aftershock of the events of 587 BCE that was as creative and foundational as that of the eighth-century prophets and without which who can say what might have been the outcome for the future of the Jewish people and their worship of Yahweh.

It is in this context, in my opinion, that is, the exilic and early post-exilic period, that we can best understand the purpose of the Deuteronomistic author of Deut. 18.9-22 who writes of the prophets as a promise of Yahweh to Israel at the very moment of its foundation as his people at Horeb, and summons the people of his own day to the witness of the prophets.

32. See Meyers and Meyers 1987: 405-407.

33. Mason (1990: 201, 203) suggests that the paralleling of the legal term 'statutes' with 'my words' in 1.6 implies 'that the prophetic word is now becoming regarded as authoritative teaching on a par with Torah'. Meyers and Meyers (1987: 95-96) suggest that the combination 'words' and 'my statutes' in 1.6 may be a hendiadys, with 'statutes' constituting the specific aspect of the divine revelation indicated by 'words'.

Who then were these prophets? That in addition to Jeremiah he included the eighth-century prophets among the promised prophets of Horeb is surely likely, as suggested above, and finds further support in the texts from the book of Zechariah cited above in which such a corpus of prophetic literature seems taken for granted. Since we cannot determine precisely when Deut. 18.9-22 was composed, suggestions as to other prophetic books which this author may have had in mind must remain tentative. It is scarcely throwing caution to the wind, however, to suggest that a corpus would have included a scroll of the oracles of Zephaniah, whose activity is generally agreed to have been Jerusalem during the reign of Josiah. The superscription to the book is similar to that of Hosea, Amos and Micah, and the declaration of judgment upon the idolatry, syncretism and lack of righteousness echo central concerns of Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic theology. Other themes and motifs also reveal the influence of Isaiah, Amos and Micah.³⁴ Given a so-called Assyrian redaction of the book of Isaiah during the reign of Josiah, Nahum's oracles prophesying the fall of Nineveh, which must have predated 612 BCE, are surely likely to have gained a footing among a growing corpus of prophetic literature. If the current majority opinion is correct that the background of the book of Habakkuk is the late Neo-Assyrian or early Neo-Babylonian period, this prophet too may have been included in the emerging corpus of prophetic scripture in the exilic period. Obadiah's invective against Edom (vv. 1-14, 15b), which may derive from the early exilic period,³⁵ would have established itself in a community, whether in exile or in the homeland of Judah, that was to hand on an enduring bitter memory of the treachery of the Edomites in 'the day of Jerusalem' (Ps. 137.7; cf. Lam. 4.21-22; Amos 1.11-12). Whether our author knew of Ezekiel or Deutero-Isaiah must remain an open question.

8.

None of this should be construed, however, as excluding from such an emerging corpus of scripture the narrative of the series of prophetic figures whose exploits and prophetic activity characterize the Deuteronomistic corpus, beginning with Deborah in Judges and ending with Huldah at the end of Kings. It is difficult to imagine that the Deuteronomistic redactor responsible for Deut. 18.9-22 excluded them from the

34. See Sweeney 2003: 14-18.

35. On this division of the book and its dating, see Barton 2001: 118-23.

promised prophets of this text.³⁶ That is, the author of Deut. 18.9-20 was familiar with a corpus of scripture that included Deuteronomy and its related literary corpus into which it had already been incorporated—whether or not either had assumed the dimensions of its extant form can be left open—as well as a series of prophetic books such as those suggested above, several of which, not least of all Isaiah and Jeremiah, were undergoing or would later undergo further compositional growth.

Such a reading of Deut. 18.9-22 prompts anew, and, indeed, gives increased significance to, a question long familiar to students of the Deuteronomistic corpus, that is, why, with the exception of Isaiah, the narrative of 2 Kings nowhere mentions any of the pre-exilic ‘canonical’ prophets. Whether or in what way the new understanding of the pericope on prophecy in Deuteronomy 18 argued in the foregoing pages sheds new light on this issue, or perhaps provides a basis for a possible solution to it, cannot be adequately discussed here. Here it should be said, however, that a fresh discussion cannot be short circuited by a claim, on the basis of the conclusions arrived at above, that since these prophetic writings were known to the Deuteronomistic author(s) of 2 Kings and their community, they composed their work with this literature in mind as complementary to it, registering only in a general manner the judgment which these prophets announced (2 Kgs 17.13-14, 23; 21.10-12; 24.1-3), for this would leave unexplained why they made an exception in the case of Isaiah. On the other hand, perhaps the view of Deut. 18:9-22 here urged redefines the familiar question, turning it around to ask, not why figures such as Amos, Hosea and Micah are not featured in 2 Kings, but what special reasons its authors had for including the narrative concerning Isaiah in 1 Kgs 18.13–20.19, culminating in his prophecy of doom upon the Davidic dynasty and Jerusalem. A fuller discussion of this issue, however, must await another occasion.

36. There is, however, little if anything in Deut. 18.9-22 that draws specifically upon the tradition of ‘old prophecy’. A possible exception is the criterion of non-fulfilment for recognizing ‘the word that the Lord has not spoken’ (vv. 21-22), which may reflect the prophecy–fulfilment motif which is a prominent feature of the Deuteronomistic corpus. However, these verses are clearly a secondary addition to the pericope (see Hossfeld and Meyer 1973: 151). The verb ‘to raise up’ can be employed for any prophet commissioned by Yahweh or believed to be so commissioned (cf. Amos 2.11-12; Jer. 29.15).

Bibliography

- Barstad, H.M.
1994 'The Understanding of the Prophets in Deuteronomy', *SJOT* 8: 236-51.
- Barth, H.
1977 *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesaja Überlieferung* (WMANT, 48; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Barton, J.
2001 *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox).
- Clements, R.E.
1980a 'The Prophet Isaiah and the Fall of Jerusalem', *VT* 30: 421-36.
1980b *Isaiah 1-39* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott).
- Cogan, M., and H. Tadmor
1988 *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 11; New York: Doubleday).
- Davies, G.I.
1992 *Hosea* (NCB; London: Marshall Pickering).
- Hossfeld, F.-L., and I. Meyer
1973 *Prophet gegen Prophet: Eine Analyse der alttestamentlichen Texte zum Thema: Wahre und Falsche Propheten* (Biblische Beiträge, 9; Freiburg: Schweizerisches Katholisches Bibelwerk).
- Joyce, P.M.
2008 *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (LHBOTS, 482; New York: T&T Clark International).
- McKane, W.
1986 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah, I* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
1996 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah, II* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
1998 *The Book of Micah: Introduction and Commentary* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Mason, R.A.
1990 *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics after the Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Mayes, A.D.H.
1979 *Deuteronomy* (NCB; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott).
- Meyer, I.
1977 *Jeremia und die falschen Propheten* (OBO, 13; Fribourg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Meyers, C.L., and E.M. Meyers
1987 *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday).

- Nicholson, E.W.
 1970 *Preaching to the Exiles: A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah* (Oxford: Blackwell).
 2009 'Traditum and Traditio: The Case of Deuteronomy 17:14-20', in D.A. Green and L.S. Lieber (eds.), *Scriptural Exegesis: The Shapes of Culture and the Religious Imagination: Essays in Honour of Michael Fishbane* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 46-61.
- Perlitt, L.
 1994 'Der Staatsgedanke im Deuteronomium', in S.E. Ballentine and J. Barton (eds.), *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 182-98.
- Ratheiser, G.M.H.
 2007 *Mitzvoth Ethics and the Jewish Bible: The End of Old Testament Theology* (LHBOTS, 460; New York: T&T Clark International).
- Römer, T.
 2000 'L'école deutéronomiste et la formation de la Bible hébraïque', in Römer (ed.) 2000: 179-93.
- Römer, T. (ed.)
 2000 *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (BETL, 147; Leuven: Leuven University Press).
- Schmidt, W.H.
 1997 'Das Prophetengesetz Dtn 18:9-22 im Kontext erzählender Literatur', in M. Vervenne and J. Lust (eds.), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic Literature: Festschrift C.H.W. Brekelmans* (BETL, 133; Leuven: Leuven University Press): 55-69.
 2008 *Das Buch Jeremia: Kapitel 1–20* (ATD, 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Steck, O.H.
 1967 *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten* (WMANT, 23; Neukirchen-Vluy: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Štrba, B.
 2008 *Take Off Your Sandals from Your Feet! An Exegetical Study of Josh 5, 13-15* (Österreichische Biblische Studien, 32; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).
- Sundberg, A.C., Jr
 1975 'The Bible Canon and the Christian Doctrine of Inspiration', *Interpretation* 29: 352-71.
- Sweeney, M.A.
 2003 *Zephaniah: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press)
- Tengström, S.
 1994 'Moses and the Prophets in the Deuteronomistic History', *SJOT* 8: 257-66.
- Tollington, J.E.
 1993 *Tradition and Innovation in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* (JSOTSup, 150; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Tucker, G.M.
 1977 'Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of a Canon', in G.W. Coats, and B.O. Long (eds.), *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press): 56-70.

Vermeyleylen, J.

1978 *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe I-XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, II (Etudes Bibliques; Paris: J. Gabalda).

2000 'L'école deutéronomiste aurait-elle imaginé un premier canon des Ecritures?', in Römer (ed.) 2000: 223-40.

Williamson, H.G.M.

1994 *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

Wilson, R.R.

1980 *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

Wolff, H.W.

1974 *Hosea* (trans. G. Stansell; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

1977 *Joel and Amos* (trans. W. Janzen, S.D. McBride, Jr, and C.A. Muenchow; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

1982 *Micha* (BKAT 14.4; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Zimmerli, W.

1983 *Ezekiel. II. A Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel Chapters 25-48*, (trans. J.D. Martin; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

‘A PROPHET INSTEAD OF YOU’ (1 KINGS 19.16): ELIJAH, ELISHA AND PROPHETIC SUCCESSION

David T. Lamb

1. *Prophecy in Israel: A Continuous, Permanent Institution?*

Immediately after his dramatic victory over the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, Elijah is portrayed as spiralling into a suicidal depression, in the midst of which Yahweh informs him that he has chosen his successor (1 Kgs 19.16; not typically what is spoken to someone with a death wish). Within his discussion of Elijah and prophetic succession, R.P. Carroll states: ‘The institution of prophecy was to be a continuous and permanent office constantly supplying the people of Israel with a covenant mediator who would recreate the role of Moses for the nation’ (1969: 401). Carroll’s perspective receives support from scholars such as S.R. Driver (1902: 227-29), H.-J. Kraus (1966: 108-109), E.W. Nicholson (1967: 77) and J.A. Thompson (1974: 212-13), all of whom speak of a permanent prophetic institution, primarily based on the text of Deut. 18.15-18. Scholars who conclude that prophecy in Israel was a permanent institution speak, almost synonymously, of a continual office or an unbroken succession of prophets. However, the conjecture of a permanent prophetic institution is not supported by the general evidence of the Deuteronomistic History (DH), or by the specific evidence of the prophetic transition of Elijah and Elisha.

In order to understand how prophetic succession might have functioned more broadly, it will be helpful first to examine the prophetic literature of the ancient Near East.¹ Unfortunately, both ancient Near Eastern sources and the DH yield limited information about the background of prophets, so examples of prophetic communities and institutions will also be discussed, as they can shed light on the emergence, the continuity or the succession of prophets. The task of determining how

1. The majority of the references come from Mari and Nineveh.

prophecy might have functioned in Israel is further complicated by the fact that the prophetic cycles of the DH do not have a strong historical interest, as they often exclude chronological information or even the names of rulers. However, these prophetic cycles have been embedded by the Deuteronomistic redactor into material that claims to be historical.² So, while one needs to be cautious about drawing definitive historical conclusions based on this prophetic material, it is certainly legitimate to attempt to determine what the authors of these cycles and Deuteronomistic redactor were intending to communicate about the reality of prophecy and of prophetic succession in ancient Israel.

2. Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: Emergence and Institutions

2.1. Scarce Information about Prophetic Emergence

Most ancient Near Eastern prophetic references come from royal archives, where the prophet is only mentioned in relationship to the ruler, and little background is given about the prophetic figure.³ Most of these references focus on three rulers: Zimri-Lim of Mari, and Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal of Assyria. Each of these rulers had numerous individuals who presented them with oracles. While it is likely other ancient rulers were concerned with prophecy, the recording of oracles could suggest a higher level of interest in prophetic activity among these three kings.⁴

While the Mari letters frequently state that 'a prophet arose' (Nissinen 2003: 23, 26, 36, 49, 53, 68, 82), this does not appear to refer to a divine calling in the spirit of Deuteronomy 18 where Yahweh raises up a prophet (vv. 15, 18). In the Mari letters the term 'arose' appears to mean simply that the individual stood up before delivering a message.

Two Neo-Babylonian texts describe individuals as a 'son of a prophet' (Nissinen 2003: 193, 194), analogous to the 'sons of the prophets' associated with Elisha (2 Kgs 2.3, 5) and the 'son of a prophet' that Amos claims not to be (Amos 7.14). Since these Neo-Babylonian references occur in the context of business transactions and no prophetic activity is attributed to the sons, there is no indication that the prophetic office was being passed on to descendants.

2. For my perspective on the Deuteronomistic redaction of the DH, see Lamb 2007: 2-8.

3. See the discussions of prophetic terms in Nissinen 2003: 6-8; Huffmon 2000: 49, 57.

4. See Nissinen 2003: 98.

2.2. *Plural Forms, Overlapping Ministries and Prophetic Communities*

While ancient Near Eastern sources reveal little about how individuals become prophets, many texts use plural prophetic forms or mention overlapping prophetic ministries, both of which could suggest the presence of prophetic communities. Four Neo-Assyrian texts mention ‘oracles of prophets’ (Nissinen 2003: 141, 143, 144, 149). Certain prophets bathe in blood (2003: 184). Omens warn that prophetesses could seize the land (2003: 189) or that too many prophets or prophetesses in a city could cause it to fall (2003: 190-91). Two non-cuneiform texts also mention prophetic groups: the Zakkur stela refers to ‘seers’ (2003: 206) and the Report of Wenamon speaks of the ‘great seers’ of the god Amon (2003: 220).⁵

At Mari and Nineveh, many prophetic individuals serve under the same ruler or at a central cultic shrine, providing additional support for the presence of prophetic communities. At least five individuals prophesy during the reign of Zimri-Lim (Nissinen 2003: 79-80). Seven of the prophets giving oracles to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal are from the city of Arbela (2003: 100), suggesting that a prophetic guild was attached to the Ištar temple there.

2.3. *Cult Activity, Favourable Messages, Official Allocations*

While plural forms and overlapping ministries provide evidence for prophetic communities, other considerations need to be examined to determine whether these groups were institutional in nature. Involvement in cultic activities could indicate the presence of institutional prophecy, since established forms of religion such as rituals and temples tend to be more enduring than transitory forms of religious activity. In addition to the seven Neo-Assyrian prophets connected to the Ištar temple, prophets and prophetesses from Mari also played a significant role in the Ritual of Ištar (Nissinen 2003: 80-82).

In both Mari and Nineveh, favourable oracles of prophetic communities provided religious legitimacy for the monarchy and therefore suggest these prophetic groups took an institutional form. In four Mari texts prophetic groups deliver a single message, usually an oracle of well-being to Zimri-Lim (Nissinen 2003: 19, 50, 59, 72). Each of the four ‘oracles of prophets’ from Nineveh mentioned above includes a favourable result for the Assyrian ruler. Nissinen notes that the primary theme of both the Mari letters and the Nineveh oracles was the welfare of the king (2003: 16, 100-101; cf. Parpola 1997: XVIII).

5. Some scholars restore ‘prophets’ in a Lachish ostrakon; see Nissinen 2003: 217.

Just as Jezebel's prophets ate at her table (1 Kgs 18.19; cf. Amos 7.12), various Mesopotamian prophets received official allocations of food and other provisions for their prophetic service. An early text from Ur describes how one ecstatic prophet of Inanna of Girsu is to be given approximately 18,000 litres of barley (Nissinen 2003: 179, 181), which would presumably not be intended exclusively for himself, but could suggest that he was the leader of a prophetic group. In the Mari letters, prophets are given various types of rewards, including a donkey, garments, lances and silver (Nissinen 2003: 83-90). Two Neo-Assyrian texts and one Middle Assyrian text report that prophets and prophetesses are to be provided allotments of bread (2003: 166, 177, 185). These official allocations appear to be given to prophetic communities because they provided religious legitimation for the institution of the monarchy.

2.4. *Prophetic Institutionalization*

Evidence for the presence of prophetic institutions, particularly at Mari and Nineveh, is therefore seen in their involvement in cult activities, their oracular support for the royal institution and their reception of royal allocations. Thus, for Nissinen to describe the prophetic activity at Mari as a 'prophetic institution' seems justified (2003: 6).

Three rulers in particular, Zimri-Lim, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, displayed a significant prophetic concern. These three utilized numerous prophets, whose encouraging oracles were meant to give greater stability to the ruler. They therefore had a vested interest in keeping records of favourable oracles that would provide a continuing testament to the divine blessing bestowed upon the ruler and his dynasty. Since the prophetic institution provided religious legitimacy, helping to ensure the longevity of the monarchy, it received royal support.

Ironically, however, the three rulers with whom we have the most extensive record of prophetic interest and activity are essentially the final rulers of their respective kingdoms. Despite Zimri-Lim's sophisticated prophetic institution and several optimistic oracles that specifically foretold the demise of Hammurabi (Nissinen 2003: 45, 46), the Babylonian ruler not only survived, but he also defeated Zimri-Lim and destroyed the kingdom of Mari in 1757 BCE. While Esarhaddon's throne was prophesied to be established for 'endless days and everlasting years' (2003: 107), the Assyrian empire did not survive long beyond the reign of his son Assurbanipal. Assyria's downfall was not as dramatic as Mari's, but after the death of Assurbanipal in 627 BCE, the empire was torn apart by a civil war between his twin sons and Nineveh was eventually overthrown by Babylon in 612 BCE.

Thus, the prophetic institutions of Mari and Nineveh were relatively short-lived since they were associated with kingdoms that soon collapsed. While prophetic activity may have been common in the ancient Near East, arguments proposing the presence of sophisticated prophetic institutions outside the reigns of these three rulers are difficult to sustain due to lack of evidence. In the ancient Near East, or at least in Mesopotamia, institutional forms of prophecy appear to have thrived or languished, depending primarily upon the interests of the monarch.

This institutional inconsistency raises the question of how prophetic communities developed new prophets. The lack of evidence for prophetic institutions outside the periods of these three rulers might be related to the difficulty of standardizing prophetic emergence. Almost no information is given in the ancient Near East about how individuals become prophets, or how prophetic institutions might have assured their continuity.

3. Prophecy in the Deuteronomistic History: A Lack of Succession

3.1. Prophetic Terms

The first clue that there was no one consistent prophetic office or institution in Israel is seen in the variety of terms the DH uses for prophetic figures.⁶ No title appears to be used to designate a prophet as having an official rank or status. Terms the DH uses for prophetic individuals include ‘prophet’ (e.g. 1 Sam. 3.20; 22.5; 1 Kgs 11.29; 18.22), ‘prophetess’ (Judg. 4.4; 2 Kgs 22.14), ‘man of God’ (e.g. 1 Sam. 9.6; 1 Kgs 13.4) and ‘seer’, either as *rōʾeh* (1 Sam. 9.9, 11, 18, 19) or as *hōzeh* (2 Sam. 24.11; 2 Kgs 17.13). For prophetic communities, the DH mentions ‘a band of prophets’ (1 Sam. 10.5, 10), ‘a company of prophets’ (1 Sam. 19.20) and ‘the sons of the prophets’ (1 Kgs 20.35; 2 Kgs 2.3, 5, 7, 15; 4.1, 38 [×2]; 5.22; 6.1; 9.1).

While patterns of usage occur, distinctions between terms are often blurred and they are equated at various points in the text since prophetic titles are often used synonymously. In the narrative of Saul’s lost donkeys, the terms ‘prophet’, ‘seer’ and ‘man of God’ are all used together (1 Sam. 9.8-9). Gad is described as both a prophet and a seer in the same verse (2 Sam. 24.11). Samuel, Elijah and Elisha are all called both a ‘prophet’ (1 Sam. 3.20; 1 Kgs 18.22, 36; 19.16) and a ‘man of God’

6. See the discussions of prophetic terminology in Wilson 1980: 136-41, 254-57; Blenkinsopp 1996: 28-30.

(1 Sam. 9.6, 7, 8, 10; 1 Kgs 17.18, 24; 2 Kgs 1.9; 4.7, 9; 5.3, 8, 13, 14, 15). The 'old prophet' from Bethel tells the 'man of God' from Judah, who delivered the Josiah oracle to Jeroboam I, 'I also am a prophet as you are' (1 Kgs 13.18).

While the DH consistently uses the terms 'priest' and 'king' for holders of these two established offices, no similar pattern of regular usage is seen for prophetic figures. This varied usage of prophetic terms suggests that prophecy in Israel was flexible and non-institutional, not consistent and official.

3.2. *Pre-monarchy: Sporadic Prophets*

While one might assume the presence of numerous prophetic figures in the DH might suggest a continuous prophetic office, textual evidence indicates that prophetic activity was sporadic and discontinuous in Israel and Judah. Carroll bases his initial argument for prophetic succession in Israel on the text of Deuteronomy (1969: 401), which states that Yahweh will raise up a prophet like Moses (Deut. 18.15, 18). R.P. Carroll argues for a continuous, prophetic institution, even though he acknowledges that Deuteronomy 18 is not clear whether Israelite prophecy necessarily involves a continuous succession, similar to the monarchy, or a more sporadic series, similar to the judges (1969: 402). Other scholars express greater certainty that Deuteronomy 18 refers to a permanent prophetic office, including S.R. Driver (1902: 227-29), E.W. Nicholson (1967: 77) and J.A. Thompson (1974: 212). H.-J. Kraus even speaks of a 'Mosaic prophetic office' and concludes 'an office implies continuity and even succession' (1966: 108-109).⁷

However, the language of Deuteronomy 18, while not denying the possibility of continuity, more clearly suggests a non-institutional, discontinuous prophetic phenomenon, a perspective supported by R.R. Wilson (1980: 165) and A.D.H. Mayes (1979: 282). The text's repeated use of the singular, 'prophet' (Deut. 18.15, 18), undermines the view of a continuous prophetic line. Nelson acknowledges the problem that the singular poses for the theory of a Mosaic succession, but still concludes that 'a series of prophets is meant' (2002: 234), just as a series of kings was implied by the singular 'king' in the law of the king (Deut. 17.14-15). However, to assume prophetic succession as Nelson does seems less reasonable than to assume royal succession when there is only one recorded example in the DH of the former and an abundance of the latter.

7. Other scholars express greater uncertainty about a permanent Mosaic office; see, for example, von Rad 1966: 124; McConville 2002: 303.

While the singular does not necessarily refer to only one future prophet, Carroll's perspective of a permanent prophetic office would certainly be easier to substantiate if plural forms were used.

A continuous prophetic institution also runs counter to the portrayal of the divinely elected prophet of Deuteronomy 18. The verb 'raise up' (*hiphil* forms of *qûm*) used to designate Yahweh's choice of a prophet in Deuteronomy (18.15, 18) is the same verb used repeatedly in Judges (2.16, 18; 3.9, 15) when Yahweh selects a judge, suggesting that Israelite prophecy was intended to be more sporadic than institutional. They were not to be humanly appointed whenever the office was vacated, but rather they were to be divinely commissioned when circumstances warranted it. Prophets were more like judges than kings.

Prophecy and judgeship are also linked elsewhere, since Deborah and Samuel served both as prophets and judges (Judg. 4.4; 1 Sam. 3.20; 7.15). Although judgeship was not typically passed from father to son, when given the choice of passing on a position, Samuel makes his sons judges, not prophets (1 Sam. 8.1-5). Thus, the establishment of a judicial dynasty, while unusual and unpopular in Samuel's case, was more feasible than the establishment of a prophetic dynasty.

Despite comprising a major section of the so-called Former Prophets, prophetic terms rarely occur in the books of Joshua and Judges. These two books use the terms 'prophetess' and 'prophet' each only once (Judg. 4.4; 6.8). None of the three occurrences of the term 'man of God' in these books refer to a contemporary prophetic figure (Josh. 14.6; Judg. 13.6, 8). The narrative of Samuel's prophetic call even states that the word of Yahweh and visions were rare in those days (1 Sam. 3.1). Since prophets were typically the mediators of divine oracles, a lack of messages from Yahweh implies an absence of prophets. Therefore, the evidence examined thus far in Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges does not support the theory of a continual prophetic succession.

3.3. The Monarchy: Many Prophets, Only One Succession

While Samuel and Nathan appear to serve in an official prophetic capacity for Saul and David, the evidence is still insufficient to construct a persuasive argument for prophetic succession during the united monarchy. The DH records no prophetic succession during this period and the prophetic ministries of Gad and Nathan overlap during David's reign (1 Sam. 22.5; 2 Sam. 7.2; 12.25; 24.11; 1 Kgs 1.8), implying that there was no single official prophet. After his anointing by Nathan, the extended Solomonic narrative includes no prophet-king interactions, even though he receives a dynastic promise and a judgment (1 Kgs 6.12; 11.11).

Despite the abundance of prophetic figures during the divided monarchy,⁸ evidence for a continual office is still scarce since only one succession is recorded (1 Kgs 19.16-21; 2 Kgs 2.9-14) and prophetic activity was sporadic. The vast majority of prophets served in the northern kingdom, particularly during the reign of Ahab.⁹ Most rulers of the divided kingdoms are not recorded as having a prophetic counterpart (24 of 38 = 63%). In particular, the DH records few prophets interacting with southern kings. During the reigns of the ten rulers between Rehoboam and Hezekiah, no prophets are described as ministering in Judah. Among all of Ahab's prophets, no clear candidate for a prophetic office holder emerges. While one might think the repeated references to the 'sons of the prophets' (1 Kgs 20.35; 2 Kgs 2.3, 5, 7, 15; 4.1, 38 [$\times 2$]; 5.22; 6.1; 9.1) could imply succession, the evidence suggests otherwise. All these references are limited to one generation (Ahab and his sons), so the fathers within this group do not appear to have been succeeded by their sons as prophets.¹⁰ Elsewhere, the DH frequently uses construct forms of 'son(s) of' figuratively for someone who is not a literal son,¹¹ so the expression 'the sons of the prophets' appears to mean simply that this community was prophetic.

The evidence of the DH therefore suggests that there was no consistent prophetic office either before or during the period of the monarchy in Israel or Judah. Textual references to prophets are sporadic, with a concentration in the reign of Ahab, and a surprising lack of southern prophets. The argument for a continual prophetic succession based only upon one example is hardly persuasive.

4. Prophecy in the Ahab Narrative: Negative Institutions

4.1. Ahab's Prophetic Institution

Before examining the succession of Elijah and Elisha, it will be helpful to discuss its context within the reign of Ahab. One could reasonably

8. During the divided monarchy the DH mentions nine prophetic figures by name (Ahijah, Shemaiah, Jehu, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah, Jonah, Isaiah and Huldah), six other anonymous individual prophets (1 Kgs 13.1, 11; 20.13, 28, 35; 2 Kgs 9.2) and several prophetic communities (e.g. 1 Kgs 18.4; 2 Kgs 2.3, 5).

9. Against the view of Miller (1966), I argue elsewhere that the anonymous king of Israel in 1 Kgs 20 and 22 should be understood as Ahab (Lamb 2007: 200-204).

10. Porter (1981) also argues persuasively that the usage of the term 'the sons of the prophets' does not suggest prophetic succession.

11. For example, 'son(s) of strength' (1 Kgs 1.52; 2.16), 'a son of evil' (2 Sam. 3.34; 7.10) and 'sons of worthlessness' (1 Kgs 21.10, 13).

conclude that the Ahab narrative (1 Kgs 16.29–22.40) refers to more prophetic figures than all the rest of the DH combined. Compared to those of other kings, the Ahab narrative mentions more prophetic individuals (Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah and three anonymous prophetic figures: 1 Kgs 20.13, 28, 35) as well as more prophetic groups (100 prophets hidden by Obadiah, 450 prophets of Baal, 400 prophets of Asherah and 400 prophets of Yahweh: 1 Kgs 18.4, 19-20; 22.6-37). While prophecy in Israel during other periods tended to be sporadic and unofficial, under Ahab it developed into a sophisticated institution.

Prophecy during Ahab's reign therefore resembled the institutional forms it took under the reigns of Zimri-Lim, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Not only were these periods characterized by heightened prophetic activity, but also frequent associations are recorded between these four rulers and their official prophets. Just as the prophets of Mari and Nineveh pronounced oracles of welfare for the king, Ahab's prophets foretold divine support for his military campaigns (1 Kgs 22.7, 12-13). For their support, the prophets associated with Ahab and Jezebel received royal provisions (1 Kgs 18.19), similar to other ancient Near Eastern prophetic figures. No other prophets in the DH are recorded as receiving royal support and two prophets even appear to refuse royal support when it is offered (1 Kgs 13.7-9; 14.2-17), suggesting an aversion to being tainted by a connection to the monarchy. The interdependence between institutional forms of prophecy and monarchy therefore uniquely characterized the reigns of these four rulers.

4.2. *Elijah versus the Institution*

Ahab's reign is characterized not only by heightened prophetic activity, but also by prophetic contrast and opposition. A primary catalyst for the succession of Elisha was Elijah's attack on the prophetic institution of Ahab. On Mount Carmel, Ahab's horde of prophets is confronted by a solitary Elijah, who repeatedly points out his isolation (1 Kgs 18.19, 22; 19.10, 14). The royal prophets support Baal, while Elijah prays to Yahweh (1 Kgs 18.19, 22, 25, 26). Jezebel's table feeds the royal prophets, but Elijah is supernaturally provided for by ravens, a widow and an angel (1 Kgs 17.5-6, 9-16; 18.19; 19.5-8).

The opposition between Elijah and the prophets of Ahab and Jezebel is seen in the bloodshed that permeated their rivalry. Jezebel first kills an undisclosed number of Yahweh's prophets, prompting Obadiah to hide a hundred in caves (1 Kgs 18.4). Elijah responds by slaughtering 450 of Jezebel's prophets (1 Kgs 18.40). She then retaliates by vowing to kill Elijah (1 Kgs 19.2), which first prompts him to flee, though he later asks

to die (1 Kgs 19.4).¹² Then Yahweh tells Elijah that he has selected Elisha as his successor and that the killing will continue as the swords of Hazael, Jehu and Elisha will put many to death (1 Kgs 19.16-17). Finally, Elijah prophesies the brutal deaths of both Ahab and Jezebel (1 Kgs 21.20-24).

In this conflict between Elijah and the prophetic institution, the text clearly views Elijah positively and the royal prophets negatively. The institutional prophets promote the prohibited Baal cult, they are impotent to ignite the altar and ultimately are described as being worthy of slaughter. In contrast, Elijah is portrayed as a genuine prophet of Yahweh by depending on Yahweh, not only for food, but also to light the altar. His zeal for Yahweh is also proved by his willingness to kill the Baal prophets (2 Kgs 10.16-28; cf. Num. 25.1-13). The argument that a permanent prophetic institution in Israel was intended by the text ignores that fact that prophecy in Israel in its most institutionalized state is the target of a severe textual polemic.

4.3. *A Prophetic Pattern of Good Individuals and Bad Groups*

While much of the reason for this polemic can be attributed to the connection between these prophets and the Baal cult, the DH generally views prophetic communities critically and individual prophets favourably. Thus, the pro-Elijah, anti-prophetic institution perspective of the Ahab narrative is consistent with a broader negative attitude in the text toward organized forms of prophecy.

In addition to his prophets of Baal and Asherah, Ahab also had four hundred prophets of Yahweh who are portrayed negatively. They twice proclaim optimistic, but inaccurate messages regarding the upcoming battle with Aram, while Micaiah's pessimistic oracle not only comes true, but also accuses Ahab's prophets of having a lying spirit (1 Kgs 22.6, 12, 19-23, 37). While other prophetic groups are not portrayed as harshly as those associated with Ahab, the DH still describes them neutrally or negatively. The ecstasy of Samuel's bands causes extended periods of uncontrollable nakedness (1 Sam. 10.6, 10; 19.24).¹³ Obadiah's group of a hundred prophets hide in fear from Jezebel, while Elijah risks his life confronting Ahab (1 Kgs 17.1; 18.1-4, 17-18). When interacting with Elisha, the sons of the prophets are annoying regarding Elijah's

12. While the MT of 1 Kgs 19.3 has *wayyar*², 'he saw', a reading of *wayyirā*², 'he was afraid', is supported by most versions and some manuscripts (see Cogan 2001: 450).

13. Nakedness elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible is viewed negatively (e.g. Gen. 9.21-24; Lev. 18.6; Isa. 20.4).

imminent departure (2 Kgs 2.3, 5), ignorant concerning the whereabouts of Elijah's body (2 Kgs 2.16-18) and powerless to find their missing axe head (2 Kgs 5.5-7).

In contrast to the negative portrayal of these communities, prophetic individuals are viewed highly favourably in the DH. The text describes them as defeating Israel's enemies (Judg. 4.6-7; 1 Sam. 7.10-11) and as performing miracles (1 Kgs 17.21-22; 2 Kgs 4.34), but primarily as authentically speaking for Yahweh (Judg. 4.6; 6.8; 13.6-7; 1 Sam. 2.27; 3.18; 2 Sam. 7.4, 17; 12.1; 24.11; 1 Kgs 11.31; 12.22; 13.2, 18; 16.1; 17.2; 20.13, 28, 42; 22.19; 2 Kgs 3.16; 9.6; 14.25; 19.20; 22.15).

The DH frequently condemns rulers (e.g. 1 Kgs 14.20; 16.29), and occasionally priests (1 Sam. 2.27-36; 3.11-14), but individual prophets escape condemnation. One could argue that they are the heroes of the DH. They are viewed favourably as authentic mediators of Yahweh's messages, in contrast to prophetic communities who are described as idolatrous, fearful, erroneous or inept.

5. *Elijah and Elisha: A Unique Prophetic Succession*

5.1. *'A Prophet Instead of You'*

After Yahweh tells Elijah to anoint Hazael and Jehu, he is also told to anoint Elisha as his own successor (1 Kgs 19.16). The phrase used to describe this succession, *l'nābî? tahteykā* (1 Kgs 19.16), is typically translated as 'as prophet in your place' (e.g. NRSV, NASB), which emphasizes the official nature of the prophetic role, as it speaks of the place of the prophet. The Hebrew, however, includes no word for 'place' and it may not even be implied. BDB gives 'in place of' as one of the secondary meanings for *taḥat*, but primary meanings given are 'under' or 'instead of'. While a translation of 'a prophet under you' is appealing because Elisha becomes Elijah's servant (1 Kgs 19.21; cf. 19.3), *taḥat* elsewhere in the DH does not appear to be used to describe the role of a subordinate.

However, a translation of the expression as 'a prophet instead of you' fits well into the context of this verse. The change from 'your place' to 'you' signals a shift in emphasis from the role needing to be filled, to Elijah needing a replacement. Typically *taḥat* is used for a succession when an individual has died (e.g. 1 Kgs 16.28; 22.40), so Elijah's position would not need to be filled while he is alive. The problem on Mount Horeb is not that the office of prophet is vacant and needs filling, but simply that Elijah is tired of being Yahweh's prophet and he wants to die before his task is finished. While Yahweh is described as unwilling to

grant his death wish, he is willing to appoint a new prophet to replace Elijah who can then complete the assignment. The meaning does not change dramatically, but there is a difference in stress from the position ('in your place') to the individual ('instead of you'). Thus, the text seems to be suggesting that Yahweh intends to replace Elijah with Elisha, who would then finish the violent commission (1 Kgs 19.17).

5.2. The Threat of Succession Lifts Elijah's Depression

Within the narrative of their Mount Horeb interaction, Yahweh uses several approaches to lift Elijah from his depression. He asks questions ('What are you doing here?', 1 Kgs 19.9, 13) and tries acts of power (wind, earthquake and fire, 1 Kgs 19.11-12), but after these methods fail to rouse Elijah from his despair, Yahweh's message becomes more personal, basically telling Elijah that he has been made redundant. Yahweh informs him it is time for regime change, starting with Hazael, then Jehu and finally Elisha as prophet instead of him (1 Kgs 19.15-16). The text implies that Yahweh did not want Elijah to find an apprentice, but rather a replacement, and that this succession was not to be done in the distant future, but immediately. Elijah was to anoint Elisha as soon as he returned from Horeb (1 Kgs 19.15). After he hears about the imminent succession of Elisha, the depression of Elijah abruptly ends and he leaves to go and meet Elisha. While previous attempts to motivate Elijah to action did not succeed, the threat of redundancy proved effective.

Further evidence for viewing the message of Yahweh to Elijah critically can be found in the examples of various priests and kings of the DH who had leadership responsibilities withdrawn. Eli's priestly dynasty is cut off because of his sons' wickedness (1 Sam. 2.30-36). After Abiathar's banishment by Solomon, Zadok becomes priest (1 Kgs 2.35). Saul's disobedience led to David's anointing as king (1 Sam. 16.1-13). Rehoboam lost the ten northern tribes because of Solomon's idolatry (1 Kgs 11.11, 33). Jeroboam I, Baasha and Ahab all had dynasties cut off because of their evil practices (1 Kgs 14.9-10; 15.34-16.4; 21.20-24).

According to the DH, it was common for individuals to be removed from leadership, so it is not surprising for a prophet to be threatened with replacement. While Elijah continues in his prophetic role (1 Kgs 21.17-24; 2 Kgs 1.3-16), Yahweh's final comments to Elijah on Horeb give the impression that Elisha is meant to take over from Elijah immediately. Thus, the text's inclusion of the appointment of Elisha does not suggest that prophetic succession was normative in Israel, but rather that prophets, just like kings and priests, can be replaced.

5.3. *Why Does Elijah Not Anoint Elisha?*

After leaving Horeb, Elijah finds Elisha and then throws his mantle over him (1 Kgs 19.19). Yet the text never reports him actually anointing Hazael, Jehu or Elisha. It suggests that the first two tasks were delegated to Elisha since he tells Hazael he will become ruler and he commissions a young prophet who finally anoints Jehu (2 Kgs 8.13; 9.1-3). Immediately after these interactions, Hazael kills Ben-hadad and Jehu kills Jehoram, but after being appointed by Elijah, Elisha does not kill his predecessor, nor does he succeed Elijah until after Elijah's ascension (2 Kgs 2.1-14).

Why does the text not describe Elijah anointing Elisha? Scholars address this textual tension by proposing different prophetic traditions (DeVries 1985: 236; Cogan 2001: 457; Otto 2003: 505) or by interpreting the mantle-tossing as a type of anointing (Gray 1964: 366; Wiseman 1993: 174; Jones 1984: 335). However, neither of these options is fully satisfying because they fail to take seriously Elijah's own perspective on his prophetic 'retirement'.

It is reasonable to assume that Elijah would not yet want to anoint Elisha as his successor. Neither Ahab nor Ben-hadad would have welcomed a new king to replace them, so it is certainly not unimaginable that Elijah would resist appointing his own successor. History is full of leaders who, despite mounting opposition, desperately cling on to their position. Elijah even appears reluctant to make Elisha an apprentice (1 Kgs 19.18-21). After Elisha reasonably requests to say farewell to his parents, Elijah appears to rebuke him and to tell him not to bother following (1 Kgs 19.20). While several commentators argue that Elijah's comments do not need to be taken harshly (e.g. Gray 1964: 368; Jones 1984: 336), the two other occurrences in the Hebrew Bible of the phrase 'What have I done to you?' (*meh-ʿāsīti lāk*) appear in contexts of rebuke (Num. 22.28; Mic. 6.3), implying that Elijah's question to Elisha should be understood critically.

If prophetic succession were normative, Elijah should have expected that he would need to appoint a successor, and perhaps may have even welcomed a transition, given his own exhausted condition. However, Elijah's negative attitude toward succession suggests not only that the appointment of a successor was unexpected, but also that prophetic succession was unusual in Israel.

5.4. *The Only Recorded Prophetic Succession*

The prophetic succession of Elisha is unique not only in the DH, but also in the entire Hebrew Bible (see Jones 1984: 334). Except for Samuel, all prophetic figures in the DH simply appear in the text with no information

given regarding their calling or background (e.g. 1 Kgs 11.29; 12.22; 16.1). Even for prominent prophets such as Nathan and Elijah, the narrative reveals little concerning possible training or experiences that might have prepared them for the prophetic role.

The lack of prophetic successions is surprising given the many other types of leadership transitions recorded in the DH. The text includes dozens of royal successions (e.g. 1 Kgs 16.28; 22.40, 50), three priestly lineages (1 Sam. 1.3, 9; 21.2 [ET 1]; 30.7; 2 Sam. 8.17; 1 Kgs 4.2) and two successions involving judges (Judg. 8.31; 9.6; 1 Sam. 8.1). All of these successions are from father to son. In the two instances where the sons of a prophet assume an office, it is not that of a prophet. Samuel designates his sons as judges (1 Sam. 8.1) and Nathan's son becomes a priest (1 Kgs 4.5).¹⁴ The DH includes no record of a prophetic individual with a prophetic father.

Elijah's limited role in the appointment of Elisha hardly suggests that prophets typically selected their successors, since Elijah had no say in the matter and even appeared to resist the process of taking on an assistant. The fact that the text emphasizes that Elisha was divinely elected comes as no surprise since Deuteronomy also stresses that Yahweh is responsible for prophetic selection (Deut. 18.15, 18). The divine election of prophetic figures in the DH is implied simply by the fact that Yahweh chooses them as his messengers. The selection of Elisha as prophet is therefore consistent with the pattern seen elsewhere in the DH of prophets being divinely chosen.

The temporary nature of prophetic institutions in their most developed states can also be attributed to the nature of the prophetic commission. Since the primary task of a prophet in the DH was to speak the words of Yahweh, the authority of a prophet needed to be based upon a divine calling. As J. Blenkinsopp (1996: 35) states, 'The prophet is therefore neither designated by a predecessor, nor ordained, nor installed in office, but *called*'. Similarly, P. McNutt (1999: 179) writes, 'Prophets claim to have been individually called by a deity, that is, their vocation is customarily not inherited or taught, as is the case for priests. Prophets tend not to be associated with institutions.' While prophetic succession could have ensured continuity and stability, a prophet that was perceived to be

14. Wiseman (1993) and Cogan (2001) think this Nathan might be David's son, but Gray (1964: 129) and DeVries (1985: 69) rightly conclude that the individual is David's prophet. While David's son Nathan was a minor figure (2 Sam. 5.14), the prophet Nathan was a major figure who actively supported Solomon's succession (1 Kgs 1.11-14, 22-27, 45), so it is reasonable that his son would be rewarded by Solomon.

simply humanly appointed to fill an office would lack spiritual legitimacy. Thus, the prophets of Ahab are portrayed as powerless and false because their positions were based on institutional and not divine authority. For Elisha to be viewed as a genuine prophet, he needed to be chosen by Yahweh himself.

The textual evidence of the DH therefore does not support the argument that prophetic succession was typical in Israel. Sons of prophets do not follow in their father's position. Many other types of leadership successions are recorded, but the prophetic succession from Elijah to Elisha is unique. The intended message of the narrative of Elisha's succession thus appears to be not that Israel had a continual prophetic office, but rather that prophets were chosen to fulfil a specific task, that even the role for a prophet as important as Elijah could be withdrawn, and that ultimately prophets are meant to be divinely, not humanly, selected.

Bibliography

- Blenkinsopp, J.
1996 *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, rev. edn).
- Carroll, R.P.
1969 'The Elijah–Elisha Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel', *VT* 19: 400-15.
- Cogan, M.
2001 *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 10; New York: Doubleday).
- DeVries, S.J.
1985 *I Kings* (WBC, 12; New York: Doubleday).
- Driver, S.R.
1902 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn).
- Gray, J.
1964 *I and II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press).
- Huffman, H.B.
2000 'A Company of Prophets: Mari, Assyria, Israel', in M. Nissinen (ed.), *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 47-70.
- Jones, G.H.
1984 *I and 2 Kings* (NCB; 2 vols.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Kraus, H.-J.
1966 *Worship in Israel: A Cultic History of the Old Testament* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press).
- Lamb, D.T.
2007 *Righteous Jehu and his Evil Heirs: The Deuteronomist's Negative Perspective on Dynastic Succession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

- Mayes, A.D.H.
1979 *Deuteronomy* (NCB; London: Oliphants).
- McConville, J.G.
2002 *Deuteronomy* (Apollos; Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press).
- McNutt, P.
1999 *Reconstructing the Society of Ancient Israel* (London: SPCK).
- Miller, J.M.
1966 'The Elisha Cycle and the Accounts of the Omride Wars', *JBL* 85: 441-55.
- Nelson, R.
2002 *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Nicholson, E.W.
1967 *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Nissinen, M.
2003 *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
- Otto, S.
2001 *Jehu, Elia und Elisa: Die Erzählung von der Jehu-Revolution und die Komposition der Elia-Elisa-Erzählungen* (BWANT, 152; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer).
2003 'The Composition of the Elijah–Elisha Stories and the Deuteronomistic History', *JSOT* 27: 487-508.
- Parpola, S.
1997 *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAAS, 9; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).
- Porter, J.R.
1981 'בְּנֵי־הַנְּבִיאִים', *JTS* 32: 423-29.
- Rad, G. von
1966 *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press).
- Thompson, J.A.
1974 *Deuteronomy* (TOTC, 5; Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press).
- Wilson, R.R.
1980 *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Wiseman, D.J.
1993 *1 & 2 Kings* (TOTC, 9; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press).

THE THEOLOGY OF AMOS

John Barton

There is a deliberate ambiguity in the title of this essay. Does it mean the theology of the prophet Amos, who lived in the eighth century BCE, or does it mean the theology of the book of Amos, which is perhaps a product of the sixth or even later? I take it as given that these are not the same thing: that the book is not simply a transcript of the teaching of the prophet, but has been worked on by later hands, though I am sceptical about the idea that one can identify how many, and very doubtful whether we can analyse the text accurately enough to show (with Wolff 1977) that it passed through an exact number of redactional stages, each of which we can reconstruct. For the present purpose I shall simply distinguish certain passages as ‘additions’ and discuss them piecemeal.¹ In addition, there must have been a final redactor, or we should not have the book at all, and I shall say something about this redactor’s possible intentions. Recently a number of scholars have suggested that the book was subsequently altered again to fit it for its place in the ‘Book of the Twelve’, but I have not generally found these arguments compelling (see House 1990; Nogalski 1993).

In fact, I want to deal with *four* senses of ‘the theology of Amos’. These are: the theology of the prophet himself, assuming that significant parts of the book do indeed go back to him; the theology or perhaps diverse theologies of the additions to the book; the theology of the final redactor; and fourth, and perhaps more surprisingly, the theology which Amos presupposes as shared by his audience. The last sense has been less studied than the others, but in a thinker as polemical as Amos it surely makes sense to ask what (so far as we can reconstruct it) was the thinking of the people who heard his message. This thinking he seems sometimes to accept and sometimes to oppose. It is with this background to Amos’s own teaching that I want to begin.

1. The passages in question are: Amos 1.1, 2, 9-12; 2.4-5; 3.7; 4.13; 5.8-9, 25, 26; 9.5-6, 8b, 9-10, 11-12, 13-15.

1. *The Theology of Amos's Audience*

We have only Amos's word for what his hearers believed about God, and he may of course have been deliberately misrepresenting them, as Deutero-Isaiah is generally held to misrepresent the beliefs of those he regards as 'idol worshippers'. But the picture that emerges from the book is reasonably coherent and credible, I believe. It may be summed up in the formula that Wellhausen took to characterize the thought of pre-prophetic Israel: Yahweh is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Yahweh—with none of the ifs and buts that the prophets introduced into this simple scheme. It was Yahweh who brought Israel out of Egypt and into the Promised Land, protecting the people during the wanderings in the wilderness (3.1-2). He can be relied on to protect them in the future in the same way. Yahweh is not, however, limited to Israel in the sense that his writ runs only among his own people. He is a god with power over all the nations of the world, otherwise he would not have been able to wrest Israel from the power of Egypt. This power manifests itself in the moral realm, too. There are certain norms of international conduct that all nations ought to observe, and Yahweh has the power to punish infringements of these, whoever they are committed by. Assuming that Amos thought his hearers would applaud his condemnation of other nations in the opening oracles of the book, he must have thought they already believed Yahweh to have moral authority over other nations, and the power to punish them when they transgressed (as I argued in Barton 1980).

Part of the belief in the active power of Yahweh over the nations was evidently something we could call a popular eschatology (as I argued in Barton 2004). A day was coming, the 'day of Yahweh', when Israel's God would intervene decisively on its behalf to establish it as the dominant nation in its immediate surroundings. Whether this was to happen at a religious festival or as part of a war, the day of Yahweh would bring disaster on foreign nations and vindication for Israel. At the time of Amos Israel had been engaged for some time in battles with the Aramaeans, and it seems probable that people in general believed the day of Yahweh would bring a decisive victory in this conflict. Recent more limited victories, in which Israel had regained territory in Gilead, gave grounds for hope that this day was coming soon (6.13). It would be a day of triumph for Yahweh's own nation against the other nations over whom he exercised power.

Part of the relationship of Israel to Yahweh involved regular worship at local sanctuaries, and particularly at the shrines of Bethel and Gilgal. Sacrifices offered at these sanctuaries were highly pleasing to Yahweh.

At the sanctuaries it was also the custom for prophets to speak, and among their utterances, probably, were the kind of oracles against foreign nations with which Amos's book begins. The prophets were under the authority of the priests of the sanctuaries and spoke only authorized words of comfort and reassurance. Certainly they did not have the task of criticizing Israel or its leaders. The main activity of the sanctuaries was sacrifice, which Yahweh approved of. It is not clear from Amos whether there was any theory about how sacrifice 'worked', and in particular whether the relationship between Yahweh and Israel depended upon its being properly carried out: Amos's audience appear to think, at any rate, that they are carrying it out properly. There is certainly no idea that the nation's relationship with its God depends upon anything else.

At the same time, Amos presupposes that the people know of various moral norms which they are meant to uphold, to do with the way individuals relate to each other in society, and it is a good guess on the part of scholars that they knew something like the so-called Book of the Covenant in Exodus 21–23. They are aware, therefore, that there are certain activities that are morally wrong, such as bribery, oppression of the poor, and other kinds of corruption in public life. There is no reason, however, to think that they saw these activities as bearing in any way on the nation's relationship to its God, even if God was in some way or other the source of the moral norms involved—which itself is not clear. The phrase 'to seek God' seems to have been in general use, but it meant 'to go to the sanctuary and offer sacrifice', and had no connection with interpersonal conduct.

2. The Theology of the Prophet Amos

It is a mistake to think that Amos's own teaching is simply the negation of the thinking of his audience. There are beliefs, such as the universal scope of the power of Yahweh, which he evidently shared with them, and also (as I have argued in Barton 1980) the belief that Yahweh would avenge crimes committed in war, whoever was their perpetrator. Nevertheless the theology of the prophet himself certainly does contrast at many points with that of his hearers.

Amos believes, like his audience, that Yahweh is a god with powers that extend well beyond Israel: in that he shares a common ancient Near Eastern belief about national gods. He accepts the people's conviction that through this universal power Yahweh had been able to lead the ancestors of the nation out of Egypt, guide them through the wilderness, and settle them in the land. But he draws quite different implications

from this. Here we encounter the two verses, 3.2 and 9.7. The first of these appears to say that Yahweh did indeed have a special relationship with Israel, manifested by his activity in bringing about the exodus, but that the people at large have drawn the wrong conclusion from this. They have taken it, as we have seen, to mean that nothing can ever break the bond established between Yahweh and Israel, whereas for Amos the special relationship between God and people means that their culpability for sin is heightened: 'therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities'. The verse does not necessarily imply that the special bond with Yahweh will come to an end, but it does strongly argue that the sense of indemnification against disaster that Amos's audience had deduced from the belief that Yahweh was their God is overturned.

The second verse, 9.7, appears to say that the special relationship never existed in the first place. It is true that Yahweh caused the exodus, but then it is true that he is responsible for all the movements of peoples on the face of the earth. Israel is in no different a position in this regard from the Philistines or the Aramaeans. This is a really startling message, since it seems to overturn 'Yahweh the God of Israel and Israel the people of Yahweh'. It presents a picture of Yahweh as a world-god who does not have any special interest in one nation over another, a version of monotheism that is scarcely found again within the pages of the Old Testament. The continuation, 'Behold, the eyes of Yahweh are upon the sinful kingdom, to destroy it from the face of the ground' (9.8), implies also that Yahweh exercises moral authority over all nations—which we have seen to have been believed also by Amos's audience—but to carry as its corollary the end of Israel just as much as the end of other nations, which again overturns the belief in a special election.

Is it possible that one person produced both these verses, or should we regard one or the other as secondary? If we do, then normal reasoning would suggest that the second, 9.7, is original to Amos, since it represents by far the more radical position, one which scarcely anyone after Amos ever contemplated, though 6.2 makes a similar point, perhaps. In that case, 3.2 would be a milder deduction from Amos's message by a later writer, who moderated the extremely stark message that Israel was not a special case at all by saying that its special status simply made it all the more culpable. My own sense, however, is that both verses could well come from the same hand. One explanation is a temporal one, that Amos hardened his message over time, and that having begun by thinking that the election of Israel made it more to blame for its sins, he ended by believing that the election was a figment of the imagination anyway, and that Israel would simply be judged like any other nation. The vision cycle towards the end of the book (7.1–9.4) might suggest that Amos

moved from a less to a more radical position as his work progressed. Another possibility is that the two verses represent alternative possibilities: either election means obligation, or else there is no election anyway, but either way Israel will be punished. Damned if it is special, and equally damned if it isn't. The popular belief that Yahweh had the power to control all nations and had used that power to bring Israel from Egypt is thus turned back on itself in two alternative ways, implying either that such divine providence brings special obligations in Israel's case, or else that it brings them on every nation, and so Israel cannot be immune.

In the moral sphere Amos also has something to say which is apparently new. He sets in parallel the war crimes committed by foreign nations and the social injustices perpetrated within Israel, thereby implying that these are equally culpable and—which is the striking feature—that they have equal power to make Yahweh bring about national disaster. There is no reason, as we saw, to think that people in general supposed that infringing the statutes in the Book of the Covenant had the effect of invalidating Israel's election and making it subject to the same divine destruction as nations that committed atrocities. But Amos does affirm this. Yahweh supervises not only the realm of international conduct, but also the sphere of 'justice and righteousness' within the nation, and infringements of social legislation by the nation's leaders can produce national defeat and destruction. Further still, he thinks that other misdemeanours that are not even covered by law can have a similar effect—concentrating especially on what by his standards constitutes a luxurious lifestyle involving feasting and drinking a lot of alcohol. David Clines has amusingly pointed out that modern Old Testament scholars often give an unthinking assent to these strictures levelled by Amos against the Israelite upper classes, without reflecting that most modern living is probably a good deal more than luxurious by Amos's standards, and that they themselves may not be above eating and drinking beyond what absolute necessity requires (Clines 1995). Be that as it may, Amos is certainly hard on luxury, possibly because to him it represents using the fruits of exploitation of the poor and helpless. This is an attitude as at home in wisdom as in the law, and may represent 'wisdom influence' on the prophet, whatever exactly we mean by that. That Yahweh will destroy the nation because some people drink too much is surely a novel idea, however, going far beyond what any 'wise man' would have said.

Amos is equally radical in his view of how Yahweh is rightly worshipped. 'Seeking Yahweh' is not accomplished by going to sanctuaries to sacrifice, and the practice is really absurd if those who engage in it have hands tainted with the blood of the poor. He may have argued—the integrity and authenticity of 5.26 are disputed—that no sacrifice existed

during the wanderings in the wilderness, *ex hypothesi* the time when Israel behaved well. 'Seeking Yahweh' is accomplished by doing justice and righteousness. This is a radical reinterpretation of what it is to 'worship' which, again, later writers found it hard to assimilate, though it finds echoes in Psalms 40, 50 and 51. Against the view that such an interpretation represents an anachronistic 'Protestantizing' of Amos, I would argue that it is hard to draw any other conclusion from his oracles than a radically anti-sacrificial one, and I have argued elsewhere that such an attitude is conceivable within the culture of ancient Israel (see Barton 2005).

Though Amos is not distinctive in believing that Yahweh controls the whole world, his brand of theism enormously stresses the dark side of the deity. Yahweh for Amos is above all the destroyer: a just destroyer, but a destroyer none the less. His powers of destruction reach beyond the bounds of the world, to the bottom of the sea and even into Sheol, meaning that there is absolutely no escape from him (9.2-4). We probably should not use a philosophical word such as 'omnipresence' for this characteristic of Yahweh, but Amos certainly asserts that there is nowhere he cannot go: the mobile God of Ezekiel is here anticipated by a couple of centuries. Yahweh's destruction is apparent even in his mercy. The long list of local disasters in 4.6-12, sometimes described as the *Unheilsgeschichte*, shows that Yahweh has tried every means to bring Israel back to himself: 'every means' meaning every possible way of punishing them, short of the absolute destruction which is now impending. This moment of complete devastation is revealed as the true sense of the 'day of Yahweh'. Popular eschatology is radically reversed, as the 'day' goes from being a day of vindication for Israel to the occasion for its utter destruction.

Salvation even at the eleventh hour seems to be admitted as a marginal possibility in the formula 'Seek me, and live' (5.4), though I am inclined to follow the line of interpretation inaugurated by Rudolf Smend, according to which theoretical possibility is limited by actual improbability (see Smend 1963). Amos does not really expect his hearers to respond. It is sometimes argued that the very fact of prophetic preaching implies theoretical hope: the worst is foretold just so that people will be appalled and thus come to act in ways that will avert it. It is impossible to rule out this possibility in the mind of Amos, but his actual expectations seem in practice very bleak. The task of a prophet is certainly not to utter encouraging words, and the idea that his role is to obey the precepts of the sanctuary priests is angrily rejected (7.10-17): Yahweh has sent him to proclaim judgment, not hope and blessing.

It was one of the contentions of Wellhausen and his generation that Amos was the first to conditionalize the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. From now on, Israel was to be the people of Yahweh only if it abode by his commandments; otherwise, it was no better off than any other nations, and its fate was a matter of indifference to the God of all the world. One way of putting this is of course to say that Amos invented the idea of the covenant, although he does not use the word. Israel has obligations that must be met if its relationship with Yahweh is to continue. It still seems to me that this is the best explanation of the origins of the covenant idea, which finds its further development and refinement in Deuteronomy.

3. The Theology of the Additions to the Book of Amos

As I said at the beginning, I am sceptical of attempts to be very precise about just when the various secondary insertions in the book of Amos originated, though I am clear that there are passages that are indeed insertions. The case for a 'Deuteronomistic' editing of the book was made in an early article by W.H. Schmidt (1965), and still seems to me convincing, but whether all the insertions belong to that stage of redaction is unclear, and I am even less happy with Wolff's many-stage redaction, including an edition from the days of Josiah (Wolff 1977). In this section I shall simply look at the theological themes in the additional material, without trying to attribute them definitely to a particular period in the history of Israel.

The covenant theme just mentioned may underlie two of the oracles against the nations commonly seen as secondary, those against Tyre and Edom, in both of which there is a reference to offences against brotherhood and in one of which (1.9) the word covenant does occur—albeit probably meaning a human treaty. In these two oracles we find what is not so apparent in the authentic oracles against the nations, namely, a sense of outrage not over war crimes as such, but over assaults on Israel. This would mark a contrast with the message of Amos himself, for whom Yahweh does not avenge attacks on his chosen people—whose chosenness, as we have seen, is very questionable. By the time these additions were made the sense that Israel is the special people of Yahweh has reasserted itself: indeed, within Israel's popular religious culture it is very unlikely that it ever went away. The Edomites, who in pre-exilic times were regarded favourably by Israelites, have here become a particular enemy, no doubt reflecting their hostility during the siege of Jerusalem in 587, attested also in Obadiah. There is a concern with the

question of whether a given nation is or is not well disposed towards Israel which is lacking in the oracles of Amos himself.

The Judah oracle (2.4-5) introduces another theme that postdates Amos, a concern with the keeping of the law. Not everyone agrees that the language of this oracle is Deuteronomistic, as Schmidt argued, but it certainly presents offences against Torah as the essence of sin, and this seems far removed from the world of Amos. If we follow the Göttingen school's stratification of the Deuteronomistic work, this oracle would correlate naturally with DtrN and come from no earlier than the later years of the exile. It represents a reinterpretation of prophecy as an attempt to get Israel to observe the Torah, considered as a codified whole—a theological standpoint that marks a considerable development as compared with the thinking of Amos.

The same may be said for the idea that the prophets form a long chain, 'his servants the prophets' (3.7), through whom all Yahweh's actions are predicted reliably in advance. Here we have a theology of prophecy as one of the sacred institutions of Israel, which contrasts sharply with Amos's angry denial that he is a prophet, assuming that is what the interchange with Amaziah means. Prophecy here is a good and holy institution designed to make known Yahweh's intentions for his people. That is an idea of prophecy that seems to have existed before Amos, among the prophets of court and sanctuary, and also to have been commonplace in later times, but it does not fit the work of Amos himself, who is militantly anti-institutional.

The inauthentic material in Amos includes a couple of references to idolatry (5.26 and 8.14), which on the usual consensus was not a concern of Amos himself: his polemic was reserved for wrong ways of worshipping Yahweh, rather than for worshipping the wrong god. In these references there are closer similarities to Hosea. Once again it looks as though Amos has been edited to conform him to a model of the prophet as the defender of Israelite monolatry or even monotheism, and as an opponent of 'idols'. These are themes that become common in later prophets than Amos himself.

The closing oracles of the book touch on a number of themes common in later prophecy. One (in 9.9-10) is the idea that judgment will be discriminatory, separating the sinners from the righteous within the nation, a theme of passages such as Ezek. 20.38 but one which Amos seems not to have believed. His vision is the bleaker one of the perishing of the whole people. Exactly how this theme is to be understood in Amos 9 depends on our interpretation of the image of the sieve (in 9.9), but all plausible ways of understanding this see it as a matter of distinguishing

between good and bad within the nation. Another is the hope for a new Davidic house (9.11), which we associate with Jeremiah 30–34, and perhaps for the rebuilding of Jerusalem after its fall. A third is the prediction of miraculous fruitfulness (9.13–14), otherwise found in Isa. 65.17–25 and Zech. 8.1–8. All these themes thus seem characteristic of exilic or early post-exilic material.

If we wished to synthesize the theology of the additions to Amos, we might perhaps do so along the following lines. The purpose of prophecy, which has long existed as an institution within Israel, is to keep the people faithful to the worship of the one God and his laws by teaching and preaching. The result of failure to remain faithful will be a punishment in which the wicked suffer but the righteous remain safe. Persistent disobedience may result in the downfall of the national institutions, such as the monarchy, but Yahweh is faithful to his promises and will renew the purified nation. He has in store a future of amazing fruitfulness for the restored land. Nations that oppose Israel will be punished for this crime. I would argue that this theology is far removed from that of Amos of Tekoa, who does not think in terms of this kind of theological ‘package’ but has a much more angular message, prompted by far more immediate concerns arising out of the Aramaean war. The idea of a codified set of laws is alien to him—he thinks more in terms of specific moral obligations, each of which is justified by its inherent rightness rather than because it stands in a body of legal material, such as the Torah became in later Judaism. His perspective probably barely involved the southern kingdom and certainly did not envisage its collapse and later renewal. For him, one of the most appalling aspects of the sins of the ruling classes was precisely that in the judgment they were going to bring about there could be no discrimination between those deserving and those undeserving of punishment; rather, the entire nation would perish, including the very people who were already suffering through the depredations of the powerful: an unappealing but entirely realistic prediction. By contrast, the authors of the additions to the book lived in a more imaginary world in which divine judgment could be finely tuned to distinguish good from bad. The wicked, for these people, were not those who oppressed the poor so much as those who disobeyed the Torah or were disloyal to Yahweh through idolatry, together with other nations who opposed Yahweh’s people—important themes in later prophets and in many other parts of the Old Testament, but not present in the teaching of Amos himself. An important aspect of all this is the resurgence of an eschatology of salvation for Israel, which as we saw seems to have characterized the thinking of Amos’s audience but which he had tried to suppress. It returns in full force in the thought of those who added to his book.

4. *The Theology of the Book of Amos*

Is there a theology of the finished book of Amos? One might seek this by three routes. One is redaction criticism. Here we would ask about the intentions of those who assembled the book in its finished form, adding the superscription (1.1), to make the work into a communication from the God acknowledged in post-exilic Israel. There must have been in some sense a final redactor or the book would not exist, but can we be sure that this person, or these people, had communicative intentions beyond simply writing out the prophetic scroll in a neat and tidy form? If we can, then we may be able to see the redactor's hand in the opening oracle about Yahweh roaring from Zion (1.2), shared with the book of Joel (Joel 4.16, ET 3.16), which identifies the God of Amos as the God whose permanent residence is in Jerusalem, from which he utters words of doom as well as promises of blessing. The redactor, perhaps unlike the authors of some of the earlier additions to the book, correctly perceives Amos's message to have been mainly one of impending disaster. The overall shape of the finished book, however, moves from disaster to eventual restoration, and in this it follows a pattern common in prophetic books. The redactor has evidently shaped the material so as to ensure that Amos's challenging message is tempered by the final oracles—the 'roses and lavender instead of blood and iron' of which Wellhausen spoke in commenting on the end of ch. 9. The redactor would have been part of a larger post-exilic movement that edited earlier prophetic books in this general direction, yet would have been aware that the weight falls more on judgment here than in some other prophets. He would have shared many of the theological positions we found in the additions to the book, and would have had a total theological system, by contrast with Amos's own much more 'occasional' theology—a system focused on Torah, prophecy as institution, the promises to David, and an eschatology of eventual blessing and fruitfulness for a renewed Israel. These ideas are the shared stock-in-trade of post-exilic Israel.

A second route to asking about the theology of the book of Amos lies through literary criticism. Here we should take the book just as it is, in its 'final form', without discriminating between earlier and later portions, and try to analyse it as a communicative whole. If we do that, then the later additions, precisely because they are so systematizing in tendency, will be almost bound to determine, or at least strongly colour, our reading of the whole. Any literary reading is certain to ask how the book ends, and to read the earlier chapters at least partially in the light of the ending, so that again what from a diachronic perspective are additions

will probably greatly influence the overall reading. Those who have approached the prophets in a literary way, such as Paul House (1990) and J. Nogalski (1993), have tended to stress that they are in the end ‘comedies’, as House puts it, with a movement from dark to light, and the book of Amos certainly exemplifies this movement. Ronald Clements, in his important article on the shaping of the prophetic literature, emphasized the same tendency, which gives the prophetic books a similar pattern to any one of the cycles in the book of Judges: sin, judgment, repentance, restoration (see Clements 1977).

It is also possible, however, that one might detect other structures in the book, and one theory is that the book has a chiasmic structure. This theory is discussed by Graeme Auld in his *Old Testament Guide to Amos* (Auld 1986). An early suggestion was that of J. de Waard (1977), that Amos 5.1-17 is chiasmic. N.J. Tromp proposed that the whole of 4.1-6.7 forms a chiasmus (Tromp 1984), while R. Bryan Widbin (1996) thinks chs. 3-6 are chiasmic. John Day (private communication) notes that one could see chiasmic structures in earlier and later chapters too: the five visions in chs. 7-9 would complement the original five oracles against the nations in chs. 1-2, and the idea of Aram returning to Kir in 1.5 could be seen as picked up by the assertion in 9.7 that the Aramaeans came from Kir in the first place. If we were indeed to find a chiasmic structure in the whole book, that would draw attention away from the final oracles and transfer it to the centre. If the ‘centre’ is 5.7-10, as on de Waard’s view of the structure of ch. 5, supported also by Tromp, then it consists of Amos’s denunciation of social injustice, linked with the doxology in which God darkens the morning into deep night. In this case a literary reading (which may or may not attribute the shaping to a deliberate redaction) will throw weight again on to the judgment theme in the book, and lead us to be less interested in the message of eventual reconstruction.

Thirdly, one may adopt a ‘canonical’ approach. Here the meaning of Amos depends not merely on features immanent to this book alone, but more to its position in the Book of the Twelve, in the prophetic corpus, in the Old Testament, perhaps even in the whole Christian Bible. From this perspective the theology of Amos is, as Rendtorff puts it, that ‘the day of the Lord is darkness and light’ (Rendtorff 2005). Within a coherent biblical theology there is a place for both themes, and the book of Amos exemplifies them very well, speaking of both judgment and salvation. The book is a perfect expression of the verse that Luther saw as in many ways the centre of the Old Testament, ‘The Lord kills and brings

to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up' (1 Sam. 2.6). A canonical perspective might do justice to the one set of additions to the book I have not so far mentioned, the doxologies, which paint Yahweh as the source of darkness and light in the same way as Isa. 45.7 ('I make weal and create woe'). Amos is then not a smooth text that neutralizes disaster through a message of eventual restoration, so much as a witness to the paradoxical character of God's ways of acting in the world. The doxologies, as pointed out by Gillingham (1993), are not praises of a purely benign god, but express the dark side of God in a way that makes them very appropriate to the book of Amos, even though they are unlikely to be by the prophet himself. If, as is widely supposed, they derive from a liturgical tradition, then Israel's liturgy must already have expressed this idea of the ambiguity of Yahweh's character. A canonical reading of the book of Amos might well draw attention to this ambiguity, even though—if it includes the perspective of the New Testament in a pan-biblical way—it will probably not see the ambiguity as the Bible's last word on the subject.

5. *Conclusion*

All the various levels we have looked at have some claim to represent 'the theology of Amos', but I want to come back to the second, the theology of the prophet himself, so far as that can be reconstructed. The temper of recent Old Testament study has been set against an interest in the 'original' prophets. The work of reconstruction is widely felt to be too uncertain for us to spend much time on it, while (at least in Anglo-Saxon scholarship) more 'holistic' approaches, such as the two with which I ended (literary and canonical) are making the running at the moment. I want to end with a plea not to abandon the attempt to get back to the ideas of the prophets themselves. The prophets are among the earliest theologians in the ancient world, if one means by that people who consciously and carefully reflected on what the God they worshipped must be like, and what was to be expected from that God in the light of the current state of society. However difficult it is to reconstruct the thinking of these theologians, they are among the first witnesses to the theological thinking of ancient Israel, and at least in the case of Amos their thought is highly distinctive, differing markedly from both the popular religious ideas of their day and the theological systems that came into force in later times. Even if in some sense it is the canonical level of the Bible that is authoritative for modern Jews or Christians, and even if

the finished books are a fascinating subject for literary readings, these early theologians remain deeply important figures in the history of religious ideas, and deserve to remain a focus of attention for at least some biblical scholars. Amos, the sheep farmer from Tekoa, is as distinctive a thinker as anyone who produced the texts of the Old Testament, and his theology still deserves to be pondered and evaluated in all its abrasive power.

Bibliography

- Auld, A.G.
1986 *Amos* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Barton, J.
1980 *Amos's Oracles against the Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). Repr. in *Understanding Old Testament Ethics: Approaches and Explorations* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003): 77-129.
2004 'The Day of Yahweh in the Minor Prophets', in C. McCarthy and J.F. Healey (eds.), in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart* (JSOTSup, 375; London: T&T Clark International): 68-79.
2005 'The Prophets and the Cult', in J. Day (ed.), *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (LHBOTS, 422; London: T&T Clark International): 111-22.
- Clements, R.E.
1977 'Patterns in the Prophetic Canon', in G.W. Coats and B.O. Long (eds.), *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977): 42-55. Repr. in R.E. Clements, *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996): 191-202.
- Clines, D.J.A.,
1995 *Interested Parties: The Ideology of Writers and Readers of the Hebrew Bible* (JSOTSup, 205; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- de Waard, J.
1977 'The Chiasmic Structure of Amos V,1-17', *VT* 27: 170-77.
- Gillingham, S.E.
1993 '"Der die Morgenröte zur Finsternis macht". Gott und Schöpfung im Amosbuch', *EvT* 53: 109-23.
- House, P.
1990 *The Unity of the Twelve* (JSOTSup, 97; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Kratz, R.G.
2003 'Die Worte des Amos von Tekoa', in M. Köckert and M. Nissinen (eds.), *Propheten in Mari, Assyrien und Israel* (FRLANT, 201; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): 54-89.
- Nogalski, J.
1993 *Redactional Processes in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW, 218; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).

- Rendtorff, R.
2005 *The Canonical Hebrew Bible: A Theology of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Deo Publishing). Trans. of *Theologie des Alten Testaments: Ein kanonischer Entwurf* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001).
- Schmidt, W.H.
1965 'Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches. Zu den theologischen Unterschieden zwischen dem Prophetenwort und seinem Sammler', *ZAW* 77: 168-93.
- Smend, R.
1963 'Das Nein des Amos', *EvT* 23: 404-23.
- Tromp, N.J.
1984 'Amos V 1-17: Towards a Stylistic and Rhetorical Analysis', in A.S. van der Woude (ed.), *Prophets, Worship and Theodicy* (OTS, 23; Leiden: Brill): 65-85.
- Widbin, R.B.
1996 'Center Structure in the Center Oracles of Amos', in Joseph E. Coleson and Victor H. Matthews (eds.), *'Go to the Land I Will Show You': Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 177-92.
- Wolff, H.W.
1977 *Joel and Amos* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press). Trans. of *Dodekapropheton*. II. *Joel und Amos* (BKAT, 14/2; trans. W. Janzen; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969).

HOSEA AND THE BAAL CULT

John Day

1. *The Historical Setting*

It has traditionally been held that Hosea was a northern, pre-exilic prophet of the eighth century BCE and that much of what we have in the book attributed to him comes from that time, even though there are clearly also signs of later editing. In recent years, however, a few scholars have claimed that very little of the book goes back to the eighth century and that most of it consists of later Judaeian, post-exilic composition (e.g. Lemche 1992; Levin 2001: 93-96, ET 2005: 129-33; Rudnig-Zelt 2006; Vielhauer 2007). In my view, this latter standpoint is highly unconvincing. So much that we find in Hosea is inconsistent with a post-exilic origin but makes eminently good sense against a pre-722 BCE background. One may highlight such points as the fact that the book presupposes that the northern kingdom of Israel still exists with a monarchy (Hos. 5.1; 7.1-7; 8.4; 10.7, 15; 13.10-11), indeed that it has been suffering from a succession of kings overtaken by repeated *coups d'état* (7.1-7; 8.4), which applies to the last years of the northern kingdom but is inappropriate for any period subsequently. Moreover, Samaria's king is soon to be cut off (10.7, 15) and the end of the northern kingdom is at hand (10.14; 13.9; 14.1, ET 13.16). We also read that Israel trusted in the multitude of its warriors and in its chariots (10.13),¹ which is inappropriate of the post-exilic period, when it was subject to foreign powers. Again, the nation is repeatedly condemned for worshipping the god Baal (2.10, ET 8; 13.1; cf. 'the Baals' in 2.15, 19, ET 13, 17; 11.2), who is regarded as the source of the nation's fertility (2.10, ET 8; cf. 2.7, ET 5), and people are also worshipping God in the form of a bull calf (8.5-6; 10.5-6; 13.2). We also read of disapproved worship underneath

1. Reading 'your chariots' (*rikkēkā*) with the LXX and most modern commentators rather than MT's 'your way' (*darkēkā*), the vagueness of which provides a less satisfactory parallel to 'the multitude of your warriors'. A few, including the NRSV, keep the MT and render 'your power', basing themselves on Ugaritic *drkt*, but this latter does not actually mean 'power' in the sense of 'strength' but rather 'dominion'.

trees on the tops of mountains and hills (4.13), that is, the so-called high places (*bāmôt*), a word actually used in 10.8. Other references to idolatry are to be found in 4.12, 17; 14.9 (ET 8). Such condemnations of Baal worship, the bull calf, the high places and idolatry more generally are uncharacteristic of the indubitably post-exilic prophets, but fit perfectly into the eighth century BCE. There are a multitude of altars, with accompanying *maššēbôt* (10.1-2), the most prominent sanctuaries appearing to be at Bethel² and Gilgal (4.15; 10.5; 12.12, ET 11), and there is not the slightest indication that these are disapproved of merely from the later Judaeans' standpoint that they are not Jerusalem. Mount Gerizim, the Samaritans' sacred site, is nowhere mentioned, and the only reference to nearby Shechem is in 6.9, which simply complains that priests murder on the road to it. Furthermore, the dominant superpower of the time is Assyria (5.13; 8.9; 10.6; 14.4, ET 3), whose ruler is called 'the great king' (5.13; 10.6), and there are no hints or references to any later superpower. Egypt is also mentioned as a country to which some in Israel are tempted to appeal for help (7.11; 12.2, ET 1; cf. 7.16), which coheres with the reference to the last Israelite king Hoshea's appeal to 'So, king of Egypt' in 2 Kgs 17.4 (on which see Day 1992), but does not fit the post-exilic period, when Egypt was itself subject to the Persian empire (apart from a brief period of independence from c. 404 to 343 BCE).

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the work presents itself as primarily an eighth-century composition. If one were to suppose that such an impression has been ingeniously conjured up by post-exilic compilers, we are then faced with the problem that the language of Hosea is singularly lacking in those forms which we associate with later, post-exilic Hebrew, and it is also difficult to comprehend what purpose the creation of such a work would have fulfilled at that time. All these points taken together strongly support the notion that there is a solid deposit of pre-exilic, eighth-century material contained within the book of Hosea, whatever later redaction the book might have undergone.³ In the rest of this

2. Beth-aven in Hos. 4.15 and 10.5 (cf. 5.8) is rightly understood by the majority of scholars as a pejorative distortion of the name Bethel, inspired by Amos 5.5 (which has striking parallels with Hos. 4.15). Barstad (1984: 50), however, claims that it is the same place as the Beth-aven referred to in Josh. 7.2; 18.12; 1 Sam. 13.5; 14.23. But the fact that 'Beth-aven' is associated with the calf cult in Hos. 10.5, which the books of Kings locate at Bethel (and Dan), shows that Bethel must be in mind. Nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible is Beth-aven the site of a prominent sanctuary and, *contra* Barstad, it surely is significant that Bethel is a noteworthy sanctuary alongside Gilgal in Amos 4.4; 5.5 (cf. 3.14; 7.10, 13).

3. In addition to the superscription and the third person narrative in ch. 1, the clearest signs of subsequent editing are to be found in a number of later pro-Judaean

essay I shall therefore assume that the allusions to the Baal cult found in the work pertain to that period.

2. The Anti-Baal Message of Hosea

2.1. Introductory Matters

The prophecy of Hosea is concerned about various matters: one can cite his condemnation of governmental *coups d'état*, his opposition to foreign alliances, and a number of ethical critiques of society (far fewer than in Amos). The differences in emphasis from Amos are partly due to developments in the political situation, but must also be partly due to differences in Hosea's temperament and interests. However, it cannot be denied that by far the most dominant feature of Hosea's message is his critique of the nation's religious apostasy (another contrast with Amos), something which he repeatedly designates as harlotry (Hos. 1.2; 2.4, 6, ET 2, 4; 3.3; 4.10, 12-15, 18; 5.4) and is embodied in the accounts of his marriage, to which we shall return later. Apostasy to Baal appears to be particularly in mind here. In fact, Hosea explicitly singles out the Israelites' proneness to worship Baal in 2.10 (ET 8) and 13.1, and in the plural as the Baals in 2.15 (ET 13), 2.19 (ET 17) and 11.2; there is also an allusion to the worship of the god Baal-Peor at the time of the settlement in 9.10, where he is also called *bōšet*, 'shame', a pejorative term for Baal known elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (see Day 2000: 81-83). Interestingly, Baal (or the Baals) is the only Canaanite deity explicitly mentioned by name in Hosea. There is no reference to El as the name of a distinct divinity separate from Yahweh or even as a name at all. In 11.9 *ʔēl* is generic, 'for I am God and no man', while 2.1 (ET 1.10) and 12.1b (ET 11.12b) which are similarly so, are generally accepted to be later additions.⁴ Further, I reject Wellhausen's bold emendation of 14.9 (ET 8)'s *ʔnī ʿānūti waʿšūrennū*, 'It is I who answer and look after him', to read *ʔnī ʔnātō waʿšērātō*, 'I am his Anat and his Asherah' (Wellhausen 1898: 134; Weinfeld 1984: 122-23; Dietrich and Loretz 1992: 173-82), as too radical and speculative. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Day 1986: 404-406; 2000: 57-59), there could nevertheless be a word play on

glosses (cf. 1.7; 12.1b, ET 11.12b, as well as part of 3.5) and even later anti-Judaean glosses (cf. 4.15a; 5.5b; 6.11a; 10.11b; 12.3a, ET 2a), as maintained, for example, by Wolff 1965: xxvi-xxvii, ET 1974: xxxi-xxxii; Davies 1992: 36-37; Day 2001: 572).

4. Wyatt (2005: 84-85) and Chalmers (2008: 128-30) have recently revived the proposal of Tur-Sinai (1965: 31) to emend *kī miyyiśrāʔēl*, 'for from Israel', to *kī mi šōr ʔēl*, 'for who is bull El?', in Hos. 8.6. The MT seems awkward but this bold emendation is dubious: Hosea elsewhere uses the word *ʿēgel* of the calf cult, not *šōr*.

the names of the goddesses Asherah and Anat here. This very same verse compares Yahweh to a tree, something unique in the Hebrew Bible, with Yahweh saying, 'I am like an evergreen cypress, from me comes your fruit'. Bearing in mind that the Asherah was some kind of (human-made) sacred tree, it could be that the Asherah's role is here being applied to Yahweh, which increases the likelihood of word play here.

2.2. *The Baal Cult and Hosea 2*

In considering the topic of Hosea and the Baal cult we shall start with Hosea 2, since this not only contains the largest number of references to Baal, but is also informative as to the nature of the cult condemned. On the natural reading of this text, Israel, symbolized by Hosea's wife, is condemned for going awhoring after other lovers, who, it is implied, are the Baals or Baal. Baal or the Baals, it is stated, is wrongly supposed by the woman (Israel) to be the source of the land's fertility—'the grain, the wine, and the oil' (2.10, ET 8)—but these rather come from Yahweh, who is clearly depicted as her original lover. Yahweh then punishes her for her unfaithfulness, but eventually woos her back so that she is finally restored to a faithful relationship with him, and well-being is thereby restored to the land and people.

Hosea 2 raises various questions that will now be discussed. First, can we assume that the Baal referred to is essentially the same as the god Baal known from the Ugaritic texts, as has traditionally been held, or is Baal merely a cipher for other gods more generally, as Jeremias (1996) and Wyatt (2005: 77) claim? On this question I have no doubt that the former view is correct. This is strongly supported not only by the name, which constitutes the epithet of the storm god Hadad in the Ugaritic texts, but also by the fact that what is said about Baal in Hosea corresponds precisely to what we know about the Ugaritic Baal. Hosea 2 makes clear that the people regarded this god as the source of fertility, 2.10 (ET 8) stating that they believed Baal to be responsible for 'the grain, the wine, and the oil', while in 2.7 (ET 5) the woman attributes to her lovers (the Baals) her bread, water, wool, flax, oil and drink, and 2.14 (ET 12) similarly ascribes to them vines and fig trees. All this agrees perfectly with what we know about Baal from the Ugaritic texts. For example, the Keret epic refers to the coming of Baal's rain, 'a delight to the fields... a delight to the wheat' (*KTU* 1.16.III.6-7), as bringing joy to the farmers, faced with the failure of the bread, wine and oil (*KTU* 1.16.III.12-16), three of the very items associated with Baal in Hosea 2. Again, the Baal epic itself has many references to him as the one who brings the rain, on which the fertility of the land depends, the rain ceasing with his death and returning with his resurrection (cf. *KTU* 1.6.III.1-13). Later on I shall

be pointing out that Hos. 13.1 and other verses imply knowledge of Baal's being a dying and rising god, such as we find at Ugarit, and similarly, as we shall see, Hos. 7.14 appears to attest a Baalistic mourning rite known from Ugarit. Clearly there was considerable continuity in the cult of Baal over both time (second and first millennia BCE) and place (Syria and Palestine); on this religious continuity generally see Day 1994.

Secondly, why does the text sometimes refer to 'the Baals' in the plural (a term found also elsewhere in the Old Testament), in addition to Baal in the singular? One possibility is that Hosea is referring to different local manifestations of the one god Baal (e.g. Mulder 1962: 98, 110; Mulder and de Moor 1973: 719, ET 1975: 193-94; Davies 1992: 77), while another view holds that 'the Baals' are a cipher for other deities more generally (Wyatt 2005: 77; Jeremias 1996). Here I tend to favour the former interpretation. In support of this it is noteworthy how many different manifestations of Baal the Old Testament mentions (e.g. Baal of Hermon, Judg. 3.3; Baal-Zaphon, Exod. 14.2; Baal-Peor, Hos. 9.10; Baal-Hamon, Cant. 8.11), something which led many earlier scholars, including W. Robertson Smith (1894: 102), to assume that there were a multiplicity of gods called Baal, rather than—as we now know from the Ugaritic texts—simply one cosmic god Baal who had different local manifestations (comparable to the various local manifestations of the Virgin Mary in the Catholic Church). Similarly, Phoenician inscriptions mention various manifestations of Baal (e.g. Baal of Lebanon, *KAI* 31.1, 2; Baal of Sidon, *KAI* 14.18; Baal-Zaphon, *KAI* 50.2-3). Again, in the Aramaic version of the bilingual inscription from Tell Fekheriyeh we read of Hadad of Sikan (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard 1982: 23-24). That Baal could have various manifestations is also apparent much earlier from the Ugaritic pantheon list, which lists the name of Baal seven times in succession (*KTU* 1.47.5-11), and the Ugaritic texts also contain specific references to Baal-Zaphon, Baal of Ugarit and Baal of Aleppo (cf. references in Pardee 2002: 287). In the light of this wider Canaanite and Old Testament, as well as Aramaean, background, it is therefore wholly natural that Hosea should speak of 'the Baals' to denote the various local manifestations of Baal. Moreover, it would appear that in Hosea the terms Baal and the Baals are used interchangeably. I note, for instance, that fertility (including the specific provision of grain/bread and oil) is attributed to Baal in the singular in Hos. 2.10 (ET 8), whereas in 2.7 (ET 5) it is attributed to Israel's "lovers", the plural surely evoking the plural Baals.⁵

5. Dearman (1993) has argued that the various place names involving Baal in the Old Testament need not necessarily reflect the storm god Baal but could involve

A third question that Hosea 2 raises is whether Hosea was actually objecting to the cult of Baal as a distinct deity or whether what he was opposing was simply a syncretistic form of the worship of Yahweh. Hosea certainly presents it as a case of the Israelites departing from Yahweh in order to worship a god Baal. At the same time, he also insists that the Israelites should no longer call Yahweh ‘my Baal’: “On that day, says the Lord, you will call me “My husband”, and no longer will you call me “my Baal”” (Hos. 2.18, ET 16). It may be, therefore, that Hosea opposed both Baal worship as such as well as the tendency to confuse Yahweh with Baal. However that may be, it is noteworthy that the Samaria ostraca, dating not long before the time of Hosea, contain as many as six different theophoric names with Baal alongside nine with Yahweh (Dobbs-Allsopp, Roberts, Seow and Whitaker 2005: 428-80), which offers strong testimony to the highly Baalized nature of the northern Israelite cult at that time. Further, not only Yahweh but also Baal is referred to in the early eighth-century Hebrew inscriptions from Kuntilet ‘Ajrud (Meshel 1978: 13 [English section]), the language of which shows clear northern Israelite connections in spite of the site’s southern location.

At this point it should be noted that two alternative readings of Hosea 2 divergent from the norm summarized earlier have been proposed in recent years. The first is that of W.D. Whitt (1992; cf. Maderna 2008), who claimed that Hos. 2.4-7, 12-14 (ET 2-5, 10-12) originally alluded to Yahweh’s divorce of the goddess Asherah. He concedes that in the form

epithets of other deities, for example, Yahweh, who is probably implied in the place name Baal-perazim (2 Sam. 5.20) and in a few personal names involving Baal, such as that of Saul’s son Eshbaal (1 Chron. 8.33). However, while certainty with regard to every single Baal place name is not possible, if we take divine names involving the element Baal where it is possible to test them, the evidence repeatedly points in favour of seeing epithets of the storm god Baal. Thus, Baal-Zaphon is well known as the cosmic Baal of Ugarit; the name Baal-zebul, god of Ekron (2 Kgs 1.2, etc.), appears to be a deliberate scribal corruption of Baal-zebul, reflecting the Ugaritic epithet *zbl bʿl*, ‘Prince Baal’ (cf. too Beelzebul in Mk 3.22, etc.; see Day 2000: 77-81); Baal of Sidon appears to have Astarte (Baal’s wife) as his consort (*KAI* 14.18); similarly the Punic deity Baal-Ḥammon has Tinnit as his consort (*KAI* 79.1), a goddess equated with Astarte (Pritchard 1978: 105); Baal-Shamem (together with Baal-Malage and Baal-Zaphon) is attested as a storm god in Esar-haddon’s treaty with King Baal of Tyre (*ANET*, 534). The probability is, therefore, that the majority of place names involving Baal do relate to the storm god Baal. Dearman (1993: 183) himself concedes that ‘some sites (perhaps even the majority) preserve a reference to a great storm and fertility deity’. We may acknowledge that Yahweh could also be called Baal, which doubtless arose through his being identified or confused with the great storm god.

of the text as we now have it Hosea 2 refers to Yahweh's relationship with the people of Israel rather than with the goddess Asherah (cf. Hos. 2.16-17, 18-19, 21-22, ET 14-15, 16-17, 19-20), but holds that this is the work of later redactors. This, however, is highly unconvincing. As C. Frevel (1995: I, 263-65) rightly pointed out, Whitt's identification of Hos. 2.4-7, 12-14 (ET 2-5, 10-12) as the original text, separating it from the rest of the chapter, is entirely arbitrary, and obviously depends on expunging those verses that do not fit his theory, for example, 2.15 (ET 13), where the woman offers incense to the Baals, which does not sound like a reference simply to a goddess. Furthermore, as John J. Schmitt (1995) has noted, it is highly unlikely that such a fanatical monolatrism as Hosea would have depicted Asherah as married to Yahweh and as Israel's mother (Hos. 2.4, ET 2), even for the sake of an *ad hominem* argument with his opponents. Elsewhere the Hebrew Bible simply regards her as nothing more than a pagan abomination. Indeed, this is probably why the Deuteronomists sometimes connect Asherah with Baal rather than Yahweh when condemning syncretism, attributing guilt by association. However, Schmitt's own view that the woman in Hosea 2 represents the city of Samaria is similarly unlikely, since the chapter more naturally alludes to the people as a whole rather than merely the capital city (contrast Ezek. 16; 23, where the harlots explicitly represent Jerusalem and Samaria).

A second divergent reading has been proposed even more recently by Brad E. Kelle (2005). Like Schmitt, Kelle claims that the adulterous woman in Hos. 2.1-25 (ET 1.10-2.23) symbolizes the city of Samaria. However, his central thesis is totally different, for he argues that the woman's adulterous behaviour does not refer to the pursuit of the cult of Baal but rather to Israel's alliance (under Pekah) with the anti-Assyrian coalition of Rezin of Syria. However, this is quite unconvincing. First of all, the idea that ch. 2 alludes to Israel's foreign alliances rather than worship of Baal is pure eisegesis: there is not a single obvious reference to foreign alliances anywhere in this chapter. Secondly, in an attempt to uphold his bold hypothesis, Kelle unconvincingly claims that the allusions to *ba'al* and the *b^cālīm* refer not to the Canaanite god Baal but rather to Israel's treaty partners, and in his translation of the chapter Kelle strangely renders *ba'al* by 'paramour', a meaning nowhere else to be found in the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, as has already been pointed out above, the agricultural products attributed by the Israelites to *ba'al* in Hos. 2.10 (ET 8; cf. 2.7, ET 5) correspond with what the Ugaritic texts associate with the god Baal. Again, we read in Hos. 2.15 (ET 13) of the offering of incense to the *b^cālīm*, which clearly implies divinity (cf.

Hos. 11.2). The unnaturalness of Kelle's understanding is further highlighted by the fact that all the other references to *ba'al* and the *b^cālīm* elsewhere in Hosea unambiguously allude to the god, not foreign alliances (Hos. 9.10; 11.2; 13.1), something which Kelle does not deny. However, he attempts to downplay the force of these latter allusions by claiming that they are merely historical retrospects and do not refer to the religious situation in the time of Hosea, unlike Hosea 2. Against this, however, stands the fact that Ephraim's death through Baal worship, mentioned in Hos. 13.1, appears to be a recent event (probably the disaster of 733 BCE) and further, in Hos. 11.2, the allusions to Israel's continuing to offer sacrifices to Baal is most naturally understood as extending into the present, as no subsequent sin is mentioned in this chapter to justify Yahweh's coming judgment on Israel.⁶

2.3. *Hosea's Marriage and its Symbolism vis-à-vis Baal Worship*

As is well known, the sermon in Hosea 2 is both preceded and followed by accounts of Hosea's love affair in chs. 1 and 3, and there has been much discussion over the years about how these chapters fit together. The traditional view is that Hosea 1 precedes ch. 3, that the woman in the latter chapter is Gomer, Hosea's wife of ch. 1, who has gone astray after other lovers and is now reclaimed by him (Rowley 1963; Wolff 1965, ET 1974; Mays 1969; Andersen and Freedman 1980; Macintosh 1997). Such an understanding coheres well with ch. 2, where Israel is depicted as faithless to Yahweh, a mother who plays the whore, bearing children of whoredom (Hos. 2.6-7, ET 4-5; cf. 1.2), going after her lovers, the Baals, and is then reclaimed by Yahweh, and where there are plays on the names of Gomer's children at the end.

Two alternatives to this standard view are as follows. First, there is the suggestion that chs. 1 and 3 are basically parallel accounts of the same event, with ch. 1 concentrating on the children and ch. 3 on the wife (e.g. Ackroyd 1962: 603; Eissfeldt 1964: 522-27, ET 1965: 387-90). However, this view is easily dismissed in the light of Hos. 3.1: whether we translate 'The Lord said to me again, "Go, love a woman..."' or 'The Lord said to

6. Kelle's radical view greatly develops hints occasionally found in earlier scholars. For example, Yee (1987: 55, 305-309) held that the original prophet's message related only to Israel's foreign alliances and associated political intrigue (within ch. 2 only 2.4aA, 4B-5, 7B and 12, ET 2.2aA, 2B-3B, 5B, 10, are seen as original), but this was later redacted to refer to Israel's Baal cult. Again, Landy (1995: 37) briefly suggested that Hos. 2 might have in mind 'foreign powers', in addition to the more obvious 'indigenous gods'.

me, “Go again, love a woman...””, it is clearly implied that this is not the beginning of the story (cf. Hos. 1.2). Secondly, there is the view of Rudolph (1966; cf. Clements 1975), who holds that whereas Hosea 1 describes the prophet’s marriage with Gomer (who is a respectable woman, Hos. 1.2 being redactional), Hosea 3 relates to his affair with a mistress. But Rudolph’s view seems implausible. For example, would the prophet Hosea, so emphatic in his criticism of harlotry, have taken a mistress? Again, there is an enormous problem when we consider the implications of Hos. 3.1. Here it is made clear that there is an analogy between God’s love for Israel, though they go astray after other gods, and Hosea’s love for the adulterous woman: ‘The Lord said to me again, “Go, love a woman who is beloved of a paramour, just as the Lord loves the people of Israel, though they turn to other gods and love raisin cakes.”’ This would seem to make sense only if the woman Hosea is to love had previously been his own wife, that is, the Gomer of ch. 1, and that she had subsequently been faithless to him. Incidentally, Rudolph thinks that the references here to ‘love’ are ironical (Hos. 3 having only punishment in view, 3.5 being entirely redactional), but, as Graham Davies rightly states, this is difficult to believe (for other objections to Rudolph, see Davies 1993: 86-91; cf. 80-85).

Davies himself (1992: 108-109; 1993: 87-92) has suggested a new understanding according to which in ch. 1 Hosea symbolizes the god Baal, after whom the Israelites (represented by Gomer, not to be understood as Hosea’s wife, but as a prostitute) go awhoring. Hosea 3 then depicts Hosea’s taking another woman to symbolize God’s reclaiming of Israel following her unfaithfulness. Against this, however, it would be distinctly odd for Hosea to symbolize the detested god Baal, which would imply that he is enacting something sinful that he elsewhere totally opposes—something unique for an Old Testament prophetic sign action. Again, as with Rudolph’s proposal, there is a problem for Davies’s view in Hos. 3.1, which clearly implies that there is a close analogy between God’s love for Israel, though they go after other gods, and Hosea’s love for the adulterous woman (cf. the words ‘just as’). The analogy only holds properly if the adulterous woman had previously been Hosea’s wife who had gone astray from him, that is, the Gomer of ch. 1.⁷

7. It is with regret that I differ from Davies on the subject of Hosea’s marriage, since in general I regard his 1992 Hosea commentary as the best full-length commentary available on this book.

2.4. *Explicit References to Baal in Hosea 4–14*

There are three explicit references to Baal within these chapters, namely, Hos. 9.10; 11.2 and 13.1. In Hos. 9.10, Yahweh declares, ‘Like grapes in the wilderness, I found Israel. Like the first fruit on the fig tree, in its season, I saw your ancestors. But they came to Baal-Peor, and consecrated themselves to a thing of shame, and became detestable like the thing they loved.’ There is almost universal agreement that what is referred to is Israel’s apostasy to the god Baal-Peor in Moab attested in Num. 25.1-5 (cf. Deut. 4.3-4), prior to the settlement in the land. The proposal of Boudreau (1993) that the reference is not to this but to an otherwise unknown more recent event is unlikely: the close connection with the wilderness generation in Hos. 9.10 makes an allusion to the pentateuchal event entirely natural. Interestingly, Hosea refers to the god Baal-Peor (or *bōšet*, ‘shame’; cf. Day 2000: 81-83) as *ʾah^abām*, ‘the thing they loved’, which recalls his reference to the contemporary Baals in Hosea 2 as Israel’s lovers. Israel’s current Baalized cult doubtless follows in the train of Baal-Peor, so there is presumably deliberate irony in Hosea’s depiction of coming infertility as a punishment (Hos. 9.11-14, 16), since those who worshipped Baal actually saw him as the source of fertility. It has sometimes been supposed that the words of Hos. 9.15, ‘Every evil of theirs is in Gilgal, for there I hated them...’, also refer to the Baal-Peor event. This is based on the understanding that Mic. 6.5’s allusion to ‘from Shittim to Gilgal’, following a reference to Balaam and Barak, has in mind the sin at Baal-Peor (e.g. Gelston 1974: 81). However, a careful examination of the text suggests that Micah is referring rather to the passage through the River Jordan, which went precisely from Shittim to Gilgal (Josh. 3.1; 4.19)⁸ and fits in much better alongside allusions to the Exodus and Balaam’s blessing of Israel previously mentioned (Mic. 6.4-5a), all ‘saving acts of the Lord’ (Mic. 6.5b), unlike the sin at Baal-Peor. Hosea 9.5’s allusion to evil at Gilgal must therefore refer to something else, possibly something cultic (cf. Hos. 4.15; 12.12, ET 11).

Hosea 13.1 declares that ‘When Ephraim spoke, there was trembling; he was exalted in Israel; but he incurred guilt through Baal and died’. Andersen and Freedman (1980: 624, 630) and more recently Chalmers (2008: 73-74) claim that we should translate rather ‘Ephraim incurred guilt *at* Baal and died’, Baal standing for the place Baal-Peor referred to

8. So most commentators, who also accept that something is missing from the Hebrew text before ‘from Shittim to Gilgal’, for example, *ʿabôr*, ‘the crossing’, or a similar form from the root *ʿbr* (prominent in Josh. 3–4), which could easily have fallen out through haplography following the previous word *b^ʿôr*, ‘Beor’.

above. However, apart from the surprising and unprecedented reference to the place Baal-Peor as ‘Baal’, the sin at Baal-Peor was long in the past, whereas Israel’s ‘death’ surely alludes to a more recent event (presumably the disaster of 733 BCE). Chalmers’s motivation for his view is the fact that the usual understanding of the verse is embarrassing for his central thesis that Hosea 11–13 is primarily directed against the cult of El, and by alleging that the sin at Baal-Peor is alluded to he is able to claim that the apostasy to Baal was long in the past. For the same reason, Hos. 11.2, where we read, ‘The more I called them, the more they went from me; they kept sacrificing to the Baals, and offering incense to idols’, is also an embarrassment for his thesis. Here Chalmers again claims that the sin is long in the past and he also holds that the text’s reference to ‘the Baals’ alludes to other gods generally. However, as we have seen above, Hosea’s use of ‘Baal’ and ‘the Baals’ is indifferent: the fertility of the land is attributed to both of them by the people, and it is most natural to assume that the latter are local manifestations of the former. Further, Hos. 11.2’s reference to Israel’s continuing to offer sacrifice to Baal is most naturally understood as extending into the present, as no subsequent sin is mentioned to justify Yahweh’s coming judgment on Israel. As noted earlier, the Samaria ostraca provide ample evidence of the prevalence of Baal worship in Israel not long before the time of Hosea.

There are two other verses in Hosea 4–11 where scholars have sometimes emended the text so as to obtain further explicit references to Baal, Hos. 7.16 and 11.7. In Hos. 7.15–16a we read: ‘It was I who trained and strengthened their arms, yet they plot against me. They turn *lō’ ʿāl*, they have become like a defective bow...’ The words ‘They turn *lō’ ʿāl*’ do not make any sense. A popular emendation (e.g. RSV, JB) is to read ‘They turn to Baal (*labbaʿal*)’, which fits the context well, following on the reference in 7.14 to the Baalistic rite of people gashing themselves for grain and wine and rebelling against Yahweh (on which see below). If the reference is indeed to Baal, this is better secured through emendation to *labbaʿal* than on the supposition that we should emend to *ʿel ʿal*, ‘to the Most High’, ‘Most High’ being understood an epithet of Baal (e.g. Jeremias 1983: 91 n. 17), since not only is the evidence for such a divine epithet in Hebrew doubtful, but if it did exist we should more naturally expect it to denote Yahweh, which does not fit the context here. Similar objections apply to the view that takes ʿAl as an epithet of El (e.g. Chalmers 2008: 82–84). No more plausible is the emendation favoured by the NRSV, ‘they turn to that which does not profit’ (*ʿel lō’ yōʿîl*), as this departs too far from the MT. Other suggestions that have been made

include ‘They return, but not to the Most High’ (AV, cf. RV) and ‘they change their minds but never to higher things’ (Macintosh 1997: 284), but these do not appear particularly convincing. As noted, a reference to Baal is attractive in this context, but the lack of manuscript or Versional support makes it uncertain.

The situation is similar with regard to Hos. 11.7. The MT reads, ‘My people are bent on turning away from me. To ‘Al they call him, but he does not raise (them) up at all’. It is again attractive to emend ‘*al* to *ba‘al* and read ‘They call to Baal but he does not raise (them) up at all’ (cf. JB, REB), bearing in mind the context in which Israel is accused of turning away from Yahweh (root *šûb*, as in Hos. 7.16) and the fact that Israel’s sin centring on the Baals has been mentioned just before in Hos. 11.2. However, there is again no manuscript or Versional support for this emendation.

On the other hand, there are strong objections to rendering ‘Al as ‘the Most High’ with reference to Baal (Jeremias 1983: 144) or El (Chalmers 2008: 80-85), as already noted regarding Hos. 7.16 above. Nor does rendering ‘*al* as ‘higher things’ (Macintosh 1977: 455) particularly commend itself. However, the emendation of ‘*al* to ‘*ōl*, ‘yoke’ (cf. several Greek versions, Vulgate and probably Targum), yielding ‘so they are appointed to the yoke, and none shall remove it’ (cf. RSV), is not impossible and could be the preferred option if we are not to find a reference to Baal here.

3. *Baal Cult Ritual Actions*

3.1. *Israelites Gashing themselves for Grain and Wine*

In Hos. 7.14 we find a reference to an interesting ritual. The prophet declares of the people, ‘They do not cry to me from their heart, but they wail upon their beds; they gash themselves⁹ for grain and wine; they rebel against me’. The fact that they are gashing themselves for grain and wine and that this is seen as an act of rebellion against Yahweh is fully explicable if this is understood as a mourning ritual for the god Baal, whom many were tempted to see as the source of fertility. Hosea, we recall, implies in Hos. 2.10 (ET 8) that the people attributed grain and wine (among other things) to Baal rather than Yahweh, when he states, ‘She did not know that it was I who gave her the grain, the wine, and the

9. Reading *yitgôdâtû* for *yitgôrârû* with some Hebrew MSS and LXX, as is almost universally accepted. This achieves the meaning ‘they gash themselves’, a mourning rite which forms an excellent parallel with ‘they wail’, whereas the reading with *resh* fails to yield a satisfactory meaning (‘they assemble themselves’).

oil, and lavished upon her silver and gold which they used for Baal'. Moreover, gashing oneself as a cultic action is specifically attributed to the prophets of Baal in 1 Kgs 18.28 at the time of their contest with Elijah on Mt Carmel, the aim of the latter being to see whether Yahweh or Baal could bring down fire from heaven, that is, lightning presaging the rain and an end to a three-year drought (1 Kgs 17.1), as is made clear by the sequel when there is a heavy downpour of rain (1 Kgs 18.44-45). Note the words of 1 Kgs 18.28 implying that this self-laceration was a regular ritual, 'Then they [the prophets of Baal] cried aloud and, *as was their custom*, they cut themselves with swords and lances until the blood gushed out over them'. This is illuminated by the Ugaritic Baal myth, where we read that both the supreme god El and Baal's consort Anat gashed themselves as part of a mourning ritual following Baal's death, which preceded his resurrection and the return of the rain and new fertility. Thus, after Baal has died, we read that the god El, as part of his mourning rites, 'scraped his skin with a stone, with a flint for a razor he shaved his side-whiskers and beard, he harrowed his chest like a garden, he harrowed his waist like a valley. He lifted up his voice and cried: "Baal is dead..."' (*KTU* 1.5.VI.17-23). Soon afterwards almost identical actions and words are attributed to the goddess Anat (*KTU* 1.6.I.2-6). Clearly the people were thought of as re-enacting the ritual actions of El and Anat on behalf of Baal, or alternatively we could say that these divine actions were a reflection of the human ritual lament for Baal, whichever way one wishes to look at it. As noted above, in keeping with our understanding of Hos. 7.14, it is possible that Baal is actually referred to just afterwards in Hos. 7.16 (reading 'they turn to Baal [*labba'al*]' for 'they return *lō' 'āl'*), though certainty is not possible.

3.2. *Sacred Prostitution*

Over the last few decades a number of scholars have claimed that sacred prostitution never existed in ancient Israel or the ancient Near East, yet it is noteworthy that those who take this view cannot agree among themselves whether the Old Testament refers to it but its evidence is unreliable (e.g. Oden 1987: 131-53) or whether the Old Testament does not even allude to it (e.g. Barstad 1984: 26-34). However, most recent sceptics have followed the latter view. I have dealt with this subject at length in the Kevin Cathcart Festschrift (Day 2004), defending the view that, though we cannot say a vast amount about it, there is at least some evidence both from the Old Testament and the ancient Near East which makes best sense on the hypothesis that acts of a ritual sexual nature did sometimes take place within the cult. So far no one has responded to my

arguments, which there is not space to repeat here. However, one crucial point is that in no less than three passages the word for prostitute, *zônâ*, appears to be equivalent to the word *q^edēšâ*, literally ‘holy one’ (Gen. 38.15, 21-22 [cf. 24]; Deut. 23.18-19, ET 17-18; Hos. 4.14), something that makes sense only if the *q^edēšâ* was a sacred prostitute. One of the three places is Hos. 4.14, where as part of the description of the worship of the high places we read that ‘the men themselves go aside with harlots (*zônôt*), and sacrifice with *q^edešôt*’. The usual ploy to avoid seeing here a reference to sacred prostitution is to suppose that the harlots are metaphorical, not literal harlots, that is, simply apostates with no suggestion of actual sexuality being involved (Barstad 1984: 31; Stark 2006: 165-83; Budin 2008: 35, 37-38; Moughtin-Mumby 2008: 72-75). The problem with this, however, is that on the other two occasions in the Hebrew Bible where the word *zônâ* is equivalent to *q^edēšâ* it is absolutely clear that we are dealing with literal, not merely metaphorical harlots (Gen. 38.15, 24; Deut. 23.18-19, ET 17-18). This should therefore also be the case in Hos. 4.14.

4. *The Bull Cult: El, Not Baal Imagery*

The prophet Hosea refers several times to the bull cult, that is, Jeroboam I’s golden calves, which he strongly opposes (Hos. 8.5-6; 10.5-6; 13.2). Sometimes it has been supposed that these denoted Baal, who could be symbolized by a bull (e.g. he has sex with a heifer, presumably as a bull, in *KTU* 1.5.V.18-22). The understanding that Jeroboam’s golden calves signified worship of the god Baal is found as far back as the book of Tobit, in Tob. 1.5, but not in the Hebrew Bible itself.¹⁰ However, despite the fact that a number of modern scholars have followed this view (e.g. Östborn 1956: 15, 23, 26; Andersen and Freedman 1980: 493, 631; Barstad 1984: 189), the evidence strongly tells against it. It is noteworthy that the revolution of Jehu, of whom it is said that he ‘wiped out Baal from Israel’ (2 Kgs 10.28), specifically refrained from removing the golden calves (2 Kgs 10.29), clearly implying that they were not understood to be part of the cult of Baal. Similarly, no word of condemnation of the golden calves is found in the reported words of the prophet Elijah, that staunch opponent of Baal in the ninth century BCE, and the same is true of Elisha. Most likely we should envisage here symbolism ultimately derived from the god El (cf. Cross 1973: 73-75; Curtis 1990: 25-28; Day 2000: 34-41), who we know from the Ugaritic texts was symbolized by a

10. *Contra* Chalmers (2008: 45, 46), who mistakenly claims that 2 Kgs 17.16 implies this (not that he accepts this understanding).

bull (cf. *tr ʾil*, ‘bull El’, *KTU* 1.2.III.21, etc.) and who was equated with Yahweh in ancient Israel, including the Hebrew Bible. The very name Bethel (‘house of El’), the site of one of the golden calves, is suggestive of this. The god of Bethel is called El-Bethel in Gen. 35.7, which doubtless explains why Jer. 48.13 refers back to the god of the northern kingdom as Bethel (just as El-Shaddai sometimes appears as simply Shaddai). Bethel was closely connected with Jacob, and it is therefore significant that his deity is called *ʾabîr yaʾqōb*, ‘the Mighty One of Jacob’, *ʾabîr* being closely related to the word *ʾabbîr*, ‘bull’.

However, we should reject the view of Wyatt (2005) and Chalmers (2008: 42-52) that Jeroboam’s calves were intended to represent simply El, as opposed to Yahweh-El. Since it would appear that Jeroboam’s aims were to stop the northern tribes from going up to Jerusalem (1 Kgs 12.28), the golden calves would naturally have been understood as symbols of Yahweh. Interestingly, the only known Hebrew personal name containing the word *ʿgl*, ‘calf’, namely *ʿglyw*, ‘Yahweh is a calf’ or ‘calf of Yahweh’, attested in Samaria ostracon 41 not long before the time of Hosea (Dobbs-Allsopp, Roberts, Seow and Whitaker 2005: 463-64), coheres with this. However, this understanding later became unacceptable in some circles, including Hosea and the Deuteronomists.¹¹

5. Hosea’s Use of Death and Resurrection Imagery

Up to this point I have been considering Hosea’s opposition to the Baal cult. However, a good case can be made in favour of the view that as part of his polemic Hosea also took over his enemies’ imagery and utilized it for his own purposes. This I see exemplified in Hosea 5–6 and 13–14, where the prophet appears to take up the imagery of Baal’s death and resurrection and applies it to Israel. Israel dies for worshipping Baal (Hos. 13.1), prior to its resurrection after repentance. As in Ezekiel 37, and apparently Isa. 26.19 and 53, death and resurrection in Hosea 5–6, 13–14 symbolize exile and restoration.

But in broaching this subject we have to tackle two questions. First, was Baal actually regarded as a dying and rising god? Secondly, does Hosea in fact use the imagery of death and resurrection? With regard to the first question, the general consensus over many years has been that Baal was a dying and rising god. However, in recent years a number of scholars have sought to reject this conclusion. Thus a couple of scholars have queried whether Baal was a dying and rising god on the supposition

11. The golden calves were never merely pedestals for the deity. See the arguments in Day 2000: 39-41.

that his place was taken by a substitute, the offspring of Baal's intercourse with a heifer described in *KTU* 1.5.V.18-25 (de Moor 1971: 188; Gibson 1979: 159-60). However, it has been shown that this notion is completely baseless and without any support in the Ugaritic Baal myth, where it is clear that Baal is really and not merely seemingly dead (cf. Waterston 1989: 425-34; Mettinger 2001: 35-36). More vociferously in recent years a few scholars have claimed that Baal was not a dying and rising god—a category of gods they claim was unknown in the ancient Near East, inspired by the uncritical work of James Frazer (1906, 1914)—but rather a disappearing and reappearing god like the Hittite god Telepinus (Barstad 1984: 150-54; J.Z. Smith 1987: 521-27; M.S. Smith 1994: 72-73; 1998, reworked in 2001: 104-31; and M.S. Smith and Pitard 2009: 124). However, the evidence for these claims is distinctly weak (see Day 2000: 117-18 and especially Mettinger 2001). Whereas Telepinus vanishes, is sought for and eventually found, the Baal myth contains repeated references to his death, followed by the announcement that he is alive. We read of Baal being swallowed by Mot, the god of death, and several times it is stated, 'mightiest Baal is dead, the prince, lord of the earth has perished'. In keeping with this, Baal is buried by Anat and mourned by both her and El in the customary manner.¹² Alongside this, as a consequence of Baal taking his wind, rain and most of the dew with him into the underworld, the land becomes hot, dry and parched. Following this we have a report of El's vision in which the heavens rain oil and the ravines run with honey, and he declares, 'mightiest Baal is alive (*hy 'al'iyn b'l*), for the prince, lord of the earth exists'. (For all this see *KTU* 1.4.VIII-1.6.VI.) Barstad, followed by M.S. Smith, sees the expression 'mightiest Baal is alive' as paralleling Ps. 18.47 (ET 46), 'The Lord lives' (*hay yhw*). However, this is unconvincing, since whereas Yahweh is constantly alive, the declaration regarding Baal comes against the backdrop of repeated references to his death and must imply his resurrection. Finally, contrary to the claims of Barstad, J.Z. Smith and M.S. Smith, the exhaustive study of Mettinger (2001) has shown that there was a class of dying and rising gods in the ancient Near East, certainly including Dumuzi and Melqart, in addition to Baal, and possibly Adonis and Eshmun, though the latter two are unproven.

Granted that Baal was regarded as a dying and rising god, the next point that needs to be demonstrated is that Hosea uses the imagery of death and resurrection, since it has quite often been supposed that Hosea

12. Evidence for the death of Baal (Hadad) may further be detected in Zech. 12.11, which speaks of 'the mourning for Hadad-rimmon in the valley of Megiddo', apparently referring to an Aramaean cult.

5–6 employs rather the imagery of illness and healing (e.g. Mays 1969: 95; Wolff 1965, ET 1974: 117; Rudolph 1966: 135). However, the following points speak against this (cf. Baudissin 1911: 404-407; Martin-Achard 1960: 80-86; Andersen and Freedman 1980: 418-20; Pryce 1989: *passim*). First, with regard to Hos. 6.2, ‘After two days he will revive us (*y^eḥayyēnû*); on the third day he will raise us up (*y^eqîmēnû*), that we may live before him’, it should be noted that in every other instance where the verbs *ḥyh* and *qîm* appear as word pairs in the Hebrew Bible it is certain that resurrection from death is being referred to, not simply healing (cf. Isa. 24.14, 19; Job 14.12, 14). Secondly, just afterwards, in Hos. 6.5, the prophet alludes to the death of the people. Thirdly, in Hos. 5.14 Hosea employs the image of a lion carrying off its prey, adding ‘and none shall rescue’. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the image of a lion carrying off its prey implies certain death (Jer. 2.30; Amos 3.12; Mic. 5.7, ET 8), including significantly in Hosea (Hos. 13.7, 9). This last point brings me to my fourth and most decisive argument, namely, that there is a whole series of striking parallels between the imagery used in Hosea 5–6 and 13–14, and in the latter it is stated unambiguously that Israel’s death is in view (Hos. 13.1, 9, 14), not merely illness. Thus in both Hosea 5–6 and 13–14 Yahweh attacks Israel like a lion (Hos. 5.14; 13.7-8), in both Israel is called to return (*šûb*) to the Lord (Hos. 6.1; 14.2, ET 1), in both Yahweh’s revivifying power is compared to the rain or dew (Hos. 6.3; 14.6, ET 5), and in both Yahweh speaks of healing (*rp^a*) his people (Hos. 6.1; 14.5, ET 4). Interestingly, this last parallel demonstrates that the use of the verb ‘to heal’ in Hos. 6.1 does not have to imply something less than resurrection from death, contrary to what is sometimes supposed.

Having shown that Hosea uses the imagery of death and resurrection with respect to Israel in Hosea 5–6 and 13–14, the question naturally arises whence he derived it. Since opposition to the cult of Baal lies at the centre of the prophet’s thinking, it is attractive to suppose that he has taken it over from there and reapplied it.¹³ What particularly supports this

13. The view that Hosea took up the imagery of Israel’s death and resurrection from a fertility deity was first put forwards by Baudissin (1911: 404-16; cf. May 1932: 74-78), but he was thinking in terms of Adonis or Eshmun, reliant as he was on classical sources, and writing before the discovery of the Ugaritic texts revealed the nature of Baal as a dying and rising god. Those who see influence specifically from Baal on Hosea’s imagery include Hvidberg 1938: 109-13, ET 1962: 126-31; Martin-Achard 1960: 81-86; Day 2000: 118-22. Davies (1992: 161, 297) admits Baalistic influence on Hos. 13.14-15 but not on chs. 5–6. However, it does not seem that literal resurrection on the third day (6.2) can be derived from Baal mythology; this probably refers to resurrection after a short while. See my discussion in Day 2000: 121-22, and compare Mettinger 2001: 214-15.

is the fact that Hos. 13.1 declares that ‘Ephraim...incurred guilt through Baal and died’. As already noted, this is surely ironical, implying that it is not Baal who dies and rises but rather that Israel dies for worshipping Baal, followed if repentant, by resurrection. Several additional points in Hosea’s imagery support this conclusion. Thus, in Hos. 6.3 Israel’s resurrection is associated with the coming of the rain and Hos. 14.6 (ET 5) similarly speaks of the dew bringing about renewed fertility in Israel: both instances cohere with an origin in Baal symbolism, for we know that Baal restored the rain when he rose from the dead (*KTU* 1.6.III.1-13; cf. 1.5.V.6-8), which must have been true also of the dew, since we read of his taking two dew goddesses into the underworld with him at the time of his death (*KTU* 1.5.V.10-11). Another parallel with Baal mythology is to be found in Hos. 13.14-15, where Israel is in the grip of Death and Sheol and her spring or fountain dries up, causing dryness, just as Baal’s swallowing up by Mot leads to a period of dryness. In contrast, Israel’s restoration is symbolized by the return of fertility in Hos. 14.6-8 (ET 5-7), just as occurs when Baal rises from the dead. Finally, it should be noted that in Hos. 5.14 and 13.7-8 Yahweh acts like a ravenous beast to destroy Israel, which is comparable to *KTU* 1.12 (which reads like a variant of the main Baal myth), where ravenous beasts kill Baal.

At this point I must conclude this study of Hosea and the Baal Cult, which I trust has succeeded in shedding light on a number of disputed matters.

Bibliography

- Abou-Assaf, A., P. Bordreuil and A.R. Millard
 1982 *La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne* (Paris: A.D.P.F.).
- Ackroyd, P.R.
 1962 ‘Hosea’, in M. Black and H.H. Rowley (eds.), *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible* (London: Nelson): 603-13.
- Andersen, F.I., and D.N. Freedman
 1980 *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 24; Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Barstad, H.M.
 1984 *The Religious Polemics of Amos: Studies in the Preaching of Am 2,7B-8; 4,1-13; 5,1-27; 6,4-7; 8,14* (VTSup, 24; Leiden: Brill).
- Baudissin, W.W. Graf
 1911 *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs).
- Boudreau, G.R.
 1993 ‘Hosea and the Pentateuchal Traditions: The Case of Baal of Peor’, in Graham, Brown and Kuan (eds.) 1993: 121-32.

- Budin, S.L.
2008 *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Chalmers, R.S.
2008 *The Struggle of Yahweh and El for Hosea's Israel* (Hebrew Bible Monographs, 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press).
- Clements, R.E.
1975 'Understanding the Book of Hosea', *Review and Expositor* 72: 405-23.
- Cross, F.M.
1973 *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- Curtis, A.H.W.
1990 'Some Observations on "Bull" Terminology in the Ugaritic texts and the Old Testament', in A.S. van der Woude (ed.), *In Quest of the Past: Studies on Israelite Religion, Literature and Prophetism* (OTS, 26; Leiden: Brill): 17-31.
- Davies, G.I.
1992 *Hosea* (NCB; London: Marshall Pickering; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
1993 *Hosea* (OTG; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Day, J.
1986 'Asherah in the Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic Literature', *JBL* 105: 385-408.
1992 'The Problem of "So, King of Egypt" in 2 Kings xvii 4', *VT* 42: 289-301.
1994 'Ugarit and the Bible: Do they Presuppose the Same Canaanite Mythology and Religion?', in A.H.W. Curtis, J.F. Healey and G.J. Brooke (eds.), *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag): 35-52.
2000 *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (JSOTSup, 265; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press). Repr. London: Continuum, 2002.
2001 'Hosea', in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds.), *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 571-78.
2004 'Does the Old Testament Refer to Sacred Prostitution and Did it Actually Exist in Ancient Israel?', in C. McCarthy and J.F. Healey (eds.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart* (JSOTSup, 375; London: T&T Clark International): 225-50.
- de Moor, J.
1971 *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'alu* (AOAT, 16; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Dearman, J.A.
1993 'Baal in Israel: The Contribution of Some Place Names and Personal Names to an Understanding of Early Israelite Religion', in Graham, Brown and Kuan (eds.) 1993: 78-89.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz
1992 '*Jahwe und seine Aschera*': *Anthropomorphes Kultbild in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag).

- Dobbs-Allsopp, F.W., J.J.M. Roberts, C.L. Seow and R.E. Whitaker
 2005 *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Eissfeldt, O.
 1964 *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]; 4th edn). ET *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (trans. P.R. Ackroyd; Oxford: Blackwell, 1965).
- Frazer, J.G.
 1906 *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religions* (London: Macmillan).
 1914 *Adonis, Attis, Osiris (The Golden Bough, IV.1-2)*; London: Macmillan, 3rd edn).
- Frevel, C.
 1995 *Aschera und der Ausschließlichkeitsanspruch YHWHs* (BBB, 94.1-2; 2 vols.; Weinheim: Beltz Athenäum Verlag).
- Gelston, A.
 1990 'Kingship in the Book of Hosea', in A.S. van der Woude (ed.), *Language and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Language and Biblical Exegesis* (OTS, 19; Leiden: Brill): 71-85.
- Gibson, J.C.L.
 1979 'The Last Enemy', *SJT* 32: 151-69.
- Graham, M.P., W.P. Brown and J.K. Kuan (eds.)
 1993 *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes* (JSOTSup, 173; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Hvidberg, F.F.
 1938 *Graad og Latter i Det gamle Testamente* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad). ET *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament* (trans. N. Haislund; Leiden: Brill; Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 1962).
- Jeremias, J.
 1983 *Der Prophet Hosea* (ATD, 24.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
 1996 'Der Begriff "Baal" im Hoseabuch', in *Amos und Hosea: Studien zu Anfängen des Dodekapropheten* (FAT, 13; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]): 86-103. Originally published in W. Dietrich and M.A. Klopfenstein (eds.), *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte* (OBO, 139; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994): 441-62.
- Kelle, B.E.
 2005 *Hosea 2: Metaphor and Rhetoric in Historical Perspective* (Academia Biblica, 20; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
- Landy, F.
 1995 *Hosea* (Readings: A New Biblical Commentary; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Lemche, N.P.
 1992 'The God of Hosea', in E. Ulrich, J.W. Wright, R.P. Carroll and P.R. Davies (eds.), *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (JSOTSup, 149; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 241-57.

- Levin, C.
2001 *Das Alte Testament* (Munich: C.H. Beck). ET *The Old Testament: A Brief Introduction* (trans. M. Kohl; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).
- Macintosh, A.A.
1997 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Maderna, S.R.
2008 'Origen dramático en la composición de Os 2,4-15', in J.E. Aguilar Chiu, K.J. O'Mahony and M. Roger (eds.), *Bible et Terre Sainte: Mélanges Marcel Beaudry* (New York: Peter Lang): 179-89.
- Martin-Achard, R.
1960 *From Death to Life* (trans. J.P. Smith; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd).
- May, H.G.
1932 'The Fertility Cult in Hosea', *AJSL* 48: 74-98.
- Mays, J.L.
1969 *Hosea* (OTL; London: SCM Press).
- Meshel, Z.
1978 *Kuntillet 'Ajrud: A Religious Centre from the Time of the Judean Monarchy on the Border of Sinai* (Catalogue 175; Jerusalem: Israel Museum).
- Mettinger, T.N.D.
2001 *The Riddle of Resurrection: "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Ancient Near East* (ConBOT, 50; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International).
- Moughtin-Mumby, S.
2008 *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Mulder, M.J.
1962 *Ba'al in het Oude Testament* (The Hague: van Keulen).
- Mulder, M.J., and J.C. de Moor
1973 'Ba'al', in *ThWAT*: I, 706-27. ET 'Ba'al' in *TDOT* (1975): II, 181-200.
- Oden, R.A.
1987 *The Bible without Theology* (San Francisco: Harper & Row).
- Pardee, D.
2002 *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (SBLWAW; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
- Pritchard, J.B.
1978 *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).
- Pryce, B.C.
1989 'The Resurrection Motif in Hosea 5:8-6:6: An Exegetical Study' (PhD dissertation, Andrews University, Ann Arbor, MI).
- Rowley, H.H.
1963 'The Marriage of Hosea', in *idem, Men of God* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1963): 66-97. Originally published in *BJRL* 39 (1956-57): 200-33.

- Rudnig-Zelt, S.
2006 *Hoseastudien: Redaktionskritische Untersuchung zur Genese des Hoseabuches* (FRLANT, 213; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Rudolph, W.
1965 *Hosea* (KAT, 13.1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn).
- Schmitt, J.J.
1995 'Yahweh's Divorce in Hosea 2: Who is that Woman?', *SJOT* 9: 119-32.
- Smith, J.Z.
1987 'Dying and Rising Gods', in M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, IV (New York: Macmillan): 521-27.
- Smith, M.S.
1994 *Ugaritic Baal Cycle. I. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2* (VTSup, 55; Leiden: Brill).
1998 'Death of "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Biblical World: An Update, with Special Reference to Baal in the Baal Cycle', *SJOT* 12: 257-313.
2001 *Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Smith, M.S., and W.T. Pitard
2009 *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. II. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1,4* (VTSup, 114; Leiden: Brill).
- Smith, W.R.
1894 *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (First Series; London: A. & C. Black, 2nd edn).
- Stark, C.
2006 «Kultprostitution» im Alten Testament? Die Qedeschen der Hebräischen Bibel und das Motiv der Hurerei (OBO, 221; Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Tur-Sinai, N.H.
1965 'אֲשֵׁרָה, אֲשֵׁרָה', in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, I (Jerusalem: Bialik): 31-33 (Hebrew).
- Vielhauer, R.
2007 *Das Werden des Buches Hosea: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (BZAW, 349; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Waterston, A.
1989 'Death and Resurrection in the A.B. Cycle', *UF* 21: 425-34.
- Weinfeld, M.
1984 'Kuntillet 'Ajrud Inscriptions and their Significance', *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici* 1: 121-30.
- Wellhausen, J.
1898 *Die kleinen Propheten übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 3rd edn).
- Whitt, W.D.
1992 'The Divorce of Yahweh and Asherah in Hos 2, 4-7. 12ff', *SJOT* 6: 31-67.
- Wolff, H.W.
1965 *Dodekapropheten. I. Hosea* (BKAT, 14/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2nd edn). ET *Hosea* (trans. G. Stansell; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974).

Wyatt, N.

2005 'Of Calves and Kings', in *idem*, *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature* (Bible World Series; London: Equinox): 72-91. Originally published in *SJOT* 6 (1992): 68-91.

Yee, G.A.

1987 *Composition and Tradition in the Book of Hosea* (SBLDS, 102; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

THE SIGN OF IMMANUEL

John J. Collins

It has been claimed, plausibly, that more has been written about Isa. 7.14 than about any other biblical verse (Kilian 1968; Wildberger 1991). I am not aware of new evidence that might shed new light on the subject, but so it is with many crucial biblical passages. In view of the pivotal role this passage plays in the presentation of Jesus as Son of God in the Gospel of Matthew, it behoves anyone with an interest in messianism or Christology to try to sort out its original intention and early interpretation. Specifically, there are four issues that I want to address: (1) the historical and literary context in which the passage should be read; (2) whether the offering of the sign should be viewed as reassurance or as threat; (3) the nature and identity of the child, which is an issue bound up with the preceding one, meaning that the discussion of the two issues will be interwoven. Finally, I will discuss (4) the messianic interpretation that prevailed in traditional Christianity and still prevails in some quarters.

1. *The Historical and Literary Context*

The study of prophetic literature in recent decades has moved away from the quest for the *ipsissima verba* of the prophets, and towards the redaction, if not the final form of the books that bear their names (Petersen 2002; Sweeney 2005; on the redactional turn in scholarship on Isaiah, see Wegner 1992: 13-62; Williamson 1994: 1-18; Tate 1996; Barthel 1997: 1-24; Childs 2001: 1-5). In the case of Isaiah 7, older scholarship tended to accept that the authenticity of the passage, as a record of Isaiah's activity, was established by Budde's theory of a *Denkschrift* (Budde 1928), comprising Isa. 6.1-9.6 (ET 7) or 6.1-8.18. This theory has been questioned, however, in recent years (Dietrich 1976; Kaiser 1983; Reventlow 1987; Irvine 1992; Williamson 1998a; 1998b; cf. Wagner 2006: 18-41). Unlike chs. 6 and 8, ch. 7 is presented in the third

person, and suggestions that the third-person passages should be emended have the air of special pleading. Moreover, Isa. 7.1 corresponds closely to 2 Kgs 16.5, and several points of contact have been noted between this chapter and the narrative about Hezekiah in chs. 36–39. The conduit of the upper pool, on the highway to the Fuller’s Field, is also the setting for speech of the Rabshakeh in Isa. 36.2 (Sweeney 1996: 151). In both stories, the king is reduced to near panic, and Isaiah tells him not to fear, and offers a sign (Williamson 1998a: 248). These correspondences invite a comparison, or rather a contrast between the two kings, Ahaz and Hezekiah. Since Isaiah 36–39 appears to be derived from 2 Kings, the correspondences raise a question about the provenance of the story in Isaiah 7.

In the light of these observations, the unity of the so-called *Denkschrift* becomes problematic, and some allowance must be made for redactional activity. Stuart Irvine declares that ‘Isaiah 7 forms a single unit, clearly separate from the vision report in chapter 6 and the prophetic memoir in Isaiah 8’ (Irvine 1990: 133). Williamson suggests that the third-person account in ch. 7, which focuses on the king, was inserted into the first-person material in chs. 6 and 8, which are rather concerned with the fate of the people (Williamson 1998a: 250; 1998b: 99; compare Barthel 1997: 62–63).¹ Yet there are close thematic associations between chs. 7 and 8, and there is reason to believe that some form of ch. 7 is presupposed in ch. 8.

Isaiah 8.16–18 would seem to be the end of a unit: ‘Bind up the testimony, seal the teaching among my disciples. I will wait for the Lord, who is hiding his face from the house of Jacob, and I will hope in him. See, I and the children whom the Lord has given me are signs and portents in Israel from the Lord of hosts, who dwells in Mount Zion’ (Barthel 1997: 60). Wildberger declares that ‘there has never been any question that vv. 16–18 come from Isaiah’ (Wildberger 1991: 365). Kaiser affirms that ‘these verses were originally the culmination and end of the memorial’, which he regards as a post-exilic composition, transposed fictitiously to the time of Isaiah (Kaiser 1983: 195). Paul Wegner is uncertain whether 7.16–18 ‘provide a conclusion merely to the preceding oracle or were intended to conclude the whole “Isaianic memoir”’ (Wegner 1992: 72). And yet, v. 18 presupposes mention of more than one child of Isaiah. If we bracket for the moment the identity of Immanuel, the reference is presumably to Shear-jashub as well as Maher-shalal-hash-baz. Moreover, Isa. 8.8, 10 refers back to Immanuel. This reference

1. Beuken (2003: 30) attributes the insertion of the third-person account in ch. 7 to a ‘*Schülerkreis*’.

implies that Immanuel has already been born, and so reflects a later point in time than 7.14. It seems to me, then, that Isa. 8.1-18 presupposes some form of the narrative in ch. 7. There is then something to be said for at least a modified form of the *Denkschrift*, including some form of 7.1-8.18, although ch. 7 must have subsequently undergone some modification (compare Barthel 1997: 61). As Ronald Clements has argued, 'it is much easier to understand why the form of such a memoir should have become distorted and partially obliterated in the course of subsequent editing, than that, as a construction of later editors, it should have been employed only in a very clumsy and limited fashion' (Clements 1996: 67). I think it likely that the first-person account in ch. 6 was also part of the original memoir, but that question lies outside the bounds of my present inquiry.

Within 7.1-8.18 it is necessary to distinguish at least two layers. Marvin Sweeney distinguishes between the 'Isaianic' core and a redaction, which he labels 'Josianic'. Sweeney notes: 'although the present form of 7:1-25 is the product of the Josianic redaction that produced the final form of chs. 5-12, the underlying form of the passage in 7:2-9:6 (*RSV* 7) stems from the prophet who produced this text in the aftermath of Ahaz's submission to Assyria in the Syro-Ephraimite war' (Sweeney 1996: 150).² While any reconstruction of the literary history is necessarily speculative, it seems clear enough that the present form of the chapter is later than the time of Isaiah, and is related to the composition of Isaiah 36-39. Whether the redaction was necessarily Josianic might be disputed. It is possible that the original narrative of Kings found its culmination in the reign of Hezekiah (Weippert 1972: 301-39; Provan 1988; Halpern and Vanderhooft 1991: 179-244),³ and some scholars have argued for redaction in the wake of Sennacherib's invasion in 701 BCE (Barthel 1997: 55, 64, 153).⁴ At the same time, it is difficult to believe that the story of an encounter between the prophet and Ahaz, and the oracle about the birth of the child, does not have an historical basis in the time of Isaiah (Steck 1972: 188-206; Nielsen 1986: 1-16; Høgenhaven 1988: 77-80; Wegner 1992: 70 n. 14). If the whole story had been composed *de novo* to provide a contrast with Hezekiah, we should expect that

2. A redaction in the time of Josiah was originally proposed by Barth (1977). A more complex redactional analysis is proposed by Dietrich (1976: 62-87). For an overview of redactional approaches, see Wagner 2006: 21-29.

3. See also the comments of Wilson (2005: 119) on a possible social setting for the laws of Deuteronomy in the period between Hezekiah and Josiah.

4. Barthel argues for redaction not too long after 701 BCE. The affinity with Isa. 36-39 is found primarily in Isa 7.1 (1997: 63).

it would be simpler and be less ambiguous as to the meaning of the prophecy.

The oracular speech is more likely to derive from the prophet than the narrative in which it is set. The series of utterances beginning with the phrase ‘on that day’ in 7.18 is very widely regarded as redactional (Blenkinsopp 2000: 35). Sweeney (1996: 150-55) attributes vv. 1, 3-4, 10 and 17, as well as vv. 18-25, to his ‘Josianic redaction’. But while suspicion reasonably falls on vv. 1 and 3, because of the parallels in Kings and Isaiah 36, the reassurance oracle in v. 4, ‘do not fear’, has good parallels in the Assyrian period, and is appropriate to the context (Wildberger 1991: 290; Wagner 2006: 130-35).⁵ Verse 10 is merely a connecting verse: ‘Again the Lord spoke to Ahaz, saying’. Verse 17 includes an obvious gloss in the phrase ‘the king of Assyria’, but the remainder of the verse is ambiguous, and not necessarily secondary.

Isaiah 8.1-4 provides a parallel to the Immanuel prophecy. The following passage, 8.5-8, is written from the perspective of a slightly later time. Even within the core *Denkschrift* there is a shift in perspectives, relating to different moments in Isaiah’s relationship with Ahaz. Presumably some time elapsed between the events and the composition of the memoir.⁶ It seems to me simplest to suppose that Isaiah himself gave the order to ‘bind up the testimony’ in 8.16. Alternatively, we should have to suppose that one of his disciples spoke in his name.⁷ While there is some later editing, whether Josianic or not, the basic story of Isaiah and his signs is more likely to have originated in the Assyrian period than at a later time ‘in the shade of Deuteronomistic theology’, as Kaiser (1983: 114-15) supposes.

If these remarks are on the right track, then we must at least take Isa. 8.1-18 into account in interpreting Isaiah 7. Many scholars have argued that the core of the memoir is structured by the three signs, each associated with a child: first Shear-jashub, then Immanuel, and finally Maher-shalal-hash-baz (Steck 1973a; 1973b; overview by Wegner 1992: 80-86). So, for example, Ronald Clements writes:

5. Note especially the assurance of Ishtar of Arbela to Esarhaddon: “‘Fear not, O king”, I said to you, “I have not abandoned you. I have given you confidence”” (*ANET*, 450). For the biblical background, see Conrad 1985.

6. Because of the apparent allusion to Sennacherib’s campaign in Isa. 8.6-8, Hartenstein (2004), suggests that the memoir was composed in the reign of Manasseh. So also Barthel 1997: 64.

7. Williamson (1998a: 249) supposes that both chs. 7 and 36–39 were composed as part of the same work ‘sometime between the lifetime of Isaiah and the composition of the books of Kings’.

It is noteworthy, and decisively significant, that the pattern of an ambiguous sign-bearing name, followed by an interpretation which is quite unambiguous as to its intent, is found with all three of the Isaianic sign-names; Shear-jashub (7:3) is interpreted in 7:7-9; Immanuel is interpreted in 7:15-17; and Maher-shalal-hashbaz is interpreted in 8:4. (Clements 1996: 68)

The pattern is not quite as clear as Clements claims (Wegner 1992: 84-85). Isaiah 7.7-9 are not presented as the interpretation of Shear-jashub, and in the case of Immanuel the interpretation is not free of ambiguity. Nonetheless, the signs associated with Isaiah's children provide a literary context that must be taken into account in any attempt to interpret the sign of Immanuel.

2. *An Oracle of Reassurance*

According to the text as we have it, Isaiah's initial message to Ahaz was one of reassurance: take heed, be quiet and do not fear. This seems entirely plausible in the context of the Syro-Ephraimite war. The oracle in vv. 7 and 8 ('for the head of Aram is Damascus...') confirms this message. If we exclude the reference to 65 years as a gloss, the point is that Rezin and the son of Remaliah are mere mortals, and nothing for Ahaz to be afraid of. (If the reference to 65 years is correct, it must be a gloss, added in confirmation of the eventual demise of Ephraim, but in fact Samaria was destroyed a mere 12 years after this incident; cf. Wildberger 1991: 301-302.) The conclusion of this oracle—'If you do not stand firm in faith, you shall not be made firm'—implies a qualification of the Davidic covenant that is highly significant for the understanding of the history of the monarchy in ancient Judah.⁸

There are in the Bible different understandings of the nature of the promise to David (Schniedewind 1999). 2 Samuel 7 is very emphatic that while the king is subject to punishment for his offences: 'I will not take my steadfast love from him, as I took it from Saul... Your house and your kingdom shall be made sure (יָבִטֵּן) forever before me; your throne shall be established forever' (vv. 15-16). In contrast, Solomon's prayer in 1 Kgs 8.25 formulates the promise as follows: 'There shall never fail you a successor before me to sit on the throne of Israel, if only your children look to their way, to walk before me as you have walked before me'. The conditional view of the covenant is also found in Psalm 132. I would

8. Barthel (1997: 138) objects to the authenticity of v. 9b on the grounds that the conditional threat is not appropriate for an oracle of salvation, but this is too rigid an application of form-criticism.

argue that the unconditional view of the promise found in 2 Samuel 7 represents the older tradition. The use of the root נָצַח in Isa. 7.9b may be a direct allusion to the tradition underlying 2 Samuel 7 (Würthwein 1970: 127-43). But while the apparently conditional character of the covenant here might seem, *prima facie*, to lend some credence to Kaiser's view that Isaiah 7 is influenced by Deuteronomistic theology (Kaiser 1983: 114), we should note that what is required of Ahaz here is not observance of laws and ordinances in Deuteronomistic fashion, but faith in the promise. It is not clear exactly what is meant by the statement 'you shall not be made firm'. It would seem to undermine the 'sure house' that had been promised to David, but it is not necessarily tantamount to saying 'you shall be cut off'. Since the verbs are in the plural, they are presumably addressed to the house of David, not just to Ahaz (Williamson 1998a: 251).⁹

It is important to note, however, that Isaiah's statement, 'if you do not stand firm in faith, you shall not be made firm', functions here as a challenge rather than as a judgment. It supplements and reinforces the call to take heed, be quiet and fear not in v. 4 (Høgenhaven 1988: 85). At this point in the narrative, Ahaz can still respond by believing.

The prophecy of the birth of a child must also, in the natural order of things, be a sign of hope. In the words of Erling Hammershaimb, 'the prophecy to King Ahaz of the birth of a son, in this situation so critical for his dynasty, cannot...possibly mean anything else but encouragement' (Hammershaimb 1966: 20). Even though times are difficult for the present, life will go on, and God is with us. The name Immanuel also brings to mind the promise to David. In 2 Sam. 7.9, the Lord tells David that he has been with him wherever he went. In Ps. 89.22 (ET 21) he says of David 'my hand shall always remain with him', and three verses later 'my faithfulness and steadfast love shall be with him'. The Zion theology expressed in Ps. 46.8 (ET 7) professes that 'the Lord of hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge'. According to Mic. 3.11, the rulers of Judah say, 'Surely the Lord is with us!' In 1 Kgs 11.38 the prophet Ahijah tells Jeroboam that if he walks in the way of the Lord, 'keeping my statutes and my commandments as my servant David did, I will be with you, and I will build you an enduring house, as I built for David' (Wildberger 1991: 311). The Hebrew translated 'an enduring house' is נֶאֱמָן בֵּית, echoing the promise to David in 2 Sam. 7.16: נֶאֱמָן בֵּיתְךָ וּמַמְלַכְתְּךָ עַד עוֹלָם ('your house and your kingdom is made firm forever'). The same root is used in Ps. 89.29 (ET 28) ('my covenant is firm for him') and in and Ps. 132.11 ('the Lord swore to David a sure oath', אָמַת).

9. Pace Barthel 1997: 138, this is not evidence that the sentence is secondary.

The exhortation of Isaiah, אַם לֹא תִאֱמָנִי כִי לֹא תִאֱמָנִי ('if you are not firm in faith you will not be made firm'), is playing on the same root (Würthwein 1970; cf. Barthel 1997: 141; Wagner 2006: 165).

In the light of these echoes of the royal ideology, it seems most natural to assume that the child is the king's son (so also Barthel 1997: 145, 174-75). It is sometimes argued on the basis of Ugaritic parallels that the עַלְמָה is the bride of the king (Høgenhaven 1988: 89-90; cf. Mowinckel 1956: 114). This is not necessarily so in Hebrew usage, but it is nonetheless likely from the context (so also Barthel 1997: 175). It is not unusual that the mother should name the child, but perhaps somewhat surprising in the case of a royal child. The consonantal MT text (קְרָאתָ), however, could be pointed as second person masculine, to read 'you will call'.¹⁰ The LXX unambiguously reads 'you will call' (καλέσεις). The Isaiah Scroll from Qumran, 1QIsa^a, has the masculine קְרָא (possibly to be read as an imperative) instead of קְרָאתָ.

Several scholars have argued that Immanuel is the prophet's son by pointing to Isa. 8.18: 'See, I and the children whom the Lord has given me are signs and portents in Israel from the Lord of hosts, who dwells on Mt. Zion' (Stamm 1943; 1960; Clements 1996: 71; Roberts 1985).¹¹ There are three sign-bearing children in chs. 7 and 8: Shear-jashub, Immanuel and Maher-shalal-hash-baz. Ronald Clements infers, rightly, that Isa. 9.1-6 (ET 2-7) was not part of the *Denkschrift*. Then 'once the sequence of three sign-names belonging to the children is viewed in isolation from the accession prophecy of 9:1-6, we can see that, just as all three of the names bear a closely similar message content, so were all three children offspring of the prophet' (Clements 1996: 70). But this does not necessarily follow. While the other two children are explicitly acknowledged by the prophet as his sons, Immanuel is not. And while the prophecy attached to Maher-shalal-hash-baz is essentially the same as that attached to Immanuel, the very fact that the prophet begat Maher-shalal-hash-baz at this time argues against the view that he was also the father of Immanuel (so also Wildberger 1991: 309). Neither of the other sons carries any associations with Davidic tradition.

There is nothing miraculous about the birth of Immanuel (*pace* Gressmann 1929: 238). The fact that his mother is called an עַלְמָה has been taken to mean that this was her first child (Wegner 1992: 106-15). Jewish

10. See the discussion by Wildberger (1991: 286). He favours retaining the Masoretic pointing, on the grounds that the name is given to Ahaz, and he is not free to choose it.

11. The identification as Isaiah's son was already proposed by Ibn Ezra and Rashi, and even by Jerome (Williamson 1998b: 101).

tradition identified the child as Hezekiah (Rehm 1968: 83-84; Laato 1988: 139-44; 1997: 123-25; cf. Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 43; *Exodus Rabbah* 18.5). There are notorious chronological problems with this identification. According to 2 Kgs 18.10, the fall of Samaria (722/721 BCE) was in the sixth year of Hezekiah, but according to v. 13 in the same chapter, the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE was in his 14th year (Miller and Hayes 1986: 350-51). Accordingly, his date of accession is variously given as 728/27 or 715 BCE. In 2 Kgs 18.1 we are told that he was 25 years old when he came to the throne, and if this is correct he would have been born too early on either date of accession. But the chronology is confused. Blenkinsopp says that 'a conclusion cannot be reached on chronological grounds alone either permitting or excluding identification of Immanuel with Hezekiah', but thinks that the identification is clearly implied in Isa. 8.8, 10, which refer to Judah as 'your land, O Immanuel' (Blenkinsopp 2000: 234). Moreover, 2 Kgs 18.7 says of Hezekiah, 'the Lord was with him'. Nonetheless, the chronology is a problem. But the king may have had more than one wife, and so the identification with Hezekiah is not a necessary one. We are not told that Immanuel would become king. Rather, the significance of his birth is as a marker, 'for before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted' (Dietrich 1976: 219-20; Wagner 2006: 163). This prediction is almost exactly the same as the one attached to Maher-shalal-hash-baz: 'for before the child knows how to call "my father" or "my mother", the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria will be carried away by the king of Assyria'. This is clearly good news for Ahaz: God is with us to protect us, by bringing about the destruction of the two lands that are attacking us, within a short period of time.¹²

The significance of eating curds and honey has been widely debated (Rehm 1968: 66-73). Gressmann argued that this was the food of the gods, and appropriate food for the messiah in the end-time (Gressmann 1929: 241; cf. Wildberger 1991: 314; Laato 1988: 151). Wildberger cites a hymn of Lipit-Ishtar, who says of himself: 'the man of the field, who there (in the land of Sumer) is able to pile high the heaps of grain, the shepherd who increases the fat and milk given in the pen, who permits fish and birds to grow in the swamp, who brings in an overflowing steady

12. Roberts (1985: 198-99) suggests that Isa. 8.4 refers to the child's first words, at a year or so, while Isa. 7.15 refers to a time after the child is weaned, at the age of two or three years. Since Roberts thinks that both are children of the prophet, it is important for him to differentiate their ages. I doubt that the evidence can be pressed in this way. Both passages mean 'within a very short time'.

stream of water in the aqueducts, who increases the abundant yield in the great mountains, that is me' (Wildberger 1991: 314). Wildberger infers that 'the sentence provides a reinterpretation of the Immanuel prediction. It wants to make the point that, with Immanuel, a ruler is coming who will be equipped with astonishing powers because, already during his youth, he will be fed with food which was out of the ordinary'. 'For this reason', writes Wildberger, 'the sentence is located at the beginning of the interpretation of the passage along messianic-eschatological lines and is to be considered the work of a redactor' (Wildberger 1991: 315; cf. Barthel 1997: 142; Wagner 2006: 73). In the *Sibylline Oracles*, which are influenced by Greek traditions, milk and honey are among the 'excellent, unlimited fruit' that 'the all-bearing earth' will provide for humanity in the eschatological age (*Sib. Or.* 3.744-49; cf. *Sib. Or.* 5.282-83; see Rehm 1968: 71). Even without appeal to mythological traditions, milk and honey had very positive associations in biblical tradition (Exod. 3.8, 17; 33.3; Deut. 6.3; 9.9; 26.15; 32.13-14; see Rehm 1968: 66-73). Roberts claims that the curds and honey are 'the richest foods appropriate to his age' (Roberts 1985: 199; cf. Sweeney 1996: 162; Irvine 1990: 170-71). Yet in Isa. 7.21-25 we are given a very different explanation of the curds and honey:

On that day one will keep alive a young cow and two sheep and will eat curds because of the abundance of milk that they give; for everyone that is left in the land will eat curds and honey. On that day every place where there used to be a thousand vines, worth a thousand shekels of silver, will become briers and thorns. With bow and arrows one will go there, for all the land will be briers and thorns, and as for all the hills that used to be hoed with a hoe, you will not go there for fear of briers and thorns; but they will become a place where cattle are let loose and where sheep tread.

This latter passage is most probably the work of a redactor (Sweeney 1996: 162), but it reflects an early interpretation of the passage about curds and honey: the reason Immanuel would eat them is that there would be no cultivation. As J.J. Stamm observed, in the Hebrew Bible milk and honey are nothing but the produce of the uncultivated land (Stamm 1960: 447; cf. Dietrich 1976: 76; Laato 1988: 134; Wildberger 1991: 314). We may compare the sign given by Isaiah in the time of Sennacherib in Isa. 37.30:

This year eat what grows of itself, and in the second year what springs from that, then in the third year sow, reap, plant vineyards and eat their fruit. The surviving remnant of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward, for from Jerusalem a remnant shall go out, and from Mount Zion a band of survivors.

It is difficult to see how Wildberger can maintain that Isa. 7.22 shows that ‘butter and honey were in no way thought to be sustenance for a time of distress’ (Wildberger 1991: 314; cf. Laato 1988: 134). They clearly are thought to be such in that passage. If Wildberger is right, and the curds and honey are food of abundance, then it would seem that Isaiah originally prophesied simple deliverance for Jerusalem at the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war. If, on the other hand, the interpretation given in 7.22 reflects the prophet’s intention, then it was not a matter of simple deliverance, but of persisting through a few difficult years in the faith that God would not abandon the Davidic line but would cause it to sprout again. Even on this interpretation, the curds and honey are ambivalent, as they hearken back to the vision of a land flowing with milk and honey. They imply the destruction of the vineyards, the symbol of luxury in eighth-century Judah, as can be seen in Isaiah 5, especially in vv. 8-10, and for that reason seem to cohere well with the message of Isaiah. A similar ambiguity attaches to the name of the prophet’s first son, Shear-jashub, which combines the motifs of judgment (reduction to a remnant) and deliverance (the remnant shall return; Irvine 1990: 142-47). We might also compare the prophecy of Isaiah’s contemporary Hosea, that Yahweh would strip the land bare, to make it a desert, as a prelude to a new Exodus.

3. *A Proclamation of Judgment?*

Many scholars, however, see the Immanuel prophecy as ‘a proclamation of judgment to Ahaz’ (Procksch 1930: 121; Dietrich 1976: 77-78; Kilian 1986: 58-59; Laato 1988: 144).¹³ Hartmut Gese had no doubt that the sign of Immanuel bespoke ‘*schlimmstes Unheil*’ for Ahaz (Gese 1974: 142). Wildberger writes that ‘following the hesitation of the king to show the courage to believe on the basis of a sign that would be offered—and thus to make the correct political-military decision—the only message which could follow would be one which would threaten Ahaz with judgment’ (Wildberger 1991: 312-13). Wildberger does not claim that there is any rejection of the Davidic line here: ‘the sign means that the dynasty of the Davidic kings still has a future. But at the same time it is made very plain to Ahaz how heavily his doubt weighs him down... His actions cannot be without bitter consequences’ (Wildberger 1991: 313; cf. Laato 1997: 127). He finds these consequences expressed in 7.18-25 and in ch. 8. Scholars who follow this line of interpretation often point to Micah 5 as a parallel, where the prophet looks for a new beginning for the

13. See the critique of the arguments for this position in Wagner 2006: 159-61.

Davidic line (Stamm 1960: 450). Williamson goes further, claiming that ‘at this point Isaiah turns his back on the house of David’ (Williamson 1998a: 252). For Williamson, Immanuel ‘represents a radical discontinuity with the present heirs of the Davidic family’, but ‘represents continuity of a different sort, namely a continuity in terms of God’s provision of effective leadership for his people’ (Williamson 1998a: 253). He goes on to claim that ‘nothing is said of the biologically Davidic nature of the child even while he takes the place that the ideal Davidide should hold’ (Williamson 1998a: 254). He concludes: ‘It therefore seems that God’s commitment to his people overrides a specific concern for any particular historical dynasty’ (Williamson 1998a: 253).

Yet the attempt to separate Immanuel from the Davidic dynasty is problematic on several counts. As I have noted already, the name itself evokes the Davidic and Zion traditions. If we reject the view that the *עלמה* is the wife of the prophet, as Williamson rightly does, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that she is a wife of the king, and if she is, Immanuel comes from the Davidic line, whether or not he is heir to the throne. Williamson is also right that the prophet is concerned with the Davidic house, not just with Ahaz (cf. v. 13, ‘hear then, O house of David’, and the use of plural suffixes). But the birth of a child whose name is a slogan of the Davidic house by no means signifies the rejection of that house. Quite the opposite. Rather, as scholars such as Hammershaimb and Høgenhaven have argued, Immanuel is a sign that God is with the house of David (Hammershaimb 1966: 19-20; Høgenhaven 1988: 87-93; cf. Irvine 1990: 164-71; Barthel 1997: 141; Beuken 2003: 210; Wagner 2006: 165).

Williamson objects that this line of interpretation ‘fails to take seriously the conditional nature of v. 9b’ (‘if you do not stand firm in faith, you will not be made firm’). He argues, reasonably, that ‘it must be the continuity of the Davidic dynasty itself’ that is made conditional. ‘It is this’, he continues, ‘which Ahaz has apparently forfeited by his demonstrable lack of faith, and will have further serious consequences in the form of Assyrian intervention in the affairs of Judah’ (Williamson 1998a: 252). If we read the text in an Isaianic context, however, or in the literary context of Isa. 7.1-17, it is not yet apparent that Ahaz’s lack of faith is final. As Hammershaimb put it, the sign ‘must then be understood as a last, final attempt on the part of Yahweh to overcome the king’s doubt and fear’.¹⁴ The narrative focuses on the point when Isaiah spoke

14. Hammershaimb 1966: 20. Hammershaimb’s understanding of the passage is flawed by his reliance on ideas of the Myth and Ritual School, but he correctly grasps the positive nature of the sign.

to Ahaz, while the threat from Syria and Ephraim still loomed. It does not offer any commentary on the eventual outcome. Such commentary is provided in Isa. 8.6-7: 'Because this people has refused the waters of Shiloah that flow gently, and melt in fear before Rezin and the son of Remaliah, therefore the Lord is bringing up against it the mighty flood waters of the River, the king of Assyria'. Isaiah 8.8 goes on to say that this flood will fill 'the breadth of your land, O Immanuel'. Whether or not this passage was once part of a *Denkschrift* that also included Isaiah 7, it is clearly a later prophecy that presupposes the birth of Immanuel. But the perspective of this slightly later situation cannot be read back into the original Immanuel prophecy. The catastrophic effects of Assyrian intervention will indeed be highlighted in ch. 8, but I see nothing in the text, in either Isaiah 7 or 8, to indicate that the covenant with David was annulled.

The name Immanuel, and his probable identity as a son of Ahaz, weigh heavily in favour of the view that he is not radically discontinuous with the Davidic line, but continuous with it. The initial explanation of the sign of Immanuel, in Isa. 7.16, makes clear that his birth does not portend a judgment on Ahaz, but rather on the kings of Syria and Israel: 'For before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted'. (The same significance is attached to symbolism of Maher-shalal-hash-baz in Isa. 8.4.) The picture is confused, however, by 7.17: 'The Lord will bring on you and your people and on your ancestral house such days as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah—the king of Assyria'. The mention of the king of Assyria, surely a gloss, indicates that what the Lord will bring on Judah is severe, and its severity is spelled out in the further redactional additions in 7.18ff. As Wildberger notes, without the gloss 'it does not seem impossible that the sentence could be taken as a promise of salvation: Days are coming which are full of salvation in a way which they have not been since the time when the kingdom was still united under David and Solomon. As far as Isaiah is concerned, that epoch is practically the ideal era' (Wildberger 1991: 315). Hammershaimb suggested that Isaiah may have sensed the possibility that Davidic rule would be extended over northern Israel after the Assyrians withdrew (Hammershaimb 1949–50: 137-38; 1966: 22; Høgenhaven 1988: 91). Against this, the preposition על has a negative connotation (Dietrich 1976: 78). The point of the verse may not be to say that things will be again as they were before Israel separated from Judah, but that what will happen will be worse than anything seen since then. Wildberger, accordingly, takes it in an adversative sense; in English we

should supply a 'but' at the beginning. So, Immanuel is a sign of hope, because the two invading countries will be destroyed, but the Lord will bring a severe punishment on Judah because of Ahaz's lack of faith.

The ambivalence of Isa. 7.17 may be due to redaction, reflecting 'this reinterpretation of Isaiah's signs to Ahaz from reassurance to threat' that Sweeney attributes to his 'Josianic' redaction. We may suppose that the reference to the separation of Israel from Judah was originally positive, anticipating a restoration of united Israel. After the effects of Assyrian intervention in Judah became clear, however, especially in the time of Sennacherib, this reference was reconfigured as negative, as a disaster that came upon Judah, and its catastrophic character was further elaborated in 7.18-25.¹⁵

I would suggest, then, that the original prophecy of Isaiah to Ahaz was one of reassurance. The sign of Immanuel was offered to try to induce the king to have faith in the promise. The prophecy was not necessarily one of simple deliverance. The symbolism of the curds and honey may have been deliberately ambiguous: there would be hardship for a few years, but the food provided by the uncultivated land would still have an idyllic quality. The promise to David is not revoked.

Eventually, of course, it became clear that the king would not heed the prophet's advice, and indeed, in the circumstances, it is difficult to blame him! As Blenkinsopp (2000: 230) remarks, his submission to Assyria 'afforded Judah an additional century or so of more or less independent existence'. The extant text of Isa. 7.17-25 shifts the focus from the destruction of Syria and northern Israel to the destruction of Judah, and probably presupposes the invasion of Sennacherib. Assyria is the razor hired beyond the river that shaved Judah bare. Isaiah 8.5-8 is explicit in blaming this catastrophe on lack of faith and trust in the promises: 'because this people has refused the waters of Shiloah that flow gently, and melt in fear before Rezin and the son of Remaliah, therefore the Lord is bringing up against it the mighty flood waters of the River, the king of Assyria and all his glory'. The birth of Immanuel, which is presupposed in Isaiah 8, does not prevent this disaster; Immanuel is not a deliverer. Whether the redactor identified Immanuel with Hezekiah, when he referred to 'your land, O Immanuel', as Blenkinsopp (2000: 234) assumes,

15. In this I essentially agree with Barthel (1997: 177). However, Barthel's explanation of the redacted text ('Das im Geburtsorakel angesagte Heil wird selber zum Zeichen des Unheils', Barthel 1997: 146) is too complicated. The addition of a note of judgment did not necessarily require a revised interpretation of the original oracle, and in any case the idea that an oracle of salvation could now function as an oracle of judgment is scarcely intelligible. See also Beuken 2003: 210.

seems less than certain. The point may be that the child born during the Syro-Ephraimite crisis did not see the deliverance originally promised, but rather the Assyrian invasion. A stronger case for the identification of Immanuel with Hezekiah can be based on 2 Kgs 18.7, which says of Hezekiah, ‘the Lord was with him’. In historical fact, the invasion of Sennacherib was brought about by the rebellion of Hezekiah (Miller and Hayes 1986: 354) but he receives no blame in the account in 2 Kings 18 and Isaiah 36.¹⁶ Rather, Hezekiah is praised because he turned to the Lord for help (Isa. 37.21; cf. 2 Kgs 19.20). It would seem that for the editors of Isaiah 7–8 and 36–37 the Assyrian invasion was punishment for Ahaz’s lack of faith. Presumably, then, this was the fulfilment of Isaiah’s warning: ‘if you do not have faith, you will not be made firm’. The Davidic line was not cut off because of Ahaz’s lack of faith. Whatever the prophet may have originally meant, the Davidic covenant was understood in terms of 2 Samuel 7, which allows for punishment of an individual king but not rejection of the dynasty, rather than as fully conditional.

4. *The Messianic Interpretation*

Because of the use of the Immanuel prophecy in the Gospel of Matthew, it has traditionally been read as messianic in Christianity. This is not the case in Jewish tradition, where the passage is rather referred to Hezekiah, who is at most a prototype of the messiah (Laato 1997: 123-25; Strack and Billerbeck 1926: 75). I am not aware of any pre-Christian Jewish text that reflects a messianic understanding of this passage, unless one thinks that such an understanding is implied by the translation of עלִמְנָה as *parthenos* in the LXX of Isaiah.¹⁷ Nonetheless, messianic interpretation survives in modern scholarship in various forms. A century ago, the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* posited a widespread myth of the birth of a wonderful saviour child, also reflected in Virgil’s Fourth Eclogue (Norden 1924; Gressmann 1929: 241; Mowinckel 1956: 114-15). But the methods of that school, which pieced together myths from disparate sources, have been widely discredited. The messianic character of Immanuel is often inferred from the supposed opposition between him and Ahaz. Gressmann (1929: 240) argued that Immanuel signified good

16. In contrast, Isa. 30.1-5, 15-17; 31.1-3 are scathing in condemnation of rebellion. These passages may reflect the views of the historical Isaiah. See Laato 1997: 125.

17. See my 2008 essay, ‘Messiah and Son of God in the Hellenistic Period’.

fortune for Judah but misfortune for Ahaz, who would have to depart from the scene to make way for the messiah. Gese argued that in Isa. 7.10-17 the ruling Davidic house was rejected, although the messiah, Immanuel, would also be a Davidide (Gese 1977: 133; cf. Lescow 1967: 172-207; Clements 1996: 77). The promise was not restricted to a particular branch of the family. In support of this position he pointed to Mic. 5.1-3 (ET 2-4), which looked for a new sprout from the root of Jesse, which would come from Bethlehem rather than Jerusalem, and which may allude to Isaiah 7 in v. 2 ('he will give them up until she who is giving birth brings forth'). Williamson (1998a: 254) recognizes that 'a long-range messianic interpretation is ruled out', but nonetheless contends that Isa. 7.14 has somewhat more of a messianic flavour than most recent commentators have been prepared to allow' (Williamson 1998a: 253; cf. Beuken 2003: 210). Williamson (1998a: 254) sees radical discontinuity with the Davidic line: 'nothing is said of the biologically Davidic nature of the child, even while he takes the place that the ideal Davidide should hold'. But neither is anything said of the biologically non-Davidic nature of Immanuel, and it is not at all clear that he is a future king. On my own reading of the text, this whole line of reasoning is mistaken. Immanuel is not introduced in opposition to Ahaz, but as a sign of hope for the continuity of the Davidic line.¹⁸ As Stamm (1960: 452) argued, it is unlikely that the messiah would serve as a sign, since he should rather be the fulfilment.

A different line of reasoning finds evidence for the messianic interpretation in the redactional shaping of the text (whether this is thought to reflect the original meaning or not; see Wegner 1992: 131-35). Brevard Childs concludes his commentary on the chapter by asserting that 'notwithstanding the extraordinary mystery and indeterminacy surrounding the giving of the sign of Immanuel, there are many clear indications that it was understood messianically by the tradents of the Isaianic tradition, and shaped in such a way both to clarify and expand the messianic hope for every successive generation of the people of God' (Childs 2001: 68-69). Many scholars have seen such shaping in the close proximity of two other oracles involving a child, in chs. 9 and 11 (Coppens 1968: 74; Rehm 1968: 346). This proximity certainly influences the modern reader's perception of the text. But the three passages were not taken together in rabbinic tradition. Isaiah 7 and 9 were interpreted with reference to Hezekiah, while the interpretation of Isaiah 11 was consistently messianic,

18. Watts (1985: 102) claims that 'in this sense, at least, the passage is "messianic." It related to the fulfillment of God's promises to David and his dynasty.'

already in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Collins 1995: 49-73; Laato 1997: 124-25). There is an intriguing allusion to Isaiah 9 in the context of a woman giving birth in 1QH^a 11.9-10: ‘through the breakers of death she gives birth to a male, and through the pangs of Sheol there emerges from the crucible of the pregnant woman a wonderful counsellor (פלא יועץ) with his strength’. The context is an extended metaphor: ‘I was in distress like a woman giving birth for the first time’. The labour of the one who gives birth to the wonderful counsellor is contrasted with that of one who brings forth vanity or an asp/serpent.¹⁹ There is broad agreement that the passage is indebted to the topos of ‘the woes of the messiah’, although it is not clear whether a particular messianic figure is in view (Dupont-Sommer 1955; Holm-Nielsen 1960: 61; cf. Collins 1981: 366-70). But in any case he is not called Immanuel, and his mother is not called an עלמה. The turbulent nature of his birth is not reflected in Isaiah 7. So, while this passage may provide some evidence for the messianic interpretation of Isaiah 9 in the first century BCE, it lends no support to the messianic interpretation of Isaiah 7. It is possible (but by no means certain) that the obscure passage in Mic. 5.2 (ET 3) (‘until she who is in labour has brought forth’) reflects a messianic interpretation of Isaiah 7, but I am not aware of any other pre-Christian Jewish text that supports such a view.

Blenkinsopp remarks that Isaiah 7 exemplifies the way in which biblical texts have generated ‘new and multiple meanings in the course of the life cycle of the same texts’ (Blenkinsopp 2000: 53; cf. Sawyer 1996). Recent study of the prophetic literature, and of Isaiah in particular, has shifted its focus away from the quest for original meaning towards the final form, and even towards traditional interpretation. For Childs, ‘the true exegetical task does not lie in eliminating certain voices of the final form of the Hebrew text as nongenuine accretions, but rather in seeking to understand the effect of the text’s own concerns on the subsequent editorial shaping’ (Childs 2001: 67). The attention to the history of interpretation is salutary and indeed overdue. But especially in the case of a theologically laden text such as Isaiah 7, the historical-critical quest for the earliest form and meaning of the text still has its place. While the long history of messianic and Christological interpretation of this passage is rich and fruitful in its own right, it is also salutary to remember that in the beginning it was not so.

19. The whole passage is ‘almost impossible to translate on account of the double meaning of the words’ (Holm-Nielsen 1960: 53).

Bibliography

- Barth, H.
1977 *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josia-Zeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung* (WMANT, 48; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Barthel, J.
1997 *Prophetenwort und Geschichte. Die Jesajaüberlieferung in Jes 6–8 und 28–31* (FAT, 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Beuken, W.A.M.
2003 *Jesaja 1–12* (Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament; Freiburg: Herder).
- Blenkinsopp, J.
2000 *Isaiah 1–39* (AB, 19; New York: Doubleday).
- Budde, K.
1928 *Jesaja's Erleben: Eine gemeinverständliche Auslegung der Denkschrift des Propeten (Kap. 6, 1–9, 6)* (Gotha: Klotz).
- Childs, B.S.
2001 *Isaiah* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Clements, R.E.
1996 'The Immanuel Prophecy of Isaiah 7:10-17 and Its Messianic Interpretation', in *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press): 65-77.
- Collins, J.J.
1981 'Patterns of Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in B. Halpern and J.D. Levenson (eds.), *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 351-75.
1995 *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday).
2008 'Messiah and Son of God in the Hellenistic Period', in A. Yarbro Collins and J.J. Collins, *Messiah, Son of God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans): 48-74.
- Conrad, E.W.
1985 *Fear Not Warrior: A Study of 'al tira' Pericopes in the Hebrew Scriptures* (BJS, 75; Chico, CA: Scholars Press).
- Coppens, J.
1968 *Le Messianisme Royal. Ses origines, son développement, son accomplissement* (Paris: Cerf).
- Dietrich, W.
1976 *Jesaja und die Politik* (BEvT, 74; Munich: Kaiser).
- Dupont-Sommer, A.
1955 'La mère du Messie et la mère de l'Aspic dans un hymne de Qoumrân', *RHR*: 174-88.
- García Martínez, F., and E.J. Tigchelaar
1997 *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill).
- Gese, H.
1974 'Natus ex Virgine', in *Vom Sinai zum Zion* (Munich: Kaiser): 130-46.
1977 'Der Messias', in *Zur biblischen Theologie: Alttestamentliche Vorträge* (Munich: Kaiser): 128-51.

- Gressmann, H.
1929 *Der Messias* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Halpern, B., and D.S. Vanderhooff
1991 'The Editions of Kings in the 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E.', *HUCA* 62: 179-244.
- Hammershaimb, E.
1949–50 'The Immanuel Sign', *ST* 2: 124-42.
1966 *Some Aspects of Old Testament Prophecy from Isaiah to Malachi* (Aarhus: Rosenkilde og Bagger).
- Hartenstein, F.
2004 'JHWH und der "Schreckenglanz" Assurs (Jesaja 8,6-8). Traditions- und religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zur "Denkschrift" Jesaja 6-8*', in F. Hartenstein, J. Krispenz and A. Schart (eds.), *Schriftprophetie: Festschrift für Jörg Jeremias* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag): 83-102.
- Høgenhaven, J.
1988 *Gott und Volk bei Jesaja: Eine Untersuchung zur biblischen Theologie* (Leiden: Brill).
- Holm-Nielsen, S.
1960 *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitets forlaget).
- Irvine, S.A.
1990 *Isaiah, Ahaz, and the Syro-Ephraimitic Crisis* (SBLDS, 123; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
1992 'The Isaianic Denkschrift: Reconsidering an Old Hypothesis', *ZAW* 104: 216-31.
- Kaiser, O.
1983 *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press, 2nd edn).
- Kilian, R.
1968 *Die Verheissung Immanuel. Jes 7,14* (SBS, 35; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk).
1986 *Jesaja 1–12* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag).
- Laato, A.
1988 *Who Is Immanuel? The Rise and the Foundering of Isaiah's Messianic Expectations* (Åbo: Åbo Academy).
1997 *A Star is Rising: The Historical development of the Old Testament Royal Ideology and the Rise of the Jewish Messianic Expectations* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, for University of South Florida).
- Lescow, T.
1967 'Das Geburtsmotiv in den messianischen Weissagungen bei Jesaja und Micha', *ZAW* 79: 172-207.
- Miller, J.M., and J.H. Hayes
1986 *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Mowinckel, S.
1956 *He that Cometh* (Nashville: Abingdon Press; repr. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005).

- Nielsen, K.
1986 'Is 6:1–8:18* as Dramatic Writing', *ST* 40: 1-16.
- Norden, E.
1924 *Die Geburt des Kindes. Geschichte einer Religiösen Idee* (Leipzig: Teubner).
- Petersen, D.L.
2002 *The Prophetic Literature* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Procksch, O.
1930 *Jesaja I* (KAT, 9; Leipzig: Deichert).
- Provan, I.W.
1988 *Hezekiah in the Books of Kings* (BZAW, 192; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Rehm, M.
1968 *Der königliche Messias im Licht der Immanuel-Weissagungen des Buches Jesaja* (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker).
- Reventlow, H. Graf
1987 'Das Ende der sog. "Denkschrift" Jesajas', *BN* 38–39: 62-67.
- Roberts, J.J.M.
1985 'Isaiah and his Children', in A. Kort and S. Morschauser (eds.), *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 193-203.
- Sawyer, J.F.A.
1996 *The Fifth Gospel: Isaiah in the History of Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Schniedewind, W.M.
1999 *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1-17* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Stamm, J.J.
1943 'La prophétie d'Emmanuel', *RHPR* 23: 1-25.
1960 'Die Immanuel-Weissagung und die Eschatologie des Jesaja', *TZ* 16: 439-55.
- Steck, O.H.
1972 'Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 6', *BZ* 16: 188-206.
1973a 'Rettung und Verstockung. Exegetische Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 7, 3-9', *EvT* 33: 77-90
1973b 'Beiträge zum Verständnis von Jesaja 7, 10-17 und 8, 1-4', *TZ* 29: 161-78.
- Strack, H.L., and P. Billerbeck
1926 *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Munich: Beck).
- Sweeney, M.A.
1996 *Isaiah 1–39, with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (FOTL, 16; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
2005 *The Prophetic Literature* (Nashville: Abingdon Press).
- Tate, M.E.
1996 'The Book of Isaiah in Recent Research', in J.W. Watts and P.R. House (eds.), *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts* (JSOTSup 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 22-56.

- Wagner, T.
2006 *Gottes Herrschaft. Eine Analyse der Denkschrift (Jes 6,1–9,6)* (VTSup, 108; Leiden: Brill).
- Watts, J.D.W.
1985 *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC 24; Waco, TX: Word).
- Wegner, P.D.
1992 *An Examination of Kingship and Messianic Expectation in Isaiah 1–35* (Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press).
- Weippert, H.
1972 ‘Die “deuteronomistischen” Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher’, *Bib* 53: 301-39.
- Wildberger, H.
1991 *Isaiah 1–12* (trans. T.H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress). German original, *Jesaja Kapitel 1–12* (BKAT, 10/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2nd edn, 1980).
- Williamson, H.G.M.
1994 *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
1998a ‘The Messianic Texts in Isaiah 1-39’, in J. Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTSup 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 244-50.
1998b *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (The Didsbury Lectures, 1997; Carlisle: Paternoster).
- Wilson, R.R.
2005 ‘Deuteronomy, Ethnicity, and Reform: Reflections on the Social Setting of the Book of Deuteronomy’, in J.T. Strong and S.S. Tuell (eds.), *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride, Jr.* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 107-23.
- Würthwein, E.
1970 ‘Jesaja 7, 1-9: Ein Beitrag u dem Thema: Prophetie und Politik’, in *Wort und Existenz: Studien zum Alten Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): 127-43.

REWRITING ISAIAH: THE CASE OF ISAIAH 28–31*

Reinhard G. Kratz

1. *Introductory Remarks*

Much work has been done on the questions of the authenticity and dating of the oracles of the prophet Isaiah (Barth 1977; Vermeylen 1977–78; Barthel 1997; Becker 1997; de Jong 2007; for the current debate cf. Becker 1999; Höffken 2004; de Jong 2007: 3–50), but I shall not be dealing with that here. As far as the question ‘authentic’ or ‘inauthentic’ is concerned, like the question of the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, it seems to me to be one of secondary importance. This is quite different from the problem of the (absolute) dating of texts of the book of Isaiah; that is of central importance, but Williamson (2004) already seems to have said just about all that can be said on the subject.

What I intend in this essay is far more modest and belongs rather in the preliminaries to the two questions of authenticity and dating. I shall be concerned with the problem of the literary relationship of texts in the book of Isaiah, with relative chronology so to speak. As Williamson (2004: 191–95) has emphasized, relative chronology is not entirely unimportant for absolute dating, though one cannot correlate the two without further ado. Williamson (2004: 184–87) also rightly refers to cases in which old traditions occur in late texts and late notions in slightly altered old texts. However, relative chronology is not primarily concerned with dating but about the question in what way and above all in what sequence the words and actions of the prophet have become part

* This essay was first presented to the Old Testament Seminar at the University of Oxford, and also in Cambridge and Edinburgh during Michaelmas and Hilary terms 2006–2007. I wish to express my deepest thanks to all participants for their responses and especially to Christ Church, Oxford, for the honour of electing me as a Fowler Hamilton Fellow for the academic year 2006–2007, which gave me the opportunity, among other things, of working on this study in a splendid and inspiring atmosphere. The translation of this article was originally undertaken by John Bowden, London (subsequently edited).

of the book of Isaiah as we now have it, independently of the time from which they came and of whoever composed, worked over or supplemented them.

There is no need to say much about certain cornerstones of relative chronology; they are more or less fixed. Scholars are agreed in distinguishing a Third Isaiah from a Second Isaiah and both from a First Isaiah, the first being presupposed in the Second and both in the Third Isaiah. In turn, within First Isaiah the legends in chs. 36–39, taken from 2 Kgs 18–20, and chs. 24–27 and 34–35, which are already influenced by Second and Third Isaiah and are designated apocalyptic, are regarded as literary expansions. The oracles against the nations in chs. 13–23 are usually excluded as an alien body or at least treated separately, with the exception of the symbolic action in Isaiah 20 and the sayings against Jerusalem in Isaiah 22. There remain the two collections of sayings in chs. 1–12 and 28–33, which with good reason are conjectured to contain the basic material and mark the beginnings of the book. If we reckon with a successive growth and not with just a single act of composition, these are the main lines of the composition and origin of the book of Isaiah.

But what about the two collections in chs. 1–12 and 28–33? Duhm (1922: 17, 194, 218–19) thought that he could identify in them two literary nuclei, namely, the two earliest writings of the prophet in Isa. 6.1–8.18 and 28.1–30.17. For this reason they are of special importance. However, there is considerable dispute about the literary relationship between the two collections. Did they come into being independently of each other, as Duhm thought, and do they go back to two separate writings by the same author, which were brought together and supplemented by later redactors? Or did both collections come into being at the same time, with one and the same author (or group of authors) being responsible for bringing together the traditional material, revising it and composing new texts (including Second and Third Isaiah), as, for example, Watts (2005: xliii–xliv) thinks? Or are the two collections dependent on each other in literary terms, with chs. 1–12 being modelled on the collection in chs. 28–33, as Kaiser (1981: 19–20) originally thought (but no longer does), or with Isaiah 28–33 being modelled on the collection in chs. 1–12 or at least parts of it, as Becker (1997: 282–83) thinks?

In principle I tend towards the view of Becker. But I do not simply want to repeat his theses here, not least because I by no means share some of his presuppositions and conclusions. Both the literary dependence of chs. 28–31 on the Isaiah legends in chs. 36–39 and the dating of all the texts in the post-exilic period, which Becker (1997: 263–64, 283–85) claims, hang on a very thin thread. Rather, I want to attempt, using chs. 28–31 as an example, to study and understand the laws of rewriting

prophetic texts within the Bible. For at all events this is a kind of rewriting, whether the prophet himself was the author and at the same time his own redactor, or a later figure brought together, revised and supplemented the prophetic traditions, or several generations were involved in the origin of the prophetic book. In all three cases we certainly no longer have the original prophetic sayings but a subsequent literary shaping of previous oracles or other basic material in the framework of a prophetic book (cf. Jeremias 1996: 142-56; Kratz 2003c).

Before looking at the texts, a few words need to be said about the concept of ‘rewriting’ here, which is normally used for phenomena of post-biblical literature. The term corresponds to the French *relecture*, which means roughly the same thing: the process of the productive reinterpretation of given texts to which explicit or implicit reference is made in supplementing or rewriting of these texts. I am well aware of the problems, but use the term here for two reasons. First, in order to signal that, according to all we know, the origin of the book of Isaiah is such a process of continual productive new interpretation and thus a process of tradition of its own kind, quite different from the handing down and archiving of prophetic oracles that we know from Mari or the Neo-Assyrian prophecies. Of the known parallels outside the Old Testament only the Balaam inscription from Deir ‘Alla provides a certain analogy to the genre of the Old Testament prophetic book (cf. Jeremias 1996: 20-33; Kratz 2003a; 2003b; 2008; Blum 2008).

Secondly, associated with the use of the term rewriting is the intention of moving the origin of the biblical prophetic books in terms of content and the sociology of literature, and in some places also chronologically, not too far from the development of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, which all with good reason refer to the biblical writings. Rewriting (or *relecture*) is a method of interpretation which, at the latest since Fishbane (1985), we know to begin in the Bible itself. Thus it is to be assumed that the phenomenon of rewriting also already begins in the Bible itself, not just in Chronicles, but also in the material which it uses, the books of Samuel and Kings, and not first in Trito- or Deutero-Isaiah, but already in their forerunner, First Isaiah (cf. Kratz 2004: 126-56, and 157-80; 2006b).

2. *The Overall Composition and the Oracles of Salvation*

Of the two collections, chs. 1–12 and 28–33, the former has always received special attention from scholars (Höffken 2004: 115-23). It is generally conceded that this collection is composed of disparate material

of varied provenance. At the same time, it gives the impression of being a self-contained and thought-through composition. Ackroyd (1978) discovered in it the ‘presentation of a prophet’, Blum (1996; 1997) even ‘Isaiah’s prophetic testament’, which is very reminiscent of Duhm; finally Watts (2005) stages the whole as a play with different roles and in so doing brings off the trick of declaring even the most marked digressions and contradictions in the text as constitutive elements of an overall unitary theological conception.

However, the collection in chs. 28–33—usually taken less note of (cf. Exum 1979; Stansell 1996; Barthel 1997: 243–454; Becker 1997: 223–70; de Jong 2007: 83–123; Höffken 2004: 129–34)—is also marked by its self-contained thought-through composition. One need only recall the way in which the units in chs. 28–31 and 33 always open with an introductory ׀הי (‘woe’; 28.1; 29.1, 15; 30.1; 31.1; 33.1), which is matched in ch. 32 by the deictic ׀ה (‘see’; cf. 28.2); or the ordering in pairs of chs. 28–29 (on Samaria and Jerusalem), 30–31 (on the descent into Egypt) and 32–33 (on the end-time king); or the alternation of oracles of doom and salvation which continually runs through the chapters, however one wishes to divide the sections in detail. In its lay-out the composition is quite reminiscent of chs. 1–12. This is evident not only in the command to write in 30.8, which reminded Duhm (1922: 218–19) of 8.16 and led him to find the two writings of the prophet in Isa. 6.1–8.18 and 28.1–30.17. The woes in chs. 5 and 10, the messianic prophecies in chs. 9 and 11 and the brilliant prospect of salvation at the end in chs. 11–12 and 32–33, along with many other themes and formulations, bind the two collections together (Stansell 1996: 78–87; Blenkinsopp 2000: 380–84).

Thus from the structure alone it is very natural to conjecture that the two collections in chs. 1–12 and 28–33 did not come into being independently of each other (Barthel 1997: 246, 279; de Jong 2007: 82–83, 84–89, 122–23). It is, however, impossible to say more about the relationship on the basis of purely formal observations at the surface level of the text. If we are to be able to say more there is no alternative to examining the literary-historical relations between individual formulations. Of course, I cannot carry out an extended examination here; I can only give a few examples. The various prophecies of salvation in chs. 28–33 offer themselves as a starting point. They are with good reason described by a majority of scholars as secondary in literary terms by comparison with the older prophecies of doom. That is true generally of ch. 33 (Williamson 1994: 221–39; Barthel 1997: 254–55) and ch. 32 (including 32.9–14, which is cancelled again in vv. 15–20) and individual additions in chs. 28–31 (cf., e.g., Barthel 1997: 259–69; de Jong 2007: 83–84).

It is also widely accepted that the additions are a rewriting (or *relecture*) of Isaiah, so I shall only give two brief examples. One is a prime example of the rewriting of the immediately preceding context, Isa. 28.5-6:

ביום ההוא יהיה יהוה צבאות לעטרת צבי ולצפירת תפארה לשאר עמו
ולרוח משפט ליושב על המשפט ולגבורה משיבי מלחמה שערה

In that day the Lord of hosts will be a garland of beauty, and a diadem of glory, to the remnant of his people;
and a spirit of justice to the one who sits in judgment, and strength to those who turn back the battle at the gate.

ביום ההוא is the typical introductory formula of such expansions. The way in which vv. 1-4 of the same chapter are taken up word for word in v. 5 is obvious: in vv. 1 and 3 the expressions עטרת גאות ('the proud garland') and צבי תפארתו ('its glorious beauty') denote Samaria; in v. 5 they are slightly altered into לעטרת צבי ('garland of beauty') and ולצפירת תפארה ('diadem of glory') in order to refer them to Yahweh, although the attribute גאות would have fitted him well (cf. 12.5 and 26.10). The reference says two things: first, that the downfall of Samaria announced in vv. 1-4 also has positive consequences, and secondly, that here we do not have one capital (Jerusalem) triumphing over the other (Samaria); rather, the splendour of political and urban culture passes over completely to Yahweh himself (Beuken 2000: 17-18). Accordingly, we no longer have ראש גיא שמנים ('head of the rich valley', or, with the NRSV, 'of those bloated with rich food'), but שאר עמו ('the remnant of his people'), which, as Exum (1979: 131; 1982: 116-17) has observed, is an interpretation that plays on the sequence of consonants of ראש and שאר. Verse 6 develops these ideas in a positive way; the formulations recall chs. 11 (vv. 2-4) and 4 (esp. v. 4: רוח משפט), but are largely free compositions.

The second example, 29.22-24, not only attaches itself seamlessly to the nearer context (cf. Beuken 2000: 108-109), but in addition also refers back to 5.12 and 8.12-13. In distinction from ch. 8, where only the prophet and his followers—unlike 'this people' and the 'two houses of Israel'—are strengthened and encouraged to 'sanctify' Yahweh (קדש, *hiphil*) and 'to fear' him (ערץ, *hiphil*), here again it is the 'house of Jacob' which is expected to 'sanctify' and 'fear' Yahweh: 'they will sanctify (קדש, *hiphil*) the Holy One of Jacob, and will stand in awe (ערץ, *hiphil*) of the God of Israel' (29.23).

The text even says how this surprising change comes about for the house of Jacob: 'For when he sees his children, the work of my hands, in his midst, they will sanctify my name' (v. 23). Here, too, the formulation

may be stimulated by Isaiah 8. It seems to be presupposed that the circle addressed in 8.11-15 consists of those mentioned in the following vv. 16-18: the disciples of the prophet (לְמַדְרֵי) and his children which Yahweh has given him (הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לִי יְהוָה). According to 8.16-18, they are to be signs and portents in Israel during the time when Yahweh has turned his face away from the house of Jacob. The text which has been handed down in 29.22-24 (a later glossator who has seen the connection may be responsible for it) spins out the notion further and now makes children grow again for the house of Jacob (יְלָדָיו), who become disciples and accept right teaching (יְלַמְדוּ לְיָקִין, v. 24).

These two examples may be enough to recall something that is quite familiar, namely, the way in which rewriting functions in the late additions of sayings of salvation: with allusions to the closer context and to a wider literary context, with literal quotations and with free formulations. But what about the older state of the text, the oracles of doom in chs. 28–31, which belong to the second collection and, like the basic material of the first collection in chs. 1–12, are usually attributed to the prophet himself?

3. *External Evidence*

Before we turn to the earlier state of the text in Isaiah 28–31, it might perhaps be useful to take a short look at the external evidence. It could give an indication of where we are to put the later additions in the history of literature and theology. The common view is that the salvation sayings are additions from the exilic and post-exilic periods, the majority of which are already influenced by Second or Third Isaiah. Here, however, we are interested in the relative chronology and in the question whether and possibly why they are connected with the post-biblical tradition of the exegesis of the book of Isaiah.

First, mention should be made here of the Qumran pesharim; they are not a rewriting, but they contain exegesis and show how the prophetic books were read and viewed in the first century BCE. Fragments of five manuscripts have been found in Cave 4 of Qumran which deal with the book of Isaiah (4Q161-165; see Horgan 1979: 70-138). Whether these are copies of the same work is hard to say and need not be pursued further here. Nor, of course, does the selection of texts quoted and commented on here tell us much, because we do not know what was on the lost parts of the manuscripts. But it is evident from 4Q163 that chs. 28–31 also belong among those passages which have attracted the interest of exegetes. Our example, 29.22-24, is also quoted (4Q163 18-19.4-6).

Unfortunately not much is preserved of the exegesis itself. 4Q163 23 ii.10-12 indicates that, as is usual in the Qumran pesharim, ch. 30 is interpreted in terms of the end of days. The pesher refers the prophecy of doom and salvation connected to 30.18, in other words, precisely at the transition from sayings of disaster to sayings of salvation, to the right interpretation of the law and the conflict between the Qumran community and the ‘the congregation of those looking for easy interpretations who are in Jerusalem’, presumably the Pharisees. The other interpretations which have been preserved in frs. 21, 22 and 23 begin with the salvation sayings and here, like the interpretation of the oracles of doom (fr. 25), seem to be focused on the demarcation from other groups in Jerusalem and among the people of Israel.

In a way a trend is thus continuing in the pesharim of Qumran which already began in the expansions of the sayings of salvation oracles in the book of Isaiah itself: the separation of good and evil in the people. All must undergo judgment: salvation will be attained either by all who are still to come or only by a few who will remain. The pesher specifies who comes to enjoy the promises of salvation and who does not. And it prescribes the decisive criterion, namely, the observance of the Torah, which does not play the decisive role in the words of salvation in the book of Isaiah itself, but could also be found there by the pesher, not least by means of other passages in the book of Isaiah (5.24; 8.16, 20; 30.9-10). Thus, above all where they are dealing with a remnant which will be saved, the salvation oracles in the book of Isaiah prompt the exegesis of the pesher, which in turn presupposes the connection between older oracles of doom and oracles of salvation within the book of Isaiah and uses them for exegesis by referring both to the situation of the Qumran community.

The transition from the inner- to the extra-biblical interpretation becomes even clearer when we look at the famous textual variants of Isa. 8.11, the beginning of the passage which has been taken up in our example, 29.22-24. Here we have, first, the reading of the verb form ויסרני in 8.11 as the *hiphil* imperfect of the root סור (‘turn away’), with the first person plural suffix in the great Qumran Isaiah scroll 1QIsa^a (cf. van der Kooij 1988). The variant stands for the lexically ambiguous form ויסרני in the phrase:

כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי כַחזְקַת הַיָּד וַיִּסְרֵנִי מִלֶּכֶת בְּדַרְךְ הָעַם הַזֶּה לֵאמֹר

For the Lord spoke thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying...

1QIsa^a is beyond doubt the *lectio facilior* and thus not original. It not only resolves the lexical problem (the perfect or imperfect *piel* of יָסַר, ‘instruct’, or the imperfect *hiphil* of סָוַר, ‘turn away’) but at the same time refers the phrase to the tradents of the text by altering the suffix: what Yahweh has revealed to the prophet is a revelation to ‘us’. This evidently means that the Qumran community following in the footsteps of the prophet and thus in going against the rest of the people (הָעָם הַזֶּה, ‘this people’), is on the right way. It clearly emerges from two passages in sectarian writings that this is in fact a variant specific to Qumran and not just a scribal error such as the confusion of *yod* and *waw*, which was easily possible in the manuscript. The two passages are the quotation of Isa. 8.11 in 4Q174 (4Qflor) fr. 1.14-15, an exegesis of Ps. 1.1, and the use of the formula סָוַר מִדֶּרֶךְ הָעָם (‘turn away from the way of the people’) in CD VIII 16 (= XIX 29). Again, in these two passages the Qumran community refers to itself using the saving perspectives of the book of Isaiah, which here apply either to the prophet and his followers (so in Isa. 8.11-18) or to the house of Jacob (so in Isa. 29.22-24, taking up 8.11-18), this time, however, not in the explicit exegesis of the pesher, but in the textual tradition itself.

Another textual variant is the reading of the Septuagint in Isa. 8.11, which is to be put somewhere between the exegesis of Isa. 8.11-18 in Isa. 29.22-24 and the textual variant of 8.11 in 1QIsa^a. In Isa. 8.11-12 the Septuagint reads:

οὕτως λέγει κύριος τῇ ἰσχυρᾷ χειρὶ ἀπειθοῦσιν τῇ πορείᾳ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου λέγοντες μήποτε εἶπητε σκληρόν πᾶν γὰρ ὁ ἔὰν εἶπη ὁ λαὸς οὗτος σκληρόν ἐστίν.

Thus says the Lord: With a strong hand they withdrew from the course of the way of this people, saying: Don’t say ‘hard’! For whatsoever this people says is ‘hard’!

This passage has been made famous by Seeligmann (1948: 105-106 = 2004: 273-74), who found in it the quotation of an ‘anti-dogmatic movement’ which opposed the observance of the law by the Jewish orthodoxy of ‘this people’, which it felt to be too hard, and attached importance only to a personal relationship with God. Seeligmann’s explanation, followed by van der Kooij (1989, 1997), is certainly ingenious, but it does not stand up to a precise investigation of the Greek text, which I cannot take further here (cf. Wagner 2007). It remains (deviating from the Masoretic text) the literal quotation of those who have vehemently distanced themselves from ‘this people’. However, those who speak in the quotation are not the opponents of the law but, on the contrary, those

who, like the prophet himself, are already on the right way and in what follows explicitly (again deviating from the Masoretic text) are encouraged to personal piety in observing the Torah (vv. 14, 17).

As at Qumran, here too the prophet has become a group of pious ones who have detached themselves from ‘this people’. But unlike at Qumran, the translators in Alexandria were not interested in limiting this group; on the contrary, they were interested in opening up the circle of the pious to any individual willing to trust God and observe the Torah, which is regarded as possible at least among the Greek-speaking Jews in the Egyptian Diaspora (in contrast to ‘this people’, i.e., the ‘house of Jacob’ in Palestine?). To this degree the Septuagint variant fits seamlessly with the interpretation of 8.11-18 in 29.22-24, but the text again attacks the ‘house of Jacob’ and thus in its way prepares for the variant of 8.11 at Qumran.

Moreover, both variants of Isa. 8.11 (in Qumran and in the Septuagint) shed light on the Masoretic text itself. For it is no accident that the introduction to the divine speech to the prophet can in this way be referred to a group of pious ones. By many references to the closer context in Isaiah 6–8 the Masoretic text in 8.11-15 shows itself to be an interpretation and rewriting of the existing text of Isaiah (Becker 1997: 110-14; de Jong 2007: 70-71; the authenticity is defended by Barthel 1997: 216-27). The group of the prophet’s disciples is introduced for the first time in the reformulation of the prophet’s task in Isaiah 6, to which 8.11 refers. Together with the prophet it stands against ‘this people’ and ‘the two houses of Israel’ and is presumably meant to be identical with the prophet’s ‘disciples’ and ‘children’ mentioned in 8.16-18. From here it is no distance to the reformulation of the passage in 29.22-24 and the interpretations of 8.11 in the textual tradition itself which is represented by the manuscripts of Qumran and the Septuagint.

4. *The Oracles of Doom*

But back to the basic text, the earlier oracles of doom in chs. 28–31. How do they fit into the history of the book? Are they far removed from the rewriting of Isaiah which begins with the salvation oracles and continues in the textual tradition of the Septuagint and in the Qumran pesharim and have virtually nothing to do with them, or are the earlier oracles of doom in chs. 28–31—like 8.11-15—in turn also already part of this history of exegesis? In this respect, too, only random tests are possible in this essay. However, they suggest that already in the basic literary stratum of chs. 28–31, apart from preliminary stages, we have a rewriting of the

earlier material in chs. 1–12 (esp. chs. 5–10) and often also internal expansions within chs. 28–31.

To begin with the latter, the repetition of the accusation against those who go down to Egypt and hope for help there has always been felt to be a difficulty in chs. 30 and 31 (cf. Wildberger 1982: 1150, 1228-30; Blenkinsopp 2000: 427). The problem consists not least in the fact that the repetition of the accusation in ch. 31 stands the other side of the command to write in 30.8, which—at least at a secondary stage—has a function for the overall composition and, like 8.16, marks a certain conclusion. In this connection the relationship between ch. 31 and 30.15-17, the twofold polemic against horse and chariot, needs explanation.

Becker (1997: 248-49, 257) has paid the necessary attention to the relationship between the two sayings about Egypt in 30.1-5 and 31.1-3 and raised the question whether there is any literary dependence. The work of Barthel (1997: 273-74, 402, 444-45), which appeared in the same year as that of Becker, and which is much more restrained than Becker in questions of literary and redactional history, does not avoid describing the relationship between the two chapters as a literary one, yet it maintains that these are two sayings from the same author at the same time and on the same theme. A third solution is offered by de Jong (2007: 92-97), who finds two (or—with the division in 30.1-5—even three) older prophetic sayings which were reformulated and extended within the literary context of the book. Now I personally am convinced that there is a literary dependence. The decisive reason is that the choice of vocabulary suggests that more or less the same is being said in both units, but that the tendency of the statements differs. The only question is the direction of the dependence.

Becker (1997: 249) sees the giving-part in 31.1-3 and the taking-part in 30.1-5 and offers as the reason for his view the fact that the first woe proves to be ‘later simply on the basis of its generalizing orientation’. I am not convinced by that. On the contrary, I see a ‘generalizing orientation’ more in ch. 31, where not only the autonomy of the diplomatic process going down to Egypt but also the trust in human strength and power as exemplified in seeking help is condemned. If ch. 30 is about the request for help as such, ch. 31 is a theological metaphor for false trust in human strength. The connecting link is 30.15-18, which is about the alternative of faith and unbelief—with no reference to Egypt—that is made clear in the trust in one’s own military possibilities. Chapter 31 combines both passages of ch. 30, the polemic against the request for help in Egypt and the polemic against trusting in horse and chariot.

Thus in this case—contrary to the text-critical rule—it is not the *lectio brevior* in 31.1-3, which originally was presumably still very much shorter (Höffken 2000; de Jong 2007: 96), but the longer text in 30.1-5 which preserves the earlier text. This longer text, too, was originally much shorter and consists of various kinds of material (de Jong 2007: 92-94). The kernel is probably the woe in 30.1-2* (without the infinitive clause in v. 2). The woe was reformulated by analogy with 29.1 and extended as far as the concluding command to write in 30.8 and the (secondary) reasons for it in vv. 9-17, which are supplemented (de Jong 2007: 85-86, 112-13). This analysis, however, does not make any difference to the relationship of the two texts. Isaiah 31.1-3 (even in its original shorter version) and the whole of ch. 31 are best explained as an appendix: an abbreviation of ch. 30 and a combination with other texts: cf. הוֹי בָּנִים...הַדְּלָכִים לְרִדְתַּם מִצְרַיִם in 31.1 from הוֹי הַיִּדְרִים מִצְרַיִם in 30.1-2; לְעִזְרָה and the root עִזַּר in 31.1-3 for לְעִזּוֹן בְּמַעֲוֹן in 30.2 from 30.5; the horses from 30.16, presumably combined at a secondary stage with a borrowing from 36.8-9, in 31.1 (Höffken 2000: 236); also the taking up of 30.22 in 31.7 ('idols') and of 30.27-33 in 31.8-9 ('Assyria').

In short, ch. 31 rewrites ch. 30. It would be rewarding also to investigate the remaining oracles of doom in chs. 28–31 in terms of such processes of internal rewriting and exegesis within the literary composition of chs. 28–31. The internal literary connections are already noted by Barthel (1997); the interpretation of these connections in terms of a redaction history has begun with Becker (1997) and—with deviating datings—de Jong (2007). However, I shall not do that here. Instead, I want now to look again at the literary relationship of this composition with the first collection in chs. 1–12, more precisely with the oracles of doom in chs. 5–10 (cf. also de Jong 2007: 84-89). The relationship is difficult to assess, and at the moment I have far more questions than answers. Nevertheless, the matter is worth investigating. Again, for reasons of space, I limit myself to one example, but it stands for the whole passage.

As the conclusion to the famous and much disputed *ṣaw lāṣāw qaw lāqāw*-oracle in 28.7-13, in v. 13 we read:

לְמַעַן יֵלְכוּ וּבִשְׁלוּ אַחֲזֹר וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ וְנוֹקְשׁוּ וְנִלְכְּדוּ

in order that they may go, and fall backward, and be broken, and snared,
and taken.

The statement already appears almost word for word in 8.15:

וּבִשְׁלוּ בְּמִן רַבִּים וְנִפְּלוּ וְנִשְׁבְּרוּ וְנוֹקְשׁוּ וְנִלְכְּדוּ

And many among them shall stumble; they shall fall and be broken; they
shall be snared and taken.

How are we to explain this verbal parallel of 28.13 and 8.15? It could be the vocabulary of the prophet, though that would be unusual. There is nothing comparable elsewhere in the book. Therefore, 28.13 as a whole or in part is usually supposed to be a later addition (e.g. Wildberger 1982: 1055-56; Blenkinsopp 2000: 390; only the last three words according to Barthel 1997: 305). But the problem is more complex. The parallel seems to be the vocabulary of an author or redactor of Isaiah, who wanted to make a deliberate connection between chs. 28 and 8. Thus, it is a literary reference, and the question arises whether the formulation is on the same literary level in both passages or has been assimilated at a secondary stage in one passage or another. In the latter case we would have to see whether, as is usually assumed, the formulation in 8.15, where it also fits the context, is original, and has been added as a whole or in part to 28.13, or whether it comes from ch. 28, and the corresponding images have been spun out of this formulation in the course of the addition of 8.11-15 (for that see above, section 3).

A decision is not possible simply on the basis of a comparison of the two lines. For that we need additional indicators within the context of the whole unit. One indicator could be the observation that the expression 'this people' (הָעַם הַזֶּה) occurs in 28.11 and 14; this expression is typical of chs. 6-9, and also plays a dominant role in 8.11-15. The expression occurs in only two passages in chs. 29-31: here in 28.11, 14 and in 29.13-14, and it seems to be most likely that the expression was borrowed from ch. 8 in chs. 28 and 29 (de Jong 2007: 86). Thus it is perhaps also no coincidence that 28.11 in particular says that Yahweh will speak to 'this people' with 'stammering lips and an alien tongue' (בלעגני שפה ובלשוני) (אֶחָרָת); this announcement of punishment sounds like an appropriate echo of the 'people with unclean lips' (עַם טִמְאָ שִׁפְתָיִם) in ch. 6. Moreover 28.12 also returns to the matter in chs. 6-8. The verse recalls the offer of salvation, 'to keep quiet' and 'not to fear' in 7.4 (cf. 30.15), which was refused by 'this people', and thus 28.12 offers what Barthel (1997: 301) calls a 'concentrated summary of Isaiah's preaching'—more precisely, one should say a summary of chs. 6-8 within the unit 28.11-13.

However, this is a 'summary' which does not simply reproduce the content of Isaiah's preaching but gives it a new meaning. It would already be a new emphasis if the expression 'this people' in 28.11 is understood to refer only to the priests and prophets addressed in v. 7, and not, as in chs. 6-9, to the whole people (Barthel 1997: 300, 303). Presumably, however, the term 'this people' in 28.11 is more an extension of the circle of those addressed, which understands the 'priest and prophet' as *pars pro toto* (Becker 1997: 230). By contrast, in terms of content the 'summary' goes

definitively in another direction (*contra* Evans 1989: 32): according to 28.12, ‘this people’ heard (and obviously could understand!) the saving offer of ‘rest’ but did not want it; according to chs. 6–8 and the commission to the prophet in 6.9–10, ‘this people’ could not and should not have wanted it. The difference shows that 28.12 is to be understood in the categories of the scheme of prophetic admonition and the disobedience of the people (which is Deuteronomistic in the broadest sense) and either deliberately wanted to diminish the tragedy of the commission of ch. 6 or no longer understood it (cf. Barthel 1997: 300 with n. 53, 302–303; Becker 1997: 230–31; de Jong 2007: 105–106).

Be this as it may, the close network of references of 28.11–13 to chs. 6–8—both in language and in thought—cannot be overlooked and give the relevant passage in ch. 28 a special character. Interestingly, the references converge with the literary-critical observations of some exegetes, who see additions to the older saying in vv. 7–10, not only in the last three words of 28.13, but in the whole passage of vv. 11–13 (Becker 1997: 230–31; de Jong 2007: 86–87, 103–105). An even earlier saying in vv. 7–10 is not free from the suspicion of not being a unity or even of being totally secondary (cf. Wildberger 1982: 1056–57; Becker 1997: 230). Assuming a successive growth of vv. 7–13 does not exclude the possibility that the supplementers attached themselves as closely as possible to their *Vorlage* in thought and language and perhaps in some respects also had the same thoughts as those modern exegetes who regard vv. 7–13 as a unity (Barthel 1997: 295–305). But at the moment I see no other or no better possibility at least for vv. 11–13 than to explain the converging indications of literary inconsistency and dependence from the nearer and more distant context than with the assumption of a rewriting of Isaiah in the book of Isaiah.

Let us now turn to the continuation of the verbal parallels of 8.15 and 28.13 in 28.14–22, which are addressed to the ‘mockers’ and ‘makers of sayings (or rulers) of this people’ in Jerusalem. The text in turn shows close literary connections with the context in ch. 28, which immediately precedes it (Barthel 1997: 311). This is a clear indication that the saying does not come directly from the oral preaching of the prophet but was formulated subsequently for its literary context, whether by the prophet or by someone else. This is widely accepted for vv. 19–22 (Barthel 1997: 313; Becker 1997: 233; Blenkinsopp 2000: 393; de Jong 2007: 106), but it maybe also true for the cornerstone in vv. 16–17a (Blenkinsopp 2000: 393) or the whole oracle in vv. 14–18 (Becker 1997: 231–33). Here too the links in language and content extend very much further (cf. Evans 1989: 32–34).

In connection with 28.13 and the parallel to 8.15, the saying about the cornerstone in Zion in 28.16 suggests the ‘stone of stumbling’ in 8.14—a stone on which some of the ‘two houses of Israel’ and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem will fall, and on which others, namely, the friends of the prophet, set their hope (Barthel 1997: 305). In place of ‘fear’ (מורא) and ‘conspiracy’ (קשר), which according to 8.12 become the ‘stone of stumbling’ here—again with a play on consonants?—we have ‘lie and deceit’ (שקר and כזב) against which the ‘touchstone’ and ‘foundation stone’ is laid on Zion.

The conditional prospect of salvation (המאמין לא יחיש), ‘He who believes will not be in haste’) connected with the stone recalls the famous wordplay in 7.9 (אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמנו), ‘If you will not believe, surly you will not be established’). In contrast to this, the decision to ‘believe’, for which 7.9 calls, has already been taken in 28.16 (de Jong 2007: 106 *contra* Barthel 1997: 325 and Becker 1997: 232). Those who ‘believe’, and they alone, are exempted from the fate represented by the root חוש (‘to haste’), which echoes the symbolic name of 8.1-4, Maher-shalal-hash-baz (מהר שלל הש בז; cf. Becker 1997: 232 n. 34). They need not fear the surveyor’s staff of ‘justice and righteousness’ (משפט וצדקה, 28.17), a word pair which occurs several times in chs. 1–12 (very prominently in 5.7 in relation to Israel and Judah, and in 1.21-27 with regard to Jerusalem).

No one really knows what the pact with death (28.15, 18) refers to (cf. Becker 1997: 232; Barthel 1997: 318-20; de Jong 2007: 109-11; Blenkinsopp 2000: 393-94). In the light of v. 13 and the parallel with 8.15, one could consider whether there is an allusion to “questioning” or “asking” the spirits of the dead in 8.19-20. At all events, the metaphor of judgment in vv. 15, 17-19, [שומט] שיט [שומט] שומט כי עבר [יעבר], ‘the overwhelming scourge which passes through’), shows clear echoes not only of the beginning of ch. 28 (vv. 2-3), but also of 8.7-8 (שומט ועבר) and perhaps even already of 10.24-26 (the difficult word שומט, ‘scourge’, in parallel to שבט and מטה as a metaphor for Assyria occurs only here). It is conceivable that 28.18 (והייתם לו למרמס), ‘you will be trampled down by it [the scourge]’) is influenced by 5.5 (והייה למרמס), ‘it shall become a trampling’) and similar expressions in 7.25 or 10.6, a passage which in turn refers back to 8.1-4.

The inconstancy of the covenant with death, 28.18 (ובכפר, ‘will be annulled’, and לא תקום, ‘will not stand’), is formulated in connection with earlier sayings of judgment in chs. 7–8. Here 7.7 (לא תקום) and—as in ch. 28, with a foundation in the theology of Zion—8.10 (ותפר and לא תקום) come into view. The basis for the concluding admonition in 28.22 is obviously taken from 10.23:

כי כלה ונחרצה שמעתי מאת אדני יהוה צבאות על כל הארץ

For I have heard a decree of destruction from the Lord, the Lord of hosts, upon all the earth. (28.22)

כי כלה ונחרצה אדני יהוה צבאות עשה בקרב כל הארץ

For the Lord, the Lord of hosts, will make a full end, as decreed, in the midst of all the earth. (10.23)

If we look at the individual connections in themselves, they may perhaps seem marginal and not very meaningful. However, taken together they, too, again produce such a dense web of significant references to central passages in chs. 5–10 that it is difficult to believe that the parallels in word and content are purely fortuitous. As in the case of 28.11–13, we may therefore assume a deliberate adoption of, and consequently here too a literary dependence on, chs. 5–10, a rewriting of Isaiah in the book of Isaiah, all the more so as something similar can also be observed in chs. 29 and 30. As well as the many internal cross-references to the closest context in chs. 28–30, prominent shifts or motifs from chs. 5–10 also echo in these two chapters. They cannot simply be deleted, as often happens for example with 28.13 or 28.22, but belong to their substance: the commissioning of the prophet from 6.9–10 in 29.9–12, ‘this people’ (העם הזה), and its false teaching from chs. 5 (vv. 21–24) and 8 in 29.13–14, 15–16; 30.8–11, 12–14, and the admonition to be tranquil from 7.4 in 30.15–17. Nor would the state of affairs change if we had to reckon with a successive growth in the text in chs. 28–30.

5. *Rewriting of Isaiah in the Book of Isaiah*

We may have identified the literary connections, but the question of their purpose remains. The connections are so numerous and specific that it is not enough to list them all under the prophet’s vocabulary and resort to the means of literary criticism only in such cases as 28.13 or 28.22, in which there is no alternative, and to delete the most striking verbal parallels from the text. The historical explanation that is usually given is no further help, since the supposed dating in the late eighth century BCE, the time of the prophet, can by no means be taken for granted, and there are several possibilities for the historical circumstances which can be extrapolated from the text. Here above all there is a tendency to lose sight of the modifications to the content, which are characteristic of the literary connections and which suggest that we have interpretations and consequently a rewriting of Isaiah in the book of Isaiah, not only in the sayings of salvation but also in the earlier state of chs. 28–31.

In our example, ch. 28, which is to some extent representative of chs. 28–31 as a whole, above all two modifications have taken place over against the text in chs. 5–10: first, the focusing of all events and divine action on the city of Zion-Jerusalem, and secondly, the reformulation of the theological motivation of the divine judgment.

The first modification is already striking in just a passing glance at the relationship between chs. 5–10, but can also be fixed very precisely to the literary connections. As in chs. 5–10 (esp. 5.1-7; 8.1-18 and 9.7-20 [+ 10.28-32]), in ch. 28 the fates of Israel (Ephraim and Samaria) and Judah (Jerusalem) are put in parallel. That is evident from the juxtaposition of the two woes in chs. 28–29 and in ch. 28 itself: after the ‘woe’ in v. 1 over ‘the drunkards of Ephraim’ (שכרי אפרים) and ‘those overcome with wine’ (הלומי יין), v. 7 attaches itself directly to a גם אלה (‘they too’) and thus also declares that those rejected in what follows are drunk: וגם אלה בייין שגו ובשכר תעו, ‘These also reel with wine and stagger with strong drink’. However, in contrast to chs. 5–10, the centre of interest is not Ephraim, but Judah, and not the whole of Judah, but the city of Zion-Jerusalem, which is compared to the ‘proud crown’ of Ephraim, Samaria. ‘This people’, which in chs. 6–9 embraces the whole people of Judah, if not all Israel (including Judah), is here the people ‘which is in Jerusalem’ (העם הזה אשר בירושלם, v. 14). Priests and prophets (28.7), mockers and makers of sayings or rulers (28.14), ‘this people’ (28.11, 13; 29.13-14) and the ‘sons’ (30.1, 9), all represent the population of the city and are doomed to destruction, whereas the city itself is deeply humiliated (29.1-4), yet bears the only hope in itself (28.16; cf. 29.5-8).

The distinction that makes itself felt in literary borrowings from chs. 5–10 in chs. 28–31 is not unimportant (Kratz 2006a) and forms the foundation for a fundamental change of perspective. Here the thought may be of a certain historical event, namely, the situation of Jerusalem in 701 or even 587 BCE, but the implications go very much deeper. The change of perspective represents a new theological orientation on the Zion tradition and prepares for the separation of the good and evil in the people, which is brought about in the salvation oracles (cf. 30.19) and the later interpretations. Both, the Zion tradition and the separation of good and evil, are not as present in the older oracles in chs. 1–12 as they are in chs. 28–31. Within the basic material of chs. 1–12 we can find only a few points of contact for this change of perspective, including, perhaps, the saying about the capitals in 7.7-9, the mentioning of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Mount Zion in 8.14, 18, or the focus of the so-called strophe poem 9.7-20 (ET 8-21) in 10.28-32: ‘This very day he will halt at Nob, he will shake his fist at the mount of daughter Zion, the hill of

Jerusalem'. In addition to this, Jerusalem and of course Zion plays a central role in chs. 1–4. However, it should be noted that the literary references found in the doom oracles in chs. 28–31 are concentrated on chs. 5–10 and it is quite questionable which parts of chs. 1–4 the basic material in chs. 28–31 already knew. The closest contacts consist in chs. 1 and 3; the strongest reflections on the Zion theology appear in the salvation oracles in chs. 2 and 4.

The second important modification concerns the reasons given for the divine judgment on the population of Jerusalem, and above all the theological reflection on them (Becker 1997; de Jong 2007). Time and again reference is made to the commission of the prophet in 6.9–10, which is aimed at the hardening of the people doomed to judgment (the so-called hardening commission; cf. Uhlig 2009). In most cases this commission is thoroughly reinterpreted, as in 28.12, to the effect that the population of Jerusalem has been warned, so it could have and must have known what was coming to it, but did not want to hear and was rebellious (30.9, 15). The reinterpretation of the hardening of 6.9–10 in terms of the missed opportunity again opens up the possibility of repentance for the reader. It is therefore no coincidence that the taking up of the warning to be still from 7.4 in 30.15 begins with the call to repentance: 'In returning and rest you shall be saved'.

Things seem to be different in 29.9–10 (Evans 1989: 43). Here those addressed—in the present context the peoples, originally (taking up v. 4) probably the inhabitants of Jerusalem ('Ariel')—no longer have any opportunity, as Yahweh has poured out a deep sleep on them (Barthel 1997: 382–83). Upon close inspection, however, this variant too proves to be a bending of the original commission of 6.9–10 (Becker 1997: 239–41; de Jong 2007: 87). The change can be noted not only in the fact that the prophet is not at all involved and, as Duhm (1922: 210) writes so well, 'the divine cause of the hardening... is put in the foreground with a degree of one-sidedness', but above all in the fact that the hardening of 6.9–10 (שׁעַע) and the drunkenness of 28.7 is interpreted as a time of incubation introduced by Yahweh himself. But that means that Yahweh wants to reveal himself through the hardening of the evildoers and judgment on them, and that the time of judgment represents an exceptional state or merely a transition. The added commentary in 29.11–12 therefore rightly represents a link to the sealed Torah of the prophet in 8.16–18 (חֵתֵם), which testifies to the hidden God on whom the prophet sets his trust and hope. Even if the people is in a 'deep sleep' and the book is sealed, Yahweh is present in both and, though hidden, is still accessible, or soon will be again, as the salvation sayings in 29.18 states.

That also nourishes the hope, which ch. 6 itself does not cherish but which becomes explicit in the salvation sayings, that the people, or at least a few of them, will again find the right way and so attain the enjoyment of salvation.

At first sight it may seem surprising how close the older oracles of doom of chs. 28–31 come to the later sayings of salvation, which were doubtless added later, as soon as we closely scrutinize the literary connections of chs. 28–31 with chs. 5–10. In both instances, the oracles of doom and the salvation sayings in chs. 28–31, we find the rewriting of the earlier text and—despite all the differences which of course remain—the tendency to refer this older text to new historical constellations and above all to particular groups, and at least to open up a saving future for all, or at least a selection of the people.

It is even more surprising that there are noteworthy connections even to the post-biblical exegeses of the book of Isaiah. The pesharim on the book of Isaiah, so far as they have been preserved, show great interest not only in chs. 28–31 themselves (4Q163) but also in chs. 5–10 in the earlier part of the book: 4Q161 deals with chs. 10–11, 4Q162 with chs. 5–6 and 4Q163 with chs. 8–10. Not least, there is special commentary on those verses in chs. 5–10 which have already attracted the attention of chs. 28–31: Isa. 5.11-14 + 24-25 in 4Q162 ii, Isa. 8.7-8 in 4Q163 fr. 2, and Isa. 10.22-23 in 4Q161 fr. 2-6 ii and 4Q163 fr. 6-7 ii (according to Horgan 1979: 98).

I find particularly surprising the brilliant combination of the bold drunkards and despisers of the Torah from ch. 5 with the ‘mockers who are in Jerusalem’ from 28.14 in 4Q162 ii:6.10: אלה הם/היא עדה אנשי הלצון אשר בירושלים (‘These are the congregation of the arrogant men who are in Jerusalem’). Perhaps this combination explains after the event the remarkable vocabulary of 28.14 which causes exegetes so much difficulty. The commentary on ch. 10 preserved in two manuscripts causes another surprise. It shows that the interpretation of Isa. 10.22-23 in Dan. 11.36 and Dan. 9.26, 27, here probably in combination with Isa. 8.8, included by Seeligmann (1948: 81-82 = 2004: 238-40) under Midrashic exegesis, was evidently not a rarity; the passage in Isaiah 10 also stimulated the community to extensive reflection on who would perish on the day of slaughter and who would be saved (4Q161 fr. 1 and fr. 2-6; 4Q163 fr. 4-6 ii). It seems that we can grasp the forerunner of this exegetical tradition in Isaiah 28 (vv. 15, 18, 22).

Thus, what a look at the prophecies of salvation in the book of Isaiah and the short excursion into the post-biblical exegesis of the book of Isaiah teaches us is that obviously the older elements of chs. 28–31

belong in the wider context of the history of the exegesis of the book of Isaiah, which begins with the rewriting of the sayings of disaster from chs. 5–10 in chs. 28–31, continues in the addition of the sayings of salvation, and issues in the exegesis of the Septuagint and at Qumran. That certainly does not mean that the rewriting of chs. 5–10, which we came across in the course of our observations on chs. 28–31 all belongs to the later period, from which the post-biblical exegesis also comes. To suppose this would be a crass error. Once again, it is not a matter of absolute dating but of relative chronology. And yet, in relative chronology one thing builds on another. Thus the inner connection of the individual stages of the tradition and the continuity of exegesis inside and outside the Bible become visible.

According to the above observations, the process of reformulation of older material within chs. 1–12 begins with the units in 28.11–22; 29.9–16 and 30.8–17, units which are modelled on chs. 5–10 and are addressed to ‘this people’ or addressees in Jerusalem under another designation. The process continues with the sayings of salvation and admonition in 28.5–6; 29.17–24; 30.18–33; 31.4–9; 32 (subsequently followed by chs. 33–35); a few units such as 28.7–10, 23–29; 29.5–8; 30.6–7 are highly questionable. Older material is usually found in the woes in 28.1–4, against Samaria; 29.1–4, against ‘Ariel’ (Jerusalem); 29.15–16, against those who deeply hide their plans; 30.1–5, against the ‘rebellious sons’; and 31.1–3, against those who go down to Egypt. It may be found also elsewhere (see, e.g., de Jong 2007: 84 who leaves out 29.1–4 and adds 28.7b–10, 12, 14–18; 30.6–8, 15; 31.1–3). Whether the older materials previously formed a small independent collection or, in so far as they had their own history, have come separately from the tradition to the author or authors of chs. 28–31, must remain open here. At least one of these older sayings, most likely the one against Samaria in 28.1–4, from whomever it comes, stimulated the literary development in chs. 28–31 by being integrated into the book of Isaiah. It has been continuously expanded and interpreted together with the expansions that were already there, first of all within the book of Isaiah itself (by the addition of sayings of disaster modelled on chs. 5–10, or sayings of salvation borrowed from the closer or more remote context, including Second and Third Isaiah, and finally a series of glosses in both categories), and after that within the textual tradition and the extra-biblical interpretation of the book.

To sum up the result briefly: I am arguing that chs. 28–31 as a whole are to be regarded as a successive rewriting of earlier states of the text in chs. 1–12 (and 13–23), that is, as an ongoing rewriting of Isaiah in the

book of Isaiah, no more and no less. It is not easy to say who is responsible for this rewriting and from what period it comes. But it does seem clear to me—and here as in many other respects I agree with de Jong (2007)—that the solutions discussed by scholars (either the eighth-century prophet or the post-exilic tradition) are too one-sided, and we probably have to reckon with a growth of the text within a prophetic tradition which extended over a long period from pre- to post-exilic times and moves beyond the historical prophet and Israelite–Judaic religion practised in the First and Second Temple.

Bibliography

- Ackroyd, P.R.
 1978 'Isaiah I–XII: Presentation of a Prophet', in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977* (VTSup, 29; Leiden: Brill): 16–48. Repr. in P.R. Ackroyd, *Studies in the Religious Tradition of the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1987): 79–104.
- Barth, H.
 1977 *Die Jesaja-Worte in der Josiazeit: Israel und Assur als Thema einer produktiven Neuinterpretation der Jesajaüberlieferung* (WMANT, 48; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Barthel, J.
 1997 *Prophetenwort und Geschichte: Die Jesajaüberlieferung in Jes 6–8 und 28–31* (FAT, 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Becker, U.
 1997 *Jesaja—von der Botschaft zum Buch* (FRLANT, 178; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
 1999 'Jesajaforschung (Jes 1–39)', *TRu* 64: 1–37, 117–52.
- Beuken, W.A.M.
 2000 *Isaiah. II.2. Isaiah Chapters 28–39* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters).
- Blenkinsopp, J.
 2000 *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 19; New York: Doubleday).
- Blum, E.
 1996 'Jesajas prophetisches Testament. Beobachtungen zu Jes 1–11. Teil 1', *ZAW* 108: 547–68.
 1997 'Jesajas prophetisches Testament. Beobachtungen zu Jes 1–11. Teil 2', *ZAW* 109: 12–29.
 2008 'Israels Prophetie im altorientalischen Kontext. Anmerkungen zu neueren religionsgeschichtlichen Thesen', in I. Cornelius and L. Jonker (eds.), *From Ebla to Stellenbosch—Syro-Palestinian Religions and the Hebrew Bible* (ADPV, 37; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz): 81–115.
- De Jong, M.J.
 2007 *Isaiah among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies* (VTSup, 117; Leiden: Brill).

- Duhm, B.
1922 *Das Buch Jesaja* (HKAT, 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 4th edn, repr. 5th edn, 1968).
- Evans, C.A.
1989 *To See and Not Perceive: Isaiah 6:9-10 in Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation* (JSOTSup, 64; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Exum, J.C.
1979 'Isaiah 28–32: A Literary Approach', in *Society of Biblical Literature 1979 Seminar Papers* (ed. P. Achtemeier; SBLSP, 17/2; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press): 123-51.
1982 "'Whom Will He Teach Knowledge?": A Literary Approach to Isaiah 28', in D.J.A. Clines *et al.* (eds.), *Art and Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature* (JSOTSup, 19; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 108-39.
- Fishbane, M.
1985 *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Höffken, P.
2000 'Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 31,1-3', *ZAW* 112: 230-38.
2004 *Jesaja. Der Stand der theologischen Diskussion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft).
- Horgan, M.P.
1979 *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Bioblical Books* (CBQMS, 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America).
- Jeremias, J.
1996 *Hosea und Amos. Studien zu den Anfängen des Dodekapropheten* (FAT, 13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Kaiser, O.
1981 *Das Buch des Propheten Jesaja: Kapitel 1–12* (ATD 17; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 5th edn). ET *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM Press, 1983).
- Kooij, A. van der
1988 '1QIsa^a Col. VIII, 4-11 (Isa 8,11-18): A Contextual Approach of Its Variants', *RevQ* 13: 569-81.
1989 'The Septuagint of Isaiah: Translation and Interpretation', in J. Vermeylen (ed.), *The Book of Isaiah/Le Livre de 'Isaïe: Les oracles et leurs relectures unité et complexité de l'ouvrage* (BETL, 81; Leuven: Peeters): 127-33.
1997 'Isaiah in the Septuagint', in C.C. Broyles and C.A. Evans (eds.), *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill): II, 513-29.
- Kratz, R.G.
2003a 'Das Neue in der Prophetie des Alten Testaments', in I. Fischer *et al.* (eds.), *Prophetie in Israel. Beiträge des Symposiums 'Das Alte Testament und die Kultur der Moderne'* (Altes Testament und Moderne, 11; Münster: LIT): 1-22.
2003b *Die Propheten Israels* (Beck'sche Reihe Wissen; Munich: Beck).
2003c 'Die Worte des Amos von Tekoa', in M. Köckert and M. Nissinen (eds.), *Propheten in Mari, Assyrien und Israel* (FRLANT, 201; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): 54-89.

- 2004 *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (FAT, 42; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck [repr. 2006]).
- 2006a 'Israel in the Book of Isaiah', *JSOT* 31: 103-28.
- 2006b 'The Growth of the Old Testament', in J.W. Rogerson and J.M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press [repr. 2008]): 459-88.
- 2008 'Chemosh's Wrath and Yahweh's No: Ideas of Divine Wrath in Moab and Israel', in R.G. Kratz and H. Spieckermann (eds.), *Divine Wrath and Divine Mercy in the World of Antiquity* (FAT, 2.33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck): 92-121.
- Seeligmann, I.L.
1948 *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Mededelingen en Verhandelingen N^o 9 van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'; Leiden: Brill). Repr. in I.L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (ed. R. Hanhart and H. Spieckermann; FAT, 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004): 119-294.
- Stansell, G.
1996 'Isaiah 28–33: Blest Be the Tie that Binds (Isaiah Together)', in R.F. Melugin and M.A. Sweeney (eds.), *New Visions of Isaiah* (JSOTSup, 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 68-103.
- Uhlig, T.
2009 *The Theme of Hardening in the Book of Isaiah* (FAT, II/39; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Vermeulen, J.
1977–78 *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocryptique: Isaïe I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi-millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël* (2 vols.; Ebib; Paris: J. Gabalda).
- Wagner, J.R.
2007 'Identifying "Updated" Prophecies in Old Greek (OG) Isaiah: Isaiah 8:11-16 as a Test Case', *JBL* 126: 251-69.
- Wildberger, C.
1982 *Jesaja. 3. Teilband Jesaja 28–39. Das Buch, der Prophet und seine Botschaft* (BKAT, 10.3; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag). ET *Isaiah 28–39* (trans. T.H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002).
- Watts, J.D.W.
2005 *Isaiah 1–33* (WBC, 24; Nashville: Nelson, rev. edn).
- Williamson, H.G.M.
1994 *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
2004 'In Search of the Pre-Exilic Isaiah', in J. Day (ed.), *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (JSOTSup, 406; London: T&T Clark International): 181-206.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH AND MONOTHEISM

Hywel Clifford

Isaiah 40–55 contains some of the most well-known and inspiring poetry in the entire Old Testament: these chapters portray Yahweh and Israel in an ongoing relationship that is laden with struggle yet deeply redemptive. They began to be called ‘Deutero-’ or ‘Second Isaiah’ by European scholars in the later eighteenth century because their historical content presupposes not the eighth century BCE of the prophet Isaiah, referred to in chs. 1–39, but the Babylonian exile of the sixth century; and their demarcation as an originally separate literary source, apart from 56–66, occurred toward the end of the nineteenth century.¹ Much has been written about them since, which illustrates the development of biblical studies during the twentieth century and beyond, and which is drawn upon here. Even though aspects of this assured result of modern biblical criticism have been questioned, raising the prospect that it might become a mere convention, if not *passé*, the title ‘Deutero-Isaiah’ is used in this study.² The principal purpose is to argue that the consensus view regarding its theology is correct: that ‘monotheistic’ (belief in one god as ‘God’) is a term that can be used of the theology of these chapters (esp. 40–48) because they claim that Yahweh is God versus other gods as idols. Various objections are considered along the way, some of which have become prominent in recent scholarship; and an analogy for this theology in early Greek philosophy is proposed that highlights the feature of critical internationalism, during a period of political change, as common to these traditions.

1. For comments about the emergence among scholars such as Eichhorn and Gesenius of ‘Deutero-Isaiah’ alongside (what was evidently, for others, the more incendiary) ‘*Pseudo-Isaiah*’, see Henderson 1840: 318–20. The title ‘Trito-Isaiah’ (for chs. 56–66) is first attested in Duhm 1892: 14–15. The kinds of reasons put forward for these demarcations can be found in Driver 1913: 230–46.

2. See, for instance, Coggins 1998.

1. The Bases for Monotheism

1.1. Creator vs. Idols

Yahweh the creator God is the foundational belief that guides the monotheistic theology of Deutero-Isaiah. The rhetorical questions and answers that structure the opening prophetic disputation (40.12-31) claim that Yahweh the creator is incomparable, with unmatched wisdom, authority and power.³ The accompanying claims that, as creator, Yahweh needs no guidance, counsel or teaching (40.13-14; cf. 41.28) may be read as a contextually resonant polemic against the polytheistic divine council pattern attested for the Babylonian creator god Marduk (here named 'Bel', 46.1).⁴ So while, as this ancient Near Eastern evidence indicates, belief in a creator god is not necessarily monotheistic, its configuration in Deutero-Isaiah nevertheless points in that direction, since *creatio prima* and *creatio continua* are entirely confined to the activity of Yahweh. Another passage contains similar claims:

For thus says the Lord,
 who created the heavens—he is God,
 who formed the earth and made it—he established it;
 he did not (*lōʾ*) create it a chaos (*tōhū*)—he formed it to be inhabited:
 'I am the Lord, and there is no other.
 I did not speak in secret, in a land of darkness;
 I did not (*lōʾ*) say to the offspring of Jacob, "Seek me in chaos (*tōhū*)".
 I the Lord speak the truth, I declare what is right.' (45.18-19, NRSV)

That there is no hint here of the widespread ancient topos of pre-creation theomachy (battle among the gods) is likewise suggestive of monotheism: there is no other god but Yahweh, the creator of the world as a purposeful domain. The lines that follow, as the repeated Hebrew words intimate, employ *creatio prima* as an analogy for prophecy: just as creation was for habitation, so Yahweh's revelation to Israel was for redemption (cf. 42.7; 45.7; 47.5); neither were chaotic, since they were meant for the good of humanity and Israel respectively. It is, thus, the purposefulness of creation and prophecy that, together, reflects the active benevolence of Yahweh, who, as creator and redeemer, is God alone.⁵

Yahweh the creator God versus other gods as idols made by merely human hands is an important basis for monotheism since on such

3. On the polemical 'Disputation' units, see Schoors 1973: 188-89, 245-95.

4. Whybray 1971: 73-74, 77. See the Babylonian 'Epic of Creation' (*COS*, I.111) 1.30-34, 47-49, 55-72, 110-14, 125-32, 145-62.

5. Cf. 'Dt-Is never argued from the basis of Yahweh Creator', Stuhlmüller 1970: 168.

polemical terms it provokes the issue of divine number: the one versus the many. The satirical mode of biblical idol polemic finds some of its most explicit and entertaining evidence in Deutero-Isaiah; its opposite in context was the Babylonian *mīs pī* ('opening of the mouth') rite (equivalent to the Greek *hidrusis* and the Roman *dedicatio*) during which artisans disavowed making an image in which a heavenly god was ceremonially born (again) on earth, which naturally enhanced its veneration.⁶ Deutero-Isaiah offers, as it were, a satirical literary rite, with deliberate attention given to the futility of idol fabrication, coloured by multiple names for gods as idols. It is the strict separation between the transcendent creator and a dependent creation that enables the satire: idolaters are mocked for using half a tree for firewood and then carving an idol for a shrine with the other half (40.20; 44.9-20); idols are lifeless objects (41.29; 46.7), even abominations that burden and enslave their devotees (45.20; 46.1-2); indeed, their veneration flouts the very priority of creator over creation that humans ordinarily assume in making pots and giving birth (45.9-10). This explains why idolaters are seen as deluded and shamed by their actions (44.9, 11, 17-20). But most importantly, for Deutero-Isaiah, it is impious to question the redemptive work of Yahweh the creator's *hands* (45.11-13; 48.11-16): this literary link, typical of the poetry, shows the serious intent behind the satire, in that it gives leverage to the monotheistic claim: only the creator and the redeemer, versus other gods as idols, is God alone.⁷

1.2. *Sovereign in History*

The claim that Yahweh is the creator God goes hand in hand with Yahweh as sovereign: in the opening disputation Yahweh is 'the one who sits [enthroned] above the circle of the earth' (40.22; cf. 6.1; 28.6); and there are many more references and allusions to Yahweh as sovereign in Deutero-Isaiah.⁸ Yahweh's sovereignty is equally important in the prophetic trial speeches, which were meant to persuade their audience that Yahweh is sovereign in history, both to reassure and rebuke Israel in its faltering idolatry, and to stimulate recognition of Yahweh among the idolatrous nations.⁹ The gauntlet is thus cast down before the nations' gods: 'do good and do evil, that we may be afraid and terrified' (41.23b); challenging them to display the capacity for intervention in weal and

6. Dick 1998; cf. Acts 19.35. For Babylonian texts, see Dick 1999.

7. For criticisms of Deutero-Isaianic satire, see Carroll 1977: 52-53; Dick 1999: 45.

8. For a survey of Isaiah in general, see Williamson 1998: 1-29.

9. On the polemical 'trial speech' units, see Schoors 1973: 181-88, 189-245.

woe.¹⁰ In Deutero-Isaiah intervention concerns primarily the commissioning of Cyrus, signalled by the catchword *‘îr* (*hiphil*), ‘stir up’, whose use always signifies Yahweh’s guiding role in the approach of a foreign king or nation against another.¹¹ The military impact of the Persian Cyrus II across the ancient Near East was widely understood theologically, though this was according to each national tradition, with his successes attributed to Marduk or the gods of Greece, as well as to Yahweh.¹² For Deutero-Isaiah, however, the nations’ gods as idols rendered their claims null and void (41.24, 29), whereas the creator Yahweh’s capacity for intervention, in the restoration of Israel and the downfall of Babylon, commended the monotheistic belief that, as sovereign, Yahweh is God alone.

Mention of the famous lines at 45.7 (‘I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe; I the Lord do all these things’) is apposite at this point, since they have been interpreted as a deterministic monotheistic resolution of the problem of good and evil, as if Yahweh were the origin of both.¹³ This is, however, unlikely for three reasons. First, the Hebrew word pair in the Masoretic Text is not ‘good’ (*tōb*) and ‘evil’ (*rā’*) (as in 1QIsa^a) but ‘weal’ (*šālôm*) and ‘woe’ (*rā’*), which are readily explicable on internal grounds: Cyrus’s campaign progressed with *šālôm* (41.3; cf. 44.28) and *rā’* as judgment is implied in the immediate context (45.1-3).¹⁴ Secondly, in Deutero-Isaiah the extolling of Yahweh as creator often precedes Yahweh as redeemer, which provides a key to interpretation here: while ‘forms light and creates darkness’ doubtless alludes to *creatio prima*, it is the continuous aspect of these hymnic participles (‘he who forms...’, ‘he who creates...’) that suggests *creatio continua* as the most likely sense, which in context means sovereignty over the regular course of night and day (45.6).¹⁵ Accordingly, just as Yahweh brings about diurnal change in creation, so Yahweh initiates the rise and fall of nations: patterns in creation mirror those in history. Thirdly, that Yahweh is responsible for ‘all these things’ forms an *inclusio* with ‘all’ at 44.24, between which the principal concern is not absolute origins but Cyrus as Yahweh’s messianic agent of change in

10. Cf. Jer. 10.5; Zeph. 1.4, 5, 12.

11. Isa. 41.1, 25; 45.13; cf. 13.17; Jer. 50.9; 51.1, 11; Ezra 1.1; cf. Westermann 1966: 73-75 (ET 88-90).

12. See Herodotus 1.87, 209-10 and the ‘Cyrus Cylinder’ (*COS*, II.124).

13. Hayman 1976: 475. On its significance *vis-à-vis* Persian Zoroastrianism, see Sherwin 2007.

14. LXX *eirēnēn* = MT *šālôm*. 1QIsa^a does not require a fundamentally different interpretation.

15. Koole 1997: 441-42.

history. Therefore, 45.7 does not indicate that Yahweh was believed to be the origin of good and evil, but that, as creator, Yahweh is sovereign in history through weal and woe: that is the actual character of its monotheistic theology.¹⁶

1.3. *Prophetic Tradition*

Another gauntlet is cast down before the nations' gods: 'Tell us what is to come hereafter, that we may know that you are gods' (41.23a). This is part of the trial speech that was quoted from above, although here the challenge is different. That Yahweh is the creator God, versus other gods as idols, is foundational to the claim that Yahweh speaks through prophets, since gods as idols are patently unable to communicate anything at all. A direct appeal is made to Israel to be a 'witness' to a prophetic tradition that, while this term certainly recalls earlier Isaianic prophecy, went back to the period of the wilderness wanderings.¹⁷ The latter detail is relevant to the declarations in Deutero-Isaiah that make frequent use of historical tradition in interpreting the present: the 'former things' and the 'latter things', which, given the accompanying imagery, evoke the ancient Exodus as the type and the forthcoming liberation from Babylon as its exilic antitype (43.16-17, 19). The verbs most often used for this appeal are *ngd* (*hiphil*, 'tell, declare, announce') and *šm'* (*hiphil*, 'proclaim, cause to hear, tell'); they are largely confined to chs. 40-48, and usually occur in pairs.¹⁸ Their distinguishable meanings are significant: the former signifies clear announcement, whereas the latter assumes the hearer's reception, as the suffixes on their compound forms imply. In other words, Israel should understand and respond to the appeal to be Yahweh's witness, so as to fulfil its historic role as Yahweh's chosen servant to the glory of Yahweh as God alone.

The challenge before the gods as idols has an even more potent aspect, however, in addition to declarations about sacred tradition: 'Tell us what is to come hereafter...' This concerns the declaration of events beforehand through prophets. The most extensive articulation of this challenge in Deutero-Isaiah is as follows:

I declared them to you from of old, before they came to pass I announced them to you, lest you should say, 'My idol did them, my graven image and my molten image commanded them'. You have heard; now see all

16. Cf. Lindström 1983: 178-98, 238-41.

17. Isa. 8.2, 16-18; 30.8 (cf. Williamson 1994: 94, 111-12); 43.9-12; 44.8; cf. Deut. 32.16.

18. Isa. 40.21; 41.22, 23, 26; 42.9, 12; 43.9, 12; 44.7, 8; 45.19, 21; 46.10; 48.3, 5, 6, 14, 20; 52.7.

this; and will you not declare it? From this time forth I make you hear new things, hidden things which you have not known. They are created now, not long ago; before today you have never heard of them, lest you should say, 'Behold, I knew them'. (48.5-7)

This argument depends upon the availability of prior traditions to which appeal could be made; and to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the argument Yahweh declares 'new things' for the future. The declarations of Israel's prophets, including those of Deutero-Isaiah, were not believed to be due to a removed and vague Nostradamus-like prescience in which the future was somehow foreseen and then open to convenient reinterpretation *ex eventu*. Rather, it is claimed that Yahweh declares before acting (42.9; 43.19; 44.7; 46.10; cf. Amos 3.6-7) so that the continually reliable link between Yahweh's word and deed might provide reassurance and rebuke to Israel.¹⁹ As for substantiating this argument, reference can be made in passing to the pre-exilic prophetic warnings about the exile, as well as to the Isaianic and Exodus traditions mentioned above. These details are further complemented by the belief that Yahweh 'creates' understanding with prophecy (48.7; cf. 43.19; 45.23; 55.11), suggesting that Yahweh's creativity was not only primal but also ongoing within events and prophetic declarations that explain them. By great contrast, then, it is the silence of the gods as idols—for Yahweh asks them but 'no one...gives an answer' (41.28)—that leads to their denunciation (41.24, 29), and which, in turn, indicates that prophetic tradition serves as a basis for the monotheistic theology of Deutero-Isaiah that Yahweh is God alone.

How do the foregoing form a coherent basis for Deutero-Isaiah's monotheism? Chapters 40–48 provide a climactic dismantling of the supremacy of imperial Babylon and its gods (44.24–47.13; ch. 48 summarizes chs. 40–48), whose pantheon head was Marduk. Esagila, Marduk's sanctuary complex, was prominent in the *zagsmukku* or *akītu* (New Year) festival processions, whose main divine actors in the Neo-Babylonian period were Marduk (= Bel, cognate with Baal 'lord, master') and his son Nabu (= Nebo); these events were perhaps witnessed by exiled Judeans (46.1, 7).²⁰ Importantly, attributes of Yahweh outlined above were claimed for Marduk, the creator god who commissions Cyrus, and makes trustworthy declarations. It was thus apt that the satire on Marduk and Nabu as heavy idols whose sanctuaries are places of captivity (46.2, 6-7) was just the kind of response that the exiles needed,

19. Cf. Westermann 1966: 75-76 (ET 90-91).

20. See the 'Epic of Creation' (*COS*, I.111) and the 'Cyrus Cylinder' (*COS*, II.124); cf. Werlitz 1999: 235-36.

as it subverted their captors' power and signalled an opportunity to envisage the reversal of their exilic plight (46.3-5, 8-13).²¹ Idol satire also made possible the vindication of the interpretation of Yahweh as sovereign in history. Since Yahweh is 'the Saviour' who 'hides himself' (45.15; cf. Deut. 4.12), Yahweh's intervention in history could not be disputed: no image of Yahweh had been removed from Jerusalem's Temple, as was the standard practice in war, so Yahweh had never been visibly defeated. Rather, as creator, sovereign and declarer, Yahweh had the power to bring about Israel's restoration and Babylon's downfall. Therefore, the satire against Marduk was a major foil to the positive Yahwistic theology of Deutero-Isaiah in context; indeed, it makes creator versus gods as idols the leading basis for the monotheistic message of Deutero-Isaiah.

2. *The Rhetoric of Monotheism*

2.1. *Incomparability Formulae*

The rhetoric of divine incomparability in ancient Near Eastern religions is found in polytheistic hymns and laments: praise offered to a god/goddess for securing his/her goodwill that could be offered to another divinity in different circumstances.²² Deutero-Isaiah contains the formulae of such rhetoric: the interrogative *mî* ('who [is]'; 40.18, 25; 44.7; 46.5), the prepositional phrase *kāmôhû* ('like me'; 44.7; 46.9) and the verbs *dmh* ('resemble'; 40.18, 25; 46.5, 9), *ʿrk* ('array, arrange'; 40.18; 44.7), *šwh* ('be like, equal'; 40.25; 46.5) and *mšl* ('compare'; 46.5). It would be natural to suppose that this rhetoric is not monotheistic, since it presupposes other gods with whom to compare the greater god; and its malleable use in polytheistic cults may be taken to confirm this.²³ While this conventional view is plausible, it is worth considering how it might be possible to read this rhetoric with a monotheistic sense. Rechenmacher, for instance, has argued that, in Deutero-Isaiah, there is a semantic equivalence between incomparability and exclusivity (discussed below): the former, liturgical and emotional, serves the cognitive and

21. Machinist (2003: 244-58) proposes relating Deutero-Isaiah's satire more precisely to conflict in Babylon between adherents of the lunar god 'Sin' (promoted by the often absent ruler Nabonidus) and the traditional cult of Marduk (later restored by Cyrus), squabbles that only go to show that Yahweh is God alone.

22. For examples, see 'Temple Program for the New Year's Festivals at Babylon' 5 (*ANET*, 331) and 'Hymn to Ishtar' 21 (*ANET*, 383). Cf. Labuschagne 1966: 31-63; Machinist 2003: 245 n. 14.

23. Labuschagne 1966: 144-46; Wildberger 1977: 508 n. 10, 515 n. 26; Sawyer 1984: 174-76.

theological assertions of the latter, so that Yahweh is utterly incomparable outright.²⁴ Thus, despite conventional usage, the formulae would bear new significance in Deutero-Isaiah: incomparability is rendered absolute. If correct, then it may be inferred that Yahweh's uniqueness was believed to extend to divinity itself; that is, into the domain of what philosophers and theologians call ontology. The contrast in Isaiah 40–48 of the creator God versus gods as idols, which employs a spiritual–material polarity, encourage the inference that divinity is a class of being with Yahweh as its only member.

It is necessary, at this juncture, to raise the issue of composition. It is often argued by practitioners of source, form and redaction criticism that the idol satire passages, for reasons of style, language and theology, were a later layer in formation of Deutero-Isaiah.²⁵ Kratz, for instance, sees their inclusion as a special case of the monotheistic *interpretation* of incomparability.²⁶ The exilic literary core concerned incomparability, recalling the theology of Exodus (e.g. Exod. 15.11), but the later addition of the idol satire layer indicates that post-exilic redactor(s) expected that core to be read with monotheistic sense. If correct, then the monotheism of Deutero-Isaiah cannot have been an exclusively exilic response to a national crisis, as is often thought, but the extended result of later redaction; on this view charting the emergence of monotheism would then require giving due weight to all post-exilic texts in which idol satire becomes prominent.²⁷ This need not cut ties with the Babylonian exile because the seeds of monotheism were in the exilic core: Yahwistic incomparability is exclusivist, and the message of idol satire is consistent with this. Quite apart from the merits of the arguments for this case, not least because it raises the question of the origins of idol satire, this view adds clarity in its identification of kinds of content: just as there are distinctive textual units, so there are distinctive ideas within them, and the monotheistic theology of Deutero-Isaiah, as a whole, is constituted by those distinctive elements.

2.2. *Exclusivity Formulae*

The exclusivity formulae are often deemed most obviously monotheistic. They comprise nominal sentences with the particles of negation *ʔên* ('there is not') and *ʔepes* ('end, ceasing, finality'), the prepositions *zûlâtî*

24. Rechenmacher 1997: 169, 192, 205.

25. For a substantial introductory discussion, see Albertz 2001: 283–332 (ET 376–433).

26. Kratz 1991: 193.

27. Jer. 10; Pss. 95; 135; Bel 5; Ep. Jer. 57–73; Wis. 13; *Jub.* 11; 12; Rom. 1.

and *mibbal'āday* ('besides me, apart from me'), and the adverb *'ōd* ('other').²⁸ These usually occur in biblical texts with a qualification of some kind, though their unqualified use in Deutero-Isaiah suggests an absolute sense: there is no 'other' god 'apart from' Yahweh—hence, absolute monotheism.²⁹ Some objections have been raised against this interpretation. Similar rhetoric is attributed to personified Babylon, who presumably did not think of herself as the only city in existence (47.8, 10); and, related to this, that the nations are denounced as 'nothing, empty', just like the gods, does not mean that they had ceased to exist either (40.17, 23; 41.11-12, 24, 29): it is only their dynamic saving power that is denied.³⁰ These objections are perceptive. However, the rhetoric attributed to Babylon is a tradition-bound parody of Yahweh's words: she aspires to a god-like status when in reality she is as vulnerable to civic misfortune as any other. Babylon's hubristic claims are thus no analogy for the gods as idols. The other criticism is difficult to contest, but only because no soteriological/ontological distinction is made explicit. This leads naturally to the next point.

It has been argued that the sentence 'there is no other' never denies existence absolutely; for this idea the expression would be *'ēn 'ahēr* ('there is no other'), and for polemical theological purposes *'ēn 'elōhîm 'ahērîm* ('there are no other gods'), although these are unattested in ancient Hebrew texts.³¹ Thus, the sentence 'there is no other', in parallel with incomparability formulae as conventionally understood, means that either there is no other god quite like this among those that exist (degree/kind) or no other god for Israel (covenant loyalty); therefore, 'apart from me there is no god' is not an expression of absolute monotheism, that there is no other in existence (ontology). The problem here is that no abstract concept of existence is articulated in Deutero-Isaiah (nor anywhere else in the Old Testament), making it difficult to know what kinds of distinctions were drawn; but this likewise means that to assert that no expression denied existence absolutely is unwarranted, not least because it leads to the undesirable anthropological implication that such denials were neither thought nor possible in ancient Hebrew. Yet, perhaps, once again, idol satire provides an interpretative key, in that it

28. Isa. 43.11; 44.6, 8; 45.5, 6, 14, 18, 21; 46.9.

29. Cf. Deut. 4.35, 39; 32.39; 1 Sam. 2.2; 2 Sam. 7.22; 1 Kgs 8.60; Hos. 13.4; Joel 2.27; Sir. 33.5.

30. Westermann 1966: 72-73 (ET 86); de Boer 1956: 47; MacDonald 2003: 84; Moberly 2004: 230.

31. Cf. Exod. 20.3; 1 Sam. 21.10; 1QH 11.18; 1QS 12.11; MacDonald 2003: 81; Moberly 2004: 230.

allows such distinctions to be drawn: *ʾaḥē̄r* ('other') is used in Deutero-Isaiah of an idol (42.8; 48.11); this 'god' is deemed unreal since there is no life beyond its image except in the mind of its devotee (44.18-20). This implies another interesting distinction, between the exilic perception that other gods represented a real threat, and the actual reality: there is no god but Yahweh, whose antagonists are hubristic Babylon and rebellious Judaeans whose cult practices are adorned by idols. In sum, then, idol satire, as a foil to the positive theology of Deutero-Isaiah, encourages reading the exclusivity formulae with an absolute monotheism.

2.3. *Identification of Divine Names*

Another hallmark of monotheistic rhetoric is the recruitment of divine names for the one God. In Deutero-Isaiah 'Yahweh' is the most frequent: the personal name by which God is uniquely invoked (42.5; cf. 47.4; 48.2; 51.15; 54.5).³² Yahweh is thus the only name with which others are properly identified, usually by means of personal suffixes attached to Elohim (already at 40.1), but also with the poetic devices of chiasm and parallelism.³³ The significance of these details should not be missed in view of the interpretation that Deutero-Isaiah still reflects the polytheism of the earlier West Semitic pantheon. This concerns not only divine names but other features as well: the Council of El, divine rule over cosmic and human powers, and divine battle with the mythic foe.³⁴ These features are important if it can be shown that an absolute monotheism constrains their contribution to the theology of Deutero-Isaiah. In other words, does Deutero-Isaiah attest a cosmology in which other gods are real powers and threats, even if Israel's loyalty was to be given to Yahweh alone? Is Deutero-Isaiah, in fact, 'monolatrous', urging the *worship* of one God without necessarily denying the existence of other gods?

The following are possible responses to this attractive case. First, allusions to the Canaanite high god El had probably faded: Israel's assimilation of and differentiation from its earlier Canaanite heritage had already taken place.³⁵ In Deutero-Isaiah, a new situation is presented: the term *ʾēl* ('God, god') is shared evenly between Yahweh and gods as idols, suggesting that the immediate prophetic concern was idolatry; the attendant positive theology implies the general sense 'God' for *ʾēl* (and

32. Yahweh (×126), Elohim (×36), El (×14), Eloah (×1), Adonay (×10).

33. Chiasm: Isa. 40.27; 48.1, 2; 49.5; parallelism: Isa. 40.3a-b, 9-10; 41.17; 49.4, 10; 51.20, 22; 52.12; 55.7.

34. Cross 1953; Hayman 1991: 7-9, 12-15; Mauser 1991: 263-65; Koch 2007.

35. Schoors 1973: 252-53; Elliger 1978: 72, 323.

also *ʾēlōhîm*) rather than a local high god.³⁶ Secondly, the pantheon pattern should not be imposed too readily: powers traditionally held to be divine are either naturalized as the stuff of creation or historicized as political opponents: not one is assigned a divine name.³⁷ Divine council scenes are similarly de-deified: with the receding of divine council imagery, traditional expressions are used only in stereotypical fashion.³⁸ Yahweh addresses ‘gods’ in council, but they turn out to be idols. Yahweh rules with other powers, but the model of divine sovereign and angelic messengers is most likely in play.³⁹ The upshot of all this is that Yahweh’s sovereignty is freshly proclaimed, and Israel and the nations, ashamed of their idolatry, now confess that God is with Israel alone.⁴⁰ It might be countered that Deutero-Isaiah offers no description of the divine world as such, but only provides a prophetic indictment against idolatry; as if the question of divine number was irrelevant: no wonder ‘monotheism’ has been judged to be a problematic term.⁴¹ Yet, despite the absence of the word ‘one’ (Deut. 6.4), that concept is strongly implied in other ways: Yahweh as God is singularly portrayed as creator, sovereign and declarer for both Israel and the nations. This bore major implications, some of which are now outlined with reference to objections that are of a different and broader kind.

3. *The Implications of Monotheism*

3.1. *International Justice*

A common objection to monotheism is its perceived tendency toward violence, which becomes all the more challenging when the texts in question employ gendered metaphors. In Deutero-Isaiah, personified Babylon, once a queen but now a barren mother and widow, faces the prospect of sexual violence, in a passage (47.3-4) that has been called ‘pornographic’; moreover, her antagonist is divine as well as male: Yahweh *himself* is said to be the ‘warrior-rapist’.⁴² Some observations are needed to place this passage in context. First, the passive expressions ‘be

36. Isa. 40.18; 42.5; 43.10, 12; 44.10, 15, 17; 45.14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22; 46.6, 9; 53.4. Cf. Wildberger 1977: 515, 526, 528-29; Holter 1993: 88-98.

37. Isa. 40.26; 41.1, 5; 43.8-12; 44.8; 45.12, 18-19; 48.13; 49.13; 51.9-10.

38. Cf. Cross 1973: 188.

39. Isa. 40.3, 6, 22; 52.7; cf. M.S. Smith 2004: 114-19.

40. Isa. 45.14; 52.7, 10; cf. Wildberger 1977: 522.

41. Labuschagne 1966: 143; Sawyer 1984; Mauser 1991: 264; Moberly 2004: 226, 233.

42. Baumann 2001: 101, 115-18; Franzmann 1995: 4, 12-13 (esp. nn. 44-47), 17-19.

uncovered...be seen' (47.3a) allude to the military successes of Cyrus as liberator (45.1-3) that reverse Jerusalem's pre-exilic invasion by Babylon (39.1-8; cf. 2 Kgs 18-20; 24-25). Secondly, femininity at its most vulnerable is used here as a euphemistic metaphor for an invaded city, which is apt, given Babylon's proud reputation as 'the mistress of kingdoms' (47.5, 7). Thirdly, and most interestingly, the chapter states that Yahweh had earlier profaned his *own* heritage in anger (47.6a; cf. 42.25; 48.9; 51.17, 20; 54.7), which at least suggests a measure of moral parity for Israel in judgment (cf. 40.2).⁴³ Viewed in this way, the passage is not an attack upon femininity *per se* but judgment as *Spiegelstrafe* or 'poetic justice'; the presence of positive imagery of women elsewhere in Isaiah supports this, even if the overall picture remains mixed.⁴⁴ For some readers, these observations offer no excuses: the terms of address for Babylon (virgin daughter, wife/mother, widow) provide a template for the course of a woman's life that sexualizes civic collapse in a way that is not the case for the king of Babylon (14.4-21); and the very conventionality of the warrior imagery for God merely reflects engrained attitudes about gender: it could even be used to legitimize, with the highest possible divine authority, the male abuse of women.⁴⁵

But such poetic passages are not meant as normative guides to either gender or military practice, such as the treatment of female prisoners of war; after all, the chapter mentions other topics (e.g. sorcery, astrology) in its dismantling of Babylonian hubris. It is only the uncritical assumption of the equal contribution of all parts of Scripture in all situations, rather than the imaginative recognition of the character of each part in context, and the need for careful interpretation, that tightens the proverbial theological knot. It is important, in interpreting any text, that a metaphor's entailments are not isolated and overlapped, not least because Deutero-Isaiah shows an awareness of the functions of metaphor and gender in descriptions of Yahweh: the particle *k^e* ('as, like'; 40.11; 42.13-14); the concatenation of explicitly gendered metaphors (42.13-14); and the appealing message that Yahweh's commitment to Israel and the nations reflects a God who acts beyond human (including female) expectations (49.14-15; cf. 55.1-5). In short, reading all the metaphors critically in context deflects mistaking the metaphor for the message. In this particular case, Yahweh was engaged in international justice, which meant the restoration of captive Israel and the downfall of proud Babylon; it is this reversal, which contributed to the emergence of a new

43. Cf. Westermann 1966: 155 (ET 191-92).

44. Cf. Moughtin-Mumby 2008: 117-55.

45. Franzmann 1995: 15, 17-19.

political order under Persian rule, that provides the context. This enables the horrific portrayal of Babylon's collapse to retain its impact: not the lazy continuance of oppressive patriarchy but the end of oppressive political brutality against Israel.

3.2. *International Salvation*

Part of the prophetic call of Deutero-Isaiah is the confession of Yahweh as God alone. This has a double-aspect: that Israel turns from idolatry back to Yahweh, the covenant God, and that all nations bow the knee to Yahweh as God alone. This raises the issue of the biblical attitude toward other nations. The usual objection, which resonates with contemporary issues (i.e. religious terrorism), is that monotheism always goes hand in hand with an intolerant posture towards the 'other', who does not belong; this exclusive separatism must then be exposed as the product of an influential, zealous élite, such as the 'Yahweh alone party' of the biblical period, and, once that is done, to recover minority voices at the margins of the historical canvas.⁴⁶ The portrayal of other nations in Deutero-Isaiah is certainly mixed, but this also means that it is not uniformly negative. Without doubt, Yahweh opposes Israel's exilic opponents and subjugates nations in exchange for Israel's restoration.⁴⁷ But, at the same time, the nations, coastlands and peoples are said to hope for Yahweh's justice and salvation, a prospect that inspires praise from them.⁴⁸ Furthermore, Deutero-Isaiah's posture is not entirely confrontational: the nations are called to partake with Israel in the public salvation that Yahweh accomplishes.⁴⁹

This mixture poses no irresolvable tension: beyond the triumph and trauma of political change the servant Israel is the chosen instrument of visionary blessing for a new order, for which the famous Deutero-Isaianic expression for Israel is the new covenant role of 'light to the nations' (42.6; 49.6; cf. 55.3-5).⁵⁰ This posture is based upon claims that have international scope. The appeal of Yahweh's 'righteousness' and 'salvation' that emerge out of this new order are likened to the good order and fruits of creation (45.8). Another aspect, just mentioned, is the

46. M. Smith 1987; Schwartz 1997 (cf. Moberly 2007); Moberly 2004: 217-18, 224.

47. Isa. 40.5, 15, 17, 23-24; 41.1-5, 11-12, 20, 25; 42.13; 43.7, 14; 44.24-45.7; 45.13, 14-15, 23; 46.8-11; 47; 48.14, 20; 49.1, 7, 22-26; 51.13, 22-23; 52.1, 10, 11, 15; 54.3, 13-17.

48. Isa. 42.1-4, 10-12; 51.4-6.

49. Isa. 42.1-6, 10-12; 45.23-25; 49.6; 51.4-6; 54.4-6; 55.3-5.

50. See, in general, van Winkle 1985.

public call to witness Israel's restoration, which, since Yahweh is invisible yet manifestly active in Israel's restoration, leads, via idol satire, to the nations' confession that God is with Israel alone. It is as if the 'one' nexus of Deuteronomy's already radical centralization polity (Deut. 6.4-9; 12.1-6) has been radicalized even further: rather than there being one Temple because there is one God for Israel, the cultic influence of Jerusalem (the symbol of Yahweh's righteousness and salvation), will, in time, become international because there is one God for the world. Yet another facet is the servant's suffering: the kings of the nations recognize that this servant was not struck down for his own but for their transgressions and iniquities (Isa. 53.4-5); in an unparalleled manner, at least within the Old Testament, the mysterious experiences of a human sufferer hold international reach through its sacrificial and intercessory character on behalf of all.

3.3. *International Theology*

The final objection to monotheism arises from the origin and early use of the term. It is first attested in the writings of the seventeenth-century Cambridge Platonists. Intellectualist aspects of their context (ontology, classifications of religion, reason and faith) are said to have been carried over into biblical studies, distorting the reading of Old Testament texts with doctrinal theology.⁵¹ On this view, Deutero-Isaiah is not monotheistic because the abstraction implicit in the term invites the rigours of philosophy that merged with Jewish theology much later than the Babylonian Exile, whether in Hellenistic Judaism,⁵² the mediaeval period⁵³ or in the Enlightenment period of Cambridge's Cudworth and More. Put bluntly, Deutero-Isaiah is poetry and not doctrine, the one concrete and imaginative and the other abstract and technical. This objection can also carry with it the view that Deutero-Isaiah represents little or no advance within biblical thought because it largely reuses rhetorical formulae from texts like Deuteronomy and the Psalms.⁵⁴ This major objection can be met in the following ways.

First, there are grounds for interpreting Deutero-Isaiah as representing a later stage of development in biblical thought. The most obvious is that, unlike biblical texts in which local gods are acknowledged (e.g. Exod. 12.12; Judg. 11.24; Ps. 106.28), Deutero-Isaiah uniformly reduces another god to an idol; its theology is no longer about victory through

51. MacDonald 2003: 5-58, 209-21; Moberly 2004: 218-22.

52. Lohfink 1985: 12.

53. Hayman 1991: 2-4.

54. De Boer 1956: 85-86; Hayman 1991: 2; Mauser 1991: 257.

hard-won battle but victory simply by satire. There is also development in view of earlier Isaianic and Deuteronomic traditions that have some similar content (Deut. 32.8-12, 16-17, 21, 37-39; Isa. 37.16-20), but whose polemics are not as concentrated as Deutero-Isaiah.⁵⁵ Another sign of development is the understanding of incomparability formulae, as argued above: their qualified meaning elsewhere is different from their absolute use in Deutero-Isaiah. The articulation of history is also new: Yahweh had earlier intervened in the affairs of other nations on behalf of Israel (cf. Exod. 15.11-12; Isa. 10), but this claim is now based on a monotheistic theology that leaves no room for any other divine powers on the international stage. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the cultic implications of monotheism are radically developed: one religion for one world under one God; in other words, the vision of Deutero-Isaiah entails both judgment and salvation for both Israel and the nations alike because Yahweh is creator and sovereign over all.⁵⁶

Secondly, this objection draws too sharp a contrast between poetry and doctrine, hence its superficial attraction: it is all too easy to list differences between an imaginative figure and a technical definition. Of course, it would be mistaken to read Deutero-Isaiah in too abstract a manner. Of course, categorical statements about Yahweh are nuanced and rendered concrete by their historical and literary setting. And of course, monotheism is not a term that distills Deutero-Isaiah's message in a satisfactorily summary manner. And yet, for all this, it is possible to respect its poetic character while adopting an approach to its content that invites comparison with doctrinal theology. Barr writes:

To qualify as theology something has to be discriminatory, that is, it has to make a distinction as against some other possibility; it has to be argumentative, that is, it has to give grounds—not necessarily rational grounds, but some kind—for its position; it has to be abstracted—I do not say 'abstract', but abstracted—in the sense that it is not a mere repetition or rewording of a religious utterance, but is meant to have validity of its own; it has to have some claim to universality, and thus not be limited to one set of circumstances only.⁵⁷

This definition can be applied to Deutero-Isaiah. There is discrimination: between Yahweh as creator and other gods as idols. There is argument: monotheism is derived from creator versus gods as idols, and supported by sovereignty in history and prophetic tradition. There is abstraction:

55. For the contribution of Deutero-Isaiah in relation to Deuteronomy and Ezekiel, see Petry 2007.

56. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.200-201; Gottwald 1985: 390.

57. Barr 1998: 12-13.

based upon human creativity (independence, power, wisdom) and political liberation (motion, response, compassion, justice) as analogies for divine action—Yahweh exemplifies attributes that gods as idols fail to accomplish. And there is universality: creation and the foreign agency of Cyrus provide broad contexts for the rhetoric of monotheism. Deutero-Isaiah, on such terms, is international theology, because it holds, with inner necessity, to the unity of the world under one God. It may, on such terms, be possible to suggest that these details make Deutero-Isaiah in its own way ‘rational’, because its theology has the explanatory virtues of unity and consistency.⁵⁸

Thirdly, the modern emergence of the term monotheism in the history of ideas does not make it inapplicable to the texts of Deutero-Isaiah. Enough has been stated to support the claim that this term can be legitimately used of its poetry, and a number of trails could be pursued to explore how monotheistic strands were used in Late Antique Jewish and Christian discourse against polytheism, and even in instances of what has been called ‘pagan monotheism’ (although that recent coinage is naturally contested).⁵⁹ Thus, to argue that monotheism as a term distorts because of its modern emergence looks like a history of ideas version of the etymological fallacy. Interestingly, though, there is no need to move beyond even the exilic/early post-exilic periods since there might be a near-contemporary analogy in the surviving fragments of Xenophanes of Colophon, who was active during the sixth-fifth centuries in Ionia, and who fled to Italy after Cyrus conquered Ionia in 546 BCE:

One god is greatest among gods and men, not at all like mortals in body or in thought. ...whole he sees, whole he thinks, and whole he hears. ...but completely without toil he shakes all things by the thought of his mind. ...always he abides in the same place, not moving at all, nor is it seemly for him to travel to different places at different times.

But mortals suppose that gods are born, wear their own clothes and have a voice and a body. But if horses or oxen or lions had hands or could draw with their hands and accomplish such works as men, horses would draw the figures of the gods as similar to horses, and the oxen similar to oxen, and they would make the bodies of the sort which each of them had.

...Ethiopians say that their gods are snub-nosed and black; Thracians that theirs are blue-eyed and red-haired.⁶⁰

58. Wildberger 1977: 506-10, 522; Hussey 1995: 531-33, 538-41.

59. Rainbow 1988; see Athanassiadi and Frede 1999.

60. For source details (Clement, Sextus, Simplicius) and translations, see Lesher 1992: 24-25, 30-33.

These are some of the more explicitly theological fragments. It must be emphasized that there are a range of critical issues to be faced when interpreting these lines, which can only be mentioned briefly. Above all they are *fragments* cited by later authors (with their own interests), so it is necessary to attempt to reconstruct Xenophanes's likely thought by the standard critical means; here they are quoted as two thematic groups. Pertinent to this study is the observation that more judicious commentators have been reluctant to claim that Xenophanes was the first philosophical 'monotheist' (despite the tantalizing phrase 'One god'), not only for exegetical reasons, but also because of its laden Jewish and Christian associations, not to mention the unwanted ideological influence of overly neat Enlightenment schemas in which the history of monotheism is plotted teleologically and too much is made of Deutero-Isaiah and Xenophanes.⁶¹ It is worth adding that there is no evidence for any mutual theological influence between them, as for most Jews and Greeks until the Hellenistic period (cf. Isa. 66.19).⁶² Proceeding, then, with due caution, the following may be proposed.

Xenophanes seems to have held that popular beliefs about the Greek gods were inadequate. Traditional Homeric and Hesiodic myths that portray them as immoral and violent are useless, and do not serve the public good: the gods should at least be held in high regard. There are conceptual problems too: these beliefs only have the philosophical status of opinion; and, with the second group of fragments in view, the idea of a god's birth might lead to the unwanted idea of a god's death, and anthropomorphism reflects only local customary beliefs and human projections.⁶³ At the same time, Xenophanes was part of an emerging tradition (nowadays known as Presocratic or early Greek philosophy) that contributed to cosmological thinking, in which more adequate theological concepts were needed to explain the law-like regularity of the cosmos, which is noteworthy given the minor role played by creator gods in Greek epic: this development is evident in the philosophical majesty of the first group of fragments. The resulting contrast is an analogy to the theology of Deutero-Isaiah: both reject all-too-human beliefs, stimulated by an awareness of the beliefs of different cultures, and both articulate a cosmic theology that is held to be true and fitting respectively. The analogy is naturally limited by their different social settings, and the tradition-bound nature of their writings, but the common feature of

61. Stokes 1971: 66-85; Edwards 1991; West 1999: 32-33; Lohfink 1969: 58, 63; Lang 1983: 54; Halpern 1987: 103-105.

62. Hagedorn 2005; cf. Whitley 1957: 7, 136, 144-45.

63. Leshner 1992: 10-15, 18-19, 22-23, 38-39, 212-14.

critical internationalism is significant for it gave to each tradition, during a period of widespread political change led by Cyrus, the capacity to survive imaginatively and to underwrite public justice.⁶⁴ As for its long-term significance, the analogy helps to explain the transference of both biblical and philosophical concepts into the doctrinal theology of later Jewish and Christian discourse (e.g. Philo, Augustine), and the monotheistic religious philosophy of subsequent centuries.

4. *Conclusions*

Yahweh as creator God is the foundational claim that guides the theology of Deutero-Isaiah. Its critical leverage is gained from idol polemic, whose satirical content is a foil to that claim, as well as to divine sovereignty in history and prophetic tradition: together, these claims form the coherent basis of monotheism. This leads to a certain interpretation of the rhetoric of Deutero-Isaiah: incomparability and exclusivity formulae bear monotheistic sense because of idol satire; the identification of divine names, in which Yahweh recruits them all as God alone, has the same basis. The prophetic declarations of Deutero-Isaiah represented a subversive response to the supremacy of the gods of Babylon, especially the high god Marduk, whose image was prominent in New Year festival processions, and a call to Israel to fulfil its role as Yahweh's chosen servant and witness that Yahweh is God alone. Certain objections to monotheism in Deutero-Isaiah can be overplayed: Yahweh as a victorious male warrior against the mistress Babylon is indicative not of oppressive patriarchy, but is a metaphor for the end of oppressive brutality against Israel; rather than monotheism always entailing intolerance towards the 'other', in Deutero-Isaiah both Israel and the nations partake in Yahweh's international salvation; and the abstraction implicit in monotheism is no obstacle to its use provided that it is understood on the actual polemical terms of Deutero-Isaiah. There is an analogy to Deutero-Isaianic theology in the fragments of Xenophanes of Colophon, whose theology was similarly characterized by the critique of popular beliefs in different nations and the articulation of a more adequate cosmic theology. The common feature of critical internationalism gave to these traditions, during a period of political transition led by Cyrus, the

64. Cf. Weber 1952: xix-xx, 7-10, 207. Weber argues that peripheral groups on the edge of empire, such as Israel and Greece, were able creatively to restructure values from older, unchanging, complex river-valley cultures (e.g. Babylon) that feared social and intellectual change.

capacity to survive imaginatively and to underwrite public justice. This analogy also helps to explain the transference of both biblical and philosophical concepts into the doctrinal theology of later Jewish and Christian discourse.

Bibliography

- Albertz, R.
2001 *Die Exilszeit* (Biblische Enzyklopädie, 7; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer). ET *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century BCE* (trans. D. Green; Studies in Biblical Literature, 3; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
- Athanassiadi, P., and M. Frede (eds.)
1999 *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Barr, J.
1998 'Greek Culture and the Question of Natural Theology', in A. Yarbro Collins (ed.), *Ancient and Modern Perspectives on the Bible and Culture: Essays in Honour of Hans Dieter Betz* (Atlanta: Scholars Press): 5-25.
- Baumann, G.
2001 'Prophetic Objections to YHWH as the Violent Husband of Israel: Reinterpretations of the Prophetic Marriage Metaphor in Second Isaiah (Isaiah 40–55)', in A. Brenner (ed.), *Prophets and Daniel: A Feminist Companion to the Bible* (2nd series; London: Sheffield Academic Press): 88-120.
- Carroll, R.P.
1977 'The Aniconic God and the Cult of Images', *ST* 31: 51-64.
- Coggins, R.J.
1988 'Do We Still Need Deutero-Isaiah?', *JSOT* 81: 77-92.
- Cross, F.M.
1953 'The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah', *JNES* 12: 274-77.
1973 *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).
- de Boer, P.A.H.
1956 *Second-Isaiah's Message* (OTS, 11; Leiden: Brill).
- Dick, M.B.
1998 'The Relationship between the Cult Image and Deity in Mesopotamia', in J. Prosecký (ed.), *Intellectual Life in the Ancient Near East. 43rd Rencontre assyriologique internationale, Prague* (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic): 111-16.
1999 'Prophetic Parodies of Making the Cult Image', in M.B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 1-53.
- Driver, S.R.
1913 *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh T. & T. Clark, 9th edn).
- Duhm, B.
1892 *Das Buch Jesaia* (HKAT, 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

- Edwards, M.J.
1991 'Xenophanes Christianus', *GRBS* 32.3: 219-28.
- Elliger, K.
1978 *Deuterocesaja 1. Jesaja 40, 1-45, 7* (BKAT, 11/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener-Verlag).
- Franzmann, M.
1995 'The City as Woman: The Case of Babylon in Isaiah 47', *AusBR* 43: 1-19.
- Gordon, R.P. (ed.)
2007 *The God of Israel* (UCOP, 64; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Gottwald, N.K.
1985 *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Hagedorn, A.C.
2005 'Who Would Invite a Stranger from Abroad? The Presence of Greeks in Palestine in Old Testament Times', in R.P. Gordon and J.C. de Moor (eds.), *The Old Testament in its World* (OTS, 52; Leiden: Brill): 68-93.
- Halpern, B.
1987 "'Brisker Pipes than Poetry": The Development of Israelite Monotheism', in J. Neusner, B.A. Levine and E.S. Frerichs (eds.), *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press): 77-115.
- Hayman, P.
1976 'Rabbinic Judaism and the Problem of Evil', *SJT* 29: 461-76.
1991 'Monotheism—A Misused Word in Jewish Studies?', *JJS* 42: 1-15.
- Henderson, E.
1840 *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co.).
- Holter, K.
1993 *Second Isaiah's Idol-Fabrication Passages* (BBET, 28; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).
- Hussey, E.
1995 'Ionian Enquiries: On Understanding the Presocratic Beginnings of Science', in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London: Routledge): 530-49.
- Koch, K.
2007 'Ugaritic Polytheism and Hebrew Monotheism in Isaiah 40-55', in Gordon (ed.) 2007: 205-28.
- Koole, J.L.
1985 *Isaiah. Part 3, Volume 1. Isaiah 40-48* (trans. A.P. Runia; HCOT; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997). First published as *Jesaja II: Jesaja 40 tot en met 48* (COT; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1985).
- Kratz, R.G.
1991 *Kyros im Deuterocesaja-Buch: Redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Theologie von Jes. 40-55* (FAT, 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Labuschagne, C.J.
1966 *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament* (POS, 5; Leiden: Brill).

- Lang, B.
1983 *Monotheism and the Prophetic Minority: An Essay in Biblical History and Sociology* (Social World of Biblical Antiquity, 1; Sheffield: Almond Press).
- Leshner, J.H.
1992 *Xenophanes of Colophon: Fragments. A Text and Translation with a Commentary* (Phoenix, Supplementary Volume, 30; Toronto: University of Toronto Press).
- Lindström, F.
1983 *God and the Origin of Evil: A Contextual Analysis of Alleged Monistic Evidence in the Old Testament* (ConBOT, 21; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup).
- Lohfink, N.
1969 'Gott und die Götter im Alten Testament', *Theologische Akademie* 6: 50-71.
1985 'Zur Geschichte der Diskussion über den Monotheismus im alten Israel', in G. Braulik and E. Haag (eds.), *Gott der Einzige* (Freiburg: Herder): 9-25.
- MacDonald, N.
2003 *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of 'Monotheism'* (FAT, 2/1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Machinist, P.
2003 'Mesopotamian Imperialism and Israelite Religion: A Case Study from the Second Isaiah', in W.G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and their Neighbors* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 237-64.
- Mausser, U.
1991 'One God Alone: A Pillar of Biblical Theology', *Princeton Seminary Bulletin* 12: 255-65.
- Moberly, W.
2004 'How Appropriate is "Monotheism" as a Category for Biblical Interpretation?', in L.T. Stuckenbruck and W.E.S. North (eds.), *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism* (JSNTSup, 263; London: T. & T. Clark International): 216-34.
2007 'Is Monotheism Bad for You?: Some Reflections on God, the Bible, and Life in the Light of Regina Schwartz' *The Curse of Cain*, in Gordon (ed.) 2007: 94-112.
- Moughtin-Mumby, S.
2008 *Sexual and Marital Metaphors in Hosea, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Ezekiel* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Petry, S.
2007 *Die Entgrenzung JHWHs* (FAT, 2/27; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck).
- Rainbow, P.A.
1988 'Monotheism and Christology in I Corinthians 8: 4-6' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Oxford University).
- Rechenmacher, H.
1997 *'Ausser mir gibt es keinen Gott!': Eine sprach- und literaturwissenschaftliche Studie zur Ausschliesslichkeitsformel* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag).

- Sawyer, J.F.A.
1984 'Biblical Alternatives to Monotheism', *Theology* 87: 172-80.
- Schoors, A.
1973 *I Am God Your Saviour: A Form-Critical Study of the Main Genres in Is. XL-LV* (VTSup, 24; Leiden: Brill).
- Schwartz, R.
1997 *The Curse of Cain: The Violent Legacy of Monotheism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).
- Sherwin, S.J.
2007 'Old Testament Monotheism and Zoroastrian Influence', in Gordon (ed.) 2007: 113-24.
- Smith, M.
1987 *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (London: SCM Press, 2nd edn).
- Smith, M.S.
2004 *Memoirs of God: History, Memory and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Stokes, M.C.
1971 *One and Many in Presocratic Philosophy* (Washington: Center for Hellenic Studies).
- Stuhlmüller, C.
1970 *Creative Redemption in Deutero-Isaiah* (AnBib, 43; Rome: Biblical Institute Press).
- Van Winkle, D.W.
1985 'The Relationship of the Nations to Yahweh and to Israel in Isaiah xl-lv', *VT* 35: 446-58.
- Weber, M.
1952 *Ancient Judaism* (trans. H.H. Gerth and D. Martindale; Glencoe, IL: Free Press).
- Werlitz, J.
1999 *Redaktion und Komposition. Zur Rückfrage hinter die Endgestalt von Jesaja 40-55* (BBB, 122; Berlin: Philo).
- West, M.L.
1999 'Towards Monotheism', in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 21-40.
- Westermann, C.
1966 *Das Buch Jesaja: Kapitel 40-66* (ATD, 19; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 5th edn). ET *Isaiah 40-66* (trans. D.M.G. Stalker; OTL; London: SCM Press, 1969).
- Whitley, C.F.
1957 *The Exilic Age* (London: Longmans, Green & Co.).
- Whybray, R.N.
1971 *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah XL 13-14: A Study of the Sources of the Theology of Deutero-Isaiah* (SOTSMS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Wildberger, H.

- 1977 'Der Monotheismus Deuterjesajas', in H. Donner, R. Hanhart and R. Smend (eds.), *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht): 506-30.

Williamson, H.G.M.

- 1994 *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- 1998 *Variations on a Theme: King, Messiah and Servant in the Book of Isaiah* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press).

‘NOW YOU SEE ME, NOW YOU DON’T!’ JEREMIAH AND GOD

Philip S. Johnston

1. *Introduction*

Among the many complexities of the book of Jeremiah is its portrayal of the prophet’s perception of Yahweh. Much of the book is stereotypically prophetic, with its fervent denunciation of wicked people and sinful practices, its repeated prediction of judgment and exile, and its occasional glimpse of hope and restoration. This essay takes the typical for granted, and instead probes the untypical or unexpected in relation to Jeremiah and Yahweh. This can be seen in several contexts, but comes to a head in prophetic comments like the following:

Truly, you are to me like a deceit, like waters that fail (lit., 15.18b)¹

Do not become a terror to me (17.17a)

you have enticed me, and I was enticed (20.7a)

Various issues must be noted before proceeding further. First, this study stays within the faith perspective of the book itself, that of Yahweh as the God of Israel and the only deity with whom there should be any interaction. However we relate to this personally, we must first study the text on its own terms, engaging sympathetically as well as critically with its perspective.

Secondly, this study enters into the world of the text itself. The association between prophet and book of course remains much debated, with very different proposals concerning how much can be attributed respectively to Jeremiah, his scribe Baruch, and later editors. These range from the ‘prophet’ approach, which sees a major role for Jeremiah with some assistance by faithful disciples, to the ‘book’ approach, which sees a later anthology around an ill-remembered or fictive figure.² Nevertheless, the

1. All references with English numeration, and all quotations from NRSV unless indicated otherwise (as here).

2. For a summary of approaches, see, for example, McConville 1991.

book as we have it portrays a prophet called Jeremiah and his extensive interaction with Yahweh, which made sufficient sense to final editors for them to see the book as an authentic portrayal of prophecy, and for the tradition to accept it as authoritative and eventually canonical. Whether this is accurate history or imaginative theology, it remains a portrayal of prophet and deity, and can be studied as such.

Thirdly, I note the complex literary nature of the book, as well summarized by K.M. O'Connor:

Poems of Jeremiah intermingle with stories about him and with prose sermons attributed to him. Chronological headings are out of order; verses repeat themselves unexpectedly in different contexts; messages of hope coexist with threats of doom. The result is a literary soup that demands a revelatory recipe, but no simple description of its ingredients is possible. (O'Connor 1992: 169)

This renders hazardous any attempt at chronological sequencing, and makes certainty impossible. Nevertheless, O'Connor herself proposes a logical order for one important set of passages, notably the laments of chs. 11–20. These laments occur in the first half of the book (whether delineated as chs. 1–20 or 1–25), and my study will concentrate on this half. The second half contains much repetition of familiar prophetic themes, and occasional elaboration of the tensions between Jeremiah and Yahweh already recorded in chs. 1–20, but little new insight on this theme.

Finally, this study follows the canonical MT. The nature of the recensions is complex, and many scholars suggest that the shorter form of the LXX and 4QJer reflect an earlier text. However, the relationship between the two forms is far from straightforward. For instance, Diamond argues that in the shorter edition the laments highlight the people whereas in the longer one they highlight the prophet (Diamond 1990), against the usual developmental view of early individualistic material later given a communal application.

2. *Some General Themes*

2.1. *Jeremiah's Call*

In its final form the call account of Jer. 1.4-19 includes the initial encounter of vv. 4-10, the two interpreted visions of vv. 11-16, and the concluding exhortation of vv. 17-19.³ It opens with the assertion that

3. Regardless of form- and redaction-critical issues. Note P.C. Craigie's (1991: 8) warning: 'while a general *Gattung* of call narratives may be posited, with several

Yahweh reveals himself to Jeremiah in a discernible way. The actuality of this experience is taken for granted, without further explanation. So this lengthy anthology (i.e. the present book) opens with divine self-disclosure, an issue which some of the ensuing prophetic experience and message will question.

The account proceeds with several distinctive assertions. Yahweh knew Jeremiah before birth, and appointed him as prophet to the nations (*haggôyim*, vv. 5, 10)—the use of *gôy* for Judah in 5.9 suggests this expression includes the prophet's own people. Jeremiah responds questioningly, as later, though here because of youthful inability (v. 6). Yahweh rejects the protest, reaffirms the commission, and gives assurance of divine presence and deliverance (vv. 7-8). Then Yahweh touches the prophet's mouth in a significant act (cf. *hinnēh*, v. 9), and expands the commission into four verbs of demolition and two of construction (v. 10). These features recur later in the book in relation to divine knowability.

The following two visions (vv. 11-16) function as confirmation of the call account. Both begin by asking what Jeremiah has seen; the first involves a pun on *šqd*, involving Yahweh's watchfulness; and the second concludes with the people forsaking Yahweh for other gods. The prophet's attentiveness to signs is met by the deity's attentiveness to his word. This divine attentiveness is clearly related to knowability, especially when the prophet later doubts the fulfilment of Yahweh's word and questions his understanding of Yahweh.

The chapter concludes (vv. 17-19) with an expansion of the earlier themes (vv. 7-8) of obedient response, prophetic courage and divine protection. All three receive significant elaboration, particularly the last with its triple metaphor of strength (v. 18: fortified city, iron pillar, bronze wall), its listing of the opposition (kings, officials [*šārîm*], priests and people of the land) and its certainty of their active hostility. The absence of prophets from this list is notable, since many become Jeremiah's fierce opponents. Perhaps this reflects a genuinely early account, before Jeremiah understood the messages of his prophetic colleagues. Even more interesting here is the expansion of the call to faithful ministry (v. 17; cf. v. 7), with its added threat: 'Do not break down (*htt*, *qal*) before them, or I will break you (*htt*, *hiphil*) before them'. This divine warning sounds harsh indeed, especially at the outset of Jeremiah's ministry.

common characteristics, the actual difference between the three most fundamental call narratives in prophetic books (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel) undermine any confidence that there was a clearly delineated literary type'.

Whether this genuinely predicted periods of turmoil or was added redactionally, it certainly presages them. Yahweh's reassurance of strength and deliverance is balanced by the threat to shatter the prophet in the case of failure. Knowing Yahweh would certainly not be easy.

2.2. *Early Material*

Here 'early' means early in the book of Jeremiah, notably chs. 2–11 and especially chs. 2–6. This material may actually record the prophet's early ministry, as suggested by its placement at the beginning of the largely undated chs. 2–20, and as argued by W.R. Holladay, J.R. Lundbom and others. However, it has little historical anchorage, and in its current literary context its application remains general.

This material contains many stinging critiques of the people, who shun Yahweh. Oracle after oracle thunders condemnation for apostasy, with historical reminiscence (e.g. 2.1-3), international comparison (e.g. 2.10-11), graphic metaphor (e.g. 2.23, 27) and many other rhetorical devices. Alongside general strictures are some which single out various leaders, notably rulers, kings, officials, priests and prophets (2.8, 27). The summary of 2.13 encapsulates the double critique:

...my people have committed two evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and dug out cisterns for themselves, cracked cisterns that can hold no water.

This widespread critique dominates chs. 2–20; it also features repeatedly in the rest of the book, though more often with specific application, for example, to monarchs, prophets or refugees in Egypt. As noted, the language is often graphic, with imagery and symbolism sometimes shocking to readers today. But the portrayal of Yahweh as intending to punish his people for infidelity is typical of Hebrew prophetic literature, indeed of most strands of the Hebrew Bible, and is not peculiar to Jeremiah.

2.3. *Divine Grief*

One strand distinctive to Jeremiah, at least in its amplitude, is that of divine grief.⁴ Jeremiah echoes Hosea in many respects, not least the imagery of marital infidelity and the pain of Yahweh as the spurned partner. Yet arguably Jeremiah goes further than Hosea, both in personal

4. Smith (1987) sees several passages as divine laments (9.9, ET 10; 12.7-12; 15.5-9) and concludes: 'The lamented lover and the enemy, distinct in the Mesopotamian and Ugaritic literary traditions, become one and the same figure in Jer. ix 9a...the one Yahweh loves, Yahweh must destroy' (p. 99).

identification with his people and in merging prophetic and divine expressions of grief. This is portrayed most clearly in 8.18–9.2 (ET 3), often divided into two oracles.⁵ The opening lines (8.18-19a) look like the words of the prophet, identifying with ‘my poor people’ and speaking of Yahweh objectively. But this is directly followed by a divine soliloquy: ‘Why have they provoked me to anger with their images...?’ (v. 19b). The next verses again seem human, with the prophet searching for the proverbial balm of Gilead to heal ‘my poor people’, or a traveler’s lodge to escape them (8.22–9.2a, ET 3a). But for a second time this merges into a divine voice which concludes the section: ‘they do not know me, says the Lord’ (9.2b, ET 3b). While identification with Yahweh in the understanding of prophetic mission is common, this merging of voices is not common, and gives a distinctive perspective on the prophetic role. This feature is all the more interesting when juxtaposed, as in the following chapters, with the questioning of the prophet’s mission in the laments.

In passing, we should also note the repeated prohibition against prophetic intercession, in 7.16; 11.14; 14.11 (during drought) and 15.1 (by implication).⁶ This reinforces the notion of prophetic identification with the people, but here in contrast with Yahweh’s perspective. Despite his grief, Yahweh had apparently decreed that it was too late for a change of heart by people or deity. Here Jeremiah’s understanding of Yahweh must progress from that of his mentor Hosea. That Jeremiah had difficulty accepting this is illustrated yet further by his prayer in 14.19-22, where he still hopes for mercy: ‘Have you completely rejected Judah?... We acknowledge our wickedness... We set our hope on you...’

2.4. *Other Prophets*

One theme of particular interest in these early chapters comes in Jer. 4.10, where Jeremiah accuses God directly: ‘how utterly you have deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, “It shall be well with you”, even while the sword is at the throat!’ Deception is an important motif in the book, and is portrayed through various terms: often the noun *šeqer*;⁷

5. Cf. O’Connor 1992: 174: ‘Even God weeps in the book. In two poems (8:18-21; 9:1-3), the weeping figures of Jeremiah and God become indistinguishable.’ Lee (2007: 192) posits further the voice of ‘a communal lament-singer (likely female)’ alongside those of prophet, people and deity.

6. Craigie (1991) and Kelley (1991) variously note Jer. 7.16; 11.14 and 15.1, but not 14.11. Whether the multiple references reflect several experiences or redactional repetition, they point to a significant motif in the book.

7. The term *šeqer* occurs 36 times in Jeremiah, and is studied by Overholt (1970: 86-105). This should be complemented with other terms and texts, as noted here.

here the verb *nāšāʿ* (*hiphil*, with inf. abs.).⁸ For most, 4.10 indicates that Jeremiah initially thought his prophetic colleagues were truly conveying the divine word when they prophesied peace; then, as he increasingly realized that his own mission was to proclaim the opposite, he blamed Yahweh himself for this discrepancy. Thus Lundbom: 'Jeremiah himself admits to having believed what the optimistic prophets... were saying', in other words, he was naive.⁹ By contrast, for Carroll the opening 'On that day' of v. 9 suggests a late supplement. However, he also notes that the idea of prophets being themselves deceived is alien to the Jeremic tradition, and 'the theology of 4.10 appears to play no part in the attack on the prophets in 23.9-40; 27-29' (Carroll 1986: 161-62). In fact, this variance with later passages on Jeremiah's prophetic opponents is striking, and seems good reason to allow that this intriguing couplet genuinely reflects an early phase of Jeremiah's ministry when he may still have had some respect for his fellow prophets.¹⁰

Further reference to Jeremiah's uncertainty concerning his prophetic colleagues may come in 14.13-16. Here he complains to Yahweh of their message of peace, and receives divine reassurance that they are prophesying 'a lying vision, worthless divination, and the deceit of their own minds' (v. 14). Perhaps Jeremiah knew this and simply needed affirmation. But perhaps he was still coming to terms with the fact that colleagues who used Yahweh's name did not actually proclaim Yahweh's word.

2.5. *The Temple*

Alongside prophets as intermediaries between Yahweh and Judah stands the Temple with its symbolism, ritual and personnel. Jeremiah often criticized priests in his broadsides against all authority figures (as already noted), though it is unclear whether these strictures are specific to the Temple personnel or also include officiants at the *bāmôt* ('high places'). Sacrifice and ritual are seldom addressed *per se*, but they are highlighted in the famous 'Temple sermon' of ch. 7. Here v. 22 insists that the divine command immediately following the exodus from Egypt enjoined

8. The verb *nāšāʿ* (*hiphil*) recurs in other significant contexts, notably 37.9, for the vain hope of relief; 29.8, for the optimistic messages of prophets in exile. It also appears in 49.16, in connection with Edom's self-deception, and ten times elsewhere. (The *qal* inf. in Jer. 23.39 is probably a mistake for *nāšāʿ*.)

9. Lundbom 1999: 145. Others give more nuance; so Thompson 1980: 223; Craigie 1991: 74. For Jones (1992: 112), 'Behind the accusation... is the conception that the lying prophet is the instrument of a lying spirit as in 1 Kg. 22.22'.

10. In this case, it also testifies to the lack of imposed theological conformity during the process of collation and redaction.

obedience, not sacrifice. This echoes both a general prophetic cult-polemic,¹¹ and a more specific interpretation of the post-exodus revelation which prioritized morality over ritual, as in Amos 5.25.¹²

The Temple sermon itself reveals a new perspective on Yahweh, though more so for Jeremiah's audience. For them the shibboleth 'Temple of Yahweh' encapsulated a belief in the Temple's inviolability, stemming from or at least strengthened by the city's deliverance from Sennacherib a century earlier. Jeremiah responds that these are simply 'words of deception' (*šeqer*). Encouraged by their leaders, the Jerusalemites deceive themselves with a false perception of Yhwh's relationship to his Temple and therefore of its (and their) future.¹³ Interestingly, the Temple's destruction is not envisaged in Solomon's dedicatory prayer of 1 Kings 8, so arguably was not part of early Deuteronomistic theology. Instead, Solomon's prayer notes that people might be carried off captive and then pray 'towards...the house that I have built for your name' (1 Kgs 8.48), implying that the Temple would still exist. By contrast, Jeremiah understands and portrays Yahweh as a deity prepared to see the principal arena of his worship destroyed. This had profound implications for the conceptualization of Yahweh, not least by the prophet himself.

3. *The Laments*

The crucial texts for assessing the prophetic experience of Yahweh are the so-called laments (or confessions), the passages in chs. 11–20 which present dialogue between the prophet and the deity, mainly as the complaint of the former and the response of the latter.¹⁴

The laments were subjected to much scrutiny in the last century, from the seminal work of W. Baumgartner in 1917 to the detailed doctoral

11. E.g. Isa. 1.10-17; Hos. 6.6; Amos 5.21-25; Mic. 6.1-8. Craigie (1991: 124) follows Milgrom's argument that this polemic addresses individual voluntary sacrifices, as in Jeremiah's critique of the family-centred Queen of Heaven cult.

12. This is perhaps implicit in Ezek. 20, with its contrast between Yahweh's statues and 'going after idols' (vv. 7-8, 11-13, 16, 18-21, 24); by contrast, v. 25 subverts the theme, with Yahweh apparently giving 'statutes that were not good'.

13. Deceit remains a motif of the following chapters: in 8.5, people 'have held fast to deceit (*tarmîṭ*)', and in 9.4 (ET 5) 'they all deceive [*tll*, *hiphil*; so BDB and ES] their neighbours'.

14. Scholars analyse chs. 11–20 variously: Diamond (1987: 149-76) sees three sections: chs. 11–13, 14–17, 18–20; O'Connor (1988: 130-31) five sections: chs. 11–12, 13, 14–16, 17, 18–20; Smith (1990: xix) four sections: chs. 11–12, 13–15, 16–17, 18–20.

research of A.R.P. Diamond and K.M. O'Connor in the 1980s, and the further contributions of C.R. Seitz, M.S. Smith and others.¹⁵ Much study focused on form and redactional criticism, with some attention also to literary and theological issues. The many similarities between the Jeremianic laments and the psalm laments, both form-critical and theological, have also been well explored.

Here we consider the relevant passages in their maximal definition,¹⁶ without discussing whether the number of units is five (Baumgartner,¹⁷ O'Connor),¹⁸ six (Smith)¹⁹ or eight (Diamond).²⁰ Smith makes a good case for six laments, each with four main elements (invocation/mention of God, speech of enemies, declaration of innocence, request for vengeance).²¹ However, while this makes good form-critical sense, it excludes two passages related in content and theme,²² which are included in the analyses of Diamond and O'Connor.

3.1. *Jeremiah 11.18-23*

The first unit opens abruptly with reference to Yahweh imparting knowledge (v. 18a), then gradually explains this knowledge as 'their evil deeds' (v. 18b) and murderous scheming (v. 19: 'let us destroy...let us cut off...no longer remembered'). The lament notes the prophet's ignorance of this and appeals to Yahweh (v. 20). The divine response then promises destruction of these Anathoth plotters (vv. 21-23).²³ At one level, this unit could be read as a thanksgiving that Yahweh had actually

15. Baumgartner 1917; Diamond 1987 and O'Connor 1988 (both from dissertations presented in 1984); Seitz 1989; Smith 1990.

16. Jer. 11.18-23; 12.1-6; 15.10-14; 15.15-21; 17.14-18; 18.18-23; 20.7-13; 20.14-18.

17. Jer. 11.18-20, 21-23 (treated together); 15.15-21; 17.12-18; 18.18-23; 20.10-13. He adds as associated poems: Jer. 12.1-6; 15.10-12; 20.7-9, 14-18.

18. Jer. 11.18-12.6; 15.10-21; 17.14-18; 18.18-23; 20.7-18. Similarly Kelley (1991: 172), subdividing the last. In a later work, O'Connor (2001: 500) comments: 'In the present text...the two parts of the poem form two panels of complaint (11:18-20 and 12:1-4) and response (11:21-3 and 12:4-6) that interpret and nuance one another as a single composition'.

19. Jer. 11.18-23; 12.1-6; 15.15-21; 17.14-18; 18.18-23; 20.7-13.

20. Jer. 11.18-23; 12.1-6; 15.10-14; 15.15-21; 17.14-18; 18.18-23; 20.7-13; 20.14-18.

21. Smith 1990: 1-29. A secondary, fifth element (divine answer) concludes the first three, but is only implicit (at best) in the other three.

22. Jer. 15.10-14, a prosodic self-pitying introduction; 20.14-18, a self-impregatory conclusion.

23. For Smith (1990: 5-6), the development from anonymous to location-specific enemies identifies vv. 21-23 as secondary.

revealed to the unsuspecting prophet his danger, and thus triggered the appeal and divine response. However, the context of chs. 11–20 and the similarity with psalm laments strongly imply that it voices complaint. He was innocent and unsuspecting. His attempt to fulfil his mission had led to mortal danger, but he had been left in the dark. In this perspective the opening statement that Yahweh ‘then’ (*ʔāz*) made known the true situation sounds less like a thanksgiving and more like a complaint that he had not done so earlier. In this reading of the text, Yahweh was hiding essential knowledge from Jeremiah even though the latter was being faithful in his mission. So the deity who appointed the prophet becomes elusive to him, at least in this respect.

3.2. *Jeremiah 12.1-6*

The second unit has a similar enigmatic feel. The opening phrase ‘You... right, O Lord’ sounds like the ringing endorsement of a psalmic hymn (e.g. Pss. 129.4; 145.17), yet is immediately followed by the prophet’s contention (*rib*). Here he asks why the guilty prosper, and then answers himself: it is due to Yahweh! In v. 2 the description of ‘the treacherous’ parallels, perhaps even parodies, the arboreal image of the faithful in 17.7-8 (cf. Ps. 1.3): both are planted, take root and produce fruit.²⁴ But here in 12.2 it is the impious whom Yahweh allows to prosper, not the prophet whose integrity is evident (v. 3). So Jeremiah then appeals to Yahweh to eliminate them (just as they had intended to eliminate him, 11.19). Even the physical world suffers because of their wickedness and presumed immunity (v. 4).

As before, an opening phrase which sounds complimentary actually proves problematic as the unit progresses. Yahweh may indeed be right/righteous (*ṣaddīq*); but this is not apparent to the prophet, whose expectations are reversed! The thriving tree normally illustrates the righteous, not as here the wicked. The fact that Yahweh tests the prophet (*bḥn*, v. 3) seems to imply divine trust, but later Yahweh is said to test the devious and perverse heart (17.7-10; also *bḥn* straight after presenting the righteous as a thriving tree). This adds further ambiguity. In sum, Yahweh may see and know Jeremiah, but Jeremiah does not know Yahweh in that he does not understand Yahweh’s inaction. Yahweh may be righteous, yet he is also directly responsible for the prosperity of the unrighteous. This age-old problem (cf. Ps. 73, etc.) perplexes Jeremiah and distances him from God.

24. The image also resonates in the preceding unit: ‘Let us destroy the tree with its fruit’ (Jer. 11.19).

The divine response provides yet more discomfort. Instead of addressing the issue, or even reassuring Jeremiah, Yahweh accuses him of wilting at the first signs of difficulty. The metaphors used are graphic: racing against humans is easier than against horses, running on open ground is easier than in thickets. And the implication is obvious: the problems Jeremiah has faced are minor compared to what lies ahead. The final verse, though introduced abruptly and awkwardly (by *kī*), implies that opposition will come from his very own family, and duplicitously. On the one hand, Yahweh appears to give Jeremiah a timely and helpful warning; on the other, he first chides him for his questioning attitude. If the prophet truly wanted to have a better understanding of the deity's mind and a better grasp of theodicy, he has not succeeded.

3.3. *Jeremiah 15.10-14*

15.10-14 is the most textually problematic of these units, and its place among the lament passages is often doubted. The prophet's initial cry of woe for his own birth presages the soliloquy of 20.14-18, where the theme is developed more fully (see below). Here in 15.10 the emphasis is less on lamenting his birth than on stating his current situation. Despite not lending or borrowing (which implies that this a common source of friction),²⁵ he is a 'man of strife and contention', universally cursed.

As before, the divine response is puzzling: v. 11 has great textual difficulty; v. 12 is cryptic; and vv. 13-14 seem to address the nation rather than the prophet! In v. 11 Yahweh's first phrase seems reassuring, since it concludes with 'for good'.²⁶ However the verb is awkward: the *kethib šārôtikā* is difficult,²⁷ and the *qere šērītikā* would mean 'I have released/strengthened you'.²⁸ Rudolph in *BHS* posits *šēratikā*, from the common *šrt* (*piel*), giving 'I have served you'; this fits best with 'for good'. but lacks textual support. Yahweh's second phrase is also partly clear: '...on you in a time of trouble and in a time of distress...' However, the opening and concluding terms are less clear. The verb *pg* (*hiphil*) elsewhere

25. Pace Jones (1992: 220), who interprets this as a Temple entrance liturgy.

26. Some follow the LXX (which presupposes *ʔāmēn* rather than *ʔāmar*) and see this as continued prophetic speech: so RSV; Carroll 1986: 324; O'Connor 1988: 34.

27. Derived from *šrr* by Thompson 1980: 391-93: 'I have made an enemy for you'. A similar meaning is advocated by Diamond 1987: 52, 59, 219: 'I have set you at odds (*šrr*) for good'.

28. The verb *šrh* appears once in *qal* (Job 37.3) and only elsewhere here, in *piel*. Kelley (1991: 206) translates the MT, presumably *qere*, as 'strengthened'; similarly NEB. Holladay (1986: 446-47) reads *šrh* as a denominative *piel* from *širyôn* ('armour').

means ‘impose/intercede’,²⁹ so an obvious reading would be as NRSV, ‘I have imposed enemies on you’.³⁰ If the first phrase is read as divine antipathy to the prophet, this would fit. But if it is read as divine support, then this reads strangely, so various emendations are proposed.³¹ In sum, the MT is awkward and seems to imply a first response of support and a second of challenge, so most scholars prefer to emend one or the other.

Verse 12 continues the textual imbroglio. The syntactical difficulties surround the subject of the verb ‘break’ and the status of the concluding ‘and bronze’. Further, ‘the north’ has traditionally been taken to indicate a foe;³² alternatively, it is seen as an especially strong iron compound.³³ Since the rhetorical question expects a negative answer, the verse could mean: ‘you (iron and bronze) cannot break the external foe (northern iron)’, or ‘no one can break the external foe (northern iron and bronze)’, or ‘no one can break you (strengthened iron-bronze)’.³⁴

The interpretation of the above influences that of vv. 13-14, which seem to portray enemy action towards the nation as in the parallel 17.3-4. If the ‘iron from the north’ of v. 12 is this enemy, then it helps explain the change of focus. Alternatively, the judgment oracle could possibly be adapted to a personal setting and conclude the divine response to the prophet, as posited tentatively by Diamond.

In summary, vv. 10-14 begin with a clear complaint of the prophet, and continue with an unclear response. God has done something for good, but exactly what, and whether the prophet would perceive it as good, is opaque. So the section reveals little about the prophet’s perception of God. The textual uncertainty may have resulted from later attempts to make the response more palatable, but if so the attempts manifestly failed!

3.4. *Jeremiah 15.15-21*

The fourth unit is a lament comprising prophetic complaint (vv. 15-18) and divine response (vv. 19-21);³⁵ its genre and text are more

29. Isa. 53.6b has a similar construction: *be* of person and accusative of object, though without intervening phrase.

30. NIV/TNIV interprets differently to give reassurance: ‘I will make your enemies plead with you...’

31. For example, the concluding *ʔet-hāʔōyēb* is emended to *ʔel-hāʔōyēb* by Rudolph, followed by Kelley (1991: 206, ‘because of the enemy’).

32. Thompson 1980: 393; Kelley 1991: 210 (citing the Targum, the Vulgate and rabbinic commentators).

33. Michaelis, Baumgartner; so Kelley (1991: 210).

34. So Diamond 1987: 61.

35. Bultmann (2001: 97) limits the unit to vv. 15-19, and sees an *inclusio* in vv. 15, 17 and 19. But this is unclear.

straightforward, but its theology is certainly not. The opening 'you know' echoes the affirmations of the first two units (11.18; 12.3);³⁶ vv. 15 and 17 then continue with phrases typical of psalmic lament and of declarations of innocence and isolation (cf. Pss. 1.1; 26.4-5; Jer. 16.1-9). By contrast, v. 16 is distinctive with its account of eating divine words. Ezekiel 3.1-3 famously records a similar meal and outcome, though our verse here gives more weight to its effect: 'joy...delight of my heart'.

After this, the outburst of v. 18 is both sudden and shocking. Less so the first half, since earlier chapters already record prophetic pain in ministry (notably 8.18-9.1, ET 2). But the second half is boldly accusing of God, literally, 'Truly, you are to me like a lie, waters that are not constant'. The last phrase is already strong critique from one who elsewhere affirms Yahweh as 'the fountain of living water' (2.13). But the term preceding it is even stronger: *ʾakzāb* essentially means 'lie, deceit'.³⁷ Many render this as 'a deceitful *brook*', applying the following appositional description to *ʾakzāb* itself.³⁸ However, this attenuates the term's force: Yahweh is not just portrayed metaphorically as a deceitful brook, he is described directly as deceitful. Against the traditional Israelite concept of God, this is indeed shocking.

The divine response (v. 19) confirms the force of Jeremiah's complaint by its implicit rebuke and insistent demands. The prophet calls people to repentance; now he too must repent. He must utter 'precious' divine instruction, not 'worthless' personal despair.³⁹ If repentant, he will effectively be recommissioned, since vv. 20-21 repeat and expand the assurance which concludes the call account (1.18-19).⁴⁰ For Sweeney (2004: 958), this suggests that Jeremiah was 'at some point stripped of his prophetic status, perhaps because he protested too strongly against

36. Since these opening words are additional to the four following stichs, and indicative in contrast to their imperative mood, many see them as secondary (e.g. Bultmann 2001: 87 n. 20). Rudolph (*BHS*) suggests transposition to the end of v. 11.

37. So AV; similarly Holladay 1986: 447: 'deception'; McKane 1986: 350: 'false'; Diamond 1987: 65: 'falsehood'. The term *ʾakzāb* only occurs elsewhere in the paronomastic Mic. 1.14; the verb *kzb* is used negatively for unfailing water in Isa. 58.11, but this does not imply that the noun connotes water.

38. So most modern versions; Thompson 1980: 394; O'Connor 1988: 28; Kelley 1991: 206, acknowledging the conflation; Lundbom 1999: 740; even 'tentatively' Holt 2005: 110, though he then comments more fully.

39. Bultmann (2001: 89) thinks this interpretation 'would make no sense', but without explanation or clear alternative.

40. While the messenger formula ending v. 20 might imply that v. 21 is secondary, 1.19 also has *nʿum yhwh* before *lʿhaṣṣilekā*. This last term is expanded here to a full verse.

God'. This assessment captures the seriousness of the lament, though the posited stripping of status seems more an imminent prospect *vis-à-vis* God than an actual development *vis-à-vis* the people.

Kelley rightly summarizes the longer passage 15.10-21 as portraying a prophet caught in a double conflict, with his people and with his God, and notes that the latter conflict 'almost breaks the relationship' (Kelley 1991: 212). As elsewhere (notably in Job), divine response to human protest does not address the issues expressed. Here the prophet laments his birth and implicitly his calling, and asserts his innocence. In response, Yahweh declares that he has acted for good, though the details are unclear. Then the prophet contrasts his own joyful acceptance of ministry with divine *unreliability*, and is promptly summoned to repent. There is no justification of the divine ways (not even in redactional hindsight), only the promise of renewed strength and deliverance. The prophet's understanding of God has become more complex, and his accusation remains ostensibly unanswered.

3.5. *Jeremiah 17.14-18*

In several ways this next unit repeats the motifs of previous units: tension from non-fulfilment of prophecy (v. 15, 'Where is the word of the Lord?'); declaration of innocence (v. 16, 'I have not run away'); uneasy combination of fear and trust (v. 17, 'Do not become a terror to me; you are my refuge'); call for retribution on enemies (v. 18, 'Let my persecutors be shamed').

However, in other ways this unit is different. It is the only lament to begin with a prayer for restoration (v. 14, 'heal me...save me'). It contains no accusation or complaint against God, apart from the hint of fear in v. 17a. And unlike preceding laments, this one elicits no divine response.

As noted above, it is impossible to know whether the order of the laments reflects chronological development. Read in isolation, this prayer portrays a subdued, uncertain but still trusting prophet looking for deliverance of his person, vindication of his ministry and punishment of his detractors. Read canonically, it implies that he has indeed pulled back from the brink, accepted the divine rebuke of 15.19, and continued his exchange with the deity in more muted form. Except that at this point it is *not* an exchange. There is no divine response. 'We hear Jeremiah's complaint and his pain and then...nothing' (Drinkard 1991: 237, ellipsis original). An immediately preceding passage (17.5-8) contrasts Yahweh's cursing of the self-reliant with his blessing of the faithful, which results in their prospering in adversity like a well-rooted tree. This could

be a redactional tempering of the divine silence here, but if so the influence is minimal. Theologically, then, the unit is remarkable for the contrast between voiced prophetic hope and apparent divine indifference. Another discomfiting aspect of God is presented.

3.6. *Jeremiah 18.18-23*

This lament has a prose introduction detailing conspiracy against Jeremiah:⁴¹ unnamed enemies would make plots, bring charges and disregard his words. The conspirators cite an aphorism that the three traditional sources of influence will never fail. This probably implies that Jeremiah's prediction of their demise is wrong;⁴² or possibly that a prophet would not voluntarily desist from speaking and Jeremiah could therefore be convicted by his own words.⁴³

Then comes the lament proper: appeal to Yahweh, reference to the adversaries (v. 19, here without citation),⁴⁴ mention of their evil intent despite the prophet's intercession (v. 20) and an extended call for retribution (vv. 21-23). Form critically this lament has many similarities with the others.⁴⁵ But theologically it is distinctive in its vociferous and vituperative call for vengeance.

The introductory reference to plotting scarcely explains, let alone justifies, such vitriol. The sense of betrayal conveyed in v. 20 is a more helpful prompt. Apparently, alongside the relentless condemnation of his fellow citizens, Jeremiah has persistently interceded for them (7.16 etc.; see above). And if this intercession has had any effect in delaying the predicted judgment, it has consequently undermined his own reputation as a prophet, so it has been enormously costly at a personal level. Yet all along, those for whom he has 'stood before Yahweh to speak good for them' (v. 18) have sought to repay good with evil. Thus the betrayed prophet wants divine anger to be unleashed, and without mercy.

This unit gives little indication of the prophet's sense of proximity to or distance from Yahweh. He prays to be heeded, mentions his intercessory ministry, and cites the divine knowing (v. 23), all of which imply some working relationship with Yahweh, though without the intimate 'joy and delight' of 15.16. And again there is no immediate divine

41. Prose for most, including Carroll 1986: 378; McKane 1986: 434-35; Holladay 1986: 527; 'poetic-prose' for Lundbom 1999: 824; poetry for Drinkard 1991: 250.

42. So Lundbom 1999, citing Baumgartner.

43. So Holladay 1986; Drinkard 1991: 253; implied by the LXX.

44. Similar to 15.10-21; contrast 11.19; 12.4; 17.15; 20.10.

45. As demonstrated by Smith 1990.

response recorded. This unit comes between two visits to a pottery, both apparently following divine prompting. So the redacted context is one of continuing divine–human interaction, even if the unit itself is one-sided. Nevertheless, however non-responsive the prophet considers Yahweh towards him personally, he expects him to act against his enemies (vv. 21-23). Yahweh’s current treatment of Jeremiah may be unclear to him, but the norm of punishment on the heinously wicked is not.

3.7. *Jeremiah 20.7-13*

The final passage of 20.7-18 repeats many motifs already contained in the previous laments, but these are significantly amplified, with joy and despair both reaching new extremes of expression. Thus it is the verbal and theological climax of the laments, and arguably of the book’s portrayal of the prophet’s relationship with his God.

Jeremiah 20.7-13 opens with startlingly strong indictment:⁴⁶ Yahweh enticed the prophet, overpowered him and prevailed. Some now read the first verb (*pth*) as ‘seduce (sexually)’, and suggest that with the following verbs (*ykl*, *hʒq*) this implies rape.⁴⁷ But *pth* (used 28 times in the MT) normally means ‘deceive/entice’,⁴⁸ and only occasionally ‘seduce’.⁴⁹ It occurs a few verses later of the enemies’ strategy, as well as in Ezek. 14.9 (twice) of divine deception of a prophet. Further, the verb’s majority meaning fits well here,⁵⁰ and it seems unlikely that the prophet considered himself sexually assaulted. Nevertheless, the three verbs together convey a profound sense of personal hurt as a result of this deception, assault and defeat.

Verses 7b-8 spell out more fully than ever the prophet’s dilemma of compulsory proclamation and resultant derision. The placement of this lament after his confinement in stocks (v. 2) underlines the constant opposition experienced, and vividly illustrates the prophet’s complaint. But v. 9 then reveals a double bind: proclaiming the divine word brings

46. Verses 7-13 are often subdivided, though various authors argue for unity, including Clines and Gunn 1976; O’Connor 1988: 66-69.

47. So Carroll 1986: 398, citing Heschel; O’Connor 2001: 505, *contra* 1988, despite citing it; Sweeney 2004: 966, noting only the references to seduction. But not Holladay 1986: 552; O’Connor 1988: 70-71, with detailed discussion; Drinkard 1991: 273; Lundbom 1999: 854-55, with detailed discussion.

48. E.g. 1 Kgs 22.20-22 (×3) // 2 Chron. 18.19-21 (Micaiah’s vision); Deut. 11.16 (idolatry); Prov. 16.29 (violence); 24.28 (false witness).

49. Exod. 22.15 (ET 16); Judg. 14.15; 16.5; Job 31.9; Hos. 2.16 (ET 14). There is some parallel with the English ‘ravish’, which has both sexual and non-sexual connotations.

50. Clines and Gunn (1978: 20-23) suggest ‘persuade’.

only reproach, but he cannot keep quiet. Verse 10 returns to the enemies who stalk Jeremiah, intimidating him with the very phrase he uses for Pashhur in 20.3 (*māgôr missābîb*).

The reversal in spiritual response conveyed in the next three verses (vv. 11-13) is staggering: from abject despair to defiant faith without interlude or introduction. Now there is confidence in divine presence and therefore personal vindication (v. 11), prayer for its manifestation (v. 12), and exultant praise of Yahweh who delivers the needy (v. 13). Regardless of the stage in writing and redaction at which these opposites were juxtaposed, the theological implication is profound. Even in the tension of an unbearable but unstoppable mission, the prophet apparently experiences a renewed certainty of faith. God may have 'prevailed' over him, but his enemies will not.

3.8. *Jeremiah 20.14-18*

While this unit lacks the form-critical elements of the laments, its redactional placement invites interpretation alongside 20.7-13. It contains an obvious similarity to Job's soliloquy of despair (Job 3, especially vv. 1-10), since both curse the day of birth, and the herald for not preventing it.⁵¹ Here the herald is human,⁵² yet the curse is expressed in mythopoeic terms, that he may be destroyed like the proverbial cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. Some discern unwarranted hostility towards a neutral messenger, and seek to emend or reinterpret accordingly.⁵³ However, common projection of a writer's sentiments on to a messenger is a literary convention, not personal hostility (or approbation).⁵⁴ Both Jeremiah 20 and Job 3 bewail the event of birth itself: with hindsight the poets wish they had never been born.⁵⁵ This motif is found elsewhere in the ancient Near East, for example, in the eighth-century Mesopotamian text about Erra and Ishum:

The city governor will say thus to his mother,
 'Would that I had been obstructed in your womb on the day you bore me
 Would that my life had ended and that we had died together,
 Because you delivered me to a city whose walls were to be demolished...'⁵⁶

51. The two passages have often been compared source-critically; cf. the summary in Clines 1989: 80-81.

52. This herald is the night in Job 3. For news of birth (though not a curse), note also *KTU* 1.23.52-53.

53. See the discussion in Holladay 1986: 561-63.

54. Cf. the messengers of good news in Isa. 40.9 and particularly 52.7.

55. Cf. also Job 10.18-19; Hillers 1965.

56. Lines 88-90; *COS*, I.413-14. Translator S. Dalley comments that the text 'almost certainly incorporates older elements' (p. 404).

Here too the wish to have been killed before birth is a literary convention to express the depths of current despair.

So, through these two juxtaposed units comprising Jer. 20.7-18, the tension within the prophet is laid bare: on the one hand, convinced of his divine calling, and rejoicing in divine vindication; on the other, forced into a situation of constant harassment and torn apart by despair. McKane concludes insightfully:

Jeremiah's despair was not a temporary aberration...but was a threat which was always present, an abyss over which the prophet was always suspended. The conviction that he bore in his human frame God's truth about the destiny of his own community was not easily sustained. It was a burden which had to be borne and a truth which had to be affirmed strenuously when tides of despair rose to swamp it. It bore the marks of inner struggle and unrelieved contradictions, and of journeys into despair which would have to be endured to the end. (McKane 1986: 490)

4. *Conclusion*

It may seem precipitous to conclude before reaching even the midpoint of this long and complex book. But all the important themes for our topic have already been raised, and there is little further that is conceptually new. Chapters 21–52 develop many themes of Hebrew prophecy in general or Jeremiah in particular: punishment of the nation through foreign foes, indictment of political and spiritual leaders, the 'true' prophet's struggle with other prophets, oracles against the foreign nations and hope for the future. In Jeremiah more than elsewhere this is rooted in and supplemented by accounts of personal and national experience. Nevertheless, this longer second half has few surprises in terms of the prophetic understanding of the deity. An eschatological section contains the divine promise, 'I...will tell you great and hidden things that you have not known' (33.3), but this relates to the future of the nation, not the presentation of the deity.

As for the material in chs. 1–20, we have noted a less than straightforward portrayal of Yahweh. Right from the start he promises to strengthen Jeremiah yet threatens to break him. The deity's voice of grief merges with the prophet's, yet the former also chides the latter for his personal grief and his intercession for others. Yahweh seems to let Jeremiah grasp some issues fully, like the threat to Temple and city, others only gradually, like the authenticity of other prophets. And most poignantly, Yahweh seems to make Jeremiah experience both his presence and his absence, both response and silence, both jubilation and despair. Whether

this picture represents the actual experience of the named prophet or is the literary individualization of later communal experience (or a combination of the two), it remains a potent and troubling portrayal of God.

Bibliography

- Baumgartner, W.
1917 *Die Klagegedichte des Jeremia* (BZAW, 32; Giessen: A. Töpelmann).
- Bultmann, C.
2001 'A Prophet in Desperation? The Confessions of Jeremiah', in J.C. de Moor (ed.), *The Elusive Prophet* (OTS, 45; Leiden: Brill): 83-93.
- Carroll, R.P.
1986 *Jeremiah* (OTL; London: SCM Press).
- Clines, D.J.A.
1989 *Job 1–20* (WBC, 17; Dallas: Word).
- Clines, D.J.A., and D.M. Gunn
1976 'Form, Occasion and Redaction in Jer 20', *ZAW* 88: 390-409.
1978 "'You tried to persuade Me" and "Violence! Outrage!" in Jeremiah xx 7-8', *VT* 28: 20-27.
- Craigie, P.C.
1991 'Jeremiah 1.1–8.3', in Craigie, Kelley and Drinkard 1991: 1-128.
- Craigie, P.C., P.H. Kelley and J.F. Drinkard, Jr
1991 *Jeremiah 1–25* (WBC, 26; Dallas: Word).
- Diamond, A.R.P.
1987 *The Confessions of Jeremiah in Context* (JSOTSup, 45; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
1990 'Jeremiah's Confessions in the LXX and MT: A Witness to Developing Canonical Function?', *VT* 40: 33-50.
- Drinkard, Jr., J.F.
1991 'Jeremiah 17.1–25.38', in Craigie, Kelley and Drinkard 1991: 220-376.
- Hillers, D.R.
1965 'A Convention in Hebrew Literature: The Reaction to Bad News', *ZAW* 77: 86-90.
- Holladay, W.L.
1986 *Jeremiah, I* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Holt, E.K.
2005 'The Fountain of Living Water and the Deceitful Brook...', in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (BETL, 187; Leuven: Peeters): 99-117.
- Jones, D.R.
1992 *Jeremiah* (NCBC; London: Marshall Pickering).
- Kelley, P.H.
1991 'Jeremiah 8.4–16.21', in Craigie, Kelley, and Drinkard 1991: 129-219.
- Lee, N.C.
2007 'Prophet and Singer in the Fray: The Book of Jeremiah', in J. Goldingay (ed.), *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen* (LHBOTS, 459; New York: T&T Clark International): 190-209.

Lundbom, J.R.

1999 *Jeremiah 1–20* (AB, 21A; New York: Doubleday).

McKane, W.

1986 *Jeremiah*, I (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).

McConville, J.G.

1991 'Jeremiah: Prophet and Book', *TynBul* 42: 80-95.

O'Connor, K.M.

1988 *The Confessions of Jeremiah* (SBLDS, 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

1992 'Jeremiah', in C.A. Newsom and S.H. Ringe (eds.), *The Women's Bible Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press): 169-77.

2001 'Jeremiah', in J. Barton and J. Muddiman (eds.), *Oxford Bible Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 487-528.

Overholt, T.W.

1970 *The Threat of Falsehood* (SBT, 16; London: SCM Press).

Seitz, C.R.

1989 *Theology in Conflict* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter).

Smith, M.S.

1987 'Jeremiah 9:9—A Divine Lament', *VT* 37: 97-99.

1990 *The Laments of Jeremiah and Their Contexts* (SBLMS, 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

Sweeney, M.A.

2004 'Jeremiah', in A. Berlin and M.Z. Brettler (eds.), *The Jewish Study Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press): 917-1041.

Thompson, J.A.

1980 *The Book of Jeremiah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).

EXCLUSIVELY YAHWEH: ANICONISM AND ANTHROPOMORPHISM IN EZEKIEL

Jill Middlemas

1. *Introduction*

Discussions of aniconism or the lack of figuration of the deity in ancient Israel have tended towards material, historical and sociological analyses (Keel and Uehlinger 1992; Evans 1995; Schmidt 1995; Hendel 1998) and the Pentateuchal legal material has been used, by and large, in support of arguments about the development of an aniconic ideal (Zimmerli 1979; Dohmen 1987). The legal material represents a type of programmatic aniconism, whereby regulations were enacted in order to directly repudiate the use of images in worship. In his study of the material culture of the ancient Near East with a view towards understanding the expressions and pervasiveness of aniconic conceptualizations, Tryggve Mettinger suggested that regulations about aniconism were substantiated by ideological arguments as well (1979, 1990, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2005, 2006). The promulgation of like-minded ideas supported the institution of rules.

One clear type of programmatic aniconism in this second sense can be found in the rhetorical strategies employed by the biblical writers to foreclose on a pantheon of gods and goddesses as real and viable additions or alternatives to Yahweh, particularly through their objectification. For example, the goddess Asherah appears as a symbol in the Hebrew Bible and nothing more (Middlemas 2005: 96), the polemical passages against idols in Jeremiah (10.1-6) and Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40.19-20; 41.5-14; 44.6-22) parodied the existence of other gods and goddesses (Dick 1999), and Ezekiel subtly denies other deities divine status by using foul terms to name them, reserving ^ʿ*lōhîm*, a term connoting divinity, for Yahweh alone¹ (1.1; 8.3, 4; 9.3; 10.20; 11.20, etc.) (Kutsko 2000a, 2000b).²

1. This is particularly striking since the expression ^ʿ*lōhîm* ^ʿ*hērîm*, ‘other gods’ appears in the Deuteronomistic History and Jeremiah (e.g. Deut. 5.7; 6.14; 7.4; Jer. 1.16; 7.6, 9, 18).

2. For example, Ezekiel’s three favourite words are *šiqqûšîm* (‘detestable things’), *tōʿēbôt* (‘abominations’) and *gillûlîm* (‘dung idols’). Each term has a negative con-

Michael Dick provides a helpful summary of the three rhetorical strategies employed by the biblical prophets: they (1) identified the deity with the image used during rituals so that the foreign god was wrested of its power as a divine being, (2) challenged the divine status of an image produced by human hands, and (3) parodied the profane raw materials out of which the divine image had been constructed.

But is a strict ban on all images a correct paradigm for this phenomenon? Brian Schmidt, for example, has argued that the terminology of programmatic aniconism and the concept of iconophobia that informs it do not represent the reality of cultic expressions in ancient Israel (1995). After considering the legal material in the Pentateuch, he suggests that flora and *Mischwesen* or a composite made up of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic (animal form) elements remained available as legitimate divine images in ancient Israel, thereby suggesting that aniconism was more fluid in practice. Since the legal material seems exhausted with respect to this question, it seems prudent to consider other literature that might shed light on conceptualizations of the divine. The book of Ezekiel envisions the destruction and re-establishment of the sanctuary and it contains some of the most graphic imagery in the Hebrew Bible. How it conceives of divine symbolism contributes to questions of iconism and aniconism in ancient Israel.

2. Complete Aniconism in Ezekiel

In certain periods of its history, ancient Israel evidenced empty-space aniconism, whereby symbols represented the presence of the deity, but did not imitate the form, as with the use of standing stones in pre-exilic Yahweh worship (de Moor 1995). Mettinger describes this as empty-space or material aniconism and shows how in some cults of the ancient Near East it gave way to complete aniconic expression, where no image could be used in worship. According to the biblical account, the First Temple in ancient Israel contained two features consistent with empty-space aniconism: the ark of the covenant and the cherubim throne. Careful attention to these symbols in the book of Ezekiel sheds light on the prophet's contribution to the establishment of an aniconic ideal.

A pair of gold-plated cherubim were set up in the holy of holies of the Solomonic Temple (1 Kgs 6.23-28; cf. 8.6-7) that stood 10 cubits high (1 Kgs 6.23) and had two sets of wings, one pair outstretched horizontally

notation: what some people worship as a deity is actually a profane—even filthy—object unworthy of notice, let alone veneration.

to form a seat for the presence of Yahweh (1 Kgs 6.27; 2 Chron. 3.12) and the others stretched vertically towards the heavens. The cherubim were also located on the walls, doors and thresholds of the Temple along with other images that were carved into the woodwork in the interior of the sanctuary (1 Kgs 6.29, 32, 35). Narrative accounts and liturgy of the monarchical period support the literary portrait of images associated with Yahweh in the First Temple. The deity is called ‘the Lord of hosts who sits enthroned on the cherubim’ (1 Sam. 4.4; 2 Sam. 6.2; 2 Kgs 19.15; Pss. 18.11, ET 10; 80.2, ET 1; 99.1) and the cherubim throne with the ark as its footstool served as symbols of Yahweh as king in the Temple (Haran 1959). Elsewhere in the ancient Near East, Mettinger found examples of cherubim thrones on which no statuettes of the deity could stand due to the sharp angle of the seat. These correlate well with the record of ancient Israelite tradition, which purports that no physical form of the deity appeared.

The cherub throne itself represented the invisible and abiding presence of Yahweh. Ezekiel’s equivalent of the cherub throne is the mobile throne chariot (Keel 1977), which appears twice in conjunction with the appearance of Yahweh’s presence (chs. 1–3 and 8–11). In the first vision, the cherubim throne travels with the presence of Yahweh to Ezekiel in Babylon to commission him to be a prophet to the exiles (1.4–28). The prophet sees creatures bearing the throne chariot and describes them in graphic detail (1.5–14) along with the wheels (1.15–21), and subsequently speaks of the throne itself (vv. 22–28). Ezekiel 1.26 reads:

And above the dome over the cherubim heads there was something like a throne, in appearance like sapphire; and seated above the likeness of a throne was something that seemed like a human form...

The cherubim throne appears again in conjunction with Ezekiel’s vision of the desecrated Temple in chs. 8–11. Ezekiel witnesses a vision in which executioners are called forward to deliver the deity’s judgment on the city of Jerusalem. He explores at great length a visionary scene that pays attention to depicting the cherub throne and the mobile presence of the deity (chs. 9–10). He notes the throne, ‘Then I looked, and above the dome that was over the heads of the cherubim there appeared above them something like a sapphire, in form resembling a throne’ (10.1). As in the first vision recounted in chs. 1–3, Ezekiel provides detail of the wheels and the cherubim themselves (10.9–14). The description of the cherubim employs language similar to that found in chs. 1–3 and is, in fact, referred to in that vision (10.20–22).

In addition, Ezekiel describes the mobility of the deity’s presence with reference to the throne chariot. The divine effulgence moves from the

cherub ‘on which it had rested’ to the Temple (9.3; cf. 10.4) when the executioner approaches, and returns again (10.18) to sit enthroned on the cherubim (10.19) when the executioner had left. Moreover, the presence of Yahweh rises up with the cherubim throne and leaves the Temple of Jerusalem to hover on the outskirts of the city, thereby, sealing its fate (11.22). In the first part of Ezekiel, temporally located before the destruction of the Temple and the collapse of the city of Jerusalem in 587, the prophet depicts the presence of Yahweh on a throne chariot akin in some respects to what one might have expected based on the iconography of the First Temple as related in the biblical material.

Subsequent to the fall of the city and Temple, another vision of the presence of Yahweh occurs in which Ezekiel sees the Temple rebuilt in Judah (chs. 40–48). In his vision of the restored Temple complex, the divine effulgence appears to Ezekiel, but there is no depiction of Yahweh riding the throne chariot. Reference is made to the former theophanies, but without the graphic depiction and minute details known from them:

And there, the glory of the God of Israel was coming from the east; the sound was like the sound of mighty waters; and the earth shone with his glory. The vision I saw was like the vision that I had seen when he came to destroy the city, and like the vision that I had seen by the river Chebar. (43.2-3)

The prophet actually refers to the return of the glory of the deity two additional times without mentioning, much less portraying, the throne chariot (43.4, 5).

Rather than a throne chariot, Ezekiel finds the cherubim on the walls and doors of the sanctuary (41.17-20, 25), which is consistent with one of their locations in the First Temple. They are artwork indicating guardianship and/or holiness, but not an object through which worshippers might direct their attention to the deity. The loss of the chariot throne in the restored and purified Second Temple contrasts sharply to the detailed depiction of the cherubim in the Holy of Holies of the Temple in 1 Kings 6–8 and in the first two vision sequences in Ezekiel. In spite of the fact that elsewhere Ezekiel is clearly capable of launching into lengthy descriptions of the divine effulgence (see below), the throne chariot, its wheels and the cherubim themselves, no such accompanying symbols appear in the final vision. This is no coincidence. It is aniconism in its fullest expression: the purified Temple will have no representative figure of Yahweh.

Another telling feature in Ezekiel is the complete lack of attention to the ark of the covenant—the other significant symbol of Yahweh’s presence associated with the First Temple. According to the biblical

account (1 Kgs 6–8), the ark held a prominent position in the cult. It was located directly underneath the wings of the cherubim as the deity's footstool (1 Kgs 8.6–8; 1 Chron. 28.2) and it was used in festive rituals. Jeremiah—thought to be contemporaneous with Ezekiel—speaks of the ark: 'And when you have multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, says Yahweh, they shall no longer say, "The ark of the covenant of Yahweh." It shall not come to mind, or be remembered, or missed; nor shall another one be made' (Jer. 3.16). With the priestly background ascribed to Ezekiel, it would seem logical that the prophet would have been familiar with the ark and its ideology; nevertheless, he fails to mention it. In spite of this, Ezekiel exhibits awareness of the ideology by appropriating terminology of the ark for the Temple, 'He said to me: Son of Man, this is the place of my throne and the place for the soles of my feet, where I will reside among the people of Israel forever' (Ezek. 43.7a). The ark is conspicuous by its absence.

In a classic study Gerhard von Rad argued that the ark lost its status as a symbol of Yahweh's presence and became a mere container in Deuteronomistic thought (cf. Deut. 10.1–5; 1 Kgs 8.9; see von Rad 1953; cf. Mettinger 1982). In Ezekiel, it does not even deserve a mention. In line with Ezekiel's aniconic sentiment with respect to the cherub throne, he omits references to the ark even where they might have been expected. Effectively, Ezekiel shelves another symbol used in Yahweh worship in the First Temple.

Increased concerns about the use of images as signifiers for the deity fit well within the overall argument of Ezekiel. In conjunction with his scathing attack on the population that remained in Judah following the Jehoiachin deportation in 598 (cf. Renz 1999), cultic malpractice, especially idol worship, provided the basis for divine judgment. Even more telling, Ezekiel is resoundingly anti-image. His message goes well beyond polemicizing or parodying the worship of other deities. The (in-)famous vision of the defiled Temple in chs. 8–11 resolutely rejects images by linking divine judgment to the use of icons in ritual practice. Although a significant amount of discussion has focused on identifying the four religious rituals Ezekiel encounters when he is led around the Temple complex by his heavenly guide (for an overview, see Middlemas 2005: 91–93, 110–17), what is crucial for Ezekiel is not the identity of the deities being worshipped, but the practices themselves. Each scene represents some form of worship in which iconography was employed—the statue of jealousy (8.3, 5), the idols engraved in the walls (8.7–13), the worship of Tammuz, which included the parading of an idol, and the sun as a natural image (on the last, see Taylor 1993; Schmidt 1995: 82, 84–88). Even as Ezekiel is opposed to the worship of deities either in place of

or in addition to Yahweh, he objected to the icons used in ritual practice.³ Throughout the book, the message about images (they are not gods in Ezekiel) is that a choice for them is a choice for death (note the fate of Pelatiah in 11.13). Even the return of divine rule is predicated on the cessation of idol worship, ‘Now let them put away their idolatry and the corpses of their kings far from me and I will reside among them forever’ (Ezek. 43.9).

Consideration of the abolition of symbolic representations in Ezekiel suggests that the concern throughout is with iconography. In support, it is worthwhile noting that Ezekiel’s conception of Yahweh’s presence was informed by *kābôd* ideology, rather than that associated with the Deuteronomic worldview, whereby the presence of Yahweh dwelt in heaven with a divine element present in the Temple via the Name. In contrast to Deuteronomic Name theology, *kābôd* theology was founded on the belief in a mobile presence (von Rad 1953: 37-44; Clements 1965; Keel 1977; Mettinger 1982), so that the deity could be present in the Temple while free to move about at will. The point about the purified Temple in Ezekiel 40–48 is that the sanctuary would be protected from polluting elements so that Yahweh could be present. Other prophets rhetorically fashioned gods and goddesses into the symbols used in their worship and showed those representations to be profane. By the time of the completion of the book of Ezekiel, no physical object could even hint at the presence of Yahweh, lest its appearance desecrate the sanctuary. Perhaps in the final verdict, it is better to speak not of aniconism in Ezekiel, but iconoclasm.

3. *Anthropomorphism in Ezekiel*

Frequent studies of the imagery in the book of Ezekiel have concentrated on language in which Yahweh is depicted in human form (anthropomorphism), because it is thought to contain the most anthropomorphic picture of the deity. If Ezekiel can be called the most anthropomorphic of the prophets, the question arises: How can he be aniconic? In the first place it is important to distinguish what is anthropomorphic and what is not.

In a study of the final chapters of Ezekiel that is typical of the argument, Rimon Kasher draws on a common assumption made by many interpreters in order to assess the influence of the prophetic conceptions of God on the restored Temple and its cult (1998). He writes, ‘There is perhaps no other biblical prophet whose God is so corporeal as Ezekiel’

3. A more detailed discussion of this rhetorical strategy in Ezekiel appears in Middlemas 2010.

(1998: 192). He bases his judgment on language likening the deity to a human male in two visions (1.27 and 8.2) as well as on the occurrence of phrases in which Yahweh is figured with a human member, such as ‘the hand of Yahweh’ or does something a human would do, including such expressions as, ‘to offer Me fat and blood’ (44.15), ‘when you offer up My food’ (44.7), ‘the priests that are near to the Lord’ (42.13) [and so forth].⁴

A consideration of this topic by James Barr should influence any assertions about anthropomorphic or theriomorphic language of the divine in Ezekiel (1960). Barr draws a distinction between expressions that actually portray the deity in a form and those that merely convey divine actions through the application of human physical features or attributes. He states helpfully, ‘frequent expressions about God’s ears or nose, his smelling or whistling, are not seriously anthropomorphisms in the sense of expressions trying to come to grips with the form, the *morphe*, of God’ (1960: 31; cf. Carroll 1977: 54). Instead, they ‘provide a rich vocabulary for the diversity of the divine activity’ (Barr 1960: 31). Furthermore, he argues that the actual form of the deity occurs in theophanies during which Yahweh lets the godhead be seen (e.g. Isa. 6; Ezek. 1).

The expressions noted by Kasher, such as ‘sacrifice to Me’ and ‘prepare My table’, do not portray the deity in any form. Similarly wanting is the appeal to the prophetic use of the deity’s hand as anthropomorphic language. References to the deity’s hand occur in four types of expressions in Ezekiel. The divine hand appears initially in conjunction with communication from the deity to Ezekiel where it occurs seven times as ‘the hand of Yahweh (Yahweh God)’ (1.3; 3.14, 22; 8.1; 33.22; 37.1; 40.1). When used in conjunction with prophetic figures, the expression conveys something of the ecstatic and visionary nature of the experience (1 Kgs 18.46; 2 Kgs 3.15; Isa. 8.11; Jer. 15.17), rather than conveying the divine form (Roberts 1971). Closely related to the above is the hand that stretches out to present the scroll to Ezekiel to eat (2.9) and ‘the form of a hand’ that transports Ezekiel by his hair to Jerusalem (8.3). Again, the context shows a description of Yahweh’s interaction with the prophet rather than a depiction of the deity.

In addition, the use of the term ‘hand’ with reference to Yahweh is used metaphorically for judgment (6.14; 7.21; 13.9; 14.9, 13; 16.27, etc.) and salvation (13.23; 20.33, 34). In the context of saving, the reference to the mighty hand and outstretched arm finds confirmation in the analysis of Walter Zimmerli, who traces the imagery of the idiom to the Exodus narrative where it depicts Yahwistic interaction (1979). Finally, hand is

4. The capitalized words are in the original.

used in a particular type of formula (*nāšā' yād l'*, 'swore to' [lit. 'raised the hand to']). The idiom is rare in the Old Testament and is linked in Ezekiel with the deity's action on behalf of or against the nation of ancient Israel: the nations will suffer insult (20.5, 6, 15, 23, 28, 42; 36.7), ancient Israel will be punished for worshipping idols (44.12), and the land is to be divided equally among the tribes (47.14). Although traditionally regarded as a type of oath formula, Johan Lust has provided an analysis with particular attention to Deuteronomy 32 that resonates with the use of the expression in Ezekiel as articulated here (1994). In Ezekiel, the uses of the divine hand do not support an argument in favour of the portrayal of the deity as a human being, much less a man. Instead, it speaks to divine interaction in the human realm.

Another line of discussion followed by Kasher in his argument for anthropomorphic language in Ezekiel is based on the prophet's encounter with the divine glory (*kābôd*) (Ezek. 1.28; 3.12, 23; 8.4; 9.3; 10.4 [×2], 18, 19; 11.22, 23; 43.2, 4, 5; 44.4). Imagery of Yahweh's presence appears in 1.26-28, and is thought to appear in 8.2.⁵ The relevant passages are:

the form of the likeness (*d'mût k'mar'ēh*) of a human being (*'ādām*) was upon it. (1.26)

like the likeness (*k'mar'ēh*) of the bow that will be in the cloud on a rainy day so is the likeness of the shining all around; it is the likeness of the appearance (*hū' mar'ēh d'mût*) of the glory of Yahweh. (1.28)

I looked and there was the appearance as the likeness (*d'mût k'mar'ēh*) of fire. (8.2, *'ēš*, 'fire', frequently emended to *'iš*, 'a man', based on the LXX)

Without emending the text, it is only in 1.26 that the prophet conveys the form of the deity as a human being.⁶ However, 'fire' in 8.2 has been emended almost unanimously to 'male' on the basis of the Septuagint *andros* (so even Greenberg who is loathe to emend the text elsewhere, 1983: 166).

5. I will accept the association of the divine presence with the figure in 8.2. However, there is some ambiguity. When Ezekiel is brought to Judah the divine effulgence is said to be already there (8.4), other mediating figures appear in conjunction with the presence of Yahweh in the prophet's visions (3.12; 9.3; 40.3; 43.6) and elsewhere (but not here) the deity's glory is spoken of in conjunction with the chariot throne (except in chs. 40–48) (1.26-28; 9.3; 10.4, 19; 11.22).

6. Interpreters interested in discussions of the *Imago Dei* draw upon Ezekiel's portrayal of the deity in 1.26 and the emended 8.2; see Barr 1968; Miller 1972; Kutsko 2000a: 59-70; 2000b; Middlemas 2010.

There are certain parallels between the description of the presence of Yahweh in 1.26-27 and 8.2 that would support the emendation. The deity in a human form is mentioned in 1.26, but the actual description appears in the following verse (v. 27): ‘I saw as the likeness of glowing amber, like the appearance of fire enclosed all around (was the figure) from the appearance of its midsection⁷ and upwards; and from the appearance of its midsection and downwards I saw something that looked like fire, and there was a splendour all around’.⁸ Compare 8.2, where the deity’s presence is fire in the MT, ‘I looked and saw the likeness of something like the appearance of fire, from the appearance of its midsection and downwards it was fire, and from the appearance of its midsection upwards it was like the appearance of brightness, like gleaming amber’. In both images the upper section of the figure is gleaming amber and the lower section is fire.

Nevertheless, the texts are not identical, which makes it difficult to judge whether the Greek tradition has a different *Vorlage* or that fire was supplied to downplay the idea of Yahweh as a human male (Joyce 2007: 97-98). What may help to adjudicate the matter is a closer look at both texts in comparison. First, it is noteworthy that the passages are not identical and, in fact, the description of the form is found inverted in the second. In 1.27, the upper section of the form is described first (as gleaming amber and fire), followed by the lower section (as fire and splendour, *nōgah*). In 8.2, the lower section is described first (as fire), followed by the upper section (as brightness, *zōhar*, and gleaming amber). What is clearly missing in 8.2 is the statement, ‘like the appearance of fire enclosed all around’. The emphasis in both passages is on the brightness of the form, but the likening of upper section to fire in 8.2 is missing. Moreover, in 1.27 the term for fire appears twice, but only once in 8.2 should the emendation be accepted. If the MT is retained, then the figuration of Yahweh as fire is represented consistently in both and would provide one example of the use of mixed forms for Yahweh as Schmidt has suggested.⁹

7. MT *motnāyw* is usually translated ‘loins’ (BDB, 608), but also ‘hips’ (*HALOT*, 655). The English translation connotes a way of visualizing the deity. Loins, although also used of those of women (Prov. 31.17), of the side where one places a sword (2 Sam. 20.8; Neh. 4.12), or even of the hips around which a belt appears (Ezek. 23.15), tends to be associated with male genitalia, and therefore supportive of Yahweh as male. In order not to supply a gendered image for the reader, I have chosen a less leading term.

8. I am translating 1.27 and 8.2 quite literally.

9. Interestingly, it also corresponds to visualization of the Persian deity, Ahura Mazda.

A unique phrase—*d̄mût k̄mar̄ēh* ‘the form like the appearance of’—appears in 1.26 and 8.2 that links them further. The term *d̄mût* (‘form’) is often used to denote the abstract, but it can be used to refer to a copy of something, as with the model of the altar in Damascus that Ahaz would like to imitate (2 Kgs 16.10; cf. Kutsko 2000a: 131-32), with reference to human beings in the likeness of God (Gen. 1.26), or Adam’s son in his likeness (Gen. 5.3; cf. Schroer 1987: 322-32). Moreover, it is found used in parallel to *šlm* of the king’s image—without difference in meaning—in an extra-biblical inscription from Tell Fakhariyeh (Garr 2000). Outside of Ezekiel it is never used in construct to *mar̄ēh* (‘appearance’) as here.¹⁰ Citing the description of Yahweh in Ezekiel’s call narrative, J. Maxwell Miller observes:

Ezekiel’s use of *d̄mût* in the description of his vision of God is especially instructive. Although Ezekiel is extremely cautious and leaves us with the overall impression that the appearance of God’s glory defies adequate description, he uses *d̄mût* very effectively to suggest that this appearance was in a form more like that of a man than of any other creature. (1972: 292-92; cf. 298, 303)

There is some truth to his statement, but the odd conflation of *d̄mût + k̄* (‘like’ or ‘as’) + *mar̄ēh* is surely instructive. A consideration of the terms is helpful: (1) *d̄mût* (1.5, 10, 13, 16, 22, 26, 27; 10.1, 10, 21, 22; 23.15) and (*k̄*)*mar̄ēh* (1.14, 27; 10.9; 40.3; 42.11; 43.3) in construct describe something seen; (2) *d̄mût k̄mar̄ēh* (1.26; 8.2) occurs only in Ezekiel and only with reference to the divine *morphe*; (3) (*k̄*)*mar̄ēh d̄mût* (1.15, 28; 10.1, 10) is used to describe objects seen; and (4) *d̄mût* is used in the context of *mar̄ēh* to specify something more exactly (1.16, 26; 23.15). The final usage helps to clarify the meaning of both in Ezekiel, as exemplified in the following three texts:

The *appearance* (*mar̄ēh*) of the wheels and their construction was like the gleaming of beryl; and the *form* (*d̄mût*) of one was as their four... (1.16)

And above the dome over their heads there was something like the *appearance* (*mar̄ēh*) of sapphire, (having) the *form* (*d̄mût*) of a throne. And on the *form* (*d̄mût*) of the throne... (1.26)

...all of them had the *appearance* (*mar̄ēh*) of officers, (having) the *form* (*d̄mût*) of the Babylonians. (23.15)

In these examples, the term *mar̄ēh* is used to say something abstract having to do with the general appearance of something while *d̄mût* is used to define the abstract form more closely. In Ezekiel, *d̄mût* qualifies, indeed clarifies, *mar̄ēh*.

10. In Dan. 10.16 they are used in separate contexts and do not qualify each other.

This survey of the usage of the terms provides a clue to the distinctive usage of the expression about the divine form in 1.26 and 8.2. Literally, the verses should be translated, ‘the form like the general appearance of a human being’ and ‘the form like the general appearance of fire’. The unique combination of these two words and in the order in which they are found in these two verses suggests strongly that Ezekiel captures a sense of the image of the divine using a specific term, but moves away from describing the actual form of the deity by employing a more abstract and unspecific term, the prophetic emphasis being on the abstract rather than on an exact copy of the figure. This rhetorical strategy functions like a blurred photograph. The translation finds support from the portrayal in 1.28, notably, where the prophet first mentions that what he sees is ‘the appearance (*mar^oēh*) of the form (*d^omūt*) of the glory of Yahweh’. In 1.28, Ezekiel summarizes what he has seen up until this point and says that the deity’s presence is more readily characterized as a rainbow. Ultimately, the divine form is elusive. The divine effulgence as a rainbow immediately deconstructs Yahweh in human form. The terminology used in conjunction with the figure in 1.26-28 and 8.2 suggests greater emphasis is placed on features that would connote obscurity, such as brightness, rather than a fixed, even human, form. When these arguments are considered together, it is difficult to substantiate an emendation in 8.2 that would posit the figure of the deity in a fixed and male form.

Although other objections to the emendation in 8.2 have been scanty, Keil wonders about the priority of the Greek translation given the use of fire and the rainbow in descriptions of the deity and the biblical writer’s preference for *ʾādām* rather than *ʾiš* in ch. 1 (1876: 115). The following can be added in support of his arguments: (1) *ʾiš* and *ʾādām* are not the same—*ʾiš* is, in fact, more specific than *ʾādām*, and we have seen already how Ezekiel favours the abstract with reference to the deity (on *ʾādām*, see Tribble 1992); (2) the summary of Ezekiel’s first vision of the divine in 1.26-28 suggests that the image of the rainbow is the visual equivalent most consistent with the divine *morphe*; and (3) Yahweh’s presence can be fire (Num. 9.15; cf. Exod. 3.3).¹¹ This contradicts Schmidt’s suggestion that flora and theriomorphic forms, but not natural images, were acceptable Yahwistic icons. It appears that certain natural images, fire and the rainbow, could represent Yahweh because they are relatively formless when considered alongside other natural phenomena.

11. Num. 9.15 reads: ‘On the day the tabernacle was set up, the cloud covered the tabernacle, the tent of the covenant; and from evening until morning it was over the tabernacle, having the appearance of fire (*k^omar^oēh ʾēš*)’. Note the same terminology found in Ezek. 8.2.

Moreover, another strategy may be present here. Ezekiel draws from theophany traditions in one description of the deity (that of the *ʿādām*), but reflects the tradition of Yahweh's appearance to Moses and to the Israelites in the Exodus by the use of *ʿēš*. Through this rhetorical strategy Ezekiel is legitimated as a prophet. Like Moses he, too, sees the form of the deity, 'When there are prophets among you, I Yahweh make myself known to them in visions; I speak to them in dreams. Not so with my servant Moses; he is entrusted with all my house. With him I speak face to face—clearly, not in riddles; and he beholds the form of Yahweh' (Num. 12.6-8a; for more on connections between Ezekiel and Moses, see Levenson 1976).

Truly, there is anthropomorphic language employed in the description of Yahweh in the book of Ezekiel, but it is not as pervasive as sometimes argued. Even when Ezekiel sees the form of the deity, the language employed conveys a sense of capturing and distancing. Secondly, the form of the deity is related to other images such as the rainbow and fire so that no one image is more prominent. In fact, the imagery used emphasizes the indefiniteness of the divine form. Finally, the actual form of Yahweh makes no appearance in the closing chapters of the book, even though the 'glory of the deity' returns to inhabit the Temple. In spite of the fact that the prophet was clearly capable of providing significant detail with respect to the cherubim and the divine presence in the first two visions, there is no graphic portrayal of the deity in the last vision. Even the theophanic elements are minimized. Notably, at the restoration of the Temple and society the emphasis falls on what is heard rather than what is seen—in this case, the law.¹² Hereby, Ezekiel stands in the tradition noted in Deuteronomy, 'You heard the sound of God, but saw no form; there was only a voice' (4.12; cf. vv. 15-19).

4. *Conclusions*

Temporally located before the destruction of the city and the Temple, Ezekiel is able to see the likeness of Yahweh and one representative symbol (the mobile throne chariot) alongside it. Even when Ezekiel sees the divine effulgence, however, no single or stable image emerges to represent Yahweh. After that event and in conjunction with the construction of the new, purified, and restored Temple, Ezekiel no longer sees any image—not of the cherubim throne, not of the ark, and certainly not

12. Van der Toorn (1997) has suggested that the icon in Second Temple Judaism and beyond is the word of Yahweh. The analysis presented here provides some explanation for greater significance of the law than the visual aspects of worship.

of the figure of the deity. Ezekiel had been aniconic and iconoclastic all along. Aniconism was not just a cultic phenomenon, it entailed a literary reformation as well. Because the biblical writers were masters of rhetoric and clearly understood the power of language to connote reality, they became ever more cautious in their use of language, especially in conjunction with the divine. The figuring of Yahweh became problematic in the Second Temple period because it implied a concreteness that could be understood as an icon. Ezekiel's concerns about imaging Yahweh serve as a challenge to regard more seriously the role of religious language in the conceptualizations of the divine.

Bibliography

- Barr, J.
 1960 'Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament', in *Congress Volume: Oxford 1959* (VTSup, 7; Leiden: Brill): 31-38.
 1968 'The Image of God in the Book of Genesis—A Study in Terminology', *BJRL* 51: 11-26.
- Carroll, R.P.
 1977 'The Aniconic God and the Cult of Images', *ST* 31: 51-64.
- Clements, R.E.
 1965 *God and Temple* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- de Moor, J.C.
 1995 'Standing Stones and Ancestor Worship', *UF* 27: 1-20.
- Dick, M.B.
 1999 'Prophetic Parodies of Making the Cult Image', in M.B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth: The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 1-53.
- Dohmen, C.
 1987 *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im Alten Testament* (BBB, 62; Bonn: Athenäum, 2nd edn).
- Evans, C.D.
 1995 'Cult Images, Royal Policies and the Origins of Aniconism', in S.W. Holloway and L.K. Handy (eds.), *The Pitcher is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlström* (JSOTSup, 190; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 192-212.
- Garr, W.R.
 2000 "'Image" and "Likeness" in the Inscription from Tell Fakhariyeh', *IEJ* 50: 227-34.
- Greenberg, M.
 1983 *Ezekiel 1-20* (AB, 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Haran, M.
 1959 'The Ark and the Cherubim: Their Symbolic Significance in Biblical Ritual', *IEJ* 9: 89-94.
 1978 *Temples and Temple-service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

- Hendel, R.S.
1988 'The Social Origins of the Aniconic Tradition in Early Israel', *CBQ* 50: 365-82.
- Jeremias, J.
1965 *Theophanie: Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung* (WMANT, 10; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Joyce, P.M.
2007 *Ezekiel: A Commentary* (LHBOTS, 482; London: T&T Clark International).
- Kasher, R.
1998 'Anthropomorphism, Holiness and Cult: A New Look at Ezekiel 40-48', *ZAW* 110: 192-208.
- Keel, O.
1977 *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: eine neue Deutung der Majestäts-schilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4* (SBS, 84/85; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk).
- Keel, O., and C. Uehlinger
1992 *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religions-geschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (Quaestiones disputae, 134; Freiburg: Herder).
- Keil, C.F.
1876 *Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Ezekiel* (trans. J. Martin; Clark's Foreign Theological Library, 4.49, 50; 2 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Kutsko, J.F.
2000a *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel* (Biblical and Judaic Studies, 7; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns).
2000b 'Ezekiel's Anthropology and Its Ethical Implications', in M.S. Odell and J.T. Strong (eds.), *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 119-41.
- Levenson, J.D.
1976 *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40-48* (HSM, 10; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press).
- Lust, J.
1994 'For I Lift Up My Hand to Heaven and Swear: Deut 32:40', in F. García Martínez et al. (eds.), *Studies in Deuteronomy: In Honour of C.J. Labuschagne on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (VTSup, 53; Leiden: Brill): 155-64.
- Mettinger, T.N.D.
1979 'The Veto on Images and the Aniconic God in Ancient Israel', in H. Biezais (ed.), *Religious Symbols and their Functions* (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis, 10; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell): 15-29.
1982 *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (ConBOT, 18; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup).
1990 'The Elusive Presence: YHWH, El and Baal and the Distinctiveness of Israelite Faith', in E. Blum, C. Macholz and E.W. Stegemann (eds.), *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte: Festschrift für Rolf Rendtorff zum 65. Geburtstag* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag): 393-417.

- 1995 *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (ConBOT, 42; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International).
- 1997a 'Israelite Aniconism: Developments and Origin', in van der Toorn (ed.) 1997: 173-204.
- 1997b 'The Roots of Aniconism: An Israelite Phenomenon in Comparative Perspective', in J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume: Cambridge 1997* (VTSup, 66; Leiden: Brill): 219-33.
- 2005 'JHWH-Statue oder Anikonismus im ersten Tempel? Gespräch mit meinen Gegnern', *ZAW* 117: 485-508.
- 2006 'A Conversation with My Critics: Cultic Image or Aniconism in the First Temple?', in Y. Amit, O. Lipschitz and I. Finkelstein (eds.), *Essays on Ancient Israel in its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Naaman* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 273-96.
- Middlemas, J.
- 2005 *The Troubles of Templeless Judah* (Oxford Theological Monographs; Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- 2010 'Transformation of the Image', in W.A. Tooman and M.A. Lyons (eds.), *Transforming Visions: Transformations of Text, Tradition, and Theology in Ezekiel* (Princeton Theological Monograph Series; Eugene, OR: Pickwick).
- Miller, J.M.
- 1972 'In the "Image" and "Likeness" of God', *JBL* 91: 289-304.
- Odell, M.S.
- 2005 *Ezekiel* (Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary, 16; Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys).
- Rad, G. von
- 1953 *Studies in Deuteronomy* (SBT, 9; London: SCM Press).
- Renz, T.
- 1999 *The Rhetorical Function of the Book of Ezekiel* (VTSup, 76; Leiden: Brill).
- Roberts, J.J.M.
- 1971 'The Hand of Yahweh', *VT* 21: 244-51.
- Schmidt, B.B.
- 1995 'The Aniconic Tradition: On Reading Images and Viewing Texts', in D.V. Edelman (ed.), *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaism* (CBET, 13; Kampen: Kok Pharos): 75-105.
- Schroer, S.
- 1987 *In Israel gab es Bilder: Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament* (OBO, 74; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag).
- Taylor, J.G.
- 1993 *Yahweh and the Sun: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel* (JSOTSup, 111; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Toorn, K. van der
- 1997 'The Iconic Book: Analogies between the Babylonian Cult of Images and the Veneration of the Torah', in van der Toorn (ed.) 1997: 229-48.

Toorn, K. van der (ed.)

1997 *The Image and the Book: Aniconism and the Rise of Book Religion in Ancient Israel and the Ancient Near East* (CBET, 21; Leuven: Peeters).

Trible, P.

1992 *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (OBT, 2; repr. Philadelphia: Fortress Press [1978]).

Zimmerli, W.

1979 *A Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel, I* (trans. R.E. Clements; Hermenia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).

ZEPHANIAH AND THE ‘BOOK OF THE TWELVE’ HYPOTHESIS

Tchavdar S. Hadjiev

In recent years it has become increasingly common to talk of the ‘Book of the Twelve Prophets’ (Coggins 1994; Nogalski and Sweeney 2000; Redditt and Scharf 2003). It is claimed that the Minor Prophets do not constitute twelve separate books; instead, they should be taken as integral parts of a single literary work since the people responsible for their production and transmission *intended* them to be read in this way. The purpose of the present essay is to examine in some detail the validity of this claim.

It is logical to assume that if the editors intended to bring the individual prophetic traditions they had at their disposal into one book their intention would have found some objective expression within the prophetic texts they collected and supplemented. However, the first and most natural indication of such an intention, namely, a common superscription, is surprisingly missing (Ben Zvi 1996: 137). It is at this point that the parallel drawn sometimes between Isaiah and the Twelve (Conrad 1997) breaks down. In both cases we have material stemming from the Assyrian to the Persian periods, though in the book of Isaiah all of it is ascribed to a single individual. The figure of the prophet Isaiah unites oracles which have been authored by a number of different people living in different historical situations and invites the reader to see all this disparate material as part of a single book. The Twelve have no unifying factor comparable to that. The individual superscriptions and the various prophetic figures mentioned in them point the reader in the opposite direction—to see the Twelve as a collection of different independent books rather than as a single whole.

Another possible way for the redactors of the Twelve to unite their material would have been to insert in key positions sections that bind, reinterpret and structure the inherited prophetic traditions into a single whole. In such a case we would expect to recognize the hand of the same redactor in different books within the Minor Prophets. To substantiate

the ‘Book of the Twelve’ hypothesis one must be able to demonstrate that there are redactional passages in the different prophetic collections whose theology, vocabulary and aim are sufficiently similar to allow us to assign them to the same redactional layer. In the present essay I will, therefore, concentrate on the book of Zephaniah, which is small enough to allow for a meaningful treatment here, and examine the degree to which its redactional history exhibits links with the redactions of some of the other Minor Prophets.

Albertz (2001: 171-73, ET 216-20; 2003: 241-42) has argued that Zeph. 1.2–3.13 was a Deuteronomistic composition (see also Seybold 1985: 83-93) which took shape when the scroll was added to Hosea, Amos and Micah to form the conclusion of the exilic ‘Book of the Four Prophets’ (cf. Nogalski 1993: 176-78; Schart 1998: 214; Dietrich 2004: 651-52; Wöhrle 2006: 224-26).¹ This collection began to expand as new books were being added on to it and new passages were inserted within the already existing corpus. Several verses in Zephaniah have been identified as later reworkings connecting the book to other members of the Twelve, the most significant and substantial redactional addition being the epilogue (3.14-20).² In view of all this it makes sense to begin our investigation with the so-called Deuteronomistic composition (1.2–3.13) since, according to the dominant hypothesis, this is the time when Zephaniah was joined for the first time to other prophetic books.

1. *Zephaniah and the Deuteronomistic ‘Book of the Four Prophets’*

a. *The Deuteronomistic Character of Zephaniah 1.2–3.13*

The arguments for the Deuteronomistic character of Zeph. 1.2–3.13 rest on three main pillars: (1) the motif of seeking Yahweh in 1.6; 2.3 (Nogalski 1993: 192-93; Wöhrle 2006: 206-207; cf. Seybold 1985: 87-88; Renaud 1987: 200); (2) the literary dependence of Zeph. 1.4-6 on the account of Josiah’s reforms in 2 Kings 22–23 (Seybold 1991: 94-95;

1. For different reconstructions of the evolution of the ‘Twelve’ see Bosshard-Nepustil 1997: 317-52 and Curtis 2000: 171.

2. Some of the other suggested insertions, which due to limitations of space I will not be able to comment on in detail, include: (1) Zeph. 3.9-10, which according to Schart (1998: 277-78) and Nogalski (2000: 218) belong to the redaction responsible for Zech. 14; see also Kessler (2006: 132), who argues that Zeph. 3.8-10 is dependent on various redactional passages in Micah; (2) Zeph. 2.11, which is assigned by Bosshard-Nepustil (1997: 422-23) to the same layer as Mal. 1.11-14; (3) Zeph. 1.2-3, 15-16a, 18a, which according to Nogalski (1993: 187-200) represents a post-Deuteronomistic redaction related to Nahum and Habakkuk.

Koenen 1994: 38-40; Wöhrle 2006: 201-202); and (3) the Deuteronomistic language of 3.2, 7 (Albertz 2001: 172-73, ET 218-19; Perliitt 2004: 134; Wöhrle 2006: 209-10).

However, the motif of seeking Yahweh is not exclusively Deuteronomistic. It is frequent in prophetic literature and in the Psalms and consequently not very useful as an argument for the Deuteronomistic character of Zephaniah. The connections between Zeph 1.4-6 and the narrative in 2 Kings 23 are confined mainly to the list of persons and practices condemned as idolatrous. These connections, however, could be equally well explained on the supposition that Zephaniah and Kings independently refer to the same historical situation (Renaud 1987: 201-202; Berlin 1994: 83-84). The divergences between the two texts suggest that this is the more likely solution. If Zeph. 1.4-6 was dependent on 2 Kings 23 it would be hard to explain why the redactor chose to omit mentioning the Asherah, which is listed alongside Baal and the host of heaven (2 Kgs 23.4, 6), and why he did not include any reference to one of the central themes of the narrative in ch. 23 (and of the whole Deuteronomistic History)—the destruction the high places. The indictment that people swear by Milkom/Molech (Zeph. 1.5),³ although perfectly at home in Deuteronomistic theology, does not connect well with the text of 2 Kings 23, where people are condemned for burning incense to other gods, not for swearing by their names. The phrase 'the remnant of Baal' is hard to explain with a reference to 2 Kings 23. An even more significant divergence is the fact that in Zephaniah the actions of Yahweh are directed against 'Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem', while in 2 Kings 23 the actions of Josiah are mainly against objects connected with idolatry.

The case for the Deuteronomistic character of Zeph. 3.1-8 rests on the language of vv. 2 and 7. The phrase 'you did not listen to my voice' in 3.2 is found, according to Wöhrle (2006: 209 n. 43), almost exclusively in Deuteronomistic literature, while its parallel 'you did not accept correction' (also occurring in 3.7) is claimed as a Deuteronomistic idiom on the basis that it appears in the Deuteronomistic sections of Jeremiah (Jer. 7.28; 17.23; 32.33; 35.13). It is, however, doubtful that the expression 'you did not accept correction' is Deuteronomistic. It is not attested at all in Deuteronomy or the Deuteronomistic History but occurs three times in Proverbs (1.3; 8.10; 24.23) and twice in the poetry of Jeremiah (2.30; 5.3). On the basis of these data, we may conjecture that here we either have a wisdom expression that was picked up by Zephaniah, or a phrase

3. The text of Zeph. 1.5 is somewhat difficult. It is debated whether *mlkm* here should be rendered 'their king' (R.L. Smith 1984: 126), 'Molech' (Berlin 1994: 76-77) or 'Milkom' (Taylor 1956: 1015).

coined by Zephaniah, which, under his influence, was subsequently used by Jeremiah and through Jeremiah's poetic oracles found its way into the later redactional prose sections of his book (cf. also Holladay 2001: 680-81; Beck 2008: 172). This reconstruction provides a much more plausible explanation of why the expression is not encountered in Deuteronomistic literature outside of Jeremiah. Whatever the details of the actual history of this phrase, we can be fairly certain we are not dealing here with a typically Deuteronomistic idiom.

The evidence for the Deuteronomistic character of the language of these portions of Zephaniah is, therefore, rather slim. The case becomes even more difficult to defend when we take into account the fact that within the alleged Deuteronomistic passages there are a number of words and expressions which can by no means be claimed as Deuteronomistic.⁴ When taken as a whole, the style of the alleged Deuteronomistic sections in Zephaniah does not sound Deuteronomistic at all. Finally, there are a number of central Deuteronomistic concerns, such as the importance of the Law, the role of 'my servants the prophets', the covenant and so on, that are completely missing from these passages.⁵ In view of all this, it is safe to conclude that Zephaniah, unlike Amos, never underwent any significant Deuteronomistic redactions (Ben Zvi 1999; Mason 1994: 32) and is unlikely to have been part of a Deuteronomistic corpus of prophetic books during the exile.

b. *Links to the 'Book of the Four'*

The second part of the argument is that the Deuteronomistic redactional passages in Zephaniah exhibit some connections with Hosea, Amos and Micah which suggest that they were added with the aim of linking these four prophetic collections together. Zephaniah 1.4-6 is thought to be especially close to Mic. 5.9-13 (ET 10-14) through the common theme of the destruction of idolatry and some shared vocabulary (Albertz 2001: 171, ET 217; 2003: 240-41). However, the overlap between Zephaniah and Micah is not as extensive as one would expect. The shared vocabulary of the two passages consists of only two verbs: 'to cut off' and 'to worship'. There is absolutely no correspondence between the listed

4. For example, *sûg*, 'to turn back' (1.6); *pā'al*, 'to do' (2.3); *anwê hā'āreš*, 'the humble of the land' (2.3); *str*, 'to hide' (2.3); *lîlôt*, 'deeds' (3.11); *lz*, 'exultant' (3.11). On the non-Deuteronomistic character of the language of 1.4-6, see Ben Zvi 1991: 274; Beck 2005: 120-22.

5. Zeph. 3.4 mentions the prophets and the Law in a very non-Deuteronomistic manner and Israel's refusal to 'listen to the voice of God' in 3.2, 7 is not rejection of the prophetic message but failure to learn from Yahweh's dealings with the surrounding nations (3.6).

objects of destruction. In Micah these are the idols, the pillars, the Asherah and 'your cities' (your gods? Cf. *BHS*). In Zephaniah the targets are people. The destruction in Micah has a salvific aim because it is a purifying destruction of all objects that hinder Israel's true worship of Yahweh. The purifying aspect is missing from Zeph 1.4-6, where it is the worshippers themselves who are to be destroyed. These differences make one wonder whether the points of contact between Mic. 5.9-13 (ET 10-14) and Zeph. 1.4-6 are not simply due to chance.

The motif of seeking Yahweh in Zeph. 1.6 and 2.3 is thought to connect Zephaniah with Hos. 3.5; 5.6, 15 and Amos 5.4, 14 (Albertz 2001: 172, ET 217; Schart 1998: 208-209). However, this motif is used very differently in the various prophetic books. In Hosea it is used to describe an aspect of the future restoration—a time will come when Israel will once again 'seek Yahweh' (Hos. 3.5), and to accuse the audience—Israel comes to seek Yahweh but is not able to find him (Hos. 5.6) because they do not seek him properly. In Zephaniah the motif is not used in the sections that promise restoration. As in Hosea, it is used as an indictment but in a different sense: Judah is accused not of improper seeking of God but of the fact that she does not seek him at all.

The comparison with Amos 5.14-15 is more to the point. Like Amos 5.14-15, Zeph. 2.1-3 issues a call to seek Yahweh defined as moral behaviour and motivated by the promise that by doing so they will *perhaps* escape the coming judgment. These are the only two places in prophetic literature where we find such uncertain promises of salvation. However, if a literary connection exists between the two passages it is strange that they have different verbs for the key component: the call to seek Yahweh (Amos has *dāraš* while Zephaniah uses *biqqēš*). If a redactor wanted to create a connection between Amos and Zephaniah, the clearest and most natural way to do so would have been to use the same verb in both places. Before attempting to solve that puzzle it will be helpful to look at the other two occasions where influence from Amos on Zephaniah is fairly likely.

Nogalski (2000: 210) argues that the placement of the woe oracle against Jerusalem in Zeph. 3.1-7 has been influenced by Amos 1.3-2.16 because in both places we have a series of oracles against foreign nations that lead up to and culminate in an oracle against Israel/Judah (so also Keller 1971: 199; Albertz 2001: 174, ET 221; Schart 1998: 212). The resemblance becomes even more striking if one follows most critics in assigning Amos's oracles against Tyre, Edom and Judah to a secondary, exilic expansion. If that were the case then originally both Amos and Zephaniah would have had four oracles against foreign nations plus a concluding oracle against the home country of their audience.

A third, less frequently noticed example of Amos influence is Zeph. 3.6-8. The thought flow of the Zephaniah passage is as follows: Yahweh has destroyed some unidentified nations and their cities (v. 6)—an action intended to bring Judah to repentance (v. 7a). However, instead of receiving correction the citizens of Jerusalem eagerly corrupted all their deeds (v. 7b). Therefore, Yahweh calls ironically on these citizens to wait for the day of his rising.⁶ Contrary to expectations, the personal appearance of God will not be with the aim to help and bless them. God will come to take spoils and pour his wrath on the nations. The implication is that the city that has refused to take correction will be devoured by the fire which will consume the whole earth.

The structure and the main idea of this passage parallels Amos 4.6-12 in a striking way.⁷ In both places we have actions of Yahweh in history designed to lead his people to repentance but which ultimately fail to achieve their goal. Both passages culminate with a brief final description of judgment introduced with 'therefore'. In both cases the description is cryptic and, ironically, uses somewhat ambiguous verbs that can be taken in a positive sense.⁸ Both times the punishment is in fact the personal appearance of God, and readers are challenged to expect that appearance with all its terrible but not clearly stated consequences (more so in Amos than in Zephaniah). The parallels in structure, thought pattern and technique between these two passages are so strong that it does not seem very likely that they were formulated completely independently from one another.

To sum up, it is possible to detect influence from Amos behind some individual passages in Zephaniah (Zeph. 2.1-3 and 3.6-8) as well as behind the overall arrangement of the material in the second half of the book (2.4-3.8). Nogalski (2000: 210) wants to argue that these connections presuppose that the books of Amos and Zephaniah were part of the same literary whole. In my view the *nature* of the links points in exactly the opposite direction because in every single case the influence is on the

6. The command 'to wait' in v. 8a is to be understood in a threatening sense as an announcement of the coming judgment on Jerusalem; so, rightly, Elliger 1959: 77-78; Edler 1984: 163, 166; Ryou 1995: 277; Vlaardingerbroek 1999: 184; Beck 2008: 165-67. Contrast Floyd 2000: 202-203; Sweeney 2003: 179-81; Ben Zvi 1991: 320.

7. After the outline of the present study was completed I discovered that the similarity between these two passages was already noticed by Pfeiffer (1952: 601).

8. The command 'prepare to meet your God' in Amos 4.12 can also be understood in the sense of preparing oneself to take part in cultic celebration (Brueggemann 1965). For this reason, like Zeph. 3.8, it has sometimes been wrongly interpreted in a positive sense as a call for repentance and return to God.

level of ideas rather than on the level of specific words and expressions. So, for example, in Zeph. 2.3 the prophet uses the overall structure of Amos's exhortation (e.g. the call to seek Yahweh, followed by promise introduced with 'perhaps') but significantly differs in his choice of vocabulary.⁹ The most logical explanation of this fact is that the author of Zeph. 2.1-3 knew the text in Amos 5.14-15 and formulated his own oracle under its general influence but with his own specific style and concerns. Zephaniah 2.1-3 does not aim to establish a literary link with the book of Amos but tells us something about the prophetic influences that shaped the text of Zephaniah.

The same can be asserted with regard to Zeph. 3.1-8. The placement of this oracle after the foreign nation oracles in Zeph. 2.4-15 probably reflects awareness of the oracles against the nations in Amos. However, beyond that general similarity Zeph. 2.4-3.8 has little in common with Amos 1.3-2.16. The tight structural organization of Amos 1.3-2.16 is missing from Zephaniah and there are no significant verbal or thematic connections between the two collections. Again, this phenomenon is most easily explained on the supposition that the redactor of Zeph. 2.4-3.8 was influenced in his arrangement of the material by the book of Amos but he was not trying to create any special literary links with it. Zephaniah 3.6-8 further supports this conclusion. It is clearly influenced by Amos 4.6-12 but displays no verbal links with it. The redactor of Zeph. 3.6-8 got his inspiration and main ideas from Amos 4.6-12 but did not attempt to follow slavishly the earlier passage or to allude in any way to it. His method would have been highly peculiar if he intended to bind Zephaniah and Amos into a single composition but perfectly understandable if he was deeply influenced by Amos tradition while composing an independent, freestanding scroll.

Finally, a look at Zeph. 3.11-13, the passage regarded by Albertz as the conclusion of the Deuteronomistic corpus of the 'Book of the Four', is in order. The literary horizon of 3.11-13 seems in the main to be the book of Zephaniah itself. Most of the expressions pick up and refer to motifs found in the earlier material (mainly 3.1-8), creating the impression that we are dealing here with a redactional *Fortschreibung*.¹⁰ Thematically, the passage follows on well from Zeph. 2.4-3.8. The sins of the Judaeans

9. Zephaniah has *biqqēš* instead of Amos's *dāraš*; 'humility' instead of 'goodness'; 'to be hidden' (find refuge) instead of 'to find mercy'.

10. Cf. 'your deeds' (3.11; cf. 3.7); 'from/in your midst' (3.11, 12; cf. 3.3, 5); 'exultant ones' (3.11; cf. 2.15); 'my holy mountain' (3.11; cf. 3.4); 'humble' (3.12; cf. 2.3); 'they will do no wrong' (3.13; cf. 3.5); 'lie down and rest' (3.13; cf. 2.7). It is possible that some influence from Isaiah can also be recognized in this passage (cf. Isa. 14.28-32).

leadership in 3.11-13 are arrogance and deceitful speaking. Sins of speech are also mentioned in the foreign nation oracles (2.8-10 and 2.15) where the words of the nations in question are an implicit expression of their pride (see also the repetition of 'exultant' from 2.15 in 3.11). It seems that the point of 3.11-13 is to draw a parallel between the sins of the Judean upper class and those of the heathen nations. The other central idea in 3.11-13, the remnant, builds on the mention of the survivors of 'my people' in the foreign nation oracles (2.7, 9) and their description as 'humble' is a clear reference to the exhortation in 2.3.

At the same time, the links of Zeph. 3.11-13 with the rest of the 'Book of the Four' are rather loose. There are no clear verbal echoes from the key redactional passages in Hosea, Amos and Micah. The motif of deceitful speech crops up occasionally (Hos. 7.13-16; Mic. 6.11-12) but none of the passages in question is sufficiently close to Zeph. 3.13. The description of the remnant in Zephaniah does not follow naturally from what has been said so far in the 'Book of the Four'.¹¹ It is obvious that the redactor who composed Zeph. 3.11-13 made a special effort to pick up the language and some of the themes important to him from Zeph. 2.1-3.8 but did not attempt to do so with respect to the other three prophetic collections from the 'Book of the Four'. Therefore, while 3.11-13 makes a fine conclusion to Zeph 1.2-3.8, it is fairly inappropriate as a conclusion to a hypothetical 'Book of the Four'.

2. *The Epilogue (Zephaniah 3.14-20)*

It is widely held that the material forming the epilogue of the book (3.14-20) is a later addition.¹² Its most characteristic feature are the numerous calls to rejoice which announce the dawn of salvation for the daughter of Zion. Within the books of the Twelve such calls are found only in Joel 2.21, 23 (cf. Zech. 9.9). Another feature which further unites these two passages is the announcement of salvation with the exhortation 'do not fear' (Joel 2.21, 22), a phrase fairly infrequent in the Minor Prophets (Hag. 2.5; Zech. 8.13, 15). Therefore, it is perhaps not totally surprising when Wöhrle (2006: 226, 436-47) suggests that Zeph 3.14-17 belongs to

11. The 'remnant' in Amos stresses the severity of the judgment, not the purification of the nation (Amos 3.12; 5.2-3, 16-17) and the survivors in Hosea and Micah are those who will seek the Lord and renounce their former sins of idolatry and reliance on military might (Hos. 3.5; 14.3-4, ET 2-3; Mic. 5.9-13, ET 10-14).

12. Langohr 1976b: 60-61; Krinetzki 1977: 214-22, 236-38; Edler 1984: 60-66, 98-99; Seybold 1985: 96-98; Neef 1999: 543-44; Vlaardingerbroek 1999: 193-94; Perlitt 2004: 143-48.

an early post-exilic '*Joel-Schicht*'. He thinks that the passages forming this layer (Amos 9.13-15 and Mic. 7.8-10a) are dependent on Joel 1-2 and reflect the same historical situation in which a rainless season leading to poor harvest prevents the people from fulfilling their obligations to a foreign power.¹³

However, a major element from the passage in Joel and from the presumed historical background of this '*Joel-Schicht*' is completely missing from Zephaniah, namely, the concern with the problems of agriculture. The calls to rejoice are motivated by the victory over the enemy, not by the arrival of rain. Calls to rejoice are frequent in the Psalms and the exhortation 'do not fear' has its roots in salvation oracles. Both features are characteristic of the style of Deutero-Isaiah, which is the reason why many scholars have postulated some kind of dependence of the epilogue of Zephaniah on that prophet (cf. Ihromi 1983: 106-10). The elements which bind Joel 2.21-23 and Zeph. 3.14-17 are sufficiently common in Old Testament literature and so do not necessarily demand that a literary connection between these two passages be postulated. At the same time, the differences which exist between them make such a connection unlikely.¹⁴

A number of the Minor Prophets end, similarly to Zephaniah, with promises of salvation and in many cases these passages have been plausibly identified as redactional. If the Minor Prophets were integrated into a single book these epilogues would have been one of the easiest and most effective means of binding the originally independent traditions together. Even if not all of them were produced as part of the same reworking, it would have been natural for a redactor, when inserting a restoration promise, to take into account other salvific passages in what was allegedly already a single composition, especially bearing in mind that these passages stood in similar positions—at the end of the individual prophetic books. It is, therefore, striking that Zeph. 3.14-20 has so little in common with the epilogues of the other Minor Prophets. Its language relates to the style of Deutero-Isaiah but not to any of the other restoration passages in the Twelve.¹⁵ The same is true of its major themes and

13. For an alternative proposal, see Curtis (2000: 181-83), who suggests that Zeph. 3.14-20 provides a redactional link to Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi.

14. Zeph. 3.19 is close to Mic. 4.6 (Kessler 2006: 132) and Deut. 26.19 (Mendecki 1991: 29). Most probably we have here an editor using familiar language and phraseology rather than an attempt to establish literary connections with either Micah or Deuteronomy.

15. On the influence of Isaiah tradition on Zephaniah, see Mason 1994: 30-31. On the connections of Zeph. 3.9-10 to Isa. 18-19, see Steck 1990: 90.

thrust. The unconditional promises are far removed from Hosea 14 and Mic. 7.7-19, which focus almost exclusively on the future restoration as forgiveness of sins and the redemption of Israel's guilt. Amos 9.11-15 depicts the future primarily as restoration of material prosperity and Obadiah 15-21 as re-establishment of dominion over lost territories and especially over Edom. It is not that these pictures are mutually contradictory: they can all very well be interpreted as different aspects of a single glorious future. The problem is that no effort has been made to present them in such a way.

The reverse side of the coin is that Zeph. 3.14-20 functions very well as a conclusion to the book of Zephaniah when that book is read on its own. The passage does not alter the message of judgment of the previous chapters but looks to the future beyond that judgment, thus enabling the prophetic text to have continued relevance in a historical situation when disaster was already a past reality. The abrupt shift in style, atmosphere and theme creates a sharp contrast with the preceding and underlines the function of vv. 14-20 as climax and conclusion to the whole. With its help, Zephaniah becomes a text offering an explanation of the failures and disasters of the past, guidance on how to live differently in the present and hope for the future which can motivate and inspire.

3. Summary and Conclusions

The main argument of this essay has been that right to the very end of its textual evolution the book of Zephaniah was regarded by its editors as an independent entity and not as part of a larger corpus of prophetic texts. Four considerations point in this direction. First, I have attempted to demonstrate that Zeph. 1.2-3.13 did not take shape in the context of a Deuteronomistic 'Book of the Four Prophets'. There is little in it that can unquestionably be regarded as Deuteronomistic and it does not abound with clear clues that point backwards to any of the other three members of the hypothetical 'Book of the Four'.

Secondly, there is the question of what were the major influences on the redactors responsible for the literary history of Zephaniah. In the discussion above I have tried to show that many of the proposals that postulate links between various passages in Zephaniah and other books from the corpus of the Twelve cannot be sustained because either the links between the sections in question are too insignificant and commonplace or else there are also important differences which argue against their coming from the same level of redaction. It would seem that the three most important traditions that inform the language and thought

world of the book of Zephaniah are Amos, Isaiah and the Psalms. On the premises of the 'Book of the Twelve' hypothesis it would be hard to explain why there is so little influence from some of the other Minor Prophets and why so many of the redactional passages point to a prophetic tradition outside the corpus of the Twelve.

Thirdly, the nature of the links between Amos and Zephaniah, instead of supporting the 'Book of the Twelve' hypothesis, actually provides another argument against it. In all three cases where influence from Amos seems probable (Zeph. 2.1-3; 3.6-8 and the arrangement of 2.4-3.8) this influence is quite general, confined to the content and structure of the units in question. There are no clear literary allusions to the text of Amos that would cause the reader to begin to see Zephaniah in a wider literary context which includes the oracles of the earlier prophet. The best explanation for this phenomenon is that the redactors of Zephaniah were inspired by the book of Amos but were not attempting to integrate Zephaniah with it.

The fourth argument relates to the role and nature of the two redactional conclusions of Zephaniah. Since Zeph. 3.14-20, as is widely recognized, is a later addition, it is quite probable that at some point of the literary history of the book Zeph. 3.11-13 was meant to serve as the final paragraph of this prophetic scroll. This passage is closely linked to the preceding material both thematically and lexically and so would have fulfilled very well its function of a conclusion to the book of Zephaniah. However, it does not seem to be intended to draw to an end a larger corpus of prophetic material. The epilogue which forms the present conclusion of the book (3.14-20) also works best if read only within the horizon of Zephaniah. By virtue of its position, theme, style and imagery, 3.14-20 provides the preceding oracles of judgment with a new interpretative prism and forms an effective climax. If Zephaniah is placed in a larger literary context the rhetorical effectiveness the epilogue is diminished and it is robbed of what seems to be its intended function.

All this suggests that the transmitters and editors of the book of Zephaniah were not particularly concerned with integrating this prophetic text with some of the other Minor Prophets. If such a project as 'creating the Book of the Twelve' ever existed, it must have been undertaken after Zephaniah's editors had done their job.¹⁶

16. Beck (2006) argues that the 'Book of the Twelve' should be regarded as an anthology assembled during the third century BCE when most of the prophetic books had already reached their present form.

Bibliography

- Albertz, R.
 2001 *Die Exilszeit: 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie, 7; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer). ET *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (Studies in Biblical Literature, 3; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).
 2003 'Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the "Book of the Four"', in P.L. Redditt and A. Schart (eds.), *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW, 325; Berlin: W. de Gruyter): 232-51.
- Beck, M.
 2005 *Der 'Tag YHWHs' im Dodekapropheten: Studien im Spannungsfeld von Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte* (BZAW, 356; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
 2006 'Das Dodekapropheten als Anthologie', *ZAW* 118: 558-81.
 2008 'Das Tag-YHWHs-Verständnis von Zephanja iii', *VT* 58: 159-77.
- Ben Zvi, E.
 1991 *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Zephaniah* (BZAW, 198; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
 1996 'Twelve Prophetic Books or "The Twelve"? A Few Preliminary Considerations', in J.W. Watts and P.R. House (eds.), *Forming Prophetic Literature: Essays on Isaiah and the Twelve in Honor of John D.W. Watts* (JSOTSup, 235; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 125-56.
 1999 'A Deuteronomistic Redaction in/among "The Twelve"? A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zepheniah and Obadiah', in L.S. Schearing and S.L. McKenzie (eds.), *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (JSOTSup, 268; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 232-61.
- Berlin, A.
 1994 *Zephaniah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25A; New York: Doubleday).
- Bosshard-Nepustil, E.
 1997 *Rezeptionen von Jesaja 1–39 im Zwölfprophetenbuch: Untersuchungen zur literarischen Verbindung von Prophetenbüchern in babylonischer und persischer Zeit* (OBO, 154; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Brueggemann, W.
 1965 'Amos 4:4-13 and Israel's Covenant Worship', *VT* 15: 1-15.
- Coggins, R.J.
 1994 'The Minor Prophets—One Book or Twelve?', in S.E. Porter, P. Joyce and D.E. Orton (eds.), *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 8; Leiden: Brill): 57-68.
- Conrad, E.W.
 1997 'Reading Isaiah and the Twelve as Prophetic Books', in C.C. Broyles and C.A. Evans (eds.), *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*, I (VTSup, 70/1; Leiden: Brill): 3-17.

- Curtis, B.G.
2000 'The Zion-Daughter Oracles: Evidence on the Identity and Ideology of the Late Redactors of the Book of the Twelve', in J.D. Nogalski and M.A. Sweeney (eds.), *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (SBL Symposium Series, 15; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature): 166-84.
- Dietrich, W.
2004 'Zephanja/Zephanjabuch', *TRE* 36: 648-57.
- Edler, R.
1984 *Das Kerygma des Propheten Zefanja* (FTS, 126; Freiburg: Herder).
- Elliger, K.
1959 *Das Buch der zwölfkleinen Propheten*, II (ATD, 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 4th edn).
- Floyd, M.H.
2000 *Minor Prophets* (FOTL, 22; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Holladay, W.L.
2001 'Reading Zephaniah with a Concordance: Suggestions for a Redaction History', *JBL* 120: 671-84.
- Ihromi
1983 'Die Häufung der Verben des Jubelns in Zephanja III 14f., 16-18', *VT* 33: 106-10.
- Keller, C.-A.
1971 *Nahoum; Habacuc; Sophonie* (CAT, 11b; Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé).
- Kessler, R.
2006 'Das Buch Micha als Mitte des Zwölfprophetenbuchs Einzeltext, redaktionelle Intention und kontextuelle Lektüre', in *Gotteseerdung: Beiträge zur Hermeneutik und Exegese der Hebräischen Bibel* (ed. R. Kessler; BWANT, 170; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer): 129-36.
- Koenen, K.
1994 *Heil den Gerechten, Unheil den Sündern! Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Prophetenbücher* (BZAW, 229; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Krinetzki, G.
1977 *Zefanjastudien: Motiv- und Traditionskritik + Kompositions- und Redaktionskritik* (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie, 7; Frankfurt: Peter Lang).
- Langohr, G.
1976 'Rédaction et composition du livre de Sophonie', *Le Muséon* 89: 51-73.
- Mason, R.
1994 *Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Mendecki, R.
1991 'Deuteronomische Redaktion von Zef 3, 18-20?', *BN* 60: 27-32.
- Neef, H.-D.
1999 'Vom Gottesgericht zum universalen Heil: Komposition und Redaktion des Zephanjabuches', *ZAW* 111: 530-46.
- Nogalski, J.D.
1993 *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW, 217; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Nogalski, J.D., and M.A. Sweeney
2000 *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve* (SBL Symposium Series, 15; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature).

- 2000 'Zephaniah 3: A Redactional Text for a Developing Corpus', in R.G. Kratz, T. Krüger and K. Schmid (eds.), *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift: Festschrift für Odil Hannes Steck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (BZAW, 300; Berlin: W. de Gruyter): 207-18.
- Perlitt, L.
2004 *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephania übersetzt und erklärt* (ATD, 25/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Pfeiffer, R.H.
1952 *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London: A. & C. Black).
- Redditt, P.L., and A. Scharf
2003 *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve* (BZAW, 325; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Renaud, B.
1987 *Michée, Sophonie, Nahum* (Sources bibliques; Paris: J. Gabalda).
- Ryou, D.H.
1995 *Zephaniah's Oracles Against the Nations: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Zephaniah 2:1-3:8* (Biblical Interpretation Series, 13; Leiden: Brill).
- Scharf, A.
1998 *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse* (BZAW, 260; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Seybold, K.
1985 *Satirische Prophetie: Studien zum Buch Zefanja* (SBS, 120; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk).
- 1991 *Nahum, Habakuk, Zephania* (ZB, AT, 24/2; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag).
- Smith, J.M.P.
1912 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah and Joel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Smith, R.L.
1984 *Micah-Malachi* (WBC, 32; Waco, TX: Word).
- Steck, O.H.
1990 'Zu Zef 3,9-10', *BZ* 34: 90-95.
- Sweeney, M.A.
2003 *Zephaniah: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press).
- Taylor, C.L.
1956 'The Book of Zephaniah', in G.A. Buttrick *et al.* (eds.), *The Interpreter's Bible*, VI (New York: Abington Press): 1005-49.
- Vlaardingerbroek, J.
1999 *Zephaniah* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters).
- Wöhrle, J.
2006 *Die frühen Sammlungen des Zwölfprophetenbuchs. Entstehung und Komposition* (BZAW, 360; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Wolfe, R.E.
1935 'The Editing of the Book of the Twelve', *ZAW* 53: 90-129.

‘LAW IS PARALYSED’ (HABAKKUK 1.4):
HABAKKUK’S DIALOGUE WITH GOD
AND THE LANGUAGE OF LEGAL DISPUTATION

Kevin J. Cathcart

1. *Introduction*

Over thirty years have passed since P. Jöcken published a full survey of the history of interpretation of the book of Habakkuk (Jöcken 1977). Since then, commentaries and monographs on Habakkuk have been published by A.S. van der Woude (1978), A. Deissler (1984), R.L. Smith (1984), O.P. Robertson (1990), J.J.M. Roberts (1991), K. Seybold (1991), R.D. Haak (1992), F.I. Andersen (2001) and L. Peritt (2004). The commentary by W. Rudolph (1975) appeared just as Jöcken was completing his work, which was a Bonn dissertation. M.L. Floyd (2000: 76-161) provides a useful treatment of the literary forms of Habakkuk and Y. Avishur’s detailed study of Habakkuk 3 is practically a monograph in itself (Avishur 1994). Because Hab. 2.4 is cited in the New Testament no less than three times (Rom. 1.17; Gal. 3.11; Heb. 10.38), in various Greek renderings, it continues to attract much attention (see Fitzmyer 1981).

Toward the end of his important and interesting monograph, Haak writes:

It would appear that one of the basic motivations for relating Habakkuk to wisdom elements is a misunderstanding of this work as being primarily concerned with the issue of theodicy. While it may be true that Habakkuk is concerned with Yahweh’s justice, the issue of Yahweh’s justice is no more central to the book than it is to any of the complaint psalms found within the Hebrew Bible. (Haak 1992: 148)

In what follows it will be clear that I disagree with Haak’s view. More than a century ago, G.A. Smith (1898: 129-42; 1928: 131-43) entitled a chapter on Hab. 1.2–2.4 ‘The Prophet as Sceptic’. Later, J.P. Hyatt (1962: 637) wrote: ‘Habakkuk is the sceptic among the prophets. He raises the

question of theodicy: How can a just God allow the wicked to oppress the righteous?' Habakkuk was certainly not a sceptic but he did raise the question of the justice of God.¹ Indeed, it could be said that Habakkuk had more than one theodicy problem (Scott 1985: 339-40). The prophet's first complaint in 1.2-4 asks why Yahweh is indifferent to the lawlessness, destruction and strife which are taking place in the land. The wicked have the upper hand, for 'law is paralysed and justice never proceeds' (v. 4). Scott, like many scholars, thinks that 1.5-11 contains Yahweh's reply in which he informs Habakkuk that he is sending the Chaldaeans as his instrument to punish the perpetrators of the evils mentioned in 1.2-4. And yet, as Rex Mason (1994: 86-87) points out:

By far the most surprising aspect of this 'oracle', however, is that nothing is said of the purpose for which God has raised up these 'Chaldeans'. This is most unusual if in fact this is meant to be, as so many have taken it to be, a divine answer to the prophet's lament about God's delay in confronting the injustice which is rampant. In Isaiah 10, where God says that he is bringing Assyria, it is explicitly stated that this is to punish his wayward people in Judah. The warnings of 'a foe from the north' in the early oracles of Jeremiah make it clear that God is bringing it as an instrument of judgment on his own people (Jer. 1.13-16; 5.14-16; 6.1-8, 22-26). Even when Second Isaiah states that God has raised up Cyrus and led him on his victorious campaigns it is stated that this is in order that he might fulfil God's purposes, that is, salvation for his people (Isa. 44.24-45.13).

So, M.D. Johnson (1985: 257-63) may well be right in arguing, as others have, that the oracle in 1.5-11 is not intended as God's answer to the prophet's complaint in 1.1-4. The march of the invader is yet another problem that the prophet has to grapple with.

In their commentaries on the book of Job S.R. Driver and G.B. Gray (1921: lxix) and E. Kissane (1939: xviii) refer to Hab. 1.13-17, in addition to Jer. 12.1-3, as examples of how some of the prophets wrestled with questions of theodicy like those raised by Job. C.A. Keller (1973: 166) has even proposed that the book of Habakkuk, in dealing with the traditional theme of the suffering righteous person, has a structure reminiscent of the Babylonian *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* and the book of Job.²

1. For Job, see the 1991 book by Katharine Dell, which bears the pertinent title *The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature*.

2. In his recently published Cambridge dissertation, J. Hilber (2005: 69) refers to a Neo-Assyrian letter in which there seem to be allusions to *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, underscoring the writer's role as a righteous sufferer. He discusses the letter in an interesting section on 'Assyrian prophecy as a response to lament' (Hilber 2005: 66-74). The writer of the letter is Urad-Gula, 'an ill-treated scholar who complains

Now, although it is not the purpose of this essay to discuss the various opinions concerning the literary form(s) of Job, it should be mentioned that some scholars have emphasized those literary forms associated with the legal system and the courts (see Fohrer 1965: 363-64, ET 1968: 332-34). Haak (1992: 19-20, 151) notes that there are several indications in the vocabulary of Habakkuk that a legal situation may be envisioned by the author, but he quite rightly dismisses the views that Habakkuk was subject to 'a judicial process' (or even an 'ordeal' of some sort) or that the 'prophecy could have been part in an actual legal proceeding'.³ He does admit that legal and judicial terms are quite common, especially within the complaint sections proper. Although it is probable that Habakkuk was not historically subject to a judicial process of any kind, he has used literary forms and language associated with the legal sphere. As in the case of the book of Job, such forensic language is appropriate in the dialogue with Yahweh. In Andersen's words, 'the book of Habakkuk enshrines the Job-like experience of a righteous sufferer—the prophet himself' (Andersen 2001: 112). B. Peckham (1986: 624) is very clear and specific about the language in the book of Habakkuk: 'The language of the book is imaginative and abstract: the abstract language is mostly forensic; the imaginative language defines specific legal problems and occurs in logical discourse and arguments'.

Some years ago, an article by the Japanese scholar D. Tsumura (1982) on 'Hab. 2,2 in the Light of Akkadian Legal Practice' led me to a re-examination of Hab. 2.1-4 (Cathcart 1986⁴). An examination of the language there seems to support a view that the legal system provides some of the formal elements in this short prophetic book. In the present study I develop that view further, adding to my previous study and examining other parts of Habakkuk in the same manner. In 1.2-4 Habakkuk asks questions about God's justice in the form of a lament or complaint.⁵ Jeremiah uses the same form and employs similar language (Jer. 12.1-4; 20.7-8; cf. Holladay 1986: 367-68). Habakkuk, like Jeremiah and Job, complains that God does not intervene on behalf of the just. In his excellent study of legal terms and concepts in the Hebrew Bible, P. Bovati

about his lot' (Nissinen 1998: 84). The text of the letter (no. 294) is published in Parpola (1993: 231-34) and there is a full study of it in Parpola (1987: 257-78).

3. He rejects the view of H. Schmidt (1934) in particular. On 'ordeals' in the Psalms, see most recently P.S. Johnston (2005: 271-91, esp. 282-83).

4. I am grateful to the Irish Biblical Association for granting me permission to use parts of my article in the present study.

5. For the lament psalms, see the excellent survey by J. Day (1990: 19-38), including judicious remarks on the use of the terms 'lament' and 'complaint'.

(1986: 286-303, ET 1994: 311-28) contributes helpful sections on the ‘Act of Complaint/Appeal’, including four on ‘The Juridical Form; The Hebrew Vocabulary; The Content of a Complaint; the Relationship between the Complaint (or Appeal) and the Judge’s Action’. It will be clear from what follows that his meticulous examination of legal language is of considerable interest for the approach taken here.

2. Habakkuk 1.2-4

Verse 2

The opening *‘ad ʾānā* (‘How long’) occurs twelve times in the Old Testament.⁶ In Exod. 16.28 and Num. 14.11 the words are used by God when he complains about the sin of his people. It is used in lament psalms, for example in Ps. 13.2-3, a complaint against God because he is absent; and in Ps. 62.4 (ET 3), a complaint against oppressive foes. It also introduces the legal disputational context of Job 19.1-7, where there is in v. 7 a significant parallel to the verse in Habakkuk:

If I cry out ‘Lawlessness!’ no one answers;
if I call aloud, there is no justice.

Habakkuk’s *ʾezʿaq ʾēlêkā ḥāmās* and Job’s *ʾešʿaq ḥāmās* lead to the equally instructive text in Jer. 20.8:

For whenever I speak, I must cry out,
I must shout out, ‘Lawlessness and destruction!’ (NRSV)

Once again there is the phrase *ʾezʿaq ḥāmās*. E.A. Speiser (1964: 51, 117) regards *ḥāmās* as a ‘technical legal term’ meaning ‘lawlessness’ or ‘injustice’. The verb *zʿq* is not necessarily a legal term (compare the use of *zʿq/šʿq* in such lament psalms as Pss. 77.2, ET 1, and 142.2, 6, ET 1, 5), but scholars have noted that one of its meanings is ‘to cry for assistance in a court of law’ (see *HALOT*, 1042). In any case, it should be noted that the collocation of *zʿʿaq/šʿʿaq* and *ḥāmās* is only found in Jer. 20.8, Hab. 1.2 and Job 19.7. The legal vocabulary of these passages is well laid out by Bovati (1986: 290-91, ET 1994: 316-17), and in his commentary on Job P.(E.) Dhorme (1926: 247-48, ET 1967: 273) also discusses the vocabulary common to Job 19.7 and Hab. 1.3.

Andersen points out that the verb in Habakkuk’s accusation ‘You did not rescue’ (*tôšîaʿ*) in the final colon of v. 2 may have the meaning ‘vindicate’ as well as ‘rescue’. Habakkuk is appealing to God as a magistrate

6. P. Humbert (1944) provides a sort of concordance of the vocabulary common to Habakkuk and the rest of the Old Testament, which is very useful.

who grants justice (Andersen 2001: 113; cf. Bovati 1986: 292-97, ET 1994: 318-23). D. Clines sees 'a cry for vindication' in Job 19.7, where, in his view, 'the metaphor is the sphere of the lawcourt' (Clines 1989: 443). Some may feel that in this case it is pressing the identification of forensic language in the verse too far.

Verse 3

'Iniquity and trouble'. For $\text{ʔāwen}/\text{ʔāmāl}$ and $\text{ʔāmāl}/\text{ʔāwen}$, see Num. 23.21; Isa. 10.1; 59.4; Pss. 7.15 (ET 14); 10.7; 55.11 (ET 10); 90.10; Job 4.8; 5.6; 15.35. The word ʔāwen is 'iniquity' here, not 'misery'. Compare rāʔ , 'evil' ʔāmāl , 'trouble' in Hab. 1.13. The pairing of the words $\text{šōd w}^{\text{e}}\text{hāmās}$, 'Destruction and lawlessness' (cf. also 2.17), is found in the prophets but never in the Psalms. In Jer. 6.7; 20.8; Ezek. 45.9; and Amos 3.10 the words refer to oppression by governors and officials. Roberts (1991: 89) has even suggested the words there may be 'in some sense legal'. He is also right to point out that the terms rīb , 'strife', and mādôn , 'contention', are derived from the legal sphere, but the words refer more generally to any kind of quarrel or conflict. His comparison of Hab. 1.3 with Jer. 15.10 is useful. The latter text reads:

Woe is me, my mother, that you ever gave birth to me, a man of strife (rīb) and contention (mādôn) to the whole land!

Here Jeremiah is lamenting the conflicts in which he has been caught up. Andersen (2001: 116) also acknowledges that the language in Hab. 2.3b is from the legal sphere, but asks how much 'forensic connotation' there is. Indeed, Jer. 15.10 and Hab. 1.3 are the only places in the prophetic books where mādôn is found, the word appearing almost exclusively in Proverbs. It is possible that $\text{way}^{\text{e}}\text{hî rīb}$ is a gloss on the following ûmādôn yiššāʔ , inserted there by way of explanation of an uncommon word. A more interesting text for comparison with Hab. 1.3 is Ps. 55.10-11 (ET 9-10):

Confuse, O Lord, confound their speech;
for I see violence and strife ($\text{hāmās w}^{\text{e}}\text{rīb}$) in the city.
Day and night they encircle it, along its walls,
iniquity and trouble ($\text{w}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔāwen w}^{\text{e}}\text{ʔāmāl}$) are within it.

This suggests that the language of Hab. 1.3 is not so much from the legal sphere but is rather that of the lament.

Verse 4

The phrase tāpûg tōrâ probably means 'Law is paralysed', or perhaps 'Law is weak'; mišpāṭ in the second colon is best translated as 'justice'

and in the fourth colon as ‘judgment’. The parallel pair *tôrâ//mišpāt* is found in Deut. 17.11; Isa. 51.4 and Ps. 89.31 (ET 30). There is no evidence to support the view that *tôrâ* refers to the failure of a reform in the time of Josiah. Haak (1992: 33-34) thinks Habakkuk is referring to the ineffectiveness of the king of Judah who was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It is more likely that Habakkuk is complaining to God that he is inactive and failing to ensure the effectiveness of the law (Andersen 2001: 119). Habakkuk’s complaint that justice has not gone out can be compared with Job’s cry in Job 19.7, ‘if I call aloud, there is no justice’.

With regard to *maktîr*, ‘surround’ or ‘surrounds’, it is worth noting that the verb *ktr*, found only in the *piel* and *hiphil*, is rare in the Old Testament. The two occurrences of the verb in the Psalms are, appropriately, in pleas for deliverance from suffering:

Many bulls encircle me,
strong bulls of Bashan surround me (*kit^erûnî*). (Ps. 22.13, ET 12)

Bring me out of prison,
so that I may give thanks to your name.
The righteous will surround me (*yaktîrû*),
when you will deal righteously with me’. (Ps. 142.7, ET 8)

So, the verb was used of enemies surrounding the righteous, but also of the righteous surrounding the oppressed in support (see also Bovati 1986: 263-64, ET 1994: 286).

3. Habakkuk 1.12-17

The oppression and disorder around him prompts the distressed Habakkuk to complain about the apparent indifference and inactivity on Yahweh’s part. In this complaint we encounter motifs which are typical of the lament psalms (cf. Broyles 1989: 49; Day 1990: 19-21, 33-34). The question in 1.12, ‘Are you not from of old (*miqqedem*), Yahweh?’ is significant. The phrase ‘from of old’ is a link to several important biblical texts, especially lament psalms:

Awake as in the days of old (*kîmê qedem*). (Isa. 51.9)
what deeds you did in their days, in the days of old (*bîmêqedem*).
(Ps. 44.2, ET 1)

Remember your congregation that you created of old (*miqqedem*).
(Ps. 74.2)

But you O God are my king from of old (*miqqedem*). (Ps. 74.12)

I remember your wonders of old (*miqqedem*). (Ps. 77.12, ET 11)

Reminding God of his eternity and power with the words 'You are from of old' and 'You shall not die', Habakkuk resumes his reproof of Yahweh in forensic terms:

Yahweh, did you set him [the Chaldaean] up to render judgment (*mišpāṭ*)?
O Rock, did you establish him in order to punish (*l'hôkîah*)?

Instead of defeating the invader as he defeated Leviathan in primaeval 'days of old' or as he had conquered Israel's historical enemies in former times, he has allowed the foe to treat him 'like the fish of the sea, like creeping things that have no ruler' (v. 14). 'The wicked swallows one more righteous than he' (v. 13). The term *miqqedem*, therefore, is a comprehensive term that Habakkuk uses to remind Yahweh of his victories in ancient times. In Day's book on *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea*, readers will find detailed studies of the texts mentioned above (Day 1985: 21-25, 91-93, 96-97). The forensic passages and the passages with motifs of the lament in Habakkuk, which have interesting counterparts in Jeremiah, Job and the lament psalms, sit comfortably side by side. It is not surprising to find forensic language in biblical texts where lament-complaint genres are also found. J.D. Levenson (1994) discusses most of these texts in his stimulating book on *Creation and the Persistence of Evil*, so it is all the more remarkable that he does not discuss Habakkuk. Yahweh once defeated the forces of chaos and evil to establish order in the world. Habakkuk, appalled by the chaos and injustice around him, wishes to see order and justice restored.

Haak may well be right in his view that the hymn in Hab. 3.3-15 is an expansion of the hymnic element in 1.12. Motifs found in the lament psalms and in Habakkuk 3 are discussed by Avishur (1994). Haak (1992: 17 n. 65) is probably correct in his view that the absence of God seems to be indicated again in 3.17, a verse which Avishur does not regard as an integral part of the psalm, because it 'describes a drought, a theme to which there is not the slightest allusion in the psalm' (Avishur 1994: 120). The apparent absence of God is the cause of the lament. In ancient Mesopotamian literature, disorder and chaos were deeply worrying and they were sometimes explained as the result of Marduk withdrawing from the world (Jones 2005: 337).

4. Habakkuk 2.1-4

Although much has been written about Hab. 2.4 because of its textual and linguistic problems (Emerton 1977) and its use by New Testament writers (Fitzmyer 1981), 2.1-3 have not received quite as much attention.

Verse 1

For MT *māšôr*, 1QpHab reads *mšwry*, which seems to support those critics who prefer to add the first singular suffix to the MT. However, the suffix of *mišmartî* could be a ‘double-duty’ suffix. Consonantal *mšwr* is probably derived from the root *nšr*, so one should read *maššôr* or *maššôri*, ‘my guard post’, which is a better parallel to *mišmartî*. Compare Akkadian *maššartu* (CAD: M, 333-40; HALOT, 623). The watchman figure and the vocabulary of the first part of this verse have a parallel in Isa. 21.8, where the watch station is associated with the reception of oracles. *wašappēh*, ‘and I shall watch’, should be compared with *mišpēh*, ‘watch station’ (parallel to *mišmartî*), in Isa. 21.8. Compare Akkadian *šāpītu*, ‘watchtower’, borrowed apparently from Aramaic (CAD: Š, 97). The prophet as watchman is already an idea in Hos. 9.8. There is nothing in the text to indicate that Habakkuk went to a specific place to receive an oracle, though he may well have been in the Temple. S.R. Driver, on the other hand, thinks Habakkuk ‘places himself in prophetic imagination upon his prophetic watch-tower (cf. Is. 21⁶), and waits expectantly for an answer that may satisfy his “complaint,” or impeachment’ (Driver 1913: 337).

The series of verbs *yēdabber* – *yāšīb* (MT *ʾāšīb*) (v. 1) and *wayyānēnī* – *wayyōmer* (v. 2) may appear on the face of it unremarkable, but the sequence should be compared with a similar one in Job 13.22, *ūqērāʾ wēʾānōkī ʾeʿneh ʾō ʾadabbēr wahʾšībēnī*, ‘Then summon me, and I shall answer; or let me speak first, and you reply to me’. Of course, in Hab. 2.1-2, Yahweh is the subject of the verbs. But what is important for our purposes is the recognition that in Hab. 2.1-4 and Job 13.17-22 the language is forensic. Concerning the text in Job, Kissane says, ‘The words are used in the technical legal sense. Job is ready to fill the role both of defendant and complainant’ (Kissane 1939: 80). Clines (1989: 317) also recognizes the legal language in Job 13 (including v. 22), even if he does sound a note of caution: ‘The language of “calling” and “answering” is not always used in this book of legal accusation and defense’. Dhorme (1926: 171-72, ET 1967: 188-90) also comments in some detail on the judicial language. Habakkuk, like Job, pictures God as his adversary at law. Other examples of the forensic sense of *hēšīb* are found in Job 31.14 and 33.5. According to Bovati (1986: 307, ET 1994: 334) the use of *ʾānā* and *hēšīb* ‘gives more practical expression to the aspect of rebutting the previous speech’. Furthermore, the sense of *tōkahtî*, ‘my complaint’, ‘my argument’, or ‘my reproof’, is similar to that in Job 13.6 and 23.4. It is scarcely necessary to point out the forensic sense of the verb *ykh* found, for example, in Isa. 29.21; Amos 5.10; and

Mic. 6.2, and it is not surprising that the greatest number of occurrences is in Job (cf., e.g., Seeligmann 1967: 266-67; Magdalene 2007: 141). The use of the verb in Hab. 1.12 has already been mentioned (cf. Bovati 1986: 36, ET 1994: 46). In the light of this verse, Haak (1992: 54-55) suggests the translation 'my prosecutor' for *tôkahtî*, 'to reflect the legal aspects of the root'. In his view 2.1 is part of the second complaint and the 'prosecutor' is not Yahweh but the Chaldaean. This is unconvincing. Here 'legal' or 'forensic' language is used of the conflict between Habakkuk and God. Habakkuk expects an answer from Yahweh concerning his complaint.

The verb *ʿānâ* in v. 2 has a forensic sense just like *hēšîb*. Remarkably, Bovati (1986: 307, ET 1994: 334) includes Hab. 2.1 in his examples of the forensic use of *hēšîb* but does not include Hab. 2.2 in the examples for *ʿānâ*. Job 13.22, which was mentioned already, includes a form of the verb *ʿānâ*, and similar usage of the same verb occurs in Job 9.3, 14-15, 32 (Magdalene 2007: 141-42, 179). Kissane (1939: 53-54) points out that in Job 9.3 the verb means 'to engage in a legal process' and he describes 9.14-15 as 'a suit at law'. In the latter verses, there is the matter of a judicial contest between God and Job, and Job wishes there was a court of appeal. In fact, the verb *ʿānâ* is used frequently in Job, as would be expected in a collection of extended dialogues. In a number of cases, however, there is the implication of answering in law or making a response as one accused (BDB, 773). In Habakkuk, Yahweh is replying to the argument or complaint put forward by the prophet. In v. 3 of the well-known lawsuit in Micah 6, the imperative form *ʿānēh*, 'answer', occurs. S.R. Driver (1913: 337) actually compared the dialogue between Habakkuk and Yahweh with that in Micah 6-7.⁷ I think, therefore, that the comment of Andersen (2001: 202) that 'this verb is used to introduce a favourable response, in word (salvation oracle), or deed (rescue act), by the Deity to an appeal from a devotee in distress' gives an incomplete picture. Yahweh is also replying to an accusation or complaint against him.

The verb *bēʿēr* (*piel*) is found in only two other places in the Old Testament: Deut. 1.5 and 27.8. BDB (p. 91) gives it the meaning 'make distinct, plain', and takes the second part of Hab. 2.2 to mean 'so that one may run past and (still) read; or, so that one may read swiftly'.

7. On the forensic sense of *ʿānâ be*, 'give evidence against, bear witness against', see BDB, 773; and Dhorme (1926: 190-91, ET 1967: 209-10) on Job 15.6. On *yʿnw ly*, 'they will testify for/give evidence favourable to me', in lines 10-11 of the Yavneh Yam, Mešad Ḥšavyahu inscription, which contains a judicial plea, see Pardee 1978a: 49.

However, Tsumura (1982: 294) draws our attention to Akkadian *burru*, the D-stem of *bâru*, which means ‘to establish the true legal situation (ownership, liability, etc.) by a legal procedure involving ordeal, oath or testimony’ (*CAD: B*, 127). He reminds us that in ancient Near Eastern documents, legal procedure could not be concluded without confirmation by oath of witnesses, and he cites several texts including the following instructive example: ‘When the written testimony was made out, it was written without witnesses having confirmed it (*ubirru*) by oath, now let witnesses under oath (also) confirm it (*libirrušu*)’ (*CAD: B*, 129). Accordingly, *k^ltôb*, ‘write’, in Hab. 2.2. is the command to carry out the first stage of the legal procedure and *bâ’er* is the second. Tsumura’s translation is ‘Write and confirm the vision on tablets’ (1982: 295). In his view, such an understanding of *bâ’er* clarifies the meaning of the last colon: ‘So that he may run who reads it’. The JPSV, ‘So it can be read easily’, is one of several modern translations which assume that the vision was to be written in such a way as to make it easy to read. And yet, as Tsumura points out, the verse is concerned with the importance of the ‘vision’. Written down and legally confirmed, the contents may now be delivered by a messenger.⁸ Other relevant Old Testament passages are Isa. 8.1, where there is a command to write on a seal and then find witnesses to attest it, and especially Isa. 30.8:

Go now, write it before them on a tablet,
and inscribe it in a record,
so that it may be for the time to come
as a witness (*l^{ec}ēd* for MT *lā’ad*) for ever.

Verse 3

By far the most significant advance for an understanding of this verse has been the identification of *yāpēah/yāpīah* with Ugaritic *yph*, ‘witness’. This was first proposed by M.J. Dahood when he suggested that *wīpēah ḥāmās*, ‘a deceitful witness’, parallel to *‘ēdê šeḡer*, ‘false witnesses’, in Ps. 27.12, was a synonym for *‘ēdê ḥāmās* in Ps. 35.11 (1958: 47 n. 21). He did not follow through the logic of his observation by reading the plural *wīpēhē/ē* till later (Dahood 1966: 46). Pardee (1978b: 209) retains the MT but translates it as plural. P. Nøber, the editor of the *Elenchus bibliographicus* of *Biblica*, saw the relevance of the identification of the

8. W.H. Brownlee makes the point that a figurative sense of *rūš* is unattested: ‘One must not lose sight of the imagery of the watchman, whose message would be carried by a runner’ (Brownlee 1979: 108). On *rāš*, ‘messenger’, see HALOT, 1209.

Ugaritic word for interpreting Hab. 2.3 and translated the verse into Latin as follows: [*testis*] (*est*) *visio diei praestituto, testis tempori praefixo infallibilis* (Nober 1958: 199*). S.E. Loewenstamm (1962, ET 1980) acknowledged the discoveries by Dahood and Nober and carried out a more detailed examination of the texts where the Hebrew word is found. Pardee (1978b: 204-13) has reviewed all the Ugaritic and Hebrew evidence critically and he presents an excellent systematic examination of all the texts. M. Lambert had already pointed out in 1909 that Hebrew *yāpīah* in Prov. 6.19; 12.17; 14.5, 25; 19.5, 9 and Hab. 2.3 should be taken as a noun and not as a verb (Lambert 1909). In 1948, H.L. Ginsberg, without the Ugaritic evidence, which was not yet available, paraphrased (his word) Hab. 2.3 as follows:

For this oracle is a witness for an appointed time and a testifier for the end of a period. But it is a true witness. (Ginsberg 1948: 35)

Ginsberg noted that *yāpīah/yāpēah* never occurs other than as a parallel to *‘ēd*, 'witness'. In his view the evidence of the texts leaves 'non-hair-splitters with no alternative to taking it as a substantive' (Ginsberg 1948: 78). In the light of the Ugaritic evidence, W. McKane (1970) accepted the interpretation of *yāpīah/yāpēah* in Proverbs as 'witness', but most modern translations of the Old Testament reflect the long-standing analysis of MT *yāpēah* in Hab. 1.3 as a form of the verb *pūah*, 'to blow, breathe' (so BDB, 806). The RSV's 'it hastens' and the NEB's 'it will come in breathless haste' recall BDB's 'panteth (hasteth) towards the end'. Only the JPSV, 'a truthful witness for a time to come', reflects the new philological knowledge. The words *yāpīah* and *pūah* have no phonetic relation to each other (cf. Dahood 1965: 319-20; 1966: 169; Pardee 1978b: 210-12). The significance of *‘ēd//yāpīah* in Proverbs was not lost on A.B. Ehrlich (1912: 302). In a comment on Hab. 2.3 he insisted that *‘ēd* ought to be read for MT *‘ōd*. He analysed *yāpīah/yāpēah* as a verbal adjective of uncertain derivation but noted its frequent synonymous parallelism with *‘ēd*. Of course Ehrlich did not have the Ugaritic evidence to aid him in establishing its etymology and he still understood it as a form of a verb 'to speak'. Ginsberg also read *‘ēd* for MT *‘ōd*, adding the sharp comment that he preferred this meaning 'because prophetic texts were intended to convey an intelligible meaning' (1948: 78).

Verse 4

This verse is probably the best known in the book of Habakkuk. Although various problems make its translation difficult, many scholars consider it important for the understanding of the book as a whole. J.A. Emerton (1977) has discussed at length the various theories that have been

proposed to solve the textual difficulties in vv. 4-5. I am inclined to follow W. Rudolph (1975: 212-13) who reads *hinnēh p^ecullā* (MT *‘upp^elā*) [*lā’iś*] *lō’ yāš^erā napšō bō / w^ešaddīq be^emūnātō yiḥyeh*, ‘Behold there is punishment for the man whose soul is not upright in him, but the righteous man will live because of his faithfulness’ (my translation). The expression *lā’iś* was lost by haplography before *lō’ yāš^erā*. (For *p^ecullā*, ‘reward’, in the sense of ‘punishment’, see Isa. 65.7; Ps. 109.20; Prov. 11.18.) The JPSV has a footnote to Hab. 2.4 in which it offers an alternative translation that seems to reflect an emended text: ‘Lo there is a reward for the upright’ (perhaps reading *hinnēh p^ecullā layyāšār*). The verse responds to the complaints in 1.2-4 and 1.12-17.

5. Conclusion

It has not been my purpose to argue that the book of Habakkuk and the book of Job are treatments of a legal theme or that the *relationship* between Habakkuk and God or Job and God are in legal terms. However, legal and lament genres are used in both of these biblical books. By paying attention to these aspects I believe that I have highlighted more effectively the similarities between Habakkuk and Job and Habakkuk and Jeremiah. The obvious links with the lament psalms have also been noted. This approach leads to a better understanding of Habakkuk.

Bibliography

- Andersen, F.I.
 2001 *Habakkuk* (AB, 25; Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Avishur, Y.
 1994 ‘Habakkuk 3’, in *Studies in Hebrew and Ugaritic Psalms* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University): 111-205.
- Bovati, P.
 1986 *Ristabilire la giustizia: Procedure, vocabolario, orientamenti* (AnBib, 110; Rome, Biblical Institute Press [repr. 1997]). ET *Re-Establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible* (trans. M.J. Smith; JSOTSup, 105; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994).
- Brownlee, W.H.
 1979 *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk* (SBLMS, 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press).
- Broyles, C.C.
 1989 *The Conflict of Faith and Experience in the Psalms: A Form-Critical Theological Study* (JSOTSup, 52; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Cathcart, K.J.
 1986 ‘Legal Terminology in Habakkuk’, *PRIA* 10: 103-10.

- Clines, D.J.A.
1989 *Job 1–20* (WBC, 17; Dallas: Word Books).
- Dahood, M.J.
1958 'Some Ambiguous Texts in Isaias', *CBQ* 20: 41-49.
1965 'Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography III', *Bib* 46: 311-32.
1966 *Psalms I* (AB, 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Day, J.
1985 *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (UCOP, 35; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
1990 *Psalms* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Deissler, A.
1984 *Zwölf Propheten. II. Obadja, Jona, Micha, Nahum, Habakuk* (NEBib; Würzburg: Echter).
- Dell, K.J.
1991 *The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature* (BZAW, 197; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Dhorme, P.(E.)
1926 *Le Livre de Job* (EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda and V. Lecoffre). ET *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (trans. H. Knight; London: Nelson, 1967).
- Driver, S.R.
1913 *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 9th edn).
- Driver, S.R., and G.B. Gray.
1921 *The Book of Job* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Ehrlich, A.B.
1912 *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel*, V (Leipzig: Hinrichs).
- Emerton, J.A.
1977 'The Textual and Linguistic Problems of Habakkuk II.4-5', *JTS* 28: 1-18.
- Fitzmyer, J.A.
1981 'Habakkuk 2:3-4 and the New Testament', in M. Carrez, J. Doré and P. Grelot (eds.), *De la Tôrah au Messie: Etudes d'exégèse et d'herméneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles pour ses 25 années d'enseignement à l'Institut Catholique de Paris (Octobre 1979)* (Paris: Desclée): 447-55. Repr. in *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2nd edn, 1998): 236-46.
- Floyd, M.H.
2000 *Minor Prophets*, II (FOTL, 22; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Fohrer, G.
1965 *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 10th edn). ET *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. D. Green; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968).
- Ginsberg, H.L.
1948 *Studies in Daniel* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America).
- Haak, R.D.
1992 *Habakkuk* (VTSup, 44; Leiden: Brill).

- Hilber, J.W.
2005 *Cultic Prophecy in the Psalms* (BZAW, 352; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Holladay, W.L.
1986 *Jeremiah 1* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press).
- Humbert, P.
1944 *Problèmes du livre d'Habacuc* (Mémoires de l'Université de Neuchâtel, 18; Neuchâtel: Secrétariat de l'Université).
- Hyatt, J.P.
1962 'Habakkuk', in M. Black and H.H. Rowley (eds.), *Peake's Commentary on the Bible* (London: T. Nelson): 637-39.
- Jöcken, P.
1977 *Das Buch Habakuk: Darstellung der Geschichte seiner kritischen Erforschung mit einer eigenen Beurteilung* (BBB, 48; Cologne: P. Hanstein).
- Johnson, M.D.
1985 'The Paralysis of Torah in Habakkuk I 4', *VT* 35: 257-66.
- Johnston, P.S.
2005 'Ordeals in the Psalms?', in J. Day (ed.), *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (LHBOTS, 422; London: T&T Clark International): 271-91.
- Jones, P.
2005 'Divine and Non-Divine Kingship', in D.C. Snell (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Blackwell): 330-42.
- Keller, C.-A.
1973 'Die Eigenart der Prophetie Habakuks', *ZAW* 85: 164-67.
- Kissane, E.
1939 *The Book of Job* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan).
- Lambert, M.
1909 'Notes exégétiques', *REJ* 57: 279-80.
- Levenson, J.
1994 *Creation and the Persistence of Evil: The Jewish Drama of Divine Omnipotence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2nd edn).
- Loewenstamm, S.E.
1962 'Yāpēah, yāpīah, yāpīah', *Leshonenu* 26: 205-208 (Hebrew). ET in *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures* (AOAT, 204; Neukirchen-Vluy: Neukirchener Verlag; Kevalaar: Butzon & Bercker, 1980): 137-42.
- Magdalene, F.R.
2007 *On the Scales of Righteousness: Neo-Babylonian Trial Law and the Book of Job* (Providence, RI: Brown Judaic Studies).
- Mason, R.
1994 *Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Joel* (OTG; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Nissinen, M.
1998 *References to Prophecy in Neo-Assyrian Sources* (SAAS, 7; Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, University of Helsinki).
- Nober, P.
1958 'yāpēah, witness', *Elenchus bibliographicus, Bib* 39: 199*, no. 3336.
- Pardee, D.
1978a 'The Judicial Plea from Mešad Ḥashavyahu (Yavneh Yam): A New Philological Study', *Maarav* 1: 33-66.
1978b 'yph "witness" in Hebrew and Ugaritic', *VT* 28: 204-13.

- Parpola, S.
 1987 'The Forlorn Scholar', in Francesca Rochberg-Halton (ed.), *Language, Literature, and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner* (AOS, 67; New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society): 257-78.
 1993 *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (SAA, 10; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press).
- Peckham, B.
 1986 'The Vision of Habakkuk', *CBQ* 48: 617-36.
- Perlitt, L.
 2004 *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephanja* (ATD, 25.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Roberts, J.J.M.
 1991 *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press).
- Robertson, O.P.
 1990 *The books of Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Rudolph, W.
 1975 *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja* (KAT, 13/3; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn).
- Schmidt, H.
 1934 *Die Psalmen* (HAT, 15; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]).
 1950 'Ein Psalm im Buche Habakkuk', *ZAW* 62: 52-63.
- Scott, J.M.
 1985 'A New Approach to Habakkuk ii 4-5a', *VT* 35: 330-40.
- Seeligmann, I.L.
 1967 'Zur Terminologie für das Gerichtsverfahren im Wortschatz des biblischen Hebräisch', in B. Hartmann *et al.* (eds.), *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (VTSup, 16; Leiden: Brill): 251-78.
- Seybold, K.
 1991 *Nahum Habakkuk Zephanja* (ZB, AT, 24/2; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag).
- Smith, G.A.
 1928 *The Book of the Twelve Prophets Commonly Called the Minor*, II (London: Hodder & Stoughton, new and rev. edn) (1st edn: Expositor's Bible, 1898).
- Smith, R.L.
 1984 *Micah-Malachi* (WBC, 32; Waco, TX: Word Books).
- Speiser, E.A.
 1964 *Genesis* (AB, 1; Garden City, NY: Doubleday).
- Tsumura, D.T.
 1982 'Hab 2,2 in the Light of Akkadian Legal Practice', *ZAW* 94: 294-95.
- Woude, A.S. van der.
 1978 *Habakuk, Zefania* (POuT; Nijkerk: Callenbach).

STRUCTURE AND MEANING IN THE BOOK OF MALACHI

Elie Assis

1. *Introduction*

We know very little about Malachi and his time. Even his name is uncertain.¹ His date is also shrouded in doubt, though it is certain that his prophecy took place after the rebuilding of the Temple in 520 BCE.² Much more than that, we do not know. Thus the understanding of the book relies heavily on the contents of the oracles themselves. While this is true of many other texts, it is particularly so in the case of Malachi. Little importance has been attributed to the book of Malachi by scholars. In this essay I wish to show that the significance of the book is vital for a proper understanding of the history of Yehud at the beginning of the Second Temple period.

2. *The Historical Context*

Establishing the historical context of the prophet is crucial to an understanding of the book. While it is generally agreed that he came later than Haggai and Zechariah, no precise date can be given.³ Very little can be

1. Malachi could be the actual name of the prophet, or it could mean 'my messenger', that is, God's messenger. The Septuagint and the Targum follow the second possibility. Rudolph (1976: 247-48), however, considers Malachi to be the prophet's name. It should be noted that no other person in the Bible bears this name. If it is a proper name, then it is probably shortened from Malachiah (see Driver 1906: 285). Mason (1977: 148) and Redditt (1994: 252) speculate that Malachi was a Levite or represents a Levitical viewpoint.

2. See, e.g., Torrey 1898: 13; Driver 1906: 287; Ackroyd 1970: 243. One exception to this theory is Welch (1935: 113-25), who claims that the prophet was a contemporary of Haggai and Zechariah, before the rebuilding of the Temple.

3. This opinion is held by the majority of scholars. Nevertheless, the range of possibilities is still vast. Opinions include the claim that Malachi preceded Ezra and Nehemiah, that he is contemporary to Nehemiah, and that he is of a later date. For a

construed on the basis of the very few texts and fragmentary data that we possess from this post-exilic period. I think, therefore, that the subject is best addressed in reverse order: first to analyse the book, to outline its theology, and to reveal the standpoint of the populace as reflected in the words of the prophet. It should then be possible to establish the general time-period in which the prophet acted and to acquire an understanding of its historical characteristics. Although this approach may not provide any specific dates, the setting of the book will be based not on hypothetical theories but on a concrete analysis of the material.⁴

From his writings it is clear that Malachi did not live during a period of major political happenings or turbulent change. His book relates to everyday life in what we know to have been a small province of the great Persian empire. This being the case, it is all the more necessary that we concentrate on attempting to reconstruct the religious environment in which the prophet operated, rather than on attempting to pinpoint precise historical dates.

3. *The Purpose of the Book*

I have just noted that scholars have tended to depreciate the meaning of the book of Malachi. Many scholars claim that by this time the creative period of prophecy was over and that Malachi is little more than a scribe, concerned with ritual and law but not with the values and morality that concerned the great prophets, such as Isaiah and Amos.⁵

According to Baldwin, Verhoef, Redditt, and others, the concept of the Covenant of Israel is fundamental to Malachi's message.⁶ This concept is indeed dominant in the book. The word ברית ('covenant') occurs six times. Malachi also uses terminology associated with the concept of the Covenant, such as סגול, בגד, שנת, אהב, and so forth. Freedman determines the central concepts of the prophets of the Second Temple era. He claims that they provide an alternative perspective on the catastrophe of destruction and exile. They emphasize the renewal of Israel, return and

survey of the various possibilities, see Bulmerincq 1921: 87-97; J.M.P. Smith 1912: 5-9; Verhoef 1989: 156-60. See also Glazier-McDonald 1987a: 604-605 n. 7; Hill 1998: 77-84. The approach that Malachi acted after the Second Temple was rebuilt was challenged by O'Brien 1995.

4. On the social setting of the book, see: Redditt 1994; Rogerson 1999.

5. Neil 1962: 231; cf. also E. Pfeiffer 1941: 615; Eissfeldt 1966: 443; Kaiser 1975: 286.

6. Baldwin 1972: 216; Verhoef 1989: 180; Redditt 1995: 156; cf. also McKenzie and Wallace 1983; Hill 1998: 43.

restoration, and a renewal of the covenant with God.⁷ Glazier-McDonald adds that Malachi's task was to strengthen his people's belief in God and remind them of their responsibilities as members of the community of the Covenant with God. Malachi's generation, like that of Haggai and Zechariah, confronted severe economic conditions and lived in an atmosphere that discouraged spirituality. The task that Malachi had of strengthening his people was obviously not an easy one in view of the fact that Haggai's prophecies of the prosperity of the land after the rebuilding of the Temple had not been realized.⁸ Fischer asserts that Malachi's main focus was to correct the wrong thinking about the covenantal relationship with God that had developed after the promises of the earlier prophets did not materialize. According to Malachi, the loving relationship between Israel and God is a condition and not a cause. Malachi sought to dispute thinking based on cause and effect theology.⁹

While concurring with this line of interpretation, I find that it does not adequately differentiate between the different and distinctive ideas of each of the Second Temple prophets. In order to understand the book of Malachi it is crucial to carry out a close reading of the text, to understand the background to what Malachi is saying, and in particular to try to detect the beliefs, attitudes and perspectives of the populace at the time of his prophecy. Fortunately, Malachi's style of disputation with the people gives us much information on their concerns.

4. *Outline of the Book*

Almost all scholars agree on the division of the book into six oracles and an epilogue.¹⁰

7. Freedman 1991: 61-63. See also R.L. Smith 1984: 299-300. According to Redditt (1994: 249-51; Grabbe 2004: 90), the book consists of two separate collections from the same prophet. The first is a condemnation of the priests (1.6-2.9; 2.11, 13-16), while the second condemns the laity (1.1-5; 2.10, 12; 2.17-3.1a + 3.5, 6-7, 8-12, and possibly 3.13-15). These collections were put together by a redactor who also added 3.1b-4, 13-21. Redditt claims that the purpose of the original collections was to correct the ways of the priests and laity. The purpose of the redactor, however, was to encourage the disadvantaged group groups within Judah to continue to keep faith in God until the Day of the Lord, when they will triumph over the wicked.

8. See R.H. Pfeiffer 1941: 614-15; Glazier-McDonald 1987b: 274. For a variation of this approach, see Floyd 2000: 564-68, 575-76.

9. Fischer 1972. See also Ackroyd 1975: 230-31.

10. See, e.g., Driver 1906: 286-87; J.M.P. Smith 1912: 1; Nowack 1903: 421-22; E. Pfeiffer 1959: 554; Baldwin 1972: 219.

1. Mal. 1.2-5: An oracle on God's hatred of Edom and His love of Israel.
2. Mal. 1.6-2.9: An admonition of the priests for scorning God's name, and of the people for offering unfit sacrifices.
3. Mal. 2.10-16: An admonition concerning intermarriage with foreign women.
4. Mal. 2.17-3.6: An admonition of the people's opinion that there is no justice before God, and that evil is good in His eyes.
5. Mal. 3.7-12: An admonition of the deception used in the bringing of tithes and offerings.
6. Mal. 3.13-21: An admonition of the people's opinion that it is futile to worship God, since evildoers prosper while the righteous suffer.
7. Mal. 3.22-24 (ET 4.4-6), the epilogue: An injunction to remember the Law of Moses, and the sending of Elijah before the coming of the Day of the Lord.

Each of the six oracles presents a disputation of the prophet with the people. Each oracle includes a claim of the people that is immediately rejected by the prophet. Thus, these oracles are classified by many as oracles of disputation,¹¹ or discussions.¹²

Interestingly, there is no formal indication of the division of the book into separate oracles; there are no opening or closing formulae in any of the oracles. The division is based on thematic distinctions only. The reader is left with the impression that, despite the clear division between the oracles, the author or redactor wished to make them a continuous sequence.¹³

The structure of the book raises several questions regarding the order and function of the oracles in the book. The first question is: Do the various oracles merge into one complete unit or is the book a collection of different oracles? In other words, is the book of Malachi an anthology of separate oracles or, as its continuous sequence suggests, a unified work?

The second question then becomes: Can a basic position, interrelating the people's claims and conduct in each of the six oracles, be defined that

11. E. Pfeiffer 1959: 546-68; Mason 1990: 235-36.

12. Boecher 1966. Other classifications have been offered. See, e.g., O'Brien 1990: 47-63. O'Brien (1990: 63-80) also discusses the possibility that the book employs the form of the covenant lawsuit. For a further discussion on this matter see Petersen 1998; Floyd 2000: 564-68.

13. E. Pfeiffer 1959: 554. One disagreement relates to the place of 3.6: Is this verse the end of the fourth oracle or the beginning of the fifth?

is in opposition to the basic position that forms the foundation of Malachi's oracles?¹⁴ Only by understanding the nature of the relationship between the oracles can Malachi's basic positions in relation to the standpoint of the people be appreciated and to that end the structure of the book must be established.

Thirdly, how does the anti-Edomite oracle fit into the context of the book? Does it have any importance as the opening oracle of the book? Does it in any way promote what Malachi is trying to say?

And finally, both the fourth and sixth oracles reveal that the people have the impression that the way God governs the world is not just. He does not punish the sinner or reward the righteous who follow his ways. The fifth oracle, which deals with the prophet's admonition of the people's deception in relation to the law of tithes, is placed between these two oracles. Scholars solve this problem by displacing the fifth oracle. Some place it after 1.5¹⁵ and others after 1.9.¹⁶ This solves both aspects of the problem relating to its current position. The fourth and the sixth oracles, which deal with the same subject, are placed next to each other and become a continuous sequence. The fifth oracle, dealing with ritual matters, is now adjacent to the second oracle, which deals with sacrificial rituals. These attempts to put the book into a more logical order assume that its structure must be simple and straightforward, but that something went wrong and upset its order. However, a different approach is possible. The present order can be investigated as it stands, under the assumption that the author or editor had a more elaborate structure in mind. This is the assumption with which I begin. And on this assumption I shall attempt to answer the question: What stands behind the order of the oracles in the book of Malachi, as it now stands?

5. The Structure of the Book

5.1. Some Preliminary Considerations

Are the oracles deliberately organized and structured? Baldwin asserts that the book has no particular literary structure (Baldwin 1972: 214). From the silence of most commentators, this seems to be the common

14. For a discussion on the voice of the people Malachi is addressing, see Tiemeyer 2005.

15. Sellin 1922: 536-37. Horst argues against this, claiming that 1.1-5 is self-contained. See Horst 1938: 253; Weiser 1961: 276. Redditt (1994: 248-49) believes that only 3.6-7 are the continuation of 1.1-5, and 1.1-5 were removed from their original place to the opening of the book.

16. R.H. Pfeiffer 1941: 612; Kaufmann 1977: 438.

approach. Smith says that the book is a 'well planned...and harmonious whole' (J.M.P. Smith 1912: 3). Others have suggested various structural elements in the book.¹⁷ I believe that the main structural plan of the book has been overlooked.

5.2. *The Division of the Book into Two*

I propose that the six oracles are divided into two parts of three oracles each. The first three oracles are connected by one thematic line of thought, and another theme connects the last three oracles.

5.2.1. *The Second Part.* Both the fourth and the sixth oracles deal with the question of divine justice, and of whether God rewards the righteous and punishes evildoers. In the fourth oracle Malachi discusses the people's claim that the evildoer is good in God's eyes (2.17). He promises that God will judge all who do evil, and divine justice will be revealed. In the sixth oracle the people's claim is more acerbic; they argue that God is unjust and that they regret that they followed in His path (3.14).

The fifth oracle relates to a ritual matter. The prophet admonishes the people for their deception in the bringing of tithes, and for not properly observing the religious law. However, a relationship to the fourth and sixth oracles can be found since the subject of reward and punishment plays a significant role in the fifth oracle too. While admonishing the people for their deception in bringing tithes, Malachi determines that the people can test God and see whether he rewards the righteous: if the people bring tithes, God will pour down blessing on them (3.10). Thus it is clear that this oracle in which Malachi admonishes the people on the ritual issue is also related to the oracles preceding and following it.

5.2.2. *The First Part.* At first glance, there does not seem to be any relation between the first three oracles. However, if we understand the nature of the prophet's disputation with the people in each case, we can discern that the first part of the book is structured similarly to the second. I wish to demonstrate how the first oracle, which is an anti-Edomite

17. Clendenen (1987) has identified three chiasmic structures. The book is divided into three sections, each a combination of two consecutive oracles. Each section is made up of the following elements: Motivation, Problem, Command, Problem, Motivation. Hugenberger (1994: 24-25) proposed an unconvincing concentric structure for the book, in which the first and sixth oracles are paired, as are the second and fifth, and the third and fourth. Wendland (1985) shows that each of the six oracles of Malachi is concentric in structure. He does not perceive an overall structure for the book. For another treatment of the structure of the book, see Fischer 1972.

oracle, is closely related to the third oracle, which deals with the question of intermarriage with foreign women.¹⁸

The words 'love' and 'hate' are key-words in the first pericope. The word 'love' can denote 'election', and conversely 'hatred' can mean 'rejection' (see, e.g., Pss. 47.5, ET 4; 78.68).¹⁹ The purpose of this pericope is to assure the Judeans that they are still the chosen people. This statement comes to refute the perception held by the people that the destruction marked their rejection by God (cf. Lam. 3.8, 18; Ezek. 37.1-14; Jer. 33.24-26; Isa. 41.8), and that their formally rejected 'twin brother', Esau, had now been elected as the chosen people in their place (Assis 2006a; 2006b).

I posit that the subject of Malachi's admonishment of the people in the third oracle derives from the people's claim reflected in the first oracle. I follow the opinion that the whole passage, 2.10-16, deals with the issue of mixed marriage.²⁰ Against the almost unanimous opinion held by scholars that v. 10 is a sentence addressed by the prophet to his people, I follow the understanding of the fifteenth-century Jewish Portuguese commentator, Isaac Abrabanel, who proposed that the prophet is quoting the people's claim to justify intermarriage with non-Jews. Malachi 2.10 reads: 'Have we not all one father? Has not one God created us? Why then are we faithless to one another, profaning the covenant of our ancestors?' This statement reflects the people's universalistic philosophy of equality between all people and nations. Everyone is a descendant of one single man, and thus all people are equal. The covenant to which they refer is the feeling of brotherhood and equality between all people. It is this covenant that they feel is not being upheld. Marriage with foreign women stemmed from a humanistic universal outlook that regarded the breaking down of barriers between Israel and the nations as positive and desirable.

Now we can understand the relationship between the first and third oracles. This universal outlook is the product of the people's feeling of rejection by God following the destruction of the Temple and the expulsion from the land. This is apparent in the anti-Edomite oracle. This in turn led to the belief that the old differences between Israel and the

18. On the connection between the first and third oracles, see Assis 2009.

19. Jenni 1997: 52; Rudolph 1976: 255. For a review on the various meanings that were offered for love and hate in this context, see Redditt 2000.

20. J.M.P. Smith 1912: 52; Zehnder 2003. On the basis of 2.10, some claim that this pericope (2.10-16) deals with the cultic issue of syncretism in which the people are rebuked for apostasy. See Torrey 1898: 9-13; Isaaksson 1965: 31-32; Hugenberger 1994: 34-36.

nations were no longer valid, and that all peoples were equal. The ideological consequence of this outlook was physical integration with the nations, through intermarriage with foreign women.

The connection between the first and third oracles is reinforced by a similar use of vocabulary and motifs. The words ‘love’ and ‘hate’ occur only in these two oracles. The father–son motif is apparent in both oracles, as are they rejected party, Edom, in the first oracle, and the divorced Jewish wives, in the third. Both prophecies share the theme of a foreign element, in which its role is to define the self-identity of the Judean group.

5.2.3. The Similar Structure of the First and Second Parts. Let us now return to the structure of the book. As we saw in the second part of the book, we see that in the first part too, the first and third components are connected.

In the analysis of the structure of the second part of the book (oracles 4-6), we have seen that even though the subject of oracle 5 is the ritual, it is connected to the oracles before and after it, oracles 4 and 6. All three oracles deal with the concept of divine justice: the fourth and sixth oracles are on a theoretical level, and the fifth is an application of divine justice in relation to ritual.

The first part of the book shares a similar structure. I have shown already the connection between oracles 1 and 3. Just as the middle oracle (the fifth one) in the second part deals with a cultic law, so too, in the first part, does the middle oracle (the second) deal with the sacrificial cult. In the two cultic oracles Malachi’s allegations against the people are similar. In both, the argument is that they do not properly observe a religious precept, sacrifices or tithes.

In the second oracle the prophet admonishes the people for their contempt of the sacrifices. Is there any connection between the second oracle and oracles 1 and 3, as is the case in the second part of the book? Does the question of Israel’s status in the first, and the topic of intermarriage in the third, show any trace in the second oracle? Surprisingly, the idea of the relationship between Israel and the nations and Israel’s status as the chosen people emerges quite clearly in three points in the second oracle.

(1) In 1.8-9 we read: ‘When you offer blind animals in sacrifice, is that not wrong? And when you offer those that are lame or sick, is that not wrong? Try presenting that to your governor; will he be pleased with you or show you favour?’ says the Lord of hosts.’ The prophet blames the people for offering blemished sacrifices, while the people claim that they are not showing contempt for God. In order to demonstrate his point Malachi makes a comparison with the Persian governor, proving his

claim about the people's contempt of God by suggesting that they would not offer those same offerings to the Persian *Peḥah*.

(2) Malachi 1.10-11 reads: 'Oh, that someone among you would shut the [Temple] doors, so that you would not kindle fire on my altar in vain! I have no pleasure in you, says the Lord of hosts, and I will not accept an offering from your hands. For from the rising of the sun to its setting my name is great among the nations, and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure offering; for my name is great among the nations, says the Lord of hosts.' In v. 10 God says that a closed Temple is preferable to worthless worship. Verse 11 is difficult to understand.²¹ Some have considered the verse a late gloss.²² But what is the meaning of these two verses? It is impossible to accept the possibility that the prophet is sincerely suggesting closing the Temple gates, because there are better worshippers in the world. His demand is exactly the opposite: it is that they give honour to God and bring appropriate offerings (2.1-2), and unless they do so they will suffer heavy punishment (2.2-3). Many understand 1.11 as a universalistic statement that all nations, regardless of their specific form of worship, pay tribute to a supreme almighty God, since at the time monotheism was already quite widespread.²³ Whatever the exact meaning of the verse is, it is sufficient for the sake of my argument to elucidate the fact that in this verse Yehud and the nations are again compared in the same terms as in the first and third oracles, which address the universalistic philosophy that had been adopted by Malachi's contemporaries.

(3) In 1.14 the prophet is approaching the people according to their own perspective: 'for I am a great King, says the Lord of hosts, and my name is revered among the nations'. Again we see that internal religious affairs are addressed in the second oracle, and in a universal context.

In this prophecy we find that Malachi is repeatedly comparing Judah to other nations. This is consistent with the line of thought of the first and third oracles in which the ideology and attitude of the people are apparent: that the fences between nations should be lowered, that the boundaries between peoples should be blurred. Thus it seems that even though the cultic issue seems far removed from the question of Israel's relationship with other nations, this subject is highlighted also in the second oracle.

21. For various explanations of the verse, see Swetnam 1969.

22. Horst 1938: 256; Kuhl 1960: 167-68. Against this suggestion, see Soggin 1976: 345.

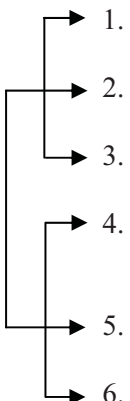
23. Baldwin 1972: 227-28. See especially Weinfeld 2005: 255-56. For an opposing viewpoint, see Viberg 1994. Verhoef (1966) suggests that the verse refers to a future situation of a messianic age.

Moreover, the father–son relationship motif threads through all three oracles. In the first, Jacob and Esau are treated as brothers. Jacob’s (Israel’s) complaint is that the Father has preferred his brother Esau to him. God claims that he has chosen Jacob and rejected his brother Esau. In the second oracle the father–son relationship is addressed in an opposite way. It is now God, the Father, who is accusing the ‘son’, for despising Him (1.6). In the third oracle the father–son relationship takes a surprising angle. While God is obviously the father in this oracle, his children (the brethren) are all humankind (2.10).

The central theme of covenant prevails in all three oracles. In the first one, it is the theme of the covenantal relationship between God and Israel that is addressed (1.2-5). In the second, the prophet is noting the corruption of the Levitical covenant (2.5, 8). In the third oracle, the men are criticized for betraying their marital covenant with their Israelite wives (2.11, 14-16), and for adopting a universal ideology of covenant between all humans (2.10).

I believe that the approach taken above has found a close relationship between the second oracle and the first and third oracles. The first oracle deals with the problem of the identity of Israel and whether its people are the chosen people, and the third oracle reflects the liberal outlook of the people towards the integration of Yehud with the nations, and a positive approach towards intermarriage. The second oracle clearly uses the comparison between Yehud and the nations, and the relation between Yehud and the nations in order to establish that their conduct is flawed.

The following outline demonstrates the structure of the book in the light of our thesis:

- 
1. Mal. 1.2-9: An oracle on God’s hatred of Edom and His love of Israel.
 2. Mal. 1.10–2.9: An admonition of the priests for scorning God’s name, and of the people for offering unfit sacrifices.
 3. Mal. 2.10-16: An admonition on intermarriage with foreign women.
 4. Mal. 2.17–3.6: An admonition of the people’s opinion that there is no justice before God, and that evil is good in God’s eyes.
 5. Mal. 3.7-12: An admonition of the deception used in bringing tithes and offerings.
 6. Mal. 3.13-21: An admonition on the people’s opinion that it is futile to worship God, since the evildoers prosper while the righteous suffer.

The book is divided into two parts: the first deals with the relationship between Israel and the nations, the second with the question of injustice in God's judgment. Each of these subjects is made up of three prophetic units. In each part, the first oracle and the third are closely interrelated. In both parts the middle oracle (the second and the fifth) is a cultic application of the relevant matter, one that admonishes the people for their contempt of and disregard for specific religious precepts. Both parts of the book are also interrelated. For this to be fully understood, the following three points need to be taken into account:

1. The question of the self-identity of Israel *vis-à-vis* the nations and God, in the first half.
2. The prevalent feeling of the people that God is not just, and therefore that it is futile to observe His laws.
3. And the people's disregard for God's laws, which is demonstrated in the middle component of each part of the book.

6. The Meaning of the Structure

This brings us to the question of the meaning of the structure in a broader context. Immediately after the destruction of the Temple, the people were in a state of despair, believing that God had abandoned them. I define this period, for the sake of convenience, as the first stage, from the destruction up to the year 538 BCE, when new hopes emerged with Cyrus's edict of restoration.

Texts in Ezra 1–6, in Haggai and in Zechariah 1–8 show a second stage in contending with this issue that begins more or less with the return to Zion. In the post-exilic era, even after the return to Zion, and even after the construction of the Second Temple, the people were still preoccupied with the problem of the destruction. The reality did not live up to the people's expectations, the economic conditions were extremely difficult, and there was no political independence, the Davidic leader was not a powerful king but a Persian *Peḥah* subject to the great Persian king. The question of God's attitude towards the people in this period was again a matter of pressing urgency. This was a period characterized by great disappointment. Only some of the people had returned, the Temple had been reconstructed, but the reality of the situation was felt to be far below expectations.

Most scholars understand the meaning of the book of Malachi as being similar to the books of Haggai and Zechariah, seeing in it the situation of despair and depression that arose from the unrealized expectations of the restored nation after the exile. This disappointment became even stronger after the promises of Haggai and Zechariah of the expected messianic

age were not fulfilled. This caused the despair of the people as reflected in Malachi.²⁴ I agree with this line of thinking, but I think that the situation in Judah as reflected in the book can be further specified.

I believe that the book of Malachi reflects a third stage in the way in which Israel contended with the question of its identity and its status following the destruction and upon their return to Zion.²⁵ At this stage the Temple had already existed for several years, the people seemingly accepted the existing reality, but the people's self-perception had not been restored. They continued to assert that they had been rejected by God, but in a new form. The despair of the first stage and the disappointment of the second stage, gave way, in Malachi's time, to an idealization of the reality.

This is a well-known sociological phenomenon adequately attested to in historiography. A society cannot allow itself to wallow in despair, so it adjusts ideologically to conform to new realities and situations, if you will, to make a virtue out of necessity.

The feeling that God had abandoned his people in the first and second stages compelled them to adopt an ideology of universalism in the third stage.²⁶ This idealization of *not* being chosen has three expressions in the book of Malachi. The first one is dealt with in the first part of the book. The people gradually got used to this unique contradictory situation of feeling rejected, but yet being identified as a distinct Jewish people. They began to come to terms with their feelings. At this stage, an idealization of their rejection was developed, one that alleviated their earlier feelings of despair over God's attitude to them, and their disappointment with the progress of the restoration of Zion. Their doubts regarding God's attitude towards them as a chosen people developed into a liberal philosophy of equality between all peoples. Instead of being depressed by their situation, they idealized it. If God had rejected the notion of election, then, they surmised, this was a sign to them that they should do so as well. They interpreted the events as a sign that it was now time to blur the differences between Israel and the nations. This was clearly manifest in a positive attitude towards intermarriage with foreign women.

The second expression of this ideology of not being God's elect people is described in the second part of the book. The feeling of abandonment by God leads to the feeling that God has not treated them justly, and is only a step away from the theological conclusion that God does

24. See Driver 1906: 293; R.L. Smith 1984: 299-300; Glazier-McDonald 1987b: 274.

25. On the problem of identity Malachi, see Rogerson 1999.

26. On this approach in the Second Temple literature, see Weinfeld 2005.

not rule His people according to a principle of reward and punishment. This feeling is depicted in the fourth oracle. In the sixth oracle the attitude of the people is even more extreme; here the feelings reflected are of regret at having followed in God's path.

A third expression of their idealization of their not being God's chosen over the older ideal of election is reflected in attitudes to the observance of the law. Indeed, this is a central topic in Malachi; in the middle component of each of the two parts of the book, Malachi addresses the problem of the disregard of the law by the people. What is the rationale behind this attitude of the people? Two principles may be identified according to the two parts of the book. Distinct law systems establish barriers between peoples. There is an inherent desire to lower such barriers in an atmosphere of universalism. This is the point raised by Malachi in the first part of the book that deals with Israel's identity *vis-à-vis* other peoples. An attitude of disregard for the law is also apparent in the second part of the book, and this reflects another aspect of the issue. The principle of cause and effect was not apparent at the time, to the extent that people believed that God is not just, and does not punish the sinner and reward the observer. This led to the natural conclusion that there is no advantage in a strict observance of the law. Instead, the people disregarded the ancient Israelite ritual. This is the attitude of the people that is presented in the fifth oracle. The ritual continued, but the attitude toward the ritual was wanting; they continued the ritual, but not wholeheartedly.

In response to this situation Malachi argues that the Israelites are still the chosen people, therefore they must not intermarry with non-Israelites. God's justice, currently not evident, will become evident in the future, and the people are expressly required strictly to observe the special Israelite rituals.

Bibliography

Ackroyd, P.R.

- 1970 *Israel Under Babylon and Persia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- 1975 *Exile and Restoration: A Study of Hebrew Thought of the Sixth Century BC* (London: SCM Press).

Assis, E.

- 2006a 'Why Edom: On the Hostility Towards Jacob's Brother in Prophetic Sources', *VT* 51: 1-20.
- 2006b 'From Adam to Esau and Israel: An Anti-Edomite Ideology in 1 Chronicles 1', *VT* 56: 287-302.
- 2009 'Love, Hate and Self-Identity in Malachi: A New Perspective to Mal 1:1-5 and 2:10-16', *JNSL* 35: 109-20.

- Baldwin, J.G.
1972 *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (TOTC; London: Tyndale Press).
- Boecher, H.J.
1966 'Bemerkungen zur formgeschichtlichen Terminologie des Buches Maleachi', *ZAW* 78: 78-80.
- Bulmerincq, A. von
1921 *Einleitung in das Buch des Propheten Maleachi*, I (Dorpat: Matthieseus).
- Clendenen, E.R.
1987 'The Structure of Malachi: A Textlinguistic Study', *CTR* 2: 3-17.
- Driver, S.R.
1906 *Minor Prophets*, II (NCB; Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack).
- Eissfeldt, O.
1966 *The Old Testament, An Introduction* (trans. P.R. Ackroyd; Oxford: Blackwell).
- Fischer, J.A.
1972 'Notes on the Literary Form and Message of Malachi', *CBQ* 34: 315-20.
- Floyd, M.H.
2000 *Minor Prophets, Part 2* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Freedman, D.N.
1991 *The Unity of the Hebrew Bible* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).
- Glazier-McDonald, B.
1987a 'Intermarriage, Divorce, and the *bat-'el nēkār*: Insights into Mal 2:10-16', *JBL* 106: 603-11.
1987b *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* (SBLDS, 98; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Grabbe, L. L.
2004 *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, I (LSTS, 47; London: T&T Clark International).
- Hill, A.E.
1998 *Malachi* (AB, 25D; New York: Doubleday).
- Horst, F.
1938 *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten: Malachi* (HAT; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]).
- Hugenberger, G.P.
1994 *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage Developed from the Perspective of Malachi* (VTSup, 52; Leiden: Brill).
- Isaaksson, A.
1965 *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple* (trans. N. Tomkinson; Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, 24; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup).
- Jenni, E.
1997 'To Love', in *TLOT*, I: 45-54.
- Kaiser, O.
1975 *Introduction to the Old Testament: A Presentation of its Results and Problems* (trans. J. Sturdy; Oxford: Blackwell).
- Kaufmann, Y.
1977 *History of the Religion of Israel*, IV (New York: Ktav).

Kuhl, C.

1960 *The Prophets of Israel* (trans. R.J. Ehrlich and J.P. Smith; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd).

McKenzie, S.L., and H.N. Wallace

1983 'Covenant Themes in Malachi', *CBQ* 45: 549-63.

Mason, R.A.

1977 *The Books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

1990 *Preaching the Tradition: Homily and Hermeneutics After Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Neil, W.

1962 'Malachi', in *IDB*, III (Nashville: Abingdon Press): 228-32.

Nowack, W.

1903 *Die kleinen Propheten* (HAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).

O'Brien, J.M.

1990 *Priest and Levite in Malachi* (SBLDS, 121; Atlanta: Scholars Press).

1995 'Historical Inquiry as Liberator and Master: Malachi as a Post Exilic Document', in J.M. O'Brien and F.L. Horton (eds.), *The Yahweh/Baal Confrontation and Other Studies in Biblical Literature and Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Emmet Willard Hamrick* (Lewiston: Mellen): 57-79.

Petersen, D.L.

1998 'Malachi: The Form-Critical Task', in K.-D Schunck and M. Augustin (eds.), *'Lasset uns Brücken bauen...': Collected Communications to the XVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Cambridge 1995* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang): 269-74.

Pfeiffer, E.

1959 'Die Disputationsworte im Buche Maleachi: Ein Beitrag zur formgeschichtlichen Struktur', *EvT* 19: 546-68.

Pfeiffer, R.H.

1941 *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Harper).

Redditt, P.L.

1994 'The Book of Malachi in Its Social Setting', *CBQ* 56: 240-55.

1995 *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (NCB; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).

2000 'The God Who Loves and Hates', in D. Penchansky and P.L. Redditt (eds.), *Shall Not the Judge of All the Earth Do What is Right? Studies on the Nature of God in Tribute to James L. Crenshaw* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 175-90.

Rogerson, J.W.

1999 'The Social Background of the Book of Malachi', in P.J. Harland and C.T.R. Hayward (eds.), *New Heaven and New Earth Prophecy and the Millennium* (VTSup, 77; Leiden: Brill): 171-79.

Rudolph, W.

1976 *Haggai-Sacharja 1-8-Sacharija 9-14-Maleachi* (KAT; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn).

Sellin, D.E.

1922 *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch* (KAT; Leipzig: A. Deihertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung D. Werner Scholl).

- Smith, J.M.P.
1912 *Book of Malachi* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Smith, R.L.
1984 *Micah-Malachi* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word Books)
- Soggin, J.A.
1976 *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press).
- Swetnam, J.
1969 'Malachi 1,11: An Interpretation', *CBQ* 31: 200-209.
- Tiemeyer, L.-S.
2005 'Giving a Voice to Malachi's Interlocutors', *SJOT* 19: 173-92.
- Torrey, C.C.
1898 'The Prophet Malachi', *JBL* 17: 1-15.
- Verhoef, P.A.
1966 'Some Notes on Malachi 1:11', *Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika: Biblical Essays* 9: 163-72.
1989 *Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Viberg, Å.
1994 'Wakening A Sleeping Metaphor: A New Interpretation of Malachi 1:11', *TynBul* 45: 297-319.
- Weinfeld, M.
2005 'Universalistic and Particularistic Trends During the Exile and Restoration', in *Normative and Sectarian Judaism in the Second Temple Period* (LSTS, 54; London: T&T Clark International): 251-66.
- Weiser, A.
1961 *Introduction to the Old Testament* (trans. D.M. Barton; London: Darton Longman & Todd).
- Welch, A.C.
1935 *Post-Exilic Judaism* (Edinburgh: Blackwood).
- Wendland, E.
1985 'Linear and Concentric Patterns in Malachi', *The Bible Translator* 36: 108-21.
- Zehnder, M.
2003 'A Fresh Look at Malachi ii 13-16', *VT* 53: 224-59.

NEW WINE AND OLD WINESKINS: THREE APPROACHES TO PROPHECY AND PSALMODY

Susan Gillingham

1. *Introductory Issues*

A quarter of a century ago writing about the influence of prophecy on psalmody would have been quite straightforward. The focus would have been on the roles of the prophets within liturgy, using ancient Near Eastern models where appropriate. The main issue would have been whether cultic prophets were composers and mediators of any psalms. A seminal writer would have been Sigmund Mowinckel, who assumed that over one third of the Psalter found its origins in the pre-exilic cultic prophets, whose influence was continued and extended in the post-exilic cult by the Levitical singers.¹

The rise of literary-critical readings of the Hebrew Bible now requires us to ask different questions about the relationship between psalmody and prophecy. Against the backdrop of the so-called decline of the prophetic voice in the mid-Persian period, this approach assesses the extent to which the compilers of the Psalter gave it a prophetic emphasis. The earlier approach took discreet psalms and asked whether they suggested any prophetic *function*, particularly in the pre-exilic cult; this approach takes the Psalter as a whole and examines the extent to which prophetic *theology* has influenced its final shape.

If Mowinckel was a key figure in the earlier approach, Hermann Gunkel has played a critical role in this newer way of reading. Admittedly, Gunkel's form-critical focus examined individual psalms, whereas literary-critical writers concentrate on larger units; but Gunkel also argued that the Psalter contains very few pre-exilic psalms (the royal psalms being notable exceptions) and that any prophetic influence has

1. See Mowinckel 1922: 3: 'das prophetische Wort hat bei den israelitischen Kultfeiern überhaupt eine recht hervortretende Rolle gespielt'. Note also Mowinckel 1982: II, 53-73, where 'prophetic psalms' include those from 'God to man' (assurances after laments as well as threats of judgment) and those from 'man to God' (intercessions and praises on behalf of the people).

been mediated in the post-exilic period through the imitation of the style and eschatological theology of the writing prophets.² This has been developed by recent scholars, who argue that the final shaping of the Psalter is seen to have a marked prophetic emphasis.³

However, another approach to the Hebrew since near the end of the twentieth century makes our understanding of the relationship between psalmody and prophecy more complicated still. This is concerned with the reception of psalmody in later Jewish and Christian tradition, when the Psalms were read *primarily* because of their prophetic worth, and a large number of selected verses of the Psalms were increasingly understood as prophetic texts in the process of fulfilment.⁴ A third of the quotations in the New Testament are from the Psalms, mainly used as ‘proof-texts’ to illustrate that what was spoken in the past has now been fulfilled in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

These approaches might be termed cult-functional, literary-theological, and reception-historical. I intend to look at the Psalms through each of these lenses, in order to illustrate just how differently a ‘prophetic psalm’ is understood depending upon the method used.

2. Cult-functional Readings in the Pre-exilic Period: To What Extent is the Psalter ‘Prophetic’ in Origin?

In his article on ‘The Prophets and the Cult’ in J. Day (ed.), *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (2005), John Barton observed that not only did the classical prophets not form any homogeneous group, but also that we cannot really speak of the Israelite *cult* with any clear precision.⁵ This is why there is such a variety of views on cultic prophets and the Psalms,

2. See Gunkel and Begrich 1933: 373-74: ‘Man wird aus den angedeuteten Gründen gut tun, bei der Frage nach der kultischen Situation der prophetischen Psalmen die zumindest recht fragwürdigen Kultpropheten nicht zu bemühen und vielmehr mit einer Einflußnahme der kultusfreien Prophetie auf die Gottesdiens zu rechnen’.

3. E.g. Jeremias 1970; Walton 1991; Wilson 1993; Mitchell 1997.

4. See Gillingham 2002; 2007: 9-40. This was the case at Qumran: for example 11QPs^a speaks of the Psalms as compositions by David ‘which he uttered *through prophecy* which was given from him before the Most High’. It was also the case in later Jewish tradition: additional superscriptions in the Targums refer to David speaking in the *spirit of prophecy* (e.g. Pss. 14.1; 72.1; 98.1; 103.1) and this is also a feature of the *Midrash Tehillim* (e.g. Ps. 45.2, ET 1). See Tournay 1998: 31-32. It was also the case in Christian tradition: for example, Lk. 24.44 (‘everything written about me in the law of Moses and the Prophets *and the Psalms* must be fulfilled’) and Acts 2.30; 4.25, which refer to David ‘as a prophet’. See Daly-Denton 2004: 32-47.

5. See Barton 2005: 319.

when such different assumptions about festivals, lament-liturgies, theophanies, the sacral role of the king, the value of ancient Near Eastern parallels, and the social settings of the writing prophets are brought to the texts.

At the maximalist end of the spectrum, Johnson and Eaton propose even more 'cultic prophetic psalms' than does Mowinckel; both have a high estimation of prophetic mediation in the royal psalms, and Johnson assumes that many personal psalms are in fact prophetic compositions.⁶ At the minimalist end are Quell and Rendtorff, who presume cultic activity and personal devotion to be distinct, and who see no evidence of cultic prophecy within the Psalms.⁷ A more moderate position assumes that the psalmists and the prophets have much in common: they use similar forms (laments, intercessions, hymns, oracles) and their theological content is similar, whether offering judgment or salvation, the difference being that classical prophets address specific historical situations, whereas cultic prophets compose for a more continuous liturgical usage. Jeremias (1970) and Booij (1978) have written in this vein and see perhaps a fifth of the Psalter as the work of cultic prophets.

So how are we to assess the extent to which the Psalter is prophetic in origin? To my mind, a cautious way forward is to focus on the *oracular material*, a prevalent genre in the classical prophets. When the 'I' form seems to suggest neither the suppliant as speaker, nor the community, nor the psalmist's enemies, a reasonable option is to read the 'I' form as God speaking.⁸ This view has been the focus of a few earlier works on the Psalms.⁹ More recently, two most pertinent publications have appeared,

6. See, e.g., Johnson 1979 and Eaton 1981. Johnson argues that Ps. 22 is prophetic on account of its appeal to history (1979: 376); that Ps. 40 is prophetic on account of its view of devotion over sacrifice (1979: 407); and that in Ps. 51 'we should think of a cultic prophet who, faced with the imminent prospect of death and thus an end to all his professional activities, recognises how far he himself has strayed from the path which he was wont to urge on others' (1979: 414).

7. Quell (1926) argues that over a third of the Psalter bears the marks of the piety of the 'independent' classical prophets. Rendtorff (1956) takes a similar view.

8. Some would argue that prophetic influence in psalmody should also include material from the 'the people to God' as well as from 'God to his people', for example, laments, hymns and didactic material. This may well be the case. Yet the understanding of psalmody as prophecy in later tradition clearly understood it as communication from God, so oracular material should at least be the key focus and starting point in any discussion about prophetic influence in the Psalms.

9. Starbuck (1999), for example, argues that royal psalms contain such oracles (e.g. Pss. 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, 144). Koenen (1996), more cautiously, makes a distinction between the immediacy of an oracle (he notes Pss. 50, 75 and 81) and the citation of an earlier one (Pss. 2, 60, 89); and Bellinger (1984)

namely, by Jacobson (2004), who uses the term ‘God-quotations’ rather than oracles, and Hilber (2005), who prefers the term ‘first-person divine speech’.¹⁰

Jacobson and Hilber have both been a critical influence on my own assessment of prophetic activity in some eleven psalms which suggest oracular activity.

The four-strophe structure of Psalm 2 is as follows:

- vv. 1-3 International rebellion, ending with a speech by enemy nations
- vv. 4-6 God laughs in the heavens, ending with first person divine speech
- vv. 7-9 Announcement of divine decree, followed by first person divine speech
- vv. 10-11 Address to enemy nations on account of the decree

Here the second and third strophes both end with a speech in the ‘I’ form (vv. 6, 7b-9), these verses providing an answer to the rebellious speech in the first strophe.¹¹ The psalm has many stylistic similarities with prophets such as Amos and Isaiah—the rhetorical question (v. 1), the description of the hostile activity of foreign nations (vv. 2-3), the enthronement of God in the heavens (vv. 4-5), the use of oracles (vv. 6, 7b-9) and the admonitions to the foreign nations (vv. 10-12).¹² The first divine speech (v. 6) could be a citation of an earlier oracle. However, vv. 7-9 suggest some prophetic mediation at an accession ceremony: we may note the reference to ‘the decree (*hōq*) of the Lord’ with its covenant connotations,¹³ and the description of the king who is ‘begotten’ (root *ylđ*)

argues for ‘hidden oracles’ which have been omitted but occur just before prayers that suddenly reflect confidence in having been heard (Pss. 6, 7, 9–10, 12, 28, 31, 36, 55, 57, 60, 64, 85, 126).

10. Jacobson examines ‘God-quotations’ alongside ‘human-quotations’ (those of the suppliant, the community and the enemies). Far from presuming prophetic activity anywhere and everywhere, he cautiously proposes 18 psalms with ‘God-quotations’ (2004: 82-83, 103-105). Hilber (2005: 218-26) observes that the function of oracles in psalms was to legitimize royal power (Pss. 2; 89; 110; 132), to teach cultic orthodoxy and orthopraxy (Pss. 50; 68; 81; 95; 132) and to address personal and communal needs (Pss. 12; 60; 75; 82; 91). By comparing some 18 psalms with Assyrian oracles and prayers, he suggests these could all have been performed in the pre-exilic cult.

11. In this psalm, which is full of quotations by different parties, the fourth strophe plays on the language of the first (v. 10 with v. 2).

12. Hilber (2005: 89-95) makes a similar point, comparing this with Assyrian cultic prophecy to suggest a pre-exilic date. See also Jacobson 2004: 103-105.

13. The term *hōq* is used alongside *‘ēdūt* in Ps. 81.5-6 (ET 4-5) and *b^erit* in Ps. 105.10. See Hilber 2005: 90.

Yahweh is twice spoken of in the third person in Ps. 110.1, 2, 5-7.¹⁶ If the probable setting for Psalm 2 is an accession ceremony, here the setting suggests preparation for battle, with both divine speeches used as citations to encourage military victory. The first speech could be a citation from an accession ceremony: it affirms the close relationship between God and king who sits ‘at the right hand of Yahweh’ (*‘al-y^emîn^ekā*) in v. 5, and who, as in Ps. 2.6, gains his authority from God’s dwelling in Zion (110.2).¹⁷ The use of Canaanite royal ideology in the second speech (‘the order of Melchizedek’) suggests a pre-exilic setting overall.

Psalm 132 is another complex text comprising two parts:

- vv. 1-10 David’s oath to God, with recitation of liturgy concerning the ark
- vv. 11-18 God’s oath to David: first divine speech about the permanency of the Davidic covenant (vv. 11-12) and second divine speech about David and Zion (vv. 14-18)

The use of ‘oath’ (*nišbaʿ*) in v. 2 is like Ps. 110.4a, although here it is from the king to God (vv. 3-5). Then follows a quotation regarding its fulfilment by the people (vv. 6-7) and some liturgical recitation concerning the ark (vv. 8-9). This corresponds with the second use of ‘oath’ (*nišbaʿ*) in v. 11, this time from God to the king, about the permanency of the Davidic monarchy (vv. 11-13), echoing David’s oath and the speeches in vv. 2, 3-5 and 10. This is followed by further divine speech about God’s dwelling on Zion (vv. 14-18) which also deliberately echoes the language of the liturgical recitation in vv. 8-9.¹⁸ David’s promises to God in the first half of psalm thus reinforce God’s promises to David in the second half. It is difficult to know if these two oracles in vv. 11b-12 and 14-18 are citations of earlier material or part of the original composition. There are so many temporal breaks, not only between the two prayers but between the two oracles in the last prayer, that the early origins are impossible to ascertain. All that can be said is that the prophetic and liturgical elements in this psalm were probably adapted to reinforce the close relationship between the Davidic monarchy and the founding of Zion.

16. Third-person reports of God are found in Amos 3.1-7; Hos. 5.1-7; Isa. 3.1-4; Mic. 1.3-7. See Hilber 2005: 81.

17. The second speech, with its assurance of the king being a priest ‘forever’ (Hebrew *l^eʿôlām*) in v. 4 is an echo of the court oracle cited in Ps. 89.29 (ET 28), where the king is promised God’s steadfast love ‘forever’ (also *l^eʿôlām*).

18. The particular references include ‘resting place’ and ‘priests...clothed’ and ‘faithful rejoicing’; see Jacobson 2004: 99-100.

Four other psalms which also suggest a pre-exilic cultic setting and prophetic oracular activity are all in the Asaphite collection (Pss. 50, 73–83). It is generally agreed that this group of psalms, which share a distinctive common vocabulary, bears witness to a foreign military threat, usually perceived in terms of God’s judgment on the nation. This and suggestions of some northern influence would indicate a pre-exilic setting before 721.¹⁹ These psalms, with the additional ‘crypto-Asaphite’ Psalm 95, all contain oracles concerning more specifically national than royal occasions.²⁰

The structure of Psalm 75 is as follows:

v. 2 (ET 1)	Hymn of praise, introducing
vv. 3-6 (ET 2-5)	First divine speech: the horns of the wicked
vv. 7-9 (ET 6-8)	Judgment speech by psalmist (the ‘foaming cup’)
v. 10 (ET 9)	Hymn of praise, introducing
v. 11 (ET 10)	Divine speech: the horns of the righteous

The two short proclamations of praise (vv. 1, 9) introduce the two divine speeches of judgment (vv. 2-5, 10). In the heart of the psalm is the speech of the psalmist (vv. 6-8) on the theme of the foaming cup of the Lord’s judgment on the nations.²¹ In this case the divine/human/divine speech appears to shape the psalm into a prophetic liturgy concerning God’s judgment on the proud and wicked.²²

Psalm 82 is similar to Psalm 75 in its use of two divine speeches:²³

v. 1	The psalmist sets the scene in the divine council
vv. 2-4	First divine speech, indicting the gods
v. 5	The psalmist speaks of the stupidity of the gods
vv. 6-7	Second divine speech: judgment and death of the gods
v. 8	The psalmist pleads with God to judge the earth

19. See, e.g., Goulder 1996: 15-36; Nasuti 1988: 44-58; Hilber 2005: 128-50. The most obvious examples of northern influence include references to ‘Joseph’ (Pss. 77.16, ET 15; 78.67; 80.2, ET 1; 81.6, ET 5), and ‘Ephraim’ (Pss. 78.67; 80.3, ET 2), the use of the Exodus tradition (Pss. 77.15-21, ET 14-20; 78.11-53; 80.9-12, ET 8-11; and 81.6-8, ET 5-7), the term for God as El (some 19 times) and the expression ‘God of Jacob’ (Pss. 75.10, ET 9; 76.7, ET 6; 81.2, 5, ET 1, 4).

20. Ps. 95, the only one without an Asaphite superscription, has been included because of thematic associations with Pss. 50 and 81. See Hilber 2005: 128.

21. See, for example, the ‘foaming cup’ (v. 8) as in Jer. 25.15 and 49.12. Similarly, ‘the horns of the wicked’ (v. 4) echoes Jer. 48.25-26.

22. See Hilber 2005: 129-30; Jacobson 2004: 109-10.

23. Other similarities include the warning on the wicked in vv. 3-4 (cf. Ps. 75.5-7, ET 4-7); cosmic shaking in v. 5 (cf. Ps. 75.4, ET 3); and the use of ‘I say’ introducing divine speech in v. 6 (cf. Ps. 75.5, ET 4).

The voice of the psalmist introduces the divine council which is the locus for the rest of the psalm, for those accused are other gods, not humans. The second divine speech starts with the emphatic ‘I say’ (*ʿani ʾāmartī*), announcing the downfall and death of these gods. The psalm has several other examples of prophetic style.²⁴ The interplay between human and divine speech gives the psalm the shape of another prophetic liturgy. We are given no clues as to how it functioned; the final plea (v. 8) might have been the original prayer out of which the liturgy evolved, thus challenging God to act justly in the same way that God challenged the lesser deities to act justly.

Psalm 81 has several associations with Psalm 82, particularly in its rebuke of foreign deities in v. 9 and its twofold use of first-person divine speech:

vv. 2-6b (ET 1-5b)	Hymn and festal instructions in hymnic form
vv. 6c-17 (ET 5c-16)	Prophetic rebuke: first divine speech as oracle (vv. 7-11, ET 6-10) and second divine speech as lament (vv. 12-17, ET 11-16)

Its indictment of the assembled community anticipates that of other deities and the whole earth in Psalm 82, a common pattern in prophetic discourse. The liturgical elements are clearer here than in Psalm 82, with the initial call to praise (v. 2, ET 1) and festal allusions (vv. 3-6b, ET 2-5b). The lengthy prophetic rebuke (vv. 6c-17, ET 5c-16) is typical in its prophetic use of the traditions of the Exodus (vv. 7, 11, ET 6, 10), Sinai (vv. 9-10, ET 8-9) and Wilderness (vv. 8, 17, ET 7, 16). Three quarters of this psalm consists of a divine oracle, spoken by one claiming prophetic inspiration (v. 7, ET 6, ‘I heard a voice I had not known’). The close proximity between the divine speech as oracle (vv. 6c-11, ET 5c-10) and divine speech as lament (vv. 12-17, ET 11-16) is very like their juxtaposition in prophets such as Jeremiah.²⁵ This may be a prophetic liturgy spoken first in the northern kingdom.²⁶

Psalm 50 has several similarities with Psalm 81: the judgment is on Israel, not the wicked in general (as in Pss. 82 and 75).

24. For example, the vision of the heavenly council (v. 1), judgment announced by way of a rhetorical question (v. 2), the attack on false deities (v. 5) and the announcement of God’s judgment on them (v. 6), and the concluding petition for God to ‘arise’ and judge all the earth (v. 7). See Hilber 2005: 174-79.

25. E.g. Jer. 8.18–9.2 (ET 8.18–9.3).

26. For example, the references to the ‘God of Jacob’ (vv. 2, 5, ET 1, 4) and ‘Joseph’ (v. 6, ET 5) and the use of the Exodus traditions. Certainly there is no hint of the ultimate disaster of 587. See Hilber 2005: 150-61; Jacobson 2004: 108-109.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| vv. 1-6 | Summons for judgment in hymnic form (vv. 1-4); first divine speech announcing judgment (vv. 5-6) |
| vv. 7-15 | Second divine speech on correct sacrifice |
| vv. 16-23 | Third divine speech on obedience |

The divine discourse is similarly extensive, authenticated in v. 7 by the phrase ‘I am Yahweh’, which echoes the prologue to the Decalogue (cf. also 81.11, ET 10). In each of the three parts, the prophetic style is clearly apparent.²⁷ Three key differences from Psalm 81 are the emphasis on present culpability rather than inherited national guilt, the appeal to appropriate sacrifices rather than judgment on idolatry, and the explicit reference to a Temple provenance (‘out of Zion...God shines forth’) in 50.2. Like Psalm 81, this suggests some sort of covenant-renewal liturgy mediated by a prophetic figure.

Psalm 95 has a similar structure to Psalms 81 and 50:²⁸

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| vv. 1-5 | First hymnic call to praise and reasons for it |
| vv. 6-7b | Second hymnic call to praise and reasons for it |
| vv. 7c-11 | Divine speech (citing earlier ‘speeches of God’ in vv. 10 and 11) |

The plea for obedience is more general, but the reference to Massah and Meribah (v. 8) is not unlike the appeal to the Wilderness traditions in Psalm 81. The Wilderness motif, as well as the exhortations imitating Deuteronomistic style,²⁹ the Creation theology (vv. 4-5), the Shepherding imagery (v. 7a-b) and the theme of the Kingship of God (v. 3) all suggest Psalm 95 is an exilic psalm. (This might explain why the psalm lacks an Asaphite superscription but has been absorbed into this collection.) The use of first-person divine discourse certainly marks the psalm out from the other Kingship psalms and suggests some prophetic address within a liturgical setting.

Two other psalms using first-person divine speech also require some attention. Psalm 12 is the first example:

27. These include the theophanic language and appeal to heaven and earth as witnesses in vv. 1-6, the pun on hearing and obeying (from the root *šmʿ*), the appeal to inner integrity over cultic propriety in vv. 7-15, and the appeal to the law as a standard for social justice in vv. 16-23. ‘Hear...I will speak... I will witness’ (v. 7) also has some parallels with Isa. 1.2-3 and Mic. 6.1. Cf. Hilber 2005: 162-64; Jacobson 2004: 106-108.

28. Verses 1-2 and v. 6 are the call to praise, and vv. 2-3 and vv. 7a, 7b the reasons for it.

29. ‘Today...hear his voice’ in Ps. 95.7 has similarities with, for example, Deut. 4.40; 5.3; 6.6; 7.11, *passim*.

v. 2 (ET 1)	Prayer for help
vv. 3-4 (ET 2-3)	Introduction to speech of the wicked
v. 5 (ET 4)	Speech of the wicked
v. 6 (ET 5)	Divine speech
v. 7 (ET 6)	Implications of divine speech
vv. 8-9 (ET 7-8)	Confession of trust

The psalm could be either a community lament couched in individual terms, or an actual individual lament, as the interests of the individual and community are somewhat blurred (e.g. v. 8, ET 7, with its interchange of singular and plural forms). The ‘God-quotation’ (v. 6, ET 5) responds to the quotation of ‘the words of the enemy’ (v. 5, ET 4); it is possible that this divine speech serves a rhetorical rather than liturgical purpose, whereby the voice of God not only drowns out the (lying) words of the enemy, but also answers the questions raised there. Hence God speaks with an integrity which the enemies could never exhibit. These complexities of interpretation might suggest this is a post-exilic composition.³⁰

Psalm 91 consists of two parts where the repeated assurances of safety contrast with the imagery of danger in the first part of the psalm:³¹

vv. 1-13	Assurances offered to suppliant on behalf of God (in the third person)
vv. 14-16	Assurances offered to suppliant using first-person divine speech

It may be that the entire psalm is part of a longer liturgy between the suppliant and a cultic prophet: the changes from human to divine speech remind one of similar liturgical exchanges in Psalms 81 and 95. The particular problem in Psalm 91 is the absence of any announcement that this *is* divine speech: as in Psalm 12, this could therefore suggest prophetic influence with a rhetorical appeal, with the voices answering and questioning each other. In this case vv. 14-16, with their sevenfold formulaic affirmation, cite an earlier oracle. The more ambiguous use of the prophetic voice, and the several wisdom motifs in vv. 1-13, suggest a post-exilic setting is again likely.³²

Other ‘divine-speech psalms’ could have been included by other criteria.³³ They have been omitted because they are more dependent on

30. See Hilber 2005: 186-92; Jacobson 2004: 121-22.

31. See Jacobson 2004: 120-21.

32. See Hilber 2005: 203-209.

33. E.g. three other royal psalms (Pss. 20; 45; 72) also merit further attention but are beyond the scope of this survey. Similarly deserving attention are Pss. 14 (and its parallel, Ps. 53); 27 (as in v. 8); 35 (v. 3); 62 (v. 12); 90 (v. 3); 101 (vv. 6-7) and 108

assumptions about the cult brought to the psalm rather than starting with the content and form of the psalm itself. By using first-person divine speech as the sole criterion, and by focusing on the most obvious psalms which contain it, we see prophetic influence in three different ways. The first is when the speech is an integral, liturgical part of the psalm (as in Pss. 2.7-8; 50.4-6, 5-15, 16-23; 75.3-6, 11, ET 2-5, 10; 81.6c-11, 12-17, ET 5c-10, 11-16; 82.2-4, 6-7; 95.7c-11). The second is when it suggests a citation of an earlier oracle (as in Pss. 2.6; 89.4-5, 20-38, ET 3-4, 19-37; 110.1, 4; 132.11-12, 14-18). The third is when it serves as a rhetorical device (as in Pss. 12.6, ET 5; 91.14-16).

We may conclude that if we focus on first-person divine speech, cultic prophetic influence is not as pervasive as many have assumed. Nevertheless, these eleven psalms provide a 'prophetic core' for assessing the prophetic use of psalmody in the later post-exilic period.

3. Literary-theological Readings in the Later Post-exilic Period: To What Extent is the Psalter 'Prophetic' in its Ultimate Shape?

Since Gunkel, two significant contributions concerning the prophetic influence in post-exilic psalmody deserve mention. Spieckermann (1994) argues that many post-exilic psalms have developed the theology of the exilic prophets, and Tournay suggests that over a third of post-exilic psalmody is prophetically inspired, due to the influence of the Levitical singers 'claiming for themselves a quasi-prophetic authority like that of David'.³⁴ This view has been applied to the shaping of the Psalter overall by, for example, Wilson (1993) and Mitchell (1997).

However, when we look at the placing of the eleven so-called prophetic psalms, particularly those in Books One to Three, we see their

(vv. 8-10, ET 7-9): see Jacobson 2004: 82, 92-93; Hilber 2005: 215-17. Three other psalms suggesting the more militarist concerns of the royal and Asaphite Psalms could also have been included. Ps. 68 is a complex composition like Ps. 132, probably pre-exilic at its core (vv. 9-33, ET 8-32) on account of its military and tribal concerns. The first-person divine speech is found in vv. 23-24, ET 22-23, introduced by 'The Lord said'; see Jacobson 2004: 124; Hilber 2005: 209-13. Ps. 46, a Zion hymn whose Canaanite allusions and military concerns again suggest a pre-exilic setting, uses first-person divine speech in v. 10: see Jacobson 2004: 118-20 and Hilber 2005: 118-20, 213, who both argue for the integration of the oracle within the rest of the psalm. Ps. 60 is a more difficult case, because of the parallels between vv. 8-14 (ET 6-12) and 108.8-14 (ET 7-13). Ps. 60.8-10 (ET 6-8) form a divine speech, introduced by 'God has spoken', rather like Ps. 50.1, assuring the people of God's presence at the time of military crisis; see Jacobson 2004: 114-18; Hilber 2005: 193-201.

34. See Tournay 1991: 67.

position serves a more negative purpose than any positive hope. If the Psalter overall has a prophetic spirit, it has been achieved in spite of these particular psalms.

Psalms 1 and 2 are one of the most controversial psalms in this respect. Its placing offers some hope in the future of the Davidic dynasty on account of its extolling God's promises to the king, and God's promise of protection against the wickedness of enemy nations. But Psalm 2 is balanced by Psalm 1, which by contrast extols the merits of the Torah as a guard against general human wickedness; any prophetic hope in a restored monarchy was certainly not the exclusive concern of the psalmists. Furthermore, the confident voices of Psalms 1 and 2 are tempered by the suffering voice in Psalm 3, by one who also appeals to God on his 'holy hill'.³⁵ Thus at the beginning of the Psalter the focus is as much about coping with adversity in the present (Pss. 1 and 3) as it is about any hope in the future (Ps. 2).

Psalms 12 belongs to a smaller collection of psalms (Pss. 3–14). Each has a Davidic superscription, and each, like Psalm 3, understands David as a model of piety, rather than a symbol of hope for a restored monarchy. The subdued theme of Psalm 12 is reinforced by the laments which precede and follow it. The divine speech in 12.6 (ET 5) still addresses the poor and needy in the present; it is not a promise about a distant future.

Psalms 50, detached from the Asaphite collection, is the only psalm with divine speech in Book Two. It has several linguistic correspondences with Psalm 51; the two have probably been connected on account of their similar concerns about Zion and the purification of the cult (Pss. 50.2, 12-15; 51.17-21, ET 15-19). Like Psalm 12, the prophetic element is more contemporary and instructive, about the importance of genuine obedience to the law. The placing of Psalm 50 next to 49, a psalm with wisdom influence whose focus is the unfair prosperity of the wicked, reinforces its didactic purpose; its context hardly suggests prophetic hope.

Within Book Three, the Asaphite collection does in fact address the future as well as the present. But, as seen below, Psalm 75, as an integral part of Psalms 73–77, is only given a hopeful perspective by its place next to Psalm 76, a Zion hymn, and the unit begins and ends with reflections about theodicy. Psalms 81–82, as an integral part of Psalms 78–83, have one aspect of hope—God's judgment on other deities in Psalm 82—but the unit begins and ends with the theme of God's justice:

35. The unusual term 'my holy hill' (*har-godši*) in Ps. 2.6 is also found in Ps. 3.5 (ET 4) as 'his holy hill' (*har godšô*).

Ps. 73:	Didactic psalm: God judges the impious	Ps. 78:	Didactic psalm: God judges his own people
Ps. 74:	Communal lament on the destroyed sanctuary	Pss. 79–80:	Communal laments on the destroyed sanctuary and people
<i>Pss. 75–76:</i>	<i>Divine response</i>	<i>Pss. 81–82:</i>	<i>Divine response</i>
Ps. 77:	Individual lament	Ps. 83:	Individual lament

The theme in this collection is still that of God's coming judgment, and the psalms with divine speech (Pss. 75, 81 and 82) contribute to this through their implicit call to repentance.

At the very end of Book Three some prophetic hope breaks through. Psalm 89.2-38 (ET 1-37) certainly expresses a confidence in the everlasting Davidic covenant, with much of it in first person-divine speech (vv. 4-5, 20-38, ET 3-4, 19-37). However, these verses are again tempered by the laments on either side. The darkness of Psalm 88, which has many correspondences in language and style with the lament over the loss of the monarchy in Ps. 89.39-52 (ET 38-51), gives the Davidic hope expressed in the first part of Psalm 89 an ironic poignancy. Furthermore, the confident promises in the divine speeches are further offset by the superscription to Psalm 90, 'A Psalm of Moses'. This is a reminder of another covenant and gives Psalm 89 a less than hopeful perspective.

By Books Four and Five psalms with divine speech do serve a more hopeful purpose. Psalm 91 plays an important role in Book Four. It has several correspondences, both in language and in content, with Psalms 90 and 92.³⁶ The divine speech in Ps. 91.14-16 serves in part as the answer to the lament over the human condition in Psalm 90, and its note of confidence, that God will protect those who have 'known his name', has an echo in the praise 'to your name' in Ps. 92.2 (ET 1). Psalm 92 has several linguistic correspondences with Psalm 93.³⁷ Psalms 90–92, taken together, thus serve as an overture to the Kingship Psalms (Pss. 93–100) with their more hopeful tenor about the inauguration of God's rule.

Psalm 95, heading up these Kingship Psalms, is to be read in the same way as Psalm 91. The divine speech in 95.7-11 serves to revive the people's faith in God's coming victory. Its close relationship with the hopes expressed in Psalm 100 further affirm its hopeful focus:

36. See Hossfeld and Zenger 2005: 424, 432.

37. See Hossfeld and Zenger 2005: 449.

- Ps. 95: Call to God's people to acknowledge God as King
 Ps. 96: 'Sing to the Lord a new song'
 Ps. 97: God reigns in Zion
 Ps. 98: 'Sing to the Lord a new song'
 Ps. 99: God reigns in Zion
 Ps. 100: Call to all the earth to acknowledge God as King

By Book Five this focus develops and expands and the two royal psalms with divine speech are significant here. Psalm 110, concerning a priestly king or royal priest, has some positive associations with the end of the lament psalm, Psalm 109.³⁸ God sits at the 'right hand' (*lîmîn*) of the poor and needy (Ps. 109.31); and God invites the priestly king to sit at his 'right hand' in Ps. 110.1 (*lîmînî*). Psalm 110 also introduces the 'Hallel' (Pss. 111–118); its emphasis on the king creates a complementary dimension to the hope expressed in a new Exodus in that collection. And just as Psalm 118 ends the Hallel by referring to a previously rejected figure who, now blessed, 'comes in the name of the Lord' (v. 26), so Psalm 110 introduces it with a more specific vision of a hope which is focused on the Davidic line.

Psalm 132 is submerged among the personal prayers on the theme of a pilgrimage to Zion in the Psalms of Ascents (Pss. 120–134). Here the call to Israel to hope in God 'for evermore' (*ʿadê-ʿôlām*) in the preceding psalm (Ps. 131.3) is now focused differently on a Davidic figure with whom God has promised a covenant 'for evermore' (*ʿadê-ʿad* in Ps. 132.12). Few would deny that the Ascents Psalms, as a whole, offer hope for the restoration of Zion. Psalm 132, with its two final divine speeches, builds on this; its confident hope in God's choice of Zion fits with the tenor of the collection as a whole, contrasting with the more personal expressions of personal trust found elsewhere. Psalm 132, like Psalm 110, thus contributes a particular royal hope within its overall setting.

A prophetic and eschatological emphasis is undoubtedly present in the final shaping of the Psalter, but it is only one of several concerns and is mostly evident in Books Four and Five.³⁹ Books Four and Five offer far more prophetic hope, and Psalms 91, 95, 110 and 132 play their part in emphasizing it, while Books One to Three reflect more realism about the

38. This 'dampening' of prophetic psalms by placing them next to lament forms has been seen to be a feature throughout Books One to Three.

39. For example, see my earlier studies: 1998: 210–11, 228, concerning the developing messianic hope in the Psalter; 2002: 479–89, where I argue that a prophetic reading is a feature brought to the entire Psalter rather than arising out of it; and 2005: 308–10, where I argue that didactic and liturgical concerns are as apparent in the compilation process as eschatological ones.

present than any idealism about the future, and here the other ‘prophetic psalms’ play a more muted role.⁴⁰ So, the prophetic spirit can be seen, but the post-exilic compilers understood it in a very different way from the earlier composers of so-called prophetic psalms.

4. *Reception-historical Readings in the Second Temple Period: To What Extent is the Psalter ‘Prophetic’ in its Reception?*

When assessing how the Psalms were received as prophecies at Qumran and in the New Testament, the emphasis changes again. A few of the eleven ‘divine-speech psalms’ are used for this purpose; others are not referred to at all, and a whole new range of so-called prophetic psalms begins to emerge.

A list of psalms cited in the Qumran *peshet* material shows this trend.⁴¹ For example, in *4QFlorilegium*, which is a thematic and eschatological arrangement of specific verses, Psalm 2 is used, but only v. 1; so too, however, is the whole of Psalm 1 and part of 2 Samuel. In *4QCatena*, which is made up of some thirty fragments of an eschatological nature, Psalm 12 is used, but so also are Psalms 6, 11, 13 and 16; significantly, the oracle in 12.6 (ET 5) is not referred to at all. Psalm 82.1-2 is used in the *11QMelchizedek* scroll, but alongside Ps. 7.8-10 (ET 7-9), and passages from Leviticus 25, Deuteronomy 15, Isaiah 52 and Daniel 9, describing the restoration which the heavenly Melchizedek will bring in: significantly, there is no reference to the Melchizedek oracle in Psalm 110, presumably because the emphasis is on a heavenly deliverer, not a human priest-king. Furthermore, no use is made in the *pesharim* of the divine speeches in Psalms 50, 75, 81, 89, 91, 95, 110 or 132. Rather, prophetic interpretation takes place somewhat randomly, applying verses from individual psalms and linking them with other verses to create a distinctive prophetic hope relevant to their own community.

A similar process is evident when we assess the New Testament’s use of psalmody as prophecy.⁴² The Epistle to the Hebrews is a good example. Psalms 95, 2 and 110, all psalms with divine speeches, are used here. The oracle in Psalm 95 is used several times, especially in Heb. 3.7–4.1, as a citation of a judgment oracle about repentance. And in the exposition

40. If there is any hope evident in the Levitical collections in Books II and III, it is perhaps more in the Korahite Psalms, where the promise of God’s presence in Zion lies at the heart of Pss. 42–49 (in Pss. 46; [47]; 48) and Pss. 84–88 (in Ps. 87).

41. See Flint 1997: 218-22 and Gillingham 2007: 9-11 for resources for the following discussion.

42. On the New Testament and the prophetic understanding of psalmody, see Moyise and Menken (eds.) 2004; Subramanian 2007; and Gillingham 2007: 14-23.

of Christ's eternal priesthood in Heb. 4.14–5.14, oracles from Pss. 2.7 and 110.4 demonstrate that these are prophecies now being fulfilled. Hebrews 1.5-13 also uses Ps. 2.7 and Psalm 110, although in this case, 110.1 is used alongside other 'non-prophetic' psalms such as Pss. 97.7; 104.4; 45.7-8 (ET 6-7); 102.26-28 (ET 25-27), as well as 2 Sam 7.14 and Deut 32.43. Furthermore, Psalm 8, a hymn with no first divine speech in it, is the focus of Heb. 2.5-8 in illustrating how the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus fulfils the so-called prophecy in this psalm.

Similarly in Acts we find different psalm verses brought together to demonstrate that Jesus is the fulfilment of other apparent 'prophecies'. Psalms 69.26 (ET 25) and 109.18, neither of them ostensibly prophetic, are used to defend the choice of Matthias in Acts 1.20. In Peter's first speech in Acts 2.25-36, four psalms are used to show how Jesus supersedes David: here the choice includes oracular material from two royal psalms (Pss. 89.4-5, ET 3-4; 132.11) although Ps. 110.1 (not an oracle) and Ps. 16.8-11 are also included. In Paul's speech in Acts 13.17-41, seeking to show Jesus has fulfilled 'prophecies' about the Messiah, Pss. 2.7 and 89.21 (ET 20) are used; but so too, is Ps. 16.10.

The Synoptic Gospels also use Ps. 2.7. It is particularly important in the Baptism and Transfiguration accounts, it being used to illustrate that Jesus' 'sonship' fulfils the promise in this psalm.⁴³ Psalm 110 also features in all three Gospels, but again it is v. 1, not the divine speeches, which is mainly used.⁴⁴ The surprising psalm is Psalm 118, which occurs in all four Gospels, and at Qumran, yet it has no first-person divine speech. For example, Ps. 118.22-24, referring somewhat ambiguously to a coming figure on a festal day, provides ideal material to depict the entry of Christ into Jerusalem.⁴⁵ Similarly Psalm 22 features prominently in the Passion Narrative in all three Synoptic Gospels, while Psalm 69 is used in Matthew, Luke and John. The superscriptions over Psalms 22 and 69 identify the sufferings as those 'of David', but here they are used to show that Jesus' betrayal, abandonment, troubled spirit and exaltation echo also those of David; these are now prophecies being fulfilled.

When individual Gospels use specific psalm verses as prophecies, they rarely choose psalms containing divine speech. For example, Ps. 41.10 (ET 9) is used in different ways in Mark and John, each time to

43. See Mk 1.11; 9.7; Mt. 3.17; 17.5; Lk. 3.22; 9.35.

44. See Mk 12.36, also possibly 14.62; Mt. 22.44; Lk. 20.42-43.

45. See Mk. 11.9-10; Mt. 21.9; 23.39; Lk. 13.35; 19.38; Jn 12.13. The use of Ps. 118 at Qumran is very different, sometimes being used within a catena. For example, 4QPs^b uses Pss. 118.1, 15, 16 followed by two apocryphal psalms ('Plea for Deliverance' and 'Apostrophe to Zion'); in 4QpPs^b, Ps. 118.26, 27, 20 is used alongside parts of Pss. 127 and 129 to refer to a future event.

illustrate Christ as the fulfilment of earlier hopes. Psalm 8 is used in Mt. 21.16 to a similar end. Psalm 91 is used in Matthew's Temptations account but not the divine speech in vv. 14-16. Psalm 31.6 (ET 5) is used explicitly by Luke in Lk 23.46, and Psalm 88 could be seen as a commentary by Luke on the forsakenness of Jesus right up to death in Luke 22-23. Neither Psalm 31 nor 88 is a prophetic psalm.⁴⁶

To summarize, the oracles in Psalms 2, 82(?); 89, 95, 110 and 132 are used in a prophetic way, but those in Psalms 12, 50, 75, 81 and 91 are not used at all. Conversely, previously 'non-prophetic' psalms are used: Psalm 37 at Qumran, and Psalms 8, 16, 22, 69 and 118 in the New Testament. Those who received the Psalms by the early Christian era, therefore, had yet another view of what made a psalm 'prophetic'.

5. *Concluding Observations*

In terms of *the origins* of the Psalms, evidence of oracular material, a predominant mode of communication in classical prophecy, is surprisingly sparse.⁴⁷ It is found in just some eleven psalms, and even here it is often by way of citation or as a rhetorical device rather than as a direct quotation

In terms of *the shaping* of the Psalter, Books Four and Five reflect a greater interest in a hopeful future; this contrasts with the predominant focus on the present in the earlier psalms with oracles. In fact, extant psalms with first-person divine speeches are given little consideration.⁴⁸ The compilers were less interested in short oracles as words *from* God, and more concerned to use entire psalms and collections of psalms to teach, more indirectly, *about* God and the future of his people. The prophetic concern in compilation is thus not in a direct, immediate, oracular sense, but in an indirect, future-orientated, didactic one.⁴⁹

46. The only text with a divine speech which is now used as a prophecy is Ps. 82.6-7 in John's Gospel, but the discourse is complex and not exclusively prophetic.

47. Even if we were also to include other psalms with implicit oracular material, such as the twelve referred to in n. 33, the number is still less than a sixth of the Psalter overall. If we were to include possible intercessionary forms, where the speaker is addressing God rather than God addressing the people, the number would be greater; but, as I argued earlier, the prophetic influence here is far less clear.

48. Not only do they not feature significantly in the overall shaping, but only Pss. 12 and 91 seem to be later psalms, and even here the prophetic interest was seen to suggest rather a rhetorical device.

49. Several reasons for this 'indirect' prophetic teaching might be proposed. It is due in part to the dissonant hopes of the restored community and the gradual disappearance of the prophetic voice, and in part due to a greater dependence on a written and interpretive tradition.

In terms of *the reception* of psalmody, the focus reverts to appropriating small portions of psalms. However, it also develops the emphasis of the compilers with its interest in the Psalter as a whole as prophetic. The small portions cited are rarely actual oracles; they are from all types of psalms—hymns, laments, didactic material—and they function as ‘proof-texts’, being words now imbibed with a prophetic spirit in the process of fulfilment in the here and now.

So we conclude that the relationship between psalmody and prophecy is complex. For early composers, a ‘prophetic psalm’ is mainly a psalm with an oracle in it; for the compilers, a ‘prophetic psalm’ is a way of referring to its placing in the Psalter as a whole; and for later users, a ‘prophetic psalm’ is a psalm which has the potential for providing a ‘proof-text’. Furthermore, each stage evinces a different understanding of God’s presence among his people. In earlier psalmody, God is seen to speak directly and immediately, using a first-person form of address. Later compilers understood God’s presence less directly, seeing it as being communicated through the psalmists rather than through first-person divine speech. By intertestamental times, God is once more understood as an immanent presence through the Psalms: because they are now seen collectively as inspired words of and for and by David, they all have the potential for communicating God’s purposes in the present because of their prophetic spirit. Future discussions of the relationship between prophecy and psalmody surely should reflect these complexities.

Bibliography

- Barton, J.
2005 ‘The Prophets and the Cult’, in Day (ed.) 2005: 308-41.
- Bellinger, W.H.
1984 *Psalmody and Prophecy* (JSOTSup, 27; Sheffield: JSOT Press).
- Booij, T.
1978 *Godswoorden in de Psalmen: Hun Funktie en Achtergronden* (Amsterdam: Rodopi).
- Daly-Denton, M.
2004 ‘David the Psalmist, Inspired Prophet: Jewish Antecedents of a New Testament Datum’, *AusBR* 52: 32-47.
- Day, J. (ed.)
2005 *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (LHBOTS, 422; London: T&T Clark International).
- Eaton, J.
1981 *Vision in Worship: The Relation of Prophecy and Liturgy in the Old Testament* (London: SPCK).
- Flint, P.W.
1997 *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ, 17; Leiden: Brill).

Gillingham, S.E.

- 1998 'The Messiah in the Psalms: A Question of Reception History and the Psalter', in J. Day (ed.), *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (JSOTSup, 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 209-37
- 2002 'From Liturgy to Prophecy: The Use of Psalmody in Second Temple Judaism', *CBQ* 64: 470-89.
- 2005 'The Zion Tradition and the Editing of the Hebrew Psalter', in Day (ed.) 2005: 308-41.
- 2007 *Psalms through the Centuries* (Blackwell Bible Commentaries; Oxford: Blackwell).

Goulder, M.D.

- 1996 *The Psalms of Asaph and the Pentateuch: Studies in the Psalter*, III (JSOTSup, 233; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Gunkel, H., and J. Begrich

- 1933 *Einleitung in die Psalmen: die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels* (HKAT; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). ET *An Introduction to the Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (trans. J.D. Nogalski; Mercer Library of Biblical Studies; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1998)

Harris, J.

- 1970 'Prophetic Oracles in the Psalter' (Th.D. diss.; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY).

Hilber, J.W.

- 2005 *Cultic Prophecy in the Psalms* (BZAW, 352; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).

Hossfeld, F.-L.

- 1998 'Das Prophetische in den Psalmen. Zur Gottesrede der Asafpsalmen im Vergleich mit der des ersten und zweiten Davidpsalters', in F. Dietrich and B. Willmes (eds.), *Ich bewirke das Heil und erschaffe das Unheil (Jesaja 45,7): Studien zur Botschaft der Propheten. Festschrift für Lothar Ruppert zum 65. Geburtstag* (FzB. 88; Würzburg: Echter Verlag): 223-44.

Hossfeld, F.-L., and E. Zenger

- 1992 "'Selig, wer auf die Armen achtet'" (Ps. 41,2). Beobachtungen zur Gottesvolk-Theologie des ersten Davidpsalters', *JBTh* 7: 21-50.
- 2005 *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51-100* (trans. L.M. Maloney; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press). Originally published in German as *Die Psalmen: Psalm 51-100* (Neue Echter Bibel, AT, 40; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2002).

Jacobson, R.A.

- 2004 *'Many are Saying': The Function of Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Psalter* (London: T&T Clark International).

Jeremias, J.

- 1970 *Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels* (WMANT, 35; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag).

Johnson, A.R.

- 1979 *The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

- Koenen, K.
1996 *Gottesworte in den Psalmen: Eine formgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Biblische-Theologische Studien, 30; Neukirchen-Vluy: Neukirchener Verlag).
- Kugel, J.L.
1990 'David the Prophet', in J.L. Kugel (ed.), *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginning of a Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press): 45-55.
- McCann, J.C.
1993 'Books I-III and the Editorial Purpose of the Psalter', in McCann (ed.) 1993: 93-107.
- McCann, J.C. (ed.)
1993 *The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter* (JSOTSup, 159; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Mitchell, D.C.
1997 *The Message of the Psalter: An Eschatological Programme in the Book of Psalms* (JSOTSup, 252; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Moyise, S., and M. Menken (eds.)
2004 *The Psalms in the New Testament* (London: Continuum).
- Mowinckel, S.
1922 *Kultprophetie und prophetische Psalmen: Psalmenstudien*, III (Kristiana: Dybwad).
1951 *Offersang og Sangoffer* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug). ET *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (trans. D.R. Ap-Thomas; 2 vols.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2nd edn, 1982).
- Nasuti, H.P.
1988 *Tradition History and the Psalms of Asaph* (SBLDS, 88; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Quell, G.
1926 *Das kultische Problem der Psalmen: Versuch einer Deutung des religiösen Erlebens in der Psalmendichtung Israels* (BZAW, 36; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer).
- Reindl, J.
1981 'Weisheitliche Bearbeitung von Psalmen: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der Sammlung des Psalter', in J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume: Vienna 1980* (VTSup, 32; Leiden: Brill): 333-56.
- Rendtorff, R.
1956 'Priestliche Kulttheologie und prophetische Kultpolemik', *TLZ* 81: 340-42.
- Seybold, K.
1994 'Das "Wir" in den Asaph-Psalmen: Spezifische Probleme einer Psalmgruppe', in Seybold and Zenger (eds.) 1994: 143-55.
- Seybold, K., and E. Zenger (eds.)
1994 *Neue Wege der Psalmenforschung für Walter Beyerlin* (Freiburg: Herder).
- Spieckermann, H.
1994 'Rede Gottes und Wort Gottes in den Psalmen', in Seybold and Zenger (eds.) 1994: 157-74.

Starbuck, S.

- 1999 *Court Oracles in the Psalms: The So-Called Royal Psalms in their Ancient Near Eastern Context* (SBLDS, 172; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).

Subramanian, J.S.

- 2007 *The Synoptic Gospels and the Psalms as Prophecy* (LNTS, 351; London: T&T Clark International).

Tournay, R.J.

- 1988 *Voir et entendre Dieu avec les Psaumes ou la liturgie prophétique du second temple à Jerusalem* (CRB, 24; Paris: J. Gabalda). ET *Seeing and Hearing God with the Psalms* (trans. J.E. Crowley; JSOTSup, 118; Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1991).

Walton, J.H.

- 1991 'Psalms: A Cantata about the Davidic Covenant', *JETS* 34: 21-31.

Weber, B.

- 2001 'Der Asaph-Psalter—eine Skizze', in B. Huwylar, H-P Mathys and B. Weber (eds.), *Prophetie und Psalmen: Festschrift für Klaus Seybold zum 65 Geburtstag* (AOAT, 280; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag): 117-41.

Whybray, R.N.

- 1996 *Reading the Psalms as a Book* (JSOTSup, 222; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).

Wilson, G.H.

- 1993 'Shaping the Psalter: A Consideration of Editorial Linkage in the Book of Psalms', in McCann (ed.) 1993: 72-82.

DEMOCRATIZING REVELATION? PROPHETS, SEERS AND VISIONARIES IN CHRONICLES

Gary N. Knoppers

1. *Introduction*

In recent discussions of prophecy in the Neo-Assyrian realm, scholars have pointed to a variety of female and male figures connected with the temples or the royal court who are classified in one way or another as prophetic.¹ These include the astrologer/scribe (*tupšarru/tupšarratu*), the female ecstatic (*maḥḥūtu*), the male ecstatic (*maḥḥû*), the diviner (*bārû*), the exorcist (*ašipu*), the oracle priestess (*raggimtu*), the oracle priest (*raggimu*), the physician (*ašû*), the dream interpreter (*šāpīlu*), and the lamentation singer (*kalû*; Parpola 1997; Cole and Machinist 1998; Pongratz-Leisten 1999). At first glance, one might be tempted to distance the Neo-Assyrian realm from the world of ancient Israel. But such a diverse world of prophetic figures is not unknown to some writers in ancient Judah. The author of Isa. 8.19-20a complains, for example, about those who say:

Consult (דרשו) the spirits (האבות) and the mediums (הידענים), who chirp and mutter. Will not a people consult its divine beings (אלהיו) on behalf of the living (החיים), (consult) the dead (המתים) for instruction (תורה) and a message (העודרה)?²

A strong reaction against certain kinds of divination is also evident in Deuteronomy, which may be unique among Pentateuchal law collections in its detailed attempt to define and regulate the phenomenon of prophecy.³ Within the section dealing with Israelite office-holders

1. Admittedly, defining prophecy in different ancient Near Eastern contexts is a difficult enterprise; see Nissinen 2003.

2. On the structure and interpretation of the passage, see Lewis 1989: 128-32 and Day 2000: 218-19.

3. There are other legal texts proscribing certain forms of prophetic activity and necromancy (e.g. Exod. 22.17; Lev. 19.31; 20.1-6, 27), but the authors of these texts

(Deut. 16.18–18.22), the authors formulate specific legislation to govern the prophetic office, an institution deemed to be directly instituted by Yahweh. And yet, about as much space is devoted to cataloguing what prophecy should not be (18.9-14) as to defining what genuine prophecy is (18.15-22). Depicting consigning one's children to the fire, augury, soothsaying, divination, sorcery, spell casting, consulting a spirit or a medium and necromancy (דרש אלהי מתים) as practices of the pre-Israelite nations found in the land, the drafters declare such practices to be abhorrent to Yahweh (תועבת יהוה) and thus forbidden to Israelites.⁴

Elsewhere, the writers warn of prophets and dream-diviners among the people who may promise an omen (אזות) or a sign (מופת), which comes true, and then say to their fellow kin, 'Let us follow other gods, which you have not known, and serve them' (Deut. 13.2-3). The authors make an important concession, acknowledging that omens and signs may actually work. Such prophets and dream-diviners are not to be heeded, however, in spite of their demonstrable success. Indeed, the efficacy of these signs and omens indicate that Yahweh is testing the community's allegiance to determine whether 'you are loving Yahweh your God with all of your heart and with all of your soul' (Deut. 13.4). The prospect of following those who perform such signs and omens is set over against the prospect of honouring Israel's mandate from on high: 'After Yahweh your God will you follow, him will you fear, his commandments will you observe, his voice will you heed, and to him will you cling' (Deut. 13.5). The stipulations of the torah trump the miracles and teachings of such sages.

It is relevant that in both of the sections dealing with illicit prophecy, forbidden types of prophecy are associated with signs, omens, and the like.⁵ The writers do not deny that legitimate Yahwistic prophets might use omens and signs, but by the same token they do not mention such signs and omens in connection with the proper role and function of the

do not devote the concerted attention to regulating the prophetic phenomenon that the writers of Deuteronomy do (Levinson 1997).

4. There has been much discussion whether Deuteronomy's constitution of office-holders is either partially or wholly a later Deuteronomistic insertion (Knoppers 2001). This important debate is not central to the discussion here, because the copy of Deuteronomy employed by the Chronicler most likely contained this section of legal material incorporated within the larger work.

5. The legislation does not speak of miracles wrought by the prophet Yahweh is to raise up after Moses. In fact, the issue of prophetic signs and wonders only occurs in another legislative section dealing with the sorts of prophets whom Israel must purge from its midst. Aspersions are cast on such practices by associating them with various forms of false prophecy (Deut. 18.9-14).

prophetic office (Deut. 18.15-22).⁶ I shall return to the Deuteronomic definition of an authentic prophet, but for the present context I would like to propose that the Deuteronomic discussions of prophecy were a major influence on the Chronicler's depiction of prophecy during the monarchical period. To be sure, the Chronicler does not directly cite Deuteronomy's definition of prophecy and his work is, of course, quite indebted to Samuel–Kings. Yet the Chronicistic presentation may also be considered to be a response to the portrayal of prophecy in the Deuteronomistic History. Finally, Chronicles bears clear witness to what some have called the textualization of the prophetic word (Nissinen 2005). Prophecy for the Chronicler takes both oral and written forms.⁷

I shall argue that the Deuteronomic legislation was formative in shaping the Chronicler's view of the prophet's proper role, but also that the Chronicler goes beyond Deuteronomy's dictates in some other respects. Before delving into how the Chronicler innovates beyond Deuteronomy, it may be useful to observe his indebtedness to that earlier work. First, the Chronicler endorses the Deuteronomic reaction against some traditional forms of prophetic activity, which are deemed to be abhorrent to Yahweh. Secondly, he adopts the Deuteronomic definition of a prophet as a mouthpiece of God. Thirdly, he takes quite seriously the promise of Moses that Yahweh would raise up prophets like Moses to follow him.⁸ In other words, the Chronicler does not construe the prophetic legislation of Deuteronomy as simply negative in intent. Yahweh not only forbids a range of diviners and mantic behaviours, but he also ensures that there would be a succession of those who would proclaim his word.⁹

In what follows I wish to explore what prophecy is and is not in Chronicles.¹⁰ My discussion is divided into three parts. The first deals

6. Although the epilogue to Deuteronomy avers that one of the distinguishing marks of Moses unparalleled prophetic career was the performance of signs (אֲמוֹתָא) and wonders (מוֹפְתִים) in Egypt (Deut. 34.11).

7. Space constraints do not permit a thorough discussion of this issue.

8. Along with most interpreters, I am construing the force of Deut. 18.15 as distributive (involving a succession of prophets), even though the text speaks of a single prophet. 'The promised prophet is to meet a *continuous and permanent* need of the people' (Driver 1902: 229, original emphasis).

9. The Chronicler does not construe the Mosaic prophecy as implying a strict succession (e.g. only one prophet per generation), but he does seem to think of a long-term prophetic succession in which a variety of prophetic figures participate. I hope to discuss this aspect of the Chronicistic presentation in a future essay.

10. The prophetic phenomenon in the Chronicler's work has been the subject of much diligent and careful study. See, for instance, von Rad 1930; 1966: 267-80; Willi 1972; Petersen 1977; Seeligmann 1978; Micheel 1983; Begg 1988; Japhet

with prohibited forms of prophetic behaviour, while the second surveys the wide range of prophets and prophetic figures found in the book. The final section examines the different functions of prophets and prophetic figures in Chronicles.

2. What They are Not

Given the complexity of the prophetic phenomenon in the ancient Near East in general and in ancient Israel in particular, it may be easiest to begin with what prophecy is not. The initial exploration into the negative, which covers a wide range of prophetic types and behaviours, may elucidate the explication of the positive. At the outset, it may be said that the problems of divination, augury, necromancy and false prophecy do not animate the Chronicler's work in the way they do some earlier biblical writings (cf. Deut. 18.20-22; Jer. 27.2-28.17). The Chronicler's depiction of the monarchy includes only three negative incidents involving ill-fated royal attempts to procure supernatural counsel, each of which has been derived and adapted from the Chronicler's *Vorlage*. In his highly negative, but playful and brief, evaluation of Saul's reign, the Chronicler alludes to Saul's downfall (1 Sam. 28.1-19), mentioning that Saul (שאול) 'sought out (לשאול) a ghost for consultation (לדרוש)' (1 Chron. 10.13).¹¹ Saul 'died in his transgression (במעל) by which he transgressed (בעל) against Yahweh' (1 Chron. 10.13).¹² The end of Saul's tenure, the only part of Saul's life communicated, thus stands as a negative example of how not to comport oneself in a time of crisis.¹³

The second problematic attempt to procure a divine revelation occurs when the allied kings of Israel and Judah, Ahab and Jehoshaphat, seek out prophetic advice before marching forth in an (unsuccessful) attempt to retake Ramoth-gilead (1 Kgs 22.1-38//2 Chron. 18.1-34; Strübind 1991: 155-64; Auld 2000: 23-24). Even though the Chronicler includes this story (he includes virtually every northern-southern contact during

1989; Duke 1990; Mason 1990; Van Rooy 1994; Schniedewind 1995; 1997; Klein 1998; Beentjes 2001; Amit 2006).

11. On the play on Saul's name, see Kalimi (1995: 37). The verb דרש is one of the most common and theologically significant terms in Chronicles dealing with divine inquiry and veneration (Mosis 1973: 39-41; Begg 1982).

12. The denunciation of Saul plays on the root מעל, one of the Chronicler's characteristic terms for profound infidelity and disobedience (e.g. 2 Chron. 26.16, 18; 28.19, 22; 29.6; 30.17; 36.14; Mosis 1973: 29-33; Milgrom 1976: 16-35; Johnstone 1996-97: 243-48).

13. Nevertheless, the treatment of Saul is more than a foil for the coverage given to David (Knoppers 2006).

the divided monarchy), he frames it with his own material. In Kings, the Micaiah account raises profound questions as to what constitutes true prophecy and what Yahweh's role is in sanctioning, if not authoring, false prophecy, but the story is unique within Chronicles. The book does not include any other narratives about false prophets. Within its literary context, the story serves as a reminder that Judahite pacts with other regimes almost always do more harm than good to the very people the treaties are supposed to protect (Knoppers 1996).¹⁴

The third irregular attempt to receive a revelation occurs in Manasseh's reign. Basically following his source, the Chronicler writes that Manasseh practised 'soothsaying, divination, and sorcery' as well as the art of 'a ghost and a medium' (2 Chron. 33.6//2 Kgs 21.6).¹⁵ No other occurrences of divination, sorcery, necromancy or omen seeking occur in Chronicles. It should be noted that the Chronicler neither includes one irregular attempt to procure divine favour found in Kings (2 Kgs 3.4-27) nor mentions one of Josiah's reforms that counters irregular prophecy (2 Kgs 23.24).¹⁶ The relative lack of attention to illicit forms of prophecy is telling. The Chronicler's interests lie elsewhere. Apart from the three exceptions listed above, the only attempts to procure guidance and divine revelation are conducted through normal means, such as appeals, prayers and supplications. It would seem that the Chronicler's focus is on the positive. But this does not mean that the Chronicler's prophets are a homogenous group.

3. *Who and What are They?*

The history of the monarchy is punctuated by an intriguing variety of prophets and prophetic figures. Some are well known from earlier biblical writings, while others, some of whom are anonymous, are unique to Chronicles. Yet others are known from biblical sources, but do not function in the same way as they do in their earlier literary contexts. The prophets are of various types. Many seem to be professional prophets,

14. As such, the tale deals more with King Jehoshaphat's propensity to become entangled in doomed alliances than it deals with the question of false prophecy (Knoppers 1991).

15. The text of MT 2 Kgs 21.6 does not include the reference to sorcery (וּכְשָׁף), but this could have been lost by haplography (*homoioarkton*) after 'and divination' (וַיִּחְזֹק).

16. That the Moabite king's gruesome sacrifice of his heir apparent proved effective as 'great wrath came upon Israel' (2 Kgs 3.27) would have bothered the Chronicler, as it bothered some other early interpreters (e.g. LXX 4 Kgdms 3.27; Josephus, *Ant.* 9.42-43).

but some are temporary prophets, who prophesy in response to a certain challenge. To begin with, a number of prophets and one prophetess mentioned in the Deuteronomistic History also make appearances, including Nathan (1 Chron. 17.1-15//2 Sam. 7.1-16; cf. 1 Kgs 1.22) and Gad (1 Chron. 21.9-13, 18-19//2 Sam. 24.11-13, 18-19) in the time of David, Shemaiah (1 Kgs 12.21-24//2 Chron. 11.2-4) in the time of Rehoboam, Micaiah (1 Kgs 22.8-28//2 Chron. 18.4-27) in the time of Jehoshaphat, and Huldah (2 Kgs 22.14-20//2 Chron. 34.22-28) in the time of Josiah. Other prominent figures, such as Samuel, Ahijah, Elijah and Isaiah are mentioned, even though the Deuteronomistic narratives about and the oracles by these sages do not appear in Chronicles. With Samuel, Elijah and Isaiah, new material is added that effectively reshapes their legacies. That there are virtually no prophets appearing in the Deuteronomistic account who do not also appear in Chronicles is one indication of the Chronicler's sustained interest in the prophetic phenomenon.¹⁷

There are two additional prophets attested in other biblical books: the archetypal 'man of God' (אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים) Moses,¹⁸ if Moses is indeed to be considered as a prophet (1 Chron. 23.14; 2 Chron. 30:16),¹⁹ and Jeremiah (2 Chron. 36.12).²⁰ Indeed, there are two features in the depiction of Judah's demise that highlight Jeremiah's contributions. First, Judah's exile 'fulfils the word of Yahweh (spoken) by the mouth of Jeremiah' (2 Chron. 36.21; cf. Jer. 25.11; 27.7; 29.10). Secondly, the exile's end announced by Cyrus 'completes the word of Yahweh (spoken) through the mouth of Jeremiah' (2 Chron. 36.22//Ezra 1.1; see Kalimi 2005: 143-57). Jeremianic prophecies thus bracket the entire captivity. A time of heralded judgment becomes a time of heralded renewal for God's people.

17. The one exception being Elisha in 2 Kgs 3 (see section 1 above).

18. The same title is accorded to Moses in Ezra 3.2 (Dörrfuss 1994). Spawen discusses the specific citation formulae employed (2002: 219-25, 250-51).

19. Moses appears as the incomparable prophet in the epilogue to Deuteronomy (34.10-12), although some question whether this epilogue and the prophetic legislation really imply that Moses was a prophet (Tigay 1996: 175). Given the use of the epithet 'man of God' (אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים) elsewhere in Chronicles as a prophetic title (2 Chron. 11.2; 25.7, 9 [×2]; cf. 2 Chron. 8.16 [David]; see Schniedewind 1995: 193-96), it would seem that the Chronicler thought of Moses as a prophet. This is not to say that prophecy was his only responsibility or function. For a different view, see Schniedewind 1995: 50-54. On the importance of Deut. 34.10-12 as a boundary marker between the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets, see Römer and Brettler 2002; Schmid 2007.

20. Space constraints do not permit a discussion of his relationship to Josiah (2 Chron. 35.25; Micheel 1983: 66-67; Ristau 2009: 195-200).

Other prophets appear as being active in Judah who are unattested elsewhere in biblical writings (Micheel 1983: 71-80).²¹ These include Azariah the prophet (אֶזְרִיָּהּ) and Hanani the seer (חֲנָנִי; 2 Chron. 15.1-7; 16.7-10), Jehu the visionary (יְהוּ; 2 Chron. 19.2-3), various anonymous prophets and men of God (2 Chron. 24.19; 25.7-9, 15-16; 33.10; 36.15-16) and Oded the northern prophet (אֹדֶד; 2 Chron. 28.9-11). There is also a very curious case of Levites functioning in a prophetic capacity within a Temple context. This is not one of the multiple cases of temporary prophecy, which we shall discuss later. Rather, it is an instance in which the members of three phratries of the Levites represented by Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun prophesy, while functioning as musicians under King David (Knoppers 2004b: 843-60).²² The range of prophets, seers and visionaries active during the monarchy is thus quite remarkable.

The rich diversity of the prophetic phenomenon in Chronicles may be seen in another aspect of this composition. The work includes several instances of persons who function in a temporary prophetic capacity, including priests, Levites and evidently laypeople (Mason 1990: 7-140). These include 'Zechariah son of Jehoiada the priest' (2 Chron. 24.20-22) and Jehaziel the Levite, a distant descendant of Asaph (2 Chron. 20.14-15). As with the prophetic speech of Zechariah, the prophetic speech of Jahaziel includes the messenger formula and is interlaced with quotations from earlier biblical texts (Micheel 1983: 50-59; Beentjes 1993; Knoppers 1999). An example of a layperson serving as an *ad hoc* prophet occurs during the last years of Jehoshaphat, when an otherwise unknown Eliezer *ben* Dodavahu declaims against the Judaeen king (2 Chron. 20.37).²³ From a number of vantage points it is clear that these messages function as genuine prophecies. The presence of the inspiration and messenger formulas in the instances of Zechariah and Jahaziel and the use of the *hithpael* of 'to prophesy' (נָבֵא) in the instance of Eliezer (2 Chron. 20.37) all point to this conclusion. Moreover, in each case the prophecy proves true in the course of subsequent events (cf. Deut. 18.21-22). The point is not that priests, Levites and laypersons are all

21. One of these (Jehu) is attested in Kings as a prophet active in northern Israel.

22. The references are not unique. Asaph is referred to as 'the seer' (הַחֲזִיֵּה) in 2 Chron. 29.30, and Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun are referred to as 'seers' (חֲזִיֵּי; see LXX, *hoi prophētai*, and the other Versions; cf. MT חֲזִיֵּי; 1 Esd. 1.15 *hoi thyrōroi*) of the king' (2 Chron. 35.15).

23. Given the lack of any prophetic title, for example, prophet (נָבֵא), seer (חֲזִיֵּה), visionary (חֲזִיֵּה) or man of God (אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים), one hesitates in assuming that Eliezer was a regular prophet. Differently, Schniedewind 1997: 214.

prophets. Rather, it is that characters who are not prophets may be employed by Yahweh to fulfil (temporarily) the role of prophet for the larger good of the people, if the occasion warrants it (Schniedewind 1995: 31-129; Amit 2006: 84-87).

What all falls under the categories of prophecy and *pro tem* prophecy is difficult to resolve. If prophecy has to be marked by vocation, the use of a title (e.g. ‘prophet’, ‘seer’, ‘visionary’, ‘man of God’) would seem to be necessary. If temporary prophecy has to be marked by the use of a specific verb (e.g. ‘to prophesy’ in the *niphāl* or *hithpael*), then certain communications cannot be labelled as prophetic. But if one takes a more open-ended approach and understands prophecy as speaking on behalf of the divine realm or communicating the will of God in a given setting, then a number of additional speakers, including some native kings, may be labelled as temporary prophets.²⁴ Indeed, the category of temporary prophecy may include two foreign kings: Necho (2 Chron. 35.20-22)²⁵ and Cyrus (2 Chron. 36.22-23).²⁶ In each case, a non-Israelite interprets God’s will and expounds the divine word to its intended audience.²⁷ That the messages delivered by Necho and Cyrus prove efficacious provides one more important indication that the author(s) thought that Israel’s God could work, on occasion, for the good of his people through alien leaders.

To summarize, Chronicles depicts a wide variety of prophets, prophetesses, seers, men of God and visionaries at work in Israelite history. The prophetic work includes both delivering oracles and writing compositions. Many are prophets by vocation, but others are *pro tem* prophets, who speak on behalf of God to address a need on a certain occasion. These include priests, Levites, laypersons and even foreign monarchs. Professional prophets do not enjoy a monopoly on divine revelation.

24. On including some royal orations within this *pro tem* prophetic category, see Throntveit 1987: 11-50; Begg 1988: 102-103; Schniedewind 1995: 189-208; Amit 2006: 86-91, 95-96. This function of certain royal speeches is, however, a rather large topic, one too complex to address adequately in this context.

25. Space constraints preclude discussing the problematic nature of the Chronicler’s *Vorlage* (cf. 1 Esd. 1.23-31) for this passage.

26. That the summons in Chronicles, unlike in Ezra, ends in mid-sentence, ‘let him go up’, is no accident—it confirms the centrality of Jerusalem in the development of international Judaism (Knoppers 2004a: 135-37; Kalimi 2005: 151-53),

27. The text is generally considered to have been borrowed from the beginning of Ezra (1.1-3), although scholars disagree about whether the passage was borrowed by the Chronicler (e.g. Japhet 1993: 1074-77) or by a later editor (e.g. Williamson 1977: 7-10; 1982: 5-15, 419; DeVries 1989: 11-12).

4. *What Do They Do?*

The depiction of prophetic behaviour in Chronicles exhibits marks of careful construction and stylization. In serving as tradents of divine speech, seers do not speak by means of an enigmatic proverb or saying (משל; see Auld 2002). Chronistic oracles are usually terse, perfectly intelligible and direct. The medium is most often prose, rather than poetry.²⁸ Prophets never give bad or ill-timed advice. The counsel may go unheeded or even be spurned, but the recipients cannot claim that the oracles delivered to them were couched in highly veiled, mysterious or ambiguous language. As in Deuteronomy (18.18), prophecy represents a divinely authorized independent institution. Because prophets do God's bidding, they normally are not summoned by monarchs, leaders, priests, Levites, or the people. Rather, they appear on the scene as the occasion warrants.

There is virtually no criticism of prophets. Kings, priests, Levites and people all come under attack at one point or another, but prophets enjoy a hallowed status. A few monarchs do not like the prophecies they receive and blame the messenger for the message, but it is clear from the contexts in which such royal reactions occur that the monarchs are wrong to do so (e.g. 2 Chron. 16.10; 25.16). Occasionally, the prophets receive praise from unlikely sources—Levitical singers (1 Chron. 16.22-23// Ps. 105.15) and Judahite royalty (2 Chron. 20.20). The reworking and supplementation of Isa. 7.9 in 2 Chron. 20.20 highlights the importance of heeding the prophets in both oral and written form (Japhet 1989: 181-83; 1993: 796-97; Williamson 1982: 33, 299). When the people trust Yahweh's prophets, they trust Yahweh himself.

Since the Chronicler wrote probably some time in the late Persian or early Hellenistic period, it may be useful to compare his notions of prophecy with those found in earlier biblical literature. Most of the major prophetic functions follow the Mosaic pattern spelled out in Deuteronomy. Indeed, the presentation of prophecy is, in some respects, closer to Deuteronomy than is the presentation of Samuel–Kings. The resonance with Deuteronomy is all the more striking because the Chronicler draws heavily on Samuel–Kings.

When describing the prophetic phenomenon, Chronicles does not normally speak of schools of prophets, professional prophetic training,

28. This contrasts with some of the prophetic oracles known from the Neo-Assyrian empire and with certain earlier prophetic works found within the Hebrew scriptures. Admittedly, the line between poetry and prose is not always an easy one to draw (Kugel 1981).

prophetic membership within a certain Israelite tribe or of prophetic bloodlines within a given tribal phratry.²⁹ Information about the tribe to which a given prophet belongs is not furnished to the reader, unless that prophetic figure happens to be a Levite. There is one case in which both a father (Hanani) and a son (Jehu) prophesy in successive generations (2 Chron. 16.7-10; 19.1-3; 20.34), but otherwise prophets come and go.³⁰ There are no prophetic commissioning narratives in the work.

The biblical writer is not concerned with biography (cf. 1 Kgs 17–2 Kgs 8) and includes only scant details about his prophets. In line with Deuteronomy, prophets mediate God's word (Deut. 18.16), but bear the unusual title, 'His messengers' (מַלְאָכָיו, 2 Chron. 36.15).³¹ The point is the communications of the seers and not their private lives (Japhet 1989: 176-91). That there are so many anonymous prophets would seem to bear this out. The medium is not the message; the message is the message. One of the roles that Samuel, Elijah and Elisha play in Samuel–Kings is that of intercessor for the people, but this prophetic role is rare in Chronicles (2 Chron. 32.20). In Chronicles it is the task of kings as representatives of the body politic to intercede on behalf of the people.³² The prophet's mediatory relationship is basically unidirectional—to deliver God's word to its intended addressees.

The verbal nature of the prophetic task is evident in another way. Unlike Elijah and Elisha in the book of Kings, seers in Chronicles do not initiate any miracles.³³ Their role is to communicate a message from the divine sphere to king or people. There are a couple of reported prophetic visions (1 Chron. 17.1-15; 2 Chron. 18.4-27), but both are borrowed from Samuel–Kings. There is a symbolic action performed by the prophet

29. With the exception of the Levitical musicians (1 Chron. 25.1-3, 5; 2 Chron. 29.30; 35.15). Groups of מְבַרְכִים do not appear (cf. 1 Kgs 20.35; 2 Kgs 2.5, 7, 15; 4.1, 38; 5.22; 6.1; 9.1; Amos 7.14).

30. On the textual issue in MT 2 Chron. 15.8 (Oded, rather than Azariah son of Oded), see Hogness 2003: 162-63.

31. Considering the often sorry plight of messengers in the ancient Near East, it is not surprising that earlier biblical writers eschewed applying such terminology to the prophets (Meier 1988). The situation changed, however, in the Persian period. The nomenclature employed by Chronicles is witnessed in other late writings (e.g. Hag. 1.13; Mal. 1.1; 2.7; 3.1) and proves to be highly influential in later eras (e.g. Qur'ān 1.285; 2.135-39, 180; 37.70-180; 73.15-20).

32. Amit (2006: 94, 99) makes the important observation that kings are not subordinate to prophets in Chronicles the way they appear to be in Samuel–Kings. It seems unlikely, however, that this *ipso facto* mitigates the force or relevance of the prophetic word in Chronicles.

33. Ironically, the miraculous nature of the prophetic ministry is later celebrated in Ben Sira (Sir. 46.4-5, 17-18, 20; 48.2-10, 12-15, 21, 23, 25).

Zedekiah before Ahab and Jehoshaphat, but Zedekiah is a sycophant to the northern king (1 Kgs 22.11//2 Chron. 18.10). The Chronicler's own prophets perform no signs, wonders, symbolic actions or portents. When Elijah prophesies in Chronicles, he writes a letter. When Isaiah appears in Chronicles, he does not perform a sign for Hezekiah (cf. 2 Kgs 20.1-11). Rather, God himself gives Hezekiah a sign (2 Chron. 32.24).

That prophecy may involve charisma is evident in the narration of David's early rise, when 'a spirit enveloped Amasai, 'commander of the officers', who declared:

We are yours, O David,
 We are with you, O Son of Jesse.
 Peace, peace be to you,
 And peace to the one who supports you,
 For your God supports you. (1 Chron. 12.19)

The employment of the possession formula affords to Amasai's words a kind of prophetic status, but the spirit has a verbal, rather than a physical, effect.³⁴ Amasai does not enter a state of divine madness or display any frenzied activity. He simply proclaims that David's ascent to power is divinely ordained and endorsed by all Israelites. The reference to spirit possession is not unique (e.g. 2 Chron. 20.15-17; 24.20), but in each case the inspiration leads to the proclamation of an oracle and not to any ecstatic or mantic behaviour.

Prophecies reach two audiences: the monarch and the people. As in Samuel-Kings, prophets speak to sovereigns as rulers of the body politic.³⁵ The emphasis on the critical role played by the monarch comports with ancient Near Eastern royal ideology in which monarchs are representatives, even personal embodiments, of the states they lead. Among the many prophecies directed toward potentates are blissful predictions about the future reign of a king, the construction of the Temple, and the establishment of David's royal dynasty (e.g. 1 Chron. 11.2, 3, 10; 12.19; 17.1-15).³⁶ In other cases, the message is not so welcome. Seers

34. The language is reminiscent of the period of the Judges (Judg. 6.34; 11.29), but similar phraseology is found elsewhere (2 Chron. 15.1; 20.14; 24.20; 36.22; see Schniedewind 1995: 70-74; Knoppers 2004b: 556-78).

35. There are, of course, a few cases in Kings (e.g. 1 Kgs 18.1-39; 2 Kgs 4.1-44) and many instances in the prophetic books in which prophets approach the people directly (e.g. Hos. 4.1; 9.1; Isa. 6.9; Jer. 2.1; 6.1; 7.1-2; 18.5; Ezek. 4.1-8).

36. Yet, such oracles do not preclude broader Israelite involvement in their realization. In the cases cited, David, Solomon, other members of the royal family, the priests, Levites, elders and the people all work toward the realization of the prophetic promises.

refuse to sanction wars (2 Chron. 18.4-27), lambaste arrogance (2 Chron. 16.7-10) and assail idolatry (2 Chron. 25.15-16). As a divinely ordained institution, prophecy thus limits the excess and abuse of royal power, reminding monarchs that they reign 'to serve a greater will than their own' (Welch 1939: 52).

Chronistic prophets generally hold monarchs to broader standards than Deuteronomistic prophets do. The authors of Exod. 23.32; 34.12-16 and Deut. 7.1-6 unequivocally oppose Israel's ratifying alliances with foreign nations. In line with such legal and prophetic (Hos. 7.10-13; 8.9-10; Isa. 20; 28.14-28; 30.1-5; Jer. 2.14-19, 33-37) concerns, the Chronicler's prophets protest against virtually any form of *Realpolitik* that involves compromising militarily, commercially and politically with Judah's neighbours (e.g. 2 Chron. 16.7-10; 18.1-19.3; 20.35-37; see Knoppers 1991; Strübind 1991: 154-72).³⁷ Even Judahite pacts with Israel are regarded as acts of infidelity (Knoppers 1996).

The other audience for oracles is basically popular in nature. In line with the Deuteronomic focus on the prophet as a divinely ordained mouthpiece of Yahweh, prophets confront kings and people together or the people by themselves (e.g. 2 Chron. 24.19-22; 28.9-11). Chronicles rectifies the perceived discrepancy between the ideal in biblical law and the presentation in Samuel-Kings by holding both the people and their leaders accountable for their actions (Japhet 1989: 417-28). The Chronicler thereby attributes a significant responsibility to the people in determining the fate of their nation.

In addressing king and people alike, the prophets sometimes draw from, explicate and reapply prestigious texts. So, for instance, Jehaziel's address to Jehoshaphat and the people quotes from and blends 1 Sam. 17.47 (2 Chron. 20.15) and Exod. 14.13 (2 Chron. 20.17). Willi (1972), Fishbane (1985), Day (1988), Mason (1990: 124-39) and others have commented on the intertextual nature of much post-exilic prophecy. Older texts are reinterpreted, supplemented and actualized in new settings. Many, but by no means all, of the oracles appearing in the *Sondergut* of Chronicles fit into this general pattern. The expository features of Chronistic prophecies have been studied in great detail, so the topic does not need to be revisited here. Suffice it to say that the Chronicler views both written texts and their inspired exegesis as formative in history.

37. The Deuteronomistic evaluations of monarchs are principally concerned with support of the Temple and the abolition of rival cults and worship centres—cultic purity (*Kultusreinheit*) and cultic unity (*Kultuseinheit*).

Consistent with the portrayal of prophets in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History, one of the prophetic functions is to forecast the future.³⁸ In Samuel–Kings, the prophecy/fulfilment schema punctuates the era of the monarchy. So also in Chronicles, prophecy/fulfilment is an important motif, demonstrating the efficacy of the divine word in history.³⁹ In many cases, prophecies pronounce (or confirm) a divine judgment (e.g. 1 Chron. 21.9-12; 2 Chron. 12.5; 16.7-9; 18.16, 18-22; 19.2-3; 20.37; 21.12-15; 24.20; 25.16; 34.22-25), but prophecy does not operate, for the most part, mechanically. God is a strong actor in history, yet history is not deterministic because of such divine involvement. The Israelite people and their leaders, as well as other peoples and their leaders, are also players in the same historical arena.

Prophets also play constructive and pedagogical roles. Seers encourage the populace in the face of a foreign invasion (2 Chron. 20.14-17), praise humility (2 Chron. 12.5-8) and provide instruction in the art of theopolitics (2 Chron. 16.7-10). The dispatch of a prophet to visit a monarch and his people has a beneficial effect on several occasions. The point of such encounters is to advise the monarch and the people and to steer them away from embarking on any self-destructive actions. One example will illustrate. During Asa's early reign, 'the spirit came upon Azariah son of Oded', who prophesied to the king 'and all Judah and Benjamin' (2 Chron. 15.1). At this point in his tenure, Asa had done no wrong. Quite the contrary, he had just routed Zerah the Cushite and his forces (2 Chron. 14.8-14). Azariah's point is, however, not to lambaste Asa, but to encourage humility and steadfastness in the wake of a most impressive military victory (2 Chron. 15.1-7): 'Hear me, O Asa and all Judah and Benjamin: Yahweh is with you when you are with him. And if you seek (דרש) him, he will be found by you. But if you abandon (עזב) him, he will abandon (עזב) you' (2 Chron. 15.2; see Beentjes 2001). Hence, Azariah's address may be categorized as well-timed, instructive advice meant to help the king and people make good decisions.

Other successful prophetic interventions include unnamed seers (e.g. 2 Chron. 25.6-9) and even northern prophets (2 Chron. 28.8-15). In some cases, the negative effects of a divine judgment are tempered or postponed in connection with the positive reaction of a monarch and his

38. This aspect of the prophetic task is stressed by a range of other early interpreters (Barton 1988).

39. See, e.g., 1 Chron. 12.19; 17.1-15; 21.9-13; 2 Chron. 16.9; 18.16, 18-22; 20.17, 37; 21.12-15; 25.15; 34.22-25, 26-28; 36.21, 23. See further Kalimi 1995: 143-48.

people (e.g. 2 Chron. 11.3-4; 12.7-8, 12; 19.1-3; 34.26-28). Perhaps the most famous example is the amelioration of the divine pestilence announced by Gad and implemented throughout Israel and Judah in response to David's census (1 Chron. 21.1-22.1; see Knoppers 1995). The abject repentance displayed by David and the elders in response to the plague is underscored by the Chronicler and may function paradigmatically to model how one should respond to disasters of one's own making (1 Chron. 21.13-17).

Not all offers of divine mercy meet with success. Before Yahweh unleashes the Assyrian commanders to capture and deport Manasseh to Babylon, 'Yahweh spoke to Manasseh and to his people, but they did not listen' (2 Chron. 33.10).⁴⁰ The theme of Yahweh sending prophets to caution his errant people to mend their ways is prominent in the Chronicistic comment on Judah's fall. There, one reads that although Yahweh sent his messengers to stir the people and priestly leaders to reform, because he felt compassion for them and for his dwelling-place, his prophets' admonitions were derided and disdained (2 Chron. 36.14-16). In stressing Yahweh's many efforts to warn his people, the writer only summarizes what he has already narrated in his portrayal of the past.

5. Conclusions: The End of Prophecy or the Transformation of Prophecy?

Some have spoken of the Persian period as the end of prophecy or as the beginning of the transition from prophecy to apocalyptic. One or the other may be true, but Chronicles does not offer positive confirmation of either proposition. The Chronicler's work is populated by a wide variety of prophetic figures and prophetic forms. Prophecy appears as a powerful cultural force in Israelite history. Accentuating the positive, the author affirms that a whole range of people—professional and non-professional, native and foreign—were employed by Yahweh to speak to Israel. The importance of the prophetic impact on society is enhanced, rather than diminished, by its diffusion through a variety of conduits. As messengers, the prophets are one means whereby Yahweh perpetuates the distinctive attributes of Israelite religion throughout the generations.

To be sure, the question about the demise of prophecy is difficult to address, given that the Chronicler wrote about the monarchical age. Because of the heavily stylized nature of the Chronicistic narrative, it is

40. See also 2 Chron. 11.2-4; 24.19; 25.9, 15; 28.9-11; 33.10; 36.15. See Japhet 1989.

difficult to know how much his portrayal reflects the circumstances of the writer's own time and how much it reflects his own views of the past. To speak of contemporary prophecy in the Chronicler's own time, based on his portrayal of the past, is inevitably a speculative enterprise. Yet, one would think that the Chronicler would not place such a stress on the prophetic phenomenon in Judah in continuity with the promise of Yahweh to appoint successors to Moses in Deuteronomy, if he thought that such a phenomenon had come to a definitive end. What would be the point of positing so many prophets and prophetic voices in Judah's past, if the prophets had long disappeared from Yehud? It may be, therefore, more productive to think of new developments in and transformations of traditional prophecy, rather than of the downfall and termination of prophecy altogether.

The different forms prophecy takes in the Chronistic depiction of the past may provide some clues about the kinds of prophetic activity that were occurring in his own time, as well as the types of prophecy he commends to his readers. The diversity is quite striking. There is a certain amount of democratization or diffusion in the means by which Yahweh speaks. The Levites prophesy while functioning as musicians, thus attesting to the phenomenon of cultic prophecy associated with the Jerusalem Temple. In addition to public speeches and Temple music, prophecy may take written form. Prophecy as written text is no less prophetic than is prophecy as oral declamation. The inspired exposition and explication of scripture also appears as a form of prophecy. God may speak through the exegesis and application of the written word by an authoritative interpreter. God continues to deliver his word, but does so employing a variety of speakers, contexts and forms. Indeed, the Chronicler may have thought of his own writing as participating in this larger interpretative prophetic tradition.⁴¹ In a work written many centuries after Chronicles, one reads a statement attributed to the apostles Barnabas and Paul that 'He [God] has not left himself without a witness' (Acts 14.17).⁴² When applied to the presentation of prophecy in Chronicles, one might want to emend this statement to: 'God does not leave himself without many witnesses.'

41. So also Schniedewind 1997: 222 and Amit 2006: 96.

42. Referring to God's general beneficence in providing natural blessings (rain, the seasons) to all people.

Bibliography

- Amit, Y.
2006 'The Role of Prophecy and Prophets in the Chronicler's World', in M.H. Floyd and R.L. Haak (eds.), *Prophets, Prophecy and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism* (LHBOTS, 427; London: T&T Clark International): 80-101.
- Auld, A.G.
2000 'Prophets Shared—But Recycled', in T. Römer (ed.), *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (BETL, 147; Leuven: Peeters): 19-28.
2002 'Prophecy', in J. Barton (ed.), *The Biblical World* (2 vols.; London: Routledge): I, 88-106.
- Barton, J.
1988 *Oracles of God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Begg, C.T.
1982 "'Seeking Yahweh" and the Purpose of Chronicles', *Louvain Studies* 9: 128-41.
1988 'The Classical Prophets in the Chronistic History', *BZ* 32: 100-107.
- Beentjes, P.C.
1993 'Traditions in Transformation: Aspects of Innerbiblical Interpretation in 2 Chronicles 20', *Bib* 74: 258-68.
2001 'Prophets in the Book of Chronicles', in J.C. de Moor (ed.), *The Elusive Prophet* (OTS, 45; Leiden: Brill): 45-53.
- Cole, S.W., and P. Machinist
1998 *Letters from Priests to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (SAA, 13; Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press).
- Day, J.
1988 'Prophecy', in D.A. Carson and H.G.M. Williamson (eds.), *It is Written—Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 39-55.
2000 *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (JSOTSup, 265; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- DeVries, S.J.
1989 *1 and 2 Chronicles* (FOTL; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Dörrfuss, E.M.
1994 *Mose in den Chronikbüchern* (BZAW, 219; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Driver, S.R.
1902 *Deuteronomy* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 3rd edn).
- Duke, R.K.
1990 *The Persuasive Appeal of the Chronicler* (JSOTSup, 88; Sheffield: Almond Press).
- Fishbane, M.
1985 *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Hognessius, K.
2003 *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16* (ConBOT, 51; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell).

- Japhet, S.
 1989 *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).
 1993 *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox).
- Johnstone, W.
 1996–97 *1 and 2 Chronicles* (JSOTSup, 253-54; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
- Kalimi, I.
 1995 *Zur Geschichtsschreibung des Chronisten* (BZAW, 226; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
 2005 *An Ancient Israelite Historian* (SSN, 46; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum).
- Klein, R.W.
 1998 'Prophets and Prophecy in the Books of Chronicles', *TBT* 36: 227-32.
- Knoppers, G.N.
 1991 'Reform and Regression: The Chronicler's Treatment of Jehoshaphat', *Bib* 72: 500-24.
 1995 'Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles', *Bib* 76: 449-70.
 1996 "'Yhwh is Not with Israel": Alliances as a *Topos* in Chronicles', *CBQ* 58: 601–626.
 1999 'Jerusalem at War in Chronicles', in R.S. Hess and G.J. Wenham (eds.), *Zion, City of Our God* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans): 57-76.
 2001 'Rethinking the Relationship between Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History: The Case of Kings', *CBQ* 63: 393-415.
 2004a *I Chronicles 1–9* (AB, 12; New York: Doubleday).
 2004b *I Chronicles 10–29* (AB, 12A; New York: Doubleday).
 2006 'Israel's First King and "the Kingdom of Yhwh in the Hands of the Sons of David": The Place of the Saulide Monarchy in the Chronicler's Historiography', in C.S. Ehrlich and M. White (eds.), *Saul in History and Tradition* (FAT, 47; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck): 187-213.
- Kugel, J.L.
 1981 *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press).
- Levinson, B.M.
 1997 *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press).
- Lewis, T.J.
 1989 *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (HSM, 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Mason, R.A.
 1990 *Preaching the Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Meier, S.A.
 1988 *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World* (HSM, 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Micheel, R.
 1983 *Die Seher- und Prophetenüberlieferungen in der Chronik* (BBET, 18; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang).

- Milgrom, J.
1976 *Cult and Conscience* (SJLA, 18; Leiden: Brill).
- Mosis, R.
1973 *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Chronistischen Geschichtswerkes* (FTS, 92; Freiburg: Herder).
- Nissinen, M.
2003 *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East* (SBLWAW, 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature).
2005 'How Prophecy became Literature', *SJOT* 19: 153-72.
- Parpola, S.
1997 *Assyrian Prophecies* (SAA, 9; Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press).
- Petersen, D.L.
1977 *Late Israelite Prophecy* (SBLMS, 23; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press).
- Pongratz-Leisten, B.
1999 *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König in 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.* (SAA, 10; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project).
- Rad, G. von
1930 *Das Geschichtsbild des chronistischen Werkes* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer).
1966 *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken; New York: McGraw-Hill).
- Ristau, K.A.
2009 'Historiography and Reshaping Community Identity: Josiah's Reforms in Chronicles', in G.N. Knoppers and K.A. Ristau (eds.), *Community Identity in Judean Historiography: Biblical and Comparative Perspectives* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns): 195-213.
- Römer, T., and M.Z. Brettler
2002 'Deut 34 and the Case for a Persian Hexateuch', *JBL* 119: 401-19.
- Rooy, H.V. Van
1994 'Prophet and Society in the Persian Period according to Chronicles', in T.C. Eskenazi and K.H. Richards (eds.), *Second Temple Studies, 2: Temple and Community in the Persian Period* (JSOTSup, 175; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 163-79.
- Schmid, K.
2007 'Der Pentateuchredaktor: Beobachtungen zum theologischen Profil des Toraschlusses in Dtn 34', in T. Römer and K. Schmid (eds.), *Les dernières rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque* (BETL, 203; Leuven: Peeters): 183-97.
- Schniedewind, W.M.
1995 *The Word of God in Transition* (JSOTSup, 197; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press).
1997 'Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Chronicles', in M.P. Graham, K.G. Hoglund and S.L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Historian* (JSOTSup, 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 204-24.
- Seeligmann, I.L.
1978 'Die Auffassung von der Prophetie in der deuteronomistischen und chronistischen Geschichtsschreibung', in J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977* (VTSup, 29; Leiden: Brill): 254-84.

- Spawn, K.L.
2002 *As it is Written and Other Citation Formulae in the Old Testament* (BZAW, 311; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Strübind, K.
1991 *Tradition als Interpretation in der Chronik* (BZAW, 201; Berlin: W. de Gruyter).
- Throntveit, M.A.
1987 *When Kings Speak: Royal Speech and Royal Prayer in Chronicles* (Atlanta: Scholars Press).
- Tigay, J.H.
1996 *Deuteronomy* (JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society).
- Welch, A.C.
1939 *The Work of the Chronicler* (Schweich Lectures, 1938; London: Oxford University Press).
- Willi, T.
1972 *Die Chronik als Auslegung* (FRLANT, 106; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht).
- Williamson, H.G.M.
1977 *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
1982 *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).

PROPHECY AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Christopher Rowland

1. *Introduction*

The New Testament is about prophecy from beginning to end, from the way in which Matthew looks back to the authoritative prophecy to authenticate Jesus' birth in Mt. 1.23, to the experience of John on an Aegean island, who spoke in the language of the prophets of old, and described how he was called to be a prophet to 'peoples, languages and nations' (Rev. 10; cf. Aune 1983). There are contrasting understandings of prophecy in these two passages. Though it is not as pervasive as is often alleged, the sense of obligation, which drove early Christian writers to relate ancient prophecy, and other scriptures, to their convictions about Jesus Christ and their own experience, is a feature of the New Testament. In this respect it has its analogues in contemporary Jewish writings. The Teacher of Righteousness in the Habakkuk Commentary from the Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, offered the definitive meaning of prophetic texts long shrouded in obscurity. John's prophetic text is rather different, however. It is full of allusions to the biblical prophets, but not to prove the authenticity of their prophecy. Those books offered him the language for his own prophecy as ancient words and images were reminted and indeed reformed in a new prophetic message. This is less an interpretation, therefore, than a word for his day, which needs no authorization other than its visionary authentication, in which the original words are transcended, perhaps even to be replaced, or at least supplemented, by the new prophecy.

Where does prophecy in the New Testament fit into the picture offered by the Hebrew Bible? The one prophetic book—the Apocalypse—is a vision, and to that extent resembles the earlier biblical visionary texts, such as Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1, but only in the first chapter does it resemble biblical prophecy where the prophet is the medium of the divine words. Here the heavenly Son of Man, described in words similar to those used to describe the angel in Daniel 10, commands John to write

what he hears and sees in a book and to send it to the seven churches of Asia. In so doing, John overhears the words directed to the angels of the churches before the book's more explicitly visionary passages, which are more akin to Ezekiel 40–48 and Daniel 7. In the New Testament, prophets are less communicators of divine words than divine agents, though words of warning and prediction are to be found (Acts 21.11). The New Testament picture focuses more on the prophets than the prophecy and is more akin to the stories told about the lives of the prophets such as Elijah and Jeremiah. The former is explicitly linked with John the Baptist (Mt. 14.5; 17.14) and the latter is cited in the answer given by Peter to Jesus to the question he puts about his identity (Mt. 16.14). Thus, we shall see that prophecy is different, or variegated, but like what we find in the Old Testament including words of warning, prediction, as well as critical critique, with that same enigmatic character of its biblical antecedents. But, the Apocalypse of John apart, which tells us little about the prophet, the actual lives of the prophets become a significant part of the medium of their message.

The prophetic charisma imbued early Christianity with a sense (to use a phrase of Karl Mannheim) of being part of a 'propitious moment' in the divine economy. What the New Testament authors wrote about is the way ancient prophets relate to the present generation and how the key actors in the divine drama, to which they bear witness, are themselves imbued with a sense of vocation and special charisma imitating, and indeed transcending, the prophets of old. Something special was happening which both linked with the past and set apart the present. This may be discerned in the Gospel of Luke, which exhibits that sense of the present being a time of fulfilment, an auspicious time: 'Then turning to the disciples, Jesus said to them privately, "Blessed are the eyes that see what you see! For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you see, but did not see it, and to hear what you hear, but did not hear it"' (Lk. 10.23-24; cf. 1 Pet. 1.10-12).

Of all the texts in the New Testament relating to prophecy, Acts 2.17 as well as any encapsulates the view that prophecy is in some sense not just 'fulfilled' but actually renewed, and indeed, restarted. In the quotation from Joel in Peter's speech on the Day of Pentecost, Joel 3.1-5 (ET 2.28-32) is quoted. The introduction 'in the last days' sets the tone for the significance of what is happening and marks the moment as eschatological. Even if the speech is in foreign tongues, it is understood by the cosmopolitan audience and its theological import is explained by reference to the distinctive quotation of Joel. In rabbinic sources there is some evidence that the return of the Holy Spirit to the people of God was considered to be a mark that the new age had in fact dawned. In a

passage such as *t. Soṭah* 13.3, the prophetic Spirit had departed from Israel with the last of the prophets to return 'in the last days'. Such a belief was probably based on such passages as Deut. 18.15 and Mal. 3.23 (ET 4.5; cf. Mk 8.28). Whether or not this was widespread, or represents the learned elite's attempt to confine the activity of the divine Spirit to the eschatological events and thereby implicitly undermines any claim to prophetic wisdom in this age, is a matter of debate. Some early Christians seem to have regarded prophecy as a mark of the return of the eschatological Spirit and as such a key element in what constituted their identity. The sources are varied. Indeed, in one text, the Gospel of Luke, we find the idea of an ongoing prophetic experience sitting alongside the belief in the climactic prophetic moment with John the Baptist and Jesus (cf. Lk. 7.28; 16.16).

Prophecy and its effects are everywhere in the New Testament, so that it becomes very difficult to disentangle it from the other strands of early Christian experience. Yet to make this essay manageable it is essential to do that. The Synoptic witness to Jesus will be considered along with the, albeit muted, echoes of a sense of prophetic vocation in the Pauline understanding of his apostolate. The second part of this essay consists of a more detailed analysis of aspects of prophecy in the Johannine corpus, where the ambivalence towards prophecy sits alongside the clear enunciation of its importance and the actualization of that in a prophetic text, commanded to be seen and written about by the heavenly Christ. As with prophecy in the Old Testament, the New Testament Apocalypse is both part of, and is itself a fountainhead of, an important stream of political discourse in Christian theology and no account of it as a prophetic book would be complete without it. Like the prophetic words in the Old Testament its words have their effect, even though, more often than not, they are pictures in words, whether in the clarity of their demand or the bafflement at its enigmas. In this latter respect I will suggest the Gospel of John is similar.

2. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts

There are different strands of the Synoptic evidence which point different ways on this. Thus, the Synoptic eschatological discourses may be more foretelling than the forthtelling we find in Mt. 5.21-48. The complex of traditions associated with the prophet, rooted as it is in the Torah (Deut. 18.15-22; cf. Acts 3.22) and in prophetic pronouncements, is of great importance for understanding the figure of Jesus. The visionary revelation as the basis of authority, the tradition of rejection and suffering, the

hints that this suffering might be vicarious, and above all the eschatological character of both Spirit and prophecy, indicate how many themes converge on prophecy.

The Gospels record that Jesus saw a close link between himself and John in his understanding of his ministry. The two different approaches of God's messengers are both rejected (Lk. 7.32), and in their different ways indicate the importance of the baptism of John. Indeed, John is described as a prophet, the like of which there has not been among those 'born of women' (Lk. 7.28), and the baptism of John is evoked in a discussion about Jesus' authority (Mk 11.30). In Lk. 7.28 John is indeed a prophet but also 'more than a prophet'. That is, there is something special about his eschatological role which sets him apart from those like Zechariah who prophesied (Lk. 1.67) and others before John (Lk. 16.16). Thereby John is set apart as the prophet like Elijah, of unique eschatological importance (Mt. 11.10; Lk. 7.26-27; Mal. 3.23, ET 4.5; cf. Lk. 1.17).

Jesus' own call seems to have depended on heavenly acclamation (Mk 1.11; cf. 11.27-33). In this prophetic-type call there is an echo of Ezek. 1.1 in Mk 1.10, and he is presented as believing that he had been commissioned by God to speak and act in the way he did. The baptism accounts have affinities with the call-experiences of such prophets as Isaiah, Ezekiel and Second Isaiah (Isa. 6.1; 42.1; 61.1; Ezek. 1.1). Indeed, Mark's version presents it as a personal experience, in which a vision of the Spirit and a divine voice proclaim the nature of his relationship with God. His speech resembles the authoritative divine pronouncement of the prophets, 'Thus says the Lord', prefaced as it is with the solemn 'Truly, truly I say to you'. While the methods of scribal interpretation of scripture as set out in Sirach 38 may be found in the Jesus tradition, that sense of one acting with authority, 'not as the scribes' (Mk 1.22), is prevalent throughout. There is a sense in which the authority claim attributed to Jesus goes beyond the 'prophetic' category. The 'thus says the Lord' of the prophets is almost an exact parallel to the authority claims of Jesus in the Gospels. Nevertheless, it is striking that one does *not* get the stereotyped formula in the Gospels.

Elsewhere, inspiration by the Spirit is important (Mt. 12.28; Mk 3.28-29, though the Luke parallel in Lk. 11.20 does not mention the Spirit; cf. Acts 10.38). The account peculiar to Luke of Jesus' preaching in the synagogue in Capernaum (Lk. 4.16-30) is based on the fulfilment of Isaiah 61. Other material in the Gospels seems to indicate that Jesus thought of himself as a prophet, which lends greatest weight to the view that he was inspired by the Spirit (Mt. 12.39; 13.57; Lk. 13.33-34). He

was thought to be a prophet by his contemporaries, as certain reports about reaction to Jesus indicate (Mt. 21.11; 26.68; Lk. 7.16; 24.19; Jn 1.45; 6.14; 7.40; 9.17). Indeed, it is significant that at his trial Jesus is asked to prophesy by the soldiers (Mk 14.65), though it should be pointed out that in Mt. 26.68/Lk. 22.64, 'prophesy' seems to mean 'tell us who hit you'.

Like the biblical prophets, Jesus challenges his generation and places himself in the long line of prophets who have done the same (Lk. 11.49-51), and, like Elijah and Jeremiah, he is rejected by his contemporaries (Mk 6.4; cf. Jer. 15.10; 20.7-18; Lk. 4.24; Jn 4.44). Indeed, arguably, the journey to Jerusalem represents the heart of a sense of prophetic vocation, if Luke is anything to go by: 'Yet today, tomorrow, and the next day I must be on my way, because it is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem. Jerusalem, Jerusalem, the city that kills the prophets and stones those who are sent to it! How often have I desired to gather your children together as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and you were not willing!' (Lk. 13.33-34). (On the suffering of the prophets see also Mt. 5.12; 23.29-38; Rom. 11.3; 1 Thess. 2.15.) The theme of the rejection of the prophets is important and is part of the oldest layers of the Gospel tradition, as Q scholarship has shown (Tuckett 1996). Whether Jesus regarded himself as fulfilling the role of the figure prophesied in Isaiah 53 is not as clear as might appear. With the exception of Lk. 22.37 (cf. Mt. 12.17-21), there is no explicit quotation from Isaiah on the lips of Jesus and the explicit quotations of it in the New Testament are notoriously few in number (Acts 8.32-33; 1 Pet. 2.22).

A theme that makes only an isolated appearance in the Synoptic Gospels, but which is very frequent in the Gospel of John (and as we shall see is important in the Pauline letters), is that of Jesus as the emissary of God (e.g. Jn 7.16; 12.44-45). In Lk. 10.16, Jesus speaks of himself as the one sent by God. The institution of agency in the Jewish sources concerns a situation where an individual is sent by another to act on the sender's behalf: an agent is like the sender with the latter's full authority (*Mekilta* Exod. 12.3; cf. *m. Berakot* 5.5; see Borgen 1997). Thus, to deal with the agent is to deal with the sender, as we see, for example, in *Sifre* on Num. 12.8: 'With what is the matter to be compared? With a king of flesh and blood who has an agent in the country. The inhabitants spoke before him. Then said the king to them, You have not spoken concerning my servant but concerning me.' This is a theme which is important in the Gospel of John and also may underlie Paul's sense of his vocation as an apostle.

A word or two needs to be said about the historical Jesus. In offering a summary in a survey essay of this kind my primary focus would be in

terms of Mannheim's categories of the chiliastic mentality. By this he means the way 'the absolute interferes with the world and conditions actual events' (Mannheim 1960: 192; cf. 192-98).¹ In theological terms, what Mannheim sets out is a description of a realized eschatology at work, in which hopes for a changed world are set in the context of the present, and are not just articles of faith to be asserted. Instead, they pervade thought and action and disrupt patterns of behaviour and relating, which is what we find in the ethos of earliest Christianity. It is a view epitomized by the saying, only extant in Luke's Gospel, in which Jesus says, 'I must be on my way, because it is impossible for a prophet to be killed outside of Jerusalem' (Lk. 13.33).

I touched on Acts briefly at the beginning of this essay. The programmatic promise in Acts about the prophetic Spirit inspiring men and women is an important theme of Acts. Prophets such as Agabus and the daughters of Philip are mentioned, but the prophetic experience of key players in the narrative is even more significant. The threefold telling of Paul's conversion (Acts 9; 22; 26) sets apocalyptic vision as a motor of divine providence. Also important is the account of the events leading up to Peter's preaching to Cornelius in Acts 10. Hidden in the story is a guide to the workings of the prophetic Spirit, and a reminder that throughout early Christianity there is a warning not to be misled by false prophets (cf. Mt. 7.22; 24.11; 1 Tim. 4.1; 1 Jn 4.1). Luke's account of Peter's vision differs from other apocalyptic visions, for example, the visions in the second half of the book of Daniel. There is no angelic interpretation of the meaning of the vision. Peter may initially be left at

1. Mannheim's summary of the characteristics of what he terms the 'chiliastic mentality' is as follows (Mannheim 1960: 192-98): (1) 'the impossible gives birth to the possible and the absolute interferes with the world and conditions actual events' (p. 192); (2) 'for the real chiliast, the present becomes the breach through which what was previously inward bursts out suddenly, takes hold of the outer world and transforms it' (p. 193); (3) 'the chiliast expects a union with the immediate present... He is always on his toes awaiting the propitious moment... He is not actually concerned with the millennium to come; what is important for him is that it has happened here and now...' (p. 195); (4) 'Chiliastic mentality severs all relationships with those phases of historical existence which are in daily process of becoming in our midst. It tends at every moment to turn into hostility towards the world, its culture, and all its works and earthly achievements, and to regard them as only premature gratifications of a more fundamental striving which can only be adequately satisfied in Kairos' (p. 198); (5) 'For Chiliasm the spirit is a force which suffuses and expresses itself through us. For humanitarian liberalism it is that "other realm", which, when absorbed in our moral conscience, inspires us' (p. 198); (6) 'the chiliastic mentality has no sense for the process of becoming; it was sensitive only to the abrupt moment, the present pregnant with meaning'.

a loss as he is confronted with the need to make sense of what has appeared to him (Acts 10.19). Later in the chapter (Acts 10.28), however, he makes a link between clean and unclean food and clean and unclean persons. Thus Peter appears to have drawn the conclusion that if he is allowed in the heavenly vision to eat anything without discrimination he might also be obliged to regard all human persons in the same way (cf. Acts 10.34).² Here a visionary applies his reason to the understanding of his prophetic experience. It was a test that was to become a criterion in the Pauline corpus, where the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets (1 Cor. 14.32), and where there was a growing suspicion of ecstasy, particularly in reaction to Montanism.

The problematic character of resort to appeals to direct divine inspiration is a feature of both emerging Christianity and Judaism. There is a famous story in *b. Baba Metzia* 59a (Rowland 1982: 307; 2002: 208, 267; Alexander 1995), in which, despite the approbation of heaven, the teaching of the eccentric Eliezer ben Hyrcanus is persistently rejected in favour of the majority opinion:

It has been taught: On that day R. Eliezer brought forward every imaginable argument, but they did not accept them. Said he to them: 'If the halakah [i.e. the correct interpretation of the Jewish law] agrees with me, let this carob-tree prove it'. Thereupon the carob-tree was torn a hundred cubits out of its place... No proof can be brought from a carob-tree, they retorted. Again he said to them: 'If the halakah agrees with me, let the streams of water prove it'. Whereupon the streams of water flowed backward. 'No proof can be brought from a stream of water', they rejoined. Again he urged: 'If the halakah agrees with me, let the walls of the school-house prove it', whereupon the walls inclined to fall. But R. Joshua rebuked them saying: 'When scholars are engaged in a halakic dispute, what have ye to interfere?' Hence they did not fall, in honour of R. Joshua, nor did they become upright, in honour of R. Eliezer; and they are still standing thus inclined. Again he said to them: 'If the halakah agrees with me, let it be proved from heaven'. Whereupon a heavenly voice cried out: 'Why do ye dispute with R. Eliezer, seeing that in all matters the halakah agrees with him?'... But R. Joshua arose and exclaimed 'it is not in heaven'. What did he mean by this?—Said R. Jeremiah: That the Torah had already been given at Mount Sinai; we pay

2. The implication is that the conjunction of the perplexity at the vision with the appearance of the Gentile has led to a moment of insight, so that on reflection and possibly with the exercise of rational reflection, the meaning of the vision for that particular set of circumstances has become clear. The self-appointed, eighteenth-century prophet, William Blake, describes the relationship as follows: 'This is shewn in the Gospel, where he prays to the Father to send the comforter, or Desire, that Reason may have Ideas to build on' ('The Marriage of Heaven and Hell', Plate 5).

no attention to a Heavenly Voice, because Thou hast long since written in the Torah at Mount Sinai, After the majority must one incline. (*b. Baba Metzia* 59a)

In this story (much embellished and whose historicity is not material to the point being discussed), even in those cases where a particular teacher could claim all kinds of miraculous vindications for the teaching which he adopted, that position must be viewed with considerable scepticism and indeed be rejected, if it did not coincide with the opinion of the majority of the rabbis.

Despite the importance of visions and dreams for earliest Christianity, the later Acts account of Christian origins subtly indicates that those, which deserve to be given attention, are those of apostles including Paul. The author has every confidence that the voice of God is to be heard in the experience of those heroes of Christian origins. This is not surprising, not only because the writer can, with the benefit of hindsight, have confidence that the movement is of God (cf. Acts 5.39) but also because his record of the significant role of the heavenly vision is used with discrimination.

There are those, apart from apostles and other 'authorized' persons, who have dreams and visions as part of the providential work of God. Luke wants to demonstrate the divine approbation of the movement which he seeks to promote as Josephus did with the destruction of Jerusalem, which was predicted by supernatural signs (*War* 6.288). So, it is not just history which proves that Christianity is of God (cf. Acts 5.39) but supernatural validation. While the conversion of Cornelius shows that the divine Spirit cannot be controlled by human intervention, the pattern of its transmission has certain norms of expectation. Normally, therefore, it is not ordinary people who receive visions, and there is little sense that anyone could come along with an 'apocalypse' as contemplated by 1 Cor. 14.26, or claim to be an authoritative prophet like the Montanists in the mid-second century and claim the inspiration of the Spirit, without apostolic approval (notwithstanding the occasional reference to such prophets as Agabus and the prophet daughters of Philip). Indeed, the dialectic between Agabus's prophecy and Paul's interpretation over the latter's visit to Jerusalem (Acts 21.12-14) suggests that, notwithstanding the accuracy of the prophecy (as events subsequently proved), the implied warning that Paul should not go (which Paul had already heard through the Spirit in 21.4), which Paul's friends heard in the words, did not override the judgment (and the determination) of the apostle to maintain his conviction, thereby overriding the prophetic voice. After all, while Balaam could utter correct prophecy (Num. 24.17), he was above all remembered for leading Israel astray

(Num. 25.1; cf. Jude 11; Rev. 2.14; on the struggle between prophets, see Rev. 2.20). As in *Didache* 11, the words of the prophets by themselves were never enough without the actions of the prophets and the effects of their words being regarded as leading to lives lived according to the will of God.

To put it in the language of 1 Corinthians, the spirits of the prophets are always subject to the prophets. In this respect, Acts parallels the situation reflected in the Mishnah (*m. Hagigah* 2.1), where it is assumed that many are engaged in visionary experience, but where there is a concerted attempt by the rabbis to ensure that, as far as possible, this involvement is restricted to those with the intellectual wherewithal to deal with it. The evidence of Acts is another form of the routinization of charisma that we shall see in 1 Corinthians 14.

3. *The Pauline Letters*

Paul's most outspoken letter, that to the Galatians, evinces the prophetic character of the apostle to the Gentiles most clearly. Not only is there the uncompromising assertion of the rejection of human tradition in favour of the commission from the divine at the very outset, but his own experience is the measure of hermeneutical judgment and the necessary context for the subsequent engagement with his ancestral scriptures (Gal. 3–4). In the language used to describe Paul's conversion in Galatians (Gal. 1.12-16; Acts 9; 22; 26), Paul draws on prophetic passages like Isa. 49.1 and Jer. 1.4-5. What is more, his sense of himself is an agent of God, a *shaliah*, with a distinctive role in the divine economy. 'Whom shall I send and who will go for us?', God had asked of the heavenly court as Isaiah in the Temple described his vocation to be an emissary. To be a prophetic emissary is key to Paul's self-understanding. Like Jeremiah, his sufferings are part of his lot as the divine agent (1 Cor. 4), though he relates this closely to identification with the suffering messiah (2 Cor. 4.10; cf. Col. 1.24).

What is lacking in Paul's writings is the distinctive 'Thus says the Lord' familiar from biblical prophecy. Rather, Paul looks back to another decisive figure, Christ, whose agent Paul is (Gal. 1.1-4), and, even more significantly, in whom Christ dwells (Gal. 2.20), though that indwelling of the divine is not only the prerogative of the prophet, as Romans 8 and 1 Corinthians 2 make clear. While there is no doubt about the importance attached to Paul's words and an expectation that they will have their effect (1 Cor. 5.3), there is a more apologetic tone in defence of his authority; for example, in 1 Cor. 7.25 he gives his opinion as one who by

the Lord's mercy is to be trusted. There is less careful enunciation in what is probably Paul's earliest letter, Galatians, where Paul may suggest the portentous character of the words of a letter written in his own hand (Gal. 6.11), though these words are buttressed with defensive and exegetical argument.

Paul seems to have had the conviction that he had been set apart as the apostle to the Gentiles, commissioned by the Messiah himself to preach the good news to the nations (Gal. 1.16). This was part of Paul's eschatological belief, at the heart of which were the resurrection of Jesus and the presence of the Spirit, both of which are anticipations of the age to come. The present 'in-between' stage is itself marked as an eschatological time. Paul can tell the Corinthians that they are the ones 'upon whom the end of the age has come' (1 Cor. 10.11). One sign of this is that believers now taste of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 12.13; cf. Heb. 6.4). Paul regarded the Spirit as itself a mark of the presence of the new age. It is 'the first fruits', the seal placed in the hearts of believers as a guarantee (Rom. 8.23; cf. 2 Cor. 1.22; Eph. 1.14).

The return of the Spirit coincided with an outburst of prophetic activity, and such activity was certainly characteristic of the Pauline communities (Rom. 12.6; 1 Cor. 12–14; 1 Thess. 5.19; cf. Eph. 4.11; Acts 11.28). Like the book of Revelation, which marks the breaking in of the last things with the presence of the prophetic witness (Rev. 10–11; 19.10), Paul and his churches experienced the revival of the gift of prophecy, a sign that the promises of God were being fulfilled (though a major theme of 1 Corinthians is to challenge the preoccupation with realized eschatological fulfilment [1 Cor. 4.8]).

The emphasis in 1 Corinthians 13 is on the time of perfection as still future, when prophecy will be obsolete. Prophecy is a sign of the present 'in between stage' in which those on whom the end of the age has come (1 Cor. 10.11) find themselves. As such, prophecy marks a sign of a new age but is not itself the mark of perfection (that is what the language about 'down payment' [2 Cor. 1.22] in connection with the Spirit, implies). In 1 Cor. 13.12, perfection is *seeing* face to face. Words and hearing are replaced by vision and sight. The problem with words (and indeed biblical prophecy exemplifies this) is that they are obscure. The riddle of the prophetic oracle is nowhere better seen than in the Immanuel oracle in Isaiah 7. The contrast between words and vision is found also in the Apocalypse of John (cf. 1 Jn 3.2), where what is seen is preferred to what is heard (Rev. 5.5–6) and the ultimate is 'seeing God face to face' (Rev. 22.4). The meeting for worship is characterized by prophetic spontaneity (albeit constrained with the apostle's demand for

ecclesial uniformity, 1 Cor. 14.34): prophecy, visions, revelations and hymns, all contributed by different members of the community (14.26). Even women, if properly attired, may participate in the prayer and prophecy of the meeting (11.5, 13). In a church such as that at Corinth, where glossolalia was particularly prized as a sign of participation in the language of the angels (cf. 1 Cor. 13.1), Paul stresses the importance of prophecy, particularly as the norm of communication between divine and human, for when someone speaks in the language of angels, another must interpret and thereby enable understanding of the deep things of God (cf. 1 Cor. 2.10-16). This is open to all in the Spirit-filled community and is a major means of comprehending the nature of the divine will, whose activity should never be inhibited (1 Thess. 5.19). But being inspired by the Spirit is no ecstatic activity (notwithstanding what Paul tells us about his own experience in 2 Cor. 12.2-4), as the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets themselves (1 Cor. 14.32). Understanding and reason trump the spontaneous action of the Spirit, therefore! Indeed, what we see in 1 Corinthians 14 is the charismatic leader himself 'routinizing the charisma' and enabling his fellow charismatics not only to attend to their relationship with those outsiders who may attend the Spirit-filled worship (14.22-25), but also to have regard for each other and their faith, which is both constraint and a guide of faith (if that is how we should construe κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως in Rom. 12.6). In the guidance that Paul gives, prophecy along with mutual affection are the criteria for the marks of the Spirit's activity, which are in many respects paralleled in the test for prophetic activity in *Didache* 11.

4. *Prophecy in the Book of Revelation and the Gospel of John*

4.1. *Introduction*

The continuation of the prophetic tradition in Second Temple Judaism in apocalyptic literature has made a significant contribution to the Johannine corpus. The themes of prophecy, apocalyptic and eschatology come together most obviously in the book of Revelation and help us see how they might relate to one another. The word 'apocalypse' opens the Apocalypse of John, but the ethos of unveiling or unmasking pervades the book, even if ἀποκαλύπτω terminology is not used elsewhere. Following John Barton (1986), I think that what we have in this apocalyptic text is the form prophecy took at the end of the Second Temple period, infused with the realized eschatological convictions of early Christian belief. Like the later interpreters of the book, who located themselves in the divine purposes according to the conviction about the

relationship of their times with the place in the (overlapping) sequences of seals, trumpet and bowls, John sees himself standing at a critical juncture in the unfolding of the messianic woes, the second of which is past (Rev. 11.14). This is not a text which simply predicts the future, for it also reads the signs of the times, which times are already in the midst of the tribulations leading to the coming of the messianic kingdom. To this extent, it is as much as anything an attempt to situate and explain one's place in eschatological history, just as one of its foremost expositors, Joachim of Fiore, understood so well (Kovacs and Rowland 2004).

The Apocalypse of John is, self-confessedly, a book of prophecy whose main message is in large part eschatological. John reports his vision of the present and the future, and indeed, the climax of history in the coming of heaven on earth. The Apocalypse of John is an authoritative book of prophecy, whose status is described in words echoing Deuteronomy (Rev. 22.18; cf. Deut. 4.2; 22.10), perhaps even supplanting the ancient prophecy, with whose contents it is replete. By implication John is a prophet, whose role model is the vision of the two witnesses who prophesy and suffer for their prophetic witness (Rev. 11.3-12). John acts out typical prophetic experiences. Like Isaiah and Ezekiel he is vouchsafed visions of God (cf. Ezek. 1.1) and, echoing the experience of the latter (Ezek. 3.1-3), is commissioned to eat a scroll and perform as a prophet to the nations in the manner of Jeremiah (Jer. 1.4). John's prophetic ministry consists of the communication of his visions and the letters he has heard and written down at the dictation of the heavenly Christ to the angels of the churches.

In the Apocalypse of John, in the midst of the unfolding eschatological drama, the centrality of the role of prophecy is enunciated. We see it in the involvement of the seer in ch. 10, when he is instructed to eat the scroll and commanded to prophesy. This is a direct call to participate actively as a prophet rather than merely be a passive spectator of it. Utilizing the figures of Moses and Elijah, that prophetic witness takes place in a social arena opposed to God where that witness must take place, even though it ends up with death in bearing witness. Elsewhere in the Johannine corpus, in 1 John, the claim to new teaching based on revelation (1 Jn 2.20, 27), which causes worry to the writer who prefers the appeal to the past, is no better exemplified than in the opening words (1 Jn 1.1). This retrospective emphasis contrasts with the Apocalypse of John where the spirit and prophecy have a central role, as they were to have in the Montanist movement nearly a century later (Trevett 1995). As a result of Montanism, however, prophecy was viewed with suspicion, so much so that the Apocalypse of John's place as part of the canon

was challenged. The inspiration of this ‘new prophecy’ was in part the promise of the Paraclete in John 14–16, as well as heaven on earth in Revelation 21–22. Though the activity of the Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John is largely retrospective (reminding of what Jesus had said, pointing to Jesus and continuing Jesus’ critical activity), there *is* a prophetic, revelatory, function, especially in Jn 16.13, where the Paraclete leads the disciples into all truth. There is new revelation expected, even if any revelation is in continuity with what Jesus has said.

Prophets make their occasional appearance in the Gospel of John. Reference to the biblical prophets aside (1.23, 45; 6.45; 8.52-53; 12.38), the High Priest has prophetic powers; questions are raised about the prophetic character of John the Baptist (1.21, 25) and also of Jesus (4.19, 44; 6.14; 7.40, 52; 9.17). In the case of Jesus (5.36; cf. 6.14), and to a lesser extent John the Baptist (1.31), the prophetic activity is seen in connection with the performance of deeds, whereas in the case of the High Priest it is his words that are indicative of their prophetic role.

Throughout the Gospel of John there is another important theme which links Jesus with the prophets, however. Jesus is a spokesman of the divine, a heavenly agent, akin to, but exceeding in authority and nature, the angelic agents. Jan Böhner has argued for a blending of the angel motif and the prophet motif in the Jewish tradition and suggests that this may be a key to answering the background of Johannine Christology (Böhner 1977: 271, 427). Like angels, prophets were regarded as speaking with the voice of God (e.g. Deut. 18.18-20; Jer. 1.9), and in later Jewish tradition we find the identity of the angel/messenger (Böhner 1977: 341-73). The Gospel of John is what John Ashton has called ‘an apocalypse in reverse’ (Ashton 1991: 371), in that the heavenly mysteries are not to be sought in heaven or through access to a body of written knowledge but primarily, and uniquely, in and through Jesus, the revelation of the hidden God (1.18; 14.9). At the same time, the Gospel of John also reveals the mysteries of God (6.46: ‘Not that any one has seen the Father, except the one who is from God, he has seen the Father’). What we find in the Gospel of John relates to the theme of the attainment of knowledge of the divine mysteries, and, supremely, the mysteries of God, though interpreted consistently christologically. One is tempted to suggest that when in *4QInstruction* the reader is told to meditate on the *raz nihyeh* and study it always, we are encountering what John Collins describes as ‘the entire divine plan embracing, past, present and future’. That is now embodied in, and revealed by, Jesus (Collins 2004: 31; Harrington 1996: 49-53).

4.2. *Towards an Understanding of the Exercise of the Prophetic Imagination*

John's apocalyptic vision (Rev. 4–5) is one of the best examples we have of a vision based on Ezekiel's *merkabah* from Second Temple Judaism. It is a good example of what David Halperin has in mind when he writes: 'When the apocalyptic visionary "sees" something that looks like Ezekiel's *merkabah*, we may assume that he is seeing the *merkabah* vision as he has persuaded himself it really was, as Ezekiel would have seen it, had he been inspired wholly and not in part' (Halperin 1988: 71; for further on visionary experience in the apocalypses, see Stone 2003; MacDermot 1971).

The adequacy of the evidence prevents us from being completely sure how visions took place among ancient Jews and Christians during the Second Temple period (Gruenwald 1978). The kaleidoscopic way in which passages and underlying themes from the Bible come together and merge in different ways in John's vision is reminiscent of what Mary Carruthers has written about memory in late antiquity and in the mediaeval period. She has shown how, in the process of memorization and the recall of memory, there is a creative process of interaction of images (Carruthers 1990; 1998: 68–69). The monastic practice of meditation notably involved making mental images or 'pictures'. Carruthers describes mediaeval *memoria* as a *craft* of thinking, in which ancient readers and hearers of texts could seek to 'visualize' what they read (or heard, Carruthers 1998: 304). As a result, scriptural meditation opened up the gateway to a network of allusions together with personal context to effect an existentially addressed imaginative '*lectio*'. Meditation started from reading but is not at all bound by rules or precepts, for it can open up connections among a variety of biblical subjects (Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalion* 3.10). It is this kind of background that, I believe, may help us glimpse how the prophetic imagination worked in the case of John of Patmos. Indeed, Elliot Wolfson, among others, has rightly argued that it is impossible to isolate experience from its literary context (Wolfson 1994: 120). Thus, visionary experience, therefore, was supported by, and indeed initiated by, exegesis of their scriptures.

In rabbinic tradition there is some evidence of the visualization of some of the various parts of the *merkabah* (e.g. *b. Megillah* 24a). Exegetically most obscure was the meaning of *ḥašmal*, the enigmatic word which occurs three times in the early chapters of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1.4, 27; 8.2). In the traditions about the meaning of *ḥašmal* in the collection of material about it in *b. Ḥagigah* 13b, warnings are given by means of stories about the effects on the inexperienced, of what appears to be

imaginative engagement with aspects of Ezekiel's text (Halperin 1988: 130-36). In this, the meaning of obscure parts of the text may have come about as a result of the creative, indeed imaginative, in Carruthers' sense, interpretation of the text, dangerous as it turned out to be in some cases.

John's prophetic vision, I would suggest, may have had its origin in this kind of imaginative exegesis of the scriptures, an exegesis which may have been part of the early *merkabah* tradition (Rowland 2005). According to John, however, what distinguishes his vision is that it is prophecy rather than merely a mystical meditation on the *merkabah* which enabled the adept to have access to the divine mysteries. John does not merely have access to the mysteries, therefore, but is also, to borrow Paul's description, a steward of the divine mysteries, like Enoch, and indeed a prophet whose words have the same authority as Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. It is to be proclaimed in the public arena, whatever the consequences (Rev. 10–11).

4.3. *Prophecy and Politics*

That public, political character is evident from a glance at the history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse of John, indicating what a central role this book has played in the emergence of political theology, of whatever political hue. Its theology is at the heart of the Augustinian dualistic historical theology of *The City of God*, and the eschatological timetables of those engaged in eschatological prognostication going back to Joseph Mede and beyond into Joachite apocalyptic exegesis. In its own historical context, the Apocalypse of John represents a point on the development of the interpretation of the foundational political apocalyptic visions, Daniel 2 and 7. Like the contemporary *4 Ezra*, the Apocalypse of John evinces a lively interest in Daniel as the foundation text of a prophetic, political critique, which unmask the pretensions of empire before looking forward to a different kind of polity. In Revelation 13 and 17 we find the Beast of Daniel taken up and related to the experience of oppression and state power exercised by the Roman state of John's day. The beasts function synchronically rather than, as in Daniel 7, diachronically. They show the way in which the prophetic originals are moulded in the vision to accommodate the political experience of the visionary, in which the focus of state activity impinge upon his consciousness, one imperial and foreign, the other local.

Like the roughly contemporary *4 Ezra* 6–7 and Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch* 25–30, the Apocalypse of John has a complex eschatology. Woe paves the way for heaven on earth in a divinely determined series of disasters. This is outlined in the Apocalypse of John, where we find a series of sevens throughout the prophecy. H.H. Rowley may have been

wrong to characterize apocalyptic as the future breaking into the present, but in this prophetic book the way in which the future arises out of the present is altogether more ordered and determined than in earlier prophecy. What is more, and in this respect it also resembles *4 Ezra*, the Apocalypse of John has a two-stage eschatological climax in which the Kingdom of God on earth for a thousand years precedes the new heaven and earth promised by Isaiah (65.17; 66.22). *4 Ezra* may have a temporary messianic kingdom lasting 400 years only, but the eschatological structure is the same.

By contrast, a hope for the future society is notably absent in the Gospel of John, where the longing for a different kind of polity, God's Kingdom on Earth, has almost completely disappeared. Here 'going to be with Jesus in heaven' seems to be the heart of the promise for those who might gain eternal life ('Father, I desire that those also, whom you have given me, may be with me where I am, to see my glory, which you have given me because you loved me before the foundation of the world', Jn 17.24). Nevertheless, even if this wider hope has ebbed, there is in the Gospel of John, as David Rensberger has pointed out, an implicit political discourse in which the public demonstrations of an alternative politics are rooted in following the one whom God has sent (Rensberger 1988). It has always seemed to me that, formally speaking, one of the closest analogies to the trial of Jesus before Pilate is the martyrological literature, whether of the pre-Constantinian church or of later non-conformity (Musurillo 1972; Boyarin 1999).

4.4. *The Impact of the Prophetic Word: Enigma and Revelation*

We have considered ways in which a prophetic text, inspired in large part by earlier Scripture, might have emerged and the outline of its political character. I now want to look at the different ways in which the Johannine texts might have functioned and the sense in which, as books, they could be seen as prophetic.

The closure of the two books tells us much about the kind of authority that their authors believed they had (Jn 21.24-25; Rev. 22.18-19). Both in different senses involve claims to be linked with eyewitnesses, both, it is true, of a heavenly vision, one of that heavenly Word made flesh; the other of the awesome consequences of the heavenly vision of the enthroned divinity and the terrible lamb in the midst of the throne. But there the similarity ends. It would appear that in the Gospel of John there is a separation between *the* Divine Word and the words recorded in the book. What the Gospel offers is a witness to the one who spoke to God face to face like Moses (cf. Jn 6.46), and the book is the medium of revelation pointing ultimately to the Word to which the words of John's

story bear witness (Jn 21.24-25). Any new revelation, therefore, as we have seen, points back to, and has to interact with, that ultimate revelation. It is the words of Jesus to which the Spirit-Paraclete calls attention when teaching the disciples after Jesus' departure (Jn 16.13).

So the Gospel of John contains the story about the Word. The words of Jesus, the Word made flesh, serve to elicit a response to the Eternal Word. In the Gospel of John, like Moses, who spoke to God face-to-face (Exod. 33.11), but explicitly exceeded him in authority and intimacy (Jn 1.17-18), Jesus is the intimate of God and speaks and embodies the divine mystery. He is not just an intermediary of the divine oracles, therefore, nor is he a mere channel or a lawgiver, as the different pictures of Moses suggest. He is the unique emissary of God who makes the invisible God known.

Compare that with the Apocalypse of John, which contains the words from the Son of Man and a report of what John has seen. These become a book of prophecy of and about the divine mysteries. These new prophetic words have the authority of the Torah itself: 'I warn every one who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if any one adds to them, God will add to that person the plagues described in this book' (Rev. 22.18). In the Apocalypse of John, the face-to-face moment of meeting with the enthroned God is only eschatological. Until then, it is only John who can come face to face with the divine glory in heaven or 'on the Lord's Day' in the vision of the divine human figure (Rev. 1.13-16).

Both books are alike and resemble the profound and enigmatic character of the oracular. They bewilder, challenge and even disorientate the reader, whether to wean Nicodemus from his role as leader of the Jews, or, in the Apocalypse of John, to move readers/hearers from the culture of the Beast and Babylon. The Apocalypse of John's reformulation of earlier prophetic language might bring hearers to repentance (e.g. Rev. 2.5, 16). Both books are not to be sealed up for 'the time of the end' (Jn 20.31; Rev. 22.10), unlike earlier prophecy (e.g. Dan. 12.9), for they are words for the present moment. Like the prophetic oracles, neither text is transparent, therefore. Indeed, Wayne Meeks's description of the Gospel of John could equally well be applied to the Apocalypse of John:

...the reader has an experience rather like that of the dialogue partners of Jesus: either he will find the whole business so convoluted, obscure, and maddeningly arrogant that he will reject it in anger, or he will find it so fascinating that he will stick with it until the progressive reiteration of themes brings, on some level of consciousness at least, a degree of clarity... *The book functions for its readers in precisely the same way that the epiphany of its hero functions within the narratives and dialogues.* (Meeks 1972: 68-69, emphasis added)

Obscure language is necessary in the present age, for, to quote Paul's words, in this age one 'sees in a glass darkly' (1 Cor. 13.12). The mystery of the visions and the occasional call for divine wisdom (as with the number of the Beast in Rev. 13.18) are tokens of the obscurity of the apocalyptic imagery and the teasing Johannine aphorisms, whose allusiveness has offered such varied interpretative opportunities down the centuries. Luther rightly contrasted the Apocalypse of John with Daniel in his later introduction to the Apocalypse of John in his translation of the New Testament: 'there are many different kinds of prophecy in Christendom. One type does this with images, but alongside them it supplies their interpretation in specific words—as...Daniel...[another] type does it without either words or interpretations, exclusively with images and figures, like this book of Revelation.'

In the Gospel of John, Jesus' words are often obscure, and only towards the end of the Gospel do his followers declare, 'Now you speak to us plainly not in any figure of speech' (16.29). Both the Apocalypse of John and the Gospel of John, like the prophetic texts before them, therefore offer, whether in visionary or narrative form, words which seek to bring about an epistemological and ethical transformation in readers/hearers in preparation for that meeting 'face to face' in the New Jerusalem (Rev. 22.4) or in communion with the ascended Son of Man in heaven (Jn 17.24).

If the Gospel of John is 'an apocalypse in reverse' and has at its heart the fact that the content of the revelation is not words but a person (following Bultmann's famous dictum), that means two things. First, when considering the Gospel of John one should not be dealing with abstractions such as truth, for truth, life, revelation and mystery all have their focus in 'the Word become flesh', or, to paraphrase what the opening verses of Hebrews say, God may have spoken through prophets in words but now God has 'spoken' through a person. This has two consequences: first, an understanding of what the mystery is cannot be reduced to neat linguistic summaries. This means, secondly, that this kind of 'apocalypse' is always going to remain mysterious because it is ambiguous. Of course, one could say that, short of seeing God 'face to face', any mystery or truth is going to be obscure in this age. Daniel, after all, needed to have what he 'saw' explained to him. One of the reasons that apocalypse terminology is not used in the Gospel of John may be that the revelation is never 'face-to-face' (as it would be, eschatologically, say, in Rev. 22.4), for it is through a person, and as such, without the veil being removed, as in the Transfiguration in the Synoptics, there is ambiguity, indeed doubt, whether Jesus is from God (cf. Jn 9.16). This resembles the ambiguity of the mystery of the cross in 1 Corinthians 1–2. It is folly

to those perishing, but salvation to those who have faith. It is only when one discerns truth, mystery, etc. in the ambiguous event or person that one has discerned the divine reality, and apocalypse takes place. And yet, such moments are never compelling in the way a vision, say of the divine, is, rooted as it is in expectations of what might constitute a divine vision in the pages of the Bible (Isa. 6; Ezek. 1).

4.5. Concluding Comments

Prophecy is one of the most important features in the New Testament, historically, theologically and hermeneutically, and a way of comprehending the diversity contained in them. The sense of present communion with the divine, in which tradition and accepted channels of authority are relativized by the prophet's conviction that vision or word coming from the divine has to be spoken, or written, and has an authority at least as great as that of the authoritative texts from the past, typifies so much of what is central to the New Testament. Indeed, we cannot understand early Christianity as a movement in history without all the many facets of the prophetic. The theological stress on divine immanence and indwelling, whether applying to Christology, or the inspired person, is well summarized in the programmatic statement in Heb. 1.1-2: 'In many and various ways God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets; but in these last days he has spoken to us by a Son'. Hermeneutically, the emphasis on the present rather than the past, the spirit, rather than the letter, are characteristic of the New Testament texts, which evince a belief in a God speaking through men and women about the present, as well as the future and the past. Whatever the attempts of those who have sought to police them, prophetic texts have for two thousand years been the inspiration for many who have seen prophecy not as a phenomenon read about in the pages of a book but one to be actualized and emulated. In this respect they imitate a text like the Apocalypse of John, where biblical prophecy was less a matter of study than a language to speak and whose claims, ironically, helped to turn the living prophetic voice into a thing of the past, into words to be studied rather than contemporary 'oracles of God'.

Bibliography

Alexander, P.S.

- 1995 'A Sixtieth Part of Prophecy: The Problem of Continuing Revelation in Judaism', in J. Davies, G. Harvey and W.G.E. Watson (eds.), *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed: Essays in Honour of John Sawyer* (JSNTSup, 195; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 414-33.

- Ashton, J.
1991 *Interpreting the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Aune, D.
1983 *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans).
- Barton, J.
1986 *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd).
- Borgen, P.
1997 'God's Agent in the Fourth Gospel', in J. Ashton (ed.), *The Interpretation of John* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark): 83-96.
- Boyarin, D.
1999 *Dying for God: Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism* (Figuræ; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
- Bühner, J.-A.
1977 *Der Gesandte und sein Weg im 4. Evangelium* (WUNT, 2.2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]).
- Carruthers, M.
1990 *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
1998 *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Collins, J.J.
2004 'The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls', in J.J. Collins (ed.), *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 51; Leiden: Brill): 13-47.
- Flannery-Dailey, F.
2004 *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras* (JSJSup, 90; Leiden: Brill).
- Gruenwald, I.
1978 *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill).
- Halperin, D.
1988 *The Faces of the Chariot* (Tübingen: Mohr).
- Harrington, D.J.
1996 *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London: Routledge).
- Kovacs, J., and C. Rowland
2004 *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Blackwell Bible Commentaries; Oxford: Blackwell).
- Lieb, M.
1991 *The Visionary Mode: Biblical Prophecy, Hermeneutics and Cultural Change* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
- MacDermot, V.
1971 *The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East* (Publications of the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, NS 21; Berkeley: University of California Press).

- Mannheim, K.
 1960 *Ideology and Utopia* (London: Routledge/Kegan & Paul).
- Meeks, W.A.
 1972 'The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism', *JBL* 91: 44-72.
- Musurillo, H.
 1972 *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Rensberger, D.K.
 1988 *Overcoming the World: Politics and Community in the Gospel of John* (London: SPCK).
- Rowland, C.
 1982 *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK).
 2002 *Christian Origins: An Account of the Setting and Character of the Most Important Messianic Sect of Judaism* (London: SPCK, 2nd edn).
 2005 'Imagining the Apocalypse', *NTS* 51: 303-27.
- Stone, M.
 2003 'A Reconsideration of Apocalyptic Visions', *HTR* 96: 167-80.
- Trevett, C.
 1995 *Montanism: Gender, Authority and the New Prophecy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Tuckett, C.
 1996 *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).
- Wolfson, E.R.
 1994 *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).

INDEXES

INDEX OF REFERENCES

HEBREW BIBLE/ OLD TESTAMENT	25	113, 384	9.9	233
<i>Genesis</i>	30.1-6	391	9.18	72
1.26	30.27	391	10.1-5	313
5.3			11.16	304
9.21-24	<i>Numbers</i>		12.1-6	279
35.7	9.15	319	13.2-3	392
38.15	12.6-8	320	13.3	72
38.21-22	14.11	342	13.4	392
38.24	22.28	184	13.5	392
	23.21	343	13.7	72
<i>Exodus</i>	24.17	417	13.14	72
3.3	25.1-13	181	15	384
3.8	25.1-5	211	15.7-11	102
3.17	25.1	418	16.18-18.22	158, 392
12.12			17.11	344
14-15	<i>Deuteronomy</i>		17.14-20	151
14.2	1.5	347	17.14-15	177
14.13	4.2	421	17.14	151
15	4.3-4	211	17.18-20	158
15.11-12	4.12	273, 320	18	156, 165,
15.11	4.15-19	320		166, 168,
16.28	4.25	72		173, 177,
20.3	4.35	275		178
21-23	4.39	275	18.8	154
22.15	4.40	378	18.9-22	151, 154,
22.17	5	159		155, 155,
23.32	5.3	378		158, 160,
33.3	5.7	72, 309		163, 164,
33.11	6.3	233		166-68
34.12-16	6.4	277, 279	18.9-20	168
38.8	6.5	71	18.9-14	71, 151,
	6.6	378, 309		392
<i>Leviticus</i>	6.14	72	18.9-13	158
18.6	7.1-6	402	18.9	151
19.31	7.4	72, 309	18.10-14	65
	7.11	378	18.11	71

<i>Deuteronomy</i> (cont.)	34.11		393	2.1-10	70
18.12	159			2.2	275
18.15-22	18, 71, 392, 393, 412	<i>Joshua</i> 1.8 3-4	158 211	2.6 2.22 2.27-36	199 65 182
18.15-20	166	3.1	211	2.27	182
18.15-18	73, 151, 162, 172	4.19 7.2	211 203	2.30-36 2.35	183 126
18.15	72, 151, 158, 159, 173, 177, 178, 185, 393, 412	14.6 18.12 <i>Judges</i> 2.16	178 203 71, 178	3.1 3.11-14 3.18 3.20	178 182 126, 176, 178
18.16	159, 400	2.18	71, 178	4.4	311
18.18-20	422	3.3	206	7.5-10	126
18.18	72, 154, 155, 158, 159, 173, 177, 178, 185, 399	3.9 3.15 4-5 4	178 178 72 69, 72, 73	7.6 7.7-10 7.10-11 7.15-17 7.15	126 126 182 69 178
18.19	72, 156, 159	4.4-5 4.4	68 68, 176, 178	8.1-5 8.1 9.6-14	178 126, 185 126
18.20-22	394		178	9.6-14	126
18.20	72, 155, 156	4.5 4.6-7	68 182	9.6 9.7	176, 177 177
18.21-22	168, 397	4.6	182	9.8-9	176
18.22	67	5	72	9.8	177
20.2-4	126	5.1	68	9.9	126, 176
22.10	421	6.7-10	68	9.10	177
23.17-18 ^{ET}	215	6.8	68, 178,	9.11	176
23.18-19	215		182	9.18	176
26.19	333	6.34	401	9.19	176
26.15	233	8.31	185	10.5-13	127
27.8	347	9.6	185	10.5-6	67
28.20	71	11.24	280	10.5	176
29.24	71	11.29	401	10.6	181
31.16	71	11.34	67	10.10	176, 181
31.29	72	13.6-7	182	13.5	203
32	316	13.6	178	14.23	203
32.8-12	281	13.8	178	18.6-7	67
32.13-14	233	14.15	304	19.18-24	127
32.16-17	281	16.5	304	19.20	126, 176
32.16	72, 271			19.24	181
32.37-39	281	<i>1 Samuel</i>		21.1 ^{ET}	185
34.10-12	159, 396	1.3	185	21.2	185
34.10	133	1.9	185	21.10	275

22.5	176, 178	2.16	179	16.29	182
28	17, 65	2.35	183	17	126, 129,
28.6	17	4.1	127		400
28.1-19	394	4.2	185	17.1	129, 181,
30.7	185	4.5	185		214
		4.38-41	127	17.2	182
<i>2 Samuel</i>		6-8	312, 313	17.5-6	180
3.27	395	6.1-7	127	17.9-16	180
3.34	179	6.12	178	17.18	177
5.14	185	6.23-28	310	17.21-22	182
5.20	207	6.23	310	17.24	177
6.2	311	6.27	311	18.1-4	181
7	229, 230,	6.29	311	18.1	129
	238, 374	6.32	311	18.3-39	401
7.1-16	396	6.35	311	18.4	179, 180
7.1-2	374	8	296	18.13-20.19	168
7.2	178	8.6-8	313	18.17-18	181
7.4	182	8.6-7	310	18.19-20	180
7.9	230	8.9	313	18.19	175, 180
7.10-11	374	8.25	229	18.22	176, 180
7.10	179	8.48	296	18.25	180
7.14-16	374	8.60	275	18.26	180
7.15-16	229	9.1-10	127	18.28	214
7.16	230	11.11	178, 183	18.36	176
7.17	182	11.29	176, 185	18.40	180
7.22	275	11.31	182	18.41-45	129
8.17	185	11.33	183	18.44-45	214
12.1	182	11.38	230	18.46	129, 315
12.25	178	12.22	182, 185	19.2	180
16.11-12	87	12.28	216	19.3	181, 182
20.8	317	13	39	19.4	133, 181
24.11-13	396	13.1	179	19.5-8	180
24.11	176, 178,	13.2	182	19.9	183
	182	13.4	176	19.10	180
24.18-19	396	13.7-9	180	19.11-12	183
		13.11	179	19.13	183
<i>1 Kings</i>		13.18	177, 182	19.14	180
1.8	178	14.2-17	180	19.15-16	183
1.11-14	185	14.9-10	183	19.15	183
1.22-27	185	14.15-16	153	19.16-21	179
1.22	396	14.20	182	19.16-17	181
1.45	185	15.34-16.4	183	19.16	172, 176,
1.52	179	16.1	182, 185		182
2.3	127	16.5	226	19.17	183
2.5	127	16.28	182, 185	19.18-21	184
2.15	127	16.29-22.40	180	19.19	184

<i>1 Kings</i> (cont.)		2.5	173, 176,	10.29	215
19.20	184		179, 182,	14.25	182
19.21	182		400	15.19-20	102
20	179	2.7	176, 179,	16.10-16	75
20.13	179, 180,		400	16.10	318
	182	2.9-14	179	17.4	203
20.28	179, 180,	2.15	176, 179,	17.13-14	151, 152,
	182		400		168
20.35-43	127	2.16-18	182	17.13	176
20.35	176, 179,	3	396	17.16	215
	180, 400	3.4-27	395	17.17	159
20.42	182	3.11-20	129	17.23	151-53,
21	113	3.15	315		168
21.10	179	3.16	182	18-20	246, 278
21.13	179	3.27	395	18-19	125
21.17-24	183	4	126, 129	18	238
21.20-24	181, 183	4.1-44	401	18.1	232
22	155, 179	4.1	176, 179,	18.2	75
22.1-38	394		400	18.7	232, 238
22.5-28	126	4.7	177	18.10	232
22.6-37	180	4.9	177	18.13	232
22.6	181	4.34	182	19.15	311
22.7	180	4.38	176, 179,	19.20	182, 238
22.8-28	396		400	20.1-11	401
22.11	401	5.3	177	20.17-19	153
22.12-13	180	5.5-7	182	20.17	153
22.12	181	5.8	177	21.6	159, 395
22.15-28	129	5.13	177	21.10-12	152, 168
22.15-23	125	5.14	177	21.10	151, 152
22.19-23	181	5.15	177	22-23	326
22.19	182	5.22	176, 179,	22	68, 160,
22.20-22	304		400		161
22.22	295	6.1-7	129	22.8-10	160
22.37	181	6.1	176, 179,	22.8	160
22.40	182, 185		400	22.11-13	160
22.50	185	6.8-23	126	22.12	161
		7	126	22.13	71, 72
<i>2 Kings</i>		8	400	22.14-20	17, 396
1.2	207	8.13	184	22.14	68, 176
1.3-16	183	9.1-3	184	22.15-20	153, 160
1.9-15	125	9.1	176, 179,	22.15	182
1.9	177		400	22.18	71
2.1-14	184	9.2	179	23	327
2.3	173, 176,	9.6	182	23.2	70
	179, 182	10.16-28	181	23.4	327
		10.28	215	23.6	327

23.18	70	14.8-14	403	28.9-11	397, 402,
23.24-25	70	15.1-7	397, 403		404
23.24	395	15.1	401, 403	28.19	394
23.25	71	15.2	403	28.22	394
24-25	278	15.8	400	29.6	394
24.1-4	152	16.7-10	397, 400,	29.30	397, 400
24.1-3	152, 168		402, 403	30.16	396
24.2-4	153	16.7-9	403	30.17	394
24.2	70, 151,	16.9	403	32.20	400
	152	16.10	399	32.24	401
36.23-26	160	18.1-19.3	402	33.6	395
		18.1-34	394	33.10	397, 404
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		18.4-27	396, 400,	34.22-28	396
8.33	207		402	34.22-25	403
10.13	394	18.10	401	34.26-28	403, 404
11.2	401	18.16	403	35.15	397, 400
11.3	401	18.18-22	403	35.20-22	398
11.10	401	18.19-21	304	35.25	396
12.19	401, 403	19.1-3	400, 404	36.12	396
16.22-23	399	19.2-3	397, 403	36.14-16	404
17.1-15	396, 400,	19.5	109	36.14	394
	401, 403	20.14-17	403	36.15-16	397
21.1-22.1	404	20.14-15	397	36.15	400, 404
21.9-13	396, 403	20.14	401	36.21	396, 403
21.9-12	403	20.15-17	401	36.22-23	398
21.13-17	404	20.15	402	36.22	396, 401
21.18-19	396	20.17	402, 403	36.23	403
23.14	396	20.20	399		
25.1-3	400	20.34	400	<i>Ezra</i>	
25.1	68	20.35-37	402	1-6	364
25.2	68	20.37	397, 403	1.1-3	398
25.3	68	21.12-15	403	1.1	270, 396
25.5-6	68	24.19-22	402	3.2	396
25.5	400	24.19	397, 404		
28.2	313	24.20-22	397	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
		24.20	401, 403	4.12	317
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		25.6-9	403	5.1-5	111
3.12	311	25.7-9	397	6.6	67
8.16	396	25.7	396	6.7	66, 67
11.2-4	404	25.9	396, 404	6.8	67
11.2	396	25.15-16	397, 402	6.9	66
11.3-4	404	25.15	403, 404	6.10-13	66
12.5-8	403	25.16	399, 403	6.14	65-67
12.5	403	26.16	394	6.19	66
12.7-8	404	26.18	394		
12.12	404	28.8-15	403		

<i>Job</i>		2.25-36	385	21	372
3	305	3-14	381	22	372, 385,
3.1-10	305	3	381		386
4.8	343	3.4 ET	381	22.12 ET	344
5.6	343	3.5	381	22.13	344
9.3	347	6	373, 384	26.4-5	301
9.14-15	347	7	373	27	379
9.32	347	7.7-9 ET	384	27.8	379
10.18-19	305	7.8-10	384	27.12	348
13	346	7.14 ET	343	28	373
13.17-22	346	7.15	343	31	373, 386
13.22	346, 347	8	385, 386	31.5 ET	386
14.12	218	9-10	373	31.6	386
14.14	218	10.7	343	35	379
15.6	347	11	384	35.3	379
15.35	343	12	373, 378,	35.11	348
19.1-7	342		381, 384,	36	373
19.7	342-44		386	37	386
23.4	346	12.1 ET	379	40	193, 372
31.9	304	12.2-3 ET	379	41.9 ET	385
31.14	346	12.2	379	41.10	385
33.5	346	12.3-4	379	42-49	384
33.6	346	12.4 ET	379	44.1 ET	344
37.3	299	12.5	379	44.2	344
		12.5 ET	379-81,	45	372, 379
			384	45.1 ET	371
<i>Psalms</i>					
1	381, 384	12.6	379-81,	45.2	371
1.1	252, 301		384	45.6-7 ET	385
1.3	298	12.6 ET	379	45.7-8	385
2	372-75,	12.7	379	46	380, 384
	381, 384,	12.7 ET	379	46.7 ET	230
	386	12.7-8 ET	379	46.8	230
2.1-3	373	12.8-9	379	47	384
2.1	384	12.8	379	47.4 ET	360
2.2-3	373	13	384	47.5	360
2.2	373	13.2-3	342	48	384
2.4-6	373	14	379	49	381
2.4-5	373	14.1	371	50	193, 372,
2.6	373, 375,	16	384, 386		373, 376-
	380, 381	16.8-11	385		78, 381,
2.7-9	373, 374	18	372		384, 386
2.7-8	380	18.10 ET	311	50.1-6	378
2.7	385	18.11	311	50.1-4	378
2.10-12	373	18.46 ET	217	50.1	380
2.10-11	373	18.47	217	50.2	378, 381
2.10	373	20	372, 379	50.4-6	380

50.5-15	380		381, 382,	80.9-12	376
50.5-6	378		384, 386	81-82	381, 382
50.7-15	378	75.1 ET	376	81	372, 373,
50.7	378	75.2-5 ET	376, 380		376-79,
50.12-15	381	75.2-5	376		382, 384,
50.16-23	378, 380	75.2	377		386
51	193, 372	75.3 ET	376	81.1 ET	376, 377
51.15-19 ET	381	75.3-6	380	81.1-5 ET	377
51.17-21	381	75.4	376	81.2-6	377
53	379	75.4 ET	376	81.2-5 ET	377
55	373	75.4-7 ET	376	81.2	376, 377
55.9-10 ET	343	75.5-7	376	81.3-6	377
55.10 ET	343	75.5	376, 377	81.4 ET	376, 377
55.10-11	343	75.6-8 ET	376	81.4-5 ET	373
55.11	343	75.6	377	81.5	376, 377
57	373	75.7-9	376	81.5 ET	376, 377
60	372, 373,	75.7	377	81.5-16 ET	377
	380	75.8	376, 377	81.5-10 ET	377, 380
60.6-12 ET	380	75.9	376	81.5-7 ET	376
60.6-8 ET	380	75.9 ET	376	81.5-6	373
60.8-14	380	75.10	376	81.6	376, 377
60.8-10	380	75.10 ET	376, 380	81.6 ET	377
62	379	75.11	376, 380	81.6-17	377
62.3 ET	342	76	381	81.6-11	377, 380
62.4	342	76.6 ET	376	81.6-10 ET	377
62.12	379	76.7	376	81.6-8	376
64	373	77	382	81.7	377
68	373, 380	77.1 ET	342	81.7 ET	377
36.8-32	380	77.2	342	81.7-11	377
68.9-33	380	77.11 ET	344	81.8-9 ET	377
68.22-23	380	77.12	344	81.8	377
68.23-24	380	77.14-20 ET	376	81.9-10	377
69	385	77.15 ET	376	81.9	377
69.26	385	77.15-21	376	81.10 ET	377, 378
69.25 ET	385	77.16	376	81.11-16 ET	377, 380
72	372, 379	78-83	381	81.11	377, 378
72.1	371	78	382	81.12-17	377, 380
73-83	376	78.11-53	376	81.16 ET	377
73-77	381	78.67	376	81.17	377
73	298, 382	78.68	360	82	373, 376,
74	382	79-80	382		377, 382,
74.2	344	80.1 ET	311, 376		386
74.12	344	80.2	311, 376	82.1	376
75-76	382	80.2 ET	376	82.2-4	376, 380
75	372, 373,	80.3	376	82.3-4	376
	376, 377,	80.8-11 ET	376	82.5	376

<i>Psalms</i> (cont.)		91.14-16	379, 380,	109	383
82.6-7	376, 380,		382, 386	109.18	385
	386	92	379, 382	109.20	350
82.6	376	92.1 ET	382	109.31	383
82.8	376, 377	92.2	382	110	372, 374,
83	382	93-100	382		383-86
84-88	384	93	382	110.1-3	374
85	93, 373	95	274, 373,	110.1	374, 375,
87	384		376, 378,		383, 385
88	386		379, 382-	110.2	375
89	372, 374,		84, 386	110.4-7	374
	382, 384,	95.1-5	378	110.4	374, 375,
	386	95.1-2	378		385
89.1-37 ET	382	95.2-3	378	110.5-7	375
89.1-18 ET	374	95.3	378	110.5	375
89.2-38	382	95.4-5	378	111-118	383
89.2-19	374	95.6-7	378	118	383, 385,
89.3-4 ET	380, 382,	95.6	378		386
	385	95.7-11	378, 380,	118.20	385
89.4-5	380, 382,		382	118.22-24	385
	385	95.7	378	118.26	383, 385
89.19-37 ET	374, 380,	95.8	378	118.27	385
	382	95.10	378	120-134	383
89.20-38	374, 380,	95.11	378	126	373
	382	96	383	127	385
89.20 ET	385	97	383	129	385
89.21 ET	230	97.7	385	129.4	298
89.21	385	98	383	131.3	383
89.22	230	98.1	371	132	230, 372,
89.26-27 ET	374	99	383		373, 375,
89.27-28	374	99.1	311		380, 383,
89.28 ET	230, 375	100	383		384, 386
89.29	230, 375	101	372, 379	132.1-10	375
89.30 ET	344	101.6-7	379	132.2	375
89.31	344	102.25-27 ET	385	132.3-5	375
89.38-51 ET	374, 382	102.26-28	385	132.6-7	375
89.39-52	374, 382	103.1	371	132.8-9	375
90-92	382	104.4	385	132.10	375
90	379, 382	105.10	373	132.11-18	375
90.3	379	105.15	399	132.11-13	375
90.10	343	106.28	280	132.11-12	375, 380
91	373, 379,	108	379	132.11	230, 375,
	382-84,	108.7-13 ET	380		385
	386	108.7-9 ET	380	132.12	383
91.1-13	379	108.8-14	380	132.14-18	375, 380
		108.8-10	380	135	274

137.7	167	3.1-4	375	7.1-17	235
142.1 ET	342	3.13-15	110	7.1	226-28
142.2	342	3.15	374	7.2-9.6	227
142.5 ET	342	4	249, 261	7.2	239
142.6	342	4.2	374	7.3-4	228
142.7	344	4.4	249	7.3	228, 229
142.8 ET	344	5-12	227	7.4	228, 230,
144	372	5-10	254, 255,		256, 259,
145.17	298		259-63		261
		5-6	262	7.7-9	229, 260
<i>Proverbs</i>		5	125, 234,	7.7	229, 258
1.3	327		259, 262	7.8	229
6.19	349	5.1-7	110, 260	7.9	229, 230,
8.10	327	5.5	258		235, 258,
11.18	350	5.7	258		399
12.17	349	5.8-10	109, 234	7.10-17	239
14.5	349	5.8	111	7.10	228
14.25	349	5.10	111	7.13	235
16.29	304	5.11-14	262	7.14	225, 227,
19.5	349	5.12	249		239
19.9	349	5.21-24	259	7.15-17	229
24.23	327	5.24-25	262	7.15	232
24.28	304	5.24	251	7.16-18	226
31.17	317	6-9	256, 260	7.16	236
		6-8	29, 253,	7.17-25	237
			257	7.17	228, 236,
<i>Song of Songs</i>			225-25,		237
8.11	206	6	253, 262,	7.18-25	228, 234,
			315, 410,		237
<i>Isaiah</i>			428	7.18-19	87
1-39	267		225	7.18	226, 228,
1-12	107, 246-	6.1-9.7 ET	225		236
	48, 250,	6.1-9.6	225		
	254, 255,	6.1-8.18	225, 246,	7.21-25	233
	258, 260,		248	7.22	234
	263	6.1	269, 413	7.25	258
1-4	261	6.8	374	8-10	125, 262
1	261	6.9-10	257, 259,	8	73, 225,
1.2-3	378		261		226, 231,
1.10-17	296	6.9	401		234, 236,
1.21-27	258	7-8	238, 258		237, 249,
1.21-26	109	7	225-28,		250, 256,
1.24	374		230, 231,		259
2	261		236, 239,	8.1-18	227, 228,
2.1-5	93		240, 419		260
2.1-4	93, 94	7.1-8.18	227	8.1-4	228, 258
3	261	7.1-25	227	8.1	74, 348

<i>Isaiah</i> (cont.)		10–11	262	28–31	245, 246,
8.2	271	10.1	343		248, 250,
8.3	65, 75	10	262, 281		253, 255,
8.4	74, 236	10.1-4	110		259-63
8.5-8	228, 237	10.6	258	28–30	259
8.6-8	228	10.22-23	262	28–29	248, 260
8.6-7	236	10.23	258, 259	28	256-58,
8.7-8	258	10.24-26	258		260, 262
8.7	374	10.28-32	260	28.1–30.17	246, 248
8.8	226, 232,	11–12	248	28.1-4	249, 263
	262	11	239, 248,	28.1	248, 249,
8.10	226, 232,		249		260
	258	11.1-16	93	28.2-3	258
8.11-18	252, 253	11.2-4	249	28.2	248
8.11-15	250, 253,	11.6	42	28.3	249
	256	11.15	93	28.5-6	249, 263
8.11-12	252	12.5	249	28.5	249
8.11	251-53,	13–23	246, 263	28.6	249, 269
	315	13.17	270	28.7-13	155, 255,
8.12-13	249	14.4-21	278		257
8.12	258	14.22	374	28.7-10	257, 263
8.14	253, 258,	14.23	374	28.7	256, 260,
	260	14.24	374		261
8.15	255-58	14.28-32	331	28.11-22	263
8.16-18	226, 250,	18–19	333	28.11-13	256, 257,
	253, 261,	19	92		259
	271	19.1-15	92	28.11	256, 260
8.16	30, 228,	19.2	92	28.12	256, 257,
	248, 251,	19.16-25	92		261, 263
	254	19.16	92	28.13	255-60
8.17-19	258	19.18	92	28.14-28	402
8.17	253	19.25	92	28.14-22	257
8.18	225, 231,	20	74, 246,	28.14-18	257, 263
	260		402	28.14	256, 260,
8.19-20	258, 391	20.4	181		262
8.20	251	21.6	346	28.15-17	86
9	239, 240,	21.8	346	28.15	258, 262
	248	22	246	28.16-17	257
9.1-6	93, 231	24–27	246	28.16	258, 260
9.2-7 ET	93, 231	24.14	218	28.17	258
9.6	93	24.19	218	28.18	258, 262
9.7 ET	93	26.10	249	28.19-22	257
9.7-20	260	26.19	216	28.22	258, 259,
9.8-21 ET	260	26.53	216		262
9.18-19	41	28–33	246-48	28.23-29	263
9.19-20 ET	41			29–31	256

29	256, 259	30.16	255	40.20	269
29.1-4	260, 263	30.18-33	263	40.21	271
29.1	248, 255	30.18	251	40.22	269, 277
29.4	261	30.19	260	40.23-24	279
29.5-8	260, 263	31	254, 255	40.23	275
29.9-16	263	31.1-3	238, 254,	40.26	277
29.9-12	259		255, 263	40.25	273
29.9-10	261	31.1	248, 255	40.27	276
29.11-12	261	31.4-9	263	41.1-5	279
29.13-14	256, 259,	31.9	374	41.1	270, 277
	260	32-33	248	41.3	270
29.15-16	259, 263	32	248, 263	41.5-14	309
29.15	248	32.1-8	93	41.5	277
29.17-24	263	32.9-14	248	41.8	360
29.18	261	32.15-20	248	41.11-12	275, 279
29.21	346	33-35	263	41.17	276
29.22-24	249-53	33	248	41.20	279
29.23	249	33.1	248	41.22	271
29.24	250	34-35	246	41.23	269, 271
30-31	248	36-39	226-28,	41.24	270, 272,
30	251, 254,		246		275
	255, 259	36-37	125, 238	41.25	270, 279
30.1-5	238, 254,	36	228, 238	41.26	271
	263, 402	36.2	226	41.28	268, 272
30.1-3	255	36.8-9	255	41.29	269, 270,
30.1-2	255	37.16-20	281		272, 275
30.1	248, 260,	37.21	238	42.1-6	279
	374	37.30	233	42.1-4	279
30.2	255	39.1-8	278	42.1	413
30.5	255	40-55	267	42.5	276
30.6-8	263	40-48	267, 271-	42.6	94, 279
30.6-7	263		73	42.7	268
30.8-17	263	40.1	276	42.8	276
30.8-11	259	40.2	278	42.9	271, 272
30.8	248, 254,	40.3	276, 277	42.10-12	279
	255, 271,	40.5	279	42.12	271
	348	40.6	277	42.13-14	278
30.9-17	255	40.9-10	276	41.13	279
30.9-10	251	40.9	305	42.15	277
30.9	260, 261	40.11	278	42.25	278
30.12-14	259	40.12-31	268	43.7	279
30.15-18	254	40.13-14	268	43.8-12	277
30.15-17	238, 254,	40.15	279	43.9-12	271
	259	40.17	274, 279	43.9	271
30.15	256, 261,	40.18	273, 277	43.10	277
	263	40.19-20	309	43.11	275

<i>Isaiah</i> (cont.)		46.1	268, 272	51.9-10	277
43.12	271, 277	46.2	272	51.9	344
43.14	279	46.3-5	273	51.13	279
43.16-17	271	46.5	273	51.15	276
43.19	271, 272	46.6-7	272	51.17	278
44.6-22	309	46.6	277	51.20	276, 278
44.6	275	46.7	269, 272	51.22-23	279
44.7	271-73	46.8-13	273	51.22	276
44.8	271, 275,	46.8-11	279	52	384
	277	46.9	273, 277	52.1	279
44.9-20	269	46.10	271, 272	52.7	271, 277,
44.9	269	47	279		305
44.10	277	47.3-4	277	52.10	277, 279
44.11	269	47.3	278	52.11	279
44.15	277	47.4	276	52.12	276
44.17-20	269	47.5	268, 278	52.15	279
44.17	277	47.6	278	53	414
44.18-20	276	47.7	278	53.4-5	280
44.24-47.13	272	47.8	275	53.4	277
44.24-45.13	340	47.10	275	53.6	300
44.24-45.7	279	48	272	54.13-17	279
44.24	270	48.1	276	54.3	279
44.28	270	48.2	276	54.5	276
45.1-3	270, 278	48.3	271	54.7	278
45.5	275	48.5-7	271	55-56	267
45.6	270, 275	48.5	271	55.1-5	278
45.7	199, 268,	48.6	271	55.3-5	279
	269, 270	48.7	272	55.6-7	95
45.8	279	48.9	278	55.7	276
45.9-10	269	48.11-16	269	55.11	272
45.11-13	269	48.11	276	58	110
45.12	277	48.13	277	58.3	110
45.13	270, 279	48.14	271, 279	58.6-7	110
45.14-15	279	48.20	271, 279	58.11	301
45.14	275, 277	49.1	279, 418	59.4	343
45.15	272, 277	49.4	276	61	93, 413
45.18-19	268, 277	49.5	276	61.1	413
45.18	275, 277	49.6	90, 279	62.8	374
45.19	271	49.7	279	65.7	350
45.20	269, 277	49.10	276	65.17-25	196
45.21	271, 277	49.13	277	65.17	425
45.23-25	279	49.14-15	278	66.19	283
45.22	94, 277	49.22-26	279	66.22	425
45.23	272, 279	51.4-6	279		
46.1-2	269	51.4	344		

Jeremiah

		4.9	295	10	274
1-25	291	4.10	295	10.1-6	309
1-20	291, 306	5.3	327	10.5	270
1.1	126	5.9	292	11-20	291, 296
1.4-19	154, 291	5.14-16	340	11-13	296
1.4-10	154, 291	5.14	154	11-12	296
1.4-9	164	5.20-29	107	11.14	294
1.4-5	418	5.30-31	156	11.18-12.6	86, 297
1.4	165, 421	6.1-8	340	11.18-23	297
1.5	90, 164,	6.1	401	11.18-20	297
	165, 292	6.7	343	11.18	297, 301
1.6	164, 292	6.9-15	156	11.19	297, 298,
1.7-8	292	6.22-26	340		303
1.7	155, 164,	7	295	11.20	86, 297
	292	7.1-7	107	11.21-23	107, 297
1.8	164	7.1-2	401	12.1-6	297, 298
1.9	154, 292,	7.6	309	12.1-4	297, 341
	422	7.9	309	12.1-3	340
1.10	164, 165,	7.16	294, 303	12.2	298
	292	7.18	309	12.3	86, 298,
1.11-16	291, 292	7.22	295		301
1.11-12	154	7.25	152	12.4-6	297
1.13-16	154, 340	7.28	327	12.4	298, 303
1.16	309	8.5	296	12.7-12	293
1.17-19	154, 291,	8.18-9.3 ET	294, 377	13-15	296
	292	8.18-9.2	294, 377	13	296
1.17	292	8.18-9.1	301	13.1-11	30
1.18-19	301	8.18-9.2 ET	301	14-17	296
1.18	292	8.18-21	294	14-16	296
1.19	301	8.18-19	294	14.11-16	156
2-20	293	8.22-9.3 ET	294	14.11	294
2-11	293	8.22-9.2	294	14.13-16	295
2-6	293	9	86	14.14	295
2.1-3	293	9.1-3	294	14.19-22	294
2.1	401	9.2	294	15.1	294
2.8	293	9.3-5	85	15.5-9	293
2.10-11	293	9.3 ET	294	15.10-21	297, 302,
2.13	293, 301	9.3	86		303
2.14-19	402	9.4	86, 296	15.10-14	297, 299,
2.23	293	9.4 ET	86		300
2.27	293	9.4-6 ET	85	15.10-12	297
2.30	218, 327	9.5 ET	86, 296	15.10	299, 343,
2.33-37	402	9.6-8	86		414
2.34	107	9.7-9 ET	86	15.11	299, 301
3.16	313	9.9	293	15.12	299, 300
4.7	165	9.10 ET	293	15.13-14	299, 300

<i>Jeremiah</i> (cont.)		20–21	125	28.8-9	127
15.15-21	86, 297,	20	305	28.8	155, 163
	300	20.2	304	28.15-17	125
15.15-19	300	20.3	305	28.16	156
15.15-18	300	20.7-18	297, 304,	29	156
15.15	86, 300,		306, 414	29.8	295
	301	20.7-13	86, 297,	29.10	396
15.16	155		304, 305	29.15	168
15.16	301, 303	20.7-9	297	29.19	152
15.17	300, 301,	20.7-8	304, 341	29.31-32	156
	315	20.7	290	30–34	196
17.18	86, 290,	20.8-9	155	31.31-34	93
	301	20.8	342, 343	31.35-36	94
15.19-21	300	20.9	94, 155,	32	74
15.19	300-302		304	32.10	74
15.20-21	301	20.10-13	297	32.25	74
15.20	301	20.10	303, 305	32.33	327
15.21	301	20.11-13	305	32.36-41	93
16–17	296	20.11	305	32.44	74
16.1-9	301	20.12	86, 305	33.3	306
17	296	20.14-18	297, 299,	33.24-26	360
17.3-4	300		305	34.8-22	107
17.5-8	302	21–52	306	35.15	152
17.7-10	298	22.11	160	35.13	327
17.7-8	298	22.13-19	107	36	160-62,
17.12-18	297	22.13	107, 305		165, 166
17.14-18	86, 297,	22.19	160	36.2	162
	302	23.9-40	295	36.10	160, 165
17.14	302	23.9-32	156	36.11-14	165
17.15	155, 302,	23.18	125, 127,	36.11-13	160
	303		129	36.11-12	161
17.16	302	23.22	125, 127,	36.12	161
17.17	290, 302		129	36.14	161
17.18	302	23.29	155	36.16	160, 161
17.23	327	23.39	295	36.19	161
18–20	296	25.4	152	36.24	160, 161
18.5	401	26.5	152	36.25	161
18.18-23	86, 297,	25.11	396	36.27-31	160
	303	25.15	376	36.32	161, 162
18.18	303	26.17-19	155	37.9	295
18.19	303	27–29	125, 295	38.4	6
18.20	303	27	156	44.4	152
18.21-23	87, 303,	27.2–28.17	394	48.13	216
	304	27.7	396	48.25-26	376
18.23	303	28	156	49.12	376

49.16	295	3.23	316	18.2	137
50.9	270	3.26-27	134	18.4	137
51.1	270	4.1-8	401	18.5-18	137
51.11	270	4.4-8	134	18.9	137
		6.14	315	18.13	137
<i>Lamentations</i>		7.21	315	18.14-17	137
2.14	155	8-11	311, 313	18.17	137
3.8	360	8.1	315	18.19	137, 138
4.21-22	167	8.2	315-19,	20	129, 296
18	360		423	20.5	316
		8.3	309, 313,	20.6	316
<i>Ezekiel</i>			315	20.7-8	296
1-3	311	8.4	309, 316	20.11-13	296
1	134, 315,	8.5	313	20.15	316
	319, 410,	8.7-13	313	20.16	296
	428	8.7-12	135	20.18-21	296
1.1	309, 413,	9-10	311	20.23	316
	421	9.3	309, 312,	20.24	296
1.3	126, 315		316	20.25	296
1.4-28	311	10.1	311, 318	20.28	316
1.4	423	10.4	312, 316	20.33	315
1.5-14	311	10.9-14	311	20.34	315
1.5	318	10.9	318	20.38	195
1.10	318	10.10	318	20.42	316
1.13	318	10.18	312, 316	22.23-29	113
1.14	318	10.19	312, 316	22.29	113
1.15-21	311	10.20-22	311	23	135, 138,
1.15	318	10.20	309		208
1.16	318	10.21	318	23.15	317, 318
1.22-28	311	10.22	318	23.31	138
1.22	318	11.13	314	23.34	138
1.26-28	316, 319	11.20	309	24	134-36
1.26-27	317	11.22	312, 316	24.27	134, 135
1.26	311, 316-	11.23	316	28	30
	19	13	155	33.22	134, 135,
1.27	315, 317,	13.3	156		315
	318, 423	13.9	315	34	138
1.28-3.15	19	13.17	65	34.3	138
1.28	316, 318,	13.23	315	36.7	316
	319	14	129	36.22-32	94
2.9	315	14.9	304, 315	37	216
3.1-3	301, 421	14.13	315	37.1-14	360
3.12	316	16	135, 208	37.1	315
3.14	315	16.27	315	38.17	152
3.22	315	18	137	40-48	312, 316,
					411

<i>Ezekiel</i> (cont.)		2.1 ET	82	2.18-19	208
40.1	315	2.1-25	208	2.18	207
40.3	316, 318	2.2 ET	204, 208,	2.19-20 ET	208
41.17-20	312		209	2.19	202, 204
41.25	312	2.2-5 ET	207, 208	2.21-22	208
42.11	318	2.2-3 ET	209	3	82, 83,
42.13	315	2.3	82		209, 210
43.2-3	312	2.4	204, 208,	3.1-5	82
43.2	316		209	3.1	82, 210
43.3	318	2.4 ET	204	3.3	204
43.4	312, 316	2.4-7	207, 208	3.5	204, 210,
43.5	312, 316	2.4-5 ET	209		329, 332
43.6	316	2.4-5	209	4-14	211
43.7	313	2.5 ET	202, 205,	4-11	212
43.9	314		206, 208,	4.1	401
44.4	316		209	4.5	155
44.7	315	2.6-7	209	4.10	204
44.12	316	2.6	204	4.12-15	204
44.15	315	2.7	202, 205,	4.12	203
45.9	343		206, 208,	4.13	203
47.1-12	94		209	4.14	215
47.14	316	2.8 ET	202, 204-	4.15	203, 204,
			206, 208,		211
<i>Daniel</i>			213	4.17	203
2	424	2.10	202, 204-	5-6	216, 218
7	411, 424		206, 208,	5.1-7	375
9	384		213	5.1	202
9.26	262	2.10 ET	209	5.4	204
9.27	262	2.10-12 ET	207, 208	5.5	204
10.16	318	2.12	209	5.6	329
11.36	262	2.12 ET	205	5.8	203
12.9	426	2.12-14	207, 208	5.13	203
		2.13 ET	202, 204,	5.14	218, 219
<i>Hosea</i>			208	5.15	329
1-3	82	2.14-20 ET	82	6.1	218
1	82, 83,	2.14-15 ET	208	6.2	218
	203, 209,	2.14	205	6.3	218, 219
	210	2.14 ET	304	6.5	218
1.2	82, 204,	2.15	202, 204,	6.6	296
	209, 210		208	6.9	203
1.7	204	2.16	304	6.11	204
1.10 ET	82, 204	2.16 ET	207	7.1-7	202
1.10-2.23 ET	208	2.16-22	82	7.10-13	402
2	205, 207-	2.16-17 ET	208	7.11	203
	209, 211	2.16-17	208	7.13-16	332
2.1	82, 204	2.17 ET	202, 204		

7.14	206, 212-14	13.1	202, 204, 206, 209,	1.1	11, 12, 188, 197
7.15-16	212		211, 216,	1.2	188, 197
7.16	203, 212-14	13.2	218, 219	1.3-2.16	329, 331
8.4	202	13.4	202, 215	1.5	198
8.5-6	202, 215	13.7-8	275	1.9-12	188
8.6	204	13.7	218, 219	1.9	90, 194
8.9-10	402	13.9	218	1.11-12	167
8.9	203	13.9	202, 218	1.11	91
9.1	401	13.10-11	202	2.4-5	188, 195
9.5	211	13.14-15	219	2.7-8	42
9.8	346	13.14	218	2.10-12	158
9.10	204, 206, 209, 211	13.16 ET	202	2.11-12	155, 168
9.11-14	211	14	334	2.11	374
9.15	211	14.1	202	2.16	374
9.16	211	14.1 ET	218	2.27	275
10.1-2	203	14.2-3 ET	332	3-6	198
10.5-6	202, 215	14.2	218	3.1-7	375
10.5	203	14.3-4	332	3.1-2	189
10.6	203	14.3 ET	203	3.2	191
10.7	202	14.4	203	3.6-7	272
10.8	203	14.4 ET	218	3.7	152, 155, 188, 195
10.11	204	14.5	218		
10.13	202	14.5 ET	218, 219	3.8	128
10.14	202	14.5-7 ET	219	3.9	108
10.15	202	14.6-8	219	3.10	343, 374
11-13	212	14.6	218, 219	3.12	218, 332
11.2	202, 204, 209, 211-13	14.8 ET	203, 204	3.13	374
		14.9	203, 204	3.14	203
		<i>Joel</i>		3.15	374
		2.21-23	333	4.1-6.7	198
		2.21	332	4.1	30
		2.22	332	4.4	203
		2.23	332	4.6-12	193, 330,
		2.28-32 ET	411		331
		2.28 ET	65	4.12	330
		3.1-5	411	4.13	188
		3.1	65	5	198
		3.16 ET	197	5.1-17	198
		3.19 ET	91	5.2-3	332
		4.16	197	5.4	193, 329
		4.19	91	5.5	203
		<i>Amos</i>		5.7-10	198
		1-2	198	5.8-9	188
				5.10	108, 346
				5.11	109

<i>Amos</i> (cont.)		11	91	5.2-4 ET	239
5.12	106, 108	12	91	5.2	240
5.14-15	329, 331	15-21	334	5.3 ET	240
5.14	329	15	167	5.7	218
5.15	108			5.8 ET	218
5.16-17	332	<i>Jonah</i>		5.9-13	328, 329,
5.18-20	138-40	3.4	90		332
5.21-25	296			5.10-14 ET	328, 329,
5.21-23	140	<i>Micah</i>			332
5.25	188, 296	1-3	107	6-7	347
5.26	188, 192,	1.2-9	363	6	347, 378
	195	1.2-5	363	6.1-8	296
6.2	191	1.2	30	6.2	347
6.3	139	1.3-7	375	6.3	184, 347
6.13	189	1.6	363	6.4-5	211
7-9	198	1.8-9	361	6.5	211
7.1-9.4	191	1.10-2.9	363	6.9-12	108, 111
7.10-17	11, 12,	1.10-11	362	6.9	108
	14, 193	1.10	362	6.11-12	332
7.10	203	1.11	362	6.14	111
7.12	175	1.14	301, 362	6.15	111
7.13	203	2	111	7	85, 88
7.14-15	39	2.1-5	109, 111	7.1-7	84
7.14	11-13,	2.1-2	362	7.1-6	85
	173, 400	2.2-3	362	7.1	85
7.16-17	29	2.2	111	7.2-6	88
8.4-6	108	2.5	363	7.2	84, 85
8.6	108	2.8	363	7.3-4	84
8.14	195	2.10-16	363	7.5	84, 85
9	195, 197	2.10	363	7.6	42, 84
9.2-4	193	2.11	363	7.7-19	334
9.5-6	188	2.14-16	363	7.7	85
9.7	191, 198	2.17-3.6	363	7.8-10	88, 333
9.8	188, 191	3	110, 155	7.8	88
9.9-10	188, 195	3.2-3	110	7.9	88
9.9	195	3.7-12	363	7.10	89, 92
9.11-15	334	3.10	110		
9.11-12	188	3.11	230	<i>Habakkuk</i>	
9.11	196	3.12	155	1.1-4	340
9.13-15	188, 333	3.13-21	363	1.1-2	428
9.13-14	196	4.1-5	93	1.2-2.4	339
		4.1-4	93, 94	1.2-4	340-42,
<i>Obadiah</i>		4.2-3	93		350
1-14	167	4.6	333	1.2	342
10-12	91	5	234	1.3	342, 343,
10	91	5.1-3	239		349

1.4	339, 340, 343	2.3	326, 328, 329, 331, 332	3.14-17	332
1.5-13	385			7.7	165
1.5-11	340	2.4-3.8	330, 331	7.8-14	165
1.12-17	344, 350	2.4-15	331	7.11-14	166
1.12	344, 345, 347	2.7	331, 332	7.12	165
1.13-17	340	2.8-10	332	8.1-8	196
1.13	343, 345	2.9	332	8.13	332
1.14	345	2.11	326	8.15	332
2.1-4	341, 345, 346	2.15	331, 332	8.20-23	94
2.1-3	345	3.1-8	327, 331	12.11	217
2.1-2	346	3.1-7	329	<i>Malachi</i>	
2.1	346, 347	3.1-5	113	1.1-5	356, 358
2.2	30, 341, 346-48	3.2	327, 328	1.1	400
2.3	343, 348, 349	3.3	331	1.2-5	357
2.4-5	350	3.4	328, 331	1.5	358
2.4	339, 345, 349, 350	3.5	331	1.6-2.9	126, 356, 357
2.5-8	385	3.6-8	330, 331, 335	1.6	83
2.17	343	3.6	328, 330	1.9	358
3	339, 345	3.7	327, 328, 330, 331	1.11-14	326
3.7-4.1	384	3.8-10	326	2.7	400
3.17	345	3.8	330	2.10-16	357, 360
4.14-5.14	385	3.9-10	326, 333	2.10	356, 360
6.4	419	3.11-13	331, 332, 335	2.11	356
10.38	339	3.11	328, 331, 332	2.12	356
<i>Zephaniah</i>		3.12	331	2.13-16	356
1.2-3.13	326, 334	3.13	331, 332	2.17-3.16	357
1.2-3.8	332	3.14-20	326, 332- 35	2.17-3.1	356
1.2-3	326	3.14-17	333	2.17	359
1.4-6	326-29	3.19	333	3.1-4	356
1.4	270	9.9	332	3.1	400
1.5	270, 327	14	326	3.5	356
1.6	326, 328, 329	<i>Haggai</i>		3.6-7	356, 358
1.12	270	1.13	400	3.6	357
1.15-16	326	2.5	332	3.7-12	357
1.18	326	<i>Zechariah</i>		3.8-12	356
2.1-3.8	332	1-8	364	3.10	359
2.1-3	329-31, 335	1.1-6	152, 165	3.13-21	356, 357
		1.6	166	3.13-15	356
				3.14	359
				3.17	83
				3.22-24	357
				3.23-24	83
				3.23	412, 413
				3.24	84

<i>Malachi</i> (cont.)		5.12	414	7.16	414
4.4-6 ET	357	5.21-48	412	7.26-27	413
4.5-6 ET	83	7.22	415	7.28	412, 413
4.5 ET	412, 413	10.35	85	7.32	413
4.6 ET	84	11.10	413	9.35	385
		12.17-21	414	10.16	414
APOCRYPHA/DEUTERO-		12.28	413	10.23-24	411
CANONICAL BOOKS		12.39	413	11.20	413
<i>1 Esdras</i>		13.57	413	11.49-51	414
1.15	397	14.5	411	12.53	85
1.23-31	398	16.14	411	13.33-34	413, 414
		17.5	385	13.33	415
<i>2 Esdras</i> (<i>4 Ezra</i>)		17.14	411	13.35	385
6-7	424	18	94	16.16	412, 413
		21.9	385	19.38	385
<i>Tobit</i>		21.11	414	20.42-43	385
1.5	215	21.16	386	22-23	386
		22.44	385	22.37	414
<i>Wisdom</i>		23.29-38	414	22.64	414
13	274	23.39	385	23.46	386
		24.11	415	24.19	414
<i>Ecclesiasticus</i>		26.68	414	24.44	371
24.33	19				
33.5	275	<i>Mark</i>		<i>John</i>	
38	413	1.10	413	1.17-18	426
39.6	19	1.11	385, 413	1.18	422
46.1	151	1.22	413	1.21	422
46.4-5	400	3.22	207	1.23	422
46.17-18	400	3.28-29	413	1.25	422
46.20	400	6.4	414	1.31	422
48.2-10	400	8.28	412	1.45	414, 422
48.12-15	400	9.7	385	4.19	422
48.21	400	11.9-10	385	4.44	414, 422
48.23	400	11.27-33	413	6.14	414, 422
48.25	400	11.30	413	6.45	422
		12.1-12	87	6.46	422, 425
<i>Epistle of Jeremiah</i>		12.36	385	7.16	414
57-73	274	14.62	385	7.40	414, 422
		14.65	414	7.52	422
<i>Bel and the Dragon</i>				8.52-53	422
5	274	<i>Luke</i>		9.16	427
		1.17	413	9.17	414, 422
NEW TESTAMENT		1.67	413	12.13	385
<i>Matthew</i>		3.22	385	12.38	422
1.23	410	4.16-30	413	12.44-45	414
3.17	385	4.24	414	14-16	422

14.9	422	4.8	419	<i>1 Peter</i>	
16.13	422, 426	5.3	418	1.10-12	411
16.29	427	7.25	418	2.22	414
17.24	425, 427	10.11	419		
20.31	426	11.5	420	<i>1 John</i>	
21.24-25	425, 426	11.13	420	1.1	421
		12-14	419	2.20	421
<i>Acts</i>		12.13	419	2.27	421
1.20	385	13	419	3.2	419
2.17	411	13.1	420	4.1	415
2.25-36	385	13.12	419, 427		
2.30	371	14	418, 420	<i>Jude</i>	
3.22	412	14.22-25	420	11	418
4.25	371	14.26	417, 420		
5.39	417	14.32	416, 420	<i>Revelation</i>	
8.32-33	414	14.34	420	1.13-16	426
9	415, 418			2.5	426
10	415	<i>2 Corinthians</i>		2.14	418
10.19	416	1.22	419	2.16	426
10.28	416	4.2	85	2.20	418
10.34	416	4.10	418	4-5	423
10.38	413	12.2-4	420	5.5-6	419
11.28	419			10-11	419, 424
13.17-41	385	<i>Galatians</i>		10	410, 421
14.17	405	1.1-4	418	11.3-12	421
19.35	269	1.12-16	418	11.14	421
21.4	417	1.16	419	13	424
21.11	411	2.20	418	13.18	427
21.12-14	417	3-4	418	17	424
22	415, 418	3.11	339	19.10	419
26	415, 418	6.11	419	21-22	422
				22.1-2	94
<i>Romans</i>		<i>Ephesians</i>		22.4	419, 427
1	274	1.14	419	22.10	426
1.17	339	4.11	419	22.18-19	425
8	418			22.18	421, 426
8.23	419	<i>Colossians</i>			
11.3	414	1.24	418	PSEUDEPIGRAPHA	
12.6	419, 420			<i>Apocalypse of Baruch</i>	
		<i>1 Thessalonians</i>		25-30	424
<i>1 Corinthians</i>		2.15	414		
1-2	427	5.19	419, 420	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	
2	418			3.744-49	233
2.10-16	420	<i>1 Timothy</i>		5.282-83	233
4	418	4.1	415		

<i>Jubilees</i>		<i>Ḥagigah</i>		EARLY CHRISTIAN	
11	274	2.1	418	WORKS	
12	274			<i>Didache</i>	
		TALMUDS		11	418, 420
QUMRAN		<i>b. Baba Meš'ca</i>			
1QH		59a	416	Hugh of St Victor	
11.18	275			<i>Didascalion</i>	
		<i>b. Ḥagigah</i>		3.10	423
1QHa		13b	423		
11.9-10	240			Justin	
		<i>b. Megillah</i>		<i>Dialogue with Trypho</i>	
1QS		14a	65	43	232
12.11	275	24a	422		
				QURAN	
4Q161-165	250	<i>t. Soṭah</i>		1.285	400
		13.3	412	2.135-39	400
4Q161				2.180	400
1	262	Rabbinic Works		37.70-180	400
2-6	262	<i>Exodus Rabbah</i>		73.15-20	400
		18.5	232		
4Q162				ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN	
ii	262	<i>Mekilta Exodus</i>		TEXTS	
ii:6.10	262	12.3	414	<i>A</i>	
				1121	53
4Q163	250	<i>Sifre Numbers</i>		1968	53
2-6 ii	262	12.8	414	2731	53
2	262			3760	53
4-6 ii	262	JOSEPHUS		3796	53
6-7 ii	262	<i>Antiquities</i>			
18-19.4-6	250	4.200-201	281	<i>ARM</i>	
21	251	9.42-43	395	9 22	53
22	251			22 326	52
23 ii.10-12	251	<i>War</i>		25 142	6
25	251	6.288	417	25 15	53
				26 194	53
4Q174		CLASSICAL WORKS		26 195	53
1.14-15	252	Herodotus		26 197	50
		1.87	270	26 199	50, 53
CD		1.209-10	270	26 200	52
VIII 16	252			26 203	50
XIX 29	252	Xenophanes		26 203 12	50
		Fragments	282	26 204:4	54
MISHNAH				26 207	51
<i>Berakot</i>				26 208	53
5.5	414			26 209	53

26 210	50	III 2:21-27	52	<i>Papyrus Berlin</i>	
26 214	50	III 3		3033	33
26 217	50	col. iii.4-13	52		
26 219	53			<i>Papyrus Chester Beatty</i>	
26 223	53	<i>KAI</i>		IV	31, 35
26 237	52	14.18	206, 207	IV verso,	
26 237:5	51	31.1	206	6.13-14	35
26 371	53	31.2	206		
26 414	53			<i>PRAK</i>	
		50.2-3	206	C 26	53
<i>AuOr</i>		79.1	207		
5 13:16-17	49			<i>Prism A</i>	
		<i>KAV</i>		iii 4-10	6
<i>CM</i>		121:5	55		
3:23-24	49			<i>RA</i>	
		<i>KTU</i>		77 1:8	49
<i>CT</i>		1.2.III.21	216	77 2:11-12	49
41 28 r.6	51	1.4.VIII-			
		1.6.VI	217	<i>RE</i>	
<i>Emar</i>		1.5.V.6-8	219	23:16-17	49
140:1	49	1.5.V.10-11	219	30:5-7	49
185:2-3	49	1.5.V.18-25	217		
373:97	48	1.5.V.18-22	215	<i>SAA</i>	
379:11-12	48	1.5.VI.17-23	214	2 6	54
383:10	48	1.6.I.2-6	214	2.2 i 22	13
387:11	49	1.6.III.1-13	205, 219	7 9	55
406:5	48	1.12	219	9	5
		1.16.III.6-7	205	9.1	27
<i>Epic of Creation</i>		1.16.III.12-16	205	9.2	27
1.30-34	268	1.23.52-53	305	9 1	9
1.47-49	268	1.47.5-11	206	9 1.10	55
1.55-72	268			9 1.2	55
1.110-14	268	<i>Lachish Ostraca</i>		9 1.3	55
1.125-32	268	3	6, 25	9 1.4	10, 55
1.145-62	268	6	25	9 1.4 ii 37	13
		6.5	6	9 1.5	55
<i>Erra</i>		16	6	9 1.7	55
88-90	305			9 1.8	55
		<i>M</i>		9 2.1	55
<i>FLP</i>		11436	53	9 2.2	10, 55
1672	53			9 2.2 i 17-18	13
1674: 1-8	16	<i>MSL</i>		9 2.3	55
		12 4.222	6	9 2.4	55
<i>FM</i>		12 4212	6	9 2.5	55
7 38	8			9 3.1-3	55
7 39	8			9 3.2	30

<i>SAA</i> (cont.)		13 144	56	<i>TM</i>	
9 3.4-5	55	13 148	56	74G.454	47
9 6	55	15 59	56		
9 7	55	16 59	56	<i>W</i>	
9 9	55			19900 1	4
9 9 r. 6-7	8	<i>Sem</i>			
9 I.5:6	55	2:20-21	49	<i>Yavneh Yam</i>	
10 24	55			10-11	347
10 352	6, 56	<i>STT</i>			
12 69	56	406 r. 10	55		
12 69:29	54				
13 13	55	<i>T</i>			
		8	53		

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Abou-Assaf, A. 206, 219
Ackroyd, P.R. 209, 219, 248, 264, 354,
356, 366
Albertz, R. 274, 285, 326-29, 336
Alexander, P.S. 416, 428
Amit, Y. 394, 398, 400, 405, 406
Andersen, F.I. 39, 44, 209, 211, 215,
218, 219, 339, 341, 343, 344, 347,
350
Andrews, E.D. 119, 131
Arnaud, D. 48, 49, 57
Ashton, J. 422, 429
Assis, E. 68, 76, 360, 366
Athanassiadi, P. 282, 285
Atkinson, J.M. 117-19, 131
Auld, A.G. 69, 76, 198, 200, 394, 399,
406
Aune, D. 410, 429
Avioz, M. 86, 87, 95
Avishur, Y. 339, 345, 350

Bible and Culture Collective 144, 145
Baker, H.D. 60
Baldwin, J.G. 355, 356, 362, 367
Barr, J. 49, 57, 85, 95, 281, 285, 315,
316, 321
Barstad, H.M. 10, 15, 20, 151, 169, 203,
214, 215, 217, 219
Barth, H. 169, 227, 241, 245, 264
Barthel, J. 225-31, 233, 235, 237, 241,
245, 248, 253-58, 261, 264
Barthélemy, D. 75, 76, 163
Barton, J. 34, 44, 144, 145, 167, 169,
189, 190, 193, 200, 371, 387, 403,
406, 420, 429
Batto, B.F. 51, 54, 57
Baudissin, W.W.G. 218, 219
Baumann, G. 277, 285
Baumgartner, W. 297, 307
Beck, M. 328, 330, 335, 336
Becker, U. 245, 246, 248, 253-58, 261,
264
Beckman, G.M. 49, 57

Beentjes, P.C. 19, 20, 394, 397, 403, 406
Begg, C.T. 393, 394, 398, 406
Begrich, J. 371, 388
Behrend, H. 120, 131
Bellinger, W.H. 372, 387
Ben Zvi, E. 10, 12, 20, 27, 44, 325, 328,
330, 336
Ben-Dov, J. 17
Bendor, S. 106, 114
Berlin, A. 327, 336
Beuken, W.A.M. 226, 235, 237, 239,
241, 249, 264
Bewer, J.A. 89, 97
Beyerlin, W. 68, 76
Billerbeck, P. 238, 243
Birnbaum, A. 135, 145
Biro, M. 57
Blackman, A.M. 33, 44
Blenkinsopp, J. 17, 20, 65, 75, 76, 110,
114, 176, 185, 186, 228, 232, 237,
240, 241, 248, 254, 256-58, 264
Block, D.I. 68, 76
Blum, E. 247, 248, 264
Bobek, H. 101, 114
Boecher, H.J. 357, 367
Booij, T. 387
Bordreuil, P. 206, 219
Borgen, P. 414, 429
Borger, R. 6, 21, 50, 57
Bosshard-Nepustil, E. 326, 336
Boudreau, G.R. 211, 219
Bovati, P. 342-44, 346, 347, 350
Boyarin, D. 425, 429
Brettler, M.Z. 396, 408
Brooke, G.J. 19, 21
Broome, E.C. 134, 145
Brown, W.P. 221
Brownlee, W.H. 348, 350
Broyles, C.C. 344, 350
Brueggemann, W. 330, 336
Budde, K. 225, 241
Budin, S.L. 215, 220
Bühner, J.-A. 422, 429

- Bulmerincq, A. von 355, 367
 Bultmann, C. 93, 95, 300, 301, 307
 Burns, R.J. 67, 73, 76
 Butting, K. 67, 68, 70, 76

 Cagni, L. 52, 57
 Cancik-Kirschbaum, E. 15, 21
 Carley, K.W. 134, 136, 145
 Carr, D. 28, 44
 Carroll, R.P. 25, 39, 44, 66, 73, 77, 140,
 145, 172, 177, 186, 269, 285, 295,
 299, 303, 304, 307, 315, 321
 Carruthers, M. 423, 429
 Cassem, N.H. 134, 145
 Cathcart, K.J. 341, 350
 Černý, J. 31, 44
 Chalmers, R.S. 204, 211, 213, 215, 216,
 220
 Charpin, D. 3, 4, 8, 21, 53, 57
 Chavalas, M.W. 57
 Childs, B.S. 74, 77, 225, 239-41
 Christensen, D.L. 70, 77
 Civil, M. 6, 21
 Clements, R.E. 29, 44, 162, 163, 169,
 198, 200, 210, 220, 227, 229, 231,
 239, 241, 314, 321
 Clendenen, E.R. 359, 367
 Clines, D.J.A. 133, 141, 145, 146, 192,
 200, 304, 305, 307, 343, 346, 351
 Cogan, M. 153, 169, 181, 184-86
 Coggins, R.J. 267, 285, 325, 336
 Cohen, M.E. 53, 57
 Cole, S.W. 391, 406
 Collicutt McGrath, J. 135, 145
 Collins, J.J. 238, 240, 241, 422, 429
 Conrad, E.W. 228, 241, 325, 336
 Coppens, J. 239, 241
 Couey, J.B. 13, 21
 Craigie, P.C. 291, 294-96, 307
 Cross, F.M. 215, 220, 276, 277, 285
 Curtis, A.H.W. 215, 220, 326, 333
 Curtis, B.G. 337

 Dahood, M.J. 348, 349, 351
 Daly-Denton, M. 371, 387
 Davies, G.I. 82, 96, 162, 169, 204, 206,
 210, 218, 220
 Davies, P.R. 30, 44
 Day, J. 5, 21, 198, 204, 206, 207, 211,
 214-18, 220, 341, 344, 345, 351, 371,
 387, 391, 402, 406
 de Boer, P.A.H. 275, 280, 285
 De Jong, M.J. 264
 deJong Ellis, M. 26, 28, 38, 45, 53, 57
 de Moor, J. 206, 217, 220, 222, 321
 DeVries, S.J. 184-86, 398, 406
 de Waard, J. 198, 200
 Dearman, J.A. 206, 207, 220
 Deissler, A. 339, 351
 Dell, K.J. 340, 351
 Dhorme, P.(E.) 342, 346, 347, 351
 Diamond, A.R.P. 291, 296, 297, 299-
 301, 307
 Dick, M.B. 269, 285, 309, 321
 Dietrich, M. 220
 Dietrich, W. 69, 77, 204, 225, 227, 232-
 34, 236, 241, 326, 337
 Digeser, P. 90, 96
 Dörfuss, E.M. 396, 406
 Dobbs-Allsopp, F.W. 207, 216, 221
 Dohmen, C. 309, 321
 Donner, H. 74, 77
 Drinkard, J.F., Jr 302-304, 307
 Driver, S.R. 71, 77, 177, 186, 267, 285,
 340, 346, 347, 351, 354, 356, 365,
 367, 393, 406
 Duhm, B. 246, 248, 261, 265, 267, 285
 Duke, R.K. 394, 406
 Dupont-Sommer, A. 240, 241
 Durand, J.-M. 3, 6, 8, 21, 49, 51-53, 57,
 58

 Eaton, J. 372, 387
 Edelman, D. 66, 77
 Edinger, E.F. 138, 145
 Edler, R. 330, 332, 337
 Edwards, M.J. 283, 286
 Edzard, D.O. 55, 58
 Ehrlich, A.B. 349, 351
 Eisenstadt, S.N. 102, 114
 Eissfeldt, O. 209, 221, 355, 367
 Eliade, M. 128, 131
 Ellens, J.H. 138, 146
 Elliger, K. 276, 286, 330, 337

- Emerton, J.A. 345, 349, 351
 Enmarch, R. 33, 45
 Evans, C.A. 257, 261, 265
 Evans, C.D. 309, 321
 Exum, J.C. 133, 141, 145, 146, 248, 249, 265
 Faust, A. 102, 103, 107, 108, 112, 114, 115
 Feliu, L. 48, 58
 Fendler, M. 108, 115
 Fernández Marcos, N. 69, 77
 Festinger, L. 140, 146
 Finkelstein, J.J. 55, 58
 Fischer, I. 65-67, 69, 70, 75, 77
 Fischer, J.A. 356, 359, 367
 Fishbane, M. 247, 265, 402, 406
 Fitzmyer, J.A. 339, 345, 351
 Flannery-Dailey, F. 429
 Fleming, D.E. 49, 51, 58
 Flint, P.W. 384, 387
 Floyd, M.H. 10, 12, 19, 21, 29, 44, 45, 330, 337, 339, 351, 356, 357, 367
 Fohrer, G. 341, 351
 Franzmann, M. 277, 278, 286
 Frazer, J.G. 217, 221
 Frede, M. 282, 285
 Freedman, D.N. 39, 44, 209, 211, 215, 218, 219, 356, 367
 Freud, S. 133, 146
 Frevel, C. 208, 221
 Fritz, V. 103-105, 115
 Frymer-Kensky, T.S. 48, 58
 Gaeber, D.G., Jr 146
 Gafney, W. 48, 50, 51, 58, 65, 77
 García Martínez, F. 241
 Garber, D.G., Jr 136
 Gardiner, A.H. 32, 33, 45
 Garr, W.R. 318, 321
 Geertz, A.W. 121-23, 131
 Gelston, A. 211, 221
 Gese, H. 234, 239, 241
 Gesenius, W. 65, 77
 Gibson, J.C.L. 217, 221
 Giles, L.L. 124, 131
 Gillam, R. 37, 45
 Gillingham, S.E. 199, 200, 371, 383, 384, 388
 Ginsberg, H.L. 349, 351
 Glazier-McDonald, B. 355, 356, 365, 367
 Gordon, R.P. 286
 Gottwald, N.K. 281, 286
 Goulder, M.D. 376, 388
 Grabbe, L.L. 18, 21, 28, 45, 47, 58, 126, 128, 131, 356, 367
 Graham, M.P. 221
 Gray, G.B. 340, 351
 Gray, J. 184-84
 Grayson, A.K. 37, 45
 Greenberg, M. 316, 321
 Gressmann, H. 231, 232, 238, 242
 Gruenwald, I. 423, 429
 Guichard, M. 52, 58
 Gunkel, H. 371, 388
 Gunn, D.M. 304, 307
 Gurney, O.R. 55, 58
 Haak, R.D. 21, 339, 341, 345, 351
 Hagedorn, A.C. 71, 77, 283, 286
 Halperin, D.J. 134, 146, 423, 424, 429
 Halpern, B. 227, 242, 283, 286
 Hammershaimb, E. 230, 235, 236, 242
 Haran, M. 321
 Harrington, D.J. 422, 429
 Harris, J. 388
 Hartenstein, F. 228, 242
 Hayes, J.H. 232, 242
 Hayman, P. 270, 276, 280, 286
 Heimpel, W. 48, 50, 51, 58
 Helck, W. 31, 45
 Hendel, R.S. 309, 322
 Henderson, E. 267, 286
 Heschel, S. 48, 59
 Hess, R.S. 47, 48, 59, 69, 77
 Hilber, J.W. 340, 352, 373-80, 388
 Hill, A.E. 355, 367
 Hillers, D.R. 85, 96, 111, 115, 305, 307
 Höffken, P. 245, 247, 248, 255, 265
 Hoftijzer, J. 41, 45
 Høgenhaven, J. 227, 230, 231, 235, 236, 242
 Hognesius, K. 400, 406

- Holladay, J.S. 102, 115, 299, 301, 303-305, 328, 337, 341, 352
Holladay, W.L. 307
Holm-Nielsen, S. 240, 242
Holt, E.K. 307
Holter, K. 277, 286
Hopkins, D.C. 112, 115
Horgan, M.P. 250, 265
Horst, F. 358, 362, 367
Hossfeld, F.-L. 67, 78, 156, 168, 169, 382, 388
House, P. 188, 198, 200
Houston, W. 8, 22, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 113, 115
Howie, C.G. 134, 146
Huehnergard, J. 49, 59
Huffmon, H.B. 4, 22, 59, 173, 186
Hugenberger, G.P. 359, 360, 367
Humbert, P. 342, 352
Humphrey, C. 123, 131, 132
Hunger, H. 8, 24
Hussey, E. 282, 286
Hvidberg, F.F. 218, 221
Hyatt, J.P. 339, 352
- Ihromi 333, 337
Irvine, S.A. 225, 226, 233-35, 242
Isaaksson, A. 360, 367
Ivry, A.L. 66, 78
- Jacobson, R.A. 373, 375, 377-80, 388
Janzen, J.G. 70, 78
Japhet, S. 393, 398, 399, 402, 407
Jaspers, K. 134, 146
Jassen, A. 19, 22
Jenni, E. 360, 367
Jepsen, A. 65, 78
Jeremias, J. 10, 22, 206, 212, 213, 221, 247, 265, 322, 371, 388
Joannès, F. 3, 21
Jobling, D. 136, 140, 146
Jöcken, P. 339, 352
Johnson, A.R. 372, 388
Johnson, M.D. 340, 352
Johnston, P.S. 341, 352
Johnstone, W. 394, 407
Jones, D.R. 295, 299, 307
- Jones, G.H. 71, 78, 184, 186
Jones, L.G. 90, 96
Jones, P. 345, 352
Jong, M.J. de 54, 59, 245, 248, 253-58, 261
Joüon, P. 89, 96
Joyce, P.M. 135, 142, 146, 152, 169, 317, 322
- Kaiser, O. 143, 146, 225, 226, 228, 230, 242, 246, 265, 355, 367
Kalimi, I. 394, 396, 398, 403, 407
Kasher, R. 314, 315, 322
Kataja, L. 54, 59
Kaufmann, Y. 358, 367
Keel, O. 309, 311, 314, 322
Keil, C.F. 322
Kelle, B.E. 221
Keller, C.-A. 337, 340, 352
Keller, M. 48, 59, 66, 208, 329
Kellermann, U. 78
Kelley, P.H. 294, 297, 299-302, 307
Kessler, R. 65, 67, 72, 76, 78, 108, 110, 111, 115, 326, 333, 337
Kilian, R. 225, 234, 242
Kille, D.A. 138-40, 146, 147
Kippenberg, H.G. 101, 115
Kissane, E. 340, 346, 347, 352
Kitchen, K.A. 47, 59
Kitz, A.M. 15, 22
Klein, R.W. 394, 407
Kleinig, J.W. 68, 78
Klostermann, A. 134, 146
Knoppers, G.N. 68, 71, 78, 392, 394, 395, 397, 398, 401, 402, 404, 407
Koch, K. 276, 286
Koenen, K. 327, 337, 372, 389
Köckert, M. 22
Kooij, A. van der 265
Kooij, G. van der 41, 45, 67, 78, 251, 252
Koole, J.L. 270, 286
Kovacs, J. 421, 429
Kratz, R.G. 10, 22, 200, 247, 260, 265, 266, 274, 286
Kraus, H.-J. 172, 177, 186
Krinetzki, G. 332, 337

- Kuan, J.K. 221
 Kugel, J.L. 389, 399, 407
 Kuhl, C. 362, 368
 Kutsko, J.F. 309, 316, 318, 322

 Laato, A. 232-34, 238, 240, 242
 Labat, R. 59
 Labuschagne, C.J. 273, 277, 286
 Lackenbacher, S. 3, 21
 Lafont, B. 3, 21, 53, 59
 Lamb, D.T. 186
 Lambert, M. 352
 Lambert, W.G. 37, 45, 173, 179, 349
 Landy, F. 209, 221
 Lang, B. 101, 115, 283, 287
 Lange, A. 10, 19, 22
 Langohr, G. 332, 337
 Lee, N.C. 294, 307
 Lemaire, A. 17, 22
 Lemche, N.P. 202, 221
 Lenski, G.E. 101, 115
 Lescow, T. 239, 242
 Leshner, J.H. 282, 283, 287
 Leuchter, M. 72, 78
 Levenson, J.D. 320, 322, 345, 352
 Levin, C. 7, 10, 22, 202, 222
 Levinson, B.M. 392, 407
 Lewis, T.J. 391, 407
 Lichtheim, M. 31-33, 45
 Lieb, M. 138, 146, 429
 Lindblom, J. 143, 146
 Lindström, F. 271, 287
 Loewenstamm, S.E. 349, 352
 Lohfink, N. 280, 283, 287
 Loprieno, A. 35, 40, 45
 Loretz, O. 17, 22, 101, 115, 204, 220
 Luig, U. 131
 Lundbom, J.R. 295, 301, 303, 304, 308
 Luria, S. 40, 45
 Lust, J. 322

 MacDermot, V. 423, 429
 MacDonald, N. 275, 280, 287
 Machinist, P. 273, 287, 391, 406
 Macintosh, A.A. 209, 213, 222
 Maderna, S.R. 207, 222
 Magdalene, F.R. 347, 352

 Malbran-Labat, F. 50, 59
 Mannheim, K. 415, 430
 Marsman, H.J. 50, 59
 Martin-Achard, R. 218, 222
 Mason, R.A. 166, 169, 328, 333, 337,
 340, 352, 354, 357, 368, 394, 397,
 402, 407
 Masquelier, A. 119, 120, 131
 Mauser, U. 276, 277, 280, 287
 May, H.G. 218, 222
 Mayes, A.D.H. 159, 169, 177, 187
 Mays, J.L. 209, 218, 222
 McCann, J.C. 389
 McConville, J.G. 177, 187, 290, 308
 McKane, W. 154, 156, 160-62, 164, 169,
 301, 303, 306, 308, 349
 McKenzie, S.L. 355, 368
 McNutt, P. 185, 187
 Meeks, W.A. 426, 430
 Meier, S.A. 400, 407
 Mendecki, R. 333, 337
 Menken, M. 384, 389
 Merkur, D. 140, 141, 147
 Merlo, P. 52, 59
 Meshel, Z. 207, 222
 Mettinger, T.N.D. 217, 218, 222, 309,
 313, 314, 322, 323
 Meyer, I. 67, 78, 156, 168, 169
 Meyers, C.L. 165, 166, 169
 Meyers, E.M. 165, 166, 169
 Micheel, R. 393, 396, 397, 407
 Middlemas, J. 18, 22, 309, 313, 314,
 316, 323
 Miell, D.K. 133, 147
 Milgrom, J. 394, 408
 Millard, A.R. 206, 219
 Miller, A. 141, 147
 Miller, J.M. 179, 187, 232, 242, 316,
 318, 323
 Mitchell, D.C. 371, 389
 Moberly, W. 275, 277, 279, 280, 287
 Mooney, J. 119, 132
 Morenz, L.D. 38, 45
 Morris, G. 27, 28, 45
 Mosis, R. 394, 408
 Moughtin-Mumby, S. 215, 222, 278, 287
 Mowinckel, S. 231, 238, 242, 370, 389

- Moyise, S. 384, 389
 Mulder, M.J. 206, 222
 Muraoka, T. 89, 96
 Musurillo, H. 425, 430

 Nasuti, H.P. 376, 389
 Neef, H.-D. 332, 337
 Neil, W. 355, 368
 Nelson, R. 177, 187
 Nelson, R.D. 69, 78
 Nicholson, E.W. 154, 158, 170, 172,
 177, 187
 Nielsen, K. 227, 243
 Niesiolowski-Spanó, L. 12, 22
 Nissinen, M. 4, 8, 11, 14-19, 23, 26, 30,
 41, 45-48, 52, 56, 59, 173-75, 187,
 341, 352, 391, 393, 408
 Nober, P. 349, 352
 Nogalski, J. 188, 198, 200, 325, 326,
 329, 330, 337
 Norden, E. 238, 243
 Noth, M. 69, 78
 Nowack, W. 356, 368

 O'Brien, J.M. 83, 96, 355, 357, 368
 O'Connell, R.H. 69, 78
 O'Connor, K.M. 291, 294, 296, 297,
 299, 301, 304, 308
 O'Donovan, O. 83, 96
 Odell, M.S. 323
 Oden, R.A. 214, 222
 Onon, U. 131
 Oppenheimer, B. 107, 116
 Östborn, G. 206, 215, 222
 Otto, S. 184, 187
 Overholt, T.W. 294, 308

 Pardee, D. 206, 222, 347, 349, 352
 Parkinson, R.B. 31-35, 46
 Parpola, S. 4-6, 8-11, 15, 23, 26, 46, 54,
 55, 59, 60, 174, 187, 341, 353, 391,
 408
 Peckham, B. 341, 353
 Perliitt, L. 158, 170, 327, 332, 338, 339,
 353
 Petersen, D.L. 68, 79, 135, 147, 225,
 243, 357, 368, 393, 408

 Petry, S. 281, 287
 Pettinato, G. 47, 60
 Pfeiffer, E. 355-55, 368
 Pfeiffer, R.H. 330, 338, 356, 358, 368
 Pitard, W.T. 49, 60, 217, 223
 Pongratz-Leisten, B. 4, 15, 23, 391, 408
 Porter, J.R. 179, 187
 Posener, G. 32, 46
 Povah, J.W. 143, 147
 Pritchard, J.B. 207, 222
 Procksch, O. 234, 243
 Propp, W.H.C. 70, 79
 Provan, I.W. 227, 243
 Pryce, B.C. 218, 222

 Quell, G. 372, 389
 Quirke, S. 31, 33, 46

 Raabe, P.R. 91, 96
 Rad, G. von 177, 187, 313, 314, 323,
 393, 408
 Radner, K. 60
 Rainbow, P.A. 282, 287
 Ratheiser, G.M.H. 151, 170
 Rechenmacher, H. 274, 287
 Redditt, P. 83, 96, 325, 354-56, 358,
 360, 368
 Redditt, P.L. 338
 Rehm, M. 232, 233, 239, 243
 Reimer, D.J. 81, 96
 Reindl, J. 389
 Renaud, B. 326, 327, 338
 Rendtorff, R. 73, 79, 198, 201, 372, 389
 Rensburger, D.K. 425, 430
 Renz, T. 313, 323
 Reventlow, H. Graf 225, 243
 Richter, W. 69, 79
 Ricouer, P. 134, 147
 Ristau, K.A. 396, 408
 Roberts, J.J.M. 4, 23, 48, 52, 60, 207,
 216, 221, 231-33, 243, 315, 323, 339,
 353
 Robertson, O.P. 339, 353
 Robinson, H.W. 139, 143, 147
 Robinson, R.B. 91, 96
 Rogerson, J.W. 87, 88, 96, 355, 365, 368
 Röllig, W. 50, 60

- Rollins, W.G. 138, 146, 147
 Römer, T. 158, 170, 396, 408
 Roniger, L. 102, 114
 Rooke, D.W. 4, 10, 24
 Rooy, H.V. Van 394, 408
 Rowland, C. 416, 421, 424, 429, 430
 Rowley, H.H. 209, 222
 Rudnig-Zelt, S. 202, 223
 Rudolph, W. 85, 89, 96, 210, 218, 223,
 339, 350, 353, 354, 360, 368
 Rütterswörden, U. 72, 79
 Ryou, D.H. 330, 338

 Sachs, A.J. 8, 24
 Sasson, J.M. 51, 60
 Sawyer, J.F.A. 240, 243, 273, 277, 288
 Schaper, J. 19, 24
 Schart, A. 325, 326, 329, 338
 Schimmel, S. 95, 96
 Schmid, K. 396, 408
 Schmidt, B.B. 60, 309, 310, 313, 323
 Schmidt, H. 341, 353
 Schmidt, L. 12, 24, 49
 Schmidt, W.H. 155-55, 164, 165, 170,
 194, 201
 Schmitt, J.J. 136, 147, 223
 Schneiders, S.M. 134, 147
 Schniedewind, W.M. 68, 79, 229, 243,
 394, 396-98, 401, 405, 408
 Schoors, A. 268, 269, 276, 288
 Schroeder, O. 55, 60
 Schroer, S. 318, 323
 Schwartz, R. 279, 288
 Scott, J.M. 340, 353
 Seeligmann, I.L. 252, 262, 266, 347,
 353, 393, 408
 Seitz, C.R. 297, 308
 Sellin, D.E. 358, 368
 Seow, C.L. 4, 6, 24, 207, 216, 221
 Seybold, K. 326, 332, 338, 339, 353, 389
 Sharp, L.A. 121, 132
 Shepherd, D. 67, 79
 Sherwin, S.J. 288
 Shriver, D.W., Jr 82, 89, 92, 94, 97
 Shupak, N. 31, 46
 Skinner, J. 141, 147
 Smend, R. 193, 201

 Smith, G.A. 339, 353
 Smith, J.M.P. 89, 97, 217, 338, 355, 356,
 360, 369
 Smith, J.Z. 223
 Smith, M. 279, 288
 Smith, M.S. 217, 223, 277, 288, 293,
 296, 297, 303, 308
 Smith, R.L. 327, 338, 339, 353, 356,
 365, 369
 Smith, W.R. 206, 223
 Smith-Christopher, D.L. 135, 147
 Soden, W. von 50, 52, 60
 Soggin, J.A. 68, 79, 362, 369
 Spawn, K.L. 396, 409
 Speiser, E.A. 342, 353
 Spieckermann, H. 389
 Spronk, K. 68, 79
 Stamm, J.J. 231, 233, 235, 239, 243
 Stansell, G. 248, 266
 Starbuck, S. 372, 390
 Stark, C. 215, 223
 Steck, O.H. 170, 227, 228, 243, 338
 Stiebert, J. 136, 147
 Stokes, M.C. 283, 288
 Stökl, J. 48, 55, 56, 60
 Stone, M. 423, 430
 Strack, H.L. 238, 243
 Štrba, B. 151, 170
 Strübind, K. 394, 402, 409
 Stuhlmüller, C. 268, 288
 Subramanian, J.S. 384, 390
 Sugden, J. 119, 132
 Sundberg, A.C., Jr 170
 Sweeney, M.A. 7, 24, 167, 170, 225-28,
 233, 243, 308, 325, 330, 337, 338
 Swetnam, J. 369

 Tadmor, H. 153, 169
 Tate, M.E. 225, 243
 Taylor, C.L. 327, 338
 Taylor, J.G. 313, 323
 Tengström, S. 158, 170
 Thomas, N. 132
 Thompson, J.A. 172, 177, 187, 295, 299-
 301, 308
 Throntveit, M.A. 398, 409
 Tiemeyer, L.-S. 358, 369

- Tigay, J.H. 396, 409
 Tigchelaar, E.J. 241
 Tollington, J.E. 165, 170
 Toorn, K. van der 9, 10, 14, 24, 26, 29,
 31, 41, 46, 49, 52, 60, 320, 323, 324
 Torrey, C.C. 354, 360, 369
 Tournay, R.J. 371, 380, 390
 Trebelle Barrera, J. 69, 79
 Trevett, C. 421, 430
 Tribble, P. 319, 324
 Troeltsch, E. 139, 147
 Tromp, N.J. 198, 201
 Tsukimoto, A. 49, 61
 Tsumura, D.T. 341, 348, 353
 Tucker, G.M. 163, 170
 Tuckett, C. 414, 430
 Tur-Sinai, N.H. 204, 223

 Uehlinger, C. 309, 322
 Uhlig, T. 261, 266

 Van Winkle, D.W. 279, 288
 Vanderhooft, D.S. 227, 242
 Veijola, T. 69, 79
 Verhoef, P.A. 355, 362, 369
 Vermeylen, J. 82, 97, 158, 163, 171,
 245, 266
 Viberg, Å. 362, 369
 Vielhauer, R. 202, 223
 Vlaardingerbroek, J. 330, 332, 338
 Volf, M. 85, 86, 89, 93, 97

 Wagner, J.R. 252, 266
 Wagner, T. 225, 227, 228, 231-35, 244
 Wallace, H.N. 355, 368
 Waltke, B.K. 89, 97
 Walton, J.H. 371, 390
 Ward, W.H. 89, 97
 Watanabe, K. 54, 61
 Waterston, A. 217, 223
 Watts, J.D.W. 239, 244, 246, 248, 266
 Weber, B. 390
 Weber, M. 143, 148, 284, 288
 Weeks, S. 36, 46
 Wegner, P.D. 225-27, 231, 239, 244
 Weinfeld, M. 204, 223, 362, 365, 369

 Weippert, H. 227, 244
 Weippert, M. 11, 14, 24, 47, 55, 61
 Weiser, A. 358, 369
 Weiss, E. 104, 115
 Welch, A.C. 354, 369, 409
 Wellhausen, J. 204, 223
 Wendland, E. 359, 369
 Werlitz, J. 12, 24, 272, 288
 West, M.L. 283, 288
 Westenholz, J.G. 49, 61
 Westermann, C. 270, 272, 275, 278, 288
 Whitaker, R.E. 207, 216, 221
 Whiting, R.M. 54, 59, 60
 Whitley, C.F. 283, 288
 Whitt, W.D. 207, 223
 Whybray, R.N. 268, 288, 390
 Widbin, R.B. 198, 201
 Wilcke, C. 51, 61
 Wildberger, H. 65, 79, 225, 226, 228-34,
 236, 244, 254, 256, 257, 266, 273,
 277, 282, 289
 Willi, T. 393, 402, 409
 Williamson, H.G.M. 7, 12, 24, 47, 66,
 75, 79, 80, 166, 171, 225, 226, 228,
 230, 231, 235, 239, 244, 245, 248,
 266, 269, 271, 289, 398, 399, 409
 Wilson, G.H. 371, 390
 Wilson, R.R. 72, 80, 135, 148, 159, 171,
 176, 177, 187, 227, 244
 Wiseman, D.J. 184, 185, 187
 Wöhrle, J. 326, 327, 332, 338
 Wolfe, R.E. 338
 Wolff, H.W. 85, 97, 111, 116, 152, 158,
 162, 163, 171, 188, 194, 201, 204,
 209, 218, 223
 Wolfson, E.R. 423, 430
 Woude, A.S. van der 339, 353
 Würthwein, E. 230, 231, 244
 Wyatt, N. 204-206, 216, 224

 Yee, G.A. 209, 224

 Zehnder, M. 360, 369
 Zenger, E. 382, 388, 389
 Ziegler, N. 52, 61
 Zimmerli, W. 152, 171, 309, 315, 324