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Sacred Time in West Semitic Festival Calendars and the Dating of Leviticus 23

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The Bible records several versions of the Israelite festival calendar, including accounts in Exod 23; 34; Lev 23; Num 28-9; Deut 16; and Ezek 45. The festivals, as depicted in the various texts, have many commonalities; however, there are also differences. Some of the often cited differences in the festival calendar texts include fixed dates versus dates based upon the harvest, the combination of two named rites into a larger ritual complex, the mention of simultaneous rites in different locations of the same text, and some festivals are named in one text and unnamed in others. Scholars have explored these similarities and differences arguing that the various calendars were written by different sources (authors/redactors) at different times in Israelite history. The current project provides a comparative analysis between Lev 23 and the second-millennium Akkadian multi-month festival calendar from Syria (Emar 446). After a review of each text and the contextual material, this study argues that Lev 23 preserves an early second-millennium West Semitic ritual tradition.

KEYWORDS: *sacred, ritual, Akkadian, Leviticus 23, Emar, Festival Calendar*

INTRODUCTION

The Bible records several versions of the Israelite festival calendar: in Exod 23 and 34, Lev 23, Num 28–29, Deut 16, and Ezek 45. In general the calendars include Passover/Pesach (פסח), the Feast of Unleavened Bread (הג המצות), Firstfruits (בכורים), the Feast of Weeks (שבועת), the Feast of Trumpets (also called Rosh Hashanah), the Day of Atonement (יום הכפרים), and the Feast of Tabernacles (סכת) (Booths/Ingathering). But while the calendars share many features, they also have their distinctions—of which the most often cited concern the following:

- The festival dates: Some dates are fixed, while others vary according to agricultural conditions.
- The festival locations: Some festival calendars allude to offerings made at local or regional sanctuaries, while other texts point to offerings made at the Jerusalem Temple.
- The date of the New Year: Some festival texts appear to show the New Year in the spring and others place the New Year in the fall. Some allude to both.
- The festival timing: Many festivals are associated with the harvest, but some festivals appear to occur before the harvest is ripe.
- The festival names: Festivals are named in some texts and are unnamed in others.

Scholars account for these distinctions by proposing that several authors or redactors composed the calendars at different times in Israelite history.¹ Jan Wagenaar, in his 2005 work, *Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Calendar*, examines the development of each festival calendar text and makes his case for a late authorship of Lev 23.

When studying the origins of this biblical text, Wagenaar finds it shares characteristics with the first-millennium Babylonian Akitu festival texts (a composite of four text fragments).² And based on his analysis, Wagenaar concludes these similarities point to priestly authorship during the exile (when Israel was in Babylon). Further, he argues that a postexilic priestly redactor added portions to the biblical narrative.

This study rebuts Wagenaar's conclusion that similarities with the first-millennium Akitu festival necessitate a late authorship or

1. For a discussion of recent scholarship see Jeffrey Stackert, "Leviticus," *OEBB* 1:573–81; T. Desmond Alexander, *From Paradise to the Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch* (3d ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2012), 1–63.

2. Wagenaar argues that his study "intends to focus strictly on a comparison between the ancient Israelite and Neo-Babylonian festival calendars. The second-millennium Anatolian and North-West and East Semitic festival calendars from Hatti . . . , Ebla . . . , Mari . . . and Emar . . . will—with the sole exception of Ugarit—largely be ignored because of the distance in time and space between these cultures and the monarchies of Israel and Judah" (*Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Calendar* [Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 2005], 6 n. 24). The exclusion of the analysis of comparative texts, because they may be earlier than the dating of Lev 23, creates a circular argument, i.e. Lev 23 is late because it is similar to the first-millennium Akitu text and any similarities with earlier texts are invalid because Lev 23 was written late. Conclusions from a comparative study should include an analysis of relevant texts before making an argument. Wagenaar's decision to exclude the study of earlier texts, creating a circular argument, weakens his overall argument.

redaction of Lev 23.³ We will demonstrate that four of the links he cites already existed between Lev 23 and a ritual text from the second millennium.⁴

REVIEW OF WAGENAAR AND CURRENT SCHOLARSHIP

Wagenaar depends on several pieces of evidence to reinforce his argument. Four of the most notable items are the apparent depictions of biannual New Year celebrations (one in the spring and another in the fall), the grouping of two named rites into a larger festival complex (Pesach and the Feast of Unleavened Bread), the presence of both named and unnamed festivals in the same text, and the descriptions of two festivals, celebrated on the same day, but recorded in different parts of the same text (Feast of Tabernacles and Feast of YHWH [חג יהוה]). To better understand Wagenaar's thesis, we will examine these four elements in greater detail.

Dual New Year Celebrations

The festival calendar in Lev 23 prescribes celebrations in the first and seventh months of the year. Julius Wellhausen maintained that the exilic Priestly Code extended and interrupted the festival cycle, adding a New Year festival on the first day and the Day of Atonement on the tenth day of the seventh month. Wellhausen explained that P's use of two calendar-year systems accounts for the disruption of the festival cycle.⁵ The first, an ecclesiastical year, is autumnal—similar to that in D and J. This yearly cycle begins with the first new moon of autumn. During the exilic period, a Babylonian influence led to the creation of a second, civil, New Year in the spring.

Wagenaar, like Wellhausen, attributes the presence of two New Year celebrations in Lev 23 to a postexilic redaction in the text. Wagenaar contends that the Gezer calendar reflects the earliest Israelite

3. The current study relies on the work of Daniel E. Fleming and Richard S. Hess. While going beyond their work and conclusions, I am deeply indebted to their prior exploration in Levitical and Emarite studies.

4. For a broader analysis of Lev 23 in light of Emar 446 see Bryan C. Babcock, "West Semitic Cultic Calendars: A Study of Leviticus 23 in Light of the Akkadian Text Emar 446" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Bristol, 2011).

5. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (Scholars Press Reprints and Translations Series; Atlanta: Scholars, 1994).

ritual schedule with the year beginning in the fall.⁶ Exodus 23 and 34 preserve remnants of this early fall calendar. He argues that Exod 34:22b dates the Festival of Ingathering to “the turn of the year,” indicating a New Year beginning near the time of the autumnal equinox. Similarly, Exod 23:16b specifies the time for the Feast of Ingathering at “the end of the year,” which also occurs in the fall.⁷

During the exile, the Israelites adopted the Babylonian calendar, which begins in the spring, and maintained remnants of the earlier New Year in the fall. This resulted in the celebration of a dual New Year. Wagenaar theorizes that the Israelite exiles severed the early agricultural meaning from the Festival of Weeks, the Feast of Tabernacles, and the combined Pesach-Feast of Unleavened Bread celebrations. The purpose for these rituals also changed to political and religious renewal. In addition, the priestly author eliminated the Shabuot festival of the second month because it no longer fit the six-month festival cycle. Moreover, because of the dissimilarity of the Babylonian and early Israelite New Year festival names, Ezek 45 deleted any references to these names and adopted only a date as reference.⁸ After the exile, a priestly redactor maintained the dual New Year celebrations and restored the names to some of the rites in Lev 23.

Festival Complexes

Wagenaar points to the combining of named rites into one festival complex as a second piece of evidence confirming the late dating of Lev 23. The text depicts the observance of the Pesach meal on the evening of the fourteenth day of the first month, followed by the Feast of Unleavened Bread on the fifteenth through the twenty-first days—creating an eight-day celebration. In the middle of the seventh month, the text records a similar eight-day observance: the seven-day Feast of Tabernacles followed by a sacred assembly on the eighth day.

Jacob Milgrom, in his 2004 commentary on Leviticus, chronicles the evolution of the festival calendar beginning with JE in Exod 23. While arguing that P and H are both preexilic (with P prior to H), Milgrom finds that the Pesach offering and the Feast of Unleavened Bread were initially (in JE) discrete rites. The Deuteronomist first

6. Wagenaar, *Origin and Transformation*, 13–21.

7. *Ibid.*, 21.

8. The semiannual format of the festivals in Ezek 45 is then preserved in the postexilic priestly calendar of Lev 23 (and Exod 12:1–13).

combined the two, and the combination continued in the postexilic sources. Milgrom concludes that shepherds observed the Pesach Offering while farmers celebrated the Feast of Unleavened Bread. (Both rituals served to ensure success in the coming year.) According to Milgrom, the Israelites merged the celebration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread with the Pesach Offering after they settled in Canaan.⁹

Wagenaar, relying on the work of Julius Wellhausen, David Clines, Ernst Kutsch, and Gustof Dalman, agrees that developments in the festival texts produced the festival complex.¹⁰ He proposes that the ancient Israelite cult (prior to a written text) held festivals three times a year to coincide with the harvests of wheat, barley, and summer fruits. The dates for the festival rites were based locally on the ripening of the crops and not on specific dates during any given month. Thus, a festival in the valley region occurred at a slightly different time than one held on the coastal plains or hillsides.

The earliest surviving written festival text, according to Wagenaar, dates to the time of Josiah. In this text, D preserves three passages, one for each festival, of approximately equal lengths—Deut 16:1aβ, 2, 5–6aba, 7 (Pesach); 16:9b–11 (Feast of Weeks); and 16:13–15 (Feast of Tabernacles).¹¹ The Deuteronomist maintained the agricultural focus of the festivals but centralized their celebrations at the Temple of YHWH.¹² D views the first festival of Pesach as a one-day ritual conducted at sunset on an unspecified day.¹³ Pesach was not a pilgrimage

9. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus* (CC; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 276.

10. David J. A. Clines, “The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-Exilic Israel Reconstructed,” *JBL* 93 (1974): 22–40; Ernest Kutsch, “Erwägungen zur Geschichte der Passafeier und des Massotfestes,” *ZTK* 55 (1958): 1–35; idem, “‘am Ende des Jahres’ Zur Datierung des israelitischen Herbstfestes in Ex 23:16,” *ZAW* 83 (1971): 15–21; Gustof Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (7 Bände; Gütersloch: Bertelsmann, 1939).

11. Wagenaar eliminates the portions of Deut 16 that reference מצות as a later redaction. This conclusion is refuted in Babcock, “West Semitic,” 217–8, 285–6. The theory is also contested in Richard S. Hess, “Multiple-Month Ritual Calendars in the West Semitic World: Emar 446 and Leviticus 23,” in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions* (ed. James K. Hoffmeier and Alan Millard; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 246–7.

12. Wagenaar explains that the use of חדש האביב in Exod 23:15; 34:18; and Deut 16:1 (usually translated “in the month of Abib”) does not indicate a month name, but rather an agricultural term for “season of fresh ears.” This allows Wagenaar to associate the festivals with seasons rather than fixed dates (*Origin and Transformation*, 37–44, 58–65, 156).

13. Wagenaar begins by exploring the origin of פסח. While the “pre-centralization” history of פסח is obscure, he argues based upon Dalman and Dahl that the origin of the

festival (אָהַב), finding its earliest origin as an apotropaic ritual conducted at the city-gate sanctuaries. The celebration of the Feast of Weeks was also centralized and held for one day at the conclusion of the grain harvest.¹⁴ And during this period, the Feast of Tabernacles was moved to the Temple and held for seven days after the end of the harvest season.¹⁵

The Yahwist revised the festival text of the Deuteronomist in Exod 23 and 34. These changes replaced the one-day rite of Pesach with the seven-day celebration of Unleavened Bread. J then invented the pilgrimage festival of Unleavened Bread, and added the pilgrimage festival (אָהַב) title to keep the celebration congruent with the two other pilgrimage festivals (אָהַב הַקִּצִּיר, אָהַב הָאֶסֶף). To accommodate the time constraints of the harvest, the festival spanned six days at home and a seventh day at the Temple of YHWH.

During the late period of the monarchy, a Deuteronomistic redactor (D_R) added to Deut 16 in accordance with the J text. This editor included references to the exodus narrative, an obligation to appear three times before YHWH, and a prohibition against appearing empty-handed. The editor also combined the Pesach celebration with the Feast of Unleavened Bread, thereby creating one festival. Wagenaar argues that

festival is likely not associated with the firstborn of the flock (Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, 160–66 and G. Dahl and A. Hjort, *Having Herds: Pastoral Herd Growth and Household Economy* [SSSA 2; Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 1976], 33–37, 90–91, 142–53). Contra Wellhausen and Van Seters because cattle, sheep, and goats do not deliver at just one time of the year (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 84–85; John Van Seters, *A Law Book for the Diaspora: Revision in the Study of the Covenant Code* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2002], 167). Wagenaar fails to consider that, while it is true that lambs and goats are born at multiple times throughout the year, the normal time for weaning is in the spring when the grasses begin growing. This allows the lambs, born over the winter, to eat fresh grasses. In addition, as Dalman observed, the main lambing season is between December and January. This supports a firstfruits celebration in the spring when the main lambing season is complete and lambs are ready to be weaned. Finally, the fact that ovines (and bovines) give birth throughout the year does not preclude a firstfruits celebration at an agreed-upon time. For these reasons, Wagenaar’s conclusion that the Pesach sacrifice *cannot* be linked to an animal firstfruits celebration is questionable.

14. The אָהַב pilgrimage festival originally represented the festival for the cereal harvest—including both wheat and barley. The ancient celebration was conducted at regional sanctuaries, and the Deuteronomist centralized the ritual to the temple in Jerusalem, where it took place seven weeks after the beginning of the cereal harvest (Wagenaar, *Origin and Transformation*, 60).

15. פֶּסַח, another pilgrimage festival, celebrated the completion of the fall harvest (following the harvest of grapes and olives). The festival, held at the autumn equinox, lasted seven days. This was likely the date of the Israelite New Year. Wagenaar finds the origin for פֶּסַח in “accordance with the Ugaritic custom . . . to erect huts for the gods on the roof of the temple on the occasion of the New Year festival” (ibid.).

the text includes a summary statement in Deut 16:16–17 listing Feast of Unleavened Bread, Feast of Weeks, and Feast of Tabernacles while omitting Pesach. The omission of Pesach from the list presupposes the conflation of Pesach and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, giving priority to the Feast of Unleavened Bread.¹⁶

Wagenaar concludes his theory of transformation, finding that the festivals in Lev 23 reflect an exilic point of view (tied to fixed dates) while preserving an earlier agricultural format. During the first month, Pesach and the Feast of Unleavened Bread are celebrated on the fourteenth (Pesach) and from the fifteenth through the twenty-first days (Feast of Unleavened Bread). In this way, the festival complex becomes one eight-day festival comprised of two older named celebrations. Similarly, an eighth day is added to the Feast of Tabernacles, creating symmetry between the festivals of the spring and fall.

Variations in Festival Names and Dates

Wagenaar uses three seeming textual inconsistencies as additional evidence for an exilic dating of Lev 23: the presence of named and unnamed rituals, fixed dates for agrarian rites, and fixed and variable dates in the same text. Leviticus 23 describes the spring observance of the Pesach on the fourteenth day of the first month, the Feast of Unleavened Bread on the fifteenth through twenty-first days, and the unnamed firstfruit offerings (that included a wave offering) on the first day of the harvest followed by a new grain offering (fifty days later).¹⁷ The second grain offering is identified in Num 28 and Deut 16 as the Feast of Weeks, but remains unnamed in Lev 23.

Wagenaar argues that the combination of named/unnamed rites and offerings tied to both fixed dates and agricultural conditions in one text points to a later redaction of the text. According to Wagenaar, the early Israelite calendar had a tripartite structure that fluctuated with the ripening of the harvest. Over the course of textual development, these rites became increasingly centralized, requiring fixed dates and a severing from their agricultural origins. During the exile, and directly due to the influence of the bipartite Babylonian festival tradition, the Israelites eliminated the festivals associated with the later-ripening barley

16. Wagenaar concludes that Deut 16:1aa, b, 3–4, 8 are additions from a “post-Deuteronomic editor who [was] dependent upon the exodus story of the Yahwist, but [did] not yet presuppose the priestly festival calendar” (ibid., 63).

17. The wave offering precedes the sacrifice of a lamb, a grain offering (flour offering mixed with oil), and a drink offering.

harvest. What remained was a festival calendar with two groupings of ritual activity observed on fixed dates in the first and seventh months.

Wagenaar hypothesizes that “upon returning to Jerusalem the priestly circles who were responsible for the festival calendar in Exod 12:1–13*; Lev 23:4–8, 23–28a, 33–37ab^a had to contend with the people who stayed behind (in Israel) . . . who had remained faithful to the traditional tripartite festival calendar in Deut 16:1–17.”¹⁸ Out of this power struggle, the post-priestly editor reintroduced the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, tied to agricultural conditions, with dating independent of the combined Pesach-Massot festival. The Feast of Tabernacles ritual was then held seven weeks from the offering of the first *’omer*, thus representing a new addition to the calendar structure. Wagenaar concludes that the agrarian-based festivals and fixed-date festivals should not both coexist in an original festival calendar, the firstfruits offering (which is unconnected to the Pesach-Massot festival) must be a later addition. When determining the new date for the Feast of Tabernacles, he argues that the Pesach-Massot festival necessitated a new dating scheme because the ritual was severed from its original agricultural ties.¹⁹

Wagenaar considers the contrast between several groupings of rites set on fixed dates and a single passage tied to agricultural conditions a formal distinction within the text. He also notes that the unnamed agricultural rites do not refer to a holy convocation or prohibit work. Therefore, Wagenaar determines the bipartite structure of Lev 23 (grouping festivals in the first and seventh months on fixed dates) results from an exilic influence on the Israelite festival calendar and severs the agricultural origins in the text (because agricultural rites cannot be tied to fixed dates). The presence of unnamed agricultural rites tied to agricultural conditions reflects a postexilic addition, restoring the tripartite structure to the calendar. For Wagenaar, the key to identifying postexilic redaction is the tension between both fixed and agriculturally dependent dates and named and unnamed festivals.

Simultaneous Festivals

18. Wagenaar, *Origin and Transformation*, 134.

19. Jan Wagenaar, “The Priestly Festival Calendar and the Babylonian New Years Festivals: Origin and Transformation of the Ancient Israelite Festival Year,” in *The Old Testament in Its World* (OTS 52; ed. R. P. Gordon and J. C. de Moor; Boston: Brill, 2005), 250.

A final point for discussion is the occurrence of simultaneous festivals described in separate portions of the same text. Leviticus 23:33–36 prescribe the rites for the Feast of Tabernacles celebrated from the fifteenth to the twenty-second days of the seventh month (eight days). A summary statement (vv. 37–38) follows the passage, relating YHWH's appointed times. After the summary statement, vv. 39–43 narrate the elements of the Feast of YHWH, which also occur in the middle of the seventh month for eight days (the seven-day feast and an eighth day of rest). Because the two named festivals share many components, most scholars find that vv. 39–43 are essentially a restatement of vv. 33–36 (with some additional information).²⁰

John Hartley argues that vv. 39–43 are likely a later addition, with different origins, covering the Festival of Booths. He sees the section as distinctive because it follows the conclusion in vv. 37–38, and because v. 35 and v. 39 are so similar that they appear redundant unless one was added later.²¹ Similarly, Roy Gane concludes that vv. 39–43 give supplementary instructions for the Festival of Booths.²²

Adopting a much earlier date for Lev 23 and assigning the text to H, Milgrom agrees that the passage is a restatement which supplies additional information about the Festival of Booths. For Milgrom, the passage comprises three H components with vv. 39a and 40 based in Pre-H₁; vv. 41a and b_a assigned to H; and vv. 39b, 42, 43 redacted by H_R. While acknowledging both the differing descriptions of the Feast of Booths (vv. 33–36) and the Feast of YHWH (vv. 39–43) and the composite nature of the text's development, he concludes that vv. 39–43 intend the same festival as vv. 33–36 (i.e., the Feast of Booths).

Wagenaar follows the majority opinion that vv. 39–43 constitute an addendum to the Feast of Tabernacles. He explores the linguistic similarities to Lev 23:9–22 and notes that the two passages exhibit different forms and phraseology from other festivals. Despite the reference to the Feast of YHWH, Wagenaar argues that the rite is unnamed. He also reasons that vv. 39–43 avoids referring to the Feast of Tabernacles to remove any association with the huts, which were erected on the roof of the temple on the occasion of the New Year.²³ These distinctions lead him to conclude that the supplemental material in vv.

20. For a thorough discussion, see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27* (AB 3B; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 2036.

21. John Hartley, *Leviticus* (WBC 4; Dallas: Word, 1992), 372–3. Timothy Willis argues a similar position (*Leviticus* [AOTC; Nashville: Abingdon, 2009]), 192.

22. Roy Gane, *Leviticus, Numbers* (NIVAC; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005), 403.

23. Wagenaar, *Origin and Transformation*, 137.

39–43 demonstrates all the features of a postpriestly addition to the priestly festival calendar.²⁴

While scholars disagree on the composition date of vv. 39–43 and the possible transformation within the passage, most agree that the passage addresses the Feast of Tabernacles/Booths. Most authorities also find that the verses are a later redaction to the text, providing additional information for the rite. While few scholars question the festivals' different names (Feast of Tabernacles and Feast of YHWH), Wagenaar proposes that the name change resulted from a lingering negative image of the older Feast of Tabernacles.

This section presented four pieces of evidence offered by Wagenaar (and found in other recent scholarship) to support a late dating and redaction of Lev 23: the seeming depiction of two New Year celebrations, the development of a larger festival complex, the presence of named and unnamed festivals held on both fixed and fluctuating dates, and the descriptions of two festivals, celebrated simultaneously, but recorded in different parts of the same text. Wagenaar maintains that each of these distinctions is best explained by textual development or redaction. However, closely observing these same distinctions in earlier texts calls this conclusion into question.

An examination of a second-millennium Akkadian festival text from the Syrian town of Emar may inform our understanding of Lev 23.

EMAR 446–THE TEXT

Emar 446 was discovered at Late Bronze Age Emar (modern Tell Meskene).²⁵ The text is a multi-month prescriptive ritual calendar

24. *Ibid.*, 83.

25. The text was originally published by Arnaud as Msk 74280a and Msk 74291a with a transliteration and French translation in Daniel Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata: Emar VI* (Tome 3; *Textes sumériens et accadiens planches*; Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1985), 420–25. For a modern English translation of the text, see Daniel E. Fleming, "Six Months of Ritual Supervision by the Diviner (1.124)," in *The Context of Scripture* (vol. 1; ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, Jr.; Boston: Brill, 2003), 436–9; *idem*, *Time at Emar: Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's Archive* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 268–81; Babcock, "West Semitic," 193–210. For a thorough discussion of Emar, see Barry J. Beitzel, "From Harran to Emar along the Old Babylonian Itinerary: The Evidence from the Archives Royales de Mari," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor* (ed. G. A. Tuttle; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 209–19; Daniel E. Fleming, "Emar: On the Road from Harran to Hebron," in *Mesopotamia and the Bible* (ed. M. W. Chavalas and K. Lawson Younger, Jr.; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 2002), 222–50; William W. Hallo, "The Road to Emar," *JCS* 18 (1964): 57–88.

unearthed in the temple identified as M₁. (This temple housed the Diviner's archive, comprising over 1,000 private documents and legal and ritual texts.) Found in a small storage room, Emar 446 details the rites over a six-month period, beginning in the fall. Both Richard Hess and Daniel Fleming note that the writing exhibits archaic features pointing to an early composition, perhaps as early as the fourteenth century.²⁶

Five of the six months are named. Although damage to the text obscures the name of the first month, a review of Emar 446 and other festival texts at Emar endorses the theory that the missing month name is *sag.mu*.²⁷ Despite the damage, several signs of structure are evident, including markings on the tablet and organizational language. The first level of organization is double lines drawn across column IV of the text. These marks divide column IV as follows: lines 77–82; 83–85; 86–95; 96–117—each covering the rites in one month.

Following the double-line dividers (and the additional division at the top of column IV) are the following phrases:

Line 77: [^{iti} ^d*An-na* 1 udu *a-na* ^d*A-dama-te-ri* (The month of Anna: One sheep is provided for ^dAdammatera.)

Line 83: ^{iti} ^d*A-dama i-na* u₄-*mi* 7 (The month of ^dAdamma: on the 7th day.)

Line 86: ^{iti} *Mar-za-ha-ni i-na* u₄.14 (The month of Marzahāni: on the 14th day.)

Line 96: ^{iti} ^d*Hal-ma* 2 *i-na* u₄ (The month of ^dHalma: on the 2nd day.)

The information in the lines following each marker in column IV indicates that the scribe attempted to mark the divisions between the months in which festivals occurred (using temporal markers). After each division, the first word in the next line identifies the month name for the rites that follow. In three of the four sections (lines 83, 86, and 96), the referent after the month name designates the day of the first rite: days 7, 14, and 2 respectively. It is not clear why the day of the month is omitted for the month of ^dAnna (month 3), and this deviation is discussed below. Despite the absence of double-line dividers in the first three columns of the text, the evidence from column IV suggests temporal markers (specifically month names and festival dates) furnish the structure for the entire text.

26. Hess, "Multiple-Month Ritual," 235; Fleming, *Time at Emar*, 45 n. 115, 109–13.

27. Babcock, "West Semitic," 194 n. 28. Contra Fleming who argues for *Za-ra-ti*.

Emar 446 begins with an introductory heading, “tablet of the rites of the city,” that is similar to others in the Diviner’s archive. Notably Emar 369 begins “tablet of the rites for the nin.dingir of ^dim of Emar.” The introductory formula in Emar 446 makes clear that the multi-month festival calendar is not attributed to one god or goddess or to one temple, but is a tablet for “the rites of the city.” This introductory phrase explains that the rituals broadly apply to all the residents of Emar and likely to the wider region controlled by Emar.

The text has six primary sections, each composed of the rites in one month. All the sections begin with the mention of the month name, and most also open with an introductory formula that reads, “X month, on the Y day, at Z time of day, A performs some primary activity on the first day of the festival.” The primary activity may be an offering (lines 3, 58, and 77), a procession (line 84), or a specific activity central to the festival (the *Bugarātu* in line 86 or the honorific ceremony in line 97). Temporal markers further divide the sections by noting a change in the date of the activities. And a final subdivision by the temporal markers highlights the continuing action “on that day” (*U₄ šuwatuma*), “in the morning” (*šērtamma*), “in the evening” (*nubātte*), “in that month” (*iti šuwatuma*). Of these subdividers, *U₄ šuwatuma* occurs most often (five times), mainly in the first month (three times).

EMAR 446—CHARACTERISTICS OF SACRED TIME

Although in this study we analyze the potential similarities between Lev 23 and Emar 446, we remain mindful that Emar 446 and Lev 23 are texts from distinct cultures with unique ritual expressions.²⁸ Therefore, while they share many similarities, differences are not only understandable but expected. First, the two cultures understood deities in different ways; one was traditionally monotheistic and the other polytheistic. (This may appear oversimplified as Israel, at times, practiced polytheism. However,

28. For background information on Emar see Fleming, “Emar: On the Road from Harran to Hebron”; idem, *Time at Emar*; Uwe Finkbeiner, “Emar 1999: Bericht über die 3 Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen Mit Beiträgen von Hala Attoura, Betina Faist, Uta König, Ferhan Sakal und Frank Starke,” *BaghM* 32 (2001): 41–120; idem, “Emar 2001: Bericht über die 4 Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen: Mit Beiträgen von Hala Attoura und Wendy Eixler und unter Mitarbeit von Ferhan Sakal,” *BaghM* 33 (2002): 109–46; idem, “Emar 2002: Bericht über die 5 Kampagne der syrisch-deutschen Ausgrabungen,” *BaghM* 34 (2003): 9–117; Wayne T. Pitard, “The Archaeology of Emar,” in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in Late Bronze Age* (ed. M. W. Chavalas; Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1996), 18–19; Jean-Claude Margueron, “Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Emar (1972–1974),” *Syria* 52 (1975): 84–85; Jean-Claude Margueron, “Rapport préliminaire sur les deux premières campagnes de fouille à Meskéné-Emar (1972–1973),” *AAAS* 25 (1975): 76–77.

the normative theological message from the prophets was monotheistic, despite the polytheistic worship by many Israelites.) Second, Emar used the image of the god in ritual, while YHWH had no image. Third, a central rite in Emar 446 was the procession, a noticeable distinction from Lev 23, which does not mention a procession. And finally, fourth, the two preserve grammatical differences. Emar 446 is written entirely in the third person, while Lev 23 includes both second- and third-person verbs.

With these differences in mind, we will return to the four specific points identified by Wagenaar (and other recent scholars) as internal discrepancies within Lev 23, differences these scholars have relied on as evidence of later redaction. And we will try to determine if these inconsistencies also appear in the second-millennium ritual calendar at Emar. Their presence would place Wagenaar's late dating of Lev 23 in doubt and invalidate their use as indicators of late authorship or redaction.

Dual New Year Celebrations

Ritual texts of the third- and second-millennia share many attributes. One striking similarity is the prominence of festivals in both the first and seventh months of the year. The festivals of these months often describe activities as a "New Year celebration" for the area, with the primary festivals occurring at the full moon (the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month). This supports the proposal that at least some city-states in Mesopotamia viewed the larger year in terms of two six-month units that could be associated with the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.²⁹ Beyond being associated with the New Year, these festivals are most often associated with agricultural rites. The festivals of the first month celebrate the harvest and firstfruits (e.g., zag-mu at Nippur and še-kin-ku-rá at Ur and Lagaš).³⁰ The festivals of the seventh month represent either the end of the fall harvest (grapes—*reš yani* festival at Ugarit—and some late fruits) or the start of preparing the ground for spring planting (e.g., á-ki-ti-šu-numun at Ur). Despite the festivals' being

29. For a detailed discussion of second- and third-millennium festival calendars, see Mark E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD: CDL, 1993); Julye Bidmead, *The Akitu Festival: Religious Continuity and Royal Legitimation in Mesopotamia* (Gorgias Dissertations Near Eastern Studies 2; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2002); David T. Stewart, "A Brief Comparison of the Israelite and Hittite Festival Calendars," in *Lev 23–27* (ed. Jacob Milgrom; AB 3B; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 2076–80; T. M. Sharlach, "Diplomacy and the Rituals of Politics at the Ur III Court," *JCS* 57 (2005): 22.

30. For a thorough modern summary of the Akitu festival, see Bidmead, *The Akitu Festival*.

agriculturally based, the texts often record rituals occurring on fixed dates (usually centered on the new moon and full moon) and at fixed locations (usually at the temple for the lead regional deity).

This dual six-month ritual calendar, with New Year celebrations in the spring and fall, is supported by the third- and second-millennium Akitu festival at Ur. The festival, held in the first month, was á-ki-ti-še-kin-ku₅, “the Akitu of the harvest.” The Akitu of the seventh month was known by a different name, á-ki-ti-šu-numun, meaning “the Akitu of seeding.” The festival held in the seventh month was the more important ritual of the two as the seventh month bore the name of the festival. Each Akitu festival may have marked the beginning of the six-month-long “equinox year” and taken place at a phase change in the lunar cycle.³¹

The ritual calendar at Emar represents a similar orientation to the ritual calendars found at Ur, Nippur, Lagaš, and Ugarit. Emar 446 includes the rites for the city over a six-month period, thus supporting the conclusion that several ancient Near Eastern cultures viewed the annual calendar as two six-month units. In addition, the calendar begins either at or near the time of an equinox (autumnal equinox) with a dominant agricultural festival held on a fixed date at the full moon. Though Emar 446 does not contain the term “New Year” or “Head of the Year” (which may be lost due to the significant damage to the first column of the text), it gives prominent position to the rites conducted in the first month (fall). The text contains rites similar to those conducted in the first month of the fall six-month cycle, for example, the planting rituals and rites for Dagan, the dominant deity of the area, during the full moon. The six-month Emar ritual calendar ends with the Day of Renewal of Dagan in the spring—an allusion to the late winter or early spring rituals in some other Mesopotamian cultic calendars (the renewal of the spring harvest season and the care for the dead).

The yearly calendars described in Emar 446 and Lev 23 share similarities with other third- and second-millennium ancient Near Eastern ritual texts. Both Lev 23 and Emar 446 include the ritual activities observed over roughly a half-year period. This supports the finding that West Semitic cultures viewed the annual calendar as two-six month units.³² Both texts also begin at or near the time of an equinox (autumnal equinox for Emar and vernal equinox for Lev 23) with dominant agricultural festivals. In addition, both calendars include significant groupings of festivals in the spring and fall aligned with the full moon (middle of the month).

31. Cohen, *Cultic Calendars*, 400.

32. Hess notes that both calendars cover roughly a half-year period, with one beginning in the spring (Israel) and the other in the fall (Emar) (“Multiple-Month Ritual,” 242).

Based upon this evidence, Lev 23 likely preserves the second-millennium practice of a dual six-month ritual calendar. Therefore, Wagenaar's grouping of rituals in the middle of the first and seventh months should not be used as grounds for a late dating of the text.

Festival Complexes

Evidence from Emar 446 demonstrates that named rites take place on adjacent days and are combined into a larger festival complex. The most frequent—perhaps the central—rite in the Emar multi-month calendar (occurring at least twelve times) is the procession complex for the god or goddess of the festival.³³

The verb *wasû* identifies the procession complex, which combines three primary rites.³⁴ The first rite is the slaughtering and offering of one lamb (*silā₄*) to a god or goddess (cf. lines 7, 18, 23). On the next day (day 2 of the complex) the god or goddess processes out of the temple and often to, or through, a notable gate of the city. The third rite of the processional complex is a return ceremony, including offerings and a festival meal with meat, bread, and drink offerings consumed by a broader population (cf. lines 21, 29, 37, 61, 119). One illustration of the procession complex is identified in lines 58–61:

The month of ^dnin.kur.ra: on the 17th day they offer a lamb for ^dnin.kur. On the 18th day ^dnin.kur.ra goes out in procession one good quality white sheep (is) provided by the *nuppuhannû* men. The men of the consecration-gift [. . .] eat and drink bread and beer.

A second example of a festival complex outlines the planting rites in the middle of the first month (fall). This festival complex has three parts (two named ceremonies and one unnamed ceremony). On the fifteenth day of the month, the image of ^dšaggar proceeds to the cattle barn and the horse stable; one sheep is slaughtered at each location in an unnamed rite (lines 45–46). Later that evening, a named ceremony offers three sheep for two gods and the people (lines 47–53), and the Diviner throws seed on the ground in an agricultural rite. On the next day,

33. A full analysis of ritual activity in each month can be found in Babcock, "West Semitic," 235–47.

34. Three verbs describe the movement of a god or goddess out of the temple. Only one of the verbs (*wacû*) seems to be associated with the procession complex, and the other two verbs (*tûrtu* and *cadu*) may represent another form of rite.

another named ceremony occurs that includes a lasting oath (lines 53–56). The three distinct rites are grouped into one larger festival complex that ends with a prohibition against planting until the completion of the honorific ceremony (*kubadu*) (line 57). While this complex is primarily intended as a planting festival, sheep are prominently sacrificed. This demonstrates that, like the observances of Pesach and the Feast of Unleavened Bread, agricultural festivals may incorporate offerings of both meat and grain. Moreover, the agricultural festival complex happens on fixed dates despite the possible fluctuations in the ripening of crops. Lines 45–57 of the text read:

On the 15th day, they bring ^dŠaggar down to the cattle barn and (perform) the slaughter. They slaughter one sheep at the horse stable. During that month, during the evening ceremony, they bring out (a procession). They slaughter one sheep for the *nuppuhanū* men, one sheep for the garden of ^dBaal's sacred pool, and a sheep for ^dDagan Lord of the Seed. The Diviner throws seed onto the ground. The [. . .] bread (item) from the House of the Gods(?), cups (*of drink*), and the meat of the right breast belong to the Diviner. On the next day, in the morning ...they slaughter (a sacrifice) for ^dDagan and perform an honorific ceremony by lasting oath(?) and by [. . .] until they finish the honorific ceremony, no one may go out to plant.

A third example occurs in Emar 446 lines 86–94, where the text prescribes the festival activities in the month of Marzahāni. Rites include the following: the *Buqarātu* ceremony, a procession, a burnt offering, and the carrying of loaves. Like the festivals discussed above, this festival complex melds the pastoral aspect of a burnt offering with the agricultural offering of grain or bread into a larger festival observance.

Lines 96–119 identify a final ritual complex, during the month of ^dHalma, which includes an honorific ceremony (*kubadu*), a drink offering, a burnt offering, the Day of Renewal of ^dDagan, and a procession. These lines read:

The month of ^dHalma: on the 2nd day they perform the honorific ceremony at the Temple of ^dDagan. In the evening they fill a goblet with wine and burn a bird. The Day of Renewal of ^dDagan falls on the 3rd. One sheep is provided by the city the divine axe remains in the temple. The sheep's hide belongs to the Diviner. On the 8th day ^dHalma goes out in procession. The divine axe follows him. One sheep is provided by the city. The men of the consecration-gift (?) feast. The bread and beer belong to the

leader. On that day, they offer a lamb at the temple of ^dBaal. On the 9th day ^dBaal of Canaan goes out in procession. An ox and six sheep proceed to his temple. Among them [. . . from(?)]the Temple of ^dDagan (?) the Lord <(of...?)> he receives. . . [. . . the men] who give(?)the consecration-gift(?) [. . .] the hides, the intestines, the fat [. . .] belong to the Diviner. [. . .] the hip [. . .] belongs to the king of the land.

The merging of named and unnamed rites into larger festival complexes is a point of similarity between Lev 23 and Emar 446. In Lev 23:5–8 the Pesach ceremony and Festival of Unleavened Bread are apparently combined into one festival complex. This complex consists of two named rites and illustrates a possible conflict between the meat offerings of a pastoral society and the grain offerings of an agricultural society. The verses read:

In the first month, on the fourteenth [day] of the month, at twilight, a Passover offering to YHWH, and on the fifteenth day of that month the Feast of Unleavened Bread to YHWH. Seven days you are to eat unleavened bread. On the first day shall be for you a sacred occasion: do no heavy labor. Thus for seven days you shall offer food offerings to YHWH. On the seventh day is a sacred assembly: you shall do no heavy labor.

Wagenaar argues that the joining of these named rites furnishes proof of a late redaction of the text. However, the evidence from Emar 446 demonstrates that the use of festival complexes was already attested in second-millennium West Semitic rituals.³⁵

Variations in Festival Names and Dates

The Emarite ritual text describes three related aspects relevant to this section: (1) some festivals are named while others are unnamed in the same text; (2) agricultural festivals occur on fixed dates; and (3) some festivals occur on fixed dates while other dates are left ambiguous in the same text.

35. Hess argues that the combination of pastoral and agrarian festival elements of burnt lambs, various breads, lack of an altar, and minimized role of the priest/diviner in a festival “celebrated by a settled West Semitic people in the Late Bronze Age raises additional questions about the degree of certainty that can be ascribed to the posited evolutionary development of the biblical festival” (“Multiple-Month Ritual,” 249–50).

Although Lev 23 names many festivals, ceremonies, and rituals, the agricultural festivals in the first and third months remain unnamed. The first month identifies an anonymous agricultural firstfruit celebration for the barley harvest on “the day after the Sabbath-week” (v. 11). Exodus 23:16 names the first festival as the “Festival of the Harvest.” The text identifies a second unnamed firstfruits festival seven weeks later for the wheat harvest. Exodus 34:22 and Num 28:26–31 record this second festival as the “Festival of Weeks.” The reverse is also true: Lev 23:26–32 names the Day of Atonement while Num 29:7–11 leaves the rite unnamed.

Wagenaar bolsters his case for a late redaction to the text, insisting that (1) the presence of both named and unnamed festivals in the same text is inconsistent and best explained by a later addition; (2) the celebration of agricultural festivals on fixed dates is an exilic development that followed the festivals’ separation from their agricultural origins; and (3) the presence of some festivals tied to fixed dates and others to flexible dates points to a textual redaction combining two distinct traditions.

The second-millennium B.C. ritual text from Emar demonstrates a similar consolidation of named and unnamed festivals. Emar 446 records an unnamed festival beginning on the fifteenth of the first month. Emar 375 appears to describe the same festival—with the name *Zukru*. Therefore, the practice of naming a festival in one text and leaving it unnamed in another preserves an early West Semitic practice and may not indicate later redaction or authorial traditions.

Emar 446 also demonstrates that a second-millennium culture celebrated agricultural rites on fixed dates. During the month of *sag.mu* (first month), on the fifteenth day (full moon) of the month, a planting ceremony occurs (see translation of Emar 446 lines 45–57 above). This agricultural festival begins with offerings to ^dŠaggar at the cattle barn (é *gud^{meš}*) and horse stable (é *anše.kur.ra*). Although the use of horses in agriculture is debated, these offerings may have been intended to prepare the draft animals for plowing and planting. The rite continues with a procession including offerings to the *nuppuhanū* men, the Garden of Ba’al’s Sacred Pool, and Dagan Lord of the Seed. The ceremony concludes with the Diviner throwing seed onto the ground in a rite of planting. On the following day (sixteenth of the month) there is an honorific ceremony that includes the taking of oaths. After the completion of the oaths, everyone may go out to plant. According to the

text, these agrarian-based rites took place on set dates, despite the annual fluctuations in the planting dates produced by the lunar calendar.³⁶

The rituals found in Emar 446 contest Wagenaar's assumption that the hosting of agricultural rituals on fixed dates requires a textual redaction. Therefore, the observance of agricultural rites on fixed dates does not, by itself, necessitate a later redaction to the text or late textual development.³⁷

Although most rites in the multi-month Emarite ritual calendar occur on fixed dates and follow a structured formula, the festival during the third month (^dAnna) does not specify a date for ritual activity. Lines 77–82 read:

The month of ^dAnna: One sheep is provided for ^dAdammatera. The *nuppuhannū* men, along with the *hamšau* men, give a sheep, [bread] and beer one sheep for the *abū* shrine of the gods, one sheep for the Temple of ^dDagan, and a sheep for the town—these sheep are provided by the *nuppuhannū* men the Diviner receives these hides.

The lack of a number for the day, which is unique in the text, led Fleming to conclude that the activities may have taken place on different days each year.³⁸ Hess argues that the lack of a mentioned date may indicate that activities occurred on the first day of the month—at the new moon.³⁹ In either case, the text includes rites on both specified and unspecified dates. A second example of an unspecified date occurs in Emar 446 line 47. This line reads “during that month, during the evening ceremony.” Hess, citing this line, argues that there is an early precedent for cultic calendars including agricultural rites on both fixed dates and

36. Fleming argues that while the text holds a prescriptive nature, the set dates may refer to only one year. Fleming states that “although the scribe has chosen verbal forms that imply that regular repetition of the ritual is to be expected, it is possible that the specific date applies only to one observance” (*Time*, 141). This study argues against Fleming and for a fixed date: A fixed date follows the custom, found in other ancient Near Eastern cultures, of hosting rituals at the full-moon phase of the first and seventh months. For Fleming to be correct, the rituals would not so closely align with the lunar phases and would occur on random dates.

37. Hess makes the same conclusion (“Multiple-Month Ritual,” 248).

38. Fleming (*Time*, 162) bases his argument on Jack M. Sasson, who concludes that festival dates at Mari were occasionally flexible (“The Calendar and Festivals of Mari during the Reign of Zimri Lim,” in *Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones* [ed. Makvin A. Powell, Jr. and Ronald H. Sack; AOAT 203; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag, 1979], 119–41).

39. Hess, “Multiple-Month Ritual,” 244.

dates tied to the agricultural harvest or planting.⁴⁰ He concludes that these variations on the general theme at Emar demonstrate that differences in the date formula should not be used to designate editorial layers.⁴¹

Simultaneous Festivals

Emar 446 provides two examples of simultaneous rituals. Lines 11–21 and 22–40 both give accounts of a procession complex for ^dnin.urta on the fifteenth day of the first month. The rituals in this complex consist of the offering of a lamb, a procession, a festival meal of bread and beer, the use of the divine axe, and the sacrifice of a sheep. Line 22 divides the two passages with the temporal marker “on that day.” While the two Emar rituals on the fifteenth day are similar, they are not identical. The first processes through the Amit gate, and involves the entire population, who reenter the temple through the “primary gate.” The second processes out through the “main gate” with an ox and six sheep. The second rite does not include the general population; instead, it specifies a feast for the leader of the people. Examples from the two portions of the text demonstrate these similarities and differences:

Lines 11–13, 16, 21 read: On that [sa]me day (the 15th day of the first month), [^dnin.urta] processes out through the] **Amit** [Gate]. They give [. . . (an offering) provided by] the **House of the Gods** . . . the **entire population** . . . consume the bread and beer from out of the **House [of the Gods]**.

Lines 22–24, 29–30 read: On [that] day (the 15th day of the first month), they offer [a lamb at] the **Temple of ^dnin.urta**. [^dNin.urta] goes out in procession [to] the **main** gate. . . . the **leader and the people of the countryside** eat [and drink] in the **Temple of [(^dnin.urta)]**.

Lines 8–10 and 45–57 supply a second example of simultaneous festivals. Held for ^dDagan and ^dSaggar on the fifteenth day of the same month, these festivals include similar rites.⁴² Lines 8–10 read: “On the

40. Hess, *Leviticus* (The Expositor’s Bible Commentary; rev. ed.; ed. Tremper Longman, III and David E. Garland; Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2008), 785.

41. Hess, “Multiple-Month Ritual,” 244.

42. A text from Ugarit provides evidence of rites described in different parts of the same text, seemingly out of chronological order. KTU 1.41 relates activities on the thirteenth

15th day, ^dDagan goes [out in procession . . .] a sheep which the *nappuhannū* men give [. . .] the [. . .] men [eat].” Although the text is severely damaged, it is evident that the rite occurs on the fifteenth day of the month and involves a sheep offering. The context of the passage implies that the sheep plays a role in both a procession and festival meal. Several lines later, while still describing activities in the same month, the text mentions a ritual to ^dSaggar. Lines 45–46 read: “On the 15th day, they bring ^dSaggar down to the cattle barn and (perform) the slaughter. They slaughter one sheep at the horse stable . . .” Both rites refer to the movement of the god and the offering of a sheep, but, like the first example, the festivals are not identical. Clearly these lines show that two similar rituals may be held simultaneously, even though the account of each appears in a different part of the text.

The appearance of similar rituals on the same day recalls the reading in Lev 23 regarding the Feast of Tabernacles and Feast of YHWH. The two passages read:

YHWH spoke to Moses, saying: “Say to the Israelites thus: ‘On the fifteenth day of this seventh month *there shall be* the Feast of Tabernacles, *for* seven days to YHWH.⁴³ The first day shall be a sacred occasion; do no heavy labor. Seven days you shall present food offerings to YHWH. On the eighth day, you shall observe a sacred occasion and present a food offering to YHWH. It is a solemn assembly; do no heavy labor.

‘However, on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when you have gathered the crops of the land, you shall celebrate the Feast of YHWH seven days: on the first day, rest and on the eighth day, rest. On the first day you shall take for yourselves fruit of splendid trees: fronds of palms, branches of leafy trees, and willows of the brook, and you shall rejoice before YHWH your God seven days. You shall celebrate it as a Feast of YHWH for seven days in the year as a lasting ordinance, throughout your generations. You shall celebrate it in the seventh month. In

and fourteenth days of the month prior to a discussion of activities on the sixth day of the month. Also discussed by Hess, “Multiple-Month Ritual,” 245.

43. The meaning of Tabernacles and the role of “booths” are not clarified in the text. Hess indicates the practice of living in huts was likely ended by the writing of Lev 23. According to Hess, the meaning may be associated with the prior practice of living in huts in Egypt (the location of Succoth—meaning “tabernacles”) in Exod 12:37–13:20, or with the practice of living in huts near the sanctuary in Jerusalem during festivals (*Leviticus*, 790–91). Also discussed in Daniel Fleming, “The Israelite Festival Calendar and Emar’s Ritual Archive,” *RB* 106 (1999): 8–34.

booths you shall live seven days; all citizens in Israel shall live in booths, in order that your generations may know that I made the Israelites live in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt; I am YHWH your God.”

In both festivals participants live in booths, rest, and honor YHWH. Just as in Emar 446, the two festivals in Lev 23 differ: the Festival of YHWH adds rejoicing with four species of leafy trees, a rationale for living in booths, and a specific call for native Israelites to live in booths. However, the Festival of Tabernacles has a different name and includes the sacred assembly.

Based upon the evidence from Emar, the overlap of two rituals on the same day is not sufficient evidence (by itself) to conclude the Festival of Tabernacles and the Festival of YHWH are intended to be the same festival.⁴⁴ In addition, the evidence from Emar calls Wagenaar’s conclusions into question. This study argues, following Hess, that simultaneous festivals occurring in passages from different parts of the text should not be used, in isolation, as evidence of late authorship or redaction.⁴⁵

CONCLUSION

This analysis examined four pieces of evidence used by Jan Wagenaar to argue that the festival calendar of Lev 23 reflects an exilic transformation, directly influenced by the first-millennium Babylonian priesthood. The study compared Lev 23 with Emar 446 and evaluated the texts’ similarities with regard to the following features: the depiction of a dual six-month calendar with New Year celebrations in the first and seventh months; the practice of combining named rites into larger festival complexes; the presence of named and unnamed rituals, agricultural rites on fixed dates, and both fixed and unspecified dates for rites in the same text; and the recording of simultaneous festivals in different parts of the same text.

Our findings challenge Wagenaar’s conclusions. Because the four elements occur in an earlier West Semitic text, their presence in Lev 23 cannot be used to offer proof of a later textual transformation or redaction. On the contrary, the evidence strengthens the theory that Lev 23 may preserve an early West Semitic ritual tradition dating to the second millennium.

44. Following Hess, *Leviticus*, 792.

45. Hess, “Multiple-Month Ritual,” 245–6.

It is always important to remember that Israel did not exist in a vacuum. Hallo defines the purpose of comparative analysis, stating that “it is not to find the key to every biblical phenomenon in some ancient Near Eastern precedent, but rather to silhouette the biblical text against its wider literary and cultural environment and thus to arrive at a proper assessment of the extent to which the biblical evidence reflects that environment or, on the contrary, is distinctive and innovative over against it.”⁴⁶ This study follows in Hallo’s footsteps by providing another step towards understanding the context of Lev 23.

46. William W. Hallo, “Compare and Contrast: the Contextual Approach to Biblical Literature,” in *The Bible in the Light of Cuneiform Literature: Scripture in Context III* (ed. William W. Hallo, Bruce William Jones, and Gerald L. Mattingly; Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 8; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1990), 3.

Gazelles, Does, and Flames: (De)Limiting Love in Song of Songs

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Some of the most commented upon and enigmatic passages in Song of Songs are the adjuration refrains (Song 2:7; 3:5; 8:4) and the comparison of love to a flame (Song 8:6). This paper proposes that these verses serve to delimit and define love in Song of Songs while also limiting the expression of that love. In each context there is a reference to God—often by clever circumlocution (Song 2:7; 3:5)—thereby defining the legitimate expression of love according to divine intent. This use of circumlocution and its omission at Song 8:4 build suspense for the punch line at Song 8:6 which finally reveals the involvement of God in love and its expression between the Shulammitte and her beloved.

KEYWORDS: *Adjuration; circumlocution; oaths; Shulammitte*

Some of the most commented upon and enigmatic passages in Song of Songs are the adjuration refrains (Song 2:7; 3:5; 8:4) and the comparison of love to a flame (Song 8:6). There are several major questions raised by the refrain: Why are the Daughters of Jerusalem called upon to take an oath by the gazelles and does of the field? What does it mean to awaken and arouse love? If one is not to arouse love until it desires what is it that love desires and when does it desire it? The comparison of love to a flame has one oft-debated question: Is the flame to be understood as an intense flame or a flame of Yah? I contend that these questions are resolved by understanding the relationship of the adjuration refrains to the flame analogy. These two passages illuminate each other when one understands the author's use of clever references to the deity, delayed revelation of the answer to the poet's teasing and playful language, and his view of the proper sexual expression among humans.

THE ADJURATION REFRAIN

There are four adjurations in the Song of Songs, all of them addressed by the Shulammitte to the Daughters of Jerusalem (Song 2:7; 3:5; 5:8; 8:4). Three of these adjurations are the well-known refrain from the Song concerning awakening love. The first two occurrences of the adjuration refrain are identical:

הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם בְּצִבְאוֹת אוּ בְאֵילוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה אִם־תִּעִירוּ וְאִם־
תִּעְרַרְרוּ אֶת־הָאֱהָבָה עַד שֶׁתִּחַפֵּץ:

I place you under oath, Daughters of Jerusalem, by the gazelles and by the does of the field, that you do not awaken and you do not arouse this love until it desires. (Song 2:7; 3:5)

The third occurrence is similar, but contains noticeable and important differences:

הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם מִהֲתִעִירוּ וּמִהֲתִעְרַרְרוּ אֶת־הָאֱהָבָה עַד שֶׁתִּחַפֵּץ:

I place you under oath, Daughters of Jerusalem: Why would you awaken and why would you arouse this love until it desires? (Song 8:4)

There are two differences from the earlier adjurations: The oath is not sworn by the gazelles and does of the field, and the oath begins with the interrogative particle *מה* instead of *אם*. These differences are important and account for the way I propose to understand and translate this occurrence of the adjuration refrain differently than the previous two. However, before delving into these differences, I will explore the first two occurrences of the refrain and then return to the third instance to justify my understanding.

THE ADJURATION REFRAIN AT SONG 2:7 AND SONG 3:5

Swearing by Gazelles and Does

Attempts at Explaining the Gazelles and Does

The meaning of the rather strange and mystifying adjuration to swear by animals of the field has always been elusive. In fact, it has given rise to a number of explanations. Among them are:

1. It is natural for shepherds to use objects around them to attest to their oath.¹
2. Gazelles and does are chosen because they are easily frightened animals, and they therefore communicate that you cannot force love upon another.²
3. Gazelles and does wait until mating season to couple, therefore, they signify that humans, too, should wait for God's timing in matters of love to respect God's created order.³
4. The Shulammitte is depicting herself as beautiful, vigorous, and sexually active like a gazelle (Song 2:9, 17; 4:5; 7:3; 8:14).⁴
5. Since the refrain implies that love is not to be disturbed, the speaker compares it to gazelles and does which are lovely and free and roam the hills.⁵
6. The word צבאות is to be understood as the heavenly *armies* (plural of צבא) or as an apocopation of the phrase *Yahweh of Armies* (יהוה צבאות), not as *gazelles* (plural of צביה). The oath is to be witnessed by God's angelic armies or God himself.⁶

1. A. Cohen, *The Five Megilloth: Hebrew Text & English Translation with Introductions and Commentary* (Soncino Books of the Bible; Soncino: London, 1946), 7.

2. Othmar Keel, *The Song of Songs* (trans. Frederick J. Gaiser; Continental Commentaries; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1994), 92.

3. Christopher W. Mitchell, *The Song of Songs* (Concordia Commentary; St. Louis: Concordia, 2003), 698.

4. Duane A. Garrett, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs* (NAC 14; Nashville: Broadman, 1993), 392.

5. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes* (trans. James Martin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, repr. 1976), 6.46. [The original German edition of commentary on Song of Songs was published in 1872; see Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, 6.x].

6. This appears to be at least as old as the Septuagint: ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχυράσιν τοῦ ἀγίου; similarly the Targum has "by the Lord of Hosts and the Strength of the Land of Israel [בְּיְהוָה צְבָאוֹת וּבְחַזְקַי אֶרֶץ דִּישְׂרָאֵל]; according to Pope, a similar view was held by Joüon. (Marvin H. Pope, *Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 7C; Garden City: Doubleday, 1977), 385.

7. Those who espouse that the Song was originally intended for a pagan cultic setting see a connection with Astarte, the Canaanite fertility goddess to whom these animals were said to be sacred.⁷

These explanations of the use of gazelles and does in the refrain fall into three types. The first is represented by explanation 1 above. This explanation takes seriously that oaths require attestation by an outside party. However, it rather arbitrarily asserts that shepherds would call upon ordinary creatures in their environment as witnesses. There are two reasons why this approach is unsatisfactory. First, it does not account for the choice of animals. Why gazelles and does and not doves (יונים; Song 1:15; 2:14; 4:1; 5:2, 12; 6:9; turtledove [תור] Song 2:12), or goats (עזים Song 4:1; 6:5) or ewes (רחלים Song 6:6) or even many of the flora mentioned in the Song? Second, it does not take seriously that throughout the ancient Near East and certainly in the OT, oaths most often called on a deity or deities as witnesses (e.g., Ruth 1:17; 1 Sam 3:17; 19:6; 2 Sam 2:27; 1 Kgs 17:12; 18:10; 2 Kgs 6:31; Job 27:2; Jer 44:26; Amos 8:14). In a few cases oaths called on a superior as a witness (e.g., Pharaoh, Gen 42:5; the high priest Eli, 1 Sam 1:26; Jonathan as David's superior, 1 Sam 20:3; Elijah as Elisha's superior, 2 Kgs 2:4, 6; see Heb 6:16). God, of course, having no superior, swears by himself as witness (e.g., Num 14:21, 28; Deut 32:40; Isa 49:18; Jer 22:24; 46:18; Ezek 5:11; 14:16, Zeph 2:9; see Heb 6:13). However in biblical terms, it is difficult, if not impossible to construe gazelles and does as superior to any human.

The second type of explanation is one that attempts to view the gazelles and does as animals that are representative of some concept in the Song's context, either immediate context of the adjuration refrain (explanations 2, 3, 5) or the wider context of the Song as a whole (explanation 4). These explanations at least have a contextual connection of some sort to the Song. However, they attenuate or even eliminate the gazelles and does as witnesses to the oath in favor of making them symbols of some theme or motif. Yet, oaths in the OT (and in the ancient Near East more generally) commonly called on witnesses to guarantee their solemnity, and the adjuration refrain in the Song appears on its surface to do just that. In addition, this type of explanation is somewhat arbitrary. Interpreters choose something about gazelles and does that appeals to them and their sense of the Song's message without any defense of why such a choice is better than others that could have been made. Gazelles can be characterized as skittish (explanation 2), mating in

7. Pope, *Song of Songs*, 385–86.

season (explanation 3), beautiful, vigorous, sexually active (explanation 4) and free roaming (explanation 5). But which of these is being emphasized in the refrain? All of them have some type of claim, but none is clearly superior to the others. In addition, nothing is used to justify the Song's choice of gazelles and does over other animals. Other wild animals can be skittish; other animals mate in season; others can be considered beautiful; others are free roaming. Why gazelles and does? Why not some other animals, such as a beautiful dove (Song 2:14) or goats (Song 4:1; 6:5), which also mate in season?

The third type of explanation takes into account the frequent and even expected calling upon God as witness to an oath. Explanations 6 and 7 above are examples of this. In favor of this type of explanation is that it takes seriously the ancient preference for swearing oaths by the God or at least a surrogate for him, the angelic hosts.⁸ However, one of the explanations (explanation 6) falls short in dealing with the second witness: the does. There is no real justification for viewing the does as a reference to powers as in the Septuagint or "strength of the land of Israel" in the Targum (see note 6). Does have association with beauty in the OT but not strength (cf. Gen 49:21; 2 Sam 22:34; Job 39:1; Ps 18:34; 22:1; 29:9; Prov 5:19; Song 2:7; 3:5; Jer 14:5). About as close one can come to strength associated with does is a reference to their surefootedness (Hab 3:19). The other explanation in this category (explanation 7) assumes an unproven original setting among pagan Canaanites for the Song. Most scholars would reject this presumed original *Sitz im Leben*, and even if one were to endorse this view, it would still remain highly speculative and impossible to prove without documentary evidence.

Finally, it should be noted that these explanations neither acknowledge nor account for the strange collocation "the gazelles and does of the field." The addition of the modification השדה to a specific type of animal is unique to Song 2:7; 3:5 in the OT. Elsewhere this appellation occurs only with generic terms that denote animals in general. The phrase "animal of the field" (חית השדה), occurs twenty-nine times and usually denotes wild animals (e.g., Exod 23:11; Hos 2:12), though at times it appears to differentiate between animals that are earthbound as opposed to birds which fly in the sky (עוף השמים; e.g., Gen 2:19-20). The equivalent phrase, בהמת השדה, is used once (1 Sam 17:44). Therefore, the phrase "the gazelles and does of the field" ought to catch the reader's attention. It appears to be somewhat nonsensical. It surely cannot denote wild gazelles and does as distinct from domesticated

8. The NT acknowledges swearing by surrogates for God such as heaven, earth, or Jerusalem (Matt 5:34-35; Jam 5:12).

gazelles and does. Nor can it differentiate between earthbound gazelles and does and some species of bird, a differentiation that would make little sense.

Gordis's Suggestion

However, there is an explanation that accounts for all of the features of the phrase "the gazelles and does of the field." Many commentators follow the lead of Gordis who proposed that the phrase *בצבאות או באילות השדה* was a circumlocution for the similarly sounding *ביהוה צבאות או באל שדי*.⁹ This circumlocution would have been used to avoid direct mention of any divine names in an oath, especially an oath connected with the physical aspects of love.¹⁰ This type of circumlocution is common in many languages for oaths, expressions of shock and surprise, and profanity. Note English "Holy Cow" for "Holy Christ"; "Jiminy Christmas" for "Jesus Christ"; French "sacré bleu" for "sacré dieu"; the now archaic German "Potz Blitz" for "Gotts Blitz."

The particular circumlocution used in the adjuration refrain is especially appropriate since these females of gazelle and deer species are associated with expressions of love elsewhere (Prov 5:18–19; Song 4:5; 7:3; for the male counterparts cf. Song 2:9, 17; 8:14). Moreover, they fit the Shulammitte's words well, since she is consistently depicted as a girl from the countryside.

The adjuration itself evokes for the reader the concept of God as witness. Simply by stating, "I place you under oath" (*השבועתי אתכם*) the Shulammitte raises the expectation that an invocation of God as witness is to follow (see Gen 24:3). A contemporary example may help: Suppose someone working in carpentry accidentally struck his thumb with a

9. Gordis proposed that the first image is a circumlocution for *באלהי צבאות*. However, the phrase *יהוה צבאות* is much more common in the Hebrew Bible.

10. Robert Gordis, *The Song of Songs and Lamentations: A Study, Modern Translation and Commentary* (Rev. and augmented ed.; New York: KTAV, 1974), 27–28. Others who have given full or qualified support to Gordis' proposal include Michael V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1985), 110; Roland E. Murphy, *The Song of Songs: A Commentary on the Book of Canticles or The Song of Songs* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 133; Tremper Longman III, *Song of Songs* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 116; Mitchell, *The Song of Songs*, 684–5; Duane Garrett and Paul R. House, *Song of Songs/Lamentations* (WBC 23B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2004), 152; J. Cheryl Exum, *Song of Songs: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 119; Richard S. Hess, *Song of Songs* (Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 82.

hammer and exclaimed, “Cheesy Crust!”¹¹ Although this is not a commonly used circumlocution for *Jesus Christ*, many who heard it would immediately understand it this way, since in modern culture it is an unfortunate custom of many to use exclamations involving God’s name in expressions of surprise. The context of surprise and pain evokes an expectation of such an expression. In ancient Israel, the context of an oath similarly evokes an expectation of God as witness. While this is somewhat culturally conditioned, it is not beyond moderns to perceive it with the adjuration refrain. For instance, consider the observation of C. F. Keil over 140 years ago about the refrain at Song 2:7:

It is permitted to the Israelites to swear, *בשבע*, only by God (Gen. xxi. 23); but to adjure, *השבעתי*, by that which is not God, is also admissible, although this example before us is perhaps the only direct one in Scripture.¹²

Keil’s attempt to draw a distinction between the N stem (Niphal) and H stem (Hiphil) of the verb to explain the gazelles and does as witnesses in the adjuration refrain is strained. Apparently, he was trying to justify the use of animals as witnesses to an oath, though his implication that there is *indirect* evidence for this in Israel is, to my knowledge, unfounded. However, his observation that Israelites usually swear by God as witness is telling.¹³ Even for moderns familiar with the OT, it is possible for the adjuration refrain to evoke an expectation of calling on God as witness to the oath. This expectation is fulfilled via the circumlocution “by the gazelles and does of the field.” If contemporary scholars are uncomfortable with the use of a circumlocution for God, it is at least partially due to the fact that in contemporary usage, such circumlocutions nearly always carry negative connotations because of the contexts in which they normally occur.¹⁴ However, such negative connotations should not be projected anachronistically back onto ancient Israelites.

11. I am indebted to my colleague John Rhoads for this example.

12. Keil, *Commentary on the Old Testament*, 6.47–48.

13. Of course, Keil is wrong that Israelites only swore by God, as the examples given above about swearing by superiors demonstrate.

14. For such discomfort see, for instance, the comments of Garrett about this being “probably little more than wordplay” (Garrett and House, *Song of Songs/Lamentations*, 152) or Huwiler’s comment that Gordis’s suggestion is “both charming and plausible but cannot be proved.” (Roland E. Murphy and Elizabeth Huwiler, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs* (NIBC 12; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), 257.) Of course, many interpretations of difficult passages cannot be proved beyond doubt. The same is true of

Another reason for contemporary scholars' discomfort with Gordis's suggestion is that it involves circumlocution in which the surface meaning of the words is severely subordinated to their implied intended meaning. Exegetes are comfortable with plays on words as long as the surface meaning predominates. Circumlocutions where the surface meaning of word is less important than their sound quality or where the surface meaning is not at all part of the intended meaning are rare, even in modern parlance. However, they exist and are intelligible if one recognizes the contextual clues that signal they are being used. Yet, many would tend to discount identifying the phrase "the gazelles and does of the field" as a circumlocution by characterizing it as a "less than straightforward" interpretation. To reject Gordis's proposal simply because other proposed explanations appear to be more straightforward is to ignore the fact that these other explanations are far from straightforward in themselves. As demonstrated above, they rely on supposition, arbitrary associations proposed by interpreters, and ignoring important textual or contextual features of the adjuration refrain. The categorization of interpretations as more straightforward or less straightforward not only introduces a slippery and ill-defined concept into exegetical method, but it also downplays or eliminates an important factor in judging between interpretations: Which is most likely the intended sense of the author given all of the verbal and contextual clues in the text?

Gordis's explanation of the phrase is the only one that is able to account for a very important textual clue: the strange addition of the appellation "of the field." This descriptor is not added to the phrase "gazelles and does" for any semantic refining of the reference to these animals. It is added in order to make the circumlocution sound similar to the appellation *אל שדי* ("God Almighty"). In fact, the very nonsensical nature of adding *השדה* ("of the field") calls attention to the fact that the phrase "by the gazelles and does of the field" is a circumlocution and is to be understood as such.

Given the fact that Gordis's explanation does not run afoul of the problems that plague other approaches to explaining the enigmatic phrase "by the gazelles and does of the field," it is to be preferred over them. It takes seriously that most oaths held the expectation that God would be invoked as a witness. It elicits the pastoral origins of the Shulammitte depicted throughout Song of Songs and through the clever choice of words that denote wild animals that are also associated with the lovers in the Song (Song 2:9, 17; 4:5; 7:3; 8:14; see Prov 5:18–19). It

the seven other examples given above. However, some interpretations can be shown to be more probable and convincing than others.

also accounts for the rather unexpected and semantically inexplicable “of the field” appellation applied to the gazelles and does, a feature of the phrase that calls attention to its use as a circumlocution for God.

Awakening and Arousing Love

The admonition warns against awakening and arousing love. Both verbs are from the verbal root עור. The first is an H stem form (causative: *awaken*), the second a D (Polel) stem form (factitive: *arouse*). These verbs are often discussed in commentaries, and they appear to be crucial to understanding the point of the adjuration.

One Suggestion: Do Not Disturb Lovers

Gordis understood the verbs to mean something like “disturb” and “interrupt” so that the adjuration is a warning against disturbing and interrupting lovers in the throes of passion.¹⁵ His reasoning was that the context indicates that the Shulammitte was experiencing such passion immediately before the adjuration:

His right hand is under my head, and his left hand embraces me.
(Song 2:6; cf. Song 8:3)

Scarcely had I passed them when I found him whom my soul loves. I held on to him and would not let him go until I brought him into my mother’s house and into the room of the one who conceived me. (Song 3:4)

Thus, the reasoning appears to be that the Shulammitte is placing the Daughters of Jerusalem under oath that they not interrupt *her* love until it desires to be aroused—that is, until it is sated.

There are two problems with this interpretation, however. One is that it is not all that clear from the context that the Shulammitte is speaking about *her* love in the adjuration refrain. She may well be speaking about the love potentially to be experienced by the Daughters of Jerusalem—they are not to awaken or arouse love in themselves until it desires.

15. Gordis, *Song of Songs and Lamentations*, 82; Marcia Falk, *The Song of Songs: A New Translation and Interpretation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990), 175–6; Keel, *The Song of Songs*, 89, 124.

More importantly, as numerous commentators have pointed out, the verbal root עורר signifies rousing someone to action, not stopping or interrupting action already in progress.¹⁶ One defense of Gordis's position was offered by Fox. He opined that "the way one disturbs lovemaking is to wake the couple in the morning."¹⁷ Exum rejects Fox's suggestion because it "strains the sense of the verse" and when "love" (אהבה) is used elsewhere in Song of Songs it seems to refer to love in the abstract, not lovemaking in particular (2:4, 5; 3:10; 5:8; 7:6 [Hebrew 7:7]; 8:6–7).¹⁸ Indeed, at Song 2:5 and again at Song 5:8 the Shulammitte indicates she is "sick with love" which can hardly mean "sick with lovemaking." (אהבה can denote lovemaking however, see Prov 7:18).

Gault seeks to rescue Gordis's interpretation by claiming a sort of poetic license on part of the author of Song of Songs. The couple is at peaceful rest, and the verbs are used metaphorically to indicate that the Daughters of Jerusalem are not to rouse them from such peace.¹⁹ This appears to me to be special pleading, and it is not all that different from Fox's suggestion.

Gault, however, in seeking another defense of Gordis's position, offers a helpful suggestion. He notes that אהבה always occurs in the adjuration refrain with the article. In fact, the article is used with this noun only in Song of Songs out of all of the books of the Hebrew Bible (Song 2:7; 3:5; 8:4, 7). Some commentators take this use of the article to indicate that love is being personified.²⁰ Clearly, there is personification of love in the adjuration refrain. Love can be awakened and aroused, and it has desire. The verbs accomplish this personification. However, if it is the article that personifies, then why is the article used at Song 8:7 where love is quenched, flooded, and cannot be bought? There is no requirement to see personification in these metaphors. Love is a flame, a place, and cannot be commoditized—but none of these involve personification at Song 8:7. Gault suggests, instead, that the article is

16. Exum, *Song of Songs*, 118; Longman, *Song of Songs*, 115; Garrett, *Song of Songs*, 152; Murphy, *Song of Songs*, 133.

17. Fox, *Song of Songs*, 110.

18. Exum, *Song of Songs*, 118.

19. Brian P. Gault, "An Admonition against 'Rousing Love': The Meaning of the Enigmatic Refrain in Song of Songs," *BBR* 20 (2010): 176–7.

20. E.g., Mitchell, *Song of Songs*, 699.

used as a deictic particle, a use that is not unknown elsewhere.²¹ Thus, in this passage האהבה means “this [kind of] love.” Gault seeks to limit the reference of “this love” to the immediate context and therefore, only to the sexual expression of love as indicated in the verse immediately preceding each instance of the adjuration refrain. However, I believe this is too narrowly limiting the context to only the immediately preceding verse. “This love” in the adjuration refrain is referring to the strong emotional, psychological, and familial attachment that the Shulammite feels for her beloved throughout Song of Songs. Otherwise she could not be “sick with love” just two verses before the first occurrence of the adjuration refrain (Song 2:5; cf. 5:8). Such love between a woman and a man, of course, also entails the desire for physical affection.

Another Suggestion:

Avoid Arousing this Love Inappropriately

Since the verbs denote rousing someone to action, the more commonly encountered interpretation is that the adjuration refrain is a warning to the Daughters of Jerusalem against arousing love in themselves before it desires.²² The Shulammite addresses the Daughters of Jerusalem to inform and instruct them elsewhere in Song of Songs. At Song 1:5 she informs them of her suntanned skin. Commentators are divided as to whether she is affirming or denying her beauty, but the informational and instructional function is the same in either case. They are to learn about the love of a man who appreciates a woman for whom and what she is. At the end of her description of her beloved in Song 5:16, she summarizes by saying, “this is my beloved, and this is my friend, Daughters of Jerusalem.” She now has taught the Daughters of Jerusalem that she appreciates her beloved for whom and what he is so that they might learn someday to appreciate their beloveds in like manner. Similarly, at Song 3:11 she tells the Daughters of Zion to look at Solomon dressed as if it were his wedding day so that they can learn of his joy. In each of these, as in the four adjurations where the Daughters of Jerusalem are addressed, the point of the address is to impart knowledge for the benefit of the Daughters of Jerusalem. Eschelbach concludes that the Daughters of Jerusalem “are friends of the beloved,

21. Exod 9:27: הפעם = “this time”; Num 11:6 המן = “this manna”; Num 21:5 בלחם הקלקל = “this worthless food”; Num 22:8 הלילה = “tonight” (i.e., “this night”); 2 Kgs 19:29 השנה = “this year”; the frequent use of היום = “today” (i.e., “this day”).

22. Michael Eschelbach, “Song of Songs: Increasing Appreciation of and Restraint in Matters of Love,” *AUSS* 42 (2004): 312; Exum, *Song of Songs*, 118; Garrett, *Song of Songs*, 152; Longman, *Song of Songs*, 115; Mitchell, *Song of Songs*, 700.

who participate in her desire for and pursuit of a husband and who are expected to learn from the experience.”²³ This argues that the adjuration refrain is instructional for the benefit of the Daughters of Jerusalem—that they not stir up their own feelings of love inappropriately.

This understanding is even more plausible if the suggestion offered by both Longman and Eschelbach is correct: the Daughters of Jerusalem serve as surrogates for the readers.²⁴ The adjuration refrain, then, teaches readers not to force love, no matter how much they may long to be in a relationship like the Shulammitte has with her beloved.

THE ADJURATION REFRAIN AT SONG 8:4

This still leaves one question unanswered about the meaning of the adjuration refrain: If one is not to arouse love “until it desires” what is it that love desires and when does it desire it? To answer this we must turn to the final occurrence of the refrain and note its two major differences from the previous two occurrences.

Oath Beginning with מִן Instead of אִם

The oath at Song 8:4 is very similar to the oath at Song 2:7; 3:5. Despite the change in wording, most commentators simply argue that the expressions are equivalent since the refrain must be expressing the same sentiment and it is otherwise identical in wording. Some try to nuance this slightly by holding that מִן makes the negation “do not awaken. . .” more emphatic and urgent.²⁵ Occasionally an attempt is made to justify the use of מִן as a negative particle, as would be required if the oath were simply started with אִם used as a negative particle.²⁶ Often 1 Kgs 12:16 and Job 31:1 are given as examples of such usage.²⁷ However, both of these passages use מִן as an interrogative particle to introduce a question that expects a negative answer:

23. Eschelbach, “Song of Songs” 308.

24. Eschelbach, “Song of Songs,” 308; Longman, *Song of Songs*, 115.

25. Longman, *Song of Songs*, 206.

26. Mitchell, *Song of Songs*, 1152; Mitchell cites BDB s.v. מִן 2a (b); Joüon §144h, GKC §137b, note 1; HALOT s.v. מִן C.

27. E.g., Joüon §144h.

וירא כל־ישראל כי לא־שמע המלך אליהם וישבו העם את־המלך דבר לאמר
מה־לנו חלק בדוד

All Israel saw that the king did not listen to them. So the people answered the king, “What portion do we have in David?”

[Expected answer: “None!”] (1 Kgs 12:16a)

ברית כרתי לעיני ומה אתבונן על־בתולה:

I have made a covenant with my eyes, so how can I look with
lust at a virgin? [Expected answer: “I can’t!”] (Job 31:1)

It is not unusual for *מה* to introduce a question that expects a negative answer, but this does not make *מה* a negative particle. In fact, there is no example in the entire Hebrew Bible of *מה* serving simply as a Hebrew negative particle. Thus, there is no real justification for holding that it is a negative particle in the adjuration refrain at Song 8:4. The author is varying the oath for effect, since this is the last and climactic occurrence of the refrain, and the difference in expression is designed to catch the reader’s attention.

That the oath may be more emphatic and urgent is not signaled by *מה* alone. It is signaled by phrasing the oath as an exclamatory rhetorical question: “*Why in the world* would you awaken and *why in the world* would you arouse this love until it desires?”²⁸ It appears to me that this exclamatory oath anticipates topics in the remainder of Song of Songs 8 that explicate the reason for this adjuration:

1. Love has been awakened between the Shulammitte and her beloved—and it leads to mutual dependence and satisfaction between the lovers. She leans on him (Song 8:5a), and he is awakened (root עור!) by her (Song 8:5b).
2. Love is stronger than death and a blazing flame that cannot be extinguished—so do not fool around with it until it desires (Song 8:6–7a).²⁹
3. Money cannot buy love—so do not treat it lightly (Song 8:7b).
4. Chastity is desirable—so do not misuse love’s physical

28. Exum, *Song of Songs*, 248 suggests this as a possible reason for the wording of the oath here.

29. Exum, *Song of Songs*, 248.

expression. Instead, in your chastity your beloved will find peace (Song 8:8–12).³⁰

5. When love is appropriately awakened, you will find joy in your beloved (Song 8:13–14).

THE LACK OF GAZELLES AND DOES

All this enables the reader to understand what love desires, but there is one missing piece to this puzzle: When and why does love appropriately desire these things? I would suggest the answer lies in the omission of the gazelles and does in the final occurrence of the adjuration refrain. The reader, who by now knows to anticipate the circumlocution of the gazelles and does, is left to contemplate where this concept has gone. Where is the divine perspective that was implied by this circumlocution? I suggest that the reader need only read two more verses to find it at Song 8:6:

כמות אהבה קשה כשאול קנאה רשפיה רשפי אש שלהבתיה

Love is as relentless as death; ardor is as relentless as Sheol, its flames are fiery flames of the fiercest blaze.

Or:

Love is as relentless as death; ardor is as relentless as Sheol, its flames are fiery flames of Yah's blaze.

The much discussed exegetical question for this verse is the meaning of the last word.

Is שלהבתיה to be understood as a direct reference to Israel's God, reading ה' as an explicit use of the divine name, "Yah's blaze"?³¹ If so, then the missing circumlocution for God in the adjuration refrain at Song 8:4 is made explicit at Song 8:6. What is implicit in the earlier double entendre has become explicit, and now the reader knows when love ought to be awakened—when the Lord lights the flame—and why it desires the things it does—because the Lord has blessed these things as good for humans.

30. No matter what the meaning of the material about Solomon's vineyard (Song 8:11), it is clear that the rest of these verses are about the value of chastity.

31. Hess, *Song of Songs*, 240; Mitchell, *Song of Songs*, 1188–89.

On the other hand, many exegetes understand הַי here to be used to form a superlative as is sometimes done by reference to God.³² This understanding sees the use of this hypocoristic form of the divine name to have been emptied of any theological impact. Longman argues that this must be understood as simply the superlative use since elsewhere in Song of Songs the name of God is avoided. He cites the first two adjuration refrains in support of this. In doing so, he misses the impact of the superlative, if that is what the usage of the divine name indicates here. That is, there would be another circumlocution at Song 8:6: The superlative would be a circumlocution for using the divine name as a direct reference to God. The fiercest of flames is implied to be a divinely kindled one.

No matter which option one chooses here, the general results are the same. The references to God delimit love's appropriate boundaries and limit its proper expression to what he determines. Beginning with Song 8:6 the divine perspective on love is finally explicated.

CONCLUSION

The adjuration refrain introduces tensions in the text and raises questions to be resolved when it is first introduced. The clever circumlocution in the refrain hints at the resolution and supplies some answers to the questions. The Song finally reveals all of the answers by altering the refrain at its final appearance, temporarily introducing more tension and a new question. Shortly thereafter the flame analogy supplies final resolution and closure for readers. Ultimately the refrain and the flame analogy illuminate each other when the reader finally is led to understand the author's use of clever references to the deity, delayed revelation of the answer to the poet's teasing and playful language, and his view of the proper sexual expression among humans.

32. Garrett, *Song of Songs*, 255; Gordis, *Song of Songs and Lamentations*, 26, 99. Gordis cites Jer 2:31; Ps 118:5; Gen 10:0, Ps 80:11; Longman, *Song of Songs*, 212–13.

The Story of Torah: The Role of Narrative in Leviticus's Legal Discourse

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For years, source critics have proposed a broad two-part structure for Leviticus, based on two independent sources that are presumed to underlie the book. This approach, coupled with a popular perception of Leviticus as nothing more than a long list of sundry Israelite laws, has caused the book's narrative unity within the broader story of the Pentateuch to be neglected. By applying narrative criticism to the often-forgotten stories in Leviticus 10 and 24, crucial literary links are revealed which suggest a three-part outline to the book, supporting a united message that presents the giving of the Law as an act of divine grace designed to prepare Yahweh's people to live in His presence.

KEYWORDS: *narrative, Leviticus, structure, Pentateuch, Law*

INTRODUCTION

At first glance, the book of Leviticus seems to consist of little more than a bulleted list of do's and don'ts given to the Israelites as they prepared to enter the Promised Land. It must be granted, the book does consist primarily of various collections of laws, organized loosely by topic or function. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to discount the book as nothing more than a giant legal excursus in the narrative plotline of the Pentateuch. Two mysterious and puzzling stories in the book of Leviticus remind its readers that the Law was not received in a vacuum, and that legal sections of the Pentateuch cannot be interpreted apart from the historical situations in which they developed. These narrative accounts, found in Lev 10 and 24, are key structural markers within the book of Leviticus and important links in the overall plot of the Pentateuch.

Central to this argument is the idea that the book of Leviticus, and the Pentateuch as a whole, form complete units that present coherent messages. Although different sources and oral traditions may have contributed to it, the Pentateuch is the product of careful redaction by an

editor who, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, brought all of these materials together and artistically arranged them for a specific purpose. It is this final form that concerns the present discussion.

The scope of this argument includes the macro-structural contributions that these stories make to the literary framework of Leviticus and the overall plot of the Pentateuch.¹ Narrowband lexical and grammatical studies of the stories themselves have already been accomplished many times over and will not be attempted here. Instead, the key question at hand is how these stories contribute to the structure, plot, and ultimately, the theology of the literature in which they are found. The passages themselves will first be introduced, with brief exegetical commentary relevant to the discussion at hand. The study will then “zoom out” to the book as a whole, analyzing these passages’ contribution to its structure and meaning. Finally, it will conclude with an examination of their role in the greater plot of the Pentateuch.

THE NARRATIVE ACCOUNTS

An analysis of the overall verbal syntax of Leviticus quickly demonstrates the legitimacy of this study. The chart below illustrates the distribution of a unique Hebrew verb form, the “imperfect waw-consecutive” (or *wayyiqtol*). This form is the *de facto* marker of narrative in the Hebrew Bible, consistently used to introduce specific action on the part of a subject.² Compared to the rest of the Pentateuch, this form’s use in Leviticus is negligible, generally occurring only to introduce God’s divine speech acts in which he gives specific laws (“and God said”). Except, that is, in two instances: Lev 8–10 and 24:10–23.³

1. In his extensive literary analysis of the Old Testament, David Dorsey identifies three specific steps in studying literary structure: “(1) identifying the composition’s constituent parts . . . (2) analyzing the arrangement of those parts, and (3) considering the relationship of the composition’s structure to its meaning.” (*The Literary Structure of the Old Testament: A Commentary on Genesis–Malachi* [Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1999], 16.) The study at hand is broadly organized according to these three steps, and a technical application of these principles will be explored in the footnotes when relevant.

2. See, for example, Robert B. Chisholm, *From Exegesis to Exposition: A Practical Guide to Using Biblical Hebrew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998), 119–20; Gary D. Pratico and Miles V. Van Pelt, *Basics of Biblical Hebrew* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2007), 192ff. Chisholm identifies three main elements of Hebrew narrative, all of which can be observed in the passages at hand: “(1) the [*wayyiqtol*] framework, (2) nonstandard constructions that deviate from or interrupt the normal pattern of the narrative framework, and (3) quotations and dialogues embedded in the narrative” (*From Exegesis to Exposition*, 119).

3. Granted, linguistic analysis is but one of several means of identifying Hebrew narrative. It suffices to say, the narrative form of these two passages has been observed in

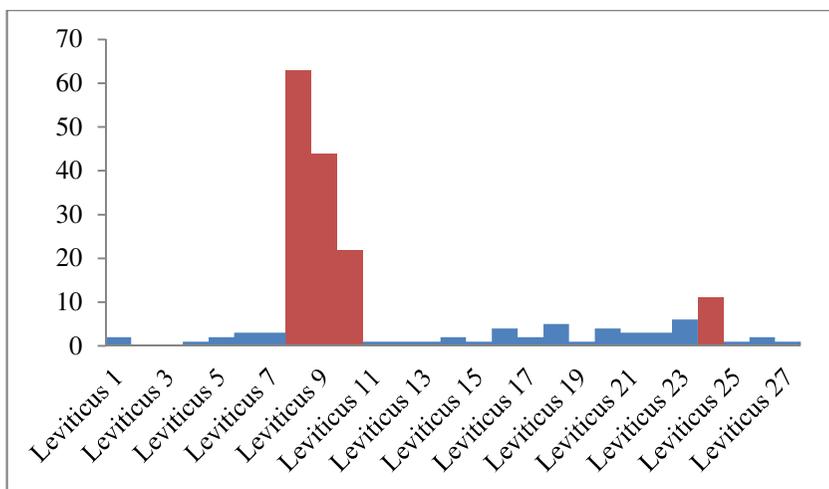


Table 1: Count of Imperfect Waw-consecutives (Westminster 4.2 Morphological Database)⁴

Leviticus 8–10: Profanation of the Sacred Space

The first instance of narrative in the book of Leviticus is also the longest, spanning chapters 8–10. This story recounts the ordination of Aaron and his sons as Israel’s priests, and more significantly, the death of his sons Nadab and Abihu upon their offering of “strange fire” to Yahweh. Much ink has been spent conjecturing as to the exact nature of their offense.⁵

several prior literary-critical studies of the Pentateuch. Most notable to the purposes at hand are the contributions of Mary Douglas (*Leviticus as Literature* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1999]) and Christopher R. Smith (“The Literary Structure of Leviticus,” *JSOT* 70 [1996], 17–32). The present argument is largely a response to and development of the ideas set forth in these studies, so there is little need to repeat the groundwork that they have already laid.

4. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: With Westminster Hebrew Morphology*, electronic edition (Stuttgart; Glenside: German Bible Society; Westminster Seminary, 1996).

5. Jacob Milgrom provides an extensive survey of the interpretations that have historically been offered here, agreeing that most are sheer speculation with no textual basis (*Leviticus 1–16* [AB 3; New York: Doubleday, 1991], 634.) He makes a strong case that the phrase “strange fire” would more accurately be translated “unauthorized coals,” which he then proposes “can only mean that instead of deriving from the outer altar, the coals came from a source that was ‘profane’ or ‘outside,’ such as an oven” (597–8). This could well be the case, but it is certainly not the *only* possibility, since aside from the hint

Did they offer fire from a profane source? Were they drunk? Were they seeking to usurp their father Aaron? Were they offering incense to a pagan god? Were they simply irreverent in their service? Were they perhaps intentionally offering themselves as human sacrifices to sanctify the tabernacle for Yahweh? All these and more have been offered as potential explanations for this event, but particularly from a literary perspective, all seem to miss the fundamental point of the story: “The explanation of the strange fire is not available in the text, although it would have been relatively simple for the narrator to provide an explanation. The phrase ‘strange fire’ is deliberately obscure!”⁶ The author is quite intentional about what he does and does not want the readers to take away from the story. Several of these takeaway points are relevant to the present discussion.

First, although the specifics of Nadab’s and Abihu’s error are not provided, 10:1 makes the general nature quite clear: they approached Yahweh improperly. In some way not specified, they profaned the presence of Yahweh. The idea of God’s presence is emphasized three times in the two verses recounting their death: Nadab and Abihu offered לפני יהוה (“before Yahweh”), fire came from לפני יהוה, and they ultimately died לפני יהוה. The holiness of the Tabernacle, the locus of Yahweh’s presence, which has been regulated so carefully and enacted so precisely up to this point, is breached.⁷

A second key point of emphasis in 10:1 is that this breach of holiness occurred because the priests lacked specific instruction from God. The first two chapters (8–9) are emphatically detailed and systematic. They essentially recount in narrative form the initiation of the sacrificial system that has just been detailed in chapters 1–7. This, the bulk of the story, sets the stage for the jarring fate of Nadab and Abihu. Thirteen times throughout chapters 8 and 9, the narrator emphasizes that the rites were carried out “just as Yahweh had commanded,” setting a distinctive cadence to the sequence of events. “This emphasis on the ritual carried out exactly as commanded makes a strong contrast with the offense of Nadab and Abihu, who brought strange fire *which the Lord*

that they may have been for some reason “unauthorized,” the text itself is silent on the matter of the coals’ source.

6. David Penchansky, “Nadab and Abihu, Martyrs: The Dangerous God,” in *What Rough Beast?: Images Of God In The Hebrew Bible* (ed. David Penchansky; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 61.

7. Douglas, *Leviticus*, 199.

*had not commanded.*⁸ Indeed, the two short verses recounting the death of Nadab and Abihu, following such a lengthy detailed account of the priests' ordination, drives home one point and one point only: their actions, regardless of good or bad intentions, had not been commanded by God. In other words, "The priests are operating in a realm in which no command of God is pertinent."⁹

The final point to observe here is borne out in the ensuing dialog between Moses and Aaron. Here a tension develops, starting with Moses's proclamation of a poetic speech from Yahweh in 10:3 which justifies the death of Nadab and Abihu from the divine perspective (one way or the other, Yahweh will be sanctified), but "does not close any of the gaps in the story" in terms of the priests' error or how it could be avoided in the future.¹⁰ Aaron, the mourning father who is just as much in the dark as his sons were, cannot argue with this statement—"he cannot defend his sons, but he certainly cannot disown them: hence his only recourse must be silence."¹¹ Moses does not miss a beat, ensuring that proper cleanup is performed and that the ceremony continues unhindered. Aaron, meanwhile, receives his own word from Yahweh that focuses on the need to "make a distinction between the holy and the profane, and between the unclean and the clean" (10:13). Immediately thereafter, the tension between the two brothers reaches its climax when Moses finds that Aaron and his sons had not eaten the offering as he had commanded. In Aaron's reply in 10:19, "we see Aaron actually doing the kind of thing that the sons of Aaron were to be responsible for throughout Israel's history," the thing that God has just commanded him to do, pointing out that it would not have been right in the eyes of

8. Stephen K. Sherwood, *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2002), 57. Milgrom's proposal that it was not actually "strange fire" but rather "unauthorized coals" which provoked the wrath of Yahweh would intensify this point even further, since in the same verse their actions are described as both "unauthorized" and "not commanded" (cf. ESV).

9. Bryan D. Bibb, "Nadab and Abihu Attempt to Fill a Gap: Law and Narrative in Leviticus 10.1–7," *JSOT* 96 (2001): 88. Indeed, if Milgrom is correct, it must be noted that at this point in the narrative, the priests had received no specific instruction from Yahweh regarding the source of coals for their incense. It is not until Lev 16:12 that they are instructed specifically to obtain their coals from the altar.

10. *Ibid.*, 91.

11. Walter J. Houston, "Tragedy in the Courts of the Lord: a Socio-Literary Reading of the Death of Nadab and Abihu," *JSOT* 90 (2000): 35.

Yahweh to eat meat considering what has just befallen him.¹² Now it is Moses who is silenced, for “Aaron’s dignified and eloquent response leaves Moses without an answer in his turn . . . This resolves the tension between the two brothers.”¹³ The pivotal point in the back-and-forth conflict between Moses and Aaron is God’s instruction to Aaron in verse 13: Aaron’s God-given mandate to distinguish between holy and unholy is what allows him to successfully navigate another potential gap in the law and to resolve the conflict with Moses.

Leviticus 24:10–23: Profanation of the Sacred Name

Leviticus’s second narrative account occurs in 24:10–23. Though much shorter than the earlier story, both accounts bear many similarities, with a few important thematic distinctions. The shortness of the account should not be a cause for concern, for the book as a whole is thematically “front-loaded” and not balanced in terms of space given to each unit. Once again, the story is riddled with ambiguity, leaving the readers guessing regarding the specifics of what happened. Specifically, there is much debate regarding exactly how the blasphemer “blasphemed” (נִקְבָּה) and “cursed” (קָלַל) the “name.” Rodney Hutton identifies as many as five potential ways in which this combination of verbs can be translated.¹⁴ Again, in-depth analysis of grammar and syntax is beyond the scope of the present discussion. The point here is that, as in the case of Nadab and Abihu, this strategic ambiguity serves to draw attention to several key points that *are* specifically mentioned in the text. Specifically, four key points that are relevant to the macro-structural scope at hand stand out in the narrative fog.

First, in verse 10, attention is drawn to the fact that the blasphemer is a foreigner, “a son of an Israelite woman and an Egyptian man.” Greater relevance will be attached to this fact later in the discussion, but even within the narrow scope of this narrative, the significance of this point is made clear: “There shall be one standard for you; it shall be for the stranger as well as the native, for I am the LORD

12. John Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative: A Biblical-Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1992), 332. This is not to suggest that the meat itself was somehow rendered profane or unclean. Rather, it is the *actions* of Aaron and his sons that are in question. Aaron rightfully discerned that it would not be appropriate to partake in the sacred meal while in a period of mourning.

13. Houston, “Tragedy,” 36.

14. Rodney R. Hutton, “The Case of the Blasphemer Revisited,” *VT* 49 (1999): 533–4.

your God” (v. 22). One major point of this story is “to stress that the laws apply to native and foreigner equally and alike.”¹⁵

Second, in verse 11, the nature of the offense involves the profanation of the holy. Again, the specific words of the blasphemer are not revealed, but this allows the narrator to emphasize the general nature of the act rather than a specific combination of words. Regardless of whether the passage speaks to the very utterance of God’s name or simply the illegitimate use of it, commentators agree that the lowest common denominator is the profanation of God’s sacred name.¹⁶ The key point is that “The Egyptian’s vilification or profanation of the divine name is . . . an act of encroachment, besmirching the holy with a vileness of the profane.”¹⁷

Third, in verse 12, another “gap” in the Israelites’ understanding of the law is revealed. Just as Nadab and Abihu encountered a gap in their understanding of the sacrificial system, so here “Tension arises due to a lack of knowledge of what to do with the blasphemer.”¹⁸ Unlike Nadab and Abihu, however, the people do not try to resolve the tension on their own, but rather wait for clarification from Yahweh (24:12).

Finally, in verse 23, it is important to observe the recurrence of a phrase already familiar from the earlier narrative passage: “Then Moses spoke to the sons of Israel, and they brought the one who had cursed outside the camp and stoned him with stones. Thus the sons of Israel did, *just as the LORD had commanded Moses.*” Again, the narrator is careful to emphasize the exact execution of God’s command. This phrase occurs a total of thirteen times in Leviticus, eleven in the first narrative and once here. It occurs outside the narrative context only once in the entire book. Its repetition here makes a direct connection to the first narrative, clearing any doubt that the passages are to be read in parallel.

One last observation pertains to a common phrase that follows both of these narrative sections verbatim. Following each story in 11:1 and 25:1 are the words, “and God said to Moses.” Several commentators have identified this construction as a recurring structural pattern within

15. Sherwood, *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, 82.

16. Jacob Weingreen, “Case of the Blasphemer, Leviticus 24:10ff,” *VT* 22 (1972): 121. Cf. Hutton, “Case of the Blasphemer,” 540.

17. Robert Alter, *The Five Book of Moses: A Translation with Commentary* (New York: Norton, 2004), 544.

18. Sherwood, *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, 82.

the book.¹⁹ This phrase is not technically part of either narrative, but rather marks the beginning of a new section of legal material. It is being pointed out here because both accounts share it in common and it bears implications regarding the structure of the book.

Each of Leviticus's narratives, then, involves the death of individuals who in some way profaned the sacred—Nadab and Abihu profaned God's sacred space and the blasphemer profaned God's sacred name. In each case, the specific nature of the act is hidden—it is not revealed what was “strange” about Nadab and Abihu's fire, nor were the specific words of the blasphemer recounted. Each case involved a “gap” in the Law—Nadab and Abihu lacked instruction from God regarding their cultic duties, just as Moses lacked instruction on what to do with the blasphemer. This “gap” reveals the need for further instruction and leads into more legal material. Finally, in each case, the phrase “just as Yahweh had commanded” is given prominence.²⁰ The discussion now turns to the reasons for these parallels and the roles these two stories play in the greater structure of Leviticus.

THE STRUCTURE OF LEVITICUS

Historically, emphasis on source criticism has led exegetes to understand the structure of Leviticus exclusively in light of the sources that presumably lie beneath the book's final form. Following this school of thought, Leviticus is divided into two units: the Priestly Code of chapters 1–16 and the Holiness Code of chapters 17–27.²¹ Thus, source critics observe little structural or literary overlap within these two distinct units, and the two narratives tend to be treated independently. While the priestly and holiness themes are certainly dominant in the book, and these two documents may indeed provide the basis for Leviticus as it stands today, emphasis on source criticism alone when identifying the structure of the book causes important literary markers—especially the narrative accounts in question—to be dismissed. Indeed, “To the extent

19. Christopher R. Smith, “The Literary Structure of Leviticus,” *JSOT* 70 (1996): 21; Wilfried Warning, *Literary Artistry in Leviticus* (Boston: Brill, 1999), 65–66.

20. In the technical terms of literary analysis provided by Dorsey, these two units exhibit at least four categories of repetition suggesting intentional parallelism: (1) sameness of genre (narrative), (2) sameness of atmosphere (somber), (3) repetition of phrase “just as Yahweh had commanded,” (4) sameness of theme (judgment for profanation of the sacred; *Literary Structure*, 32–33).

21. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 61.

that the shadow of source-criticism still lies over literary-critical inquiry, it makes the latter's paths harder to trace."²²

If the parallel accounts in Lev 8–10 and 24:10–23 are indeed structural boundary markers, they would suggest that the book should be divided into three sections of law: 1–7, 11–24:9, and 25–27. This is Mary Douglas's proposal in her literary study of Leviticus:

The explanation here proposed is that the structure of law and narrative cuts the book to the shape of the controlling paradigm. This means that the book of Leviticus itself is structured as a tripartite projection of the tabernacle, and thus also as a projection of Mount Sinai. On this reading the two stories would correspond to the two screens which, according to the instructions given in the book of Exodus, divide the desert tabernacle into three sections of unequal size.²³

Douglas's proposal seems to fit from a strictly structural perspective. She not only acknowledges the narratives' contribution, but also provides an explanation for the imbalance, or "front-loading" of material that was mentioned above. Besides this structural relationship, however, Douglas does little to explore thematic or theological connection between the narratives and the laws that surround them. She analyzes the narratives in their own right, but save the common implications of "trespass on forbidden ground," they have little to do with the legal sections that they mark.²⁴ Furthermore, she struggles to identify consistent links between the three sections of law and the corresponding three parts of the tabernacle.

Christopher Smith proposes a similar structure that also accounts for the two parallel narratives. His system, too, "depends on the simple observation that the book is of a hybrid literary genre. That is, it alternates between laws and narrative."²⁵ Interestingly, Smith attempts to argue for the presence of a third narrative section consisting of ch. 16, the merits of which will be discussed later. His proposal, then, "yields a seven-fold division: law, narrative, law, narrative, law, narrative, law."²⁶

22. Smith, "Literary Structure," 22.

23. Douglas, *Leviticus*, 195.

24. *Ibid.*, 200.

25. Smith, "Literary Structure," 22.

26. *Ibid.*

However, Smith's approach also leaves questions. First, as the earlier analysis of imperfect waw-consecutive verbs suggests, "the attempt to read chapter 16 as narrative is not very convincing."²⁷ Second, his suggestion that the final section deals with "redemption" is troublesome, in that "while Smith rightly points out that the root g'l occurs seventeen times in chapter 25 and twelve times in chapter 27, he has some difficulty in explaining chapter 26."²⁸

So both Douglas and Smith offer convincing structures for the book of Leviticus, but both leave room for further discussion. Their respective proposals are summarized in the chart below. But do the contents of each of these sections avail themselves to such a structure? To answer this question, each unit must be considered thematically and stylistically. The opening and closing sections will be examined first, followed by the center. The focus will be on the contributions of each narrative to the legal sections that surround them, in hopes of further exploring and establishing the thematic and theological implications of the proposals brought by Douglas and Smith.

Douglas	Smith
A: 1–7 <i>Law</i> The Outer Court	A: 1–7 <i>Law</i> Sacrifices
B: 8–10 <i>Narrative</i> First Veil	B: 8–10 <i>Narrative</i> Nadab & Abihu
A': 11–23 <i>Law</i> The Holy Place	C: 11–15 <i>Law</i> Cleanness
B': 24 <i>Narrative</i> Second Veil	B': 16 <i>Narrative</i> Yom Kippur
A'': 25–27 <i>Law</i> Holy of Holies	D: 17–23 <i>Law</i> Holiness
	B'': 24 <i>Narrative</i> Blasphemer
	E: 25–27 <i>Law</i> Redemption

Leviticus 1–7: The Tabernacle

Chapters 1–7 deal exclusively with instructions on offerings and sacrifices within the tabernacle. Five different offering types are described in parallel fashion in chapters 1–5, and chapters 6–7 provide

27. Sherwood, *Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy*, 19.

28. *Ibid.*

additional instruction specifically to the priests facilitating each sacrifice. Of the 40 occurrences of the word קָרְבָּן (offering) in Leviticus, 32 occur in these first seven chapters. The section concludes with an unmistakable summary statement in 7:37–38:

This is the law of the burnt offering, the grain offering and the sin offering and the guilt offering and the ordination offering and the sacrifice of peace offerings, which the LORD commanded Moses at Mount Sinai in the day that He commanded the sons of Israel to present their offerings to the LORD in the wilderness of Sinai. (NASB)

The first unit of Leviticus, then, deals with the execution of the sacrificial system in the newly constructed tabernacle.²⁹ In this context, the story of the priests' ordination and the death of Nadab and Abihu provides natural closure to the laws that have just been given. Yahweh's commands in 1–7 set the stage for the enacting of those commands in 8–9. As was observed above, the specific sacrificial details are enacted “just as Yahweh had commanded” up until the death of Nadab and Abihu, which reveals the need for further instruction from Yahweh.

Leviticus 25–27: The Land

The final section, consisting of chapters 25–27, is more difficult to nail down. One problem in suggesting a unity to this section is the thematic similarity between chapter 23 (which deals with annual festivals) and chapter 25 (which deals with the year of Jubilee). These occur on either side of the proposed structural marker, making it more difficult to argue for such a break. However, Smith observes that the festivals in chapter 23 are lexically linked to the holiness theme that began in chapter 17 (discussed below), while chapter 25, dealing with the year of Jubilee, is “not defined by explicit holiness terminology.”³⁰ Instead, chapters 25, 26, and 27 seem to be intentionally set apart as new sets of instructions received on Mt. Sinai, as emphasized three separate times at the beginning (27:1), middle (26:46), and end (27:34) of the section.³¹

29. Thus, the following categories of structural markers can be observed in this section: (1) concluding formula, (2) sameness of topic (use of the Tabernacle), (3) sameness of literary form (law), (4) keyword קָרְבָּן (“offering”) (Dorsey, *Literary Structure* 23–24).

30. Smith, “Literary Structure,” 28.

31. Notably, the only other time Sinai is specifically mentioned in the book is in 7:38, in the concluding statement of the first section.

Further lexical evidence is an inclusio formed by “The structuring of the common noun ‘son’ in both Lev 24 . . . and in chap. 27.”³² Weighed along with the occurrence of narrative in chapter 24, these lexical arguments make a convincing case for a 25–27 as an independent unit.

Having made these observations, Smith goes on to suggest that this unit should be understood in terms of redemption, noting the frequent occurrence of the root גאל (“redeem”) in chapters 25 and 27.³³ As noted earlier, however, he has difficulty explaining the complete absence of this term in chapter 26. Douglas, too, needs to stretch her paradigm a bit to make this last section fit. Rather than a direct correlation to the Holy of Holies itself, she focuses on the blessings and curses of chapter 26 and proposes that the theme of this section is “what is contained in the ark of the covenant in the holy of holies” (i.e., the book of the covenant).³⁴ While the covenant theme is heavy in chapter 26, it is not so evident in 25 and 27. Moreover, the departure from the spatial metaphor creates an inconsistency in her structure.

The present study suggests that rather than “redemption” or “covenant,” this last section ought to be understood in terms of “land.” To arrive at this conclusion, it is necessary to expand the lexical analysis of this section to the level of semantic domain. A word-frequency analysis quickly reveals that three of the most important words in this section are ארץ (“land,” 46x), שדה (“field,” 19x), and ארזקה (“property,” 18x). All three of these pertain to physical space in the Promised Land (ארזקה bearing the idea of “real estate” in this context). The chart below demonstrates the occurrences of these three terms in chapters 25–27 compared to the rest of the book. This last section of the book is concerned with proper use of the Promised Land (of which redemption and covenant are important subcategories).³⁵

32. Warning, *Literary Artistry*, 98.

33. Smith, “Literary Structure,” 29.

34. Douglas, *Leviticus*, 196.

35. To use Dorsey’s framework, this distinct unit is demonstrated through the use of the following markers: (1) introductory formula (“The LORD spoke to Moses,” 25:1), (2) concluding formula (“These are the commandments that the LORD commanded Moses for the people of Israel on Mount Sinai,” 27:34), (3) sameness of theme (the land), and (4) sameness of genre (law) (*Literary Structure*, 22–24).

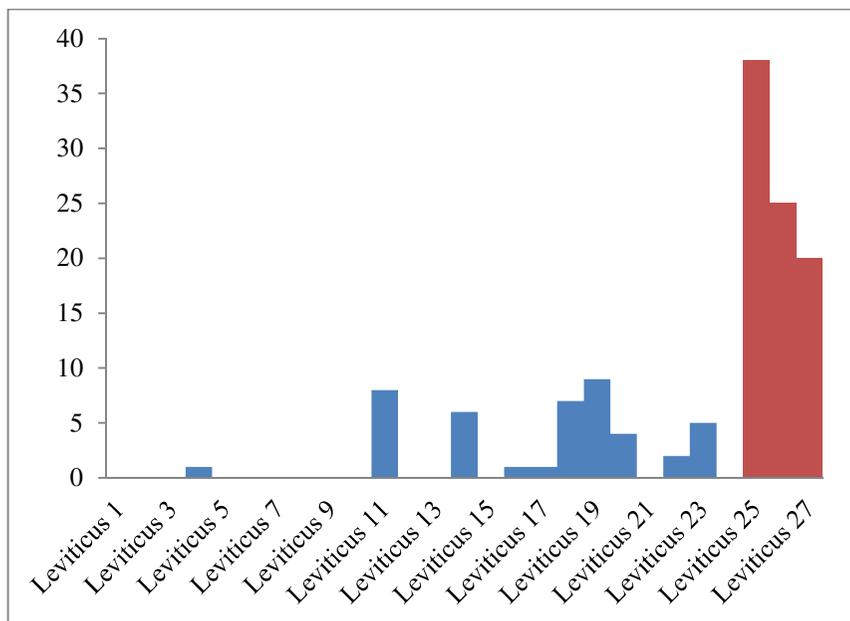


Table 2. Combined Occurrences: ארץ, שדה, אחוזה (*Westminster 4.2 Morphological Database*)

Seeing that the focus of the present discussion is on the narrative account that introduces the section, a detailed explication of this theme is not possible here. However, a brief survey is quite appropriate and necessary to the argument. Chapter 25, as already mentioned, emphasizes the seven-year Sabbath rest cycle and the year of Jubilee. Unlike the sacred festivals in chapter 23, the primary focus here is not rest for the people, but rest for the land. The land must be used according to the proper regulations if it is to bear fruit for the people. Similarly, chapter 26 emphasizes not general blessings and curses for covenant obedience, but blessings and curses specifically as they pertain to the land and to living therein. Finally, chapter 27 mandates specific procedures for giving back to Yahweh of the fruit of the land. Fittingly, the entire section concludes with the assertion that “all the tithe of the land, of the seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree, is the LORD’s; it is holy to the LORD” (27:30).

This is indeed the central theme of the section: The land does not belong to Israel, but to Yahweh, and it must be used appropriately. Thus the narrative account of the foreigner who blasphemed becomes quite relevant. It sets the important precedent that foreigners and Israelites are equally accountable to the law, because as is stipulated in 25:23, the

Israelites themselves are “aliens and sojourners” in the land that belongs to Yahweh. Thus Mann observes, “Ever since Abraham and Sarah, the Israelites have been resident aliens, with only a burial plot to call their own. Now in a startling reformulation of the Pentateuchal theme, the text insists that Israel’s status will always be that of an alien!”³⁶ Leviticus 24 asks the question, “Should foreigners and aliens be given special exemption from the law?” to which chapters 25–27 answer, “No, for the Promised Land belongs to Yahweh and you yourselves are foreigners and aliens.” Foreigners and Israelites are bound alike to the law, for “if there is ‘one law for the sojourner and for the native,’ then the penalty of exile may indeed be enforced even on those who might otherwise have a special tie to the soil.”³⁷

Leviticus 11–23: Cleanliness & Holiness

So the first section of Leviticus deals with proper use of the Tabernacle, and the last section deals with proper use of the Promised Land. What remains to be examined is the midsection, consisting of chapters 11–23, bookended as it is by the two narratives. This section begins just after Nadab’s and Abihu’s death, and it is important to recall a few key points that were made in the discussion of that narrative. Their death demonstrated that the commands given in Lev 1–7 were not sufficient to ensure smooth operation of the Tabernacle system. As was observed above, they encountered a “gap” in their understanding of the cult. It was not the fault of Yahweh, for He is holy regardless of human actions (10:3). Rather, human ignorance revealed the need for further explication of Law. Thus the stage is set for chapters 11–23, which provide this necessary clarification:

[T]he laws following this story are attempts by Moses to fill in the gaps that still plague their understanding of how to stand before ‘the holy’. . . . In the face of ambiguity and fear of the unknown, Moses establishes a law code that provides security and protection from the dreadful presence of Yahweh.³⁸

36. Thomas W. Mann, *The Book of the Torah: The Narrative Integrity of the Pentateuch* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1988), 123.

37. Smith, “Literary Structure,” 25.

38. Bibb “Nadab and Abihu,” 93.

Indeed, the dominating themes of this section are cleanliness and holiness. These are developed as the two key elements of living in Yahweh's presence. They echo a second point that was emphasized in the Nadab and Abihu narrative, namely, the priestly responsibility to "make a distinction between the holy and the profane, and between the unclean and the clean" (10:10). As Sailhamer observes, "The narrative of Aaron's decision [regarding the eating of the offering], then, provides a fitting introduction to the purity laws which follow in the next chapter."³⁹ This is no mere parenthesis in the narrative, but rather provides the controlling thematic and structural paradigm for the entire unit that follows.

A thematic analysis of chapters 11–23 reveals that they seem to be divided precisely along these lines: 11–15 deal with ritual cleanliness, and 17–23 concern moral holiness. Commentators have examined these parallel themes quite extensively, and this work does not need to be duplicated here.⁴⁰ As noted earlier, source critics have long recognized this split as the foundation for a two-part structure of the book. The proposal here, however, is that these two sections are merely subsections of the same structural unit within Leviticus.

Leviticus 16: The Day of Atonement

Of special importance to the interplay between law and narrative is chapter 16, which deals with the Day of Atonement. This is the section that Smith proposes as a third narrative within the book of Leviticus.⁴¹ At first glance, it is difficult to understand what Smith sees as narrative in this passage. There are a mere four waw-consecutive imperfect verbs in the chapter, and they do not reveal any sort of special narrative succession. Grammatically and syntactically, the chapter matches the other legal chapters in Leviticus. However, in his analysis, he does raise a very intriguing point: "we observe that chs. 8–10; 16 and 24.10–23 relate to one another self-consciously. That is, they allude to one another,

39. Sailhamer, *Pentateuch*, 332.

40. Ibid. See also Samuel E. Balentine, *Leviticus* (Interpretation; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002) and Mark F. Rooker, *Leviticus* (NAC 3a; Nashville: Broadman, 2000). Notable to the literary approach that is of interest here, Dorsey observes the distribution of these themes and uses this passage to illustrate the use of keywords as structural markers (*Literary Structure*, 24).

41. Smith, "Literary Structure," 25.

thereby signaling their common purpose in the book.”⁴² He goes on to note the specific link in 16:1 back to the death of Nadab and Abihu. Then again, in 16:29, the chapter links forward to the Egyptian blasphemer in the statement, “This shall be a permanent statute for you . . . whether the native, or the alien who sojourns among you.” The prominence of this theme in the second narrative has already been noted. Finally, going beyond Smith’s observations, it is notable that Lev 16:34 employs the exact same phrase that was used twelve times in the two narratives, “just as Yahweh had commanded.” This thirteenth occurrence is the only case in which the phrase is used outside the narrative context.

In addition to these links to the narratives, chapter 16 also makes links to the first and last units of the book (1–7 and 25–27). The sacrifices in the Tabernacle, stipulated in 16:2–19, are clear throwbacks to the first section in which the instructions for those sacrifices are given in detail. Smith suggests that the “seemingly premature and dislocated instruction” regarding the Sabbath in 16:29–34 is a parallel link forward that “anticipates the discussion at the end of the book of the relationship between the people and the land,” since the theme of Sabbath rest is resumed and applied to the land itself in chapter 25.⁴³ The second goat, which in 16:22 is taken to “a solitary land” (אָרֶץ) and released “in the wilderness” may be another such link.

Interestingly, Smith makes no syntax-related arguments for why this chapter should be considered narrative—his argument is purely from structure. Thus, while his conclusions regarding genre are suspect, his structural points are quite valid textually. The proposal here is that rather than understanding chapter 16 as narrative like Smith suggests, this chapter should be understood as a distinct unit of law that stands apart from the surrounding material on cleanliness and holiness, binding the entire book together.

In this light, a refinement to the structures suggested by Douglas and Smith can be proposed. Since chapter 16 is law, not narrative, Douglas’s spatial paradigm is not undermined. However, this observation enables a progression from Smith’s tight parallelism (law-narrative-law-narrative-law-narrative-law) to a more nuanced structure of chiasm:

A: Tabernacle (Law, 1–7)

B: *Profanation of Sacred Space* (Narrative, 8–10)

C: Clean & Unclean (Law, 11–15)

42. *Ibid.*, 23.

43. *Ibid.*, 25.

D: Day of Atonement (Law, 16)

C': Holy & Profane (Law, 17–24:9)

B': *Profanation of Sacred Name* (Narrative, 24:10–23)

A': Land (Law, 25–27)

Following this structure, Leviticus is bounded spatially by sacred areas: the Tabernacle and the Land.⁴⁴ Following Douglas's paradigm, the connection between the Land and the Holy of Holies in 25–27 reminds the people that just as there were special stipulations for entering the Holy of Holies, so there were special stipulations for dwelling in the land. The book is essentially a legal argument for the people of Israel on how to live and operate within these sacred bounds without suffering the fate of Nadab, Abihu, and the Egyptian blasphemer. Indeed, "Levitical laws are represented as the words of Yahweh uttered within a narrative context, and thus further express the character of the God who is rendered by that narrative."⁴⁵ In other words, the narratives raise the question, "How can an unclean people live in the presence of a holy God?"⁴⁶ The legal sections answer this question, the pinnacle being the Day of Atonement. On this day, one goat is sacrificed in the *Tabernacle* and a second is taken out into the *Land*, so that "atonement shall be made for you to cleanse you; you will be clean from all your sins before the Lord" (16:30).

THE PLOTLINE OF THE PENTATEUCH

Having established the role of the narratives within the book of Leviticus, the focus now expands to their function in the overall plotline of the Pentateuch. The first five books of the Bible do indeed form a literary whole, and it is likely that their present form "reflects a custom of writing large works on multiple scrolls."⁴⁷ Sailhamer goes on to propose, "Leviticus is a continuation of Exodus. We should not, in fact,

44. To summarize the observations already made regarding these two sections using Dorsey's methodology, they exhibit the following categories of intentional linking: (1) sameness of genre (law), (2) sameness of theme (use of sacred space), (3) sameness of beginnings (Yahweh speaking to Moses), and (4) near-verbatim repetition (7:37–38 and 27:34) (*Literary Structure*, 32–33).

45. Mann, *Torah*, 116.

46. "Uncleanliness" in this sense extending to their very moral fiber, and not simply ritual impurity.

47. Sailhamer, *Pentateuch*, 2.

think of it as a new book.”⁴⁸ While the argument has demonstrated thus far that there exists a certain literary unity within the book of Leviticus, continuity with the greater Pentateuch is woven into this very structure. This continuity will be observed first as it applies to the immediately surrounding context of Exodus and Numbers, then expand from there to the rest of the Pentateuch.

On a narrow level, Leviticus acts as a bridge between Exodus and Numbers. Some may, at this point, question the legitimacy of a self-contained chiasmic structure within Leviticus itself, observing that the book is only part of this much longer narrative unit. David Dorsey, for example, offers a very detailed literary outline of the Pentateuch in which the book of Leviticus is woven quite thoroughly into the surrounding material.⁴⁹ Even so, the literary unity of Leviticus can be demonstrated as a subset of this larger framework. Smith argues that this larger pericope can be divided into three smaller units, one of which comprises the entire book of Leviticus: “In the second half of Exodus . . . the tabernacle is first set up, while in the first half of Numbers preparations are made to take it down. Leviticus, in between, discloses the constitutive precepts God gave from the tabernacle from where it first stood.”⁵⁰ The narratives in Leviticus play an important role not only in structuring these laws, but also in moving the action forward, reminding the readers that they are essentially reading a story, not a law book.

The narratives in Leviticus contain key links to other narratives within this context. Alter observes that in the case of the Egyptian blasphemer who was struggling with the Israelite, the “verb of violent altercation is the same one used for the two Hebrew men whom the young Moses rebukes (Exodus 2:13).”⁵¹ Though it is not necessary to follow the conjecture of Mittwoch, who suggests that the Egyptian in Leviticus is the son of the man Moses killed in Exodus, his exploration of the parallels does suggest that “there is . . . a connection between the two stories.”⁵² Perhaps Moses has learned his lesson, and takes the matter up with God this time rather than killing the Egyptian on his own accord!

Other links may bear greater theological significance. Many see a connection between the Golden Calf and the death of Nadab and

48. *Ibid.*, 323.

49. Dorsey, *Literary Structure*, 77–80.

50. Smith, “Literary Structure,” 18–19.

51. Alter, *Moses*, 650.

52. H. Mittwoch, “Story of the Blasphemer Seen in a Wider Context,” *VT* 15 (1965): 387.

Abihu. Indeed, this is the first account of failure on the Israelites' behalf since that event:

The events in this story occur during the highest moment for the cult, the best chance that they will ever have for getting things just right. They have Moses present for careful instruction. The people are all looking on with anticipation and wonder, not wandering off to follow the other gods with their pagan rituals. The golden calf incident is like the fading memory of a bad dream, and they have the highest hopes of making a clean start. Nadab and Abihu, however, step right into the consuming fire of Yahweh, sending Moses' carefully laid plans into a tailspin.⁵³

Some argue that Nadab and Abihu's death was not their fault at all, but rather divine judgment on Aaron for his involvement in that earlier event.⁵⁴ (Most would likely disagree with this level of speculation, but this extreme example does illustrate the connection between the events.)

This sequence of failure goes hand-in-hand with the second narrative of Leviticus, which recounts yet another failure. This story, however, does not look backward to the Golden Calf, but rather forward to a very similar event in Num 15. There an Israelite man is caught gathering wood on the Sabbath and, after inquiring of Yahweh, the people are commanded to stone him. Commentators who do not realize the significance of this connection puzzle over the strange ambiguity of the Exodus event, wondering, among other things, "why it was necessary to seek divine direction in this case."⁵⁵ It seems that this sequence of events is used intentionally to emphasize narrative continuity with Leviticus.

Freedman gives much weight to this particular narrative sequence in the overall plot of the Pentateuch:

In both Leviticus 24 and [Numbers 15], a violation of one of the Ten Commandments is recorded and the man responsible is arrested pending sentencing and the imposition of the appropriate punishment. In both cases, the determination of the

53. Bibb, "Nadab and Abihu," 84.

54. Douglas, *Leviticus*, 202; Houston, "Tragedy," 37; David Damrosch, "Leviticus," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (eds. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode; Cambridge: Belknap, 1987), 71.

55. Jacob Weingreen, "Case of the Woodgatherer: Numbers 15:32–36," *VT* 16 (1966): 361.

penalty (death by stoning by the whole assembly) is made by Yahweh through direct communication with Moses. The action is taken to supplement the Decalogue itself, which lists the injunctions but does not specify the punishment. And the severity of the penalty serves to emphasize the centrality of these terms of the covenant. Anything less than the removal of the offender would implicate the whole community in the offense and ultimately lead to the abrogation of the compact and the dissolution of the nation.⁵⁶

When these two narratives are read in conjunction with the Golden Calf incident, the first four commandments of the Decalogue have already been broken by Num 15! The moral trajectory is not a positive one.

Here the entire Pentateuch comes into view. From the first sin in Gen 3 to Moses's bleak prophecy of failure and exile in Deut 32, the Pentateuch is the story of human failure to live up to God's standards. The narratives of Leviticus play directly into this theme, reminding the readers again and again that they are innately unclean and unholy, unworthy of the presence of Yahweh. In this way, these narratives set the precedent for the eventual exile that already looms so darkly in Deut 32.⁵⁷

Thankfully, this is not the complete story. Accompanying the theme of human failure is that of divine grace and mercy, beginning with the promise of deliverance in Gen 3:15 and ending with Moses's hopeful picture of Yahweh as "the God of Jeshurun, who rides the heavens to your help" in Deut 33:26. The narratives of Leviticus speak to this theme as well, for they each introduce laws that are bent on the hope of restored fellowship with Yahweh in His Tabernacle and in His Land: "Taken together, the two narratives bring into view the two major ways of approaching God that Israel has been given: ritual act and spoken word."⁵⁸ Within the narrative context of failure, then, the laws become specific examples of divine grace, as Yahweh continually provides solutions to usher His beloved people back into His presence. As early as Leviticus it is beginning to become clear that the people will not be able to keep the covenant. But it is also clear that God's grace would somehow find a way.

56. David Noel Freedman, *The Nine Commandments: Uncovering the Hidden Pattern of Crime and Punishment in the Hebrew Bible* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 66.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Balentine, *Leviticus*, 192.

*An Examination of Northwest Semitic Divine Names and the Bet-locative*¹

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Four separate inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd (ca. 800 B.C.) invoke the divine names Yahweh-of-Teman (HI KAjr 14, 19A, and 20) and Yahweh-of-Samaria (HI KAjr 18), which reopened the debate about Deut 6:4’s declaration that “Yahweh is One” and the possibility of distinct, localized Yahwehs in the Israelite pantheon. In the biblical texts, the name Yahweh never appears in a construct chain with a geographic name (e.g., there is no Yahweh-of-Jerusalem), so alternative divine name formulas have been sought as additional evidence for an ancient poly-Yahwism. The most commonly suggested alternative involves a divine name followed by a geographic name in a bet-locative phrase: DN-b-GN. Thus, Yahweh-in-Zion (Ps 99:2) and Yahweh-in-Hebron (2 Sam 15:7) have been proposed as two additional localized Israelite deities. Comparable evidence from Ugaritic, Ammonite, Phoenician, and Punic texts containing the formula DN-b-GN has been offered in the past to support this claim (e.g., Tannit-in-Lebanon, KAI 81:1). This paper examines the relationship between divine names and geographic names as they pertain to potentially localized Yahweh deities and other Northwest Semitic deities. The formula DN-b-GN is carefully examined and rejected as a means of identifying any distinct deity in the various Northwest Semitic pantheons, including those of biblical Israel, for syntactical and other methodological reasons.

KEYWORDS: bet-locative, divine names, Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd, poly-Yahwism

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THE *SHEMA* AND KUNTILLET ‘AJRÛD

Prior to the discovery of the inscriptions at Kuntillet ‘Ajrûd (Ḥorvat Teman) in the mid-1970s, no compelling reason existed for considering the divine name Yahweh as the name (or title) of more than one independent deity.² Apart from the concern of William F. Bade in his 1910 article, “Der Monojehwismus des Deuteronomiums,” in which he argued that the *Shema* (Deut 6:4) was a response to the historical fact that the Israelite Yahweh deity had been locally syncretized with the local, independent Baal deities of the Canaanites, scholars focused little interest on the issue.³ For example, in his commentary on Deuteronomy, Gerhard von Rad mentioned that the *Shema* (שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד, literally: “Hear, Israel, Yahweh Our God Yahweh One”) could be interpreted as an attempt to undermine divergent Yahwistic traditions and shrines, but he equally stressed the interpretation that reads the verse as describing Israel’s relationship with Yahweh: Yahweh *alone* (אחד) is Israel’s deity, a reading that Zech 14:9 supports.⁴ Ultimately, for von Rad, the *Shema* was really just one part of a “basic confession” that prepared the reader for the “subsequent sermon(s)” that comprise much

2. Cf. the divine name Baal, which was originally a title meaning “lord,” and the divine name Ištar, which started out as a proper name but was already used as a common noun for “goddess” by the early second millennium B.C. This interchange between these proper and common nouns may be partially responsible for the relative plethora of deities in the West Semitic and Mesopotamian pantheons with these names.

As discussed below, some ancient Near Eastern deities who share a common divine name but have different geographical epithets are actually distinct deities rather than manifestations of a singular deity (e.g., Ištar-of-Nineveh is distinct from Ištar-of-Arbela). For this reason, this article avoids using the word “manifestation” when referring to divine names associated with geographic places, using it only when discussing previous treatments of divine names and geographic epithets. Instead, this article refers to the entities represented by a combination of divine and geographic names by the neutral terms “deity/ies.”

3. William F. Bade, “Der Monojehwismus des Deuteronomiums,” *ZAW* 30 (1910): 81–90. Georg Fohrer briefly mentioned the possibility of regional cults that “might split up and produce several Yahwehs,” and he cited Bade’s article, and like Bade his interest revolves around the eventual centralization of the cult at Jerusalem rather than what multiple Yahwehs would entail or be distinguished (Georg Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion* [trans. David Green; Nashville: Abingdon, 1972], 297).

4. Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 63. For fuller discussions on possible meanings of Deut 6:4, see Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (JPS Torah Commentary 5; Philadelphia: JPS, 1996), 76 and 440; R. W. L. Moberly, “‘Yahweh is One’: The Translation of the Shema,” in *Studies in the Pentateuch* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 41; Leiden: Brill, 1990), 209–15; and Judah Kraut, “Deciphering the Shema: Staircase Parallelism and the Syntax of Deuteronomy 6:4,” *VT* 61 (2011): 582–602.

of the rest of Deuteronomy.⁵ Within the Hebrew Bible, Yahweh had numerous epithets that were attributed to him, including God-of-Israel (e.g., Ps 68:36) and God-of-Heaven (e.g., Ps 136:26), but consensus held that these were only epithets rather than different deities, much less, different Yahweh deities. As far as scholars were concerned, there was only one god known by the name Yahweh because there was no convincing evidence, including Bade's potential interpretation of the *Shema*, to suggest otherwise.

Along with the discovery of the compound at Kuntillet 'Ajrūd in the mid-1970s, evidence was finally uncovered that has lent some credence to one aspect of Bade's poly-Yahwism theory, though it did little to support the Yahweh-Baal syncretism aspect of this claim. Two divine full names expressed by the same grammatical pattern, the construct chain (DN-GN = GN-of-DN), located Yahweh geographically, which could theoretically be suggestive of two distinct localized deities named Yahweh.⁶ Three texts identified a deity known as Yahweh-of-Teman (*HI* KAjr 14, 19A, and 20; ca. 800 B.C.), and a fourth text

5. Von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 64.

6. For the purposes of this study, a "divine full name" represents the combination of a divine name (e.g., Yahweh, Baal, or Ištar) that functions like a modern, Western first name followed by a geographic name (e.g., Samaria, Aleppo, or Nineveh) that functions like a modern, Western last name. In this way, Yahweh-of-Samaria and Ištar-of-Nineveh represent two divine full names. While this "first, last, and full name analogy" is admittedly imprecise, it should be rhetorically straightforward. For a fuller discussion on the use of divine "first" names with geographic epithets functioning as "last names," see Spencer L. Allen, *The Splintered Divine: A Study of Ištar, Baal, and Yahweh Divine Names and Divine Multiplicity in the Ancient Near East* (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 5; Berlin: de Gruyter, forthcoming).

The formula DN-of-GN comprises two related divine name constructions. In Akkadian sources, this is usually expressed by the relative particle *ša* as DN-*ša*-GN, literally, "the divine name of the geographic name" or "the divine name, that one of the geographic name." In Northwest Semitic sources, this relationship is usually expressed by use of the construct chain as DN-GN, literally, "divine name (of) geographic name."

Zeev Meshel originally rejected the possibility that שִׁמְרֵן in this text referred to the geographic name Samaria, preferring instead to translate the word as the epithet "(the one who) protect us" because the divine name Yahweh never appears in the Hebrew Bible as part of a construct chain with a geographic name (Zeev Meshel, "Did Yahweh Have a Consort? The New Religious Inscriptions from Sinai," *BAR* 5 [1979]: 31). In 1982, however, John A. Emerton suggested that these divine full names, along with comparable evidence found in other Northwest Semitic texts, were enough evidence to allow for the possibility that the name Yahweh was in construct with the following geographic names (John A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrūd," *ZAW* 94 (1982): 3.

identified a deity known as Yahweh-of-Samaria (*HI KAjr* 18).⁷

These texts only lent credence to the possibility that multiple Yahweh deities coexisted in the minds of ancient Israelites rather than emphatically proved it, however, primarily because scholars remain unconvinced that these full names are indicative of an ancient poly-Yahwism. Indeed, scholars are still debating what such a poly-Yahwism would have actually entailed if it had existed. Benjamin Sommer, for instance, notes that Yahweh-of-Teman and Yahweh-of-Samaria “seem to refer to local manifestations of Yhwh,” but he goes on to note that we cannot be sure that this is a proper conclusion based on the scant evidence.⁸ Sommer would probably deny the independent existence of two Yahweh deities, in much the same way that he denies the existence of multiple distinct Baal deities elsewhere because they “show no individuation of personality, character, or function.”⁹ In short, Sommer recognizes the distinctiveness of the divine full names as different names, but he effectively denies the real independence of the divine entities associated with those names regardless of whether that deity belonged to an otherwise polytheistic world of divine multiplicity.

Likewise, despite his own interest in searching for divine full names (see below), P. Kyle McCarter does not seem to consider Yahweh-of-Teman a wholly separate deity from Yahweh-of-Samaria. Instead, he views them as “semi-independent” deities who were almost but not quite distinct from each other in the mind of ancient Israelites.¹⁰ In essence, the views espoused by Sommer and McCarter reflect a sentiment voiced by Frank Moore Cross prior to the discovery of the texts. For Cross, localized deities were mere aspects or manifestations of the great singular deity known by the name. Specifically, he was discussing the deities El and Ašerah and their “special titles, attributes, (and) hypostases,” which would split apart from the great god and later

7. *HI KAjr* = F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 277–98.

8. Benjamin Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 39.

9. *Ibid.*, 25.

10. P. Kyle McCarter, “Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (eds. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1987), 142.

fuse back into that deity's singularity, but surely the same interpretation would have been applied to Yahweh.¹¹

More recently, Jeremy Hutton has reconsidered the divine full names at Kuntillet 'Ajru'd in light of the site's architecture, iconography, and epigraphy, and he tentatively proposes that the so-called bench room was an area officially designated by the northern state of Israel for the worship of a deity known as Yahweh-of-Teman.¹² This official designation suggests to Hutton that "while both manifestations share the name Yahweh . . . they also seem to have led separate lives in the experience of worshippers."¹³ Because a scribe invoked an entity by the name Yahweh-of-Samaria in a shrine that he realized was dedicated to an entity known by the name of Yahweh-of-Teman, this scribe perceived enough of a difference between the two that he seemingly refused to identify them with each other.¹⁴ Following the lead of the scribe responsible for *HI* KAjr 18, Hutton seems prepared to accept the existence of a poly-Yahwism in ancient Israel that not only included multiple semi-independent manifestations of a singular Yahweh deity, as do Sommer and McCarter, but that also included the recognition of distinct "competing" Yahweh deities.¹⁵ It is precisely because he allows

11. Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 49.

12. Jeremy M. Hutton, "Local Manifestations of Yahweh and Worship in the Interstices: A Note on Kuntillet 'Ajru'd," *JANER* 10 (2010): 199, 202.

13. *Ibid.*, 205. He leans toward this conclusion even though two of the three texts invoking Yahweh-of-Teman, namely, *HI* KAjr 19A and 20, were found outside of the shrine dedicated to Yahweh-of-Teman and the text invoking Yahweh-of-Samaria (*HI* KAjr 18) was found inside the shrine. The third Yahweh-of-Teman text (*HI* KAjr 14) was the ink-on-plaster inscription found in the bench room and was indicative of the fact the shrine was officially dedicated to Yahweh-of-Teman (*ibid.*, 195f.).

14. Whether this distinction between Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman was based on religious, political, or tribal motivations is irrelevant for scholars as they consider the evidence. The fact that the distinction was made should be evidence enough.

15. Hutton, "Local Manifestations," 199. In their search for modern analogues to explain ancient conceptions of the divine, several scholars of ancient cultures have been tempted to discuss treatments of the Madonna in Roman Catholic tradition. This is especially true because of the numerous Marian or madonnine epithets that contain a geographic element, such as Our-Lady-of-Lourdes, Our-Lady-of-Fatima, and Madonna-di-Pompei, along with several hundred others. Giacomo Medica's 1965 survey of Italian madonnas included nearly 400 unique madonnine epithets representing at least that many distinct madonnas, and approximately 30 percent of these titles contained geographic elements: 17 percent were geographic epithets (e.g., Madonna-di-Pompei), 7 percent made reference to landforms (e.g., -del-Monte), and 7 percent made reference to buildings or other manmade structures (e.g., -del-Castello; Giacomo Medica, *I santuari mariani*

for this competitive form of poly-Yahwism that Hutton reconsiders the intended meaning of the Shema, as Bade had done a century earlier, and translates it, “Yahweh our God is one Yahweh.”¹⁶ He then concludes that the author made “deliberate use of an atypical syntactic construction in Deut. 6:4 . . . precisely in order to draw attention to the impropriety, syntactic and theological, of differentiating between local manifestations of Yahweh.”¹⁷ For Hutton, the Shema can be read as a polemic aimed at reminding Israelites that only one Yahweh exists, regardless of where the deity is located according to its divine full names. Restated, Deut 6:4 tells us that the deity known as Yahweh-of-Samaria is nothing more than the deity known as Yahweh-of-Teman worshipped at a different location or by a different group of Israelites, and both are simply the singular Yahweh worshipped throughout Israel.

Even though an inscription referencing Yahweh-of-Samaria was found in a shrine dedicated to Yahweh-of-Teman, as Sommer reminds us, no single Hebrew inscription actually contrasts multiple Yahweh deities, and so Sommer allows for the possibility that Hutton entertains, but he reiterates that it that is only one possible interpretation of the data.¹⁸ Likewise, as I have argued elsewhere, the explicit contrasting of divine names is the most reliable evidence available to us that the two

d'Italia [Torino: Leumann, 1965]; Michael P. Carroll, *Madonnas that Maim: Popular Catholicism in Italy Since the Fifteen Century* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992], 62–63). In many instances, these madonnas have their own sanctuaries, festas, processions, cult places, and visual characteristics that distinguish them from other (competing) madonnas (Ibid., 62; see also Michael P. Carroll, *Veiled Threats: The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996], 44–48).

Regarding Hutton’s use of the term “competing” when describing the potential relationship between Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman, this view of madonnine distinctiveness has been revealed through interviews with respondents from the Meszozogiorno region in the 1970s, some of whom described the different Madonnas as “sisters”: “the various figures of the Madonna are connected through the idea of sisters or of friends, which is considered its own real society” (Gino Provitera, “L’edicola votive e le sue funzioni,” in *Questione meridionale, religione, e classi subalterne* [ed. F. Saija; Napoli: Guida, 1978], 343; my translation). Indeed, this notion of kinship among images is so pervasive throughout Italy that madonnine multiplicity has been described as *imparentamento delle madonne*, or “causing the madonnas to become relatives of one another” (Cleto Corrain and Pierluigi Zampinim, *Documenti etnografici e folkloristici nei diocesani italiani* [Bologna: Forni, 1970], 150; Carroll, *Madonnas that Maim*, 66).

16. Hutton, “Local Manifestations,” 206. Hutton’s translation of the verse is not directly dependent upon Bade’s. Rather he cites more recent discussions by Moshe Weinfeld and Tigay (ibid., 179).

17. Ibid.

18. Sommer, *Bodies of God*, 39.

deities were viewed as separate and distinct by ancient scribes.¹⁹ When we lack explicit contrasts, our conclusions are necessarily more tentative, and we are left to search for further evidence. Other scholars have also recognized this methodological limitation, so in the wake of the discovery of the divine full names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman at Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd, they began looking for other potentially localized Yahweh deities.

Because the divine name Yahweh never occurs in a construct chain with a geographic name in the biblical texts as it does at Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd, alternative divine name formulas had to be sought.²⁰ In addition to the standard divine full name formula DN-of-GN, three alternative divine name formulas common to Neo-Assyrian inscriptions were available to modern scholars for consideration. These alternatives include DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN, title-of-GN, and DN//title-of-GN.²¹ Using Ištar-of-Nineveh as an example, these three formulas are realized as Ištar-Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh (e.g., ^dIŠ.TAR *a-ši-bat* ^{uru}NINA, State Archives of Assyria [SAA] 6 87 r. 2), Lady-of-Nineveh (e.g., ^dGAŠAN NINA ^{ki}, SAA 10 174 o. 6), and Ištar//Lady-of-Nineveh (e.g.,

19. Allen, *The Splintered Divine*, forthcoming; see also Spencer L. Allen, “Aššur and Enlil in Neo-Assyrian Documents,” in *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg 20–25 July 2008* (ed. G. Wilhelm; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 397–409.

20. On the one hand, Tryggve Mettinger notes that the full name Yahweh-of-Hosts (יהוה צבאות) comprises two nouns in a construct chain, so it grammatically resembles the standard DN-of-GN pattern, except that Hosts is not a geographic (Tryggve Mettinger, *In Search of God: the Meaning and Message of the Everlasting Names*, [trans. F. Cryer; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988], 135; see also Emerton, “New Light,” 8). Mettinger’s interpretation of the full name Yahweh-of-Hosts is only one of several possibilities. Other proposed interpretations include treating the name as two nouns in apposition (i.e., “Yahweh, the Hosts”); as a nominal sentence (i.e., “Yahweh [is] Hosts”); and as a sentence in which Yahweh is interpreted as the verb, namely, “He who creates the [heavenly] hosts/armies” (Matitiahu Tsevat, “Studies in the Book of Samuel,” *HUCA* 36 [1965]: 55; and H. -J. Zobel, “*šebā’ōt*,” *TDOT* [2003], 12:219). Cross, on the other hand, rejected the possibility that Yahweh-of-Hosts could be a construct chain and the possibility that “Hosts” could be an adjective or participle because it is plural and does not agree with the singular Yahweh (Cross, *Canaanite Myth*, 70). The fact that Yahweh-of-Hosts is itself a divine full name is made explicit in Isa 47:4 (יהוה צבאות שמו), “Yahweh-of-Hosts is his name”), and Amos 4:13 and 5:27 further suggest that the epithet “God” (אלהי-) can interrupt a full name without significantly altering the meaning (יהוה שמו אלהי צבאות, “Yahweh//God-of-Hosts is his name”).

21. These three alternatives are presented and discussed in “An Ištar by Several Other Names” in Allen, “Chapter 5: Ištars of the Neo-Assyrian Pantheon,” in *The Splintered Divine*, forthcoming.

^d15 NIN ^{uru}*ni-na-a*, SAA 2 2 vi 15). The first of these alternatives has no exact correspondence in the Bible, but if we designate “God” (either אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהֵי־יְיָ) as the title in these formulas, then representatives of these two remaining alternatives—title-of-GN and DN//title-of-GN—can be found in the biblical texts. These representatives include God-of-Jerusalem (2 Chr 32:19) and Yahweh//God-of-Israel (2 Chr 32:17).²² Despite the fact that Yahweh//God-of-Israel and God-of-Jerusalem parallel their contemporary Neo-Assyrian divine name formulas, I am unaware of scholars who interpret such references as potential names for a localized Yahweh. Instead, they seem to prefer interpreting the word “Israel” in the epithet God-of-Israel as an ethnic or national name rather than a geographic one and dismiss God-of-Jerusalem as a mere epithet for the previously named Yahweh. Finding no satisfactory biblical parallel to the Neo-Assyrian full names, scholars have instead explored the few instances in the Hebrew Bible where the name Yahweh is followed by a geographic name contained in a *bet*-locative phrase.

In the endnotes of his study on lists of gods in Assyrian and Macedonian state treaties, Michael L. Barré considers various alternatives to the standard DN-of-GN formula.²³ In addition to DN-of-GN, he proposes three alternatives for Northwest Semitic divine names: the *bet*-locative DN-in-GN (e.g., Tannit-in-Lebanon; *KAI* 81:1), a variant on the *bet*-locative DN-Who-Resides-in-GN (e.g., Yahweh-Who-Resides-in-Zion; Joel 4:21), and DN//title-of-GN (e.g., Melqart//Lord-of-Tyre; *KAI* 47:1).²⁴ However, as we shall see, in no instance is the DN-in-

22. This attestation of God-of-Jerusalem in 2 Chr 32:19 belongs to a summary of the words spoken by Sennacherib’s men meant to undermine the Jerusalemites’ confidence in their god Yahweh.

23. Michael L. Barré, *The God-List in the Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia: A Study in Light of the Ancient Near Eastern Treaty Tradition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 186 n.473. Barré also includes DN-from-GN as a variant form of DN-of-GN, so that Ps 135:21 is reinterpreted as blessing Yahweh-from-Zion/Who-Resides-(in)-Jerusalem: יהוה מציון שכן ירושלם. This proposed *min*-locative divine name, like the *bet*-locative divine name examined in this article, should be rejected (Allen, *The Splintered Divine*, forthcoming).

24. Barré also has a variant form of the DN-in-GN formula in which the *bet*-locative is replaced by a locative *he* that has been suffixed to the GN. He provides textual examples representing the same proposed divine name Milk-in-^sAštar: *mlk b’štrt* (*KTU2* 1.107.42) and *mlk štrth* (*KTU2* 1.100:41; Barré, *God-List*, 186 n.473).

Mark S. Smith provides an updated catalogue of potential divine-full-name formulas that, in addition to the Northwest Semitic, Ugaritic, and Akkadian names listed by Barré, includes Eblaite, Egyptian, and Epigraphic South Arabian divine names and their respective geographic names (“The Problem of the God and His Manifestations: The Case of the Baals at Ugarit, with Implications for Yahweh of Various Locales,” in *Die Stadt im Zwölfprophetenbuch* [eds. Aaron Schart and Jutta Krispenz; BZAW 428; Berlin:

GN formula convincing as a divine full name in Hebrew or in Northwest Semitic texts, nor does it contrast that deity with another full-named deity who shares the same first name.²⁵

PSALM 99:2

Of Barré's proposed alternatives, McCarter is especially attracted to the DN-in-GN option because, he says, "[i]n Biblical Hebrew the expression DN *b*-GN ('DN-in-GN') seems to be equivalent to DN GN at 'Ajrud."²⁶ Using the DN-in-GN formula, McCarter retranslates Psalm 99:2, a verse already noted by Barré, so that the verse praises the deity Yahweh-in-Zion:

יהוה בציון גדול ורם הוא על-כל-העמים

de Gruyter, 2012], 208–18). Smith's list of *bet*-locative possibilities can be found on pp. 214–15.

25. While the modern madonnine analogy is instructive because it demonstrates the plausibility of divine multiplicity regarding an entity generally considered singular by the (Catholic) orthodoxy and modern scholars (see above), using madonnine multiplicity to argue that a particular kind of epithet represented distinct and independent deities in the ancient Near Eastern is problematic. For example, in Medica's survey, 25 percent of the madonnine epithets referred to a particular Madonna's willingness to dispense favors (e.g., *Madonna-delle-Grazie* ["of favors"]), 6 percent referred to plant life (e.g., *Madonna-dell'Olmo* ["of the elm"]), and 8 percent referred to her spiritual perfection or an event experienced by the biblical Mary (e.g., *Addolorata* [a reference to her sorrow at the crucifixion] or *Immacolata* ["the Immaculate Conception"]); Carroll, *Madonnas that Maim*, 63). Such non-geographic epithets indicate distinct entities in Hittite religious traditions (see "Hittite Multiplicity" in "Chapter 2: Comparative Insights," in Allen, *The Splintered Divine*, forthcoming), but these kinds of epithets have not been demonstrated to represent distinct entities in Akkadian and Northwest Semitic religious traditions. This same hesitation should be reserved for madonnine epithets representing distinct madonnas that appear to contain locative elements, especially when those epithets have been translated into English. Italian madonnine epithets with prepositions tend to use the genitive preposition *di* ("of"; var.: *da, del, delle, della, dello*), such as *Santa-Maria-del-Bosco*, which is often translated into English as *Santa-Maria-in-Bosco*. Because the madonnine hyper-multiplicity that Medica and Carroll have uncovered in modern Italy greatly exceeds the degree of multiplicity found in Mesopotamia and the Levant, any Italian epithet containing the locative preposition *in* should be offered only hesitantly in a discussion of Semitic divine multiplicity and should not be seriously considered for evidence that the *bet*-locative epithet serves to designate distinct deities in Northwest Semitic languages.

26. McCarter, "Aspects of the Religion," 140.

Yahweh-in-Zion is great! And he is exalted above all other gods!
(Ps 99:2, McCarter's translation)²⁷

The words יהוה בציון גדול have traditionally been interpreted as a nominative sentence, and it makes perfect sense as one: "Yahweh is great in Zion." This is precisely how NJPS, NRSV, and KJV all interpret and translate the phrase (allowing for the traditional English use of "the LORD" as a substitution for the divine name). Of course, several psalms, classical prophets, and historical passages link Yahweh with Mount Zion in Jerusalem, such as Pss 110:2; 128:5; 134:3; 135:21; and Joel 4:17–21. In Ps 99:2, Yahweh is praised as the one in-Zion, but this seems to be a reference to the same deity who is simply called Yahweh in the previous verse. Put another way, specifically in a way that rejects the idea that in-Zion is Yahweh's last name, the (unspecified) Yahweh of verse 1 is the same deity as the Yahweh in verse 2 who has been located in-Zion. Verse 1's unspecified Yahweh is the king before whom the people tremble and who sits on a cherubim throne. In verses 5, 8, and twice in 9, this deity is praised as Yahweh//our-God, and throughout the psalm all the pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and suffixes are masculine singular (the person switches between third and second person in the psalm), indicating that these different references to Yahweh all refer to a single, individual deity. Psalm 99, like numerous other psalms, locates Yahweh in Zion, but it makes no attempt to distinguish its Yahweh of interest from any other Yahweh who might be located outside of Zion.

The syntax of Ps 99:2 also suggests that "Yahweh" and "in-Zion" should be interpreted as two distinct parts of the sentence rather than one. In other passages that contain similar elements—i.e., a divine name/epithet/attribute, a *bet*-locative phrase, and an adjective (specifically גדול)—the *bet*-locative phrase cannot be interpreted as part of the divine name, even when it follows the divine name. In Mal 1:11, in the phrase גדול שמי בגוים ("Great is my name among the nations"), the *bet*-locative phrase does not follow the divine name, which does not actually appear in this clause. Instead, the phrase follows the attribute my-name (שמי), which plays the same function in the verse as a divine name. The deity twice declares in this verse that his name is great: "great (is) my-name among-the-nations." Among-the-nations is where the name is great; it is not an element within the name itself. In Ps 76:2, in the phrase בִּישְׂרָאֵל גָּדוֹל שְׁמוֹ ("in Israel, great is his name"), the *bet*-locative phrase in-Israel appears before great and his-name, completely separated from the subject of the clause. Similarly, in Esth 9:4, in the phrase גדול

27. McCarter, "Aspects of the Religion," 141.

מרדכי בבית המלך (“Mordecai was great in the king’s house”), the person Mordecai is said to be an important figure within the palace administration. He has not been renamed Mordecai-in-the-king’s-house, a man who also happens to be great. Admittedly, Mal 1:11, Ps 76:2, and Esth 9:4 are structurally different from Ps 99:2 because the subject of each clause appears in a different place. In Ps 99:2, the subject and *bet*-locative phrase precede the adjective, but the adjective precedes the subject in the other verses.

Moreover, there are several other verses in which a *bet* functions with non-locative purposes, and these too should be rejected as potential divine full names. For example, the divine name Yahweh is followed by in-Zion in two other verses where the *bet* in the sentence functions as the direct object marker for the verb: בחר יהוה בציון (“Yahweh chose Zion,” Ps 132:13) and שכח יהוה בציון (“Yahweh forgot Zion,” Lam 2:6). In both verses, if the phrase in-Zion were interpreted as an element in a Yahweh deity’s full name, the sentences would be grammatically complete, but the meaning of the sentences would be incomplete: “Yahweh-in-Zion chose” and “Yahweh-in-Zion forgot.” Reading Ps 99:2 in light of its own internal contexts and compared to the syntax of similar verses makes accepting the proposed Yahweh-in-Zion as a Yahwistic full name highly problematic. Like all other proposed *bet*-locative full names found in Northwest Semitic texts, “Yahweh in Zion” does not function like a full name. Yahweh’s devotees at the Jerusalem/Zion cult knew a deity named Yahweh, but they did not know this deity by the name Yahweh-in-Zion.

SECOND SAMUEL 15:7

McCarter also suggests the possible divine name Yahweh-in-Hebron, which is invoked by Absalom in 2 Sam 15:7.²⁸ After his four-year house arrest, David’s son asks his father for permission to return to Hebron so that he may fulfill the vow that he had had made to a Yahweh deity:

אלכה נא ואשלם את-גדרי אשר נדרתי ליהוה בחברון⁸ כִּי-נדר נדר עבדך
בשכתי בגשור בארם לאמר אם-ישיב ישיבני יהוה ירושלם ועבדתי את־יהוה

28. Smith also spends a few pages exploring the possibility of a deity known as Yahweh-in-Hebron (Smith, “Problem of the God,” 241–3). This discussion, along with his treatment of the various Baal divine full names at Ugarit, led Peter Machinist to pose to him a significant question about the political and religious natures of the relationship between a deity and the particular places that the deity’s name is associated: “what is it about a given place that gives some of the character to the deity?” (ibid., 243 and n. 207).

Let me go fulfill the vow I made to Yahweh-in-Hebron, for your servant made a vow when I was living in Aram-geshur, as follows: “If Yahweh will bring me back to Jerusalem, I shall serve Yahweh!” (2 Sam 15:7–8, McCarter’s translation).²⁹

McCarter correctly argues that in-Hebron cannot refer to the place where the vow had been made because that took place in Aram-geshur, which is in the opposite direction from Jerusalem than Hebron. Neither can in-Hebron refer to where Absalom wants to go and fulfill his vow because, as McCarter notes, “it is most awkward as a modifier of ‘Let me go.’”³⁰ The *bet*-locative phrase in-Hebron in v. 7 is, indeed, an awkward modifier for “Let me go” because we would expect to-Hebron (לְהֵבְרוֹן) to accompany the verb “go.” However, the verse makes perfect sense if we understand the phrase as modifying “and I will fulfill” (וְאִשְׁלַמְתִּי): “and I will fulfill my vow . . . in Hebron.” Because McCarter incorrectly associates in-Hebron with the wrong verb, his resulting interpretation is awkward, forcing him into the only option remaining for in-Hebron, namely, one that modifies Yahweh: “Although Yahweh is worshiped in Jerusalem, Absalom has to go to Hebron to fulfill his vow, because it was to the Hebronite Yahweh (*yhwh bhbrwn*) that the vow was made.”³¹ Rather, these verses make more sense when Yahweh is understood as an unspecified, non-localized Yahweh.

Because Absalom’s vow predates the cultic reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, there were no restrictions preventing where he could legitimately worship Yahweh. Absalom’s decision to worship Yahweh in Hebron, where David had reigned for several years before relocating his capital to Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:5), is likely due to his familial ties to that local cult. McCarter is undoubtedly correct that Absalom’s vow was cult specific in much the same way that the fines imposed in Neo-Assyrian legal transactions were paid to deities who were explicitly connected to a city or temple cult (e.g., SAA 6 87). His treatment of in-Hebron as a geographic last name for the deity Yahweh, however, is not the best or easiest solution. Absalom makes his vow to a Yahweh who is worshiped in Hebron, whom he mentions three times in these two verses as (the

29. McCarter, “Aspects of the Religion,” 141. McCarter does *not* entertain the possibility that Absalom named Yahweh-of-Jerusalem in 2 Sam 15:8, so that the verse might be translated, “If Yahweh-of-Jerusalem will bring me back, I will serve Yahweh.”

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

unspecified) Yahweh, but he did not know this deity by the name Yahweh-in-Hebron.

Even if we momentarily consider the possibility that Absalom did identify (the twice unspecified) Yahweh in 2 Sam 15:8 with the deity that he knew as Yahweh-in-Hebron in v. 7, this identification is still problematic in light of the variously named Ištar and Baal deities in roughly contemporaneous texts. In order to consider whether a local Ištar's or Baal's divine full name represented an independent and distinct deity, we must determine whether the deity's geographic last name serves as an integral aspect of that deity's identity. Ištar-of-Nineveh is considered an independent and distinct goddess from Ištar-of-Arbela and other Ištar goddesses precisely because her geographic last name was indispensable to her identity and because the two names are often contrasted within an individual text.³² Likewise, Ištar-of-Arbela's full name was used even when she was the only goddess with the first name Ištar in a text with several divine names (e.g., SAA 2 9 r. 24; SAA 10 139:9; and SAA 12 97 r. 2), and she was called Ištar-of-Arbela when she was the only goddess mentioned in a prophetic text (e.g., SAA 9 2.3 i 36'-ii 22'). Both Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela retained their last names in texts where no other deities were designated with last names. For example, in Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty (SAA 2 6:16-20 and 26-30), no less than seventeen divine names appear in the witness and adjuration lists. Of these, the final two divine names are Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela. No other divine first names are repeated in this text, and these two goddesses have the only divine names containing a geographic epithet. Reading these lists of divine names literally, Ištar-of-Nineveh was as distinct a divine entity from Ištar-of-Arbela as she was from Aššur or Marduk. Here and in hundreds of other Assyrian period treaties, contracts, letters, and even oracles and hymns, these two goddesses were contrasted with each other through the explicit use of their geographic epithets. In these and other cases, it really seems that the goddesses' geographic last name was at least as important an identifier as the name Ištar itself, if not more.

Similarly, Baal-of-Ugarit can be considered distinct from both Baal-of-Šapun and Baal-of-Aleppo because scribes treated him as though he was distinct from these other Baal deities.³³ Baal-of-Šapun and Baal-

32. For a discussion on the distinctiveness between the goddesses Ištar-of-Nineveh and Ištar-of-Arbela in Neo-Assyrian royal hymns, see Barbara N. Porter, "Ishtar of Nineveh and Her Collaborator, Ishtar of Arbela, in the Reign of Assurbanipal," *Iraq* 66 (2004): 41-44. See also Allen, *The Splintered Divine*, "Chapter 5: Ištars of the Neo-Assyrian Pantheon."

33. See Allen, *The Splintered Divine*, "Chapter 6: Geographic Epithets in the West."

of-Ugarit each received their own offerings in *KTU*² 1.109:32–34, and Baal-of-Ugarit and Baal-of-Aleppo each received their own offerings in an earlier section of the tablet (1.16). By analogy, the fact that the potential divine full name Yahweh-in-Hebron of 2 Sam 15:7 was not treated distinctly from (the unspecified) Yahweh mentioned in v. 8, or any other local Yahweh deity by Absalom, prevents us from declaring this an independent or distinct Yahweh.³⁴ Had Absalom vowed to make a sacrifice to Yahweh-in-Hebron—or even better, to Yahweh-of-Hebron (יהוה חברון)—and to Yahweh-of-Hosts, or a Yahweh-of-Jerusalem or a Yahweh-of-Zion, only then could we begin to argue for potential localized Yahweh deities using 2 Sam 15 as a proof text.

Ultimately, the fact that Absalom would identify the unspecified Yahweh with Yahweh-in-Hebron is not a problem for McCarter because he is really only arguing for the semi-independence of local Yahwehs, “almost as if they were distinct deities.”³⁵ As mentioned above, this is to say that McCarter does not really recognize the localized Yahwehs as distinct and independent deities. His search for localized Yahweh deities is more a search for once autonomous Yahwistic cults prior to the reforms and centralization in Jerusalem of Hezekiah. Although Absalom’s vow in 2 Sam 15:7–8 suggests that Hebron was, in fact, home to a local Yahwistic cult, perhaps even the same cult place where Israel’s elders made their covenant with David before Yahweh (5:3), it does not indicate that there was a independent and distinct Yahweh in Hebron or one known as Yahweh-in-Hebron.

34. Likewise, because only one text attests the existence of Yahweh-of-Samaria and the Hebrew Bible is silent about a Yahweh deity residing in the city of Samaria itself, we cannot confidently conclude that this Yahweh deity’s identity was dependent upon his geography. Yahweh-of-Teman has a stronger connection with the place Teman, as evidenced by explicit references to Teman as Yahweh’s homeland in Hab 3:3, as well as other biblical and extra-biblical evidence placing Yahweh in the general region (see Allen, *The Splintered Divine*, “Chapter 7: How Many Names for Yahweh?” for fuller discussions on Yahweh’s historical relationship with the cities or regions of Samaria and Teman; cf. Herbert Niehr, “The Rise of YHWH in Judahite and Israelite Religion: Methodological and Religio-Historical Aspects,” in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaism* [ed. Diana V. Edelman; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995], 56–57; Detlef Jerick, *Regionaler Kult und lokaler Kult: Studien zur Kult- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und Judas im 9. und 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010], 11–12).

35. McCarter, “Aspects of the Religion,” 142.

OTHER PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED *BET-LOCATIVE* DIVINE NAMES

Other potential divine names with the DN-in-GN formula that Barré and McCarter propose include Tannit-in-Lebanon (*KAI* 81:1), Astarte-in-Sidon (*KAI* 14:16), and Dagan-in-Ashdod (1 Sam 5:5).³⁶ The proposed divine full name Tannit-in-Lebanon should be rejected as a divine name for several reasons. Neither *KAI* 81 nor any other text contrasts a Tannit-in-Lebanon goddess with any other Tannit goddess. Also, this Punic text from Carthage only names two deities, and Tannit is the second of the two, so it is impossible to determine whether the *bet-locative* is intended for just Tannit or for both goddesses. “To the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit who *are* in Lebanon: new temples” is just as reasonable a translation of לרבתי לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן מקדשם חדשם as is “to the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit, who *is* in Lebanon: new temples.” If the text listed a third or fourth deity, then a better sense could be derived from the text to help determine how similar or dissimilar Tannit’s treatment is compared to the others. For instance, had Tannit been the second of four goddesses and the only one associated with a *bet-locative* phrase, this unique aspect would favor the interpretation that Tannit-in-Lebanon was considered a full name by the scribe. Alternatively, if the two divine names had been reversed so that the temples were dedicated “to the ladies, to Tannit in Lebanon and to Astarte: new temples” (לרבתי לתנת (בלבנן ולעשתרת מקדשם חדשם), then it would be clear that in-Lebanon only referred to Tannit and not to Astarte. With only two divine names mentioned in *KAI* 81 and with Tannit as the second name, concluding that there was a goddess known as Tannit-in-Lebanon is, at best, tentative and syntactically questionable.

There is no doubt that Astarte had a cultic presence in Sidon, which is indicated by both native Phoenician and biblical evidence. In addition to the fifth-century Sidonian text *KAI* 14:16, which mentions that Ešmunazar and his mother Amotastarte (re)built her temple in Sidon, 1 Kgs 11:5 and 33 (and 2 Kgs 23:13) note that the Sidonians worshiped Astarte and that Solomon also worshiped her as a result of marrying his many foreign wives. Astarte could also have been one of the goddesses

36. Barré, *God-Lists*, 186 n.473; McCarter, “Aspects of the Religion,” 141. In addition to the several potential Ugaritic divine full names that Smith includes in his *bet-locative/locative he* listing, he also offers two Phoenician/Punic texts with *bet-locative* phrases that I have not had the opportunity to examine for this article: Astarte-in-Lapethos (štrt blpš; Lapethos 6), and Baal-Ḥamān-in-Althiburus (bʿl ḥmn bʿltbrš⁷ Hr. Medeine N 1:1; Smith, “Problem of the God,” 214–15). An Astarte-in-GW (štrt bgw) also appears in his list, but this potential divine full name is based upon a reading offered in Krahmalkov’s *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (391), which differs from that offered in *KAI* 17:2: štrt ?š bgw (Astarte, who is in GW; *ibid.*, 215 n.62).

whom Kirta had in mind when he addressed “Ašerah-of-Tyre and the goddess-of-Šidon” (*ʿaṣrt . šrm³⁹ w[?]ilt . ṣdynm*, *KTU²* 1.14 iv 38-39) in his vow in the Ugaritic Kirta Epic.³⁷ Regardless, the proposed divine full name Astarte-in-Šidon that has been derived from the seventh-century Ammonite text *WSS* 876:2 (Ast<arte> in Šidon, <עשתר> בצדן) and *KAI* 14:16 ([Astar]te in Šidon//Land-of-the-Sea, ימ בצדן ארצ ים [עשתר]ת בצדן ארצ ים) is still problematic for syntactic reasons.³⁸ As with Tannit’s cultic presence in Lebanon, Astarte’s cultic presence in Šidon is not in doubt, but the idea that the goddess was known as Astarte-in-Šidon is.

The final divine name with a *bet*-locative element that McCarter proposes is Dagan-in-Ashdod. Aside from this proposed attestation in 1 Sam 5:5, (an unspecified) Dagan divine name appears nine other times in verses 1–5, three of which indicate that the deity had a cultic presence in Ashdod. Dagan’s temple (בית־דגון, vv. 2 and 5) is mentioned twice, and Dagan’s priests (כהני־דגון, v. 5) are mentioned once. As with the other proposed full names with *bet*-locative elements, nothing in this passage suggests that these first nine unspecified attestations should be contrasted with the proposed Dagan-in-Ashdod at the end of the passage. Moreover, because the passage serves as an etiology for a local priestly custom in the Dagan temple that is practiced “to this day” (עד היום הזה, v. 5), the placement of in-Ashdod as the final thought in the narrative makes more

37. Near the end of the Kirta Epic and in the Baal Cycle, Astarte is given the epithet Name-of-Baal (*ʿttrt . šm . bʿl*, *KTU²* 1.16 vi 56; *KTU²* 1.2 i 8). This specific epithet reappears several centuries later in the fifth-century Ešmunazar Inscription, Astarte//Name-of-Baal (עשתרת שם בעל, *KAI* 14:18), strengthening the possibility that Kirta’s goddess-of-Šidon is, in fact, Astarte.

38. Regarding *WSS* 876, Nahman Avigad suggested that עשת is an abbreviation for the divine name Astarte (עשתרת), which he also identified as the theophoric element in various Phoenician personal names (Nahman Avigad, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* [Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities: The Israel Exploration Society: The Institute of Archaeology: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997], 328), whereas Kent Jackson notes that the missing רת- at the end of the goddess’s name is the result of haplography (Kent P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age* [HSM 27; Chico: Scholars, 1983], 77). Though Avigad originally identified this as a Phoenician seal because of the vocabulary and the word Šidon (Nahman Avigad, “Two Phoenician Votive Seals,” *IEJ* 16 [1966]: 248), more recently he decided that the seal is actually Ammonite (Avigad, *Corpus*, 328).

According to Larry Herr, the paleography of *WSS* 876 is a great example of late seventh-century Ammonite writing, with “perfect Ammonite forms” for the ע, ת, צ, ג, and ה (Larry G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* [HSM 18; Missoula: Scholars, 1978], 71). Moreover, the personal name Abinadab (עבנרב) “is also happy Ammonite.” In contrast to these opinions, M. Weippert identifies עשת as the Hurrian deity Asiti (M. Weippert, “Über den asiatischen Hintergrund der Göttin ‘Asiti,’” *Orientalia* NS 44 [1975]: 13).

sense as a reminder of the story's setting than as the final element in a divine name. First Samuel 5 indicates that this custom is unique to the Dagan cult *in* Ashdod, but it does not contrast this particular Dagan with any other known Dagan deity.

FURTHER EVIDENCE AGAINST *BET-LOCATIVE* DIVINE NAMES

In a late fifth-century Aramaic text from Elephantine in Egypt (*TAD* A4.7), the deity is identified three times as Yahweh//the-God (ll. 6, 24, and 26), one of which is immediately followed by “who (is) in the Elephantine Fortress” (יהו אלהא זי ביב בירתא, l. 6).³⁹ The fact that the clause “who (is) in the Elephantine Fortress” is not an epithet or last name for Yahweh//the-God is demonstrated by the repetition of “in the Elephantine Fortress” on three other occasions in this same text that discuss the building of the temple (ll. 7–8, 13, and 25). On the first two occasions, “which (is) in the Elephantine Fortress” (זי ביב בירתא, ll. 7–8 and 13) follows “the temple/that temple” (אגורא, l. 7; אגורא זכ, l. 13), so it must be interpreted as functioning in an ordinary locative sense, not as part of a divine epithet. On the third occasion, the locative phrase follows the name of the deity and an infinitive with a pronominal suffix: “upon the temple of Yahweh//the-God to (re)build it in the Elephantine Fortress” (על אגורא זי יהו אלהא למבניה ביב בירתא, ll. 24–25). Had the locative phrase been part of the divine name, the infinitive would not have separated it from the divine name. Throughout this text, in-the-Elephantine-Fortress locates the temple and the deity, but it never functions as an element in either the temple name or divine name. The same is true in *TAD* B2.2, B3.4, B3.5, B3.10, and B3.11, where the locative phrases locate the deity in the fortress, but they do not function as a part of the name.⁴⁰

To drive the point further that *bet*-locative phrases do not function as part of divine name formula at Elephantine, one text does include the geographic name the-Elephantine-Fortress within the divine full name of a Yahweh deity. *TAD* B3.12 begins by naming (an unspecified) Yahweh (l. 1) and later mentions Yahweh//the-God twice (ll. 10–11 and 33). In l. 2, however, an elaborate divine name formula is used: Yahweh//the-God-Who-Resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress (יהו

39. *TAD* A = Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Volume 1: Letters* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1986).

40. *TAD* B = Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Volume 2: Contracts* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1989).

(אלהא שכנ יב ברתא). Properly, the formula would be written, DN//Title-Who-Resides-(in)-GN, which resembles a conflation of two alternative divine name formulas used in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions: DN//title-of-GN and DN-Who-Resides-(in)-GN. The divine name formula in *TAD* B3.12:2 also nearly matches the elaborate full names and epithets in Joel 4:17, 21 and Isa 8:18; however, there is one notable difference:

Verse:	Hebrew/Aramaic:	Translation:	Divine Name Formula:
Joel 4:17	יהוה אלהיכם שכנ בציון	Yahweh//your-God (Who)-Resides-in- Zion	DN//Title//Who- Resides-in-GN
Joel 4:21	יהוה שכנ בציון	Yahweh//(Who)- Resides-in-Zion	DN//Who-Resides- in-GN
Isa 8:18	יהוה צבאות השכנ בהר ציון	Yahweh-of- Hosts//the-(One- Who)-Resides-in- Mount-Zion.	DN-of-X//Who- Resides-in-GN
<i>TAD</i> B3.12:2	יהו אלהא שכנ יב ברתא	Yahweh//the-God- Who-Resides-(in)- the-Elephantine- Fortress	DN//Title-Who- Resides-(in)-GN.

Specifically, the difference between the divine name formulas in *TAD* B3.12:2 and these biblical counterparts is that B3.12:2 lacks a *bet*-locative. Notably, the text identifies this full divine name formula with the unspecified several times, but it does not contrast the potential geographic last name the-Elephantine-Fortress with another last name. Despite the potential geographic last name and because the scribe often uses the phrase in-the-Elephantine-Fortress to discuss local matters, it seems unlikely that the name Yahweh//the-God-Who-Resides-(in)-the-Elephantine-Fortress was consciously contrasted with another localized Yahweh by the scribe responsible for *TAD* B3.12:2. However, apart from the Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman discovered at Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd, *TAD* B3.12:2 most closely resembles a divine full name indicative of a localized Yahweh.

We can conclude with two potential divine full names involving a *bet*-locative element, which resemble the Dagan situation in 1 Sam 5:5. These are Chemosh-in-Qarḥō (כמש בקרהה, *KAI* 181:3) and Chemosh-in-

Kerioth (כַּמְשׁ בְּקֵרִית, l. 13), which both appear in the Mesha Inscription. Near the beginning of the inscription, Mesha claimed that he built a “high place” (בַּמָּת, l. 3) in Qarḥō for Chemosh (וְאֵעֵשׂ הַבַּמָּת זֹאת לְכַמְשׁ) (בְּקֵרְחָה, l. 3) because the deity saved him from his enemies. Then, after he defeated and slew the Israelites living in Ataroth (l. 11), Mesha claimed, “I brought the cultic object(?) from there and I dragged it before Chemosh in Kerioth” (אֲשַׁבְּ מִשָּׁמָּה אֶת אֲרֵאל דְּוֹדָה וְאֵ[ס] הֵבֵהּ לִפְנֵי כַמְשׁ) (בְּקֵרִית⁴¹).⁴¹ If *bet*-locative phrases were elements found in divine full names elsewhere in Northwest Semitic texts, then Mesha could be thought of as contrasting these two localized Chemosh deities with (the unspecified) Chemosh, who appears in lines 5, 9, 12, 14, 18, 19, 32, and 33.⁴² Chemosh-in-Qarḥō and Chemosh-in-Kerioth could then be thought of as independent deities and distinct from the unspecified Chemosh, and each of these deities would have had his own cult site.

The preferred alternative is that Mesha venerated (the unspecified) Chemosh at both Qarḥō and Kerioth, which is, of course accepted without question. First, Mesha built Chemosh a high place in Qarḥō, and later he brought offerings to the same deity at the cult site at Kerioth, several miles from Diban, near the Israelite city of Ataroth.⁴³ Next, Mesha slew the Israelites as an “offering/spectacle for Chemosh” (רֵית כַּמְשׁ, l. 12) and brought the “cultic object” (אֲרֵאל דְּוֹדָה, l. 12) to Chemosh at Kerioth, at which point Chemosh commanded the king to attack Nebo (l. 14).⁴⁴ Moreover, it makes more sense to interpret in-

41. The meaning of אֲרֵאל is uncertain. The meaning of דְּוֹדָה (l. 12) is also uncertain, though possibilities along the lines of “noun denoting deity or comparable divine being,” “defeat,” and “champion” have all been offered (*DNWSI*, dwd3 mngs. 1–4). For this reason, the phrase אֲרֵאל דְּוֹדָה has simply been translated “cultic object(?)” here.

42. John Gibson suggests that Qarḥō was possibly a city quarter within Diban rather than a distinct town (John C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1971], 1:78). J. Andrew Dearman, on the other hand, finds it more likely that Qarḥō was a suburb of Diban with a royal administrative center (J. Dearman, “Historical Reconstruction and the Mesha Inscription,” in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [ed. A. Dearman; SBLABS 2; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989], 173). If Qarḥō were a royal administrative center, then it makes sense that the king would build a shrine (בַּמָּת, “high place,” l. 3) to Chemosh there. In another inscription, Mesha mentions a “temple of Chemosh” (בֵּית כַּמְשׁ) ([מִשׁ]; R. Murphy and O. Carm, “A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Diban,” *BASOR* 125 [1952]: 22), which Dearman places in Diban as a separate structure from the high place in the adjacent suburb of Qarḥō (Dearman, “Historical Reconstruction,” 229).

43. Dearman, “Historical Reconstructions,” 179.

44. Jackson notes that there is no consensus for the meaning of רֵית in l. 12 (Kent P. Jackson, “The Language of the Mesha Inscription,” in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [ed. A. Dearman; SBLABS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 111–12).

Kerioth as the place in the story to which Mesha dragged (וא[ס]חבה, ll. 12-13) the offering.⁴⁵ If either of these potential Chemosh deities had lacked the *bet* so that the first name Chemosh belonged to a construct chain with Qarḥō or Kerioth, then arguing for their distinctness from (the unspecified) Chemosh would be more tempting.⁴⁶ However, the switch between (the unspecified) Chemosh and Chemosh-Kerioth and back in lines 11–14 would still be suggestive of the identification of these two deities with each other. Regardless, in each instance, the *bet*-locative makes more sense as a general locative phrase that indicates where these events happened than as a geographic element in a distinct, localized Chemosh deity's full name.

CONCLUSION: THE SYNTAX OF IT ALL

If we consider the syntax of the *bet*-locative phrases in relation to the divine name Chemosh in the Mesha Inscription (*KAI* 181:3 and 13), we find that they appear at the end of their respective verbal clauses. The divine name Chemosh precedes the *bet*-locatives because the divine name is the indirect object of the verb, not because Chemosh is being defined in relation to the place. Given the typical sentence structure Verb/Subject/Direct-Object/Indirect-Object common to Northwest Semitic languages, the structural patterns we find in *KAI* 181:3 and 13 are exactly what we should expect.⁴⁷ This is also true for in-Ṣidon in *WSS* 876:2, the various *bet*-locative phrases in *KAI* 14:15–18, the in-Ashdod in 1 Sam 5:5, and the in-Hebron in 2 Sam 15:7. The *bet*-locative plays the same syntactic role in each of these texts:

ואעש.הבמת.זאת.לכמש.בקרחה³

45. This is in contrast to McCarter's evaluation of 2 Sam 15:7–8, where he argues that in-Hebron makes sense neither as the place where Absalom made his vow nor as the place where he was requesting to go (McCarter, 140–41).

46. The theoretical Chemosh-Qarḥō: ואעש.הבמת.זאת.לכמש.קרחה ("I built this high place for Chemosh-Qarḥō"). The theoretical Chemosh-Kerioth: וא[ס]חבה.לכמש.קרחה ("I brought from there the cult object?, and I dragged it before Chemosh-Kerioth," ll. 11–12).

47. Note also that the six examples of *bet* used in the spatial sense (11.2.5b) in Waltke and O'Connor's *Biblical Hebrew Syntax* have the *bet*-locative phrase at the end (Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 196). In general, *bet*-prepositional phrases seem to fit well at the end of their clauses after all the important parts of the clause have already been presented.

I built this high place for Chemosh in-Qarhō (KAI 181:3).

12 אשב.משמ.את.אראל.דודה.וא[ס]13 הבה.לפני.כמש.בקרית

I brought from there the cultic object(?), and I dragged it before Chemosh in-Kerioth (Il. 12-13).

ש נדר לעשת<רת> בצדנ

That (Abinadab) vowed to Ast<arte> in-Sidon (WSS 876:1–2).

בננ אית בת אלנמ אית [בת עשתר]ת בצדנ ארצ ימ...ואנחנ אש בננ בתמ לאלנ
צדנמ בצדנ ארצ ימ

We built the house of the gods, the [house of Astar]te in-Sidon/Land-by-the-Sea...and we (are the ones) who built houses for the gods of the Sidonians in-Sidon/Land-by-the-Sea (KAI 14:15–18).

על־כן לא־יִדְרְכִי כְהֵנִי דָגוֹן וְכֹל־הַבָּאִים בֵּית־דָּגוֹן עַל־מִפְתַּן דָּגוֹן בְּאַשְׁדוֹד

Therefore, none of Dagan's priests or anyone entering Dagan's temple tread upon the threshold of Dagan in-Ashdod (1 Sam 5:5).

Returning to McCarter's take on 2 Sam 15:7, we see that its sentence structure also places the *bet*-locative phrase after the indirect object Yahweh. Repayment is the action, Absalom is the actor, the vow is the direct object, Yahweh is the indirect object, and in-Hebron is the location of the action.

אלכה נא ואשלם את־נִדְרֵי אשר נִדְרְתִי ליהוה בְּחֶבְרוֹן

Let me go fulfill my vow that I vowed to Yahweh in-Hebron (2 Sam 15:7).

This sentence structure is also used in 1 Sam 1:3 and 2 Kgs 23:23:

ועלה האיש ההוא...להשתחות ולזבח ליהוה צבאות בְּשִׁלֹה

That man went up...to prostrate himself and offer sacrifices to Yahweh-of-Hosts in-Shilo (1 Sam 1:3).

נעשה הפסח הזה ליהוה בירושלם

This Passover was made to Yahweh in-Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:23).

Furthermore, when there is no verb in the sentence, the *bet*-locative phrase still appears at the end of the thought, such as “in-Lebanon” in KAI 81:1 and “on-Hawk-Island” in KAI 64:1:

לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבננ מקדשמ חדשמ

To the ladies, to Astarte and to Tannit, (who are/is) in-Lebanon:
new temples (KAI 81:1).

לאדנ לבע<ל>שממ באינצמ נצבמ והנוטמ שנמ אש נדר בעלהנא

To the/my lord, to Baa<l>-Šamêṁ on-Hawk-Island: (these are)
the stele and the *ḥnwṭ* that Baalḥana vowed . . . (KAI 64:1–2).

Bet-locative phrases follow divine names not because they are elements in those divine names; rather, the scribes placed the phrases at the end of their respective clause or phrase in accordance with the customary syntax of Northwest Semitic languages.

Just because a deity was worshiped in or associated with one or more temples in a city, that deity is not necessarily known by that geographic location. Just because Dagan had a cultic presence in Ashdod, Tannit had one in Lebanon, and Yahweh had one in Hebron, we should not expect that these deities had divine full names indicating those cultic presences. Attestations of DN-of-GN full names for non-Baal deities are relatively rare in Northwest Semitic texts and the Hebrew Bible, yet they do exist. The Kuntillet ‘Ajrūd inscriptions that mention the divine full names Yahweh-of-Samaria and Yahweh-of-Teman may indicate such a localized phenomenon occurred in biblical Israel, but none of the DN-in-GN names with *bet*-locative phrases that have been proposed are convincing as actual divine full names for syntactic and other methodological reasons.

BOOK REVIEWS

Adam as Israel: Genesis 1–3 as the Introduction to the Torah and Tanakh by Seth D. Postell. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2011. xii + 204 pp., \$24.00, softcover.

Seth Postell is Lecturer in Biblical Studies at Israel College of the Bible in Netanya, Israel. *Adam as Israel* is a revision of Postell's doctoral dissertation at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary. Postell indicates that the primary purpose of his book is to discover the literary relationship between Gen 1–3 and the rest of the Torah. He posits that "Genesis 1–3 intentionally foreshadows Israel's failure to keep the Sinai Covenant as well as their exile from the Promised Land in order to point the reader to a future work of God in the 'last days'" (p. 3). Thus Gen 1–3 functions as the literary introduction to the Torah, as well as to the whole Tanakh.

Postell's work consists of seven chapters. The first chapter is a short introduction that orients the reader to Postell's purpose and primary thesis. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the contributions of other scholars to the interpretation of Gen 1–3. Chapter 2 focuses on the history of interpretation. Postell traces the interpretive developments from pre-critical approaches through redaction and source critical approaches and ultimately concludes with a brief analysis of the rise of final form and literary interpretations of Gen 1–3. In chapter 3 Postell situates his work in the context of recent publications that are similarly interested in the literary shape of the Primeval History. He discusses the works of Thomas Keiser, André Sousan, Johnson Teng Kok Lim, C. John Collins, Tvi Erlich, and John Sailhamer, noting each author's unique contribution to the study of Genesis's literary shape.

In chapter 4 Postell "makes explicit the working assumptions upon which subsequent chapters are grounded" (p. 43). He identifies his hermeneutical method as a "text-centered" approach to the Hebrew Bible (p. 43). This approach is primarily concerned with reading Gen 1–3 in the literary context of the Torah and of the Tanakh. Postell explains that this methodology "does not minimize the importance of the events to which the text refers or the historical circumstances in which a text was produced" (p. 55). However, this approach does focus on the text in its final literary form as "the locus of meaning" rather on the text's external historical referent (p. 56).

Chapters 5 and 6 are Postell's exegetical defense of his thesis. Postell separates his evidence into four sections. In the first section he analyzes Gen 1–3 in connection with the theme of "land" in the Pentateuch (82–107). Section two looks at the connections between the Sinai Covenant and the covenant between God and Adam (108–19). Section three discusses the relationship between Adam and Eve's failure to obey God's commands and Israel's failure to keep the Sinai Covenant (120–34). The final section "investigates two macro-structural inclusions in the final form Pentateuch: (1) the inclusion of pessimistic realism in the beginning and end of the Torah indicating the certainty of Israel's failure to keep the Sinai Covenant; and (2) the inclusion of hope at the conclusions of Genesis and Deuteronomy portraying Jacob and Moses as paradigmatic examples for the ideal reader who must wait hopefully in exile until God fulfills his promises concerning "the last days" (p. 76).

Finally chapter 7 explores the role of Gen 1–3 as the literary introduction to the Tanakh. Postell argues that this literary function becomes clear when Gen 1–3 is compared with the canonical "seams" at the major divisions within the canon. Connecting Gen 1–3 with Deut 34, Josh 1, Mal 3, Ps 1 and Chronicles, Postell posits that these "seams" demonstrate that the final form of the Tanakh "is an expression of faith and longing expectation for the coming of a conquering king." A king, who unlike Adam, will not fail (p. 166).

Adam as Israel has many positive attributes. Postell rigorously argues his thesis without becoming bogged down by the endless red herrings one might feel compelled to address when discussing a highly controversial text like Gen 1–3. Further, if the best books are those that spark fresh ways of thinking or reveal yet more vistas for exploration, then Postell's work has definitely hit the mark. His book is full of suggestive intertextual connections in the Hebrew Bible and readers will find a banquet of biblical-theological delicacies.

Postell's discussion of methodology is also quite helpful. I particularly appreciated his careful reflection on the relationship between the Bible as literature and as history. Postell does not see text-centered, literary approaches to the Pentateuch as necessarily in opposition to reading the Pentateuch historically. That is, Postell does not see history and literary artistry, or more simply history and theology, in opposition (pp. 44–47). Likewise, in a world where many biblical scholars do what is right in their own eyes and call it intertextuality, Postell has offered a careful, judicious explanation of his hermeneutical method and approach to intertextual reading. He carefully interacts with the most recent literature on intertextuality and judiciously weighs the issues before asserting his own methodological convictions.

The book does have a few shortcomings. The chapter on the history of interpretation is confusing. In his discussion of pre-critical approaches to Gen 1–3, Postell discusses the interpretations of Jerome, Nicholas of Lyra, John Calvin, Johannes Coccejus, and Matthew Poole. However, he does not provide any indication why he chose to analyze these particular interpreters or what significance, if any, they have for our understanding of pre-critical approaches to Gen 1–3. What is it that makes Johannes Coccejus or Matthew Poole significant in the history of interpretation? Postell does not provide an answer. The inclusion of these interpreters, at least for readers, appears random.

Nonetheless, *Adam as Israel* is a fresh and illuminating literary analysis of Gen 1–3. Even readers who do not agree with all of Postell's exegetical conclusions will find him a careful and thoughtful interpreter of Scripture. Readers interested in biblical theology or the canonical shape of the Hebrew Bible will find Postell enormously thought-provoking. Ultimately Postell offers readers a theologically rich reading of a familiar text which deserves careful consideration.

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The Archaeology of Israelite Society in Iron Age II by Avraham Faust. Translated by Ruth Ludlum; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012. 350 pp., \$49.50, hardcover.

In this work, Avraham Faust focuses his expertise upon ancient Israelite society during the latter part of Iron Age II (for Faust's extensive list of publications, see 287–90). Balancing a synthesis of old ideas with fresh ones, Faust's work is a must-read for scholars who specialize in any biblical book set against the Iron Age II backdrop. Faust sheds light on the "behind-the-text" issues that inform and influence the content of the biblical text. Thus, new doors are opened for one to understand the dynamics of God's revelation.

An impetus for this work is a perceived paradox. According to Faust, Israel enjoys the world's largest archaeological database, but that database is not utilized to discuss questions that interest archaeologists most (xiii). Faust, like so many others in his field, wants to "reverse the intellectual process" with respect to the interaction of biblical studies and archaeology (Faust desires a movement of archaeology → Bible vs. Bible → archaeology). To accomplish this, "Archaeological evidence constitutes the main source of information for this book" (2).

Consequently, in Faust's opening words one senses a veiled accusation against biblical scholars. Such comments unfortunately continue to revive the memory of past methodological shortcomings amongst biblical scholars, but Faust's position is not without some warrant. While irenic debate has occurred and continues to occur, biblical scholars—particularly evangelicals—must continue to develop paradigms that fundamentally assume a responsible synthesis of the literary demands of the text and results of archaeological research. This is the most efficient way to deflating unfortunate perceptions that still gravitate toward evangelical biblical scholars and historians.

This work exists in two distinct sections, the first of which is a brief *Forschungsgeschichte* regarding the history of archaeological research of ancient Israelite society. Faust can only paint broad strokes. Yet one senses many points of overlap between the first two chapters, which in turn causes one to wonder if both chapters could have been amalgamated. Nevertheless, Faust adequately contextualizes his study and properly draws the reader's attention to 1) the massive social changes that occurred in both Israelite and Judahite societies during the latter portion of Iron Age II and 2) the effects of Sennacherib's siege in that process. The second section moves from the macro-level to the micro-level—from an investigation of the urban and rural sectors to individual settlements and phenomena. When discussing the social dynamics of the urban sector in chapter 3, Faust focuses on residential buildings, for he believes that this data is one of the best tools, if not the best, for discerning social stratification and other social dynamics. (This is because Faust questions methods that utilize and prioritize small finds when trying to determine social stratification and other social dynamics. His rationale is articulated on p. 41 and in an Appendix at the conclusion of ch. 3.) Area, construction quality, walls, and the location of the residence within the city are all considered. Yet most fascinating about Faust's presentation is the adaptation of a Lorenz Curve, which has the benefit of coalescing objective and subjective criteria. Indeed, the subjective element will attract criticism, but Faust's curve allows one to register effectively the numerous issues that converge. Ultimately, Faust emphasizes: the ubiquity of the 4-room house, the economic systems were built upon state sanctioned and private entities, the state sanctioned a city's layout and organization, urban centers were classified in light of their role within the governmental system, and social stratification was incontrovertible.

Chapter 4 highlights the rural sector, discussing farms, villages, and large villages. Faust's definition of a village is difficult to understand (129), but by offering some definitive features of a village, confusion is ultimately pacified. Covering about one hectare in area, villages were

often hilltop settlements and were surrounded by a boundary wall. The 4-room house was ubiquitous, but its size (approximately 120–30 ft²) was significantly larger than those found in urban centers. Faust posits that this phenomenon is indicative not only of habitation by extended families (vs. nuclear families in the urban sector) but also the presence of numerous daily activities within the house. In other words, a commitment to traditional kinship values explains the contrasting size of homes between the rural and urban sectors. Villages also centered on particular agricultural endeavors and appeared to function with ideals of relative (not absolute, 169) equality.

Faust discusses the fortification networks of Israel and Judah in chapter 5, asserting that Judah boasted more fortresses (vs. Israel's "strongholds"). Faust also ponders whether Judah's military network was associated with its rural settlements when he proposes that the paucity of rural settlement may have forced Judah to develop a network of fortifications to secure its infrastructure. More definitive in Faust's mind, however, is the notion that the military and administrative systems of Judah and Israel were intertwined. *Corvé* laborers were probably utilized to maintain these military sites.

Chapter 6 discusses the nature of Israel's and Judah's statehood, a particularly important topic for evangelicals. All scholars agree that by the latter portion of Iron Age II both were "states," and Faust classifies Israel as a "complex agrarian state" and Judah as a "simple agrarian state" (205). More importantly, the ebbs and flows of the Neo-Assyrian Empire dictated the existence and developments of both states. For example, Faust affirms that Judah's expansion into the fringe areas and the increased perception surrounding Jerusalem resulted from the Shephelah's destruction in the wake of Sennacherib's campaign. With respect to whether Judah can be classified as a state in the tenth century, Faust treads lightly. While Faust believes that the data does not rule out the possibility, it cannot settle the argument definitively (205). Such a posture is prudent.

Chapters 7–8 are the most provocative. Faust engages the difficult issue of whether ethnic markers and ideology can be distinguished via material culture. In chapter 7, Faust discusses the 4-room pillared house, ultimately concluding that while its initial usage stemmed from functional realities it was as an ethnic marker by Iron Age II (220). Here he criticizes his opponents by stating that many of the so-called non-Israelite 4-room houses have been misidentified (218). Faust further argues based on "access analysis" and "space syntax" that the layout of the 4-room house expresses ideology that is rooted in an egalitarian ethos (220–27). In chapter 8, Faust moves beyond the 4-room house to other phenomena, such as residential planning, architecture,

pottery, and faunal remains. Focusing on three small northern sites that were particularly susceptible to the amalgamation of cultures, Faust asserts that ethnic identification through material culture is possible, but it must be done cautiously. According to Faust, the rural sector is key. When the identification of traits is established there, one should then examine the urban sector.

Chapter 9 and the epilogue constitute an overview designed to emphasize the implications of his study and articulate avenues moving forward. Faust here emphasizes a discernible solidarity between Israel and Judah. Basic architectural forms, the ubiquity of the 4-room pillared house with its implicit ideology, the lack of decorated pottery and pig bones, and other observable phenomena synergize to suggest that both kingdoms “had in common their ideology, world views, and even their identity. . . . All these data clearly show that the affinity between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah was real and not invented by the biblical authors” (268).

Evangelicals should receive this work favorably. The data is vast and Faust’s conclusions are balanced. The difficulty however will be bringing the technical information to bear upon the biblical text. It is an archaeological study, and so the biblical scholar will be responsible for properly applying the implications to exegetical and theological studies. Nevertheless, the most important implications for biblical studies are clear. The dynamics of Israelite and Judahite society were complex, and differences existed between the urban and rural sectors. The kinship values that marked the nascent stages of Israel’s existence were evolving, and in the urban sector this was happening quicker. There were also immense political changes, which catalyzed those social developments. Thus, the latter portion of Iron Age II was an era of momentous change that would influence the people of God moving forward. No wonder so much of Old Testament literature was set against this backdrop and devoted to understanding the period.

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Birth Annunciations in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near East: A Literary Analysis of the Forms and Functions of the Heavenly Foretelling of the Destiny of a Special Child by Scott A. Ashmon. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2012. vi + 433 pp., US \$49.95, softcover.

Dr. Ashmon, currently an Associate Professor of Old Testament and Hebrew and Director of the Core Curriculum at Concordia University in Irvine, CA, developed a scholarly interest in fertility and birth as early as 1998 as a graduate student at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, MO. He co-authored an article on barrenness in the Bible with Dr. Robert Weise, his professor in a bioethics class. This early study led to Ashmon's pursuit of the related topic of birth annunciations in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East, his dissertation topic under the direction of Nili S. Fox at Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, OH. This is his first major publication.

Ashmon examines all those annunciations in the Hebrew Bible as well as the ancient Near East so that the reader will “perceive more plainly and completely” their forms, functions, origins, and developments and will see “key theological themes and tenets, or political aspirations and ideologies, of each culture.” He hopes that his research will provide “a useful vantage point from which to (re)view the NT birth annunciations” (iv).

Ashmon defines an annunciation of birth as a “heavenly or human being foretelling the conception/birth and destiny of a specific” child or children to a directly affected party. In the ancient Near Eastern world it may include both sons and daughters and is given to a king or god(s). The annunciation is distinct from promises of progeny, announcements of a child's birth, marriage blessings, priestly benedictions, and prophetic announcements of a coming king (1–3). Using this definition, Ashmon identifies eleven such scenes in the Old Testament (Gen 15:1–6; 16:7–14; 17:1–22; 18:1–6; 25:20–23; Judg 13:2–23; 2 Sam 7:4–17; 1 Kgs 13:1–3; 2 Kgs 4:11–16; 1 Chr 22:8–10; and Isa 7:10, 17) and nine in other ancient Near Eastern literature (“The Prophecies of Neferti,” “King Cheops and the Magicians,” and three versions of the Birth-Myth of the God-King in Egyptian; in Ugaritic “Keret” and “Aqhat” texts; in Hittite the “Appu” and in Sumerian the “Shulgi G” text). Since no previous study has examined all these works together, Ashmon examines each text both synchronically and diachronically.

After a careful review of past investigations, including my own work in this area, Ashmon defines his own methodology. Depending on the work of Shemaryahu Talmon and William Hallo, he explains that the basic goal of both investigators “is to illumine the similarities *and* differences, or common *and* unique features, of the HB in comparison with its wider ANE context. Both also seek to understand the HB synchronically—by examining the final form of text in its literary setting and dating it—and dia-chronically [*sic*]—by addressing the issues of literary influence and genre history” (49). He then outlines eight rules

that will guide his study and will enable an analysis of each text in itself before he makes any comparisons within or across cultural boundaries. The end result is that each text will stand on its own merit before any comparisons or conclusions are drawn about its relation to other texts.

Ashmon then spends the next two hundred pages in the careful analysis of the twenty texts from the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near Eastern world. Only after this thorough review of each text does he begin his comparison across cultures and between the ancient Near Eastern world and the Hebrew Bible. He sustains his methodology throughout, but in such a way that future researchers have the key texts at their fingertips for review such that a different interpretation of the text might emerge. This clarity of presentation is to be commended.

After the examination of all the texts, Ashmon does reach the following conclusions: “While the formal elements employed in the HB and ANE are not the same in every annunciation, there are three elements that appear in each annunciation: an authoritative speaker, a birth annunciation message, and an authoritative hearer(s)” (323). “However, a significant difference between the HB and ANE is that mostly commoners—and even a slave—receive annunciations in the HB, while only nobility or god(s) receive annunciations in the ANE” (324). In my own view, both Hagar and Sarah are the matriarchs of great peoples. Sarah has been taken into two royal households. In Rebekah’s case this relation to the selection of the progenitors of nations is apparent—“two nations are in your womb . . . the elder shall serve the younger” (Gen 25:23). The identification of each of these sons in this way brings these annunciations far closer to their ancient Near Eastern counterparts than Ashmon suggests.

Another key conclusion relates to the character of the child promised in the annunciation. “Also, only the ANE—specifically Egypt—has the function of positing the humanity and divinity of the child(ren) to be born . . . focusing on elevating/supporting a god’s status and that god’s priests . . . Hebrew annunciations focus on the issues of covenant faith/doubt, and God’s character . . .” (330). This assertion is particularly true in the prophetic and Deuteronomistic traditions where obedience defines destiny as in the case of Samson and Josiah (Judg 13 and 1 Kgs13:1–3) and the Immanuel sign (Isa 7:10–17).

Ashmon asserts that while there may have been some literary borrowing, it is more likely that the birth annunciations arose independently in each culture. “One, birth annunciations were part of a common cognitive environment across the ANE . . . Two, the birth annunciations arose naturally and independently in different cultures each culture was addressing a similar aim, proclaiming/legitimizing the special birth and destiny of a specific child(ren)—with a similar

cognitive framework—in particular, a function-oriented ontology and theistic world view” (349). In my view the setting for establishing this primacy of birth and destination would appear to be the royal household where there are multiple wives and births. An annunciation establishing the royal heir on the basis of the mother would be essential, as is most clearly seen in the case of Solomon. While not a royal household but a revered one, the selection of Isaac defines the line of Abraham in the context of divergent claims of multiple children and wives.

At the conclusion of his work, Ashmon discusses further lines of study that include investigation of the later literature in Egypt and the intertestamental Jewish literature and the meaning of his study for New Testament annunciations. He has provided a platform for these investigations and has succeeded in his stated purpose. Serious students and researchers in the field of Old Testament will find this volume an invaluable tool in future study of birth narratives and annunciation literature in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near Eastern world.

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The Concept of Canonical Intertextuality and the Book of Daniel by Jordan M. Scheetz. Cambridge: James Clarke, 2011. ix + 159 pp., \$21.00, softcover.

The Concept of Canonical Intertextuality analyzes how the Book of Daniel develops its themes through the strategic use and reuse of key words and phrases, both within the book and within the biblical corpus. Scheetz is the Chair of Biblical and Exegetical Studies at Tyndale Theological Seminary in the Netherlands. He also serves as Research Associate in the Institute for the Old Testament Studies and Biblical Archaeology in the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Vienna. In this volume, Scheetz presents intertextuality as a form of inner-biblical exegesis that explores the dialogue inherent in the biblical text under study and with other texts in the biblical canon.

Scheetz begins with the usual review of research into the subject of intertextuality in literature. He summarizes the ideas of Julia Kristeva and Michael Bahktin with regard to literature in general, then moves to the contributions of Michael Fishbane, James Sanders, and Brevard Childs for the biblical writings. The latter three are the more pertinent for Scheetz's purposes, but are subsumed under the heading "Theories of Canonical Process." As Scheetz sees it, what they have in common is

seeing “the development of the canon as a complex process that cannot be easily identified with any one person, group of people, or even time period” (19). What distinguishes their respective viewpoints is the motivation for that development. In Fishbane’s approach, the motivation mainly is exegetical, with Sanders it is sociological, and for Childs it is theological. Scheetz also gives equal time to the other side: he considers criticisms of Childs’s views that others have set forth, most notably those of James Barr (*The Concept of Biblical Theology*). After a look at other related topics such as intratextuality—e.g., George Lindbeck’s discussions of a cultural-linguistic approach to religion and doctrine—and the “Kanonisch-Intertextuelle Lektüre” approach of Georg Steins, Scheetz finally sets forth his concept of canonical intertextuality. Simply put, he holds that it is the “dialogue inherent in the canonical text” (33), and what makes the text canonical is that it is “a particular collection of literature . . . intentionally placed together” (33). All this is the concern of Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 is considerably shorter and simply reviews the basic positions regarding the date and provenance of Daniel: the traditional position holds that it comes from the Babylonian era (sixth century BC), the “critical” position holds that it comes from the Maccabean era (second century BC), and other positions either are somewhere in between or decline to take sides in the debate. Chapters 3 and 4 get down to the nuts and bolts of the matter, analyzing each half of the book in turn, the narratives (Dan 1–6) and the visions (Dan 7–12). With both kinds of literature, Scheetz works his way through each chapter of Daniel, identifying and commenting on verbal correspondences, explaining what he believes to be the intertextual connection between the passage under consideration and other texts.

For example, in 3:29 Nebuchadnezzar pronounces judgment upon anyone who speaks against the God of Daniel’s friends. Having witnessed their miraculous deliverance from the fiery furnace, the king gives as his reason the recognition that no other god delivers like this. Scheetz, however, zeroes in on the details of the threatened judgment: dismemberment and the destruction of the offender’s house. The same words and phrases occur in 2:5 when Nebuchadnezzar is warning his wise men what will happen if they fail to give him the contents and explanation of a dream he had the previous night. Another case is the use of the verb “to raise or erect” in the opening verse of the fiery furnace narrative (3:1) and also in 2:44 (both texts use a causative form of the verb *qûm*). Nebuchadnezzar “erects” a massive golden statue, while the God of Heaven will “raise” an enduring kingdom that will smash the kingdoms of this world, represented in Nebuchadnezzar’s dream by another statue made of various materials. Scheetz sees these and other

instances as examples of what he means by canonical intertextuality: “shifts in key terms and phrases” (61) from one text to another, presumably in a way that conveys the message and themes of Daniel. For a similar case in the visionary material, Scheetz compares the use of the phrase “desolating abomination” in 8:13 and 9:27. As he sees it, the effect is to link the ram and goat vision of Dan 8 and the “seventy weeks” prophecy of Dan 9. Specifically, it ties together the ram and goat vision, the seventy years of exile foretold by Jeremiah (25:8–11) and referenced by Daniel (9:2), and the explanation of the seventy weeks (9:20–27): “Far from Daniel finding comfort, it has been determined that there will be further destruction . . . the seventy years becoming seventy weeks of years that will again entail ‘causing horror’” (114–15).

The final two chapters of Scheetz’s study extend these sorts of considerations to the Old Testament and the New Testament as canons. For the former, he points out verbal correspondences between texts in Daniel and other passages in the Hebrew Bible. An example would be Dan 9:11, which makes reference to “the curse” and “the oath” written in the Law of Moses. Because these terms are used in Deut 29:19–20, Scheetz sees these as “clear verbal connections” (138) that invoke the sanctions listed in the Torah for failure to keep the covenant God made with Israel. The rest of the chapter on Old Testament intertextual connections is given to the place of Daniel in the Hebrew canon as attested in primary sources such as Josephus and the Apocrypha. For a case of New Testament intertextual connection, one could cite the use of the phrases about the “Son of Man, coming on the clouds of Heaven.” Used in the vision about the four beasts out of the sea in Dan 7, they seem to occur three places in the NT: Jesus’s eschatological discourse (Matt 24:30 and Synoptic parallels), his trial before the Sanhedrin (Matt 26:64 and Synoptic parallels), and the opening of the Apocalypse (Rev 1:7). According to Scheetz, “All of the sections have an eschatological meaning” (154), with the Gospel references containing statements about Jesus’s identity as the Son of God. The Apocalypse makes the same point without an explicit identification of Jesus as the Son of Man. In this and other instances discussed, Scheetz sees the NT following “the pattern that is already found in the development of the Old Testament . . . where revelation and interpretation continually work together” (159).

Scheetz’s most useful contribution seems to be the first chapter, which provides a substantive and fairly readable description of the essential work that has been done in this area. Thus the chapter would be suitable for anyone doing exploratory reading for a project involving intertextual research. Chapters 3 and 4 do give detailed analysis of the texts discussed, with full citation and translation of each one, and the analyses are presented in a manner that is reasonably easy to follow,

though they could use better organization. The latter part of chapter 5 gives a good look at primary source evidence regarding the development of the Hebrew canon. Demonstrations of the thematic connections between the Old Testament and the New Testament such as those Scheetz seeks to give in chapter 6 always are helpful.

In other respects, the book could use some improvement. Scheetz has a tendency to write long paragraphs, most of which need to be broken up into more digestible units. In chapters 3–6, the translations of the biblical text often are intentionally very literal, but can be woodenly so and needlessly clumsy even for Scheetz's purpose. On the other hand, citations from German works are quoted in full but not translated—something that obviously would be a help to those without reading proficiency in German. At times the analyses of verbal correspondences seem to be little more than random running comments about verses that happen to use the same expressions as other verses. There is no concluding chapter which ties everything together, explains the significance of what has been presented, and suggests issues for further study.

The most serious weakness seems to be no real explanation of the method to be employed. What exactly constitutes the dialogue inherent in the canonical text? In other words, what are the criteria for identifying intertextual usage? Is it *any* time a same or similar phrase is used by two or more texts? Further, how does one know (and show) that the latter usage is an *intentional* use of the earlier text? Undoubtedly there are cases where this is obvious, such as NT uses of OT texts (cf. the "Son of Man" terminology noted previously). Within the OT canon or even a book, intentionality might not be as clear in a given case.

One criticism of this approach that its practitioners have struggled to answer is how to distinguish between the intentional and the incidental in similar textual usage. A good instance of this criticism would be the use of similar terms for punishing offenders in Dan 2:5 and 3:29. Scheetz calls attention to this and notes that the punishment for failing to tell the king his dream in 2:5 "is now to be the judgment against those who speak against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego" in 3:29. An appropriate observation; but is it a case of "canonical intertextuality"? Is this a case of intentional dialogue between the texts? Possibly—but is it not just as likely that bodily dismemberment, etc., is a standard threat a Mesopotamian despot might issue for failure to meet his demands and expectations?

On the balance, Scheetz's book is substantive contribution to discussions regarding intertextuality in the Bible and canonical criticism. It needs to do a better job of explaining the principles and procedures of the method proposed. Perhaps one of its best lessons, taught

inadvertently, is that the serious Bible student does well to remember that even at its best intertextual analysis is but one aspect of sound exegesis.

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Deuteronomy by Daniel I. Block. NIV Application Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012. 880 pp., \$39.99, hardcover.

Daniel Block's commentary on Deuteronomy is a most welcome addition to the scholarly literature on the book. It exhibits the author's customary close attention to the text of Scripture, as well as his erudition in matters related to the study of the Old Testament and ancient Near Eastern writings. Based firmly on historical and exegetical foundations, it is in a sense more than a commentary because it rigorously follows through the implications of its conservative stance, according to which Deuteronomy, together with Exodus to Numbers, presents the actual story of Moses and early Israel. Moses is not only Israel's lawgiver, but their "pastor," giving final instruction to the people before they enter the land he has brought them to, and adapting his own earlier laws and instructions for the purpose. If critical scholarship once re-wrote the history of Israel, Block aims to re-write the re-writing. This thoroughgoing pursuit of the concept of Mosaic authorship is one of the hallmarks of the commentary, and it is almost certainly the most significant modern defense of the position.

The NIVAC series gives the author the scope to think in some depth about ways in which the biblical book might be understood and used today. This is enshrined in the format, which for each section of text has, first the NIV translation, then sections on "Original Meaning" (exegesis), "Bridging Contexts" (canonical connections) and "Contemporary Significance" (application). The commentator is therefore bound to address the full range of issues in the interpretation of the Old Testament. As an example of interpretation according to this format, Block's treatment of the law of tithe (Deut 14:22–29) fulfills the commentary's aim admirably. This provision, he writes (under Contemporary Significance), is "a barometer of authentic spirituality" (361). To ask, "Do Christians need to tithe?" is to ask the wrong question, because what is at issue is not a matter of formal obedience, but whether we reflect the heart and mind of God in our compassionate attitude to the poor and needy (36–62). This illustrates well Block's constructive view of the Mosaic Torah in the life of the church. He has

elsewhere made important observations about how this relates to the Apostle Paul's view of the Torah in the context of "justification by faith" (Block, *How I Love Your Torah, O Lord!* Wipf and Stock, 2011).

In fact, one of the important things about the commentary is its tilt against persistent Marcionism in the church. In general Block argues that Christians should use the OT Torah positively, as "the law of Christ," rather than retreat into "interiority" (42), and so concede the fields of social ethics and policy to others, according to an Enlightenment view of the place of religion.

To do this in practice, of course, is complex. In any attempt to apply OT laws constructively to modern life, there is some degree of interplay between application to the life of the church and to society at large, and questions about how these levels of application relate. Answers to such questions tend to entail commitments about relationships between private and public spheres, law and ethics, church and state. In Block's very good treatment of the laws of debt- and slave-release (Deut 15:1–18), he makes a strong statement about the modern need for the church to show love and compassion to the disadvantaged, "to distinguish themselves from the self-indulgent Canaanites of this land" (376). This is strong stuff, but I wondered if there was any implication in it for public policy, or for the church's advocacy to government.

In dealing with issues of this sort, Block addresses meanings both in public practice and the sphere of the "spiritual." Because of his overarching view, these meanings are not in principle opposed to each other, yet the ways in which they relate are not easy to articulate. For a further example of his thinking on this, we may turn to Deut 16:18–18:22, the section that deals with the administration of the Torah in Israel. As might be expected, Block opposes the well-known critical view that Deuteronomy was written in support of Josiah's centralizing reforms, thinking that this "overloads these sections with undue political freight, at the expense of the central issues, which are spiritual and religious" (399). I agree that Deuteronomy is misread when it is seen as the document of Josiah's reform project, on the grounds that the book fits better with a program that is strongly critical of centralized monarchical power. But this is different from saying that the problem with the Josianic theory is that it makes Deuteronomy too political; rather that theory fails to understand the real thrust of the book's political theology. The exact nature of Deuteronomy's politics will remain a matter of scholarly debate, of course. However, it seems to me that Deuteronomy is thoroughly political in nature, yet this does not mean that it is not "spiritual and religious." The issue highlighted here is what kinds of human activity may come under the searchlight of Deuteronomy's

“spiritual and religious” vision. And I think political organization and decision-making are in its broad glare.

In fact Block does make important political applications. On Deut 2:2–23, in which God declares that he has given land not only to Israel but also to other peoples, he observes that God does indeed dispose over the destinies of nations: he “moves peoples around” (86). He draws the telling inference from this that God also brought the aboriginal North Americans to the continent, then the Europeans, and latterly Asians and Latinos (87). I take this to be a pointed political comment in a modern American context. It comes with a thoroughly “Deuteronomic” warning that “. . . title to the land is not unconditional. . . . There is no automatic title to God’s promises for those who refuse to serve him.” This point, which he intends to apply to nations in general, is made in the specific context of the modern state of Israel. Whereas in ancient times God gave land adjacent to Israel to Moabites and Ammonites, he has now given it to Jordanians and Egyptians. The church should encourage Israel to respect these neighbors in the way that God once demanded of its ancestors (87). This seems to me to be right and good as application of Deuteronomy.

On the particular point about Israel, however, I think the questions raised are harder than Block’s comment reveals. In what way should Israel respect its nearer neighbors, the Palestinians, whom they dispossessed, and whom, presumably, God had also brought to their land, just as he did the Jordanians and the Egyptians? If we accept as prescriptive for ourselves the Deuteronomic message about respect for neighbors across a border, should we also accept for ourselves the Deuteronomic message about driving out the previous inhabitants of a land believed to be given to us? This seems to me to be the indispensable question facing any modern interpreter of Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomic message about God’s gift of land has been adopted by many nations in the Christian era (including England and America), with at best a mixture of good and bad consequences: good in terms of the dignity and protection afforded the individual by the notion of equality under the law; and bad because, along with Joshua, Deuteronomy has frequently been taken to mandate what we now call “ethnic cleansing” (well documented by Philip Jenkins, *Laying Down the Sword*, HarperOne, 2011). This is the hard issue encountered by the project to advocate the constructive use of the Torah today. Regarding the modern state of Israel, it seems to me that an application of Deuteronomic theology to it should not begin with the assumption that the ancient promise applies to it in a different way than it does to others.

Regarding critical scholarship, Block regularly offers useful and perceptive discussions of prevailing critical opinions. For example, he

engages forcefully (and rightly) with the still common idea that in its theology of the name of Yahweh, Deuteronomy denies Yahweh's actual presence from the sanctuary (304–5). I found, however, that certain questions remained somewhat open. For example, what is the relationship between the Deuteronomic law and the Book of the Covenant (Exod 20–23)? Does Exod 20:24–26 allow for numerous places of worship, and Deut 12 only one? Does Deuteronomy actually abolish the Book of the Covenant (as B. M. Levinson argues in *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, Oxford University Press, 1997)? Block's take on this in general is that Moses's aim in Deuteronomy "is pastoral rather than legislative" (301). On 15:12–18, he writes that Moses "builds on" Exod 21:2–11 and Lev 25:39–46, but as a pastor he "adapts the discussion in anticipation of the people's imminent entrance into the Promised Land" (370). (In taking this line he recognizes the considerable differences between the two laws). But what then happens to Exod 21:2–11? What kind of conditions did it legislate for, and does it now become obsolete?

I am not sure that the characterization of Moses predominantly as "pastor" helps to answer questions like this. Moses in Deuteronomy is lawgiver, judge, prophet, and warrior, as well as teacher and interpreter; pastors do not lead nations into war. So for me this diverted attention from some of the hard issues of reading Deuteronomy. However, the commentary as a whole contributes in huge measure to our understanding of this great book. It is a massive pastoral and scholarly achievement, and deserves to be widely used in the classroom and the pulpit.

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First and Second Samuel: A Commentary by A. Graeme Auld. OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2011. xxii + 686 pp., \$75.00, hardcover.

Graeme Auld is former professor of Hebrew Bible and former chair of the Hebrew Bible and Old Testament department in the School of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh. Auld spent more than 15 years studying various aspects of the Former Prophets. His contribution to the field of biblical studies can be traced through his commentaries, monographs, edited works, and journal articles. In many ways, the commentary under review is the culmination of Auld's extensive

research in the Former Prophets. From the outset, Auld explains that the purpose for writing his commentary is to develop a variety of proposals concerning the literary development of not only the Samuel corpus but also the Kings corpus. This complex purpose symbolizes Auld's *tour de force*—his “The Book of Two Houses” (BTH) hypothesis, introduced in the 1990s. For Auld, the BTH and, subsequently, the Samuel corpus is “about David” (1–2). In short, his BTH hypothesis builds on the assumption that an extant text once existed. This text contained the common materials in both Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. The BTH, according to Auld, describes the “old story of the house of David and the house of Yahweh, from the death of Saul till the fall Jerusalem” (9). With his reconstruction of the Samuel–Kings corpora, Auld argues for the literary origin of the BTH in Judah and a date no earlier than the sixth century BCE. Further fragmenting the Samuel–Kings corpora, Auld suggests that the common materials between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles forms the major source of the David story, which is easier to identify in 2 Samuel than in 1 Samuel.

Thus, Auld suggests that 1 Samuel was created as “a wholly fresh introduction” to the inherited David story (9). Of the common materials, Auld contends that Chronicles is the more conservative. According to Auld, the literary history of the Samuel corpus occurred in three stages. The older story of David began with the death of Saul. Next, the older story of David was transformed into a new version that began with the introduction of Saul (1 Sam 9). The final developmental stage of the Samuel corpus introduced Samuel, the man responsible for anointing both Saul and David (1 Sam 1–8). Thus, Auld argues that the composition of the Samuel corpus was written from the end to the beginning. In an effort to substantiate his claims, Auld outlines the synoptic parallels of the source material, which were shared by 1 Chronicles and 2 Samuel. In addition, he outlines new material that was added in block format to the narrative of 2 Samuel.

In a nutshell, the BTH hypothesis controls Auld's understanding and interpretation of the Samuel corpus. The artistry of 1 Samuel—the people of Israel in conflict with Samuel, Saul in conflict with Samuel, and, at times, Samuel in conflict with Yahweh—merely functions as “the prequel to the David story” and is interpreted with minimal significance (12). Auld's approach to the text(s) of Samuel corroborates his BTH hypothesis. He provides readers with a literal rather than idiomatic translation of *his* reconstructed biblical text from the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and selected fragments from Qumran. The overarching rationale for adopting his reconstruction of the biblical text is his BTH hypothesis. Additionally, Auld's translational layout consisting of sporadically placed parallel columns, italics, and brackets is problematic.

The culmination of texts with layout/stylistic details makes reading and understanding his translation difficult. Even though his reconstruction of the biblical text is unconvincing, if not untenable, he is able to highlight some insightful linguistic parallels and similarities within the Samuel corpus (e.g., the discussion on the verb “to take” in 1 Sam 4:11).

The overall success, or failure, of Auld’s commentary is related directly to his BTH hypothesis. His commitment to the BTH hypothesis actually creates more questions than answers. For example, the theological tension of 1 Sam 15 has drawn much scholarly attention. The rejection of Saul as king plays a prominent role in the larger literary framework of the Samuel corpus. Auld’s primary concern for this chapter is to espouse his theory that a literary and thematic parallel exists between Yahweh’s “relenting/repenting” in 1 Sam 15 and 2 Sam 24. His perpetual positioning of the BTH hypothesis allows him to ignore (dismiss?) the linguistic parallels that do not substantiate his thesis. For Auld, 1 Sam 15 plays several roles in the Samuel corpus: it offers a “fresh reading” of 2 Sam 24 and a “fresh perspective” on the David story (175–81). That 1 Sam 15 provides a “fresh perspective” on the David story cannot be denied; however, an equally convincing linguistic connection can be made between Samuel’s words to Saul in 1 Sam 15:1 (“listen to the voice of Yahweh”) and Yahweh’s mandate to Samuel in 1 Sam 8:7 (“listen to the voice of the people”). In other words, Auld, at times, highlights the linguistic parallels and similarities that defend his BTH hypothesis and ignores other literary connections that would discredit his thesis.

Thus, readers must know that his reconstruction of the Samuel corpus provides an alternative theological reading to the biblical text. Most Evangelicals will not accept Auld’s theological reconstruction of Samuel corpus or his handling of specific texts (e.g., the Persian dating of aspects within the David and Goliath materials [1 Sam 17:1–18:5; 2 Sam 21:15–22]). More disheartening is Auld’s repudiation of some of David’s more notable accomplishments: the defeat of Goliath with a slingshot, the deliverance from the lion and bear, the increasing popularity in contrast to Saul, and the large number of foreskins used as a bride-price. In conjunction with the BTH hypothesis is yet another weakness of the commentary—Auld’s lack of interaction with other scholarly literature. This critique, however, should be tempered by Auld’s personal delimitation that secondary sources would only be consulted to assist with translation (xvii). In other words, Auld is more concerned with establishing a viable argument for his BTH hypothesis than with interacting with the text-critical, form-critical, or thematic/kerygmatic questions of other scholars (e.g., the Deuteronomistic History, the “Ark Narrative,” the pro-monarchical/anti-

monarchical speeches of Samuel, the “Historical Rise of David,” and the “Succession Narrative”).

In sum, Auld is more concerned with *his* reconstruction of the Samuel corpus and biblical text than providing a commentary that examines and explains the textual-critical and theological issues related to the Masoretic Text of the Samuel corpus. Thus, Auld’s commentary provides limited value for pastors and clergy from a translational, literary-historical, and theological perspective. Even though his reconstruction has limited value, Auld has provided Hebrew-proficient readers with valuable linguistic analysis and parallels in places. The valuable insights must be viewed, in most cases, within the framework of Auld’s BTH theory, which in its present form is unconvincing. Only time will tell if Auld’s BTH hypothesis will supplant other attempts at describing the literary nature of the Samuel corpus (e.g., “rise of the lowly, fall of the mighty,” the “reversal-of-fortune motif,” “a crossing of fates,” and a “riddle of kingship”). At this time, Auld’s chronological realignment of the Samuel corpus is neither convincing nor theologically acceptable.

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From Paradise to Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch by T. Desmond Alexander. 3rd Edition. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012. xxii + 360 pp., US \$29.99, softcover.

T. Desmond Alexander is the Senior Lecturer in Biblical Studies and Director of Postgraduate Studies at Union Theological College in Belfast, Ireland. His *From Paradise to Promised Land* reflects an expertise on the Pentateuch gained from many years of studying and teaching it to others. The fact that it is now in its third edition after nearly twenty years is evidence of this volume’s lasting value. Its stated goal is to “(1) guide the reader through the maze of modern approaches to the Pentateuch, and (2) focus on the main themes of the Pentateuch, viewed as a unified literary work” (xiii). The book is divided into two sections corresponding to these two objectives: Part 1, “Pentateuchal Criticism,” and Part 2, “The Main Themes of the Pentateuch.”

In Part 1 Alexander introduces readers to the history of modern research regarding the composition of the Pentateuch. The majority of Part 1 is an explanation and evaluation of the Documentary Hypothesis. Beginning with the Enlightenment, Alexander introduces source, form

and traditio-historical criticism, showing how each one modified the Documentary Hypothesis. After tracing the rise of the Documentary Hypothesis, he explains how it entered a period of crisis in the late twentieth century. Recent works have questioned the theory's validity (e.g., Whybray) because it "rests on unacceptable presuppositions, inadequate criteria for distinguishing the different sources, and a method of literary composition for which there is no analogy elsewhere" (62). Alexander admits clear gains from the Documentary Hypothesis, such as the discovery that the Pentateuch was composed of earlier sources; however, it is impossible to "unravel" those sources unless further evidence arises (63).

Alexander concludes that the diachronic approach has increasingly atomized the Pentateuch in pursuit of hypothetical sources. Ironically, "adherence to the Documentary Hypothesis has prevented scholars from observing the main compositional features of the text" (81). For all of the above reasons the Documentary Hypothesis should be abandoned. In its place he recommends a synchronic approach that recognizes the literary unity of the Pentateuch. This sets the stage for Part 2. If Part 1 is an argument against a diachronic approach to the Pentateuch, Part 2 is a positive contribution showing some of the results of a synchronic approach.

The purpose of the thematic studies in Part 2 is to familiarize students with the contents and internal logic of the Pentateuch. Interaction with secondary literature is deliberately limited to footnotes in Part 2, ensuring accessibility to a wider audience. Although each chapter focuses mainly on how a given theme is paradigmatic to a particular book (e.g., the blessing of the nations in Genesis), there is also attention given to how that theme is found in the remaining books of the Pentateuch. This significantly furthers Alexander's thesis that the Pentateuch is a unified composition. Additionally, each chapter concludes with a survey of how the theme is renewed in the NT.

Obviously a thematic approach cannot provide exhaustive knowledge of the Pentateuch, but the topics chosen are all arguably "Main Themes of the Pentateuch," as the section heading claims. Those themes are: "God's Temple-City" (Eden and beyond), "The Royal Lineage in Genesis," "The Blessing of the Nations," "Paradise Lost" (e.g., leaving Eden, Cain, the flood), "By Faith Abraham..." (God's covenants with Abraham), "Who is the LORD?," "The Passover," "The Covenant at Sinai," "The Tabernacle," "Be Holy" (holiness, purity, impurity), "The Sacrificial System," "The Clean and the Unclean Foods," "Toward the Promised Land," "Murmurings," "Love and Loyalty," and "Why Israel?" (election and responsibility).

Obviously, many of the concepts in the Pentateuch are entirely foreign to modern readers, separated as they are—both chronologically and culturally—from the original setting of the Pentateuch. Therefore, these thematic studies work to explain the original significance of the given topic as well as to offer a theological interpretation in the context of the book and the Pentateuch. These chapters are a goldmine for theological students, pastors, and others interested in understanding the Pentateuch.

What is new about the third edition? The three major changes are 1) an entirely new chapter in Part 2, “God’s Temple-City,” a study of earth and Eden as a divine sanctuary and the reversal at Babel and beyond; 2) a significant enlargement of the concluding chapter in Part 1, “The Future of Pentateuchal Studies”; and 3) an entirely rewritten conclusion to Part 2, “The Pentateuch and the Biblical Metanarrative.” The rest of the work has been “revised to varying degrees” but not more than two pages of new material have been added to any chapter.

The expanded conclusion to Part 1, “The Future of Pentateuchal Studies,” offers more detailed conclusions on *the date of composition* of the Pentateuch: the exile may be the catalyst for final composition/editing, but this does not rule out partial Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. This expansion was copied from another of Alexander’s publications and therefore duplicates material on the “Recent History of Scholarship” (85–87) that was covered in Chapter 2, “The Rise of the Documentary Hypothesis.” However, the overlapping material is much condensed in the second presentation and may perhaps be a helpful review to students.

Other important changes are the addition of a useful “Subject Index” (7 pages long), the correction of scattered minor errors in the footnotes, and an update to the “Bibliography” and “Recommended Further Reading” list. Additionally, relevant studies that have been published since the release of the second edition are included in the footnotes and, in some cases, are referred to in the text. This book ably fulfills its goal of introducing the Pentateuch by 1) preparing readers to interact with the secondary literature and 2) orienting them to the metanarrative and main themes of the Pentateuch itself.

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The Gospel according to Moses: Theological and Ethical Reflections on the Book of Deuteronomy by Daniel I. Block. Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2012. vii + 369 pp., US \$43.00, softcover.

Daniel I. Block is the Gunther H. Knoedler Professor of Old Testament at Wheaton College. For three decades Block has produced new and fresh perspectives on Old Testament narratives. His commentaries on Judges/Ruth (B&H, 1999) and Ezekiel (Eerdmans, 1997, 1998) are considered standards among evangelical scholarship. His most recent commentary on Deuteronomy (Zondervan) was released in 2012.

The Gospel according to Moses is a collection of nine essays concerning the broad hermeneutical and theological issues raised in the book of Deuteronomy. The contents include essays from 2001–11 that Block has either previously published or presented at the Evangelical Theological Society annual meeting. The companion volume, *How I Love Your Torah, O Lord!: Studies in the Book of Deuteronomy* (Cascade, 2011), which will not be reviewed here, contains essays on specific texts of the same book.

The articles in the present volume are connected thematically and conceptually, yet diverse enough so that each is able to stand alone. Block argues that the overall theme of the book of Deuteronomy is that the Israelites should be faithful to the covenant while in the land, in response to the grace that God has lavished on them (14). Thus, “grace” (or, “gospel,” as he puts it) is the key emphasis. He explores the transmission of the text from oral to written proclamation (“Recovering the Voice of Moses,” 21–51), and seeks to answer the question of how the Torah, and particularly the book of Deuteronomy, came to be viewed as the “Book/Law of Moses.” Block also analyzes the ministerial function of Moses’s role in his three speeches, or sermons. In his view, Deuteronomy is not law per se (100–101), nor is it a political manifesto intended to govern Israel’s behavior (103). Above all, Deuteronomy is “a pastoral manifesto for a community of faith” (103). Thus, Block calls on interpreters (scholarly and pastoral alike) to move beyond trivializing the presentation of OT law in the Pentateuch.

Block’s articles are intentionally modern in scope, interacting with the many political and social issues that preoccupy today’s news while avoiding careless anachronisms. The fifth chapter, for instance (“A Study in Deuteronomistic Domestic Ideology”), is based around the programmatic command, “you shall not covet your neighbor’s wife,” and touches on issues of feminism, patriarchy, and human rights. In another chapter Block seeks to recover the Deuteronomistic theology of animals, arguing that in Deuteronomy the human disposition toward the treatment

of animals is a matter of covenant righteousness (182). Therefore, Christians will do well to imbibe these principles in caring for the creation as God's vice-regents.

There is also material in the volume with a more general focus that is not particularly geared toward Deuteronomy. Block discusses, for instance, the biblical disposition of Yahwism to other religions and gods in the OT, and also tries to answer the questions of what it meant to bear the name of Yahweh in a polytheistic world ("No Other Gods," chapter eight), and how the Mosaic vision of worship might regulate or inform our contemporary practices ("In Spirit and in Truth," chapter nine).

The difficulty in reviewing a collection of essays from a single author is the variegated merits of each chapter. But in this volume, the general feature for all of Block's essays is that he provides up to date research and offers lucid and convincing arguments. Further, Block is not erratic in dealing with ancient Near Eastern complexities, showing consistently that the biblical authors possessed contextual as well as a covenantal worldviews in presenting their material in written form (cf. Block's discussion of Deuteronomy 12 and the "name theology" of comparative literature, 237-71). Moreover, Block maintains the historical character of the text over against the form-critical perspective.

Additionally, far from solely a scholarly endeavor, *The Gospel according to Moses* offers practical implications in every essay. Thus, Block's concern is not only for accuracy in scholarly interpretation, but also for accuracy in the pulpit. There is, rightly, a Christian, forward-looking purview in Block's writing, which is especially evident in the conclusions.

There are only a couple of places where one might disagree with Block or suggest an alternative. First, the phrase "gospel of Moses" is a little misleading since it creates the comparison (unnecessarily, in my opinion) with the New Testament's "gospel of Jesus" or "gospel of the kingdom." For Block, the term "gospel" is limited to the concept of God's grace. And while Block argues fervently for "grace" as the main theme of Deuteronomy, one cannot accept it as the primary emphasis for every speech of Moses. Later biblical texts continue to refer to the Torah as the "law" or "instruction" of Moses, and this point is, perhaps, underemphasized in these articles. Thus, Block's assertion that "grace" is the center of the book seems to me to be an attempt to make Deuteronomy more palatable and readable to the contemporary church. The attempt is not without merit, and needed.

Grace is certainly fundamental to the Israelites self-understanding of their origins and way of life, which Block is especially keen to reveal in the first chapter on the theology of Deuteronomy. But grace alone cannot explain the whole of Deuteronomy because grace as a

conceptual notion is too broad. James M. Hamilton's modified proposal, that God's presence among the Israelites is what motivates their obedience and not solely his grace, is perhaps an alternative (cf. *God's Glory in Salvation through Judgment*, Crossway, 2010). In Hamilton's view, the goal of Deuteronomy is to imbue a deep sense of God's glory through his gracious acts of salvation for the Israelites, while not denigrating his character and justice as articulated in the rule of law.

Second, while Block admits in the introduction that there is some repetition in his book (xiii), the reader is not prepared for such large amounts of it. This is not a complaint, since most will not read the book cover-to-cover as I have done, and since the articles stand on their own. But that pages 125–7 is repeated verbatim in pages 234–6 is a little startling. Further, Block has a penchant for correcting the same common misconceptions about “law” in nearly every essay, such as the origin of the misleading title, “Deuteronomy,” the bad rapport Moses receives from Paul in the NT, or the (in)accuracy of labeling God's rules as the “Ten Commandments” instead of the “Ten Words.” Although these are minor criticisms, the work would be strengthened if it is modified partially to accommodate the format. The companion volume, *How I Love Your Torah, O Lord!*, has similar features.

Having read the majority of Block's papers and commentaries, this reviewer has found them to be a treasure trove of biblical exegesis and theology. The present book is no different, and serves as a solid introduction to the thematic and theological material in Deuteronomy. Block is a first-rate scholar and thinker, and the value of his work is self-evident. We are indebted to him for his clarity of argumentation—and notably Christian perspective—of some of the more difficult books (Judges, Ezekiel, Deuteronomy) and concepts (law, ethics, eschatology, etc.) of the OT.

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He Has Shown You What is Good: Old Testament Justice Then and Now by H. G. M. Williamson. Cambridge: Lutterworth, 2012. 115 pp., GB £15.00, softcover.

H. G. M. Williamson tackles in this book a topic of enduring human interest—social justice. This is a descriptive project in as much as the primary goal is to understand how the Old Testament understands and promotes justice. But Williamson further aims to make possible for the

Old Testament to inform and promote justice in our own day for those “who share the belief that, when properly interpreted, the Bible is still of relevance to the framing of Christian beliefs and lifestyle” (7).

Williamson's approach in the book is to begin by focusing on texts where the words “justice” and “righteousness” (צדקה and משפט) appear together; these “suggest more or less what we mean by social justice” (12). As chapter 1 seeks to demonstrate, what constitutes justice and righteousness is not immediately apparent in every text; it requires broad and detailed analysis of the Old Testament and its ancient Near Eastern context. Williamson later proposes that to study this subject widely, one should “start with passages where the subject is explicit and then from that reasonably firm basis . . . move on to others where the vocabulary may be absent but where the content seems naturally to fit” (48).

The second chapter, “Divine Justice and Natural Justice,” sets the stage for the kind of justice we can expect to find in the Old Testament—a justice that Williamson argues belongs not to a people to whom it was independently revealed as divine law but to a set of shared values of “humane as well as pragmatic thinking in the ancient world” (23). These are not immutable values, as Williamson maintains, but they respond to the “changing historical and political circumstances” of the times during which the Old Testament was being written. This chapter also highlights the role that class distinctions within ancient Israelite society should factor in this discussion.

Having established natural notions of justice as the norm for what readers should expect from the Old Testament, the third chapter, “The Individual and Social Justice,” aims to describe “the normal expectations on individual members of society in regard to social justice” (44). The chapter ends up being a sustained analysis of the book of Proverbs, its language for social justice, and the potential ideologies of the divide between and advice concerning the rich and poor. The biblical material is described by Williamson as a theological vision of how creation works, how the principles of justice God establishes in creation that are observable to all humans are those with which the wise will align their lives.

The eighth-century prophets—Isaiah of Jerusalem (Isaiah 1–39), Amos, Hosea, and Micah—represent for Williamson a diverse group whose common social interests develop what is the object of study in the fourth chapter, “Prophetic Justice.” Focus in this chapter lies primarily with Isaiah and Amos, more specifically with the basis and rationale for their prophetic judgment about matters related to society and justice. In keeping with the tenor of the argument established in chapter 2, Williamson describes the prophetic notion of justice as rooted in

“rational reflection” (72) and as something that should be “obvious to any right-thinking person who takes God seriously” (75), where negative behavior is “self-evidently offensive” (82) and “the concerns of social justice are somehow instinctively known” (86).

In the fifth chapter, “Messianic Justice,” Williamson focuses primarily on two texts, Ps 72 and the Isaianic servant songs, to develop how he understands the Old Testament to envision the role of God and the execution of divine judgment by human exemplars. The ideal of an Israelite king, realized or anticipated, reflects God’s role in establishing and maintaining justice. The final chapter, “He Has Shown You What is Good,” offers concluding thoughts on the subject matter.

Books of such brevity in our field can easily fall into the trap of oversimplifying the subject, often by way of ignoring the issues that are raised by critical readings of the biblical text. This book commits no such errors. Without becoming bogged down by matters too technical for introductory study, the discussion moves briskly from the biblical text, the critical insights it raises, the ancient Near Eastern context that both complicates and enlightens the discussion, and back to the biblical text. The results do not lend themselves to final answers on the questions concerning justice in our day—as though the Old Testament, much less this little book, can function as some kind of magic 8-ball for contemporary social matters faced by the church or interested readers. Rather, this book ably guides its readers, presumably those who are not specialists in biblical studies (7), into the Old Testament and the issues concerning justice that occupied Israel/Judah and that occupy us still today.

While the book is effective at demonstrating the role of natural law as a basis or rationale for the concerns of justice in the biblical text, the degree to which legal texts in the Old Testament end up being marginalized in this discussion concerns me. Williamson ends up portraying Sinai and the Old Testament legal corpora as a problem for a vision of justice rooted in natural law (104–5). This may be the natural inclination of some readers, especially non-specialists. After all, the biblical narrative does record these laws as written and/or dictated by God and entrusted to Israel from her origin as a people. But, as Williamson recognizes, the legal strata that exist in these texts betray a history: “change in law over time, either to reflect different historical circumstances or, more likely, to reflect developing ideologies, is the obvious conclusion to draw” (38).

In chapter 4, Williamson identifies the prophetic concerns of social justice being advanced precisely through such changes (e.g., the late introduction of the concern for the “resident alien” in Israel’s history; 87–89), despite any narrative complications this creates (for example,

with Exod 12:47–49). While Williamson is correct to point out that Proverbs, the prophets, and certain messianic ideals are not rooted in Sinai (63, 71, 75, 86, 98), they do share certain social concerns with Sinai. That Sinai should be elided because it is difficult to date the various strata (104) or because we want to avoid the trap of legalism (43) is simply unfortunate, especially if we are concerned with the “then and now.” Just as law—however naturally derived—contributed to the ideas of social justice in ancient Judah, much of what has been achieved in the areas of social justice in recent history can be attributed in part to contemporary laws. To suggest that law be a part of this discussion is not to argue for its centrality (105) but to recognize its presence in the biblical text and thus its importance for the church.

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that some evangelicals will find aspects of Williamson’s treatment inconsistent with their own theological moorings. However, what will prove frustrating to some evangelicals will prove liberating to others who desire a critical focus on the biblical text that remains sympathetic to its theological visions for justice in our world.

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In God’s Shadow: Politics in the Hebrew Bible by Michael Walzer. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2012. 256 pp., US \$28.00, hardcover.

Michael Walzer, a political theorist and professor emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, analyzes the perceptions of political life expressed in the Hebrew Bible. He frames this evaluation as an exercise in political theory that seeks answers to questions such as “How is political society conceived? How should political power be used? How is authority described, defended, and challenged? When is it right to go to war? What is the implicit or explicit understanding of hierarchy? What are the obligations/duties/tasks of ordinary citizens or subjects? How is political space delineated? How is time understood, the past used, the future imagined . . . What can we learn from this book, these writers?” (ix). Walzer, however, also goes beyond the realm of political theory when he seeks to understand politics in the Hebrew Bible in relation to the omnipotent God of Israel.

Walzer addresses several questions through the analysis of major concepts within the Hebrew Bible. The book is comprised of twelve

chapters. The first eleven chapters correspond to specific biblical concepts, historical events, or specific traditions. The final chapter provides a summary of Walzer's investigation and offers some implications of his analysis as a whole.

Each of the chapters in *In God's Shadow* offers insights that will benefit students of the Hebrew Bible. For instance, Walzer notes the use of explanation in conjunction with specific legal texts, discussing the role these explanations may have played in the life of ancient Israel. Though he is unable to come to firm conclusions, Walzer's discussion of "justified laws" highlights the covenantal character of Israelite law, as well as pointing to a fruitful area of study beyond the normal distinctions between casuistic and apodictic laws.

Walzer's treatment of the prophets also offers several helpful insights, though his discussion is primarily oriented around the social vision of the prophets. He concludes the chapter on the prophets with the suggestion that "politics lies just beyond prophecy, but the biblical prophets, judging from their texts, did not go there" (88). This understanding seems to underestimate the political role of the prophets and the political import of their social vision. The prophetic call to morality and justice, or to trust in the Lord rather than in political alliances, is, in and of itself, a statement of political allegiance identifying God as the One atop Israel's hierarchy and pointing to the manner in which power is to be exercised. Rather than a social or moral vision, then, the prophets offer a theological vision that is founded on God's position as King in Israel. Despite these difficulties, Walzer's analysis of the prophets is impressively nuanced and provides a helpful discussion of the relationships between the prophets and Israelite royalty.

Walzer takes a similar stance in the chapter on the exile, suggesting that in exile Israel lost collective authority, so the locus of action shifted to individual Israelites. While this manner of describing the situation is certainly appropriate, it would have been interesting for Walzer to have applied his political inquiry to a category like the remnant, which might be construed as a dispersed polity over which God sits as King. The political import of this is certainly available in the text as God continues to act on behalf of those faithful to him despite their domination by foreign rulers.

The treatments of the prophets and the exile highlight one of difficulties in performing an analysis such as Walzer attempts. Though it is certainly possible to glean insights concerning Israelite culture from reading the Hebrew Bible, it is difficult to separate such insights from the theological contexts in which such insights are given. The more strictly human political machinery is most often available in disobedience,

whereas the true politics of the Hebrew Bible are those aligned with the Lord.

Overall, Walzer has produced a perceptive study of the Hebrew Bible that provides a number of impressive observations and suggestions that could certainly spur on additional research concerning the conceptions of the political in the Hebrew Bible. His treatment represents one that is truly interdisciplinary. Walzer's ability to address the questions of political studies without dismissing all of the Bible's theological character offers a potential paradigm for the synthesis of multiple fields. *In God's Shadow* is a well-reasoned, well-written discussion of the intersection of politics and the Hebrew Bible.

The book's strength lies in the unique insights that Walzer offers as a student of politics rather than a student of the Hebrew Bible. His perspective, which originates outside of the discipline of biblical studies, raises a number of new questions while addressing oft-treated aspects of the Hebrew Bible from a new perspective. Walzer's brief discussion of his method of analysis and the questions upon which his study is based were also extremely helpful in orienting the study. In spite of the critiques noted above related to certain theological lapses in Walzer's treatment, Walzer does preserve the theological character of the Hebrew Bible in a number of instances. His assumption of the Documentary Hypothesis presents some difficulties, but he ultimately attempts to locate the Hebrew Bible in relation to Israel's God rather than treating the Israelite political system from a humanistic perspective. This work is compelling and, ultimately, makes a useful and unique contribution to the field of biblical studies.

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Introducing the Old Testament: A Short Guide to its History and Message by Tremper Longman III. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012. 192 pp., \$14.99, softcover.

Tremper Longman III is the Robert H. Gundry Professor of Biblical Studies at Westmont College in Santa Barbara, California. He is the author or co-author of numerous articles and over twenty books, including *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (with Raymond B. Dillard; Zondervan, 1994, 2006). This new 192 page paperback is an abridged and simplified version of his 528 page hardcover text, with chapters that average 5–6 pages each.

In the two page introduction, Longman states that this book is written *for Christians*, those who consider the Old Testament to be the Word of God. According to Longman, although knowledge of the Old Testament, “deepens our understanding of Jesus and the gospel,” and “studying it can enrich our spiritual life and knowledge of God,” many Christians find it “long, strange, and difficult” (9). The book is written to help remedy this problem. It is a book-by-book study that follows the English Bible order of the Old Testament books, and is written, “to provide the literary, historical, and theological background to the reading of the individual books of the Old Testament” (9), with each chapter discussing content, authorship and date, genre, and connections to the gospel. In addition, there is a short excursus on the genre of theological history in a later chapter. Each chapter ends with a short list of recommended intermediate resources, along with a handful of questions for review and discussion that are intended to help readers and bible study groups further engage with the contents of the book.

Since the chapters are laid out in a consistent fashion, an analysis of Longman’s chapter on Genesis will serve as a representative of the whole. Because of its length and importance, Longman allots nine pages to his discussion of Genesis. He describes it as the prequel to the story of the Pentateuch, made up of three parts: primordial history (Gen 1–11), the patriarchs (Gen 12–36), and Joseph (Gen 37–50). He believes that the account of creation is, “written using highly figurative language that bears similarity and contrasts with other ancient Near Eastern creation accounts from Mesopotamia” (11). After naming a few of these, he pointedly claims that the main point of the Genesis creation account was not to explain *how* God created, “but to proclaim that it was Yahweh rather than one of the other creation gods of the ancient Near East” who created (11). This account also explains how Adam and Eve’s rebellion led to sin and death’s entrance into the world, with the evil in the world today having nothing to do with God’s original creation (11–12).

Longman employs a chart to provide a summary of the following themes through Gen 1–11: 1) sin, 2) God announces judgment, 3) a token of grace, a sign of God’s continued involvement, and 4) the execution of judgment. He then discusses the patriarchs and issues of author and date. Although the latter is a polarizing topic, Longman points out that the Pentateuch as a whole is technically anonymous. Moses is described as writing down some of its contents and the later books of the Old Testament, and New Testament do look back on these as the books of Moses, but this does not mean Moses had to have written it in its entirety, as there are clearly some texts that he could not have written (e.g. the account of his death in Deut 34). Longman goes on to discuss the Documentary Hypothesis and to outline its founders and basic tenants

in a page and a half, before finally describing the more recent scholarly return to a focus on the final form of the text.

In his discussion of genre, Longman identifies Genesis as a work of history, but with figurative language that interacts extensively with ancient Near Eastern literature. Therefore, “it is an error to read these chapters to discover *how* God created the universe” (17). He notes the shift in narrative style that begins with Abraham, as time slows down and the scope of the narrative radically narrows. Finally, in his section on connections, Longman links Rom 5:12–21 to creation, with Christ as a second Adam, Gal 3:15–22 and Paul’s exploitation of the collective singular “seed” in the New Testament with the Abraham narrative, and Acts 2:22–24 and God’s use of evil for good at the cross with the Joseph narrative. Recommended intermediate resources by Duguid, Longman, Waltke, and Walton, along with six discussion questions, round out the chapter.

In the final analysis, Longman has clearly achieved his goal of providing Christians with an accessible introduction to the Old Testament while also offering a bridge to more in-depth study. He writes in a clear, simple style, and he touches on the major issues without getting bogged down in technical jargon or extended debate. He is concise, and even the typeset and layout of the book are attractive and welcoming.

The chapters are akin to the biblical book introductions typically found in a good study Bible, aiding the reader with tools for interpretation, before sending them *into the text*, to wrestle on their own, and then into other recommended resources for further study. The chapters are simple to read but not simplistic, as major interpretive issues are discussed. The book will appeal greatly to Longman’s target audience, Christians who view the Old Testament as the Word of God, but for whom it is also long, strange, and difficult.

Most of the time Longman either reports critical viewpoints without taking a firm position (e.g. how much of the Pentateuch Moses wrote), or openly confesses his evangelical presuppositions (e.g. the Pentateuch rests on God’s authority; 15). However, there are also a few places where Longman chooses to make pointed statements with which at least some evangelicals will disagree. For example, he describes the account of creation as written in “highly figurative language” (11), he plainly states that although Joshua is a work of history, this “does not necessarily imply that everything is presented accurately” (44), and that it is impossible to be dogmatic regarding the issue of the book of Jonah’s historicity (163). If he is speaking as an evangelical and to evangelicals, and if he works in most places to be either unbiased or broadly

evangelical, Longman would have done well to acknowledge that many evangelicals take varying positions on these issues.

This point aside, Longman's book is a welcome addition to the field of Old Testament studies. Pastors will want this book for their church library, and Bible study leaders will do well to consider it for group study. Because of its length and accessibility, Professors will also find the book attractive as a textbook because it leaves room for other companion texts that may move beyond issues of standard introduction and into Old Testament theology for first-year undergraduates. I highly recommend this excellent book for personal and group Bible study, as well as classroom reading.

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An Introduction to the Psalms by Alastair G. Hunter. T & T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies. New York: T & T Clark, 2008. vii + 158 pp., \$110.00, hardcover.

Alastair Hunter is an Honorary Research Fellow in the Theology and Religious Studies section of the University of Glasgow's School of Critical Studies. Prior to this current position he held the post of Senior Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies at the University of Glasgow. Hunter is no stranger to the field of Psalms studies. In 1999, Routledge published Hunter's work on the Psalms in which he dealt with the problem of translation and a programmatic approach to reading the Psalter. Hunter sees the current work as a "companion" to his 1999 work (17). The current work under review is a fine example of Hunter's broad knowledge of critical scholarship related to the Psalter.

Publishers continue to produce a copious amount of introductions related to every area of OT studies. The Psalms have witnessed no shortage of introductions, commentaries, and specialty studies. Numerous introductions require an OT scholar to develop a sense of selectivity. The popularity of the study of the Psalter, in one sense, requires new introductions. Considering the multiple narrow focuses found in the area of the Psalter (e.g., linguistics, literary approaches, shaping of the Psalter, liturgical approaches, etc.) one would be somewhat naïve to believe they could keep up with the totality of the field. Within this atmosphere updated introductions to the Psalms will always have a place. But, they must still offer some type of benefit. Hunter begins by reminding the reader that ideas thought to be

“‘modern’ can be found in the work of scholars a couple of generations or more in the past” (vii). By reflection on past and modern works Hunter offers multiple benefits in his *Introduction to the Psalms*.

The book is divided into seven chapters followed by a bibliography, an index of topics, and an index of modern authors. Within this short introduction Hunter seeks “to provide a helpful overview of the current state of the academic study of the Psalms without ignoring the work of past scholars” and to offer his own “idiosyncratic, take on the subject” (136). Chapter 1 is divided into two sections. In the first section, “Why study the Psalms?” Hunter briefly discussed the influence of the Psalter in the Jewish and Christian religion. One of the important highlights of this section is the observation that the Psalms had a major influence on individuals and communities before the rise of critical approaches. This observation, though simple, is profound in that it highlights the emotion of the Psalms—an emotion that runs the risk of being lost when one subjects individual Psalms to critical scrutiny. The second section introduces the different techniques and critical methods. Hunter saves the details and critiques of critical methodology for chapter 3.

Chapter 2, “The Diversity of Collections of Psalms,” addresses the headings without a historical context. Hunter understands these headings as “defining a small group of psalms” (17). He observes that the differences found between the traditions of the MT, the LXX, and the DSS suggest a living and developing corpus in which “relevance is continually renewed as the communities to whom they belong develop and change” (18). Hunter acknowledges that some of this quest is speculative but at the same time the quest may shed some light on the relationship of the Psalter with other parts of Scripture. In the remainder of the chapter he discusses the Psalms of Ascent, the Psalms of Korah and Asaph, Books III and IV, the Psalms of David, the Qumran Psalms, and Syriac Psalms. In a discussion of the sections within the Psalter he comments on their placement in the Psalter and their possible links with the rest of Scripture.

Chapter 3 addresses “Historical-Critical Approaches.” In this chapter Hunter discusses the structure of the Psalter, redaction, form criticism, and reception of the Psalms. The bulk of the chapter focuses on the work of Gunkel and responses to Gunkel’s work. This chapter presents very little new information and contains standard material. Hunter is convinced that the Psalter is “both in form, and to a large extent in substance, a post-exilic composition” (43).

Chapter 4, “The Psalms as Literature,” addresses issues such as translation, poetic features, and the translation of Psalms from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. The discussion related to the poetic

features of the Psalms includes parallelism, metaphor, and metonymy. Translation of Hebrew poetry is a particular interest of mine. I found his discussions on translation and the examples offered to be insightful and worthy of consideration. However, I would note that some of these discussions are mundane and outside the scope of a basic introduction.

Chapter 5, “Liturgical Approaches,” is the longest chapter. This chapter, along with chapters 4 and 6, seems to be the idiosyncratic approach that mentioned in chapter 7. In this chapter Hunter discusses the possible uses of the Psalms in the liturgy of Israel. He incorporates the aforementioned ideas related to the headings, possible parallels, and quotations of psalms in the OT, festivals and liturgies in the ANE, references of groups of psalms in the Mishnah, and possible liturgical uses of the Psalms in the growth of the Christian tradition in the NT. Despite the lengthy discussions and multiple examples the conclusion is not so helpful. He concludes that the Psalms were certainly used liturgically but it is unclear “as to what that use might have been” (107).

Chapter 6, “Theological, Philosophical, and Anthropological Reflections,” addresses the themes of messianic hope, personal piety, lament, vengeance, unmerited suffering, the hiddenness of God, and salvation. Hunter’s discussion of these themes points to the necessity and relevance of the Psalms for all generations. In chapter 7 Hunter summarizes his work and offers suggestions for the future of Psalms studies.

Among the benefits of this work are the discussion of groups of psalms within groups, translations of Psalms, and possible liturgical usage of the Psalms. Not all will benefit from these discussions. Hunter’s work would be adequate as a text for upper-level undergraduates to graduate students. The majority of works in this series are not suitable for lower-level undergraduate students.

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Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary by Shalom M. Paul. Eerdmans Critical Commentary. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012, xii + 714 pp., \$68.00, softcover.

Professor Paul, Yehezkel Kaufman Professor Emeritus of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has given us a very fine example of the genre “critical commentary.” It exhaustively plumbs the depths of the historical, linguistic, and literary basis for understanding this particular

biblical text. No stone is left unturned in terms of historical background, Hebrew grammar and syntax, inner-biblical exegesis, linguistic affinities, literary structure and style, etc. What one will not find is theological exegesis. Thus, one who wishes to understand this part of the book of Isaiah as a literary and historical artifact will be richly rewarded. But one who wishes to understand the significance and meaning of the theological assertions of one of the greatest pieces of theological thinking in the world will be disappointed.

This is not to say that there is no discussion of the theological implications, but simply that such discussion tends to be limited to the obvious. Here is a random example from Isaiah 46:7: “*they must hoist it on their shoulders and carry it*—the idol worshippers have to carry the heavy weight of their idols on their backs and shoulders. . . . This is yet another jab at the idols’ impotence: They must be carried whereas God bears Israel tirelessly.” All that is certainly the correct understanding of the text, but it seems as though the lengthy analysis of Hebrew terms, ancient linguistic commentary, and possible allusions to other biblical passages that surrounds these statements should yield more fruit than this.

The first part of the book (1–72) contains an introduction which takes it as a fact that chapters 40–66 were not written by Isaiah of Jerusalem. The argument for the independence of the material is well-mounted, making use especially of linguistic and literary evidence. A weakness of the argument is that the author makes no attempt to address arguments for the unity of the book. Paul argues against the hypothesis of a “trito-Isaiah” contending that one author is responsible for all of the material from 40–66 and that the natural break is between 40–48 (Babylon) and 49–66 (Jerusalem), with the material having been written during the late exilic and early return periods. Other topics addressed are connections with other parts of Scripture, notably Jeremiah, the Servant Songs, connections to ancient Near Eastern thought, and Qumran.

Readers will find a wealth of material presented in a straightforward and dispassionate manner. A translation of Isaiah 40–66 appears on pages 73–125 and the commentary on pages 127–632. The remaining pages of the volume are devoted to an extensive bibliography (633–656), and to indices of authors, subjects, sources, and Jewish commentators (657–714).

In the commentary proper it is typical for each chapter to be introduced with a discussion of the structure of the chapter and some mention of the key points addressed in it. These discussions may vary from a page to two or three pages. There is virtually no discussion of any larger structural units going across conventional chapter lines. What discussion there is of such structuring is found in the introduction, (as for

instance, the arguments that 49–66 are united by their focus on Jerusalem), but they tend to be minimal.

It is of interest that while Professor Paul mentions in the introduction that he takes the servant to represent Israel, he does not mount an argument for that interpretation. In his discussion of 52:13–53:12, he merely rehearses, quite briefly, the variety of opinions that have been put forth and leaves the matter there. He is to be commended for recognizing that the chapter speaks of the servant as suffering for others, something that many commentators have been at pains to deny.

In sum, one cannot help but be awed by both the amount and the quality of work that the author has expended on these 27 chapters. Critics and scholars will find much to ponder and profit from here. But those who wish to understand more fully how this material functions to express profound, lyrical theology will have to look elsewhere.

JOHN OSWALT

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The Fate of Saul's Progeny in the Reign of David by Cephas T. A. Tushima. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2011. xxiii + 347 pp., \$50.00, softcover.

Cephas T.A. Tushima is acting director of the PhD program at Jos ECWA Theology Seminary in Nigeria. His work, *The Fate of Saul's Progeny in the Reign of David*, is a revision of his PhD dissertation undertaken at Westminster Theological Seminary. Tushima's study analyzes the story of David in order to determine how the fate of Saul's progeny is to be understood. Specifically, he is interested in "whether these tragedies were due to continuing divine retribution, pure happenstance, or Davidic orchestration" (xi–xii).

In the first three chapters Tushima takes on introductory material. In the first chapter he situates the books of Samuel within the Deuteronomistic History, discusses the literary unity of the books, and justifies his expansion of the Succession Narrative to include 2 Sam 21. The second chapter surveys the history of interpretation of the books of Samuel where he interacts with book-length works and monographs on this subject. In the third chapter Tushima discusses the methodology of his study, which is narrative criticism. In this chapter he surveys some literature on narrative criticism and devices used within narrative criticism upon which his study focuses.

In chapters 4 through 6 Tushima provides the body of his argument. In chapter 4 Tushima evaluates the civil war found in 2 Sam 2–4. In doing this he specifically looks at the deaths of Abner and Ishbosheth and concludes that David was most likely not complicit in either. The fifth chapter looks at the interactions between Michal and David and concludes that David had no affection for Michael and only used her for a claim to the throne of her father. In the sixth chapter he looks at David's dealings with Mephibosheth, concluding that David's actions are devious and not charitable as has been assumed by many.

In the seventh chapter Tushima integrates his research. First, he looks at his findings by comparing David's actions to the Deuteronomic code, showing that David did not act in accordance with these stipulations. In this section he looks at this text within a Deuteronomic context of exile. Second, he focuses on the biblical and theological implications of his findings. Here he attempts to understand both Yahweh's choice of David and why other biblical writers are fascinated with him.

There are several admirable features of this work. First, Tushima gives a close reading to the texts that he covers. This is important because many of these texts that are dealt with contain atrocious acts of violence that many have simply ignored or overlooked. Tushima identifies these texts for what they are: heinous acts that go against the Deuteronomic standard. This leads into a second admirable feature of the work, which is the comparison of David's acts with the law. This comparison shows that David's actions disregarded biblical stipulations for justice at times for his own gain. As Tushima notes, much of the present literature views the books of Samuel as an apology for David with some critique, but this does not go far enough. As Tushima shows the negative portrayal of David, especially in his failure to live up to the Deuteronomic standard is more than a minor critique. A third admirable feature is his desire to discuss the deep flaws in the "superheroes" of the faith that so often go unmentioned. Tushima provides a framework in which to understand why biblical figures can be presented as severely flawed in one book of the Bible and praised in others. These positive elements do not mark all of the admirable features present, but do give a sense of the well-roundedness of this work.

While there are several admirable features, there are a couple of aspects of this work that deserve critique. First, some of Tushima's conclusions seem to be more influenced by proving his thesis than by the biblical presentation. This is the case with his discussion of Michal's childlessness. Tushima advances that 2 Sam 6:23 does not mean that Michal was childless, but that she did not have any children after a certain time. He then contends that 2 Sam 21:8 should be read that the

five sons who were handed over to the Gibeonites were Michal's sons from her other Marriage (David's stepsons). There is clearly a difficulty between these two texts, and the vast majority of scholars have favored a reading of Merab for Michal in 2 Sam 21:8. It seems that this reading should be favored for two reasons. First, 2 Sam 21:8 identifies the husband of the woman who lost her five sons as Adriel. Also, 1 Sam 18:19 notes that Adriel was the husband of Merab, not Michal. It seems more likely that scribal confusion would have happened by mixing up the names of Saul's lesser known daughter with the more well-known daughter than with the addition of an incorrect name of the husband. Second, Tushima's reading argues that the events of 2 Sam 21 occurred before the notice of Michal's childlessness in 2 Sam 6:23. While it is difficult to know how much time elapsed, it seems chronologically unlikely that Michal could have borne five sons (especially considering that she likely would have had multiple girls along with these five sons) between 1 Sam 25:44 when David loses Michal to Paltiel and 2 Sam 3:15 when they are reunited. Even if it were chronologically possible these children would have been extremely young. Tushima, however, does not discuss issues of chronology, but only linguistic issues. While David's actions are abhorrent either way, Tushima's reconstruction seems to be more concerned with casting the harsher light on David than the biblical text intends.

A second critique is that some of Tushima's conclusions are somewhat idiosyncratic. One example of this is his largely unsubstantiated claim that a form of charismatic monarchy is what was in effect in early Israel. In advancing this he seems to misunderstand the sociological roots of this term. This is most clearly seen in his insistence that it necessitates the role of the spirit of the deity (285). In his discussion of this he interacts with neither the main proponent of this view, Alt (*Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, Doubleday, 1967 [171–237]), nor the main opponent of this view, Ishida (*The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel*, de Gruyter, 1977). Some more thorough research and discussion would be beneficial on this particular issue.

The Fate of Saul's Progeny in the Reign of David is a valuable addition to research on the books of Samuel and the person of David. It serves as a great complement to other major studies on the person of David including the works of Bodner (*David Observed: A King in the Eyes of His Court*, Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2008), Brueggemann (*David and His Theologian: Literary, Social, and Theological Investigations of the Early Monarchy*, Cascade, 2011), Gunn (*The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation*, Sheffield, 1978), and Halpern (*David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King*, Eerdmans, 2003). It would be a beneficial resource for the advanced student or scholar interested in

David, the books of Samuel, or the use of narrative criticism within Old Testament studies.

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Job by Tremper Longman, III. Baker Commentary on the Old Testament: Wisdom and Psalms. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012. 491 pp., \$44.99, hardcover.

While the primary users of this general series are scholars, ministers, seminary students and other educators, this particular commentary has been written primarily for ministers and seminary students. The commentary consists of an original translation with exegetical discussion, exposition, and forty-four reflective essays. The leading ideas are developed in each section, but because of repetition within *Job*, it is not always the dominant motif. The pastoral orientation is especially evident in the essays, which address the kinds of questions that often challenge faith: divine sovereignty and the role of the accuser; the possibility of human innocence; is God unjust?

One of the most instructive aspects of the commentary is the assessment of genre and the influence this has in the interpretation of the whole book. Longman declines discussion of the many suggestions of genre of *Job*, as they are inevitably limited to capturing only particular elements of the composition. He also rejects the description of *sui generis* because it is misleading; understanding is always dependent on the previous experience of the reader (30). It is also unhelpful in that every composition has its own level of uniqueness; differences with other writings are always a matter of degree. *Job* must be classified as wisdom (32) along with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, with the distinct contribution of denying that sages are the source of wisdom. God alone is the source of wisdom. The book of *Job* tempers the aphorisms and instruction of Proverbs, which encourage wise behavior by connecting (though not guaranteeing) rewards with wise behavior.

Longman accepts the structure of *Job* according to the traditional form found in the canonical text. He outlines the book as preface (1–2), complaint (3), debate (4–27), *Job*'s monologue (28–31), Elihu's monologue (32–37), Yahweh's speech from the whirlwind (38:1–42:6) and epilogue (42:7–17). His concept of the flow of thought is found in an introductory discourse on the theological message of the book of *Job* (51–66). His analysis of the thought flow in this section should be

reviewed by every pastor and educator seeking to understand Job as revelatory literature. Longman wisely avoids the subjective literary critical reconstructions of the end of the debate which try to make Job consistently resist retribution theology and re-create speeches for Bildad and Zophar. The debate is about wisdom; wisdom is a practical category (55). Wisdom is not knowledge of facts so much as ability to know how to live life to maximize success and avoid problems. While the focus of the debate is suffering, the substance of the debate is the question of who is wise.

Longman concludes, “Job’s suffering is the foil that allows a discussion of wisdom” (66). The one chapter he finds most difficult in his structure is the independent poem on wisdom in chapter 28. The problem is that this chapter expresses thoughts that would lead to the resolution of Job’s problem (327). Longman explains this chapter psychologically; sufferers can experience a momentary calm in the midst of the storm. It would have been helpful to have had further discussion on the possible function of this chapter on the theme of wisdom rather than the development of the narrative. If this is the beginning of Job’s monologue, this chapter functions literarily as a parody on the wisdom of the friends. They claim they have wisdom; Job asserts that only God has wisdom. This does not answer the problem of suffering, but suffering is indeed the foil that demonstrates the limits of wisdom. As the opening volley of Job’s response it fulfills the genre of the narrative as Longman describes it.

The psychological element Longman refers to is present in the narrative, and might have been developed further. Job has moments of triumph, as his declaration of 19:25, made famous by Handel in the Messiah. Longman has a most helpful discussion of this in his exposition, but especially in his theological assessment (262–3). In the narrative Job has the ultimate solution to his problem, but this does not serve as a solution to the sufferer.

An original translation generally requires extensive philological discussion for a book like Job, but in the commentary this is kept to a minimum. This is understandable, for not many pastors will make the time to follow philological arguments, and many are not well equipped to evaluate the evidence in any case. Longman has relied on the philological information in the commentary by Clines for his own translation; in his three volume work, Clines has amassed all the linguistic and textual data for another generation. This reliance on Clines is evident in the footnotes of the present commentary, but there is no reliance on the translation of Clines or on his exegetical and expositional conclusions. Longman has provided us with a refreshing analysis of the composition of Job in both translation and theological thought.

There are occasions where the reader will observe significant differences between translations, which can have influence on the interpretation of a passage, but are not discussed in the commentary. An example would be Job 16:20: "My friends scorn me, and my eye drips tears to God." The only footnote to this verse does not discuss the critical question as to whether the reference is to friends that scorn or to a friend as an advocate. The participle requires interpretation; it could be from the word for "mock," but the word might refer to an "advocate," the meaning that we find 33:23. It is a homonym in this form. While it is evident in the exposition of the commentary that the translation "my advocate is my friend" does not facilitate Longman's line of thought on the passage, there is no indication as to why some translations can choose the word "advocate." There is no information to evaluate what the impact of this philological data might be for the interpretation of the passage, which is 'difficult to translate with absolute certainty' (239). It is pointed out in the commentary that Job calls for an advocate at 9:33, noting that this is an important motif (176). Though Job describes God as his adversary, his faith also drives him to God as his advocate. This kind of inconsistency might be leading Elihu to propose that he will be the advocate for Job in 32:12. The form of the word translated "reproof" in the speech of Elihu is identical to that of 9:33, which is a call for an advocate. While Elihu mercilessly condemns Job, he might well regard himself as the mediator who corrects both Job and the friends. The poetry of Job welcomes and often requires such word associations. A large part of the mystique of the book is the way in which ideas are held in creative tension: two contradictory assertions both seem to be affirmed.

One of the goals of the commentary is not to encumber the reader with technical discussion, so it is obvious that in a book like Job there must be a very limited selection of such discussion. Job 13:15 is an example where such discussion deals very helpfully with contrasting translations (207–8). Most pastors will derive significantly more benefit from theological discussions, like those on creation in relation to the speeches of God (443–56). The various analogies from ancient Near Eastern background will prove very informative. The commentary is remarkably succinct in dealing with the complex philological and literary questions of Job, avoiding distracting detail, but thorough enough that it will be one of the most valuable resources a pastor can have in grappling with the message of this profound work.

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Law, Power, and Justice in Ancient Israel by Douglas A. Knight. Library of Ancient Israel. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011. xxi + 305 pp., US \$40.00, hardcover.

Douglas Knight currently holds a double appointment as Drucilla Moore Buffington Professor of Hebrew Bible and Professor of Jewish Studies at Vanderbilt, indication of his scholarly accomplishments and credentials for writing on the beliefs and practices of ancient Israel. Three decades ago, Knight edited an essay collection celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the Society of Biblical Literature. The book's title, *Humanizing America's Iconic Book* (Scholars Press, 1982) reflects a central aim of the SBL—understanding the Bible in its human context. Knight has now produced another book addressing the human context of the Bible, this time exploring the relationship between law and power in ancient Israel.

While the enterprise of assessing ancient Israel's law is hardly new in biblical studies, Knight offers fresh assessment by reading the Hebrew Bible through the lenses of legal and social anthropology. And herein lies the book's strong contribution to the field. Knight's theoretical framework enables him to develop an engaging argument that ancient Israel's laws, like most laws, arose gradually in response to circumstance. Through seven coherent chapters, Knight weaves a compelling tapestry of legal and social theory to show that ancient Israel functioned like other ancient peoples: laws emerged from custom and conviction to establish power relations and to maintain justice between various strata of society.

This theoretical framework fills chapters 1 and 2, as Knight draws copiously from sources outside biblical scholarship. His aim is not merely to introduce the reader to models for interpretation; he also intends to convince that, as a human institution, ancient Israel's law requires contextualization within the broader world of anthropology. This understandable conclusion pushes Knight to distinguish between Israelite law—the practices of ancient Israel, and biblical law—legislation enshrined in Scripture. The remainder of the book assumes this distinction and endeavors to show how numerous portions of Scripture provide access to Israelite law.

In chapters 3 and 4, Knight explores the intersection of Israelite law and power in Israelite society. By virtue of their societal prestige, power holders became lawgivers and thus societal architects. Knight considers five legal spheres: villages, cities, states, empires, and cult as he explains that all strata of society participated in crafting law. However, some marshaled greater clout than others. For ancient Israel, as also their ancient neighbors, the balance of power fell to those with the

greatest capacity to enforce their power across generations. The rise of writing facilitated this project, and Knight navigates the intricacies of legal vocabulary and forms, as well as likely scenarios regarding literacy in ancient Israel, in order to show the ubiquity and power relations of law in ancient Israel.

The final three chapters (5–7), which account for more than half the book, examine laws pertaining to the five spheres posited in the previous chapters. Here Knight's theoretical spadework pays dividends. While earlier chapters provide numerous examples of Knight's research, the reader's expectation of rigorous analysis finally finds immense support as Knight demonstrates the legitimacy of his thesis.

This volume deserves commendation for its readable style and breadth of research. From a scholar of Knight's caliber, one would expect little less. As with all research, of course, one discovers quibbles with the author. For example, Knight opens by claiming that his book's "starting point is not the biblical text but the social world of ancient Israel" (1). Yet he then proceeds to discuss the contrast between Israelite law and biblical law by engaging the Hebrew Bible. The reader accustomed to distinguishing between text as Scripture and text as artifact will doubtless understand Knight's subtlety, but a more precise claim might aid in creating a readerly sympathy.

Knight writes for the initiated—scholars and students who accept the premise that the Old Testament may be read for its human elements while its religious components are sidelined. Granting this premise, Knight's logic is sterling, and his overarching endeavor successful. Some readers, however, may resist his strong distinction between Israelite law and biblical law. While the Hebrew Bible reflects practices of ancient Israel, separating actual practice from its literary hull requires more finesse than Knight admits since, by definition, an injunction recorded in the Bible has become a biblical law.

Further, in order to succeed at parsing Israelite from biblical law, Knight needs recourse to literary analysis rather than mere historical research. But, having forsworn the former, Knight limits the success of the latter. A notable example is his reflection on the troubling announcement in Ezek 20 that Yahweh gave his people "bad laws." Forsaking a nuanced literary treatment of the passage, Knight concludes that Israel's law partially lacked morality, but, in its context, Yahweh's odd assertion is nothing of the sort.

Knight's conclusions are unlikely to settle disputes, but, set within the social world of ancient Israel, they provide grist for productive conversation regarding the human elements of law, power, and justice in relation to the practices of ancient Israel, particularly as recorded in the

Hebrew Bible. This has long been the goal of biblical studies, and Knight has once again contributed to its success.

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The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible: History, Politics, and the Reinscribing of Tradition by Daniel E. Fleming. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. xxii + 385 pp., US \$32.99, softcover.

The quip that history is written by the winners does not apply to the history found in the Bible. Sometimes, the losers relocate, accumulate their own history, and pass it on to others who can then use it as a model for future generations. Specifically, Daniel E. Fleming argues in *The Legacy of Israel in Judah's Bible* that Israelite scribes who survived the fall of Samaria relocated to the border town of Bethel and amassed a collection of Israelite history that was eventually repurposed and incorporated as Judah's own history. Fleming successfully uses Judah's absences in its own-recorded history, as in Judges (174), as well as its dominant presence in other books like Joshua (135), to isolate an Israelite history that is distinct from a southern Judahite history. He also reveals social organizations and political traditions that are incompatible with those in Judah during the ninth through sixth centuries, including: a permanent occupation of Israelites in the Transjordan (142f.); an understanding of the herding life in the wilderness (167ff.); and the early history of Judah before David (176).

Fleming, Professor in the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University, employs his previous work in cuneiform studies and second-millennium BC Syria to inform his interpretation of the ancient Israelites as a people and as a polity. Without his prior work on the ancient cities of Mari and Emar and their peoples associated (see *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar* [Scholars, 1992], *Time at Emar: The Cultic Calendar and the Rituals from the Diviner's House* [Eisenbrauns, 2000], and *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* [Cambridge University Press, 2004]), Fleming's new work would lack vital political exemplars upon which to base his reconstruction of Israel and from which he believes many of the Israelites culturally and linguistically descend (206). His primary exemplar is the *Binu Yamina*, Amorite pastoralists associated with Mari, who lacked a unifying king and only

united for war (213), and whose name is the Akkadian equivalent of Benjamin, literally, “Son(s) of the Right (i.e., south).”

Fleming divides his book into four parts. The first part, “Introduction: Israel and Judah,” explores Israel and Judah as two distinct polities and two distinct origins for the historical narratives that are eventually compiled in the Torah and Former Prophets. Whereas Judah’s political memory revolves around the Davidic Dynasty’s palace and temple, both of which were in Jerusalem (25), each of Israel’s political dynasties established a new capital (until Jehu maintained the Omride Samaria) that was not identified as a cult center (26). Fleming concludes this part of the book with an insightful reflection on the Bible as history:

If we begin with the historical questions, rather than simply asking whether the biblical narrative is “historical” or has a high “historicity” quotient, it remains to be considered whether the Bible provides usable historical evidence in any terms. I conclude that biblical narrative can be useful for historical reconstruction in fresh ways if we focus on the settings for the production and transmission of texts, and on how these settings allow older traditions to remain in continuous circulation. (32)

Upon accepting that history has been revised by the winners, or at least the survivors, we can gain a greater understanding of Israel’s experience of its own history as peoples who collaborated in times of need rather than conclude that Judah’s version of history is not “historical” because of its southern bias.

In the second part, “Israelite Content in the Bible,” Fleming isolates and examines several portions of Genesis–2 Kings that he argues originally circulated in the north. In doing so, he reconstructs the political landscape of those peoples, villages, and regions before and during the rise of the Israelite monarchy as one that remained essentially decentralized. Also in this section, Fleming separates Benjamin from the other Israelite peoples and sons of Jacob. As a people, he notes their unique geographical position, which allowed them to belong to both the larger polity of Israel and, later, achieve a special status in Judah (144, 160). Benjamin’s birth narrative in Gen 35 is markedly different from those of Jacob’s other sons in chapters 29–30, which he persuasively interprets as evidence for the fact that the people of Benjamin were a later addition to Israel (77). The wars between Israel and Benjamin in Judg 20–21 and Benjamin’s absence in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5) serve as further compelling evidence for this argument (149, 157).

In the third part, “Collaborative Politics,” Fleming provides the comparative background to support the idea presented in part two that the transition from a confederation of peoples to a unified polity is not necessarily binding upon the individual constituent peoples. Each people determines whether a new would-be successor is to be recognized as its king. Even if the successor is the son of his predecessor, each people could advance a new king as successor or decide whether it will exclude itself—as opposed to rebel—from the larger polity. Fleming’s examples range from ancient Mesoamerica to pre-Viking Denmark (194–201), but his evidence concerning the Amorite and Aramean peoples of second- and first-millennia Syria is the most compelling, both because of their geographic and chronological proximity to Israel and because of the common heritage as pastoralist societies (206, 220).

The fourth and final part, “Israel in History,” retraces Israelites history and royal politics from a point of view unobstructed by Judahite scribes writing after the fall of Israel in the late eighth century. As informed by part three, Fleming argues that Israel began as a decentralized confederation of peoples and towns—much like the situation described in Judges—and it remained a decentralized polity comprised of peoples and towns through the reigns of Saul, David, Omri, Jehu, and their heirs until its destruction by Assyria in 720 (294f.). In contrast, Judah exercised its right to reject Jeroboam I as king and excluded itself from Israel, subsequently establishing the strictly dynastic and centralized southern polity known as the House of David (298f.).

Throughout, Fleming effectively reconstructs the political realities that distinguished the northern, decentralized polity Israel from its southern, centralized counterpart. In the process, he also presents modern takes on the compositional histories of Genesis–Kings. Fleming typically allows for late compositional dates for the traditional J, E, P, and D sources for Torah and approves of the current generation of scholars’ “abandonment of the notion that key biblical collections were created in the tenth century” (9). Despite this denial of any golden age of writing during Solomon’s reign or even the next two centuries, Fleming maintains the maximalist position that a historical David did, in fact, reign over all of the people of Israel. However, he simultaneously argues that references to a United Monarchy “creat[e] the false impression of a separate political phase” that would disrupt Israel’s continued decentralized nature (293f.) and notes that “David’s particular relationship to Judah appears to be secondary, as later writers reassured Judahite audiences that their royal founder kept a special place for Judah” (98). However Judah re-envisioned its history and relationship to David, any student of the Bible interested in either the modern debate about the composition of Torah and the Former Prophets or the Iron Age

Levant's geopolitics will find that this book leaves the reader ready to reconsider anew history from the perspective of the losers.

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Logos 5. Bellingham, WA: Logos Research Systems, 2012.
BibleWorks 9. Norfolk, VA: BibleWorks, LLC, 2011.

There are three primary Bible software systems that are currently competing for the hard-earned dollars of pastors, students, and scholars: *Logos*, *BibleWorks*, and *Accordance*. Unfortunately, the latter of these three is only available to Mac users, and so will not be reviewed here. Both *BibleWorks* and *Logos* recently launched the newest installment of their products, each with significant upgrades to the interface and usability. Each of the products has the basic features that one would expect in Bible software: search capabilities and access to various grammars and lexicons. However, in terms of available resources, user interface, and overall ease of use, the two differ considerably.

I have been a BibleWorks user since I began my graduate studies some years ago. I have always found the tool very useful for studying the Hebrew Bible because of the ability to look at various grammars and lexicons with relative ease. Having a lexical entry one click away is much better than thumbing through a lexicon to discover a word's various uses. The ability to quickly see every occurrence of a word in the Hebrew Bible is also very beneficial when trying to determine its meaning in a particular context. In this regard, Logos far surpasses its competitor. Performing a word search with either of these tools is relatively easy, but the presentation of the material and options available are far superior in Logos. For example, right-clicking a word in Logos pulls up a window that allows you to view a color-coded pie chart with all of the word's occurrences and how it is translated in your selected version, a list of all the word's occurrences, perform a search on either the form of the word or its lemma, search within the particular resource you are currently using, and search within your entire library (to name a few options). BibleWorks has similar features, but they are much less intuitive to use and it has nothing in the way of graphic representation.

Available resources and hypertexting is where Logos shines the most. While BibleWorks has a mechanism for allowing readers to view the other works in one's library, their available resources are eclipsed by the volume of resources available through Logos, which include both

books and a dizzying array of journals. The interface for accessing these resources is also much more user-friendly in Logos, which allows users to search their entire library at the click of a button. Not only that, but Logos has built in a feature that links works cited in one source to the source cited, even if one does not own that particular resource. Footnotes and citations are hyperlinked in Logos so that one only has to click on a link to pull up the source referenced. If that resource is not owned, then the reader will be shown a preview of the resource with the option of purchasing the full book for instant download. This feature alone makes Logos worth purchasing.

Both programs feature maps and other multimedia, but once again the Logos maps and multimedia features are superior to BibleWorks. I found the BibleWorks maps to be difficult to manipulate, whereas the Logos maps were intuitive and easily navigable. Logos also features a vast library of pictures of ancient artwork that relate to the biblical world. These are also available with only a few clicks and users can configure their settings so that these appear automatically in a separate section of the screen. Logos also features well-designed and easy-to-use timelines that put biblical people and events in their larger context.

A final important distinguishing feature between the two platforms is the community that each offers. BibleWorks hosts forums on its website where users can post questions and answers for other BibleWorks users. This platform is helpful for both learning how to use BibleWorks and interacting with others who may be using the software for similar projects. Logos also hosts community forums on its website where users can interact with other users. However, Logos also features a blog that highlights various uses of Logos along with other information that its users may find helpful or interesting. The blog posts show up on the home screen of Logos upon launching the program, increasing the ease with which users can access it. Logos also uses this platform to tell its users about upcoming software releases and various sales. Again, the usability and variety of features on the Logos platform far exceeds that of its competitor.

When I received review copies of each of these platforms, I was a diehard BibleWorks user and had been for nearly a decade. With its variety of resources, usability, and intuitive interface, Logos has won my devotion. After working with Logos for the past few months I cannot imagine using different software for research and writing. I am certain that some people will still prefer to use BibleWorks, but I will be recommending Logos to all of my students, especially those who serve in

the majority world where the cost of shipping often prohibits them from purchasing hard copies of books.

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Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period: Proceedings of the International Workshop in Tokyo, August 28–31, 2007 edited by Akio Moruya and Gohei Hata. Leiden: Brill, 2012. xv + 299 pp., US \$144.00, hardcover.

The essays in this collection are drawn from the International Workshop of the Pentateuch with Special Emphasis on Textual Transmission History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods held in Tokyo in August of 2007. The conference was sponsored by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science and included seven Japanese scholars and nine from other countries. This collection was published first in Japanese by the Kyoto University Press in 2011. Two chapters appear only in the Japanese edition (Gohei Hata, “The Ruins of Leontopolis Temple: Bubastis Polis and Another Jewish Temple” and Atsuhiko Asano “Paul’s Intent in Retelling of the Abraham Story [Galatians 3–4]”). The collection is divided into four parts with at least one Japanese scholar addressing the theme.

Part One concerns Pentateuchal Traditions. In “The Doctrine of Creation *ex nihilo* and the Translation of *tōhû wābōhû*,” Toshio Tsumura surveys occurrences of the phrase *tōhû wābōhû* in the Hebrew Bible and examines how the LXX and Targumim translated the phrase. He argues that there were two streams of interpretive tradition, one standing behind the Greek translation, which understood the phrase to mean “formless,” and a second tradition behind the Aramaic translations, which understood the phrase as “a waste.”

Yuichi Osumi (“One Decalogue in Different Texts”) compares the two versions of the Decalogue in Exod 20 and Deut 5 in the MT and LXX along with several other “versions” of the commands (Hos 4:2; Jer 7:9; Mark 10:19; Matt 19:18–19; Luke 18:20; Rom 13:9). He argues that there was not one “original” Decalogue that accounts for the variations, but rather it was intended to be recited “without perfect unity of wording and ordering of the commandments” (24).

Eugene Ulrich compares the MT, Samaritan Pentateuch, and several texts in Exodus appearing in the DSS in order to trace the development of the Pentateuch (“The Evolutionary Growth of the

Pentateuch in the Second Temple Period”). While the evidence is sparse, Ulrich argues that there were several revised “editions” of Exod 35–39. There are other variations within the Pentateuchal traditions in the Second Temple period, including isolated commentary, textual variants, and orthographic differences. Some of these variants were included in the MT (Exod 39:21, for example).

Emanuel Tov observes that scribes copied and transmitted the Pentateuch very carefully from the first century BCE on. His article examines the evidence for this careful copying process prior to that time (“The Scribal and Textual Transmission of the Torah Analyzed in the Light of Its Sanctity”). There is some evidence from the DSS that the Pentateuch was given a higher priority (the use of Paleo-Hebrew script and special *de luxe* scrolls). Yet there are “copious scribal interventions” and harmonizations (72). Tov concludes that the popularity and sanctity of the Torah ironically encouraged more changes than other biblical books.

In Part Two there are several essays on Hellenistic Judaism and the Pentateuch. Gohei Hata contributes “In the Beginning was a Greek Translation of Genesis and Exodus.” Hata’s contention is that the motivation for the initial translation of the books of Genesis and Exodus was to demonstrate the antiquity of the Jewish faith in the Hellenistic world. He observes that descriptions of God in Genesis such as El-Shaddai are not transliterated, but translated into similar Greek terms. Place names are interpreted, so that Negev became “land of the south” (Gen 20:1) and the meanings of Hebrew names were sometimes explained (Gen 11:9, “Babel” is explained as “Confusion”). Occasionally measures of length and weight are translated into more familiar Greek terms. But as Hata points out, these changes were probably not enough to make this “history of the Jews” readable for more Greeks. In Alexandria there was no literary compiler who would retell the history in a way that would appeal to the Greek world. For Hata, that task fell to Josephus in his *Antiquities*.

Gregory E. Sterling examines evidence in 26 biblical texts found in *Legum allegoria* in order to determine whether Philo had a different text of the LXX (“Which Version of the Greek Bible Did Philo Read?”) He concludes that Philo did indeed have a different text that was a “more idiomatic translation” than we have, and that “a later copyist aligned the text with a more literal translation” (111). Philo was aware of variations in his Greek Bible, but he was unconcerned since he valued the words of the text as sacred and his hermeneutic allowed him to treat the words without alteration.

Steve Mason argues that Josephus advocated a senatorial aristocracy throughout the twenty books of *Antiquities* and in doing so,

“wade[d] quite deeply into Roman affairs” (153). Mason’s article, “The Importance of the Latter Half of Josephus’s *Judaeen Antiquities* for His Roman Audience,” is not particularly connected to the theme of this collection of essays in that it does not address Pentateuchal traditions directly, but it does show how one Hellenistic Jewish writer attempted to show his readers that the Jewish view of the world was attractive to the Roman world.

Part Three collects three essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pentateuch. Although his article is entitled “The Interpretation of Genesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” John J. Collins focuses on Adam and Eve and the origin of sin. After a short synopsis of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, Collins shows that Ben Sira’s view of the origin of sin differs from the Genesis account. There is no prohibition or fall; rather, God himself gives humans knowledge and shows them both good and evil and humans are to exercise free will to choose the good (Sir 17:1–12). Collins then describes a number of texts from the DSS that indicate that the writers of the scrolls shared similar ideas.

James VanderKam examines how the book of Jubilees interprets the early stories in the Pentateuch to show that the patriarchs kept the Law well before it was given (“Exegesis of Pentateuchal Legislation in Jubilees and Related Texts Found at Qumran”). The writer of Jubilees retells stories from Genesis and cleverly blends them with legal material to show, if a story is read correctly, that the patriarchs did live in accordance with the Law. For example, how does Reuben escape the death penalty in Gen 35:11? Jubilees 33:1–20 expands the story (possibly by drawing details from the David and Bathsheba story) to show that the death penalty in Lev 20:11 or Deut 27:20 do not apply to Reuben’s actions.

Akio Moriya’s article, “The Pentateuch Reflected in the Aramaic Documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” focuses narrowly on the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20). He compares Gen 12:8–9 to the relevant section in the scroll and makes several observations concerning how the writer used the biblical text. While there is a respect for the biblical text, the writer is free to expand and rearrange it if the writer had different ideas (212). It is possible that the writer of 1Q20 made use of 1 Enoch or Jubilees as well as the biblical text.

The Fourth Part of the collection includes three essays on the New Testament and the Pentateuch. Migaku Sato argues that the cliché “the LXX is the Bible of early Christianity” cannot be fully maintained (“The Septuagint and the Translation of the Gospel Traditions”). He examines five examples of quotations from the Old Testament in the Synoptic Gospels and concludes that the LXX was not fully utilized until

the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, when Jewish people were no longer the majority of the church.

Adela Yarbo Collins argues that the greatest commandment saying in Mark 12:29–31 indicates that the Evangelist’s view of Torah was “deeply influenced by the transformation of the substance of the Hebrew Bible” (242) as it was read and interpreted in by Diaspora Jews (“The Reception of the Torah in Mark: The Question about the Greatest Commandment”). As such, the growing influence of the Gentile mission meant that the commands of the Torah needed to be summarized in terms more familiar to Greek teaching on virtue.

Harold W. Attridge explores the use of the Pentateuch in early Christianity as it was interpreted in homiletic contexts in order to shape and guide communities (“Creation and Sacred Space: The Reuse of Key Pentateuchal Themes by Philo, The Fourth Evangelist, and the Epistle of Hebrews”). He offers examples of midrashic exegesis in Hebrews and John that only work in the text of the LXX. He compares these techniques to examples drawn from Philo. All three writers are applying the Greek Pentateuch to new situations and “playing with it in a larger textual environment” (255).

The final chapter of the book is a “special contribution” from Yutaka Ikeda that seeks to find points of contact between Japanese culture and the world of the Hebrew Bible. Ikeda recognizes that Japanese biblical scholars are *en-naki-shujo*, “outsiders” to the world of the Bible. But so too were the Hellenistic readers of the Hebrew Bible in the Second Temple period. They too sought “points of contact” with the Hebrew world. For example, in LXX Exod 22:28 the Hebrew *elohim* is read as plural, “gods.” Ikeda sees this translation as urging coexistence with other gods. Other areas of contact include the emphasis in the Hebrew Bible on creation and nature and proverbial wisdom literature.

Overall, the essays in this collection are impressive. Each section features top experts in their respective fields who would be considered key contributors in another collection. A few of the articles seem loosely related to the topic of the conference. Sato on the LXX, for example, does not address the reception of the Pentateuch in the Gospels. I would have appreciated more Japanese scholars represented in the collection. Nevertheless, this is an excellent contribution to the discussion of how the Hebrew Bible was used in the Greek and Roman world.

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Revisiting the Days of Genesis: A Study of the Use of Time in Genesis 1–11 in Light of Its Ancient Near Eastern and Literary Context by Bryan C. Hodge. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011. xxvii + 172 pp., US \$23.00, softcover.

In recent years, there have been numerous scholarly books and debates regarding the Genesis creation accounts in light of ancient Near Eastern (hereafter ANE) culture and context. Among them are John H. Walton's *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate* (IVP, 2009), as well as its academic version, *Genesis One As Ancient Cosmology* (Eisenbrauns, 2012); C. John Collins's *Did Adam and Eve Really Exist? Who They Were and Why You Should Care* (Crossway, 2011); and Peter Enns's most recent book, *The Evolution of Adam: What The Bible Does And Doesn't Say About Human Origins* (Brazos, 2012). Bryan C. Hodge's volume likewise discusses the Genesis accounts in the context of ANE culture. Hodge boldly explores this perennial issue, particularly the time periods of Gen 1–11.

Hodge's book consists of two major sections: the introductory section (introduction and chs. 1–2) and the main section (chs. 3–7 and conclusion). In the introductory section, Hodge differentiates between the real events and their ideological presentations in literature (ch. 1) and discusses the time references in Gen 1–11 and their history of interpretation (ch. 2). The author proposes that Gen 1–11 should not be read literally (describing the specific details of an historical event) but rather literarily, since it was written to convey a theology of God, creation, humanity, and chaos to the original audiences by using "ideological or theological presentations" (xx) which were commonly accepted at that time. Thus Hodge comments, "The real event is described in mythic terms. There is, therefore, a vast difference between a completely mythic view of Gen 1–11 and a view that would ascribe the use of myth in these chapters to literary description (i.e., a form of symbolic language) within a highly theological presentation of what the author and his readers consider real people and events" (3).

The main section discusses several topics related to the time references, such as the seven-day structure and the cosmic temple of Gen 1 (ch. 3). He discusses the meaning of *bēyôm* in Gen 2:4b (ch. 4), the punishment of the primeval couple (ch. 5), the genealogies of the two seeds (ch. 6), and the days of the deluge (ch. 7). In chapter 3, following J. Levenson and J. Walton's theory, Hodge suggests that Gen 1 describes the creation of God's cosmic temple purified (from the Hebrew word לִבְדָּב) from an already existing chaotic state in order to sustain human life, and also suggests that the motif of "seven days" in Gen 1 might be a tradition shared with the seven-day structure of ANE texts, which was

used in a temple purification setting. Chapter 4 provides an exegetical discussion on *běyôm* in Gen 2:4b. Hodge argues that *běyôm* in the same passage should be taken to be “a literal description of a day” upon which the creation event occurred, but this time period is used as a “literary symbol representing the time of origins for the purposes of narration” (92) since the day in Gen 2:4b is unknown to the Genesis author.

Perhaps the most innovative and thought-provoking chapter in the main section is chapter 5, which considers the Garden of Eden as a symbolic temple and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from it as entering into the sphere of chaos. Chapter 5 is in fact a combined theory of G. Wenham’s sanctuary symbol of the Garden of Eden and *chaoskampf* theory. As Wenham well explains, the similarities between the Garden of Eden and the temple are quite obvious. Hodge, however, goes further, even to the matter of serpent in the field (חַדָּשׁ). He considers the field as the uncreated/chaotic condition like the netherworld, while the garden (גַּן) is the created/ordered condition.

In chapters 6 and 7, Hodge proposes that the numbers in the genealogies of Gen 5–11 and the deluge should be treated literarily because of the literary structure of these two events, for example, the palistropic structure of the flood account in Gen 6–8.

Although the author offers very helpful and detailed discussions about the use of time in Gen 1–11 in light of ANE culture and its literary context, his discussions are not without problems. The first and foremost problem in Hodge’s methodology is that he attempts to make an item-by-item correspondence between the biblical texts and ANE creation texts. Some items are well matched, but some are far-fetched. For instance, Hodge suggests that the repetitive use of the Hebrew verb בָּדַל (“to separate”) in Gen 1 supports the characteristic of the Priestly writings related to cultic purification (62). It is true that this Hebrew verb is used in a cultic purification setting, particularly in Leviticus. In Gen 1, however, this verb refers to physical separation, rather than cultic separation between clean and unclean. Moreover, Gen 1 never uses any word or connotation relating to “consuming fire,” which often appears in the ANE temple purification texts.

Another problem is that Hodge tends to consider the time period literarily in any passages with literary devices. For instance, he treats the days of the deluge as literary because the passage exhibits a nice chiasmic structure, and the seven days of waiting and 40 days of flooding are symbolically significant in an ANE setting. But how should we treat the 150 days of prevailing, symbolically or literally? This number never appeared in the ANE texts. Moreover, the literary device of chiasmus can be found everywhere in the Bible. Accordingly, Hodge seems to ignore the distinctiveness of the creation accounts in the Bible by making every

effort to set up a one-to-one correspondence between the biblical texts and the ANE creation texts. It is true that the authors of ancient Israel did not simply borrow from or were influenced by ancient cultural settings, but rather they lived within ancient ANE context shared with other peoples surrounding them. However, this does not mean that every point in the Bible shares its tradition with other ancient cultural contexts. Finally, there are quite a few typographical errors such as wrong Hebrew spellings (e.g., 80) and misalignment (e.g., 103). Consistent transliteration of ancient texts is also needed.

In spite of these drawbacks, Hodge provides a nice discussion about this complicated issue of the creation account and shows a great deal of sensitivity to the ANE texts and their implication. This volume will be a valuable source to those who desire a deeper appreciation of Gen 1–11 in light of ANE context.

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The Senses of Scripture: Sensory Perception in the Hebrew Bible by Yael Avrahami. LBHOTS 545. New York: T&T Clark, 2012. xvi + 312 pp., US \$140.00, hardcover.

It is easy to forget that the Bible is an artifact from an actual living culture and that it was written by real people in a real world. Even as an inspired text, it is very much the product of the human mind. Thus, part of understanding the text is understanding the mind whose expression is preserved in it. How did it experience the world and how did it think about the world? In *The Senses of Scripture: Sensory Perception in the Hebrew Bible*, Yael Avrahami seeks to answer part of this question by describing the “sensorium” of the Hebrew Bible—that is, the human senses. This involves questions of anthropology and epistemology, all in an attempt to determine the way in which the Hebrew mind thought about the senses, their function, and their purpose.

Studies on this topic have tended to apply modern (or, at least Western) paradigms to the ancient Hebrew culture and discover a less sophisticated mind. Avrahami works from a different direction. Instead of creating a theoretical and prescriptive paradigm by which to determine the number and function of the human senses in the Hebrew mind, Avrahami’s methodology seeks to understand the senses in their cultural context—how they were understood and expressed in their own culture,

within the corpus of the Hebrew Bible. As opposed to an approach that is theoretical and deductive, Avrahami has chosen to adopt one that is descriptive and inductive.

She does this by studying the associative patterns that exist between words and concepts, based on their usage within the text. Such associative patterns are created not only by common word pairs and clusters, but also by the way certain terms often fall within the same context. Avrahami reminds us, “[i]n a cultural context, a word is never just a word: words evoke other words, idioms, images, feeling, memories” (55). For instance, certain senses often are used within the context of learning and investigation, which “implies that part of the definition of the sensorium would be ‘a vehicle of learning and investigation’” (61). By studying these associative patterns, Avrahami hopes to identify the senses of Hebrew epistemology and “create a holistic description of our understanding and usage of the senses as reflected in the biblical text, with all its inherent complexity and diversity” (64).

The Senses of Scripture is adapted from Avrahami’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Haifa (where she is a member of the Department of Biblical Studies). As would be expected, her first chapter addresses the history of research on the subject and methodology. Chapter two identifies the senses she has drawn from the associative patterns in the Hebrew text. While admitting the problematic nature of the endeavor, due primarily to the fact that there is no explicit reference to the term (or concept) for “sense,” Avrahami argues that there does seem to be “sensory itemization” in three passages, thus offering a starting place for inquiry: Ps 115:4–7; Ps 135:15–17, Deut 4:28. From these passages she draws her preliminary categories to argue that instead of the modern pentasensory model, the Hebrew text reveals a septasensory model: sight, hearing, kinesthesia, speech, taste, olfactory, and touch.

In the third chapter, Avrahami seeks to define the sensorium specifically by examining in greater detail the contextual patterns present in the text. From this, she concludes that the senses in the Hebrew Bible are “primarily a somatic experience” (113). By this she means that the sensory experience is associated with a bodily organ that controls it. Here she identifies six body parts associated with the senses: eye, ear, nose, mouth, hand, and foot. Additionally, she determines that the senses are linked to specific derived meanings based on their contextual patterns. For instance, the action of seeing is often associated with control and ownership, which can be used for either help or harm (also, e.g., knowledge and understanding). Avrahami does not argue for a single correlation, but notes that several senses could be connected to the same

contextual subject (so both seeing and hearing can be linked to knowledge), and that senses could fall within different contextual groups (so seeing is used for both control and knowledge, among others).

In chapter four Avrahami examines the theology of the senses, arguing that they are portrayed as divinely given. She also demonstrates a contrast between how senses are used to express such skills as knowledge, ability, and independence (among others) and how the lack of those skills is often expressed via metaphors of sensory disability.

The fifth chapter narrows her focus to a single sense that plays a central role in the Hebrew text: sight. It should be noted that in so doing, she is not arguing for a hierarchical structure in which sight is considered the most important of the senses—indeed, she concludes that there is no evidence of such a hierarchy. However, what she does accomplish is to successfully demonstrate that sight plays a much more significant role in the Old Testament than is usually thought, and she here attempts to trace in much more detail the way it is used and its contextual connections. This chapter has the effect of creating essentially a sub-thesis within the larger work, and her valuable study on this topic is well appreciated. Moreover, this chapter serves well as an example of how each particular sense could be further explored in much more detail.

It should be noted that her approach is essentially synchronic and does not take into account the way in which the concepts may have shifted over time. This may create the false impression that Hebrew epistemology was static. This is not a serious weakness—as a diachronic study may get bogged down into the quagmire of source-critical questions and assumptions that are constantly shifting and ultimately unprovable—but an examination of diachronic epistemology along the lines she has established here would be of value. Further, Avrahami does not address the question of genre. Does narrative, for example, utilize the sense of sight in a different manner than poetry (or, does Wisdom literature use hearing differently than the Prophets)? Additionally, it should be noted that Avrahami limits her investigation to the corpus of the Hebrew Bible. For a more complete picture of ancient anthropology, the study would need to be expanded to include relevant extra-biblical data. Avrahami makes a conscious decision to avoid the study of the expression of other cultures (64). Such a decision is a bit surprising. There is no reason to believe that Hebrew epistemology would have differed so radically from, say, Canaanite, such that a comparative study would not have value. In fairness to the author, the purpose of her study is limited to senses as expressed in the biblical material, so methodologically she is on safe ground. However, the limited nature of her inquiry severely hinders the scope of the application of her findings. What we ultimately discover here is not the understanding of the senses

in the Hebrew mind, but rather the understanding of the senses in the biblical mind.

The Senses of Scripture is not an easy book for the uninitiated. Its focus on epistemology will likely turn away most readers who are not themselves interested in the topic. However, this is not to say that Avrahami's contribution is without great worth. On the contrary: *The Senses of Scripture: Sensory Perception in the Hebrew Bible* serves the field well because it disconnects the question of Hebrew epistemology from the Western paradigm by which it has been wrongly judged. By attempting an inductive examination, Avrahami places the investigation in its rightful place: the Hebrew court, judged by the Hebrew evidence in its intended context. While the scope of her conclusions may be limited, her findings have significant implications for the study of the biblical text. Grasping the associative patterns that connect the senses will help the student of the Bible better understand the message of the text and the epistemological tools it is using to express itself. Yael Avrahami has provided a strong standard by which to build further study on this topic in the fields of cultural epistemology, exegesis, and theology.

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Sex, Wives, and Warriors: Reading Old Testament Narrative with its Ancient Audience by Philip F. Esler. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2012. Pp. xi + 408, GB £27.50, softcover.

Esler's book represents a unique blending of literary, social-science perspectives, and ethnographic studies. In this way, Esler presents a scathing critique of both literary approaches that unconsciously read modern assumptions back onto the biblical text and social-science perspectives that err in not properly discerning significant literary features of biblical texts and their resonance with universal patterns of literature throughout the world, past and present. The book is, thus, a *tour de force*, often brilliant and original, always illuminating, though Esler himself succumbs sometimes to his own warnings against letting preconceptions (literary and ethnographic) distort one's reading of the ancient biblical text.

Before Esler examines eight Old Testament narratives with his hybrid approach, he lays the framework in two chapters. The first chapter basically defends his attempt to determine what these biblical texts meant to the original audience. Drawing broadly on various fields like narrative

criticism, religious studies, hermeneutics, sociology, theology, and structuralism, Esler shows why anyone, whether religious or secular, should be interested in how the original audience understood and reacted to these stories. Esler is not interested in all types of literary criticism, just the structural version as in Propp, Greimas, and particularly Christopher Booker (31–32), who has laid out a simple schema of seven basic story-lines: “Overcoming the Monster,” “Rags to Riches,” “The Quest,” etc. This is because Esler is very intent on showing how these ancient stories resonate with moderns: how we can understand them trans-culturally.

But to do this we must attempt to avoid reading our own modern assumptions back onto these ancient stories. Chapter two, thus, lays out the basic anthropological perspective from the Mediterranean basin. Drawing on significant ethnographic studies that have focused on societies that are closer in resemblance to the biblical era than today, Esler discusses topics like honor and shame, group orientation versus individualism, in-group versus out-group, agonistic societies, village and family life, patriarchalism, elite versus non-elite, reciprocity, patron-client relationships, limited good, challenge and response, etc. Most of these terms will sound familiar to fans of John Pilch and Bruce Malina, who pioneered the use of Mediterranean ethnographic studies for understanding the biblical world.

The book is divided into three parts, wherein the eight narratives are discussed: wives, warriors, and sex. Chapter 3 begins the wives section, and Esler closely examines the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen 38). Esler’s most significant contribution to the interpretation of this story is his demonstration that it is primarily about besmirched honor that has to be avenged. Tamar offends Judah’s honor in two ways. First, she had completely bested him financially (she was nowhere to be found when Judah’s servant came to complete the transaction) in that his possessions given as a pledge were of much more value than a goat. Second, as the head of his household, Judah would have been expected to protect the women of it, including Tamar, from sexual violations. Because of these great offenses to Judah’s honor, he must respond aggressively. Esler’s explanation that being burned alive is an honor issue and not a legal one makes perfect sense.

Two small criticisms of Esler’s interpretation can be offered. First, he does not adequately address the issue of the seemingly awkward placement of this story (Gen 38) within the Joseph cycle. And why would the Judean redactors/authors include a negative story about their eponymous ancestor? Esler seems content to focus on the story itself and how the original audience would have experienced it. But would not this audience have heard it within the context of Genesis as a whole? Second,

his comparison of the story with Booker's "Rags to Riches" archetypal plot is too strained to be persuasive.

In chapter four, Esler closely reads the story of Hannah, Peninnah, and Elkanah (1 Sam 1–2). Esler again uses ethnographic evidence to show how shameful barrenness would have been for Hannah and how the relationship between Hannah and Peninnah (polygyny) would have been inherently strained. Esler argues persuasively that Peninnah and Hannah actually engage in challenge and riposte at the shrine at Shiloh over Hannah's lesser status. Eventually, Hannah emerges as the victor in esteem when her son Samuel is born, and this is explicitly referenced in her prayer/psalm of thanksgiving in chapter two. But Esler sees her psalm reaching out beyond the domestic competition to include the house of Eli, which he argues represents an oppressive elite. Booker's "Rags to Riches" schema applies well to this story.

In criticism, it is difficult to designate Elkanah and his family as non-elite, with his ability to bring animal sacrifices to the shrine and afford two wives. The broader "enemy" alluded to in the psalm appears to be the Philistines (chs. 4–7) and not the Elides, as oppressive as they were. The contempt shown for the Elides is more a pro-Zadokite polemic than an instance of social class conflict. Here again Esler appears a little myopic and focuses on the story itself and not its broader literary context.

Part two of the book treats warriors, with special attention to masculinity and honor. Chapter five concerns King Saul and his madness. Esler attempts to connect Saul's ecstatic experiences with the prophets (1 Sam 10:6, 10; 19:23)—which he argues are meant to be viewed negatively—and his bouts of madness. He explains the madness as a form of panic attack or anxiety disorder. Both attempts are largely unpersuasive. Though Esler states at the outset that he is not interested in determining the historicity of King Saul as an individual, he seems to make just that kind of move when he assumes that a *particular* ailment is in view when Saul's dark periods are described. However, Esler's comparison of the story of Saul with Booker's "Tragedy" plot seems to be more applicable than most of the preceding ones.

Chapter six is on David and Goliath and is perhaps one of the best chapters of the book. Esler shows how David and Goliath are involved in challenge and response. Goliath makes his worst mistake when he actually challenges the Hebrew God directly, from David's perspective. David defends his and Israel's honor wonderfully both rhetorically and physically. Esler also demonstrates how David suffers doubly from low status: within his own household and as a representative of his humble family in the context of the Israelite nation. David is able to invert this low status, with the help of God, and so Esler's comparison

of this story with the “Rags to Riches” and “Overcoming the Monster” archetypal plots was, as in the previous chapter, more fitting.

Chapter seven concerns David and banditry, as when he and his men flee from the pursuit of Saul. Esler uses ethnographic research to show that David was no “social bandit” who benefited the peasants whose land he trespassed. Esler shows that David’s banditry was self-serving and what ultimately enabled him to become king. Esler’s comparison of these stories with Booker’s “the Quest” plot, however, is too strained. David goes on no quest, even if understood metaphorically; rather, he simply flees from Saul.

Chapter eight finishes this part of the book with a focus on the story of Judith who slays the Assyrian general Holofernes (the cover of the book depicts this scene). Esler does a good job chastising literary critics who condemn Judith for using deception to defeat Israel’s enemy. Using ethnographic data, he shows that honesty was to be applied solely to in-group members, not foreigners! Esler rightly compares Judith with David rather than other feminine heroines like Deborah or Jael. She assumes a more masculine role in defeating the enemy leader. Esler’s comparison of this story with the “Overcoming the Monster” schema is apropos.

The last part of the book is on sex, with two short chapters. Chapter nine treats the story of David and Bathsheba, which Esler integrates into the larger story of the Ammonite dishonoring of David’s messengers (2 Sam 10). David’s weak response to this shaming is the real impetus behind the story of David’s adulterous affair, according to Esler. This is not fully convincing and neither is Esler’s comparison of the story with Booker’s “Voyage and Return” plot: Esler is forced to apply it in a metaphorical sense.

Chapter ten finishes the book with Esler treating the story of Tamar, Amnon, and Absalom. Esler does a good job in revealing why Absalom was bound to avenge his sister’s rape because he was the male responsible for a woman (his sister) residing within his household. The comparison with Booker’s “Overcoming the Monster” and “Tragedy” plots are a little strained.

The book is highly recommended to all biblical scholars, including New Testament scholars, particularly to those interested in literary and social-science perspectives. Esler has taken a necessary and sophisticated first step in attempting to bring these discrete approaches together.

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Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon edited by Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton. Leiden: Brill, 2012. xx + 436 pp., US \$212.00, hardcover.

This impressive Festschrift is a collection of twenty-seven essays to honor Prof. Robert P. Gordon, Regius Professor of Hebrew at the University of Cambridge, and his many contributions to the study of the Hebrew Bible, the Ancient Versions, and the Old Testament in its setting in the ANE. It is edited by Geoffrey Khan, the newly appointed Regius Professor at Cambridge and Diana Lipton, a former student and Reader at King's College, London. The great majority of the contributions are by friends, former students, and colleagues at Cambridge and other UK institutions; two (V. Philips Long and William Barker, both former students) are from the US; and one (Rodrigo de Sousa, also a former student) is from Brazil. The articles in this volume represent a wide range of academic interests that are loosely organized into three sections: the Hebrew Bible; Qumran and the Ancient Versions; and Rabbinic, Medieval, and modern interpretations. The volume begins with a brief summary of Gordon's significant academic career and achievements by A. Macintosh, and is accompanied by general, biblical, and rabbinical indices.

N. MacDonald argues that the two wilderness stories in Exod 17 (the spring at Massah and Meribah; the defeat of Amalek) anticipate Exod 24 (covenant making and breaking) and create loose analogies that function as "implicit commentary."

D. Lipton analyzes the "rape" laws in Deut 22:23–29 and the significance of the legal analogy (v. 26). She concludes that the analogy to murder recalls the fratricide cases of Cain's murder of Abel (Gen 4) and the woman of Tekoa's parable of her two sons (2 Sam 14).

A. Millard responds to the claims of "blatant anachronisms" in the books of Samuel. He analyzes two of the ostensible anachronisms—"coined money" (1 Sam 13:21; 2 Sam 18:11–12) and "sophisticated siege techniques" (2 Sam 20:15)—and, after reviewing the archaeological and textual data, he concludes that claims of anachronisms are unfounded.

K. Dell considers the story of Saul in 1 Sam 9–15 and its apparent incongruities and asks whether traditional historical-critical readings and holistic literary approaches are indeed incompatible. Dell suggests that the incongruities cannot be fully understood without a diachronic reading that takes into account the various layers of the text.

G. Davies explores the ethics of friendship by comparing the Jonathan and David story to ancient non-biblical narratives (e.g., the Epic of Gilgamesh and Homer's *Iliad*) on the theme of friendship.

H. Williamson examines the phrase “signs and portents” in MT Isa 8:18 in the light of the textual evidence (Qumran; Syr; Vul; and LXX), which, at first blush, supports the singular forms. He argues for the possibility that v. 18 was added to vv. 16–17 as redactional comment. The piece ends with some comments on the citation of this verse in Heb 2:13.

H. Barstad challenges the notion that the historical material in the book of Jeremiah is a late literary creation of the Persian or Hellenistic periods by comparing the historical details of Jer 46 to contemporary Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources.

R. Clements offers some thoughts on the intersection of the Christian Church and the academic study of the Bible in the UK by tracing attitudes and approaches to the study of the Psalter.

V. Philips Long argues for the coherency of the third dialogical cycle in the book of Job (chs. 22–27). He enumerates the perceived problems of these chapters and then provides counter-arguments to each one. Then he explores the function of Job 28 in relation to what precedes and follows and concludes that the third cycle is both coherent and serves as a logical transition to Job’s final statement case.

B. Mastin analyzes the five dates mentioned in the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel in the light of contemporary cuneiform documents. He concludes that the preposition ל that is prefixed to the king’s name in Ezra 5:13, 6:3, and Dan 7:1 can be explained as a Hebraism.

J. Aitken asks whether the description of King Eglon as “a very fat man” is one of humor and parody or whether it intends to portray him positively. He analyzes the lexeme בריא “fat” in Hebrew and the renderings of it in Judg 3:17 by the Ancient Versions. He concludes that, though the story has elements of humor, the word “fat” is not humorous in this context but has a different cultural signification to our modern conception.

K. Cathcart looks at some of the earliest translations of well-known Neo-Assyrian texts relating to the Old Testament by pioneering Assyriologists, such as Hincks, Rawlinson, Oppert, and Fox. Discussed texts include the Bull Inscription, the inscriptions of Sennacherib, the inscriptions of the Philistine kings of Ashkelon, and the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III.

P. Williams explores the development of three important English terms: the Bible, the Septuagint, and the Apocrypha. Specifically, he focuses on the evolution of these terms from the plural sense to the singular to designate a collection of writings.

R. de Sousa discusses the relationship between the MT and LXX of Isa 2:6. He attributes the divergent translation in the LXX to three

factors: “intertextuality,” ideological factors, and the rendering of שפיקו on the basis of שפק II.

J. Dines seeks to clarify the meaning of the curious term ὄπωροφυλάκιον, generally taken to mean “hut for fruit” or “hut for a garden watchman.” She examines this word in all five occurrences in the LXX and proposes an alternative meaning for ὄπωροφυλάκιον: a cultic statue set up to ensure fertility and ward off evil.

D. Clines compares the text of MT 2 Sam 22 with MT Ps 18 and 4QSam^a to determine the extent to which the MT text differs to the others and argues, rather controversially, that “in tens of thousands of cases” the text of the original Hebrew Bible was different to our text today.

C. Hempel reviews recent scholarship on the social context of Qumran and offers her own perspective on the basis of texts such as 1QS6.

W. Horbury examines the relation of Melchizedek in Josephus’ account of the fall of Jerusalem and the designation of Melchizedek as *’elohim* in 11Q13.

A. van der Kooij explores the concurrences between Josephus’ *Antiquities of the Jews* and the Targums, specifically Tg Onk (Law) and Tg Jon (Prophets).

M. McNamara’s contribution focuses on the “tel-like character of Targums,” a phrase coined by Robert Gordon himself, as well as the continuum in the targumic exegetical tradition. To that end, McNamara analyzes possible links between the Targums and the NT.

R. Hayward discusses the Aramaic Targumim of Gen 36, in particular, Pseudo-Jonathan, a Targum that is rich in exegesis. He analyzes three interpretive issues in the chapter: the proper nouns mentioned in Gen 36, the mules in the desert (v. 24), and a possible reference to Rome (v. 28).

W. Barker examines the eschatological banquet text in Tg Isa 25 and the Targumist’s conception of Israel’s two great enemies and their fate (v. 7). He analyzes several possible candidates, as well as a few translation techniques employed by the translator.

J. Healey investigates some of the unique linguistic features of the Proverbs Targum, a translation that diverges significantly from the MT.

S. Reif examines the noun מעשה as presented in various dictionaries, medieval and modern, and asks whether lexicographers have provided sufficient guidance as to its semantic range and various nuances.

P. Alexander surveys the history of the Christian church and how it determined which bible, whether the Vulgate, Septuagint, or Hebrew

Bible, was authoritative.

S. Gillingham discusses the Fadden More Psalter, a ninth-century Psalter recently discovered in a bog in Ireland that divides the psalms into “Three Fifties” (marked by the illuminations immediately before Pss 1, 51, and 101). She explores the possible implications of the “Three Fifties” on the literary and theological shaping of the Psalter.

G. Khan presents, for the very first time, the text of Ibn Nūḥ’s *Diduq* (a series of grammatical notes written in Arabic) on the book of Hosea, accompanied by a translation.

This volume contains many outstanding contributions on a wide range of topics by some of the best scholars today. It is a fitting, though necessarily inadequate, tribute to a brilliant biblical scholar. Those who have the privilege of knowing Robert Gordon will not be surprised that heartfelt words of gratitude are found throughout the volume.

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