The Formation of the Pentateuch

Edited by
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Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Edited by

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The Formation of the Pentateuch

Bridging the Academic Cultures of
Europe, Israel, and North America

Edited by

Jan C. Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson,
Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Konrad Schmid

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Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory

The Genesis and Goals of This Volume

> Scholarly advance in the humanities often depends less on sensational new discoveries than upon the questioning and re-evaluation of what had become unquestioned assumptions.[1]

The Pentateuch lies at the heart of Western humanities. With its notions of divine revelation and social transformation through historical action, it serves as a bedrock document for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. It contributes powerfully to areas ostensibly far removed from religion, such as the rich literary, intellectual, political, and artistic history of European and later North American civilization, and has also influenced Africa, Asia, and South America. Yet despite nearly two centuries of scholarship, the human origins of this monument of civilization remain shrouded in the past. Indeed, recent developments in scholarship have broken down an earlier consensus, making it even more difficult to date its source documents and gain access to the compositional process by which the Pentateuch first took shape. The traditional conception of a unified, self-consistent foundation narrative that begins with creation and extends to the eve of the Israelites' entry into the promised land of Canaan has long been given up. Critical scholarship has isolated multiple layers of tradition, inconsistent laws, and narratives that could only have originated from separate communities within ancient Israel and were joined together at a relatively late stage by a process of splicing and editing.

The so-called New Documentary Hypothesis, often associated with the name of Julius Wellhausen, had dominated academic discourse on the Pentateuch since the end of the nineteenth century.[2] It presupposes four originally independent literary sources (the Yahwist, Elohist, Priestly, and Deuteronomic sources, identified by the sigla J, E, P, and D), each with its own set of laws and narratives, which were joined together in stages to produce the composite text of the Pentateuch. Despite challenges and modifications, the explanatory power

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[1] R.J. Coggins et al., preface to *Israel's Prophetic Tradition: Essays in Honour of Peter R. Ackroyd* (ed. R.J. Coggins et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), vvi.

[2] J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001 [repr. from the 6th ed., 1927]); English translation, idem, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J.S. Black and A. Menzies; Scholars Press Reprints and Translation Series 17; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994 [1st ed., Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1885]).

of the model long permitted it to trump rival hypotheses or to incorporate them as minor modifications of detail (such as adjustments of chronology).

Recent developments in academic biblical studies, however, jeopardize the revolutionary progress that has been accomplished over the last two centuries. Over the past forty years, the source-critical method has come under unprecedented attack. In many quarters it has been rejected entirely: many scholars claim it no longer provides a secure starting point for investigating the history of Israelite religion or the literary formation of the Pentateuch. Recent decades have witnessed not simply a proliferation of intellectual models but, in many ways much more seriously, the fragmentation of discourse altogether as scholarly communities in the three main research centers of Israel, Europe, and North America increasingly talk past one another. Even when they employ the same terminology (for example, *redactor*, *author*, *source*, *exegesis*), scholars often mean quite different things. Concepts taken for granted by one group of scholars (such as the existence of the Elohist or the Yahwist sources) are dismissed out of hand by other scholarly communities. That breakdown in a shared discourse is where this volume seeks to make a contribution, by reflecting on methodological assumptions and the theoretical models that inform the discipline.

Admittedly, the evidence for or against the Documentary Hypothesis is at best indirect because only copies of copies, in infinite regress, are preserved: the oldest complete manuscript of the Hebrew Bible, the Leningrad Codex, dates to the year 1008 CE, more than a millennium after the events depicted in the Hebrew Bible.[3] As a result, all arguments are based on internal content and literary analysis rather than independent, externally datable evidence. In addition, a series of methodological and demographic revolutions in academic biblical studies has drastically changed the playing field. Although numerous factors have played a role in bringing about these changes, the three most important are that (1) archaeologists have made numerous discoveries that challenge any direct correspondence between the textual presentation and a historical reconstruction of the religion and literature of ancient Israel; (2) the discipline of "Old Testament" studies, long dominated by Protestant scholars in Europe and North America working with implicit Christian theological paradigms, has been irrevocably transformed by the emergence of Israeli biblical scholarship and by societal changes that permitted greater numbers of Jews to gain academic positions at American universities;[4] and (3) new methodological insights

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[3] The Leningrad Codex is catalogued as Firkowitch B19A in the Russian National Library. See D.N. FREEDMAN et al. (eds.), *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[4] In continental Europe, Jewish scholars could not hold tenured positions in biblical studies, because all such chairs were housed in faculties of Protestant or Catholic theology, which, according to the *Konfessionsvorbehalt*, restricted both faculty appointments and the awarding of doctoral degrees along confessional lines. Jews with interests in academic religious studies were forced into other fields, such as rabbinics or Assyriology, or into exclusively Jewish

have directed increased attention to forms of scribal creativity (such as textual reworking and commentary) and to stages of Judean history (such as the exile and the Second Temple period) that were previously marginalized. As a result, traditional paradigms have been rejected as untenable, and new perspectives are constantly being generated.

Yet, the lack of a shared intellectual discourse hampers what might otherwise be a moment of opportunity in the creative development of the discipline. In the three major centers of research on the Pentateuch – North America, Israel, and Europe – scholars tend to operate from such different premises, employ such divergent methods, and reach such inconsistent results that meaningful progress has become impossible. The models continue to proliferate but the communication seems only to diminish.

In Israeli scholarship, the Documentary Hypothesis in one or another of its classical forms continues to be highly esteemed. Some scholars working at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in particular see the future of pentateuchal scholarship in the refinement rather than the abandonment of the sources J, E, P, and D for the reconstruction of the compositional history of the Pentateuch. The Priestly texts of the Pentateuch have garnered special interest, along with the Holiness Legislation. They have been examined more profoundly in the Israeli context than elsewhere in biblical studies, and the results are revolutionary. Examining this literature against the background of cultic and legal material recovered from the ancient Near East has led to a new appreciation of the Priestly source's historical integrity, antiquity, creativity, and cultural significance. A thorough reassessment of the stages of composition of the Priestly literature has yielded an entirely new approach to the formation of this corpus and the interrelationship of its constituent parts.

The European discussion has moved in such a different direction that it has become all but unintelligible in the Israeli academic context. Scholars on the European continent predominantly view the Pentateuch as composed from thematic blocks (primeval history, ancestral history, Moses-exodus story) rather than documentary sources. Indeed, the two sources that under the older model provided the most reliable window into the earliest period of Israelite religion – the Yahwist and the Elohist – are now treated with extreme skepticism by most European scholars, who dispute their antiquity if not their very existence. European scholars focus instead on differentiating between Priestly and non-Priestly text complexes. Finally, a number of European scholars contend that there was no connection between Genesis and Exodus in any pre-Priestly texts and shift the date of much of the Pentateuch to the Persian period (539–331 BCE).

In North America, as in Israel, scholarship still largely supports the Docu-

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institutions such as the Jewish Theological Seminary at Breslau (1854–1939) or the Lehrhaus in Frankfurt founded by Franz Rosenzweig in 1920 and reopened by Martin Buber in 1933. Such issues continue to affect the discipline.

mentary Hypothesis and places a large number of text complexes in the preexilic period. Because of the very different structure of graduate education, North American scholars tend to draw more intensively on ancient Near Eastern and Second Temple literature (like the Dead Sea Scrolls) in attempting to construct their models. They often contend that the current proliferation of European hypotheses is theory driven and self-generated without adequate consideration of comparative literary evidence.

In effect, three independent scholarly discourses have emerged. Each centers on the Pentateuch, each operates with its own set of working assumptions, and each is confident of its own claims. This volume seeks to further the international discussion about the Pentateuch in the hope that the academic cultures in Israel, Europe, and North America can move toward a set of shared assumptions and a common discourse.

Like the Pentateuch itself, this volume has a long and multilayered compositional history. The point of departure was an international research group entitled Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Israel, North America, and Europe, which was convened at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies (IIAS) in Jerusalem from September 2012 through June 2013. For the first time in the history of the discipline, an internationally representative, long-term research group was convened at an Institute for Advanced Studies in the attempt to overcome the fragmentation in the field of academic biblical studies. The IIAS is remarkable for its commitment to interdisciplinary research and its focus on creating research teams composed of international scholars.

The research group was established to investigate the scholarly debate regarding the formation of the Pentateuch and to trace the genealogy of the three diverging academic cultures involved. By bringing together an international team composed of the leading advocates of the competing positions, and by creating a structured series of intellectual encounters, the research group attempted to break free of the intellectual impasse, foster meaningful communication, and permit new knowledge to develop. The idea and initiative for the research group came from Bernard M. Levinson, who in close collaboration with Konrad Schmid (Zurich) and Baruch J. Schwartz (Jerusalem) prepared the formal research proposal. The research group consisted of eight members: Jan Christian Gertz, Shimon Gesundheit, Sara Japhet, Levinson, Schmid, Schwartz, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Benjamin D. Sommer. In addition, Joel S. Baden and Jeffrey Stackert contributed as short-term guests for approximately one month each. Ariel Kopilovitz served as research assistant.

The first, extensive stage of the group's intellectual work, which took place from September to December 2012, was directed toward the investigation of the emergence of the distinct academic cultures in pentateuchal research. In this phase, each member of the group selected a publication of his or her own that was deemed characteristic of his or her work; each of these was assigned in turn

for reading and critique. These presentations contextualized the selections by providing the scholar's own view of his or her basic methodological standpoint and assumptions.

In a second phase, the group devoted a significant amount of time to the discussion of specific biblical texts, such as the Joseph story in the book of Genesis or the plague cycle in the book of Exodus. These portions of the Pentateuch provide many peculiarities and difficulties for readers, and there are different ways to evaluate these texts in terms of their historical genesis. Some of the group members defended a source-critical approach; others, while not denying that the Pentateuch is composed of sources, placed more emphasis on redactional expansions of preexisting texts. Each member of the group benefited from the rare opportunity to study these texts intensively in the company of colleagues in the field.

In the third phase, the group discussed basic differences regarding historical-exegetical methods and also turned more closely to legal texts of the Pentateuch and their early reception. Seminars were given by members of the group who had published on the dating of pentateuchal texts, on the relationship between the legal collections of the Pentateuch, and on the evidence provided by Ezra–Nehemiah for understanding the formation of the Pentateuch.

Further academic guests lecturing to the group included Ed Greenstein (Bar-Ilan University), Steven E. Fassberg (Hebrew University), Itamar Kislev (University of Haifa), Armin Lange (University of Vienna), Naphtali Meshel (Princeton University; now Hebrew University), Frank Polak (Tel Aviv University), Alexander Rofé (Hebrew University), and Emanuel Tov (Hebrew University). Invited colleagues and doctoral students from the Hebrew University helped strengthen the group's ties to the local academic community in the field of Hebrew Bible.

As a preliminary capstone to its work, the group organized an international conference (bearing the same title as the research group), which took place at the IIAS on May 12–13, 2013. In addition to the members of the group, the list of chairs and speakers included an additional nineteen scholars from Israel and abroad. A second and much larger international conference, with fifty scholars on the program, entitled The Pentateuch within Biblical Literature: Formation and Interaction, took place at the IIAS on May 25–29, 2014. Grant applications by Dalit Rom-Shiloni and by Jan Christian Gertz were essential in funding these conferences, which could not have taken place without the generous support provided by both Israeli and German foundations committed to furthering international research: the IIAS, the Israel Science Foundation, the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, and the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Seeking to bring its goals to the attention of colleagues more broadly, the group also organized panels at the World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem (July 30–Aug. 1, 2013) and the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Baltimore (Nov. 17–20, 2013).

This volume has been organized into ten parts, each representing a theme that the editors thought important in order to move the discipline forward. Each part has been provided with its own introduction that seeks to highlight the larger intellectual goals and rationales of the papers included. Each of the fifty-six essays, contributed by forty-nine international colleagues, has gone through a process of peer review. In the selection and organization of the ten parts, the authors have sought to reframe conventional approaches to the question of the formation of the Pentateuch, bringing to bear historical linguistics, material culture, geography, and the literature of the Second Temple period:

1. Empirical Perspectives on the Composition of the Pentateuch
2. Can the Pentateuch Be Read in Its Present Form? Narrative Continuity in the Pentateuch in Comparative Perspective
3. The Role of Historical Linguistics in the Dating of Biblical Texts
4. The Significance of Second Temple Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Formation of the Pentateuch
5. Evidence for Redactional Activity in the Pentateuch
6. The Integration of Preexisting Literary Material in the Pentateuch and the Impact upon Its Final Shape
7. Historical Geography of the Pentateuch and Archaeological Perspectives
8. Do the Pentateuchal Sources Extend into the Former Prophets?
9. Rethinking the Relationship between the Law and the Prophets
10. Reading for Unity, Reading for Multiplicity: Theological Implications of the Study of the Pentateuch's Composition

Extensive effort has been placed on bringing to bear the relationship of the prophetic corpus to the Pentateuch, with special attention to matters of inner-biblical exegesis and textual allusion as potentially providing new evidence for standard assumptions about textual dating and literary development. The question of the relation between synchronic and diachronic methodology has also been explored. The volume aims, in these ways, less to provide a set of final answers than to open a dialogue that includes proponents of multiple positions, creating a shared conversation and inviting further participation and response.[5]

Only the reader can decide whether the research group has achieved its goals. After having devoted himself to the study of the Pentateuch for many years, Julius Wellhausen finally became weary of the field. In 1889, while teaching at Marburg, he received a *Ruf* (call) to be appointed to the chair in Old Testament at Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen, one of Europe's oldest universities. Declining that offer in a letter to the minister of culture of Baden-Württemberg, Wellhausen wrote:

> Mich interessieren die Themata der Vorlesungen nicht, mich langeweilt der Pentateuch und die kritische Analyse und das Altersverhältnis der Quellen.
> [I am not interested in the topics of the lectures. I am bored with the Pentateuch, critical analysis, and the relationship between the sources.][6]

With contributions that focus closely on the biblical text while asking new questions from a full range of methodological perspectives, we hope to help the reader avoid Wellhausen's *ennui*.

Jan Christian Gertz
Bernard M. Levinson
Dalit Rom-Shiloni
Konrad Schmid

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[6] J. WELLHAUSEN, *Briefe* (ed. R. Smend et al.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 247 (letter of January 12, 1890).

Part One

Empirical Perspectives on the
Composition of the Pentateuch

Introduction

Jan Christian Gertz

The reconstruction of the formation of the Pentateuch is still an equation with several unknowns. Perhaps it will always remain an unsolved riddle. In terms of external evidence, the texts and traditions combined to form the given Pentateuch are lost – most likely forever. Nearly unknown are the social and historical circumstances of the formation of the Pentateuch and its parts. And finally, we know hardly anything about the biblical writers who fashioned the narratives and laws of the Pentateuch by combining separate but complementary written traditions. What we think we know about the formation of the Pentateuch is based on internal critical analysis of the Pentateuch. The evidence for or against the Supplementary Hypothesis, the Documentary Hypothesis, and the Fragmentary Hypothesis or the various combinations thereof is, at best, indirect.

In the history of research, phenomena such as anachronisms, inconsistencies, contradictions, and thematic and stylistic variations within the books of the Pentateuch were rightly considered incompatible with the traditional view of uniform date or homogeneous authorship. They were more convincingly explained by the supposition of textual growth. It is a plausible hypothesis that the Pentateuch was formed by the combination of separate written traditions, and it is possible for modern scholarship to retrace these processes to some extent. However, beyond this general agreement on the historical growth of biblical literature, there is little consensus in scholarship on the formation of the Pentateuch. Unfortunately, estimations such as "this text is incoherent" or "this thematic or stylistic variation is in no way comparable with the suggestion of a single author" are highly subjective. An argument that some may consider self-evident may be regarded by others as weak. The evaluation of textual evidence is especially controversial concerning the ability to reconstruct the preliminary stages of the text and its literary growth precisely. Further contentious issues are the proof of textual influence and the determination of textual dependence. No less debated, of course, is the general idea of the literary history of ancient Israel, to which the respective hypotheses on the formation of the Pentateuch belong.

Reconstructing the formation of the Pentateuch is a historical issue – even if one disregards the historical question and thinks only in terms of literary analysis. As a result, it is necessary to ask for historical analogies and for the

correlation of historical phenomena:[1] are there analogies for the assumption that the Pentateuch as a whole can be divided into four sources? In the light of historically demonstrable literary processes, is it plausible to assume that the received Pentateuch is the work of a single compiler who combined nearly completely preserved sources and abstained from reworking and reformulating them? Is there an empirical basis for scholarly confidence in reconstructing the growth of the text in every detail? Is there empirical evidence for a series of unlimited smaller adaptations?

Concrete analogies would enable those doing source criticism or history of redaction to base their work on something more than subjective self-evidence. Naturally, the search for analogies is not new. Three decades ago, Jeffrey Tigay prepared the introduction to his inspiring edited volume, *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem. It is therefore fitting that the present volume similarly emerges out of a research year and two associated conferences convened at the same institute. In his engaging introduction, Tigay mentioned analogies adduced on the basis of Chronicles, the Qumran Scrolls, the Septuagint, ancient Near Eastern literature, and the nature of the cultural milieu in which biblical literature was produced.[2] Every single "empirical model" shows that ancient writers created their literary works out of distinct and overlapping written sources or by supplementing one source with another.

Concrete analogies could function as models of literary development, providing the critic with firsthand experience with compilers' or redactors' techniques. But where can we find appropriate analogies demonstrating more than the general conditions of literary production in the ancient Near East? Given the relative paucity of evidence from the Bible itself or the time of the formation of the early stages of the Pentateuch, the Qumran scrolls and certain postbiblical texts like the book of Jubilees become attractive as models of literary development. Yet, one cannot rule out the possibility that some of the techniques reflected in the postbiblical material are different from those used earlier by the biblical authors. The analogies are thus not perfect. They are not a "primary source" for the techniques of Israelite writers in the earlier periods. Nevertheless, analogies can show what is possible or realistic by presenting what happened elsewhere. In so doing, they can aid in evaluating the historical realism of an existing theory of the formation of the Pentateuch. Like every historical analogy, they are a proof of plausibility. They serve to indicate which compositional technique might

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[1] See E. Troeltsch, "Über historische und dogmatische Methode in der Theologie," in idem, *Zur religiösen Lage, Religionsphilosophie und Ethik*, vol. 2 of *Gesammelte Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1913), 729–753.

[2] J. H. Tigay, introduction to *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1–20.

plausibly have been used by the biblical writers by demonstrating what was done in culturally and historically similar contexts.

Tigay's question has received new attention in recent research, as can be seen in the present volume. Besides the part entitled "Empirical Perspectives on the Composition of the Pentateuch," Reinhard G. Kratz and Molly M. Zahn address the question in the part "Second Temple Literature and Its Importance for the Formation of the Pentateuch." Moreover, Jean Louis Ska and Cynthia Edenburg explicitly deal with the topic in the part "Evidence for Redactional Activity in the Pentateuch."

Inscriptional Evidence for the Writing
of the Earliest Texts of the Bible

Intellectual Infrastructure in Tenth- and Ninth-
Century Israel, Judah, and the Southern Levant

Christopher A. Rollston

Introduction

The dating of biblical materials has long been, and shall always be, the subject of much discussion and dispute.[1] As part of some of the discussions and disputes regarding the origins of the earliest biblical materials, some very fine scholars have argued that the capacity for writing texts of substance and sophistication was simply not present in Israel or Judah prior to the eighth century BCE. For this reason, these scholars contend that the origins of the earliest biblical materials cannot antedate the eighth century BCE. For example, Thomas L. Thompson has written that "we cannot seek an origin of literature in Palestine prior to the eighth, or perhaps even better the seventh century."[2] Similarly, regarding the Southern Kingdom of Judah, Israel Finkelstein states that he

[2] T.L. THOMPSON, *Early History of the Israelite People from the Written and Archaeological Sources* (SHCANE 4; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 391.

has "argued time and again [that] archaeology shows that meaningful scribal activity appeared in Jerusalem only with the rise of Judah to full statehood in the late eighth century B.C.E." For this reason, Finkelstein concludes that the "composition of literary works" in Judah could not antedate the eighth century BCE.[3] Regarding the Northern Kingdom of Israel, he has stated that "one can expect large-scale building activities such as the ones carried out at Samaria, Jezreel, and the other Omride sites and a prosperous economy to be accompanied by an advanced bureaucratic apparatus, including writing," but he then goes on to state that "evidence of writing in the entire region in the early ninth century is sparse. In fact, not a single early ninth-century B.C.E. inscription has thus far been found in the heartland of Israel – at Samaria, Jezreel, Megiddo, Yokneam, and Taanach." He states further that "daily administration related to the recording of agricultural output is evident in Israel only in the first half of the eighth century B.C.E., first and foremost in the Samaria ostraca." He is, of course, aware that someone might contend that "most scribal activity was carried out on papyrus and parchment" (and thus perished during the course of time), but he argues that there is also an absence of monumental inscriptions in Northwest Semitic until "the second half of the ninth century, for example, the Mesha and Tel Dan inscriptions." He then concludes that "literacy and scribal activity during the time of the Omrides was weak at most."[4] Regarding the Hebrew Bible, therefore, Finkelstein states that "assembling all available data for scribal activity in Israel and Judah reveals no evidence of writing before approximately 800 B.C.E. In fact, it shows that meaningful writing in Israel began in the first half of the eighth century, while in Judah it commenced only in the late eighth and more so in the seventh century B.C.E." Then he asserts that "past ideas regarding the date of compilation of biblical texts were based on the testimony of the Bible and hence fell prey to circular reasoning. Recent archaeological and biblical research has made it clear that no biblical text could have been written before circa 800 B.C.E. in Israel and about a century later in Judah." Along those same lines, he contends that "this means that the earliest northern texts, such as the core of the Jacob cycle in Genesis, were probably put in writing in the first half of the eighth century, during the period of prosperity in Judah, especially under the long reign of Jeroboam II. This indicates, in turn, that ninth-century B.C.E. and earlier memories could have been preserved and transmitted only in oral form."[5]

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[3] I. FINKELSTEIN, "Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible," in *The Quest for the Historical Israel* (ed. B.B. Schmidt; ABS 17; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 9–20, here 12.

[4] I. FINKELSTEIN, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel* (SBL Ancient Near Eastern Monographs 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 113–115.

[5] FINKELSTEIN, *Forgotten Kingdom* (see n. 4), 162–163. For similar statements in earlier publications, see also IDEM, "Digging for the Truth" (see n. 3), 14, 17. It is worth noting

Ultimately, these sorts of construals of the epigraphic evidence are simply too conservative and fail to factor in the weight of the cumulative evidence of the actual extant inscriptions from the southern Levant. That is, the constellation of the extant Levantine Northwest Semitic epigraphic evidence demonstrates nicely that trained scribal elites, using a linear alphabetic script, were already functioning very capably in Phoenicia (e.g., Byblos) in the late eleventh and early tenth centuries BCE, using the standardized Phoenician script with good letter morphology, consistency regarding the direction of writing (sinistrograde), consistency of stance, and care with regard to letter spacing and letter environment.[6] Much the same is true as well (as I shall

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that those arguing for the eighth and seventh centuries as the earliest possible dates for the production of literary and historical texts in Israel and Judah often rely on the work of D. JAMIESON-DRAKE, *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Israel: A Socio-Archaeological Approach* (JSOTSup 109; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991). For example, THOMPSON, *Early History of the Israelite People* (see n. 2), 390–391; N.P. LEMCHE, *Prelude to Israel's Past: Background and Beginnings of Israelite History and Identity* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1998), 221; Alas, Jamieson-Drake's selection, analysis, and understanding of the archaeological and epigraphic material is plagued with problems. Among the most damning of critiques is that of G.I. DAVIES, "Were There Schools in Ancient Israel?," in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel: Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton* (ed. J. Day et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 199–211, here 207–209. On some of the orthographic and paleographic problems with Jamieson-Drake, see C.A. ROLLSTON, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence," *BASOR* 344 (2006), 47–74. An additional problem with Jamieson-Drake is that he seems to presuppose that scribal activity would perforce occur in some sort of monumental context. But even in Mesopotamia and Egypt, scribal education often occurred in small-scale contexts, including domestic contexts. For this reason, it seems entirely reasonable that in Israel and Judah, scribal education occurred in small-scale contexts, including domestic ones. For the literature on this, see C.A. ROLLSTON, "An Old Hebrew Stone Inscription from the City of David: A Trained Hand and a Remedial Hand on the Same Inscription," in *Puzzling Out the Past: Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures in Honor of Bruce Zuckerman* (ed. M.J. Lundberg et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 189–196, here 195–196. Many of the criticisms that can be leveled against Jamieson-Drake can be leveled also against H.M. NIEMANN, *Herrschaft, Königtum, und Staat* (FAT 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1993), and G. GARBINI, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel* (New York: Crossroad, 1988).

[6] C.A. ROLLSTON, "The Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions: A Response to Benjamin Sass," *Maarav* 15 (2008), 57–93, with detailed discussion of the host of paleographic problems that accompany Sass's attempt to lower the dates of the monumental royal Byblian inscriptions by some century and a half. Regarding the monumental royal Byblian inscriptions, it should be emphasized that the recent article of I. FINKELSTEIN and B. SASS, "The West Semitic Alphabetic Inscriptions, Late Bronze II to Iron IIA: Archaeological Context, Distribution, and Chronology," *HBAI* 2 (2013), 149–220, constitutes a repetition of the same arguments Sass has attempted to use in recent years. Striking (and telling) is the fact that within this article, rather than replying to the paleographic arguments I marshaled, Sass and Finkelstein write the following: "Behind [Rollston's] [. . .] steadfast clinging to the 1000 B.C.E. dating of Ahiram and the tying of two Byblos kings to the two Egyptian Pharaohs

argue below) in the fledgling states of Israel, Judah, Moab, and Ammon during
the ninth century. After all, most of the ninth-century inscriptions from these
kingdoms and chronological horizons consist of well-formed letters; good
letter morphology, ductus, and stance; sufficient attention to spacing and letter
environment; and usage of a standard phonology and orthography. In addition,
some of these ninth-century inscriptions from the southern Levant contain
some rather impressive content, replete not only with reliable historical con-
tent but also with some deft political and religious ideology. Someone might
contend that such inscriptions hail primarily from the second half of the ninth
century, not the first half. I would counter that the sophisticated usage of script
and language is not the sort of thing that "springs forth full-grown from the
head of Zeus," and so the presence of some fine inscriptions from the middle
and second half of the ninth century presupposes the presence of very capable
scribalism during the preceding chronological horizon(s). And, of course, in
addition to this, there is a growing corpus of tenth-century inscriptions from
the regions of Israel and Judah (discussed below), thus augmenting the totality
of the epigraphic record. Therefore, at this juncture, although the epigraphic
evidence cannot be said to support some sort of a "Solomonic enlightenment"
in Israel and Judah of the tenth century,[7] neither can it convincingly be argued
that the eighth century is the earliest possible date for a scribal apparatus

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was apparently the wish not to let go of Albright's proposed archaeological and textual
backdrop to the biblical David, Solomon and Hiram" (181; A. Lemaire and A. Millard are
similarly criticized with the same words). At least in my case, I said nothing about David,
Solomon, or the biblical Hiram, as they were not part of the evidence I brought to the fore.
Moreover, I contended that the Aḥiram Sarcophagus inscription dated not to 1000 BCE but
rather to sometime in the tenth century – arguably the early tenth century, but still, the point
is that I did not "cling steadfastly" to 1000 BCE for Aḥiram. In any case, after this, Sass
and Finkelstein simply repeat their arguments for the late dating of all of these inscriptions.
Suffice it to say that the paleographic problems with Sass's attempt to lower the chronology
that I enumerated in detail in 2008 have not changed. That is, the paleographic data support
the standard dating and so attempts to lower the dating one hundred to one hundred and fifty
years are not tenable, and I am confident that epigraphers will not embrace the proposed
lowering.

[7] For the older literature on the so-called Solomonic enlightenment, a term that was
used to suggest the presence of scribal elites in the royal court and the capacity for some
disinterest in the writing of historical and wisdom texts, see G. VON RAD, *The Problem of
the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken; New York: McGraw-Hill,
1966 [1st ed., 1938]), 1–78; A. ALT, "Die Weisheit Salomos,"*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
76 (1951), 139–144; R.B.Y. SCOTT, "Solomon and the Beginnings of Wisdom in Israel," in
Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East: Presented to Professor Harold Henry Rowley
(ed. N. Noth and D. Winton Thomas; VTSup 3; Leiden: Brill, 1955), 262–279; G. VON RAD,
Wisdom in Israel (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972). Significantly, the notion of a Solomonic
enlightenment was strongly, cogently, and fatally critiqued long ago by J.L. CRENSHAW,
"A Review of *Wisdom in Israel* by Gerhard von Rad," *RelSRev* 2 (1976), 6–12; and also in
IDEM, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction* (2nd ed.; Louisville, Westminster John Knox,

in Israel, Judah, Moab, and Ammon. Rather, the convergence of epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the intellectual scribal infrastructure was already present in these regions for the production of literature in (at least) the ninth century. And for Phoenicia, the epigraphic evidence demonstrates that there were already very capable trained scribes functioning within a state apparatus in the tenth century, and arguably also in the late eleventh century as well.[8] And in previous publications, building on the work of the previous generation of scholars, I have argued for the presence of a very sophisticated scribal apparatus in Israel and Judah during the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries BCE; thus the scribal productivity of the ninth century persists in the succeeding centuries as well.[9] Finally, as a complementary component of this discussion, I shall also contend that there are historical materials in the Hebrew Bible that are most naturally understood as having been based on written royal annals of ninth-century officialdom of Israel and Judah. In essence, therefore, I shall contend that the intellectual infrastructure was certainly present in the southern Levant during the ninth century BCE for writing texts of substance and sophistication, and this is as true of scribes in Israel and Judah as it was of scribes in Moab, Ammon, and Damascus.

1998). Suffice it to say that those who continue to argue against the Solomonic enlightenment are essentially (to use a proverbial phrase from the past) "beating a dead horse."

[8] I have discussed the scripts and inscriptions of all of these regions in various technical articles, a number of which appear in the footnotes in this article, but I have also provided fairly synthetic summaries of the epigraphic and paleographic data in C.A. ROLLSTON, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (ABS 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 19–82. The finest and most detailed tome regarding the script traditions of the Levant during the ninth century is arguably that of my former student, H.D. DAVIS PARKER, "The Levant Comes of Age: The Ninth Century BCE through Script Traditions" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2013).

[9] ROLLSTON, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel" (see n. 5), 47–74; IDEM, "The Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary and Putative Evidence for Israelite Literacy," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context* (ed. R.E. Tappy and P.K. McCarter; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 61–96; IDEM, "Scribal Curriculum during the First Temple Period: Epigraphic Hebrew and Biblical Evidence," in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production* (ed. B.B. Schmidt; AIL; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 69–99; IDEM, "Epigraphy: Writing Culture in the Iron Age Levant," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Ancient Israel* (ed. S. Niditch; Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, 2016), 131–150. See the literature cited in the notes of these articles for reference to earlier secondary literature, especially J.L. CRENSHAW, *Education in Ancient Israel: Across the Deadening Silence* (New York: Doubleday, 1998). Among the most important recent works, see in particular D.M. CARR, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); K. VAN DER TOORN, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

I. Select Inscriptions of the Tenth, Ninth, and Early Eighth Centuries from the Southern Levant: Monumental

Among the oldest of the monumental inscriptions are the royal inscriptions of Byblos, a famous Phoenician port city located on the Mediterranean Sea. And among the most impressive of the Byblian royal inscriptions is the King Aḥiram Sarcophagus Inscription.[10] This inscription dates to the tenth century BCE and was chiseled into a very finely made sarcophagus. It is normally classified as among the oldest of the Byblian Phoenician inscriptions, with only Azarbaʿl (figure 1) being slightly older. The Aḥiram inscription reads as follows: "The sarcophagus that [ʾE]thbaʿl son of Aḥiram king of Byblos made for Aḥiram, his father, when committing him to eternity." Thus, this is an inscription that a son made for his deceased father. Aḥiram, the father, was the king of Byblos, and it is reasonable to contend that ʾEthbaʿl his son was also his successor. The inscription continues, and it contains some of the traditional curse materials that are part of many royal burial inscriptions, namely, "And if a king among kings or a governor among gov<er>nors, or an army commander should come up to Byblos and expose this sarcophagus, may the scepter of his rule be overturned, and may the throne of his kingdom be in tumult, and may rest flee from Byblos. And as for him, may his royal record(s) be erased from By[blos]."[11] This inscription is important for a number of additional reasons as well. First of all, although it is not the earliest of the Old Byblian royal inscriptions (again, Azarbaʿl is older), the script mandates a date squarely in the tenth century BCE, so it is quite early indeed. Furthermore, the script is beautifully executed, and it reflects the fact that there were some very gifted Phoenician scribes and stonemasons during this early period of the Phoenician script. The letter morphology reflects some variation but always within a strict standard of deviation. The spacing between letters is done with precision and consistency. The stonemason did begin to reduce the size of the letters as he neared the end of the sarcophagus, but even with these sorts of constraints the letter morphology and stance are quite neat and clean (with the exception of the rewriting in the chipped-out area at the end of the inscription). This inscription is also interesting (but not unique) in that a letter was accidentally omitted from a word, namely, in the word "governor." No one, not even a gifted scribe, is perfect. The entire inscription is the work of a trained professional. It is among the most famous of the Old Byblian Phoenician inscriptions, and it is a sterling demonstration of the sophistication of the Phoenician scribal apparatus in the Iron Age Levant of the tenth century.

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[10] R. Dussaud, "Les inscriptions phéniciennes du tombeau d'Ahiram, roi de Byblos," *Syria* 5 (1924), 135–157.

[11] Translation from C. A. Rollston, *Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (SBLWAW; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming).

The King Yeḥimilk of Byblos Inscription (figure 2) is also representative of the gifted royal scribes and stonemasons in Byblos of Phoenicia. This inscription also dates to the tenth century BCE and is a temple dedication. In it, King Yeḥimilk says: "May Baʿl-Shamēm and Baʿlat of Byblos and the Council of the Holy Gods of Byblos lengthen the days of Yeḥimilk and (lengthen) his years over Byblos."[12] This inscription is particularly nice because it refers to two heads of
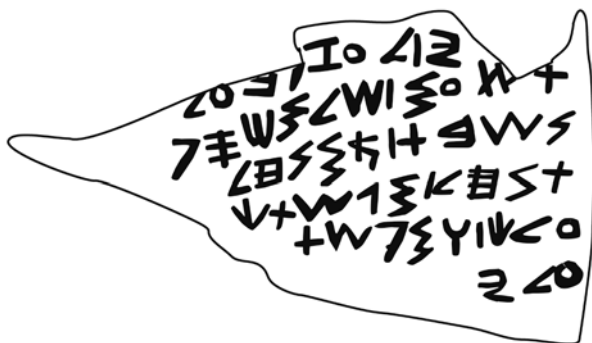
Figure 1. Azarbaʿl Inscription (Phoenician, drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).
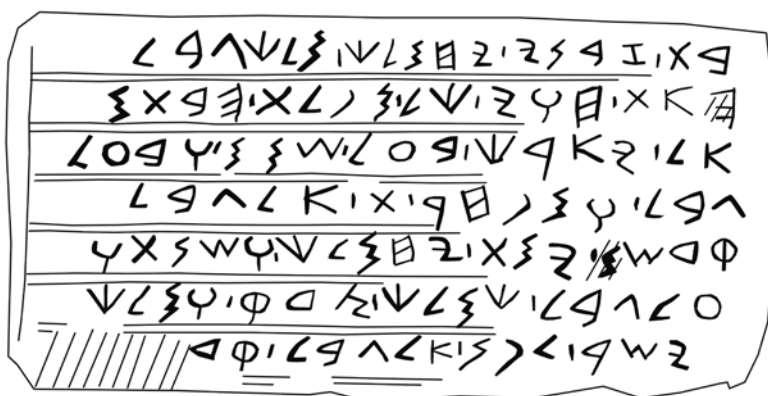
Figure 2. Yeḥimilk Inscription (Phoenician, drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

the pantheon, a god and a goddess, and then refers to the divine council as well. The script of this inscription is beautifully done, with spacing between letters consistent and methodical. Moreover, word dividers are used. This inscription is carefully lined as well (double lines separate each line of text), a further demonstration of the care and capability of the scribal professional(s) who were

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[12] Translation from ROLLSTON, *Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (see n. 11).

responsible for it. Similarly, the King Abibaʿl of Byblos Inscription, on a statue of the Egyptian pharaoh Sheshonq I (r. ca. 945–924 BCE) is Phoenician and dates to the tenth century. It reads as follows: "[The statue which] Abibaʿl King of [Byblos, son of Yeḥimilk king of] Byblos, brought from Egypt for Baʿlat [of Byblos, his sovereign. May Baʿlat of Byblos lengthen the days of Abibaʿl and (lengthen) his years] over Byblos."[13] Likewise, the Byblian inscription of King Elibaʿl was inscribed on a bust of the Egyptian pharaoh Osorkon I (r. ca. 924–889 BCE) and is also carefully executed. Of some significance, of course, is the fact that two of these great royal Byblian inscriptions were made on imports from Egypt, and not just any imports, but rather royal statuary from Egypt. Moreover, the tradition of professional scribalism at Byblos continued during the late tenth and early ninth century as well with the King Shipiṭbaʿl Inscription (figure 3), a fine royal inscription from that chronological horizon. In sum, there can be no doubt that some very gifted scribes served the royals of the Phoenician city-states, with Byblos a prime demonstration of the presence of such capabilities.

The Tel Dan Stela (figure 4) is written in the Old Aramaic language and in the Phoenician script, that is, the prestige script used to write both Phoenician and Aramaic at that time. Although it is not a particularly long inscription, and although it is not entirely preserved, it is impressive. Based on the historical content and the paleography, this inscription can be dated confidently to the ninth century BCE. Tel Dan was a northern Israelite site in this period. The person who commissioned this stela was an Aramean king. Avraham Biran and Joseph Naveh have argued convincingly that it was King Hazael of Damascus (r. ca. 842–806 BCE) who commissioned this inscription.[14] George Athas has contended that it was commissioned not by Hazael of Damascus but by Ben-Hadad III of Damascus, the son of Hazael. Most scholars concur with the proposal of Biran and Naveh, as do I.[15]

This Old Aramaic inscription, commissioned by an Aramean king, was placed on Israelite soil as a reminder to the Israelites of a major defeat. The preserved portion of the stela begins with reference to "cutting" (perhaps about the making of a treaty or about the breach or a treaty) and then mentions that "my father went up against him in war [. . .] and my father lay down and he went to his fathers." That is, the stela contains reference (but without preserved details, per se) to the history that antedates Hazael's own kingship and conquest. Among the things mentioned is the death of his father ("he lay down and went to his fathers" is a standard idiom for this). The inscription then moves into the

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[13] Translation from Rollston, *Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (see n. 11).

[14] A. Biran and J. Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," *IEJ* 45 (1995), 1–18.

[15] G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation* (London: T&T Clark, 2003).

casus belli, the reason for Hazael's war against Israel and Judah, namely, "the king of Israel had gone formerly into the land of my father" (i.e., territorial encroachment by Israel). The term *formerly* is used here to indicate that this happened prior to Hazael's coronation. The inscription then moves into a discussion of King Hazael's rise to kingship: "As for me, Hadad made me king and Hadad went before me (in battle)." This Old Aramaic inscription also recounts some of Hazael's victories, but because this portion of the inscription is not well
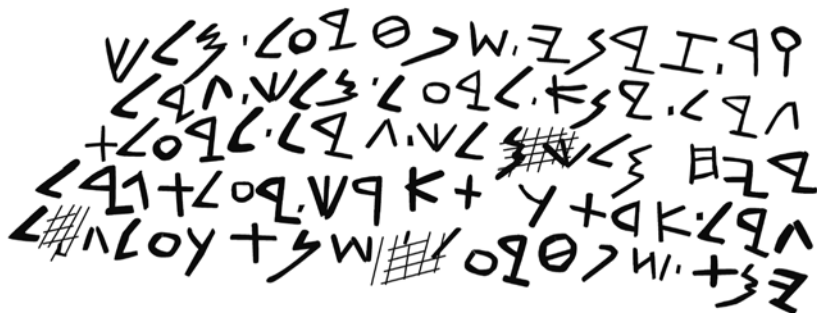
Figure 3. Shipiṭbaʿl Inscription (Phoenician, drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

Figure 4. Tel Dan Stela Inscription (Old Aramaic language, in
Phoenician script; drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

preserved the precise contents cannot be discerned. Some details, nevertheless, are preserved and are particularly important. Namely, Hazael states that he killed King Jehoram (r. ca. 849–842 BCE), son of Ahab, the king of Israel, and that he killed King Ahaziah (r. ca. 842 BCE), son of Jehoram, king of the house of David (i.e., Judah). Only a few words of the remainder of the stela are preserved, but it seems reasonable to argue that King Hazael commissioned this inscription

in the wake of his rise to power (and in the wake of King Jehu of Israel's rise to power, as will be discussed below). In any case, the Tel Dan Stela is a very nice, paradigmatic victory stela, in which a king claims victory over an enemy, on the enemy's territory, and then leaves a stela to remind the conquered of their military losses. The script of this inscription is very carefully executed, with standard morphology and ductus and with spacing between letters done with deftness and consistency. The use of word dividers in this inscription is quite consistent, at least as consistent as the great Tell Fakhariyeh Inscription from northern Syria. The Old Aramaic of the Tel Dan Stela is very good, equal to some of the best of the Old Aramaic inscriptions from the eighth century BCE. Of course, there are also some precise historical details in this inscription, replete with personal names and patronymics. There can be no doubt that there were some very finely trained military scribes accompanying King Hazael of Damascus, a conqueror of some significance in the southern Levant of the ninth century BCE. Phoenicia was no backwater in the tenth century BCE and Damascus was no backwater in the ninth century BCE. Scribes with formal standardized training in script and language were there.

The Mesha Stela is among the longest and most impressive of all Iron Age Northwest Semitic inscriptions. It is written in the Moabite language, a language that is distinct from Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ammonite. The script of this inscription is the Old Hebrew script, arguably a reflex of northern Israelite (Omride) political and cultural hegemony during much of the first half of the ninth century BCE.[16] Based on the historical content and the paleography, this inscription can confidently be assigned to the ninth century BCE, probably during the early years of the second half of the century. The inscription is fairly long, with some thirty-five lines preserved, with around twenty-five to thirty letters per line. The script of this inscription is beautifully executed, with letter spacing consistent, letter morphology consistent (i.e., falling within a certain standard of deviation), and the use of word dividers. The lines of this inscription are straight, a reflection of the careful layout that preceded the actual chiseling of the stone. The orthography used within this inscription is consistent, as is also the phonology. Within this inscription, King Mesha of Moab provides his patronymic ("son of Kemoshyat") and refers to himself as a "Dibonite." Then he states that Kemosh (the national God of Moab) had been "angry" with Moab and had allowed Moab to be subjected to the hegemony of King Omri of Israel. During the reign of Omri's "son," Mesha (with the full support of Kemosh) rebelled against his Omride suzerain and was able to regain much of the historic Moabite territory. It is important to emphasize in this context that Mesha's public works are also a strong component of this inscription. For

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[16] So, J. NAVEH, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987), 65; ROLLSTON, *Writing and Literacy* (see n. 8), 42, 54.

example, Mesha states, "I built Baʿl-Maon and I made a water reservoir in it, and I built Qiryatēn." Later, Mesha states that he went up against Yaḥaṣ and seized it to augment the territory of Dibon, and he built "Qarḥoh, the walls of the lower acropolis and the walls of the upper acropolis." He goes on to state, "I myself built its gates and I myself built its towers and I myself built its royal palaces and I myself made the retaining walls of the water reservoir for the

Figure 5. El-Kerak Inscription (Moabite language, in Old
Hebrew script; drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

water spring within the city [. . .] and I built ʿAroʿer and the surfaced road at the ʿArnon."[17] In the ancient Near Eastern world, including the southern Levant, kings were supposed to excel in public works, and Mesha contends that he did just that.[18] The main point is that the Mesha Stela Inscription is the product of a formal, sophisticated scribal apparatus in Moab during the early years of the second half of the ninth century BCE. Moreover, the script that it uses is the Old Hebrew script, a reflection of Omride hegemony and the sophisticated nature of the Omride scribal apparatus.

The el-Kerak Inscription (figure 5) is also a ninth-century Moabite inscription. It is fragmentary but certainly royal, as the first preserved line indicates: "[. . . K]emoshyat, King of Moab." Two additional lines of text follow but without enough preserved letters to yield all that much in terms of readings.

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[17] Translations of the Mesha Stela are from ROLLSTON, *Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (see n. 11).

[18] For a very good, detailed discussion of statements about the accomplishment of royal works for one's own kingdom, see D.J. GREEN, *I Undertook Great Works: The Ideology of Domestic Achievements in West Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (FAT 2/41; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

The script of this inscription is the same script as that of the Mesha Stela, with all of the letters carefully chiseled into the stone, straight lines of text, general consistency of the morphology and stance of the letters, consistent letter spacing, and the presence of word dividers. Of particular importance for reading this text is the recent work of Heather Dana Davis Parker and Ashley Fiutko Arico, who argue convincingly that this ninth-century Moabite inscription was actually inscribed on a statue, with the pleats of a skirt, a belt, and a navel all still present (with the latter two now added into the most recent version of my drawing of this inscription). Furthermore, they also argue that the closest stylistic parallels for this statue are Egyptian royal statuary.[19] This evidence demonstrates again that the southern Levant was not some sort of backwater during the ninth century BCE but rather a region with a sophisticated scribal apparatus and the capability of producing statuary similar to contemporary Egyptian statuary or the capability of importing royal statuary from Egypt.

Reference should also be made to the Amman Citadel Stela (figure 6), a fine monumental inscription found on the citadel of Amman, ancient Rabbat Amman, the capital of the Ammonite kingdom. It is normally dated to the ninth century BCE on the basis of its script (a lapidary series of the ninth century BCE). Word dividers are used within this inscription. Although this inscription is not complete and there is some damage to the surface, sufficient text (ca. eight lines) is preserved for it to be affirmed with some confidence that this inscription is a monumental dedicatory inscription. For example, at the beginning of the first preserved line, the inscription arguably refers to the Ammonite national deity Milkom, a deity also mentioned in the Bible in connection with Ammon (1 Kgs 11:5; Jer 49:1–3). Moreover, the script of this inscription is very good, with a consistent morphology for the letters, substantial attention to spacing between letters, and frequent usage of word dividers.[20] The original quality of this monumental inscription from Rabbat Ammon demonstrates that during the ninth century BCE, the Ammonite scribal apparatus was very capable of producing a first-class royal inscription. Again, the ninth century in the southern Levant was home to some very talented royal scribes from multiple countries.

Finally, although only a small fragment of this stela has been preserved, it is important to note that the northern Israelite capital of Samaria has also yielded the remains of a monumental inscription in Old Hebrew. Just four letters of it are preserved, but the limestone is of high quality and the stone has been nicely dressed. The letters were chiseled with precision, the work of a master. This

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[19] H. D. Davis Parker and A. F. Arico, "A Moabite-Inscribed Statue Fragment from Kerak: Egyptian Parallels," *BASOR* 373 (2015), 105–120.

[20] On this inscription, see F. M. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on the Amman Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 (1969), 13–19.
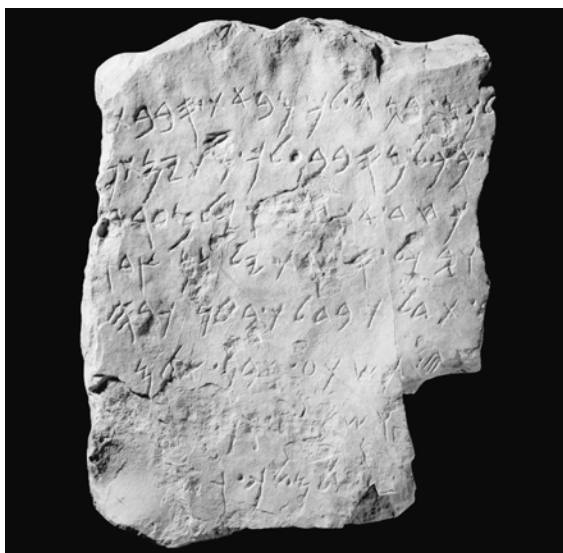
Figure 6. Amman Citadel Stela (Ammonite language, in Phoenician script; photo courtesy of West Semitic Research and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan).

inscription has been dated to the (early) eighth century BCE, but a date in the late ninth century is also tenable.[21]

Ultimately, the most rational conclusion on the basis of the cumulative linear Northwest Semitic epigraphic data is that trained royal scribes were functioning in important capacities during the eleventh, tenth, ninth, and early eighth centuries BCE in much of the southern Levant (and later, of course).[22] These scribes were producing monumental inscriptions chiseled carefully into stone. The inscriptions are characterized by the deft writing of the letters (in terms of morphology and stance), careful attention to spacing between letters, frequent use of word dividers, and general straightness of lines (on a horizontal plane). Moreover, the content of these inscriptions routinely refers to kings and kingdoms, often also using personal names and patronymics. These are royal inscriptions of a very high order, not the work of some fledgling beginners

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[21] J. W. CROWFOOT et al., *The Objects from Samaria* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957), plate 4; ROLLSTON, *Writing and Literacy* (see n. 8), 55.

[22] For some of the discussion of script traditions and scribalism during various periods, including those that are later than those discussed in this article, see the following and the literature cited there: C. A. ROLLSTON, "Northwest Semitic Cursive Scripts of Iron II," in *An Eye for Form: Epigraphic Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. J. A. Hackett and W. E. Aufrecht; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 202–234; IDEM, "The Iron Age Phoenician Script," in *An Eye for Form: Epigraphic Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. J. A. Hackett and W. E. Aufrecht; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 72–99; and IDEM, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel" (see n. 5), 47–74.

but rather the work of consummate professionals who were trained well in the technology of writing.

II. Select Inscriptions of the Tenth, Ninth, and Early Eighth Centuries: Nonmonumental

From the site of Khirbet Qeiyafa hail some very important inscriptions that date to the late eleventh or early tenth centuries BCE. Among the most interesting is the Ishbaʿl Jar Inscription (figure 7; discovered during the 2012 excavation season). This inscription is dated by the excavator to ca. 1020–980 BCE, based on radiometric dating of the relevant layer in which it was found. According to the editio princeps, the readings of the Incised Ishbaʿl inscription are: [ ] ʾšbʿl <bn> bdʿ. I believe that these readings are correct. The authors of the editio princeps render the extant portion of this inscription (the very beginning of the inscription is not preserved, though some traces are present) as "Ishbaʿl son of Bedaʿ." The authors of the editio princeps correctly note that this inscription was incised before firing and that it is written sinistrograde (i.e., right to left). Because of the stance and direction of the letters, it is readily apparent that this inscription is written in the script that is classified as Early Alphabetic, though a late stage of it.[23] There is no doubt that the script of this inscription is that of a trained scribal professional. The letters were executed with precision and deftness. The spacing between words was careful and precise. The word dividers were nicely done and consistent. This inscription constitutes further evidence for the presence of trained scribal professionals in the southern Levant during the late eleventh and early tenth centuries BCE. Of course, the famed Qeiyafa Ostracon was discovered prior to this inscription, in 2008.[24] The script of the Qeiyafa Ostracon is also Early Alphabetic (though without the degree of deftness that is present in the Ishbaʿl Inscription), in writing best understood as dextrograde. Dividing lines are used between each line of this ostracon, and some word dividers are present. As is often the case in Early Alphabetic inscriptions, there is substantial variation in the stance and direction of the letters of the Qeiyafa Ostracon. Since this inscription is faded and abraded, the readings have been much discussed and debated. Nevertheless, this ostracon does constitute evidence for scribal activity in the late eleventh and early tenth centuries in the southern Levant, something that is not surprising in light of the impressive monumental remains at the site

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[23] Y. GARFINKEL et al., "The ʾIšbaʿal Inscription from Khirbet Qeiyafa," *BASOR* 373 (2015), 217–233. For further discussion of the script, see my forthcoming article in the *Festschrift* for Dennis Pardee.

[24] H. MISGAV et al., "The Ostracon," in *Qeiyafa, Volume 1: Excavation Report, 2007–2008* (ed. Y. Garfinkel and S. Ganor; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 243–257.

of Khirbet Qeiyafa.[25] It is worth mentioning that recent years have witnessed the discovery of multiple inscriptions in Early Alphabetic script in addition to those of Khirbet Qeiyafa. For example, at Tell es-Safi, an incised Early Alphabetic sherd was found in an archaeological context that the excavators consider late
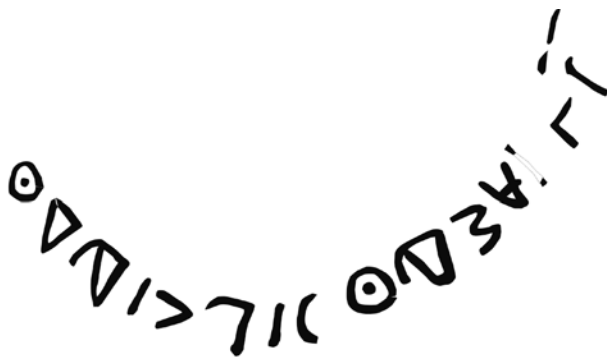
Figure 7. Ishbaʿl Jar Inscription from Qeiyafa (Canaanite linguistic dialect, in Early Alphabetic script; drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

Iron Age I (ca. 1050–1000 BCE) or early Iron Age II (1000–900 BCE).[26] Of these dates, I prefer one in the late eleventh or early tenth century.[27] Also of import are the brief but significant Early Alphabetic inscriptions from Tel Beth-Shemesh[28] and the Ophel in Jerusalem.[29] In any case, the inscriptions from such sites are not monumental in nature, but some (such as the Ishbaʿl Inscription

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[25] Finally, it should be emphasized that although it is tempting to argue for a precise linguistic classification of these inscriptions from Qeiyafa (as was done in the editio princeps of the ostracon discovered in 2008), the fact of the matter is that there are no diagnostic elements that constitute evidence for such a classification, neither for the ostracon discovered in 2008 (C. A. ROLLSTON, "The Khirbet Qeiyafa Ostracon: Methodological Musings and Caveats," *Tel Aviv* [2011], 67–82) nor for this incised jar inscription discovered in 2012. Since the script of both can be classified as Early Alphabetic, the safest conclusion is that the language is Canaanite.

[26] A. M. MAEIR et al., "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron Age II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gat, Israel: Palaeography, Dating, and Historical-Cultural Significance," *BASOR* 351 (2008), 39–71.

[27] See now also some additional inscriptions from Safi, published in A. M. MAEIR and E. ESHEL, "Four Short Alphabetic Inscriptions from Late Iron Age IIa Tell eṣ-Ṣafi/Gath and Their Implications for the Development of Literacy in Iron Age Philistia and Environs," in *See, I Will Bring a Scroll Recounting What Befell Me (Ps 40:8): Epigraphy and Daily Life from the Bible to the Talmud Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Hanan Eshel* (ed. E. Eshel and Y. Levin; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 69–88.

[28] P. K. MCCARTER et al., "An Archaic Baal Inscription from Tel Beth-Shemesh," *Tel Aviv* 38 (2011), 179–193.

[29] E. MAZAR et al., "An Inscribed Pithos from the Ophel, Jerusalem," *IEJ* 63 (2013), 39–49.

from Qeiyafa) are quite impressive in terms of script quality. The main point is that during the late eleventh century and the tenth century, writing was part and parcel of scribal life in important polities such as Qeiyafa, Safi, Jerusalem, and Beth-Shemesh. Also worth emphasizing is the fact that although the Phoenician

Figure 8. Kefar Veradim Inscribed Bowl (written in the Phoenician script; drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

script had already displaced the Early Alphabetic script in Phoenicia during the eleventh century, the usage of the Early Alphabetic script persisted longer in regions of the southern Levant that were not as central as Phoenicia. In many respects, this is predictable, but in any case, at this juncture the evidence is sufficient to mandate that conclusion based on the epigraphic data.

The Kefar Veradim Inscribed Bowl (figure 8) is a stunning artifact, made of bronze and fluted.[30] It is obviously a prestige object. This inscription, excavated at a site in the north, consists of just four words, all preserved quite well, with two word dividers present. It reads as follows: "The Bowl of Pesaḥ ben Shemaʿ." This inscribed bowl was found in a burial cave at Kefar Veradim (Israel). More-over, the script is definitively Phoenician. The script of this inscription reflects the work of a trained, consummate scribal hand. I consider this inscribed bowl to hail from the same basic chronological horizon as the Azarbaʿl Inscription from Byblos, that is, the late eleventh century or the very early tenth century BCE. I believe that it is quite probable that this was an heirloom piece, rather than something that was made at the time of the deceased's death. It is also im-portant to mention in this connection that the Phoenician script was the prestige script during the tenth century BCE, and as such its usage is attested in multiple

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[30] Y. ALEXANDRE, "A Canaanite Early Phoenician Inscribed Bronze Bowl in an Iron Age IIA-B Burial Cave at Kefar Veradim, Northern Israel," *Maarav* 13 (2006), 7–41.

countries (as seen also above, with various inscriptions), including early Israel. However, during the early ninth century, the Old Hebrew national script arose and rapidly displaced the Phoenician script in the land of Israel.[31] Based on the evidence at hand (some of it discussed below), it seems most natural to connect the rise of the Old Hebrew script with the Omrides of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. In any case, this piece is another nice example of the varied usages of writing during the Iron Age.

During the 2005 excavation season at Tel Zayit, a large stone was found with an incised, two-line inscription.[32] Although abraded in a few places, the inscription is an abecedary, that is, the letters of the alphabet in order. The excavator has dated the archaeological context to the mid-tenth century BCE. The morphology and stance of the letters is impressive, though the writing surface is certainly not optimal. There has been substantial discussion about the script, with the editio princeps arguing that it anticipates the features of the Old Hebrew script. Based on the general absence of features long considered markers of the early Old Hebrew script (such as the curvature of the terminal portions of letters such as *kaph*, *mem*, and *nun*, among other things), I have argued that the script is just the standard Phoenician script, that the inscription dates to the late tenth or very early ninth century BCE, and that it is roughly contemporary with the Gezer Calendar (which is also written in the Phoenician script).[33] Among the most important things to emphasize here is the fact that this inscription is evidence of the scribal apparatus in the sphere of Judah in the tenth or early ninth century BCE. Note that Tel Zayit is located just a short distance from Lachish (a Judean site). Someone might suggest that this stone was brought to Tel Zayit from someplace else, but this is a fairly crude stone with an abecedary and it seems acceptable to posit that it was inscribed at Tel Zayit. Thus, from my perspective, the most convincing conclusion is to contend that the Tel Zayit Abecedary constitutes evidence for a scribal apparatus at an important southern site, during the late tenth century BCE or the very early ninth century BCE.

At the northern Israelite site of Tel Reḥov, almost a dozen inscriptions have been found, brief and fragmentary, but critically important. Inscriptions 1–4 were found in Stratum VI, inscription 5 in Stratum V, and inscriptions 6–11 in Stratum IV. According to the excavator, Stratum VI is to be dated to the mid-tenth century BCE, Stratum V to the last decades of the tenth century, and Stratum IV to the ninth century BCE, with the terminus for Stratum IV being no

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[31] I discuss the rise of the Old Hebrew script briefly in this article (below) and in some detail, with reference to much of the primary and secondary literature, in ROLLSTON, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary" (see n. 9), 61–96.

[32] R. E. TAPPY et al., "An Abecedary from the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judaean Shephelah," *BASOR* 344 (2006), 5–46.

[33] ROLLSTON, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary" (see n. 9), 61–96.

later than 834 BCE.[34] Significantly, the script of the inscriptions from Stratum VI has hallmark features of the Phoenician script and none of the hallmarks of the Old Hebrew script. Similarly, the inscription from Stratum V has hallmark
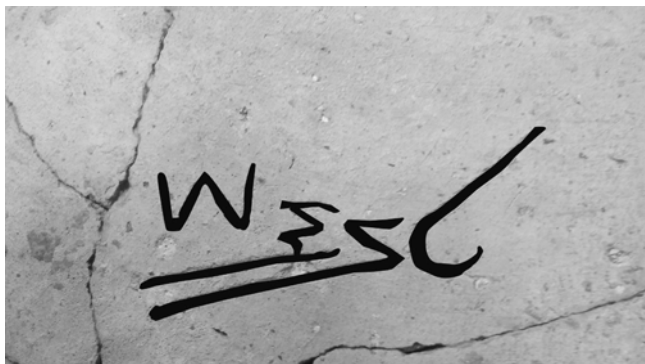
Figure 9. Reḥov Inscription 5, Stratum V (written in the Phoenician script; photo and drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

features of Phoenician and none of Hebrew. Notice in particular that the terminal portion of the fifth stroke of the *mem* and the third stroke of the *nun* do not have the curvature that is a marker of the Old Hebrew script. Rather, they are straight lines, as is customarily the case in the Phoenician script of this period (figure 9). The same is the case for Reḥov Inscription 2 (from Stratum VI), which also has

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[34] See S. Aḥituv and A. Mazar, "The Inscriptions from Tel Reḥov and Their Contribution to the Study of Script and Writing during Iron Age IIA," in *See, I Will Bring a Scroll Recounting What Befell Me (Ps 40:8): Epigraphy and Daily Life from the Bible to the Talmud Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Hanan Eshel* (ed. E. Eshel and Y. Levin; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 39–68, and figures 1–12. For an earlier publication of some of these inscriptions, see A. Mazar, "Three 10th–9th Century B.C.E. Inscriptions from Tel Reḥov," in *Saxa Loquentur: Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels: Festschrift für Volkmar Fritz zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. C.G.D. Hertog et al.; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 171–184. Of course, there have been attempts to lower Mazar's dating of these strata and thus also of the inscriptions found there. For this, see Finkelstein and Sass, "West Semitic Alphabetic Inscriptions" (see n. 6). Suffice it to say that Mazar's archaeological evidence for tenth- and ninth-century dating are strong and the paleographic evidence dovetails perfectly with the archaeological evidence. Indeed, in my case, I first looked at the published photos and then personally collated all of these inscriptions in Jerusalem with my microscope and assigned paleographic dates to them; after this, I carefully read Mazar's dating of the strata and found that my paleographic dating and Mazar's archaeological dating both lined up perfectly. I am confident that the dating of inscriptions 1–5 to the tenth century and 6–11 to the ninth century will stand the test of time. I am grateful to Amihai Mazar for allowing me to photograph and collate these inscriptions. Both Heather Dana Davis Parker and I will soon be publishing separate articles on the Reḥov inscriptions in a forthcoming issue of *Maarav*, dealing in more depth with the paleography.

a fully preserved *mem*. This makes sense in light of the fact that evidence for a distinctive Old Hebrew script is first attested in the ninth century BCE.

Of great significance, the best preserved inscriptions from Stratum IV do

Figure 10. Reḥov Inscription 8, Stratum IV (written in the Old Hebrew script, photo and drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

have the hallmark features of the Old Hebrew script, with curvature of the terminal portion of the fifth stroke nicely present in Reḥov Inscription 8 (figure 10). Similarly, there is a fully preserved *mem* and a fully preserved *nun* in Reḥov Inscription 6 (also from Stratum IV), and both have curvature in the terminal portion of the final strokes of these two letters.[35] That is, the inscriptions from Stratum IV are written in the fledgling, but distinctive, Old Hebrew script. Therefore, this small group of inscriptions from Tel Reḥov Stratum IV constitutes one of the finest, and earliest, groups of Old Hebrew inscriptions, something that Heather Dana Davis Parker has cogently argued.[36] Furthermore, as has been noted in the past, some of the Arad Ostraca (from a Judean site) are also from the ninth century BCE and written in the Old Hebrew script.[37]

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[35] As I have mentioned in the past (e.g., Rollston, "Northwest Semitic Cursive Scripts of Iron II" [see n. 22], 220), there are rare occasions, in an inscription written in the Phoenician or Aramaic script, in which there is some curvature present with these letters, but it constitutes the exception, not the norm.

[36] Davis Parker, "Levant Comes of Age" (see n. 8), 258–263, 278–304.

[37] I discuss the archaeological context of Arad 76 in some detail in Rollston, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel" (see n. 5), 52, n. 18, along with references to inscriptions from Hazor and Tel Batash. In this connection, see also C. A. Rollston, "What Is the Oldest Hebrew Inscription?," *BAR* 38 (May/June 2012), 32–40, 66, 68. Particularly surprising is William Schniedewind's recent statement (in a paragraph critiquing my statements that the Old Hebrew script is first attested in the ninth century BCE) that "by the late eighth century,

Although fragmentary and faded, Arad Ostracon 76 constitutes a prime example of this. Of course, the data from Arad regarding the presence of the Old Hebrew script are now confirmed by the inscriptions from Reḥov Stratum IV. Finally, it should also be emphasized that from the site of Kuntillet ʿAjrud hail a number of Phoenician and Old Hebrew inscriptions, with most (Hebrew and Phoenician both) dating to the late ninth and early eighth centuries BCE (some of the Phoenician may be earlier, heirloom pieces, such as the inscribed stone bowl).[38] The Old Hebrew inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud are very finely done (as are the Phoenician), often with a beautiful scribal hand and careful attention to letter environment and morphology. These are the product of a well-educated scribe or of a well-educated official with training in the scribal curriculum. The fact that this site is deep on the southern border of Judah (though perhaps frequented also by northern Israelites) and the fact that the Old Hebrew inscriptions from this site are from the late ninth or early eighth century are important data.

the Hebrew script was differentiated from Phoenician" (W. M. SCHNIEDEWIND, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins through the Rabbinic Period* [ABRL; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013], 82). Alas, I am confident that Schniedewind will find few followers among trained epigraphers. After all, the epigraphic evidence demonstrates that a distinctive Old Hebrew script is being used in ninth-century inscriptions from Arad (e.g., Arad 76), as I (among others) have noted in the past, and now in the Reḥov inscriptions from Stratum IV and also, of course, in the Mesha Stela and el-Kerak Inscription, arguably as a result of the well-documented Omride hegemony. It is unfortunate that, in a book that will be as widely read as Schniedewind's, he misunderstands the epigraphic Old Hebrew data to this degree. Along those same lines, it is, alas, perhaps not surprising that Schniedewind entirely misconstrues and misunderstands the evidence that I (following J. Naveh) have marshaled regarding the chronological horizon for the origins of the Old Hebrew script in the ninth century BCE. Namely, Schniedewind comments on "the elongation of tails on letters that Rollston identifies as the beginnings of a distinctive Hebrew script" (82). In reality, I have stated precisely the opposite of the view that Schniedewind attributes to me! Here are my actual words: "I do not consider elongation to be a distinctive marker of a particular script series. My reason for this view is as follows: the Phoenician, Aramaic, and Old Hebrew script series all reflect elongation" (ROLLSTON, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary" [see n. 9], 83–89). I am afraid that I do not know how I could have been clearer. Also interesting is the fact that Schniedewind refers to my discussion in ROLLSTON, *Writing and Literacy* (see n. 8) as his putative source for my discussion of elongation (42–46). Actually, though, I do not discuss elongation there, but rather I discuss subjects such as letter stance and letter curvature (in a comparative discussion of the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic scripts). In any case, for a nice example of the differences between the Old Hebrew script and the Phoenician script in the late ninth or early eighth century from a single archaeological site, I would suggest a simple glance at the Phoenician and Old Hebrew scripts attested side-by-side at the site of Kuntillet ʿAjrud, as I think that the differences between these two national scripts are discernible even to nonspecialists in epigraphy. For photos, drawings, and discussions of the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscriptions, see S. AḤITUV et al., "The Inscriptions," in *Kuntillet ʿAjrud (Ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (ed. Z. Meshel; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012), 73–142.

[38] S. AḤITUV et al., "Inscriptions" (see n. 37), 73–142.

It is perhaps useful for me to emphasize that script typology is the same sort of science as is pottery typology. Indeed, they are twins, both empirical in nature, both important. And just as someone trained well in pottery typology should have the ability to discuss in an empirical manner the dating and variants
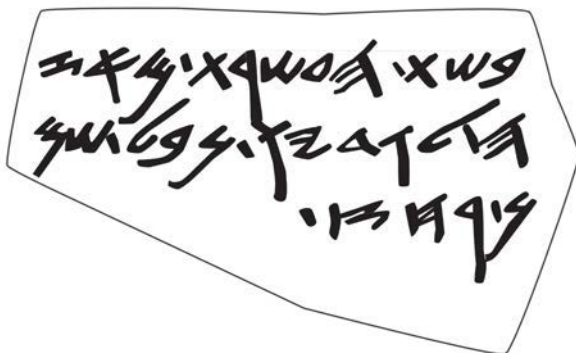
Figure 11. Samaria Ostracon 17a (Old Hebrew language
and script; drawing by Christopher A. Rollston).

of pottery vessels, so also someone trained well in script typology should be able to discuss in an empirical manner the dating and variants of major and minor script series (e.g., Phoenician, Old Hebrew, and Aramaic). Of course, Frank Moore Cross was famous for suggesting that someone attempting to do typology (script, pottery) must also have an "eye for form," hence, the title of the *Gedenkschrift* in his honor, a volume that begins with a statement about epigraphic methodology.[39]

The Old Hebrew ostraca from Samaria derive from the first three decades of the eighth century BCE and are administrative in nature (figure 11). These ostraca, that is, the Reisner Samaria Ostraca, number in excess of one hundred. Some sixty were published long ago.[40] The remainder of the ostraca were not considered legible at the time, but Ivan Kaufman was able to read and decipher many of these.[41] Most contain reference to a year (arguably a regnal year of King Jeroboam II, r. 786–746 BCE), with some place names, personal names, and commodities referred to. There has been much ink spilled in attempting to

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[39] C. A. Rollston, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Northwest Semitic Palaeography," in *An Eye for Form: Epigraphic Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (ed. J. A. Hackett and W. E. Aufrecht; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 1–4.

[40] G. A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924).

[41] I. T. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Palaeography, Texts and Plates" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966).

debate the precise function of these ostraca. Some have considered them to be records of commodities coming to crown coffers. After all, Samaria was the capital of the Northern Kingdom. In such a case, the commodities might have been produced on royal farmland and production centers (e.g., olive presses), or the commodities might have been payment of taxes (in the form of commodities) coming to the crown. Conversely, some have argued that the commodities listed on the ostraca are the crown's expenditures, given as payment to those serving the crown. One of the ostraca reads: "In the tenth year, to Gadyaw, from ʾAza, Abibaʿl, Ahaz, Sheba, Meribaʿl." Another reads: "In the tenth year, wine of the vineyard of the Tel (and) a jar of refined olive oil." Regardless of whether these are viewed as receipts of income or expenditures, these sixty or so legible ostraca, plus the additional ones that Kaufman was able to decipher on the basis of Reisner's glass negatives, do provide some reliable evidence for the bureaucracy of the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the early eighth century BCE. In addition, and at least as important, these ostraca reveal that there were two distinct dialects of Old Hebrew, namely, the southern dialect of Old Hebrew known from Judean sites such as Lachish and Arad and the northern dialect that is attested on the Reisner Samaria Ostraca (a site in the Northern Kingdom of Israel). Although many of the differences between these two dialects will never be known, some are apparent. For example, in the northern dialect of Old Hebrew ("Israelite Hebrew"), the word for "year" was *šat*, to be contrasted with the southern dialect of Old Hebrew ("Judahite Hebrew"), which used *šānâ*. In addition, within the southern dialect of Old Hebrew, the diphthong *ayi* was preserved; hence the word for "wine" is written *yyn* (for *yayin*) in Judahite, but in the northern dialect of Old Hebrew, this diphthong was contracted and so this same word is written *yn* (for *yēn*) in Israelite Hebrew. Of course, in this connection it is also worth mentioning that a seal was found at Megiddo (in 1904) that reads "Belonging to Shemaʿ, servant of Jeroboam."[42] The Jeroboam referenced here is King Jeroboam II of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, and Shemaʿ was one of his high royal official, as can be deduced from his title.

Finally, it can also be mentioned that from the Moabite site of Tell Ataruz in Jordan hails a very difficult and brief but very important inscription from the ninth century.[43] This inscription employs some very impressive hieratic numer-

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[42] See N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1997), 49, no. 2.

[43] The site is being excavated by C.-H. Ji. I am in the process of preparing this inscription for publication collaboratively with P.K. McCarter, S. Wimmer, and A. Bean. For my preliminary discussion of the inscription, see C.A. Rollston, "The Ninth Century 'Moabite Pedestal Inscription' from King Mesha's Ataruz: Preliminary Synopsis of an Excavated Epigraphic Text and its Biblical Connections," *Rollston Epigraphy: Ancient Inscriptions from the Levantine World*, Dec. 17, 2013, www.rollstonepigraphy.com/?p=631. For discussion of the archaeological context, see especially C.-H. Ji, "The Early Iron Age II Temple at Khirbet Atarus and Its Architecture and Selected Cult Objects," in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture*

als, accompanied by writing in the same script as the Mesha Stela and el-Kerak Inscription. The inscription arguably dates to a decade or two after the Mesha Stela; the presence of hieratic numerals at such an early date is impressive.

The cumulative evidence is weighty, demonstrating that professional scribes were functioning nicely in the southern Levant during the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries BCE, mostly within administrative contexts associated with governments. But even in the case of nonadministrative materials (e.g., presumably those of Kuntillet ʿAjrud), the script and orthography is good enough to argue that these inscriptions were from the hands of scribes trained in a professional manner. Ultimately, the epigraphic evidence is clear: there were scribes writing texts during the tenth, ninth, and early eighth centuries in the southern Levant. There is really no convincing way to avoid this conclusion. The epigraphic data are simply overwhelming.

III. The Epigraphic Record and the Bible: Evidence for Royal Annals in Ninth and Eighth Century Israel and Judah

The books of Kings are literary compositions with discernible political and religious vantage points and a long history of transmission and redaction,[44] but there is some core historical material in some of the pericopes of Kings, a fact that can be demonstrated in a cogent manner on the basis of textual evidence from the ancient Near Eastern and southern Levantine worlds. Because it is the contention of this article that there were already scribal elites in Israel and Judah during the ninth century BCE, the focus here shall be on correspondence between biblical and epigraphic materials about historical figures of the ninth century and the beginning of the eighth century BCE.[45]

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and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (ed. J. Kamlah; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 203–221; I. FINKELSTEIN and O. LIPSCHITS, "Omride Architecture in Moab: Jahaz and Ataroth," *ZDPV* 126 (2010), 29–42.

[44] With regard to the vantage points of ancient writers of historical and literary texts, I find myself very much in agreement with the brilliant analyses of scholars such as Baruch Halpern and Marc Brettler. See especially B. HALPERN, *The First Historians: The Hebrew Bible and History* (Cambridge: Harper & Row, 1988); M.Z. BRETTLER, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London: Routledge, 1995). One of the finest histories of Israel during the recent past is that of M. LIVERANI, *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (trans. C. Peri and P.R. Davies; London: Equinox, 2005), with nuanced and detailed discussion of the histories of both Israel and Judah (104–199).

[45] I am indebted to L.J. MYKYTIUK, *Identifying Biblical Persons in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions of 1200–539 BCE* (AcBib 12; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), IDEM, "Archaeology Confirms Fifty Real People in the Bible," *BAR* 40 (Mar./Apr. 2014), 42–50, 68; and A.R. MILLARD, "Israelite and Aramean History in the Light of Inscriptions," in *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography* (ed. V.P. Long;

   The biblical book of Kings refers to the fact that Omri was the king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel (1 Kgs 16:16–28), reigning for some "twelve years" (ca. 882–871 BCE). There is also reference to Ahab as Omri's son and successor (1 Kgs 16:28–30), credited with a reign of some "twenty-two years" (ca. 873–852 BCE). Kings also refers to King Mesha of Moab as a vassal of the Northern Kingdom of Israel and to Mesha's rebellion against the Omrides after the death of Ahab (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:4–5). The Hebrew Bible refers to Kemosh as the national God of the Moabites (Num 21:29; 1 Kgs 11:7, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13). Among the cities that the Hebrew Bible places in the geographic region of Moab are Dibon, Ataruz, and Nebo (Num 32:3,38; 33:47, etc.).

   The Mesha Stela (discussed briefly above) hails from the ninth century BCE. It is written in the Moabite language and in the Old Hebrew script. In this in-scription, written in the first person, Mesha refers to himself as the king of Moab and states that he is from the city of Dibon (ll. 1–3). He also states that "King Omri of Israel had oppressed Moab for many days" (ll. 4–5), a situation that continued during much of his "son's" reign, totaling some forty years (a stock, round number). But after a time, Mesha decided to rebel, with the full support of the national God, Kemosh. Ultimately, according to his stela, Mesha was able to regain much of the historic Moabite territory from the Omrides, even "dragging the vessels of Yahweh from Nebo into the presence of Kemosh" after he retook Nebo (ll. 7–18). Mesha also states that he wrested control of Ataruz from Israel.[46]

   As is often the case with texts from antiquity (literary or epigraphic), there are some tensions between the Hebrew narratives in Kings and the Moabite narrative in the Mesha Stela.[47] Nevertheless, the fact that there are broad correspondences

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SBTS 7; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 129–140; and M. Cogan, *The Raging Torrent: Historical Inscriptions from Assyria and Babylonia Relating to Ancient Israel* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008).

   [46] The translations of the Mesha Stela are from Rollston, *Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (see n. 11).

   [47] For example, the biblical narrative suggests that the rebellion of Mesha occurred shortly after the death of Ahab, at the beginning of the reign of King Jehoram of Israel (r. ca. 849–842; 2 Kgs 3:5–6). But the Moabite account seems to suggest that the rebellion occurred shortly after the death of Omri and thus during the beginning of the reign of Omri's "son." Part of the difficulty here is the fact that the term son (*bn*) can function in a broader sense and so could readily refer to a grandson of Omri, just as F.M. Cross and D.N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography* [New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1952], 39–40, have argued. Further-more, in terms of tensions between the two narratives, from the Hebrew narrative in Kings it would seem that Mesha's rebellion was quelled (2 Kgs 3:6–27), but based on the Moabite narrative in the Mesha Stela it would seem that Mesha enjoyed victory after victory (Mesha Stela, ll. 10–21). Of course, it should be noted that it is plausible to argue that the Mesha Stela and the material about Mesha's rebellion in Kings are about two different incidents in the history of Israelite hegemony and Moabite rebellion, during the course of Mesha's reign. Naturally, it is also possible that either the Moabite text or the Hebrew text just got the facts about the rebellion or the succession wrong (and do note that the Mesha Stela does not provide

between the epigraphic text of the ninth century and the Deuteronomistic History is readily apparent. The book of Kings notes that Omri was a king of Israel during the first half of the ninth century BCE, as does the Mesha Stela. The book of Kings mentions Mesha as a king of Moab who was under Omride hegemony, as does the Mesha Stela. The national God of Moab is named as Kemosh in both the Mesha Stela and the Hebrew Bible. The Hebrew Bible and the Mesha Stela refer to the national God of Israel as Yahweh. The Mesha Stela and the book of Kings both declare that during the reign of King Mesha of Moab, Mesha rebelled against his Omride hegemon. The Mesha Stela mentions cities such as Dibon, Ataruz, and Nebo as Moabite territories, details affirmed in the Hebrew Bible. The totality of such correspondences suggests that the Deuteronomistic Historian(s) had access to written records with accurate historical details about international relations, including major regal figures, in the ninth century BCE.

The book of Kings refers to Omri's son and successor, Ahab, having married a Phoenician princess, namely, Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaʿl of Sidon (1 Kgs 16:31). Naturally, this functioned as a marital alliance between Israel and Phoenicia, a practice very well attested in the ancient Near Eastern world.[48] There are numerous references to military tensions with Syrian kings (1 Kgs 20), alongside the statement that a treaty was established between King Ahab of Israel and King Ben-Hadad (= Hadad-ʿezer) of Damascus (1 Kgs 20:34). The narrative in Kings suggests that the treaty held for some three years before tensions erupted again between Israel and Syria, culminating in the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, around the year 850 BCE, in which King Ahab of Israel was slain (1 Kgs 22).

The Kurukh Monolith of the Neo-Assyrian King Shalmaneser III (r. 858–824 BCE) recounts Shalmaneser's victory at the battle of Qarqar in 853 BCE (ii 78–102). A. Kirk Grayson has argued that the Kurukh Monolith of Shalmaneser III was engraved in late 853 or early 852 BCE.[49] In his account of the battle, Shalmaneser III states that a coalition of twelve Levantine kingdoms had formed

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the personal name of the "son" of Omri, perhaps suggesting a dearth of precise knowledge about succession there). Finally, it is also worth noting that this material in Kings is in the midst of the Elijah and Elisha Cycle, that is, in the midst of narratives about two prophetic figures of the Northern Kingdom of Israel. It seems reasonable to contend that this Cycle hailed from circles in the Northern Kingdom of Israel, just as M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 11; New York: Doubleday, 1988), 48, among others, have done.

[48] For a very useful discussion of diplomatic marriages attested in the ancient Near Eastern world, see especially S. A. Meier, "Diplomacy and International Marriages," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations* (ed. R. Cohen and R. Westbrook; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 165–173; For a further sense of the prominence and intricacies of marital alliances in ancient international relations, see some of the following Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite letters in W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), EA 1–4; 11–13; 19–21; 23–24; 29; 31–32.

[49] A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC: Volume II, 858–745 BC* (RIMA 3; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 11.

against him, and it was these with which he did battle. The first three kings listed
are "Hadad-ʿezer (Adad-idri) of Damascus," who contributed "1200 chariots,
1200 cavalry, and 20,000 troops"; "Irhuleni of Hamat," who contributed "700
chariots, 700 cavalry, and 10,000 troops"; and "Ahab the Israelite," who con-
tributed "2000 chariots and 10,000 troops."[50] Among the remaining members of
the coalition, according to Shalmaneser III, the Phoenicians were particularly
prominent (e.g., Byblos, Irqanatu, Arvad, Usanatu, Shianu).

The narratives of the biblical book of Kings, therefore, and the narrative in
the Kurukh Monolith contain a number of correspondences. First and foremost
is the fact that Kings refers to Ahab as king of Israel, and the Kurukh Monolith
refers to King Ahab of Israel as well (note also that the determinative for a
country is used in conjunction with the term *Israel* in the latter). Moreover, both
place Ahab squarely in the first half of the ninth century BCE. In addition, the
narrative of Kings refers to a marital alliance between Ahab of Israel and Ethbaʿl
of Sidon. Similarly, the Kurukh Monolith refers to a number of Phoenician city-
states that had allied with Ahab of Israel. Furthermore, Kings states that although
battles were fought between Ahab of Israel and Ben-Hadad (a name that is used
to refer to multiple Damascene kings, including Hadad-ʿezer of Damascus), at
one point there was a treaty established between them, a treaty that lasted some
three years (1 Kgs 20:34; 22:1). It is entirely reasonable to contend that the
treaty between Damascus and Israel mentioned in Kings is the same treaty that
Shalmaneser III is referencing in the Kurukh Monolith as having taken place in
853 BCE (that is, the treaty that was part of the formation of the anti-Assyrian
alliance of Levantine states). To be sure, Shalmaneser III provides additional
details about the breadth of membership in this coalition of Levantine states, but
it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the same alliance is referenced. Note
that there has been a long discussion in the secondary literature regarding the
association of some of this material (1 Kgs 20) with Ahab, with some scholars
arguing that connecting this material with Ahab is not convincing. Among the
things that are often emphasized in this vein is that Ahab of Israel seems to be
portrayed as very strong in the Kurukh Monolith, supplying more forces than
either Hadad-ʿezer of Damascus or Irhuleni of Hamat, but then Ahab seems to
be portrayed as substantially weaker than Damascus in the narrative in Kings
(1 Kgs 20:1–6).[51] But note that the Kurukh Monolith numbers the foot soldiers

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[50] These translations are those of GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 23 (ii 89–92).
N. Naʾaman has argued that Ahab contributed two hundred, not two thousand, chariots to the
coalition (N. NAʾAMAN, "Two Notes on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III from
Kurukh," *Tel Aviv* 3 [1976], 89–106, here 97–102). Personally, I do not find the number two
thousand to be too high, especially in light of the fact that Ahab is not said to have contributed
cavalry to the coalition (in contrast to Irhuleni and Hadad-ʿezer, both of whom did contribute
substantial cavalry).

[51] For discussion of the primary and secondary literature, see especially W. T. PITARD,
Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until Its

of Hadad-ʿezer as twenty thousand, whereas those of Ahab are numbered ten thousand. Furthermore, Ahab is not said to have provided any cavalry, but Hadad-ʿezer is said to have supplied 1,200. Thus, Ahab may have supplied some eight hundred more chariots than Hadad-ʿezer (i.e., 1,200 to Ahab's two thousand), but it does not seem reasonable to suggest that the numbers of the Kurukh Monolith demonstrate that Ahab was a very powerful regional king with military resources that greatly surpassed those of Hadad-ʿezer. Finally, although I suspect there is substantial hyperbole in the numbers, the narrative in Kings suggests that the Damascene king had formed a substantial coalition to assist him in his punitive raid against Israel. Suffice it to say that there are some broad correspondences between the Mesopotamian cuneiform records regarding Ahab of Israel and the account in the Deuteronomistic History. This fortifies further the contention that the Deuteronomistic Historian had access to some sort of written historical records.

The book of Kings calls Jehu (r. ca. 842–815 BCE) the king of Israel and Hazael (r. ca. 842–806 BCE) as the king of Damascus (Aram). According to the tradition enshrined in Kings, Elijah the prophet is commissioned by Yahweh to anoint Jehu as king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel and to anoint Hazael as the king of Damascus (1 Kgs 19:15–16). Moreover, this pericope contains a striking statement, "And it shall be that whoever might escape from the sword of Hazael, Jehu will kill, and whoever may escape from the sword of Jehu, Elisha shall kill" (1 Kgs 19:17), suggesting an alliance of sorts between Jehu and Hazael at the beginning of their reigns. Ultimately, it is Elijah's successor, Elisha, who orchestrates the anointing of Jehu as king of Israel (2 Kgs 9:1–6), and it is Elisha who predicts to Hazael that he will be the king of Aram (2 Kgs 8:7–13). The book of Kings indicates that both Jehu of Israel and Hazael of Damascus are usurpers. Hazael is reported to have smothered Ben-Hadad to death in his own bed (2 Kgs 8:15). And according to Kings, Jehoram of Israel (r. 849–842 BCE), a son and successor of Ahab of Israel (2 Kgs 3:1), along with his ally, King Ahaziah of Judah (r. 842 BCE), a son and successor of King Jehoram of Judah (2 Kgs 8:25), had been engaged in battle against Hazael of Damascus (2 Kgs 8:26–28). During a pitched battle, Jehoram of Israel was wounded by Hazael and was recovering in Jezreel (2 Kgs 9:14–15). After his anointing, the book of Kings mentions that Jehu traveled by chariot toward Jezreel. According to Kings, it was from Jezreel that King Jehoram of Israel and King Ahaziah of Judah set out in their chariots to meet Jehu, hoping that Jehu was coming in peace. Upon realizing that it was treachery, Jehoram of Israel attempted to flee, but Jehu pulled his bow and fired an arrow into Jehoram's back, piercing his heart and killing him immediately. Seeing the fate of Jehoram of Israel, Ahaziah of Judah attempted to flee in his chariot, but those loyal to Jehu shot Ahaziah of Judah, mortally wounding him. Ahaziah fled to the northern Israelite fortress

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Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 114–125.

of Megiddo and died there. Later, his body was transferred to Jerusalem, where he was buried in his ancestral tomb (2 Kgs 9:21–29). Therefore, the material in Kings can be understood to state that both Hazael of Damascus and Jehu of Israel came to power at the same time, both through usurpations. Moreover, both Hazael and Jehu are said to have engaged in violence against Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah, with Hazael seriously wounding Jehoram of Judah but with Jehu responsible for the mortal blows. Tensions later developed between Hazael and Jehu and between Hazael and Jehoahaz (r. 815–801 BCE), the son and successor of Jehu, but in ca. 842 BCE (2 Kgs 10:32–34; 2 Kgs 13:1–9), at the time that both Jehu and Hazael came to the throne, the narrative states that they were allies, as does also a brief but important text that is buried in the midst of the Elijah and Elisha cycles (1 Kings 19:17). Finally, it should be noted that Kings mentions that Hazael also decided to make a punitive raid against Jerusalem and that Jehoash of Judah (r. 837–800 BCE) plundered his own treasuries to give to Hazael, who then withdrew (2 Kgs 12:17–18).

According to the various inscriptions in Mesopotamian cuneiform, Shalmaneser III made numerous punitive campaigns to the Levant. After the battle of Qarqar, Shalmaneser III consistently refers to his battles with Hadad-ʿezer of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamat but not to Ahab of Israel (who had died in ca. 850 BCE). However, in his eighteenth year (ca. 841 BCE), Hadad-ʿezer of Damascus is no longer mentioned; rather, Hazael is now the king of Damascus. The Kurbail Statue Inscription of Shalmaneser III (which Grayson dates to 839 or 838 BCE) contains the following words (ll. 21–28):

> In my eighteenth regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus, trusting in the might of his soldiers, carried out an extensive muster of his troops. He fortified Mount Saniru, the mountain peak which is before Mount Lebanon. I fought with him (and) defeated him. I put to the sword 16,000 of his fighting men (and) took away from him 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry with his military camp. To save his life, he ran away (but) I pursued (him). I imprisoned him in Damascus, his royal city, (and) cut down his gardens. I marched to Mount Hauranu (and) razed, destroyed, burned, (and) plundered cities without number. I marched to Mount Baʾaliraʾasi, which is a cape (jutting out into) the sea, (and) erected my royal statue there.

Immediately after these words, Shalmaneser III declares that "at that time, I received tribute from the people of Tyre, Sidon, (and) from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Humri)."[52] From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, which Grayson dates to late 828 BCE or 827 BCE (based on the fact that the last reference is to a campaign in Shalmaneser III's thirty-first year, that is, 828 BCE) come these details: "I received tribute from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri

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[52] GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 60; for additional references to both Hazael and Jehu in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, see pp. 48 (monumental bulls from Calah) and 54 (Assur stone tablet).

(Humri): silver, gold, a gold bowl, a gold tureen, gold vessels, gold pails, tin, the staffs of the king's hand, (and) spears."[53] And, of course, the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III also contains a relief that depicts Jehu of Israel prostrating himself before Shalmaneser III. Moreover, on a separate inscription known as the Broken Statue of Shalmaneser III from Assur, Shalmaneser III writes:

> Hadad-ʿezer (Hadad-Idri) passed away (and) Hazaʾel, son of nobody, took the throne. He mustered his numerous troops (and) moved against me to wage war and battle. I fought with him (and) defeated him. I took away from him his walled camp. He fled to save his life (and) I pursued (him) as far as Damascus, his royal city. [I cut down his gardens . . .].[54]

Note, of course, that the term *son of nobody* is used to indicate that Hazaʾel was not the legitimate heir to the throne but rather a usurper (perhaps from a collateral royal line, but a usurper in the eyes of Shalmaneser III). In any case, according to the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, Hazael continued his bellicose methodology; thus, Shalmaneser III also refers in the Black Obelisk to defeating Hazael in his (Shalmaneser III's) twenty-first regnal year: "In my twenty-first regnal year, I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time (and) marched to the cities of Hazael of Damascus. I captured four cities (and) received tribute from the people of the lands Tyre, Sidon, (and) Byblos."[55] A small cylinder (bored through the center) of black stone, discovered at Assur, reads as follows: "Booty from the temple of the deity Sheru of the city Malaha, a royal city of Hazael of Damascus, which Shalmaneser III, son of Ashurnasirpal II, king of Assyria, brought back inside the wall of Inner City (Assur)."[56] From Nimrud hails a piece of ivory with the words "[Belonging to Lo]rd Hazaʾel."[57] Within the corpus of Northwest Semitic inscriptions, a pair of horse forehead ornaments from the Heraion of Samos are inscribed in Old Aramaic with the words, "That which Hadad gave our lord Hazael from ʿUmqi, in the year that our lord crossed the river."[58] A pair of horse blinkers from the Apollo Daphnephoros temple at Eretria in Euboia bear the same Old Aramaic inscription.[59] Similarly, an ivory inscription from Arslan-Tash reads: "That [. . .] the son of Amma for our lord Hazael in the year [. . .]."[60] The Zakur Stela refers to Zakur as the king of Hamat and Luʿat and as a successor of Iruleni of Hamat. Zakur refers to his own rise to power with the full support of the God Baʿlshamayin. In addition,

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[53] GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 149.

[54] GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 118 (i 25–ii 6).

[55] GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 67 (ll. 102–104).

[56] GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 151 (ll. 1–8).

[57] COGAN, *Raging Torrent* (see n. 45), 35.

[58] The readings and translations are those of I. EPHʿAL and J. NAVEH, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989), 192–200, here 193.

[59] EPHʿAL and NAVEH, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions" (see n. 58), 193.

[60] EPHʿAL and NAVEH, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions" (see n. 58), 197.

he states that a coalition of kings, including "Bar-Hadad son of Hazael, king of Aram, established an alliance (against me)."[61] Thus, Hazael figures prominently in the epigraphic record.

The Tel Dan Stela Inscription (written in Old Aramaic, as noted earlier) is of course relevant as well. Among other things, King Hazael of Damascus asserts in the Tel Dan Stela that he killed "[Jeho]ram son of [Ahab], king of Israel" and "[Ahaz]iah son of [Jehoram kin]g of the House of David." At first blush, someone might suggest that Hazael's declaration is in serious tension with the biblical account, which attributes the killing of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah to Jehu (2 Kgs 9), but further probing of the textual data is useful. As noted previously, Kings says that King Jehoram of Israel and King Ahaziah of Judah had been warring against King Hazael of Damascus. During one of the battles against Hazael, Jehoram of Israel was seriously wounded, causing him to convalesce in the northern Israelite city of Jezreel (2 Kgs 8:26–29). Subsequently, according to the narrative in Kings, Jehu traveled to the region of Jezreel and killed Jehoram (who had first been seriously wounded by Hazael), and he also killed Ahaziah of Judah. Furthermore, of course, Mesopotamian texts (e.g., the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III) demonstrate that Hazael of Damascus and Jehu of Israel had been part of an anti-Assyrian alliance. In addition, a text from the Elijah and Elisha cycles strongly suggests that Jehu and Hazael had formed an alliance of some sort (1 Kgs 19:17).

The biblical book of Kings states that Hazael of Damascus was a usurper who assassinated Ben-Hadad (Hadad-ʿezer). The cuneiform inscriptions of Shalmaneser III refer to Hadad-ʿezer of Damascus as the king of Damascus often, but in the records of Shalmaneser III's campaign in his eighteenth year, 841 BCE, the king of Damascus is Hazael. In addition, Shalmaneser III's inscriptions refer to Jehu as the king of Israel, dovetailing with the material in Kings. Furthermore, Shalmaneser III refers to Hazael as a "son of nobody," a term indicating that he was as usurper, not the heir apparent of the Damascene throne. Again, this dovetails with the account in Kings of Hazael's rise to power. The biblical text states that Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah had combined forces to war against Hazael of Damascus in ca. 842 BCE (probably with Ahaziah the junior member of the alliance or perhaps entirely a vassal). The biblical text states that in a battle against Hazael Jehoram of Israel was seriously wounded and that Jehu of Israel killed both Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah. That is, the biblical book of Kings indicates that Hazael and Jehu were engaged in battles with Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah (battles that occurred in 842 BCE), and in those battles the sitting monarchs of Israel (Jehoram) and Judah (Ahaziah) were wounded and died. This dovetails reasonably well with the Tel Dan Stela, with the predictable difference being that in his inscription Hazael claims to have killed both, whereas in the Hebrew version in Kings the Israelite king is credited

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[61] ROLLSTON, *Northwest Semitic Royal Inscriptions* (see n. 11).

with (or blamed for) this. The end result is that Jehu is the king of Israel and Hazael (after his assassination of Ben-Hadad, that is, Hadad-ʿezer) is the king of Damascus. Of course, as noted, this is precisely the description Shalmaneser III gives as well – that is, Jehu is king of the Northern Kingdom of Israel and Hazael is the king of Damascus. It is also worth mentioning that at the end of the ninth century and beginning of the eighth, Jehoash (r. ca. 801–786 BCE) is reported in the book of Kings to be the king of Israel (2 Kgs 13:10), and the inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian king Adad-narari III (r. ca. 810–783) note that he "received the tribute of Joash (Iuʾasu), the Samarian, (and) of the people of Tyre (and) Sidon."[62]

Conclusion

Based on the total weight of the epigraphic evidence (including the correspondences between the epigraphic and biblical data), it is readily apparent that royal scribes, writing royal inscriptions in the Phoenician script, were functioning nicely in Byblos during the late eleventh, tenth, and early ninth centuries (and later). Moreover, it is also readily apparent that in the ninth century, the southern Levantine states of Damascus, Moab, and Ammon were producing monumental royal inscriptions. Moreover, a monumental inscription has been found in Samaria that hails from the late ninth or early eighth century. There is a growing number of nonmonumental inscriptions (which I believe hail mostly from officialdom, reflective especially of administrative activities) from the regions of Israel, Judah, and Philistia, demonstrating in a decisive manner that trained scribes were functioning in this region during the tenth, ninth, and early eighth centuries BCE (and, of course, later as well). Finally, it is most reasonable to argue that the writers of the biblical book of Kings who were responsible for narratives about the ninth century also had access to royal records of some detail, something that is evidenced by some strong correspondences (in some very precise details at times) between the epigraphic material and Kings (cf. also the references in the book of Kings to the "Annals of the Kings of Israel," the "Annals of the Kings of Judah," the "Annals of Solomon," etc.). Certainly the debates about the dating of the biblical documents and putative sources will continue. But it is absolutely certain that anyone who argues that there was no capacity for the production of historical or literary texts in ancient Israel or Judah prior to the eighth century is not au courant with the epigraphic data. That argument is moribund.

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[62] GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers* (see n. 49), 211 (ll. 7–8).

The Covenant Code Appendix (Exodus 23:20–33), Neo-Assyrian Sources, and Implications for Pentateuchal Study

David P. Wright

I have argued in detail that the Covenant Code (CC; Exod 20:23–23:19) used the Laws of Hammurabi (LH) as a primary generative source, both for the casuistic laws at the center of the composition and for the surrounding apodictic laws.[1] This chief conclusion was accompanied by an embryonic argument that CC appears to have been composed in connection with a narrative that contextualized the law collection.[2] My study, however, avoided discussing Exod 23:20–33, the passage that concludes the revelation of CC. Though attached to CC, this Covenant Code appendix (to which I will refer in what follows as CCA) reflects narrative more than legal themes. It exhorts the Israelites to faithfulness and promises that a divine messenger will bring them to their land and that divine terror will help them conquer their enemies. It now appears to me that CCA was in fact created as part of the process out of which the Covenant Code grew. It continues the use of the sequential template of LH and, through this, accesses motifs from other Mesopotamian sources – i.e., Assyrian royal inscriptions – to shape native traditions about Israelite origins and to chart a vision of pending military campaign in CC's narrative. It is part of CC's supporting narrative and points to the breadth of that narrative. All this has implications for pentateuchal study.

Background

The argument that CC used LH as a primary source for its casuistic and apodictic laws underlies the argument of this essay. This need not be repeated in any great detail here, though some review is necessary as a basis. To do this, let me

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[1] D. P. WRIGHT, *Inventing God's Law: How the Covenant Code of the Bible Used and Revised the Laws of Hammurabi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[2] WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 332–345.

direct attention to the recent review by William Morrow.[3] Using strict criteria for determining textual relationships, he concludes that the laws in Exod 21:18–32 (casuistic laws on injury, homicide of a slave, miscarriage, talion, slave injury, and the goring ox) do appear to be dependent on LH. Though he avoids extending the genetic argument to other parts of CC, seeing this core set of laws as dependent, in my view, provides an alternate entry point to the argument that much or all of CC is indeed dependent on LH.[4] That is to say, if this core passage is dependent on LH, then it is reasonable to conclude that other passages that have similarities with LH are also dependent on LH or related sources, even though these similarities are less dense.

This reasoning applies to various passages in the casuistic laws, including debt slavery and the related law on seduction (21:2–11; 22:15–16); homicide and some capital crimes (21:12–17); an ox goring an ox (21:35–36); animal theft (21:37–22:3); deposit (22:6–7); animal loss (22:9–12); and animal rental (22:13–14). These laws all have correlations with material in LH. Yet these correlations are not simple citations from the source. CC appears to have creatively transformed its source material, using a particular law from LH as a foundation while blending in motifs from other laws in LH and sometimes even from auxiliary sources. The Covenant Code appears to be responding to legal problems in the sources and reworking them to resolve these.

For example, CC's debt-slave laws (21:2–11) correlate in their basic topic with LH 117. The latter describes a case where a debtor surrenders members of his household – wife, son, or daughter – to a creditor to pay off a debt. The law may also refer to the creditor surrendering himself for the debt, depending on how the verb *ittandin* ("he gave" versus "he surrendered himself") is understood. The Covenant Code's particular concern, it appears, was to distinguish how these various family members are to be treated. It uses laws from other places in LH or from an auxiliary source to supply details and to operate as a lens for reinterpretation. The Covenant Code's primary response was splitting off the

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[3] W. Morrow, "Legal Interactions: The *Mišpāṭîm* and the Laws of Hammurabi," *BO* 70 (2013), 309–331. For recognition of the similarity of Exod 21:18–32 to LH, see also C. Nihan, "Révisions scribales et transformations du droit dans l'Israël ancien: Le cas du talion (*jus talionis*)," in *Loi et Justice dans la Littérature du Proche-Orient ancien* (ed. O. Artus; BZABR 20; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 123–158, here 127–128, n. 19.

[4] For an entry to the argument through these laws, see D.P. Wright, "The Origin, Development, and Context of the Covenant Code (Exodus 20:23–23:19)," in *The Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (ed. T.B. Dozeman et al.; FIOTL; VTSup 164; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 220–244, idem, "Miscarriage, Talion, and Slave Injury in the Covenant Code and Hammurabi's Laws," in *Gazing on the Deep: Ancient Near Eastern and Other Studies in Honor of Tzvi Abusch* (ed. J. Stackert et al.; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2010), 539–564. See my fuller examination of the implications of Morrow's limited conclusions, "Method in the Study of Textual Source Dependence: The Covenant Code," in *Subtle Citation, Allusion, and Translation in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. Z. Zevit; Sheffield: Equinox, forthcoming).

case of a daughter (vv. 7–11). In LH the daughter does not marry the creditor, but in CC she does. This resolved an expected eventuality: the creditor would probably have sex with the unattached woman. This required marriage. The logic and support for this was provided by a law similar to MAL A 55–56, which requires a seducer or rapist to marry his victim. The Covenant Code included a version of this law in 22:15–16 as a footnote at the end of its casuistic laws. To provide other details for the case of the daughter, CC drew on LH 148–149, which prescribes that a person must support a first wife if he takes a second wife when the first becomes displeasing.

The Covenant Code wrote its law on a male debt slave (vv. 2–6) so that it could apply to a debtor's son or the debtor himself. It dealt with the wife of the creditor only insofar as this woman might enter servitude with her husband, the implication being that a wife cannot be given over to the creditor independently as in LH 117. This probably had to do with guarding against sexual exploitation, the fundamental concern in the law about a daughter. In a case where an unmarried male enters debt slavery, is given a wife, has children, and does not wish to leave his family, CC provided a legal rite that integrated the debt slave into the creditor's household as, essentially, a chattel slave. The Covenant Code derived this procedure by conceptually inverting the details of LH 282, a case where a chattel slave says "You are not my master!" in response to which his master cuts off his ear.

Thus CC's debt-slavery law builds on LH 117, enfolding materials and motifs from LH 148–149, 282 and a law similar to MAL A 55–56 in a way that solves problems and otherwise transforms the basic case. It is difficult to claim that these correlations with LH and other Near Eastern legislation are merely fortuitous whereas those in 21:18–32 are due to dependence on LH, especially when both 21:18–32 and 21:2–11 remodel material from LH in a similar way.

This logic extends to CC's apodictic laws (20:23–26; 22:20–23:19). Though these contain fewer specific phraseological contacts with LH, in combination with the casuistic laws they match the A-B-A pattern of Hammurabi's prologue-law-epilogue. Moreover, like Hammurabi's outer sections, the apodictic laws are the place where the personalities of the deities are on full view and where the lawgiver speaks in first person – in contrast to the theologically dry bodies of casuistic laws in both works. It is in the apodictic laws that CC's chief hermeneutical transformation, replacing Hammurabi with YHWH as lawgiver, appears.[5] This contextually motivates and governs the transformations imple-

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[5] This point is particularly important in view of some recent analyses that see dependence on LH only in the casuistic laws and not the apodictic laws. See B.M. LEVINSON, "Is the Covenant Code an Exilic Composition? A Response to John Van Seters," in *In Search of Pre-Exilic Israel* (ed. J. Day; JSOTSup 406; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 272–325 (republished in IDEM, *"The Right Chorale": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation* [FAT 54; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 276–330); D.M. CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A*

mented in the casuistic laws, even though the replacement of a human lawgiver
with the deity does not explicitly appear there. The Covenant Code's apodictic
laws also reflect themes from the outer sections of LH, the cult in the initial
apodictic laws, and a broader set of themes – the poor, justice, and the cult – in
the final apodictic laws. Table 1 summarizes these correlations in themes and
emphases between the two texts.

Table 1: General Correlations in the Covenant Code's Apodictic Laws
and Prologue/Epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi

A	*B*	*A*
LH's Prologue/CC's Initial Apodictic Laws (20:23–26)	*Casuistic Laws of LH and CC*	*LH's Epilogue/CC's Final Apodictic Laws (22:20–23:19)*
The gods' personalities on full display	Deities appear limitedly, in juridical contexts	The gods' personalities on full display
First person of lawgiver	No reference to lawgiver (exception in 21:13–14 tied to 20:24)	First person of lawgiver
Common theme: cult		Common themes: the poor, justice, and cult

An ostensible problem with seeing a correspondence between the outer sections
of the texts is the genre difference between them. The Covenant Code has
apodictic law whereas LH has praise of the king. But this is resolved when we
realize that, despite the broad correlation in the A-B-A structure, CC's apod-
ictic laws follow more particularly the themes of a series of *exhortations and
admonitions* in the epilogue of LH, whose genre is akin to apodictic law (LH
cols. 47:59–49:17). This exhortatory block, as we may call it, outlines the model
of justice and specific behaviors expected of a future king. It is accompanied
by a short promise of blessing for the obedient king (49:2–17) and a long list of
curses for a disobedient king (49:18–51:91), with which the epilogue ends.[6] The
future-king passage, cited in abbreviated form in appendix 1 to this paper, will
be of importance later in this study.

New Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 470–472; MORROW, "Legal
Interactions" (see n. 3), 314–316. If the apodictic laws are omitted (along with Exod 21:1,
13–14), there is no explicit portrayal of the deity as author of the laws. The apodictic laws
provide this hermeneutical innovation. This then raises the question of what motivated the later
editor, who supposedly added the apodictic laws, to attribute those and the casuistic laws to
YHWH. It would seem that the particular motivation for such was a response to the portrayal
of Hammurabi as lawgiver.
    [6] Some of the language of the initial exhortations and admonitions (48:59–94) is repeated
in the following blessing and curse sections (49:2–17 and 49:18–52).

How the themes of the exhortatory block are reflected in CC's apodictic laws is clarified by first recognizing the organizational plan of the final apodictic laws. These laws have two parallel passages or "strings" (22:20–30 and 23:9–19) that surround a chiastic center (23:1–8).[7] The two parallel strings each contain laws about the poor (22:20–26 // 23:9–12), speaking about sovereigns (22:27 // 23:13), and the cult (22:28–30 // 23:14–19).[8] The chiastic core contains laws mainly about the pursuit of justice. The themes of the parallel strings in the final apodictic laws follow the sequence of similar themes in Hammurabi's exhortatory block, as summarized in table 2.

The initial apodictic laws (20:23–26), for their part, reflect themes from Hammurabi's exhortatory block, but in a different way (again, see table 2). The focus here is more on cultic themes, including the cultic symbol for the sovereign (an altar instead of a statue), and on the memorialization of the name of the sovereign in the cult. Where all three passages of apodictic law intersect is in the theme of speaking about sovereigns, human or divine (20:24; 22:27; 23:13b).[9]

In sum, it seems arbitrary to claim that Exod 21:18–32 and other sections of casuistic law such as 21:2–11 are textually dependent on LH but that the apodictic laws, despite their similarities with the thematic structure of LH, are unrelated to this generative process. The complexity of CC as a whole, in terms of themes and genre, though usually seen as deriving from a complex process of textual growth, really appears to stem from its being a wide-ranging composition formulated on the plan and in imitation of LH.

Table 2: Correlations between the Laws of Hammurabi's Epilogue and the Covenant Code's Apodictic Laws and the Covenant Code Appendix

LH Epilogue (cols. 47:59–51:91) = "Exhortatory Block," ends in future-king passage (48:59–49:44) with blessings and curses (49:45–51:91)	*Initial Apodictic Laws (Exod 20:23–26)*	*String I of Final Apodictic Laws plus Chiastic Core (Exod 22:20–23:8)*	*String II of Final Apodictic Laws plus Appendix (Exod 23:9–19+20–33)*

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[7] For the recognition of the parallelism between these strings in D and H, see my other paper in this volume, "Source Dependence and the Development of the Pentateuch: The Case of Leviticus 24."

[8] The basic structure was identified by C. CARMICHAEL, "A Singular Method of Codification of Law in the Mishpatim," *ZAW* 84 (1972), 19–25; the observation was developed by B.S. JACKSON, *Wisdom-Laws: A Study of the* Mishpatim *of Exodus 21:1–22:16* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 457–458. It is more fully articulated in WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 10–16, 51–90, 286–321, 322–332, and connected to stimuli from the epilogue of Hammurabi's Laws.

[9] For a diagram mapping these themes, see WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 320.

Three persons (the "weak," orphan girl, widow) not to be oppressed (47:59–73)		Three persons (immigrant, widow, orphan) not to be oppressed (22:20–23)	Immigrant not to be oppressed (23:9)
		Two laws on the poor: (A) no interest (v. 24) (B) pledge (vv. 25–26)	Two laws on the poor: (A) seventh-year produce (vv. 10–11) (B) rest seventh day (v. 12)
Hammurabi's image and stela set up in the Esagil temple (47:75–78)	*[beginning of CC]* Altar instead of images to be made in cult (20:23–24a)		
			Call to obedience. (23:13a) [*related to future-king passage, below*]
Hammurabi's name ("my name" *šumī*) recalled (*zakāru*) in the Esagil temple (47:93–48:2)	Recall (זכר) of YHWH's name ("my name"; שמי) in cult place (20:24bα)	God and chieftain (= king) not to be cursed (22:27)	Names (שם) of other gods not to be recalled (זכר) (23:13b)
Wronged man to visit the temple, appears before Hammurabi's statue and stela, and offers praise of Hammurabi to Marduk and Zarpanitu (called "lords," *bēlum/bēltum*) (48:3–58)		Sacrificial and cultic prescriptions (22:28–30)	Every male to appear before (emended: "see") YHWH (the "Lord" אדן) at the sanctuary for festivals; offerings (23:14–19)
			[end of CC proper]
End of prayer of praise says: well-being for the people, good omens, gods that "enter" (*erēbum*) the Esagil temple (48:34–58)	YHWH comes (בוא) to the cult place and blesses (ברך) the people (20:24bβ) Two laws on the altar: (A) no hewn stone (v. 25) (B) no stairs (v. 26) *[casuistic laws follow, 21:1–22:19]*		

Counsel to future king to obey and ensure justice Laws not to be altered Chiastic structure (48:59–49:16) Short blessing and many curses Includes name motif Predicated on obedience or disobedience (49:16–51:91)	Laws ensuring justice Justice not to be perverted Chiastic structure (23:1–8)	CC appendix, with blessings (ברך) of food, health, fertility, long life for Israelites and implicit curses of political and military destruction of Canaanites Predicated on obedience Includes name motif (23:20–33)

Hammurabi's Epilogue and the CC Appendix

The foregoing sets the stage for understanding the generative relationship of CCA to CC proper. The first point of evidence is that CCA, which immediately follows the final apodictic laws, reflects motifs of the curse section in the last half of Hammurabi's epilogue and thus continues the sequential use of LH following from the final apodictic laws (see table 2, lower right corner). This passage completes the sequence of themes in the second string of the final apodictic laws. It matches the last section of the exhortatory block that enjoins a future king to follow and preserve Hammurabi's model of justice with attendant blessings or curses.

If we allow for the conceptual inversion of ideas, a hermeneutic observable in other places where CC appears to have used LH (the preceding section of this essay drew attention to some examples of this), the blessings promised the Israelites in CCA (vv. 25–26) have a number of correlations with the curses of the epilogue. Citations from the texts are provided in table 3 and are referenced by paragraph numbers, showing their relative position in the list of curses.[10] The blessing of food and water in v. 25a relates to the curses from the gods Ea (§4) and Adad (§7); the removal of sickness in v. 25b to the curse by Ninkarrak (§12); the prevention of infertility in v. 26a to the curse by Nintu (§11); and long life in v. 26b to the curse by Enlil (§2).

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[10] §1 Anu (col. 49:45–52), §2 Enlil (49:53–80), §3 Ninlil (49:81–97), §4 Ea (49:98–50:13), §5 Shamash (50:14–40), §6 Sin (50:41–63), §7 Adad (50:64–80), §8 Zababa (50:81–91), §9 Ishtar (50:92–51:23), §10 Nergal (51:24–39), §11 Nintu (51:40–49), §12 Ninkarrak (51:50–69), §13 great gods of heaven (51:70–83), §14 Enlil (51:84–91).

Table 3: Blessings for the Israelites and Epilogue Curses (Roth's translation
            of the Laws of Hammurabi[11])

Exod 23:25a: He will bless (וּבֵרַךְ) your food and your water (אֶת־לַחְמְךָ וְאֶת־מֵימֶיךָ).
Ea §4: May he (Ea) dam up his rivers at the source; may he not allow any life-sustain-
    ing grain (*ašnan*) in his land.
Adad §7: May the god Adad [. . .] deprive him of the benefits of rain from heaven
    and flood from the springs, and may he obliterate his land through destitution and
    famine (*ina ḫušaḫḫim u bubūtim*)

Exod 23:25b: I will remove sickness (מַחֲלָה) from among you.
Ninkarrak §12: May the goddess Ninkarrak [. . .] cause a grievous malady (*murṣam
    kabtam*) to break out upon his limbs, and evil demonic disease (*assakam lemnam*),
    a serious carbuncle (*simmam marṣam*) which cannot be soothed, which a physician
    cannot diagnose, which he cannot ease with bandages, which, like the bite of death,
    cannot be expunged (*la innassaḫu*) [. . .].

Exod 23:26a: There will be no (female) who miscarries or is barren (מְשַׁכֵּלָה וַעֲקָרָה) in
    your land.
Nintu §11: May the goddess Nintu [. . .] deprive him of an heir and give him no off-
    spring; may she not allow a human child to be born among his people.

Exod 23:26b: I will let you live the full number of your days (אֶת־מִסְפַּר יָמֶיךָ אֲמַלֵּא).
Enlil §2: May the god Enlil [. . .] incite against him [. . .] disorder that cannot be quelled
    and a rebellion that will result in his obliteration (*gabaraḫ ḫalāqišu*); may he cast as
    his fate a reign of groaning, of few days (*ūmī īṣūtim*), of years of famine, of darkness
    without illumination, and of sudden death (*mūt niṭil īnim*); may he declare with
    his venerable speech the obliteration of his city, the dispersion of his people, the
    supplanting of his dynasty, and the blotting out of his name and his memory from
    the land (*šumšu u zikiršu ina mātim la šubšâm*).
cf. *Ea §4:* May the god Ea [. . .] who lengthens the days of my life [. . .].

A more direct correspondence in tenor with Hammurabi's curses is found in
the prediction of political collapse and military defeat for the Canaanites, as
outlined in the texts in table 4. Several of the curses announce the political
disempowerment and defeat of the disobedient king and his people.

Table 4: Correlations between Canaanite Destruction and Epilogue Curses

Exodus 23:20–33

   [22] [. . .] I (YHWH) will fight your foes and hound your enemies. [23] [. . .] He (the mes-
   senger) will bring you to the Amorite, the Hittite, Perizzite, the Canaanite, the Hivite,
   the Jebusite, and I will wipe them out. [. . .] [27] I will send my terror before you and put
   in panic all the people among whom you go and make all your foes flee. [28] I will send

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hornets/plague/dread and they/it will drive out the Hivite, Canaanite, and Hittite before you. [. . .]

[30] I will expel them from before you gradually, until you have flourished and take possession of the land.

[31] I will set your border from the Reed Sea to the Philistine Sea, and from the Desert to the River, for I am delivering the inhabitants of the land into your hands, and you shall expel them from before you. [. . .] [33] They shall not remain in your land so they do not cause you to sin against me – because you will (end up) serving their gods (and) it will be a trap for you.

Curses of the Laws of Hammurabi Epilogue (Roth's Translation)

Anu §1: May the great god Anu [. . .] deprive him of the sheen of royalty, smash his scepter, and curse his destiny.

Enlil §2: see table 3 for this (including dispersion of the people)

Ninlil §3: May the goddess Ninlil [. . .] induce the divine king Enlil to pronounce the destruction of his land, the obliteration of his people [. . .].

Shamash §5: May the god Shamash [. . .] confuse his path and undermine the morale of his army; [. . .] may he (Shamash) provide an inauspicious omen portending the uprooting of the foundations of his kingship and the obliteration of his land; [. . .] may he uproot him from the land of the living [. . .].

Sin §6: May the god Sîn [. . .] deprive him of the crown and throne of kingship [. . .].

Zababa §8: May the god Zababa [. . .] smash his weapon upon the field of battle; may he turn day into night for him, and make his enemy triumph over him.

Ishtar §9: May the goddess Ishtar, mistress of battle and warfare [. . .] curse his kingship with her angry heart and great fury; [. . .] may she smash his weapon on the field of war and battle, plunge him into confusion and rebellion, strike down his warriors, drench the earth with their blood, make a heap of the corpses of his soldiers upon the plain, and may she show his soldiers no mercy; as for him, may she deliver him into the hand of his enemies, and may she lead him bound captive to the land of his enemy.

Nergal §10: May the god Nergal [. . .] burn his people with his great overpowering weapon like a raging fire in a reed thicket; may he have him beaten with his mighty weapon, and shatter his limbs like (those of) a clay figure.

Nintu §11: See table 3 for this.

The great gods §13: May the great gods of heaven and earth [. . .] curse that one, his seed, his land, his troops, his people, and his army with a terrible curse.

Significantly, the blessings for the Israelites and threats held out for the Canaanites, taken together, have conceptual correlations with every curse paragraph from the epilogue (i.e., §§1–13) save the short final Enlil imprecation (§14).[12]

Another correlation between CCA and the future-king passage is in the call to obedience and the conditional predication of blessing on obedience. The Covenant Code appendix reads: "Take care before him (the messenger) and heed his voice. Do not disregard him, because he will not pardon your disobedience, because my name is in him. If you do heed his voice and do everything that I

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[12] This forms a literary envelope with or complement to the initial Enlil curse (§2).

say [. . .]" (Exod 23:21–22). After this comes the forecast of destruction for the Canaanites and blessing for the Israelites. A similar construction appears in the future-king passage. It begins with a call to obedience: "In the future at any time, may any king who appears in the land keep the just commands (words) that I have written on my stela [. . .]" (col. 48:59–74). Then the two options are laid out as conditions, introducing blessing or curse: "If that man gives heed to my words that I have written on my stela [. . .]" (49:2–5). A short blessing follows. This is counterbalanced with the provision "if that man does not give heed to the words that I have written on my stela [. . .]" (49:18–22). The curses follow.

The larger evidential point is this: CCA fits like a puzzle piece into the larger context of the final apodictic laws in their mapping of the sequence of themes found in the epilogue (again, see the lower right-hand corner of table 2). In its position, CCA carries on the sequential use of the epilogue material from the final apodictic laws (right column of table 2). In fact, CCA at the end of the second string of apodictic laws is precisely parallel, structurally speaking, to the section of laws on justice in 23:1–8 at the end of the first string of final apodictic laws. They articulate materials from the future-king passage of the epilogue in different ways: the laws on justice take up the theme of executing justice from the future-king passage, and CCA takes up the matter of blessings, curses, and obedience from the same passage.

Assyrian Royal Inscriptions and the Covenant Code Appendix

Another foreign textual catalyst – Assyrian royal inscriptions – appears to have been influential in the creation of CCA. To serve as a basis for the discussion that follows, I have assembled in appendix 2 to this paper a collection of relevant passages from eight illustrative texts (A–H) from the time of Adad-Nirari II (d. 891 BCE) to Assurbanipal (d. 631 BCE). The beginning of appendix 2 includes an index of motifs (*i–vi*) that will be discussed in the body of the essay here. Citations that exemplify particular motifs are then given in appendix 2 using the index numbers as they occur in the sample texts. The discussion here will make selective or abbreviated reference to examples. Readers will want to go to appendix 2 to survey the evidence in more detail. Appendix 2 contains full references to the text editions and translations.

The relevance of these texts becomes clear when it is realized, as Victor Hurowitz has demonstrated and described in detail, that the general form and genre of LH as a whole is actually that of a royal inscription.[13] If the long legal code is bracketed off, the prologue and epilogue constitute a royal inscription

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[13] V. A. Hurowitz, Inu Anum ṣīrum: *Literary Structures in the Non-Juridical Sections of Codex Hammurabi* (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 15; Philadelphia: University Museum, 1994).

that touts the election of the king and his achievements and exhorts readers to protect those achievements. Recognition of this genre correlation, it appears, provided the avenue for CCA to bring in motifs from other royal inscriptions. The particular latch opening the door to the broader genre of royal inscriptions was presumably Hammurabi's future-king passage with its blessings and curses, discussed above and cited in appendix 1 to this essay.[14] Many royal inscriptions, not just those sampled in appendix 2, have similar passages at their ends. Examples can be found under motif *vi* in the texts of appendix 2 in texts A, B, E, F, G, and H. These sections counsel a future prince or king to maintain the inscriptional king's prestige and accomplishments, often with blessings for obedience and curses for disobedience. They can be rather extensive, like that in text B from Aššur-Naṣirpal II, and may have a long list of gods, as in text H from Assurbanipal. Because these passages are a rather standard feature of royal inscriptions, it would be a matter of reflex for one familiar with such texts to think of them when working with the similar passage in Hammurabi's epilogue.

Several thematic correlations are visible between CCA and the royal inscriptions. The primary overall correlation is in the motif of conquest. This is the backbone that runs through CCA, and the theme is similarly pervasive in royal inscriptions. Because of this, and also because most scholars of the Bible and ancient Near East are broadly familiar with royal inscriptions, I have not cited examples of this particular motif in appendix 2. Nevertheless, the theme is visible there incidentally in passages cited to illustrate other motifs. If the future-king passage in LH was the particular gateway to other royal inscriptions, then the topic of conquest seems to have been the particular attraction for going to these other texts. This largely accounts for the shift in genre and theme in Exod 23:20–33. The Covenant Code appendix maintained the general topic of future fortunes, including motifs related to blessing and curse, raised by the future-king passage of Hammurabi's epilogue. But instead of focusing on a future individual leader, CCA used the wider genre of royal inscriptions to engage the topic of national conquest.

A more specific and conspicuous correlation between CCA and royal inscriptions appears in the motif of the gods or the gods' symbols going before the king or the army in the campaign, the vanguard motif.[15] This is motif *ii* in the sample corpus and appears in texts A, B, C, D, and H. The Akkadian texts use the verb

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[14] For the pattern, see C. MELTZER, "Concluding Formulae in Ancient Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions: The Assyrian Sources" (PhD diss., Toronto University, 1983), 141–145, as discussed in I. ZSOLNAY, "The Function of Ištar in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2009), 88–106. Zsolnay's discussion of this motif and the vanguard motif (discussed below) were influential in my seeing the relevance of royal inscriptions for CCA.

[15] For this divine escort or vanguard motif, see V. A. HUROWITZ and J. G. WESTENHOLZ, "LKA 63: A Heroic Poem in Celebration of Tiglath-Pileser I's Muršu-Qumanu Campaign," *JAOS* 42 (1990), 1–49, here 30–34; T. MANN, *Divine Presence and Guidance in Israelite Tradition: The Typology of Exaltation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1977). See the idioms *ālik*

alāku and preposition (*ina*) *panāt-/maḥr-/*IGI. For example, an inscription of Shalmaneser III (text C) claims: "With the exalted might of the divine standard which goes before me (*a-lik* IGI-*ia*) (and) with the fierce weapons which Aššur my lord gave to me, I fought (and) defeated them." The Letter to Aššur for the Eighth Campaign of Sargon II (text D) describes the advance with the words "Against Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke of the standard wagon of Nergal and Adad, who go before me" (*a-li-kut maḥ-ri-a*). Assurbanipal's Rassam Decagon (text H) describes the attack: "Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, who march before me (*ša ina maḥ-ri-ia il-li-ku*), slaying my foes, cast Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, [. . .] into the burning flames [. . .] and destroyed him." Variants of the motif include the description of the god going or standing at the side as in texts F and G. For example, an inscription from Esarhaddon (text F) says, "The goddess Ištar, the lady of war and battle, who loves my priestly duties, stood at my side (*i-da-a-a ta-zi-iz-ma*), broke their bows, (and) she split open their tight battle ranks."

The vanguard motif occurs emphatically four times in CCA. Verse 23 says, "Indeed, my messenger will go before you (כִּי־יֵלֵךְ מַלְאָכִי לְפָנֶיךָ), and bring you to the Amorite, the Hittite, the Perizzite, the Canaanite, the Hivite, the Jebusite, and I will wipe them out." The verse uses the verb *go* (הלך*) and the preposition *before* (לְפָנַי), similar to the Akkadian expression noted above. The other three cases of the vanguard motif use the verb *send* (שלח*) with the preposition *before* (לְפָנַי) plus suffix pronoun. This occurs in the first verse of CCA: "I am herewith sending a messenger before you" (הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי שֹׁלֵחַ מַלְאָךְ לְפָנֶיךָ, v. 20). In the other two cases, further into the passage (vv. 27–28), the messenger is bifurcated into a pair of negative entities: "I will send my terror before you (אֶת־אֵימָתִי אֲשַׁלַּח לְפָנֶיךָ) and put in panic all the people among whom you go" and "I will send hornets/plague/dread (וְשָׁלַחְתִּי אֶת־הַצִּרְעָה לְפָנֶיךָ) before you and they/it will expel the Hivite, Canaanite, and Hittite before you."

The negative avatars[16] and the verbal effects they have on the enemy, especially אֵימָה, whose meaning "terror"[17] is clear, along with its effect of putting the enemies into panic (וְהַמֹּתִי, root המם*) and making them flee (וְנָתַתִּי אֶת־כָּל־

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maḥri "herald, forerunner" *CAD* A/1 344 (of gods and divine emblems) and *ālik pani* "leader, superior" *CAD* A/1 344–345 (sometimes of gods). See also *CAD* P 80 (s.v. *panāt ummāmi*).

[16] I draw this term from the insightful discussion of conceptualization of the deity in biblical texts by B.D. SOMMER, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 78 and 232, n. 113.

[17] אֵימָה is paired with פַּחַד in Exod 15:16. The meaning "fear, terror" is clear from Josh 2:9. The terror "falls" also in Gen 15:12; Ps 55:5 (in this last case it is the "terrors of death"). It verbally terrifies in Job 9:34; cf. 13:21; 33:7. It is paired with sword in Deut 32:35 and royal terror is compared to a lion's roar in Prov 20:2. See also Isa 33:18; Jer 50:38; Ps 88:16; Job 20:25; 39:20; 41:6; Ezra 3:3.

אֹיְבֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ עֹרֶף, v. 27), correlate with motifs in the royal inscriptions. Several inscriptions describe enemies being overwhelmed by the *puluḫtu* "terror" or *melammu* "splendor" of the gods or kings (motif *iiia* in appendix 2; for *puluḫtu*, see texts D, F; for *melammu*, see texts B, H).[18] Synonyms or parallel terms may be used (*ḫātu/ḫattu* "terror" in text D and *ḫattu puluḫtu* "terror and fear" in text E; *namrīru* "splendor" of the deity in text H; *rašubbatu* "frightening appearance" of a divine weapon in text H; cf. the *namurratu* "splendor" of the king in text G or of weapons in texts C, H). Sometimes the terms appear in combination, such as *pulḫe melamme* or *puluḫti melamme* "fearful splendor" (texts C, D, F).[19] In addition, this fear or splendor may be attributed to the gods or to the king (gods: B, C, F, H; king: B, D, H, cf. G), and when attributed to the king, it may be contextualized with first-person pronouns, e.g., "the fear of my splendor" or "the splendor of my kingship/lordship" (texts B, D, H). The main verbs that describe being overwhelmed by this fear or splendor are *saḫāpu* "overwhelm," *katāmu* "cover," and *tabāku* "pour out" (texts B, C, D, E, F, H).[20]

The term אֵימָתִי, "my terror," in the CCA matches closely *puluḫtu* "fear, terror" in the inscriptions, especially when the latter is attributed to the deity or king.[21] A correlation with royal *puluḫtu* or *melammu* is consistent with the hermeneutic of CC proper, particularly as manifested in the apodictic laws, where various motifs relating to the human royal lawgiver (as well as the Mesopotamian gods) were transferred to YHWH. The "messenger" or "my messenger" as the divine avatar is novel in the CCA in contrast to the inscriptions, but it is functionally equivalent broadly to the *melammu* "splendor" of the deity or king. Concomitant native tradition and idiom may partly account for the appearance of the messenger motif in particular. For this, see the end of the conclusion of this paper.

The second negative avatar in CCA, the צִּרְעָה, does not have a clear correlate in the royal inscriptions.[22] It is often rendered "hornet" based on the versions (and

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[18] For a recent extensive examination of *melammu* and *puluḫtu* and biblical counterparts, see S.Z. ASTER, *The Unbeatable Light:* Melammu *and Its Biblical Parallels* (AOAT 384; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012). His main discussion of the Akkadian terminology is on pp. 22–121.

[19] ASTER, *Unbeatable Light* (see n. 18), 84; IDEM, "The Image of Assyria in Isaiah 2:5–22: The Campaign Motif Reversed," *JAOS* 127 (2007), 249–278, here 274. He observes that the individual occurrence of *puluḫtu* is just shorthand for *puluḫti melamme* or *pulḫe melamme*.

[20] See ASTER, *Unbeatable Light* (see n. 18), 45–52; IDEM, "Image of Assyria" (see n. 19), 274–277, on verbs for "overwhelming" associated with *puluḫti melamme*.

[21] Greek has τὸν φόβον for MT's אֵימָתִי in Exod 23:27, without the first-person possessive pronoun. A reverse variation occurs in 23:20, where the Greek has τὸν ἄγγελόν μου (similarly Samaritan and Vulgate) against MT's unmodified מַלְאָךְ. In v. 23 both MT and Greek have the pronoun מַלְאָכִי/ὁ ἄγγελός μου. It is possible that the pronoun in v. 27 is secondary, by attraction to a more original formulation with the pronoun in v. 23. Nevertheless, that הַצִּרְעָה in v. 28, parallel to v. 27, lacks the pronoun is not necessarily proof that the pronoun in v. 27 is secondary.

[22] It is tempting to connect צִרְעָה with the Akkadian noun *ṣiriḫtu* "anger" or the verb *ṣarāḫu* A (N-stem) "be angry," which are used in royal inscriptions to describe the king's animosity

cf. Deut 1:44), though etymologically the term may refer to plague (cf. צָרַעַת),
and in the literary context it is parallel to אֵימָה.[23] The use of the term צִרְעָה, may
come not from source stimuli but from elaborate paronomasia. Both אֵימָה and
צִרְעָה, echo the messenger motif and descriptions of the deity's acts of conquest
earlier in the passage. In the following citation (as opposed to some of my more
straightforward translations of the same verses elsewhere in this paper), I have
creatively worded the English translation to draw attention to the wordplay in
Hebrew:[24]

> [20] I am herewith sending a messenger before you.
> 　[. . .]
> [21] Take care before him and heed his voice.
> 　Do not disregard him.
> 　[. . .]
> [22] If you do heed his voice
> 　and do everything that I say,
> 　I will *fight your foes* (וְאָיַבְתִּי אֶת־אֹיְבֶיךָ)
> 　and I will *distress your discomforters* (וְצַרְתִּי אֶת־צֹרְרֶיךָ)
> [23] Indeed, my messenger will go before you.
> 　[. . .]
> [27] I will send my *fear* (אֵימָתִי) before you
> 　and cause *frenzy* among the *folk* you *find* (וְהַמֹּתִי אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר תָּבֹא בָּהֶם),
> 　and make all your *foes flee* (אֹיְבֶיךָ אֵלֶיךָ עֹרֶף).
> [28] I will send *dread* (הַצִּרְעָה) before you
> 　and it/he will *drive out* (וְגֵרְשָׁה) the Hivite, Canaanite, and Hittite before you.

According to v. 22, the deity will do two things: fight the people's enemies
(וְאָיַבְתִּי אֶת־אֹיְבֶיךָ, v. 22bα) and harass their adversaries (וְצַרְתִּי אֶת־צֹרְרֶיךָ, v. 22bβ).
He performs these acts in the context and by virtue of sending his messenger
(vv. 20, 23). The two negative avatars are described later, and they correlate
alliteratively with the respective descriptions of divine aggression in v. 22. The
term אֵימָה along with other language in v. 27 (וְהַמֹּתִי [. . .] הָעָם [. . .] תָּבֹא בָּהֶם
[. . .] אֹיְבֶיךָ [. . .] עֹרֶף]) echo the description of divine aggression in v. 22bα (וְאָיַבְתִּי

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toward his enemies (motif *iiib* in appendix 2 in texts F and H). But this is not extensively
attested and does not appear in the immediate contexts of *melammu* or *puluḫtu*. A connection
to Akkadian *ṣirḫu* "flare, flash" and *ṣarāḫu* C "light up" is attractive because the terms look
like they relate conceptually to *melammu*. But the terms do not occur in royal inscriptions and
refer to astronomical phenomena and often occur in omens.

　[23] See, for example, W. H. C. Propp, *Exodus 19–40* (AB 2A; New York: Doubleday, 2006),
290; T. B. Dozeman, *Exodus* (ECC; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 557. Both take the
term as "hornets."

　[24] The citation here draws attention to a quasi-poetic form that appears throughout the
passage. There are a number of bi- or tricola (depending how one analyzes them) that are
primarily hung on the vanguard or avatar lines. The art of this construction can be compared
to that of the string and chiastic core structure of the final apodictic laws of CC. But CCA does
not have the same sort of structuring as the final apodictic laws.

אֶת־אֹיְבֶיךָ, glottals, labials, semivowel /y/). The term צָרְעָה, and possibly also the verb וְגֵרְשָׁה,[25] in v. 28 echoes the description of divine aggression in v. 22bβ (וְצַרְתִּי אֶת־צֹרְרֶיךָ, alveolar emphatic fricatives/affricates, approximant /r/). Thus אֵימָה and צָרְעָה, from this literary-structural point of view, are specifications or attributes of the מַלְאָךְ, all of whom are sent by the deity – avatars of an avatar.[26]

The Covenant Code appendix shares other less frequently occurring but still notable motifs with the royal inscriptions. The biblical passage commands the Israelites to destroy the Canaanites' gods and smash their pillars (v. 24). Texts E and H describe the smashing of enemy gods and the tearing down of temples. These texts use the verb *šubburu*, cognate with the Hebrew שָׁבַּר. For example, Sennacherib (text E) notes, "My men took the (images of the) gods who dwell there and smashed them (*ú-šab-bi-ru-ma*) [. . .]. I destroyed and tore down and burned with fire the city (and) [. . .] I tore out the inner and outer walls, temples, the ziggurat of brick and earth [. . .]." Assurbanipal (text H) says, "I struck down the people living (in Bashimu). I smashed (*ú-šab-bir*) their gods and pacified the divine heart of the lord of lords" and "The *zikkurat* of Susa, which was built of enameled bricks, I destroyed [. . .]. The sanctuaries of Elam I destroyed totally (lit., to nonexistence). Its gods (and) goddesses I turned into ghosts."[27]

The Covenant Code appendix's list of enemies in v. 23 (abbreviated in v. 28) has parallels in lists of enemies in some of the inscriptions. Text C from Shalmaneser III (motif *v*) has a list of kings and/or cities identified, many with gentilic adjectives, including Hama, Israel (i.e., ᵐ*a-ḫa-ab-bu* KUR *sir-'a-la-a-a*), Byblos, Egypt, Irqanatu, Arvad, Usanātu, Šianu, Arabia, and Ammon. Lists of conquered cities appear in various royal inscriptions, along with more-extended accounts of conquests of successive cities or locales. Their goal is to describe the extensiveness of acquisition and conquest, and that is a function of the list in

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[25] For divine expulsion with *גרש in a Northwest Semitic text, see Mesha (KAI 191) line 19. This is a small piece of evidence pointing to the type of traditional local idiom that may be used in the passage. See the conclusion toward the end.

[26] One may wonder if this paronomasia marks the original boundaries of CCA, consisting of only vv. 20–28 and focusing on the avatars of the deity and vanguard motif. The following verses, about delayed expulsion (vv. 29–30), borders (v. 31), and the covenant and foreigners as a snare (vv. 32–33), have fewer correlations with Hammurabi's epilogue or royal inscriptions. But note that the rationale for the nations staying in the land is different and apparently predates that which is presented in Judg 2:1–5 (see n. 48, below). For issues of redactional development, see n. 34.

[27] For the related issue of "godknapping," see A. BERLEJUNG, "The Assyrians in the West: Assyrianization, Colonialism, Indifference, or Development Policy?" in *Congress Volume Helsinki, 2010* (ed. M. Nissinen; VTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 21–60, here 33–34. On p. 32 she notes, "There is no proof of any Assyrian interest in uprooting non-Assyrian gods." This is part of her main argument, as she summarizes on p. 51: "The only goal (and success parameter) of Assyrian imperial policy was an Assyro-centric economic policy, not assyrianization. [. . .] Assyria did not want your belief or identity. The slogan was: Believe whatever you want, but you will never escape death and taxes!"

CCA. For the list in CCA, as in the case of the term *messenger*, native tradition or wording appears to have been brought in to articulate a theme suggested by the external source (see the end of the conclusion).[28]

The Covenant Code appendix has some correlations with the future-prince or future-king passages of the inscriptions (see motifs under *vi*).[29] Like Hammurabi's epilogue, these sections contain short blessings and longer curses, though the curses in our sample texts are not as extensive as in LH. Text B provides a rather full exposition of the themes. The blessings are as general as the gods' hearing the prayers of the future king (texts A, F) but also contain specific blessings of political security (text B), military success (B), and abundance (B). Curses may be generally outlined (H) or deal with specifics such as political failure (A, B, E, F), military conflict and defeat (B, G), extinction of posterity (A), and famine (B). These blessings and curses broadly relate to the blessings promised the Israelites and the defeat held out for the Canaanites in CCA.

The king's name (A, B, F, G) and to a lesser extent the gods' names (E, F) are prominent in the future-leader passages. The inscriptional king's name is to be maintained on his monument or, if missing or effaced, restored. Text B provides an extensive example that shows the connection of the themes of maintaining the inscription with its name and the necessity of obedience. It prefaces the section with a call to restore the inscriptional king's name: "May a later prince restore its weakened (portions and) restore my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Aššur will listen to his prayers" (v. 24–26). It then talks about the faithful king who "does not alter the ordinances of my text" (v 47), followed by a blessing of abundance. Next it describes and condemns in some detail an unfaithful future leader who destroys the monument or shows it disrespect (see v 55–90 in text B of appendix 2), followed by curses of political destruction, distress, and famine. This section features the motif of obedience, which is connected to or manifested in the preservation of the inscription. This is metonymically represented or en-

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[28] For some discussion of the lists of nations in biblical texts, see K. SCHMID, *Genesis and the Moses Story* (Siphrut 3; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 226–227; J.S. BADEN, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (AYBRL; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 139–140. If a documentary analysis is to be preferred, one of the questions to ask is if E is earlier than J and if its lists influenced J's. See the conclusion.

[29] A possible correlation between CCA and the future-leader passages, in addition to those in the main discussion, is the motif of treaty-like obligations. Sennacherib's text E warns, as Luckenbill translates (see appendix 2), "If ever there is a future prince among the kings, my sons, who destroys the work which I have done, (and) breaks the covenant I have (hereby) made with him (*rik-sa-te ar-ku-su i-paṭ-ṭa-ru*) [. . .]." *CAD* P 292 §4 renders this similarly but more in line with the broader theme of obedience: "whoever breaks the rulings I have made." This could correlate inversely and broadly with CCA's prohibition of making a treaty with the Canaanites (לֹא־תִכְרֹת לָהֶם וְלֵאלֹהֵיהֶם בְּרִית; v. 32). The problem is that the interpretation of the phrase in Sennacherib's text is not without dispute. *CAD* R 248 §2a renders it "whoever dismantles the (canal) system I have constructed."

tailed by the preservation of the royal name. To preserve the inscriptional king's name is to preserve his inscription, which provides a model and regulations for behavior.

The nexus of name and obedience is found in CCA. After the initial announcement of the attending messenger, the passage warns: "Take care before him and heed his voice [. . .], *because my name is in him* (כִּי שְׁמִי בְּקִרְבּוֹ)" (Exod 23:21). When we remember that CC hermeneutically replaces the human Mesopotamian king with YHWH, this rationalization for obedience in CCA correlates with the interest in the royal name in royal inscriptions. This verse, in fact, continues the articulation of the theme of the divine name that is prominent in CC proper (Exod 20:24; 22:27; 23:13) and which, as noted earlier, is dependent on Hammurabi's epilogue. In the first of these instances YHWH announces: "In every place where I (or emended: you) recall my name" (בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַזְכִּיר אֶת־שְׁמִי אָבוֹא אֵלֶיךָ וּבֵרַכְתִּיךָ, 20:24). This contains the terminology and conception in the call to memorialize Hammurabi's name: "in the Esagil, which I love, may my name be recalled kindly forever" (*ina Esagil ša arammu šumī ina damiqtim ana dār lizzakir*). The correlating features include the verb *zkr*, cognate words for "name" with the first-person suffix attached, and a cult place as the locus of memorialization. Later, as a type of measure-for-measure punishment (a motif explicit in text A of appendix 2), Hammurabi's epilogue threatens a disobedient king with name destruction in one of its first curses: "Let him (Enlil) pronounce with his revered mouth the disappearance of his (the disobedient king's) name and memory from the land" (*šumšu u zikiršu ina mātim lā šubšâm ina pīšu kabtim liqbi*, 47:76–80). Hammurabi's text portrays the display of obedience through the maintenance of the inscription and memorialization of Hammurabi's name. It may not be a coincidence that CC's internal injunction to obedience in 23:13a, which correlates with the call to obedience for a future king (col. 48:59–74; 49:2–5, 18–22; see the discussion of Hammurabi's epilogue and CCA, above), accompanies the last of the three parallel passages dealing with speaking about deities and their names in CC (23:13b). Thus, name and obedience are interrelated in both CC proper and CCA, and these resonate with the connection of the royal name and obligations to maintain the inscriptional king's stela and injunctions.[30]

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[30] L. SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Das Bundesbuch* (BZAW 188; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 410, notes correlations between CCA and CC's initial altar law: name, blessing, and "place" (23:20, 21, 25; see 20:24). The laws on images thematically correlate (23:24; cf. 20:23) as well.

Conclusions and Ramifications

Here I will draw some conclusions based on the previous analysis and then explore implications for pentateuchal research. In my original study of CC I was perplexed about why CC abandoned its use of the epilogue halfway through, given its apparent preoccupation with this part of Hammurabi's text. The furthest correlation that I saw was between the chiastic passage on justice in 23:1–8 and exhortations that the future king follow Hammurabi's example of justice (see table 2, bottom of the column, second from right). Though CC alluded to blessing (e.g., 20:24) and curse (e.g., 22:22–23), themes that follow in Hammurabi's future-king passage, it did not develop these. It was particularly odd that CC ignored the curses, which are so prominent and ripe for ideological recasting.

The correlations between CCA and the epilogue curses, along with themes in the partner genre of royal inscriptions, now resolve this conundrum. The rest of the epilogue was in fact used, to help craft CCA. The forward-looking orientation of the future-king passage facilitated the shift in perspective to future historical events. Hammurabi's theme of blessing in the context of obedience, along with motifs from Hammurabi's curses by means of conceptual inversion, influenced the description of blessings for the Israelites. Aspects of the curses, unconverted, also helped paint the picture of Canaanite disempowerment. In addition, that LH as a whole was cast as a royal inscription opened the door for using motifs from other, later royal inscriptions in building CCA, including the conquest, the deity or his avatar at the head of attack, and overwhelming divine terror.

What is particularly compelling about this evidence is that CCA fits neatly into the mosaic of correlations (see table 2, lower right corner). Not only does it vertically finish the sequence of themes from the epilogue following from the end of the final apodictic laws, but structurally and (in terms of source) thematically it horizontally complements the passage on justice (23:1–8) as an alternative reflection and extension of the future-king passage. That is to say, Hammurabi's future-king passage entailed two possible roads for thematic development: the formulation of *injunctions* based on admonitions and exhortations given to the future king and the description of *national future prospects* based on descriptions of how a royal successor might react and what consequences both he and his people might face. The chiastic core of laws on justice in 23:1–8 provided the injunctive realization of the future-king passage, and the appendix in 23:20–33 provided the prospective realization.

It seems difficult to attribute this vertical and horizontal patterning, which correlates with the thematic structure of an epilogue, along with themes from kindred royal inscriptions, to independent development, especially when the body of CC's casuistic laws clearly appear to rely on LH for content and struc-

ture. The whole web of correlations between CC and CCA work together to make this hypothesis about textual dependence reasonable.

This analysis also explains compellingly why CCA is where it is, after the laws but before the end of the revelation.[31] It accounts for the genre change found in CCA. It also helps explain how CCA relates thematically and conceptually to CC. Even though CCA does not make any explicit reference to CC, the creators of CC and CCA may have seen the promises held out in CCA as dependent upon the maintenance of the preceding law, just as the blessings for an obedient future king are dependent on his maintenance of Hammurabi's model of justice.

Support for this generative understanding of CCA is found in recent studies that have recognized the influence of Assyrian royal inscriptions on other biblical texts, such as preexilic passages of Isaiah.[32] In several cases, motifs from the inscriptions were rearticulated in terms of YHWH's power in ideological counterstatement to Assyrian hegemony. For example, Aster has argued that Isa 2:5–22 reflects a description of an annual military campaign as found in royal inscriptions. The two elements in the phrase מִפְּנֵי פַּחַד יְהוָה וּמֵהֲדַר גְּאֹנוֹ, "from the fear of YHWH and his powerful majesty," in 2:10, 19, 21 are calques on the inscriptional terms *puluḫtu* "fear" and *melammu* "splendor." The reflection of these motifs and their attribution to YHWH is precisely what I have proposed

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[31] Various studies have sought to explain the textual location of CCA. Some have seen CCA as a type of epilogue to the laws, with some observing specifically that it is similar to blessing and curse sections of law collections, reflecting on the question of the future generated by observing the laws or anticipating the covenant ceremony to come in 24:3–8. See WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 503, n. 93; PROPP, *Exodus 19–40* (see n. 23), 287; C. HOUTMAN, *Exodus, Volume 3: Exodus 20–40* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 270; W. JOHNSTONE, "Reactivating the Chronicles Analogy in Pentateuchal Studies, with Special Reference to the Sinai Pericope in Exodus," *ZAW* 99 (1987), 16–37, here 25–26; H. AUSLOOS, "The 'Angel of YHWH' in Exod. xxiii 20–23 and Judg. ii 1–5: A Clue to the 'Deuteronom(ist)ic' Puzzle?" *VT* 58 (2008), 1–12, here 2–3. Several have noted, however, that it is out of place and really does not act like an epilogue (E. BLUM, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch* [BZAW 189; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990], 375–376; B.S. CHILDS, *The Book of Exodus* [OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974], 461, 486). See n. 50.

[32] See P. MACHINIST, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983), 719–737; ASTER, "Image of Assyria" (see n. 19); IDEM, *The Unbeatable Light* (see n. 18), 204–256; BERLEJUNG, "Assyrians in the West" (see n. 27), 31–33; H. LISS, "Undisclosed Speech: Patterns of Communication in the Book of Isaiah," *JHS* 4 (2002), http://www.jhsonline.org/cocoon/JHS/a026.html (accessed 2/24/15); W.R. GALLAGHER, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah* (SHCANE 18; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 22–90. See the other literature in BERLEJUNG, "Assyrians in the West," 32–33, n. 35. She notes that "[b]iblical literature reflects the fact that the elites in Jerusalem were well informed about Assyrian royal propaganda and their worldview" (31). Her discussion of the function of the *qīpu* (responsible for monitoring local treaties; 28–29, 32) points to one possible institutional route for learning about some Assyrian and Mesopotamian ideas.

for CCA.[33] The various examples of influence from Assyrian royal inscriptions in these other biblical texts demonstrate familiarity with the foreign power's ideological descriptions. They seek to counter it by conceptual inversion and appropriation.

More will be said about implications that the royal inscriptions have for dating CC and its goals as a piece of legal and narrative literature momentarily, but first it should be observed that the analysis of how CCA relates to the larger structure inspired by LH points to the compositional integrity of CCA in the production of CC. I would not assert that one hand is responsible for all of CC and CCA. The complex use of sources may point to a multiplicity of contributors. But it does seem that CC and its appendix are part of *a single compositional plan and process*. It does not make sense to argue that the compositors of CC's final apodictic laws stopped halfway through using the epilogue and that a generation or more later a different school added CCA, still using LH as a template. The elaborateness of the final apodictic laws, with their two strings placed around a chiastic core and their thirty verses versus the four of the initial apodictic laws, belies this sort of redactional assessment. The length and complexity of the final apodictic laws seem to have arisen in part from a plan to manifest the injunctive and future prospective themes in Hammurabi's future-king passage in separate passages, 23:1–8 and 23:20–33.[34]

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[33] ASTER, *Unbeatable Light* (see n. 18), 204–224; IDEM, "Image of Assyria" (see n. 19), 272–278; he posits that in Isa 2:10, 19, 21, פַּחַד יְהוָה is a calque on Akkadian *puluḫtu* and that הֲדַר גְּאֹנוֹ is a calque on *melam belūti* where the first noun parallels *melammu*.

[34] The source analysis outlined in this essay also challenges some standard redactional analyses of CCA. Analyses generally separate out words and phrases with second-person plural formulation from those with the second-person singular. Moreover, the two negative avatars of vv. 27–28 and vv. 29–30 about gradual expulsion are seen as secondary. For example, Y. OSUMI, *Die Kompositionsgeschichte des Bundesbuches Exodus 20,22b–23,33* (OBO 105; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 212–215, posits an original text of 23:20–21a, 21bβ–22, 23a, 24, 32, 33bβ. The problem for such an analysis is that it omits material and motifs that appear to be generated by the sources (the LH epilogue or royal inscriptions), including the blessings of vv. 25–26 and the vanguard of terror in v. 27. Most of vv. 20–29 appear tied to sources: the theme of conquest; the vanguard motif, in vv. 20, 23, 27, 28; obedience in vv. 21–22; the name in v. 21; the "terror" avatar of v. 27 and with this the paronomasia between vv. 22 and 27–28; the destruction of foreign gods in v. 24; and the blessings in vv. 25–26. This would indicate that such criteria as the second-person plural phrases (e.g., v. 25) or duplication of motifs (e.g., multiple avatars) are not decisive for redactional analysis. (For problems with the second-person plural forms as a criterion for redactional analysis in CC proper in connection with sources used, see WRIGHT, *Inventing* [see n. 1], 322–332.) Shifts in style, repetition, and other inconsistencies may well be ascribed to working with different sources, or parts of sources, and blending them. For example, that the blessings in vv. 25–26 mainly correlate with the curses of Hammurabi's epilogue as opposed to material in surrounding verses that have correlations more with royal inscriptions may help explain the change to second-person plural in v. 25. For compositional complexity arising from the use of multiple sources, see WRIGHT, "Source Dependence" (see n. 7). See also n. 26,

Several of the foregoing considerations bear on the dating of CC along with CCA. The Covenant Code proper still fits best in the window that I originally proposed, i.e., between 740 and 640 BCE. The recently discovered law fragments from Hazor, though tantalizing for the reconstruction of the history of biblical law and law texts, do not change the picture, because they do not provide parallels to CC or LH. The terminus post quem of 740 BCE is based on the fact that this was about the time that the Neo-Assyrian Empire began to exert strong and mostly continuous influence over Israel and Judah. It is also in the Neo-Assyrian period that we have the most copies of LH, next to the OB period. The terminus ante quem of 640 BCE is based mainly on the fact that D's basic laws use CC as a source. These D laws date, most reasonably, to the mid- to later seventh century BCE. If CC and CCA are part of a larger narrative about the enslavement and liberation of the Israelites from Egypt (discussed below), and if the story of Moses's birth, which seems to be based on the legend of the birth of Sargon of Agade that was composed or resuscitated in the time of Sargon II, then the terminus post quem may be around 700 BCE.[35]

A major consideration in dating CC to 740–640 and perhaps more narrowly to 700–640 are the affinities between CC and D. These indicate that CC's composition may not have been more than a generation or so before Deuteronomy, and in certain respects CC is proto-Deuteronomic. Deuteronomy picks up several motifs from CC and develops these to greater prominence, such that some have argued some of these motifs are Deuteronomistic additions to CC.[36] Continuity in scribal culture is also seen in Deuteronomy's recasting of parts of a Mesopotamian royal administrative and ideological text, Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon (672 BCE), in Deut 13 and 28 as law revealed by YHWH and with YHWH taking the place of the Assyrian king.[37] This makes sense in a context

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above. For other observations on redactional development, see SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Bundesbuch* (see n. 30), 407–410 (he says that the second-person singular materials look like they belong to his "gottesrechtliche Redaktion" of CC); cf. WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 18–19; BLUM, *Studien* (see n. 31), 375–376 n. 61; HOUTMAN, *Exodus* (see n. 31), 273.

[35] See WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 342–345, on the Sargon tale.

[36] These motifs include those such as the trio of the immigrant, orphan, and widow; "release" with the verb *שמט; the connection of the deity's name with the cult "place" as the location where the deity's name is manifested; and the holiness of people. I have noted elsewhere that a majority of attestation does not necessarily demonstrate chronological priority, especially when one text uses another as a source. See D.P. WRIGHT, "Profane Versus Sacrificial Slaughter: The Priestly Recasting of the Yahwist Flood Story," in *Current Issues in Priestly and Related Literature: The Legacy of Jacob Milgrom and Beyond* (ed. R. Gane and A. Taggar-Cohen; SBLRBS; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2015), 125–154, here 146, n. 45.

[37] A recent copy of VTE from ancient Syria was found at Tell-Tayinat (now SE Turkey), which shows that the text was known in the west. This copy was put on display at the temple in Tell-Tayinat, and it has been argued that a copy was similarly put on display in the Jerusalem temple. See J. LAUINGER, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Com-

where D's scribes knew and continued the strategy employed by CC's scribes in recasting other Mesopotamian texts that are expressive of and paradigmatic for royal power and administration. Both D and CC are preoccupied with crafting new legal expressions that assert Israelite or, as specifically seems to be the case, Judean political identity and therefore presumably both arise in the same general sociopolitical and historical context.[38]

The evidence of the use of Assyrian royal inscriptions in CCA as a component in the CC complex now definitively dates the whole to the Neo-Assyrian period. As noted above, other biblical texts from this period, which is also around the time of Hezekiah, reflect knowledge of and recontextualize motifs from Assyrian royal inscriptions in order to articulate Judean distinctiveness and power in their own way. The Covenant Code and CCA are part of – and one of the early parts of – this general late-eighth- and seventh-century response to Neo-Assyrian power.

This analysis indicates that CCA is not a late addition to CC's context. Though it may contain some redactional supplementation,[39] as part of the CC complex it has to be viewed as pre-Deuteronomic. The expressions that it contains that are similar to Deuteronom(ist)ic expressions should be considered part of the material that characterizes the complex as proto-Deuteronomic, a detail that ties CC to the period not long before the creation of Deuteronomy, as noted above.[40]

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mentary," *JCS* 64 (2012), 87–123. For D's dependence, see B.M. LEVINSON and J. STACKERT, "The Limits of 'Resonance': A Response to Joshua Berman on Historical and Comparative Method," *JAJ* 4 (2013), 310–333; IDEM, "Between the Covenant Code and Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty: Deuteronomy 13 and the Composition of Deuteronomy," *JAJ* 3 (2012), 123–140.

[38] For interesting observations about how such literature functions in terms of analogical application of perspectives from postcolonial theory, see W. MORROW, "Resistance and Hybridity in Late Bronze Age Canaan," *RB* 115 (2008), 321–339; IDEM, "'To Set the Name' in the Deuteronomic Centralization Formula: A Case of Cultural Hybridity," *JSS* 55 (2010), 365–383; WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 350–351. If the story of Moses's birth in Exod 2 models the birth legend of Sargon of Akkad (as many argue) and if this belongs to a CC narrative, then this narrative reflects material and influence from *three* different paradigmatic representations of Mesopotamian royal ideology: Hammurabi and his law code, Sargon of Akkad and the story of his divine election, and royal inscriptions and their model of conquest. The CC narrative used this material to create a picture of Israelite origins that subversively mimics or flatteringly emulates Mesopotamian ideals.

[39] See n. 34, above.

[40] Hence CCA is not a Dtr (or post-Dtr) addition (see the summary of views in AUSLOOS, "Angel" [see n. 31], 2–6 and nn. 4, 22, 28 there; also see R.G. KRATZ, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* [London: T&T Clark, 2005], 142–143 [he says the passage presupposes the events of 587 BCE]; CHILDS, *Book of Exodus* [see n. 31], 261, 468; HOUTMAN, *Exodus* [see n. 31], 273; PROPP, *Exodus 19–40* [see n. 23], 287). For the pre-D character of at least a core passage, see SCHWIENHORST-SCHÖNBERGER, *Bundesbuch* (see n. 30), 406–414 (his basic stratum is pre-D, with vv. 29–30 as a Dtr redaction); H.-D. NEEF, "'Ich selber bin in ihm' (Ex 23,21): Exegetische Beobachtungen zur Rede vom 'Engel des

This justifies and facilitates viewing the passage as the progenitor and model for a group of other passages that have multiple thematic correlations, including Exod 34:10–16; Deut 7; Josh 23; 24; and Judg 2:1–7, 20–23.[41] Comparison of these passages to CCA confirms that they are subsequent to CCA. In briefest terms, Deut 7 appears secondary because it incorporates other motifs and thus looks expansive;[42] is conceptually more advanced than CCA;[43] and, most tellingly, conflates motifs from CC, the Decalogue, CCA, and the narrative of these texts.[44] The laws of Exod 34:17–26 are clearly based on CC and so, presumably, the preface to these laws in vv. 10–16, which is similar to CCA, is based on CCA. Exodus 34:10–16 also features motifs in common with Deut 7.[45] Joshua 23 proves derivative in combining CC's prohibition against speaking the name of other gods with CCA's prohibition against serving and bowing to other gods,

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Herrn' in Ex 23,20–22; 32,34; 33,2; Jdc 2,1–5; 5,23," *BZ* 39 (1995), 54–75, here 60–74; SOMMER, *Bodies* (see n. 16), 210–212; BADEN, *Composition* (see n. 28), 28, 110, 118, 119; AUSLOOS, "Angel" (see n. 31).

[41] For BLUM's מַלְאָךְ stratum, to which some of these passages belong, see below.

[42] The broader or expanded range of motifs in Deut 7 includes the חֵרֶם motif (v. 2); a command not to show mercy, attached to the covenant prohibition (v. 2); prohibition of intermarriage (v. 3); the punishment of children of Israelites for apostasy (v. 4); a longer list of cult objects (v. 5); a longer description of blessings of fertility (vv. 13–14); an additional call to show no mercy (v. 16); a more extensive description of Canaanite destruction, including of their kings (vv. 23–24); and a repeated description of destruction, including of cultic objects (vv. 1–5, 22–26). From a literary point of view, the discursiveness of Deut 7 seems secondary to the succinct and quasi-poetic literary formulation of CCA (see n. 24). Though Deut 7 has only the "hornet" motif, without the companion "terror," it puts this in a context of exodus miracles (vv. 17–21 [v. 20]).

[43] It can be viewed as rounding up the nations from six to seven (v. 1). The object of obedience is all of the divine commands, not just the voice of the messenger (vv. 11–12). The deity is in the midst of the people (rather than the messenger before; v. 21). The second command to destroy cult objects is accompanied by a prohibition against keeping the objects because of their value (vv. 25–26).

[44] Being a holy and treasured people (Deut 7:6; cf. Exod 19:5–6; 22:30), reference to those that love and hate the deity (Deut 7:9–10, 13, 15, from Exod 20:5–6 but complexly interwoven with blessings from CCA), and reference and analogy to the exodus (v. 8) and its miracles (v. 18–19). It is easier to argue that Deut 7 has brought these motifs together than to argue that they have been broken up and distributed throughout the context of Exod 19–24. This is consistent with the use by D's laws of both CC's laws *and* its associated narrative. (D's laws regularly assume the narrative in references to land acquisition and slavery in and the exodus from Egypt.) On CCA as the base text for Deut 7, see NEEF, "Ich selber bin in ihm" (see n. 40), 60–61 (referring to G. SCHMITT, *Du sollst keinen Frieden Schließen mit den Bewohnern des Landes* [BWANT 91; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970, 13–24]); M. WEINFELD, *The Promise of the Land* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 84–98.

[45] Another sign that Exod 34:11–16 is secondary to CCA is the theme of intermarriage in 34:16, which arguably comes from Deut 7:3–4. Exod 34 develops the logic of how the lack of cultic destruction leads to intermarriage. That Exod 34:10–26 depends on CC, see WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 481–482, n. 82, with literature.

having a more elaborate snare motif, and depending on chapters surrounding Deut 7.[46] Joshua 24 presents motifs common with CCA in an elaborate recounting of history from the patriarchs to the conquest and distributes them in four different speeches, two by Joshua and two by the people.[47] Judges 2 appears secondary by virtue of its reference back to previous divine speech (presumably CCA) and the abbreviation of motifs from CCA.[48]

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[46] For correlations with CCA, see Josh 23:4, 5, 7, 9–13. Josh 23 appears to expand the snare motif to include several features: לְפַח וּלְמוֹקֵשׁ וּלְשֹׁטֵט בְּצִדֵּיכֶם (v. 13), which echoes and may be connected with the textual development of Judg 2:3, which has two of these: וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְצִדִּים וֵאלֹהֵיהֶם יִהְיוּ לָכֶם לְמוֹקֵשׁ. Josh 23 makes reference back to a previous promise (vv. 5, 10), which is presumably to CCA if not Deut 7. The passage is otherwise more elaborate than CCA in dealing with apportioning the land. Perhaps the clearest delimited proof is the phrase וּבְשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם לֹא־תַזְכִּירוּ (v. 7), which echoes CC's prohibition against speaking the names of other gods (and which is influential in Lev 24; see WRIGHT, "Source Dependence" [see n. 7]). This verse combines language about serving and bowing down to other gods that correlates with CCA (see also v. 16; cf. Exod 23:24). At the same time, though there are no striking direct correlations with the wording of Deut 7, the passage shows a tie to the introductory chapters of Deut in the theme of loving the deity (v. 11; cf. Deut 6:5, 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22; and perhaps the motif of the whole heart and soul in Josh 23:14; cf. Deut 4:29; 6:5; 10:12; 11:13).

[47] For correlations with CCA, see Josh 24:8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 24. Josh 24 looks secondary because of its greater elaborateness; broad summary of patriarchal, exodus, and conquest history; contextualizing the hornet and expulsion motifs in the conquest history (v. 12); distribution of motifs related to CCA in four different speeches (two by Joshua, vv. 8, 11, 12, 19; two by the people, vv. 17, 18, 24); focus on foreign gods and images (vv. 14–15, 16, 19–24) reminiscent of the developed concerns of Deut 7 and Exod 34 (see also Gen 35:2, 4; BLUM, *Studien* [see n. 31], 363); having a slightly larger list of peoples expelled and sins forgiven (vv. 11, 19; cf. Exod 23:21, 23); contextualizing forgiveness in a broad context of worshiping YHWH alone as opposed to the specific context of obeying the messenger (v. 19; cf. Exod 23:21); associating forgiveness with the motif of divine jealousy reminiscent of Exod 34, which otherwise shares motifs from CCA (v. 19; cf. Exod 34:14); tying the obedience motif to YHWH rather than a messenger (v. 24; cf. Exod 23:22); and describing a covenant made with YHWH and not just prohibiting one with the Canaanites (v. 25; cf. Exod 23:32).

[48] See Judg 2:3 for the citation of previous divine speech. The two parts of that verse (2a, 2b) have language virtually identical to that in Exod 23:29 and 33. Judg 2:2a (the nonexpulsion clause) is only found in the CCA among the various passages being considered here. Judg 2:3 appears to bring these two elements together from CCA as an abbreviated citation. Judg 2:2 also appears to unite the separated motifs of cult destruction and covenant making from Exod 23:24 and 32. These themes are already juxtaposed in the secondary Exod 34:12–15, and the making of the covenant with the "inhabitant of the land" in Judg 2:2 is similar to Exod 34:12, 15 against Exod 23:32. Furthermore, Judg 2 emphasizes sin as opposed to CCA and has a rationale for the remaining nations that contradicts the beneficent reason in CCA and Deut 7:22. See AUSLOOS, "Angel" (see n. 31), broadly for the priority of CCA to Judg 2:1–5. For discussion of Judg 2:1–5 in the Joshua–Judges context, see BLUM, *Studien* (see n. 31), 366–369. For correlations between CCA and Judg 2:1–5, see E. BLUM, "Der kompositionelle Knoten am Übergang von Josua zu Richter: Ein Entflechtungsvorschlag," in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C.H.W. Brekelmans* (BETL 133; Leuven: Leuven Uni-

Another set of passages, in the Pentateuch, feature the vanguard motif (Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 13:21–22; 14:19, 24 [cf. v. 14]; 32:1, 23, 34; 33:2; Num 20:16; Deut 31:3, 6, 8).[49] Several of these have the specific motif of a divine messenger in a context of the exodus and march to conquest. Their relationship to the vanguard motif in CCA warrants short discussion, especially as they lead to the question about the narrative context of CC and implications for the study of the Pentateuch. My original study argued that CC must have been created in connection with some larger narrative primarily because this legal text lacks contextualizing information. It is only implicitly (though rather clearly) presented as a revelation to Moses and the people. The Covenant Code appendix now provides more definitive evidence that CC was composed to fit a narrative context. Unless CCA can stand with CC as merely an ideal or self-contained statement about the future fortunes of the people, it indicates that CC and CCA would have been part of a story of national origins that led to or included territorial conquest.

Erhard Blum has argued quite compellingly within a framework of a supplemental theory of Pentateuchal development that most of the passages featuring the messenger in a conquest context belong to a post-D and post-P *Fortschreibung* of the text, a מַלְאָךְ-*Bearbeitung*.[50] Nevertheless, if these passages are to be viewed as redactional additions, the argument of this paper requires them to be viewed as pre-Deuteronomic supplements. Though some have argued

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versity Press/Peeters, 1997), 181–212, here 190; JOHNSTONE, "Reactivating" (see n. 31), 25; NEEF, "Ich selber bin in ihm" (see n. 40), 69; WEINFELD, *Promise* (see n. 44), 157–159.

[49] Some passages with the vanguard motif are reasonably post-CCA. Those related to the wilderness trek or conquest include Deut 1:30–32 (cf. Deut 20:1; 23:15); Josh 3:6; 6:7; 10:10 (implicit); Judg 4:14. Passages not directly related to the exodus or conquest include Isa 52:12; 58:8; Mal 3:1; cf. Isa 40:3. More broadly related to the vanguard motif in CCA are passages about a messenger helping in trouble, aiding in flight, attacking, or blocking travel plans: Gen 16:7–11; 21:17; 31:11; 32:2; 48:16; Num 22:22–35; Josh 5:13–15; 10:10; Judg 5:23; 13:6, 9; 1 Sam 29:9; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; 19:28; 24:16–17 (1 Chr 21:15–16); 1 Kings 19:5–8, 35 (1 Chr 32:21); 2 Kings 19:35 (Isa 37:36); Isa 63:9.

[50] BLUM, *Studien* (see n. 31), 361–382; IDEM, "Der kompositionelle Knoten" (see n. 48), 181–212. His main group of texts is Exod 14:19a; 23:20ff.*; (32:34aβ;) 33:2, 3b*, 4; 34:11–27; Judg 2:1–5. Deut 7 relates to this group. Other texts may belong, such as Gen 24:7, 40 (for Num 20:16, see n. 54). He warns against attributing all these passages to the same hand. His argument mainly lies in the perceived coherence formed by this group of texts as well as the relative lateness several of them betray in their contexts (most demonstrably Judg 2:1–5). He notes that there may be some older traditions reflected in the texts, but the wording and redactional place of the texts is primary. See also R. ALBERTZ, "The Late Exilic Book of Exodus (Exodus 1–34*): A Contribution to the Pentateuchal Discussion," in *The Pentateuch* (ed. Thomas Dozeman et al.; FAT 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 243–256, here 246 and n. 12, and see the chart on p. 255 for the position of his late-fifth-century מַלְאָךְ-*Redaktion* (Mal'akR). NEEF, "Ich selber bin in ihm" (see n. 40), 71–75, also sees a messenger redactional layer but sees texts like CCA as pre-Deuteronomistic (p. 71). That CCA does not fit the CC context is an important datum in recognizing this text as part of a secondary redactional layer. For a discussion of this redactional hypothesis, see AUSLOOS, "Angel" (see n. 31).

just this,[51] a consequence for theories of pentateuchal development is that this would point to the existence of a rather extensive pre-Priestly narrative about national origins. It might be possible to argue – against my observation earlier – that CC along with CCA was originally an independent composition, where CCA operated as a conclusion that encapsulated traditions about conquest. This work was then incorporated into a developing pentateuchal narrative and the other messenger or vanguard passages were added, either when CC and CCA were added or later over time, as analysis of those other passages dictates.

A problem with a solution along the foregoing lines is that the various vanguard and messenger passages in the Pentateuch do not all cohere with the picture of divine guidance in CCA. That is, they do not simply flesh out CCA's portrayal. In particular, the instance in Exod 33:2, whose language is closest to that in CCA (וְשָׁלַחְתִּי לְפָנֶיךָ מַלְאָךְ וְגֵרַשְׁתִּי אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי הָאֱמֹרִי וְהַחִתִּי וְהַפְּרִזִּי הַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי, a combination of wording from 23:20, 23, and 28), is presented in a negative light, a punishment that takes the place of a positive and fundamental picture of the deity himself going *in the midst* of the people (see 33:1–6, 12–23; and loosely 34:2–9). This contradicts CCA, where the advance messenger is the ideal in guidance and care. There are therefore two models for divine guidance, going *before* and going *among*. It looks like two competing descriptions have been combined, and this points to a documentary solution. Admittedly this solution is not without its problems. Not all cases of the messenger or vanguard motif can be solved by source attribution.

The vanguard passages associable with CCA fit in the narrative proposed for E by Neo-Documentary analysis.[52] They chart a story in which, right after the revelation of CC+CCA and the covenant ceremony that established it (Exod 23:3–8), the people ask Aaron, in ironic contravention of the promise made in CCA, to make the golden calf to represent the deity that will go before them (אֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ לְפָנֵינוּ; 32:1, 23).[53] After this, Moses is told to start the journey to the land, during which the messenger will indeed go before the people (הִנֵּה מַלְאָכִי יֵלֵךְ לְפָנֶיךָ, 32:34, a combination of wording from 23:20 and 23). Later in the wilderness narrative, the people make reference to the deity's sending a messenger to lead them out of Egypt (וַנִּצְעַק אֶל־יְהוָה וַיִּשְׁמַע קֹלֵנוּ וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאָךְ וַיֹּצִאֵנוּ

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[51] See Neef in n. 50.

[52] For source analysis for the various passages in Exodus, see the text indices in Baden, *Composition* (see n. 28); idem, *J, E, and the Redaction of the Pentateuch* (FAT 68; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009). For the different pictures of divine guidance in J and E, see Baden, *Composition*, 67–81; idem, "On Exodus 33.1–11," *ZAW* 124 (2012), 329–340.

[53] Some have suggested that the obedience clause in CCA in Exod 23:21–22 (and one can add CC's 23:13) operates in the narrative as a setup to the golden calf story (Exod 32). This has also been argued for the prohibition against making gods of gold at the very beginning of CC (20:23).

מִמִּצְרַיִם, Num 20:16).[54] The instances of the vanguard motif in Deut 31:1–8 are probably D, though they build on the E motif.[55] At the end of the journey, Moses tells the people that in the coming conquest YHWH will go before them (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא עֹבֵר לְפָנֶיךָ הוּא־יַשְׁמִיד אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם הָאֵלֶּה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וִירִשְׁתָּם, Deut 31:3). He restates this to Joshua before the people (וַיהוָה הוּא הַהֹלֵךְ לְפָנֶיךָ הוּא יִהְיֶה עִמָּךְ, Deut 31:8; cf. v. 6, אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא הַהֹלֵךְ עִמָּךְ).

In contrast, J describes the deity's presence more complexly as a pillar of cloud and fire that goes before but that is also understood as representing the deity's presence in the midst of the people (Exod 13:21–22; 14:14, 19, 24; 17:7; 33:1, 3–6bα, 12–23; 34:2–3, 4*, 5aβ–9; Num 14:14).[56] Just prior to the miracle of the sea – hence quite a bit before CCA in the extant Pentateuch – it is announced that the deity will go before the people by day in a cloud column and by night in a column of fire (וַיהוָה הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיהֶם יוֹמָם בְּעַמּוּד עָנָן [...] וְלַיְלָה בְּעַמּוּד אֵשׁ, Exod 13:21). In the sea event, the cloud column moves from before them to the rearguard, as here in 14:19 (cf. vv. 14, 24):

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[54] BLUM, *Studien* (see n. 31), 119–120, n. 75 (cf. 377, n. 64), argues that the מַלְאָךְ in Num 20:16 is Moses (see also IDEM, "Der kompositionelle Knoten" [see n. 48], 192–193; SCHMID, *Genesis* [see n. 28], 67, n. 110). Blum says that this instance is not connected to the theme of march to the land, comparing the parallel wording of 1 Sam 12:8, which uses similar language to say that YHWH sent Moses and Aaron to bring the people from Egypt, and that the term elsewhere is used of prophetic figures (Hag 1:13; Mal 1:1; 2 Chr 36:15–16; Ps 151:4 LXX; one may also compare Hos 12:14). It is possible, however, that the Samuel verse is interpretive (if it is dependent).

It can be noted here that it is rather clear that the מַלְאָךְ in CCA is a supernatural figure. The messenger goes in front and is thus separate from the people (vv. 20, 23). It keeps the people safe, not clearly the capability of a single human (v. 20). It forgives sins (v. 21). The terror and "hornet" are supernatural and correlates of the messenger, with similar language describing their position ("before you") and dispatch ("send") (vv. 27–28). The vanguard motif in royal inscriptions, which appears to be influential here, has to do with supernatural entities (the gods or their emblems) and not with the king. Vanguard-related motifs in the Bible elsewhere and particularly in the pentateuchal texts refer to either a pillar of cloud/fire or the deity as in front and leading, and they use similar language (see below). Moses does not in fact bring the people into the land as described in 23:20. Judg 2:1–5, which depends on CCA (see n. 48), views the מַלְאָךְ as supernatural (it certainly is not Moses). Exod 32:34 and 33:2 portray the messenger as distinct from Moses. For discussion and literature, see AUSLOOS, "Angel" (see n. 31), 8–10.

[55] For source analysis of Deut 31, see BADEN, *Composition* (see n. 28), 137–139, 146–148, along with the contextual description of E versus D in J. STACKERT, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and the Israelite Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 70, 117, 118 n. 114, 133, 140. Compare R.E. FRIEDMAN, *The Bible with Sources Revealed* (New York: Harper, 2003), 358–368. B.J. SCHWARTZ, "A Bible Scholar's *Simchat Torah* – The Joy of Unraveling the Torah's Mysteries," http://thetorah.com/a-bible-scholars-simchat-torah/ (accessed 2/23/15) has a rather different analysis of Deut 31–34, in which he assigns Deut 31:1–8 to E.

[56] J's portrayal of the ark's traveling before the people is relatable to divine guidance (Num 10:33 [cf. vv. 34–35]; cf. 14:44).

Exodus 14:19

וַיִּסַּע מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים הַהֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵי מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּלֶךְ מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם
וַיִּסַּע עַמּוּד הֶעָנָן מִפְּנֵיהֶם וַיַּעֲמֹד מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם

We will have reason to question whether v. 19a, which refers to a messenger, is original or belongs to J. As the narrative continues, after some sin, perhaps hinted at in Exod 32:25 (not the golden calf, as otherwise described in Exod 32), YHWH says that he will not go among the people, whereupon Moses pleads for him to reconsider and the deity relents (Exod 33:1, 3–6bα, 12–23; 34:2–3, 4*, 5aβ–9; I will return to 33:2). Later in the wilderness quail story, the deity criticizes the people for rejecting the deity who is among them (‑כִּי־מְאַסְתֶּם אֶת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבְּכֶם, Num 11:20). In the later spy episode, Moses again bargains with YHWH and associates the cloud and fire column with the deity's being in the midst of the people. YHWH has to protect his reputation. The nations around have heard:

Numbers 14:14

אַתָּה יְהוָה בְּקֶרֶב הָעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר־עַיִן בְּעַיִן נִרְאָה אַתָּה יְהוָה וַעֲנָנְךָ עֹמֵד עֲלֵהֶם וּבְעַמֻּד עָנָן אַתָּה הֹלֵךְ
לִפְנֵיהֶם יוֹמָם וּבְעַמּוּד אֵשׁ לָיְלָה :

This ties the presence of the deity among the people with the cloud and fire phenomena: the default situation is that cloud is over the people, hence "among" them, but it moves to the fore to lead them as they travel.[57] If this mixes phenomenologies and shows signs of development, it is within the context of J itself.

Two of the descriptions of the vanguard motif, which appear in larger J contexts, may be secondary – a very circumscribed מַלְאַךְ-*Schicht*. Exodus 14:19, cited just above, seems problematic in having a double description of the phenomenon. Since v. 19b accords with 13:21 and because v. 19a has מַלְאַךְ, not found in 13:21, it may be that v. 19a is an expansion.[58] As an addition, v. 19a would seek to harmonize the portrayals of divine guidance in E and J.

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[57] Besides the shared theme of bargaining, the J spy story is integrally thematically tied to Exod 33–34* in the motifs of the divine glory (from a non-Priestly perspective; Exod 33:18, 22; Num 14:21–22), request for forgiveness (Exod 34:9; Num 14:19), epithets for the deity (Exod 34:6–7; Num 14:18), promise of the land to the patriarchs (Exod 33:1; Num 14:16, 23), and the contrast of commanding then blocking the people's arrival in the land that YHWH has promised to give (Exod 33:1, 3; Num 14:22–23).

[58] BADEN, *Composition* (see n. 28), 310, n. 28, says that v. 19a should be considered J. Note that Exod 3:2 (J) has a divine messenger (appearing in the flaming bush). It is possible, however, that v. 19a and perhaps other material in the environment that appears to intrude (or may be deleted to give a more streamlined story; i.e., vv. 20aα, 25a) are fragments of E. This would be intriguing in that it would parallel the apparent preoccupation with the divine name in the narrative ahead of CC (Exod 3:14–15). This concern is central to CC and generated by the use of LH. See WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 334–335. The problem with attribution of 14:19a to E is that CCA seems to announce the messenger for the first time in E. Moreover, v. 19a would drop the motif into E without any preparation. One would have to argue that E had some sort of setup for this, similar to J's setup in 13:21–22, now lost.

Similarly, the reference to the divine presence in 33:2 may be an addition. As Baden has argued, v. 3 flows from v. 1 and continues with the definition and description of the land.[59] Exodus 33:2 in particular looks like it seeks to resolve the contradiction resulting from the juxtaposition of 32:34–35 (E) to 33:1, 3–6a (J). That the Pentateuch compiler has relocated the E tent of meeting passage (33:6b–11, which describes the disposition of the divine cloud pillar over the tent) to this environment from its place after the second set of tablets in Exod 34:1, 4*, 5aα, 28*–29* and before the E story of seventy elders in Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b–30[60] makes 33:2 look like an addition from the compiler of pentateuchal sources himself, who is trying to harmonize competing portrayals of divine accompaniment and presence.

One of the questions that the various examples of the vanguard motif in the Pentateuch raise is the extent to which traditional motifs and expressions have influenced CCA. If descriptions of the deity in the vanguard in J – such as in Exod 13:21 and 14:19b and especially in the J story of Abraham sending a servant to get a wife for Isaac, which refers to YHWH sending a messenger before him (יְהוָה ... יִשְׁלַח מַלְאָכוֹ אִתָּךְ, Gen 24:7; v. 40, הוּא יִשְׁלַח מַלְאָכוֹ לְפָנֶיךָ) – predate the Covenant Code's narrative (which is E or a proto-E), then they show that such notions were in CCA's native atmosphere and presumably influenced the formulation of CCA. These native traditions would be simply an auxiliary set of sources that have been brought into play in formulating CCA. The employment of native sources or traditions is found in CC proper.[61] Other underlying native traditions that were presumably influential for CCA would include the effect of fear that befalls an enemy (note especially תִּפֹּל עֲלֵיהֶם אֵימָתָה וָפַחַד in Exod 15:16)[62] and the deity as a warrior who fights the enemy.[63]

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[59] BADEN, "On Exodus 33.1–11" (see n. 52), 331–333.

[60] See STACKERT, *Prophet Like Moses* (see n. 55), 83–92. See his reconstructed sequence of E on p. 92.

[61] For example, the participial laws in Exod 21:12, 15–17; 22:17–19 appear based in part on a native tradition or source (see WRIGHT, *Inventing* [see n. 1], 159–163, 192–204), and the apodictic laws in Exod 20:23–26 and 22:20–23:19 reflect native perspectives (WRIGHT, *Inventing*, 286–321, 358).

[62] See also Deut 2:25; 11:25; Josh 2:9; Ps 105:38. ASTER, *Unbearable Light* (see n. 18), 255–257, 356, argues that נוֹרָא תְהִלֹּת in Exod 15:11 corresponds to *pulḫuti melamme*, but he does not discuss אֵימָתָה in v. 16. If there is influence from royal inscriptions in the poem, the latter term may arise from this influence. Note that the motif of the enemies' panic in v. 15 can be tied to royal inscriptions. Because the Song of the Sea can be analyzed as belonging to J (BADEN, *Composition* [see n. 28], 275 n. 121), the date and relationship of E and J, discussed next, may bear on the relationship of אֵימָה in Exod 15:16 and 23:27.

[63] For God as warrior, see, for example, Exod 14:14, 25; 15:1–18; 17:16; Deut 3:22; Josh 10 (esp. vv. 11, 14, 42); Judg 5:4, 20; 1 Sam 7:10–13; 17:47; 25:28; Ps 144:1; Prov 21:31; 2 Chr 32:8. This notion is portrayed in several other passages under discussion reflecting the vanguard motif.

But one has to entertain the possibility that J's descriptions of divine accompaniment are posterior to CCA. J appears to conflate two motifs that are distinct in E. The latter describes (1) a cloud (not involving fire) on the inaugural mountain of revelation and later at the tent of meeting *outside* the camp (Exod 33:7–11; Num 11:16, 24–27, 30; 12:4–5, 9–15; Deut 31:15) and (2) the vanguard motif of a messenger, terror, and "hornets" that guide the Israelites to their land and ensure conquest (CCA and the other E passages listed above).[64] J's portrayal blends and expands these two phenomenologies. The column is a cloud by day and fire by night and stands over the people, but it is maneuverable so that it can lead them and, in the miracle at the sea, even move protectively behind them. This complements other evidence or considerations that I have raised that J is secondary to and dependent on CC's narrative.[65] If J should turn out not only to be posterior to E but also to respond to E, Exod 33:2 may well be original to J and seek to counter E's notion of mere external divine guidance.

Though many questions remain, this analysis puts us in a position to see the significance of the Neo-Assyrian period after 740 BCE, and more specifically from 700 BCE onward, as a matrix for the production of significant portions of pentateuchal and other biblical literature.[66] It indicates that a lengthy narrative about national origins predates the P work. In terms of methodology for the historical analysis of the text, the recognition of the use of source materials in these and other texts can help explain the complexity in textual composition and help provide a control and anchor for redactional analyses.[67]

Appendix 1: The Future-King Passage from the Epilogue of the Laws of Hammurabi (cols. 48:59–51:91; curses summarized; my translation)

Exhortation:

> In the future at any time, may any king who appears in the land keep the just commands (words) that I have written on my stela. May he not alter the law of the land that I have set down or the verdicts of the land that I have rendered, may he not remove my ordinances. If that man has understanding and he is able to provide justice for his land, let him give heed to the words that I have written on my stela. May this stela reveal to him the way, behavior, the law of the land that I have set down, and the verdicts of the land that I have rendered. May he secure justice for humankind. May he set down their

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[64] The cloud and messenger motifs in E may not be totally unrelated. In Exod 33:10 the people show reverence with respect to the appearance of the cloud at the revelation tent. It is a simple next step to correlate this cloud with the messenger.

[65] See WRIGHT, *Inventing* (see n. 1), 358–359.

[66] For some consideration of the dating of non-Priestly/Holiness sources in this context, see STACKERT, *Prophet Like Moses* (see n. 55), 31–35.

[67] I thank my student Dustin Ray for his help preparing the manuscript for this essay.

law. May he render their verdicts. May he root up the evil and wicked from his land. May he promote the well-being of his people.

Blessing:

I am Hammurabi, king of justice, on whom Shamash has bestowed truth. My words are choice; my deeds are without equal. They are vanity to the fool, but to the wise they are objects of praise.

If that man gives heed to my words that I have written on my stela and he does not remove my law, he does not overthrow my words, and he does not alter my ordinances – may Shamash lengthen the scepter of that man as he did for me, the king of justice. May he shepherd his people in justice.

Curses:

If that man does not give heed to my words that I have written on my stela, and ignores my curses and does not fear the curses of the gods, and he (thus) upsets the law I have set down, overthrows my words, alters my ordinances, effaces my inscribed name and writes his name – or because of these curses has another person (do this) – that man, whether king, lord, ruler, or anyone whatsoever –

§1: May the great Anu, father of the gods, who has designated my reign, remove the splendor (ME.LÁM) of his kingship, break his staff, and curse his fate.

Other curses follow from the following gods: §2 Enlil, §3 Ninlil, §4 Ea, §5 Shamash, §6 Sin, §7 Adad, §8 Zababa, §9 Ishtar, §10 Nergal, §11 Nintu, §12 Ninkar-rak, §13 great gods of heaven, §14 Enlil.

(See excerpts from some of these curses in tables 3 and 4, above.)

Appendix 2: Sample Passages and Motifs from Neo-Assyrian Royal Inscriptions

Index of motifs exemplified in the following inscriptions

 i. Campaign against enemies (pervasive in inscriptions, examples not cited here)

 ii. Vanguard motif: the gods or divine standard going before the king and army in battle (variant, god going or standing at the side)

iiia. Terror/fear (*puluḫtu, pulḫu, ḫattu, rašubbatu*) or splendor (*melammu, namarrutu, namrīru*), sometimes combined (e.g., *puluḫti melamme*), that overwhelm (*saḫāpu, tabāku*) the enemy

iiib. Royal *ṣiriḫtu* "anger" or *ṣarāḫu* (N) "be angry" (but see n. 22, above)

 iv. Destroying (e.g., smashing, *šubburu*) gods or temples or pillaging cult items

 v. Lists of enemies (including gentilic formulation)

 vi. Motifs in future-prince passages: blessings and curses (e.g., famine, political destruction, extinction), the royal name, obedience (possibly also treaty)

A. Adad-Nirari II [911–891 BCE], RIMA 2 A.0.99.2.

ii. God going before:

(97) "By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and the goddess Ištar, mistress of battle and strife, who goes at the head of my extensive army (*a-lik-at pa-na-at* ERIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*ia* DAGAL.MEŠ)"

vi. Future prince, blessing and curse (royal name, political destruction, destruction of posterity):

(131b–133) "May a later prince restore it (the temple) (and) return my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Aššur and the goddess Gula will listen to his prayers. As for the one who removes my inscriptions and my name: may Aššur and the goddess Gula overthrow his sovereignty (and) destroy his name (and) his seed from the land."

B. Aššur-Naṣirpal II [883–859 BCE], RIMA 2 A.0.101.17.

ii. Divine standard going before:

(ii 89–92) "With the supreme might of the divine standard which goes before me (*ina* Á.MEŠ MAḪ.MEŠ (90) *šá* ⌈d⌉Ù[RI.GAL] DU ⌈IGI⌉-*ia*) I fought with them, brought about their defeat, (and) broke up their band."

iiia. Melammu of god overwhelming:

(i 79) "While I was in Mount Kirruru the radiance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed the Ḫubušku and the Gilzānu (*me-lam-me* ⌈*šá aš-šur*⌉ EN-*a* ⌈*ìs*⌉-*ḫup-šú-nu*)."

(iv 89) "I unleashed against them my lordly radiance (*me-lam-me* (90) EN-*ti-a* UGU-*šú-nu at-bu-ku*)."

vi. Future prince and curse (royal name, blessings of political security and abundance, disobedience, national and political destruction, famine, military conflict):

(v 24b–45a) "May a later prince restore its weakened (portions and) restore my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Aššur will listen to his prayers. He must not forsake my mighty palace, my royal residence, of Calah, nor abandon (it) in the face of enemies. He must not remove the doors, beams, (or) knobbed nails (v 30) of bronze from it (and) put them in another city (in) another place. He must not smash its beams. He must not tear out its drain pipes. [Other architectural considerations continue here in a similar way.]"

(v 45b–54a) "As for the one who acts according to this inscription of mine (and) does not alter the ordinances of my text: may Aššur, the god Enlil, (and) the great gods who make my sovereignty supreme make his dominion supreme in all lands. (v 50) May they constantly lead him in victory, might, and heroism. May they grant the tribute of the four quarters as his portion. May they establish in his land plenty, affluence, and abundance (*nu-uḫ-šu ṭù-uḫ-du ù ḫe-gal-lu ina* KUR-*šu lu-kín-nu*)."

(v 55–95) "As for one who does not act according to (v 55) this inscription of mine (but) alters the ordinances of my text; (who) destroys this monument, discards (it), covers it with oil, buries it in dust, (v 60) burns it with fire, throws it in water, puts it in the path of beasts or the track of animals; (who) prevents scholars from seeing and

reading the ordinances of my inscription, bars anyone access (v 65) to my inscription in order that it might not be seen and read; (who), because of these curses, instructs and incites a stranger, a foreigner, a malignant enemy, a prisoner, or any living (v 70) being so that he *destroys*, chisels away, changes its wording to something else; (v 75) (who) makes up his mind and decides to destroy this monument of mine and to alter my ordinances and (therefore) commands a scribe or diviner or anyone else, 'Destroy this monument! Its dictates are not to be observed!' (v 80) and whoever heeds his statements; (who) conceives anything injurious and orders (it to be done) to my works and my monument; (who) says, 'I know nothing (of this)' and during his sovereignty diverts his attention elsewhere (v 85) with the result that this monument is destroyed and smashed (or) the wording of its text altered; or (who) seeks (to do) evil against this monument of mine: may Aššur, the great lord, the Assyrian god, (v 90) lord of destinies, curse his destiny; may he remove his works; may he pronounce an evil curse for the uproot of the foundations of his sovereignty and the destruction of his people; may *he* inflict his land with distress, famine, hunger, (v 95) and want (*su-um-qa bu-bu-ta ⸢ù ni-ib⸣-[r]i-⸢tú⸣ ù ḫu-šá-aḫ-ḫa a-na* KUR-*ti-šú li-du-ú*)."

(v 96b–103) "As for the one who becomes angry with this monument of mine and says, 'What is this?': may the gods Anu, Enlil, and Ea, the gods who approve of me, (v 100) decree by their weighty edict his *unhappiness*; may they establish a truceless war without terms, strife, conflict, (and) battle in his land."

C. Shalmaneser III [858–824 BCE], RIMA 3 A.0.102.2.

ii. Divine standard going before:

(i 44–45) "With the exalted might of the divine standard which goes before me (*ina* Á.MEŠ *ṣi-ra-a-ti šá* ᵈÙRI.GAL *a-lik* IGI-*ia*) (and) with the fierce weapons which Aššur my lord gave to me, I fought (and) defeated them."

(ii 70) "By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and the divine standard which goes before me (*u* ᵈÙRI.GAL *a-lik* IGI-*ia*), I approached Mount Šītamrat [. . .]."

(ii 96–97) "With the supreme forces which Aššur, my lord, had given to me (and) with the mighty weapons which the divine standard, which goes before me (ÙRI.GAL *a-lik* IGI-*ia*), had granted me I fought with them."

iiia. Fearful melammu that overpowers:

(i 22–23) "Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord (*púl-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-nu-ti*), they came down (and) submitted to me."

(i 30–31) "Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord (*pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu*), they fled upstream/higher to save their lives."

(ii 74) "Fear of the brilliance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them (*pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu*) (and) they came down (and) submitted to me."

Compare the related formulations:

(i 21) "(they) became frightened in the face of the flash of my weapons (TA *pa-an na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-la-ḫu-ma*)." [In the context of i 22–23, cited above.]

(ii 68) "He (Aḫunu of Bīt-Adini) became afraid in the face of the flash of my weapons (and) my lordly brilliance (TA IGI *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia me-lam-me* [*šá*] EN-*ti-ia ip-laḫ-ma*)."

(ii 76) "They became frightened in the face of the flash of my mighty weapons and my tumultuous onslaught (TA IGI *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia* KAL.MEŠ *u* MÈ-*ia šit-mu-ri ip-la-ḫu-ma*)." [Near ii 74, cited above.]

(ii 79) "They were frightened of my lordly fearfulness (and) the flash of my fierce weapons (*púl-ḫa-at* EN-*ti-ia na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ez-zu-te ip-la-ḫu-ma*)."

v. Lists of enemies (including gentilic formulaton):

A list of rebellious kings with descriptions of nationality appears in ii 83–84:

"I received tribute from kings on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, from Sangara the Carchemishite, from Kundašpu the Kummuḫite, from Aramu, the man of Bīt-Abūsi, from Lalla the Melidite, from Ḫaiiānu the man of Bīt-Gabbari, from Qalparuda the Patinean, (and) from Qalparuda the Gurgumite."

The text continues with another list in ii 89–95, which includes Ahab the Israelite (i.e., ᵐ*a-ḫa-ab-bu* KUR *sir-ʾa-la-a-a*). Here the Assyrian king took chariots, cavalry, troops, and animals from

". . . Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene; [. . .] Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite; [. . .] Ahab (Aḫabbu) the Israelite (Sirʾalāia); the land Irqanatu; [. . .] Matinu-baʿal of the city Arvad; [. . .] the land Usanātu; [. . .] Adunu-baʿal of the land Šianu; [. . .] Gindibu of the Arabs; [. . .] Baʾasa, the man of Bīt-Ruḫubi, the Ammonite." [Just after this the text refers to battle and has the vanguard motif, cited above, ii 96–97.]

D. Sargon II [721–705 BCE], Eighth Campaign, "Letter to Aššur"; W. MAYER, *Assyrien und Urartu I: Der Achte Feldzug Sargon II. im Jahr 714 v.Chr.* (AOAT 395/1; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013). Translation here adapted from Mayer.

ii. Divine standard going before:

(line 14) "Against Zikirtu and Andia I guided the yoke of the standard wagon of Nergal and Adad, who go before me (*šá* ᵈÙRI.GAL ᵈIŠKUR *ú-rí-gal-li a-li-kut maḫ-ri-a*)."

(line 319): "with the valuable consent of the hero Šamaš, who caused reliable omens to be written on the liver, (that indicated that) he would go at my side (*ša a-lak i-di-ia*)."

iiia. Fearful melammu covering, falling on enemy:

(line 69) "The fear of my splendor fell upon them, terror befell them in their land (*pu-luḫ-ti me-lam-me-ia ik-tùm-šu-nu-ti i-na qé-reb* KUR-*šu-nu im-qut-su-nu ḫat-tu*)."

(Compare line 420; §176.)

iv. Spoiling gods and temple:

(lines 367–368, 405) "My eunuchs (and) soldiers for the campaign I sent into the temple of Haldi. Haldi, his god, and Bagbartu, his goddess, together with uncountable possessions from his temple, as much as was present: [a long list is given here] . . . All his great wealth, which cannot be enumerated, I carried forth."

(lines 408–409) "The property of the palace of Urzana and (the god) Haldi, with its enormous wealth, which I carried off from Munasir city, I loaded on my numerous armies, in their masses, and had them transport it into Assyria."

(lines 423–425) "From Urzana of Musasir I carried off Haldi, his god, Bagbartu, his goddess, along with the great property of his temple [. . .]."

E. Sennacherib [704–681 BCE], Bavian Inscription H 3, D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP 2; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), 78–85 (see E. FRAHM, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften* [AfO Beiheft 26; Vienna: Institüt für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, 1997], 151–154, text T 122); translation of the primary part of the text by M. COGAN, in *COS* 2.119E. (The campaign against Babylon, described in the inscription, occurred in 689 BCE.)

iiia. Fear poured out on enemies:

(41, Cogan) "Perhaps Sennacherib king of Assyria will become angry and will set out for Elam once again. Fear and terror (*ḫat-tu pu-luḫ-tu*) were poured out (*it-ta-bi-ik-ma*) over all of Elam and they left their land to save their lives."

iv. Divine images and cult places destroyed:

(47–48, 51–53, Cogan) "I handed out the wealth of that city [Babylon] – silver, gold, precious stones, property and goods – to my people and they made it their own. My men took the (images of the) gods who dwell there and smashed them (*ik-šú-su-nu-ti-ma. . . ú-šab-bi-ru-ma*) [. . .]. I destroyed and tore down and burned with fire the city (and) its houses, from its foundations to its parapets. I tore out (*as-suḫ-ma*) the inner and outer walls, temples, the ziggurat (É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ *zig-gur-at*) of brick and earth, as many as there were, and threw them into the Arahtu river. I dug canals through the city and flooded its place with water, destroying the structure of its foundation. I made its devastation greater than that of 'the Flood' (*a-bu-bu*)."

vi. Future prince and curses (treaty?, divine names, political destruction):

(57–60, Luckenbill) "If ever there is a future prince among the kings, my sons, who destroys the work which I have done, (and) breaks the covenant [or: dismantles the canal system; see n. 29, above] I have (hereby) made with him (*rik-sa-te ar-ku-su i-paṭ-ṭa-ru*), diverts the course of the waters of those canals from the plain of Nineveh, may the great gods, all whose names are named in these stelas, by the word of their mouth, a holy decree which cannot fail, curse him with an evil curse, and overthrow his rule."

F. Esarhaddon [680–669 BCE], RINAP 4.1 ("Nineveh A"; from various hexagonal prisms from Nineveh, Aššur, and Susa; 673 and 672 BCE, with later copies).

ii. God standing at the side:

(i 74–75) "The goddess Ištar, the lady of war and battle, who loves my priestly duties, stood at my side (*i-da-a-a ta-zi-iz-ma*), broke their bows, (and) she split open their tight battle ranks."

iiia. Fear and fearful splendor overwhelming enemies:

(i 72) "Fear of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them (*pu-luḫ-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ia is-ḫup-šú-nu-ti-ma*), (and when) they saw my mighty battle array, they became like crazed women." [This is followed by i 74–75, about the god going at the side.]

(iv 37–39) "The awesome fear of the god Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them (*pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me ša* ᵈ*aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḫup-šu-nu-ti*) (and) they brought to Nineveh, my capital city, large thoroughbreds (and) blocks of lapis lazuli [. . .] and they kissed my feet."

iiib. King's anger with verb ṣarāḫu (N):

(i 57) "I, Esarhaddon, who with the help of the great gods, his lords, does not turn back in the heat of battle, quickly heard of their evil deeds. I said 'Woe!' and rent my princely garment. I cried out in mourning, I raged like a lion, and my mood became furious (*lab-biš an-na-dir-ma iṣ-ṣa-ri-iḫ ka-bat-ti*)." [The "going" of the gods in battle is found in i 62 and overwhelming "fear" appears just a few lines later in i 71, cited in motif *iiia*, above.]

(ii 51) "I heard of his evil deeds (while) in Nineveh; my heart became angry and my liver was inflamed (*iṣ-ṣa-ri-iḫ ka-bat-ti*)."

iv. Gods plundered (and returned):

(iv 1–16) "(As for) the city Adumtutu, the fortress of the Arabs, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, (my) father, who engendered me, conquered and whose goods, possessions, (and) gods, together with Apkallatu, the queen of the Arabs, he plundered and brought to Assyria – Hazael, the king of the Arabs, came to Nineveh, my capital city, with his heavy audience gift and kissed my feet. He implored me to give (back) his gods, and I had pity on him. I refurbished the gods Atar-samayin, Dāya, Nuḫāya, Ruldāwu, Abirillu, (and) Atar-qurumâ, the gods of the Arabs, and I inscribed the might of the god Aššur, my lord, and (an inscription) written in my name on them and gave (them) back to him. I placed the lady Tabūa, who was raised in the palace of my father, as ruler over them and returned her to her land with her gods."

vi. Future king (royal name, blessing):

(vi 65–74) "In the future, may one of the kings, my descendants, whom the god Aššur and the goddess Ištar name to rule the land and people, renovate the dilapidated section(s) of that palace when it becomes old and dilapidated. Just as I placed an inscription written in the name of the king, (my) father, who engendered me, beside an inscription written in my name, so you (too) should be like me (and) read an inscription written in my name, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, and place (it) beside an inscription written in your name. The god Aššur and the goddess Ištar will (then) hear your prayers."

G. Esarhaddon, RINAP 4.98 ("Esarhaddon's Monument A"; stela from Zinçirli; post-671 BCE).

ii. God going at the side:

> (obv. 9) (Various gods listed, including:) "the goddess Ištar, lady of war and battle, who goes at my side (*a-li-kàt i-di-ia*)."

iiia. King clothed in splendor (namurratu):

> (obv. 20–24) "[. . .] the merciless, the one who curbs the insolent ones, the one who is clothed in splen[dor] (*la-biš na-mur-*[*ra-ti*]), fearless in battle, per[fect] warrior [. . .]."

iv. Restoration of gods and cult:

> (obv. 34–rev. 7) "The one who provides provisions for the great gods, kn[ows] how to revere the gods and goddesses, [. . .] [the one who (re)construct]ed the temple of the god Aššur, completed its ornaments, (re)built Esagil and Babylon, restored the rites, (and) who returned the plundered gods of the lands to their (proper) place from the city Aššur; the king whose food offerings the great gods love and whose priestly service they established forever [in the tem]ples."

vi. Future prince (royal name, military defeat):

> (rev. 50–57) "I had a stele written in my name made and I had inscribed upon it the renown (and) heroism of the god Aššur, my lord, (and) the might of my deeds which I had done with the help of the god Aššur, my lord, and my victory (and) triumph. I set (it) up for all time for the admiration of all (my) enemies. Whoever takes away this stele from its place and erases my inscribed name and writes his name, covers (it) with dirt, throws (it) into water, burns (it) with fire, or puts (it) in a place where (it) cannot be seen, may the goddess Ištar, lady of war and battle, change him from a man into a woman, and may she seat him, bound, at the feet of his enemy. May a future ruler (NUN-*u* EGIR-*u*) look upon a stele written in my name, read (it) aloud (while standing) in front of it, anoint (it) with oil, make an offering, (and) praise the name of the god Aššur, my lord."

H. Assurbanipal [668–631 BCE], Rassam Decagon/Cylinder; H.C. RAWLINSON and T.G. PINCHES, *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia* (The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia 5; London: Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, 1880) = PINCHES V R, pl. 1–10; M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal, II. Teil: Texte* (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1916) (by column/line); *ARAB*, 290–323 (by §).

ii. Gods going before, going at the side:

> (iv 49; § 794) "Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, who march before me (*ša ina maḫ-ri-ia il-li-ku*), slaying my foes, cast Shamash-shum-ukîn, my hostile brother, who became my enemy, into the burning flames of a conflagration and destroyed him."

> (v 100; § 807) "Ishtar, who dwells in Arbela, in the night time revealed a dream to my armies, thus she addressed them: 'I will go before Assurbanipal (*a-na-ku al-lak in ma-ḫar* ¹AN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A), the king whom my hands have formed.'"

(v 29; §803): "Assur and Ištar, who go at my side and cause me to stand upon (the neck) of my foes, looked into the heart of Tammaritu, the wicked rebel. [. . .] They brought him [. . .] into submission at my feet."

iiia. Splendor or terror overcoming, covering:

(i 84–85; §771) "The terrible splendor of Assur and Ishtar overcame him and he went mad. The glory of my majesty, with which the gods of heaven and earth have crowned (adorned) me, overpowered (lit., covered) him (*nam-ri-ri* AN.ŠÁR *u* ᵈXV *is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma il-li-ka maḫ-ri-taš me-lam-me* LUGAL-*u-ti-ia ik-ta-mu-šú-ma*)."

(ii 20–21; §775) "As for Tarkû, in the place to which he had fled, the terror of the weapon of Assur, my lord, overwhelmed him (*a-šar in-nab-tu ra-šub-bat* GIŠ.TUKUL AN.ŠÁR EN-*ia is-ḫu-up-šú-ma*) and the night of death (lit., the fate of his night) overtook him."

(iv 119–220; §800) "[. . .] I marched upon Elam. The terrible brilliance of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, (and) the fear of my majesty, overwhelmed them (*nam-ri-ri* AN.ŠÁR ᵈXV EN.MEŠ-*ia pu-luḫ-ti* LUGAL-*ti-ia is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti*)."

(vii 53–54; §816) "Pa'e, who exercised the rulership over Elam in place of Ummanaldash, reflected upon the fury of the terrible weapons of Assur and Ishtar, which had been poured out over Elam (*na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ AN.ŠÁR *u* ᵈXV *ez-zu-ti ša* [. . .] *it-bu-ku* UGU KUR.NIM.MA.KI)."

(vii 75–76; §816) "[. . .] these people, who had made Mount Salatri their stronghold, the splendor of Assur and Ishtar, my lords, overwhelmed them (*nam-ri-ri* AN.ŠÁR *u* ᵈXV EN.MEŠ-*ia* (76) *is-ḫu-up-šu-nu-ti*)."

(Compare ix 79–81; §829.)

iiib. Royal *ṣiriḫtu* "anger":

(v 37; §803) "With my heart enraged (burning) (*i-na ṣi-ri-iḫ-ti* ŠÀ-*ia*) at these crimes which Tammaritu the faithless has committed, in the power and might of the great gods, my lords, I advanced victoriously into the midst of Elam, and all over it." [The gods' going at the side appears a few lines earlier (v 29) and, just after, a list of twenty-eight cities captured (v 43–57; §804), followed by description of city destruction and god pillaging (v 59–62).]

i 64 §770: "At these deeds my heart became enraged, my soul burned (ŠÀ-*bi e-gug-ma iṣ-ṣa-ru-uḫ ka-bit-ti*)."

iv. Gods smashed and pillaged, temple destroyed:

(v 117–123; §808) "[The city] Bashimu and the cities of its environs I destroyed, I devastated. I struck down the people living therein. I smashed their gods, and pacified the divine heart of the lord of lords. His gods, his goddesses, his property, his goods, his people, great and small, I carried off to Assyria"

((119) *ú-šab-bir* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-un* (122) *ú-šap-ši-iḫ* DINGIR *ka-bit-ti* EN EN.EN (cf. CAD K 12b at 2.2′) (121) DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú* ᵈXV.MEŠ-*šú* NÍG-*šú* NÍG.GA-*šú* (123) UN.MEŠ DUMU *u* GAL *áš-lu-la a-na* KUR.AN.ŠÁR.KI).

(vi 27, 62–64; §810) "The *zikkurat* of Susa, which was built of enameled bricks, I destroyed." [Followed by description of pillaging of numerous gods and other objects.] "The sanctuaries of Elam I destroyed totally (lit., to nonexistence). Its gods (and) goddesses I turned into ghosts." [For the last phrase, see CAD M/1 226; Z 59, 60].

v. List of enemies:

See v 43–57; §804 for a list of twenty-eight cities captured and destroyed.

vi. Future prince (royal name, blessing of political stability, general curse):

(x 108–120; §§838–839) "In days to come, may the one among the kings, my sons, whom Assur and Ishtar shall call to rule land and people, when that *bît-ridûti* shall become old and fall into ruins, restore its ruins. Let him look upon (or, perhaps, look for) the memorial with the inscription of my name, (that of) my father (and) my father's father – an endless line of royalty, let him anoint it with oil, offer sacrifices, and set it up alongside the memorial inscribed with his name. And the great gods, all whose (names) are written upon this memorial, will surely grant him, as they did me, power and might.

Whoever destroys the memorial inscribed with my name, (that of) my father (and) my father's father, and does not set it up alongside his memorial, may Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal, and Nusku, pass judgment upon him in my name." [For the same list of gods, see ix 61–64; §828 and x 33–36; §833.]

Data to Inform Ongoing Debates about the Formation of the Pentateuch

From Documented Cases of Transmission History to a Survey of Rabbinic Exegesis

David M. Carr

The last few years have seen an explosion of work on documented cases of textual revision in Israel and surrounding areas. In 2011 I published a book on the formation of the Hebrew Bible that built on a number of previous studies and summarized insights I had derived from my own decade-long survey of primary-text data regarding documented cases of transmission history in Mesopotamia, the Bible itself, and Qumran finds.[1] In the years after I completed the book (in 2010), important works on documented cases of ancient scribal revision that can substantially inform study of the formation of the Pentateuch have appeared, including contributions by Sara Milstein, Russell Hobson, Molly Zahn, Paul Delnero, Juha Pakkala and Reinhard Müller, and others.[2] This essay, based on my contributions to the 2013 and 2014 Jerusalem Pentateuch conferences, summarizes several ways in which study of documented cases – so-called empirical evidence, – can contribute to Pentateuchal study.

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[1] D.M. CARR, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). The vast majority of this survey work, in the form of parallels between editions, lists of divergences, and other notes, was not published in the book. This essay continues to synthesize insights from that survey work.

[2] S. MILSTEIN, "Reworking Ancient Texts: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature" (PhD diss., New York University, 2010; being prepared for publication); R. HOBSON, *Transforming Literature into Scripture: Texts as Cult Objects at Nineveh and Qumran* (Sheffield: Equinox, 2012); M.M. ZAHN, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011); P. DELNERO, "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literature," *JNES* 71 (2012), 189–208; J. PAKKALA, *God's Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); J. PAKKALA and R. MÜLLER, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2014).

Fluidity in Scribal Transmission of Textual Traditions

Ancient scribes were far more fluid in the way they reproduced ancient written traditions than many scholars have presupposed heretofore. Working in an oral-written environment where they had memorized many texts verbatim, scribes often substituted words and phrases that they considered semantically equivalent to the known text. The resulting phenomenon in the textual evidence, where semantically equivalent words, grammatical expressions, and phrases are exchanged, minor particles are added or subtracted, shifts in order are introduced, etc., is what I have termed "memory variants."[3] For example, even though there is substantial evidence for some scribes' preference for *Yahweh* or *Elohim*, such as in Gen 20–21 or in parts of the book of Psalms, there is also evidence in manuscript transmission that scribes sometimes felt that those divine designations were equivalent and switched them. Similarly, we have documentation for the switching of the terms שפחה and אמה, terms that are often used to distinguish J and E.[4]

The issue here, of course, is not just the handful of cases where such variation in divine designations or other phraseology is actually documented in existing manuscript witnesses. Rather, the problem is that early manuscripts document a probable broader process of undetectable, fluid switching of terms, addition and elimination of particles, and order shifts that are used as evidence for transmission-historical arguments that depend too much on the presence of specific language elements in a given text.[5] Insofar as the case for J and E depends on such arguments, that case suffers particularly from the fact that divine designations and other terms were transmitted in such a fluid environment. In contrast, the theory distinguishing P from non-P is so well established by doublets and contradictions, combined with extensive phraseological and ideological differences, that this theory is less threatened than the J/E hypothesis by the fact that some terminological differences between P and non-P were blurred by subsequent scribes.

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[3] J. TIGAY, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 58–68, 88, 218–222; CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 41–42, 49–50, 54–55, 57–65, 105–110; and now DELNERO, "Memorization and Transmission" (see n. 2).

[4] CARR, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 107–108. See also the much more extensive study in HOBSON, *Literature Into Scripture* (see n. 2), and cf. the different evaluation of the data in E. TOV, "The Source of Source Criticism: The Relevance of Non-Masoretic Textual Witnesses," in *Text – Textgeschichte – Textwirkung: Festschrift Siegfried Kreuzer* (ed. Jonathan Robker; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2015), 283–301. I am not as convinced as Tov that all the divergences from the MT in non-MT text witnesses on divine designations and other terms can be explained as harmonizations and other clearly post-MT developments.

[5] Therefore I believe the data from early nonmasoretic witnesses is more relevant for the documentary and other transmission-historical hypotheses than argued in TOV, "Source of Source Criticism" (see n. 4).

This phenomenon of frequently fluid transmission of written traditions in the Second Temple period has implications for questions of linguistic dating discussed elsewhere in this volume:[6] it could contribute to a distinction between (a) the reliability of linguistic dating in establishing an early date for a given biblical text and (b) the reliability of linguistic dating in establishing a late date for a given text. On the one hand, most would agree that our earliest manuscripts of biblical texts (third–first centuries BCE) date from a period when scribes could not successfully write large swaths of texts in perfect classical-Hebrew idiom. This is a point well made by Jan Joosten in his studies of pseudoarchaisms, including in his contribution to this volume.[7] Insofar as this is true, texts that happen to have come down to us in relatively well-preserved classical Hebrew are likely to predate the disintegration of the classical Hebrew dialect. This shift hardly occurred at one time in all loci, but the disintegration appears to have started in the exilic period and probably was universal by the middle of the Persian period. Present biblical texts judged to have an overall profile of classical Hebrew need not feature perfect classical Hebrew, given the likelihood of fluid transmission up through the earliest manuscripts, but the widespread lack of late linguistic features in substantial swaths of a given biblical text would seem to be a good indicator of potential exilic or preexilic origins of at least the text's core (aside from framing elements, later memory variants, and limited conscious updates).

In contrast, since all of our manuscripts, including manuscripts of texts presumed to be of early origin, were transmitted across centuries in a frequently fluid environment dominated by Aramaic and postclassical Hebrew, even the earliest of these texts could be infused with late linguistic features by copyists. This seems to have been particularly true of manuscripts of non-Torah texts, such as Song of Songs, which were relatively marginal in use and authority in the latter half of the Second Temple period.[8] This would suggest that the presence of late linguistic features in a biblical book is a relatively unreliable guide to the probable lateness of that book. Those features could point to its late origins, or they could point to high levels of contamination of an originally early (exilic or preexilic) book in the process of its transmission into the late Second Temple period (or even to the fact that an early form of the book was not written in the classical Hebrew literary dialect).

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[6] See in particular the essays of Jan Joosten, "Diachronic Linguistics and the Date of the Pentateuch," and Erhard Blum, "The Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts," in this volume.

[7] The initial classic study is J. JOOSTEN, "Pseudo-Classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew," in *Sirach, Scrolls and Sages* (ed. T.E. Muraoka and J. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 146–159; and see his essay in this volume, "Diachronic Linguistics and the Date of the Pentateuch."

[8] For one good example of infusion of late language into a manuscript (4QCant[b]), see I. YOUNG, "Notes on the Language of 4QCant[b]," *JJS* 52 (2001), 122–131.

In sum, frequent fluid transmission of biblical texts, particularly of non-Torah texts in the Second Temple period, means that study of linguistic features may be more helpful in identifying relatively early texts (by the relative absence of late linguistic features, despite fluid transmission) than in identifying late texts (by the presence of linguistic features diverging from classical biblical Hebrew, of potentially diverse origins). To be sure, it appears that the Pentateuch was preserved more stably than other Hebrew Bible traditions and thus may have been relatively protected from linguistic contamination in transmission. Nevertheless, the Pentateuch's *general* linguistic profile, despite occasional possible late linguistic features here and there (themselves possible reflections of episodic linguistic contamination), does not conform well with a dating of large swaths of the pentateuchal text well into the Persian or Hellenistic periods.

Secondary Scribal Coordination

Much ancient textual fluidity was not random. Some of the best-documented tendencies of scribal processing of earlier traditions are gradual blending, harmonization, and other forms of coordination of compositional elements, whether of elements secondarily combined through conflation or of different episodes within a unified story. Usually scholars have classified such scribal operations as *harmonization*, but Zahn has done a good job of problematizing this somewhat broad characterization.[9] Scribes coordinated written traditions with each other in a variety of ways, from copying material from another location in order to conform one textual locus with another, to other sorts of revisions (such as adding characters thought to be missing [e.g., Aaron]). *Secondary scribal coordination* is a phrase that better encompasses the variety of such scribal interventions than the oft-used *harmonization*.

One thing that emerges from the study of secondary scribal coordination is that ancient scribes typically engaged in one of two types of coordination. First, we see a number of cases of harmonization of closely parallel documents with each other. For example, the multiple manuscript traditions for Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, along with the *ketiv*-(versus often more fluidly preserved) *qere* tradition for those books, document ongoing coordination of the parallel reports in those books.[10] The other major type of scribal coordination is the accommodation of one episode in a given literary work to another episode *in the*

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[9] ZAHN, *Rewritten Scripture* (see n. 2), esp. 17–19.

[10] S.L. MCKENZIE, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars, 1984), esp. 94, 152–153, 160; Y. ZAKOVITCH, "Assimilation in Biblical Narratives," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 175–196; S. JAPHET, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 162; CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 96–97.

same literary work. Jerrold Cooper's classic early study of Gilgamesh's dreams, for example, showed how these dreams within the same epic were harmonized in later editions of that epic.[11] Likewise, Hans Jürgen Tertel found several examples of similar secondary scribal coordination in the Atrahasis, Etana, and Anzu epics.[12] These and other examples document that secondary coordination of different parts of a literary composition with each other was one of the most common types of scribal revision in the ancient Near East.

The manuscript traditions for the Hebrew Bible confirm this conclusion. Hermann-Josef Stipp and others have documented similar harmonizing interventions of different parts of Jeremiah in its proto-MT edition.[13] Juha Pakkala has argued for the presence of several proto-MT pluses that eliminate a pre-Solomon temple in 2 Sam 5:8, 7:11, and 15:25, along with 2 Sam 7:15–16. These pluses appear to have aimed to coordinate earlier materials that mentioned a temple associated with David with the narratives about Solomon building a temple in 1 Kgs 5:15–8:66.[14] These examples join a long and expanding list of scribal coordination of different parts of the Pentateuch with each other, interventions documented in the early manuscript traditions for the Pentateuch (LXX, Samaritan, proto-MT, etc.) and semipentateuchal compositions (e.g., 4QRP).[15] In the case of pentateuchal and semipentateuchal compositions, a substantial proportion of additions appear to be focused on bridging the divide between

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There are even more examples of secondary coordination in the Greek manuscript tradition for the Christian Gospels, admittedly a chronologically distant comparison point.

[11] J. Cooper, "Gilgamesh Dreams of Enkidu: The Evolution and Dilution of Narrative," in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (ed. M. Ellis; Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1977), 39–44.

[12] H.J. Tertel, *Text and Transmission: An Empirical Model for the Literary Development of Old Testament Narratives* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 33–36.

[13] H.-J. Stipp, *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte* (OBO 136; Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), esp. 137–140 and 146–151.

[14] Pakkala, *God's Word Omitted* (see n. 2), 214–220.

[15] L. Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 93–99; E. Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985), 3–29; idem, "Rewritten Bible Compositions and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch," *DSD* 5 (1998), 334–354; idem, "Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy," in *Mishneh Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay* (ed. N.S. Fox et al.; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 15–28; R. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), esp. 36–38, 49–56, 75, 85–92; E. Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing in the Pentateuch in the Second Temple Period [Hebrew]," (masters thesis, Hebrew University, 1999); idem, with H. Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–240, and Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 91–95.

reports of events in the Moses story in Exodus and Numbers on the one hand and back-references to events in the Moses story in Deuteronomy on the other.

One thing that unites this list of coordinating pluses documented in diverse manuscript traditions for the Bible is that they generally modify one part of a given biblical composition so that it coordinates with another part of what is understood to be the same composition. They are innercompositional coordinating revisions. As such, they are important indicators of the evolving composition consciousness of the scribes who introduced them. The innercompositional character of these revisions gains significance because it points to scribal efforts to bridge nonoverlapping compositions that have been combined into a new literary whole.

The most prominent example of innercompositional coordinating revision is the above-referenced extensive set of documented revisions conforming Exodus and Numbers to Deuteronomy, revisions that are particularly prominent in (though not exclusive to) proto-Samaritan and similar manuscript traditions. These secondary scribal attempts to bridge the Tetrateuch and Deuteronomy[16] are among the important data supporting the idea that Deuteronomy was not originally written as a continuation of the preceding materials. The secondary scribal accommodations of tetrateuchal materials to Deuteronomy (and, less often, vice versa)[17] are examples of the sort of gradual scribal revision that can occur when divergent literary works are brought together. Once together, these works then become subject to innercompositional scribal coordination, a coordination that reflects an emergent scribal composition consciousness that Deuteronomy and Exodus–Numbers are now part of one literary work.

There are other possible marks of secondary scribal coordination attesting to the grouping of originally unconnected works. The material anticipating the exodus in Gen 15:13–16, for example, marked by resumptive repetition in 15:12 and 17, is a good candidate for such late coordination of major parts of the Pentateuch with each other (this time the ancestral narratives of Genesis with the Moses story that now follows them). In this case, the secondary character of the coordination is not documented by divergent textual traditions and has been so artfully done that some would dispute whether Gen 15:13–16 is secondary at

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[16] J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (4th ed.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963 [1st ed., 1876]), 193; E. Blum, "Pentateuch-Hexateuch-Enneateuch? Oder: Woran erkennt Man ein literarischer Werk in der Hebräischen Bibel?," in *Les Dernières Rédactions du Pentateuque, de l'Hexateuque et de l'Ennéateuque* (ed. T. Römer and K. Schmid; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2007), 67–97; Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 256 (incl. n. 10).

[17] On this tendency toward coordination of narrations of episodes with reviews of those episodes occurring later in the same text, rather than the reverse, see Tov, "Nature and Background of Harmonizations" (see n. 15), 8, and Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 92 (incl. n. 97).

all.[18] Nevertheless, the exceptional character of the forward reference to Exodus in Gen 15:13–16 and the resumptive repetition in 15:12 and 17 are substantial reasons to hypothesize that Gen 15:13–16 is a secondary scribal attempt to link Abraham and his heirs with a Moses-exodus narrative that was not initially considered the sequel to the ancestral stories of Genesis.[19] Again, this sort of secondary revision was prompted by these ancestral and Moses-exodus narratives beginning to be considered part of the same overall literary work and likely being transmitted (at least for a time) on the same written medium (probably a scroll).[20] We see a similar likely scribal coordination of the Moses story with the ancestral narrative in several secondary additions to non-P Moses story materials that explicitly refer back to the promise of the land, by oath – e.g., Exod 32:13 (as part of added 32:10–14; including a reference to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob); Num 11:12 (as part of added Num 11:11–12, 14–17, 24b–30); and Num 14:16, 23 (as part of added Num 14:11–25*).[21] As in the case of Gen 15:13–16, these potential secondary scribal additions, each of which coordinates the ancestral narrative with the Moses-exodus account, are not documented through divergent manuscript traditions. Nevertheless, these likely scribal additions in the Moses story conform to documented patterns elsewhere of scribal coordination of different episodes in the same literary work, including – in the case of Deuter-

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[18] J. Ha, *Genesis 15: A Theological Compendium of Pentateuchal History* (BZAW 181; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), 39–62 (esp. 52–56 dealing with Gen 15:13–16 and the links between 15:12 and 15:17); K. Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus: Untersuchungen zur doppelten Begründung der Ursprünge Israels innerhalb der Geschichtsbücher des Alten Testaments* (WMANT 81; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999), 175–176; B. Ziemer, *Abram-Abraham: Kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Genesis* (BZAW 350; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), 174.

[19] For a thorough synthesis of various arguments against the secondary character of Gen 15:13–16 and for the post-Priestly character of Gen 15 as a whole, see Schmid, *Erzväter und Exodus* (see n. 18), 172–186; English translation, *Genesis and the Moses Story* (trans. James Nogalski; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 158–171. I respond at more length to these and other arguments in a forthcoming article, D.M. Carr, "Strong and Weak Cases and Criteria for Establishing the Post-Priestly Character of Hexateuchal Material," in *The Post-Priestly Pentateuch* (ed. F. Giuntoli and K. Schmid; FAT 101; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 19–34. For a recent synthesis of arguments for the secondary character of Gen 15:13–16, see M. Köckert, "Gen 15: Vom 'Urgestein der Väterüberlieferung' zum theologischen Programmtext der späten Perserzeit," *ZAW* 125 (2013), 39–40.

[20] In Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 275–277, I argue that this linkage occurred in a very late, "post-D" stage of formation of non-P materials prior to their combination with P. For other perspectives, see J.C. Gertz et al., eds., *Abschied vom Jahwisten: Die Komposition des Hexateuch in der jüngsten Diskussion* (BZAW 315; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), and T.B. Dozeman and K. Schmid (eds.), *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* (SBLSymS 34; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006).

[21] I discuss these and other examples further in Carr, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 260–268, 275.

onomy and preceding books – coordination of episodes in works that were once separate and were then secondarily brought together into a larger literary work.

Priestification – A Particular Type of Late-Persian/ Hellenistic Revision

The above-discussed secondary scribal coordinations often have a somewhat mechanical feel to them. Though there certainly are theological and ideological dimensions to the probable additions mentioned above, such as Gen 15:13–16, Exod 32:10–14 and Num 14:11–21, many of these scribal coordinations merely copy material from one part of the Pentateuch, say, Moses's mention of defeating Og of Bashan in Deut 3:1–3, into another part of the Pentateuch, in this case Num 21:33–35.[22] Yet there are a number of documented and probable additions to the Hexateuch that adapt non-Priestly materials, often seamlessly, in Priestly directions. By this I mean a tendency of middle–Second Temple tradents to creatively build on and beyond Priestly precedents in transmitting and modifying non-Priestly traditions. Non-Priestly stories receive what might be described as a "Priestly wash," a term that indicates the often subtle and even undetectable character of many such P-like scribal interventions.

This is, of course, a phenomenon already well documented in the often P-like Chronistic expansion and revision of a non-Priestly composition about Judah and Israel's kings close (but not identical) in contents to large sections of our present books of Samuel–Kings.[23] As Julius Wellhausen classically demonstrated, the whole of Chronicles can be viewed as creatively priestifying the Samuel–Kings narrative. Note, for example, in the parallels below how the tent of meeting and bronze altar are added by the Chronicler to the 1 Kgs 3 story of Solomon's sacrifice at Gibeon.

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[22] Discussed in CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 260.

[23] By now I and others are clear that Chronicles did not work with the proto-MT of Samuel–Kings nor any other exact literary witness presently available. Earlier, in D.M. CARR, "Empirische Perspektiven auf das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk," in *Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur 'Deuteronomismus'-Diskussion in Tora und vorderen Propheten* (ed. M. Witte et al.; BZAW 365; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 1–17, I played with a model of "shared source" advocated by Auld (e.g., A.G. AULD, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994] and many other works), where Chronicles might have been based on a source more like the shared material between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles (an Old Testament "Q") rather than a composition resembling Samuel–Kings. Nevertheless, further detailed study of omissions in Chronicles led me to withdraw much of my support for that model (see CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* [see n. 1], 73–75).

2 Chronicles 1:3–6	1 Kings 3:4
וילכו שלמה וכל הקהל עמו	וילך המלך
לבמה אשר בגבענה	גבענה לזבח שם
כי שם היה אהל מועד האלהים אשר עשה	כי היא הבמה הגדולה
משה עבד יהוה במדבר אבל ארון האלהים	
העלה דויד מקרית יערים בהכין לו דויד	
כי נטה לו אהל בירושלם ומזבח הנחשת	
אשר עשה בצלאל בן אורי בן חור שם	
לפני משכן יהוה וידרשהו שלמה והקהל	
ויעל שלמה שם על מזבח הנחשת לפני	אלף עלות יעלה שלמה על המזבח ההוא
יהוה אשר לאהל מועד	
ויעל עליו עלות אלף	

Similarly, the full array of properly dressed priests and Levites are specified by the Chronicler as part of the assembly prior to the divine cloud filling the temple and Solomon's dedicatory prayer.

2 Chronicles 5:11–13	1 Kings 8:10
ויהי בצאת הכהנים מן הקדש	ויהי בצאת הכהנים מן הקדש
כי כל הכהנים הנמצאים התקדשו אין לשמור	
למחלקות והלוים המשררים לכלם לאסף	
להימן לידתון ולבניהם ולאחיהם מלבשים	
בוץ במצלתים ובנבלים וכנרות עמדים	
מזרח למזבח ועמהם כהנים למאה ועשרים	
מחצררים בחצצרות ויהי כאחד למחצצרים	
ולמשררים להשמיע קול אחד להלל ולהדות	
ליהוה וכהרים קול בחצצרות ובמצלתים ובכלי	
השיר ובהלל ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו	
והבית מלא ענן בית יהוה	והענן מלא את בית יהוה

Similarly, Josiah's singular Passover in 2 Kgs 23:21–23 is given a P cast through several modifications in 2 Chr 35.

2 Chronicles 35:1–2, 17–19	2 Kings 23:21–23
	ויצו המלך את כל העם לאמר
ויעש יאשיהו בירושלם פסח ליהוה	עשו פסח ליהוה אלהיכם
	ככתוב על ספר הברית הזה
וישחטו הפסח בארבעה עשר לחדש	
הראשון	
ויעמד הכהנים על משמרותם ויחזקם	
לעבודת בית יהוה	

[large plus Priestly Passover 35:3–16]

2 Chronicles 35:1–2, 17–19 (cont.)   *2 Kings 23:21–23 (cont.)*

<div dir="rtl">

ויעשו בני ישראל הנמצאים את הפסח

בעת ההיא ואת חג המצות שבעת ימים

ולא נעשה פסח כמהו בישראל   כי לא נעשה כפסח הזה

מימי שמואל הנביא   מימי השפטים אשר שפטו את ישראל

וכל מלכי ישראל   וכל ימי מלכי ישראל ומלכי יהודה

לא עשו כפסח אשר עשה יאשיהו

והכהנים והלוים וכל יהודה וישראל

הנמצא ויושבי ירושלם

בשמונה עשרה שנה למלכות יאשיהו   כי אם בשמנה עשרה שנה למלך יאשיהו

נעשה הפסח הזה   נעשה הפסח הזה ליהוה בירושלם

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These are just three concrete examples of a much broader phenomenon of Chronistic priestification of the Samuel–Kings narrative alongside numerous other shifts reflecting the Chronicler's specific post-Priestly ideology.[24]

This overall orientation toward the Priestly tradition is also evident in the later stages of the transmission of the Pentateuch. We see it, for example, in the multiple late levels of harmonization of the Priestly tabernacle instruction and construction accounts, the likely addition of Priestly elements of the spy story (Num 14:31) to Deut 1:39 (elements missing in the LXX), or the addition of the tabernacle to Joshua's covenant in a late plus to the LXX of Josh 24:25. Some of this priestification, to be sure, represents ongoing harmonization of P and non-P strands in the Second Temple period, a well-documented trend of scribal coordination that – as mentioned above – also combines Deuteronomic and tetrateuchal traditions and other once-separate tradition streams. Nevertheless, there seems to be an overall tendency in the Second Temple period to privilege Priestly figures and Priestly conceptuality, a tendency that corresponds well to the fact that Hebrew literary textuality during this period was connected particularly to Second Temple Priestly groups, whether ones connected to the Jerusalem temple or groups outside that complex.

These examples of priestification, both in Chronicles and in divergences in early manuscript traditions for the Hexateuch, show not only that Second Temple scribes often added a Priestly cast to non-Priestly texts but also that some of these documented changes would have been largely undetectable if we could

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[24] By *post-Priestly* I mean that the Chronicler's ideology is not Priestly itself but presupposes it. For more examples and specification, the discussion in Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* remains a classic. See J. Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels: Erster Band – Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1883), 166–223; English translation, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies; Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1957), 171–227, which argues that the difference between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles a few hundred years later "beruht auf dem inzwischen eingetretenen Einfluß des Priesterkodex" ("is caused by the intervening influence of the Priestly source," 166). For specific discussions, see in particular 177–180, 184–185, and 207.

not compare Chronicles with Samuel–Kings or early manuscript traditions with each other. Sometimes, of course, there are indicators of secondary growth such as the resumptive repetition marking Chronicles' addition to Solomon's second epiphany in 2 Chr 8, the doubling of children in Deut 1:39, or the extended כי clause interrupting the movement from the priests going out in 2 Chr 5:11a and the cloud filling the sanctuary in 5:13b. I would argue that we have similar slight indicators of undocumented secondary harmonization in the temporary deviation to third-person language in Josh 24:6–7aα. This mention of the Reed Sea event (marked below in square brackets) is marked as a likely secondary addition by its duplication of Josh 24:5 and the divergence of this portion of Joshua's review from its context in speaking about Israel's exodus generation as "your fathers" (24:6) rather than just as "you" (24:5, 8, 9, 10, 11, etc.).

Joshua 24:5–7

ואשלח את משה ואת אהרן*
ואגף את מצרים כאשר עשיתי בקרבו ואחר הוצאתי אתכם†
[ואוציא את אבותיכם ממצרים ותבאו הימה וירדפו מצרים אחרי אבותיכם ברכב ובפרשים ים סוף
ויצעקו אל יהוה וישם מאפל ביניכם ובין המצרים ויבא עליו את הים ויכסהו] ותראינה עיניכם את
אשר עשיתי במצרים ותשבו במדבר ימים רבים‡

*missing in LXX
†note 2nd person plural here and surrounding
‡note 2nd person plural again

In other cases, such as the above-discussed addition of multiple elements to Solomon's dream at Gibeon, the probable addition of Aaron and Moses to Josh 24:5a in a plus absent from the LXX, and the addition of the tent of meeting to the end of Josh 24:25 in the Old Greek, we would have little to go on to identify documented priestifying additions to the Hexateuch if we did not have the divergent manuscript traditions. In the case given above of Josiah's Passover in 2 Chr 35, we could tell *that* additions had happened, but the indicators might mislead us as to exactly *what* happened.

Use of Works Like Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles to Determine the Earlier Scope of Literary Works

This discussion takes us to treatment of the scope of works used by Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles and what this can tell us about models for the development of the Pentateuch. Notably, both Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles have clear connections not only to the Pentateuch but also to a Hexateuch that includes Joshua. The Ezra narrative models the return of the *golah* community on the entry of the Israelites into Canaan and in the process repeatedly invokes the entry into the land and lists of displaced peoples that are part of the Joshua narrative. Chronicles has a complex but clearly demonstrable relationship with

parts of Joshua, especially 1 Chr 1–9. In this sense, both Ezra–Nehemiah and
Chronicles betray a Hexateuchal orientation that contrasts with the resolutely
pentateuchal focus of later Second Temple works such as Sirach, Wisdom of
Solomon, Philo, etc. When it comes to questions of formation, I am ever more
firmly convinced that the Hexateuch is the proper scope of our discussion and
not the Pentateuch. This is confirmed, incidentally, by the fact that we see P
elements in the book of Joshua, including a P redactional element at its very end,
but no clear P elements or priestification beyond that point. Whatever work the
Priestly tradents worked with, it did not extend beyond Joshua.

Notably, the clearest links connecting Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles to the
first books of the Hebrew Bible extend only through Joshua and do not clearly
include Judges. To be sure, 1 Chr 17:10 preserves a reference from 2 Sam 7:11
to a premonarchal time of the "judges," but this hardly requires the specific
book of Judges that we now have. In addition, though some have seen echoes
of the judges period in the core of the speech of the prophet Azariah to King
Asa that refers to a time when Israel lacked a "true God, a priest or a torah"
(2 Chr 15:3–6), this speech, built around echoes of Hosea and Zechariah, does
not conform well to our existing book of Judges.[25] It speaks of an overall lack
in Israel of a "true God," international unrest affecting all countries, and nations
crushing nations. Compare this in the parallel chart below with the much clearer
reflection of Judges in Neh 9, one of the last layers of Ezra–Nehemiah,[26] which
echoes language in Judges. God is described as delivering (נתן ביד) the Israelites
into the hand of enemies, they "cry" out to God, and God gives them deliverers
(verbal resonances between Judges and Neh 9:26–28 are underlined in the table
below):

Judges 2:12–14, 16; 3:9	*Nehemiah 9:26–28*	*2 Chronicles 15:3–5*
ויעזבו את יהוה אלהי אבותם המוציא אותם מארץ מצרים וילכו אחרי אלהים אחרים מאלהי העמים אשר סביבותיהם וישתחוו להם ויכעסו את יהוה ויעזבו את יהוה ויעבדו לבעל ולעשתרות ויחר אף יהוה בישראל	וימרו וימרדו בך וישלכו את תורתך אחרי גום ואת נביאיך הרגו אשר העידו בם להשיבם אליך ויעשו נאצות גדולת	וימים רבים לישראל ללא אלהי אמת וללא כהן מורה וללא תורה וישב בצר לו על יהוה אלהי ישראל ויבקשהו וימצא להם

Judges 2:12–14, 16; 3:9 (cont.)	*Nehemiah 9:26–28 (cont.)*	*2 Chronicles 15:3–5 (cont.)*
ויתנם ביד שסים וישסו אותם וימכרם ביד אויביהם מסביב ולא יכלו עוד לעמד לפני אויביהם ... ויקם יהוה שפטים ויושיעום מיד שסיהם	ותתנם ביד צריהם ויצר להם ובעת צרתם יצעקו אליך ואתה משמים תשמע וכרחמיך הרבים תתן להם מושיעים ויושיעום מיד צריהם וכנוח להם ישובו לעשות רע לפניך ותעזבם ביד איביהם וירדו בהם וישובו ויזעקוך ואתה משמים תשמע ותצילם כרחמיך רבות עתים	ובעתים ההם אין שלום ליוצא ולבא כי מהומת רבות על כל יושבי הארצות
ויזעקו בני ישראל אל יהוה ויקם יהוה מושיע לבני ישראל ויושיעם את עתניאל בן קנז אחי כלב הקטן ממנו		

The language is not precisely the same in Judges and Neh 9, but there are enough terminological connections between them and the conceptuality of cycles is similar enough in both passages that it seems quite likely that Neh 9 has the book of Judges in view. No such clear evidence is present in 2 Chr 15.

Finally, the genealogies in 1 Chr 1–9 lack a single clear instance of dependence on data found in Judges. Chronicles mentions some figures seen also in Judges, e.g., Ehud in 1 Chr 7:18, without any apparent awareness of material about him in Judges and offers competing pictures of the genealogies of others, such as Jair son of Segub (1 Chr 2:21–22), again without any evident critique of or integration with competing pictures of the same figure's genealogy in Judg 10:3–5. In one case, Ralph Klein even suggests dependence of Judges on Chronicles, arguing that a minor judge, Tolah son of Puah, in Judg 10:1, "owes his existence" to a creative rereading of the genealogy of Issachar's sons in Num 26:23–24 along with 1 Chr 7:1.[27]

To be sure, one might read this evidence as suggesting a conscious "silencing" of the book of Judges in Chronicles, perhaps because of concerns about the negative picture of Israel there, but then we might expect clearer links to the Judges' depiction of the premonarchic period in the negative picture of Israel's premonarchic period in the Chronicles version of Azariah's prophecy. Moreover, we might also expect Chronicles to at least occasionally connect with genealogical data found in Judges as source material for its own genealogies. As it is, however, there is little to indicate that Chronicles has any relationship with our book of Judges.

In sum, Chronicles can be seen, in part, as a rewriting of Samuel–Kings from the perspective of a priestified Hexateuch (non-P material reframed by P material), including adding a prologue (1Chr 1–9) that draws genealogical and other information from the P and non-P parts of the Hexateuch to the Samuel–Kings

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[27] R. W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 218.

story. Linking back to the theme of priestification discussed above, we see such priestification take several different forms in the works under discussion here: we only possess a Hexateuch in priestified form – its non-Priestly sources are only accessible by way of literary criticism. Chronicles represents a priestified form of Samuel–Kings that now stands alongside a version of its non-P Samuel–Kings source. Judges does not seem to have undergone such priestification at all, containing a likely early Ephraimite core with a much later Judahite frame. The relatively early core of Judges would explain its basic classical Hebrew profile, i.e., the fact that it – so far as I know – lacks many linguistic features that would identify the book as a late text overall. Nevertheless, I am suggesting that the book as we presently have it, framed as part of a larger enneateuchal sequence, is quite late. The present book of Judges likely postdates the priestification of Israelite narrative literature (both the Hexateuch and Samuel–Kings), is not reflected clearly in Chronicles, and is only reflected in one of the latest layers of Ezra–Nehemiah, namely Neh 9.

An additional observation: though Chronicles certainly knows a form of Samuel–Kings and draws on the P and non-P Hexateuch, it treats Samuel–Kings and the Hexateuch in decisively different ways, rewriting one work while drawing on the other one. In this sense, Chronicles might be seen as a model for Deuteronomy's quite different orientation to the Moses-wilderness and ancestral traditions. Whereas Deuteronomy extensively reviews materials from the non-P Moses-wilderness story, it only glancingly refers to Genesis by way of references to the divine oath promise of land to ancestors (e.g., Deut 1:8, 35; 6:10, 18, 23; 7:8, 12; with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob mentioned in 30:20 and [in reference to becoming a God to them] 29:12). Even if some of these references to the promise in Deuteronomy are early,[28] the general character of Deuteronomy's references to the promise may point to the fact that the ancestral story of Genesis is still understood in layers of Deuteronomy to be a separate work different in character from the Moses story that Deuteronomy more extensively reviews. In sum: as Chronicles is to the Hexateuch versus Samuel–Kings, so Deuteronomy may be to the ancestral story versus the Moses story.

Partial Preservation of Precursor Materials and Other Problems for Reconstruction

One thing to which my study, Pakkala's work, and Pakkala and Müller's work point in particular is the way that documented cases of transmission history only

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[28] For the essential parameters of the debate, see T. Römer, *Israels Väter: Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der Deuteronomistischen Tradition* (OBO 99; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1990) on the one hand and N. Lohfink, *Die Väter Israels im Deuteronomium* (OBO 111; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1991) on the other.

inconsistently preserve in later forms of biblical texts data that would be crucial to the reconstruction of earlier stages. Sometimes, of course, documented cases of transmission history include cases where the final form of a given text preserves marks, such as resumptive repetition, of the secondary character of a given element in only one manuscript stream. In other cases, such as probable priestifying additions in Josh 24:5 or 25, it is harder to argue that the final form of the priestified text would have allowed a scholar lacking other manuscript forms to reconstruct the exact contours of later scribal revision. Elsewhere I have argued that certain types of scribal work, such as the combination of originally separate texts, are more easily recognized than the more broadly documented phenomenon of scribal expansion-adaptation (because of cross-currents produced by the different profiles of the originally independent texts).[29] But even here analysis of documented cases of combinations of separate texts should give scholars pause about the level of precision that is achievable in methodologically controlled, cross-school reconstruction of probable stages leading to the present Pentateuch or Hexateuch.

In particular, as pointed out in parts of my own work and in an entire book by Pakkala, scribes often omitted large portions of their precursor documents.[30] Deuteronomy only preserves themes and a few words from the Covenant Code, to which it responds in part. Chronicles does not preserve all of whatever Samuel–Kings source it used. The Temple Scroll quite incompletely draws on elements of its precursor Torah traditions. The authors of Matthew and Luke only preserved portions of their probable Markan and Q source documents. These and other documented examples from the ancient Near East show that ancient scribes did not preserve complete versions of their precursor documents except in cases where they were reproducing basically unchanged exemplars of those precursor documents. When they were drawing on a document as a "source," they drew on it selectively. Arguments to the contrary seem based more on methodological wishful thinking (the hope that [undocumented] source documents might be fully reconstructable) than on reliable evidence from ancient Israel and surrounding scribal contexts.

This takes us to a particular type of argument that has an old pedigree but has been used increasingly over recent years and has contributed unhelpfully, I believe, to a plethora of pentateuchal theories of all kinds. I term these "arguments from potential continuity." Sometimes such arguments relate to places where a distinctive text-block truly interrupts the flow of a text. Joel Baden mentions, for instance, the example of how Exod 24:3–8 interrupts the progression from 24:1–2 to 24:9–11.[31] More often, however, there is no real textual discontinuity

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[29] CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 105, 145–147.

[30] CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 111–115, and (on the topic of loss of crucial indicators through omission) 146–147; PAKKALA, *God's Word Omitted* (see n. 2).

[31] J.S. BADEN, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis* (AYBRL; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), 19.

in evidence, but a scholar simply notes that a text seems to read as well without a given text block as with it.

The problem with reliance on such arguments is that they are so easily made in so many different ways, as can easily be shown through a history of pentateuchal scholarship, especially recent pentateuchal scholarship. Once you set a group of smart people loose on a text, they will find many ways it would read better if this or that section was omitted. If the group who heard this presentation in Jerusalem was set loose on this essay, I have no doubt that many could find supposed secondary sections, the elimination of which would make this essay both shorter and better. I would maintain that we all would be better served if such arguments from potential continuity were reduced to a minor and supporting role in broader cases based primarily on other criteria. Generally, arguments for potential continuity are notoriously unreliable. Show me a pentateuchal theory of any kind based heavily on arguments from discontinuity and the greater readability of a reconstructed text, and I'll show you a theory whose real impact will be limited to the advocate of that theory and their school.

There is one case in which arguments from potential continuity *can* be helpful – in establishing a likelihood that a given stratum (established primarily on other grounds) once existed independently. For example, the *relative* readability of parallel P and non-P pentateuchal strata, reconstructed on the basis of other criteria, makes unlikely arguments that either the P layer (as argued by some particularly in the late twentieth century) or the non-P layer (as argued by many more recently) was composed, from the outset, as a redactional or compositional extension of earlier works.

To be sure, this argument also has been taken too far in past scholarship. Martin Noth, for example, made the very influential argument that P was preserved virtually intact by the pentateuchal redactor "im allgemeinen das vollständige Erhaltensein des ursprüngliche Bestandes und daher ein lückenloser Zusammenhang der ausgeschiedenen Elemente."[32] This line of argument by Noth has misled several generations of later scholars into arguing that P was a "redaction" or compositional extension of non-P works, largely on the basis of possible gaps in P.[33] In recent years this has been flipped and applied to non-Priestly

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[32] "[P]reserved in its original extent and therefore identified P elements connect seamlessly with each other." Quote from p. 17 of broader discussion in M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (2nd ed.; Darmstadt: Kohlhammer, 1960 [1st ed., 1948]), 11–17.

[33] This focus on gaps in P as an argument for its redactional and/or compositional character was particularly prominent in the foundational arguments of F.M. Cross in *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 306–307, 317–321, and had already appeared in brief a few years previously in C. Machholz, "Israel und das Land: Vorarbeiten zu einem Vergleich zwischen Priesterschrift und deuteronomistischem Geschichtswerk" (Habilitationsschrift, Heidelberg University, 1969), 38–39. The idea has been prominent in a number of subsequent studies as well.

materials, such as the argument that the non-P flood narrative is a redactional extension of P because the non-P flood narrative lacks elements like God's order for Noah to build an ark.[34] Yet we lack a single documented example of a conflator completely preserving the entire text of combined source documents. Our few potential examples of combination of prior documents all feature major omissions of source materials, indeed, omissions that surpass those posited for either P or non-P.[35] Perhaps this exceptional character of preservation of P and non-P source materials (in comparison to most cases of conflation) contributed to Noth's and others' perceptions that P was preserved so completely, even as this conception (of virtually perfect preservation of conflated source documents) has proven to be one of the most misleading ideas to be introduced into pentateuchal scholarship of the last century.

Concluding Reflection on Achieving More Methodological Control

Given the skeptical tone of the last paragraphs, I turn finally to reflections on how we might achieve more methodological control, finding ways to create

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[34] This started in the mid-1990's with new interpretations of long-observed gaps in J in the flood as evidence that J was an expansion of P. In subsequent years, this redactional approach to J has expanded to other arguments. See J. BLENKINSOPP, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 78; J.L. SKA, "El relato del diluvio: Un relato sacerdotal y algunos fragmento redaccionales posteriores," *EstBib* 52 (1994), 52; D.L. PETERSEN, "The Formation of the Pentateuch," in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future; Essays in Honor of Gene M. Tucker* (ed. D.L. Petersen et al.; Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 42–43; T. KRÜGER, "Das menschliche Herz und die Weisung Gottes: Elemente einer Diskussion über Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Tora-Rezeption im Alten Testament," in *Rezeption und Auslegung im Alten Testament und in seinem Umfeld: Ein Symposium aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstags von Odil Hannes Steck* (ed. R.G. Kratz and T. Krüger; OBO 153; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1997), 74; R.G. KRATZ, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments: Grundwissen der Bibelkritik* (UTB 2137; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 259.

[35] Conflation is documented relatively rarely, especially if one excludes cases of combination of nonoverlapping prior documents, such as the integration of the flood narrative into the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. The best example is probably still the conflation of canonical Gospels in Tatian's *Diatessaron*, a case distant culturally and chronologically from the formation of the Pentateuch, but there are smaller-scale examples of conflation (depending often on one's interpretation of the evidence) in parts of the Temple Scroll and some 4QRP manuscripts, 2 Sam 16–18, Ezra–Nehemiah, and the so-called proto-Samaritan and other expansionist pentateuchal manuscripts. (TOV, "Source of Source Criticism" [see n. 4], 295, adds the example of the joining of Deut 27 and Josh 8:35–40 in m. Sotah 7 as well). The statements here about conflation are based on this range of near and far documented examples of the phenomenon.

theories that will have a shelf life outlasting one or another particular school of pentateuchal scholarship. If some of our arguments from potential continuity, textual dependence,[36] or terminology are relatively weak (at least on their own), where might we find stronger ones? Where would we find an audience of close readers of the Torah who demonstrably have no investment in one model or the other and would just read the text and say what parts of it are unintelligible as they stand? Where would we find such an impartial focus group?

I have an idea, based on frequent use of Jewish biblical interpretation in historical-critical work by many Jewish colleagues already.[37] I think we could find such a focus group among premodern Jewish commentators on the Torah, whether a later synthesizer of rabbinic interpretation like Rashi or *pəšaṭ* interpreters like Ibn Ezra, Rashbam, or Radak. There are, of course, close readers of the text who are not Jewish in the earlier history of the biblical text, and they could be useful too. Nevertheless, Christian readers of the Torah often have such different agendas as they work through the text that their interpretations provide less material, in my general experience, than do close readings by classical Jewish commentators. Jean Louis Ska's essay in a recent Genesis volume on Radak's identification of chronological problems in Genesis is the closest recent example to what I am proposing here,[38] but I am suggesting something more global. Furthermore, what I am suggesting is somewhat distinct from the frequent past use of interpretive suggestions by Jewish commentators to deflect proposals about textual growth, e.g., the attempt by some to use the rabbinic distinction between יהוה as gracious and אלהים as judge to counter use of divine designation as an indicator of diverse sources. Rather, I am suggesting a broad survey of a clearly circumscribed commentary tradition, e.g., Rashi's synthesis of Jewish interpretation, to see where Rashi (or another early interpreter) attempts to interpret a textual feature that transmission-historical models would explain otherwise through particular diachronic models.

I personally do not presume to be particularly well qualified for this sort of study. Nevertheless, my initial sounding, just surveying Rashi's commentary on Genesis, found many more examples of places where he struggled with features probably caused by joining P and non-P than I found of him struggling with features correlated with other proposed models for pentateuchal formation. To

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[36] This area was a feature of my 2013 contribution to the Jerusalem conference, but my primary concerns are already covered in CARR, *Formation of the Hebrew Bible* (see n. 1), 137–144.

[37] Some prominent examples include Jacob Milgrom, Jeffrey Tigay, Nahum Sarna, Michael Fishbane, and Moshe Greenberg, but there are many others. I am indebted to Professor Robbie Harris of Jewish Theological Seminary for adding some precision to my comments in this section of the essay.

[38] J.L. SKA, "The Study of the Book of Genesis: The Beginning of Critical Reading," in *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (ed. C.A. Evans et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3–26.

be sure, he does work to explain the problem of Midianites and Ishmaelites in Gen 37:27–28, 36 and 39:1, a problem that has been attributed to a conflation of J and E source documents or to scribal revision in Gen 37:28. So also, Rashi notes the parallel between well-digging and controversy between Isaac and Abimelek in Gen 26:18 (often attributed to J) and the earlier description of Abraham's similar interactions with the same characters in Gen 21 (often attributed to E). In addition, Rashi notes a couple of features of the Joseph story – the apparent presupposition in Joseph's dream that Rachel is still alive (comment on Gen 37:10) and that Jacob had many daughters (comment on Gen 37:35) – that do not square well with the biblical Jacob story that the Joseph story now follows. These latter indicators can be read as signs of the secondary combination of the Jacob and Joseph stories with each other. Finally, Rashi deals with various inner-Priestly issues, such as the divergent data about Esau's family in Gen 26:34, 28:9, and 36:2–3 or some repetitions in Gen 17 (comments on 17:13 and 19), and he notes in comments on Gen 38:1 and 39:1 the disruption caused by the apparent insertion of the Tamar story. All these can be linked with diverse theories about pentateuchal formation advocated today, from the J/E hypothesis for the formation of the non-Priestly Tetrateuch to what I now like to term the "sources and supplements" model for the joining of diverse written compositions and their expansion by compositional layers.[39]

Nevertheless, my initial survey suggests that Rashi struggles far more often with features that can be linked to the combination of P and non-P. He works on explaining, for example, elements of the divergent flood chronologies in Gen 8:3 and with the statements in Gen 6:19 and 7:9 that the animals were to enter two by two (P), rather than an extra six pairs of clean animals as specified in Gen 7:2 (the non-P flood narrative). He notes the strangeness of Isaac coming back to the tent of his mother in Gen 24:67 (a non-P text), when she has already died in the previous chapter (Gen 23; P). He also deals with numerous chronological issues in the ancestral narratives caused by combining P age notices with non-P narratives, such as the implication that Hagar carried a sixteen-year-old Ishmael on her shoulder (comment on Gen 21:24).

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[39] I proposed this term "sources and supplements" originally in an oral comment made on November 25, 2013, in response to a panel discussion "Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory" in the Pentateuch section of the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Baltimore, MD). I thought and think this phrase better characterizes new alternative approaches to the Pentateuch than do the terms "European approach" or "non-Documentarian approach" sometimes used in recent discussions. The term *sources* here encompasses both a cross-pentateuchal P source and earlier (non-Priestly) compositions of more limited scope, say a Jacob or a Moses story. The term *supplements* in this phrase connects back to classical divisions of pentateuchal theories into fragment, source, or supplement approaches, even as many contemporary scholars would prefer to term such supplements *redactions* or *compositional layers*.

This is just an initial sounding done by an admitted amateur at analysis of rabbinic commentary. There are many more qualified than I who could do this work better, combining thorough knowledge of contemporary pentateuchal approaches to texts like Genesis with fluency in interpretation of Rashi and other classical Jewish commentators. It is not, by the way, that I believe each pentateuchal theory requires confirmation in all details by Jewish or other commentators, and I believe it would be a mistake to start one's transmission-historical work through working only with indicators mined from Rashi or another commentator. They were doing something quite different from study of pentateuchal formation. Nevertheless, precisely because these close readers of the biblical text were doing something different than transmission history, they can provide a good secondary focus group to check whether problems observed by contemporary scholars were ever seen by anyone else in centuries of interpretation. I suggest that a more systematic survey of commentators like Rashi might represent another sort of "empirical" approach that might help us measure how much diverse theories are supported by actual problems in the text that we did not just manufacture but that were noted by earlier readers who were not biased by one particular approach to diachronic study or another. The focus in such a survey would not be on the solutions offered by early Jewish commentators to the problems that they found, since the differences between Rashi, Radak, and other commentators in the tradition are often immense. Instead, the focus of such a survey would just be on which features of the text were deemed problematic enough by these commentators to deserve any kind of explanation, particularly features that are interpreted diachronically in various pentateuchal theories.

My concluding point is more general. It is based both on years of poring over documented examples of transmission history and on decades of reading older pentateuchal scholarship and watching the field develop. If there is anything I have learned from this, it is the following: we know far less than we think we do about the formation of these texts. Put another way, I am ever more struck with just how fraught and difficult it is for us to know anything secure and detailed about the undocumented prehistory of any text. The field is littered with the carcasses of dead theories by once-prominent pentateuchal scholars, and I suspect that many theories advanced today will fare no better. I would not have attended the Jerusalem conferences and written this essay if I didn't think that we can form plausible theories about the Pentateuch's prehistory. Nevertheless, I think that all of us, whatever our models for pentateuchal formation, could use more humility about our reconstructive abilities and modesty about our respective research results.

Innerbiblical Exegesis

The View from beyond the Bible

Molly M. Zahn

In the last quarter-century, the idea of "innerbiblical exegesis" has taken root widely in the study of the Pentateuch.[1] For a field marked in recent times largely by the absence of consensus, innerbiblical exegesis constitutes a rare point of convergence between Israeli, European, and North American scholarship, even if the term sometimes means different things to different people. Whatever the precise compositional models involved, it now appears to be generally acknowledged that exegetical revision and reapplication of earlier textual traditions played a substantial role in the development of the Pentateuch as we know it. This recognition bears theoretical and methodological significance both for biblical studies and for the broader discipline of religious studies, insofar as it breaks down the old boundary between *Scripture* and *tradition* or *Scripture* and *interpretation*.[2] As Levinson puts it, "Interpretation is constitutive of the canon; it is not secondary to the canon in terms of either chronology or significance."[3]

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[1] In English-speaking scholarship, the term is usually associated with the groundbreaking work of M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985). As two recent bibliographical essays indicate, however, Fishbane's work had important precedents, and a parallel movement in Europe (associated especially with the work of O.H. Steck and his students) has helped the phenomenon gain widespread recognition. See K. Schmid, "Innerbiblische Schriftauslegung: Aspekte der Forschungsgeschichte," in *Schriftauslegung in der Schrift* (ed. R.G. Kratz et al.; BZAW 300; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 1–22; B.M. Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 95–181.

[2] The dynamics of Scripture and interpretation remain somewhat understudied from a comparative perspective, despite the seminal works of W.A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and W.C. Smith, *What Is Scripture? A Comparative Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). Nevertheless, some relatively recent publications from the broader field of religious studies do attend explicitly to the ways in which (versions of) scriptural texts can embed interpretation or in which interpretive texts can themselves become scriptural. See, for example, J.B. Henderson, *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary: A Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); P. Richman (ed.), *Many Ramayanas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

[3] Levinson, *Legal Revision* (see n. 1), 18.

Despite the considerable importance of the concept in crystallizing a new way of thinking about the development of scriptural texts, I would like to propose in what follows that it is time to move away from use of the term *innerbiblical exegesis* itself. My argument is rooted in new insights into scribal practice derived from the study of Second Temple materials, the Qumran texts in particular. On the one hand, the countless documented cases of scribal revision and reuse attested in Second Temple manuscripts provide support for the idea of such activities in earlier, nondocumented stages of the text.[4] On the other hand, study of this material has demonstrated the extent to which traditional ways of thinking – and talking – about scriptural texts and scribal activities impose anachronistic or otherwise inappropriate frameworks.[5] In several ways, the term *innerbiblical exegesis* implicates its users in these traditional ways of thinking, and as such it is beginning to hinder our understanding of the texts.

Two major difficulties emerge from the way the concept of innerbiblical exegesis leads us to construe the data constituted by scriptural texts. The first pertains to the variety of ways scriptural exegesis can be presented textually and the various textual contexts in which it occurs. More specifically, I will argue that speaking of innerbiblical exegesis as a broad category obscures the difference between exegesis that takes place in the course of production of a new copy or edition of a work and that which stems from the reuse of earlier materials in a new composition. The second difficulty concerns the distinction the term implies between *innerbiblical* and *extrabiblical* interpretation – a distinction that is not meaningful for the period in which the Pentateuch was formed. In exploring these difficulties, I hope not only to offer a terminological correction but also to indicate avenues for continued study of the relevance of Second Temple models to pentateuchal theory.

1 Revision and Reuse

The concept of innerbiblical exegesis has always encompassed a wide variety of textual phenomena, as indicated by even a glance at Fishbane's magisterial book. These range from minor glosses to extensive new compositions. Yet close attention to the variety of examples shows that, despite this diversity, all innerbiblical exegesis occurs in one of two basic situations in terms of the relationship

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[4] See in particular D. M. CARR, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 13–149; also M. M. ZAHN, "'Editing' and the Composition of Scripture: The Significance of the Qumran Evidence," *HBAI* 3 (2014), 298–316.

[5] E. ULRICH, "Methodological Reflections on Determining Scriptural Status in First Century Judaism," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M. L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 145–161; D. A. TEETER, "The Hebrew Bible and/as Second Temple Literature: Methodological Reflections," *DSD* 20 (2013), 349–377.

of the new material to the text it interprets. On the one hand, it can take the form of exegetical changes made to the interpreted text itself, a technique I refer to as *revision*. On the other hand, it can involve what I call *reuse*: redeployment of the interpreted text, with exegetical modifications, in a new composition. Some elaboration on these two modes of presenting interpretation will help clarify the distinction between them.

Revision involves secondary additions to or alterations of a given textual unit, embedding interpretation within the very text being interpreted. To give just one minor example, Fishbane identifies clause B in the following presentation of Lev 25:8 as a secondary gloss meant to clarify that שבת in this context means a seven-day period:[6]

Leviticus 25:8

A	וספרת לך שבע שבתת שנים
B	שבע שנים שבע פעמים
C	והיו לך ימי שבע שבתת השנים תשע וארבעים שנה

A   You shall count for yourself seven Sabbaths of years –
B   seven years, seven times –
C   so that the days of the seven Sabbaths of years come to forty-nine years.

It is important to note that, strictly speaking, the identification of clause B as a later insertion is hypothetical. It is based not on manuscript evidence but on the redundancy it creates vis-à-vis clauses A and C.[7] Of course, this is just one of myriad cases where scholars have identified secondary material in the Pentateuch (as represented by the Masoretic Text) on the basis of literary, stylistic, or linguistic evidence alone. But there is also plenty of manuscript evidence to support the idea that texts were revised and expanded in the course of their transmission. Copies of biblical books preserved at Qumran, as well as other ancient versions such as the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), preserve numerous examples of such revisions. The defining feature of this type of innerbiblical exegesis is that it is inserted into the text being interpreted. That is, even though there is no manuscript evidence for Fishbane's example presented above, he implicitly suggests that at one point a copy of Leviticus existed with a version of Lev 25:8 that lacked clause B.

The other situation in which innerbiblical exegesis can occur is in the context of a new composition rather than a copy or edition of an existing work. Here, instead of interpretive *revision* of the base text, the text is *reused* (recycled, redeployed, alluded to) in a different work. The many instances in which Deuteronomy updates the laws of the Covenant Code all constitute examples

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[6] FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation* (see n. 1), 166–167.
[7] FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation* (see n. 1), 167: "The abrupt syntax and redundant specifications suggest that section (*b*) constitutes a secondary elucidation [. . .]."